

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

2005

N°3 (septembre)

NOTES BRÈVES

48) LBAT 1499 – 1. The first twelve lines of this text are an astrolabe; B.L. van der Waerden, *Anfänge der Astronomie* (1968) 60 Tafel 2, “Astrolab P”; W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998) 189. It has been observed that something went wrong in columns IV-VII: line 1 should name the constellations Field (Path of Ea), Dilbat (Path of Anu), Plow (Path of Enlil), as the other astrolabes do. Instead, we see at the end, in columns IV-VII, the constellations Fox and Marduk. They have been moved up by one line. See C.B.F. Walker, H. Hunger, “Zwölfmaldrei”, *MDOG* 109 (1977) 34; H. Hunger, D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (1999) 53.

2. The figures in the second column, given after the months’s name, belonging to the first constellation, are well understood: they give the weight of water in the water clock during the day. The commentators remark on the numbers going with the other two constellations that they decrease; without an explanation. Now, the explanation was given by J. Koch, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98) 189 f.: the first row of numbers gives the time of the entire day, the second of the afternoon (“ab Mittag”), the third of the evening (“ab Nachmittag”). He discovered this same terminology in the diaries. He is not aware of our text where we find a confirmation of his theory. Its second section, lines 13-rev. 8, first gives the situation “in / from the morning (*ina še-rim*) (= during the entire day) (13), then “in the afternoon” (*[ina]* AN.NE) (26), and “in the evening” (to be supplied in line 39). See already E.F. Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln* (1967) 20 note 60.

3. Weidner already pointed out that the constellations and accompanying forecasts in this second section go back to ACh. Second Suppl. no. 63, column I. Survey:

LBAT 1499:13 = ACh. Second Suppl. No. 63 I 21; 14 = none; 15 = 24-5; 16 = 26; 17 = 27; 18 = 22; 19 = none; 20 = 30; 21 = 31; 22-26 = none; 27 = 10; 28 = none; 29 (corrupted) = 19; 30-33 = none; 34 = 20; 35-38 = none; 39 = 18; 40 = 28 (?); 41 = none; 42 = 9; Rev. 1 = 15; 2 = 11-12; 3 = 7; 4 = 16; 5 = 17; 6 = 13; 7 = 14; 8 (“broken”).

4. Three of these forecasts are worth mentioning.

LBAT 1499: 19, DUMU.MEŠ šá ʾÉ UŠ¹ (= *būt ridūti*) SI.SÁ, var. BAD. MEŠ, “the sons of the Succession House will farewell, var. die”.

LBAT 1499: 29. This corrupted line goes back to an omen attested in some astrological texts; references in CAD K 115a s.v. *kamāsu* A, l.b. See now U. Koch Westenhof, *Res Orientales* XII (1999) 160: 103 with note 82: DIŠ MUL.AN.NA *meš-ḫa im-šuḫ* (lú).kúr *na-me-e-a i-kám-mis*, “If the Star of Heaven (the moon?) produces a glow: the enemy will collect my herds”. Our corrupted line offers something like A KÚR A.RI (text 𒌦U).A-a *ì-kám-uš*.

Another example of this omen (not recognized as such) is found in Pinches, 5R 46 no. 1: 57: MUL.AN.NA *meš-ḫu im-šuḫ* (ŠUR-*uḫ*) *amēlu* (NA) *aḫū* (BAR) *namēa* (A.DAM-*e-a*) <*i*>-*kám-mis*. Here, “a stranger” instead of “the enemy”, and the Sumerogram ŠUR stands for the verb *mašāḫu* B. We know that ŠUR stands for *šarāḫu* C and *šarāru* B with related meanings; see MSL 17 (1985) 77: 245, cited CAD M/1 354a. ŠUR = *mašāḫu* may be reserved for the frequent expression *mešḫa mašāḫu*. Confirmed by MSL 14 (1979) 350 Aa

III/6 :114, [šu-ur SUR] *ma-ša-lu šá* [MUL], “to flash, said of [a star]”.

LBAT 1499 : 33, “the fish in the river will spawn (*ú-ru-tú* ŠUB)”. K.3524 : 6, a line in an unpublished omen text quoted in CAD Š/1 226a, and the omen E. Reiner, D. Pingree, BPO 2 (1981) 67 Text XIII : 6, have the same text. There, the spawn is in Akkadian *erūtum*. So AHW III 1437a *uruttu* II “ein Fisch”, attested and discussed in MSL 8/2 (1962) 110 f. Hh XVIII 82, is no fish but must be fish-spawn.

More on fish spawn : S. Sanati-Müller, Baghd. Mitt. 20 (1989) 238 f.(!); P.-A. Beaulieu, The pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period (2003) 380 (*binītu*); E. Frahm, Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften (1997) 233 f. obv. 14 ([*id*]-*du-ú e-ru-tú*); A. Berlin, Enmerkar and Anshūkešdanna (1979) 54 lines 228 ff., with comm., with B. Landsberger, MSL 8/2 (1962) 105; PSD A/III (1998) 58-60 (NUN = agagara; Akkadian *agargarū*); R. Borger, Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon (2004) 95 no. 257 (zizna).

5. Reverse, 10 ff. : “The rising times of the dodekatomoria of Aries and part of Taurus” (Hunger and Pingree, Astral sciences 53, 198). Transliteration by J. Schaumberger, ZA 51 (1955) 245 f. (“Sp II 202+”). Explanation : F. Rochberg-Halton, JAOS 108 (1988) 58 f.

Marten STOL (21-03-2005)

Vrije Universiteit - Oudheidkunde, De Boelelaan 1105, 1081 HV, AMSTERDAM (PAYS-BAS)

49) Notes on two early Neo-Babylonian legal texts (BM 26528 and BM 114720) – BM 26528, a legal text from the reign of Nabū-šuma-iškun, c. 760-748, published by Zadok, *NABU* 1997/11. The tablet in places is heavily worn, and not all readings offered in the primary publication can be verified. But collation permits the following adjustments. Line 14 : the first sign is damaged, but *ṛi-dab¹-bu-bu* seems the more likely reading. Line 20 : read [] ṛ1(+) GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá ki-i pi DIRI SUM-nu¹*. Line 31 : the scribe’s name is ^md+AG-ṛMU-SUM¹.NA. Line 33, at the beginning : MU.10.K[AM], thus providing a year date for the text (see copy below).

BM 114720, a legal text dated in year 12 of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, 656 B.C., published by Zadok, *NABU* 2000/2. Collation suggests these improvements. Line 3, at the end : 41 2/3 KÙŠ. Line 12 : *i-na EGIR.MEŠ ṛu⁴-mu* (copy correct). Line 13 : [I]ṛM.RI¹.A *ni-su-t[ú] <u>*ṛsa-lat *šá É ṛe¹-[gi-bi]*. Line 14 : [*šá*] ṛE¹₁₁-*ma ṛi-qab-bu-ú¹ um-ma ṛA.ŠÁ¹*. Line 15, after *ul ṛma-hir¹* : the traces favor another *ṛi-qab¹-[bu-ú]* (rather than *pa-qí-[]*). Line 20, first name : ^mŃG.BA-*ia* (the signs BA and MA seem generally to be distinguished in this text, though this is not always clear in the copy).



BM 26528:33
year designation

J. A. BRINKMAN (29-4-2005) j-brinkman@uchicago.edu

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1155 East 58th Street, CHICAGO IL 60637 (USA)

50) Brinkman, JAOS 124 (2004) corrigenda – In my article “Administration and Society in Kassite Babylonia” in the recently published JAOS [124 (2004)], there remain a number of printer’s errors that were not corrected in accordance with the returned proofs. Some could be confusing ; most are minor.

Page 284, text, tenth line from the bottom : in the first personal name there should be a dot beneath the “t”.

Page 293 : the reference to p. 48, n. 73 should be to p. 48, n. 731.

Page 298, text, fourth line from the bottom : “rqb” should be an opening half-bracket followed by “qab”.

Page 300, note about MUN 106, second line : delete the period after GURUN.

Page 301, note about MUN 270, in the transliteration : for “-t-” read “-te-”.

Page 304, text, first line : for “PNN” read “PN”.

Page 304, text, tenth line : correct the diacritic on the final syllable of the last word from a circumflex to a macron.

Page 304, last line of text : for “evident” read “evidence”.

J. A. BRINKMAN (25-08-2005)

51) Borsippian Notes (suite) – 2.^{lu}PA+KAŠ₄ = mubannû. All the deeds belong to the archive of Rē’i-alpē unless otherwise indicated. They concern the dowry property of Nanâ-bulliṫiš opposite the city gate of Tâmtu just outside Borsippa. Nanâ-bulliṫiš is the daughter of Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli. Her surname is written ^{lu}PA.KAŠ₄ in BM 101980 and in its duplicate BM 82607, as well as in BM 26514, but as ^mMu-ban-nu-ú in BM 26492 and in its

duplicate BE 8, 108 (= EAH 217). Moreover, her dowry property belongs to the “fifty” of ^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄ in BM 26514 (6.XI.517/6 BC), to the “fifty” of Rē’i-*alpē* six days earlier (BM 101980), and to that of Kidin-Šin thirteen months later (BM 26492 = BE 8, 108 from 28.XII.516/5 BC). There is good reason for thinking that the “fifty” of Mu-ban-nu-ú in BM 82728 (26.IV.513/2 BC) refers to the same plot (cf. below). This interchange may prove that the system of “fifty” plots, which was probably introduced in the first third of the first millennium BC, was dynamic and “fluid” as late as the Achaemenid period. In addition, the equation of *mubannû* “arranger of the sacrificial table” with ^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄, casts serious doubt on the reading of ^{lú}ŠITIM as *mubannû*, a reading that was already challenged for lack of adequate evidence by G. van Driel (*Elusive Silver*, Leiden 2002, 77, n. 41). Moreover, K. Abraham (*Business and Politics under the Persian Empire: The Financial Dealings of Marduk-nāšir-apli of the House of Egibi* [521-487 B.C.E.], Bethesda MD, 2004, 431 ad 123, 1) has demonstrated that the surname of one and the same individual is spelled both ^{lú}ŠITIM and ^{lú}I-tin-nu.

1. BM 101980 (duplicate of M. Roth, AfO 36-37, 1989-90, 53f. : BM 82607, whose transliteration should be corrected accordingly)- Borsippa, 1.XI.5 Dar. I = 517/6 BC.

Arable land opposite the Tāmtu city gate in the “fifty” of Rē’i-*alpē*, dowry property of Nanā-bullitiš/Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli//Mubannû (^{lú}PA.KAŠ₄) wife of Nabû-kīn-zēri/Aplā//Rē’i-*alpē*, the latter voluntarily transferred forever under seal to his daughter Inbā wife of Rēmūt-Nabû/Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi)//Šarrahu. There follows a list of house utensils and furniture (altogether 13 items), which the father donated to Inbā. It is stated that both the land and the other items are donated in addition to Inbā’s dowry.

(1) ŠE.NUMUN šá pa-na-at KÁ.GAL tam-ti šá 50^e šá ^{lú}SIPA GU₄^{meš} (2) nu-dun-nu-ú šá ^{fd}na-na-a-bullitiš DUMU.MUNUS-A.NI šá (3) ^{md+}AG-DU-DUMU.NITA A ^{lú}PA.KAŠ₄ al-ti ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN (4) A-šú šá ^map-la-a A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄^{meš} ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN (5) i-na hu-ud ŠÀ^{bi}-šú ik-nu-uk-ma pa-ni ^fin-ba-a (6) DUMU.MUNUS-šú al-ti ^mre-mut-^{d+}AG A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-MU-ŠEŠ (7) A ^mšar-ra-hi ú-šad-gi-il 1+et ŠEN(?) -ra-qu UD.KA.BAR (8) 1+et qu-ul-li-tu₄ UD.KA.BAR 3 GÚ.ZI UD.KA.BAR (9) 1 ki-šuk-ku UD.KA.BAR 1+et qa-bu-ut-tu₄ UD.KA.BAR (10) 1 mu-ka-ri-šú UD.KA.BAR šá 1 ŠĪLA 1+et mu-šáh-hi-nu šá 1 BÁN (11) 1 na-ṭi-lu UD.KA.BAR 1 ba/ma-ki/qí-su AN.BAR (12) 1 kal-la šá É ZÁLAG 1+et šá-ši-tu₄ UD.KA.BAR (r. 13) PAP 13 ú-de-e UD.KA.BAR e-lat ŠE.NUMUN ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN (14) pa-ni ^fin-ba-a DUMU.MUNUS-šú a-na u₄-mu ša-a-ti (15) e-lat nu-dun-né-šú ú-šad-gi-il (16) ^{lú}mu-kīn-ni ^{md+}AG-ŠEŠ^{meš}-MU A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-NUMUN-GÁL^{ši} A ^mAŠ-ŠUR (17) ^{md+}AG-MU-GI.NA A-šú šá ^mmu-še-zib-^dAMAR.UTU A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄^{meš} (18) ^mgi-mil-lu-^{d+}AG A-šú šá ^mšula-a A ^mDINGIR-ta-DÛ (19) ^mni-din-tu₄-^dEN A-šú šá ^{md}EN-PAP^{meš}-eri-ba A ^mšar-ra-hi (20) ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-ŠEŠ A-šú šá ^m[K]AR-^dAMAR.UTU A ^mŠEŠ-iá-ú-tu (21) DUB.SAR ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN A-šú šá ^mNUMUN-TIN.TIR^{ki} A ^{lú}SIMUG (22) bār-sipa^{ki} ⁱziZÍZ U₄ 1 KAM MU 5 KAM (23) ^mda-ri-iá-muš LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

Translation : Arable land, which is opposite the Tāmtu city gate in the “fifty” of Rē’i-*alpē*, dowry of Nanā-bullitiš daughter of Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli descendant of Mubannû (^{lú}PA.KAŠ₄) wife of Nabû-kīn-zēri son of Aplā descendant of Rē’i-*alpē*. Nabû-kīn-zēri voluntarily transferred forever under seal to his daughter Inbā wife of Rēmūt-Nabû son of Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi) descendant of Šarrahu : one bronze x (damaged), one bronze *qullitu*, three bronze cups (sg. *kāsu*), one bronze grate, one bronze *qabuttu* bowl, one bronze oil-bowl of one *qû*, one cooking pot of one seah, one bronze grate, one iron *b/mak/qisu*, one bronze stand of a lamp, (and) one bronze lantern. Altogether 13 bronze utensils, apart from the arable land, which Nabû-kīn-zēri transferred under seal in perpetuity to his daughter Inbā, in addition to her dowry.

Witnesses : Nabû-ahhē-iddina son of Nabû-zēra-šubši descendant of Aššur (or Ēda-ēṭir) ; Nabû-šumakīn son of Mušēzib-Marduk descendant of Rē’i-*alpē* ; Gimil-Nabû son of Šulā descendant of Ilūta-bani ; Nidinti-Bēl son of Bēl-ahhē-erība descendant of Šarrahu ; Marduk-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi) son of Mušēzib-Marduk descendant of Ahiyaūtu ; scribe : Nabû-kīn-zēri son of Zēr-Bābili descendant of Nappāhu. Place and date.

Remarks

8. *qullitu* is uncertain (Roth, AfO 36-37, 1989-90, 27).

9. *qabuttu* bowl (CAD Q, 43f.) is more likely than *qa-li-tu₄* (Roth, AfO 36-37, 53f.), which is not recorded in N/LB, but only twice in NA q. “pan for roasting (grain)” (CAD Q, 60a, s.v. *qālitu* A).

13. 13 items are described as bronze utensils although they include one iron vessel (*b/mak/qisu*, not recorded elsewhere).

2. BM 26514, 6.XI.5 Dar. I = 517/6 BC ; horizontally oriented ; 78x60x28 mm.

a. Arable land opposite the Tāmtu city gate in the “fifty” of Mubannû (^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄), dowry property of Nanā-bullitiš/Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli//Mubannû (^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄) mother of Rēmūt-Nabû/Nabû-kīn-zēri//Rē’i-*alpē* ; and

b. 0;0.4 kor of palm grove on canal (*harru* = SÛR, rather than ÁR = *karmu*, “devastated land”) of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, held together with (i.e. not divided) Murašû/Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi)//Kidin-Šin.

Nabû-kīn-zēri/Aplā//Rē’i-*alpē*, husband of Nanā-bullitiš, transferred forever under seal to Lā-abāši-Marduk/Rēmūt-Nabû//Šarrahu, the son of their (unnamed) daughter (= Inbā of BM 101980).

(1) ^{md+}AG-DU-ΓNUMUN¹ A-šú šá ^map-la-a A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄^{meš} (2) i-na hu-ud ŠĀ^{bi}-šú ŠE.NUMUN-šú gab-bi šá pa-na-at KÁ.GAL tam-ti (3) šá i-na 50^ú šá ^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄ nu-dun-nu-ú (erasure) šá (4) ^fd_{na}-na-a-bul-liṭ-iš áš-šá-ti-šú DUMU.MUNUS-A.NI (5) šá ^{md+}AG-DU-DUMU.NITA A ^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄ ù 4 BÁN ŠE.NUMUN zaq-pi (6) i-na UGU SÛR (text looks like ÁR) šá ^{md+}AG-MU-DU(?) šá it-ti ^mmu-ra-šu-ú (7) A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-MU-ŠEŠ A ^mki-din-^dXXX la zu-ú-zu (8) ik-nu-uk-ma pa-ni ^mla-a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU (text GAL) DUMU.MUNUS-šú (9) A-šú šá ^mre-mut-^{d+}AG D[UMU ^{md+}AG-MU-ŠEŠ] (deliberately erased) A ^mšar-ra-hi (10) a-na u₄-mu ša-a-ti ú-šad-gi-il (r. 11) ^{lú}mu-kin-ni ^{md+}AG-ŠEŠ^{meš}-SUM^{na} A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-NUMUN-GÁL^{ši} A ^mDINGIR-Γia¹ (12) ^{md+}AG-MU-GI.NA A-šú šá ^mmu-še-zib-^dAMAR.UTU A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄^{meš} (13) ^m[g]i-mil-lu-^dAG A-šú šá ^mšu-la-a A ^mDINGIR-ta-DÛ (14) ^mni-din-tu₄-^{d+}EN A-šú šá ^{md+}EN-ŠEŠ^{meš}-SU A ^mšar-ra-hi (15) ^{md+}AG-ŠEŠ^{meš}-šul-lim A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-MU-ŠEŠ A AŠ-ŠUR (without determinative) (16) ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN ^{lú}DUB.SAR A-šú šá ^mNUMUN-TIN.TI^{ki} A ^{lú}SIMUG (17) bár-sipa^{ki} ⁱti ZÍZ U₄ 6 KAM MU 5 KAM (18) ^mda-ri-ia-mu-uš LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

Translation : Nabû-kîn-zēri son of Aplā descendant of Rē'i-*alpē* voluntarily transferred forever under seal to Lā-abāši-Marduk son of Rēmūt-Nabû descendant of Šarrahu, the son of his daughter, all the arable land opposite the Tâmtu city gate in the “fifty” of Mubannû (^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄), dowry property of his wife Nanâ-bullitiš daughter of Nabû-(mu)kîn-apli descendant of Mubannû (^{lú}PA+KAŠ₄), and 0;0.4 kor of palm grove on the canal of Nabû-šuma-ukîn, held together with (i.e. not divided) Murašû son of Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi) descendant of Kidin-Sîn.

Witnesses : Nabû-ahhē-iddina son of Nabû-zēra-šubši descendant of Iliya ; Nabû-šuma-ukîn son of Mušēzib-Marduk descendant of Rē'i-*alpē* ; Gimil-Nabû son of Šulā descendant of Ilūta-bani ; Nidinti-Bēl son of Nabû-ahhē-eriba descendant of Šarrahu ; Nabû-ahhē-šullim son of Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi) descendant of Aššur (or Ēda-ētir) ; scribe : Nabû-kîn-zēri son of Zēr-Bābili descendant of Nappāhu. Borsippa, month Shebat (XI), day six, year five of Darius, King of Babylon, King of Lands.

Remark ad 16 : The scribe is the same as in BM 101980. He acts as witness in BM 26492 = BE 8, 108.

3. BM 26492- horizontally oriented, 74x59x28 mm. ; duplicate of BE 8, 108 (77x60x26mm. : 28 lines) ; 28.XII.6 Dar. I = 516/5 BC

a. Arable land opposite the Tâmtu city gate in the “fifty” of the Kidin-Sîn clan, dowry property of Nanâ-bullitiš/Nabû-(mu)kîn-apli//Mubannû (mu-ban-nu-ú¹) mother of Rēmūt-Nabû/Nabû-kîn-zēri//Rē'i-*alpē*, which her husband, Nabû-kîn-zēri/Aplā//Rē'i-*alpē*, transferred under seal to their daughter Suluppātu ;

b. 0;0.4 kor of arable land in Bāb-Harri-ša-Nabû-šuma-ukîn in the “fifty” of the Kidin-Sîn clan ;

c. Irregular offering (sheep) to Nanâ of the Euršaba temple in Babylon in month XI.

(b-c) were transferred under seal by Nabû-kîn-zēri/Aplā//Rē'i-*alpē* to Lā-abāši/Rēmūt-Nabû/Šarrahu, the son of his daughter (short for Lā-abāši-Marduk of BM 26514). However, the transferer cancelled the deeds, since he gave (a-c) his son, Rēmūt-Nabû.

(1) [Š]E.NUMUN šá pa-ni KÁ.GAL tam-ti šá i-na 50^e šá ^É1 ^mki-din^{1-d}XXX É n[u-dun-nu-ú] (2) šá ^fd_{na}-na-a-bul-liṭ-iš DUMU.MUNUS-su šá ^{md+}AG-DU-A A ^mmu-ban-nu-ú¹ (3) AMA šá ^mre-mut-^{d+}AG A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄^{meš} šá ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN (4) DUMU-šú šá ^map-la-a A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄ ik-nu-uk-ku-ma pa-ni ^fsu-lu-up-<<ap>>pa-tu₄ (5) DUMU*.MUNUS-šú ú-šá-ad-gi-il-ma ù 4 BÁN ŠE.NUMUN šá i-na KÁ har-ri (6) šá ^{md+}AG-MU-DU šá i-na 50^e šá É ki-din-^dXXX ù 1+en ù meš-li (7) gu-qu-ú šá i-na ŠĀ^{bi} UDU.NÍTA meš-li AŠ ⁱti ZÍZ AŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} (8) pa-ni ^fd_{na}-na-a É.UR₅.ŠĀ.BA šá ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN DUMU-šú šá ^map-la-a A ^{lú}SI[PA GU₄(^{meš})] (9) ^l ik-nu-uk-ku-ma pa-ni ^mla-a-ba-ši DUMU-šú šá ^mre-mut-^{d+}AG A ^{lú}šar-Γra-hi¹ (10) [DUMU DUMU.MUNUS]-šú ú-šá-ad-gi-il-ma ár-ki [^{md+}A]G-DU-NUMUN DUMU-šú šá ^map-la-a (11) [A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄(^{meš}) i-na mi-gi-ir-ri ŠĀ^{bi}-šú IM.DUB^{meš} šu-a-ti (12) [up-ta-as-si-is IM].DUB (all illegible traces)^{meš(?)} ^l lu-ú rik- (mostly broken in BE 8, 108)si-su-ú (damaged in BE 8, 108, 15) šá-ṭa-ri (13) [šá i-na É ^fsu-lu-up-<<ap>>-p]a-tu₄ ù ^mla-a-ba-ši lu-ú i-na ^l a-šá-ar(?)¹ (eroded, what follows is mostly broken in BE 8, 108) (14) [šá-nam-ma in-na-ma-ri-⁷ šá ^mr]e-mut-^{d+}AG DUMU-šú šá ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN A ^l[úSIP]A [GU₄(^{meš})] (15) [šu-nu ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN AD šá ^m]re-mut-^{d+}AG ŠE¹.[NUMUN xx] ^l x ^j (illegible trace!) (r. 16) [...] ^f ^l u¹ ^f gu-qa-né-e ina mi]-gi-ir ŠĀ^{bi}-šú ik-nu-uk-m]a (17) [a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú pa-ni ^mre-mu]t-^{d+}AG DUMU-šú ú-šad-gil (space)

(18) [^{lú}mu-kin-n]u (BE 8, 108 : -ni) ^{md+}AG-na-din-ŠEŠ DUMU-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-na-šir A ^{lú}SIPA GU₄ (19) ^{md+}AG-DU-NUMUN DUMU-šú šá ^mNUMUN-TIN.TIR^{ki} A ^{lú}SIMUG (20) ^{md+}AG-ŠEŠ^{meš} (BE 8, 108 : me)-šul-lim DUMU-šú šá ^{md+}AG-MU-ŠEŠ A ^mAŠ-SUR (21) ^{md+}AG-TIN^{it} DUMU-šú šá ^mkab-ti-ia A ^{md+}AG-še-me (22) ^{md+}AG-A-MU ^{lú}DUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá ^{md+}AG-SIG₅^{iq} A ^{md}Ūmeš^{meš}-šá-DINGIR-[ia] bár-sipa^{ki} ⁱti ŠE ^j U₄ 28 KAM MU 6 KAM ^mda-a-r[i-ia-⁷-uš-šú] (23) ^l LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR[UR^{meš}]

Translation : Arable land, which is opposite the Tâmtu city gate in the “fifty” of the Kidin-Sîn clan, dowry property of Nanâ-bullitiš daughter of Nabû-(mu)kîn-apli descendant of Mubannû (mu-ban-nu-ú¹), mother of Rēmūt-Nabû son of Nabû-kîn-zēri descendant of Rē'i-*alpē*, which Nabû-kîn-zēri son of Aplā descendant of Rē'i-*alpē*, transferred under seal to his daughter Suluppātu ; and 0;0.4 kor of arable land in Bāb-Harri-ša-Nabû-šuma-ukîn, which is in the “fifty” of the Kidin-Sîn clan ; and 1.5 (unit of) irregular offering, out

of which 0.5 sheep (is to be sacrificed) in Babylon before Nanâ of the Euršaba temple in month Shebat (XI), which Nabû-kîn-zēri son of Aplā descendant of Rē'i-alpē, transferred under seal to Lā-abāši son of Rēmūt-Nabû descendant of Šarrahu, the son of his daughter. After(wards), Nabû-kîn-zēri son of Aplā descendant of Rē'i-alpē voluntarily cancelled these deeds. The deeds or his contract or the document, which are found in the house of Suluppatu and Lā-abāši or in another place belong to Rēmūt-Nabû son of Nabû-kîn-zēri descendant of Rē'i-alpē. Nabû-kîn-zēri father of Rēmūt-Nabû voluntarily transferred under seal, the arable land ... and the irregular offerings in perpetuity to his son Rēmūt-Nabû.

Witnesses : Nabû-nādin-ahi son of Marduk-nāšir descendant of Rē'i-alpē ; Nabû-kîn-zēri son of Zēr-Bābili descendant of Nappāhu ; Nabû-ahhē-šullim son of Nabû-šuma-ušur descendant of Aššur (or Ēda-ētir) ; Nabû-uballiṣ son of Kabtiya descendant of Nabû-šemē ; scribe : Nabû-apla-iddina son of Nabû-udammiq descendant of Banê-ša-iliya. Borsippa, month Addaru (XII), day 28, year six of Darius, King of Babylon, King of Lands.

Remarks

3. HSM 1899.2.105, 2f. from Borsippa, 22.V.4 Nbn.= 552/1 BC, has ^fNu-up-ta-a daughter of Nabû(d+AG)-la-a(?)/^lPA-KAŠ₄.

4. Suluppatu was the daughter of Nabû-kîn-zēri and Nanâ-bulliṣ.

BM 94697 from Borsippa, 13.VII.7 [early Achaemenid, presumably Cyrus or Cambyses, i.e. 532/1 or 523/2 BC] records transfer of [...] kor (less than 0;2.4) of arable land in Tāmtu in the “fifty” of the Kidin-Sîn clan by Nabû-M[U-x]/[...]//Kidin-Sîn to Nanâ-bulliṣ and Ina-Esaggil-bēlet. Other individuals mentioned in the damaged operative section are Gimillu/Tabnē'a//Kidin-Sîn and Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi)/Nabû-šuma-iddina//Bēliyā'u. They presumably received or held land as well. Four out of the five witnesses belong to the Kidin-Sîn clan. Since Nanâ-bulliṣ is mentioned without a filiation, it cannot be excluded that the name refers to a different (homonymous) female. 0;0.2 kor of palm grove in the “fifty” of the Kidin-Sîn clan, which are held by ^fIna-Esaggil-bēlet daughter of ₁ A J - ₁ x (x), are recorded in BM 26577 from Borsippa, 10.XI.1 Dar. I = 521/0 BC. She was married to Gimillu/Tabnē'a//Kidin-Sîn, who possibly was her paternal uncle (her filiation is damaged), in which case it would be another example of endogamy, so common in Babylonia. Her husband and the above-mentioned Nabû-kîn-zēri/Aplā//Rē'i-alpē purchased together 0;0.2 kor of land in that “fifty”.

The plot in Tāmtu in the “fifty” of the Mubannû clan was indeed in the hands of Rēmūt-Nabû/Nabû-kîn-zēri//Rē'i-alpē on 26.IV.513/2 BC (BM 82728). It is stated that his arable land in Tam-ti šá 50° šá ^lMu(!)-ban-nu-ú^{meš} adjacent to (the property of) Šumā is pledged for a debt of 5/6 minas of silver. BM 82735 (date lost) is a fragmentary promissory note presumably for the same debt (5/6 mina of silver, *nuhhutu*).

Ran ZADOK (09-01-2005)

Tel-Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, RAMAT-AVIV 69778 (ISRAEL)

52) Eblaita kam'ātum = “(pomelli a forma di fungo)” – Nei testi amministrativi eblaiti, in contesti relativi alla realizzazione di oggetti in metallo, è talora attestato il termine *ga-ma-a-tum*, noto anche nella variante *kam₄-ma-a-tum* [6-8]¹ Queste grafie ricorrono per lo più in relazione ai “pugnali” (gír), più raramente in relazione al gioiello kù-sal [1, 2, 8, 14] e, in un caso [5], a *ma-za-ù*, “pettine (per svenellare la lana)”, e sono sovente seguite dal pronome suffisso -SÛ, riferito agli oggetti in precedenza menzionati [2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10-13]. In questi casi, il termine risulta non contato, mentre nel passo [4], dove non compare nessuna esplicita connessione con altri manufatti, si registra l'assegnazione di 100 *ga-ma-a-tum* di forma grande (maḥ),² contrapposti ad altrettanti di forma piccola (tur). Si consideri, inoltre, il passo [8], in cui 2 sicli d'argento servono per il restauro o la sostituzione di questo oggetto pertinente il kù-sal della madre del re (ama-gal en) e andato perduto (zāḥ). Tutto ciò porta ad escludere che il termine possa indicare una modalità di lavorazione,³ e favorisce l'ipotesi che si tratti piuttosto di un elemento accessorio, decorativo e funzionale, di pugnali e pendenti. Un'interpretazione come “pomello” può, pertanto essere valida per questa parola eblaita,⁴ se prendiamo in considerazione la possibilità di un confronto con il sem. *kam', “fungo” (accadico di Mari *kam'u*, *kam'ātum*; arabo *kam'*, come continuazione dall'accadico),⁵ come allusione alla forma a sezione emisferica dell'oggetto in questione.

Grazie ai ritrovamenti archeologici delle tombe reali di Alaça Hüyük e di Dorak e del secondo insediamento di Troia, sappiamo che almeno a partire dalla fine del III millennio a. C. pomelli a forma di fungo, ad esempio in cristallo di rocca, erano effettivamente impiegati dagli artigiani anatolici come rifinitura per pugnali, scettri ed armi da apparato, differenziandosi così nettamente dalla tradizione artistica mesopotamica che preferiva la forma allungata a pera.⁶ La presenza ad Ebla di pomelli a forma di fungo con impieghi del tutto simili potrebbe, quindi, considerarsi come un ulteriore indizio dei già supposti contatti dell'area siriana con l'ambiente anatolico in quell'epoca, motivati principalmente dalle forniture di metallo, in particolare argento e stagno.⁷ Si può ricordare a questo proposito, proveniente dagli scavi del Palazzo Reale G, un pendente in foglia d'oro che richiama gli idoli a forma di violino usati come elementi decorativi di un diadema delle tombe reali

di Alaça Hüyük.⁸

Si noterà, infine, che lo stesso sviluppo semantico del semitico pare comune anche al greco, dove la parola m'khq indica sia il fungo sia il pomo d'elsa della spada o della guaina, che secondo alcuni autori classici sarebbe all'origine del nome della città di Micene, in greco Myk^dnai.⁹ Lo Ps.-Plutarco (*De fluv. et mont.* 18, 7) narra, infatti, che il re di Epidaurò in base ad un vaticinio ricevuto avrebbe fondato la città, poi così chiamandola, nel luogo del ritrovamento del pomo (m'khq) della spada usata da Perseo per decapitare la Gorgone Medusa e accidentalmente smarrito dall'eroe. Pausania (II, 16, 3) fornisce addirittura una versione duale dell'evento: Myk^dnai deve il suo nome al fatto che Perseo la fondò nel luogo in cui o per caso cadde il pomo (m'khq) d'elsa della sua spada o invece, assetato, raccolse un fungo (m'khq) e lì sgorgò una limpida sorgente.

Passi citati:

[1] *ARET* II 42: 3 ma-na 17 gín kù :babbar / 4 kù-sal / TAR kù :babbar / *ga-ma-<a*>tum* / šušana_x gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ lú kù-sal / ama-gal / en

[2] *ARET* III 218 r. IV :2'-5' : 3 ma-na 17 kù :babbar / 4 kù-sal / TAR-3 kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ*

[3] *ARET* VII 42 (1-2) : 2 kù-sig₁₇ / 6 kù :babbar / nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl / *du-bù-ĥu-d³à-da* / 2 kù :babbar / 1 gír 'à-ma-da-núm / 1/2 kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / 1 dumu-nita-SÛ

[4] *ARET* VII 53 : 1 mi-<at*> *ga-ma-a-tum* maĥ šu-NI / 1 mi-<at*> [g]a-ma-[a-]tum tur / 1 dib / zé-kam₄ / (anep.)

[5] *ARET* VII 42 (3) : 4 1/2 nagga / TAR-6 a-gar₅-gar₅ / 5 gír 5 ma-za-ù / 4 kù :babbar / *ga-m[a-]a-tum-SÛ* / 4 dumu-nita / pa :[še]š / [d]a-NE-LUM

[6] *MEE* 2 12 r. II :5'-7' : 9³ gín DILMUN_x kù-sig₁₃ / *kam₄-ma-a-tum* / 7 x x eškir_x / [...]

[7] *MEE* 7 34 r. XVIII :7 - XX :3 : 1 ma-na nagga / UNKEN-aka / 'x¹ mi-at gír mar-tu zabar / 'x¹ ma-na 'x¹ gín DILMUN kù :babbar / níg-sa₁₀ si-si-SÛ / (x) ma-na TAR kù :babbar / [...] / [...] / [...] / (x) ma-na nagga / šub si-in / UNKEN-aka / 1 mi-at gír mar-tu zú-aka / šušana_x-6 gín DILMUN nagga / šub si-in / [x ma]-na [...] / a-gar₅-gar₅ / UNKEN-aka / 17 gír mar-tu zú / 'wa² / (x) 'gír¹-'mar¹-'tu¹ (...) kù-[sig₁₇²] / 1² [ma-na] TAR kù :babbar / šu-bal-aka / [x kù-sig₁₃] / [x]-'x¹-'x¹-SÛ / wa / *kam₄-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / 7 gín DILMUN kù :babbar / *ba-du-u₄* / 1 gír mar-tu-SÛ / [x ma]-na [x gín DIL]MUN nagga / šub si-in / 26 ma-na ša-pi a-gar₅-gar₅ / UNKEN-aka / 1 mi-at gír mar-tu ti [...] / (...) / (...) / *kam₄-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / in-na-sum / SA-ZA_x^{ki}

[8] *MEE* 7 34 v. III :1-8 : 2 gín DILMUN kù :babbar / UNKEN-aka / *kam₄-ma-a-tum* / zál^h / ša-ti / kù-sal / ama-gal / en

[9] *MEE* 7 47 r. IV :3 - 3 ma-na ša-pi gín DILMUN kù :babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 10 lá-2 gír mar-tu ti kù-sig₁₇ / 2 ma-na TAR kù :babbar / šu-bal-aka / TAR kù-sig₁₇ / zi-du / 10 gír mar-tu ti kù-sig₁₇ / ša-pi gín DILMUN kù :babbar / nu₁₁-za 20 gír mar-tu ti kù :babbar / TAR kù :babbar / šu-bal-aka / 6 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₃ / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / 1 ma-na šušana_x gín DILMUN kù :babbar / [...] 'x¹ / [...] / šub si-in / UNKEN-aka-SÛ / lú i-na-sum / SA-ZA_x^{ki} / in / *du-du-lu^{ki}* / in / níg-kas₄ / ma-ri^{ki}

[10] *MEE* 10 20 v. XXIII :13 - XXIV :27 : 3 ma-na nagga / šub si-in / 24 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ / UNKEN-aka / 80 gír mar-tu *ga-mi-ù* kù :babbar / 1 ma-na ša-pi-6 2-NI gín DILMUN kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / ap / 2 4-NI gín DILMUN nagga / šub si-in / 18 gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ / UNKEN-aka / 1 gír mar-tu / 1 3-NI gín DILMUN / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ*

[11] *MEE* 12 37 r. VII :8-30 : 2 4-NI nagga / šub si-in / 18 gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ / 1 gír mar-tu / 1 3-NI kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / da-ti / 2 4-NI nagga / šub si-in / 18 gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ / 1 gír mar-tu ti / 15 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / zi-du-SÛ / a-gú-šum / maškim / i-bí-zi-kir / in / níg-kas₄ / eb-al₆^{ki} / 'ù¹-ti [...] x [...]

[12] *MEE* 12 37 r. XVI :31-37 : šušana_x gín DILMUN nagga / šub si-in / 6 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ / 20 gír mar-tu / 13 gín DILMUN 3-NI kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / nar-nar

[13] *MEE* 12 37 r. XVIII :32 - XIX :3 : 18 gín DILMUN nagga / šub si-in / 2 ma-na šušana_x-4 gín DILMUN a-gar₅-gar₅ / 10 lá-2 gír mar-tu / 10 gín DILMUN 2-NI kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum-SÛ* / ru₁₂-da-za / mi-ga-NI / ir-ì-ba / ì-bù-ul-NI / en-na-NI / ir-ba-šu / ir-am₆-ma-lik / ì-lum-bal / maškim / ì-bí-zi-kir / in / níg-kas₄ / za-bù^{ki} / šu-ba₄-ti

[14] TM.75.G.1402 r. V :2-5 :¹⁰ 5 gín DILMUN kù :babbar / *ga-ma-a-tum* / 4 kù-sal 2 níg-anše-aka / ar-ru₁₂-LUM

1. Per il possibile rapporto con le grafie *ga-me-ù*, *ga-mi-ù* e *ga-me*, impiegate nei testi amministrativi come qualifica di gír, si rimanda a J. Pasquali, *Il lessico dell'artigianato nei testi di Ebla*, in stampa.

2. La grafia šu-NI che segue non è certo debba interpretarsi come NP. Si confronti, infatti, TM.75.G.1701 r. VIII :6 : 1 bu-di šu-NI (citato da A. Archi, *Les femmes du roi Irkab-Damu*, in J.-M. Durand [ed.], *Amurru* 1, Paris 1996, p. 103), dove il termine qualifica un gioiello bu-di destinato a du-si-gù madre dell'ultimo re di Ebla.

3. Si tratterebbe di una "placcatura" per A. Archi, *ARET* VII, Roma 1988, pp. 211-212, che accoglie il confronto etimologico proposto da F. Pomponio, *Note su alcuni termini dei testi amministrativi di Ebla*, VO 5 (1982), p. 211, n. 10, con l'accadico kamû, "legare; attaccare".

4. La possibilità di una traduzione "pomello" per la parola eblaita era stata già presa in considerazione da H. Waetzoldt, *Zur Bewaffung des Heeres von Ebla*, *OrAnt* 29 (1990), p. 10 (seguito da F. D'Agostino, *MEE* 7, Roma 1996, p. 218), ma il confronto proposto dall'autore con le grafie amarniane gu-mu-ù-ri e gu-mu-ù-ra, "elsa; guardamano", appare foneticamente difficile e comunque semanticamente non appropriato ai contesti eblaiti relativi al gioiello kù-sal. Ultimamente, H.

Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, Roma 2001, p. 137, è tornato sull'argomento proponendo però una diversa traduzione: "Verbindungsstück?".

5. Per il termine a Mari, J.-M. Durand, *Problèmes d'eau et d'irrigation au royaume de Mari: l'apport des textes anciens*, in B. Geyer (ed.), *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, Damas-Paris 1990, p. 107, n. 18, "champignons du désert"; M. Birot, *ARMT* XXVII, Paris 1993, p. 115, "truffe" o "champignon". Per la comparazione semitica, W. Heimpel, *Mushrooms*, *NABU* 1997/3; R. Zadock, *Mushrooms*, *NABU* 1997/88.

6. E. Rova, *Usi del cristallo di rocca in area anatolica (fine III - inizi II mill. a. C.)*, *OrAnt* 26 (1987), pp. 111 e 114.

7. F. Pinnock, *About the Trade of Early Syrian Ebla*, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985), p. 90.

8. F. Pinnock, in *Ebla. Alle origini della civiltà urbana*, Milano 1995, p. 330, n° 124.

9. Recentemente E. Pellizer, *La peripezia dell'eletto. Racconti eroici della Grecia antica*, Palermo 1991, pp. 114-115.

10. Editto da L. Milano *Due rendiconti di metalli da Ebla*, *SEb* 3 (1980), pp. 2-4.

Jacopo PASQUALI (02-06-2005) pasquali.jacopo@tin.it
Via degli Alfani, 77 – 50121 FIRENZE (ITALIE)

53) À propos de RS 19.68 – Lors du démontage de l'exposition lyonnaise "Le royaume d'Ougarit", grâce à l'obligeance de Geneviève Galliano, conservateur au département des Antiquités du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon et commissaire de l'exposition, j'ai pu collationner RS 19.68, l'accord entre l'Ugarit et l'Amurru. Les conditions, en particulier l'éclairage, n'étaient pas très bonnes mais l'importance du document méritait le déplacement. Dans *Textes akkadiens d'Ugarit*, LAPO 20, Paris 2002, p. 64s., j'ai indiqué les collations et propositions de W. van Soldt et C. Kühne, que confirmait l'étude du moulage et j'ai ajouté les miennes. Après avoir vu l'original, ma lecture *ša aš-bu*¹, l. 34 (cf. p. 65, n. 149) me paraît sûre; l. 39-40 (*ibid.* n. 150), *ip-īr²/ir² erín.meš-ia¹ [ù]* 40 *ṛkù.babbar ša* est très probable; ce qui suit, *anše.kur.r[a]*, est possible mais pas certain. Le seul apport, qui n'est pas sans intérêt, concerne les lignes 41-42 car là où je lisais

41 *[ša²-n]i²-taš² tup-pu egir²? ù []*
42 *[i-na] u₄-mi ma-mi-tu₄ ša-a[k-na-at].....]*

je lis maintenant :

41 *[ša-n]i-taš₅ tup-pu an-nu-ī¹*
42 *[i-na] u₄-mi ma-mi-tu₄ ša-a[k-na-at]/¹šā-tir¹*

ṛšā-tir¹ étant précédé de deux clous de rejet.

« [D'autre] part, cette tablette a été écrite le jour où (l'accord par) serment a été instauré. »

Cette précision, qui n'est pas fortuite, est inédite. S'agit-il d'un usage si courant qu'il semble d'ordinaire inutile de le mentionner, et dans ce cas, pourquoi le faire ici? Est-ce parce que le fait est inhabituel mais cela suffirait-il pour en faire état?

Pour les lignes suivantes les changements sont minimes :

43 *[ma]-an-nu-um-me-e*
44 *ṛšā¹ iš-tu ma-mi-taš₅ [...]*
45 *[ù² i]š-tu a-ma-ti an-na-ti x[...]*

Sylvie LACKENBACHER (25-07-2005)
178, ave Daumesnil F-75012 PARIS

54) Nachlese (zum sog. Ištar Bagdad) – Im Anschluss an das von B. Groneberg *NABU* 2005/15 (S. 16-18) gesagte, möchte ich nur hinzufügen, dass ein Teil der bei dem schwierigen Text noch bestehenden Unsicherheiten meiner unzulänglichen Kopie anzulasten ist. Als ich sie vor über 25 Jahren machte, war für mich (abgesehen davon, dass ich vom Inhalt herzlich wenig verstand) die Hauptschwierigkeit, bei dieser entstellten Tafel die Fragmente, die trotz Restauration nicht mehr genau aneinanderpassten, senkrecht und waagrecht gegeneinander abzustimmen. Die Lücken habe ich in der Kopie durchweg etwas überschätzt, in dem Glauben, dass es das geringere Übel sei. Die von Streck für die zwei ersten Zeilen vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen scheinen mir etwas zu viel Raum zu fordern, soweit mein Gedächtnis reicht. Aber ich kann mich auch da täuschen. Heimpels Kopie habe ich nicht gesehen. Auf alle Fälle ist die von Groneberg für ihre Edition gewählte Darstellungsweise m.E. praktisch und leserfreundlich, da der Benutzer die einander gegenüber liegenden Photo und Kopie vergleichen und so die Lesungen kontrollieren und verbessern kann. Diese Darstellungsweise erlaubte mir, bei genauerem Hinschauen kleine Detailverbesserungen vorzuschlagen, z. B. für Z. 14, wo m. E.

iš-ta-ri-i a-la-ak-ti zu lesen ist.

Z. 15 : *i-na mu-u[t-t]u^dINANA* "vor Ištar"?

Z. 23 lese ich nun nach Foto :

ma-nu-um [u]b-[l]a-an-ni a-na nu-ga-tu li-ib-bi-ki

“Wer hat mich hingebracht zum Zorn Deines Herzens?”

Z. 30. Eine Lesung *pu(?)-ú(!)-uḫ-ta-am* (<*puluḫtam?*) wäre ein geringerer Eingriff in das Original.

In Z. 7, anders als Groneberg (*lu à-zi-ir*) und Streck (*lu-ji-sé-er*), möchte ich die Verbalform als *lu-pe-zi-ir* (von *puzzuru* “schmuggeln”) lesen, was einen ziemlich guten Sinn ergäbe: “mein Geflüster möchte ich heimlich über ihre Schwelle einführen”. Aber das ist keine Nachlese sondern eine Konjekture, da der Umlaut *a>e* für dieses Verbum nicht belegt ist (vgl. unten Z. 67 *udappir*).

Antoine CAVIGNEAUX (27-07-2005)
Université de Genève (SUISSE)

55) Collations to BiMes 24 – During my stay in Chicago for the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale I had the opportunity to collate the Late Babylonian tablets in the Oriental Institute collection copied and published by D.B. Weisberg in BiMes 24. The results of my observations are noted below. My thanks are due to Prof. W. Farber, curator of the collection, for his kind permission to examine these tablets and to J. Tinney for all practical help in the tablet room of the Oriental Institute.

- BiMes 24 42 : obv. 8' : Anu-aḫḫē-iddin instead of Anu-aḫ-iddin.

- BiMes 24 44 : rev. 10' : ^{md}60-šeš-me (Anu-aḫ-ušabši) instead of ^{md}60-šeš-lá (Anu-aḫ-tuqqin) both for the witness and the witness's grandfather. The orthography is rather rare, but it also appears in BRM 2 5 : 14. In BRM 2 1 : 16 + U.E. Clay's copy looks rather like ^{md}60-šeš-lá, but in his index of personal names (p. 47) it appears under the heading Anu-aḫ-ME. Collation¹ of the original in Yale proved that the reading ^{md}60-šeš-lá is correct.

- BiMes 24 44 : U.E 1 : on the seal a standing archer facing right with a crescent moon on the left is depicted (no winged quadruped).

- BiMes 24 52 : This fragment is not simply a small part of a typical administrative tablet from Hellenistic Uruk as it looks like on Weisberg's copy on pl. 130. As already noted by Doty in his review of BiMes 24 (AfO 40/41 [1993/94] 115) l. 1' is in fact l. 1 because the edge above is clearly visible over some 3,5 cm. It probably is the upper edge because the other side is uninscribed. Moreover, a small part of the left edge (some 5 mm) is preserved next to “u” at the beginning of l.3 and an even smaller part of the right edge on top of the tablet. This means that we have the complete width of the tablet (some 4,5 cm). Additional proof of this observation can be found in the reading of ll. 2-3 : mu-20-kám ^mse-lu-ku u ^man-ti-ku-su lugal.meš clearly is a complete year formula without any signs missing between l. 2 and l. 3. With a width of 4,5 cm and a thickness of 1 cm at the upper edge and 2 cm at the lowest preserved part (how long the tablet was originally is unknown), this is a very atypical tablet for Hellenistic Uruk. Also the museum number of BiMes 24 52 is completely different from the other Late Babylonian tablets at the Oriental Institute published in BiMes 24 (A1738 while all others are either 2500 or in the range 3400-3700). The catalogue of the Oriental Institute's accession files provided a clue to this problem. It turned out that BiMes 24 52 = A1738 arrived in Chicago much earlier than the other Hellenistic tablets : A1738 belongs to accession n° 103, a gift from R. Campbell Thompson. The accession file contains several documents concerning this gift. One is a letter from Thompson, dated December 7, 1907, to Dr. Judson, President of the University of Chicago, in which he offers a collection of Babylonian Antiquities to the University of Chicago. In a typed list of Babylonian antiquities accompanying the letter (list A, list B concerns other miscellaneous antiquities) 46 perfect or almost perfect contract tablets of the later Babylonian empire are mentioned (the museum numbers A1548-A1594 were later added with ink) followed by 80 pieces of contracts, etc., of the same period (that received the museum numbers A1595-A1757 together with literary texts and some older tablets from the same gift). A 1738 probably was one of these “pieces of contracts”. A note in Breasted's handwriting in the accession file n° 103 adds that R. Campbell Thompson bought the lot from a man who had received it from one of Shemtob's agents in Baghdad 16 years earlier. This means that BiMes 24 52 = A1738 was on the antiquities market at the beginning of the 1890ies, a rather early date for an Uruk tablet from the Hellenistic period. Together with the for Hellenistic Uruk atypical shape it is therefore unlikely that BiMes 24 52 originates from this city. The other tablets from the same accession lot might give a clue to its origin : a part of the gift was published in 1911 by I.L Holt² and one of the fragments was recognized as a Babylon tablet from the Parthian period (RCT 2, p. 194 and 212). Since several Babylon tablets were on the market in the 1890ies and all published Neo-Babylonian tablets from accession n° 103 that have a location preserved on the tablet, were composed in Babylon (RCT 9, 15, 18 and 22, for A1614, A 1622 and A1687 see OIP 122, others belong the well known Egibi archive from Babylon), we therefore propose that BiMes 24 52 = A1738 as a Babylon tablet, dated to 20 SE = 292/1 BC.

1. My thanks are due to E. Payne for collating the Yale tablets for me.

2. I.L. Holt, “Tablets from the R. Campbell Thompson collection in Haskell Oriental Museum, the University of Chicago”, in *AJSL* 27 (1911) 193-232.

Tom BOIY (20-08-2005)
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven-Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN (BELGIQUE)

56) emum et hat(a)num – Dans la première année de Zimri-Lim, Zakura-abum (un *merhum* hanéen du début du règne de Zimri-Lim [cfr. M. Guichard, *Mél. Larsen*, p. 237] a envoyé une lettre à Zimri-Lim, qui s'ouvre par la phrase suivante : *emūka kalūšu lú-ha-na-ma* (FM VI.5.5). M. Guichard (l'éditeur de la lettre) traduit la phrase comme suit : « L'ensemble de ta famille par alliance ce sont les Bédouins ». C'est, bien sûr, la syntaxe « normale » : *kalūšu* s'attache à *emūka*. Pourtant, à la ligne suivante (l. 6) on trouve : *lú-meš-ha-na kalūšu*, et cela nous amène, dès lors, à attacher *kalūšu* non pas à *emūka* mais à *lú-ha-na*. Dans son commentaire M. Guichard écrit : « ...les Bédouins... sont présentés comme *emum*... c'est-à-dire sa belle famille ou famille par alliance... L'assertion de Zakura-abum est donc curieuse puisqu'elle souligne le caractère « indirect » de la parenté entre le nouveau roi de Mari et les Bensim'alites » (FM VI, p. 156). J.-M. Durand, quant à lui, se demande s'il ne faut pas analyser : *e-mu-ka* comme *emūq-ka* « ta force militaire » (*Amurru* 3, pp. 186-187). Il va de soi que l'idée de J.-M. Durand est tout à fait plausible, mais pourtant nous préférons la manière de voir de M. Guichard, et nous voulons essayer d'avancer encore d'un pas dans la même direction. Si l'on s'en tient au sens du mot *emum* « beau-père (père de la femme) » (CDA, p. 73a) on devrait traduire la phrase : « Ton beau-père ce sont tous les Hanéens (=Bédouins, Bini-sim'alites selon D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand et M. Guichard) » et tirer la conclusion que Zimri-Lim a épousé une fille d'un notable hanéen, et donc, d'une manière figurée, que tous les Hanéens sont devenus ses beaux-pères. En conséquence, cette épouse devrait se trouver parmi les épouses de Zimri-Lim (cfr. la liste chez N. Ziegler FM IV, pp. 52-59 § 3.1.2.3). Qui était ce notable hanéen? M. Guichard cite une phrase d'une lettre inédite d'Itur-Asdu selon laquelle Zakura-abum était le *hat(a)num* de Zimri-Lim (A.462 [FM VI, p. 156, n. 161]). M. Guichard traduit le terme par « gendre » (mari d'une fille de Zimri-Lim) (FM VI, p.156, voir aussi J.-M. Durand, *Amurru* 3, p. 186). Or, d'après le CDA, p. 112a, *hat(a)num* est aussi bien « father-in-law » = beau-père (père de la femme) que « son-in-law » = gendre (mari de la fille). En choisissant le premier sens, on pourrait conclure que le beau-père de Zimri-Lim n'était autre que Zakura-abum lui-même, et le sens de la phrase : *emuka kalūšu lú-ha-na-ma* serait : « ton beau-père, ce n'est pas seulement moi seul, mais tous les Hanéens sont tes beaux-pères. En te mariant avec ma fille, tu fais dorénavant partie des Hanéens ».

Moshe ANBAR (24-07-2005)
11 rue Arnon, TEL AVIV (ISRAEL)

57) Les conquêtes de Mari par Samsi-Addu et par Zimri-Lim – Samsi-Addu fait référence en ces termes à sa conquête de Mari : *ištu Mari qātī iktāšdu* (Hazor IAA 1977-3305.22' [W. Horowitz et N. Wasserman, *Amurru* 3, p. 342 ; N. Ziegler et D. Charpin, *NABU* 2004/84]). Or, il mérite d'être noté qu'Ibal-Addu, le roi d'Ašlakka, fait usage de la même expression quand il mentionne la conquête de Mari par Zimri-Lim : *inanna qāt abīya ālam Mari ik-[šu-ud]* (ARM XXVIII.77.9-10).

Moshe ANBAR (24-07-2005)

58) A new data concerning qīpu of the Ebabbara Temple from Sippar – In his “*The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography*” A.C.V.M. Bongenaar devoted a lot of space to the prosopography of the highest officials of the Ebabbara Temple, i.e. *šangū* and *qīpu*.¹ Despite being a clear improvement, these lists are still not complete, and later publications have brought new insights.²

The text published here (BM 79615), from the British Museum collection³, in spite of being in poor condition, does enable further gaps to be plugged. The document was written in Šapazzu⁴ and names Nabû-balātu-ēreš (line 10) as resident (*qīpu Ebabbar*) of the Ebabbara Temple. The first six lines were deliberately removed by the ancient scribe. It is difficult to ascertain the reason why these lines were removed, especially as such a large deletion is extremely rare (as a rule they involve single lines or characters).

The start of the activities of Nabû-balātu-ēreš in this post has been dated thus far to the 27th year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (that is 578 B.C.).⁵ BM 79615 is dated to the 15th year of the rule of Nebuchadnezzar II (lines 7 and 13) and indicate that he took office many years earlier, no later than 590 B.C. Nabû-balātu-ēreš remained in office longer than all the other Neo-Babylonian *qīpu* (32 years). Although we know nothing about him⁶, we may presume that he enjoyed the full confidence of the king. This enable us to plug a gap in Bongenaar's list of *qīpu*, because the last document mentioning his predecessor, Bēl-ušallim, according to Bongenaar, is RA 14, 155 : 7 dated 21st Kislimu in the 4th year of Nebuchadnezzar II, whereas the text mentioned by R. Da Riva (BM 59722) suggests the 8th⁷ year of Nebuchadnezzar II.⁷

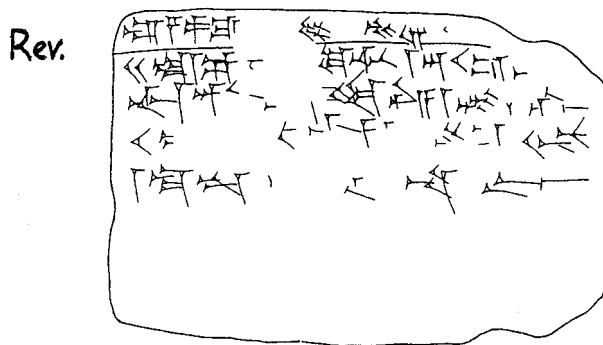
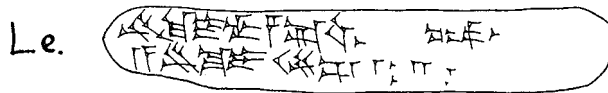
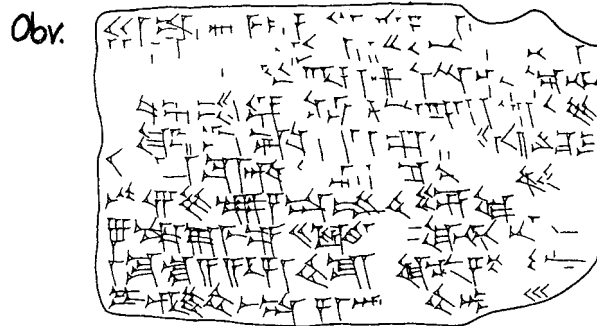
The current list of *qīpu* in comparison with Bongenaar's list (changes highlighted in bold type) looks as follows :

Šamaš-rā'im-šarri	Kand	6-9
Šarru-lū-dāri	Kand	13⁸
Bēl-ēpuš	Kand	20 – SŠI 0
Bēl-aḫ-iddin	Nbp⁹	
Bēl-ušallim	Nbp	18 – Nbk 8? ¹⁰

Nabû-balāṭu-ēreš	Nbk	15 – Ner 2
Nergal-šarra-bulliṭ	Nbn	1-6
Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša	Nbn	8 – Cyr 5
Šarru-lū-dāri	Cyr	6 – Dar 7 ¹¹
Ina-šilli-šarri	Dar	9-24
Šamšaja	Dar	26-29 ¹²
Bēl-iqbi	Dar	31 ¹³
Ubār	Dar	35

The contacts between Sippar and the town of Šapazzu have been briefly described by J. MacGinnis, who suggested that the “texts paint a picture of the Etušgina as a satellite of Ebabbar [...]”¹⁴. It is no different in the case of the document published here. The subject of the document is most probably a record of shepherds and their flocks. Mentioned here are lambs (*kalūmu*) and full-grown ewes (*lahru*) as well as an expression for goats and sheep, *šēnu*. Unfortunately, due to its state of preservation, translating the entire document is not possible. The shepherds appearing in the document were connected on a daily basis with the temple at Sippar. Probably, animals were sent to Šapazzu from Sippar as offerings to the local gods. Such practices are mentioned in other texts from this city. This is confirmed by the presence of the daily offering shepherd Lāqīpu¹⁵, who was responsible for supplying animals for ritual purposes to the temple at Šamaš, and also the two shepherds Šulā, son of Balassu and Bunene-ibni, son of Ammeni¹⁶, who are documented in texts of this period.

BM 79615 (89-10-14, 165)
 measurements : 6.8 x 4.5 cm
 date : [x].III¹ Nbk 15 (590 B.C.)



- Obv. 1) 21 *ka-lu-me-e* [...]
 2) [...]
 3) [x x x (x)] DÙ?? A-šú šá^{md?}UTU-x x (x) x-ti
 4) [x] *par-rat*?? x ru x x x kal x x 10.KAM
 5) [(x)] ki x x É-*babbar*-ra¹ x x x x¹⁰ŠU.I
 6) u x ba^{md}UTU x x x PAP [x (x)] n]a/t]a²-din
 7) MU.15.KAM^dAG-NÍG.DU-<ŠEŠ> LUGAL TIR¹.TIR^{ki}
 8) 7 *ka-lu-me-e* 20 U₈.HI.A¹ [šá p]i²-qí-ti ina TIGI¹

- 9) ^mš^u-la-a A-šú šá ^mTIN^{su} ki ʾx¹ šá ʾx x (x)¹
 10) i-nam-din ina GUB šá ^{md}A[G]-TIN-AP[IN]^{fes¹}
 L.e. 11) ^{lu}qí-i-pi šá É-babbar-r[a ^m]d AG-[x (x)]
 12) A ^{lu}šU.I u ^{lu}šID ^{mr}SU1-[^dAMAR.UTU?]
 Rev. 13) ^{uru}šá-pa-zu [ITI]^r.SIG⁴ MU.ʾ151.K[AM]
-
- 14) 20 še-e-[nu šá pi]-qí-ti ^{md}U+GUR-ʾx¹
 15) ina IGI ^{md}ʾBu¹-[n]e-ne-DÛ A ^{mr}Am-m[^e]-ʾni¹
 16) 10 š[e-e]-ʾnu ina IGI ^{mr}x¹-[x] ^{lu}ʾx-x¹
 17) ^mLa-qip [x x] na-din

1-10 : lines one to six on the obverse were deliberately removed by the ancient scribe and impossible to read. From these first six lines we can read only fragments of letters written there. The following four lines on the obverse are only partially preserved, that is the beginnings of the lines are complete, whereas the ends are incomplete.

11-12 : the state of preservation of the lines written on lower edge is similar to lines 7-10 on the obverse.

13-17 : the state of preservation of the lines written on the reverse is poor and only a few letters remain intact.

8 and 14 : where might be *piqittu* or *piqdu* we can translate, following AHw p. 865, as *Belieferung* or *piqdu* as *Zuweisung*.

12 : the name of the Erība-Marduk scribe is rather hypothetical here, but he is well known in this period.

1. Chronological list of *šangû* Bongenaar, *PIHANS* 80, 26-33 and *qīpu* 46-59 ; cf. 558.

2. As regards the *šangû* an important addition was made by C. Waerzeggers, *NABU* 122/1998, J. MacGinnis, *JAOS* 120.1 (2000), 63-4 and Da Riva, *AoF* 28 (2001), 40-64 ; Da Riva, *AOAT* 291, 55-6 ; regarding *qīpu* see : S. Zawadzki, *NABU* 60/2001 and R. Da Riva, *AOAT* 291, 57 and *NABU* 39/1999. See also the discussion of *šatammu* J. MacGinnis, *WdO* 26 (1995), 21-26 ; Bongenaar, *PIHANS* 80, 11-12, 26 ; R. Da Riva, *AOAT* 291, 55, *NABU* 39/1999 and *AoF* 28 (2001), 40-64.

3. The text is published by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

4. On the subject of Šapazzu, see : F. Joannès, *NABU* 99/1987, K. Abraham, *NABU* 53/1997, J. MacGinnis, *NABU* 135/1997, R. Zadok, *RGTC* 8,70-72 and 208-9, Bongenaar, *PIHANS* 80, 233, 234⁺²¹⁶, 372, 492, 501 ; about *Etušgina*, see : George, *House Most High*, 80.

5. Bongenaar, *PIHANS* 80, 47.

6. The Nabû elements suggests a link with the center of the country (Babylon or Borsippa).

7. R. Da Riva, *AOAT* 291, 57, 422.

8. R. Da Riva, *NABU* 39/1999 and *AOAT* 291, 57.

9. Da Riva, *AOAT* 291, 57.

10. R. Da Riva, *AOAT* 291, 57.

11. He is also attested in BM 64863 (18.ʾIX¹ Camb 3) : 9 ([^mLUGAL]-ʾlu¹-[ú-da-ri ^{lu}TIL.LA.GÍD.DA] É-babbar-ra).

12. J. MacGinnis, Fs. Walker, p. 177 ; the name Šamšaja is a reconstruction, but we could also expect Bēl-iqbi here.

13. See : S. Zawadzki, *NABU* 60/2001.

14. J. MacGinnis, *NABU* 135/1997.

15. He appears in this role at least from the 20th year of the reign of Nabopolassar (BM 79240 : 6, 19.IX Nbp 20) to the 41st year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (BM 61158 : 5, 8.II Nbk 41).

16. The reading of the name Ammeni is not certain.

Radosław TARASEWICZ (17-08-2005)

radekta@gmail.com POZNAN

59) Bala, bala! Passer sur le *bukānum* à Suse¹ – Dans cette note, nous voudrions exprimer quelques remarques concernant le formulaire utilisé dans *MDP* 28, 410, la vente d'une esclave datant de la période Ur III provenant de Suse. Ce texte date de la quatrième année de règne de Šu-Sîn et a été republié dans Steinkeller, P. 1989 sous le n° 87 (translittération + traduction). Pour plus de commodité nous avons repris la translittération et la traduction du texte à la fin de cette note.

À la ligne 8 de la face de *MDP* 28, 410, nous lisons giš.gán ʾb.ta.ab/la. P. Steinkeller (1989, p. 273) identifie cette forme avec /i-b-ta-bala/ – sur la base d'une alternance e-ki-ib-la // é-ki-bala (ll. 7-8 et 63-64) citée dans un article de A.W. Sjöberg (1961, p. 4). Il traduit la ligne 8 par « they (i.e., the sellers) made her cross over the giš-gana ». Il est en effet clair que la forme notée sur cette tablette est une variante de (ou une faute pour) la formule sumérienne traditionnelle des contrats de vente « giš.gan.na/gana ʾb.ta.bala » (il le/la fit passer sur le *bukānum*²). Notre ligne 8 pose cependant quelques problèmes en ce qui concerne la construction et sa traduction.

Deux remarques s'imposent. Premièrement, nous pouvons comprendre de sa discussion de la clause *giš.gana... bala*, que Steinkeller (1989, pp. 34-42) considère le /a/ final de *giš.gana* comme une partie du mot, alors que selon D.O. Edzard (1970, pp. 20-21) *giš.gan* était un substantif, suivi d'un locatif -a. En second lieu Steinkeller (1989, p. 35) traduit le syntagme verbal comme un causatif, sans plus d'explications.

Il nous semble que BALA « passer sur quelque chose » est un verbe intransitif qui se construit dans la formule *giš.gan.na... BALA* avec le locatif (cf. aussi l'expression « *giš.a... BALA* » avec environ le même sens, cf. PSD B *sub bala*). À notre ligne 8, le « *giš.gan* » se trouve donc bien au locatif, cf. aussi Steinkeller 1989 n° 121 : 18 « *giš.gin₃.na ba.ra.a.bala.eš* » avec *giš.gin₃* certainement au locatif (-a suffix) et avec un renvoi (l'infixe -a⁴) dans le syntagme verbal vers ce locatif (*ba-ra-a-BALA-eš*). Ce locatif {-a} est d'ailleurs pratiquement toujours exprimé dans les textes d'Ur III (cf. Edzard, D.O., 1968, p. 96 et passim). Dans notre texte cela n'est pas le cas, ce qui signifie que ce n'est pas du sumérien correct du troisième millénaire mais plutôt une forme altérée de la langue.

La graphie du syntagme verbal dans notre texte va dans le même sens : nous supposons, avec Steinkeller, que la forme *íb.ta.ab.la* contient une graphie syllabique de BALA avec omission du premier /a/ de ce mot. Cette forme verbale pose cependant problème : comme elle ne commence pas avec le préfixe {ba-}, elle n'est certainement pas « passive » comme p.ex. Steinkeller, 1989 n° 121 : « *giš.gin₃.na ba.ra.a.BALA.eš* » (ils [i.e., les esclaves] furent menés au-dessus du mortier) – traduit par Steinkeller (p. 35) comme “he made them cross over the g.». Nous y voyons une forme transitive – i.e. causative – du verbe intransitif BALA à savoir “*íb.ta.(an).BALA* » (= *i-b-ta-n-BALA-/*)⁵, attestée dans plusieurs autres textes⁶. Cette forme ne peut cependant en aucun cas donner lieu à une graphie *íb.ta.ab.la* (= *i-b-ta-n-BLA-/*) : la séquence de plus de deux consonnes entre deux voyelles est impossible en sumérien. Il reste donc deux explications possibles pour cette forme :

(1) C'est le premier exemple certain d'une construction réellement intransitive « elle (l'esclave) passa au-dessus du mortier » = *i-b-ta-BLA-/* avec le sujet intransitif de la 3^{ème} pers. animée (l'esclave) à l'absolutif (/). Dans ce cas, il est étrange qu'il n'y ait pas d'infixe dans le syntagme verbal, comme on s'y attendrait en sumérien correct (comme dans l'exemple de Steinkeller 1989 n° 121 : 18 « *ba.ra.a.bala.eš* » cité plus haut).

(2) Le scribe n'a pas compris la forme « *íb.ta.(an).BALA* » et a noté quelque chose qui y ressemble, ou ce qu'il croyait être un équivalent de la forme correcte.

La seconde option est sans doute la bonne et nous devons conclure que le scribe n'était pas très fort en sumérien. Cela transparait aussi dans le fait qu'il a mis la forme au singulier « il l'a fait passer au-dessus du mortier » alors qu'il y a deux vendeurs. On peut se demander si c'était un scribe élamite qui ne possédait qu'un sumérien « scolaire » assez sommaire.

MDP 28, 410 (Š-S 4) : translittération et traduction

Face	1.	<i>sag.munus šil-[lí]-/ i-[lí]</i>
	2.	<i>mu.ni-¹im¹</i>
	3.	<i>šám.bi kù 7 ¹gín¹</i>
	4.	<i>ki a-lu-ta</i>
	5.	<i>ù mi-a-ti</i>
	6.	<i>en-ni-na-¹da¹</i>
	7.	<i>in.ši.sa₁₀</i>
	8.	<i>giš.gan íb.ta.ab./la</i>
Rev.	9.	<i>igi pa-at-na-šum</i>
	10.	<i>igi ù-ma-ni</i>
	11.	<i>igi i-bu-kum</i>
	12.	<i>igi ír.ra-ur.sag</i>
	13.	<i>igi a-^hu-wa-qar</i>
	14.	<i>igi ír.ra-an.dùl simug</i>
	15.	<i>igi ri-ib-šu ([...] ?)</i>
	16.	<i>igi si-ba-am[?] [...]</i>
	17.	<i>igi.ne.ne.[šè]</i>
	18.	<i>lú.inim.ma.[bi.me]</i>
	19.	<i>[mu] lugal in.[pàd]</i>
Tr. l. g.	20.	<i>¹itu¹ a-da-ru-/um mu ús.sa.a si-/</i>
	21.	<i>ma-núm^{ki} ba.ḫul</i>

Face (1) Une esclave, Šilli-ili (2) est son nom, (3) son prix (est) 7 sicles d'argent, (4) d'Aluta (5) et de Mí'ati, (6) Ennī-na'da (7) (il) a acheté. (8) Il la fit passer sur le *būkanum* (un objet symbolique en bois) Rev. (9) Devant Patnašum, (10) devant Umāni, (11) devant Ibukum, (12) devant Erra-ursag, (13) devant Abu-waqar, (14) devant Erra-andul, forgeron, (15) devant Ribšu (-[...] ?) et. (16) devant Sibam[?] (-[...] ?). (17) Devant eux, (18) les témoins, (19) ils (i.e. le vendeur et l'acheteur) ont juré par le nom du roi. / Tr. lat. gauche (20-21) la date (Š-S 4/adarum).

Bibliographie et abréviations

- ATTINGER P., 1993 : *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne* (= *OBO Sonderband*), Fribourg et Göttingen.
 EDZARD, D.O., 1968 : *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit von der III. Dynastie von Ur* (= *ABAW 67*), München.
 EDZARD, D.O., 1970 : « Die *bukānum*-Formel der altbabylonischen Kaufverträge », *ZA* 60, pp. 8-53.
 MDP 28 = SCHEIL, V., 1939 : *Mélanges épigraphiques*, Paris.
 PSD B = SJÖBERG, A.W. (éd.), 1984 : *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Volume 2 : B*, Philadelphia.
 SJÖBERG, A.W., 1961 : « Ein syllabisch geschriebenen Urnammu-Text », *OrS* 10, pp. 1-12.
 STEINKELLER, P., 1989 : *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (= *FAOS 17*), Stuttgart.
 STÈVE, M.-J., 1992 : *Syllabaire Elamite. Histoire et Paléographie* (= *CPOP 1*), Neuchâtel et Paris.
 TMTIM = STEINKELLER, P. et POSTGATE, J.N., 1992 : *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum*, Baghdad.

1. Cette note s'inscrit dans le cadre du programme *Pôles d'attraction interuniversitaires* n° V/14 pour le compte de l'État belge, *Services fédéraux des affaires scientifiques, techniques et culturelles*.

Nous tenons à remercier B. Jagersma car cette note n'aurait pu voir le jour sans ses commentaires judicieux.

2. Il y a trois orthographes de ce mot : *bukānum*, *pukānum* et *bukkanum* (CAD B sub *bukānu* et Steinkeller, P. 1989, p. 37). Selon P. Steinkeller (1989, p. 37) l'accadien *bukānu* est presque certainement un emprunt au sumérien, car la forme *bukannu* existe aussi. En se basant sur sa supposition que l'équivalent Emesal de {ḡ} n'est pas {m} mais {mp}, il suggère que *bukānu* / *pukānu* ait été emprunté sur la base de l'équivalent Emesal de ḡiṣ.gana : *mu(š).gana > /mpukkana/ > *pukānu*. Pour les traductions de ḡiṣ.gana sur base des listes lexicales, cf. Steinkeller, P. 1989, pp. 36-37 : e.a. « wooden pestle », « bolt, bar (on the door) », « the « weapon » (i.e., the pestle) of the *madakku* mortar ».

3. ḡiṣ.gin7(na) (41 : 8 et 121 : 18) et [ḡiṣ].ḡi1.na (116 : 22) sont, selon Steinkeller (1989, p. 37) des graphies phonétiques de ḡiṣ.gana.

4. Le préfixe local {e} renvoie dans le syntagme local à un syntagme nominal au locatif, au locatif-terminatif ou au terminatif. A l'époque d'Ur III le préfixe {e} est assimilé à une voyelle précédente. Le {e} est donc devenu {a} ici par assimilation à la voyelle précédente de /ra/ (cf. Attinger, P., 1993, pp. 240-247 : 3.2.4.6. : Le préfixe local {e}).

5. {b} = élément pronominal pour les inanimés auprès de l'infixe de cas {-ta-} (ablatif-instrumental), ce qui exprime probablement un éloignement (partant de là). ({n}) = sujet transitif 3^{ème} pers. animée à l'ergatif (le vendeur).

6. Par exemple : (1) *TMTIM* 61 : 9 (3 vendeurs, 1 acheteur, 1 esclave) : ḡiṣ.gan.na ḡiṣ.ta.BALA.e.éš (= i-b-ta-n-BALA-eš) « ils l'ont fait passer au-dessus du mortier », (2) Edzard 1968, 49 : 10 (1 vendeur, 1 acheteur, 1 animal) : ḡiṣ.a ḡiṣ.ta.BALA (= i-b-ta-n-BALA-) « il l'a fait passer au-dessus du mortier » et (3) 46 : 16 (1 vendeur, 1 acheteur, 4 esclaves) : ḡiṣ.a ḡiṣ.ta.BALA.e.éš (= i-b-ta-n-BALA-eš) « il les a fait passer au-dessus du mortier ». Edzard (p. 96 ad 46 : 16) note : « ḡiṣ.ta.bal.eš steht, wenn entweder mehrere Sklaven als Kaufobjekt vorhanden sind, oder aber mehrere Verkäufer. Im ersten Falle ist -eš Objektzeichen, im zweiten ist -(n)-... eš Subjektzeichen. Die Form ḡiṣ.a bal ist jedem Fall als Kausativ mit dem Verkäufer als Subjekt aufzufassen ».

Katrien de GRAEF (26-08-2005) katrien.degraef@ugent.be
 Université de Gand, Sint-Pietersplein 6, B-9000 GAND (BELGIQUE)

60) Yakûn-Ašar à Tell Brak – Le petit fragment de texte cunéiforme sur albâtre édité par I. Finkel dans *Iraq* 50, 1988, p. 86, s.n. 11, a été repris par J. Eidem, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, Vol. 1 : The Mitanni and Old Babylonian periods, D. Oates, J. Oates and H. McDonald éd., p. 40. L'interprétation de Jesper y est *ne varietur* celle qu'il avait proposée dans *NABU* 1991/108. Le grand intérêt de sa nouvelle lecture par rapport à celle de Finkel a été de comprendre que le document mentionnait la présence de Yakûn-Ašar. Cependant sa restauration de l'ensemble donne un texte qui s'apparente à un texte commémoratif pour lequel sans doute la place n'existe pas sur l'objet. De tels textes sont en outre généralement assez mal écrits, ce qui n'aide pas beaucoup le déchiffrement.

Je me demande si, en fait, on n'a pas affaire à un texte votif pour lequel je proposerais, avec les réserves d'usage, la lecture :

[a-na ḡnin na-ga-ar]
 [be-el-ti-šu]
 [ia-k]u-un-a-[šar]
 [dumu da-ri]-e'-pu-ú[h]
 [lugal ma-a-ar] a-pi'-im! [kí]
 [i- qí- iš]

La dévotion des rois de Šehnâ/Šubat-Enlil à Bêlet-Nagar est quelque chose de très connu.

Jean-Marie DURAND (12-09-2005)
 Institut d'Assyriologie, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine F-75005 PARIS

61) Tempête sur le Taurus? – Dans ARM XXVIII 21, la lettre de Yatar-Âmi semble indiquer, comme l’a résumé J.-R. Kupper que « pour expédier les bois qui lui ont été demandés, il attend la fin des troubles dans le pays. » Le texte selon la traduction de XXVIII attribuerait aux premières menées de Yahdun-Lîm, sans doute aidé par le Zalmaqum, une insécurité (*dalhâtum* renvoie à des troubles d’ordre civils) qui aurait mis fin au commerce du bois :

« En outre, au sujet des bois pour lesquels mon père [m’a écrit], dans le pays des troubles se sont produits. On a coupé les bois là où il s’en trouvait ; où [...] les bois? Lorsque le dieu aura établi la lumière, je ferai porter tous les bois que mon père me dira. »

Cependant la fin du texte semble montrer le roi de Carkémish s’occuper plutôt de se constituer un ensemble vestimentaire akkadien, ce qui devrait faire allusion aux préparatifs des cérémonies de son intronisation. Si l’insécurité était alors générale, la futilité de ses préoccupations fait comprendre qu’on l’ait vite renversé.

On peut admettre, cependant, une interprétation qui ménage plus la mémoire de Yatar-Âmi :

(12) *i-na ma-a-tim* da-al-[ha-mun/mu-un] (13) *it-ta-ab-še-ʿe* (14) *giš-há a-šar ša-a[k-nu]* (15) *it-ta-ak-[su]* (16) *giš-há a-yi-iš [e-le-eq-qé]*

« Dans le pays, se sont produits plusieurs ouragans : les arbres, là où il y en avait, ont été brisés. Où en prendrais-je? Lorsque le dieu aura instauré le beau temps (*nûrum*) pour le pays, je ferai porter autant d’arbres que mon père le dira. »

da-al-[ha-mun/mu-un] serait ainsi une notation semi-phonétique de l’idéogramme comme cela se passe souvent dans les textes syriens (ex. uzu-ur pour uzu-úr, etc.) et il faudrait retrouver derrière lui l’akkadien *ašamsâtum*, pour lequel OBTR 152 : 12 ne fournit cependant qu’une attestation douteuse. Le « beau temps » serait exprimé par le terme de *nûrum*, « lumière ».

Le début du règne de Yatar-Âmi aurait donc vu de grandes tempêtes lesquelles se seraient accompagnées de dégâts considérables dans les forêts du Taurus.

Jean-Marie DURAND (12-09-2005)

62) Le nom de NIN-URTA à Émar – Le dieu d’Émar n’est pas connu à l’époque de Mari qui ne documente que la déesse Balta mâtim, laquelle est désormais bien attestée à Tuttul ; cf. KTT n°35 : 2 & 5 (*ba-al-tá-ma-tim*). À l’époque moyenne, nous sommes amplement informés sur le fait qu’il s’agisse de ^dNinurta. Il est évident, cependant, à la fois que ce dieu ne peut être le dieu sumérien du même nom et que, d’autre part, l’idéogramme se trouve occulter une divinité syrienne majeure d’Occident. La preuve en serait administrée, si besoin en était, par le fait que le théonyme Ninurta est également utilisé dans un toponyme palestinien proche de Jérusalem de l’époque d’El Amarna, Bît-^dNIN.URTA (EA 290) ; c’est dans le temple de ^dNIN.URTA également que se réunit la population de Byblos pour prêter serment. Il n’est pas nécessaire que ce soit le temple majeur de la ville.

Plusieurs identifications ont été proposées : P. Artzi, « Ninurta in the West », dans *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient*, Berlin, 1999, H. Klengel & J. Renger éd., p. 261-367, pencherait à y retrouver Anat, mais pourquoi une divinité femme serait-elle exprimée par un dieu si ostensiblement mâle? D. Arnaud a pensé à Aṭar, mais sans aller au delà de l’énoncé de son « intime conviction ».

En fait, ce qu’on a appelé le sceau dynastique d’Émar et qui s’est révélé être le sceau de Ninurta (cf. D. Beyer, *OBO SA 20*, Fribourg et Göttingen, 2001, p. 430-437, notamment p. 436) ne peut que donner le nom de la divinité, car s’il s’agissait d’un sceau dynastique donnant le nom d’un roi du temps jadis (Rab-ša-dâdi, d’après D. Arnaud, selon une structure cassite bien connue, mais néanmoins inexistante localement), le nom du père de ce dernier serait mentionné et on ne devrait pas trouver uniquement « fils de Dagan ». S’il s’agit du nom de la divinité, on ne comprend pas pourquoi, en revanche, il ne livrerait qu’une épithète, surtout exprimée de façon aussi bizarre que *rapša dâdi* « large d’amour » (J. Westenholz, *CM 13*, p. 92), ou encore *râb šâdadi* « long suffering » (S. Dalley, *Iraq 54*, 1992, p. 85). D’autant plus que *dâdu* signifie « bien aimé », pas « amour ». La première ligne semble bien plutôt renvoyer à un dieu Rašap (écrit par mé-graphie, *ra-AB :ŠA*) et c’est lui qui serait fils favori de Dagan, lequel est le « maître du pays » ; *dadmum* dans cette langue n’est qu’un équivalent de *mâtum*. D’après l’iconographie, le sceau serait pour D. Beyer à situer à la charnière entre le paléo- et le médio-babylonien (fin Bronze Moyen/début Bronze Récent).

Le fait que ce soit un dieu infernal comme Rašap qui fût chef religieux de la cité, expliquerait pourquoi l’on récompense un sauveur d’Émar en lui concédant l’administration d’un des temples de Nergal (cf. *Kinattûtu ša darâti*, n°6, p. 176) ; cela représenterait une contiguïté intéressante avec les cultes de Carkémish où c’était aussi une figure infernale qui semble en poste à la tête du panthéon local, puisque Nergal y reçoit un culte d’État très important (cf. N. Ziegler, *La Musique à Mari*, à venir) et qu’un de ses rois s’appelle Yatâr-Âmi (peut-être d’après XXVI 281, faudrait-il penser à poser « Nergal de Carkémish » = Nubadig?, tenu généralement pour une divinité protectrice, mais qui sait participer aux combats!) ; cela n’irait pas contre le fait que dans les malédictions d’Émar (*Kinattûtu...* n°6) Nergal puisse faire couple avec ^dNIN.URTA, couple de dieux

spécialisés dans le même domaine et agissant de concert. On voit à Mari Nergal et Âmûm former deux figures de divinités infernales proches qui coexistent l'une à côté de l'autre ; cela expliquerait enfin que le dieu père, Dagan soit noté par l'idéogramme de l'Enfer, ^dkur.

Déjà à Tuttul, Nergal prend l'apparence de Rušpân, ce qui ne présente qu'une prononciation dialectale pour Rašap. Toute la région du Moyen-Euphrate autour d'Émar jusqu'à Munbāqa a une dévotion extrême pour Rašap à en juger par l'onomastique. La proposition de retrouver Horon derrière ^dNIN.URTA dans le toponyme palestinien (cf. Artzi, *op. cit.*, p. 365) irait dans le même sens que ma proposition, car Horon, dieu redoutable d'après les textes mythologiques ougaritiques jouit par ses aspects de guérisseur d'une ambivalence caractéristique des divinités infernales.

Jean-Marie DURAND (12-09-2005)

63) Dababa, Tabbaba and Tapapa – In an Old Akkadian account of workers from Kiš (MAD 5 45 iii 4) one of the workers, Edamu, is mentioned as servant of a person named Tab-ba-ba. It is the latter's name, on which this paper will focus. Tabbaba is a typical Elamite hypocoristic name, formed by means of reduplication of the last syllable. This type of hypocoristic is by far the most frequent one in all historical periods of Elamite¹. The meaning of the base *tap-* is not precisely known, but Hinz and Koch² assign a meaning « servant » to it (based on the occurrence of this element as second part of appellatives, e.g. ha-za-tap, ki-gal-tap and mu-la-tap).

Two names are at first sight related to Tabbaba. The first one is Dababa, always spelled Da-ba-ba and attested in a Presargonic cylinder seal (RA 7 56-57 ; a scribe) and in Old Akkadian texts from Kiš (MAD 5 62:12) and Nuzi (HSS 10 146:10, 154 ii 17, 155 iii 4). The second one is Tapapa, a person who has given his name to an Elamite place (^{mu}Dimtu ša ^mTapapa, « tower of Tapapa »). His name is spelled ^mTa-pa-pa and occurs in an inscription of Assurbanipal (BIWA 60 A vii 62).

Although these anthroponyms seem to be related, Hinz and Koch³ do not insert cross-references between the various spellings and consequently believe the three names to be distinct from each other. Apparently the reason to separate the names is threefold : (1) the difference between *b* and *p* (Da-ba-ba and Tab-ba-ba vs. ^mTa-pa-pa) ; (2) the difference between *d* and *t* (Da-ba-ba vs. Tab-ba-ba and ^mTa-pa-pa) ; (3) geminate vs. non-geminate writings (Da-ba-ba and ^mTa-pa-pa vs. Tab-ba-ba). The opinion of Hinz and Koch is surprising and their motives are rather weak, as will be pointed out below.

The first two elements can be easily dismissed as a reason to separate the names. The Elamite cuneiform system very often has interchanges between *b* and *p* or *d* and *t*. Some of the numerous examples are an-du-uk-ni vs. an-tu₄-uk-ni (both Middle El.) ; ^{hal}Ab-ba-la-a, ^{hal}Ab-ba-la-a-ia and ^{hal}Ab-ba-la-ia (all Achaemenid El.) vs. ^{be}Ap-pa-la-a-a (Neo-El.), rendering Akk. Aplaya ; el-man-da vs. el-man-ti (both Achaemenid El.) ; hu-ud-da-° (Middle El., Neo-El., Achaemenid El.) vs. hu-ut-ta-° (Middle El., Neo-El., Achaemenid El.). This phenomenon is also clearly attested in the El. renderings of Old Iranian names and words and the phonological implications of it have already been frequently studied⁴.

The third aspect of Hinz's and Koch's motive to treat Dababa, Tabbaba and Tapapa separately is gemination vs. non-gemination. In Elamite gemination was probably intended to indicate the distinction between the two series of stops : tense /p/, /k/ and /t/ and lax /p'/, /k'/' and /t'/'⁵. This could enhance Hinz's and Koch's hypothesis that Tabbaba cannot be the same as Dababa and Tapapa. Nevertheless two elements weaken the hypothesis.

The three spellings occur in Akkadian texts from the Presargonic, Old Akkadian and Neo-Assyrian periods. This makes phonological considerations (e.g. related to gemination) more difficult, as there is no comparative Elamite material, in other words one simply does not know how the Elamites would have written this name.

In addition other Elamite examples indicate that the distinction tense – lax is not always consequently indicated in Elamite. Various roots have both geminated and non-geminated spellings : both spellings ^{be}Ak-ku-ut (Neo-El.) and A-ku-ut (Old Babylonian from Susa) render the anthroponym Akkut, “we are pious” ; *apepe*, “food” is spelled ab-be-be and ha-be-be (both Achaemenid El.) ; Achaemenid Elamite *harinip*, “land workers” is written ha-ri-nu-ip and har-ri-nu-ip ; *hazzaka-*, “big” is spelled az-za-ka₄, ha-iz-za-ka₄, and ha-za-ka₄ ; the Achaemenid El. base⁶ *suta-*, “to hope, expect” appears in three different spellings : su-da, su-tuk and su-ud-da ; the forms of the widespread Elamite root *šar(r)-*, “to enforce” are spelled ša-ar-°, šá-ir-°, šá-ra-° and šar-ra-°.

Concluding this paper one may thus safely assume that the three spellings Da-ba-ba, Tab-ba-ba and ^mTa-pa-pa refer to one name, i.e. Tapa-pa, a hypocoristic of Tapa-, possibly meaning “servant”.

1. P. Meriggi, *La scrittura proto-elamica*, vol.1, Rome, 1971, 182-184 ; W. Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen* (GOF III/1), Wiesbaden, 1973, 106 ; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana : das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Tafelchen* (SÖAW 286), Wien, 1973, 306-309 ; R. Zadok, review of W. Hinz, *Neue Wege*, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 77-78 ; Id., “A Tentative Structural Analysis of Elamite Hypocoristica”, *BNF N.F.* 18 (1983), 96-107.

2. W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (AMI. Ergänzungsband 17), Berlin, 1987, 286.

3. W. Hinz & H. Koch, l.c., 259, 260 and 286.
4. Cf., most recently, M.W. Stolper, "Elamite" in: R.D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, Cambridge, 2004, 70.
5. Ibid.
6. A form su-da-āš-ni occurs once in Neo-Elamite.

Jan TAVERNIER (18-08-2005) Jan.Tavernier@arts.kuleuven.be

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven – Faculteit Letteren, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN (BELGIQUE)

64) Kansakka or Karsakka? – The Murašû Archive contains many Iranian names, one of which appears in BE 9 76 :12, a contract drafted in 425 B.C. In their index of personal names to the edition of the text, Hilprecht and Clay have "Kar(Gan?)-sak-ka-" and connected this name with names such as Bagasākhq and Mhd"sakkhq¹. A couple of years later Scheftelowitz² preferred a reading Karsakka, which according to him was related to the Avestan anthroponyms Kērēsaoxšan-, Kērēsauuzdah-, Kērēsāni- and Kērēsāspa- (all composed with *kērēs-*, "meagre, skinny"³). This reading was adopted by Zadok, who reconstructed an Iranian name *Krsaka-, a -ka-extension of a retrenchment of a name composed with *kr̥sa-⁴.

Dandamayev⁵, however, rightfully questioned this reading, for the simple reason that the sign GÁN cannot be read *kar*. It can be read *kár*, but in Dandamayev's view *kár* does not occur in Achaemenid Babylonia. Accordingly he reads ^mKán-sak-ka-² and reconstructs *Kancaka-, with reference to *Kacaka- (El. ^{hal}Ka₄-za-ka₄⁶). In his review of Dandamayev's book, Zadok⁷ immediately replied to this objection: *kár* does exist in Neo-Babylonian and, moreover, *Kancaka- can only be rendered by ^mKán-šak-ka-².

Some remarks should be made concerning this spelling and the underlying Iranian name. The first sign of the name discussed here is in all likelihood KÁN. Despite Zadok's opinion, *kár* does not seem to occur in Achaemenid Babylonian. According to Röllig & von Soden⁸ this value is only attested in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts. The three examples of *kár* listed by Röllig and von Soden come from two literary texts: a *kudurru* from the reign of Merodachbaladan II (721-710 B.C.) on the one hand and from an exemplar of the "Story of the Ox and the Horse" (library of Assurbanipal) on the other hand. Although the Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian syllabaries are not very different, no Late Babylonian example of *kár* so far has been discovered.

Zadok's second argument ("Only Kán-šak-ka-² may render *Kancaka-") is dismissible, for SAK has a value *šak*⁹ as a result of which the name can easily be read ^mKán-šak-ka-². Any objection for a reconstruction *Kancaka- is hereby ruled out. One should, however, not connect *Kancaka- with *Kacaka-, as Dandamayev does. Rather *Kancaka- is a -ka-extension of a -ca-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *kan-, "to long for" (OInd. and Av. *kan-*).

1. H.V. Hilprecht & Clay, A.T., *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur dated in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.)* (BE 9), Philadelphia, 1898, 61.
2. I. Scheftelowitz, "Altiranische Studien", *ZDMG* 57 (1903), 166.
3. M. Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen* (IPNB 1), Vienna, 1979, I/59-60.
4. R. Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals bearing Iranian Names in Achaemenian Babylonia", *IOS* 7 (1977), 103 and n.134).
5. M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6), Costa Mesa, 1992, 93.
6. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (GOF Ir. 3), Wiesbaden, 1975, 144.
7. R. Zadok, review of M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, *BSOAS* 58 (1995), 159.
8. W. Röllig & von Soden, W., *Das akkadische Syllabar* (AnOr 42), 4th ed., Rome, 1991, 14 no.78.
9. R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (AOAT 305), Münster, 2003, 293 no.184.

Jan TAVERNIER (18-08-2005)

65) Three Emesal compositions mentioned in rituals – (a) According to LKU 51 :31', a Neo-Babylonian ritual text from Uruk, the *kalû* whispers into the right ear and the left ear (of Dumuzi?) on the 27th day of Du'ūzu. The content of the whisper was read by Falkenstein, LKU, p. 18:31 as: IM.ŠU.ÍL.TÚG. This reading was followed by Beaulieu in his new edition of the text: "the cultic singer murmu[rs] the incantation Imšu-iltug into his right ear and into his left ear [...]"¹.

However, no composition bearing this name is known from the *kalû*'s repertoire and no sense could be made of this sequence of signs. Rather, the signs should be read differently. Besides Balags, Eršemmas and Eršahungas, there was another genre which was performed by the *kalû*: the Emesal Šuilla prayers.² LKU 51 :31' should therefore be read: ^{lú}GALA ^{im}ŠU.ÍL.LA¹? a-na GEŠTU.MIN ZAG-šú a-na GEŠTU.MIN HÚB-šú ú-*l*a-ah¹-[haš...], "The *kalû* whisp[ers] a Šuilla into his right ear and into his left ear [...]"

Although Falkenstein copied the sign after ÍL as KU,³ it is likely that it is a scribal (or a copyist's) mistake for the similar LA sign.⁴

The determinative IM before names of genres which are part of the repertoire of the *kalû* (Eršahunga and perhaps Balag) is found in Seleucid astronomical diaries.⁵

Whispering incantations or prayers into non-human ears is an act performed in other rituals as well. During the *lilissu* ritual known from Nineveh, Assur and Seleucid Uruk, the *kalû* whispers incantations into the right ear and left ear of the bull whose hide is used for the covering of the *lilissu* drum.⁶ During the *mīs pī* ritual for the cult image, the *āšipu* whispers incantations into the right ear and left ear of the statue of the god.⁷ For other instances, see CAD L, p. 40f.

(b) BM 54952 (82-5-22, 1282), a Neo/Late-Babylonian fragment from Sippar dealing with the ritual for the release of water from a canal, was recently edited by Ambos.⁸ Lines 2-3 were read by Ambos as follows:

2. BÚR id²/gin⁷? im si ši li?? []
 3. dilmun^{ki} nigin-na ÉR.Š[EM⁴?MA]

These lines should actually be read:

2. ušum-gin⁷ ní-si ši èn-[šè ì-gi šá^dAMAR.UTU ÉR]
 3. dilmun^{ki} nigin-na ÉR.Š[EM^{3/4}.MA ana^dAMAR.UTU (?) ...]

The incipit in line 2 is restored according to the incipit of the Ninurta Balag of the same name.⁹

The pairing of the Balag ušum-gin⁷ ní-si(-a) of Marduk with the Eršemma dilmun^{ki} nigin-na is also found in the Nineveh *kalûtu* catalogue IVR² 53+, i-ii: 23:

[ušum-gin⁷ ní-si-a šá^dAMAR].UTU | dilmun^{ki} nigin-na 7-àm

The restoration of the Balag name in the Nineveh catalogue was proposed by Maul¹⁰ and is now confirmed by BM 54952: 2.

No manuscript was identified as belonging to the Balag ušum-gin³ ní-si(-a) of Marduk. It is not clear whether the Eršemma dilmun^{ki} nigin-na 7-àm mentioned in the Nineveh catalogue (but mentioned as dilmun^{ki} nigin-na in BM 54952:3) is identical with the Eršemma dilmun^{ki} nigin-na paired with other Balags (but with the variant 7-àm in the first line), or a different composition.¹¹

(c) K.2331 edited by Ambos¹² may contain an incipit of an Emesal composition. In rev.?' 8'' Ambos reads: [] x ÚRU/RU⁴ a-šar []

The use of the sign ÚRU most probably indicates an Emesal incipit. Perhaps read the line as: [...] x úru-a mú(-) [] or: [] x úru-a ŠĪR¹³ []. Although this would fit a part of an incipit of an Emesal composition, I am unable to identify it.

1. P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Cuneiform Monographs 23, Leiden-Boston 2003, p. 376:31'.

2. A dissertation containing a discussion and edition of all known Emesal Šuilla prayers was recently completed by Daisuke Shibata in Heidelberg.

3. See Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk*, p. 373 who notes that he collated the tablet "but Falkenstein's copy has proven to be nearly impeccable."

4. If the sign is KU, it is also possible that the sequence of signs should be read im^mŠU.ÍL-ku, where KU serves as a phonetic complement of Šuillakku (suggestion: D. Shibata).

5. See A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylon*, vol. II, Wien 1989, p. 126:8' (and pl. 93-94): im^mÉR.ŠĀ.HUN.GĀ.MEŠ u^mim^b[ALAG?'] and p. 136:2' (and pl. 96): im^mÉR.ŠĀ.HUN.GĀ.MEŠ im^mBALAG¹!?

6. M.J.H. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practices*, Cuneiform Monographs 25, Leiden-Boston 2004, p. 253, ii: 8-12 // p. 270f.: 18-21, p. 267: 8-9 and p. 275: 9-26.

7. Ch. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Mīs Pī Ritual*, SAA Literary Texts, Helsinki 2001, p. 50: 164-172 (cf. p. 73: 49), p. 146f.: 1-17.

8. C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (mit einem Beitrag von A. Schmitt), Dresden 2004, no. 22, p. 198, and copy on p. 261.

9. See M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*, vol. II, p. 457:1.

10. S.M. Maul, "Die Frühjahrsfeierlichkeiten in Aššur," in: A.R. George and I.L. Finkel (eds), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake 2000, p. 414.

11. The composition edited by M.E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma*, HUCA Supp. 2, Cincinnati 1981, pp. 113-117, 185-186 is actually the ritual Eršemma (*kidudû*) of this name and the section of this name which serves as part of the Balags mu-tin nu-nus dím-ma (Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*, Vol. I, pp. 227-229), am-e bára-an-na-ra (Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*, Vol. I, pp. 327-329), and^dutu-gin⁷-ta ahû (Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*, Vol. II, p. 802, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 47 [1990], p. 32). The Eršemma dilmun^{ki} nigin-na which is paired with the Balags abzu pe-el-lá-àm, umun še-er-ma-al an-ki-a, and umun še-er-ma-al an-ki-a ahû is the composition which may be identical to the Eršemma paired with the Balag ušum-gin⁷ ní-si-a of Marduk. An edition and discussion of this composition is included in my forthcoming dissertation on the Eršemma prayer.

12. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale*, no. 31, p. 225f., and copy on p. 269.

13. ŠĪR stands for *izammur* or *tazammur*. In such a case, the composition should probably be regarded as a ritual Eršemma (*kidudû*), since these compositions are not usually followed by a genre designation in ritual texts.

66) Schlange oder Nichtschlange, das ist hier die Frage – In *AfO* 50 (2003/2004), 87f. zu 213, habe auch ich mich um das Verständnis der lange bekannten Beischrift auf der “Sonnettafel von Sippar”, King, *BBSt.* No. 36 p. 121 n. 2 bemüht.

Diese wird jetzt von Christopher E. Woods in *JCS* 56 (2004) in seinem ausführlichen Artikel THE SUN-GOD TABLET OF NABŪ-APLA-IDDINA REVISITED auf S. 62 als Caption II (right, above the canopy) umschrieben als

d_{30} d_{UTU} u d_{15} <i>ina pu-ut</i> ZU.AB	Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar are depicted
<i>ina bi-rit</i> $d_{MUŠ}$ <i>ti-mi</i> ŠUB.MEŠ-ú	opposite the Apsû, between Niraḥ (and) the pillars.

Man bemerkt die erwartete Wiedergabe der Aufzählung 1, 2 und 3 in d_{30} d_{UTU} u d_{15} , die Umschrift $d_{MUŠ}$ *ti-mi* und das dementsprechend in Klammern gesetzte (and) in der Übersetzung.

Die Anmerkungen zu dieser Stelle sind durcheinandergelassen, in der Anmerkung 190, auf die ein Hinweis im Text fehlt, wird korrekt auf “The omission of the expected conjunction, *u*, ...” hingewiesen und diese Auslassung erklärt mit “finds parallels among phrases of the type *berūt* GN GN₂ (GN₃); *berūt* TN TN₂; and *berīti* PN PN₂ [?] (see CAD B sub *birūt*).”

Auf S. 63f. lehnt er die Lesung *muš-ti-mi* ab und diskutiert die Frage, ob es ein Gt von *šamu* gegeben habe, offensichtlich ohne Kenntnis von Streck, AOAT 303; er deutet ebenso wie dieser die belegten Formen in der Präfixkonjugation als Perfekta.

Wir müssen und wollen nichts von dem wiederholen, was wir in *AfO* 50 ausgeführt haben, vor allem ist es unnötig und an dieser Stelle unmöglich, neuerdings die Theorie des Perfekts zu diskutieren. Auch deshalb, weil ich hoffe, in nicht allzuferner Zeit ein Manuskript, wahrscheinlich für ein Buch, fertigzustellen, in dem auch diese Frage erörtert wird.

Nicht un widersprochen sollen aber die Übersetzung und die kurzen, nonchalanten Ausführungen der Anmerkung 190 bleiben.

Schlagen wir zuerst das CAD auf¹ und ziehen wir dann die Schlußfolgerungen: interessant ist hier für uns die Bedeutung 1. between (two localities), wo a) in geogr. contexts beginnt mit dem altakkadischen Zitat² *in ba-ri-ti Awan u Šušim* between Awan and Susa ... (Rīmūš), ...; a field *ša bi-ri-it* GN u GN₂ ... (OB let.) ..., dann: *be-ri-it* GN GN₂ Weidner Tn. 8 No. 2: 18, cf. *bi-rit* GN u GN₂ TCL 3 184 (Sar.), ..., also (cities) *ša bir-ti* GN GN₂ AKA 376 ...; cities *ša ina bi-rit* GN GN₂ GN₃ ... *šaknu* AKA 270 ...; dann wieder *bi-ri-it* ID ... u ID ... BBSt. No. 2 usf.

b) in topographical contexts beginnt mit a field *ina* GN *bi-ri-it* PN u PN₂ ... (...OB), gefolgt von *bi-ri-it* *É-sa-bad* *É* d_{Gu-la} RA 16 ... (OB lit.) - wozu man sich aber sogleich erinnert, daß *É-sa-bad* der Name eines Tempels der Göttin Gula ist und *birīt* auch 3. inside, within heißt -, gefolgt von *bi-rit* *Esagila* u *É á-[ki-ti]* BHT pl. 17 ...

Der in diesen Zeilen neuerdings diskutierte Beleg steht am Ende von d) other occs., das mit *if a snake bi-rit zikari u sinništi inqutma* falls between a man and a woman KAR ... (SB Alu) beginnt, gefolgt von *ina bi-rit* d_{Zappi} u $d_{Bālum}$ BA 10/1 ... usf.

Das CAD bucht also gewissenhaft die seltenen Belege, in denen zwei Ortsnamen unverbunden nebeneinander stehen, gibt aber als letztes Zitat unter d) für BBSt. No. 36 ... $d_{MUŠ}$ $\langle u \rangle$ *timmi* ... mit der Übersetzung ... between ... Niraḥ \langle and \rangle the pillars.

Das heißt also, wenn wir logisch scharf schließen und formulieren, daß der Autor den Bearbeitern und Herausgebern von CAD B und Š, wo ja auf B zurückverwiesen wird, unausgesprochen vorwirft, daß sie mit der Ergänzung von *u* unnötig in den Text eingegriffen haben, wie schon Hilprecht und die anderen nicht ganz unbedeutenden Assyriologen, und daß King und von Soden falsch zusammengezogen und übersetzt haben, weil sie nicht an die Möglichkeit eines asyndetischen Nebeneinander von $d_{MUŠ}$ und *ti-mi* gedacht haben!

Das sollte doch ein wenig stutzig machen. Hier nur so viel dazu: bei GN GN₂ und den anderen vom Autor genannten Beispielen, die hier weder bewertet, noch besprochen werden müssen, handelt es sich offensichtlich um Wörter derselben Bedeutungsklasse - in unserem Zitat aber ebenso offensichtlich nicht.

Bei aller Abneigung, akkadische Sätze zu bilden, darf man aber doch Fragen stellen.

Stellen wir uns eine alltägliche Situation im alten Mesopotamien vor: ein Kind spielt, vielleicht vor einer Mauer, mit einem Ball, läßt ihn liegen, der Ball liegt zwischen Kind und Mauer - würden wir dafür den Satz ... *ina birīt* DUMU *igāri* ... erwarten?

Und gehen wir einen Schritt weiter, ein ebenso zweigliedriger, ganz einfacher, bestens bekannter Satz, mit einer anderen präpositionalen Aussage: *itti* DUMU *šarri*. Würde für diesen Satz jemand die Übersetzung “mit dem Sohn (und) dem König” vorschlagen?

Diese und ähnliche Aussagen sind natürlich durchaus denkbar, aber dann muß eine Konjunktion gesetzt werden - *u*, wie es das CAD und so viele vor ihm ergänzt haben.

Waren das unnötige Überlegungen? Offensichtlich doch nicht - woraus wir den Schluß ziehen können, daß es ohne Zweifel bei der Alternative bleibt: entweder Emendation des Textes - was jeder Philologe nur als

allerletzten Ausweg erwägen sollte - mit dem Ergebnis Schlange und Pfeiler - wozu ich nicht neuerdings betonen will oder muß, daß auch die Deutung "Pfeiler" höchst unsicher ist - oder Lesung der Zeichen so, wie sie dastehen, mit dem Ergebnis einer grammatikalisch richtig gebildeten Verbalform, einem Partizip G + t, das jedoch bisher nicht belegt zu sein scheint.

Damit kommen wir zum letzten Punkt unserer Erörterung.

Wer in Streck, AOAT 303, auch nur ein wenig blättert, ist zunächst vielleicht überrascht, wie oft man dort das griechische Zahladverb *hapax* "einmal" findet.

Ich gebe kurze Hinweise zum Gt und kommentiere die Formen im allgemeinen nicht : S. 15 (48), S. 20, 2³ (Hapax aB), 7 (jB⁴), 9 (aA), 13 (jB), 18 (mB), 19 (aB), 20 (jB, *mitguru* und *mundagru*), 22 (aA), 23 (jB), 25 (jB), 31 (aAk, jB *muttendu*), 33 (jB), 45 (jB), 46 (jB), 51 (aB), 52 (jB), 53 (aA), 54 (jB), 55 (aB), 57 (jB), 62 (aB), 63 (aB), 65 (jB), 66 (Emar), 73 (jB), 75 (jB), 79 (jB), 80 (aB), 81 (jB), 88 (aB), 90 (jB), 91 (aB, *mi-it-gu-ru-ti*), 94 (aAk), 98 (jB), 99 (jB), 105 (aB, *mit!-lu-tu*, *AHw.* 1573), 107 (aA), 112 (aB, *mu-uh-{-x1}?-ta-an-bu*), 113 (jB, literarisch), 117 (nA, Königsinschrift), 118 (jB), 120 (jB), 127 (Bo.), 131 (jB, *mušlltarhūtu*, vgl. *muštarrihūtu*), 139 (jB), 146 (jB, *muttapḫu*), 150 (jB), 153 (aB), 154 (jB), 155 (jB, mit Duplikat), 157 (jB), (159 (jB)), 166 (Bo.), 168 (jB), 170 (jB), 173 (Emar), 178 (jB), 179 (jB, *muštaptūtu*), 180 (jB), 181 (jB, gemeint ist *mur-tap-di* im Tukulti-Ninurta-Epos), 182 (aB), 183 (jB), 184 (jB).

Sieht man sich diese Liste auch nur kurz an, und besonders die Formen, die uns hier interessieren, dann wird man doch sagen müssen, daß das "Hapax-Argument", wenn wir so formulieren dürfen, nicht mehr viel Gewicht hat, daß von seiner Überzeugungskraft, die es für manche gehabt haben mag, nicht viel übrig geblieben ist.

"Viel Lärm um -" einen Satz, eine Verbalform? Ich glaube nicht.

Hier ist nicht der Platz für lange theoretische Erörterungen, aber blicken wir vielleicht doch wieder einmal über die imaginäre Grenze zu den Naturwissenschaften, zur Atomphysik. Viele von uns lesen mit Bewunderung, daß die Theorie wieder eines von diesen Teilchen mit den hübschen Namen vorhersagt - und daß man in Experimenten, die sehr viel Geld kosten, dieses Teilchen auch gefunden hat.

Der Unterschied ist nicht so groß, wie manche meinen, wenn man sagt: Wir haben sichere Formen in der Präfixkonjugation, die Theorie sagt auch ein Partizip G + t voraus - und voilà, wir haben diese Form auch gefunden!

Schließen wir mit einem neuerlichen Hinweis auf diesen schönen lateinischen Spruch mit der Philologie und der Archäologie: vielleicht sollte man ihn manchmal auch umdrehen - *Archaeologia sine Philologia caeca est*, die Archäologie ohne die Philologie ist blind.

1. B,249f.
2. Zitate verkürzt, weil man sie leicht im CAD nachsehen kann.
3. Weiterhin nur mehr die Belegnummern.
4. Jeweils davor Hapax, das hier nicht mehr wiederholt wird.

Hans HIRSCH (18-08-2005)
Gerlgasse 20/16, 1030 WIEN (AUTRICHE)

67) A Unique Writing for Sippar at Abū Šalābiḫ–^dUD.KIB^{ki} (Addendum to ZA 95 [2005] : 7-45) – In "On the Euphrates," ZA 95 (2005) : 7-45, I discussed the early writings for the Euphrates and Sippar, arguing that the diri compound UD.KIB.NUN stems ultimately from an old writing for the deified Euphrates ^dBuranuna_x (KIB)^{nun(a)}. The writing UD.KIB.NUN, which was first applied to Sippar and subsequently to the Euphrates, may represent a relic UD.GAL.NUN (UGN) writing with the common substitution of UD for the divine determinative. The use of UGN in this instance, it was suggested, was likely motivated by a desire to incorporate the writing of the patron deity, Šamaš (UD), into that of his cult center, Sippar (UD.KIB.NUN^{ki}), analogous to the writing of several major southern cult centers. Support for this proposal comes in part from the regular Sargonic writings ^dUD.KIB.NUN^{ki} and UD.KIB.NUN^{id} (see B. Kienast, FAOS 8, pp. 97-98, 116; RGTC 1, pp. 144, 208-209 for refs.), with the inclusion of the divine determinative in the writing of the god's cult center distinguishing it from that of the river.

This Sargonic writing for Sippar can be shown to have Abū Šalābiḫ roots. OIP 99, 39+//OSP 1,9 (Fara) represents a word list of sorts, consisting in large part of geographical terms and names. In some cases the entries appear to be graphically related, sharing similar orthographies, but in yet other instances the organizing principles are less clear. Further elucidation will certainly come with Niek Veldhuis's forthcoming edition and study of the Early Dynastic text and its OB parallel N 5174.¹ The writing in question, ^dUD.KIB^{ki}, appears in the Abū Šalābiḫ witness OIP 99, 41 iii 6', while OIP 99, 43 iv 1 likely follows with ^dUD.KIB[...];² in the Fara text, however, the element NUN is included as shown by the broken entry UD.NUN [...] (OSP 1, 9A iii 6'). The Abū Šalābiḫ writing is unique in omitting the NUN element—which, as a phonetic compliment, was occasionally dropped in the writing of the river³—and in including the divine determinative,⁴ hitherto diagnostic of the Sargonic period. The omission of NUN in this instance is presumably on analogy with the

similar writings for Buranuna. Curiously, the archaic writing, ^dUD.KIB^{ki}, is preserved in the OB version (Ni 5174).

Although, as noted, the relationships among the various entries in this text are far from fully understood, it is intriguing that Sippar is immediately followed by the entry URU ŠUL, which suggests, at least, the transparent interpretation “city (of the) young man/hero” – perhaps an epithet, or at least a play upon, Sippar. Šul is, of course, a well – known epithet of Šamaš and is later given as a name for the god, i.e., [^d]ŠUL : Šá-[maš] (CT 25, 34 r.10), while already in the ED Šamaš literary text, with Ebla and Abū Šalābikh and Ebla copies (ARET 5, 6//IAS 326+342), Sippar is “his favorite, city of sunrise” and is further described as *a-al₆-zu gú-ra-dím* “his heroic city.”⁵ However, despite the attractiveness of this interpretation, it is complicated by the fact that Early Dynastic ŠUL (LAK 40) can represent graphically related ŠUBUR (LAK 39),⁶ and so a reading URU ŠUBUR remains a distinct possibility.

1. I would like to thank Niek Veldhuis for providing me with his provisional score of this text, which includes the unpublished Ni 5174.

2. KIB, technically KIB-gunû, in these two attestations is represented by two distinct allographs – see Woods in Biggs AV (in press) for the various graphs associated with KIB in the third millennium.

3. E.g., Fara PN Ur-sag-^dKIB (WF 48 ii 7) for Ur-sag-^dKIB^{un}, and Ur III gú Íd-KIB-ta (Sigrist Princeton 347 : 7) – see ZA 95 (2005) : 10-13.

4. See ZA 95 (2005) : 12.

5. Following M. Krebernik, “Mesopotamian Myths at Ebla : ARET 5, 6 and ARET 5, 7” in ed. P. Fronzaroli, *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla*. QdS 18 (Florence, 1992), p. 80 : C17.1-2 (Ebla) ; the syntax is admittedly difficult.

6. As already suspected by Rosengarten for Pre-Sargonic Lagaš (see RSP, p. 159 ad 457-458 with refs.). The alternation is confirmed for Abū Šalābikh by the god list where Nin-šubur is written with ŠUL in OIP 99, 82 iv 8 and ŠUBUR in copy OIP 99, 86 iii 7 ; similarly, in Zami 208 Nin-šubur-AL is also written with ŠUL (268 r. iii 20) see also the comments of F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Nin-šubur”, RIA 9, p. 490. For Fara the allographic relationship is shown by the alternation of anše-sig₇-DUN with anše-sig₃-ŠUBUR, and of anše-kúnga-DUN with anše-kúnga-ŠUBUR as discussed by F. Pomponio and G. Visicato, *Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak* (Naples, 1994), p. 442.

Christopher WOODS (12-10-2005) The Oriental Institute,
The University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th Street, IL 60637, CHICAGO (USA)

68) Der Zukraši-Text : althethitisch? – Nach der Fundlage von 29/k = KBo 7.14 (+ KUB 36.100) ist der Zukraši-Text bloß älter als die Bebauung von Büyükkale in der Großreichszeit, trotzdem gilt er als althethitisch und ist in den Untersuchungen zur hethitischen Paläographie sogar Ausgangspunkt für den sog. Alten Duktus geworden. Aber die bisherige Datierung dieser Urkunde ist gerade in paläographischer Hinsicht zweifelhaft. Das althethitische Zeichensystem erweist sich als eher einfach, ein Zeichen tritt meistens nur in einer Variante auf. Dies betrifft auch die althethitischen Zeichenformen DA und IT, in denen die oberen und unteren Waagerechten symmetrisch angeordnet sind. In KBo 7.14+ hingegen tauchen DA und IT mit dem vorgezogenen unteren Waagerechten auf. Diese Zeichenformen gehören schon zum mittelhethitischen Zeicheninventar und sind erst ab Muwattalli I. belegt (vgl. die gesiegelte Landschenkungsurkunde dieses Königs, KBo 32.185 Vs. 4, Rs. 2, 5). Zwar erscheint IT mit dem leicht vorgezogenen Waagerechten schon in frühen Varianten der nordsyrischen Schrift, doch ist diese Zeichenform in die althethitische Schrift nicht übernommen worden. Darüber hinaus ist in dem Zukraši-Text auch TA mit seinen “verkürzten” eingeschriebenen Senkrechten eindeutig mittelhethitisch. Nach dem Zeugnis datierbarer Urkunden wurde diese neue Form von TA ab Zidanza II. verwendet, wobei zu bemerken ist, dass das alte TA fernerhin bis in die Regierungszeit Tuḫalijas II. auftritt¹.

Wie es die hier diskutierten Zeichenformen beweisen, liegt uns in KBo 7.14+ eine mittelhethitische Niederschrift vor. Was die Sprache dieses Textes angeht, steht er ganz in der Tradition althethitischer “Originale”, soll also als eine mittelhethitische Kopie einer ursprünglich althethitischen Urkunde angesehen werden.

1. Der Vergleich des einem Tuḫalija zugewiesenen Šunaššura-Vertrages mit dem Ritual für Tuḫalija und Nikkalmati, KBo 15.10+, in paläographischer Hinsicht läßt schließen, dass diese Texte unter verschiedenen Königen dieses Namens, Tuḫalija I. und Tuḫalija II., entstanden sind.

Maciej POPKO (28-10-2005)

Instytut Orientalistyczny UW, Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927 VARSOVIE (POLOGNE)

69) Minima eblaitica 22 : the symbolism of the axe (ni'tum) in the oath – ARET XIII 11 is a document concerning the relations between some chiefs of Ibal (a state east of Selemye and Qatna, see *ARES* II, pp. 296-299) and the king of Manuwat. The agreement between these two states had a no clear concern with Ebla. In the interpretation given by P. Fronzaroli, the editor of this text, the representative of Igalim, one of the chiefs (gula) or king (en) of Ibal, declares :

(9) *in-na* nam-kud gar *ne-a-tum* urudu en *Ma-nu-wa-du*^{ki} wa *ne-a-tum* [urudu] *an-na* wa *ne-a-tum*

urudu d'À-du <2> du “Truly, (for) the oath, the king of Manuwatu has provided an axe of copper, and I (have provided too) an axe [of copper]. The axes of copper (are those for) the god Hadda. <Second> journey.”

(10) *ap ne-[a-]tum* urudu en *Ib-la^{ki}* nu-gar *a-ti e-gi₄* :mu-DU en *Ma-nu-wa-du^{ki}* NI-a-du-lu wa *A-da-a-ti e-gi₄* :mu-DU *A-ti-a-mu* 3 du “The king of Ebla, however, did not provide (his) axe of copper until the king of Manuwatu had sent NIa-dulu, and Ati-amu had sent Ada-ati. Third journey.”

The representative of the king of Manuwatu said to En-šadu, the chief (ugula) of the village *Gá-la-muki* :

(12) *nam-kud-ma* en *wa Da-mu^{ki}* “The king (of Manuwatu) and the Damu have sworn.”

The overseer of Galamu is not convinced :

(17) *eme-ma En-ša-du* “En-šadu declared :” (18) *me-na-a la da-bù-du ni-a-ti-ga* dingir-ga *na-se₁₁-na-se₁₁ Da-mu^{ki}* “For what? Your axes (for) your god are not good (according to) the people of the Damu.”

Fronzaroli has established the meaning “axe” for *ne-a-tum* / *ni-a-ti(-ga)* (which he interprets as : /ni't-um/), an object of copper (urudu), because Ug. *nit* is one of the weapons of El. *KTU* 1.65 12-14 : *mrḥ il / nit il / šmd il* “the spear of El, the axe of El, the mace of El.” The meaning “axe” was suggested by P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit* I, Roma 1981, p. 214. On *nit*, see G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* II, Sabadell - Barcelona 2000, p. 313. For *nit* in the Akkadian sources of Ugarit, see J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, Atlanta 1987, pp. 150-151, s.v. N' (/ni'tu/, pl. /ni'ātu/).

The Akkadian dictionaries list : *nātu* “handle (?)”, attested in OAKk. and Hh. VII A 47 : *giš-šu-kin = na-a-tu šā ni-ga-lim ; nētu* (a wooden object), Nabnitu XXIII 54 : *giš-tùn-bar-ra = GIŠ ne-e-tum ; AHw*, pp. 766, 783 ; *CAD N*, II, pp. 120, 198.

The documents of Mari show, however, that *nītum* was a particular kind of *pāšum* “axe.” *ARMT* 22 204 II 18-21 : 5 *ḥa-šī-nu* <zabar> (of 1 ; 30 minas each) 1 *aga-si-li-ku* zabar 1 *pa-aš ni-tim* zabar 1 *pa-ši* zabar. *ARMT* 23 385, 1 : 1 *pa-aš ni-tim* zabar. *ARMT* 25 589 obv. 3-4, edge 2 -rev. 1 : *pa-aš ni-tim pa-aš qa-du-mi* (cfr. J.-M. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 3 [1984], p. 279). *Florilegium Marianum* 2 nr. 88, 14-17 (translated by D. Cadelli) : “les arbres ... ne peuvent pas être coupés avec un *ni-ti-im* de bronze ; ils se coupent normalement avec l'*agasalikkum* de bronze.”

The interpretation of Eblaite *ne-a-tum* given by Fronzaroli is confirmed by the only other text (as far as I know) where this term is attested, TM.75.G.1174 obv. III 3-IV 2 : 21 *gír* 3 *gír gi* :kù 10 *lá-2 ba-su* 6 *ne-a-tum* 44 *an-dùl babbar* :kù “21 daggers, 3 daggers of gold, 8 axes, 6 (axes) *ne-a-tum*, 44 statues of silver.” The term for axe found in the other administrative documents is always *gín* (Lexical Lists nr. 759 : *gín* urudu = *ba-šum* / *pāšum*/).

In Ugarit, *nitu* seems to have been the usual term for axe, used both as a war and a work tool. In Mari the two heaviest axes were *ḥaššinnu* and the less common *agasilikku* (for several *agasalakkū* of two minas each listed in *YOS* 5 227, see *CAD A*, I, pp. 148-149). *ARMT* 22 217, 1-7 : “2 *ḥaššinnū* of 2 minas each, ..., 2 *pāšū* of 1 ; 30 minas each ; 1 *pāšū* of 1 mina.” *ARMT* 25 714 I 2-3 : “2 *ḥaššinnū* of 2 minas each, 10 *agasilikku* of 2 minas each.” Both axes were also a war weapon ; the *agasilikku* was a double-edged axe according to *The Curse of Agade*, I, 114, see Cadelli, *Florilegium Marianum* 2, p. 167. The weapon of Sîn was a *pāštu* (the pertinent passages from Mari are quoted in *CAD P*, p. 265). In Ebla, *gín* was usually a work tool ; *nītum* was a weapon, at least according to *ARET* XIII 11.

The documentation concerning *nam-kud* = *gi-tum* ; *gi₄-tum* in the Lexical Lists /kittum/ “treaty ; oath”, has been collected by A. Catagnoli, “Sul lessico dei giuramenti a Ebla : *nam-ku₅*” in : *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4, P. Fronzaroli ed. (Quaderni di Semitistica 19), Firenze 1997, pp. 111-137. By swearing an oath for a treaty, “the pouring of the oil,” *nīdba* ì-giš, was usually performed ; see A. Archi, *Mél. P. Garelli*, Paris 1991, pp. 221-222. The deposition of war axes in the temple where an oath was taken, not necessarily by the people personally involved in the oath, was another symbolic act.

Alfonso ARCHI (03-11-2005)
via Montevideo 2/A, I-00198 ROME (ITALIE)

70) « La bouche de la hache » et « la dent de la houe » – Dans le récent volume P du *CAD*, on trouve s.v. *pāšu* la référence à 1 SAR *É pí-i pa-a-ši-im* BE 6/1 76 : 1, qualifiée de « uncert. » (p. 267b). Un deuxième exemple (2 SAR *É du-un-nu aš-lu-ka-tum pí pa-ši*) figure dans CT 47 44 : 1-2. Ces deux passages avaient été signalés par C. Wilcke, *WO* 8, 1976, p. 270, sans commentaire. Depuis lors, cet auteur est revenu sur l'expression, qu'il a mise en rapport avec l'expression « maison de la “dent de la houe” » (*ZÚ / ši-in-ni* ^{gš}AL), mais en avouant ne pouvoir en fournir d'explication satisfaisante (« A Riding Tooth : metaphor, metonymy and synecdoque, Quick and Frozen in Everyday Language », dans M. Mindlin *et al.* (éd.), *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*, Londres, 1987, p. 77-102 [p. 81 et p. 93-94 notes 22 et 24]).

L'équipe de Tell ed-Dēr a depuis démontré que l'expression « maison de la “dent de la houe” » désignait un bâtiment en mauvais état, promis à la destruction (voir C. Janssen, H. Gasche et M. Tanret., *Mél. De Meyer*, 1994, p. 99-100 ; voir depuis M. Stol, *OBO* 160/4, p. 682 n. 273 et en dernier lieu D. Charpin, *RA* 97,

2003 [2005], p. 186b). Il est manifeste que les deux expressions sont de sens analogue. La hache-*pâšum* semble avoir été avant tout destinée au travail du bois (cf. M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions*, Barcelone, 1994, p. 73 ad 19). Mais un tel usage n'avait rien d'exclusif. Une lettre de Mari montre en effet que l'extraction de pierres en vue d'obtenir des bétyles se faisait à l'aide de *paštum* (ARM XIV 29 = FM VIII 21 : 28). Commentant ce passage, J.-M. Durand a signalé que « le terme arabe *fa's*, traduit couramment par "hâche", désigne aussi une "sappe", soit une bêche à large fer et *fa'asa* signifier "casser" autant que "couper" » (FM VIII, p. 12 n. 52). Dès lors, *pâšum* pourrait dans ce contexte désigner une sorte de bêche dont la « bouche », c'est-à-dire le tranchant, servait à détruire une maison en mauvais état.

Dominique CHARPIN (20-09-2005)
14 rue des sources F-92160 ANTONY (charpin@msh-paris.fr)

71) À nouveau la clause SI.BI – Récemment, M. Tanret et K. De Graef sont revenus sur la clause SI.BI, caractéristique des contrats de vente paléo-babyloniens tardifs (« Puzzling with Numbers. The Late Old Babylonian SI.BI Clause », *Afo* 50, 2003/2004, p. 56-80). Ils ont proposé que cette petite somme d'argent, versée par l'acheteur en sus du prix, soit une indemnisation du vendeur liée à la transmission par celui-ci des titres de propriété antérieurs. Pour cela, ils s'appuient sur AbB VII 115, dont le témoignage est cependant fragile du fait d'une lacune, et surtout sur BBVOT 1 111 (enveloppe = 112). Dans ce contrat de vente d'un terrain, le serment est précédé par la mention du fait que les titres de propriété antérieurs n'ont pas été transmis (j'avais déjà attiré l'attention sur ce texte dans *RA* 88, 1994, p. 80-81). Or ce contrat ne contient pas de clause attestant le versement d'une somme d'argent comme SI.BI : les auteurs lient les deux faits et concluent que le SI.BI est « a symbolic payment for the transmission of the deeds of the chain of transmission » (p. 57).

Malheureusement, un texte a été oublié, qui me semble invalider cette ingénieuse hypothèse. Il s'agit de YOS XIII 95 (transcription et traduction par C. Wilcke, *Zikir šumim*, Leyde, 1982, p. 471-472 ; discussion par moi-même dans *CRRAI* 30, Leyde, 1986, p. 122). Ce document est du même type que BBVOT 1 111, mais il mentionne, après le prix, le versement d'une somme d'argent comme SI.BI (l. 24). Il est donc peu probable que dans BBVOT 1 111 le non-paiement d'un SI.BI soit lié à la non-transmission des titres de propriété antérieurs. Le fait que YOS XIII 95 soit sans doute un brouillon (liste des témoins en blanc, aucune empreinte de sceau) pourrait, il est vrai, conduire à écarter son témoignage. Cependant, un autre argument me fait douter de l'explication proposée : le fait que le SI.BI soit aussi versé dans les ventes d'esclaves et d'animaux. Pour ce genre de contrats, nous n'avons aucun exemple de transmission de titres de propriété antérieurs et il est en effet peu vraisemblable qu'une telle coutume ait existé. Bref, la bonne explication me semble encore à découvrir.

Dominique CHARPIN (20-09-2005)

P.S. J'ai communiqué à M. Tanret cette note avant sa publication et sa réponse est publiée ci-dessous ; je me réjouis de ce dialogue, tout en m'avouant plus convaincu par le premier point que par le second.

72) Chain, chain, chain : on a close reading of YOS XIII, 95, slaves and animals – In his note concerning our article about the meaning and calculation of the si.bi (TANRET & DE GRAEF 2003/4) D. Charpin remarks that YOS XIII, 95 seems to contradict our hypothesis explaining the si.bi payment as a remuneration for the transmission of the dossier concerning the property sold. He also doubted the general validity of this explanation since it is also customary to add a si.bi payment for sales of slaves and animals in which cases no accompanying dossier is expected to be handed over. He most kindly gave us a preview of his note which stimulated us to reflect further on these matters. The following note is my rendering of these reflections.

YOS XIII, 95 is included in the article but was indeed not referred to in the discussion on the meaning of the si.bi payment.

As C. Wilcke (1982, 471) had noted, the text is remarkable already at first sight since it has neither witnesses nor seals, although a space had been reserved for both. It could have been a draft (or a sale cancelled at the last moment¹?). But these are not the only odd features.

As restored by Wilcke (*ibidem*) it is a normal sale document with all necessary formulas but a clause is inserted (lines 30 to 40) concerning lost documents. This insertion is a special feature since, as D. Charpin had already remarked in his contribution to the Leiden Rencontre volume (1986, 122), instead of this, in other similar instances a separate document was drawn up. Indeed, the insertion of a clause concerning lost documents is characteristic of early texts but at the time this text was written (it is dated Samsuditana 10), when documents are lost and the "chain of transmission" is incomplete, a specific tablet is drawn up, which we call a certificate and which gives the whole history of the property sold including an abridged copy of the sale contract to which is added a list stating which documents are extant and transmitted and which ones are missing. Here, atypically, we have a late text in the shape of a simple sale document with an added clause.

The second peculiarity is that in this added clause the date of the loss of the documents is given. This is, as far as we know, the only instance in which the text does not simply say that the documents were lost or

not given without any further specification. It is not difficult to imagine that when documents are lost within an archive it is not generally known when this loss happened.

When we combine these two peculiarities: a clause added to a sale document and the specification of the date of the loss, we can reconstruct the following scenario.

As the clause refers to a specific (and far away- beyond the reach of memory) date: Si 28, this is because this is no reference to the *date of the loss* (which would be difficult to trace anyhow) but to a written and *dated document* in which the loss of the documents is attested. What kind of document can this be? This can only be a certificate since this is the very 'raison d'être' of certificates: the certification that documents have been lost and the description of the place of these lost documents within the chain of transmission.

This way all is revealed. In Si 28 a house is sold and the scribe finds out that the *ummātim* documents are lost. He thus writes the sale document and here there are two possibilities. Either he inserts a clause concerning the lost documents (since Si 28 is rather early in the history of the certificates) or he drew up a certificate accompanying the sale document and expounding the situation and 'replacing' the lost documents. The date of this/these document(s) is Si 28. When, under Samsuditana, more than a century later, the house was (or was going to be) sold again, the scribe puts together the dossier, finds the previous sale document (and the certificate 'replacing' the lost documents) and maybe a number of other *šurdê* documents. We could suppose that during the period of nearly a century separating the two documented sales the property may have been transmitted a number of times by sale, exchange or written inheritance (although most inheritances were not written down). This is a possibility but in the present case it is not necessary since we can safely assume that the Si 28 sale document is a *šurdê*. In fact we can be certain about this since YOS XIII, 95 states that the lost documents are the *kanikāt ummātim*, not *all* of the documents (as is to be found in other certificates-they are very precise), which means some *šurdê* were indeed transmitted, and these must at least be the sale tablet (and the certificate) dated Si 28.

This seems to unavoidably lead us to the conclusion that, for us, YOS XIII, 95 is a most special document: it is, at present, the only post-certificate document we have. As is known, the certificates start to appear in the course of the Old Babylonian period when the chains of transmission become longer and more complex and that, although we have early indications of their existence (*in casu* Si 28) most of them understandably appear in the later part of the period. The result is that all of the ones we have, like the ones from the archive of the galamaḥ of Sippar-Amnānum, are the last documents of the chains known to us. In the case of YOS XIII, 95 we most exceptionally have a document a step further in the chain than a certificate. This allows us to observe how a sale document is construed when there is a certificate in the preceding chain. One might have thought that since there are missing documents (in this case the *ummātim*) at each subsequent transmission of the property a certificate should be written but, as we know them, the Old Babylonian scribes were smarter and more efficient than this.

The first certificate (or sale document with added clause) is considered to replace the lost documents and in so doing 'repairs' the broken chain. Nevertheless, even if the chain is 'repaired' the fact that documents are lost still remains (and they could theoretically reappear). YOS XIII, 95 shows us the simple and efficient solution imagined by the scribes: they simply add to every sale contract after the certificate a clause mentioning that documents were lost (and that if they should reappear they would be the property of the *new owner(s)*) AND refer to this certificate by adding its date.

Incidentally, this means that the added clause in YOS XIII, 95 allows us to conclude that some documents were transmitted which fits well with our interpretation that if some documents were transmitted a *si.bi* had to be paid, as is stated in this text. In contrast, in BBVOT 111 it is explicitly stated that no documents at all were transmitted. The consequence was that no *si.bi* was paid.

Concerning the payment of *si.bi* for sales of a.o. slaves and animals in which we would not expect to find other chains than metal ones, the problem is somewhat more delicate. Can we imagine that, from a certain period onwards, every sale involving a written document would *as a matter of principle* be submitted to the chains of transmission mechanism? The point is that the origin of the property sold must be stated as well as the fact that it was 'legally' transmitted from this point of origin until its last owner. In "Verba volant, scripta non manent..." (Tanret 2004) it was already suggested that certain slave sale documents from the archive of the galamaḥ of Sippar-Amnānum which did not mention any member of the galamaḥ family, neither as seller nor as buyer, could be anterior texts documenting a previous change of ownership of these slaves and would thus be (parts of) chains of transmission. If we do not have, apart from these, any other anterior documents concerning the sale of slaves, this might be explained in the first place by the fact that if these documents are not found in an archive but in museum collections it would not be easy to fit them together as part of a chain. A second reason is the fact that slaves being bought and resold by the same persons must have been quite rare and that the relatively shorter lifetime of slaves (as compared to fields) would further reduce this possibility. These same arguments are even more valid in the case of cattle, its life being even shorter and thus the reselling probability even lower. In practice, even if the slave and animal sales were part of the chains of transmission system, most of these chains would have been composed of one document only. Why did they require the payment of a *si.bi*? We could imagine that the *si.bi* must be paid when the complete dossier has been handed

over (with, if necessary, a certificate replacing lost documents) whether this chain consists of one document or of many. Besides the price for the good he acquired, the buyer thus also paid 'administration costs', *nil novi sub sole*.

1. Although, as C. Wilcke remarks (1982, 471 n.59), the seals are usually rolled on the tablet before the text is written, which implies in our case, that when the scribe started writing he already knew there would be no seals.

RÉFÉRENCES

CHARPIN, D. 1986 : "Transmission des titres de propriété et constitution des archives privées en Babylonie ancienne" in Veenhof, K.R. (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4-8 July 1983*, Leiden, 121-140.

WILCKE, C. 1982 : "Zwei spät-altbabylonische Kaufverträge aus Kiš. Mit zwei Exkursen", in Van Driel, G. e.a. (eds), *Zikir Šumi. Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden, 426-484.

TANRET, M. and DE GRAEF, K. 2003/2004 : "Puzzling with Numbers. The Late Old Babylonian si.bi clause", *Afo* 50, 56-80.

TANRET, M. : "*Verba volant, scripta non manent...* Tablettes nomades dans les archives des gala.maḥ à Sippar-Amnānum", *Amurru* 3, 249-270.

Michel TANRET (28-09-2005) Michel.Tanret@UGent.be
Universiteit Gent, St.-Pietersplein, 6, B-9000 GENT (BELGIQUE)

73) Sheqels for the scribe – When reading our article «The Works and the Days. On Old Babylonian scribal activity in Sippar-Amnānum» to be published in the next issue of the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (RA 98, 2004 [2005], p. 33-62), D. Charpin kindly drew our attention to his very thorough review (CHARPIN 2002 [2004]) of Podany's book on the Ḫana texts (PODANY 2002).

Some of the Ḫana texts and the remarks Charpin made concerning them indeed shed some light on a point that puzzled us and for which we did not find indications in the Old Babylonian Sippar material : the scribe's remuneration. As remarked by Charpin (2002, 90) in a number of texts from Terqa the name of the scribe is followed in the witness list by an amount of silver. Could this be a record of the payment he received for his scribal work?

The scribe is not the only one who receives silver in these texts, as summarized by Charpin (2002, 88-90), also officials, the governor (*šapiṭum*) and once a *sugagum*, as well as the neighbours also regularly receive silver. These amounts are noted by the scribe just before the witness list and not in it as is the case for the scribes.

How does this work?

First of all, although we have texts of other genres for the same period from Terqa, it is only in the sales of real estate that these silver payments are recorded. Secondly, there is a clear chronological factor involved. We find these payments during the reigns of Yapaḥ-Sūmu-abu, Iṣi-Sūmu-abu, Yadiḥ-abu, Kaštiliašu and Ammi-madar. In the probably earliest preserved real estate text, dated under Yapaḥ-Sūmu-abu, there seems to be no official and the two neighbours receive items of clothing ; the line with the scribe is lost so we don't know whether he received anything and if he did whether this was silver or clothing. In the later texts from the reigns of Yapaḥ-Sūmu-abu and in those dated under Iṣi-Sūmu-abu and Yadiḥ-abu there seems to be an official (sometimes two) who receive(s) silver as well as the neighbours and the scribes. One Iṣi-Sūmu-abu text is an exception : the two officials and the scribe receive silver but none of the three neighbours does.

Under Kaštiliašu only the official, always Izzaḥ-Dagan, *šapiṭum*, receives silver, the neighbours and the scribe (although he is listed as witness) do not.

Under Ammi-madar an official, Bina-Ištar (without title), receives a payment and there is a resurgence of the payment to the scribe but not to the neighbours.

Under the later "Middle Ḫana" kings the practice, or at least the recording of it, has disappeared.

For the officials and the scribe these payments are sometimes characterised as *ša.ga.dù/nēbeḫum* (correction of former reading *ša.ga.ni* by Charpin 2002, 88), this characterisation is never added for the neighbours. This difference may or may not be meaningful in view of the many instances where this term is added for no one.

The payments show some regularity : the officials receive 1/2 or 1 gín, the *šapiṭum* always 1 gín, a *sugagum* 1/2 gín. The neighbours receive 1/4 gín of silver. When the buyer (TFR 1, 1 silver) or the seller (TFR 1, 8 an item of clothing) are neighbours they do not receive anything. When a person is neighbour on two sides he receives two times this 1/4 gín (TFR 1, 6 Yaššib-Addu receives 1/2 gín). In most cases the number of neighbouring field owners corresponds with the number of persons receiving 1/4 gín although all of the names do not always correspond between the two.

The point which interests us most is the payment to the scribe. As stated above, this payment is not listed together with the other ones between the oath and the witness list but in the witness list itself, after the mention of the scribe. There can be little doubt that this is a payment related to his scribal activities. The

interpretation of the term *ša.ga.dù/nēbeḫum* by Charpin (2002, 88) as “au figuré une somme d’argent remise à quelqu’un en dédommagement ou pour obtenir sa faveur” especially the “dédommagement” fits in well with this. But there is a problem. Although there seems to be consistency in the payments to officials and neighbours, who seem to receive fixed sums, independent of the price of the property sold, the scribes receive various amounts. We give an overview below, including all factors that could have an influence on the payment of the scribe and which are accessible to us through the texts :

Ref ¹	Scribe	Amount	Specific	Property sold	Price	Length of text	Additional payments ²
TFR 1, 9	Tarim-Šakim	1/4 gín	ša.ga.dù	1 iku 15 sar a.ša	5 gín	33 ll.	1
TFR 1, 1	Išme-Sîn	1 gín	—	3 iku a.ša	12 gín	44 ll.	1 1/2 +[...]
TFR 1, 2	Bazzi	1/2 gín	—	5 iku a.ša	24 gín	40 ll.	3/4 +[...] ³
TFR 1, 3	Iqqatum	1/3 gín	—	6 iku a.ša + 3 iku a.ša	31 1/2 gín	50 ll.	2 3/4
TFR 1, 4	xx ² -IB.BI-tum	[...]	[...]	10 iku a.ša	45 gín	±50 ll.	3 1/4 ⁴
TFR 1, 5	Bazzi	1/2 gín	ša.ga.dù	2 sar é qaqqarum	24 gín	52 ll.	1 1/2 ⁵
TFR 1, 6	Sîn-nadin-šumi	1/2 gín	—	10 iku a.ša	30 gín	51 ll.	1 3/4
LH 9	Ḫuzani	1 gín	ša.ga.dù	51 iku a.ša	—	59 ll.	1

As can be seen from the table above neither the price of the property nor the length of the text to be written can consistently be linked to the price paid to the scribe. We must conclude there were other, extra textual, factors influencing the payment of the scribe. This is not illogical. Whereas the officials and the neighbours did not need to perform any work for the payment they received, the scribe did. And his work may have been of varied complexity. The writing of a sale document was the last part but before that he had to assemble the dossier relative to the property sold, its “chain of transmission”. It could well be that the variable influencing his payment would have been the amount of time and effort he had to put in this activity. Tarim-Šakim would have done this quickly in a well organized archive, whereas Išme-Sîn would have needed four times as much. The fact that LH 9 is a royal donation could also explain why Ḫuzani received as much as 1 gín. One important point is that these payments indicate that, as we proposed in our forthcoming “Works and Days...” the scribes were paid on a piece by piece basis for their ‘private’ work.

Whatever the reason for the variation, we now have some idea of the remuneration of scribes in Terqa, roughly contemporary with the reigns of Samsuiluna and Abi-ešuš of Babylon. As remarked by D. Charpin (2002, 88) the mention of these payments is typical for the Babylonian periphery, the Diyala and the Middle Euphrates. Why these payments were added only for real estate documents is not yet clear and whether the same kinds of payment were made (but never written) in the Babylonian kingdom remains an open question.

1. ROUAULT 1984.

2. To other persons, probably neighbours and officials.

3. Only 1/4 remains legible on the broken envelope.

4. Most completely preserved on the case, there could be more since the tablet (and the case?) are broken after this.

5. Not noted on the envelope.

REFERENCES

CHARPIN, D. 2002 : “Chroniques du Moyen-Euphrate. I. Le “Royaume de Hana » : Textes et Histoire”, *RA* 96, 61-92.

ROUAULT, O. 1984 : *Terqa Final Reports 1 : L’archive de Puzurum* (= BiMes 16), Malibu.

PODANY, A.H. 2002 : *The Land of Hana. Kings, Chronology, and Scribal Tradition*, Bethesda.

M. TANRET (28-09-2005)

74) The liability of superiors for deficits of their subordinates – The liability of superiors for deficits of their subordinates in the Ur III economy is clearly shown by BM 106059, just published by Elena Santagati (*Un registro neo-sumerico di arretrati di orzo e crusca*, in: KASKAL 2, 2005, p. 79-90). Here two Ur III overseers compensate arrears of brewers subordinated to them. The document also demonstrates how overseers could recover from a subordinate’s household and family (parts of) the amounts they paid to their (unnamed) superior office, and it exemplifies where they were denied this possibility.

Ms. Santagati has investigated the relative value of barley and bran (duḫ) qualified as “normal” (ḡen) and “good” (sig₅). She established the prosopographic context in which the document is situated and identified Biduga and Luturtur, who make the payments, as overseers over brewers and the persons, whose arrears are recorded, as brewers subordinated to them. She discovered the slight discrepancies between the amounts of barley computed for each section and the totals added up from the single entries, the bran then

again calculated in barley. It is quite convincing that this variation results from the different calculations (almost certainly from rounding computed sums). Ms. Santagati also saw the links in substance of this document to BM 19972 published and studied by H. Waetzoldt and M. Sigris in the *Hallo Festschrift (Haftung mit Privatvermögen bei Nichterfüllung von Dienstverpflichtungen)*, in: M. E. Cohen et al., ed.s, The Tablet and the Scroll, Bethesda, MD., 1993, p. 271-280). Yet, she is somewhat uncertain as to the nature of the transactions recorded.

Some different readings may be helpful. (The margins of the tablet are unfortunately not visible in the photograph) :

(Section 1) ⁽ⁱ⁾ 10 ;4.0.8 2/3 sila še gur, mu en Ga-eš₅^{ki} ba-ḥuḡ, ki BÍ-du₁₁-ga-ta, ^IA-zi-zi, ⁽⁵⁾ ^INin-ab-ba-na, ^IAma-du₁₀-ga, dam dumu Lugal-ḡišḡigir-re-me, [l]á-ì Lugal-ḡišḡigir-re.

(Section 2) 16 ;4.0.2 1/2 sila še gur, ⁽¹⁰⁾ 12 ;4.3.5 sila duḡ-ḡen gur, mu má ^dEn-ki ba-ab-du₈, ki Lú-tur-tur-ta, 5 ;4.3.5 sila še gur, {*erasure*}, ⁽¹⁵⁾ mu en Ga-eš₅^{ki} ba-ḥuḡ, ki BÍ-du₁₁-ga-ta, še-bi 23 ;3.5.4 sila gur, ^IDÉ.DÉ-ga, ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ dam Šeš-kal-la, lá-ì Šeš-kal-la.

(Section 3) 20 ;4.2.3 sila še gur, 1 ;0.2 duḡ-sig₅ gur, ⁽⁵⁾ 1 ;1.4.3 1/3 sila duḡ-ḡen-gur, še-bi 21 ;1.2 gur, mu ^dŠu-^dSu'en lugal, ki Lú-tur-tur-ta, ^IAma-kal-la dam Lú-bala-sa₆-ga, ⁽¹⁰⁾ 2 šar kislaḡ^{sic}, lá-ì Lú-bala-sa₆-ga.

(Section 4) 12 ;2.5.1 1/2 sila še gur, mu ^dŠu-^dSu'en lugal, ki Lú-tur-tur-ta, ⁽¹⁵⁾ lá-ì Èš-e-ki-āḡ-ka níḡ¹ na-me ^rnu-tuku¹.

(Section 5) 11.1.1.2 1/3 sila še gur, mu Ḥu-úḡ-nu-ri^{ki} ba-ḥul, 7 ;3.0.5 sila še gur, 3 ;1.0.9 1/3 sila duḡ-ḡen gur, ⁽²⁰⁾ mu en Eridu^{ki} ba-ḥuḡ, še-bi 19 ;1.2.6 2/3 sila gur, ki Lú-tur-tur-ta, ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ ^INin-NANGA dam Mu-zu, lá-ì Mu-zu.

(Section 6) 17 ;4.0.3 1/2 sila še gur, 8 ;3.0 duḡ-ḡen gur, ⁽⁵⁾ mu ^dŠu-^dSu'en lugal, še-bi 18 ;4.4.7 1/2 sila gur, lá-ì Ur-ḡišḡigir.

(Section 7) 38 ;0.1.4 2/3 sila še gur, 6 ;1.3.4 sila duḡ-sig₅ gur, ⁽¹⁰⁾ 0 ;0.4.3 1/3 sila duḡ-ḡen, še-bi 39 ;1.4 lá 1 sila gur, ki BÍ-du₁₁-ga-ta, ^IGéme-^dUtu, ^IUr-^dDam-gal-nun-ka, ⁽¹⁵⁾ ^IÉ-ḡi-li-a-ì-in-^rú^{sic} 2, ^IKù-^dUtu, dumu Géme-^dUtu-me, géme dumu Ur-Ni₉-ḡar-me, lá-ì Ur-Ni₉-ḡar dumu Lugal-kar-re.

(Section 8) ⁽²⁰⁾ 19 ;1.0.2 5/6 sila še gur, mu Ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ḥul, ki Lú-tur-tur-ta, 8 ;1.1.3 sila še gur, 0 ;0.1.2 sila duḡ-sig₅ 2 ;3.0.5 1/3 sila duḡ-ḡen gur, ⁽²⁵⁾ mu Ḥu-úḡ-nu-ri^{ki} ba-ḥul, ki BÍ-du₁₁-ga-ta, še-bi 27 ;4.0.3 sila gur, ^(iv) lá-ì Ut-^dSu'en ba-úš.

(Section 9) 5 ;4.1.1 sila še^{sic} gur, 14 ;1.1.5 sila duḡ-sig₅ gur, 19 ;3.1.5 sila duḡ-ḡen gur, ⁽⁵⁾ še-bi 11 ;2.3.1 sila gur, mu Ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ḥul, ki Lú-tur-tur-ta, lá-ì Lugal-má-gur₈-re ba-úš.

(Section 10) 15 ;2.2.2 1/2 sila še gur, ⁽¹⁰⁾ 0 ;2.0.5 1/3 sila duḡ-sig₅ gur, 2 ;4.0 duḡ-ḡen gur, še-bi 15 ;4.4 lá 1/2 sila gur, mu Ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ḥul, ki BÍ-du₁₁-ga-ta, ⁽¹⁵⁾ lá-ì Lú-^dNin-ur₄-ra dumu Nin-zi ba-úš. ^{ll}3

(Section 11) šu+níḡin 1,36 ;1.3.7 1/3 sila še gur, šu+níḡin 6 ;3.5.1 1/3 sila duḡ-sig₅ gur, šu+níḡin 14 ;0.4.8 2/3 sila duḡ-ḡen gur, ⁽²⁰⁾ še-bi 1,39 ;2.5 gur, ugula BÍ-du₁₁-ga.

(Section 12) šu+níḡin 1,33 ;2.2.8 sila 10 ḡiḡ₄ še gur ; šu+níḡin 15 ;1.3.5 sila duḡ-sig₅ gur, šu+níḡin 37 ;0.4.2 2/3 sila duḡ-ḡen gur, ⁽²⁵⁾ še-bi 1,41 ;2.3.2 5/6 sila gur, ugula Lú-tur-tur.

(Section 13) šu+níḡin še-bi 3,21 ;0.2.2 5/6 sila gur.

The document explicitly says that the two overseers paid (ki PN-ta) 201 kor and 22 5/6 litres of barley (computed from amounts of barley and bran) as arrears of ten different brewers at almost equal shares (99 kor, 170 litres and 101 Kor, 152 5/6 litres respectively). They therefore could raise about 100 kor each to fulfil obligations for which their subordinates had between the years AS 6 and ŠS 2 failed to provide the means. Part of this they retrieved from the households of the subordinates, by seizing wives (including a slave concubine) and children⁴, once also a plot of land.

This links this document directly to BM 19972 studied by Waetzoldt and Sigris (see above), but we note the absence of furniture and household utensils taken from the households. Like it was the case in BM 19972, the items seized could in no way compensate the payments made – if we use the calculations of Waetzoldt/Sigris they do not even amount to a third of the sums due. In addition, these items could not immediately be used for the payments due, regardless whether wives and children were turned into slaves or imprisoned for debt in order to work off the sums owed by husband or parent. The case of Lusaga, son of Ur-ki'aḡḡu (AAICAB pl. 41f. Ashm. 1911-237a-b, first published by St. Langdon, *The Babylonian Expression "sini-tum" Capital, Balance Carried Forward*, in: *Babyloniaca* 6, 1912, p. 41-43, text A) suggests that they were sold into slavery.

Not all the households involved were able to contribute. Section 4 laconically states: "Nothing was available for the deficit of Eše-ki'aḡ" /lá-ì Eše-ki'aḡ-k-a/ (ii 15). And nothing was taken from the households of the 3 deceased brewers. The latter may be due to the practise of "covering", i.e., closing down the houses of dead functionaries, studied by K. Maekawa (*Confiscation of Private Properties in the Ur III Period: A Study of é-dul-la and níḡ-GA*, in: ASJ 18, 1996, p. 103-168 ; 19, 1997, p. 273-291) and W. Heimpel (*Disposition of Households of Officials in Ur III and Mari*, in: ASJ 19, p. 63-82).

It seems evident that officials could in their office accumulate considerable fortunes enabling them to pay off enormous deficits of their own or of subordinates and at the same time ran high risks. This certainly is

an element of a market economy (see *Markt und Arbeit im Alten Orient am Ende des 3. Jts. v. Chr.*, in : W. Reinhard, Hg., *Wirtschaftsanthropologie. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für historische Anthropologie*, e.V., in press).

1. The photograph shows no AŠ at the beginning of the indented part of the line.
2. See H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, pp. 253 and 403.
3. I understand this as a double line drawn to separate the summaries rather than as a line of text left empty. But I shall keep the line count of Ms. Santagati.
4. E. Santagati reads in i 7 dam-tur and writes on p. 84 (section 1) “NPf₁₋₃ dam-tur lugal-gišgigir-re-me”, obviously regarding the 3 persons of i 4-6 as wives of Lugal-gigire. But A-zi-zi is a male PN (a ġuruš in PDT 1, 542, 5 quoted in H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, p. 381) ; he will here be Lugal-gigire’s son. Nin-abbana is well known as the wife of Lugal-gigire, as Ms. Santagati correctly states, and Ama-du₁₀-ga will be their daughter. In iii 18 the author writes “geme-tur” and on p. 85 (section 7) : “PNf₁₋₄ dumu gême-^dutu-me gême-tur ur-ni₉-gar-me” although the names of iii 14-16 are seemingly all male PNs. Gême-Utu obviously is Ur-Niġar’s slave concubine ; since they are called children of both, the slave woman and the (free) debtor he seemingly had acknowledged the 3 children she had born to him.

Claus WILCKE (14-11-2005)
Am Sommerfeld 9, D-81375 MÜNCHEN (ALLEMAGNE)

VIE DE L’ASSYRIOLOGIE

75) Parution de ARM XXXI – Est disponible depuis juillet 2005 :

– M. Guichard, *La Vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari, Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris II*, Archives royales de Mari XXXI, Paris, 2005 (x+570 p., nombreuses photos + 1 CD-ROM). ISBN : 2-86538-298-2 (voir http://www.adpf.asso.fr/bdd_erc/index.php)

Prix : 45 euros TTC.

Commandes à adresser à Anne du Parquet, ERC-ADPF, 6 rue Ferrus F-75683 Paris cédex 14.

Tél. +33 1 43 13 22 80 (<communication@adpf.asso.fr>)

76) Parution de Florilegium Marianum VIII – Est disponible depuis septembre 2005 :

– Jean-Marie Durand, *Le Culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite, Florilegium marianum VIII*, Mémoires de NABU 9, Paris, 2005 (viii+216 p., nombreuses photos).

Prix : promotion jusqu’au 31 décembre 2005 = 40 euros (ensuite 50 euros) + port.

Commandes à adresser à nabu@college-de-france.fr ou par fax au +33 1 44 27 18 39 ou SEPOA c/o D. Charpin, 14 rue des sources F-92160 Antony.

N.A.B.U.

Abonnement pour un an / *Subscription for one year* : EUROPE / *EUROPA* 18 euros
AUTRES PAYS / *OTHER COUNTRIES* 27 euros

– Par chèque postal ou bancaire en **Euros COMPENSABLE EN FRANCE** à l'ordre de / *By Bank check in Euros PAYABLE IN FRANCE* and made out to : Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien.

Nota Bene : Pour tout paiement par chèque en Euros compensable à l'étranger, ajouter 11 euros/ With checks in Euros payable in other countries, add 11 euros.

– Par virement postal à l'ordre de / *To Giro Account* : Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien,
14, rue des Sources, 92160 ANTONY. **CCP 14.691 84 V PARIS**

IBAN : FR 59 30041 00001 1469184V020 07

BIC : PSSTFRPPPAR

Les demandes d'abonnement en **Euros** sont à faire parvenir à :
D. CHARPIN, SEPOA, 14, rue des Sources, 92160 ANTONY, FRANCE

For subscriptions in USA only :

One year = 34 US \$. Our financial representative in the USA is Pr. Jack SASSON, 230 Divinity School,
Vanderbilt University, NASHVILLE, Tenn. 37240-2701 USA. Make check payable to : « Jack M. Sasson »

Les manuscrits pour publication sont à envoyer à l'une des deux adresses suivantes :

Manuscripts to be published should be sent to one of these addresses :

J.-M. DURAND, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 75005 PARIS, FRANCE.

e-mail : jean-marie.durand@college-de-france.fr

F. JOANNÈS, 21 allée de l'Université, 92001 NANTERRE, FRANCE. e-mail : joannes@mae.u-paris10.fr

Pour tout ce qui concerne les affaires administratives, les abonnements et les réclamations,
adresser un courrier à l'adresse électronique suivante : nabu@college-de-france.fr

Comité de Rédaction / Editorial Board

Dominique CHARPIN Jean-Marie DURAND

Francis JOANNÈS Nele ZIEGLER