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### NOTES BRÈVES

1) *kispum* in Lagaba – 1. A well known lady in Lagaba was Inibšina. Bibliography: R. Frankena, SLB IV (1978) 109 f.; diss. O. Tammuz (1993) 165. References: AbB 3 34-37, TLB I 78:3, 80:3, 81:3, 82:3, 85:1, 16, 120:6, 124:8, 131:2; R.D. Freedman, *The cuneiform tablets in St. Louis* (diss. 1975) 197 f.

2. A group of administrative texts in which her name is important, was published by Stephanie Dalley in OECT 15. They record disbursements of goods. I think that several expenditures were made for the ritual for the dead, at the end of the month (*kispum*).

a. OECT 15 No. 299:1, 8, “10 liters of flour / oil for the ‘big spoons’ of (day) 30”. The text is dated to 20.X. A closely parallel text, also dated to 20.X, does not mention Inibšina and offers “20 liters for the ‘big spoons’ of (day) 30”; R.D. Freedman, *The cuneiform tablets in St. Louis* (diss. 1975) 201 f. no. 233:9.

“Big spoons” is a literal translation of the Sumerogram LIŠ.GAL.ĜI.A, in Akkadian *mākalātum* (plur.), according to CAD M/1 122 s.v. *mākaltum* “a bowl or shallow saucer, mainly made of wood”; “Eßschale”, W. Sallaberger, *Der babylonische Töpfer* (1996) 81. We easily discover behind this substantive the verb *akālum* “to eat”. CAD offers a number of references where it is “used for religious purposes or in rituals”.

The first reference is attested in a list of materials needed in the *kispum* ritual, CT 45 99:20. For an edition of this text, see A. Tsukimoto in *Death in Mesopotamia* (= CRAI 36) (Copenhagen 1980) 129-135; cf. Sallaberger, 80, D.

Another reference speaks of honey, “for the *m.* of the temple of Šamaš of the first of the month (ITU.1.KAM = *warḫum*), TCL 1 78:2 (Sippar, 6.II Hamm. 2). Closely related is VAS 8 83 (1.IV Hamm. 2), where the ritual is qualified as *šuginû*, according to CAD Š/3 199 “daily offering, temple dues”. The interpretation “daily” would not fit our two references, if the “big spoon” is presented on the first day of the month. Note that the second text VAS 8 83 is dated to 1.IV. We add that other texts belonging to these two are VAS 8 90/91, 103/104, 110, BM 78743 = Bu 88-5-12, 661: deliveries under supervision of Šilli-Ninkarrak.

The third example in CAD M is slightly different: SAG.LIŠ.GAL.ĜI.A, together with *šagikurû*; not helpful.

Finally, the *m.* for the gods Amurru and Šamaš are mentioned: A.21937:3, now Greengus, OBTIV 250:3 (*ūm mākalṭi Amurru*), and Th. Friedrich, BA 5 (1906) 515 no. 52 left edge (Sippar). Here, a number of boats with skippers is followed by the remark that the boats “fared to the *m.* of Šamaš since day 22”.

b. OECT 15 No. 300:4-6, “7 1/2 (liters of barley), beverage (*mašītū*) of Inibšina, on the day of the moon (*u<sub>4</sub>-um iti*)”. No. 336:4, “10 liters, Inibšina, on the day of the moon”.

c. No. 303:7-8, “20 liters (of barley), beverage of Inibšina, of the day(s) (*ša u<sub>4</sub>-mi*)”.

d. OECT 15 No. 320:5, “40 liters of flour, on the day of the hole (*ūm a-pi-i*)”.

The Akkadian word *apu* B “hole, opening in the ground” (CAD A/2 201) refers to the access to the netherworld. The word has been discussed by many scholars; lastly C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale* (2004) 169 ad 4. The word was taken over in Hurrian as *abi*. Let me suggest that it goes back to Sumerian *ab*, “opening, hole, window (opening)” (PSD A/2 126). Now note the Sumerian name of month X, *itu ab.è.a*. There are indications that the *kispum* ritual was celebrated in month X. Examples:

E.C. Stone, *Nippur Neighborhoods* (1987) Text 40 obv. 15-rev. 2 (flour, [...] *a-na ki.sè.ga u<sub>4</sub>.3.kam*; flour, dates, oil *a-na giš.gu.za itu ab.è*); YBC 7862 (copy T. Breckwoldt). W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Teil 1 (1993) 207: “[Es] sei darauf hingewiesen, daß in der Ur III-Zeit sowohl *abum* in Ur als auch *ab-è* in Nippur Hauptfeiern des Totenkultes der verstorbenen Könige bilden”. The month name in Sumerian is *ab.è.a*, which can literally mean “coming out from the hole”. Is month X the month when the ghosts appear?

e. OECT 15 No. 308:9-11, “10 liters for the beer of Dumuzi. 10 liters: Inibšina, for the *kispum*, day 30 (*a-na ki.sè.ga u<sub>4</sub>.30.kam*)”.

It is interesting that the expenditure for Dumuzi (Tammuz) precedes. He is supposed to rise from the netherworld at the end of the month. At that time, “the festival of Dumuzi”, the ancestors (*en.en.e.ne*) are present, according to a Sumerian letter; P. Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia* (1993) 100 f. no. 191. Dumuzi *ina bābātīm* is attested in Lagaba; SLB IV (1978) 265 Tafel I, LB 1894:11.

f. OECT 15 No. 315:2-5, “20 liters of flour, beverage (?) of Inibšina, until (*adi*) 30.X”.

3. *kispum* in month II: TLB I 92:37; OECT 15 188: 4 f.

4. A note on the foodstuff *šerpētu* in this ritual: YOS 12 345:9, dated 25.V: “3 liters (of flour) for the *š.* when ‘entering’ Abu (*a-na e-re-eb a-bi*). “Entering Abu” is often misread as “at the entrance of Abu”; lastly D.E. Fleming, *Time at Emar* (2000) 188 note 206. The verb does not have this meaning. Rather, it means here “to come (said of months, seasons, etc.)”, as in CAD E 266b; best known from *šattum ēribtum*, CAD E 266b, *ēribu* adj., Š/2 201 f. We suggest: “when Abu begins”, i.e., the period of the (three) moonless nights.

TCL 10 107:19 with coll. D. Arnaud, RA 70 (1976) 87: barley “for the (sacred) meal (*tākultum*) and the *š.*-bread (*a-na ta-ku-ul-tim ù ninda šé-er-pé-[tim]*), when PN had died”.

Lulil 60, cited by D. Katz, *The image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian sources* (2003) 206: the dish *ūtul-kūm-ma* in the ritual. The same foodstuff?

Marten STOL (06-11-07) marten.stol@gmail.com  
NINO, Postbus 9515, 2300 RA LEIDEN (Pays-Bas)

**2) Remarks on Inheritance and Adoption in the Middle Euphrates during the Late Bronze Age** – Familiar situations in the legal documents coming from Emar and Ekalte are sometimes difficult to identify. Two texts, from Emar and Ekalte, are analysed in this sense.

**RPAE 91<sup>1</sup>** – In this will, found in the official excavations from Emar, the testator gave in adoption the children of a woman called Aštar-bītu to his wife. Several authors think that Aštar-bītu was the testator’s first wife (Durand, RA 84, 1990, 51; Pruzsinszky, *SCCNH* 13, 2003, CD 159). However, we think that Aštar-bītu was a slave of the family. Two reasons made us arrive to this conclusion. On one hand, it is stated that the adopted children would be freed after the death of the adoptive mother (ll. 5-6; see Yamada’s commentary to l. 21 in *NABU* 1994/2 (b); the same is said in AuOrSI 41:36-37, where it is specifically stated that the adopted one was a slave (l. 30). On the other hand, it is never mentioned that Aštar-bītu or her children were familiarly linked to the testator. Therefore, what happens in RPAE 91 is probably that Aštar-bītu was a slave and not a testator’s previous wife.

**ASJ 16/51<sup>2</sup>** – This one is a complex will from Ekalte (Justel, *NABU* 2006/28), and several of its aspects have been commented by Bellotto (*NABU* 1997/28). The testator declared: “The daughter of IŠKUR-ba (= the testator’s wife according to l. 27) is the father and Zū-Ba’la is her son” (ASJ 16/51:6-7; *dumu.mí mdīškur-ba a-bu ù mzu-ba-aḫ-la dumu-ša*). We could understand it as if, by means of this statement, the testator gave in adoption his biologic son to his new wife (in this sense see for example Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 16, 1994, 233). However, in our opinion this declaration is a filiation statement that did not involve a real adoption, since Zū-Ba’la was already the son of the testator’s wife IŠKUR-ba (in this sense see Pruzsinszky, *SCCNH* 13, 2003, CD 842). This conclusion derives from two facts. On one side, in the expression of the ll. 6-7 there is a copulative verb, what is not found in other adoptions from the Late Bronze Age in Syria (Alalakh, Ekalte, Emar and Ugarit)<sup>3</sup>: the verbs more frequently used in the adoption formulations from these archives are *rakāšu*, *epēšu* or *leqū*. On the other side, the fact that previously the testator appointed his wife as “father” shows that it dealt with a legal fiction, well known in Emar and Ekalte: the practice of investing a woman with masculine status. In this case, the appointment of Zū-Ba’la as her son would make him stand among the direct recipients of the testator’s inheritance (as it is stated in ll. 29-30 and 44-45), apart from providing both of them with a legal protection against possible claims.

1. Published by D. Arnaud, *Recherches au Pays d’Aštata. Emar VI. Textes sumériens et accadiens*, Paris 1985-1987, 101-103 and 736-737.

2. Published by A. Tsukimoto, “A Testamentary Document from Emar – Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (IV)”, *ASJ* 16 (1994), 231-238.

3. In the text from Ekalte WVDOG 102/40:8-10, that makes reference to an adoption, it is used a sentence with a copulative verb, but this is not the case of a normal adoption, instead, it is remembered a previous act, seen from the point of view of the adopted subject.

Josué J. JUSTEL (03-12-07) jjjustel@ieiop.csic.es

Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, Diputados 19-21, 50004, ZARAGOZA (Espagne)

**3) On Birbirrum, the Alleged Earliest-Documented *rabiānum* Official, and on the End of Ibbi-Suen's Reign** – It is commonly thought that the earliest-attested bearer of the title *rabiānum* is a certain Birbirrum, who is mentioned in BIN 9 199, dating to Išbi-Erra's "thirty-third" regnal year.<sup>1</sup> This idea goes back to G. Buccellati,<sup>2</sup> who, in 1966, read and translated the key lines of BIN 9 199 as follows:

- 8) ki Bir<sub>5</sub>-bí-ru-ma
- 9) ra-bí-a-nu-um-ma
- 10) ù I-dí-DINGIR MAR.TU
- 12) šà é-gal

"In the place (or: on behalf?) of Birbirum, the mayor (?), and of Idi-ilum, the Amorite, on the account (?) of the palace."<sup>3</sup>

However, the possibility that line 8 contains a personal name is most unlikely, since, according to the practice of Isin administrative sources, titles always follow personal names in the same line. Moreover, this interpretation fails to explain the genitival ending after ra-bí-a-nu-um-ma, which, if the preceding line represents ki PN-a(k), is redundant. And there are, finally, orthographic considerations: the syllabic value bir<sub>5</sub> is exceedingly rare in Ur III script,<sup>4</sup> and thus rather improbable in this context; the use of the value bí, which is reserved for /bī/ and /bi'/, is completely unjustified in *birbirrū* (which, as a matter of fact, is otherwise unattested as a personal name).

For these reasons, Buccellati's interpretation cannot be maintained. The obvious alternative solution is that line 8 is to be read ki nam-érem(NE.RU)-ma. Accordingly, I analyze the entire relevant passage as follows:

- |     |                                 |   |
|-----|---------------------------------|---|
| 7)  | 2 kušummud máš gal              | 2 water bags (made) of goat hide              |
| 8)  | ki nam-érem-ma                  | (were issued) for the place of oath-taking of |
| 9)  | ra-bí-a-nu-um-ma                | the <i>rabiānum</i>                           |
| 10) | ù I-din-DINGIR MAR.TU           | and Iddin-ilum, the Amorite;                  |
| 11) | Šu- <sup>d</sup> Nin-mug maškim | Šu-Ninmug (was) the requisitioner;            |
| 12) | šag <sub>4</sub> é-gal          | (expended) in the palace.                     |

Following this explanation, the recipients of the water bags were an unnamed *rabiānum* official<sup>5</sup> and the Amorite Iddin-ilum. The bags probably were to be used as paraphernalia of oath-taking (to pour water in some ritual or symbolic action that was part of the procedure?), which involved either a regular assertory oath in connection with some legal matter or, more likely, an allegiance or loyalty oath.<sup>6</sup> The latter possibility is favored by the high rank of these two individuals and the location of the oath, which appears to have been Išbi-Erra's palace.

While the identity of the *rabiānum* in question is unknown, he undoubtedly was an Amorite tribal leader of high ranking.<sup>7</sup> This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that his companion Iddin-ilum was an important Amorite himself. Iddin-ilum's interactions with the House of Isin covered a period of some twenty years. We hear of him for the first time in Išbi-Erra's "thirteenth" year (BIN 9 372), when he is given a gift (níg-ba) of a wagon or chariot (gišgigir). Two years later he is mentioned in connection with the *zamirītum* weapons,<sup>8</sup> which were lost at Uruk during a campaign against the Elamites (BIN 10 124; Išbi-Erra "15" – no month):

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 1)  | 44 gišzà-mi-rí-tum eme-bi urudu                     | 44 <i>zamirītum</i> -weapons with copper blades     |
| 2)  | ú-gu dé<-a> šag <sub>4</sub> Unug <sup>ki</sup> -ga | were lost in Uruk                                   |
| 3)  | ud Elam ba-ab-ra-a- <sup>1</sup> a?                 | when the Elamites were defeated.                    |
| 4)  | gír I-din-DINGIR MAR.TU                             | (Their) conveyors had been Iddin-ilum, the Amorite, |
| 5)  | ŠUHUŠ-ki-in   | Šuruš-kin,  |
| 6)  | ù DINGIR-šu-ba-ni                                   | and Ilšu-bani.                                      |
| 7)  | Lú- <sup>d</sup> Nin-šubur maškim                   | Lu-Ninšubur had been the (weapons') requisitioner.  |
| 8)  | ki Šu- <sup>d</sup> Nin-kar-ra-ak<-ta>              | (They had been) issued by                           |
| 9)  | ba-zi   | Šu-Ninkarak.  |
| 10) | dub šà-tam-e-ne                                     | The sealed receipt of the šà-tam officials.         |

Seals of two Išbi-Erra's scribes, one of whom was A-lí-[šu-ni]. Cf A-lí-šu-ni šà-tam in BIN 10 118:7.

It appears that those arms had originally been issued to Iddin-ilum, Šuruš-kin, and Išū-bani by the Isin administration; the present record is meant officially to register their loss. If so, chances are that Iddin-ilum<sup>9</sup> and the other two men were military commanders, who participated in – or perhaps even were in charge of – the operation in question.<sup>10</sup>

This mention of a conflict with the Elamites calls for a historical digression.<sup>11</sup> Without any doubt, the same military operation is referred to in BIN 9 152:1-7, which dates to the second month of the year Išbi-Erra “15,” and mentions a gift for the Amorites made on the occasion of an Elamite defeat: *hides níg-kešda kug-babbar-šèl níg-ba MAR.TU ud gis̄tukul Elam-a ʾba-sìg<sup>1</sup>-ga-a*, “as the wrapping of silver, the gift for the Amorites, when the Elamites were smitten with a weapon.”

A separate campaign of Išbi-Erra against the Elamites (and Šimaškians) is known to have taken place in the following year, as recorded in the year-formula for that year: *mu dIš-bi-Ēr-ra lugal-e ugnim Šimaški(LÚ.SU.A)<sup>ki</sup> ù Elam(-e) bí(-in)-ra*, “the year king Išbi-Erra defeated the Šimaškians and the Elamites” (Išbi-Erra “16”).<sup>12</sup> Almost certainly, this campaign (or its immediate aftermath) is alluded to also in an Isin tablet dating to the fourth month of the same year (BIN 9 338:1-5), which records an expenditure of twenty *zimir̄tum*-weapons and twenty shields for Larsa, for a certain Lušallim, possibly a general.<sup>13</sup>

It makes sense to assume that the operations against the Elamites referred to in the texts BIN 10 124, BIN 9 152, and BIN 9 338, and in the year-formula Išbi-Erra “16,” either immediately preceded or immediately followed the sack of Ur and the capture of Ibbi-Suen. If the first was the case, they were intended to relieve the besieged Ur and to rescue Ibbi-Suen. In the second case, their objective probably was to stop the progress of the Elamites farther north.<sup>14</sup> But be that as it may, these campaigns certainly did not succeed in recapturing Ur itself. Ur remained under the Elamite occupation for some ten years, since it was only in his “twenty-sixth” regnal year that Išbi-Erra could claim to have liberated it.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, a chronological aside. In my opinion, the existence of two consecutive operations against the Elamites in the years Išbi-Erra 15 and 16, respectively, constitutes the most convincing evidence to-date for the Ibbi-Suen = Išbi-Erra synchronism. Assuming that these campaigns were directly connected with the sack of Ur by the Šimaškians and Elamites under Kindattu, with one of them having coincided with that event, the last year of Ibbi-Suen’s reign (which was either his 24<sup>th</sup> or 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year) corresponded to either Išbi-Erra’s “fifteenth” or “sixteenth” year. This results in the following set of chronological solutions:

Ibbi-Suen	24	=	Išbi-Erra	“15”
	24	=		“16”
	25	=		“15”
	25	=		“16”

Unfortunately, due to the fact that the number of the year-formulae before Išbi-Erra “7” still remains unknown – the suggested figures range from three to six<sup>16</sup> – it is impossible to chose among those four solutions. If the sequence of the Ibbi-Suen’s formulae proposed by E. Sollberger<sup>17</sup> is in fact correct (but this too is far from certain), one might favor the equation Ibbi-Suen 24 = Išbi-Erra “15,” since this synchronism would bring about a match between the formulae Ibbi-Suen 17 and Išbi-Erra “8.”<sup>18</sup> Both of these formulae concern military operations against the Amorites, and may refer, therefore, to the same event. But all of this is highly speculative. Clearly, only with new and better evidence could these chronological dilemmas be settled conclusively.

1. I follow here the sequence of Išbi-Erra’s year-formulae proposed by M. Van De Mieroop, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period* (Leuven, 1987), 120-28, and subsequently adopted by M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1988).

2. *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966), 24. See also *ibid.*, 309: “... we also find [there] for the first time the title *rabiānum* attested, possibly at least, in connection with the Amorites.”

3. Buccellati’s reading was accepted by M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (Leiden, 1976), 85, and, very recently, by A. Seri, *Local Power in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia* (London, 2005), 65-66.

4. The only attestation of this value in Ur III sources comes from the personal name Bir<sub>5</sub>-ḫa-šum, Bir<sub>5</sub>-ḫa-šu-um, for which see I. J. Gelb, *MAD 2<sup>2</sup>*, 60 no. 54; *MAD 3*, 217; M. Hilgert, *Akkadisch in der Ur III-Zeit* (Münster, 2002), 59 no. 51, 657 under NAM; CAD P, 414b under *pirša’u/pir’ašu*, “flea”.

5. While the possibility that *rabiānum* is here a personal name, rather than a title, cannot be completely excluded, I do not consider it to be very likely.

6. For the examples of this oath, see Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur III Period* (Stuttgart, 1989), 73-74 n. 209; *NABU* 2007/15; “The Joys of Cooking in Ur III Babylonia,” p. 4 and n. 3 (in press). For *ki nam-érem*, “place of the oath,” see A. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 3, 145.

7. By using the analogies of Abda-el of Ešnunā and Emišum, who appear as recipients of gifts in the Isin texts dating to Išbi-Erra’s reign, Seri, *op.cit.*, 66, convincingly argued that this particular *rabiānum* was one of the Amorite leaders or kings who had allied themselves with Išbi-Erra as part of the latter’s complicated political game against Ibbi-Suen. For Emišum’s identity with the second king of Larsa of that name, see Steinkeller in E. C. Stone and P. Zimansky, *The Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City: Survey and Soundings at Mashkan-shapir* (Winona Lake, 2004), 37.

8. *Zamir̄tum* was either a dagger or some type of a short sword. This weapon appears to have been a regular part of military equipment in Ur III times, as indicated by the coupling of 20 *zamir̄tus* with 20 shields (*kabābum*) in BIN 9 399

(for which see below). Against CAD Z, 39, the fact that *zamirītus* are occasionally included in private inventories hardly constitutes evidence that it was an “important household utensil.” N.B. the alleged list of “cheap household utensils” (BE 3 76), cited *ibid.*, 39, names also a “quiver” (*kušiš-ba-tum*) and a “saddle” (*kušda-ak-ši-um*)!

9. Iddin-ilum appears also in BIN 9 185:1-3, dating to Išbi-Erra “23,” where he receives a fancy chair (*gišgu-za šir-da*).

10. Šuruš-kin, one of Iddin-ilum’s associates, is possibly identical with Išbi-Erra’s son-in-law of the same name: *nīg-ba Li-bur-ni-aš dumu-munus-lugal / ud SUHUŠ-ki-in / dumu Hu-ba-zi-im-ti-ke<sub>4</sub> / ba-an-tuku-a*, “the gift of princess Libur-ni’aš, (issued) when she was married by Šuruš-kin, son of Huba-simti” (BIN 9 438:21-24 – Išbi-Erra “15”/ii/3). Note that this tablet belongs to the same year as BIN 10 124. D. O. Edzard, *Die “Zweite Zwischenzeit” Babylonien* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 62, read line 23 as *Hu-ba-zi-im-ti sukkal* (following V. E. Crawford, BIN 9, 27), but the sign in question undoubtedly is *-ke<sub>4</sub>*. Though not a *sukkal(-mah)*, Huba-simti was probably an Elamite (as speculated by Edzard, *ibid.*, 62 n. 290), since his name very likely represents */humban-simti/*.

11. This brief discussion revisits the issues first explored systematically by Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit*, 62. Even after half a century, Edzard’s treatment of this subject remains remarkably insightful and exhaustive.

12. That the campaign against the Elamites commemorated in this formula was different from that which took place in the year Išbi-Erra “15” is demonstrated by the fact that the formula in question began to be used only in the fourth month of Išbi-Erra “16.” See the occurrences listed in Sigrist, *Isin Year Names*, 16. In the beginning of that year texts were dated by the formula *mu ús-sa Bād-li-bur-<sup>d</sup>Iš-bi-Ēr-ra ba-dù mu ús-sa-bi*; in fact, this formula was used only during month 1 (sixteen attestations) and month 2 (one attestation – BIN 9 125). See Sigrist, *op.cit.*, 15. [The only anomaly here is BIN 9 208, which is dated to the seventh day of the first month of the year [mu] *Elam bī-ra*. Since this example is incongruent with the other data, it evidently is an error for *mu ús-sa Elam bī-ra*.] Accordingly, that second campaign must have taken place in the very beginning of the year Išbi-Erra “16,” either in the second or the third month. I base this conclusion on the fact that more than half of the Isin tablets from the first and second months of year Išbi-Erra “16” are expenditures of hides and related materials to fashion various armaments:

BIN 9 466 (month 1, 12<sup>th</sup> day): coats of mail and helmets (*[giš<sup>7</sup>]gú-è ù sagšu-šè*); *gú-è* is Akk. *nahḫlaptum*. The tablet has no year-formula, but the mention of an Išbi-Erra-inib-Anim, who occurs also in BIN 9 136, 194, 197, and Ferwerda Contribution no. 9, assures that it belongs to Išbi-Erra “16”;

BIN 9 194 (month 1, 14<sup>th</sup> day): spears (*giš-gíd-da-šè*) and coats of mail (*gú-è-šè*);

BIN 9 75 (month 1, 15<sup>th</sup> day): front guards of chariots (*gaba-gál-šè* – Akk. *gabagallum*);

BIN 9 195 (month 1, 18<sup>th</sup> day): coats of mail (*gú-è-šè*);

BIN 9 463 (month 1, 20<sup>th</sup> day): front guards of chariots (*gaba-gál-šè*) and battering rams (*gišgud-si-dili*);

BIN 9 197 (month 1, 24<sup>th</sup> day): helmets (*kušsagšu ṽninniš-šè*) and battering rams (*gišgud-si-dili-šè*);

Ferwerda Contribution no. 9 (month 1, 26<sup>th</sup> day): spears (*giš-gíd-da-aš*), battering rams and siege engines (*gišgud-si-dili-šè ù za-an-bu-ga-nu-um*), and coats of mail (*gišgú-è-šè*); I assume that *za-an-bu-ga-nu-um* (or *za-am<sub>6</sub>-bu-ga-nu-um*) stands for *samukānum*; cf. *šum-ma a-al šu-mi-im i-na wa-si-bi-im ú za-mu-ga-ne ú-ra-ad* in RA 35 (1938) pl. XIV no. 27:3-6;

BIN 10 125 (month 1, 26<sup>th</sup> day): spears (*giš-gíd-da-aš*);

BIN 9 125 (month 2): battering rams for the *muškenū* (*gud-si-dili-šè mu MAŠ.EN.GAG-šè*).

The manufacture of so much material within such a brief period of time (a month or so) can mean only one thing: preparations for an impending military campaign, and a major one at that. In this connection, it is worth pointing out that these mentions of armaments constitute the largest block of such attestations in the entire corpus of Isin craft texts. Cf. also BIN 9 338 (month 4) discussed just below.

13. 20 *urudu zà-mi-rí-tum / 20 kuš ga-ba-bu-um / Larsam<sup>ki</sup>-šè / Lú-ša-lim KIŠ?<.NITA?> / gír Li-bur-be-lí.*

14. The campaign of Išbi-Erra “15,” which took place in the beginning of that year (BIN 9 152), and whose objective appears to have been Uruk (BIN 10 124), probably was a failure (note the loss of weapons at Uruk). This would explain why this event had not been used to mark the name of that year. The campaign of the following year apparently was more successful. Though it clearly failed to liberate Ur, it seems to have established Isin’s domination as far to the south as Larsa (BIN 9 338).

15. *mu <sup>d</sup>Iš-bi-Ēr-ra lugal-e Elam šag<sub>4</sub> Úrim<sup>ki</sup>-ma tuš-a gištukul kalag-ga-ni im-ta-e<sub>11</sub> / i-dab<sub>5</sub>*, “the year king Išbi-Erra expelled by his mighty weapon / captured the Elamites who were living in Ur” (Išbi-Erra “26”). A variant of this formula reads: *mu <sup>d</sup>Iš-bi-Ēr-ra lugal-e Úrim<sup>ki</sup> i-dab<sub>5</sub>*, “the year king Išbi-Erra captured Ur” (JCS 19 [1965] 44 no. 56 iv line b).

The tradition of Išbi-Erra’s wars on Elam and Šimaški is also preserved in the hymnic composition “Išbierra and Kindattu” = “Išbierra B” (most recently edited by J. Van Dijk, JCS 30 [1978], 189-208), in the literary letter “Išbierra to Ibbisin 1” lines 24-28, as well as in two later omens: *a-mu-ut Iš-bi-Ēr-ra šá ELAM<sup>ki</sup> da-gi!(ZI)-il-šu / takilšu / ú ELAM<sup>ki</sup> il-ga-a*, “the omen of Išbi-Erra, who (first) allied himself with Elam (lit.: put his trust in Elam), and who (then) captured Elam” (RA 35 [1938] pl. V no. 9); *GIŠ.TUKUL <sup>1</sup>Iš-bi-Ēr-ra ša E-la-am-tam is-ki-pu*, “the victorious military campaign (lit.: weapon) of Išbi-Erra who drove out Elam” (YOS 10 46 v 5-6).

16. See Van De Mieroop, *Crafts*, 120-28.

17. AfO 17 (1954/56), 39-45.

18. *mu <sup>d</sup>I-bi-<sup>d</sup>Suen lugal Úrim<sup>ki</sup>-ma-ra MAR.TU á im-ùlu ul-ta uru<sup>ki</sup> nu-zu gú im-ma-an-gá-ar; mu uru<sup>ki</sup> MAR.TU ba-hul.*

Piotr STEINKELLER (04-12-07) steinkel@fas.harvard.edu  
Harvard University, 6 Divinity Avenue, CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138 (USA)

4) Note sur les sceaux des rois de Mitanni/Mittani – Les découvertes récentes de nouvelles tablettes scellées aux noms de plusieurs rois de Mitanni permettent de reconstituer avec beaucoup plus d’assurance qu’auparavant la liste et l’ordre de ceux-ci. Il est cependant certain que le dernier mot ne sera dit en ce domaine

que lorsque la première capitale du Mitanni, Waššukanni, pourra être découverte ou fouillée de façon exhaustive, si elle l'a été (à Tall Fakhariya ?) sans que les tablettes inscrites par la chancellerie de ses rois y aient été retrouvées.

Les populations hourrites, prédominantes, et aussi « amorites » de la Haute-Mésopotamie installées entre le « coude » de l'Euphrate et le haut Tigre avaient formé au cours des siècles de nombreuses principautés que les premiers grands rois hittites, Ḫattušili I (c.1625-1600 av. J.C.) et Muršili I (c.1600-1585, en chronologie moyenne) ont affronté durement<sup>1</sup>. Des groupes peu nombreux d'Aryas venus d'Asie centrale et parlant une langue proche du sanscrit ont réussi à unifier toute la région vers le milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère. Ils adoraient les dieux védiques, Mitra, Varuna, Indra et les Nasatiya. Tous les souverains du royaume qui s'est constitué en Haute-Mésopotamie, le Mitanni, porteront pendant trois siècles des « noms héroïques » (ex. Tušratta, Šattiwaza) ou à consonance religieuse (ex. Artatama, Artasumara) explicables par le sanscrit et par les croyances de ces Aryas<sup>2</sup>.

Les combattants disposant de chars légers, les *maryannu* (du sanscrit *marya*, jeune guerrier, héros, doté d'un suffixe hourrite) formaient la force principale des armées du nouveau royaume appelé indifféremment Hurri ou Mitanni (et aussi Ḫanigalbat ; Naḫarina dans les textes égyptiens).

Le probable premier souverain du Mitanni, Šutarna, fils de Kirta, n'est connu que par le sceau imprimé par l'un de ses descendants, Šauštatar (I), sur des tablettes retrouvées à Tell Aḫana (Alalah), AIT 13 et 14<sup>3</sup>, dans les ruines de la capitale d'un pays vassal, le Mukiš, situé en Syrie du nord. Šauštatar était le successeur d'un roi B/Parattarna (I), premier personnage de la lignée mentionné par les textes retrouvés à Tell Aḫana (la statue d'Idrimi, roi d'Alalah et AIT 3)<sup>4</sup> et à Terqa, sur le moyen Euphrate (royaume de Ḫana)<sup>5</sup>. Cet ensemble de documents montrait que les monarques qualifiés tantôt de « rois de Mitanni », tantôt de « rois des guerriers hourrites » avaient étendu leur domination sur un vaste territoire, depuis la Cilicie, où le Kizzuwatna « hittite » était passé sous leur tutelle, et de la Syrie (Alalah, Alep, Tunip, et même Qadeš), jusqu'à la vallée du moyen Euphrate où était situé le royaume de Ḫana. Le cœur du pays hourrite était irrigué par le faisceau de rivières alimentant le Ḫabur. Cette région abritait les grands centres urbains du royaume (Waššukanni, Nagar, Taïde, etc.).

La documentation concernant les trois siècles de l'histoire du Mitanni (c.1560-1260 av. J.C.) n'a été pendant longtemps constituée que par des « textes historiques » étrangers, égyptiens, hittites ou assyriens et par les lettres mitanniennes retrouvées à el Amarna (EA 17-30). Ces 14 messages du roi Tušratta (c.1350-1335) étaient destinés à deux pharaons, Aménophis III (1380-1343 av. J.C. si on admet une corégence d'une dizaine d'années avec son fils, sinon 1390-1353), et son successeur, Akhenaton (1354-1337). L'un d'eux était rédigé en langue hourrite (EA 24)<sup>6</sup>.

La publication des textes de Tell Aḫana (Alalah) puis de ceux retrouvés à Terqa ont apporté un complément d'information capital sur les débuts du grand royaume hourrite. Les tablettes AIT 13 et 14 ont révélé que le roi Šauštatar (I) qui avait succédé à B/Parattarna (I), dont on n'a pas retrouvé de tablette scellée, utilisait un sceau gravé au nom de son ancêtre, le probable fondateur du royaume : « Šu-ut-tar-na DUMU Ki-ir-ta LUGAL Ma-i-ta-ni ».

Les fouilles menées par D. Oates à Tall Brak (l'antique Nagar), en plein pays hourrite, ont enfin mis au jour, à partir de 1984, des tablettes retrouvées *in situ* dans un palais mitannien. Il s'agissait, dans deux cas, d'actes juridiques entérinés en présence (*ana pani*) de deux rois bien connus par ailleurs, Artasumara et son frère (et successeur), Tušratta, le correspondant des pharaons Aménophis III et Akhenaton et l'adversaire de Šuppiluliuma :

1) TB 6002, tablette révélée par les fouilles de 1984 et publiée par I.L. Finkel, contient le texte d'une donation et commence ainsi : « a-na pa-ni <sup>m</sup>ar-ta-šu-ma-ra LUGAL / DUMU <sup>m</sup>šu-ut-tar-na LUGAL », « En présence d'Artasumara le roi, fils de Šutarna, le roi »<sup>7</sup>.

2) TB 8001, tablette publiée par N.J.J. Illingworth a les mêmes caractéristiques : « a-na pa-ni <sup>m</sup>tu-iš-e-rat-ta LUGAL » / « en présence de Tušratta, le roi »<sup>8</sup>.

Toutes deux sont scellées, non pas aux noms des deux souverains présents à l'acte mais avec celui de : « Ša-uš-ta-at-tar / DUMU Par-ša-ta-tar / LUGAL Ma-i-ta-ni », comme la tablette de Nuzi HSS 9, 1.

Les fouilles menées à Umm-el-Marra, à l'est d'Alep et au nord-est du lac Jabbul, ont amené la découverte en 1999 d'une unique mais précieuse tablette. Il s'agissait d'un contrat passé en présence du roi Šutarna (II) et scellé là aussi au nom de « Šauštatar, fils de Paršatatar »<sup>9</sup>.

A Tall Bazi, l'antique Bašīru, située sur le « coude de l'Euphrate », au sud de Karkemiš et sur la rive orientale du fleuve, ont été de même découvertes des tablettes scellées par deux rois de Mitanni :

1) Bz 51/23 : 21, donation d'un domaine par le roi Šauštatar aux « fils de URU Bašīru » ; tablette qu'il a scellée de son propre sceau, identique à celui utilisé, peut-être par lui, à Nuzi, et par ses successeurs, à Tall Bazi et à Tall Brak et portant : « Ša-uš-ta-at-tar / DUMU Par-ša-ta-tar / LUGAL Ma-i-ta-ni » ;

2) Bz 50/23 : 32, donation du roi Artatama (I), aux mêmes bénéficiaires, de différents domaines dont une « dépendance (*ḫalsu*) » de Ḫalab (Alep). Sceau de « Šauštatar, fils de Paršatatar »<sup>10</sup>.

Ces tablettes retrouvées à Umm el-Marra et à Tall Bazi apportent la preuve concrète que les rois hourrites concernés se rendaient dans des centres provinciaux de leur empire pour y rendre la justice.

Les localités où ils ont fait halte appartenait certainement à des pays vassaux, sans doute le royaume d'Alep dans le cas d'Umm el-Marra<sup>11</sup>, peut-être celui d'Aštata (Emar) en ce qui concerne Bašīru<sup>12</sup>.

La proximité des deux tablettes de Tall Bazi et de leurs contenus (deux donations aux habitants de la cité) rend très vraisemblable celle des deux rois mis en cause. Il est évidemment impossible que le roi Šauštatar présent à Bašīru soit celui connu par les textes d'Alalaḥ et l'adversaire du pharaon Thutmosis III, comme le proposent les éditeurs de ces textes<sup>13</sup>. Malgré l'affirmation contraire de R.H. Beal, c'est le second, et non un unique Šauštatar, qui a été le contemporain d'Aménophis II<sup>14</sup>.

Le premier Šauštatar était intervenu dans les affaires de ses vassaux alors que la paix régnait en Syrie du nord et au Kizzuwatna. Il a réglé un différent territorial survenu entre Niqmepa, fils d'Idrimi et roi d'Alalaḥ, et un Šunaššura (I) qui était le seigneur du Kizzuwatna, son contemporain (AIT 14)<sup>15</sup>. Comment imaginer qu'il ait pu agir en suzerain dans ces deux royaumes à l'époque des grandes offensives menées dans la région par le roi hittite Tutḫaliya I et le pharaon Thutmosis III ?

Šauštatar II de son côté a profité de la fin des raids menés par le pharaon en Syrie du nord et du repli hittite dans la même région et au Kizzuwatna au cours du règne de Ḫattušili II. Il a conquis Aššur et étendu très loin vers l'est la domination du Mitanni (à Arrapha et à Nuzi). C'est lui vraisemblablement qui a rétabli la paix avec l'Égypte en l'an VII (1419 av. J.C.) du pharaon Aménophis II<sup>16</sup>.

W. Sallaberger, B. Einwag et A. Otto qui ont publié les tablettes de Tall Bazi ont présenté un tableau étonnant des conséquences « historiques » qui leur semblent résulter de ces diverses découvertes :

Rois de Mittani	Textes avec sceau dynastique	Format des tablettes	Synchronismes
B/Parattarna			Idrimi d'Alalaḥ
Kirta			
Šuttarna I	1 <sup>er</sup> sceau dynastique		
Paršatatar			
Šauštatar	AIT 13 et 14 : actes juridiques	carré	Tutḫaliya I Thutmosis III (1479-1425)
	2 <sup>ème</sup> sceau dynastique : Tall Bazi 1 : donation, Bz 51/23 : 21	carré	
Artatama I	Tall Bazi 2 : donation, Bz 50/23 : 32	large	Thutmosis IV (1400-1390)
Šuttarna II	Umm el-Marra : UMM 99 T-001, acte juridique	large	Aménophis III
Artaššumara	Tall Brak ; TB 6002, acte juridique	large	Aménophis III
Tušratta	TB 8001 : idem	haut	Aménophis III, IV
Šattiwaza			Šuppiluliuma

(Tableau simplifié)

Il est évident qu'un tel tableau ne peut en aucune façon rendre compte de façon adéquate des relations ayant existé entre les personnages royaux mentionnés par lui et des synchronismes que les textes permettent de proposer, à condition de les bien lire, sans schéma préconçu.

B/Parattarna (I) a été le contemporain du roi d'Alalaḥ, Idrimi<sup>17</sup>, et Šauštatar (I) celui du fils d'Idrimi, Niqmepa<sup>18</sup>. Ils appartiennent donc certainement à deux générations successives. Or ils se retrouvent dans la table 2 de l'article de ZA 96 (p.85) séparés par trois générations (celles de Kirta, de Šutarna I et de Paršatatar), ce qui est contradictoire et rigoureusement impossible.

Il faut distinguer de façon certaine deux B/Parattarna, comme l'avait proposé naguère G. Wilhelm<sup>19</sup>, et deux Šauštatar. Les nouvelles découvertes en apportent la preuve. Les tablettes de Nuzi sont plus récentes, au témoignage de l'archéologie<sup>20</sup>, que celles découvertes au Tell Aḫana (Alalaḥ).

HSS 9, 1 doit donc appartenir au second roi répondant au nom de Šauštatar<sup>21</sup>, comme la tablette de Tall Bazi, Bz 51/23 : 21. Cette dernière prouve en effet que ce roi a bien fait usage d'un « sceau personnel » mentionnant sa filiation et non d'un « sceau dynastique » comme son lointain prédécesseur, le roi Šauštatar I, qui utilisait le « premier sceau dynastique » gravé au nom de « Šutarna, fils de Kirta ». Le premier Šauštatar, connu par les textes d'Alalaḥ et les tablettes de Terqa, a régné avant les grandes offensives menées en Syrie du nord par le pharaon Thutmosis III et le roi hittite Tutḫaliya I. Peut-être a-t-il dû faire face à la fin de son règne aux attaques du souverain hittite, fils du prince Kantuzzili et fondateur d'une nouvelle dynastie, lequel a conclu un traité d'alliance avec le pharaon (le traité dit de Kuruštama), sans doute en 1447 av. J.C. (an 33 de Thutmosis III).

À cette époque l'Assyrie était indépendante et ses rois entretenaient des relations diplomatiques avec le roi kassite de Babylone et avec le pharaon Thutmosis III.

Šauštatar II, quant à lui, a conquis Aššur et enlevé la porte d'or et d'argent du palais de ses princes. Les rois d'Aššur sont restés ensuite les vassaux du Grand Roi hurrite pendant près d'un siècle au témoignage des textes de Yorgan tepe (Nuzi). La cause semble entendue. Seule la place du roi B/Parattarna II, connu par

le seul texte de Nuzi qui fait part de son décès (HSS 13, 165), reste indéciée.

Les synchronismes les mieux attestés et les plus vraisemblables se présentent ainsi :

HURRI/MITANNI	ḪATTI	KIZZUWATNA	EGYPTE
(Kirta)			
Šutarna I (c.1560)	Telepinu (c.1550-1530)	Išputaḫšu (c.1560-1535)	Amosis I (1550-1525)
.....	Alluwamna (c.1530-1515)	Paddatišu (c.1535-1515)	Aménophis I (1525-1504)
.....	Ḫantili II (c.1515-1505)		
.....	Taḫurwaili (c.1505-1500)	Eḫeya (c.1515-1500)	Thutmosis I (1504-1492)
B/Parattarna I (c.1500-1480)	Zidanza (c.1500-1485)	Pilliya (c.1500-1480)	Thutmosis II (1492-1479)
Šauštatar I (c.1480-1460)	Ḫuzziya III (c.1485-1470)	Šunaššura I (c.1480-1455)	Hatshepsut (1479-1458)
	Muwatali I (c.1470-1465)		Thutmosis III (1479/1458-1425)
Paršatatar (c.1460-1440)	Tutḫaliya I (c.1465-1440)	(annexion au Ḫatti ?)	
Šauštatar II (c.1440-1410)	Ḫattušili II (c.1440-1425)	Talzu (c.1455/1440-1425)	
B/Parattarna II (c.1410-1400)	Tutḫaliya II (c.1425-1390)	Šunaššura II (c.1425-1400)	Aménophis II (1425-1390)
Artatama I (c.1400-1375)	Arnuwanda I (c.1400-1370)	(annexion au Ḫatti)	Thutmosis IV (1390-1380)
Šutarna II (c.1375-1355)	Tutḫaliya III (c.1370-1350)		Aménophis III (1380-1343)
Artašumara (c.1355-1350)	Šuppiluliuma (c.1350-1319)		Akhenaton (1354-1337)
Tuṣratta (c.1350-1335)			Smenkhkarê (1337-1335)
Artatama II			Tutankhamon (1335-1325)
Šutarna III	Arnuwanda II (c.1319-1318)		Aya (1325-1321)
Šattiwaza (c.1325-1300 ?)	Muršili II (c.1318-1295)		Horemheb (1321-1292)

Toutes les dates sont approximatives mais les synchronismes attestés ou très probables sont respectés.

Une corégence d'une dizaine d'années entre Aménophis III et son fils, Aménophis IV / Akhenaton, est admise. Si on la refuse il faut dater l'avènement de Thutmosis IV de 1400, celui d'Aménophis III de 1390 et ceux de Šuppiluliuma et de Tuṣratta de c.1360 av. J.C.

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3. D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London, 1953, 39 (AIT 13-14).

4. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, « Die Inschrift der Statue des Königs Idrimi von Alalah », *UF* 13, 1981, 201-269.

5. O. Rouault, « Chronological Problems Concerning the Middle Euphrates during the Bronze Age », in H. Hunger, R. Pruzsinszky (éd.), *Mesopotamian Dark Ages Revisited*, Wien, 2002, 51-59, pp.56-57.

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7. I.L. Finkel, « Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1984 », *Iraq* 47, 1985, 187-198, pp.191-194 ; J. Eidem, « The Inscriptions » in D. Oates, J. Oates, H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak. I, The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods*, Oxford, 1997, 39-46, p.41.



8. N.J.J. Illingworth, « Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986 », *Iraq* 50, 1988, 87-108, pp.99-105 ; J. Eidem, *ibid.*, in D.J. Oates, H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, 1997, 41-43.
9. J. Cooper, G. Schwartz, R. Westbrook, « A Mittani-Era Tablet from Umm el-Marra », *SCCNH* 15, 2005, 41-56.
10. W. Sallaberger, B. Einwag, A. Otto, « Schenkungen von Mittani-Königen an die Einwohner von Bašīru », *ZA* 96, 2006, 69-104, pp.78-80 (Bz 51/23:21) ; 81-83 (Bz 50/23:32) ; 83-84, « Tafelformat und Paläographie ».
11. J. Cooper *et alii*, *SCCNH* 15, 2005, carte p.42.
12. W. Sallaberger *et alii*, *ZA* 96, 2006, carte p.71 (Abb.1).
13. Idem, *ZA* 96, 2006, Tab.2, p.85 ; contra Freu, *Histoire du Mitanni*, col. Kubaba, Paris, 2003, 65-74.
14. R.H. Beal, « The History of Kizzuwatna », *OR* 55, 1986, tableau p.443 ; St. de Martino, *PdP* 55, 2000, 85-86.
15. D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London, 1953, 39 (AIT 14) ; J. Freu, *Histoire du Mitanni*, 2003, 48.
16. B. Bryan, « The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani », in R. Cohen, R. Westbrook, *Amarna Diplomacy*, Baltimore/London, 2000, 71-84, pp.77-79.
17. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, *UF* 13, 1981, 204-209 (texte et traduction).
18. D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, 1953, 26-31 (AIT 2, Šauštatar sous-entendu) ; 39 (AIT 13-14).
19. G. Wilhelm, *Acta Ant. Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* 24, 1976, 149-161.
20. D. Stein, « A Reappraisal of the 'Šauštatar Letter' from Nuzi », *ZA* 79, 1989, 36-60, pp.39-41.
21. D. Stein, *ibid.*, *passim*, admet une attribution à un roi quelconque, en tant que « sceau dynastique ».

Jacques FREU (06-12-07) jacques.freu@orange.fr  
1 Hauts de Monte-Carlo, 06320 LA TURBIE (France)

5) Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn, *rab ša-rēši*, und „Nebusarsekim“ (Jer. 39:3)<sup>1</sup> – BM 114789 aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv, hier mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Trustees des British Museum ediert, bietet den ersten babylonischen Beleg für diesen hohen Funktionär am Hof Nebukadnezars. Der Text stammt aus 594 v. Chr. und beweist damit die Richtigkeit der Hypothese von D. Vanderhooft, der schon 1999 vermutete, hinter dem *rav sarīs* „Nebusarsekim“ von Jer. 39:3 verberge sich der akkadische Name Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn.<sup>2</sup> Die zweite Belagerung Jerusalems durch die Babylonier, um die es in Jer. 39 geht, erfolgte etwa acht Jahre nach Abfassung unseres Textes. Angesichts des hohen Ranges des *rab ša-rēši* (es gab immer nur einen Inhaber dieser Position), des außerordentlich seltenen Namens und der zeitlichen Nähe kann als gesichert gelten, daß in beiden Zeugnissen dieselbe Person gemeint ist. Die Übereinstimmung des akkadischen Namens mit der hebräischen Schreibung ist fast perfekt. Der reine Konsonantentext bietet *nbwšrskym*, das in *\*nbw-šrs-kyn*<sup>1</sup> zu korrigieren ist. Ein hebräischer Schreiber hat die Graphemfolge *\*-yn* als 'aramaisierende' Pluralendung mißverstanden und zu der hebräischen Pluralendung *-ym* 'korrigiert'.

BM 114789

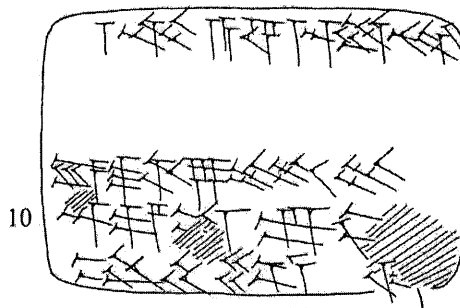
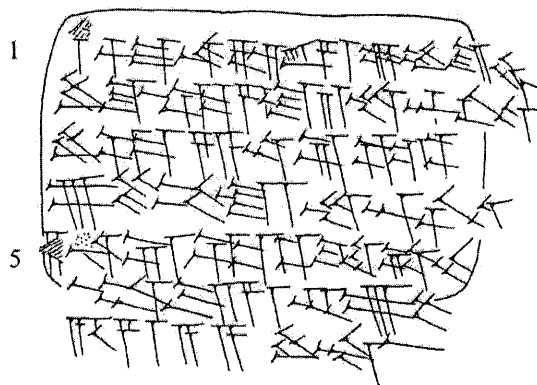
- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 1   | 1 1/2 ma.na kù.gi šá l <sup>1</sup> ag-lugal-su-du             |
|     | lúgal sag šá ina šu II l <sup>1</sup> r-d <sup>1</sup> dù-tú   |
|     | lú <sup>1</sup> sag šá a-na é.sag.gíl                          |
|     | ú-še-bi-la l <sup>1</sup> r-d <sup>1</sup> dù-tú               |
| 5   | ina <sup>sup</sup> .ras. é.sag.gíl it-ta-din                   |
|     | ina du-zu šá l <sup>1</sup> en-ú-sat                           |
| Rd. | a-šú šá l <sup>1</sup> a-a lúgír.lá                            |
| Rs. | l <sup>1</sup> na-din a-šú šá l <sup>1</sup> amar.utu-numun-dù |
|     | (zwei Zeilen frei)   |
|     | iti.zíz ud.18.kam mu.10.kam                                    |
| 10  | pa-níg.du-ú-šu[r]  |
|     | lugal.tin.tir <sup>1</sup> ki <sup>1</sup>                     |

5) *ina* über halb radiertes *al-na*

„Betreffs 1,5 Minen Gold, Eigentum von Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn, dem 'Obersten der Höflinge', in der Obhut des 'Höflings' Arad-Bānītu, das er an Esangila geschickt hat: Arad-Bānītu hat (das Gold) in Esangila übergeben.

Im Beisein von Bēl-usāti, Sohn von Aplāja, dem königlichen Leibgardisten (*tābiḫū*), (und) von Nādin, Sohn von Marduk-zēru-ibni.

18.XI.10 Nebuchadnezar, König von Babylon.“



BM 114789

1. Diese Miszelle wurde im Rahmen unseres vom Fonds für die Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Wien) finanzierten START-Projekts *The Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C.* verfaßt. Ich danke Irving Finkel und Jon Taylor für Unterstützung bei der Arbeit im British Museum.

2. D.S. Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets* (Atlanta 1999), 151. Der unter Amil-Marduk bezeugte gewöhnliche *ša-rēši* Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn hat mit unserem Funktionär nichts zu tun, die Titel *ša rēš* (*šarri*) und *rab ša-rēši* wechseln nicht miteinander (zum neubabylonischen *ša rēši* s. demnächst M. Jursa, „Höflinge“ (*ša rēši*, *ša rēš šarri*, *ustarbaru*) in babylonischen Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends“, in J. Wiesehöfer, G. Lanfranchi und R. Rollinger (Hrsg.), *Die Welt des Ktesias (Oriens et Occidens)*, Stuttgart 2008). Die historische Zuverlässigkeit der in Jer. 39 überlieferten Namen ist schon lange anhand des im selben Vers genannten *simmagir* Neriglissar gezeigt worden. Der *rav ṭabbāhīm* Nevuzaradan (Jer. 39:13) hat allerdings wohl nichts mit dem *rab nuhatimmī* Nabû-zēru-iddin des sogenannten Hofkalenders Nebukadnezars zu tun, wie immer wieder vermutet worden ist. Die akkadische Entsprechung des hebräischen Titels ist *rab ṭābihī*, „Oberster der Leibgarde“ (gegen CAD T, 8 schon im späten siebenten/frühen sechsten Jahrhundert bezeugt); der *rab nuhatimmī* ist hingegen der „Oberbäcker“, der nicht ins Feld zieht. Über dieses Problem und weitere Implikationen von BM 114789 wird an anderer Stelle gehandelt werden.

Michael JURSA (13-12-07) michael.jursa@univie.ac.at  
Inst. für Orientalistik, Univ. Wien, Spitalg. 2, Hof 4, 1090 WIEN (Österreich)

6) Yasmah-Addu veut-il ou non apprendre l'amurrite ? – N. Ziegler et D. Charpin viennent de publier dans les *Mélanges Hunger* deux lettres qui, pour la première fois, attestent de ce que les Hanûm (« nomades » d'après Ziegler-Charpin), ou au moins une partie d'entre eux, parlaient amurrite et non l'akkadien, et qu'au contraire Yasmah-Addu ne le parlait pas. En effet, Samsi-Addu lui écrit : « Tu (Yasmah-Addu) ne peux parler avec eux (les Hanûm) amurrite » (A.3823.6''-7'' [Mél. Hunger, p. 61]) ; dans une seconde lettre, il l'exhorte à apprendre cette langue : « [Toi] apprends à parler amurrite » (M.7930+M.8157.7-8 [Mél. Hunger, p. 69]). Dans la première lettre, Yasmah-Addu répond à son père Samsi-Addu : *Amurrê dabābam lā watār ahhaz*, qu'ils traduisent par : « Ohne Übertreibung, ich werde Amurritisch sprechen lernen ! » Dans ARM XXVI/2.346.9 Charpin traduit *lā watār*, qui ouvre une phrase, par « Vraiment », et il note (p. 120, n. b) « littéralement, *la watār* signifie “pas davantage, assez” ». D'après la traduction de Ziegler-Charpin, la réponse de Yasmah-Addu est positive : il promet à son père qu'il va apprendre l'amurrite. Or, dans *AbB* IV.69.37 nous lisons : *eqlam ... lā watār ibaqqar* « Er soll nicht weiter vindizieren », et le *CAD* M1, p. 405b traduit : « he should make no more claim ». Ainsi, nous nous demandons si on ne peut pas voir dans les paroles de Yasmah-Addu une réponse négative : « Je n'apprendrai plus l'amurrite » ? Son attitude irait bien avec le fait bien connu qu'il était « un enfant gâté ». En outre, son attitude négative pourrait expliquer pourquoi la lettre A.3823 n'a pas été finalement envoyée (cfr. p. 61).

La possibilité de trancher entre les deux possibilités – réponse affirmative ou négative – s'est peut-être trouvée dans la suite de la lettre, mais les ll. 11''-12'' sont lacunaires et une partie de la tablette est manquante.

Moshé ANBAR (05-12-07) moscheanb@netvision.net.il  
11 rue Amon, 63455 TEL AVIV (Israël)

7) Il *gú-a-du* di <sup>d</sup>BAD-mí *U<sub>9</sub>-gú-a-áškī* ad Ebla – Come proposto da chi scrive,<sup>1</sup> nei testi eblaiti la grafia *gú-a-tum* può indicare sia un oggetto, sia un'importante azione rituale (che presumibilmente da quello prende il nome), collegata al culto di alcune divinità femminili. Ciò aiuta ora a comprendere meglio un passo, non adeguatamente interpretato, di un rendiconto amministrativo eblaita:

*MEE* 12 18 r. X:15 - XI:4: 1 *zi-rí* siki / níg-ba / *gú-a-du* / <sup>d</sup>BAD-mí / *U<sub>9</sub>-gú-a-áškī*,

dove la grafia *gú-a-du* è da considerarsi, a nostro avviso,<sup>2</sup> come una variante grafica del più attestato *gú-a-tum*. Il termine esprime l'azione rituale, legata in questo caso al culto di <sup>d</sup>BAD-mí di *U<sub>9</sub>-gú-a-áškī* (probabilmente una ipostasi locale della dea Išhara),<sup>3</sup> che ha determinato l'offerta (níg-ba) di una misura *zi-rí* di lana, utilizzata, si presume, per compiere un atto di magia analogica. L'assegnazione della lana (1 na<sub>4</sub> siki) ritorna anche in altri due contesti noti relativi a questo stesso rito, con riferimento alle dee <sup>d</sup>A-da-ma e <sup>d</sup>TU:<sup>4</sup>

*ARET* III 337 v. VI:2'-7': [1\* na<sub>4</sub>\* siki\*] níg-dug-DU / *gú-a-tum* / <sup>d</sup>A-da-ma / wa / <sup>d</sup>TU / 'À-da-NÍki;  
*TM.75.G.1776* v. IX:1-5:<sup>5</sup> 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki / níg-dug-DU / *gú-a-tum* / <sup>d</sup>A-da-ma / 'À-da-NÍki.

Questa azione cultuale pare ricorrere anche nell'ambito delle celebrazioni del matrimonio dei dinasti eblaiti e delle loro conseguente intronizzazione:<sup>6</sup>

*ARET* XI 1 (14): 1 *da-ga-a-tum* / e-am / 'gú-l-'a-l-[ti-i]š / <sup>d</sup>Ba-'ra-l-[ma] / [ma-lik-tum] / 'šú-l-'mu-l-taka<sub>4</sub>;  
*ARET* XI 2 (16): 1 *da-ga-a-tum* / e-am / 1 *gú-a-ti-iš* / <sup>d</sup>Ba-ra-ma.

Qui destinatario dell'offerta di un oggetto prezioso è sempre l'elemento femminile della coppia delle divinità protettrici del re e della regina, vale a dire <sup>d</sup>Ba-ra-ma.<sup>7</sup> Un riflesso di questo importante evento lo ritroviamo in un passo amministrativo:

MEE 7 34 v. XVIII:7'-14': 5 kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 1 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> 1 kù-sal / níg-ba / Da-bur-da-mu / al<sub>6</sub> / gú-a-ti / <sup>d</sup>Ba-ra-ma,

in cui, infatti, autrice dell'offerta è appunto Da-bur-da-mu, alle cui nozze con il re di Ebla si suppone faccia riferimento proprio il secondo dei rituali di ARET XI.<sup>8</sup>

Il termine gú-a-tum (e varr.), che dà il nome a questo significativo atto di culto, resta purtroppo di difficile interpretazione,<sup>9</sup> ma, come detto sopra, deve riferirsi ad un oggetto, come assicura:

ARET XII 344 v. IV:1'-4': ... / 10 lá-3 an-dù[l] igi-DUB-SÙ šu-SÙ DU-SÙ kù:babbar / 10 lá-3 gú-a-tum zabar / <sup>d</sup>Gú-ša-ra-tum,

dove la parola, preceduta dal numerale, indica un manufatto in bronzo assegnato, assieme con delle statue (an-dùl) con parti rivestite in lamina d'argento, alle dee <sup>d</sup>Gú-ša-ra-tum, identificabili con le Kuwašurātum / Kūšarātum del Pantheon di Mari e con le Ktrt dei testi di Ugarit, protettrici dei parti.<sup>10</sup>

Anche la dea <sup>d</sup>BAD-mí di U<sub>9</sub>-gú-a-āš<sup>ki</sup> pare potersi considerare come una divinità femminile particolarmente venerata dalle dame della corte eblaita, come attesta tra l'altro:

ARET III 323 v. VI:6'-10': 1 du-ru<sub>12</sub>-rúm gùn / níg-ba / ama-gal en / <sup>d</sup>BAD-mí / U<sub>9</sub>-g[ú]-a-āš<sup>ki</sup>,

in cui la madre del re offre a questa dea una stola variegata (du-ru<sub>12</sub>-rúm gùn), una componente di alto valore simbolico nell'abbigliamento delle donne eblaita, che potevano indossarlo solo con le nozze.<sup>11</sup> Anche nell'antica Grecia, ad esempio, stoffe e vesti particolarmente legate alla sfera nuziale venivano donate ai simulacri delle divinità protettrici della donna e del matrimonio.<sup>12</sup>

1) Pasquali 2005a, pp. 132 ss., con bibliografia.

2) L'editore pensa ad un NP.

3) Pomponio – Xella 1997, p. 121.

4) Per la dea <sup>d</sup>TU ad Ebla, Pasquali 2005b, pp. 165 ss.

5) Citato in Pomponio – Xella 1997, p. 13.

6) Fronzaroli 1993, p. 27.

7) Per cui, Pasquali 2005b, p. 175; 2006.

8) Per i legami di questo rendiconto amministrativo con il rituale regio, si veda Biga 1992, pp. 3 ss.

9) Potrebbe trattarsi di un tipo di vaso, se il riferimento all'ugaritico *qlht*, indicante un tipo di contenitore, anche divinizzato, venisse confermato (si veda nei particolari Pasquali 2005a, pp. 135-136).

10) Come proposto in Pasquali 2006.

11) Pasquali 2005b, pp. 173 ss.

12) Greco 1997, 185 ss.

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Jacopo PASQUALI (18-12-07) pasquali.jacopo@libero.it

Via degli Alfani, 77, 50121 FIRENZE (Italia)

8) A Legal Text from Babylon Dated in the Reign of Shalmaneser V – Contemporary texts from the reign of Shalmaneser V, who ruled as king over both Assyria and Babylonia from 726 to 722 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> are comparatively rare. Although he is credited in later sources with military campaigning,<sup>2</sup> Shalmaneser seems to have died before his scribes issued his own traditional royal annals or display inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> A few administrative and legal texts dated in his reign are known from Assyria,<sup>4</sup> as are short bilingual (Akkadian-Aramaic) royal possession inscriptions on lion weights.<sup>5</sup> A slightly later kudurru refers to a legal transaction at Dēr during these years:<sup>6</sup> in 724, two landowners in the city exchanged pieces of urban real estate.<sup>7</sup> Thus the present text, BM 38239 (80-11-12,121), a fragmentary legal document dated at Babylon in Ulūlu of Shalmaneser's third year (= 724 B.C.), is the first contemporary local attestation of the king's rule in Babylonia.<sup>8</sup>

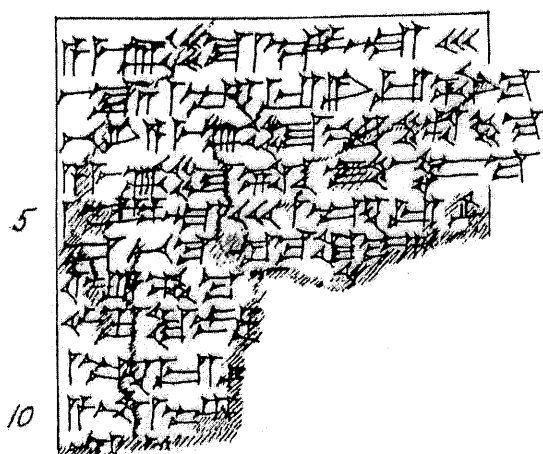
BM 38239 is a tablet fragment measuring 53 × 42 × 20 cm. Its lower section and part of its right side are now missing; to judge from the curvature, the full tablet may have been at least 70 cm long. The preserved lines narrate that Nabû-ēreš obtained a slave from Bēl-ibni, that the slave's rightful owner reclaimed the slave from Nabû-ēreš, and that then Nabû-ēreš demanded repayment from Bēl-ibni. A few broken lines, telling of further action, and a lacuna intervene. When the text resumes, there is part of a heavily damaged witness list, followed by the name of the scribe; the text concludes by listing the place where the document was drawn up and the date, including the king's name.

I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this text.

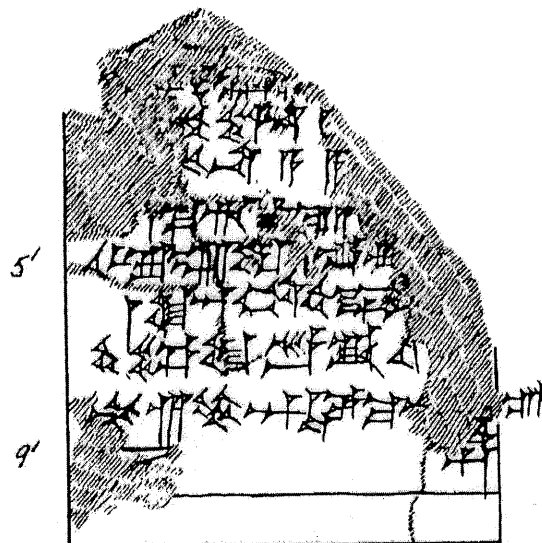
(1)	<i>a-me-lut-tu</i> md+AG-APIN- <i>eš</i>	rev.	...
(2)	<i>ina</i> ŠU <sup>II</sup> md+EN- <i>ib-ni ip-tur-ma</i>	(1')	[ m] <sup>d</sup> +EN <sup>1</sup> -x-x(-x) [ ]
(3)	<i>be-lí a-me-lut-tu il-li-kám-ma</i>	(2')	[ -ŠE]Š-SUM- <i>na</i> 'A' [ ]
(4)	<i>a-me-lut-tu</i> TA-šú <i>i-bu-uk-ma</i>	(3')	[ n]ad?- <i>na-a</i> A [ ]
(5)	md+AG-APIN- <i>eš</i> md+EN- <i>ib-ni</i>	(4')	[ ] <sup>m</sup> ku-ri-gal <sup>1</sup> -zu A [ ]
(6)	'i <sup>š</sup> -bat-ma [u]m-ma ki-i 'KŪ?' <sup>1</sup> x (x) [ ]	(5')	ù DUB.SAR 'šá <sup>1</sup> -tir 'u <sup>1</sup> -il-tim [ ]
(7)	u <sup>1</sup> -tir-am-ma x x [ ... ]	(6')	<sup>m</sup> KI- <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU-DIN DUMU L[Ú ]
(8)	ù ki-i KŪ.[BABBAR? ...]	(7')	TIN.TIR.KI ITL.KIN 'U <sup>4</sup> ] <sup>1</sup> x.KÁM]
(9)	md+EN- <i>ib-ni</i> [i ...]	(8')	MU 3*.KÁM <sup>d</sup> šul-ma- <sup>1</sup> nu-SAG <sup>1</sup> .KAL
(10)	<i>a-na</i> md+A[G- ...]	(9')	[LU]GAL . E
(11)	'um?-ma?' <sup>1</sup> x [ ]		

...

\* over incomplete erasure



Obverse



Reverse

(1) Nabû-ēreš redeemed a slave from Bēl-ibni. (3) The owner of the slave came and took the slave from him (Nabû-ēreš). (5) Nabû-ēreš laid hold of Bēl-ibni and (said): "Pay me in full ... and for ... (9) Bēl-ibni [i ...] (10) to Na[bu-ēreš] ...

(rev., 1') [ ]Bēl-... [son of ...] (2') [ DN-aḥ]a-iddin(a) son of [ ] (3') [ Na]dnā(?) son of [ ] (4') [ ]Kurigalzu son of [ ] (5') and the scribe writing [this tablet] (6') (is) Itti-Marduk-balāṭu member of the ... (family). (7') Babylon, Ulūlu, day [x], (8') year 3 of Shalman[es]er, the [ki]ng.

(Lines 1-7). The first five clauses end in *-ma*. Some of these have been omitted in the translation.

(Line 3). In the verb here, I transliterate the penultimate sign as *-kám-* to indicate that it has the same slant as the commonly used determinative following numbers in day and year dates. It has yet to be settled whether KAM and KÁM are merely graphic variants of the same sign in the late second and the first millennia B.C.

(Line 6). The form of this sign *-um-* is similar to that of the *-um-* in BM 38114:4, a legal text dated in Nabonassar, year 2 = 746 B.C., where the sign is fully preserved ... The traces 'KŪ?'<sup>1</sup> are indistinct; KŪ.BABBAR might be expected or at least something that would parallel the damaged prepositional phrase at the end of line 8.

(Rev., line 2'). It is uncertain whether to interpret the writing of the final element as *-SUM-na* or as *-SUM.NA* already at this time (see *Orientalia* N.S. 34 [1965] 246 n. 2 for the use of the frozen writing

SUM.NA to designate various forms of *nadānu* in seventh-century Babylonia; more examples may be found in the index in UET 4, p. 49). The difference is slight here, i.e. probably only *-iddina* vs. *-iddin* for the final element.

(Rev., line 8'). The year number is written over an incomplete erasure, which appears in the copy as a horizontal stroke ... Shalmaneser was the king's official name in Babylonia, as it was also in Assyria. In his correspondence with his father when he was a crown prince, Shalmaneser called himself as Ulūlayu<sup>9</sup> – a nickname derived from his birth month; a few later texts such as the Assur Ostrakon, Babylonia Kinglist A, and the Ptolemaic Canon, also use this or a similar name.

(Rev., line 9'). LUGAL.E is a traditional title used by Babylonian kings at this time in their date formulae; for the historical background, see Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, pp. 167-168.

1. Babylonian chronicle furnishes relatively precise dates for both Shalmaneser's accession and death: X-25-727 for the accession and X-722 for his death, presumably on or before the twelfth day of the month since Sargon II, his successor, took the throne on X-12-722 (Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, p. 73 no. 1A i 27-31).

2. *Ibid.* i 28; the Assur Ostrakon; 2 Kings 17:3-6, 18:9-12; see also Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, pp. 244-245.

3. This is probably not just because of the shortness of his reign (a few days less than five years). The scribes of other Neo-Assyrian kings – notably Shalmaneser III and Sennacherib – managed to produce editions of annalistic or narrative inscriptions within the first two or three years of these monarchs' reigns; but these kings may have had more notable military achievements to their credit. It is possible that the campaigns of Shalmaneser V were more restricted and that the most ambitious of them, against Samaria, had not been brought to a successful conclusion by the time of his death. Unfortunately the eponym chronicle C<sup>b</sup> 3 (K.3202) which covers these years is heavily damaged and of no help here (cuneiform copies of C<sup>b</sup> 3 may be found in *NABU* 1989/71 and *SAAS* 2, pl. 15). It may also be suspected that Shalmaneser's successor, Sargon II, who came to the throne from outside the regular line of succession and denigrated the memory of his predecessor in such texts as the Assur Charter, would have suppressed belated attempts at commemoration.

4. Eg., those listed by Millard, *SAAS* 2, pp. 79-125 under the pertinent eponyms.

5. The ten bronze lion weights from Nimrud inscribed in his name (in the form É.GAL RN) have been discussed in detail by T. C. Mitchell, "The Bronze Lion Weights from Nimrud," *Res orientales* 2 (1990) 129-138, and by F. M. Fales, "Assyro-Aramaica: The Assyrian Lion-Weights," in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors, eds., *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 65; Leuven, 1995), pp. 33-55. The name of the king appears only in the Akkadian text on these weights; the Aramaic inscriptions record other information, principally the size of the weight.

6. Whether or not Dēr had been annexed into Assyria by this time may be debated (*pace* my remarks in *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 13 n. 42). In any case, Dēr was in Assyrian hands in 724 (VAS 1 70 i 1-2) and remained subject to Assyria in 721 (VAS 1 70 ii 28) even after Marduk-apla-iddina II had assumed the throne of Babylonia; it was still under Assyrian control in 711 (VAS 1 70 v 4), just before Sargon II mounted his campaigns to bring Babylonia once again under Assyrian jurisdiction. The kudurru VAS 1 70, though referring to events during the reigns of Shalmaneser V and Sargon II and giving both kings the title "king of Assyria" (LUGAL KUR aš+šur.KI), cites dates by regnal year, more properly a Babylonian custom, rather than by eponymy (the more typical Assyrian method of dating).

7. VAS 1 70 i 1-ii 27 (the kudurru itself is dated in 711).

8. The text has been catalogued in Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983) 65 under AK.1.

9. E.g., Saggs, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952* (CTN 5), pp. 182-184 ND 2762:2, p. 194 ND 2372:12, pp. 195-196 ND 2409:2, pp. 204-205 ND 2792:2. For further helpful observations on the reign, campaigns, and documentation connected with Shalmaneser V (including relevant Nimrud Letters), see Karen Radner, "Salmanassar V. in den *Nimrud Letters*," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003-04) 95-104.

J. A. BRINKMAN (20-12-07) j-brinkman@uchicago.edu

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

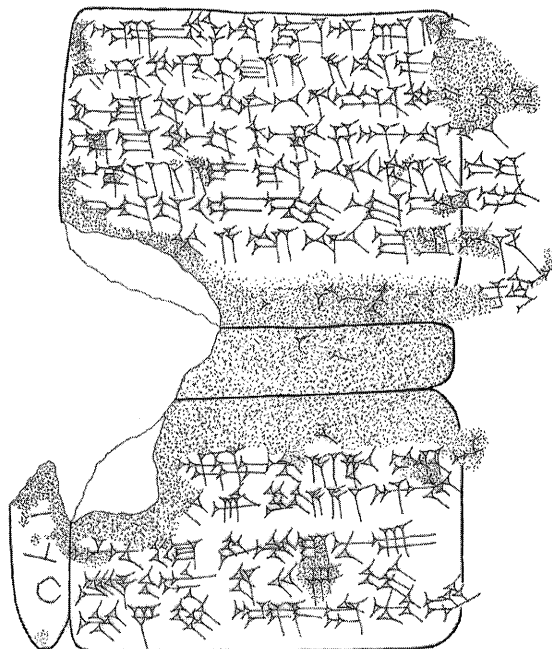
**9) BRM 1, 22 (MLC 1805) – die Übernahme einer Bürgerschaft betreffend** – Die von A.T. Clay 1912 veröffentlichte Tafel hat bis heute noch keine befriedigende Interpretation gefunden. M. Blasberg, Keilschrift in aramäischer Umwelt. Untersuchungen zur spätbabylonischen Orthographie (phil. Diss. Köln 1997), hat sie auf S. 311 (Nr. 140) umschrieben und als „Bürgerschaft(?)“ klassifiziert, wohl wegen *pu-ut* in Z. 4. Eine Übersetzung wurde dort aus gutem Grunde nicht beigelegt, denn das in der Bürgerschaftsklausel gebräuchliche Verbum *našû* (P. Koschaker, Bab.-Ass. Bürgerschaftsrecht, Leipzig-Berlin 1911, 254 s.v. *pû*) ist in der Kopie nicht erkennbar. Formal handelt es sich um eine „Erklärung vor Zeugen (Protokoll)“; dazu M. San Nicolò / A. Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden I, Leipzig 1935, 607 ff. mit Nr. 703-716; E. von Dassow, in: R. Chazan / W.W. Hallo / L.H. Schiffmann (Hg.), *Ki Baruch Hu. Ancient Near Eastern ... Studies in Honor of B.A. Levine*, Winona Lake, IN, 1999, 10 f.; vgl. z.B. auch UET 4, 203. Im Unterschied zu den meisten Beispielen folgen die Zeugen in MLC 1805 allerdings auf die mit *um-ma* eingeleitete Darlegung des Sachverhalts am Ende des Textes.

Obwohl Clay als einer der fähigsten Kopisten von Keilschrifttafeln gelten kann, fällt es in diesem Falle schwer, den vorliegenden Text zu verstehen. J. Oelsner, der sich wiederholt mit dem Text beschäftigt hat und sich nicht zuletzt deshalb dafür interessierte, weil hier das früheste bekannte Beispiel einer aramäischen Beischrift auf einer babylonischen Urkunde vorliegt, war deshalb an E. Frahm mit der Bitte herangetreten, die Tafel zu kollationieren. Er kam ihr nach und hat gleichzeitig mit freundlicher Erlaubnis

Benjamin Fosters, des Kurators der Babylonian Collection, eine neue Kopie angefertigt. Sie dient als Grundlage dieser Bearbeitung und ist beigelegt.

MLC 1805 – Umschrift und Übersetzung:

IdAG-SUM.NA DUMU IdÉ-a-DÙ  
 lú<sup>1</sup>hu-uš-šu-a-a a-na pa-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>  
 3 f<sup>1</sup>Su-ud-dur-ti il-<sup>1</sup>li-kam-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 um-ma pu-ut f<sup>1</sup>Ha-za-an-na-ti  
 DAM <sup>1</sup>A+<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-i-da-ti na-šá-a-ka  
 6 i<sup>1</sup>l-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi ta<sup>1</sup>h-te-él-qu  
 [(x) x] x a-mil-ti ba<sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>2</sup>-uš<sup>2</sup>-šú  
 [ ] x SAL<sup>2</sup> x x x-ma<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>?  
 UR 9 [ ] x x x [ ]  
 [ ]?  
 Rs. [ ] x [ ]  
 [(...) I]<sup>d</sup>AG-MU A <sup>1</sup>Ha-<sup>1</sup>il-il(DINGIR)<sup>1</sup>  
 Rs. 3 [(...) Id]<sup>x</sup>-ir-ÛRU-A A <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-MU  
 an-nu-tu lú<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu-ú  
 itiSIG<sub>4</sub> UD 26kám  
 Rs. 6 MU 4kám dAG-GIN-NUMUN LUGAL



(1) Nabû-iddin, Sohn des Ea-ibni,  
 (2) ein „Rohrüttenmann“, kam zur (3) Suddurti  
 (und sprach) (4/5) folgendermaßen:  
 „Ich übernehme die Haftung für die Hazannatu,  
 die Gattin des Ajja-idati. (6) Am Tag,  
 an dem sie flieht, (7) [...] die/eine Sklavin  
 ohne ... (8 f.) ...“.

Ab Z. 7 ist der Text infolge Beschädigung unklar. Die Existenz einer zweiten Zeile auf dem unteren Tafelrand ist fraglich, da dieser zerstört ist.

Die Zeugennamen begannen wahrscheinlich auf der ersten Zeile der Rückseite. Lesbar sind zwei Namen:

Rs. 1 [...] x [...]  
 Rs. 2 [(...)] Nabû-iddin, Sohn des Ha'il-II;  
 Rs. 3 [...] -x-nāšir-apli, Sohn des Ili-iddin.  
 Rs. 4 Dies sind die Zeugen.  
 Rs. 5f. 26. Siman, Jahr 4 des Nabû-mukīn-zēri, des Königs.

Bemerkungen:

Z. 2: lú<sup>1</sup>hu-uš-šu-a-a: das sonst nicht bekannte Wort wird als Erweiterung von huššu „Rohrütte“ um die Nisbe verstanden, vielleicht Bezeichnung für einen „Rohrüttenbewohner“ oder einen „Rohrüttenerbauer“?

Z. 3: die beiden letzten Zeichen, auf den Rand geschrieben, waren von Clay ausgelassen worden.

Z. 4: das bei der direkten Rede in der Regel vor umma stehende iqbi „er sprach“ wurde vom Schreiber ausgelassen.

Z. 5: na offenbar über Rasur geschrieben. – Zum a-Auslaut bei der Endung des Stativs der 1. Pers. sing. s. GAG § 75 b-c mit Anm. 6.

Z. 6: Perfekt 3. Pers. sing. fem. mit Präformativ ta-, vgl. GAG § 75 h\*.

Z. 7: als mögliche Ergänzungen könnten am Zeilenbeginn in Erwägung gezogen werden: [... ku-m]u „anstelle (der/einer Sklavin)“ oder (Hinweis M. Jursa) [<sup>f</sup>I]-lat, ein weiterer weiblicher Personennamen (s. Tallquist, NNB 75; auch mit theophorem Element, so OIP 114 [Chicago 1996], 261-263 Nr. 125 I 7. Im letzteren Fall ist amiltu wohl als Apposition zu verstehen. Worauf das Suffix -šú am Zeilenende zu beziehen ist, ist infolge der Zerstörung des Textes nicht mehr zu erkennen.

Z. 8: wenn das letzte Zeichen als Aleph-Zeichen richtig interpretiert ist, ist eine pluralische Verbalform anzunehmen. Für das davorstehende Zeichen sind dann auch <sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> oder <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> nicht auszuschließen.

Rs. 2: durch die Ergänzung des Personendeterminativs wird die Lücke nicht ausgefüllt. Vermutlich waren die Zeugennamen (ebenso für die folgende Zeile anzunehmen) eingerückt geschrieben.

Rs. 3: vor -nāšir-apli ist ein theophores Element zu erwarten. Da unter den dafür gebräuchlichen Gottesnamen keiner auf -ir auslautet, hat der Schreiber vielleicht zunächst das Zeichen ÛRU ausgelassen und dann nachgetragen (Schreiberversehen), -ir wäre also als phonetisches Komplement zu interpretieren: -ir und ÛRU = ÛRU<sup>ir</sup>?

Rs. 6: König Nabû-mukîn-zêri wird mit dem Mukîn-zêri der Königsliste A gleichgesetzt, der dort allerdings nur 3 Jahre erhält; vgl. Brinkman, PHPKB 338 sub 36.2.1 (s. ferner S. 411 sub nomine; zum Datum auch A. Ungnad, AfK 2, 1924, 26 f.); s. auch St.W. Cole, The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur, Chicago 1996 (OIP 114), 68 Bem. zu Nr. 16 Z. 16 und 26, weitere Belege ebenda S. 434 s.v. Mukîn-zêri. Das 4. Regierungsjahr entspräche 728 v.Chr. Weder Schreiber noch Ausfertigungsort sind angegeben, was bei „Erklärungen vor Zeugen“ häufig der Fall ist, vgl. San Nicolò / Ungnad, NRVU (s.o.), S. 608.

*Zur aramäischen Beischrift:* J. Oelsner hat für das erste Wort mehrfach eine Lesung [š] t r „Schriftstück“ vorgeschlagen, zuletzt WO 36, 2006, 29, wo für die beiden folgenden Buchstabenreste der Kopie Clays an n und b gedacht wurde, womit sich eine Ergänzung zu Nabû-[iddin], der in Z. 1 genannten Person (Vertragspartei), ergäbe. Wie aus der neuen Kopie ersichtlich, ist am Beginn der Beischrift nichts verloren. Die früher vorgeschlagene Lesung und Interpretation ist also nicht haltbar und wird aufgegeben. Die Lesung des ersten Zeichens als Ayin (so schon F. Vattioni, Augustinianum 10, 1970, 518 Nr. 132; vgl. auch Blasberg, s.o.) ist somit nicht zu bezweifeln. Damit kommt als Person, die in der aramäischen Beischrift genannt wird, in Frage nur Ajja-idati von Z. 5, der Ehemann der Hazannatu, der Frau, für die Nabû-iddin die Bürgschaft übernimmt. Die Wiedergabe der Zeichenfolge *Ajja* und *i* des akkadischen Textes nur durch Ayin impliziert eine Kontraktion zu *ê* in der aramäischen Aussprache. Das zweite Zeichen ist als Daleth zu interpretieren. Die Reste des dritten Zeichens erlauben eine Ergänzung zu *Taw*. Ob danach ein *Yod* verloren ist, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen. Für die aram. Beischrift ergibt sich als Lesung: ' d t r l ([yl?]).

Eckart FRAHM (15-12-07) eckart.frahm@yale.edu  
Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library  
Box 208240  
NEW HAVEN, CT 06520 (USA)

Joachim OELSNER (15-12-07)  
Joachim\_Oelsner@web.de  
Karl-Liebknecht-Str. 113  
04275 LEIPZIG (Allemagne)

**10) On the reconstruction of the dynasty of the *šakkanakku* of Mari** – The epoch when Mari was ruled by sovereigns bearing the title of *šakkanakkum* (lit. “commander in chief, general”) is represented by a small corpus of epigraphic and visual documents. In spite of such a scarcity of materials, this period has often attracted the attention of scholars; the reconstruction of the dynastic sequence of the *šakkanakku* and the chronology of the period named after them have especially caused considerable debate. Among the unsolved issues and major points of disagreement there is the matter of the correlation of the *Šakkanakku* period with the better known chronology of southern Mesopotamia.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection, the identification, by Durand (1985), of two tablets containing a list of the *šakkanakku* of Mari with the duration of their respective reigns has provided us with an extraordinarily important document. Unfortunately, the two tablets in question (hereafter Lists A and B) are fragmentary and the preserved portions of text do not overlap.

List A consists of two textual segments: A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>; Durand posited that the surviving part of List B is to be placed in the lacuna of List A (that is, between A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>) and he concluded that “la séquence complète des *šakkanakku* pourrait être restaurée par la combinaison des deux listes, sans solution de continuité” (Durand 1985: 155). Durand (1985: 155-156) in fact placed Yiddin'il after 'Apilkîn, while Yîši'dagân, Hinnindagân, Yitûr... were placed between Hännundagân and 'Âmirnunnu. Based on the well-known synchronism between 'Apilkîn of Mari and Urnammak of Ur, he then dated the dynasty of the *šakkanakku* to the time lapse between the reign of Man'istûšu and the beginning of the so-called Isin-Larsa period in Babylonia.

However, Durand's reconstruction was challenged (cf. Anbar 1987; Eder 2005; Otto in press). In point of fact, some of the *šakkanakku* that were dated to Ur III by Durand are attested on inscribed artefacts dating to a later period. While, for instance, the statue of Yîštup'il fits well the time of Gudea (Parrot 1959: 2-5, figs. 1-3, pls. I-III), those of the *šakkanakku* Yiddin'il (Parrot 1959: 16-22, figs. 13-16, 18-19, pls. IX-XI) and Puzur'aštar (Koldewey 1925: 164, pl. 105a-b; cf. Marchesi 2006: 219-220 for the issue of the identification of the referent of this statue) can not be attributed to the Ur III period – as maintained i.a. by Moortgat (1967: 70, pls. 179-182), followed by Durand (1985: 157 with note 147). A comparison with the statue of Urnišišidak of Ešnunak (Strommenger 1960: pl. 21; Moortgat 1967: 92; Jacobsen 1940: 185; Frayne 1990: 517, no. 2) shows that the two statues in question rather belong to the following Isin-Larsa period.

Likewise, other alleged Ur III *šakkanakku* of Mari, such as Hitlallիրra and Hännundagân, are mentioned in inscriptions on seals which, for iconographical reasons, cannot be earlier than the Isin-Larsa period (cf. Otto in press).

In light of these data, a revision of the *Šakkanakku* List is in order: I propose the reconstruction A<sub>1</sub>+x+B+y+A<sub>2</sub> (where x and y represent the existing lacunas among the three preserved segments). In order to avoid a dating of Puzur'aštar and his immediate successors to the Ur III period (which is improbable, as it has been seen above), x should be equivalent to no less than four rulers (see also notes 3-4 below).

On the other hand, there appears limited requirement for y to relate to more than the four late *šakkanakku* not in the List but known from other sources (nos. 17\*-20\* in Table 1). I follow Durand in identifying (*contra* Otto in press) the two *šakkanakku* of List A<sub>2</sub> 1'-2' with those who occur on three seal impressions of OB classic style (Parrot 1959: 157-159, pl. XLV: 64+196, 57; Otto in press: figs. 14, 16): the preserved cuneiform signs allow such an identification (cf. also Durand 1981).

Accordingly, a new, more coherent reconstruction of the original list can be offered (Table 1 and Fig. 1), assuming that both tablets contained one and the same list of names.<sup>2</sup> Further, this hypothesis avoids the excessive length of the sequence of kings which results from placing List B after A.

Table 1 – A new proposal for the reconstruction of the dynasty of the *šakkanakku* of Mari.

1*	Ididiš	9*	...	17*	Yiši'dagān
2*	Šudagān	10*	...	18*	Ḫinnindagān
3*	Yišma'dagān	11*	Yiddin'il I <sup>4</sup>	19*	Yiddin'il II <sup>5</sup>
4*	Nūrmēr	12*	'Ilīyīšar	20*	Yitūr...
5*	Yišup'il	13*	Tūramdagān	21*	'Āmīrūnu
6*	Yiškun...	14*	Puzur'aštar	22*	Tīrdagān
7*	'Apilkīn	15*	Hitlālḫirra	23*	Dagān...
8*	...dagān <sup>3</sup>	16*	Ḫannundagān		

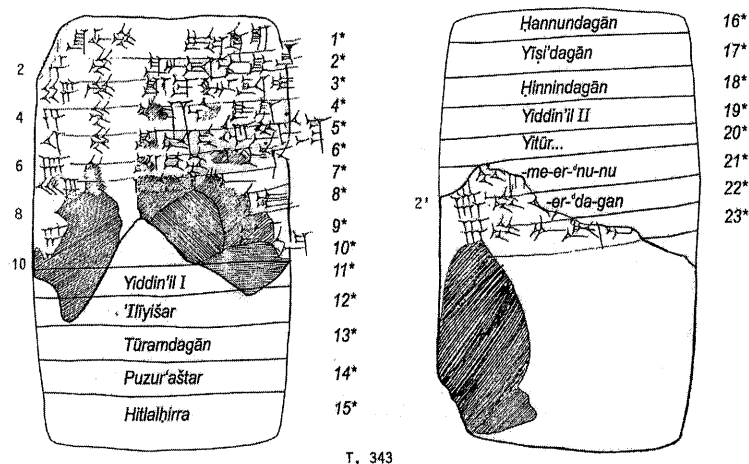


Fig. 1 – Hypothetical reconstruction of List A (T.343; elaboration after Durand 1985: fig. 2).

1. This note stems from a paper on the royal statues of Mari, presented to the workshop on the *Šakkanakku* period, held in December 2007 at the Collège de France. I thank Prof. Jean-Marie Durand for the invitation. A more detailed study of the art historical issues touched by the present paper will be offered in the forthcoming proceedings volume of that workshop.

2. In order to express filiation, List B apparently uses the wording DUMU PN, rather than PN DUMU-*šu* (which is employed in List A); therefore the traces at the end of line 8' should probably be interpreted as [a]-[ḫu-*šu*], perhaps, then, referring to Yiddin'il II. Incidentally, one would expect an extra line between lines 5' and 6': <DUMU *puzur<sub>4</sub>-aš-tár*>. In fact, Hitlālḫirra is known to have been a son of Puzur'aštar, unless the restoration [DUMU]-*šu* in the last case of the legend of Hitlālḫirra's seals is wrong (cf. Beyer 1985: 178-179).

3. Cf. Eder 2005: 52-53. He restores [Iš]dagān (I) here: however, such a reconstruction is not convincing.

4. Cf. G. Marchesi hereafter.

5. Cf. previous footnote. Yiddin'il II is placed here after Yiši'dagān and Ḫinnindagān, because the seal of Yiddin'il's son, Zinuba (Otto in press: fig. 2), seems later than the three seals dated from the other two rulers (ibidem: figs. 6-7, 15; for the second piece see now also Bär 2003: 136, pl. 45: S6). Moreover, I follow Durand (1981: 180) in restoring the name of Ḫinnindagān's father as [Yi]š'i'dagān (*contra* Frayne 1990: 596).

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Nicolò MARCHETTI (22-01-08) nicolo.marchetti@unibo.it

Dipartimento di Archeologia, Alma Mater Studiorum - Università di Bologna,  
Piazza San Giovanni in Monte 2, 40124 BOLOGNA (Italia).

**11) Due šakkanakku di nome Yiddin'il a Mari?** – Una statuetta di steatite rinvenuta nel palazzo reale di Zimrilim (Thureau-Dangin 1937: 172-174; Parrot 1959: 16-22 e tavv. IX-XI) reca una dedica di un certo *i-di-il, šakkanak* (ALIM<sub>x</sub>.NÍTA) *ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>*.<sup>1</sup> La statuetta è stata autorevolmente datata, sulla base di confronti stilistici, sia all'epoca di Sulgir (= "Šulgi"; Moortgat 1967: 70), sia all'inizio del II millennio a.C. (Spycket 1981: 240-242). Il dedicante, Yiddin'il, non figura in nessuna delle due fonti, frammentarie, di una lista dinastica degli šakkanakku (governatori militari) di Mari edita da Durand (1985: 152-155). Supponendo che i suddetti manoscritti riproducano l'intera sequenza dinastica degli šakkanakku – una volta combinate assieme le parti di testo conservate nelle due tavolette e integrati, nelle lacune, i nomi di quegli šakkanakku noti da altre fonti – Durand (1985: 155-157) propone che Yiddin'il fosse figlio e successore di 'Apilkīn, il governatore di Mari consucero del re Urnamma di Ur.

*i-di/din-il* / ALIM<sub>x</sub>.NÍTA / *ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* compare anche nelle legende di alcuni sigilli marioti (Figg. 1-3),<sup>2</sup> discussi di recente da Otto (in stampa). Secondo la Otto, i sigilli suddetti sarebbero però assai più tardi, ossia, inizio XIX secolo (secondo la Cronologia Media). Su uno di essi, quello di Zinuba (Fig. 3: *i-din-il* / ALIM<sub>x</sub>.NÍTA / *ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* / *zi-nu-ba* / DUMU-šu) – ritrovato nella tomba di un bambino, apparentemente del Bronzo Medio I finale (Margueron 1983: 16 e tav. V: a; Jean-Marie 1999: 168-169 "Tombe 760") – è intagliata una scena inusuale che trova un puntuale parallelo solo nel sigillo di 'Ammunābi' (Fig. 4: *ha-mu-na-bi-iḥ*; cf. Otto 2004: 27-28 "Siegel M 3"), un alto dignitario di Tuttul contemporaneo del re di Mari Ya'dunlim (= "Yaḥdunlim"; cf. Krebernik 2001: 189; Heimpel 2003: 308-313; Durand – Marti 2003: 168-170; *idem* 2004: 122; 129-130).<sup>3</sup> Conseguentemente, Otto (in stampa: fig. 13) propone di abbassare la datazione di Yiddin'il e lo colloca, nella ricostruzione della sequenza dinastica degli šakkanakku di Mari, dopo Hitlālhirra ((*hi*-)it-lāl-ir-ra) e Ḥannundagān ('à-num-<sup>d</sup>da-gan, ha-nu-un-<sup>d</sup>da-gan) – rispettivamente figlio e nipote di Puzur'aštar (*puzur<sub>4</sub>-aš-tár*).

Tuttavia, una statua di Puzur'aštar (= PA) proveniente da Babilonia (Nassouhi 1926; Marchesi 2006: 219-220) reca incisa un'iscrizione apparentemente più recente rispetto all'epigrafe sulla statua di Yiddin'il (= YI). Si noti in primo luogo il verbo *yus/šassaku*, scritto [*u<sup>7</sup>-š*]a-sà-*ku*<sup>1</sup> in PA 14, ma *u-sa-sà-ku<sub>8</sub>* in YI 8. Il sillabario di YI è ancora sostanzialmente quello sargonico, mentre quello di PA mostra elementi di innovazione, come l'uso della serie *ša/šī/šu* per notare i fonemi /š/ e /š/, ormai non più distinti. Così PA usa costantemente il sillabogramma *šu* per rendere il suffisso possessivo di terza persona maschile: DUMU-šu (PA 6), SUḪUŠ-šu (PA 19), ŠE.NUMUN-šu (PA 21), *šī-tár-ki-šu* (PA 23). Lo stesso vale per le iscrizioni di Hitlālhirra, l'immediato successore di Puzur'aštar.<sup>4</sup> Ma l'iscrizione della statua di Yiddin'il presenta ancora la notazione più arcaica col segno *su* (YI 5: AN.DŪL-*su*), accanto alla nuova (YI 9: ŠE.NUMUN-*šu*). Inoltre, la forma e grafia *su<sub>4</sub>-a* del pronome anaforico accusativo (YI 7: *ša* DUB *su<sub>4</sub>-a*) lega definitivamente YI alla tradizione scribale paleo-accadica.<sup>5</sup>

Con ogni probabilità lo Yiddin'il della statua deve aver regnato a Mari prima di Puzur'aštar e Hitlālhirra.<sup>6</sup> Ne consegue che il padre di Zinuba fosse un altro Yiddin'il, più tardo. A tal riguardo, si noti anche la differente grafia del nome: *i-di-il* (statua) vs. *i-din-il* (sigillo di Zinuba). Gli altri due sigilli in cui

è menzionato *i-di-il* / *ALIM<sub>x</sub>.NÍTA* / *ma-rí<sup>ki</sup>* (Figg. 1-2) – tra loro connessi iconograficamente (Beyer – Durand 1993; Otto in stampa) – sono da attribuirsi verosimilmente a Yiddin'il I.<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 1 – Sigillo di Yiddindagān  
(Margueron 2004: fig. 412: 3)

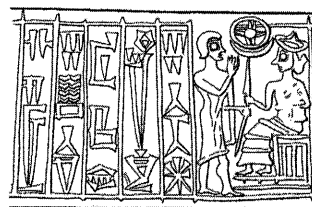


Fig. 2 – Sigillo di Yišarba'li  
(Margueron 2004: fig. 412: 4)

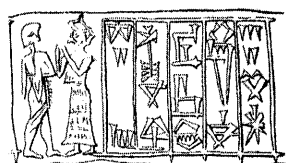


Fig. 3 – Sigillo di Zinuba  
(Margueron 2004: fig. 412: 5)



Fig. 4 – Sigillo di 'Ammunābi'  
(Otto 2004: tav. 6: 3)

1. Per l'interpretazione del logogramma per *šakkanakkum* come *ALIM<sub>x</sub>.NÍTA*, cf. Steinkeller 2004: 176-183.
2. Assai dubbia, se non del tutto improbabile, è invece l'attribuzione a Yiddin'il, *šakkanakkum* di Mari, di un'impronta parziale di sigillo su un involucri di tavoletta cuneiforme dal livello II del *kārum* di Kültepe/Kaniš (Teissier 1990). In quello che rimane della legenda del sigillo in questione si legge solamente: *i-d[i-...]* / *ALIM<sub>x</sub>.NÍ[TA]* / *[x]-am-x1[...]*.
3. Durand e Marti (2003: 168-169 nota 105) diversamente interpretano il nome del proprietario del sigillo come "Hammu.na-(ya)pih", variante di "Hammu.na-êpuh". Tuttavia, se così fosse, ci si aspetterebbe una diversa disposizione dei segni che compongono il nome nei due registri della legenda (ossia, *\*ha-mu-na- / bi-iḥ*, anziché *ha-mu- / na-bi-iḥ*). Per l'elemento *na-bi(-iḥ)* = *nābi'* nell'onomastica amorrea, cf. Gelb 1980: 162 sub NABI'; e Streck 2000: 329 § 5.24.
4. Cf. Frayne 1997: 447 "Puzur-Eštar" 3:5; 448-449 "Itlal-Erra" 1:8, 4', 6'.
5. Cf. Kienast – Sommerfeld 1994: 255-256 s.v. *nasākum*; 301-302 sub 3' (ivi traslitterato "*śú-a*"). Al di fuori dell'iscrizione di Yiddin'il, le ultime attestazioni in ordine di tempo di *su<sub>4</sub>-a* risalgono a Puzur'inšušinak, sovrano elamita contemporaneo del fondatore della III dinastia di Ur, Urnamma (cf. Frayne 1997: 65-66 "Ur-Nammu" 29).
6. Anche se non molto prima (cf. N. Marchetti *supra*, dove viene anche proposta una nuova ricostruzione della sequenza dinastica degli *šakkanakku*).
7. Cf. Eder 2005: 65, il quale già ipotizza l'esistenza di due diversi *šakkanakku* di nome Yiddin'il, sulla base però del solo confronto stilistico tra il sigillo Fig. 1 e quello Fig. 3.

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Gianni MARCHESI (22-01-08) gianni.marchesi@unibo.it  
 Dipartimento di Archeologia, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna,  
 Piazza San Giovanni in Monte 2, 40124 BOLOGNA (Italie)

**12) A. A new Neo-Babylonian text concerning the wet nurse<sup>1</sup>** – Due to the high death rate of women during childbirth or shortly afterwards, father and family members could find themselves in the position of having to quickly find a substitute to feed the baby with mother's milk, i.e. a wet nurse. A similar situation arose when people adopted abandoned child, also no rare event in ancient Mesopotamia.<sup>2</sup>

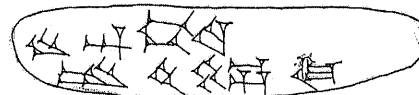
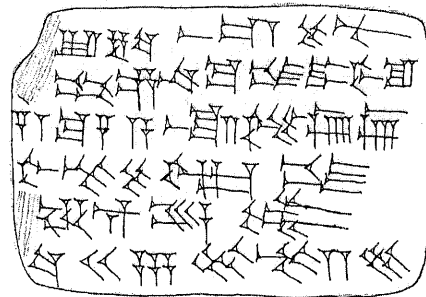
Neo-Babylonian documents dealing with wet nurses are not common; they belong to two categories of documents – contracts and receipts. The first Neo-Babylonian document concerning a wet nurse, BE 8 47, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Nabonidus, was published in 1935 by M. San Nicolò.<sup>3</sup> Only a few years ago all documents concerning wet nurses were gathered and discussed by C. Wunsch.<sup>4</sup> An additional document, VS 6, 79 (8.8.Nbn 9), concerning the issue of barley to different persons, among them to Ninlil-pāni, the wet nurse, could be added to this list.<sup>5</sup> Another text is BM 72764, dated to the accession year of Xerxes, a receipt for 5 kur of barley, paid to Artim, the wet nurse of Ittahšah, the king's daughter.<sup>6</sup> To these one more new document involving wet nurse can now be added.

BM 74471 (82-9-18A, 192)<sup>7</sup>

1. [x] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 KÙR ŠE.NU  
 ṛ<sup>f</sup><sub>1</sub> Qu-un-na-ba-tu<sub>4</sub> DUMU.MÍ-su  
 šá mBAšá-a ina ŠU<sup>ii</sup> f Bu-sa-sa  
 f mu-še-niq-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 mah-rat ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub>  
 U<sub>4</sub>.26.KAM MU.2.KÁM  
 L.e. LÚ.<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

[x] shekels of silver (and) one kur of šunû-seed  
 Qunnabatu, the daughter of Iqīšā, the wet nurse  
 has received from the hand of Busasa.

Month Simānu, 26<sup>th</sup> day, 2<sup>nd</sup> year  
 of Amēl-Marduk, king of Babylon (560 BC).



The above translation needs to be commented on because it assumes an important scribal error, i.e. that the word *mušēniqtu* should have been written after the name of the first of two women named in the text. By accepting the text in a way as it was written on the tablet, we would have to invert the position of both women: the wet nurse would be Busasa paying back the silver and seed received earlier from

Qunnabatu, the daughter of Iqīša. Such a situation is possible but highly improbable, because – if such a situation had taken place – it should be explained in the text.

The reading in l. 1 where besides a few shekels of silver the payment for the wet nurse included 1 *kur* of the *šunû* plant is doubtful. The *šunû* plant is well known from many medical texts, where with various herbs it was used for a poultice, for an enema, and for a salve.<sup>8</sup> It was suggested to identify the *šunû* with *Vitex agnus-castus*, Syr. *šūnāja*, the chaste tree.<sup>9</sup> In the plant list *šunû* (Ú ŠE.NÁ.A) is compared with *ši-lu-ur-tú*,<sup>10</sup> and the second name is recognized as an Assyrian name for the Babylonian name *šunû*.<sup>11</sup> Although in the tablet presented here that reading is out of question (the scribe did not try to erase the sign NU and to write any other sign instead of it), the possibility that he made a mistake cannot be excluded, especially in the light of the suggested wrong place for the word *mušēniqtu*. First, in the presently known legal texts, the payments for nurses consist of a few shekels of silver, oil and wool,<sup>12</sup> sometimes also a garment and consumable products, i.e. bread, beer, flour, *salḫu*, salt,<sup>13</sup> but never the seed of *šunû*. The large amount of seed of *šunû* is also suspicious and it seems highly probable that the scribe wrote wrongly ŠE.NU instead of ŠE.BAR, barley.<sup>14</sup> However, if the writing ŠE.NU is not a mistake, the only possibility would be that a seed added to other products have influence on the health of the wet nurse, maybe on her lactation, i.e. preserved the lactation as long as possible.<sup>15</sup> This was important because contracts with nurses including her obligation to suckle the child were entered usually for three years.<sup>16</sup> However, if the wet nurse received the seed of the *šunû*-plant in order to preserve her lactation, this cannot be either a part of her suckling-fee (*tēniqū*) or a part of her food, as she ate together with the family of the baby. It seems that while the seed was at the wet nurse's disposal, she could prepare an infusion at any time recognized by her as appropriate.

## B. Sketch of the Chaste tree

The scientific name of chaste tree *Vitex agnus-castus* was introduced by Carolus Linnaeus, a Swedish botanist over 250 years ago and it is still in current use. It is not an original name, but it has been fixed in the memory because in the European Herbaria (plant collections and botanical books) it has been used since the Renaissance period.

However, the chaste tree has a significantly longer and richer history and therefore requires a wider explanation. This plant had been known already three thousand years ago, which is confirmed both by Greek sources (Theophrastus, Hippocrates) and later by Roman sources (Gallienus, Dioscurides, Pliny).<sup>17</sup> From Pausanias, the Greek traveler, we know that the chaste tree was used in Egypt and in the Near East.<sup>18</sup>

The chaste tree is a shrub or low tree, 1-5 m height, densely branched, fragrant. Its palmate leaves consist of 5-7 lanceolate leaflets, whitish-tomentose on the underside and glabrous upper side. Its aromatic, sweet-scented flowers have a variable colour, usually they are lily-like or blue, rarely white. The flowers are gathered into long terminal inflorescences. Its small fruit is dry, after ripening, it disintegrates releasing 4 seeds. Its seeds are aromatic and containing essential oil with a rather sharp aroma (taste), similar to mint oil and eucalyptus oil. The oil has a complex composition (among others, it contains pinene, cineole, sabinene, resins) and this (with others constituents – flavonoids, glycosides, coumarins, steroids, iridoids, vitexinin alkaloid)<sup>19</sup> is probably why it has a wide spectrum of action and application.

Distribution. Chaste tree grows in the whole Mediterranean basin and its natural places of occurrence are streams, gullies and damp localities near the sea.<sup>20</sup>

Application. Across history, depending on the place and period, changes in the practical application of this plant can be observed. The seeds (*agni-casti semen*) have been mainly used as raw material, but also its leaves and flowers have been generally used for the same purpose. In the most distant times (except in Greece?!), seeds were used as an essential lactogenic agent<sup>21</sup> in breast suckling (Dioscurides),<sup>22</sup> therefore, most probably, it was given to wet nurses of those times.<sup>23</sup> In some ways, contradictory information is supplied by Pliny who wrote that Greek women in order to restrict their sexual desires cushioned their beds with the leaved twigs of chaste tree. This is reflected in Greek mythology where the chaste tree was devoted to Hera, the goddess of marriage and marital faithfulness.<sup>24</sup> Another possible interpretation is that chaste tree seeds were used to arouse or to intensify lactation in wet nurses, while leaved (and flowering?) twigs were used to decrease libido. The latter custom obtained a particular importance in Italy in the Middle Ages, where flowers (particularly of white colour) were used to strew the path of cloister novices.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the chaste tree was regarded as an anti-aphrodisiac. This plant was frequently planted in monastic gardens in South Europe and it was commonly used by monks and nuns to remain faithful to their chastity vows. It may be possible that this was also the reason why chaste tree seeds, because of their sharp taste, were used in monasteries as pepper substitute.<sup>25</sup>

It is interesting to quote the names of chaste tree in different foreign languages: chaste tree, chasteberry, monk's pepper (Engl.);<sup>26</sup> agneau chaste, arbre au poivre, gattilier (Fr.); Keuschbaum, Mönchspfeffer, Abrahamsstrauch (Germ.);<sup>27</sup> vitex svaschennyi, avramovo dyeryevo (Russ.);<sup>28</sup> niepokalanek, pieprz mnichów,<sup>29</sup> wierzba włoska<sup>30</sup> (Pol.). It is interesting that the national names (except the Russian ones) use a derivative of the epithet referring to "*agnus castus*", whose literal translation is "*chaste lamb*"

(innocent). The deciphering of the generic name “*Vitex*” is more difficult. It is known that it was used by Pliny. Maybe, it was created from *Vitilia* (old name of willow) because of its similarity to the lanceolate leaflets of chaste tree.<sup>31</sup>

1. I am deeply indebted to John McGinnis for his kind comments and for correction of our English style.
2. C. Wunch, “Findelkinder und Adoption in neubabylonischen Quellen,” AfO 50 (2003/2004) 174-244; cf. also M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonian and the Bible. Its Mediterranean Setting*, (Cuneiform Monographs 14), Groningen 2000, pp. 181-188.
3. M. San Nicolò, “Parerga Babylonica XV. Zwei seltene neubabylonische Vertragstypen,” *ArOr* 7 (1935) 22-24.
4. In “Excurs. Ammenverträge” in Wunsch [Note 1], pp. 211-214 and 237-240 (the texts No 19-21); cf. also the text No 5 (p. 221).
5. Mentioned two times, in l. 4 and again in l. 6, this time followed with the title.
6. Published by B.T.A. Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach. Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod* (Babylonische Texte VI B, Leipzig 1892), App. 2: 5 KÙR ŠE.BAR šá fAr-ti-im mu-še-ni-iq-tu<sub>4</sub> šá fIt-ta-aḫ-šá-aḫ<sup>2</sup> DUMU.MÍ LUGAL šá ŠU<sup>3</sup> i mŠu<sup>3</sup>-ru-un-du<sup>3</sup> u mŠá<sup>3</sup>-pi-i-kal-bi lúGAL.D[Ü.MEŠ] 4 šá fAr-ti-im ...
7. The tablet is published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
8. R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, London 1949, pp. 296-298 and CAD Š III 309. The *šunû* appears also in many newly published medical texts, see M. Geller, *Rental and Rectal Disease Texts* (Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin VII), Berlin 2005.
9. I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* 3, Wien-Leipzig 1926, p. 491 ff. According to M. Geller (personal communication) such an identification is not certain.
10. R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, p. 247; F. Köcher, *Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde*, (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung), Berlin 1955 12 III 72 ff.
11. CAD Š III, 194 and B. Meissner, ZA 17, 249, n. 2.
12. See Stol, p. 182 and 186.
13. See Wunsch, p. 214.
14. C. Wunsch suggested me such a possibility. It has sense because although in the Neo-Babylonian texts only one time barley is a part of the suckling-fee paid to wet nurse (Wunsch, p. 214), it appears quite often in Old-Babylonian texts (Stol, p. 186).
15. Note that such an effect of *šunû* is not known till now, but such influence of chaste tree is known (see below, Part B).
16. Stol p. 181.
17. Dioscurides Triumphans, 2. Teil: Übersetzung und Kommentar (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, No 173), Göttingen 1988, pp. 161-162; A. Huxley, W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean*, London 1977, pp. 121-122.
18. M. Nowiński, *Dzieje upraw i roślin leczniczych*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 261-262.
19. R. Hegnauer, “Verbenaceae”, in: Chemotaxonomie der Pflanzen 6 (1973) 658-681; M. Soden-Kriehula, D. Kustrak, N. Blezevic, “Keto-steroids in flowers and leaves of *Vitex agnus-castus*,” Acta Pharmaceutica Yougoslavica 41 (1991) 237-241; H. Thomas, *Handbuch der Praktischer und Wissenschaftlichen Pharmazie*, Bd. 5, Berlin-Wien 1931; E. W. Wulf, O. F. Maleeva, *The world resources of the useful plants*, Leningrad 1969, p. 362.
20. D. J. Mabberley, *The plant-book. A portable dictionary of the higher plants*, Cambridge 1987, p. 609.
21. S. Foster, Chaste Tree, *Vitex agnus-castus*. [www.stevenfoster.com/monograph/vitex.html](http://www.stevenfoster.com/monograph/vitex.html) (2000).
22. A. Huxley, W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean*, London 1977.
23. H. Thomas, *Handbuch der Praktischer und Wissenschaftlichen Pharmazie*, Bd. 5, Berlin-Wien 1931, p. 1503.
24. C. Rätsch, *Pflanzen der Liebe*, Luzern 1990, pp. 148-151.
25. A. Huxley, W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean*, London 1977.
26. D. Gledhill, *The Names of Plants*, Cambridge 2002, p. 63, 305.
27. G. Hegi, “Verbenaceae”, in: *Illustrierte Flora von Mittel-Europa*, München 1973, pp. 2232-2238; R. Schubert, G. Wagner, *Pflanzennamen und botanische Fachwörter*, Leipzig 1975, p. 58, 372.
28. S.G. Gorshkova, “Verbenaceae Juss.”, in: B.K. Schischkin (ed.), *Flora URSS*. Ed. Acad. Scient. 19 (1953), pp. 692-700.
29. J. Rostański, *Słownik polskich imion rodzajów oraz wyższych skupień roślin*, in: *Materiały do Historii i Dyalektologii Polskiej* 1 (1900), p. 499.
30. A. Pampuch, *Flora Tremesensis*, Trzemeszno 1840, p. 42.
31. S.G. Gorshkova, “Verbenaceae Juss.”, in: B.K. Schischkin (ed.), *Flora URSS*. Ed. Acad. Scient. 19 (1953); A. Pampuch, *Flora Tremesensis*, Trzemeszno 1840, p. 42.

Stefan ZAWADZKI (Part A) (31-01-08)  
stefanzawadzki@wp.pl  
ul. Szeherazady 21, 60-195 POZNAŃ (Pologne)

Karol LATOWSKI (Part B) (31-01-08) latowski@amu.edu.pl  
Department of Plant Taxonomy, Adam Mickiewicz  
University, Umultowska 89, 61-614 POZNAŃ (Pologne)

13) Eine neue Schreibung für MUL *dilbat*, Venus,<sup>1</sup> bietet ein hemerologisches Fragment aus Ḫattuša, das bereits 1922 von Ernst F. Weidner in Keilschriftkopie publiziert, aber bislang noch nicht bearbeitet worden ist. In KUB 4, 45 Rs. 4' steht die Anweisung: [...ŠUK] ana MUL LIŠ-BAD [GAR-an] „[... Opferbrot] stellt er für den Stern LIŠ-BAT hin“. Das Keilschriftzeichen LIŠ ist den Zeichenlisten und dem *akkadischen Syllabar*

zufolge nur als Silbenwert für *liš*, *lis*, *liz*, *liḫ*<sub>4</sub> und *mal*<sub>4</sub>?, in hethitischen Texten auch für *li*<sub>12</sub>, bezeugt, woraus sich jedoch in Verbindung mit BAT kein sinnvoller Sternennamen ergibt. Als Logogramm steht das Zeichen LIŠ in den Texten mesopotamischer Herkunft für (GIŠ)DÍLIM, (GIŠ)DÍLI oder DÉL (bzw. DÍL), akkadisch *itquru*, „Löffel“, und in hethitischen Texten für GIŠDÍLI(M), „Löffel, Kelle“, oder für DUG/GIŠDÍLI(M), „Schale, Schüssel“. Der Schreiber dieses hemerologischen Fragmentes aus der hethitischen Hauptstadt, der vermutlich mit der Terminologie religiöser Texte bzw. speziell von Ritualbeschreibungen, in denen die fraglichen Logogramme regelmäßig verwendet werden, besonders vertraut war, hat also den Lautwert des Logogramms als Silbenwert eingesetzt (MUL*dil*-bat bzw. MUL*dili*-bat) und ihn statt des üblichen Zeichens AŠ in der Lesung *dil(i)* (MUL*dil*-bat bzw. MUL*dili*-bat) zur Bezeichnung des Planeten Venus verwendet. Einem hethitischen Schreiber, dem das Vokabular und die Schreibweise religiöser Texte geläufig ist, dürfte die Möglichkeit, das Zeichen LIŠ in Verbindung mit Venus zu verwenden, ohnehin naheliegend gewesen sein, weil in vereinzelt hethitischen Texten aus dem hurritischen Milieu die Göttin Ištar bzw. Šawuška, deren himmlische Manifestation Venus ist, <sup>d</sup>LIŠ geschrieben wird.<sup>2</sup>

Es muß offen bleiben, ob das fragliche Logogramm DÍLI<sup>3</sup> oder DÉL bzw. DÍL<sup>4</sup> – die Lesung DÍLIM<sup>5</sup> kommt als Silbenwert in diesem Zusammenhang nicht in Frage – zu lesen ist und der Name der Venus dementsprechend MUL*dilibat* oder MUL*dilbat* lautet. Die phonetische Schreibung Δελεφατ, die Hesychius Alexandrinus etwa im 5. Jh. n. Chr. als chaldäischen Namen für Aphrodite festgehalten hat,<sup>6</sup> und der Name für Venus im Mandäischen, לִיבָאָה, der auch als דִּיבִּיָּת, דִּיבָּאָה oder לִיבָּאָה erscheint und ebenfalls von *dilibat* ausgeht,<sup>7</sup> müssen nicht zwangsläufig die Aussprache der Babylonier und Assyrier wiedergeben.

Das hethitische Fragment KUB 4, 45 zeigt, daß den bekannten Schreibungen für Venus (<sup>d</sup>*dil*-bat bzw. <sup>d</sup>*dili*-bat, <sup>d</sup>ES<sub>4</sub>.DAR, <sup>d</sup>NIN.SI.AN.NA bzw. <sup>d</sup>NIN.SI<sub>4</sub>.AN.NA) neben der allgemein üblichen Schreibung MUL*dil(i)*-bat die Schreibung MUL*dil(i)*-bat hinzugefügt und *dil(i)* als Silbenwert für das Keilschriftzeichen LIŠ festgehalten werden kann.

1. Diese Miszelle ist im Rahmen des von der *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO) finanzierten und in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Forschungsinstitut CNWS organisierten Projekt *Transfer of Knowledge in a Cuneiform culture* von Wilfred H. van Soldt, Leiden, entstanden.

2. Vgl. E. Laroche, JCS 6 (1952) 117 mit Anm. 26a; I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*, AOAT 36, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981, 22 sowie S. 231 (Index).

3. Ea II 227: *di-li* | LIŠ | MIN (sc. <sup>d</sup>*di*-lim-mu) | *it-qu-ru*, vgl. MSL 14, 257.

4. Sb II 293: *di-el* | LIŠ | *it-qu-ru*, vgl. MSL 3, 147.

5. Sb II 293: *di-li-im* (bzw. *di-lim*) | LIŠ | *it-qu-ru*, vgl. MSL 3, 147.

6. Vgl. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg 1890, 118, sowie M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Editio minor*, Ienae 1863, 383.

7. Vgl. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 118, sowie E. S. Drower - R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford 1963, 106b, 111a, 134b-135a.

Jeanette C. FINCKE (21-12-07) j.c.fincke@leidenuniv.nl

TCMO - Assyriologie, Universität Leiden, Postbus 9515, 2300 RA LEIDEN (Pays-Bas)

**14) The end of Suppiluliuma's reign and the solar omen of Mursili II** – In his recent paper (AoF 34 [2007] 252-293) J.L. Miller has discussed a newly reconstructed historical text of the Hittite Great King Mursili II, KUB 19.15+KBo 50.24, and its implications for both Amarna Age chronology and Egyptian-Hittite synchronisms. As plausibly argued by the author, the document yields the important *terminus a quo* of Mursili's 9th year for the accession of Haremhab. If so, then Nibḫururiya, the deceased pharaoh whose widow, the *taḫamunzu* – in the famous episode from the Deeds of Suppiluliuma – writes to Suppiluliuma asking him for a son to become her husband and king of Egypt, can only have been Akhenaten. Consequently, Suppiluliuma would have ascended the throne between 1360 and 1355, several years before the death of Amenhotep III, and his death would fall some 4-6 years after Akhenaten's death in 1336/4, that is ca. 1330 according to Miller (p. 284).

Referring to a solar omen of KUB 14.4 that occurred in Mursili's 10th year, Miller dispenses with its consideration, because of "the myriad of difficulties with the interpretation of the solar omen" (p. 288). Nevertheless, this important bit of evidence should not be ignored. As we shall see, it may corroborate Miller's explanation and help us to establish more precisely the dates of the beginning of Mursili's reign and Suppiluliuma's death.

The solar omen in question has been hotly debated. Some scholars linked it to an eclipse datable to July 5, 1312 (e.g. G. Wilhelm and J. Boese, in: High, Middle or Low [1987] 107; J. von Beckerath, HÄB 39 [1994] 107f.) or alternatively to that of April 1308 (Th.P.J. van den Hout, ZA 84 [1994] 88). Yet none of these eclipses could be observed in Western Asia. The only choice for the adherents of the short chronology would have been the eclipses of 1314 (Aug 26, annular), 1308 (October 17, total), and 1307 (April 13, annular); see the relevant maps in F. Espenak and J. Meeus, *Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses: -1999 to +3000* (2000 BCE to 3000 CE), A-82f., available at <http://sunearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/5MCSE/5MCSE-Maps->

02.pdf. Recently, P.J. Huber (JAOS 121 [2001] 640-644) argued for the dates of 1339<sup>1</sup> or 1334 (March 13) for the solar omen, which, however, “would fit with no currently discussed chronological scheme, as this would place Mursili’s 10th year toward or at the end of the reign of Akhenaten” (J.L. Miller, AoF 34, 288).

As a matter of fact, there is only one (total) sun eclipse compatible with Miller’s scenario: that of June 4, 1320. The eclipses of August 06, 1323, July 26, 1322, July 15, 1321, May 25, 1319, May 14, 1318, April 04, May 04, September 28, 1317, and March 24, September 16, 1316 were not visible in Anatolia; see F. Espenak and J. Meeus, op. cit., A-81f. The identification of the solar omen of KUB 14.4 with the eclipse of 1320 would allow Mursili to have ascended the throne in 1330,<sup>2</sup> and, consequently, Suppiluliuma would have died in 1331.

1. This could only be the total eclipse of Jan 08, as those of Jul 04 and Nov 29 were not visible in Anatolia. A better choice would have been the eclipse of 1337 (May 14).

2. Thus, the overall length of Mursili’s reign would amount to at least 40 years. This is not, however, unrealistic, especially considering the fact that Mursili was a child at his accession, certainly much younger than 20, as Miller states on p. 283 fn. 133.

Piotr TARACHA (06-02-08) piotr.taracha@uw.edu.pl

Uniwersytet Warszawski, Wydział Orientalistyczny, Krakowskie Przedm. 26-28, 00-927 VARSOVIE (Pologne)

# 15) Addenda to “New Light on Šimaški and Its Rulers,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 97 (2007) 215-32 –

Pp. 215-18. An apparent new twist to the LÚ.SU.(A)<sup>ki</sup> question has recently been added by K. De Graef, *De la dynastie Šimaški au Sukkalmahat : Les documents fin de PE II B - début PE III du Chantier B à Suse*, MDP 55 (Ghent, 2006), 52-54. On the basis of the alleged replacement of LÚ.SU.A<sup>ki</sup> by ki-maš in the formula of Išbi-Erra’s “16th” year (mu dIš-bi-Ēr-ra lugal-e ugnim LÚ.SU.(A)<sup>ki</sup> ù Elam-e bī-in-ra), De Graef suggested that “peut-être ki-maš faisait-il donc partie de ce que les Mésopotamiens appelaient les lú SU.(A), c’est à dire les Šimaškéens lato sensu, i.e. Šimaški avec tous ses territoires soumis du haut plateau élamite” (p. 54). On the surface, such a proposition would not be impossible, since, as I showed on pp. 217-18, p. 219 Fig. 1, the Šimaškian territories reached deeply into the Zagros ranges, very likely bordering on Kimaš. The problem, however, is that the variant in question, which De Graef got from M. Sigrist and P. Damerow, “Mesopotamian Year Names,” <http://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/DL/Yearnames/>, does not exist. As confirmed by M. Sigrist (email message, sent to me on July 22, 2007), the spelling ki-maš found there is an error, which had found its way into the list “due to some global changes.”

p. 217 note 11. A collation of Caption 8:3, made by M. Krebernik, ZA 92 (2002) 134, indicates [Lu-u]l-lu-bi<sup>l?</sup>-im<sup>[ki]</sup>.

p. 221 note 26. An examination of NBC 7551 = BIN 9 382 [misprinted as BIN 9 38, correct accordingly], made by Piotr Michalowski and myself in January, 2008, showed that the toponym in line 18 is to be read [An<sup>1</sup>-[ša-an]<sup>ki</sup>]. The remains of the first sign clearly represent the front two wedges of DINGIR, paralleling closely DINGIR in line 21 of the same tablet. Accordingly, BIN 9 382 identifies Kindattu and Idattu as the rulers of Anšan.

p. 225. Contrary to my statement that there are no documented instances of the envoys of Anšan appearing independently of the envoys of Ebarat, there is one such case, in fact. See Yildiz/Gomi Umma 3472, dating to Ibbi-Suen 1/xii, which records food provisions for lú-kin-gi<sub>4</sub>-a An-ša-an<sup>ki</sup> ù Za-ab-ša-l[i]<sup>ki</sup>-[ke<sub>4</sub>-ne]. Note that this text is a couple of years later than the latest mention of Ebarat in the sources from Babylonia. Thus, this pairing of the envoys of Anšan and Zabšali could be historically significant (unless it is purely accidental), possibly reflecting some new realignment or shift within the Šimaški-Anšan political configuration.

p. 229 note 51. Add W. G. Lambert, “Further Notes on a Seal of Ebarat,” RA 86 (1992) 85-86, who rejects Steve’s reading of the inscription of Ebarat’s seal on similar grounds.

Piotr STEINKELLER (09-02-08)

# 16) *Abwehrzauber und Behexung* – Addenda and Corrigenda – Since the manuscript of my recently published *Abwehrzauber und Behexung. Studien zum Schadenzauberglauben im alten Mesopotamien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007) went to press, inevitably a few oversights have come to my attention:

1) *kišpū* “witchcraft”, as argued especially on pp. 6, 9, 146 of the book, is a consistently negatively connotated term. There is, however, one exception to this notion that escaped my attention at the time. In RS 17.155 obv. 41-2 (*Ugaritica* 5, p. 31, 377, n° 17, cf. also B. Böck, *Das Handbuch Muššu’u “Einreibung”*. Eine Serie sumerischer und akkadischer Beschwörungen aus dem 1. Jt. vor Chr., Madrid 2007, 196) we read *ina kiš-pī āšip*(maš.maš) *ilī*(dingir)<sup>meš</sup> dMarduk(amar.utu) “through the magic of the exorcist of the gods, Marduk”. Here *ina kišpī* is used where one would normally expect (the more ambivalent) *ina upšāšē* or *ina upīšī*. The whole incantation is clearly based on a Sumerian model and *kišpū* certainly translates

Sumerian *níg-ak-a*, which can be rendered both as *upšāšū* and *kišpū* in Akkadian (cf. *Abwehrzauber*, p. 9). Usually, however, *kišpū* is only used as Akkadian equivalent of *níg-ak-a* in places where the context clearly indicates that the Sumerian term refers to evil magic. As long as the usage of *kišpū* in *Ugaritica* 5, 17 remains an isolated example of a more ambivalent usage of *kišpū*, I would regard it rather as a semantic inexactness in this individual translation than as evidence for a generally ambiguous connotation of *kišpū*.

2) The role of the Goat star in witchcraft beliefs is briefly discussed on p. 149 with fn. 4. Within this context it ought to be mentioned that the Goat star is qualified as *kakkab(mul) kišpī(uš<sub>11</sub>.zu)* “star of witchcraft” in a late astrological commentary (BM 55466+ [STC 2, 67–72] rev. IV 7, cf. B. Landsberger, *Ein astralmythologischer Kommentar aus der Spätzeit babylonischer Gelehrsamkeit*, AfK 1 [1923] 43–8).

3) On p. 155 *Maqlū* IV 61 is quoted as ... *ša šerri(muš) šikkī(ḏnin.kilim) arrabi(pēš.ūr.ra) pirurūti(pēš.tur)*. This is slightly misleading as an emendation is involved in the reading. To my eyes BM 34077 obv. II 14', one of the two extant sources, most likely reads ... *ša šerri(muš) šik-ku-ū 'ar-ra-bu? pi?-ru-ru-tū? te-1*, whereas A 7876 obv. V 29' has *šā šerri(muš) ḏšikkī(ḏnin.kilim) arrabi(pēš.ūr.ra) pirurūti(pēš<.tur>)*. The emendation of A 7876 is based on what seems to be the most plausible reading of the traces preserved in BM 34077.

4) On p. 163, quote from *BRM* 4, 12, read in l. 75 *sek-re-ti* (see *CAD* S 215b).

5) Note that the quotation from Klinger, *Reinigungsriten*, 147 on p. 256 fn. 5 is incomplete; add at the end “geblieben ist”.

Daniel SCHWEMER (09-02-08) ds11@soas.ac.uk

School of Oriental and African Studies, Dept. of the Languages and Cultures of the Near and Middle East,  
Thornhaugh Street – Russell Square, LONDON WC1H 0XG (Grande-Bretagne)

**17) Signes de nombres tracés après le colophon sur trois tablettes hittites** – Dans ce qui suit, j’essaie de montrer s’il est possible de choisir entre les opinions de H. Otten et A. Kassian/A. Korolëv†/ A. Sidel’tsev – auxquelles j’ai été confronté dans le cadre d’une étude sur les colophons de Boğazköy – concernant la signification des notations de nombres tracés après la rédaction du texte sur les tablettes KUB 34.68+ et KUB 39.8+ (appartenant à CTH 450). Pour cette tâche, il faut prendre en compte également la tablette KBo 24.39.

À la fin de KUB 34.68+ ont été tracées des lignes, qui représentent des nombres – selon Otten (1955a), *Bibliotheken im Alten Orient, Das Altertum* 1, 77; Otten (1955b), *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1954. Die inschriftlichen Funde*, MDOG 88, 33 et Otten (1958), *Hethitische Totenrituale*, 25 – et, dans ce cas, le chiffre « VIII ». Ces lignes ont été réalisées, semble-t-il, plus tard, juste après la cuisson de la tablette (Otten (1955b), 33: « ... nach dem Brennen erfolgte Markierung ... »). On trouve des cas semblables sur KUB 39.8+ et KBo 24.39. Le fait qu’il s’agisse d’une imitation de signes cunéiformes, puisque la forme et l’agencement de chaque signe correspondent à la représentation des nombres en cunéiforme, a déjà été postulé par Güterbock (pour KBo 24.39), comme l’a signalé Dow (1954), *Minoan Writing*, AJA 58, 103, et par Otten (1955a), 77f. avec la note 1 p. 78 (avec littérature complémentaire, et aussi littérature concernant l’hypothèse selon laquelle il s’agirait d’un hiéroglyphe ou bien de signes de l’écriture linéaire minoenne). La conclusion de Otten dans le premier article cité plus haut – la tablette serait la tablette du huitième jour – a été invalidée par lui-même dans Otten (1958), 25, car le catalogue des jours dans KUB 39.6 donnerait visiblement l’interprétation « septième jour » (voir aussi la liste de rations KUB 39.45 Vs. I 3, publiée en premier par Otten (1954-1959), *Eine Lieferungsliste zum Totenritual der hethitischen Könige*, WdO 2, 477f.). En raison d’un décalage semblable sur KBo 24.39, où le signe tracé est « XIV » (deux fois; devant le signe du dessous, on peut voir des signes tracés non reconnaissables), le chiffre dans le colophon de la tablette serait, d’après Otten, « [X]III » (avec renvoi à Friedrich (1956), *Zu scheinbar minoischen Schriftzeichen auf hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*, *Minos* IV, 118f., voir aussi Otten (1958), 25<sup>1</sup> et plus tard Otten/Rüster (1978), KBo 24, VI « Zwölfte (oder dreizehnte) Tafel(?) eines Rituals, ... »). Sur la photo (voir celle présentée sur [www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hethkonk/](http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hethkonk/)), je reconnais seulement un clou vertical et, juste avant, la fin inférieure d’un autre, de telle manière que ce pourrait être par exemple « [XI]II », « [X]II » ou bien « [XI]IV » – avec HZL 370/3), et sur KUB 39.8+ (tablette du rituel mortuaire pour le 13<sup>ème</sup> jour; le signe tracé est partiellement détruit, mais on peut encore lire « XII[ ] », l’agencement des signes conviendrait selon Otten pour la lecture « XIV »), Otten suppose que le signe tracé serait le chiffre de la tablette suivante. À propos de la concordance entre le nombre du jour et le rang de la tablette dans le cas de KUB 34.68+, voir Otten (1958), 24; comp. aussi, pour savoir s’il existe une version comptabilisant les jours et une version comptabilisant les tablettes, van den Hout (1995), *An Image of the Dead? Some Remarks on the Second Day of the Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual*, in: Carruba, O./Giorgieri, M./Mora, C., *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, 196 et Kassian/Korolëv†/Sidel’tsev (2002), *Hittite Funerary Ritual. šalliš waštaiš* (AOAT 288), 282<sup>1</sup>.

Kassian/Korolëv†/Sidel’tsev (2002), 335 lisent « 7<sup>i</sup> » sur KUB 34.68+. La même erreur apparaîtrait également au début de la tablette. De plus, Kassian/Korolëv†/Sidel’tsev (2002), 340 remarquent : « Rs. “30” ».



The big sign “8” below the colophon – for expected “7”! The same error is found at the beginning of the tablet: UD 8KAM for correct UD 7KAM – see comm. on Day 3<sup>1</sup> Vs. 1. » Comme les auteurs – à en juger d’après les lectures qu’ils ont proposées – pensent que les signes tracés devraient correspondre au nombre de jours, ils complètent (p. 581) alors KUB 39.8+ par « 1[3] ».

Dans le commentaire à propos du jour 3<sup>1</sup> (p. 282), ils précisent : « Vs. 1. I-NA UD 3<sup>1</sup>KAM. The text has “2”! Cf. scribal mistakes in the numbering of Day 7:

Ex. A Vs. 1: A-N]A UD 8KAM for expected A-N]A UD 7KAM;

ibid. Rs. “30”: the big sign “8” at the end of colophon for expected “7”;

Ex. B Rs. 28: UD 6KAM *tuhhuš[ta]* for expected UD 7KAM *tuhhuš[ta]*.

Thus the scribe of Day 7 Ex. A supposed that “*ēzzan warnumaš*” was the eighth day of ritual, not seventh (but the scribe of Ex. B regarded “*ēzzan warnumaš*” as sixth day?)<sup>1</sup>. »

Si on observe les signes tracés conservés, on voit que ceux sur KUB 39.8+ pourraient bien être complétés en « XII[I] », comme Kassian/Korolëv†/Sidel’tsev (2002), 581 l’ont proposé. Cela signifierait que le dernier jour mentionné dans le colophon (pour celui-ci voir Otten (1958), 30 et Kassian/Korolëv†/Sidel’tsev (2002, 582) correspondrait au signe tracé – c’est-à-dire « XIII ». Cela conviendrait également pour KBo 24.39, si l’on accepte « XIV » pour la lecture du nombre dans le colophon (voir plus haut). Imaginons que celui qui a réalisé par la suite le signe « VIII » sur KUB 34.68+ ait seulement lu la première ligne, où UD ⅧKAM est inscrit au lieu de UD ⅦKAM, de telle manière que le jour du rituel est, de toute façon, identique au signe tracé, même si cela repose sur une erreur (à mon avis, les traces visibles sur la copie conviendraient mieux pour un « VIII » – la photo publiée ne permet pas de conclure; voir aussi Kassian/Korolëv†/Sidel’tsev (2002), 320 (« UD [7]KAM » et dans la note de bas de page « Text: [8?]KAM. »), et également la citation plus haut des pages 282, 340; alors que Otten (1955a), 77 soutenait encore que : « ... aus dem Anfang der Tafel klar ist, daß es sich um die 8. Tafel handelt, die das Geschehen des achten Tages bespricht, ... », il change plus tard d’avis (1958), 24. Avec la proposition de lecture UD ⅦKAM, il précise ici p. 25 : « Die Bezifferung des Tages ist nicht einwandfrei erhalten: Vs. 1 bietet VII oder VIII, ebenso Rs. 28 (erhalten auf 743/b = XXXIV 68 < sic ! il s’agit en fait du fragment 2430/c = KUB 39.5, S.F.>), wo allerdings VIII mir nach den Spuren am wahrscheinlichsten war gegen eine von H. G. Güterbock brieflich auch für möglich gehaltene Lesung VI. » La lecture « septième jour » pour la partie en question semble se déduire forcément du catalogue des jours dans KUB 39.6 – d’après Otten (voir plus haut).

Ainsi, dans les trois cas, les signes représenteraient le nombre de jours ou bien le rang de la tablette. Il n’existerait alors aucune raison, comme Otten le suppose, pour qu’une personne ait tracé le chiffre du jour suivant ou de la tablette suivante. À quoi servaient les signes tracés ? Il est probable que de tels signes pouvaient être utiles à une personne illettrée, car il est plus simple et plus rapide de compter les traits ou les triangles plutôt que de chercher le nombre exact dans le début du texte ou dans le colophon.

Ünal (1989), « Drawings, Graffiti and Squiggles on the Hittite Tablets – Art in Scribal Circles », in : Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç, 506 cite encore KBo 24.81, mais les signes de nombres tracés dans la marge n’aident pas en raison du contexte manquant.

Sebastian FISCHER (12-02-08) fischer\_sebastian@gmx.de  
Am Schlangenfenn 19, 14478 POTSDAM (Allemagne)

**18) À propos des shakkanakku de Mari** – Le caractère linguistique étonnant du NP « Ididiš », premier shakkanakku de Mari, selon la liste dynastique publiée dans *MARI* 4, p. 152, n’a pas fait l’objet de remarque, alors que « Ididi » ou « Idada » représentent un NP très bien documenté.

Il est évident qu’il rappelle de près le *i-ti-ti* (*i-dî-dî*) du texte administratif shakkanakku T.409, où il s’agit d’un artisan (*šu sig<sub>7</sub>*). Par ailleurs, il rappelle aussi le NP de Gazur (Nuzi) *i-ti-ti* (*i-dî-dî*) dont on trouve des références dans Th.J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, HSS X, 1938, p. xxxiv, avec comme variante *i-dé-dé* et *i-da-da* (*ibid.* p. xxxii). On peut y ajouter enfin le fameux « Ititi », prince d’Aššur d’époque sargonique.

*i-dî-dî* est de la tradition graphique du milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire ou de l’OB archaïque et *i-da-da* ou *i-dé-dé* doivent indiquer la qualité de sonore de la dentale.

(a) Si la lecture du NP est modifiée dans le sens attendu, le signe IŠ qui termine le texte devrait donc être transformé en idéogramme indépendant. On lirait ainsi *i-dî-dî kuš<sub>7</sub>*.

Sargon aurait dès lors confié, après la conquête, le royaume de Mari à un de ses compagnons qui portait un titre aulique, en l’occurrence celui de « chef de ses étables », analogue au connétable (*comes stabuli*) des rois de France, commandant en fait des armées royales. Le cas serait analogue à celui bien connu de Rakabtum, échanson (sagi) de Yahdun-Lîm, qui avait reçu du roi de Mari la charge de surveiller la royauté de Talhayum; cf. *NABU* 1989/57.

(b) Cette proposition permettrait de réinterpréter le sceau 18 de D. Beyer, *Akh Purattim* I, p. 233 = fig. 19 et 21-23. L’iconographie du sceau semble concorder avec celle du roi *iš<sub>x</sub>-gi-má-ri* qui serait le dernier

roi Early Dynastic de Mari et appartient pour sa stylistique à une haute époque. Son épigraphiste a proposé, avec peu de vraisemblance, qu'il faille lire le NP *i-ti-aš<sub>x</sub>-dar*<sup>1</sup>. Il me paraît en revanche possible de lire *i-di-da*, šagin de Mari, où l'on pourrait retrouver une forme du Ididi kuš<sub>7</sub> de la liste dynastique de Mari.

Pour ce qui est du NP de l'autre shakkanakku de ce sceau, si Ididi est vraiment le premier à porter ce titre à Mari, il devrait s'agir de son fils, non de son père. Il faudrait dès lors proposer une lecture « à l'envers » du libellé (c'est-à-dire avec une lecture de bas en haut) :

« ... » (nom illisible)  
*shakkanakku* de Mari  
 héritier  
 d'Ididi  
*shakkanakku* de Mari.

Le sceau appartiendrait, en fait, à son héritier. Idida serait une forme génitive de Ididi (comme dans l'onomastique d'Emar).

Le premier signe du nom du « second shakkanakku » n'est à l'évidence ni É, ni IB comme proposé chez Beyer. En revanche, il pourrait s'agir d'un ŠU mal disposé (venant de la reconstruction du sceau composée à partir de ses différents empreintes ? Les photos ne sont pas évidentes). Le dernier signe est, en revanche, clairement GÁN ; or, le fils d'Ididi est, à en croire la liste dynastique, Šû-Dagan. Le NP Šu<sup>1</sup>-BU-gán y correspondrait. Je n'ai cependant pas de solution pour cette écriture, ni d'exemple pour BU = Dagan ou DA.

(c) Il n'est pas impossible que le prince de Mari et celui d'Aššur ne fassent qu'un seul et même personnage et qu'une unité politique et militaire ait déjà au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire relié Ouest euphratique et Est tigrin, d'une façon qui annoncerait l'état de choses du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire. Un sceau au nom d'un gouverneur de Gazur (cf. *RIME* 2, p. 240) a été retrouvé à tell Brak, portant un anthroponyme relatif au dieu-Lion Lab'um. Tout cela semble indiquer une circulation Est-Ouest au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire bien supérieure à ce que l'on pourrait attendre de la documentation à notre disposition.

Le nom du père de cet Ititi (Ididi), *i-nin-la-ba*, peut être interprété en fonction de ce que nous apprennent les bigraphes de Mari. Il rappelle ainsi des NP des documents shakkanakku comme *en-nin/nin<sub>9</sub>-NDiv.* et doit être interprété comme Hinnin-Lab'a. Une forme du dieu Lab'a, ou Labu'a, est bien documentée par des NP postérieurs du Nord comme Šadûm-Lab'a, Labu'a, etc., toutes variantes du même NP.

Tous ces thèmes sont développés dans un article « Les Shakkanakku de Mari » à paraître dans les Actes de notre table ronde tenue au début de décembre 2007, à la Fondation Hugot du Collège de France.

Jean-Marie DURAND (14-02-08) jean-marie.durand@college-de-france.fr  
 Institut du Proche-Orient, Collège de France, PARIS (France)

**19) ARM XXI 59 // ARM XXI 396** – Il m'avait échappé, lors de la rédaction de *ARM XXI*, que la distribution de viande de XXI 59 : 1-12 concernait les mêmes gens que ceux qui sont simplement énumérés par XXI 396 (en apparence sans datation), ce qu'a confirmé le réexamen des textes sur les originaux, à l'occasion d'une collation des documents de XXI.

Cela permet les corrections suivantes :

XXI 59 : 6 *ki-ik-ki-nu* fait corriger XXI 396 : 6 en *ki-ki\*-nu-um*. Le NP Kidinnû (cf. *CAD* s. v.) n'est donc plus à considérer comme documenté à Mari ;

XXI 59 : 8 montre une alternance *na-ra-an<sup>ki</sup>* face à XXI 396 : 8 *na-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*, selon un procédé d'élargissement des toponymes en *-ân* dont on a maintenant plusieurs exemples ;

XXI 59 : 9-11 permet de mieux lire XXI 396 : 9-11 qui a été écrit au moment où la tablette était en train de sécher très vite et où l'écriture est de moins en moins perceptible ; on lira : *ia-an-ti-in-<e-ra-ah>*, *ba-la-an*, *û-sa\*-ta\*-an\**. Le scribe a dû être néanmoins dans l'impossibilité de préciser que ces gens venaient de Sarri Amnân<sup>ki</sup>.

Au point de vue de l'écriture administrative, il faut comprendre que XXI 396 était l'enregistrement de l'arrivée de ces gens et que XXI 59 les documente comme bénéficiaires de distributions alimentaires.

Jean-Marie DURAND (17-02-08)

**20) mâdarum à Mari** – La pratique d'accueillir des *mâdarum*, princes royaux en quête d'un trône, n'a pas été inconnue de la cour de Mari elle-même. On possède ainsi dans *ARM XVIII* 58 & 59 l'énumération de gens qualifiés d'un tel titre, certains se retrouvant ultérieurement devenus rois. On se reportera aux considérations de D. Charpin, *FM* V, p. 195. Leur présence à Mari est concomitante à la célébration de la fête d'Eštar, moment où ceux qui voulaient proclamer leur allégeance au roi de Mari se devaient d'être à ses côtés.

Le phénomène a été certainement plus ample encore que ne le laisseraient présumer les énumérations des deux textes de XVIII précités. Une relecture de *ARM XXI* 333 a ainsi montré l'existence de 3 *mâdarum* à la

même occasion ; parmi eux il y avait Attia, certainement celui que l'on connaît plus tard comme Attâ, roi momentané de Kahat, mais aussi (l. 50'), 'às¹-di-l[i-i]m, lequel devait immédiatement lui succéder ; voir pour ces événements, D. Charpin, *FM* V, p. 223. Il faut donc supposer qu'au moment où Kabiya était encore roi de Kahat, Zimrî-Lîm trouvait bon de recevoir à sa cour les deux individus qui devaient lui succéder un jour sur le trône.

Au même moment, devait se passer le mariage de la princesse Kirûm. On lit, désormais, en effet, les l. 60'-61' :

a-na <sup>f</sup>ki-re-e-im [ša a-na ha-ià-s]u-mu-ú, id-di-nu-[š]i\*.

Comme l'on sait l'importance politique de ces mariages dynastiques, on voit par là même l'arrière-plan profondément politique des grandes manifestations religieuses de la fin de l'année à Mari.

Jean-Marie DURAND (17-02-08)

**21) Material und Wesen des Mittleren Himmels** – Einige der vom Kommentartext VAT 17115<sup>1</sup> gebotenen *noṭariqon*-artigen Auslegungen der Lautenfolge /sagil/ bzw. /saḡil/ im Tempelnamen é.s ag/ḡ.íl lassen sich bei der Auseinandersetzung mit der Passage KAR 307 (VAT 8917) Vs. 31f.<sup>2</sup> anwenden.

In VAT 8917 Vs. 31f. heisst es:

šamû(AN-ú) qablûti(murub<sub>4</sub>-ti) na<sub>4</sub>sag-gil-mud ša d<sub>1</sub>-gì-gì be-lu<sub>4</sub> ina lib-bi paramahḫi(bará.maḫ) i-na lib-bi / ina parak(bará) na<sub>4</sub>ugnî(za.gin) ú-šib gišbu-ši na<sub>4</sub>el-me-ši ina libbi ú-nam-mir

„Der mittlere Himmel ist der *saggilmud*-Stein der Igigi-Götter. Bel nahm Wohnung inmitten des Allerheiligstein inmitten des Lapislazuli-Heiligtums und ließ darin die Bernstein-Leuchte (wörtlich: „Bernstein-Glas(-Vorrichtung)“) erstrahlen“.

Unter Rückgriff von VAT 17115 wird ersichtlich, dass der Bezug des Steinnamens *saggilmud* zum sonstigen Inhalt von VAT 8917: Vs. 31f. teilweise<sup>3</sup> auf den lautlichen Assoziationen beruhen könnte.

So, falls man die Begriffe „Gesamtheit von Göttern“ und „Igigi“ als synonymisch betrachtet, kann die Passage VAT 17115: 7f. ([é.sa<sub>7</sub>].kíl bītu ba-nu-ú nap-ḫar il[īmeš] / [sa<sub>7</sub> ba-nu]-ú kíl nap-ḫa-ru il i-[lu] „E. ist Haus „Schöpfung der Gesamtheit von Göttern“ / sa<sub>7</sub> „schöpfen“ kíl „Gesamtheit“ il „Gott“) zur Postulierung der lautlichen Verbindung von den Igigi-Göttern mit dem *saggilmud*-Stein herangezogen werden.

Ein Beispiel dafür, wie die Lautensequenz /sagil/ des Steinnamens *saggilmud* sowohl auf das Götterkollektiv als auch auf das Himmelslicht bezogen werden kann, bieten die Z. 27f. von VAT 17115:

[é.si.an.g]íl bītu nu-ú<sup>1</sup> ilīmeš rabûti<sup>meš</sup> / [si nu-ú-ru a]n i-lum ḡl ra-bu-ú<sup>1</sup> „E. ist Haus „Licht der großen Götter“ / si „Licht“ an „Gott“ ḡl „groß““.

Mithilfe von VAT 17115: 11f. ([é.sa<sub>12</sub>a]n.gíl bītu šu-bat ru-bé-e d<sub>1</sub>marduk / [s]ag a-šá-bu ḡl ru-bu-ú gil d<sub>1</sub>ma-ru-du-uk „E. ist Haus „Sitz des Fürsten Marduk“ / sag „sitzen“ gi „Fürst“ gil „Marduk“) kann im Manier der antiken Exegese erklärt werden, warum der *saggilmud*-Stein, dessen Name ja den kennzeichnenden Teil vom Namen des Marduk-Tempels enthält, und der Sitz von Marduk zueinander passen<sup>4</sup>.

Die zwecks der Exegese betriebene Auflösung des Wortes sag könnte unter anderem das gemeinsame Erscheinen der Wörter *saggilmud* und *elmešu* in der Passage VAT 8917 Vs. 31f. gerechtfertigt haben. In Anlehnung an die in VAT 17115 vertretene Deutung von saḡ im Sinne von sa.ág/ḡ, sa<sub>4</sub>/ḡ/12.an, si.an, si.an etc. kann sag als sù.ág aufgefasst werden, und ebenso kann SUD.ÁG, das Sumerogramm für *elmešu*, „Bernstein“, gelesen werden. Mit der Aussage von VAT 17115: 27f. (saḡ = „Licht (si) der Götter (an)“) lässt sich die postulierte Gleichung saḡ = (sù.ág für sud.ág =) *elmešu* sowohl formell als auch inhaltlich vergleichen, denn der *elmešu*-Stein ist von leuchtender Natur und das Kompositum sud.ág wurde nicht nur zur dessen Bezeichnung sondern auch als Begriff für das Licht selbst gebraucht<sup>5</sup>.

1. Bearbeitungen: F. Köcher, AfO 17 (1954-56) 131ff., Taf. 6 (Kopie); A. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (OLA 40; Leuven 1992), pp. 75, 80f., 386ff.

2. Bearbeitungen: A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford 1986), pp. 82f.; W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (MC 8; Winona Lake 1998), pp. 3ff., 401 (Kopie).

3. Mit Lapislazuli (za.gin) verbindet den *saggilmud*-Stein nicht nur der ähnlich klingende Namensteil sondern auch die Farbe (zum Letzteren s. Horowitz, op. cit., 11).

4. Zu fragen ist, ob die Gleichung sag = ašābu nicht etwa durch die annähernde Homophonie von sag und zag bedingt ist; als Begriff für einen Heiligtum ist das letztere Wort den Begriffen für den göttlichen (bzw. herrschaftlichen) Sitz, bará und bará.maḫ, eigentlich bedeutungsgleich.

5. Zu *elmešu* und sud.ág s. CAD E 107f. *elmešu* und darunter den Beleg Sm. 954:1f. mit der Auffassung von d<sub>1</sub>sud.ág als nūr šamê, „das (göttliche) Licht des Himmels“. Diese kam wohl unter der Deutung von áḡ im Sinne der Emesal-Form von an zustande (vgl. M.K. Schretter, *Emesal-Studien, Sprach- und Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Frauensprache des Sumerischen* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 69; Innsbruck 1990), 145:9).

Illya VORONTOV (25-02-08) i\_voro01@uni-muenster.de  
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Institut für Altorientalische Philologie,  
Rosenstraße 9, 48143 MÜNSTER (Allemagne)

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