𝓝.𝓐.𝓑.𝓤.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

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NOTES BRÈVES

01) In Support of Joachim Oeslner's Identification of LBAT 1500[1] – This short note is in support of Joachim Oelsner's identification of LBAT 1500 (BM 34387) as an astrological fragment relating to the Amurru-stars hitherto known from *The Great-Star List*,[2] and in my opinion the *mukallimtu* of *Nabû-zuqup-kēnu*, 81-7-27, 81.[3] In his previous note, J. Oelsner demonstrated that the stars of LBAT 1500: 2'-8' match Amurru stars V-XI, and suggested that LBAT 1500 1' and 10' too matched the list of Amurru stars IV and XII: mulKAK.SI.SÁ and mulKA5.A. During recent work on my Astrolabe project at The British Museum,[4] I had the opportunity to re-examine LBAT 1500 and I can now verify that the traces of signs in lines 1' and 10' correspond to Amurru-stars IV and XI. The following collations, edition, and table make these synchronisms clear:

Collations:

LBAT 1500 1' :   LBAT 1500 10' :

Edition:

1'	[I MU]L. ⌜KAK.SI⌝.[SÁ ...	1'	['Th]e Arro[w ...
2'	I MUL.MAŠ.TAB.BA.[GAL.GAL ...	2'	'The [Great] Twins [...
3'	I MUL.BIR a-n[a ...	3'	'The Kidney,' fo[r ...
4'	I MUL.NIN.M[AH ...	4'	Ninm[ah ...
5'	I MUL.LUGAL a-[na ...	5'	'The King,' f[or ...
6'	I ṣal-bat-a-nu ⌜a⌝-[na ...	6'	Mars, f[or ...
7'	I MUL.AL.LU[L ...	7'	'The Cra[b' ...
8'	[I] MUL.SI[M.MAH ...	8'	'The Swal[low' ...
9'	[(x)] DIŠ KUR DIŠ x [...⁵	9'	[(.)] .... [...
10'	[I MU]L. ⌜KA5.A⌝ [...	10'	['Th]e Fox' [...

Line/Star in BM 34387		Great Star List Amurru-Star[6]
1'	[mu]l ⌜KAK.SI⌝.[SÁ]	4
2'	mulMAŠ.TAB.BA.[GAL.GAL]	5
3'	mulBIR	6
4'	mulNIN.M[AH]	7
5'	mulLUGAL	8
6'	ṣal-bat-a-nu	9
7'	mulAL.LU[L]	10
8'	mulSI[M.MAH]	11
10'	[mu]l ⌜KA5.A⌝	12

I also concur with J. Oelsner's proposal that LBAT 1500 is astrological in character. I suggest that lines 3' and 5'-6', where the preposition *ana* occurs immediately after the star-name, indicate that these lines,

and perhaps most if not all the other lines of BM 34837, when complete, preserved astrological commentary on the Amurru-stars with entries of the type *Star-Name ana ....,* "*Star-Name* is for ..." Such entries occur both in Assumed Tablet EAE 50,[7] and the 10 Star Catalogues HS 1897 and BM 55502 which parallel the star-catalogue of Astrolabe B (KA5 218).[8] If so, it is likely that the current line 9', where no star-name is given, continues astrological materials relating to ^{mul}SIM.MAH that began in the now missing portion of line 8'.

1. J. Oelsner, "LBAT 1500: Amurru-Sterne", *NABU* 2006/09.

2. For *The Great Star List* see now U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 187-205 with the lists of The Elam, Akkad, and Amurru-stars on pp. 196-199. An earlier edition and discussion of *The Great Star List* is to be found in E. Weidner, "Ein astrologischer Sammeltext aus der Sargonidzeit," *AfO* 19 105-113. A full annotated edition of *The Great Star List* is being prepared by the author.

3. See W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* 175-177.

4. For my book *The Astrolabes and Related Texts.*

5. Perhaps either SAL or a sign beginning with the element SAL, for example NIN, DAM etc.

6. Koch-Westenholz *op cit.* 198-199.

7. E. Reiner and D. Pingree, *BPO* 2 28-51.

8. See W. Horowitz and J. Oelsner, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98) 176-180: Ea 1-2, 4-6, Anu 2-3.

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02) The District of Hasua(t)ti – The Stele from Iran lists the districts and cities annexed by Tiglath-pileser III in his 738 BCE campaign (H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 102-105). Among these districts are "the lands of Hamath, Hasuatti, Ṭurinaqadina, Siannu in [its] entirety" (II B : 9-10). In the light of the stele we may restore the combined text of Ann 19* line 7 and Ann 22 line 4 (Tadmor 1994: 60-61, 88) as follows: "the city of Hatarikka, the district of Nuqudina, the land of Hasu[a(t)ti toge]ther with the towns of (its) environs (KUR *Ha-su-[a(t)-ti a]-di* URU^{meš}-*ni ša si-hir-ti*)". In the section of the annals that lists the districts of the annexed territory of Hamath (Ann 19* lines 5-10), the names of mountain ranges are followed by the apposition *šadû* (i.e., "Saue, the mountain"; "Amanana, the mountain"; "Sarbua, the mountain"; "Yaraqu, the mountain"). Since *šadû* does not follow KUR Hasua(t)ti, I assume that it is a name of a district. "Mount Hasu", which appears in all the indices since the early publication of Tiglath-pileser's annals (e.g., P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pilesers III., nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen des Britischen Museums* I, Leipzig 1893, p. 140; Tadmor, ibid., p. 298), must be eliminated.

In light of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, *SAA* XI No 2 II : 8-9 may safely be restored: "[the city of *Ha*]-*su-a-ti*, [the city of Hata]rakka". The enumerate places are possibly trading posts or custom houses (line 1 might be restored [URU/É^{meš} KAR]^{meš} LUGAL), rather than the names of provinces (see S. Yamada, "Kārus on the Frontiers of the Neo-Assyrian Empire", *Orient* 11 [2005], pp. 80-81). The provincial centres possibly housed the trading posts or custom houses of the empire.

We may further note that the city of Hamath is mentioned twice in SAA XI No 1 Rev I : 8, 12. In line 8 Hamath appears next to Hatarikka, and it is possible that the scribe mistakenly replaced Hamat[tu] for Hasua[tti].

In all these texts Hasua(t)ti is mentioned next to Hamath and Hatarikka and should be sought in their vicinity, somewhere in central Syria (for its assumed place, see Tadmor 1994: 103 n. 10).

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03) KUB 4.11 und die Komposition "Incantation to Utu" – Bereits 1971 wies J. S. Cooper darauf hin, daß das von E. Laroche in *CTH* 793 als "Liste de vizirs de Šamaš (akk.)" gebuchte Fragment zwar eine Liste von Wesiren und Epitheta des Šamaš enthalte, möglicherweise aber "part of a text similar to that published by Castellino, Oriens Antiquus 8" sei (*ZA* 61, 1 Anm. 1). Eine letzte Teilbearbeitung erfuhr *KUB* 4.11 bei Th. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit (AOAT* 257), Münster 1999, 297 sowie mit kleineren Verbesserungen in der zweiten Auflage desselben Buches, Münster 2004, 348, wo der Text Laroche folgend als Liste charakterisiert wird. Nähere Betrachtung des Fragments zeigt jedoch, daß Cooper mit seinem Hinweis zweifelsohne richtig lag. Tatsächlich ergibt sich, wenn man gegenüber der Edition Vorder- und Rückseite vertauscht, ein Text, der so enge Verwandtschaft zu der zuerst von Castellino bearbeiteten sumerischen Utu-Beschwörung zeigt, daß man von einem bilingual abgefaßten Variantenduplikat sprechen möchte. Dies einmal erkannt, ergeben sich auch bei Lesung und Ergänzung des Fragments einige Fortschritte, die in der folgenden Transliteration kurz dokumentiert seien (nicht koll., das ein oder andere Rufzeichen dürfte aber dem Kopisten, nicht dem Schreiber anzulasten sein, etwa "DU" für um in Vs.[1]

9'). Wir geben am rechten Zeilenrand die jeweils korrespondierende Zeile der Utu-Beschwörung an ("UtuI"); die Zeilenzählung folgt dabei der maßgeblichen Neuedition des Textes, die von B. Alster, *ASJ* 13 (1991) 27–96 vorgelegt wurde. Am Rande sei vermerkt, daß das Fragment auch paläographisch nicht uninteressant ist. Es zeigt insgesamt den typischen hethitischen Duktus, der aber an manchen Stellen offenbar Zeichenformen der Vorlage zu übernehmen scheint; so werden die hethitische und die mittelbabylonische Form von *ša* verwendet, und auch *li* erscheint in "älterer" und "jüngerer" Variante.

Vs.! (kein Intercolumnium erhalten)

1'	[ᵈUT]U *i-lum ša me-š*[*a-a-ri attā-ma*]	
2'	⌈ᵈ⌉utu sipa a-za-lu-lu-m[e-en]	cf. UtuI 27, 67
3'	⌈ᵈ⌉UTU *re-!-i te-né-še-ti* [*attā-ma*]	
4'	⌈ᵈ⌉utu sag èn-tar [kalam-ma-me-en]	cf. UtuI 11
5'	[ᵈUT]U *pa-qí-id ma-a-*[*ti attā-ma*]	
6'	[ᵈut]u di-ku₅ un-lu[-me-en]	cf. UtuI 28
7'	[ᵈUTU] *da-ia-a-an ni-ši da-ša-a-*[*ti attā-ma*]	
8'	[ᵈutu di ku₅]{-ši}-ù-re za-a-[kam]	cf. UtuI 29
9'	[ᵈUTU *di-na da*]-⌈*a*⌉-*nu ku-um*!-[*ma*]	
10'	[ᵈutu ka-aš bar-r]e za-a-[kam]	cf. UtuI 30

Rs. !, rechte Kolumne (vom Text in der linken Kolumne nur Spuren)

0'	[ᵈníg-zi-da sukkal á-zi-da-zu]	// UtuI 79
1'	[*ki-it-t*]*um* SUKKAL *e-mi-i*[*t-ti-ka*]	
2'	[ᵈníg]-si-sá sukkal á-gùb-ba-[zu]	// UtuI 80
3'	*mi-ša-a-ru* SUKKAL *šu-me-li-*[*ka*]	
4'	ᵈníg-ug sukkal-maḫ an-[na-ke₄]	// UtuI 81
5'	níg-ug SUKKAL *ṣi-ru ša* [*šamê*]	
6'	ᵈpa₄-nun-na sukkal <šà->kúš("SAG")-ù-[ke₄]	// UtuI 82
7'	ᵈ*bu-un-ni-in-ni* SUKKAL *ma-li-k*[*u*?]	
8'	⌈ᵈ⌉[šè]r?-úru("MAḪ") sukkal gaba-ri-a-[zu]	// UtuI 83
9'	[*ša-ru-ru*(?)]-⌈*ú*⌉? SUKKAL *maḫ-ri-i-*[*ka*]	
10'	[níg-érim] níg-á-zi níg-ḫa-la[m-ma ...	// UtuI 84
11'	[*ra-ag-g*]*a lem-na ù se*ˢⁱᶜ-*n*[*a* ...	
12'	[di-ku₅ an-šà-g]a imin!-me-e[š] i[gi-zu-šè ...	// UtuI 86
13'	[*da-i*]*a-nu š*[*a qereb šamê* ...	

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04) Die Serie DIŠ *Sîn ina tāmartīšu* im Überblick – Die Tafeln von *Sîn ina tāmartīšu* (fortan "SIT") können als auf *Enūma Anu Enlil* (EAE) bezogene Kommentare nicht losgelöst von jener Serie betrachtet werden, haben aber dennoch ihren eigenen – zum Teil mathematischen – Charakter[1]. E. Weidner sprach treffend von der "kommentierenden Anschlußserie"[2]. Es handelt sich bei *Sîn ina tāmartīšu* im wesentlichen um kanonisierte *mukallimtu*-Kommentare, die – im Gegensatz zu den "normalen" *mukallimtu*-Kommentaren – in Form einer Tontafelserie mit Nummern und entsprechenden *catchlines* bzw. Incipits organisiert sind. Beim Zusammenstellen von Fragmenten, die Teil von SIT sein könnten, ist eine gewisse Achtung geboten, da gerade die Wendung "DIŠ *Sîn ina tāmartīšu*" mit den Einleitungsworten von EAE 2–9 (bei EAE 7 und 8 mit eingeschobenem Datum) übereinstimmt[3]. Eine zusammenfassende Charakterisierung, die hier nicht erneut vorgetragen werden muß, auf die aber ausdrücklich verwiesen sei, hat U. Koch-Westenholz ihrer Bearbeitung von SIT 1 vorangestellt[4].

Nachfolgend einige Bemerkungen zu einzelnen SIT-Tafeln:

SIT 1   DIŠ 30 *ina ta-mar-ti-šú ina* ᵈUTU.È *it-tan-mar* DINGIR^MEŠ GALGA KUR
   ana MÍ.ḪUL GALGA^MEŠ ᵈ+EN.LÍL AŠ.TE *ana* ^LÚ KÚR SUM-*in*

   Bearbeitung: U. Koch-Westenholz, l. c. (→ Fußnote 4). Es handelt sich im wesentlichen um den Text ACh (= Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Paris 1905–1912) Sin 3 mit Parallelen.

SIT 2   DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-*šú a-dir* NÍG.ḪA.LAM.MA ŠEŠ.UNUG^KI AŠ.TE KÚR-*ir* LUGAL ÚŠ

   Bearbeitung: R. Borger, FS Böhl (*Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, M. A. Beek et al. [Hrsg.], Leiden 1973) 38ff. Text: LB 1321. Die Anordnung des Textes in drei Kolumnen weicht vom Standardschema ab. Außer dem Mond spielen verschiedene Gestirne eine Rolle.

SIT 3 (?)   DIŠ 30 TAB$^!$-*ma ba*-[*ra-ar it-ta-a'-dar* (?)]

Es kann nicht vollkommen ausgeschlossen werden, daß das Fragment K 11309 ("DUB 2.KAM* DIŠ [ ]") in seiner *catchline* den zitierten Incipit für diese Tafel liefert[5]. Hinsichtlich der Einordnung von K 11309 gehen die Meinungen auseinander (vgl. die Zusammenstellung in L. Verderame, *Le Tavole I–VI della serie astrologica* Enūma Anu Enlil, Rom 2002, p. 57).

SIT 4   ?

Der Anfang ist unbekannt (vgl. jedoch Fußnote 6); ein größerer Teil des Textes ist durch K 3123 (ACh, Second supplément, Nr. 19) gegeben. Die Tafel hat auch die *catchline* für SIT 5, q. v.

SIT 5   DIŠ 20 *ina* EŠ.BAR ^{d}A.NUN.NA.KI ÉR AN-*e* IGI.BAR-*ma* DARA$_4$^{MEŠ} GÁL^{MEŠ}
          ^{d}*Zi-ba-ni-tum* TÙR SIG$_7$ NIGIN-*át* ^{d}+EN.LÍL KUR *i-ta-ra-ár*
          BALA MÍ.KÚR^{MEŠ} E$_{11}$-*ma* LUGAL LUGAL KUR-*ád* [x x x x x x x]
          LUGAL KUR SUD-*ti sa-kil-ti* KÚR *šá* KUR NU ZU ZI-*ma* KUR.KUR
          ù da-ad-me-ši-na [x x x x x x (x)]

Der Incipit ist zugleich Omen III 65 von EAE 24 (25) (W. van Soldt, *PIHANS* 73 [1995] 36). Ein größeres Stück des Textes liegt in K 4026 (ACh, Second supplément, Nr. 40) vor. Auch auf dem kleinen *malsûtu*-Fragment K 1529 findet man diesen Incipit:

          Rs.   1'   *ina* ŠÀ DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-*š*[*ú*
                  2'   DIŠ 20 *ina* EŠ.BAR ^{d}A.NUN.N[A
                  3'   *ma-al-su*-[^{6}

SIT 6   DIŠ U$_4$-*mi ha-dir* MÍ.KÚR^{MEŠ} *ina* KUR GÁL^{ME} UN^{MEŠ} SU.GU$_7$ IGI^{MEŠ} NÍG.ŠU-*ši-na*
          SIG$_5$ *ana* KI.LAM È^{MEŠ} KÚR KALA.GA ZI-*ma* KUR KUR-*ád*

Der Incipit^7 ist zugleich das erste Omen von EAE 36 (cf. *BaM* 36 [2005] 235ff.). Im dazugehörigen Kommentar werden die Einleitungsworte erläutert: "Wenn Du Staubwolken, aber keinen Wind, Nebel, aber keinen Regen siehst, so sagst Du, der Tag sei dunstig (*ūmu adir*)." Die erste Hälfte der Tafel kommentiert im wesentlichen EAE 36, die zweite EAE 37. Der Text ist zu einem großen Teil rekonstruierbar (K 50 und Paralleltexte [K 7054 + K 7254 + K 10978, K 10718 + K 11279, Sm 676 u. a.]).

SIT 7   DIŠ AN-⌜*ú*⌝$^?$ [...]

Der Incipit stammt vom Text K 50.

SIT 11 (?) ?

Vermutlich das Fragment BM 134783 (Zeile 3': [DU]B (eher [I]M) 11.KAM* <DIŠ 30 *ina* IGI.LÁ-*šú*> NÍG.PÀD.DA DIŠ UD AN ^{d}+E[N.LÍL ...]) mit der *catchline* für SIT 12 (?), q. v.

SIT 12 (?) DIŠ 30 ^{GIŠ}GIGIR U$_5$ [...]
          Vgl. SIT 11^8.

SIT n ^{MUL}ŠU ZAG SIPA.ZI.AN.NA ^{MUL}GABA ŠU.GI ^{MUL}*Dil-bat* ^{MUL}GU$_4$.AN.N[A ...] (?)

Es handelt sich um den sog. "Dalbanna-Text", der vor einiger Zeit in zwei sich gegenseitig stützenden Bearbeitungen vorgelegt worden ist: Chr. Walker, *"The Dalbanna text: a Mesopotamian star-list,"* WO 26 (1995) 27ff. und J. Koch, *"Der Dalbanna-Sternenkatalog,"* WO 26 (1995) 43ff. Die Autoren selbst scheinen den Text nicht der Serie *Sîn ina tāmartīšu* zuzurechnen. Er dürfte jedoch keine *catchline*, sondern statt deren den Seriennamen (d. h. das erste Omen von SIT 1) im Kolophon haben. Diese Meinung vertrat auch E. Weidner in seinem (von Chr. Walker berücksichtigten) *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, Band 1 (Leipzig 1915, p. 118^9). In seinen späteren Schriften kommt er (meines Wissens) darauf jedoch nicht mehr zurück. Der Kolophon scheint auch sonst nicht der nach SIT 1 zu erwartenden "Standardform" zu entsprechen, da die Spuren unmitttelbar vor *Enūma Anu Enlil* in K 6490+ nicht zum Wort *mukallimtu* passen; unter Umständen könnten sie als ⌜LIBIR.RA⌝ gelesen werden (für diesen Vorschlag danke ich W. G. Lambert, Birmingham). Der "Dalbanna-Text" würde durchaus zu dem inhomogenen Charakter der Serie passen.

Die tatsächliche Anzahl der zu *Sîn ina tāmartīšu* gehörenden Tafeln ist nach wie vor unbekannt.

1. Der Serienname wird in der Literatur stets als "*Šumma Sîn ina tāmartīšu*" zitiert. Das Werk dürfte erst spät – als *Enūma Anu Enlil* nicht mehr ohne weiteres in allen Punkten verständlich war und bereits viele sich z. T. widersprechende Kommentare zirkulierten – entstanden sein. Eine eingehende Untersuchung ist im Rahmen der Bearbeitung der Adad-Tafeln von EAE (→ *BaM* 36 [2005] 235) vorgesehen. Dort werden auch alle Texte ohne Tafelnummer, die SIT zugeordnet werden sollten (K 2254), werden könnten (81-7-27, 81) oder versuchsweise bereits zugeordnet worden sind (*STT* 2, 339), besprochen werden.
    2. *AfO* 14 (1941–1944) 182.
    3. Vgl. den sog. Urukkatalog, *AfO* 14 (1941–1944), Tafel 1; ferner muß man sich stets der Möglichkeit, daß *Rikis-gerri*- oder *aḫû*- Tafeln in Frage kommen könnten, gewärtig sein (s. etwa *BaM* 36 [2005] 236).
    4. *The Astrological Commentary* Šumma Sîn ina tāmartīšu *Tablet 1*, Res Orientales 12 (1999) 149ff. Vgl. ferner dies., CNI Publications 19 (*Mesopotamian Astrology*, Kopenhagen 1995) 84–86.
    5. In der ergänzten Form handelt es sich um den Anfang von EAE 15 (*AfO* 14 [1941–1944], Tafel 1, 15).

6. Sollte in Zeile Rs. 2' wider Erwarten eine "*catchline*" vorliegen, gehörte die Tafel zu SIT 4. Wegen "*ina ŠÀ*" (Zeile Rs. 1') dürfte daraus jedoch nicht der Schluß, bei Zeile Vs. 1 (*Ḫabaṣīrānu*-Omen) handele es sich um den Anfang von SIT 4, gezogen werden.

7. Bereits E. Weidner hat in Erwägung gezogen, in jenem Omen den Anfang von SIT 6 sehen zu müssen (*AfO* 22 [1968–1969] 69, Fußnote 17).

8. Zum Omen s. AfO 14 (1941 – 1944) 309, Fußnote 107. Cf. L. Verderame, op. cit. (→ SIT 3) 91, Fußnote 285.

9. Der sich auf Zeile 35 beziehende Kommentar ist aus heutiger Sicht nicht mehr ganz zutreffend.

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05) A New Source for Diri tablet 7 – The seventh and final tablet of canonical *Diri* is not fully reconstructed, and only select fragments of the text are presently known. To judge from the content of the forerunners of the canonical version and apparent extracts of the canonical text, *Diri* 7 appears to have contained mostly divine names or compounds beginning with the grapheme AN. As Civil notes in MSL 15 196, tablet 7 is explicitly evidenced only via the catchline u$_2$-sa-an AN.USAN <*an*> *u$_2$-sa$_3$-an-*da?*-*ku**, which is entered at the end of the one-column Sippar source IM 124475.

A new fragment in the University Museum, however, further clarifies the issue. N 2948 is a top left corner piece of a multi-column tablet that contained the entire text of *Diri* tablet 7, to judge from the preservation of its incipit and a descriptive colophon that explicitly names it as the seventh tablet of *Diri*.

The paleography and layout of N 2948 are highly reminiscent of other MB *Diri* manuscripts, including CBS 7138, N 3730 reverse,[1] CBS 11141 (PBS 5 106) and CBS 14013, which Civil includes as sources for tablets 1, 3, and 5 of canonical Diri, respectively, in his edition of the text. N 2948 features three columns with syllabic spelling, orthographic spelling, and, presumably after the break, Akkadian translations.[2]

Therefore, it is likely that the seven tablet configuration of *Diri* also occurred at MB Nippur and may have originated from there as well. The contents of the MB recension, insofar as it can be understood as a stable text, can be similar to that of the canonical version, a feature which is sporadically observed, for example, in conjunction with other MB lexical recensions, including *ur$_5$-ra*,[3] as well as the godlist An = Anum.[4]

N 2948 (5.3 x 4.4 x 2.6 cm)
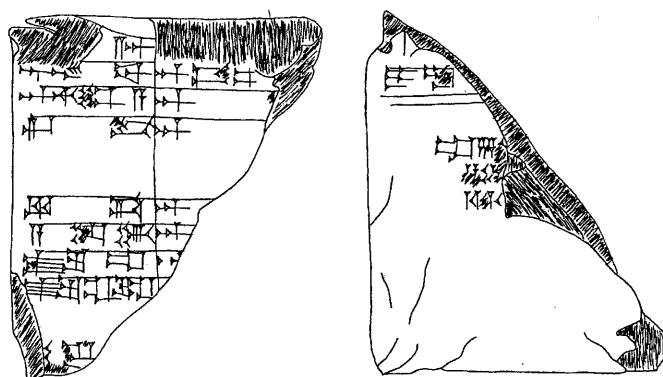
obverse
i

1) [u$_2$-sa]-a-an	[^{d}USAN]	[*liliātu*]
2) ^{d}Zib$_2$-ba	USAN-*PA*-[SIKIL]	[ ]
3) ^{d}Ti-mu$_2$-[a]	^{d}[ALAN]	[ ]
4) ğa$_2$-sis	^{d}[TAxGI$_6$]	[*eṭūtu*]
		[*ekletu*]
5) kab-ta	^{d}[ ]	[ ]
6) a-lam-muš	^{d}[LAL$_3$]	[ ]
7) ziz$_2$-zu-um	AN-[ ]	[ ]
8) ziz$_2$-zu-um-zu-um	[ ]	[ ]
		[ ]
9) *X*-*zu?*-[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

remainder of obverse missing

reverse
i'

1') illegible traces	[ ]	[ ]
2') i-la-[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

ending double ruling

colophon:
dub imin-k[am diri *wa-at-rum*]
a?-*li?*-[   ]
DIŠ-U-DIŠ-U-DIŠ-U-[   ]

Commentary:

obverse:

1f.) These divine names occur together in *An = Anum* 4 173f., where they are all labeled as ^{d}*Ištar kakkabi*, "goddess of a star/planet." Compare also the deities featured together in the Genouillac List (*TCL* 15 10) 257f. and *Proto-Diri* Nippur 11: 24f. (MSL 15 36).

3) The restoration ^{d}ALAN is a based on *An = Anum* 4 176-177 and Civil's resulting restoration of *Aa* VII/4 204 (*MSL* 14 514). It is further confirmed by the fact that there is room for only one sign in the break.

4) The ĜASIS sign, originally TA-*gunû*, is typically rendered as TAxĜI$_6$ in later contexts (see, for example, the discussion of George 1986: 136). Here the restoration is uncertain, given the lack of occurrence of this rare sign in MB contexts. The restoration of the Akkadian terms is based on S^b *Vocabulary* II 101-102 (MSL 3 138). Ĝasis is also deified in *Proto-Izi* I 25 (MSL 13 17).

5-6) The DNs Kabta and Alamuš are equated with each other in *An = Anum* 4 188, 190.

7-8) The corresponding standard orthography to the value /zizum/ and the apparent reduplicated form /zizumzum/ are not clear to me. The CVC value /ziz/ for AŠ$_2$ is not prevalent in syllabic writings, but is assumed to obtain here due to the plausible reduplicated form that it would furnish.

colophon) The sequence DIŠ-U-DIŠ-U-DIŠ-U-[   ] reflects a particular type of the so called "cryptic colophon," a convention known in MB contexts which consists of a repeated sequence of a number occurring at end of the colophon. It is most readily attested following various types of extracts (see, for example, the omens extract CBS 3424a (Heeßel 2000: 101 and note the numerous examples collected by Veldhuis 2000). For the use of cryptography elsewhere in colophons, see, for example, the discussion of Leichty 1964, Hunger 1968: 4, and for additional bibliography, see Jeyes 2000: 371. For numerical cryptography in general, see Pearce 1982.

1. This extract source was written at the same ninety degree angle to the obverse at which occurs in other MB literary and lexical extracts from Nippur, which were collected and discussed by Veldhuis 2000.

2. Compare the format of *MB Diri* Ugarit, Emar, Hattusha, and Amarna.

3. See the remarks of Veldhuis 2000: 79.

4. See the remarks of Lambert 1957-1971: 475 regarding the MB Nippur exemplar of *An = Anum* tablet 5, CBS 10805 (SLT 121), which has a colophon which explicitly designates the tablet number within this series. Note also the additional unprovenienced MB exemplar CBS 331, which has most of the corresponding entries of tablet 1 of canonical *An = Anum*, albeit with varying order, and also bears the catchline of canonical *An = Anum* tablet 2, Dingir-maḫ, at the conclusion of the manuscript (the colophon is not substantially preserved, although traces of it can be seen at the break below the final column). Note that Civil (MSL 15 197) suggests that other select MB exemplars of *Diri* "can be considered examples of an intermediate, pre-canonical state of *Diri* VII."

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06) Zur Lesung des Namens "Utnapišta" im Boğazköy-Fragment KBo 54.2 – In *N.A.B.U.* 2004 (Nr. 1) 9-10 wurde das kleine Fragment 27/v als ein hethitisches Exemplar zum Gilgameš-Epos (CTH 341.III) vorgestellt. Die wichstigste Information dieses Dokuments ist die Nennung des Namens "Utnapišta", welcher in der Schreibertradition von Boğazköy sonst nicht vorkommt. In der Zwischenzeit wurde 27/v von D. Groddek in Keilschriftkopie als KBo 54.2 ediert. Im Editionband, Inhaltsübersicht p. IV, ist kritisch angeführt, daß die Lesung "Utnapišta" nicht ohne Emendation auskommt; einen anderen Lesungsvorschlag hat Groddek an dieser Stelle nicht geboten. Im Januar 2007 hatte ich die Gelegenheit, die Originaltafel 27/v näher zu überprüfen, wobei ich auch meine Kollegin R. Akdoğan zu Rate ziehen konnte. Die Kollation hat ergeben, daß meine Lesung ⸢*Ut*⸣-*na-pí-iš-t*[*a*(-)...] für die Zeile 5' zu korrigieren ist. Vielmehr scheint hier die Lesung [... ⁱ] ⸢*Ú*⸣-*da*⸣-*na-pí-iš-t*[*a*(-)...] vorzuliegen, welche in dieser Gestalt auch mit der babylonischen Form Ūta-napištī gut übereinstimmt. Das zweite Zeichen des Namens bleibt jedoch nicht ganz ohne Probleme, weil es sich anhand der Zeichenspuren entweder um ein "*da*" oder ein "*ta*" handeln kann. Ein Vergleich mit dem letzten Zeichen dieser Zeile, -*t*[*a*(-)...], welches unmittelbar vor dem Bruch steht, macht die Lesung "*da*" wahrscheinlicher. Der senkrechte Keil vor dem "*da*" soll zum Rest eines "*ú*" gehören.

In den Versionen des Gilgameš-Epos aus Mesopotamien wird Ūta-napištī fast immer logographisch als ⁽ᴵ⁾UD-ZI(-tim) geschrieben, und die ganz seltenen phonetischen Schreibungen des Namens sind in *CAD A* II (1968) 521 unter *atû* zitiert. A. George hat sich bei seiner Bearbeitung des Gilgameš-Epos, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* Vol. I (2003) 152-153, mit diesem Namen auseinandergesetzt und die Bedeutung "I found my life" für Ūta-napištī etabliert. In [...ⁱ]⸢*Ú*⸣-*da*⸣-*na-pí-iš-t*[*a* (-)...] in KBo 54.2: 5' liegt nun eine der selten bezeugten phonetischen Schreibungen dieses Namens vor, und zwar nicht nur für den anatolischen Bereich, sondern für die ganze keilschriftliche Kulturwelt.

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07) Integrazione al testo UET V 236 (U.7827 I) – Il frammento U.31578 fa parte di un gruppo di testi, più o meno frammentari, la cui edizione (G. SPADA, *Testi economici da Ur relativi al periodo di Isin e Larsa conservati al British Museum*, 2007) si inserisce all'interno del progetto di catalogazione del materiale inedito proveniente da Ur e giunto a Londra in seguito alle campagne di scavo svolte da sir Leonard Woolley negli anni '20 e '30, che è stato intrapreso dai proff. Franco D'Agostino e Francesco Pomponio (F. D'AGOSTINO – F. POMPONIO – R. LAURITO, *Neo-Sumerian Texts from Ur in the British Museum. Epigraphical and Archaeological Catalogue of an Unpublished Corpus of Texts and Fragments*, Nisaba 5, 2004).

Il frammento integra il testo 236 di UET V e contribuisce a migliorare la comprensione del documento pubblicato da Figulla e l'interpretazione che ne fece D. Charpin nel 1986 (*Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi, XIXᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles av. J.C.*, Hautes Études Orientales 22, Genève-Paris, 1986, pp. 55-56), più precisamente permette di integrare le linee 14-21. H. H. Figulla lo aveva catalogato sotto la dicitura: «hire of a slave (*ana naqārim ù epēšim*) from Kù-ᵈNingal and ᵈSin-mansum by 2 men. Rim-Sin, –.xi.9 »; D. Charpin, trent'anni più tardi, aveva giustamente inserito questo testo all'interno del *corpus* di documenti scoperti da sir L. Woolley tra i resti dell'abitazione sita al numero 7 di Quiet Street a Ur, che aveva attribuito al sacerdote purificatore (*abrig*) Ku-Ningal, vissuto durante il regno di Rim-Sîn.

Nell'archivio della famiglia di Ku-Ningal vi sono sei documenti – datati dal 2° all'11° anno di Rim-Sîn – relativi alla proprietà immobiliare di questo personaggio e ai rapporti e scambi con i suoi vicini di casa. In particolare, il contenuto del testo ricostruito integrando *UET* V 236 con il frammento U.31578 riguarda la costruzione di un muro divisorio tra la proprietà di Ku-Ningal e quella del suo vicino Sîn-mansum.

Per capire meglio le dinamiche dell'accordo, occorre premettere che nel 9° anno di Rim-Sîn ci fu uno scambio di terreno tra Ku-Ningal e i figli di un certo Ur-ešbanda, suo vicino: in cambio dell'abitazione al numero 5 di Quiet Street, Ku-Ningal ottenne dai tre fratelli parte dell'abitazione al numero 7 (cfr. *UET* V 123). Nello stesso anno, dopo circa 7 mesi, Ku-Ningal stipulò un accordo con un altro suo vicino, Sîn-mansum, relativamente alla costruzione e manutenzione di un muro divisorio.

Di seguito riporto la traslitterazione con l'aggiunta delle nuove informazioni:

1. iz-zi dal-ba-[na]
2. ša₃ Ku₃-ᵈN[in-gal]
3. u₃ ᵈEN.ZU-ma-a[n-sum]
4. ᴵKu₃-ᵈNin-[gal]
5. a-na na-qa₂-ri-im
6. u₃ e-pe-e-ši-im
7. iq-bi-šum-ma
8. ᴵᵈEN.ZU-ma-an-sum
9. i-pi-is-su-ma
10. aš-šum i-pi-i-su-[x]
11. a-n[a Ku₃-ᵈN]in-gal
12. k[u₃-babbar i-ri-iš-ma]
13. rotto
14. ⌈i-ga⌉-a-r[i-im]
15. i-la-bi-ir-[ma]
16. a-na ma-a-qa₂-t[i-im]
17. e-pe-e-ši-im
18. u₃ ka-ṣa-ri-im¹
19. [ᴵKu₃]-ᵈNin-gal
20. [u₂-la iz-za]-az²
21. [ᵈEN.ZU-ma-an-sum]-ma
22. i-ip-pi-ša
23. mu lugal-bi in-pa₃
24. igi A-ap-pa-a ugula engar
25. ᴵᵈEN.ZU-uru₄ engar
26. ᴵLu₂-ᵈNin-Šubur
27. ᴵE₂-ra-bi dumu ᵈEN.ZU-[...]
28. ᴵŠa-ma-a-a-tum
29. ᴵE₂-sag-gu₂-ga[l₂]
30. Be-li₂-i-di₂-nam
31. ᴵA-ba-a
32. iti ziz₂-a
33. mu i₇-Lagaš
34. ba-ba-al

Dunque, la traduzione dell'intero documento sarà la seguente :
« (Per quanto concerne) il muro che condividono Ku-Ningal e Sîn-mansum, Ku-Ningal ha detto a lui (= Sîn-mansum) di buttarlo giù e ricostruirlo (di nuovo) ; Sîn-mansum lo ha fatto (e poi) ha [chiesto argen]to a [Ku-Nin]gal per aver ricostruito quel muro [...]. (Quando) il mu[ro] sarà tanto vecchio [da] crollare,³ Ku-Ningal non sarà (obbligato) a farlo riparare e a dividere (le spese), ma sarà (di nuovo) Sîn-mansum a farlo. Hanno giurato nel nome del re davanti ad Appa, il guardiano dei fattori, Sîn-ereš, il fattore, Lu-NinŠubur, Erabi, figlio di Sîn-[...], Šamātum, E-sag-guga[l], Bēlī-iddinam, Abâ. XI mese, anno in cui fu scavato il canale di Lagaš ».

1. Il verbo è *kaṣārum*, « riparare » e non *kašādum*, che D. Charpin aveva interpretato nel senso di « finire completamente », costruito in endiadi con *epēšum*.

2. Il verbo non è dunque *ṣabātum*, nel senso di intraprendere un'attività (cfr. CAD Ṣ, p. 21), come aveva interpretato D. Charpin, bensì *zâzum*, « dividere », qui riferito alle spese di costruzione del muro.

3. *Gamāru* significa « terminare, completare » ed è qui costruito in endiadi col verbo *labāru*, « diventare vecchio », col significato di « diventare talmente vecchio da... ». Si ringrazia il prof. M. Van de Mieroop per avermi dato utili indicazioni per la comprensione del testo.

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08) Labour as merchandise in Ur III – The newly published Ur III document BI C 6 of the Banca d'Italia (F. Pomponio, M. Stol, Aa. Westenholz, *Tavolette cuneiformi di varia provenienza delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia*, p. 107f. II 12) records the exchange of an amount of emmer for hired labor – its value calculated in the barley wages to be paid – and an aditional amount of barley. This is now the second example from the Ur III period for labor traded on the market as a merchandise, and it may now be accepted as merchantable according to the law that one example (here : TPTS 396, Š 40, from Umma¹) may be an accidental occurrence, but that two establish a rule. The new document comes from Nippur ; it reads :
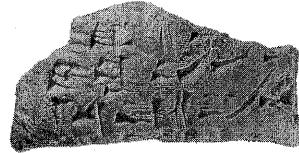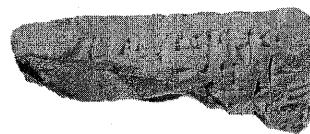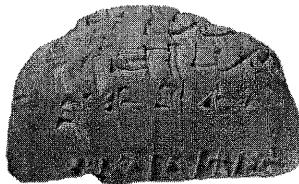
1 ;4.0 zíz gur, ki Ur-ni$_9$-ğar-ta, Úrdu-ğu$_{10}$, šu ba-ti, $^{(5)}$ 46 ğuruš u$_4$ 1(=DIŠ*tenû*)-šè, lú ḫuğ-ğá 6 sìla-ta, še-bi 0 ;4.3.6 sìla, 0 ;4.2.4 sì[la še], ki Ad-ᵈdaᵈ-[kal-la-ta], $^{(lower\ edge\ 10)}$ šu+níğin 1 ;4.0 še gur, $^{(rev.)}$ Úrdu-ğu$_{10}$ Ur-ni$_9$-ğar-ka, ì-na-ši-šúm, ᴵŠu-ni-an-nam, ᴵUn-sa$_6$ᵖ-ga engar, $^{(15)}$ ᴵPuzur$_4$-É-a sağğa$^?$, lú inim-ma-bi-me, iti apin-du$_8$-a, u$_4$ 6 ᵈba-zalᵈ, mu Za-[ab-ša]-ᵈliᵈᵏⁱ ᵈba-ḫulᵈ.

"Urduğu has received 1 kor, 4 bushel of emmer from Ur-niğar. Urduğu has given to Ur-niğar for it 46 man days, hired workmen at (the rate of) 6 liters (of barley) each – the barley for them : 4 bushel, 3 seah, 6 liters – (and) 4 bushel, 2 Seah, 4 liters from Adda[kala's], in all 1 Kor 4 bushel of barley. Šunni-annam, the farmer Un-saga (and) the temple administrator Puzur-E'a are its witnesses." Date : 8ᵗʰ month, 6ᵗʰ day, year ŠS 7.

Urduğu needed emmer. He paid for it with 46 man days, i.e. he provided the workers and their wages in barley. He also paid an additional amount of barley with the result that the amount of emmer he received was identical with the amount of barley he provided. M. Powell, *BSA* 1 (1984) 51ff. (referring back to B. Hrozny, *Getreide* [1913]), points out that emmer in the form called zíz had the same value as barley. The extra effort to find and hire the workers was therefore not compensated.

Ur-niğar had emmer, but he needed workers. The singular payment with labor for a commodity in all probability means that he really needed the workforce, and the additional barley payment indicates that he needed precisely the number of workdays he got. But as he seemingly had not to compensate the extra effort/cost of hiring he got the workers rather cheaply which indicates an even greater need of Urduğu for the emmer.

A quite different explanation would be that Urduğu had been provided with the workers by his own head office, that it had covered the cost for the hiring and not passed it down to Urduğu's account.

If the witness Puzur-E'a was indeed a sağğa (as the editors read the last sign in line 15, which on the basis of the photograph seems likely), then high authority took interest in this contract and this may result from its investment in the labor.

1. See C. Wilcke, Markt und Arbeit im Alten Orient am Ende des 3. Jts v. Chr., in. J. Stagl, W. Reinhard, eds., *Menschen und Märkte*. Historische Anthropologie 9. Vienna 2006 (still in press), 91 with note 66.

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09) "The General in Charge of the Four *stratēgiai*"? – Babylonian astronomical diaries[1] often mention generals who served under the Seleucid and Arsacid dynasties, but the exact meaning of their titles and the powers held by them remain uncertain in some cases. The purpose of this note is to clarify the meaning of two of these titles, "[lú]GAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ *šá* É 4 ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ-*ú-tu*[2]" (the General who ... the Four General-ships), and its variant, "[*šá*] *ú-še-pe-eš* ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ ᵏᵘʳURIᵏⁱ *šá* É 4 ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ"[3] ([Who] Serves as the General of Akkad who ... the Four Generals[4]). Both these titles seem to be variants of "ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ *šá ana* UGU 4 ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ"[5] (the General who is above the Four Generals[6], probably corresponding to *ho epi tōn anō satrapeiōn*[7], Who is in Charge of Upper Satrapies, i.e. the whole of the Seleucid realm east of Euphrates[8]).

In the first two titles, the sign É causes the difficulty. G. F. Del Monte made an attempt to explain the sign as prepositional *bīt*[9]. His explanation, however, does not fit the context without any extended interpretation, because *bīt* is, as he already pointed out, normally used as preposition of location in the sense of "am Ort von," "at" (*AHw* 131b ; *CDA* 46a).

Instead, we can interpret the sign as representing the substantive *bītu*. This word seems to be used not only in the sense of "house," but also in the sense of "region, province," occasionally modified by the title of the official who governed the province (e.g. É *turtāni*, É *rab šāqê* in the Neo-Assyrian period)[10]. We may therefore consider "É 4 ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ(-*ú-tu*)" to mean "the Realm under the Jurisdiction of the Four Generals" and "the Four *stratēgiai*" to symbolically designate the vast territory under the jurisdiction of "the General who is above the Four Generals" (For the explanation of the "Four," see n. 6).

The formal designation of Seleucid provinces is probably not *stratēgia* but *satrapeia* (it is used, for example, in an official title, *ho epi tōn anō satrapeiōn*). According to H. Bengtson, however, as a result of the reform of Antiochos III (223-187BC), the *stratēgos* of each province also assumed the authority of satrap and the same official came to hold both civil and military jurisdiction[11]. The *terminus ante quem* of this reform may be set at 230/29BC on the basis of the occurrence of the title "[lú]GAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ *šá* É 4 ˡúGAL ERÍNᵐᵉˢ-*ú-tu*" (the General in Charge of the Four *stratēgiai*) in -229B 'Obv.' 9' (this is the first occurrence of this and similar titles).

1. A. J. Sachs & H. Hunger (eds.), *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, Vienna, 1988-.
2. -229B 'Obv.' 9'.
3. -124 A 'Rev.' 19'.
4. The person holding the title probably served temporarily as "the General of Akkad (Babylonia)," as well as "the General who ... the Four Generals."

5. -155A Rev.13 et passim.

6. The numeral "four" in these titles has no counterpart in the corresponding Greek title *ho epi tōn anō satrapeiōn* and the number seems to be too small for that of the provinces under the official's jurisdiction (cf. H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Vol.2, Munich, 1944, 16-18, 78-89 ; S. Sherwin-White & A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis : A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, Berkeley /Los Angeles, 1993, 44-45). We would rather conjecture a symbolical use of the number "four" in the light of the title *šar kibrāt arba'i/ erbetti* (King of the Four Quarters, i.e. the Entire World), which is used of Mesopotamian and Persian kings who ruled over vast territories. The status rectus of this numeral *erbû*, is used in itself as a synonym for *kibrātu* (by itself, the word means "regions," "the world" [CAD, Vol.8, 332b-333a]) according the synonym list Malku I 187 (A. D. Kilmer, "The First Tablet of *malku = šarru* together with its Explicit Version," *JAOS* 83 [1963], 421-446) and the numeral in "the General who is above the Four Generals" may be used to imply the vastness of the territory under his jurisdiction.

7. This title is found in two inscriptions from the second century BC (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, Vol.8, Paris, 1950, 73, pl. XXIII ; id., "Review of P.M. Fraser, Samothrace Vol. 2/1 : The Inscriptions on Stone, New York, 1960," *Gnomon* 35 [1963], 50-79).

8. This office continued to exist, though probably only nominally, under the Arsacids (Yasuyuki Mitsuma, "Offices of Generals in Seleucid and Aršakid Babylonia," *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 45/2 [2002], 26-55 [in japanese, with english abstract]).

9. G. F. Del Monte, *Testi dalla Babilonia Ellenistica*, Vol. 1 : Testi Cronografici, Pisa /Roma 1997, 53.

10. *CAD*, Vol. 2, 292b-293a ; cf. R. Mattila, *The King's Magnates : A Study of the Highest Officials of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, SAAS 11, Helsinki, 2000, 137.

11. Bengtson, op.cit., 143-158.

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10) Notes on AO 4422 (TCL 12 1) – I recently had the opportunity to collate this tablet in the Louvre. The following notes may help to resolve a few of the puzzles remaining in the text. Contenau's old copy in TCL 12 (1927) is in places slightly misleading ; and this was essentially the source on which Ellen Moore based her transliteration published in *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents* (1935).

With the exception of line 1 at the top of the obverse and lines 17-19 at the end of the reverse, the tablet is ruled into four vertical subcolumns (here labelled a-d, from left to right). Though omitted in the copy, faint horizontal rulings, visible mostly in subcolumns a-c, may be seen after lines 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11 (here slightly lower than expected), and 13, clearly marking the division of the account into single entries. There is no obvious trace of a horizontal ruling after line 2 ; but that line also is a single entry. Lines 13-14 are written on the bottom edge of the tablet. Between lines 16 and 17, there is a blank space, approximately the height of two lines (c. 10 cm) ; and the final three lines of text are at the bottom of the reverse.

In line 4, the SÌLA shown at the left of subcolumn d is actually in subcolumn c ; and the following cluster (KI.MIN, here actually written KI.DIŠ, as also in AO 4424 : 5 [=*TCL* 12 2]) is placed immediately after the vertical dividing line between subcolumns c and d. In lines 5-15, the first sign in subcolumn d in each case is immediately after the same dividing line (not with a short intervening space, as drawn in the copy).

Some entries in subcolumn a are not shown in the copy ; line 6 : 1 (BÁN) ; line 11 : ⌐1 SÌLA⌐ ; line 12 : ⌐1 SÌLA⌐. An entry of ⌐3 (BÁN)⌐ has been omitted in subcolumn b in line 14. These missing figures then confirm corresponding totals found in lines 17-18 : 1 (BÁN) 2 SÌLA for white beer and 2 (PI) 1 (BÁN) for date beer.

The personal name in line 2 is perhaps to be read ᵐ⌐aq?⌐-bi-DINGIR. At the end of the same line, the date reads ITI.ŠU U₄.20. ⌐1.LÁ⌐.KAM ; and, at the end of line 3, the date is U₄.⌐20⌐.1.LÁ.KAM. Thus the text has "day 19" in each instance, versus the "22" and "12" of the copy. In line 3, the two Winkelhaken in the date are written almost on top of each other and the second is impressed more shallowly than the first, but this configuration does not appear to be the result of a split stylus.

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11) Tying up loose ends – The following line in a Ugaritic text (KTU 4.363[RS 18.055] : 3-5) has not yet been fully understood, although its general gist is clear : *w. t̲n. ᶜšrh. ḫpnt / śśwm. amtm. tkyǵ / yd. llḫhm.* These are the translations that have been proposed :

1. "und 12 *ḫpnt* der Pferde des *amtm* aus *Tkj* zusammen mit ihren *llḫ*'s"

Here, *Tky* is analysed as a nisbe from the place-name *gll tky* (*KTU* 4.408 : 5, etc.) and *amtm* is considered to be a personal name.[1]

2. "y (además) doce petos para caballos, de dos codos de 'envergadura' junto con sus 'remaches'"

Here, *tkyġ* is understood as "curvatura, envergadura", based on Arab. *kūᶜ*, "cúbito, codo, curva" and Arab. *kawiᶜa*, "tener un codo largo". The translation of the term *llḫ*, "remache, incrustación metálica", is loosely based on Sumero-Akk. *ḫuluḫḫu*, "esmalte", etc.[2]

3. "Además, doce gualdrapas de caballos de dos codos *tkyġ* con sus *llḫ*"

Although not translated, here both *llḫ* and *tkyġ* are clearly considered to be terms relating to horses, possibly Hurrian in origin, but otherwise unknown.[3]

4. "Twelve (sets of) protective padding for horses, of two cubits, of the *t.*(?)-type, with their *l.*"[4]

Once again, neither *llḫ* nor *tkyġ* is translated.

Evidently, while there is some agreement on *ḫpn(t)*, no convincing solution for either *llḫ* or *tkyġ* has yet been proposed. These three technical terms can therefore be considered in turn :

(a) *ḫpn* – According to Tropper (*UG*, 148 and 300) both Ug. *ḫlpn*, "cloak" and Ug. *ḫpn*, "garment" may be explained by Akk. *ḫalāpu*. Therefore, here *ḫpn* may correspond to Akk. *ḫallupu*, which denotes armour (for soldiers or horses).[5] The meaning seems to be "caparison, horse-armour".

(b) *llḫ* – Evidently, this word denotes part of a harness or horse trappings.[6] It may be explained as a noun formed from (a verb cognate with) Akk. *lalû*, "to bind" (*CAD* L, 52b ; cf. *CDA*, 176b), which only occurs in lexical texts, glossed *ṣamādu*. Here it appears to have the Hurrian ending -*ḫ(e)*. See, for example, Ug. *arbḫ*, which may also have this Hurrian ending[7] and the Ug. gentilic *hzpḫ*, derived from the place-name *hzp* (see DUL, 351). A meaning such as "attachments" or perhaps even "harness" seems feasible.

(c) *tkyġ* – This seems to be a masc. form of Akk. *tikātu*, "reins" (Mari, SB) (*CAD* T, 400b)[8] and probably has the same meaning. Like *llḫ*, it also has the Hurrian ending, this time written as *ġ*. For Ug. /*ġ*/ as an allograph of /*ḫ*/ see, for example, the PN ᶜ*bdyrġ* for ᶜ*bdyrḫ*, the PN *ġyrn* for *ḫyrn* and the PN *śġr* for *sḫr* in *KTU* 4.277 (RS 17.141).[9]

All three terms may be loanwords from Akkadian[10] and a possible translation of the line in question is therefore : "Plus twelve (sets of) horse-armour, two cubits (long), (and) reins (together) with their attachments".[11]

1. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz - J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII) : Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen", *UF* 5 (1973) 79-104 (95).

2. G. del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la mitología cananea. Estudios de semántica Ugarítica* (Valencia 1984) 200 ; previously in "Quantity Precision in Ugaritic Administrative Texts (*ṣmd, ḥrṣ, aḥd*)", *UF* 11 (1979) 179-86 (183).

3. J.-P. Vita, *El ejercito de Ugarit* (BCFSN Monografías 1 ; Madrid 1995) 78-81.

4. *DUL*, 499. I.e. "doce petos de caballo, de dos codos, del tipo *t.*(?), con sus *l.*" (*DLU* I, 245b). For other proposals see *DUL*, 498-99. See also *DUL*, 868.

5. See J. N. Postgate, "The Assyrian Army in Zamua", *Iraq* 42 (2000) 89-108 (96-97) ; see now *CDA*, 102b. For references to Akk. *ḫubb/pputtu*, etc. cf. Vita, *El ejercito de Ugarit*, 80 and DUL, 400.

6. See, for example "horse equipment" (Gordon UT §19.1382).

7. See J. Sanmartín, "*Arbḫ* - "vierjährig" (*KTU* 1.92 : 10)", *UF* 9 (1977) 374-75.

8. Not listed in either *AHw* or *CDA*.

9. See W. G. E. Watson, "Ugaritic Onomastics (3)", *Aula Orientalis* 11 (1993) 213-22 (221). See also W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40 ; Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991) 325, 356.

10. Or possibly have cognates in Akkadian. Both the words discussed under (b) and (c) may be Common Semitic ; see Heb. *lulā'ôt*, "knots, loops" (*HALOT*, 530b) and Aram. *tikā', tîkā'*, "interlinked chain, twisted rope" (cited, with other cognates in *HALOT*, 1730b).

11. For another term for equipment connected with horses explained from Akkadian see W. G. E. Watson, "Unravelling Ugaritic *MDL*", *SEL* 3 (1986) 73-78.

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12) Ébl. *wasikum* « tissé ; tissu » – Les sources et les extraits de la liste lexicale bilingue suméro-éblaïte enregistrent trois sumérogrammes qui contiennent la graphie KAxSAˡ(KID).[1] La collation des tablettes permet d'intégrer et corriger les données de l'édition préliminaire.[2] En ce qui concerne les attestations des sources, on peut ajouter celles de la source D : KAxSAˡ(KID)-dù / *ša-ga-nu* / KAxSAˡ(KID)-mú / *du-ša-gi-nu-um* (TM.75.G.2284+ v. IX 4-7). En ce qui concerne l'extrait h, on notera tout d'abord que la graphie *na-sa*-LUM, après au moins deux cases en cassure ([ ] / [ ] / *na-sa*-LUM, TM.75.G.1965 r. V 1-3), ne peut pas être une glose de KAxSAˡ(KID), comme voudrait Pettinato.[3] Le même extrait, qui ne donne pas KAxSAˡ(KID)-mú, semble avoir confondu les gloses éblaïtes de KAxSAˡ(KID)-dù et KAxSAˡ(KID), comme le montre la comparaison avec les extraits c, i :

KAxSAˡ(KID)-dù *ša-ga-núm* (c) ; *ša-ga-núm* (i) ; *wa-zi-gu-um* (h) ;

KAxSAˡ(KID) *wa-zi-gú-um* (c) ; *wa-zi-gúm* (i) ; (h, sans glose).

On pourrait proposer alors, comme me le suggère M. Bonechi, que le scribe de h ait oublié la glose éblaïte de KAxSAˡ(KID)-dù et inversé la position de la glose éblaïte de KAxSAˡ(KID) :

r. IV   5'   KA×SA[!](KID)-dù
         6'   su-mu-du-ù
                 <   >
         8'   KA×SA[!](KID)
         7'   *wa-zi-gu-um*

En tenant compte de ces intégrations, on obtient la documentation suivante :

sum_4 *wa-zi-gú-um* (c), *wa-zi-gúm* (i) ; *wa-zi-gu-um* (h) ;

sum_4-dù   *ša-gu-˹nu˺-um* (A) ; *ša-ga-núm* (B) ; *ša-ga-nu** (D) ; *ša-ga-núm* (c) ; su-mu *ša-ga-núm* (i) ; su-mu-du-ù / <   > (h) ;

sum_4-mú   *du-uš-[d]a-gi-nu* (A) ; *du-uš-da-gi-núm* (B, C) ; *du-ša-gi-nu-um** (D) ; *da-ra-ru$_{12}$-um* (c) ; šum-mú / *da-r[a-ru$_{12}$-um]* (i).

La valeur sum_4 de la graphie KA×SA[!](KID), qui dans la liste bilingue remplace KA×SA de la liste monolingue (TM.75.G.2422+), est assurée par les gloses des deux extraits qui indiquent la lecture éblaïte des sumérogrammes : su-mu-du-ù (h) ; su-mu (i) ; šum-mú (i).[4] Étant donné qu'à Ébla le syllabogramme *ša* indiquait les deux spirantes interdentales /ta, ḏa/ pendant que *gu* indiquait /qu/, toutes les gloses éblaïtes des quatre sources peuvent être ramenées à la racine sémitique *ḏqn* « barbe ; avoir de la barbe ».[5]

À la même base lexicale se réfèrent les gloses de sum_4-dù dans les extraits c, i. Dans les mêmes extraits, sum_4-mú est glosé *da-ra-ru$_{12}$-um* (c), *da-r[a-ru$_{12}$-um]* (i), graphie qui a été ramenée à l'ar. *ṭrr* « pousser, croître (plantes, moustache) », bab. *ṭarru(m)* « barbu ».[6] À côté de cette documentation, les extraits h, c, i présentent des gloses qui résistent à l'interprétation : *wa-zi-gú-um* (c), *wa-zi-gúm* (i), *wa-zi-gu-um* (h). Comme hypothèse de travail on pourrait ramener ces gloses à une base biconsonantique avec augmentation *w-*. Les scribes éblaïtes qui n'avait pas la possibilité d'indiquer le mode d'articulation, utilisaient les syllabogrammes de la série ZA pour les consonnes /s, z, ṣ/. Seulement dans la série des consonnes vélaires ils pouvaient utiliser le signe *gú* pour les consonnes /k, g, q/ ou bien le signe *gu* pour la seule consonne emphatique, /qu/. La graphie *wa-zi-gu-um* (h) semblerait donc suggérer une racine *w-s/z/ṣ-q*. Cependant, comme nous avons vu plus haut, le scribe de l'extrait h ne semble pas un témoin très sûr en ce qui concerne les sumérogrammes qui contiennent KA×SA[!](KID). Il vaudra mieux donc être prudent et considérer la possibilité que l'emploi de -*gu*- soit une erreur du scribe.

Les racines sémitiques que peuvent être ramenées à *w-s/z/ṣ-k/g/q* ne semblent pas pouvoir indiquer un synonyme de *ḏqn* et *ṭrr*. Il faudra donc penser à une utilisation différente du sumérogramme. Il y a en effet un texte de chancellerie où un homme, avant de prendre en charge certains tissus, en contrôle leur sum_4 (*ap* / 1 lú / *Ša*-LUM / šu-ra / sum_4-sù, *ARET* XIII 15 v. VII 14-18). En publiant ce texte, j'avais pensé que le sumérogramme indiquait ici la « fibre » du tissu.[7] L'analyse des gloses permet de confirmer et préciser cette hypothèse. La racine supposée par *wa-zi-gú-um* peut être comparée avec hébr. *skk* « tisser, former », *nsk* « tresser ; tisser », *masseket* « fils de la chaîne » (Jug 13, 16) ; ar. *nsǧ* « tisser (une étoffe) ; tresser », *nasīǧ* « tissé ; tissu », etc. Les attestations des deux langues occidentales renvoient à une base biconsonantique qui se présente comme *sk* en hébreu et comme *sg* en arabe. En akkadien on n'a pas jusqu'ici signalé la présence de mots dérivés de *sk* mais il est très probables que l'ass. *sikku* et le babyl. *sissiktu* (< *siksik-t-*) « frange, bord (de tissu) » s'y rapportent. Les franges, en effet, résultaient des fils de la chaîne restés dénoués quand le tissu était coupé du métier. (cf. Is 38, 12). En éblaïte on pourrait avoir la même base, probablement dans la forme *sk* si l'emploi de -*gu*- est vraiment une erreur du scribe de l'extrait h. L'existence, dans les langues sémitiques, de verbes à augmentation *w*- à coté de verbes à augmentation *n*- est bien connu à partir de l'étude de T. Nöldeke.[8]

L'ébl. *wa-zi-gú-um* pourrait donc être interprété comme /wasik-um/ « tissé ; tissu » (cf. ar. *nasīǧ*). Dans le contexte de *ARET* XIII 15, le sumérogramme sum_4 pourrait se référer au tissage des étoffes en question.

1. Pour les sigles des sources de la liste bilingue, voir A. Archi, *The Archives of Ebla*, in K. R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Leiden 1986, p. 83 ; les sigles des extraits sont ceux de l'édition préliminaire de G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769*, Napoli 1982 (= *MEE* 4).

2. *MEE* 4, p. 220 et p. 360.

3. *MEE* 4, p. 360, 0174, h.

4. M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983), p. 8 ; *SEb* 7 (1984), p. 200, n. 37 ; *BiOr* 41 (1984), p. 646 ; K. Hecker, in L. Cagni, *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli 1984, p. 213 ; G. Conti, in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Miscellanea eblaitica, 1* (= Quaderni di Semitistica 15), Firenze 1988, p. 36 et n. 6 ; S. A. Picchioni, *Testi lessicali monolingui "éš-bar-kin$_x$"*, Roma 1997 (= *MEE* 15), p. 156, nn. 23-24.

5. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983), p. 8.

6. Krebernik, *SEb* 7 (1984), p. 200, n. 37.

7. Fronzaroli, in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Miscellanea eblaitica, 2* (= Quaderni di Semitistica 16), Firenze 1989, p. 8 et n. 18 ; *ARET* XIII, p. 170.

8. *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1910, pp. 179-201.

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13) Suicide in Akkadian – The desperate princess Kirûm wrote to her father, "If my lord does not bring me back to Mari, I will 'grab my nose', jump from the roof" (*aṣabbat appī ištu ūrim amaqqut*), *ARM* 10, 33 : 7-9 ; "je courrai à l'instant me jeter du toît", J.-M. Durand, *LAPO* 18 (2000) 444 no. 1230. Another letter confirms this desperation, "Since my lord could not care less about me, either a woman is killed, or else she falls from a roof", *AEM* 1/2 59 no. 304 : 45, after W. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari* (2003) 292. Clearly, the woman intends to kill herself. A third letter has a similar threat, "(Otherwise) I will strangle myself or mount a roof and throw myself down" (*uḫtannaq ūlu ellīma ištu ūrim amaqqut*), *TCL* 18, 95 : 32-34, after K.R. Veenhof, *AbB* 14, 149. The verb *maqātu* "to fall" also means "to throw oneself down", *CAD* M/1 242b (1.c).

The example in *AbB* 14 seems to show that we have to take the action on the roof literally. Nonetheless, the phrase could also be used figuratively, and indeed there are reasons to suppose that "to jump from the roof" is an Akkadian idiom for "to commit suicide". In two cases it is a specific way to die :

(1) The OB liver omina in *YOS* 10, 17 include the following forecasts : "among the personnel / the acquaintances / the relatives of a man, someone will die" (49-51), "[...] will jump [fro]m the roof" ([... *iš-t*]*u ūrim imaqqut*) (52), "[a man] will die a natural death (*mūt š*[*im*]*tišu imât*)" (53), [...], a priest, a noble will die" (54). A parallel text (J. Nougayrol, *RA* 44 [1950] 33-35) duplicates only lines 49-50, omitting the jump from the roof and what follows.

(2) In the dream oracles published by A.L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (1956) 328, Tablet C obv. I, we come across this sequence : "he will die by a collapsing wall (*ina miqitti igāri imât*)" (82), "he will die the death (due to) sun-heat (*mūt ṣēti imât*)" (83-84), "he will die the death (due to) jumping from the roof" (*mūt mi*[*qit*]*ti ūri imât*)" (85). Note the distinction between the *ina miqitti* for the wall and the *mūt miqitti* for the roof, suggesting that the man will not die "through" a collapsing roof. This militates against Oppenheim, 283a, "he will die through a falling roof-beam".

The omen for the king, "from the roof he will jump, *ta*-(...)", Oppenheim, 337 rev. 6, stands alone within the dream corpus.

There are two passages where jumping to one's death from the roof is premeditated :

(1) *STT* 1, 65 : 24, read and translated by A. Livingstone as follows : [*e*]*-li ut-ta-ra ana ma-qa-a-t*[*i*] *ú-ri aq-qa-rat* ZI-*ti t*[*u-ta-*[*r*]*a-an-ni*, "I repeatedly ascend the roof in order to fall down, but my life is too precious, it turns me back" ; *SAA* III (1989) 32 no. 12 rev. 1, followed by B.R. Foster, *Before the Muses* (1996) 605, "I constantly go up to the roof to jump off, but my life is too precious, it turns me back".

(2) In the Love Lyrics : "Fall from the roof on to a dagger (*ultu muḫḫi ūri ana muḫḫi patri muqtī*), get an iron spike in your side, [ge]t sharp arrows" ; W.G. Lambert in H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts, *Unity and Diversity. Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (1975) 118, Section V, col. B 28-30.

Above, we suggested that *miqitti ūri* means "suicide". The other references (in liver omina) are isolated and do not help : Boissier Choix 63 : 6, 10, cited in *CAD* M/2 102a, now U. Koch-Westenholz, Babylonian Liver Omens (2000) 106 no. 6 : 7, 10 ; also 204 no. 27 : 68.

Of course, one can literally fall from a roof, by accident, and die, as mentioned in *Utukkū lemnūtu* : M.J. Geller, *FAOS* 12 (1985) 38 f., line 323 (Sumerian), *SpbTU* III 38 no. 64 V 13 (the line is lost in *CT* 16, 10 IV, end). In the next line, a man falls from a palm tree. And note this obscure passage on an exercise tablet : "Who fell from the roof, [...] the roof fence (*gisallu*)", W.G. Lambert, *BWL* (1960) 280, BM 56488 rev. IV 4-7, now P. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (2000) 429 III' 4-7.

This omen forecast (astrology) remains a riddle : *ú-ru ana* (ŠÈ) *māti* (KUR) *i-ma-qut miqittu* (RI.RI.GA) *iššakkan* (GAR-*a*[*n*]), M. Leibovici, *RA* 50 (1956) 18, *KUB* IV, 63 III 32. Visible on manuscript B, *KUB* XXX, 9 III 14. In astrological omina, the forecasts refer to public life, not situations of private persons, like suicide. The original of this text is Old Babylonian ; U. Koch-Westenholz, *BiOr* 55 (1998) 186.

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14) Cyrus defeat of Nabonidus – The final defeat of Nabonidus by Cyrus occurred when Sippar fell to Cyrus without a battle and Nabonidus fled : A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5) p. 109 14-15. The preceding passage has caused translators no problems, but there are serious difficulties when the context is studied. Grayson reads and renders :

1 2	... *ina* ⁱᵗⁱ*Tašrīti* ᵐ*ku-raš ṣal-tum ina Upê*ᵏⁱ *ina muhhi* [...]
1 3	ⁱᵈ*i-diq-lat ana libbi ummāni*ⁿⁱ ᵏᵘʳ*Akkadî*ᵏⁱ *ki īpušū*ˢᵘ (erasure) *nišu*ᵐᵉˢ ᵏᵘʳ*Akkadî*ᵏⁱ
1 4	BALA.KI *hubta* (SAR) *ihbut* (SAR) *niše*ᵐᵉˢ *idūk* ...

"In the month Tishri when Cyrus (II) did battle at Opis on the [*bank of*] the Tigris against the army of Akkad, the people of Akkad retreated. He carried off the plunder (and) slaughtered the people."

J.-J. Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes* (Paris, 1993) p. 204 agrees :

"Au mois de Tešrit, Cyrus ayant livré bataille à l'armée d'Akkad à Upû, sur la [rive] du Tigre, le peuple d'Akkad reflua. Il se livra au pillage et massacra la population."

The problems of this passage were brought to my attention by Shabrokh Razmjou, who was advising Cyrus Kar, an American filmmaker preparing a documentary film about Cyrus II. The main problem is that according to the accepted translation Cyrus defeated the Babylonian army at Opis, whereupon the people of the town withdrew, Cyrus plundered (presumably the town Opis) and slaughtered the population.

The difficulty is that after defeating the Babylonian army it appears that nothing more was done about that army, but instead the local town was looted and the population slaughtered. "Akkad" means "Babylonia," but while "the army of Akkad" is an appropriate designation for Nabonidus' troops, "the people of Akkad" should then mean "the people of Babylonia," which is absurd. There was no non-Babylonian population around Opis or Sippar. A solution which makes perfect sense is to take *nišū* in the common meaning "men" to refer to the Babylonian army. Cyrus did battle with the Babylonian army at Opis, that army retreated, Cyrus looted their camp, then he caught up with them and defeated them.

The verb *dâku* for "defeat" is well known, and while it also has a sense "kill," "slaughtered" and "massacra" are exaggerations. *CAD* N/II p. 286 accepts the meaning "workmen, soldiers" for *nišū*, but the more concise *CDA* p. 255 stays with "people" and does not specify.

Thus the translation of the passage should read:

"In Tishri when Cyrus did battle with the army of Akkad at Opis, on the [bank] of the Tigris, the soldiers of Akkad withdrew. He (Cyrus) took plunder and defeated the soldiers (of Akkad)."

The brevity of the last sentence is characteristic of the style of these late Babylonian chronicles.

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15) Tiš-atal's Visit to Nippur – In a recent Festschrift,[1] R. L. Zettler has published an Ur III tablet from Inana's temple in Nippur, which concerns Tiš-atal of Nineveh. This document, which dates to the ninth month of the year Šu-Suen 3, records a visit of Tiš-atal to Nippur, in the company of eighty other Ninevites. Interestingly, the same state visit is commemorated in a tablet from Ešnuna, which is dated to the same year and month.[2] There, Tiš-atal, together with an escort of over 100 men, receives travel provisions from Babati, the governor of Ešnuna. Since the Nippur document was written on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month, it follows that the Ešnuna stopover took place prior to Tiš-atal's sojourn to Nippur.

The publication of the Nippur tablet by Zettler is most welcome, as it adds important new information to our knowledge of the political history of Ur III times. Unfortunately, however, Zettler's edition misses one key point, and this is the purpose of Tiš-atal's visit to Nippur. Crucial for this point are lines 4-5, which Zettler reads [...]-ka / ⌐nam⌐-a-érim íb-ku₅, "[Tiš-atal, city ruler, (and) 80 men, Ninevites,] ... (they) swore an oath." For the break in line 4 he proposes a restoration [é ᵈInanna]-ka, offering the following argumentation: "As in various legal texts, the line may have recorded the place where Tišatal and his retinue swore the oath. Given the tablet's findspot and the association of Inanna/Ištar with Nineveh, it is tempting to suggest a restoration [é ᵈInnana]-ka." It is certain, however, that the break is to be restored [é ᵈNin-urta]-ka, based on the data from Puzriš-Dagan sources. As noted many years ago by this author,[3] those sources contain mentions of the animals (one sheep and one goat in each case) that were expanded, evidently for a sacrifice, on the occasion of collegial oath-taking by various foreigners in the temple of Ninurta. Since the surviving examples date either to the last or the first two years of a given reign, the individuals in question most probably took an oath of allegiance on the accession of the new king. This is confirmed by the fact that nam-érem ... kud is not just any "oath": while in the general legal context it means an assertory oath (or "oath-cum-curse"), in the context of international relations it signifies specifically the sanctification of a treaty.

Thus, Tiš-atal and his eighty Ninevite companions came to Nippur to swear their allegiance to Šu-Suen, and perhaps even to conclude a treaty with him. As is shown by the collective form íb-kud, the oath was taken by all of them. This indicates that all these Ninevites enjoyed high social status; most probably, they were Tiš-atal kinsmen. While these facts are beyond doubt, the historical background of this event is less obvious. Given its date (the ninth month of Šu-Suen's third regnal year), it is unlikely that its occasion was Šu-Suen's accession.

As already considered by Whiting,[4] this visit must have been connected with the campaign against Šimanum, which took place in the year Šu-Suen 2.[5] According to one of Šu-Suen's historical inscriptions,[6] the avowed cause of the campaign was the banishment from Šimanum of a Sumerian princess that had been sent there some years earlier as a prospective bride (é-gi₄-a) for one of the members of its royal house. As demonstrated by P. Michalowski on the basis of the administrative documents from Puzriš-Dagan,[7] the princess in question was Kunši-matum, who, in the beginning of Amar-Suen's reign (or perhaps even during the last years of Šulgi), became an é-gi₄-a of the Šimanum ruler named Pušam, with an objective of marrying his

son (and apparent successor) Arip-atal. One may speculate that the "banishment" of Kunši-matum occurred as part of the internal struggle for power at Šimanum (which may have been inspired by Amar-Suen's death), as a result of which Pušam was deposed, and he and his family had to flee away. According to this scenario, Šu-Suen's campaign was thus meant to bring Pušam back to power.

However, the true reason must have been different, since a personal change in the government of a distant vassal state would hardly have called for such drastic measures. That reason, I suspect, was the exceptional importance of Šimanum as a political and military ally to the Ur III state. In its strategic relationship with Ur, Šimanum, which seems to have been situated in the upper reaches of the Tigris,[8] apparently policed the middle course of the Tigris (where principalities such as Nineveh and Habura were situated), at the same time providing Babylonia with a safety cordon against any potential threats coming from further north. Thus, any political upheaval at Šimanum would be viewed with the greatest apprehension by Ur, because of the potential danger of depriving Babylonia's northern flank of a protective buffer zone. This threat would become especially real if a hostile, anti-Ur ruler came to power there — as the case may have been subsequent to Pušam's removal.

This is probably the context in which Tiš-atal's interactions with Babylonia are to be placed. Prior to the Šimanum campaign, there appear to have been no direct political contacts between Ur and Nineveh.[9] Such contacts apparently were deemed unnecessary, since the obeisance of the territories between Babylonia and Šimanum – to which Nineveh belonged – was assured by the alliance with Pušam, who appears to have held sway over this entire region. However, this situation changed with the removal of Pušam and his family. Very likely, in order to restore Pušam to power, it became necessary for Šu-Suen to seek military and political assistance among the local Tigridian states. Since Nineveh apparently was not a target of the Šimanum campaign – as only Šimanum and Habura are named in this connection – Tiš-atal probably remained loyal to Šu-Suen, or possibly even supported him militarily in this conflict.[10]

Be that as it may, one of the direct consequences of the Šimanum campaign was the promotion of Tiš-atal, a presumed former subject of Šimanum, to the rank of an autonomous, first-rank vassal of Ur. In view of the unfortunate experience with Šimanum, and as an additional measure to protect Babylonia's northern borders, it was apparently deemed necessary by Šu-Suen to find another, more reliable ally in that region. This change in Tiš-atal's (and Nineveh's) status was ritually expressed by his visit to Babylonia, and by his swearing of an oath of allegiance to the king of Ur.

Yet another measure aimed to secure the loyalty of the middle Tigris valley was the settling by Šu-Suen of the contingents of military colonists in Nineveh and Habura.[11] The evidence here is a Puzriš-Dagan tablet dating to Šu-Suen 3/iii/18, which records the delivery of the gún ma-da tax[12] from the éren living in these two localities. The same tablet mentions also the tax paid by the éren of Uraᶜe, which, based on its association with Nineveh and Habura, must have been situated in the same general area.

1. "Tišatal and Nineveh at the End of the 3ʳᵈ Millennium BCE," in *If a Man Builds a Joyful House : Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, ed. by A. K. Guinan et al., Cuneiform Monographs 31 (Leiden, 2006), 503-14. The tablet in question was supposed to be published by R. M. Whiting. As a matter of fact, in the late seventies Whiting prepared a full edition and discussion of this document. Regrettably, however, this article never appeared in print. At that time I had the opportunity of discussing with Whiting the historical background of this document. Therefore, Whiting's contribution to the understanding of its historical implications — and to identifying this tablet in the first place — needs to be acknowledged.

2. "Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin," *JCS* 28 (1976) 173-82.

3. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur III Period*, FAOS 17 (Stuttgart, 1989), 73-74 n. 209.

4. Op. cit., 177-78.

5. mu ᵈŠu-ᵈSuen lugal Úrimᵏⁱ-ma-ke₄ Si-ma-númᵏⁱ mu-hul (year-name Šu-Suen 3). That the campaign in question took place during the preceding year is shown by the fact that, already in the third month of the year Šu-Suen 3, we find a record of the gún ma-da tax delivered by the military colons (éren) of Habura and Nineveh (see below). Clearly, those colons could have been settled *only* after the conclusion of the campaign, and so at least half a year must have passed between their establishment there and the payment of their tax.

6. D. F. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, 295-300 Šu-Suen 1 iii 26-37, iv 3' – v 23.

7. "The Bride of Simanum," *JAOS* 95 (1975) 716-19.

8. On the location of Šimanum, and its history in the aftermath of Šu-Suen's campaign, see W. Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism : A History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium," in *Upper Mesopotamia : Did the 2100 BC Crisis Take Place?*, ed. by C. Kuzucuoglu and C. Marro (forthcoming). Sallaberger locates Šimanum as far north as Diyarbakir. For various reasons (primarily the inclusion of Šimanum in Amar-girid's campaign against Naram-Sin), I personally would favor a location further to the south.

9. There could have been an earlier contact of this nature *if* Tiᶜamat-bašti, one of Šu-Suen's junior wives (documented since Amar-Suen 9/xi/17), did in fact stem from Nineveh. See C. Wilcke, "A Note on Tiᶜāmat-bāštī and the Goddess Ša(w)uš(k)a of Nineveh," *Drevney Vostok* 5 (1988) 21-26, 225-27. While such a possibility certainly exists, the relevant evidence remains completely circumstantial at this point.

10. Cf. Whiting, op. cit., 177-78 : "Possibly, Tiš-atal, having witnessed the effectiveness with which Šu-Sin was able to mount an expedition into the territory of Simanum, considered it advisable to establish better relations with the king of Ur."

11. 8 áb 15 gud éren Ha-bu-raᵏⁱ ...1 áb 1 gud éren Ni-nú-aᵏⁱ 1 gud éren Ú-ʳralꞋ-eᵏⁱ, "8 cows and 15 oxen (from) the éren of Habura ; 1 cow and 1 ox (from) the éren of Nineveh ; 1 ox (from) the éren of Uraᶜe" (Watson Birmingham 1 4 : 1-9 ; Šu-

Suen 3/iii/18).

12. See Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, SAOC 46 (Chicago, 1987), 30-39. Although Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism" n. 67 (see above n. 8), doubts that Watson Birmingham 1 4: 1-9 concerns the gún ma-da tax, the livestock delivered collectively under the rubric éren GN does, in Puzriš-Dagan records, invariably involve such payments.

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16) *KBo* 49.167 : Ein weiteres Fragment aus dem Textensemble *CTH* 728 als Duplikat zu *KUB* 28.1 III 5'-21' – In *JANER* 4 (2004) 75-98 hatte ich eine Textbearbeitung von *CTH* 728 "*conjuration bilingue*" vorgelegt, die sich hauptsätzlich mit der hattisch-hethitischen Bilingue der Komposition befaßt. Im Jahre 2006 erfolgte die Edition von *KBo* 49 aus der Feder von G. Torri. Unter den kleinen Fragmenten in diesem Band hat sich nun Nr. 167 Vs. 2'-13' als Duplikat zu *KUB* 28.1 III 5'-21' herausgestellt, wonach sich das Textensemble von *CTH* 728 wie folgt erweitern läßt :

    A. *KUB* 28.1 (Jh. Abschrift; Bilingue)

    B. *KBo* 37.9 (+) *KBo* 37.74 (Mh. Niederschrift; einsprachig Hattisch)

    C. *KBo* 49.167 (Jh. Abschrift; soweit erhalten einsprachig Hethitisch).

Im Folgenden sei die Umschrift von *KBo* 49.167 dargestellt. Die Plazierung der Duplikatergänzungen aus *KUB* 28.1 kann nicht immer als sicher gelten, da die beiden Fragmente anscheinend unterschiedliche Zeilenlängen aufweisen: *KUB* 28.1 (schmaler) und *KBo* 49.167 (länger). Frau R. Akdoğan hat freundlicherweise wieder einige Kollationergebnisse mitgeteilt, wofür ihr herzlichst gedankt sei.

Vs.
1'   *t*]*a*?-*ma*?-*a*-[
_____

§ 2'   2'   [(LUGAL-*uš*)   ] DINGIR.MEŠ   *na-aḫ-ḫa*-[*an-te-eš (a-ša-an)-du*? ...?]

        3'   *a-a-i p*]*a-ap-pí*   *na-aḫ-ḫ*[*a-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du*(?)

        4'   [...? (LÚ.MEŠ*mar*)-*ša-an-te*?-*eš*? ... *m*]*a*-[*a*]*k-ki-šir*   [

        5'   [...? (*A-BI* LUGAL *x*)(-) ... (KUR)]- *e-ṷa-ša-ak*-[

        6'   (LÚ)].MEŠ*al-ṷa-an-z*[*é-n*°

        7'   [...? (*nu* KUR-*e x*)(-)   ]-*za*?-*kán*   [
_____

§ 3'   8'   [(*nu-kán* LÚ.MEŠ)...   ](-)*x-x*(-)[ ] ᵈIŠKUR *Ù* MUNUS.[MEŠ(?)...

        9'   [...? (ŠÀ-*BI* KUR-*TI*) ... (*nu*)] LÚ.MEŠ*mar-š*[*a*]*-an-du-u*[*š*?(-)

        10' [...? (*ap-pé-eš-kán-d*)*u*   ](-)*x-x-x-a*?-*x*(-)[

        11' [...? (*nu* KUR-*e du-u*?)-... (LU)]GAL-*ṷa-za*   LUGAL-*u*[*š*
_____

§ 4'   12' [(*ku-it-ša-an x*)(-) ...   ](-)*x-e-aš*   *ḫé-e*-[(*uš*)(-)

        13'   GIŠGEŠ]TIN(?) *ke-e*(-)[

        14'   *e*?-*e*]*š-d*⸢*u x*⸣-[

Rs.
§ 1'   1'   GIŠ]*ḫu-u-l*[*u-ga-an-ni-*

        2'   ]-*x* ANŠE.KUR.[RA

        3'   ]   *a-ṷš*?-[

        4' ...
_____

§ 2'   5'   ]- *an-ta* ŠÀ KU[R-*TI*(?)

        6'   ]-*x* ÉRIN.MEŠ(-)[

        7'   ]-*x ḫu-u*-[

        8'   ]-*x pa*-[

        9'   ]⸢*x*⸣[

Kurze Bemerkungen zum Text:

Vs. 3': Zu *āi pappi* s. *CHD* P/1 (1994) 101 : "about trouble (and) danger(?)", das im Ausdruck *āi pappi naḫḫanza eš-* "bezüglich Schwierigkeit? (und) Gefahr? vorsichtig sein" auch im althethitischen Telipinu-Erlaß *KUB* 11.1 IV 7' und (14') erscheint. Dies wäre neben *ABI* LUGAL "der Vater des Königs" in *KUB* 28.1 III 9' ein weiteres Indiz für eine ältere Datierung der Originalkomposition; s. *JANER* 4, 79 (Anm. 11) und 97.

Vs. 4': Die Lesung [*m*]*a*-[*a*]*k-ki-šir* ist auch nach Kollation sehr wahrscheinlich und bildet eine zusätzliche Prt. Pl. 3. Form zu *makkešš-* "viel, häufig werden" neben *ma-ak-ki-iš-še-er* (*CHD* 3/2 [1983] 120).

Mit vorangehendem Subjekt LÚ.MEŠ*mar*[*šanteš*] heißt der Satz etwa "die Unzu[verlässigen] wurden zu [v]iel".

Vs. 5' : Hierfür würde man sinngemäß erwarten, daß *ša-ak*-[...] zu *šaklai*- "Brauch, Sitte" gehöre.

Vs. 8' : Aufgrund der Nennung MUNUS.[MEŠ?] "die [...] Frau[en]" am Zeilenende sollte es sich hier nicht um den "Wettergott" selbst, sondern jemand ihm zugehöriger handeln, wie etwa "Männer, Priester vom Wettergott" o. ä. Auch die Schreibung ᵈIŠKUR spricht für ein älteres Textalter.

Vs. 9' : Gegenüber der Handkopie in *KBo* 49.167 ist auf der beschädigten Tafelfläche ein vollständiges Wort LÚ.MEŠ*mar-š*[*a*]-*an-du-u*[*š*?(-)...] (Pl. Akk.) zu sehen, das die Annahme von LÚ*maršant*- "der Unzuverlässige" in *KUB* 28.1 III (8') und (15') nunmehr bestätigt, wie sie in *JANER* 4, 79 (Anm. 11) vorgenommen wurde.

Vs. 11' : Das Duplikat *KUB* 28.1 III 18' variiert von hier auf geringfügige Weise durch die Schreibung LUGAL-*u̯a-az* LUG[AL-*uš*].

Rs. 5' : Konträr zur Handkopie in *KBo* 49.167 ist das Zeilenende wohl ŠÀ KU[R-*TI*] "inmitten [des] Lan[des]" zu lesen. Zur Ergänzung vgl. ŠÀ-*BI* KUR-*TI* in gleicher Komposition *KUB* 28.1 III 14'.

Da der schlecht erhaltene hethitische Kontext von *KUB* 28.1 III unergiebig ist, hatte ich mich in *JANER* 4, 79 (Anm. 11) lediglich auf die Wiedergabe der Textumschrift beschränkt. Trotz beachtlicher Ergänzungen aus dem neuen Duplikat *KBo* 49.167 bleiben die Darstellung und Gattung dieses Dokuments wegen des weitgehend lückenhaften Textverlaufs immer noch im Dunkeln. Deshalb sei im Folgenden ein paragraphenweise rekonstrierter Überblick versucht. Es handelt sich dabei m. E. grundsätzlich um Ethik und Moral. Für Weiteres zum Inhalt sei auf die Ausführungen in *JANER* 4, 79 (Anm. 11) und 96-97, verwiesen.

Vs. §2' spricht vom Respekt gegenüber den Göttern und der Vorsicht bezüglich Schwierigkeit? (und) Gefahr, die von den unzuverlässigen und verhexten (LÚ.MEŠ*alwanz*[*en*...]) Leuten hervorgerufen werden sollte. Ein Rückverweis auf den "Vater des Königs", den ehemaligen Herrscher, in dessen Zeit? die unzuverlässigen Menschen sich vermehrt hatten.

Vs. §3' berichtet von der Verhaftung (*app-* / *epp-*) der unzuverlässigen Leute im Lande, die möglicherweise dem Kultkreis des Wettergottes angehören.

Vs. §4' enthält Segenswünsche für das Land? bezüglich der Regengüsse (*ḫēuš*) und guten Weinernte? ([ᴳᴵˢGEŠ]TIN).

Rs. §§1'-2' geben wohl Segenswünsche für den ländlichen? Besitz (wie [ᴳᴵˢ]*ḫūl*[*uganni*-] "Wagen" und ANŠE.KUR.RA "Pferd") und für das Militärwesen (ÉRIN.MEŠ) wieder.

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17) Collations of Middle Babylonian Peiser archive texts in the Louvre – Here are the results of collations of some Kassite dynasty texts published in *TCL* 9 (1926) which are connected with the archive first edited by F. E. Peiser in *Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten babylonischen Dynastie* (1905). I am indebted to Wilfred van Soldt for allowing me to cite readings which were first suggested privately by him ; these are marked "van Soldt."

AO 4064 (TCL 9 50). (13) The king's name is written *šá-gar-ak-ti-<šur>-iá-àš* (vs. *šur-àš* in the copy).

AO 4065 (TCL 9 55). (1) [T]ÚG.MEŠ ⌜*ša* TA ITI.DU₆ *ša* MU.8⌝ EN ITI.ŠU .... (2) *ša* MU.11.KAM .... (4) ⌜DUMU ᵐ*ar*⌝-*du-ni* (⌜*ar*⌝ is clearer in line 10). (7) ⌜ITI.DU₆⌝. (8) DUMU ᵐ*ap-pa-a-a-*⌜*e*⌝. (10) ᵐˡSU-ᵈAMAR.UTU DUMU ᵐ*ar*⌝-*du-ni*. (12) at end : MU.7.KAM.

AO 4066 (TCL 9 54). (1) 1 ANŠE *ak-*⌜*ka*⌝-*du-*⌜*ú*⌝ (van Soldt). (3) *ša* ᵐᵈKUR.⌜GAL-APIN-*iš*⌝ (van Soldt). (4) ⌜DUMU⌝ ᵐ<<ᵐ>>⌜ᵈAG-*šár*?-*ra*⌝-*aḫ* (5) ⌜*a-na* ᵐ*ki-din*-ᵈU.GUR⌝ (11) first sign : ⌜ANŠE⌝ (van Soldt) (13) IGI ᴵᵈKUR.GAL!-⌜*di*⌝-*pár*-DINGIR.MEŠ

AO 4067 (TCL 9 47) (20) The day number is faint, but appears to be "22".

AO 4068 (TCL 9 53) (5) ⌜DUMU⌝ ᵐˡLÚ ᵈPAP.SUKKAL⌝ *ma-ḫi-ir* (the verb, written on the right edge, is omitted in the copy). (19) ŠE-*šú* clearly (thus also the copy), rather than ŠE.BAR.

AO 4069 (TCL 9 49). (2) at end : *maḫ-rù*. (5) ᵐEN-*ú-sa-tum* (van Soldt).

AO 4070 (TCL 9 48). (2) DUMU ᵐ*a-ḫi-ia-*⌜*ú*⌝-*t*[*i*]. (12) ⌜*il*⌝-*la-ku a-šar ša-*⌜*ni-e*⌝. (13) ⌜*il*⌝-*la-ku-ú-ma* ᵐ*šá*-DINGIR-⌜*ba-na-a*⌝. (20) at end : DUMU ᵐˡ*a-ḫi*⌝-*ia-ú-*⌜*ti*⌝ (van Soldt). (22) IGI ᵐᵈˡIM-EN?-NUMUN⌝.

AO 4072 bis (TCL 9 56). (2) ᵐᵈAG-⌜AM⌝-DINGIR.ME[Š].

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18) The Sumerian Pig Term ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA – The animal designation ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA has most recently been discussed by A. Cavigneaux.[1] While Cavigneaux concludes (correctly) that ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA means "piglet," he leaves largely unanswered the question of the reading of this term. Since I addressed this issue in an unpublished conference paper back in 1993,[2] reaching certain conclusions, it will perhaps be of some use to

share those with the readers of *NABU*.

To the best of my knowledge, ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA is first documented in the Ur III period. Its attestations appear to be limited to the documentation from Puzriš-Dagan. ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA must be studied together with the term ŠÁH.NE.TUR, which is another Sumerian designation of "piglet." Although documented since Sargonic times,[3] the latter term is known primarily from Ur III sources. Both ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA and ŠÁH.NE.TUR are frequent in Puzriš-Dagan documentation, though they never appear concurrently there. Furthermore, they show a distinctive temporal distribution : while ŠÁH.NE.TUR is attested only during the reign of Šulgi,[4] ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA, though documented as early as Šulgi 40,[5] does not became frequent until the accession of Amar-Suen. From then on ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA is the only term for "piglet" employed at Puzriš-Dagan.[6]

This particular distribution strongly suggests that ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA and ŠÁH.NE.TUR are alternative spellings of one and the same vocable, whose phonemic shape was /zahda/ or /zehda/. Beginning with ŠÁH.NE.TUR, this term is evidently to be analyzed as composed of the basic logogram ŠÁH.TUR, "piglet" (which, nota bene, is documented independently[7]), and the phonetic indicator zah(NE),[8] i.e., $zahda_x$ (ŠÁH.TUR)^{zah}.[9] Additional support for this explanation is provided by the following two spellings from Old Babylonian texts :

(1) ŠÁH.ZÉ.EH.TUR = ŠÁH$^{zé-eh}$TUR = $zahda_x$$^{zé-eh}$ (*PBS* 8/2 109 : 1)[10] ;
(2) ŠÁH.ZÉ.EH.TUR.NE = ŠÁH$^{zé-eh}$TUR^{zah} = $^{zé-eh}zahda_x$^{zah} (*TCL* 10 86 : 20).

In the first writing, the indicator zah(NE) of the Ur III logogram is replaced by a new indicator zé-eh. The second writing is even more revealing, since it combines both indicators : zé-eh and the original zah.

Turning now to ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA, I analyze this form as $zahda_x$ (ŠÁH)$^{zé-da}$. This analysis is confirmed by lexical sources, which show that ŠÁH alone has a reading /zah(da)/ or /zeh(da)/.[11] The phonetic indicator zé-da is obviously related to the zé-eh of the two Old Babylonian examples (very likely, zé-eh is a derivative of zé-da).

An independent corroboration of this understanding of ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA is provided by the Ur III month-name ŠEŠ-da-kú,[12] which has a variant ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA-kú.[13] Writing back in 1993 M. Cohen suggested that, in ŠEŠ-da-kú, ŠEŠ is to be read /zah/, based on the variant writings šu-HA a šáh-a / šu-HA a ŠEŠ-a in the Pre-Sargonic sources from Lagaš.[14] Since the Pre-Sargonic term plausibly means "fisherman of bitter/salty waters," Cohen speculated that the month-name in question is to be translated "month of the eating of bitters," further connecting zé-da with zé, "gall, bitter."

While Cohen is right about the *reading* of ŠEŠ-da-kú, his explanation of the *meaning* of this month-name is obviously incorrect, since, because of the resuming sign -da, zah_x(ŠEŠ)-da cannot be the same as zah_x (ŠEŠ), "bitter" (as shown by the Pre-Sargonic spelling a zah_x (ŠEŠ)-a). Similarly, zé-da cannot be connected with zé, since zé never shows a resuming -da.

In view of the data presented earlier, the obvious solution is that the alternative spellings ŠEŠ-da-kú and ŠÁH.ZÉ.DA-kú hide the word for "piglet," representing zah_x-da-kú and $zahda_x$$^{zé-da}$-kú respectively. This results in the translation "month of the eating of piglets" – which, in fact, is the traditional understanding of this month-name.[15] In this connection, note also the variant ŠÁH-kug-kú,[16] which can accordingly be explained as $zahda_x$-kug-kú, "month of the eating of the holy piglet."[17]

In conclusion, the Sumerian word for "piglet" is /zahda/ or /zehda/. Given the frequency of the gloss zé-eh in Old Babylonian and later sources, the original /zahda, zehda/ may eventually have become reduced to /zehd/ or /zeh/. In spite of the superficial phonemic similarity between /zeh/ and šáh, "pig," there is no reason to think that the two words are genetically related.[18]

1. "Les suidés : Pictogrammes et listes lexicales," in *De la domestication au tabou : Le cas des suidés dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, ed. by B. Lion and C. Michel (Paris, 2006), 15-24.

2. "Pigs in Third Millennium Babylonia," read at the meeting "Cattle and Pigs in Ancient Mesopotamia," Sumerian Agriculture Group, Leiden, July 1-3, 1993.

3. See ŠÁH.NE.TUR (OSP 2 185 ii 2') ; ŠÁM NE.TUR (MAD 5 104 : 2 — same source names ŠÁH ú in line 9).

4. As shown by the following attestations : *BIN* 3 358 : 1, 2, 3 (Š 42), 366 : 1 (Š 45) ; *BIN* 5 124 : 1 (Š 42) ; *PDT* 530 : 1 (Š 46) ; de Genouillac *Trouvaille* 77 : 10, 12, 13 (Š 34) ; Legrain *TRU* 281 : 1, 5 (Š 46) ; Archi-Pomponio *Drehem* 32 : 1 (Š 39), 73 : 1, 2 (Š 41), 188 : 5 (Š 43) ; *ArOr* 25, 562 no. 23 : 1 (Š 42) ; *MVN* 13 679 : 2 (Š 46) ; *JCS* 29 (1977) 117 no. 1 : 10 (Š 46) ; Gomi-Sato *British Museum* 17 : 1, 2, 3 (Š 41) ; *RA* 79 (1985) 27 no. 22 : 2 (Š 47) ; Sauren *New York Library* 48 : 9 (Š 46) ; Jones-Snyder *SET* 46 : 1 and passim + *ASJ* 15 (1993) 201 (Š 41) ; *MVN* 18 9 : 4, 5 (Š 46), 70 : 5, 12, 16 (Š 43), 74 : 1 (Š 45), 80 : 1 (Š 46), 81 : 1, 2 (Š 47), 88 : 1, 4 (Š 43) ; Hilgert *Drehem* 1 81 : 1 (Š 42), 86 : 2 (Š 46), 87 : 1, 2 (Š 46), 93 : 1 (Š [x]), 96 : 7 (Š 45), 106 : 1 (Š 46), 116 : 1, 2, 4 (Š 47), 117 : 3, 6 (Š 47), 124 : 3', 16' (Š 47), 126 : 1, 6 (Š 47) ; Sigrist *Toronto* 2 212 : 1 (Š 47) ; etc. The only exception here are the occurrences of ŠÁH.NE.TUR in Sigrist Yale 764 : 3, 6, which dates to AS 3/i/1-30 (but note that the attribution of this text to Puzriš-Dagan is uncertain).

5. *PDT* 1049 ii 2, 3, iii 8, 9 (Š 40) ; *MVN* 15 64 ii 11, iii 12 (Š 40) ; Jones-Snyder *SET* 45 : 1, 4 + *ASJ* 15 (1993) 200-01 (Š 41).

6. See, e.g., *Metropolitan Museum Texts* 1 15 : 2 (written $^{zé-da}$ŠÁH – AS 3) ; Sigrist *Yale* 1142 : 1, 2, 4 (AS 9) ; *PDT* 541 : 3, 5 (AS 9) ; *AUCT* 1 254 : 2, 6, 9, 12 (ŠS 1) ; *NATN* 914 : 1 (ŠS 4). Outside of Puzriš-Dagan, see $^{zé-da}$ŠÁH in the Umma text Ozaki-Sigrist *British Museum* 886 : 3 (Š 41).

7. ŠÁH.TUR is found almost exclusively in Umma texts. See *SACT* 2 247 : 1, 3 ; Sigrist *Yale* 32 : 2, 1635 : 23, 41 : *MVN*

21 323 : 8 ; etc. But note *Nisaba* 8 374 : 3, 26, which stems from Puzriš-Dagan.

8. For the value zah of NE, see še-za-ah ŠE.NE = *lu'āštu* (Diri V 208 = *MSL* 15, 174) ; za-ah NE = *zi-iḫ-ḫu-[um]* (Proto-Izi I Section A 9 = *MSL* 13, 36) ; [za-ah NE z]*i-iḫ-ḫu-um* (Proto-Aa 615a : 1 = *MSL* 14, 100). Cf. also P. A. Powell, *BSA* 1, 162.

9. Here compare the lexical ŠÁH.TUR.NE [giš-gi], i.e., zahda$_x$(ŠÁH.TUR)^{zah}, in *RA* 18, 65 viii 31 (Practical Voc. Elam), cited *CAD* Š/1, 79a under *šaḫapu*.

10. This spelling also appears in an Old Babylonian proverb (B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* 1 [Bethesda, MD, 1997], pp. 179-80 Collection 9 Sec. A 13). In two mss. of this proverb, ŠÁH.ZÉ.EH.TUR is followed by a resuming sign –re, which prompted Alster to read it ^{šah}zé-eh-tur-re. However, these writings are best accounted for as errors, which resulted from the scribe's misunderstanding of the logogram.

11. See zé-eh = *šá-ḫu-ú*, šáh = MIN (Hh. XIV 158-159 = *MSL* 8/2, 19). Cf. šáh-zahda$_x$(ŠÁH), zahda$_x$(ŠÁH)$^{zé-da}$ (Nabnitu XXXI 4-5 = *MSL* 16, 245) ; zahda$_x$(ŠÁH)$^{zé-da}$ bar-šur-ra / zahda$_x$(ŠÁH)$^{zé-e}$ pa-šur-ra (Hh. XIV 164 = *MSL* 8/2, 20) ; zahda$_x$(ŠÁH)$^{⌜zé-ta⌝}$ (*RA* 18, 65 viii 33 [Practical Voc. Elam], cited *CAD* Š/1, 102b under *šaḫû*) ; ú-zi-ìz-hi (= /uzu-zeh-a(k)/) = *ši-ir* ŠÁH (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55, 100 line 14-15).

12. Passim in Puzriš-Dagan and Ur sources. Note also the spelling ŠEŠ-ta-kú in *UET* 3 755 : 4.

13. Legrain *TRU* 81 : 10 ; *BIN* 3 403 : 12. Note also the abbreviated ŠÁH.DA-kú in *MVN* 9 124 : 4.

14. *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD, 1993), 146-47. Further evidence for the value /zah/ (or /sah/) of ŠEŠ are the variants ŠÁH.MUŠEN / AN.ŠEŠ.MUŠEN in ED Bird List line 2 (*MEE* 3, 100). Cf. M. Civil, *MEE* 3, 276.

15. See, e.g., W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur-III-Zeit* 1 (Berlin, 1993), 195.

16. See, e.g., de Genouillac *Trouvaille* 85 : 12 ; *MVN* 11 202 : 7 ; *TIM* 6 40 : 9 ; *AUCT* 1 432 : 9, 942 : 16 ; 2 98 : 8, 301 : 9 ; Sauren *New York Library* 45 : 14.

17. This month is named after a festival of Nanna, whose central point, apparently, was the cultic consumption of the "holy piglet." Cf. animals níg-dab$_5$ zahda$_x$(ŠÁH)$^{zé-da}$ <kú> ^{d}Nanna (*MVN* 13 550 ii 2'-4') ; animals zah$_x$(ŠEŠ)-da-kú ^{d}Nanna-šè (Legrain *TRU* 321 : 2 ; Sigrist *Toronto* 1 105 : 3) ; Sallaberger, *Kalender* 1, 195.

18. However, it is possible that, by the Old Babylonian period, scribes tended to identify /zeh/ with šáh, thinking them to be but variants of the same vocable.

<div align="right">Piotr STEINKELLER (17-04-2007)</div>

19) LÍL and HÉ.GÁL in Elamite? – In his work on the Elamite syllabary the French scholar M.-J. Steve has included a list of logograms attested in Elamite texts[1]. In this note I would like to present two remarks on two logograms of this list.

(1) Old Elamite LÍL

By means of a question mark in his list of logograms Steve[2] has expressed his doubts on the existence of *líl* (a value of KIT) as a logogram in Old Elamite. According to Reiner[3] this sign is attested in the so-called "Treaty of Naram-Sin", the oldest Elamite text. Possible Akkadian readings of LÍL are *salā'u*, "to get ill" or *ṣēru*, "steppe". Steve[4] himself mentions two possible occurrences of this sign : obv. i 11 and 26.

The first editor of the text, V. Scheil, transliterated the first citation as [^{d}H]u-sa, the second as ^{d}Ru-hu sa(?)[5]. König[6] has respectively ^{d}[H]u-sa and ^{d}Ru-hu-sa-[ ]. Two years later Hinz[7] read ^{d}[H]u-sa and ^{d}Ru-hu-sa-[ak], but by mentioning a possible reading LÍL Steve questioned these readings.

A look at the copy of the text (MDP 11 88 Fig.1 and Pl.1) could help the scholar, but unfortunately the copy does not solve the problem. In line 11 the sign rather looks like LÍL (with two vertical wedges ; Steve's sign list), while in line 26 it resembles SA (with four vertical wedges ; Steve's sign list). This leaves of course enough space for both scholarly opinions on the correct readings of these signs. That the two signs were quite similar is also proven by the Mesopotamian shapes of both signs[8].

At this point another Elamite text comes to help. An inscription (MDP 11 102 ; EKI 85) of king Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak (ca. 550 B.C.) has in line 4 a divinity name, which was always read ^{d}Hu-sa[9], a reading which is based on the clear signs.

In Elamite a word *husa* is relatively frequently attested. It occurs in Middle, Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite and is mostly accompanied by the determinative indicating plants and wooden objects (GIŠ). Various meanings have been proposed, such as "completely"[10], "a part of a building"[11], "vessel, cauldron"[12], "horn"[13] and "a cultic term, perhaps libation room"[14], but only one meaning is the correct one : "tree, wood", as pleaded for by Cameron and other scholars[15]. Accordingly ^{d}Husa must be some forest god[16].

In all likelihood the three text citations should all be read with a sign SA. Twice the god Husa is mentioned, once the god Ruhusak. Consequently the logographic value LÍL should be discarded from the Elamite syllabary.

(2) Neo-Elamite HÉ.GÁL

Another question mark in Steve's list is placed after the logogram HÉ.GÁL, which occurs in the Neo-Elamite Omen Text (rev. 27). The reading HÉ.GÁL was proposed by Scheil, the editor of the text, and translated by him as "l'abondance"[17], which makes clear that he had the Akkadian reading *hegallu*, "abundancy" for HÉ.GÁL in mind.

This reading, however, was not accepted by Hinz & Koch[18], who pleaded for hi-tuk, "reinforced", because of the occurrence of hi-tuk-na, "may he be reinforced" four lines earlier (rev.27) in the text.

In this case Scheil's copy of the text is very helpful and simply makes clear that Hinz & Koch are wrong. The sequence read hi-tuk-na in line 23 has a very different shape from Hinz's & Kochs hi-tuk of line 27.

According to Hinz & Koch *hituk* was an appellative. Yet the reading HÉ.GÁL fits very well with the content of the text : (omen) šà-ir-ra HÉ.GÁL, "(omen), then there will be abundance". The question mark put by Steve after this logogram may thus be omitted.

1. M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite : histoire et paléographie* (CPOP 1), Neuchâtel, 1992, 36-39.
2. M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite*, 38.
3. Apud M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite*, 153.
4. M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite*, 153.
5. V. Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites* (MDP 11), Paris, 1911, 4.
6. F.W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften* (AfO. Beih. 16), Graz, 29.
7. W. Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Narām-Sîn von Akkade", *ZA* 58 (1967), 68 and 91 ; also W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (AMI. Erg. 17), Berlin, 702 and 1045.
8. R. Labat & Fl. Malbran-Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne : Signes, Syllabaire, Idéogrammes*, Paris, 1994, 86 and 142.
9. V. Scheil, *Textes élamites-anzanites*, 80 ; F.W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, 171 and Pl.24 ; W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 702.
10. G. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams* (Assyriologische Bibliothek 24/1), Leipzig, 1916, 55 ; F.W. König, *Drei altelamische Stelen* (MVAG 30/1), Leipzig, 1925, 46.
11. M. Pézard, "Reconstruction d'une stèle de Adda-hamiti-In-sušnak", *Babyloniaca* 8 (1924), 25.
12. F. Bork, *Die Zeughausurkunden von Susa, Teil I* (Altkaukasische Studien 3), Leipzig, 1941, 19.
13. W. Hinz, "Elamisch *husa*", *Or.* N.S. 31 (1962), 35-44.
14. F.W.König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, 191.
15. G.G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, Chicago, 1936, 106 ; M. Lambert, "Épigraphie élamite (III), *lansit* : 'or', *hute* : 'haut-lieu' et 'montagne', *husa* : 'arbre'", *RA* 56 (1962), 93-94 ; J.B. Jusifov, "Elamskie khoziaistvennye dokumenty iz Suz," *VDI* 3 (85) (1963), 245 ; M.-J. Steve, *Tchoga Zanbil III : textes élamites et accadiens de Tchoga Zanbil* (MDP 41), Paris, 1967, 11 and 74 ; R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (OIP 92), Chicago, 1969, v ; Id., "Selected Fortification Texts", *DAFI* 8 (1978), 116 ; W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 702.
16. W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 702.
17. V. Scheil, "Déchiffrement d'un document anzanite relatif aux présages", *RA* 14 (1917), 34.
18. W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 673.

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20) Des *sissiktum* à Munbâqa – L'usage de marquer une tablette de la pratique pour lui donner une validité est bien connu au Proche-Orient. Sa forme la plus classique est l'apposition d'un sceau cachet ou cylindre mais des pratiques de substitution existaient, telles que de placer une empreinte d'ongle, *ṣuprum* (uzu-umbin), ou un *sissiktum* (túg-síg).

La traduction de *sissiktum* est sujette à controverse. Le *CAD* propose : « hem » (Mari, OB, MB) (*CAD* S, 323 a : b), le *AHw* « Saum ». Il s'agirait donc d'une frange de vêtement apposée sur la tablette. J.-M. Durand propose d'y voir, à partir de l'observation des traces de *sissiktum* sur les tablettes de Mari, la cordelette à laquelle était attaché le sceau (*LAPO* 18, p. 78), dont on se servirait lorsque la place manquerait sur la tablette pour apposer son sceau. Il remarque que l'impression du *sissiktum* s'accompagne toujours du nom de l'individu, tout comme lorsqu'une légende accompagne un sceau anépigraphe.

Après les archives de Mari, d'autres exemples de *sissiktum* sont connus dans les textes syriens, notamment dans un texte de Terqa, *TFR* 1 9, datant du souverain Iṣi-sûmu-abum qui est un des premiers rois de Terqa après la destruction de Mari par Hammurabi de Babylone. Cette tradition est bien connue à Alalah (*CAD* S 323a) et à Ebla d'époque paléo-babylonienne par deux textes. Le premier est mentionné par J.-R. Kupper, (*Akkadica* 126 2005, p. 47), qui indique une trace de frange de vêtement associée à un NP, et un second que J.-M. Durand a bien voulu me mentionner dans lequel à la fin du contrat, après un déroulement de sceau se trouve la mention d'un *sissiktum* associé à un NP et à une trace de cordelette. Cette pratique est finalement documentée à Emar (D. Arnaud *AuOr* sup. 1, texte 63 et J. G. Westenholz *CM* 13, texte 15), puis semble disparaître après cette époque.

La collation des archives de Munbâqa vient grossir le corpus des *sissiktum* des textes de l'Euphrate. Il s'agit dans les trois cas d'une décision officielle puisque le texte commence par *ištu ûmi annîm*.

Le texte 23 (MBQ-T 52), traite du remboursement de la dette qu'avait Ipâ auprès de Abî-Rasap, fils de Muhra-ahî. Le remboursement de la dette se fait par le don de la sœur d'Ipâ à Abi-rasap. Si la face est bien conservée, le revers est malheureusement en mauvais état de conservation (les lectures de W. Mayer du revers sont pour la plupart impossibles à vérifier). La tablette comporte un unique sceau couvrant toute la tranche supérieure et la tranche gauche de la tablette, auquel est associée la légende na₄-kišib [*bu*]-*ra*-qum*, qui doit

certainement être le témoin de la ligne 21. Ce sceau n'apparaît qu'une fois dans le corpus de Munbâqa (cf. P. Werner, 2004, sceau 4617, p. 40). La ligne 28 porte la mention túg*-síg* *i-p[a-a]*, associé à une trace de cordelette.

Le texte 24 (MBQ-T 48) traite du règlement d'une dette entre Nikri, fils de Adamma, et Muhra-ahî, fils d'Ahiyanni. Nikri cède un de ses serviteurs contre de l'argent et l'effacement de sa dette. La tablette porte un sceau, déroulé sur la partie haute de la face et sur toute sa partie gauche (sceau 4602), qui n'est connu qu'à un seul exemplaire et qui porte la légende na₄-kišib *[i]š-ta-b[u]*, qui apparaît dans la liste des témoins. Il est suivi du [t]úg*-síg* Iₙᵢₖᵣᵢ... ¹*ni-ik-ri*. Il faut remarquer que le texte précise que cette tablette a été écrite devant Ba'al-kabar, le roi (lugal), mais elle ne porte pas le sceau de celui-ci.

Le texte 28 (MBQ-T 74) traite de la prise en apprentissage d'un jeune contre nourriture, lors d'une année difficile. Elle comporte un sceau déroulé sur le côté gauche (sceau 4631), qui n'est lui aussi connu qu'à un seul exemplaire et qui porte la légende na₄-kišib [¹*t*]*a-ki-ia*, un des témoins du texte. Juste avant cette légende est portée la mention de [t]úg*-síg* ¹*h[i]-in-na-*ᵈIM, lequel est le père du jeune apprenti.

L'empreinte du *sissiktum* est toujours celle de celui qui cède ses droits (en l'occurence, sur une sœur, sur un serviteur ou sur un fils), alors que le texte est scellé du sceau d'un des témoins, ce qui est la norme à Munbâqa. Nous voyons ainsi cette pratique d'apposer son *sissiktum* qui se poursuit depuis Mari jusqu'à Emar, être bien documentée par les textes de Munbâqa.

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21) Partage d'une maison à Munbâqa – Un petit texte comportant une décision officielle, retrouvé dans la maison M de Munbâqa, présente à la relecture un certain intérêt.

Texte 42 (MBQ-T 28)
¹*iš-tu* u₄-*mi an-ni-im* ²¹*i-tar-*ᵈ*en* dumu *ku-uz-zu-ri* ³*ù* ¹*ba-ia-nu* ⁴dumu ᵈ*da-gan-ma* ⁵ᵣbàdˡ* *i-ga-ra*ᵃ⁾ ⁶[*ša* b]*e-ri-šu-<nu>*ᵇ⁾ ⁷[*im-ta-á*]*š*-la**ᶜ⁾ ⁸[bàd] na₄ *giṣ-pa-ri* ⁹[*ù é u*]*r*-ši* ¹⁰[*šà ša* ¹*ba-ia*]-*nu** ¹¹[bàd *ki-s*]*a*-li-šu-nu* ¹²[*ù é*] *ur*-ši* ¹³[*š*]*à ša* ¹*i-tar-*ᵈ*en-ma* ¹⁴[*ig*]*li zu-šu-ú-ru* ¹⁵dumu *ṣíl-la-ba* ¹⁶igi *ì-lí-da* dumu *mu-uh-ra-hi* ¹⁷igi *a-hi-ma-lik* ¹⁸dumu *a-*ᵣ*hu*ˡ*-qà* ¹⁹igi *i-ku-u[n-*ᵈ*d]a-gan* ²⁰dub-sar ²¹[igi] ᵈIM-*ga-mil* ²²[dumu] du₁₀*-*ga*-*ᵈ*da-gan*

a) Il faut ici comprendre que bàd est glosé par *i-ga-ra*, qui désigne ici le mur de la maison.
b) Le nu n'existe pas sur la tablette, cf. d'ailleurs copie.
c) Forme duelle renvoyant à 2 sujets, comme souvent sur l'Euphrate.

« A compter de ce jour, Itâr-Ba'la, fils de Kuzzuru, et Bayânu, fils de Dagan-ma ; ont partagé le mur qui est entre eux.

Le mur en pierre de la salle à manger (*gipâru*) et de la chambre à coucher (*bît urši*) se trouve dans ce qui appartient à Bayânu. Le mur de leur cour et de la chambre à coucher (*bît urši*) se trouve dans ce qui appartient à Itâr-Ba'la. »

Ce texte présente plusieurs points intéressants. D'une part plusieurs espaces d'une maison sont nommées. Ainsi, un *kisallum* (une cour), un *gipâru* (salon / salle à manger), et deux chambres (*bît urši*).

Pour *bît urši* plusieurs interprétations ont été proposées (voir D. Fleming, *HSS* 42, 1992, p. 116-117, pour un rappel des propositions). Le terme apparaît principalement dans une clause de constitution de douaire d'une épouse, selon laquelle « personne ne doit entrer dans son (à l'épouse) *bît urši* » (D. Arnaud *AuOr* 1, 1991, n°22 l. 14-15 ; J. G. Westenholz *CM* 13, 2000, n°14 l. 12). Le terme apparaît aussi dans des descriptions cadastrales, aussi bien dans les descriptifs de bâtiment (par exemple G. Beckman, *HANE/M* 2, 1996, *RE* 37 l. 5, une maison comportant deux chambres à coucher, ᵣéˡ-*tu*₄ *qa-d[u]* 2 *ur-ši*), que comme bâtiment (cf *RE* 37 l. 7 : é *ur-šu qa-du a-bu-us-si*), que comme voisin (voir par exemple D. Arnaud, *AuOr* 1, 1991, n°67 l. 5 : egir-<*ši*> é *ur-šu ša* ¹*za-dam-ma*). Il faut certainement, comme le propose L. Mori, *QGS* 6, 2003 p. 39, continuer à traduire ce terme par chambre à coucher.

Le *gipâru* est connu pour l'époque moyenne comme partie de maison, par la documentation médio-assyrienne. On remarque que dans *AKA* 390 : 17 le *gipâru* est opposé au "dag-meš" que le *CAD* G p. 84a comprend comme « living quarters », ce qui correspond bien aux *bît urši* du texte de Munbâqa. Dans cette structure d'habitation très simple, le *gipâru* doit donc représenter la « pièce de réception" d'où ma traduction de « salon/salle à manger ». Le rapport avec le *gipâru,* salle officielle où reçoit l'*entu* est un autre problème qui sera abordé ailleurs. On notera que toutes les occurrences de la « porte du *gipâru* » à Munbâqa (textes 3 : 1 ; 4 : 1 ; 8 : 1) sont fausses.

Remarquons la mention des soubassements en pierre, marqués par na₄, pour qualifier un mur. On se reportera aux commentaires de L. Mori, *QGS* 6, 2003, p. 39-40 pour Emar. La situation est la même à Munbâqa où la plupart des murs des maisons ont des soubassements en pierre. Pour les fouilles de la maison M, voir D. Machule et *al., MDOG* 121, 1989, p. 67-70.

Outre son intérêt architectural, ce texte traite d'un cas très rarement documenté sur l'Euphrate, celui de la répartition de l'entretien de murs entre deux individus. Ces derniers, inconnus par ailleurs à Munbâqa, semblent habiter dans ce qui au départ était une seule maison, qu'ils se sont partagée, comme le laisse supposer le fait que la cour leur appartienne à tous les deux. Il est évident dans ce genre de situation que la responsabilité de l'entretien des murs devait être posée.

Ce texte illustre bien les résultats obtenus par les fouilles archéologiques, dans lesquelles nous voyons des maisons de types très différents s'intégrer au tissu urbain, et se modifier en fonction des héritages et des ventes.

Malheureusement, la fouille qui n'a dégagé qu'une partie de la maison M ne nous livre que ses derniers états et le texte ne nous parle que des pièces adjacentes aux murs concernés. On remarquera néanmoins que le mur sud-ouest de la maison M semble avoir connu plusieurs évolutions et pourrait être un des murs documentés par le texte.

Ce texte permettra certainement de mieux comprendre le texte publié par D. Arnaud, *AuOr* 1, 1991, n°67, dans lequel une maison-*tuggurum* a son arrière bordé par le *bît urši* de Zadamma (l. 5 egir-<*ši*> é ur-šu ša ᴵza-dam-ma), dont la maison elle-même est dite bordée par le mur de Ušrianda, précision étonnante. (l. 37 *i-ga-ru ša* ᴵuš-ri-an-da é za-dam-ma egir-šu). En fait, le texte de Munbâqa permet de supposer que Zadamma et Ušrianda ont acheté une même maison, qu'ils ont partagée, que Zadamma dispose d'un *bît urši* mais que l'un des murs doit être entretenu par Ušrianda.

<div align="right">Lionel MARTI (10-05-2007)</div>