

# N.A.B.U.

## Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

1997

N°1 (Mars)

### NOTES BRÈVES

**1) Practical Political Paleography** – One of the smallest pieces in the fine new volume by D. J. Wiseman and J. A. Black (*Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû* = Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud IV) is also one of the most interesting. This is the fragment published as no. 235, described by the authors on p. 33 as « Written connectedly, not in columns, in imitation of archaic script. » Such a description hardly does the fragment justice. Seven lines are in part preserved on the obverse, enough to allow the suggestion that the underlying connected text is a historical one. Comparison with the well-known paleographical list published in the same volume as no. 229 shows that a small round circle represents, in this tradition, a Winkelhaken. Thus three such circles in a row represent EŠ, while six followed by ŠA can be understood to represent LI. This allows us to read line 6' as follows :

4 ME URU.MEŠ-ni DU<sub>6</sub>-le.ME[Š .....]

« Four hundred cities, tell-mounds [...] »

Such a phrase establishes the genre for certain, even if the remainder of the text is still full of difficulties. The existence of this fragment casts direct light on the function fulfilled by the study of paleography in first millennium Assyria, in that it shows that the identification of early sign forms would enable learned scribes to produce royal inscriptions couched in venerable-looking ancient script, much as Nebuchadnezzar's scribes sometimes did, although far less inventively perhaps, later on.

Irving L. FINKEL (08-10-96)

Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities,  
The British Museum, LONDON WC1B 3DG,  
GRANDE-BRETAGNE

**2) My-Father-is-my-Rock** – « The lord is my rock (*sal'ī*), and my fortress, and my deliverer, my God, my rock (*šūrī*), in whom I take refuge » says the psalmist (18 : 2). There are no natural rocks in Babylonia, and a parallel for the Hebrew metaphor is not found in Babylonian culture. But in names of the OB texts from Mari the Hebrew concept is common : My-rock-is-Addu (*Šū-ri-dAddu*), or Dagan, or Moon, and My-Father-is-my-Rock (*A-bi-šū-ri*). Another Semitic word for rock is represented in Akkadian by *kāpu*. W. von Soden in AHW recognized a transferred meaning of *kāpu*, similar to the Hebrew counterparts, in names. He quoted two names from Ur, *Ka-ab-tu-ka-a-BI* = *Kabtu-Kāpī* = The-Weighty-is-my-Rock, and *Ka-pi-ia-LUM*, which is interpreted as *Kāpī-ālum* = My Rock-is-the-City; and the name from Larsa *A-hi-ka-pi* = *Ahī-Kāpī* = My-Brother-is-my-Rock. The spelling here leaves no doubt that *kāpī* is meant. A second name from Larsa has the same spelling : *Ī-lī-ka-pi* = *Ilī-kāpī* My-god-is-my-Rock. Von Soden's interpretation of the name element *ka-BI* as *ka-pi* = *kāpī* « my rock » was adopted by M. Birot in ARM 16/1 for *Abi-Kāpi* and *Bēli-Kāpi*, yet when *Ka-BI* was the first element of a name, Birot read it *Kabi*. The authors of ARM 23 read the sequence *ka-BI* as *ka-pi* in initial and terminal position but retained /b/ regularly in spellings *ka-a-BI*, so that *Be-lī-ka-pi* stands next to *Ba-ah-lu-ka-a-bi*. The confusing treatment of the various names probably derives from T. Bauer's hypothesis that *ka-a-bi* represented the « Amorite » phrase « like my father, » and that *ka-BI* spelled the crasis of *ka'abi* > *kabi*. H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts, resumed that hypothesis and added

« also relevant is Akk. *kāp-*, “rock.” » Gelb, AS 21, restricted the validity of Bauer’s hypothesis to the spellings *ka-a-bi* and posited a root *k’b* for the spelling *ka-bi* and even *ka-pi*. In his glossary he repeated Huffmon’s indecision and stated: *kābum*, possibly *kāpum* « rock. »

Bauer’s hypothesis of *ka-bi* = crasis of *ka-a-bi* = Like-my-father can now be reduced ad absurdum with the name *A-bi-ka-Bi* which cannot mean « My-Father-is-like-my-Father. » It is further very likely that *ka-a-BI* is a plene writing for *kāpī* because of the likelihood that *Ba-ah-li-ka-a-pī* and *Be-lī-ka-pī* are two spellings of the same name. The name *Um-mu(-um)-ka-a-BI(-im)* may be seen as standing in the way of the proposed interpretation. With its seeming symmetry of mother and father and also with the presence of a mimated form it invites interpretation of *ka* as « like. » Yet is Mother-is-like-Father really a likely name and could the mimation not be a hypercorrect Babylonization (see the remarks of J.-M. Durand in NABU 1994/73) on the level of the script? The name My-Rock-is-Anat shows that the particular qualities of rock which underly all these names could be applied to a female. So the name The Mother-is-my-Rock is conceivable. The element of insecurity is linked with the question of the existence of an equative preposition *ka* = like in Amorite. I am not convinced of its existence. The standard example is the name *A-bu-ka-El* which may simply mean Your-Father-is-a-God, perhaps the name of a boy who was born after the death of his father.

It is not easy to evaluate the names which may, or may not, be connected with the element « my rock, » and which I have added to the list on advice of Durand who also generously supplied the as yet unpublished names. *Ka-pī-ya*, and its mimated version *Ka-pī-yu-um*, is clearly a Kurzname, so this is how the king of Kahat of this name should be read, and *Ka-pi-a-nūm*, rather than *Ka-pi-a-lum*, may be another. It is noteworthy that many of the names were born by women. Finally, we may ask ourselves if the rock of these names is simply a metaphor for the reliability of that which resists change, or if a measure of divinity adhered to it. See for a possible illustration the cult of bétyles (Durand, *Mélanges Birot* 79-84). So the hapax <sup>d</sup>*Ka-pī*-<sup>d</sup>*šamaš* may have been a Freudian slip.

The word is also contained in *a-al Ka-BI-im* = *āl kāpim* = Rock City in ARM 26 480 : 5, rather than Dung City as Durand suggested in ARM 26/1, 144 note 42. According to the context of the letter, Rock City seems to be a quarter of the city of Yabliya.

A-bi-ka-Bi	+ 16	Ka-Bi-e-ra-ah	16 ; 22
A-hi-ka-pi	YOS 8 64 : 18 (Larsa)	Ka-Bi-e-šu-uh	21 ; 23
A-hu-ka-a-Bi	+ 16 ; 21 ; 22	Ka-Bi- <sup>d</sup> Ha-na-at	23 ; M.6464
Ba-ah-li-ka-a-Bi	22	Ka-Bi-ì-lí	22 ; 26/2
Be-lí-ka-Bi	+ 16 ; 21	Ka-Bi-ia	16
<sup>d</sup> Di-ri-tum-ka-Bi	16	Ka-Bi-lu	M.5912
Ì-lí-ka-pi	Birot, TEA 69 I 26 (Larsa)	Ka-Bi-yu-um	M.6119
Ka-ab-ba-tum	M.12508 III	Ka-Bi-in-n[a]?	22
Ka-aB-Bi-da	M.18728	Ka-Bi-in-ni	M.6493i, M.12538i
Ka-aB-Bu-tum	M.15227	Ka-Bi-la-ri-im	16 ; 21 ; 23
Ka-ba-an	T.25	Ka-Bi-li-bur	+ 22 (Durand : also male name)
Ka-ba-an-na-bi	T.210	Ka-Bi-tum	5074i
Ka-Bi-a-bi	+ T.210	<sup>d</sup> Ka-Bi- <sup>d</sup> UTU	23
Ka-Bi-a-ta	16	Ka-Bi-ZA	22
Ka-Bi- <sup>d</sup> Addu	16 ; 21 ; 22 ; 23	Ka-Bu-na-an	M.7331 III
Ka-Bi-be-el	YOS 13 432 : 12 (Sippar)	Ka-Bu-tum	M.5074
Ka-Bi-Bu-ur-ša	+ 16	Ka-pa-an	23
Ka-Bi-da	22	Ka-pi-ia-LUM	UET 5
Ka-Bi-da-ia	16	Ka-ab-tu-ka-a-Bi	UET 5
Ka-Bi- <sup>d</sup> Da-gan	16 ; 23	La-hu-ka-Bi	22
Ka-Bi-e- <sup>d</sup> Addu	16	La-ši-el-ka-a-Bi-im	RA 8, 74 : 17 (Sippar)
Ka-Bi-e-Bu-uK	21	Um-mu-ka-a-Bi	+ 16 ; 21
Ka-Bi-e-da-ah	16 ; 22	Um-mu-um-ka-a-Bi	+ 16
Ka-Bi-e-pu-uh	16	Um-mu-um-ka-a-Bi-im	+ 16

Unspecified numbers are of ARM ; + indicates female name ; names from unpublished texts courtesy Durand.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (02-12-96)  
Department of Near Eastern Studies,  
University of California at Berkeley  
BERKELEY CA 94720, USA

**3) Mushrooms** – *Abu Ḥanīfa* says in his book of plants that *ḡab'atun* is the white thing resembling *kam'* of which no use is made (E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, sub voce *ḡb'*). The governor of *Qaṭṭunan Zakira-Hammu* writes to the king that he sent people to collect *ka-am-a-tim* (ARM 27 54). «May-be there are *ka-am-ú* on the outskirts of the city. They may collect them, and I will send them to my lord. They went and brought *gi-ib-i* resembling *ka-am-i*, and I sent these people back, thus I: “Since there are *gi-ib-ú*, find (*atammarā*) *ka-am-i*!” They went and found *ka-am-i*.» Obviously *Ibn Ḥanīfa* and *Zakira-Hammu* talk about the same thing. For Lane and M. Birot *km'* are truffles; for J.-M. Durand they are «champignons du désert» (BAH 136, 107 note 18). I happened across somebody who dug mushrooms on the edge of a field in southern Iraq. It was *agaricus campestris*, the famous champignon or meadow mushroom. As avid champignon collector I have come across, and eaten, *Agaricus xanthoderma* which looks very much like *Agaricus campestris* but has a slightly bitter taste and develops a bad smell when being cooked. «The white thing of which no use is made» may be this species.

The forms of the word of the root *km'* have two plurals in Akkadian. *ka-am-ú* is clearly a plural because there is no mimation. There is also a plural *kam'ātum* as is obvious from FM 2 62: 8-14: «There sprang up (*ittabšē*) mushrooms (*ka-am-a-tum*) in the district. I sent mushrooms (*ka-am-a-tim*) and 2 ostrich eggs to my lord.» There are also two plural forms of the Arabic word. Their forms have confounded the grammarians. I quote Lane without indicating his Arabic sources: «The plural of paucity of *kam'un* is *'akmu'un* and the plural of multitude is *kam'atun*. This last is not a plural of *kam'un* but a quasi-plural noun, or *kam'atun* is rather a collective generic noun of which the nomen unitatis is without the (ending) *-a*, contrary to analogy. In speaking of many, you say *kam'atun*, contrary to analogy; or *kam'atun* is the singular and *kam'un* is the plural; or *kam'atun* is both singular and plural.» The forms for *ḡab'un* show the same irregularity. I find this coincidence of words and forms in Arabic and Akkadian remarkable. It attests a stubborn local culture of mushroom hunting which resisted the change of languages.

A piece of evidence from Sumerian texts indicates that it was associated with life in the steppe even if *agaricus campestris* grew right under the nose of urban Babylonians. The barbarian *Martu* is denigrated for «digging mushrooms» (SEM 58 IV 26).

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (02-12-96)

**4) Crack of dawn** – According to its editor F. Joannès, FM 2 76 describes the collection of large amounts of snow or frost which were piled into watertight, partly or fully subterranean, «silos» where snow or frost was reconstituted into ice. The transformation into ice would have required a temperature low enough to form ice outright, and I wonder why one would not have used the ice so formed. In my view, the crucial lines 12-19 allow a simple explanation which obviates snow or frost collection and silos: *ina kalakkātīm ša mē umallū 3 a.gār šurīpam upahhir ina rītīm šurīpum ul ikkašir ina kalakkātīm šurīpum kašir* «In the excavations which had filled with water it (the work detail) gathered 3 tracts (3600 quarts) ice. On the pasture ice had not formed. In the excavations ice had formed.» The difference between the temperature of pasture and excavation cannot have been very large. In fact, the writer of this letter seems to have wondered how it could have differed at all, or else he would not have added his observation. Today we know what happened: the air temperature was at the freezing point. The coldest air sank and formed a blanket on the ground. Where it sank into the excavations it became trapped between the walls of the excavations. As a result it was stiller than the air on the surface of the surrounding pasture land, and this circumstance allowed it to cool further. So ice formed in the excavations while it did not in the wet places of the pasture.

When it just barely freezes it does so during the coldest time of the day which is before sunrise. The writer of the letter knew that much. He says: «[I dispatched] a work detail of peasants and craftsmen [to collect the ice] *ina tirik šadīm*. So far, this expression was understood to designate a phase of the evening. J.-R. Kupper found it in ARM 13, 114 and commented on it in that volume and then in Syria 41 (1964) 111 note 1. He assumed that *tirkum* was semantically linked to the stative *tarik* which designates dark spots on flesh. The expression in ARM 13 114 is «before *tirik šadīm*.» If *tirkum* means darkness, «before the darkness of the mountain» could only designate a phase of the evening. Kupper thought that the mountains of the expression where the cliffs of the Euphrates valley. J.-M. Durand, in a comment to his re-edition of the text as ARM 26 210, referred to ARM 26 438 where the expression was used in a different geographic setting. He believed that it constitutes a reflection of the past when the Amorites lived at the foot of the Lebanon mountains.

In early morning one awaits the light, and it makes therefore little sense to retain the semantic link of *tirkum* and darkness in the expression. According to AHw the verb *tarāku* may also mean «to lash» said of a whip, the tail of a sheep, and wind, or «to beat» said of the heart, perhaps also «to strike» said of weapons. There exists a connection between these meanings and «dark» in the concept of a bruise. In fact the references for *tarik* may be translated as «bruised» which relieves somewhat the crowded semantic field «dark.» The mountain of the «lash/beat/strike of the mountain» may refer to the eastern mountains. In fact, the word may simply mean «east.» It is also possible that it was the cosmic «Twin» mountains *Mašum* between which the sun rose to the Mesopotamians, or it was the netherworld (see my note nn on the mountain within for a case of

*šadûm* = netherworld). The expression «lash of the mountain» would then refer to an event in the daily ascent of the sun from darkness. The «lash of the mountain» was followed by sunrise, or the «leap» or «attack» of the sun (*šihit šamšī*), apparently also a mythological motif.

As it should, the new meaning of *tirik šadîm*, which translates literally as «lash of the mountain» and idiomatically as «crack of dawn,» fits the contexts which are known to me outside of the letter about ice collection. Yasim-El, representative of Zimri-Lim at the court of Atamrum in Andarig, states that he lost access to Atamrum while «the Babylonians keep entering daily before the crack of dawn» (ARM 26 438 : 16'-17'). The passage from ARM 13 114 = 26 210 mentions that «a woman, wife of a gentleman, came to me before the first crack of dawn and spoke to me about the matter of Babylon as follows, thus : Dagan sent me.» In both cases the timing relates to the urgency of the event. That this should be the early morning rather than the evening conforms to a society imprinted stronger by rural life than ours.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (02-12-96)

**5) A case of BA = pā –** In NABU 1996/14 I have noted a case each from Mari texts with normal spellings where /ga/ was written KA and /di/ TI. I now came across a case of /pa/ which was written BA. In ARM 5 39 Hasidanum, governor of Karana, complains to Yasmah-Addu about the courtyard sweeper Atamrum who took away his, Hasidanum's, share and did not come to his sentencing when the master went to court. «I sentenced [him] once, twice, and judges sentenced him likewise. He *ú-Ba-Za-aZ* my sentence and the judges.» A. L. Oppenheim said in *JNES* 13 (1954) 146 that «one feels tempted to correct» AZ to *ah*, thus making the form an example of the verb *buzzu'u/buzzuhu* whose meaning is not well established (see most recently F. Joannès FM 2 82 with comment c). His feeling was accepted and enshrined by CAD and AHW. In the epilogue to his laws (XXVI r 28), Hammu-Rabi somewhat lamely curses the one who would disregard his curses and the curses of the gods, and *dîn adînu uptassis* «annulled the sentence I pronounced.» Obviously the two passages are parallel and the spelling in ARM 5 39 can be understood as *ú-pá-sà-as = upassas*. The interpretation raises an interesting question which I cannot answer, namely how anyone, including a «courtyard sweeper» can «rub out,» «annul,» «overturn,» «neutralize,» or what *pussusum* really means, a sentence of judges and even of a governor.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (02-12-96)

**6) Notes on Babylonian Geography and Prosopography –** (I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr C.B.F. Walker for permission to quote from unpublished *BM* tablets and to consult the Bertin copies [henceforth «Bert.»]).

#### 1. Northern Babylonia.

Sippar (<sup>uru</sup>*UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup>*) is mentioned in 330 B.C. (A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia 2 : Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.*, text and plates; Vienna 1988 [henceforth Sachs and Hunger 1988], 178 :-330, r. 6'). *Nār(I<sub>7</sub>)-Pal-lu-kát* (near <sup>uru</sup>*Pal-lu-ka-tu<sub>4</sub>*) is the only watercourse in NW Babylonia which is also recorded in these diaries (Sachs and Hunger 1988, 186 :-328, 26 and 102 :-373, A, 9' resp.). A field situated on *Nār-dannatu* and bordering on the property of Šapazayyu is recorded in *HSM* 891.11.033 (poss. from *Āl-Šamaš*, damaged; date not preserved; I should like to thank Profs. P. Steinkeller and S. Cole for permission to study the Harvard Semitic Museum tablets). *ŠE.NUMUN la-hi-ru* is recorded in *BM* 58612 r. 3 (undated) from the Ebabbarra archive. For connections between Sippar and NE Babylonia (including Lahīru and Arrapha) cf. *NABU* 1995/5 *in fine* (note *Ki-i-<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>uru</sup> Ar-pa-hu-A+A* [«Arraphean»), *BM* 49249, 2f. from the Sippar collection). The same archive has *Nār(I<sub>7</sub>)-<sup>m</sup>ku-ra-áš* (*BM* 59064, 2f., undated).- *BM* 75968 (559/8 B.C.) was issued at <sup>uru</sup>*Šá-DIR(I)-tu<sub>4</sub>* (or *URU šá DIRI-tu<sub>4</sub>*; poss. just a homonym of *Šá-TIR-tú*) where the debtor (Atkal-Bēl/Rēmūtu/Ardi-Marduk) had a field. The creditor (archive holder), Mušallim-Marduk/Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, might have been from Sippar if to judge from his surname (Šangī Sippar). *AN.GAL-zēra(NUMUN)-ibni(DŪ)* and the scribes of the shrine of *AN.GAL* ([...<sup>lú</sup>] *DUB<sup>1</sup>.SAR<sup>meš</sup> šá É AN.GAL*; originally the deity of *Dēr*) are mentioned in *BM* 59069, a fragmentary list of temple personnel (Sippar collection, undated).

Here follows a list of several pre-Achaemenian private «archives» from Sippar (arranged chronologically):

**Bibea** (buyer of a slave; among the witnesses three royal officials; 675/4 B.C.; *VS* 5, 2);

**Iqīša/Mu-ba-ši** (loan of 1 gur barley; 637 B.C., *BM* 49174);

**Bēl-ahhē-iddina/Šamaš-aha-iddina/Ardi-Nergal** (*harrānu* contract; 614/3 B.C., E.F. Weidner, *AfO* 16, 43 :9);

**Bēl-mukīn-a[pli?]/[...]** (*harrānu* contract; 611/0 B.C., *BR* 8, 49);

**Bēl-ējir/Itinnu** (loan of 15.25(?) shekels of silver; 608/7 B.C.; *VS* 4, 8);

**Nabû-ki-tab-ši-lišir/Aqarā/Ile'i-Marduk** (1 and 5/6 minas of silver; 608/7 B.C.; the debtor was the scribe of the tablet; E. Revillout, *BOR* 1, 117f.);

**Iqīša/Šamaš-nāšir/Šangī Sippar** (15 minas of silver; 597/6 B.C., *BM* 74493);

**Nabû-aha-iddina/[x xl-gu-mu** (loan of 1 mine silver; one sheep and *iškaru*-delivery of the king are mentioned

in a broken context ; time of Nebuchadnezzar II ; BM 74496 ;  
[...]/Marduk-aha-ibni/Šigū'a (loan of 7[+x] gur barley ; 558/7 B.C., BM 74495).

*Nār-šarri* (*I<sub>7</sub>-LUGAL*) flowed near the Tigris and Seleucia (Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia 2: Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.*, text and plates ; Vienna 1989 [henceforth Sachs and Hunger 1989], 440 :- 171, B. U.E ; 384 :-181, r. 10 ; 414 :-178, C, r. 22' : *Se-lu-k[e-']-a šá AŠ UGU <sup>l</sup>7ID*) *IGNA ù I<sub>7</sub>-LUGAL*), cf. M. Streck, *Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertümer* (henceforth *RECA*), 2.Reihe, 3 Halbbd. (Stuttgart 1921), 1155f. ; G. Meier, *RECA* 18 (Stuttgart 1939), 683f. with lit.

Cutha had a quarter named after *Abul-mahīri* (*KÁ.GAL KILAM*, BM 92716 = Bert. 2861, 3 ; 459/8 or 399/8 B.C.). *Bīt-Pāniya* was situated near Cutha in the 1st half of the 5th century B.C. (see M.W. Stolper, *RA* 85, 1991, 49ff.). It is also recorded (spelled *É-IG<sup>mi</sup>-iá*) in *OECT* 10, 195, r. 7' (not found in Kish : concerning a female slave) from Artaxerxes' 9th year (456/5, 396/5 or – less likely in view of the script – 350/49 B.C.). A principal (Nergal-da-nu s. of Ardi-Nergal) bore a name and a patronym containing Nergal, the main god of Cutha. None of the individuals recorded in *OECT* 10, 195 recurs in Stolper's dossier.

*Dūr-Adad* (<sup>uru</sup>*BĀD-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR*) is recorded in BM 74539 = Bert. 2635, 4, where *Ku-la-a-'* and *Ìl-tar-ra-hi-iá* f. of *Nabû-ušur* are also mentioned (from <sup>uru</sup>[...], poss. 494/3 B.C.). If the fact that this document belongs to the Sippar collection is significant, then one may compare it with homonymous place recorded in a MB letter which was found in *Dūr-Kurigalzu*. However, there is no telling whether the MB settlement is not physically identical with the homonymous MB place mentioned in the Nippur documentation (see K. Nashef, *RGTC* 5, 87, bottom).

## 2. Central Babylonia.

Important information on the organization of the Esaggila temple is contained in Sachs and Hunger 1989 (26 :-254, 12'f. ; 476 :-168). Property of Šababa and Mullissu is recorded in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. A long list (*HSM* 893.5.6) records rations for the 2nd month (*ayaru*) of Philip's 2nd year (*Pi-li-ip-su* ; 322/1 B.C.) given to exorciste (<sup>lu</sup>*MAŠ.MAŠ<sup>meš</sup>*), presumably of Esaggila in view of the numerous *Bēl* and *Marduk* anthroponyms. At least 112 individuals are listed in the preserved 74 lines, but an estimate of c. 230 people would not be far off the mark, seeing that about half of the tablet is missing (it was deliberately sawn in the middle, presumably by modern clandestine diggers, as observed by Dr. James Armstrong, personal communication). These individuals are arranged by several schemes : (a) *PN<sub>1</sub> A PN<sub>2</sub> ± u A-šú*, (b) *PN<sub>1</sub> u ŠEŠ<sup>(meš)</sup>-šú* (highest number five) or (c ; N= number of sons/brothers wherever applicable) *PN<sub>1</sub>, N A<sup>meš</sup>-šú u N ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-šú A<sup>meš</sup> šá PN<sub>2</sub>* (see, e.g., F. Joannès, *TEBR* 337 ad 93 which is very probably from Babylon as well ; I have encountered lists of the same type in other collections). The seal impressions of *Belšunu*, *Nabû-bullissu* and *Bēl-x*[...] are preserved. Their scenes are cultic, e.g., a worshipper standing in front of an offering table.

*Til-nu-qa-bi* was situated near [*x x*] *Bīt(É)-<sup><m>Zēr(NUMUN)-ú-tu</sup>* (Babylon, 536/5 B.C., Joannès, *NABU* 1996/62). *Ālu/Huṣṣēti-ša-Ahu-leya* (*OECT* 10. 61. 63, see Zadok, *Abr-Nahrain* 27, 1989, 157) are recorded in the same archive (*Rēmūtu*) ; an analogous case is *Ālu-ša-Nabû-immē/Huṣṣēti-ša-Nabû-hammē/immē* (*RGTC* 8, 16, 174).- A field of *Nabû-bullissu/Dagana-šarra-ušur* on *Ḥar-ri-Ha-ba/ma-ri* (bordering on fields of *Balātu* the <sup>lu</sup>*ma-še-e-nu* and a certain *Da-pa-ap-si-in-du* [non-Sem.]) was given for cultivation according to the contract *OECT* 10,150,1 (issued at Hursag-kalamma ; 497/6 B.C.).

<sup>uru</sup>*Tup-pul*(or *dub-bul*)-x, is recorded in a promissory note from the reign of Darius (I ; *OECT*10, 342, R.E. 1, found in Kish). The debtor, *Balātu/Bēl-kāšir/Atkuppū*, recurs as the creditor of the damaged receipt *OECT* 10, 122 (6 ; Hursag-kalamma, 531/0 B.C.), whereas the creditor, *Šá-KAR* (?needs collation)-*ra-nu/Ra-hi-im* (both WSem.) is not recorded elsewhere. The surname <sup>lu</sup>*SANGA na-ta-ni* (VS 4, 5, 16 ; Babylon, 654 B.C.) recurs as <sup>lu</sup>*É.BAR É-na-ta-nu* in *OECT* 10, 305 which was issued at Hur-s[ag-kalam-ma] in the year [x+?]4 (ruler's name damaged, but it is probably much later than the preceding document ; an early Hellenistic date is not impossible). Note (*ana KASKAL<sup>II</sup>*) *iš-hu-nu-'* instead of *iš-kun-nu-'* in line 7 (with *k > k̄*, provided it is not a scribal error as the 1st component of *KUN* resembles *HU*). The latest occurrence of *Marad* (<sup>uru</sup>*Már-da*) is from 232 B.C. (Sachs and Hunger 1989, 108, Lo.E. 2).- The *šandabakku* of Nippur is mentioned as late as 64 B.C. (Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia 3: Diaries from 164 to 61 B.C.*, text and plates ; Vienna 1996 ; henceforth Sachs and Hunger 1996), 510 :-72, 10' ; restore perhaps on fine 9' [*EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup>?* *šá ana muh-hi <sup>l</sup>7BURANUN*). This enhances the plausibility of J. Oelsner's proposal (*WZJ* 20, 1971,141ff.) to regard *Hipparenum* of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 6, 123) as a corrupted form of \**Nipparenum*, and may point to an organized temple community. *Nār(I<sub>7</sub>) ka-ba-ri* (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 146f. :-140 : 141 B.C.) may be identical with one of the homonymous canals (one near Nippur and the other near Borsippa) if there was not a third homonym near Seleucia or Babylon.- <sup>uru</sup>*Du-te-e-ti* was situated on the Euphrates (W.G. Lambert, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 126, lb, 18) perhaps in central Babylonia.

## 3. Presumably in SE Babylonia

*Bīt(É)-<sup>uru</sup>Kar-ku-d/ṭi-i* (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 146f. :-140 ; 141 B.C.) was presumably located not far from Apamea of Mesene seeing that the Apameans fled there because of the Elamite assault. « Elamite » in these late diaries refer to Elymeans. This can be inferred from the description of the location of Media in relationship to Elam : *kur ma-di-na-at* (« province ») *šá kur Ma-da-A+A a-na tar-ši NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup>* (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 168

-137,C; 138 B.C.) suits Elymais rather than Susiana. The Elymeans invaded Babylonia also from the northeast, viz. via the Diyala (Kār-Aššur, 77 B.C., see G.J.P. McEwan, *Iran* 24, 1986, 91ff.). A river of Elam named [...] [x](-?)ár-ra-ta-áš is recorded in a broken context (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 230: -132, D2 r. 18'). In Sachs and Hunger 1989, 358: -183, A, r.12', <sup>lu</sup>E-[la?]-mu?-ú, the enemy (<sup>lu</sup>KÚR), is mentioned after a reference to the commander of Susa. If the restoration is correct, then it may refer to Elymean hostilities in connection with neighbouring Susiana. <sup>U</sup>-bul-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>Ka-ni-sur-ra, presumably not far from the Babylonian-Susian border, is a compound toponym (differently M.W. Stolper, in L. De Meyer, H. Gasche and F. Vallat [eds.], *Fragmenta historiae Elamicae, Mélanges offerts à M.J. Steve*, Paris 1986, 237). It is possibly homonymous both with I/Ubul(I)u (AOAT 6, 364 [NA]; RGTC 8, 178, 317) and with Οβολλα (= Rēmā) in Mesene. - A high frequency of attacks of Arab(ian)s (<sup>lu</sup>Ar-ba-A+A) on SW and central Babylonia is reported (refs. are to Sachs and Hunger 1996): <sup>lu</sup>Ar-b[a-A+A] (130 B.C.; 250: -129, A 2, r. 19'; cf. 21'), 126 B.C. (260: -125), 125 B.C. (264: -124), 112 B.C. (342: -111, B); and perhaps 109 B.C. (360: 108, B. r. 20': Ar?-[ba-A+A?]). The Arabian Σκηνητοι («tent dwellers») inhabited western Babylonia and Mesene in the time of Strabo (16, 1, 26).

#### 4. Presumably in eastern Babylonia, but region unknown.

*Nār(I<sub>7</sub>)-Na-ag/q-ra-a* (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 260: -125; 126 B.C.); *Nār(I<sub>7</sub>)-hi-šál-la* (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 366: -107, B (prob. near the Tigris; 108 B.C.)). <sup>uru</sup>Šá-šá-[x]-[...] (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 434: -90, 16') might have been situated on the other side of the Tigris.

Ran ZADOK (22-12-97)  
Tel-Aviv University,  
Institute of Archaeology,  
RAMAT-AVIV 69978, ISRAËL

7) **Some Iranian Anthroponyms and Toponyms** – All the following anthroponyms are recorded in LB sources. Nos. 1-9 can originate from Old Iranian (OIran.) forms, whereas Nos. 10-19 presumably go back to Middle Iranian (MIran.) ones (refs. are to A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia, 3: Diaries from 164 B.C. to 61 B.C.*; texts and plates; Vienna 1996, unless otherwise stated; Nos. 18, 19 are transcriptions of the Greek forms of Middle Iranian anthroponyms, usually dynastic names). All the asterisked forms are Iranian unless otherwise stated. I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr C.B.F. Walker for permission to quote from unpublished BM tablets (and to consult the Bertin copies, henceforth «Bert.»).

#### A. Anthroponyms

1. *A-ra-e-uš-tu* (BM 25690, 2; 501/0 B.C.; owner of a house in Babylon) is presumably \**Arya-ušta*- «Iranerglück», cf. \**Aspa-ušta*- «Pferdeglück» (W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Wiesbaden 1975 [henceforth *ASN*], 46).

2. *Ar-tu-ku* (BM 87345, 4, 13, undated, but hardly pre-Achaemenian) < \**Ṛtu-ka*-, based on OInd. *ṛtú*- «fixed time, order, rule» (cf. I. Gershevitch, *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata* 2, Rome 1969 [henceforth *StPagliaro*], 192, 194; R. Schmitt, *OrNS* 32, 1963, 444). Compare Αρτώκης, name of an Iberian king (66/5 B.C.; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895 [henceforth *IN*], 40a; var. *Artaces*, *Artak*, cf. E.A. Grantovskiy, *Rannyaya istoriya iranskikh plemen peredney Azii*, Moscow 1971 [henceforth *RIIP*], 252, 258: \**Ṛta-uka*-).

3. *Ar-tu-ma-az-za*, *Ar-tu-az-za* (BM 54107 = Bert. 2845, 2, 3, 5 [the copy has erroneously -*KU*- for -*ma*-] and 10 resp.) held a bow-fief in <sup>garim</sup>*Hi-ia-tu<sub>4</sub>* (the document was found in Sippar; from the beginning of Darius I's reign). On the face of it, his name looks identical with that of Ἀρθουαζου (gen. of Ἀρθουαζης, cf. D. Braund, *ZPE* 102, 1994, 310f.), provided the latter does not go back to \**Ṛta-vazdah*-. An interpretation of the second component of the LB form as -*vazdah*- is unlikely as LB <*z*> hardly renders /*zdl*/. For *vaz*- «move, proceed, draw, pull» in Iranian anthroponymy see, e.g., Grantovskiy (*RIIP* 237f.:48, but NA *Ū-zak-ku* can render \**Auša-ka*-, see Zadok, *NABU* 1996/17, 2) and Schmitt, *Kratylos* 32 (1987), 152 ad 68, 5.

4. *Bag-da-da* servant (<sup>lu</sup>*gal-la*) of Na-din (BM 54189 = Bert. 2871,14, 16 resp.; obv. translated in Kohler and Peiser, *Rechtsl.* 4, 51; Babylon, 433/2 or 372/1 B.C.) < \**Baga-dāta*- with dropping of unstressed -*a*-. This is another example of an intervocalic voiceless dental becoming voiced as in Middle Western Iranian.

5. <sup>d</sup>*Hu-a-pa-a-tu<sub>4</sub>* (see Zadok in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors [eds.], *Immigration and emigration within the ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipinski*, Leuven 1995, 442). For OInd. *svápatay*- and Av. *x<sup>v</sup>āpa<sup>1</sup>θya*- (and related forms) see also F. Sommer, *Schriften aus dem Nachlass* (ed. B. Forssman, Munich 1977), 46f.

6. *Mi-ti-ri-a-ni* (very prob. a patronym, poss. of Nabû-[...] ; BM 33121 = Bert. 2825, 12; Til-Gula, time of Darius I) is presumably an -*aina*- (pro-)patronymic (cf. Gershevitch, *StPagliaro* 2, 172) of a retrenched name \**Miθra*-. Compare the spellings *Na-pi-a-ni*- and *Na-pe-en-na*- for one and the same individual (< \**Nāfaina*-, Zadok, *IOS* 7, 1977, 115 with nn. 263, 264).

7. *Ra-mi-a-ia* (BM 74551 = Bert. 2636,11; patronym of the last but one witness; Babylon, 495/4 B.C.) < \**Ramya*- «nice, kind, pleasant». Apparently with -*ya*- > -*iya*-, cf. below, No. 17.

8. *Šá-da<sup>da</sup>ak-ku*, father or ancestor (A) of the judge *Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>* (BM 33936 = Bert. 2839,19; time of Darius I). Cf.

MIran. *Šādag* (based on *Šād* «joyous, happy», P. Gignoux, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* [henceforth *IPNB*] 2/2, 163 :864), *Šādak* (a diminutive «der kleine Frohe», see W. Sundermann, *Sprache* 36, 1994, 259).

9. **†*Ū-par-na-ak-ka*** (*OECT* 10, 229, 2, time of Artaxerxes [I rather than II or III?], cf. M.W. Stolper, *JAOS* 114, 1994, 623a ad 130), i.e. *\*Hu-farnakā*, is presumably a *ka*-extended form of *\*Hu-farnah-* «with good Fortune» or «endowed with good Fortune», cf. S. Zimmer, *AOF* 18 (1991), 134 ad 453 (MIran. *Hu-farr-*).

10. ***A-ri-’-a-b/pu*** (94 :-144, 16’; 145 B.C.), poss. < *\*Arya-pā-* («protector of the Iranians») or *\*Arya-p-a-* (a compound hypocoristic, cf. Schmitt, *BNF NF* 7, 1972, 73ff., 339f.).

11. ***Ar-’-a-bu-za-na-a*** (134 :-140, A, r. 7’; 141 B.C.) < *\*Arya-bauřana-*, «serving the Iranians», cf. *\*Miθra-bauřana-* and *\*Viřta-bauřana-* (*ASN*, 167, 267). It ends with LB <*Ca-a*> for Iran. *-a/* like other names from the early Arsacid period, such as *Ar-řā-ka-a* (134 :-140, A, r. 8’; 141 B.C.) < *\*Rřaka-*, *Mi-it-ra-da-ta-a* (404 :-99, «flake», 15’; 100 B.C.) < *\*Miθra-dāta-*, *Ba-ga-A+A-řā-a* (160 :-137, A, 18’; 138 B.C.; cf. below, No. 14) and Nos. 12, 16 below.

12. ***Ār-ta-ba-na-a*** (brother of the king; 326 :-118, A, 20’; 119 B.C.) is presumably homonymous with other Arsacid dynasts (cf. *IN*, 31f., 412), in which case his name would originate from OIran. *\*Rta-bānu-* with transition to an *-a-* stem, cf. *Ti-ri-ba-za-’* (< *\*Tīrī-bāzu-*, Zadok, *BiOr* 1996, 491; by the way, read *Καμᾶξ* for *καμᾶξ* in the line following it). An interpretation of <*ba-za-’*> as *-vazdah-* is unlikely as LB <*z*> hardly renders */zdl/*. *\*Rta-pāna-* «having protection through Truth» (cf. Schmitt, *IPNB* 5/4, 29 :2) seems less likely (cf. Schmitt, *Recherches de linguistique. Hommages à Maurice Leroy*, Brussels 1980, 199ff.).

13. ***As-pa-as-ta-nu*** (454 :-87, C, 32’; 88 B.C.) < *\*Aspa-stāna-* «He whose place is with horses» (cf. W. Eilers apud R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic ritual texts from Persepolis*, Chicago 1970, 173 ad 126, 2). Cf. also Gershevitch, *StPagliaro* 2, 184, s.v. *Ařbařda*.

14. ***Ba-a-ga-A+A-řā-a*** (194 :-134, B, 16’ :-[a]; 135 B.C.; 216 :-132, B, r. 22; 133 B.C.); *Ba-ga-A+A-’-řā* (312 :-119, B, r. c 12’; 120 B.C.) < *\*Bagaiřa-* (*ASN* 56). For *-aiřa-* cf., by implication, E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien* (Paris 1966), 80, 82; Gershevitch, *StPagliaro* 2, 187f., 204, s.v. *Manezza*. Alternatively *\*Baga-aiřa-* (cf. Zadok, *IOS* 7, 1977, 96, 138 :1.2.44). For <*A+A-*> = *-lay/* cf. *hi-’-A+A-lu* (173 :-137, D, r. 24; 138 B.C.), i.e. Aram. *hyl* (< *\*hāyl*) «military force»; with <*-a*> (see No. 11 above).

15. ***Mi-it-ra-a-tu*** (434ff. :-90, 15’, 32’; 91 B.C.; 456 :-87, C, r. 49’ : [...] *-a-tu*; 88 B.C.; 470ff. :-83, 6, r’. 17 : *Mi-it-r[...]*, 19 : *-[u]*; 84 B.C.); < *\*Miθrāta-* - (cf. Schmitt, *IPNB* 5/4, 1982, 31f. :11); with LB <*ř*> for (original) Iran. *tt/*.

16. ***Ra-as/z-nu-mi-it-ra-a*** (480 :-82, B, r. 5’; 83 B.C.) < *\*Razna-Miθra* «having Mithra’s order, statute, duty», cf. Av. *rāzan-* (*rařn-*) «order, statute, duty» (e.g. of Ahura-Mazdah) and perhaps the RAE toponym *Ra-zí-nama/mu-ut-ti-iř* < *\*Razna-vatī-* (fem.) «Reich an Gebot, Gebühr, Satzung» (see Hinz, *Neue Wege im altpersischen*, Wiesbaden 1973, 78; *ASN*, 204).

17. ***Ur-ri-’-a*** (274 :-124, B, 21’; 125 B.C.) < *\*Varya-* «desirable, excellent». Apparently with *-ya-* > *-iya-*, cf. above, No. 7.

18. ***Ū-ru-de-e-su*** (370 :-107, B, r. 16’; 108 B.C.) < *’Ορωδης, Ὑρωδης* (< *\*Hu-rauda-*, *IN*, 133, cf. Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg 1904, 1836f.).

19. ***In-du-pa-ni-e*** (254 :-126, 8’; 127 B.C.) seems to originate from *Vinda-farnah-*, compare *As-pa-si-ni-e* < *\*Aspa-řina-* in the same line (also *As-pa-a-si-ni-e*, 168 :-137, D, 14’; 138 B.C.) on the one hand and Lat. *Bagophanes* (< *\*Baga-farnah-’* see Schmitt, *Kratylos* 39, 1994, 85; cf. Stolper, *JAOS* 114, 1994, 619a ad 59) on the other. As far as I know, a combination of *Vinda-* and *-pāna-* is not recorded in the Iranian onomasticon.

## B. Toponyms

1. <sup>kur</sup> ***Ra-za-un-da*** (LB; 367/6 B.C.; *’Ροζοῦνδα* in Media, see P. Briant, *Histoire de l’empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris 1996, 634, 761, 1010) < *\*Raza-vant(a)-* «provided with vines, vineyards».

2. ***Sa-ag-bi-ta***, *Sa-ag-ba-at*, *Sad-bat* (NA; AOAT 6, 298; L.D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian stelae*, Toronto 1973, Pl. 11, 69; H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*, Jerusalem 1994, 106 [henceforth : Tadmor, *Tigl III*], St. II, B, 31’; from the end of the 9th down to the 8th century B.C.) cannot be the forerunner of OIran. *\*Han-gmata-* (cf. OPers. *Ha<sup>n</sup>gmatāna-* > *Hamadān*) since the explicable pertinent Old Iranian material from Western Iran in NA renderings shows that Indo-Aryan *s-* has already shifted to *h-* in Old Iranian by then (pace I.N. Medvedskaya, *VDI* 1995, 147ff., quoting Diakonoff [I.M. D’yakonov, *Istoriya iranskogo gusudarstva i kultur’i*, Moscow 1971, 142] on p. 152, n. 36 as claiming that the terminus ante quem for this shift is the 7th century B.C.). The following examples from Western Iran of the same period may suffice: *’Ukl-sa-tar* (Tadmor, *Tigl III*, 106, St. II, B, 33’), *Ū-ak-sa-tar* < *\*Hu-vaxřtra-* (cf. K. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch der altpersischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, 149, s.v. *Uvařřtra-*); *Ū-da-ki* < *\*Hu-dā-ka-*; *Uř-ka-ia* < *\*Huřkaya-* (or sim.; *RIIP*, 68, 70, 186f., 276, 316; the reading of *A-Ū-ri<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>1</sup>-ar-nu* < *\*Ahura-farnah-*, 328, is not certain), as well as *Uř-ru-Ū*, *Ū-řu-ru-[Ū]* < *\*Hu-srava-* (Zadok, *NABU* 1996/17).

Ran ZADOK (23-12-1996)

8) **Addenda to « An Archive of Kennelmen and Other Workers in Ur III Lagash »** – In 1994 the present writer published a small group of texts, all sharing common features, to be therefore considered as records from a single archive ; the booklet is titled *An Archive of Kennelmen and Other Workers in Ur III Lagash*, Suppl. n. 80 a AIUO 54/3, Napoli 1994 (henceforth : *Kennelmen*).

When collecting the material, I missed two texts, one published by Yoshikawa, M., *Sumerian Tablets in Japanese private Collections (II)*, ASJ 10 (1988), pp. 254 f. (= text 19), and one (Courtesy W. Heimpel) published by Sigrist in SAT I 449. This latter will be published together with the texts of the British Museum indicated in CBT II. Here follows transcription and translation of ASJ 10 19, according to the standards and numbering of *Kennelmen* (ASJ 10 19 = 75 ; SAT I 449 = 76) :

75) M. Yoshikawa. ASJ 10 19

obv.

1 5 sila ninda  
mar-tu-mí  
2 sila ùr-re-ba-du<sub>7</sub>  
2 sila ur-<sup>d</sup>da-mu

rev.

5 2 sila kaš 2 sila ninda  
lugal-ezen  
blank ?  
zi-ga u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam  
iti šu-numun

« 5 litres of bread for the Amorite women, 2 litres for Urrebadu, 2 litres for Ur-Damu ; 2 litres of beer and 2 litres of bread for Lugalezen. Expenditure of the 13th day of the IV month. »

This text, according the taxonomy provided in *Kennelmen*, pp. 72 f., is to be included in the so-called group E, texts of which cover a span of time between months ii (i t i g u<sub>4</sub> - r á - b í - s a r) and v (i t i m u n u<sub>4</sub> - k ú) ; in particular, it must be noted that the present text is almost identical to text 44 (p. 34 = MVN 17 151), dated three days earlier in the same month (because of a misprint, in the chart at p. 73, where text 75 must be included as well, text 44 has erroneously been attributed to the 1st day of the month : its date is to be corrected to the 10th day of the same month). Both 75 and 44 belong to the sub-group E.b (p. 73 : texts 51, 47, 74, 44 from 7/iii to 10/iv now 13/iv) where the same 4 entries are recorded.

Beside the texts published in ASJ 10 (75) and in SAT I 449 (76), four more texts have become available in these days : in the preface of the just appeared CBT II (Figulla, H. H. – Sigrist, M. – Walker, C. B. F., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Texts of the British Museum, II*, London 1996), pp. xi-xii, *sub voce* Terminology : texts BM 18524, 18529, 19940, 102115 are provided in full transcription as examples of the « caravan texts ».

Since the new catalogue, under the item : « caravan text » (according to the terminology there adopted for this kind of texts), lists 54 more tablets belonging to this typology, we have chosen to include these four texts, as well as SAT I 449 in a future publication of all the material now available from the British Museum (*i.e.* 59 texts).

In the meantime, general information will be given here.

Texts 18524 (= 77), 18529 (= 78) and 102115 (= 80) belong to typology D (*Kennelmen* pp. 66-71) ; to the same typology we may ascribe Sigrist, SAT I 449 (= 76) ; in the chronological table provided in *Kennelmen* pp. 55-57 they fill gaps in months from viii to xii (the date in text 76 is lost) :

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>DAY</u>	<u>TEXT</u>
IX	3	18524 (= 77)
	17	37
X	1	18529 (=78)
	19	43
XI	5	53
	23	39
	25	42
XII	11	38
	15	102115 (=80)
	30	63

Text 77 is so far the earliest document of this group ; text 80 is very similar to the preceding one, 38. In the texts of this group we find the list of the personal names of the Amorite women ; so far only five of them



were known, the others being damaged; text 80 adds two previously unknown names, namely Eštarrani and Arnu-Eštar: in texts 37 and 63 we actually find traces of a further name at the end of the list, but in both occurrences, unfortunately, the text is heavily damaged: for text 37 a collation is required, but for text 63 it is likely that the traces match the new name Eštarrani. As a further remark, we note the close resemblance of 76 with 43 and 53 (of the same group, D).

Text 19940 (=78) belongs to group A.1. This text is very similar to text 2, sharing with it the same PNs. Text 78 (day 15th of month VIII) covers a gap, at the end of a row of day 13th (text 3), day 14th (text 1) and maybe before day 10th+x (= text 71) of the same month (*Kennelmen* p. 56).

Pietro MANDER (23-12-96)  
Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipt. di Studi Asiatici  
P.zza S. Domenico Magg., 12 80134 NAPOLI ITALIE

**9) Hurritisch, nicht Hattisch!** – Die Identifikation fragmentarischer Textpassagen als zum hattischen oder hurritischen Sprachmaterial gehörig, vgl. HHB I, 8ff., ist in ihrer Abgrenzung nicht immer einfach. Unter den Texten des soeben erschienenen Editionsbandes KBo 37 («Hattische Texte») befindet sich auch das kleine Tafelfragment Nr.25 (432/d), das im Inhaltsverzeichnis, p. IV, unter der Rubrik «Fragmente von Ritualen/Beschwörungen (CTH 734)» eingeordnet ist. Weiter führt ein neuer Anschluß an KBo 35.81 (433/d). In Rs. III wird der Kontext der Zeilen 1-6 dadurch wie folgt vervollständigt:

III 1 *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta I-ŠU ši-ip[-pa-an-ti*  
2 *šu-u-ḡa-a-la ni-e-es-še* [  

---

3 *nu LÚ AZU DUG GAL GEŠTIN* [  
4 *ši-pa-an-ti nu [D]UG GAL GEŠTIN*  
5 *na-an-ša-an A-NA GIŠ[BANŠUR*  
6 *A-NA MÁŠ.TUR QA-TA[M da-a-i*

Auf weiterführende Ergänzungen sei mangels eines Duplikates verzichtet, zumal die Handlungen zwar stereotyp sind, doch in ihrer Versprachlichung keinem einheitlichen Schema folgen. Der zu Grunde liegende Spruch aus III 2 ist zu *šūala nešše ḡaḡrušenneš šiš kelu* zu vervollständigen, vgl. KUB 45, p. VII Spruch 1, zu *nešši/e* und *ḡaḡruši/e* siehe zuletzt auch StBoT 32,252 A.69. Er gehört der hurritischen Sprache an und ist charakteristisch für die in ChS 1/2 bearbeiteten Rituale des AZU-Priesters. In IV 1 dürfte der Wortrest zu *aš-ḡu-ši-ik-k]u-un-ni-ma* ergänzend zu lesen sein, vgl. GLH 60. Die sprachliche Zu- und nähere inhaltliche Einordnung des Stückes ist entsprechend zu korrigieren.

Detlev GRODDEK (29-12-96)  
Hedwigstr.69 D-45131 ESSEN  
ALLEMAGNE

**10) Gibt es einen neuassyrischen Eponymen namens Mušninu/Širninu?** – In al-Rāfidān 17 (Tōkyō 1996) 279, Text 6: 15 kopierte A.Y. Ahmad den Namen des Eponymen als 1.MUŠ-*ni-nu*. In der Bearbeitung (p. 225) wird vorgeschlagen, einen neuen «extrakanonischen» (zu diesem Terminus vgl. R. Whiting *apud* A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612*, SAAS II, Helsinki 1994, p. 78) Eponym namens Mušninu oder Širninu einzuführen.

Ist schon die Feststellung zusätzlicher postkanonischer Eponymen mißlich, so kann die Einführung eines weiteren extrakanonischen Eponymen zu ernsthaften chronologischen Problemen führen. Zwecks schneller Schadensbegrenzung sei deshalb hier vorgeschlagen, eine kleine Korrektur der Lesung des als MUŠ kopierten Zeichens nach TA\*<sup>1</sup>-10<sup>1</sup> vorzunehmen.

Der nA Eponymenname Isse-Adad-anēnu (679; Nachweise: A. Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 96) ist tatsächlich noch einmal in seiner babylonischen Form Itti-Adad-nīnu bezeugt: 1.TA\*<sup>1</sup>-10-*ni-nu* K.400: 18 ADD 83 NALK 305 SAA 6, 223 rev. 9. Das Duplikat K.3496 ADD 84 NALK 306 SAA 6, 224 rev. 1' bietet hingegen die assyrische Form [*lim-mu* 1.TA\*<sup>1</sup>-10]-*a-né-nu*.

Der Abstand des Texte 6 (aus 679) von dem prosopographisch damit eng zusammengehörigen Text 5 (Eponym Kanūnāyu *ša bēte ešše*, 666) betrüge demnach 13 Jahre. Es sei hier auf die al-Rāfidān 17, p. 208 und p. 223 getroffene Feststellung hingewiesen, daß Text 5 (unter der Bezeichnung «Assur 6.36») in SAAS II p. 97 irrigerweise unter Kanūnāyu (671) eingereiht ist.

Eine letztgültige Verifikation der neuen Lesung 1.TA\*<sup>1</sup>-10<sup>1</sup>-*ni-nu* wird nur durch Autopsie des Originals zu erbringen sein, die Verf. derzeit leider nicht möglich ist.

Karleinz DELLER (06-01-97)  
Scheffelstraße 4  
D-69120 HEIDELBERG  
ALLEMAGNE

11) Two N/LB documents from the British Museum –

I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish these texts.

BM 26528

1. D[UB-pi?] 12 GI<sup>meš</sup> É *ep-ši*
2. *k[i]-i<sup>1</sup> 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DU*
3. <sup>m</sup>ŠÁ<sup>1</sup>.MU DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-KAR<sup>er</sup>
4. KI <sup>m</sup>LÚ.<sup>d</sup>*na-na-a* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*mi-šir-A+A*
5. <sup>1</sup>*kī<sup>1</sup>-i* KÙ.BABBAR *ga-mir-ti id-din*
6. *m[a]-hir a-pil za-ki*
7. *ru-gúm-ma-[a ul] <sup>1</sup>i-ši<sup>1</sup>*
8. <sup>1</sup>*ul<sup>1</sup> i-tur-ru-ma a-na a-ha-meš*
9. <sup>1</sup>*ul<sup>1</sup> [i]-rag-gu-mu ma-ti-ma*
10. AŠ EGIR<sup>meš</sup> *u<sub>4</sub>-me* AŠ ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>
11. DUMU<sup>meš</sup> *kim-ti né-su-ti*
12. *ù sa-la-ti šá* É <sup>md</sup>AG-KAR<sup>er</sup>
13. <sup>1</sup>*šá<sup>1</sup> E<sub>11</sub>-ma* AŠ UGU É *šu-a-ti*
14. *ú-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu*
15. *[i]n-nu-ú ú-paq-qa-ru*
16. *[u]m-ma É ul na-din KÙ.BABBAR*
- Lo.E. 17. <sup>1</sup>*ul<sup>1</sup> ma-hir i-qab-bu-ú*
- r. 18. <sup>1</sup>*x<sup>1</sup> [KÙ.BABBAR im-hu]-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> EN 12-TA.ÀM*
19. <sup>1</sup>*i<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-nap-pal*
20. KI <sup>2</sup>GÍ<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR *ki-i* DIRIG SUM<sup>nu</sup>
21. [AŠ *ka*]-*nak* <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>DUB *šu-a-ti*
22. *a-na* I[G]I(?) <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-*im-bi* DUMU <sup>m</sup>AŠ-SUR
23. <sup>lú</sup>GAR UMUŠ *bar-sipa<sup>ki</sup>*
24. IGI <sup>m</sup>šá-*pi-ku* DUMU <sup>lú</sup>MUK
25. IGI <sup>md</sup>U+GUR-TIN<sup>1</sup> <sup>i<sup>1</sup></sup> DUMU KIMIN
26. <sup>m</sup>š<sup>u-x<sup>1</sup></sup> [...] DUMU <sup>md</sup>EN-NIGIN<sup>ir</sup>
27. <sup>m</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] A <sup>lú</sup>MUK
28. [...] DUMU <sup>md</sup>AG-KAR<sup>er</sup>
29. <sup>m</sup>[... DUMU] <sup>lú</sup>MUK
30. <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR [*šá-ti*]<sup>r</sup> <sup>na<sub>4</sub></sup>DUB
31. <sup>md</sup>AG-<sup>1</sup>SUM<sup>na</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup>AŠ-SUR
32. *bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>* <sup>iti</sup>KIN U<sub>4</sub> 7 KAM
33. MU [<sup>x</sup> KAM <sup>d</sup>A]G-MU-*iš-kun*
34. [LUGAL] <sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup> (or [TIN.TI]R)<sup>ki</sup>

Translation

<sup>1</sup>[tablet (=deed) (?)] of 12 reeds (a measure of length) of a built-on house plot. <sup>3</sup>Šākin-šumi son/descendant of Nabû-ēter <sup>5</sup>sold (lit. « gave ») <sup>4</sup>to (lit. « with ») Amēl-Nanā descendant of Miš(i)rayyu <sup>2</sup>(for a sum) amounting to 2 minas of silver in pieces, <sup>5</sup>as the full price. <sup>6</sup>He has received (the purchase price), he is paid and has been quit (of claims). <sup>7</sup>There shall be [no] (basis) for claim. <sup>8</sup>They shall not initiate (reopen) litigation against each other. <sup>9</sup>Whenever <sup>10</sup>in the future any of the brothers, <sup>11</sup>sons, family, kin <sup>12</sup>or relatives of Nabû-ēter's house (= clan) <sup>13</sup>raises a claim concerning this house <sup>14</sup>or induces somebody to make a claim, <sup>15</sup>changes (revokes), lays a claim and declares: <sup>16</sup>« The house was not sold and the silver <sup>17</sup>was not received », <sup>18</sup>(the litigant) <sup>19</sup>shall pay <sup>18</sup>twelffold the silver he has received.

<sup>20</sup>With two shekels of silver given as an additional payment.

<sup>21</sup>(Witnesses) at the sealing of this tablet:

<sup>22</sup>Before Nabû-šuma-imbi descendant of AŠ-SUR, <sup>23</sup>the governor of Borsippa; <sup>24</sup>Before Šāpiku descendant of <sup>lú</sup>MUK; <sup>25</sup>Before Nergal-uballiṣ descendant of ditto; <sup>26</sup>Šu (or Gimil)-x son/descendant of Nabû-ēter; <sup>27</sup>x-[...] descendant of <sup>lú</sup>MUK; <sup>28</sup>[...] son/descendant of Nabû-ēter; <sup>29</sup>[...] descendant of <sup>lú</sup>MUK. <sup>30</sup>Scribe, writer of the tablet: <sup>31</sup>Nabû-iddina descendant of AŠ-SUR. <sup>32</sup>Borsippa, month VI, day 7, <sup>33</sup>year [x of Na]bû-šuma-iškun <sup>34</sup>[King] of Babylon.

Commentary

**Line 4.** DUMU <sup>m</sup>*mi-šir-A+A* is so far the earliest member of this important family in Babylonia. It is

noteworthy that this surname is recorded in Babylonia almost hundred years before Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt, thereby causing a historical problem. As is well-known, there were relations between Babylonia and Egypt in the Amarna Age, but there is no evidence for any direct mutual contacts in the ensuing periods before both countries formed part of the Assyrian empire. This single occurrence is, of course, not adequate proof of direct contacts between Egypt and Babylonia during the 1st quarter of the 1st millennium B.C. The crystallization of Babylonian surnames presumably took place as early as the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. (see W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 16, 1962, 75f.; cf. Zadok, *Lingua Aegyptia* 2, 1992, 144, bottom).

**Line 5.** For *ki-i* KÙ.BABBAR cf. J. A. Brinkman, in H. Behrens, D. M. Loding and M. T. Roth (eds.), *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB.BA-A*, *Studies in honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (Philadelphia 1989 [henceforth *Fs. Sjöberg*]), 39, r. 3'.

**Lines 7-19.** The impeachment clause (*Anfechtungsklausel*) almost exactly conforms to «Formular A» of H. Petschow, *Kaufformulare*, 28, the only deviation being the omission of *paqirānu ušabšû* in line 15. Formular A is almost the only one found in the «pre-Chaldean» period. The only exceptions noticed by Petschow are three documents with «Formular C» (shorter than «A» and the later short and generalized «Formular B») from Borsippa (*TuM* 2/3, 11, 12, 14). The formula in a document from 775 B.C. (reign of Marduk-erība, the predecessor of Nabû-šuma-iškun; Brinkman, *Fs. Sjöberg*, 37-49; from Babylon) is even shorter than Petschow's «Formular C», thereby being the shortest recorded formula. The transaction recorded in that document is basically of the same type as that of this deed, but unfortunately most of the formulary is broken, except for r. 5' [... *za*]-*ki ru-gúm-ma-a* NU.TUK [<sup>lú</sup>*pa-qi*]r-a-nu 12-TA.ÀM *i-ta-<sup>na</sup>-pal*.

**Line 18.** There is no room for restoring *pa-qir-a-nu*.

**Line 20.** For the *atru* clause see Petschow, *Kaufformulare*, 25. A separate clause perhaps supports M. San Nicolò's assumption that the *atru* was paid as earnest money (a token for concluding the sale contract, *NRV* 54, n. 12 *ad* 33), but note Petschow's reservations (*Kaufformulare* 28).

**Line 22.** The same governor of Borsippa also occurs in *BM* 33428 (S.A. Strong, *JRAS* 1892, 354, i, 31, undated; re-edited by W.G. Lambert, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 126, Ib, 22), where he bore more titles (*nišakku* and *ērib-būti* of Nabû, 353, i, 9f., etc., see Brinkman, *PKB*, 225 with n. 1424; G. Frame, *JCS* 36, 1984, 74, 77, 78 with n. 60).

**Line 22, 31.** The surname <sup>m</sup>AŠ-SUR is recorded in Babylon, Borsippa, Dilbat and Uruk between 753 and the 5th century B.C. (see Frame, *JCS* 36, 74, 78; F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: la famille Ea-ilūta-bāni. Etude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* Geneva 1989, 371 with refs.; *TCL* 12, 30, 5, 9, 12; 41, 11; *TEBR* 58, 23; *YOS* 6, 191, 2, 6, 11, 12; 17, 360, iv, 9; K. Kessler, *Uruk 11. Urkunden aus Privathäusern; die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna Tempelbereichs* 1, Mainz 1991, 99f. *ad* 11, 6 [<sup>m</sup>AŠ]-; 18, 6, 14'; 19, 15; 32, 4; 56, 3; 58, 14'). Note Nabû-nādin-šumi (<sup>d</sup>PA-SUM<sup>na</sup>-MU) DUMU AŠ+SUR (prayer to Nabû, K. Watanabe, in H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa [ed.], *Essays on ancient Anatolia and its surrounding civilizations*, Wiesbaden 1995, 227). The surname is less frequently spelled <sup>lú</sup>AŠ-SUR (*Dar.* 235, 14; *Nbn.* 113, 13; *TCL* 12, 41, 4). It was interpreted at its face value, i.e. Aššur, by Tallqvist (*NB* 16b; 10x). This interpretation was rejected by O. Krückmann, who read this combination of signs as a Sumerogram for *Ēda-ēter* (*TuM* 2/3, 25b; for an elaborate discussion see Brinkman, *PKB*, 225 with n. 1420). However, doubt is cast on the reading *Ēda-ēter* by the occurrence of Nabû-ušallim (<sup>d</sup>AG-GI) son of Nabû-mukīn-apli (<sup>d</sup>AG-DU-A) descendant of <sup>m</sup>AŠ-SUR<sup>ki</sup> (witness, Borsippa, 13.IV.510/09 B.C.; *BM* 29484, 9f., unpubl.; archive of Šaddinnu s. of Balassu desc. of Bēliyau). The 1st element is exclusively spelled with AŠ and not with ÁŠ (which is much more common in N/LB), presumably because the toponym is exclusively written with AŠ. In addition, among the dozens of occurrences of this surname there is not a single spelling with -KAR<sup>er</sup>. Note that this deed has -KAR<sup>er</sup> for -ēter (in Nabû--). This much may be argued for the case of reading this surname as *Aššur*. Admittedly, it should not be forgotten that only a single occurrence out of many is written with the determinative *ki*. Moreover, it would be difficult to apply the reading Aššur in the only occurrence of this anthroponym as a given name, viz. <sup>m</sup>AŠ-SUR A <sup>lú</sup>U.MUK (last witness, Babylon, 1st year of Kandalānu, i.e. 647/6 B.C.; *VS* 5, 3, E), where a common Babylonian anthroponym like *Ēda-ētir* seems more likely. On the whole, it would seem too optimistic to state that the reading of this common surname is finally settled.

**Line 27.** Surface effaced, so there is no telling whether *IGI* stood there.

**Line 33.** For the king Nabû-šuma-iškun (c. 760-748 B.C.) see Brinkman, *PKB*, 224ff. The same spelling of the RN is also recorded in *BM* 33428 (the spellings are discussed by Brinkman, *PKB*, 224, n. 1408).

**Line 34.** LUGAL or LUGAL E (*BRM* 1, 2, 3); LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> (*VS* 1, 36, iv, 13, from Borsippa).

BM 59568 (82-7-14, 3978)

16.IV.488/7 B.C., land sale

1. BÁN ŠE.NUMUN A.ŠÀ EDIN É URU *e-la-an* KÁ I<sub>7</sub> GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A<sup>ki</sup>
2. *la-bi-ru* GABA KÁ.GAL <sup>d</sup>iš-tar *pi-hat* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
3. ÚS AN.TA IM SI.SÁ ÚS.SA.DU <sup>m</sup>NUM-a *na-din* A.ŠÀ

4. ÚS KI.TA IM.U<sub>x</sub>.LU ÚS.SA.DU<sup>md</sup>AG-ÛRU-šú DUMU<sup>lú</sup>ŠITIM  
5. SAG AN.TA IM.MAR.TU ÚS.SA.DU<sup>mzu-um-ba-a na-din</sup> A.ŠÀ  
6. SAG KI.TA IM.KUR.RA ÚS.SA.DU<sup>mzu-um-ba-a na-din</sup> A.ŠÀ  
7. ŠU.NIGIN BÁN(*sūtu*) ŠE.NUMUN A.ŠÀ *šu-a-ti it-ti*<sup>mzu-um-ba-a</sup>  
8. DUMU *šá*<sup>mdU+GUR-SÛH-KAR<sup>er</sup> mdEN-ú-bal-liṭ</sup> DUMU *šá*  
9. <sup>mre-e-mu-tu {ki-i mNU[M] a-na</sup> 10 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR}  
10. KI.LAM *im-bi-e-ma* 1 MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR *i-šá-am*  
11. *a-na ši-mi gam-ru-tú* ù 1 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR  
12. *at-ra id-din-šú*
- 
13. ŠU.NIGIN 1 MA.NA 1 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.PAD.DU {*i-na*}  
14. *i-na qá-at*<sup>mdEN-ú-bal-liṭ</sup> DUMU *šá*  
15. <sup>mre-e-mu-tu mNUM-a</sup> DUMU *šá*<sup>mdU+GUR-SÛH-KAR<sup>er</sup></sup>  
16. *ši-mi* A.ŠÀ-šú *ka-sa-ap ga-mir-ti*  
17. *ma-hi-ir a-pi-il ru-gúm-ma-a*<sup>1</sup>  
18. *ul i-ši ul i-tu-ru-ma*<sup>1</sup>
- 
- r. 19. *a-na a-h[a-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu]*  
20. *ma-ti-ma i* (text MA)-n[a] Š[EŠ<sup>meš</sup> DUMU<sup>meš</sup> (*kim-ti né-su-ti ù sa-la-ti*) *šá* É<sup>mNUM-a</sup>  
21. *šá i-rag-gu-mu um-ma* A.ŠÀ  
22. *ul na-din-ma kás-pa u*<sup>1</sup> *ma-hi-ir*<sup>1</sup>  
23. *pa-qí-ra-nu* KÛ.BABBAR *im-hu-ru a-di* 12-TA.ÀM  
24. *i-ta-nap-pal* ŠE.NUMUN *at-ra u ma-tu ki-ma*  
25. KI.LAM-šú-nu *a-ha-meš ip-pa-lu*
- 
26. AŠ *ma-har*<sup>mú-su-par-ra</sup> DI.KU<sub>5</sub> DUMU *šá*<sup>mhu-ma-a-za-ta</sup>  
27. <sup>mdAG-mu-še-ti-iq-<UD.>DA</sup> DI.KU<sub>5</sub> DUMU *šá*<sup>m<sup>ap</sup>-la-a</sup>  
28. <sup>mdAG-it-tan-na</sup> DI.KU<sub>5</sub> DUMU *šá*<sup>mre-mu-tu</sup>  
29. <sup>mdEN-ú-bal-liṭ</sup> DI.KU<sub>5</sub> DUMU *šá*<sup>mbár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>-A+A</sup>  
30. <sup>mšad-din-nu</sup> DUB.SAR DUMU<sup>md</sup>Û<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR  
31. <sup>mi-nu-ú-a-na-d</sup>EN-da-nu DUB.SAR  
32. [DUMU]<sup>mMU-d</sup>AMAR.UTU KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> in ŠU  
33. U<sub>4</sub> 16 KAM MU 35 KAM<sup>mda-ri-ia-muš</sup>  
34. LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> (text : nu) LUGAL KUR.KUR  
35. [UM]BIN<sup>mNUM-a na-din</sup> A.ŠÀ [*ki-ma na*<sub>4</sub> KIŠIB]-šú

(nailmarks on both ends of U.E. ; Lo.E. mostly effaced)

#### Translation

<sup>1</sup>One seah (*sūtu*) of arable land (farmland), steppeland, area of the settlement, upstream from the gate of the <sup>2</sup>Old Cutha canal opposite the city gate of Ištar (in) the district of Babylon ; <sup>3</sup>its upper (long) side on the north, bordering on (property of) Zumbā, the seller of the field ; <sup>4</sup>its lower (long) side on the south, bordering on (property of) Nabû-ušuršu descendant of the House Builder ; <sup>5</sup>its upper (short) side on the west, bordering on (property of) Zumbā, the seller of the field ; <sup>6</sup>its lower (short) side on the east, bordering on (property of) Zumbā, the seller of the field. <sup>7</sup>The total is one seah of arable land of that field. Together with Zumbā <sup>8</sup>son of Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir, Bēl-uballit <sup>9</sup>son of Rēmūtu {Zumbā for ten shekels of silver} <sup>10</sup>declared the equivalent (rate of exchange to be) one mina of silver and he bought <sup>11</sup>at the full price ; and <sup>12</sup>he has given him <sup>11</sup>one shekel of silver <sup>12</sup> as an additional payment. <sup>15</sup>Zumbā son of Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir <sup>17</sup>has received <sup>14</sup>from the hand of Bēl-uballit son of <sup>15</sup>Rēmūtu <sup>16</sup>the full price in silver for his field, <sup>13</sup>altogether a sum of one mina (and) one shekel of silver in pieces. <sup>17</sup>He is cleared. <sup>18</sup>There shall be no (basis) for claim. They shall not initiate (reopen) <sup>19</sup>litigation against each other. <sup>20</sup>Whenever any of the brothers, sons, family, kin or relatives of Zumbā <sup>21</sup>raises a claim and declares : « The field <sup>22</sup>was not sold and the silver was not received », <sup>23</sup>the claimant <sup>24</sup>will repay <sup>23</sup>twelfefold the silver he has received. <sup>24</sup>(If) the field is larger or smaller (than indicated) <sup>25</sup>they compensate each other with respect to the price.

<sup>26</sup>(This contract was concluded) before Usuparra, judge, son of Humāzāta ; <sup>27</sup>Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, judge, son of Aplā ; <sup>28</sup>Nabû-ittannu, judge, son of Rēmūtu ; <sup>29</sup>Bēl-uballit, judge, son of Barsippayyu ; <sup>30</sup>Šaddinu, scribe, descendant of Ēpeš-ilu. <sup>31</sup>Minū-ana-Bēl-dānu, scribe, <sup>32</sup>son of Iddina-Marduk.

Babylon, month IV, 33day 16, year 34 of Darius, <sup>34</sup>King of Babylon, King of Lands.

<sup>35</sup>Nailmark of Zumbā, the seller of the field (is affixed) [as] his [seal].

Commentary

**Line 1.** The reading EDIN É was confirmed by Dr. M. Jursa. A.ŠÀ EDIN also occurs in Brinkman, *Fs. Sjöberg*, 39, 1 ; *e-la-an* « above, upstream from ».

**Line 4.** Possibly identical with Nabû-ušuršu, s. of Iddina-Bēl desc. of Itinnu (*VS* 3, 136, presumably from Babylon, as the delivery took place there ; 498/7 B.C.)

**Line 9.** The *ki-i* should have been placed before 1 MA.NA, the normal word order being *kī* (sum) KILAM *imbēma išām*.

**Line 14.** *qá* is rare in N/LB, except for « Chaldean » royal inscriptions (cf. von Soden and Röllig, *Syllabar*, 32:170).

**Lines 18ff.** Short formulary (« B », cf. Petschow, *Kaufformulare*, 29f., 36f.).

**Line 19.** There is space for at least another ten signs.

**Line 20.** There is space for at least another six signs.

**Line 26f.** The determinative <sup>lú</sup> is deliberately omitted. *Ú-su-par-ra*, is possibly OIran. \**Hu-spara-* « having a good, beautiful, fine shield ». His patronym is OIran \**Hu-āzāta-* (with a glide, Av. *hv-āzāta-*) « very, right noble », which is extant as an anthroponym on an Aramaic seal of Achaemenian age (*Hwzt*, see M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 2, Giessen 1908, 400 ; sent to him by F. Delitzsch in February 1907). Note that the judge with an Iranian name and an Iranian patronym is listed before his three colleagues bearing Babylonian names ; he might have chaired the collegium of judges.

**Line 30.** Šaddinnu, s. of Šāpik-zēri desc. of Ēpeš-ili acted as the first witness in *Camb.* 31, 13 (Babylon, 7.I.529/8 B.C. ; Egibi archive). The shape of SAR here (followed by an erasure of one sign) is different than that of SAR in the following line.

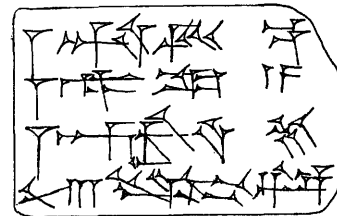
The description of the property as « field of the steppe, area of the settlement » (line 2) is a *contradictio in adjecto*. In addition, the price is 10 shekels (= 1/6 mina) in line 9, but one mina in lines 10, 13. Due to these discrepancies, I think that this cannot be an actual deed, but just a draft. It was written, in all probability, by an apprentice of a scribe (therefore two scribes are listed ; the first was presumably the master), the more so in view of the errors and inconsistencies in writing common appellatives and names.

Ran ZADOK (08-01-97)

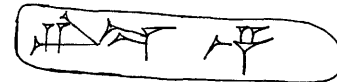
**12) Two N/LB administrative documents** – These texts were copied by Tikva Zadok. BM 49285 was published hundred years ago by T.G. Pinches (*RT* 19, 1897, 104 ; add this reference to E.[V.] Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian tablets in the British Museum : Volume 6 : Tablets from Sippar 1*, London 1986, 4). The copy with the modernized transliteration replaces the printed copy of Pinches :

1.       <sup>md</sup>Ta<sub>5</sub>-mīš-ZALÁG
2.       <sup>m</sup>Ak-ka-a
3.       <sup>md</sup>Ū<sup>lú</sup>-KÁM
4.       PAP 3 <sup>lú</sup>le-bi-ni-e
- Lo.E. 5. Ì.GIŠ SUR
- r. 6.     <sup>i</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 14

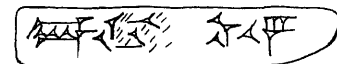
Obv.



Lo.E.

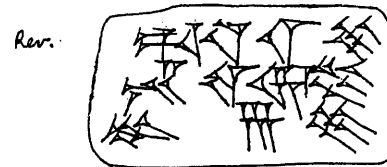
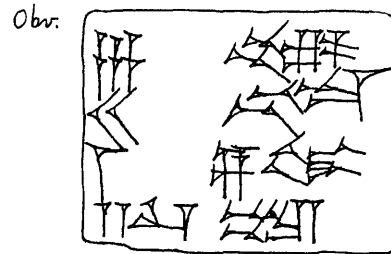


Rev.



BM 82651 (We should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this document)

1. 6 KAŠ SAG
2. 20 KAŠ DU (mistake for UŠ?)
3. 1 e-lu<sub>4</sub>
4. 2 ŠILA ŠEM
5. [m] a-qar-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
6. [ti] ŠU MU<sup>\*na</sup>
- r. 7. TA U<sub>4</sub> 11 KAM
8. EN U<sub>4</sub> 15 KAM
9. MU 6 KAM



Translation

<sup>1</sup>Six (vats of) first-class beer ; <sup>2</sup>20 UŠ(?)=beer ; <sup>3</sup>one upper part of a censer (or a metal object) ; <sup>4</sup>two qít-measures of spices ; <sup>5</sup>Aqar-Marduk <sup>6</sup>was given in month IV <sup>7</sup>from the 11th day <sup>8</sup>till the 15th day <sup>9</sup>(of) the 6th year.

Commentary

In general, this document resembles *PBS 2/2, 74 (MB)* where 6 KAŠ SAG (*šikaru rištu* « beer of first quality », cf. Oppenheim, *Beer, pass.* ; M. Civil, *Stud. Oppenheim, 77* ; W. Röllig, *Das Bier im Alten Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1970, p. 22f. ; M. Stol, *Bior 28*, 1971, 167ff.) are followed by 14 KAŠ UŠ and 4 ŠILA ŠEM PN MN.

**Line 3.** For *elu*, the upper part of a censer (silver) or metal object (iron), see CAD E, 110a s.v. \**elu* (*e-la/lu* ; only *Nbn.* and *Camb.*).

**Line 6 in fine.** MU has here four instead of five wedges. It denotes « gave, handed over » (cf. MU<sup>nu</sup>, e.g., *TuM 2/3*, 238, 3 ; *VS 6*, 83, 2).

**Lines 6-9.** The chronological framework is 11-15.IV.6 of an unknown ruler (presumably from the Chaldean or early Achaemenian period).

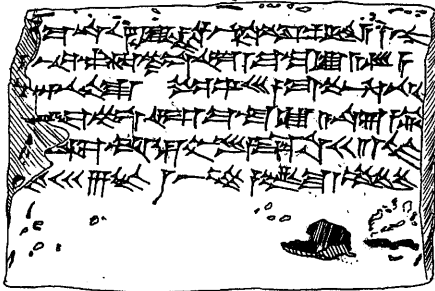
Ran and Tikva ZADOK (08-01-97)  
S.N. Kramer Institute of Assyriology,  
Bar-Ilan University, RAMAT-GAN,  
ISRAËL

**13) LB texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection** – These documents were copied and collated by Tikva Zadok. Ran Zadok is responsible for the transliteration, translation and interpretation. We are indebted to William W. Hallo for permission to publish these texts, as well as to Ulla Kasten, Paul-Alain Beaulieu and Erica Ehrenberg for their kind assistance. The documents belong to the same archive of letter orders as *ROMCT 2, 47* (36 Art[axerxes]) ; 48 (18?.X.35 Art.) ; 49 (27.V.36 Art.) ; 50 (20.IX.36 Art.) ; 51 (12.XI.35 Art.) ; H.G. Stigers, *JCS 28*, 24 : 3 (20.XI.35 Art.) ; 37 : 24 (26.X.35 Art.) ; M.W. Stolper, *JCS 40* (1988), 150f. : *FLP 1455* (4.X.35 Art.) ; 151f. : *FLP 1480* (17.III.21 Art.). Thus the chronological range is 17.III.21 -20.IX.36 Artaxerxes. Stolper (in F. Rochberg-Halton [ed.], *Language, literature and history : Philological and historical studies presented to Erica Reiner* [New Haven 1987], 399 with n. 47 and *JCS 40*, 150f.) cautiously suggests that the ruler is Artaxerxes I, in which case the years in question would be 444/3-429/8 B.C.

NBC 6150 (Nippur, 23.I.429/8 B.C.)

1. [x+?]I MA.NA u 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR AŠ KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM SÍG<sup>hi.a</sup> [š]á {a?-na?}
2. AŠ IGI<sup>md</sup>EN.LÍL-MU-DU ù<sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu A<sup>meš</sup> šá
3. [m]dBE-TIN-su<sup>lu</sup>GIŠ.BAR<sup>meš</sup> šá É.KUR AŠ qa-ti

4. [md]EN.LÍL-MU-DU ù<sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu a-na É NĪ.GA
5. [ša'E]N.LÍL mah-ru-<sup>u</sup> BĀR U<sub>4</sub> 23 KAM
6. MU 36 KAM<sup>m</sup> aš-tah-ša-as-su LUGAL KUR.KUR
- R. (seal impressions)
7. na<sub>4</sub> KIŠIB na<sub>4</sub> KIŠIB
8. mdMAŠ-MU mdEN.LÍL-it-tan-nu



Translation

[x?]+1 mina of silver and 4 shekels of silver out of the silver, the price of wool, which are at the disposal of Ellil-šuma-ukīn and Balātu sons of Ea-bullissu, the officials in charge of the rent of Ekur, were received from the hands of Ellil-šuma-ukīn and Balātu in (lit. to) the storehouse of Ellil. Month I, day 23, year 36 (of) Artaxerxes King of Lands.

Seal of Ninurta-iddina ; seal of Ellil-ittannu.

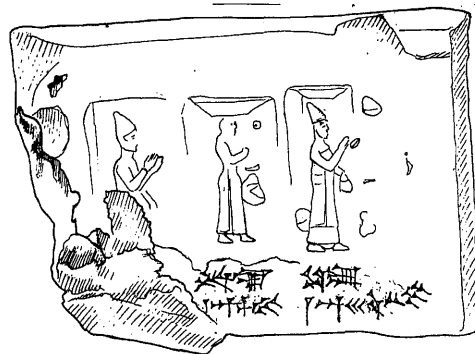
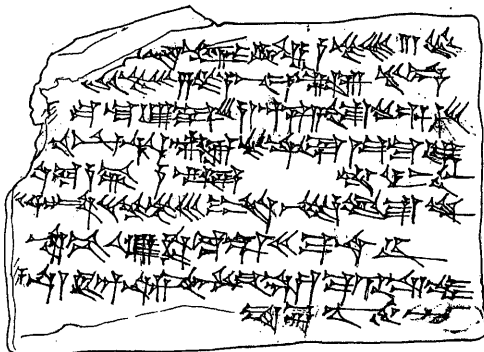
Remarks

**Line 2.** Both Ellil-šuma-ukīn and Balātu are described as « in charge of the wool » in *ROMCT* 2, 47-49, 51 (restored in 50), Stigers, *JCS* 28, 37 : 24 (if the latter is identical with as Ellil-uballit as argued by G.J.P. McEwan, *ROMCT* 2, 60 ad 47), and Stolper, *JCS* 40, 150f. : *FLP* 1455, whereas in Stigers, *JCS* 28, 24 : 3, 2f. they bear the title <sup>lu</sup>UMBISAG<sup>meš</sup> (« clerks, accountants ») of Ekur (the form of the ŠID sign, if correctly copied, is unusual). In the earliest document of this archive (Stolper, *JCS* 40, 151f. : *FLP* 1480 ; 444/3 B.C.) they appear as the last members of a list of five clerks (presumably their seniors). In *NBC* 6157 (430/29 B.C.) they are described as « in charge of the rent ».

**R.** The seals were drawn by Y. Saig. Cf. *ROMCT* 2, 49 ; Stigers, *JCS* 28, 37 : 24 ; Stolper, *JCS* 40, 150ff. : *FLP* 1455, 1480. The seals of this document are almost identical. They resemble the seal which is described in L.B. Bregstein, *Seal use in fifth century Nippur, Iraq : A study of seal selection and sealing practices in the Murašû archive* (doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1993 ; Ann Arbor 1994 ; henceforth Bregstein, *Seal use*), 649, #249 from Nippur, 429/8-425/4 B.C. : « A bald and clean-shaven Babylonian worshipper facing right wears a long fringed robe with a central pleat. In his left hand he holds the round bottom of a vase ; in his right hand he holds the neck [of the vase]. Opposite his head is the crescent moon. » In the field opposite him there are several small items (cf. perhaps Bregstein, *Seal use*, 255 : #656 in fine).

NBC 6157 (Nippur, 30.IX.430/29 B.C.)

1. [x GÍN KÙ.BAB]BAR<sup>1</sup> ŠĀM SÍG<sup>hi.a</sup> šá MU 33 KAM
2. [MU 34 KA]M u MU 35 KAM šá AŠ IGI mdEN.LÍL-MU-DU
3. [ù] <sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu DUMU<sup>meš</sup> šá mdé-a-TIN-su



4. lúGIŠ.BAR<sup>meš</sup> AŠ *qa-ti* <sup>md</sup>EN.LÍL-MU-DU ù <sup>m</sup>*ba-la-tu*  
 5. [a-n]a É NÌ.GA šá <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL *mah-ru*-<sup>2</sup>  
 6. [i]ti GAN U<sub>4</sub> 30 KAM MU 35 KAM *aš-tah-šá-as-su* LUGAL  
 7. AŠ ŠÀ<sup>bi</sup> 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ku-um* 20 MA.NA ŠÍG  
 8. a-na <sup>m</sup>*ha-an-na-ni*-<sup>2</sup> lú<sup>2</sup>*paq-du* šá <sup>m</sup>*ma-si-iš-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
 9. *it-tan-nu*-<sup>2</sup>  
 R. (three seal impressions ; the inscription under the right seal is entirely broken)  
 1. <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB 1. <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB  
 2. <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-MU 2. <sup>md</sup>XXX-*na-din*-MU

Translation

[x = 2-9] shekels of silver the price of wool of the 33rd year, the 34th year and the 35th year at the disposal of Ellil-šuma-ukīn and Balātu sons of Ea-bullissu, the officials (in charge) of the rent, were received from the hands of Ellil-šuma-ukīn and Balātu in the storehouse of Ellil. Month IX, day 30, year 35 (of ) Artaxerxes, the King. Out of 10 shekels of silver in lieu of 20 minas of wool they have give to Hannanī the bailiff of Masištu.

Seal of Ninurta-iddina ; seal of Sīn-nādin-šumi.

Remarks

**Line 1.** The sum in shekels was more than one and less than ten.

**Line 7.** The price of wool (one mina for 1/2 shekel of silver) is the same as in *BE* 8, 127, 1 from Nippur (Murašû Archive), 424/3 B.C. (300 minas of wool for 2.5 minas of silver). It is a relatively low price if to rely on the comparative material which is dated between the middle of the 7th and the end of the 5th century B.C. and originates from various Babylonian settlements : one mina of wool cost 4-8 shekels of silver, but also 1/3 and 1/4 shekel of silver (*LBAT* 258 r. 13 and *BIN* 1, 144, 1 ; *Nbn.* 1115, 3 resp.), as well as even 0.22 (E. and V. Revillout, *PSBA* 9, 237 : 94, 1), 0.21 (*Nbn.* 963, 1), 0.2 (*TCL* 13, 224, 7) and 0.15 (*CT* 55, 754, 4) shekel of silver (for dates and places cf. B. Meissner, *Warenpreise in Babylonien* [APAW 1936/1], Berlin 1936, 24f. ; *CAD* Š/3, 63f.).

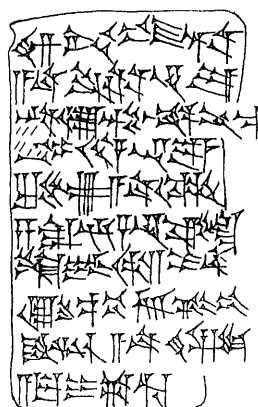
**Line 8.** <sup>m</sup>*ma-si-iš-tu*<sub>4</sub> < Old Iranian \**Masišta*- « the biggest, highest ; chief (of a troop) » ; -št- reflects a non-Persic dialect.

**R.** Cf. *ROMCT* 2, 48 ; Stigers, *JCS* 28, 24:3. The seal of Sīn-nādin-šumi resembles that which is described in Bregstein, Seal use, 656 : #255 (Nippur, 411/0 B.C., but the career of the seal owner started in 439/8 B.C.) : « bald and clean-shaven Babylonian worshipper facing right wears a long fringed robe with a central pleat and a tall, pointed cap. In his raised right hand he holds a branch ; in his lowered left hand he holds a bucket. In the field opposite him there are a rhomb, a rod and [a] ring(?). » The seal in the middle belongs to Ninurta-iddina, but is not entirely identical with his seal on *NBC* 6150. The lower part of the right seal is not preserved. Its owner is not known (the inscription is entirely destroyed). It depicts a Babylonian worshipper facing right his both hands raised in prayer.

Ran and Tikva ZADOK (08-01-97)

**14) PTS 2005** – We should like to thank Professor Erle V. Leichty, who most generously let us study this tablet (copied and collated by Tikva Zadok).

1. IM <<sup>m</sup>>*ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 2. a-na lúšà-tam EN-ia  
 3. r<sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>*bu-ne-ne*  
 4. š[u]-lum šá EN-ia  
 5. liq-bu-ú a-na UGU<sup>hi</sup>  
 6. za-ra-ti šá EN *iš-pu-ra*  
 7. lúqí-i-pi ul a-kan-na  
 8. ù lúšab-bi<sup>meš</sup> *gab-bi*  
 9. it-ti-šú a-na hi-ru-tu  
 10. I<sub>7</sub> *i-ta-bak*





Translation

<sup>1</sup>Letter of Nidinti-Šamaš <sup>2</sup>to the *šatammu*-official my lord. <sup>5</sup>May <sup>3</sup>Šamaš and Bunene pronounce <sup>4</sup>the well-being of my lord. <sup>5</sup>Concerning <sup>6</sup>the tent(s) (or canopy/canopies), which (my) lord sent, <sup>7</sup>the *qīpu*-official is not here <sup>8</sup>and <sup>10</sup>he sent <sup>8</sup>all the workmen <sup>9</sup>with him for the digging (work) <sup>10</sup>of the canal.

Remarks

**Lines 1ff.** The greeting formula leaves no doubt that the letter is from Sippar. I do not know anything about the sender of this letter.

**Line 2.** *šatammu* – high temple official. J. MacGinnis (WO 26, 1995, 21ff.) argues that no *šatammu*-s of Sippar postdate the end of the Neo-Assyrian rule in Babylonia. Like most epistolary documents, this letter is undated. Its ductus is not decisive for the dating: it can be either from the late-Assyrian or the « Chaldean » period (but hardly Achaemenian). From the context it cannot be established who was senior, the *šatammu* or the *qīpu*.

**Line 10.** *ītabak* may be Gt preterite rather than G perfect.

Ran and Tikva ZADOK (08-01-97)

**15) Les tromperies d'Elam et d'Ešnunna –**

1. Dans FS Malamat (pp. 158-160) nous avons proposé une nouvelle interprétation de la lettre A.3080, publiée par J.-M. Durand (FS Perrot, pp. 101-108). Nous avons proposé de traduire ainsi les paroles de Zimri-Lim citées par Ḥammi-ištamar: « 'If they (the Elamites) will come to Aḫ-Purattim, they will not distinguish (between the cities), as (one distinguishes) between the *rimmātum*-beads of a necklace, in which one (bead) is white and the other (bead) is black. Would they say: 'this is a Bin-Simā'lite city and this is a Bini-yaminite city?' (Would) they not (act) like the flooding of a river which equalizes the high (places on its banks) to the low (places by levelling them)?' » Zimri-Lim warns Ḥammi-ištamar, the king of a Bini-Yaminite tribe, that the Elamite enemy will not spare his cities, but will treat them in the same way as he will treat the Bin-Simā'lite cities. » (*ibidem*, p. 236\*). D'après notre interprétation, l'Elam est un ennemi impitoyable et trompeur qui n'épargne pas ses alliés et les traite de la même manière que ses ennemis. Il nous semble que nous pouvons apporter une preuve qui montre qu'en effet, c'est bien la manière dont l'Elam a l'habitude d'agir. La lettre en question, A.3080, date de l'année ZL 9'. Or, dans une autre lettre de la même année, Yamšūm cite les paroles de Hāya-sūmū, le roi d'Ilān-šurā, à propos de l'Elam: « Et [tu connais] l'état d'esprit de l'Elam: l'Elam dévore aussi bien son ennemi que son ami », XXVI.306.35-38. Ainsi voyons-nous, que deux personnages différents dans la même année insistent sur le caractère douteux de l'Elam, un royaume en qui on ne peut pas avoir confiance.

2. Dans FS Garelli (pp. 163-164), D. Charpin a publié une série de lettres qui traitent de négociations de paix entre Mari et Ešnunna durant l'année ZL 4'. Or, tandis que Zimri-Lim désire la paix, les prophètes, eux, s'y opposent. Ils expriment leur objection par la belle image que voici: « Sous la paille coule l'eau » (XXVI.199.44; 197.9-10; 202.10). En expliquant: « Ils (les Ešnunnéens) t'expédient message sur message pour cesser la guerre; ils t'envoient leurs dieux, mais dans leurs cœurs, ils complotent un second mensonge (cfr. AHW, p. 1192b [7c] *šāru*). Sans interroger le dieu, le roi ne doit pas faire d'accord ». (XXVI.199.45-50). Pourquoi les prophètes s'opposent-ils à la paix avec Ešnunna? D'après Charpin (*Bulletin XXIII* [1992], p. 25) « L'insistance de l'*āpīlum* comme de la *qammatum* pour que le roi interroge le dieu sur l'opportunité de la conclusion de l'alliance (exactement dans les mêmes termes) est remarquable: ils sont manifestement sûrs que la réponse sera négative! » Néanmoins, la question demeure de savoir quel est le motif de leur objection. Nous croyons que la réponse à cette question se trouve dans l'expression « **un second mensonge** » (XXVI.199.47). La question est de savoir quand a eu lieu le premier mensonge. Celui-ci, pensons-nous, a eu lieu une année auparavant, lorsque Ešnunna a envahi la Haute-Mésopotamie. En effet, le *merḫum* Ibal-pi-El, écrit à Zimri-lim: « Mon seigneur sait que cette Maison est pleine de tromperies. Il est à craindre qu'elle ne soit que ruse et duperie envers mon seigneur jusqu'à ce qu'elle prenne Andarig ... », A.2119.5-8 (Charpin, *MNABU II* (1992), pp. 97-99). On constate bien que les prophètes mariotes, comme probablement leurs successeurs, les prophètes bibliques, n'ont pas agi sur l'inspiration divine, mais bien simplement d'après leur profonde connaissance de l'histoire de leur époque.

M. ANBAR (11-01-97)

11, rue Arnon TEL AVIV 63455  
ISRAËL

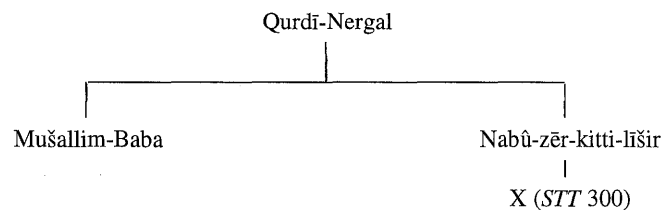
**16) girgû, girrigû** – S. Lackenbacher (*NABU* 1996/11) argues that *gir-gu-u*, listed in Hh. among cords and ropes, denotes « big cord » rather than « (a long strip made of reeds) » (*CAD G*, 90a, s.v. *girrigû, girigau, girgû*) or « ein Schilfseil » (*AHW*, 285a, s.v. *gerrigû*) and that *gir-gu-u* might have been made from hemp or flax. I hope that my assumption that *girgû* survived in Syriac *grg'* (*gergā*) « rope, line, cord » would not fall far off the mark. A perusal of S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian influences on Aramaic* (Chicago 1974; the figures below refer


to its pages) shows that Aramaic renders Akkad. -û not only as -y (*asû* > 'sy', 37; *attalû* > 'tly', *bārû* > b'r'y', 40f.; *burû* > bwry', 45; *gagû* > ggwy', *ginû* > gyny', 52f.), but also as -' (*hašû* > h's', 55; *mušarû* > mš'rû, 74; *qullû* > qwl', 86). Lackenbacher suspects that *girrigû* (*gir-ri-gu-u*, var. *gi-ri-ga-û*), whose Sumerian equivalent <sup>81</sup>*dur.mah/gal* indicates that it was made of reeds, is to be differentiated from *girgû*.

Ran ZADOK (12-01-97)

**17) Scribes at Huzirina** – In *STT* 64 (undated) the scribe's father, Qurdî-Nergal (written with U.GUR), is entitled *šangû*(SID) of Zababa and Baba of Arbela who are in Harran and Huzirina. The same scribe, Mušallim-Baba, with the same father wrote *STT* 199; here the father is merely called *šangû*(SID), but their ancestor is given as Nūr-Šamaš « also *šangû*' » (ŠID-*ma*). In *STT* 300 exactly the same description (with É.BAR for *šangû*) as in *STT* 64 and the same ancestry as in *STT* 199 are applied to the father (name illegible) of a scribe called Nabû-zēr-kitti-lišir, himself the father of the scribe who wrote the tablet but whose name is also illegible. No other person in these colophons has this elaborate description, and it seems reasonable to examine whether this cannot be the same individual, Qurdî-Nergal, in each case. *STT* 300 is dated by the eponym Bel-aḫa-ušur, a post-canonical eponym who belongs to the reign of Sîn-šar-iškun and was convincingly dated by Falkner to c.619 B.C. (Millard, *SAAS* II 75). If the *šangû* in question is to be restored as Qurdî-Nergal, he would have had two sons, Mušallim-Baba and Nabû-zēr-kitti-lišir, and this tablet *STT* 300 would be a generation later than 64 and 199, which were written by them. Presumably by this time Qurdî-Nergal (the scribe's grandfather) was dead.

In *STT* 192 rev. 24 the junior scribe (*šamallû agašgû*) is named Qur-di-<sup>d</sup>L u g a l - g i r - r a , which is so transliterated by Hunger in his *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone* (no. 353), but translated – surely correctly – Qurdî-Nergal, assuming a learned theological writing; no other name at Huzirina begins with Qurdî-. This tablet is dated 701 B.C.; the scribe could well be the same man some 82 years earlier at the beginning of his career. See also below on no. 177. Mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>, his son, appears to have had a similar career, being attested as *šamallû* in *STT* 64 and 199 and as *šangû* in *STT* 305 (all undated). The Qur-di-<sup>d</sup>Nergal(U.GUR) who is « reader » (*ana tāmarti* PN) of *STT* 38 and 172 (and perhaps *Afo* XXVIII pl. XVIII) is unspecified, but there is no reason to doubt that he is the same man. We may therefore safely restore this name in *STT* 300 as that of the grandfather. The family tree is



In *STT* 161 rev. 24 Hunger (no. 389) read [Qurd]i-<sup>d</sup>Nergal(I.SAR.PA.DA), assuming another learned writing, but the first sign seems to be In<sup>1</sup>; it is certainly not Qur- (copies recently collated and confirmed by Prof. J. D. Hawkins). The name is then parallel to In-di-<sup>d</sup>MES.LAM.TA.E.A in *STT* 2 (In<sup>1</sup>-), 33 (In<sup>1?</sup>-), 159 (restored), 174 (In<sup>1</sup>-), 177 (so read by Hunger, no. 384), and to In-di-x[...] in *STT* 390, where the sign in- is clear, and if this is the same person, the theonym must be read U[+GUR] or P[ALIL], i.e. again Nergal (cf. [X-]<sup>d</sup>PALIL, *STT* 301 vi 1 and Qur-di-<sup>d</sup>LUGAL-GIR-RA above). Indi-Meslamta'e'a too (so Hunger *passim*) is attested as a junior scribe in *STT* 33 (also dated 701 B.C., like 192) and as a « reader » of tablets in 161 and perhaps also in 301 vi 1, [In-di?-]<sup>d</sup>PALIL, where three other « readers » follow (in *STT* 33 Lambert in *BWL* 62 read I<sup>1</sup>-di- and has been followed by Hunger and by von Weiher, *Der Babylonische Gott Nergal*, but the sign is much more like In<sup>1</sup>-). In *STT* 177 however the first sign is again damaged, and though Hunger read I[n]-di-<sup>d</sup>Mes-lam-ta-è-a, on collation I have found the sign to be more like Qur<sup>1</sup> (  ). This would then be another tablet belonging to or written by Qurdi-Nergal (no further details given) and would raise the question whether Indi-Nergal can be yet another way of writing Qurdi-Nergal, e.g. in some way that we do not yet understand either GUR = IN or *qurdu* = *indu* (hardly in-di for en-ti, Sumerogram for *qurdu*, attested only in *Lú* excerpt II 74 = *MSL* XII 106). For *Indi*- in these names Hunger understands *Iddi*-, but see *CAD* s.v. *imdu*. The names quoted there are admittedly all from older periods, but *imdu* « support » is well attested in SB, and makes good sense, whereas *Iddi*- is difficult and is not supported by the traces in any of the *STT* texts.

O. R. GURNEY (14-01-97)

Fir Tree House, Milton Lane  
STEVENTON, Abingdon, Oxon. OX13 6SA  
GRANDE-BRETAGNE

**18) The quarters of Babylon in the astronomical diaries** – The edition by A. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylon I-III* (Vienna, 1988-95) of those of the Babylonian astronomical diaries that are dated or datable, has provided a number of new references to the quarters of Babylon. These quarters are set forth in list form in *Tintir V* 92-104 and are otherwise attested individually in Neo- and Late Babylonian deeds and documents and a very few other texts (see George, *Topographical Texts*, pp. 372-82). The diaries reveal that the quarters of Babylon, as far as they are attested, bore the same names down to the end of the city's history. Indexes to the diaries are lacking at present, so references to the quarters are given here. Collation of three suspect passages has produced readings which depart from Sachs and Hunger's transliterated text. The revised readings are sandwiched between asterisks.

**Eridu** (*Tintir V* 92 : « from the Market Gate to the Grand Gate »)

Vol. I, pp. 78, 8 : *ina eršet(ki) eri-du<sub>10</sub>* (« fall of fire », 382 BC) ; 120, 10' : *ina eršet(ki) eri-du<sub>10</sub>* (« fall of fire », 371 BC) ; II, pp. 22, 15' : *ina eršet(ki-tim) eri-du<sub>10</sub> ana tar-šu é.sag.g[íl]* (fighting, 256 BC) ; 224, rev. 10-12 : *ina eršet(ki-tim) eri-du<sub>10</sub> ... ana tar-šu ká.lamma.ra.bi* (fire, 201 BC).

**Šuanna** (*Tintir V* 93 : « from the Market Gate to the Uraš Gate »)

Vol. I, pp. 62, 3.13 : *ina eršet(ki) šu-an-na* (« falls of fire », 419 BC) ; 64, 11' : *ina eršet(ki) šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>* (« fall of fire », 419 BC) ; 156, 15' : *ina eršet(ki) šu-an* (« fall of fire », 343 BC) ; 330, C 15' : *ina eršet(ki) tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>* (execution of thieves by burning, 278 BC) ; II, pp. 184, 18 : *ina eršet(ki) tin.tir<sup>ki</sup> ina kibir(gú) nāri(íd)* (« fall of fire », 210 BC) ; 186, 21 : *ina tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>* (« fall of fire », 210 BC) ; 234, rev. 13 : *ina \*eršet(ki-tim) tin.[t]ir<sup>ki</sup> ana tar-[\*ša bīt(é)] dnin-ur[ta]\** (coll. ; broken context, 199 BC) ; 248, C 5 : *ina eršet(ki-tim) tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>* (« fall of fire », 198 BC) ; III, pp. 170, 3 : *ina eršet(ki) tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>* (« fall of fire », 138 BC) ; 274, 22' : *tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>* (broken context, 125 BC) ; further attestations are M. W. Stolper, *Iraq* 54 (1992) 136, 1 : *ina eršet(ki-tim) šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>* (land rental, 368 BC) ; *OECT* XI 47,4 : *abul maḥīri(ganba) [šá] [qé1-reb š]u-an-na<sup>ki</sup>* (ritual).

**Ka-dingirra** (*Tintir V* 94 : « from the Grand Gate to the Ištar Gate »), **Newtown** (*Tintir V* 95 : « from the Ištar Gate to the temple of Bēlet-Eanna on the canal bank »), and **Kullab** (*Tintir V* 96 : « from the temple of Bēlet-Eanna on the canal bank to the Marduk Gate ») are not yet attested in the diaries.

**TE.E<sup>ki</sup>** (*Tintir V* 97 : « from the Zababa Gate to the dais “The Gods Pay Heed to Marduk” »)

Vol. II, pp. 10, B 5' : *ina eršet(ki-tim) TE.E<sup>ki</sup>* (broken context, 258 BC) ; 16, 17' : *ina eršet(ki) TE.E<sup>ki</sup>* (broken context, 256 BC) ; III, p. 72, rev. 11 : *TE.E<sup>ki</sup>* (broken context, 156 BC) ; a further attestation is C. Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des ... Iddin-Marduk*, no. 292, rev. 4' : *eršet(ki-tim) TE.E<sup>ki</sup> šá qé-r[eb] tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>* (land sale, 535 BC).

**Kumar** (*Tintir V* 100 : « from the Akus Gate to E-namtila, where Eš-maḥ is built ») and **Tuba** (*Tintir V* 102 : « from the Šamaš Gate to the river »)

Vol. I, pp. 176, 7' : *ina eršet(ki) ku-\*ma[r u i]na eršet(ki) tu\*-ba a-na tar-si bīt(é) dnabû(nà)* (coll. ; « falls of fire », 331 BC) ; *ina eršet(ki) A.HA<sup>ki</sup>* (« fall of fire », 301 BC) ; II, p. 94, 12 : *ina \*eršet(ki-tim) ku]\*-mar tēḥ(da) é.nam.ti.la* (« fall of fire », 235 BC) ; III, p. 380, B 14' : *ina eršet(ki-tim) A.HA<sup>ki</sup> ina kišād(gú) nāri(íd)* (« fall of fire », 106 BC).

**Bāb-Lugalirra** (*Tintir V* 101 : « from the Navel of the Bow of the temple of Bēlet-Ninua to the river bank ») is not attested in the diaries. Nor, apparently, is the quarter Nu-... (*Tintir V* 99 : « from the Adad Gate to the Akus Gate »).

A. R. GEORGE (16-01-97)  
SOAS, University of London  
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square  
LONDON WC1H 0XG GRANDE-BRETAGNE  
ag5@soas.ac.uk

**19) Transcribing the theophoric element in north israelite names** – The Israelite king IA-ú-a (once IA-a-ú), « son » of Omri, is named in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (for references, see M. Weippert, *VT* 28 [1978], 114-15). His grandson, king IA-'a-su « the Samarian » is named in the Tell ar-Rimaḥ stela of Adad-nirari III. Weippert (*ibid.*, 113-18) suggested that <IA-> represents the initial theophoric \*Yaw. Thus, *ia-ú-a* reflects Hebrew \*Yaw-hū'a, « YHWH is He » ; and *ia-'a-su* reflects \*Yaw-'āš (see K. McCarter, *BASOR* 216 [1974], 5-6). A. Malamat (*BASOR* 204 [1971], 37-39), on the other hand, rendered it *iu-'a-su* suggesting that « this transliteration corresponds to the shorter form of the Hebrew name. » Finally, B. Halpern (*BASOR* 265 [1987], 81-85) suggested that biblical yhw' represents a hypocoristicon consisting of the theophoric element and a'

(\**Yahûwa*'), and that the Assyrian transcription *ia-û-a* reflects a syncope of the intervocalic *-h-* (*Yaw+a*). However, since the theophorous element YHWH is consistently written *yaw/yô* in the Northern kingdom, the assumed name \**Yahûwa*' would be exceptional. Also a hypocoristic consisting of the theophoric element YHWH alone is without parallels in the Hebrew onomasticon. Halpern's suggestion is evidently wrong.

In a «Horse List» from Samaria (CTN III 99), there appear 13 names of people of Samaria (Col. ii 16-23). One of them is <sup>M</sup>PAP-*i-û* (line 22), a rendering which indicates that *-iu* may represent the theophoric element *-yw*.

We may further note the reliefs and inscriptions on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III. The top two of the five registers show the submission and tribute payment of the rulers of Sua of Gilzanu and Jehu of Israel. The reliefs and annotated inscriptions on these registers are pictorial and textual merisms of the northern and southern limits of the Assyrian empire (see recently, O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *ZKTh* 116 [1994], 391-420, with earlier literature on p. 393 n. 8). I would like to call attention to the two royal names, *su-û-a* and *IA-û-a*. The name of the ruler of Gilzanu appears in the accounts of the accession year and third year of Shalmaneser and is written differently, i.e., *a-sa-a-û* or *a-su-û* (E. Michel, *WdO* 1 [1947], 10 n. 8; idem, *WdO* 1 [1952], 458: 41; M. Mahmud and J. Black, *Sumer* 44 [1985/86], 140: 40). Moreover, the account of the campaign of the thirty-first year mentions another king of Gilzanu, Upû, who paid tribute to Assyria (Michel, *WdO* 2 [1955-56], 230: 181). It is evident that Asau/Asû of Gilzanu was deliberately selected for the annotated inscription and that his name was deliberately rendered Sua in order to form a pair with the name Jehu. Thus, the writing *su-û-a* probably indicates that Jehu's name should be rendered *iu-û-a* (rather than *ia-û-a*).

In this light, I would suggest that the spelling <*i-û*> represents /yô/ (see Z. Zevit, *Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew*, 1980, 14-15). Jehu may be rendered *iu-û-a* (\**Yô-hû'a*), Joash be rendered *iu-'a-su* (\**Yô-'âš*), and PAP-*i-û* may be normalized *Ahi-yô*.

Nadav NA'AMAN (20-01-97)  
Dept. of Jewish History  
Tel Aviv University  
RAMAT AVIV 69978, ISRAËL

**20) Jehu** – I would like to add the following linguistic remarks in support of N. Na'aman's fine observation on Jehu and Asau:

*Yhw'* presumably renders \**Yô-hû'a* < \**Yahw-hû'a* (the 2nd component was aptly compared with the pertinent form in post-Bibl. Heb. from Qumran by H. Tadmor, *Encyclopaedia Biblica Instituti Bialik* 3, 1958, 473 [Heb.]). The normalization of the 1st component is consonant with the view that monophthongization took place in the «Samaritan» Hebrew of Jehu's age (*passim* in the Samaria Ostraca, cf. W.R. Garr, *Dialect geography of Syria-Palestine 1000-586 B.C.E.*, Philadelphia 1985, 38f.). This may apply for the final component of the Samaritan's name NA PAP-*i-û* as well. *IA-* of *IA-û-a* can be normalized <*lu-û-a*>, in which case it renders \*/Yô/-. The same applies to *IA-* of *IA-'su* where the name can be normalized as <*Iu-'a-su*> = \*/Yô-'âš/. Admittedly, the spelling *IA-a-û* causes a difficulty, but see just below.

*A-sa-a-û/A-su-û* is with an initial *a* which is typically Neo-Assyrian; see R. Zadok in Y. Avishur and J. Blau [eds.], *Studies in Bible and the ancient Near East presented to Samuel Samuel E. Loewenstamm on his seventieth birthday* (Jerusalem 1978), 164f. with n. 3). Most of these names are toponyms, but *Agûsi* < *Gš* is originally an anthroponym; add NA *A-hu-un-da-ra* vs. NB *Hu-un-da-ru*, the name of a ruler of Tilmun, which is explicable in Elamite terms (see Zadok, *The Elamite Onomasticon*, Naples 1984, #49, 236f.; cf. Tallqvist, *APN*, 284b, but his comparison with the toponym *Hundur* in Media is implausible). Therefore *Su-û-a* (where *Cu-û-* may render a diphthong in view of *A-sa-a-û*) can be considered as the primary and more authentic local form (presumably belonging to a hitherto unaffiliated dialect spoken in NW Iran). *IA-a-û* to *A-sa-a-û* is like *Iu-û-a* to *Su-û-a*. If this is deliberate, then the form *IA-a-û* can be regarded as secondary, thereby not being an obstacle for the normalization \**Yô-hû'a*.

R. ZADOK (12-01-97)

**21) Amarna Notes** – The following notes on some Amarna letters were originally part of a paper submitted at the Bellagio conference on «The origin of Diplomacy: the Amarna letters» (September 16-20, 1996). Since there is not enough room for philological notes in the final publication, they are published separately.

1. EA 77: 6-15 - «As to your writing me f[or] copper and for ingots? (*sinni*), may the Lady of Byblos be witness! if there is copper and ingots? (*šinni*), of [copp]ler available to me, for Milkayu [ret]ained it ([*i/û-k*]-*li-še*). He cut/worked (*mahāš*) one b[loc]k (*š[i-bir-ti]*), and I gave his ingot? (*šinnu*) to [the ruler] of Tyr[e] f[or] [my] provisions.»

For *šinnu*, see AHW 1048a s.v. *sinnu*; 1243b s.v. *šinnu* III; C. Zaccagnini, «Breath of Life and Water to Drink», in L. Milano (ed.), *Drinking in Ancient Societies*, Padova 1994, 349f n. 14, with earlier literature.

2. EA 109: 34-55 - «They are thieves, and Yanḥamu, the c[ommissioner] that] the king nominated, knows [it]. N[ow], a Libyan? [charioteer] (*i-na-[an-na KEŠDA]* \ *tu-uḥ-nu*) and an (Egyptian) soldier they sold

into captivity in Subartu for their food. Look, I am a loyal servant of the king, [and] the king has no servant like me. Previously, on seeing a man from Egypt, the kings of Canaan fled bef[ore him, but] now the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta make men from Egypt prowl about [like do]gs. Death would be sweet t[*o* m]e. They [must not h]ear of cala<mity> ([*la yi*]-*iš-mu lum*-<*na*>) of my lord. And by my [lif]e (I swear) ([*TI.LA*? *Z*]*l-ia*) that all our gods [and the Lady o]f Byblos are an[g]ry (*ti-la-m*[*i-nu-n*]*a*) at the man that intends evil fo[r h]is [lord]. Looks it is power, only power, that I intend for my lord.»

For lines 37-38, see EAT II, 1593. For lines 38-40, see EA 108 : 15-17. Tentatively (and with a big question mark) I assume that like *we'u* (« soldier »), \ *tu-uh-nu* is also an Egyptian loan word, namely *Ṭhnw* (« Libyan »). For the restoration in line 51 ([*liblu*? *napiš*]*tiya*), see the references cited by Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 1992, 184, n. 14.

EA 109 : 62-64 – « Now, Ḥa[*ya* and A]manappa departed from Šumur with [his] chario[*ts* and] his [soldier]s (*qa-du* <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGI[R<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*šu* ù ERÍN]<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*šu*). » « His » refers to Yanḥamu who was nominated as commissioner of Šumur (lines 37-38, 56-57 ; 106 : 35-39 ; 107 : 20-24).

3. EA 126 : 4-6 – « As for what my lord wrote/sent about delivery (of goods) (SI.[L]A = *piqittu*), to be taken from the lands of Salḫi and from Ugarit. »

Knudtzon struggled with the problem of the decipherment of EA 126 : 4. In an early article (*BA* 4, 1899, 313) he read URU[DU-*m*]*a*. Later (*BA* 4, 415) he rejected this interpretation and read it <sup>GIŠ</sup>K[U-*m*]*a*. This reading appears in his edition of the Amarna tablets, and was accepted by other scholars. However, both the autograph drawn by Knudtzon (*BA* 4, 313 ; *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 1915, 1003, no. 97) and the facsimile published by Schroeder (*VS* 11, no. 68) do not match this restoration. Also, the enclitic *-ma* remains unexplained in this context. Finally, the letter deals with provisions rather than logs. I therefore suggest reading it SI.[L]A (for SI.IL.LA) = *piqittu* (compare EA 74 : 42 NAM.RU for NAM.NE.RU). It fits both the autographs drawn by Knudtzon and Schroeder, the feminine verbal form *tulqūna* in line 6, and the contents of lines 4-13.

4. EA 154 : 5-10 – « I have heard what the king sent to his servant : “The forces will be prepared for me (UG[U-*h*]*i-ia*).” Yes (*ya*)! What the king ordered, that I have carried out with the greatest joy ». Line 8 was formerly read UG[U-*h*]*i* [<sup>M</sup>]*ia-wa* (« against/before Yawa »). However, there is no room for a personal determinative before the *ia*-sign, nor is Yawa mentioned elsewhere in the Amarna letters. My rendering is based on the similarity of lines 7-8 to EA 147 : 36-38 : the two letters use the Canaanite verb *kwn* (« to prepare ») in the citation of a royal order, and open the author's reaction by an affirmative exclamation (*ya* = « yes »).

5. EA 155 : 7-17 – « The king ordered to give breath (of life) to his servant, the servant of Mayati, and to (give) water for his drink. But they have not acted in accordance with the command of the king my lord, and did not give. So may the king govern the servant of Mayati, that water be given so he may live. » Lines 31-46 : « When I entered before the king, my lord, I was afraid : *ir-e* (a verbal form derived from the Canaanite verb *yr'*) and unable [to speak]. Should the king, the Sun, see that the commissioner has not done [what] the king [commanded] and did not give [water, a]s the king commanded, then may the king take cognizance of his servant and of Tyre, the city of Mayati ; for whatever command has issued from the mouth of the king to his servant, that should be done. The word of the king goes before him. »

Abi-Milku recalls that he appeared before the Pharaoh, and that the latter ordered the restoration of the town of Usu (which is metaphorically described in lines 9-10 as « breath of life » and « water for his drink ») to Tyre. However, his order was not carried out by the commissioner (lines 11-13, 36-39), and he reports the non-performance of the command to his lord.

6. Letter EA 190 is badly broken, and Moran (*The Amarna Letters*) in his new edition of the Amarna texts, translated only its first part (lines 1-5). Following is a tentative translation of its second part (lines 6-12 ; collated) : « [And you will li]sten to the words th[at I send/order you] : I will come to you w[ith? ...] my chariots and [...] ... And give order (*qibā*), and [go? and tak]e<sup>2</sup> its mountain, with its [Sut]u, with its [‘Apiru?] with [its ...] ».

For line 7, compare EA 164 : 44 ; for line 11-12, compare EA 195 : 97-29. The feminine pronoun ending in lines 10-12 possibly refers to a land or a city.

Nadav NA'AMAN (20-01-97)

**22) Babylonian Elements in Aramaic Childbirth Magic?** – In their exemplary first volume entitled *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem 1985), J. Naveh and S. Shaked have considered the occurrence in Aramaic magic bowls and amulets of well-known and long-lived *historiola* in which Smamit suffers the murder of her children by Sideros, and, on fleeing to the mountain to hide, receives an offer of help from three persons, *swny*, *swswny* and *syngly*. Reluctantly she lets them in when they appear, and the wicked Sideros enters with them and kills her new-born child. The helpers pursue Sideros to the midst of the sea, where he evades death at her hands by promising to desist from killing a mother or her child whenever the names of the helpers are invoked. The story appears widely in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Rumanian, Slavonic, late Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew ; see in detail Naveh and Shaked op. cit. 111-122, and 188-197, and the refs. given there.

While many scholars have pointed to later reflexes of this motif, the purpose of the present note is to draw attention to two features that seem to echo earlier cuneiform magical sources for the same general purpose, that is the protection of women in travail and newborn babies.

#### 1. The Three Helpers

As has been well demonstrated, the names *swny*, *swnwy*, and *syngly* occur in varying dress in the later versions, such as Greek *Sisinos*, *Sinēs* and *Šenodōros*, or *swny*, *snsnwy* and *smnglp* in late Jewish sources.<sup>1</sup> Admittedly not all later versions mention as many as three helpers (see *ibid.*, fn. 6), but the three survive together in Jewish magic at least into the eighteenth century, and Naveh and Shaked remark that the « three names, in the Greek as well as in the Aramaic, play about with the phonemes *s* and *n*. »

It might be suggested that the topos of these helpers derives ultimately from the passages in the widely-distributed birth incantation sometimes entitled *Sin and the Cow*,<sup>2</sup> in which the heroine Geme-Su'en, in extreme labour pains, is rescued by intercessors. In BAM 248 iii 25-28 assistance is provided by two anonymous divine figures, <sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ, who provide « oil-from-the-jar » and « water-of-labour. » In the variant version BAM 248 iii 40 it seems to be Narundi and Naḥundi instead who are called upon by Sin, in an incantation beginning *na-ru-un-di na-ḥu-un-di na-nam-gi-ši-ir*.<sup>3</sup>

#### 2. The Twelve and a Half Names

In the Greek version quoted by Naveh and Shaked the evil child-killer is trapped by the saints, and forced to reveal her names so that they can be used against her prophylactically :

Then they started flogging her. The abominable one said to the saints : « Saints of God, do not torture me too much, and I swear to you by the disc of the sun and the horn of the moon that wherever your name is written and your association is known, and my twelve and a half names, I shall not dare approach that house to a distance of three miles. » Then they said to her, « Disclose to us your twelve and a half names. » The abominable one, burning in fire, said : « My first and special name is called Gyllou ; the second Amorphous ; the third Abyzou ; the fourth Karkhous ; the fifth Brianē ; the sixth Bardellous ; the seventh Aigyptianē ; the eighth Barna ; the ninth Kharkhanistrea ; the tenth Adikia ; [the eleventh ...] ; the twelfth Myia ; the half Petomene. »

It might be suggested that this passage provides the explanation for the spell on those not uncommon Lamaštu amulets whose inscription consists of a list of her various names, of which a good example was published by F. Thureau Dangin, *RA* 18 (1921) 1 98. The mythology of Lamaštu remains obscure, but it might be conjectured that an episode will one day come to light in which it is revealed how Lamaštu was coerced into revealing those very names which could be so potently listed and used against her.

1. An unnoticed variant from late Jewish magic occurs in the manuscript given by R. Campbell Thompson, *PSBA* 29 (1907) 168, where recipe no. 24, against *qry* in the night, mentions *Seno*, *Sansepho* and *Shamagglaq*.

2. On which see most recently N. Veldhuis, *A Cow of Sin*.

3. For Narundi and Naḥundi as the sun and the moon in this context see M. Civil, *JNES* 33 (1974) 334. Nanamgišir is unexplained, but is this a third helper?

I L. FINKEL (20-01-97)

**23) On the Date of the « Mountain God » Plaque from Aššur : Iušumma and Mount Ebiḫ –** During Andrae's excavations at Aššur, a 1.36 metre high, roughly square plaque made of a stone resembling alabaster was found in a well in the courtyard of the Aššur temple<sup>1</sup> (see Andrae, *WVDOG* 53 for a clear photo and a detailed discussion of the piece).

The plaque, which was pieced together from fourteen larger numerous smaller fragments, is described by Moortgat as follows<sup>2</sup> :

« ... there is the anthropomorphic figure of a mountain god, facing to the front, as are the two smaller river goddesses shown on each side of him. All three are wearing a long garment on the hips and a cap shaped like a calotte. The god's robe and cap are decorated with the usual scale pattern, the symbol of the mountain, and those of the goddesses with the wavy lines of water. The goddesses are holding two *aryballos* shaped vases from which water is flowing, while the god is holding two branches, each with three fruiting spurs. The goats are floating in mid-air with no ground line, nibbing at the fruit. »

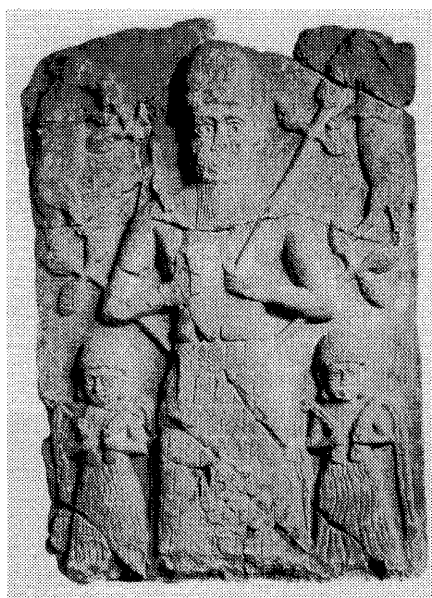
The plaque had apparently been thrown down a well during the last destruction of the Aššur temple at the end of the 7th century. The frontal composition of the relief makes it clear that the plaque was once used in the cult. Since it is quite heavy (c. 650 kg.), it is unlikely that it would have been carried a great distance from its original standing place. In all likelihood, then, it once stood in the Aššur temple.

Because of its findspot (in the well), we have no stratigraphic context to date the plaque. Andrae compared various artistic motifs of the plaque to other examples of art, and arrived at a tentative date for the monument in the Kassite period, that is, around 1500 BC. Moortgat, on the other hand, argued that the plaque was a rare example of Hurri-Mitanni art of the Middle Assyrian period.<sup>3</sup> The art historical arguments marshalled by Andrae and Moortgat are not particularly compelling. In fact, the closest parallel to the two small standing

figures with flowing vases is found in a statuette of unknown provenance and date that is now housed in the Louvre.<sup>4</sup> Van Buren suggests that the Louvre piece might belong to the Isin-Larsa period.

Now, the evidence of a royal inscription may shed some light on the date of this Aššur plaque. An inscription of the Old Assyrian ruler Ilušumma records, in part, the god Aššur's opening up of two springs on Mount Ebiḫ (Ebiḫ is the conventional rendering of the mountain name; it actually appears in the Assyrian text as Abiḫ):<sup>5</sup>

« The god Aššur opened for me two springs in Mount Abiḫ and I made bricks for the wall by these two springs. The water of one spring flowed down to the Aušum Gate (while) the water of the other spring flowed down to the Wertum Gate. »



A comparison of the text of the Ilušumma inscription with the stone plaque is profitable. The anthropomorphic figure covered with the scale pattern is clearly to be identified with a mountain, in this case, we would argue, with Mount Ebiḫ. The two figures with the flowing vases can plausibly be connected with the two springs mentioned in the Ilušumma inscription. The appearance of nibbling goats on the plaque accords well with the description of Mount Ebiḫ found in the epic poem in-nin me-ḫuš-a « Inanna and Ebiḫ. »<sup>6</sup>

« Ebiḫ, in the shade of its shining branches  
the « twin lions » multiply,  
Its wild boars and stags multiply on their own,  
Its wild bulls traipse through (its) lush pastures,  
Its ibexes couple among the apples trees of the  
mountain. »

If the proposed correlation of plaque to inscription hold true, it would indicate a date for the plaque to sometime in the Old Assyrian period (nineteenth century BC), that is, about three hundred years earlier than previously suggested for this ancient masterpiece.

1. Andrae, *Das wiederstandene Assur*, second edition by B. Hrouda, Munich, 1977, pp. 163-64.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 111-12.
3. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*, (English edition), New York, 1969, pp. 111-12.
4. Douglas van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, Berlin, 1933, p. 84 and fig. 45.
5. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (To 1115 BC)*, Toronto, 1987, p. 17 (A.O.32.2) lines 30-48.
6. For the time being, see H. Limet, « Le poème épique "Inanna et Ebiḫ," *Orientalia* 40 NS (1971) pp. 11-28. Lines 123-26 are quoted here.

Douglas FRAYNE (24-01-97)  
The RIM Project, 4 Bancroft, TORONTO  
M5S 1A1, CANADA

**24) No Nineveh in the Cyrus Cylinder** – A topographical crux in the Cyrus Cylinder which has attracted some attention, most recently in the edition by W. Eilers entitled « *Der Keilschrifttext des Kyros-Zylinders* » (*Festgabe Deutscher Iranisten zur 2500 Jahrfeier Irans* (Stuttgart, 1971) 156-168), involves the reading of a city name, the first in the series of cities which showed obeisance to Cyrus on his arrival, symbolising the widespread welcome he received. It has been proposed that this first name is that of Nineveh, but recent collation by the present writer confirms that this reading is impossible. All that remains for certain of the sign is a final vertical wedge, leaning slightly to the left. It is possible, but not certain, that there is also a trace of a low oblique wedge immediately to the left of the final vertical. This fragmentary sign does not fit with any of the known writings of Nineveh, and thus this proposed reading may now be safely excluded.

I.L. FINKEL (28-01-97)

**25) Some hypotheses on text ARMT XXIII 69** – ARMT XXIII 69 is a tablet, preserved only in half, which lists respectively on the left a number of plots belonging to different towns and places and on the right the corresponding yields. Judging from the listed toponyms they belong to a district of the Mari kingdom, probably one localized on the Euphrates region. This text first appeared in transliteration and translation in volume XXIII of ARMT by G. Bardet in 1984. In his transliteration<sup>1</sup> lines 3-5 are rendered as if they were complete, whereas the following ones are given as if the first part (that is, where the dimensions of the fields are indicated) was missing.

M. Anbar, in his review of the volume ARMT XXIII<sup>2</sup>, basing himself on Bardet's transliteration, calculated the following ratios for lines 3-5 : respectively 35,7 ; 24,9 and 47 liters of barley per square meter of land. These quantities led him to doubt that the text dealt with yields or harvest outputs because the amounts were too high. These, in fact, correspond roughly to 100 times the modern yields<sup>3</sup>. Even after reviewing the volume MARI 5, in which the cuneiform copy of the text appeared Anbar has not modified his reading of ARMT XXIII 69<sup>4</sup>.

A close analysis of the cuneiform copy allows, in our view, a few observations. Actually the left border of the tablet, judging from the published evidence<sup>5</sup>, does not seem to be complete, not even lines 3-5.

Should this hypothesis prove true, one should place other numerals in GÁN before the existing figures in SAR in order to reconstruct the real dimensions of the plots. To these measures correspond the high quantities of barley expressed in A.GÀR, on the right, so that an overall «normal» ratio<sup>6</sup> might be reconstructed. In this way, then, the text would seem nothing more than the usual report on harvest yields of towns and places of a given district. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to establish the amount of produced barley per land unit since the *total* extension of the single plots is not known.

The cuneiform copy was published in two parts<sup>7</sup> : on p. 509 lines 1-2 as the upper border, the rest of the tablet on p. 510<sup>8</sup>. The preserved part of line 2 displays at its end a slight curve upwards as though it were the final line of the text rather than the initial one. Further it must be noticed that, if lines 1-2 are, as proposed by Bardet himself, the summary, or better the statement of toponyms and barley contributions pertaining to a precise district, this information would have been placed rather at the end of the document<sup>9</sup>. If these remarks may be considered acceptable, then also the numbering of the lines proposed by Michel 1987, 509-510, although in accordance with Bardet's transliteration<sup>10</sup>, would not agree with this interpretation<sup>11</sup>. Lines 1-2 published on p. 509 should then be read as the end of the document, a final summary, i.e. as lines 16'-17'.

As previously stated, lines 1-2 are only partially preserved. Integrations based on an unpublished text cited by Bardet read : 1 : A.ŠÀ [š]a ḫa-[la-aš sa-ga-ra-tim<sup>ki</sup>] 2 : ù BÀD<sup>ki</sup> [ia-aḫ-du-li-im]<sup>12</sup>. The list of place names which follow – or better, according to us, precede – these lines could reasonably lead to believe that it refers to the ḫalaš Saggārātīm. Nonetheless among a majority of toponyms which belong to the district of Saggārātūm there are some which do not. As far as our knowledge goes the GN on lines 19 : sa-ma-nim<sup>ki</sup> and 20 : ÉJ-bi-na-ta-da-aḫ<sup>ki</sup> belong to the adjacent Terqa district<sup>13</sup>. The fact that all place names are to be localized only in the Euphrates region<sup>14</sup> and in the area of the Išīm-Yaḫdun-Līm canal may prove of some relevance, as well.

Finally, if line 2 is to be placed at the end of the text, as we propose, BÀD<sup>ki</sup> [ia-aḫ-du-li-im] could indicate that all toponyms pertain exclusively to the region around Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm and not to the Saggārātūm district. Moreover, the lack of the date prevents us from establishing whether the text was written after the administrative reform which ascribed Dūr-Yaḫdun-Līm and its region to Terqa (ZL 9')<sup>15</sup>. If the latter case, all toponyms would then belong to the provincial administration of Terqa rather than to the one of Saggārātūm. The absence of almost half of the tablet of course makes any conclusion hypothetical. Probably only the publication of parallel texts will provide sounder or even conclusive evidence on the matter.

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 WIRTH, E., 1971, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt.

1. Bardet 1984, 59.

2. Anbar 1987, 652.

3. According to the figures presented in Wirth 1971, 235 even where mechanization and irrigation has been introduced and notwithstanding the great variability of the semi-arid environment, the highest yields do not surpass 50 quintals per hectare.

4. Anbar 1989.

5. Michel 1987, 509-510.

6. By comparison with similar texts, such as ARMT XXIII 426 and 591, probably about 40 to 300 GÁN.



7. Michel 1987, 509-510.  
 8. Presuming the copy has been published in scale 1 : 1 the first fragment on p. 509 measures 1 cm less than the corresponding part of the tablet published on p. 510. Does this mean that the two parts do not belong together?  
 9. For a similar organization of an analogous content see text ARMT XXIII 426, even if the format of the tablet is different.  
 10. Bardet 1984, 59.  
 11. If this numbering, although not correct, has been maintained for the sake of the reader, an explicative notice would have been nonetheless necessary.  
 12. Text M.11399 in Bardet 1984, 60.  
 13. These lines are the first two and the only ones preserved on the verso of the tablet, the rest of this side being extensively eroded. Possibly on this side more toponyms and corresponding yields were listed, presumably belonging to the Terqa district.  
 14. As is well known the district of Saggarātum was composed of two parts : the more important one centered on the Euphrates and the other on the Ḫābūr river.  
 15. According to the proposal in Safren 1984, 123-141.

Marta LUCIANI (05-02-97)  
 Via Garigliano 28  
 PADOVA, 35138 ITALIE

**26) The Kurigalzu Brick Inscription UET VIII 99**, recording the restoration of the Ningal temple in Ur (see J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 1976) p. 218, Q.2.36) is known so far only from a rough copy made in the field by the late C.P.T. Winckworth, and quite a few signs are not there clear. The present writer has recently seen a complete clear copy in an old private collection, from which the following transliteration is given :

<sup>d</sup> nin-gal	For Ningal
nin-a-ni-ir	his lady
ku-ri-gal-zu	Kurigalzu,
GĪR.IR <sub>11</sub>	governor
<sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá	of Enlil,
lugal kala-ga	mighty king,
lugal an-ub-da límmu-ba	king of the four quarters,
é-a-ni	sought out
ud ul-lí-a-ta	and built for her
ba-dù-a ba-sun	her house,
mu-un-ši-kin-kin	which had been built in far off days
mu-na-dù	but had grown old.
ki-bi-šè	He restored it
bí-in-gi <sub>4</sub> -a	to its original state,
suḫuš-bi	and strengthened
im-mi-in-gi <sub>4</sub>	its foundations.

W. G. LAMBERT (08-02-97)  
 Department of Ancient History  
 and Archaeology, The University  
 BIRMINGHAM B15 2TT GRANDE-BRETAGNE

**27) À propos de ARMT XIII, 139-150** – Je viens de retrouver mes autographies de ces lettres, et ceci m'amène à deux réflexions. La première que ces douze documents m'avaient été présentés comme le dossier complet de Yawi-Ila et de Talhayum. En réalité c'était à peine la moitié de la documentation, et les hypothèses politiques que j'en avais tirées se sont avérées fausses lorsqu'ont été connues toutes les pièces du dossier. C'est par cet inventaire indispensable qu'il aurait fallu commencer. Mais l'abondance et la richesse de cette documentation nouvelle commandaient de publier, sans attendre l'achèvement d'un récolement que les moyens et les méthodes d'alors laissaient prévoir long et ardu.

En seconde réflexion, il m'a paru utile de présenter ici les transcriptions corrigées qu'impose la lecture de mes copies, ainsi que les erreurs les plus flagrantes d'interprétation. Je me borne à l'essentiel.

*n° 139* : 12, lire *li(!)-ša-ri-im* au lieu de *ú-ša-ri-im*.

13, transcrire *ší* au lieu de *ši*.

20, lire *A-r[a]-a[t-ti]m*.

7'-8', traduire « Les deux vanniers m'appartiennent. Je ne peux pas te les donner ».

12', la lecture *GUZ* est sûre.

*n° 141* : l'indication Rev. est à descendre d'une ligne et à placer devant 15.

18-19, il faut lire *e-li-qí-ma* et l'accusatif *šarram*. Comprendre avec F. R. KRAUS dans *Vom mesopotamischen Menschen*, 115 : « Il est à craindre, si je prends ces garçons, que leur père s'adresse au roi ».

15-16, comprendre : « Quant à ces *ṣuhāru*, ils sont trop jeunes/très petits (*ṣeḥḥeru*), [je] ne [les prendrai] pas ».

n°142 : 21, comprendre « c'est au jour de la fête » (cf. IV 8, 12 et les dictionnaires s.v. *eššešum*).

7, lire ŠU.TAR.DU<sub>8</sub> et voir D. CHARPIN, *NABU* 1987/65.

8', restituer *a-al[(ki) a-bi-ka]*, « la ville de ton père ».

11', restituer *i-na-an]-na*.

12', restituer *ú-l]a-š[u-m]a*, « s'il n'en est pas ainsi ».

n°144 : 19, comprendre « Ma tablette scellée à mon nom ».

32, au lieu de *ne-en-pu-ša* transcrire *ne-in* (ou *en<sub>6</sub>-pu-ša*).

32, *sinnatum* est à traduire, vu le contexte, « bouclier » et non « lance » avec SASSON (*Military*, 27 ; cf. *CAD* S 286 : « like a lance (or shield) »).

42, *a-di-ni* et non *a-di-nim*.

n°145 19-22, traduire « Si B. est l'objet d'un procès capital et s'il est grâcié, tu seras un allié ».

Tr. lat., transcrire *šu-ut-ma-at* (avec *AHw* 1318a), « est fait jurer, est lié par serment ».

n°146 : 20, *li-iṭ-ru-ud* et non *li-iṭ-ru-dam*.

A. FINET (13-02-97)  
116 chemin d'Hameau  
B 6120 HAM-SUR-HEURE  
BELGIQUE

**28) A proposito del testo HCCT-E 51 da Emar** – Il documento da Emar HCCT-E 51, pubblicato da A. Tsukimoto in *ASJ* 16 (1994), pp. 231-238, è il testamento di un certo Asda-ahi figlio di Hinnu. Fornisco qui di seguito alcune osservazioni all'edizione di Tsukimoto :

Il. 8-10 : Tsukimoto legge : (8) U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-mi-ti ša be-la-at (9) I<sub>2</sub>zu-ba-ah-la DUMU-ša (10) it-ta-na-bal-ši, « As long as she is in authority (over the house), her son Zu-Ba'ala will support her ». La frase segue la dichiarazione del testatore di aver concesso lo *status* di capofamiglia alla moglie, e di aver rinsaldato il legame tra il proprio figlio e la consorte rendendo costui figlio della moglie. In contesti simili, nella sezione dove vengono precisati i doveri del figlio nei riguardi della madre (nel nostro caso alle ll. 8-10), la formula è *ūmī ša NP balāt*, NP<sub>1</sub> *mārūša/ši ittanabalši* (oppure *ipallah/liplah-ši*) : v. ad es. *Emar* VI 15.11, 16 ; 32.3-5, 176.15-17 e *passim*. Per tale ragione, Tsukimoto ritiene che la forma *bēlat* in HCCT-E 51 sia un errore dello scriba per *balāt*, errore dovuto al suono simile delle due parole. Tuttavia, proprio perché la l. 8 di HCCT-E 51 rappresenta l'unica attestazione nel *corpus* emariota dell'uso di *bēlat* in questa formula, la lettura corretta non può che essere : U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-mé-ti ša TIL.LA-at (*balāt*) ..., « fintanto che essa vivrà ... ». Per la lettura dei segni BAD e LA come TIL.LA con il significato di *balātu* v. J. Huehnergard, *RA* 77 (1983), p. 29 n. 38 ; e *id.*, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, HSS 34, Atlanta 1989, p. 358. Per la forma U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-mé-ti, oltre a U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-ma-ti in HCCT-E 36.17, v. anche J. Huehnergard, *RA* 77 (1983), p. 37 n. 110 : U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-mé-ti (in PRU 3 92.113, da Ugarit) e U<sub>4</sub>-mé-ti (in PRU 4 103.13, da Hattusa) ; U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ú-ma-ti in RE 15.12 (pubblicato da G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, Padova 1996, p. 27).

l. 13 : Per l'espressione *lēta mahāšu* nel *corpus* emariota e in contesti simili a HCCT-E 51 cfr. S. Dalley-B. Teissier, *Iraq* 54 (1992), p. 103, testo n. 6.15 *le-et-ta-šu-ú lu-ú ta-am-ha-aš* ; e RE 15.26 *le-tá-ši-<na-ti> lu-ù ti-im-ha-aš*.

Il. 19-20 : La frase *arki sarrāri šabātu*, invece della più comune *arki sarrāri alāku* (« andare appresso ad un ladro »), probabilmente è allestata anche in *Emar* VI 91.7, dove i segni residui suggeriscono la lettura : *šum-ma DAM-ia EGIR-k[i LÚ.sà-ra-ri t]a-šal-b[at]* (oppure...*t]a-šal-b[at]*), e non *EGIR-k[i LÚ.za/sà-ra-ri t]a-šal-b[at]*, come proposto da Tsukimoto in *ASJ* 13 (1991), p. 287. Si osservi inoltre che in HCCT-E 51 appare la variante grafica *sar-ra-ri*, mentre in tutte le altre attestazioni della formula la parola è scritta *sà-ra-ri* : v. A. Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 13 (1991) testo n. 23.31 ; J. Huehnergard, *RA* 77 (1983), testo n. 2.19 (*LÚ.za-ia-ri* corretto in *LÚ.sà-ra-ri* da Tsukimoto in *ASJ* 13, p. 289) ; D. Arnaud, *AuOr Supl.* 1 (1991), testo n. 41.20 (*LÚ.sà-ar-ra-ri*), RE 8.41. La variante *sar-ra-ri* rende quindi certa l'interpretazione del termine come *sarrāru* « ladro, uomo falso » (v. *AHw* 1030a), e non come *zarraru* « straniero » (v. Huehnergard, *RA* 77 (1983), p. 30). Per una recente discussione sul termine *sarrāru* nella suddetta formula v. ora D. Fleming, *The Emar Festivals : City Unity and Syrian Identity under Hittite Hegemony*, in M. W. Chavalas (ed.), *Emar*, Bethesda 1996, p. 105 n. 77.

l. 28 : *a-na A me-e lu-ù ta-aš-li-šu*. La frase segue la dichiarazione del testatore di aver lasciato in eredità alla moglie una casa *hablu*<sup>1</sup>, e letteralmente significa « (la moglie) la (la casa) getti nell'acqua ». La stessa formula è attestata anche in *AuOr Supl.* I (1991), testo n. 47 : (16) *a-na me-e* (17) *lu-ú ta-aš-bu-ṭaš* corretto da Tsukimoto in : *a-na me-e lu-ú ta-aš-li*<sup>2</sup>. Anche in questo caso l'espressione segue una donazione di immobili, e quindi in entrambi i testi sembra essere una metafora con il significato di « fare quello che si vuole (del bene ricevuto in eredità o in donazione) ». Come rilevato da Tsukimoto *ASJ* 16 (1994) pp. 234-235, sebbene i segni siano facilmente identificabili, la lettura e l'interpretazione della frase sono dubbie. La l. 28 rimane ancora da chiarire e l'interpretazione data in *ASJ* 16, per la quale non esistono paralleli, sembra per ora

la migliore<sup>3</sup>. In questa nota si vuole solo aggiungere al commento di Tsukimoto, che nel testo n. 6, pubblicato da S. Dalley - B. Teissier, in Iraq 54 (1992) p. 103, è attestata una espressione simile. Alle ll. 15-16 si legge: *le-et-ta-šu lu-ú ta-am-ha-aš / a-na SILA-qi.MEŠ lu-ú ta-aš-li-šu*, «(la madre) colpisca la sua (del figlio) guancia, e lo getti in strada». È interessante notare che sia in HCCT-E 51, sia in Iraq 54 (1992) a. 6 appare la frase *lēta mahāšu* seguita immediatamente dopo come in Iraq 54 (1992) n.6, oppure dopo il lascito di immobili come in HCCT-E 51 – da *ana mē/sūqi lū tašfī-šu*. Si deve comunque sottolineare che in Iraq 54 (1992) la frase è inserita in un contesto diverso da quello in HCCT-E 51. Con tale espressione infatti, viene indicata la punizione (l'essere umiliato con uno schiaffo e cacciato di casa) che subirà chi tra i figli del testatore non sosterrà la madre (v. ll. 10-13).

ll. 38-39.: *ṭup-pa-tu<sub>4</sub> ša pa-na-nu / ú-ul ṭup-pu* <sup>he</sup>*l-pa-a*. Tsukimoto traduce: «Earlier documents will not be followed, but will be broken», e interpreta *ṭup-pu* come stativo di *ṭēpu* (AHw 1388 a-b: «auftragen, hinbringen, addieren») e non come il sostantivo *ṭuppu* «tavolotta, documento». Ritengo invece che la traduzione corretta sia «le tavolette precedenti non sono tavolette (ossia: non sono più valide). Che esse siano rotte». Il significato della frase è chiaro: questo testamento è l'unico valido, eventuali altri documenti riguardanti l'eredità, scritti in precedenza, non hanno alcun valore. Espressioni simili sono attestate anche a Nuzi. Si veda ad esempio il testamento HSS 5 72, tratto da J.S. Paradise, *Nuzi Inheritance Practices*, unpubl. Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972, pp. 84-90: (45) ... *um-ma* (46) <sup>I</sup>*zi-ge-ma i-na U<sub>4</sub>-mi an-ni* (47) *ši-mu-ma-ka<sub>4</sub> e-te-pu-uš* (48) *ṭup-pu an-nu-um-ma* (49) *ṭup-pu ṭup-pu ṭup-pu la ṭup-pu*, «... Così (ha dichiarato) Zige (il testatore): 'In questo giorno io ho stabilito le mie decisioni testamentarie. Solo questa tavoletta è valida; (ogni) altro documento non è valido'». In particolare, per le linee in questione, v. Paradise, *ibid.*, p. 229, e E. A. Speiser, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws*, AASOR 10 (1928-1929), pp. 53-55. V. anche l'accordo matrimoniale TCL 9, 41: (31) *mī-nu-um-me-e ṭup-pa-tu<sub>4</sub> ša i-na* (32) *pá-na-nu a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ia aš-ṭù-ru* (33) *la ṭup-pa-tù šu-nu-mi ṭup-pu* (34) *eh-te-pé-šu-nu-ti an-nu-um-ma ṭup-pu* (35) *lu-ú ṭup-pu a-na-ku<sup>1</sup> ṭup-pa ša-na-a* (36) *la i-ša-aṭ-ṭar* <sup>u</sup> *i-ša-aṭ-ṭar* (37) *la ṭup-pa-tù<sup>4</sup>*, «qualsiasi tavoletta io abbia scritto in precedenza per i miei figli, non è una tavoletta (valida), poiché questa tavoletta l'ha invalidata (lett. rotta). Questa tavoletta è la (sola) tavoletta (valida). Io non scriverò un'altra tavoletta. E se io scriverò (altre tavolette) esse non sono tavolette (valide)». Per questo testo v. anche J. Breneman, *Nuzi Marriage Tablets*, unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1971, pp. 45-47; K. Grosz, *The Archive of the Wullu Family*, Copenhagen 1988, pp. 129-131 e 192-194: CAD H, 172a, s.v. *hepû* 2c. Nonostante alcune differenze tra i testi da Nuzi e quello da Emar (ad esempio nel nostro documento la formula è più concisa, e viene usata la negazione *ul* invece di *lā*), è evidente che si tratti della stessa formula.

1. Il significato del termine *hablu* non è ancora stato chiarito. Fleming, in UF 24 (1992), p. 65 n. 43, suggerisce la traduzione «(debt-)encumbered (?) house».

2. Ai testi AuOr Supl. I n. 47 e HCCT-E 51 è da aggiungere il frammento *Emar* IV, 13.9': *ja-na-me-e*, probabilmente da leggere *a-na me-e*.

3. La forma verbale *ta-AŠ/AS-li-šu* potrebbe derivare anche dal verbo *šsalû* «tuffare, immerger(si)» (cfr. CAT) Š<sub>1</sub>, s.v. *šalû* B, e AHw s.v. *šalû* D). Tuttavia è da osservare che una diversa interpretazione del verbo non aiuta a chiarire il significato della frase.

4. La traslitterazione del testo TCL 9, 41 mi è stata fornita, in una comunicazione personale, dal prof. Carlo Zaccagnini, che ringrazio vivamente anche per aver sottoposto alla mia attenzione il documento esaminato in questa nota.

Nicoletta BELLOTTO (17-02-97)

V.le Nino Bixio 9

31100 TREVISO ITALIE

**29) De nouveau sur les armes cérémonielles** – Dans une note publiée l'année dernière dans MDOG, Giorgieri avait décrit le contenu d'un texte hittite, qui provient de Kuşaklı<sup>1</sup>. Le texte parle d'un certain Tarḫunt- (écrit <sup>mD</sup>*U-ti*) auquel une arme (<sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL) est donnée (ligne 5'), fabriquée en fer (AN.BAR) (ligne 6'; cf. aussi la ligne 7'). Giorgieri explique: «Was hier mit <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL «Waffe, Keule» ... gemeint ist bleibt leider unklar. Nach dem Kontext könnte es sich wohl um einen zeremoniellen Gegenstand handeln». Il dit encore que l'arme pourrait être une lance, et conclut: «Wir wollen daher nicht ausschließen, daß KuT 32 gerade um eine eiserne, kultische Lanze geht»<sup>2</sup>.

Ces informations, malgré l'incertitude résultant du mauvais état de la tablette, peuvent être ajoutées aux renseignements que nous avons déjà sur les armes cérémonielles des pays voisins. Le texte principal provient de Mari, une lettre<sup>3</sup> où on peut lire: *giš-tukul-há ša <sup>d</sup>IM ša ḫa-la-ab<sup>[ki]</sup> ik-šu-du-nim-m[a] i-na é <sup>d</sup>da-gan ina ter-qa<sup>[ki]</sup> ka-le-ek-šu-nu-ti* «les armes d'Addu d'Alep sont arrivées ici. Je me trouve les garder dans le temple de Dagan, à Terqa ...» (A.1858: 5-10)<sup>4</sup>. C'est-à-dire que «ces armes arrivent à Terqa et sont hébergées dans le temple de Dagan» où aura lieu le rituel du couronnement<sup>5</sup>. Del Olmo Lete a montré que le texte ougaritique KTU 1.65 parle des armes *mrḫ*, «lance», *nit* «hache» et *šmd*, «massue, masse», comme la panoplie divine de Baal, probablement conservée dans le temple<sup>6</sup>. Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín prennent le *dṭn* de la ligne 15 pour une quatrième arme<sup>7</sup>. Parlant du mythe du combat entre Baal et Yammu (KTU 1.2 iv 4-30; 1.6 ii

26-37; v 1-6; 1.3 iii 37–iv 4) Bordreuil-Pardee ont écrit que A.1858 « démontre l’institutionnalisation » du mythe et son insertion dans le culte, où il est représenté de manière concrète par certaines armes »<sup>8</sup>. « De la même façon », écrit Durand, « que Ba'al se construit un palais et accède à la royauté après avoir tué la Mer, c'est l'envoi de ses armes victorieuses au roi qui permet l'instauration de la cérémonie du sacre »<sup>9</sup>.

Il y a des textes semblables pour Israël, quoiqu'ils soient rares. La mention d'armes divines en Gen 3 : 24 (épée), Deut 32 : 41-2 (épée, flèches), Isa 27 : 1 (épée) et Lam 2 : 4, 3 : 12 (arc) reflètent le mythologème, tandis qu'en Jg 7 : 20 (texte d'ailleurs ambigu) le cri de guerre de Gidéon évoque le glaive de Yahvé. En 1 R 7 : 2 est mentionné « La Maison de la Forêt du Liban », vaste immeuble adjoint au temple de Jérusalem et servant de maison d'armes, dont la fonction a dû être la concrétisation du symbolisme mythique plutôt qu'une construction tout simplement militaire<sup>10</sup>.

Il est bien possible que la tradition des armes cérémonielles, cultiques et magiques puisse remonter aux temps néolithiques (sinon encore plus loin), comme semblent le montrer plusieurs trésors d'armes<sup>11</sup>, et la présence de la hache en cuivre trouvée avec le soi-disant « homme du glacier », découvert en 1991 à Hauslabjoch dans les Alpes tyroliennes<sup>12</sup>. De plus, une cache d'une grande quantité d'armes en bronze a été trouvée à Naḥal Mishmar, près de la Mer Morte<sup>13</sup>.

1. M. Giorgieri, « Ein Text über Tempelbedienstete aus Kuşaklı (KuT32) », *MDOG* 128 (1996) 121-132.
2. M. Giorgieri, « Ein Text über Tempelbedienstete aus Kuşaklı (KuT 32) », *MDOG* 128 (1996) 124, n.6.
3. Écrite par Sumu-ila et publiée dans ARMT XXVI/3.
4. J.-M. Durand, « Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie », *MARI* 7, 1993, 41-61 (53).
5. J.-M. Durand, « Le mythologème », 53.
6. G. del Olmo Lete, « The divine panoply (KTU 1.65 : 12-14) », *Aula Orientalis* 10 (1992) 254-256.
7. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz - J. Sanmartín, « RS 4.474 = CTA 30 – Schreibübung oder Religiöser Text? », *UF* 7 (1975) 523-524.
8. P. Bordreuil-D. Pardee, « Le combat de Ba'alu avec Yammu d'après les textes ugaritiques », *MARI* 7, 1993, 63-70 (70).
9. Durand, « Le mythologème », 52.
10. Voir N. Wyatt, « Arms and the king : the earliest allusions to the *Chaoskampf* motif and their implications for the interpretation of the Ugaritic and biblical traditions », *UF* 28. sous presse.
11. Voir par exemple J. E. Levy, *Social and religious organization in Bronze Denmark. An analysis of a ritual hoard*, (BAR International Series 124 Oxford 1982); G. Philip, *Metal weapons of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Syria-Palestine*, 2 volumes (BAR International Series 526 [i and ii] Oxford 1989); R. Bradley, *A passage of arms* (Cambridge 1990).
12. Voir K. Spindler, *The man in the ice* (London 1994) 202-6.
13. P. Bar-Adon, « Expedition to the Judaeen desert C : the cave of the treasure », 1961, *IEJ* 12 (1962) 215-216; Y. Yadin, *The art of warfare in biblical lands* (London 1963) 126.

Wilfred WATSON & Nicolas WYATT (18-02-97)  
The University New College, EDINBURGH, EH1  
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, NE1 2LX, ECOSSE  
7RU, GRANDE BRETAGNE e-mail : N.Wyatt@ed.ac.uk  
e-mail : w.g.e.watson@nd.ac.uk

**30) Nochmals zu ḥarrāna /ḥarrānu (bzw. ḥūlu) ana /ina šēpē ša PN šakānu** – Im Zusammenhang mit meinen Bemerkungen zur Interpretation des nA Privatbriefes BM 103390 (Gläubiger oder Schuldner? Anmerkungen zu einem neuassyrischen Privatbrief, in : B. Pongratz-Leisten – H. Kühne – P. Xella [Hrsg.], *Ana šadī Labnāni lū allik*. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig, Kevelaer - Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997 [AOAT 247], 281-293) bin ich auch auf die nA und n/spB bezeugte Formulierung ḥarrāna /ḥarrānu (bzw. ḥūlu) analina šēpē ša PN šakānu eingegangen. Dabei hatte ich übersehen, daß sich bereits B. Kienast mit der Phrase auseinandergesetzt hatte (KASKAL<sup>II</sup> ana GĪR<sup>II</sup> ša PN šakānu, in : WO 19 [1988] 5-34). In diesem Zusammenhang diskutierte er auch die einschlägigen Belege, ohne allerdings besagten Brief BM 103390 und die von mir zur Interpretation herangezogene nA Urkunde ND 2335 = FNALD 135-137 Nr. 29 zu berücksichtigen (vgl. jetzt auch die jüngst veröffentlichten spB Belege Mesopotamia 31, 149 Nr. 21, 14-16; 152 Nr. 27, 9; 153 Nr. 30, 9f.; 158 Nr. 46, 5-7; 159 Nr. 50, 7f.; alle mit kapdu « schnell » eingeleitet; zu den entsprechenden Verbindungen vgl. B. Kienast, WO 19, 6f.). Für den in Rede stehenden Ausdruck machte B. Kienast drei Übersetzungsvorschläge : « a) konkret "jmd. wegschicken", b) übertragen "jmd. den Weg ebnen" und c) technisch "s. jmd. unterwerfen" » (WO 19, 5). Letztere Bedeutung wollte B. Kienast im Anschluß an P. Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht*, Leipzig 1911, 138f. als juristischen terminus technicus verstanden wissen, und zwar im Sinne « sich (der Vollstreckung) unterwerfen » (WO 19, 9). Nun glaube ich aber in AOAT 247, 281-293 nachgewiesen zu haben, daß gerade die entsprechenden Ausführungen von P. Koschaker sowie die nA Belege BM 103390 und ND 2335 zeigen, daß im schuldrechtlichen Zusammenhang

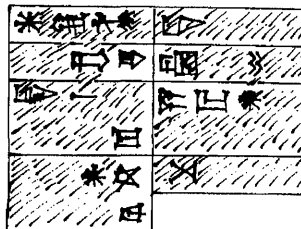
besagte Phrase durchaus auch allgemeiner mit «jemanden befriedigen» bzw. im Falle der Erweiterung durch SIG<sub>5</sub> mit «jemandem vollständig befriedigen» wiedergegeben werden kann, abgeleitet von dem Bedeutungsansatz «jemandem (in jeder Hinsicht) Gunst erweisen». Bei Vorliegen eines Schuldverhältnisses brachte man damit also zum Ausdruck, daß eben dieses Schuldverhältnis durch Schuldtilgung zum Erlöschen gebracht wurde (in diesem Sinne vielleicht auch der von B. Kienast, WO 19, 33f. angeführte Beleg CT LIV 68 Vs. 12-14 [= 15'-17' bei B. Kienast] zu deuten). Daß hinter dieser abgeschwächten Formulierung eine ursprüngliche, die persönliche (leibliche) Haftung zum Ausdruck bringende Bedeutung der Phrase steht, darf mit P. Koschaker und B. Kienast als sicher gelten.

Hans NEUMANN (24-02-97)  
 Freie Universität Berlin  
 Altorientalisches Seminar  
 Bitterstraße 8-12  
 D-14195 BERLIN, ALLEMAGNE

**31) Zur neusumerischen Tonetikette I 713** - In *NABU* 1994/36 haben K. Hecker und G. Kryszat die neusumerische Tonetikette I 713 (mit den Maßen 5,0x5,1x5,3 cm) aus der Sammlung des Altorientalischen Seminars der Karlsuniversität Prag veröffentlicht. In diesem Zusammenhang äußerten sie die Vermutung, daß der Text auf Grund seiner Inventarisierung unter dem Sigel I (zusammen mit einer Vielzahl von altassyrischen Tontafeln) vom Kültepe stammen könnte. Allerdings relativierten die Vf. ihre Aussage insoweit, als es «trotz des entsprechenden Eintrags im Prager Inventarbuch ... nicht ausgeschlossen (ist), daß der Text nicht aus der Grabung Hroznys am Kültepe stammt», da der Autor des Inventarbuches «zahlreiche Objekte mit der Herkunftsbezeichnung "Kültepe"» versehen hatte, «die mit Sicherheit nicht von dort, sondern allenfalls aus dem Handel stammen konnten wie etwa ... eben auch I 713.» Letzteren Bemerkungen ist unbedingt zuzustimmen, zumal sich unter den Prager Texten mit I-Siegel auch mehrere Ur III-Texte befinden, die gewiß nicht aus Kaniš stammen (vgl. H. Neumann - B. Hruška, Die Ur III-Texte aus der Sammlung des Altorientalischen Seminars der Karlsuniversität Prag, in: *ArOr* 62 [1994] 227-249), so daß eine Herkunft von I 713 vom Kültepe wohl eher unwahrscheinlich ist.

Der zweizeilige Text, der den Übernahmevermerk eines kurušda, also eines «Viehmeisters» enthält (zu kurušda im Rahmen der neusumerischen Viehwirtschaft vgl. H. Waetzoldt, *RIA* IV [1972-1975] 423; zuletzt M. Štepić, *Animal Husbandry in the Ancient Near East. A Prosopographic Study of Third Millennium Umma*, Bethesda 1996, 38-40; zur Lesung /kurušt/ vgl. P. Steinkeller, *ZA* 69 [1979] 185), stammt aus Puzriš-Dagān und bietet den Monatsnamen ezem-maḥ min. Wie die Vf. zu Recht betont haben, gehört dieser Monat in das Jahr AS 4 (vgl. dazu auch M. Cooper, *ZA* 77 [1987] 184); ein Beleg stammt aus dem Jahr ŠS 2 (PDT II 1259). Nun zeigen nicht zuletzt die in den vorliegenden Zusammenhang gehörenden Paralleltexte, daß die entsprechenden Etiketten in der Regel gesiegelt waren (vgl. etwa BRM III 72; MVN X 197; PDT II 1259). Dies trifft auch auf den Text I 713 zu, der nach Autopsie folgende Schreibersiegelspuren erkennen läßt (für die Möglichkeit, den Text kollationieren zu können, habe ich Herrn Doz. Dr. P. Vavroušek Csc. herzlich zu danken):

I            dšul-gi  
               [nita]-kala-ga  
               lugal-U[ri<sup>ki</sup>]-ma  
               [lugal]-an-ub-[da-lfmmu]-ba  
 II            [Lugal<sup>1</sup>-  
               dub-s[ar]  
               dumu-Ur.<sup>d</sup>[  
               [ir<sup>11</sup>]-[zu]



Daß ein mit ziemlicher Sicherheit aus dem Jahr AS 4 stammender Text mit einem Siegel versehen ist, das in der Widmung den König Šulgi nennt, muß nicht weiter verwundern, da ältere Siegel durchaus auch noch nach dem Regierungsantritt des neuen Königs verwendet werden konnten (vgl. dazu P. Steinkeller, *BiMes* 6 [1977] 46f.; im vorliegenden Zusammenhang vgl. noch BRM III 72: Šulgi im Siegel, Datum dagegen AS 3/VI/30).

Hans NEUMANN (24-02-97)

**32) UM 29-16-162 = F.R. Steele, JAOS 63, 156f.** - Meine in *CRRA* 38, Paris 1992, 91 Anm. 90 geäußerte Vermutung, daß es sich bei der seinerzeit von F.R. Steele, *JAOS* 63 (1943) 156 (mit Siegel S. 157) veröffentlichten Ur III-Tafel (nur Datum kopiert) um den Text NATN 689 mit der Inventarnummer UM 29-16-162 handeln könnte, hat sich nach Kollation bestätigt (für die 1992 in Philadelphia gewährten Arbeits- und Kollationsmöglichkeiten danke ich Prof. Dr. Å.W. Sjöberg und Dr. H. Behrens sehr herzlich). Die von F.R. Steele angegebene und von D.I. Owen, *NATN* S. 42 übernommene Inventarnummer UM 29-13-162 (vgl. auch P.

Gerardi, A Bibliography of the Tablet Collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia 1984, 199) gehört zu einem aB Text mit 15 Zeilen (Rs. nicht beschrieben), betreffend Feldflächen mit Angaben über die zuständigen « Bauern » (engar).

Hans NEUMANN (24-02-97)

**33) Halhatamti y la escritura elamita** – En NABU 1996/89 F. Vallat contesta mi nota aparecida en NABU 1996/50, relativa al origen y significado del término elamita *halhatamti*.

Ciertamente la expresión *ala'itum matum* no está atestiguada en acadio, cuya gramática sitúa al adjetivo después del nombre; pero Elam es el « país superior » por excelencia, por lo que, con esta expresión, los escribas podrían muy bien haber intentado diferenciarlo de cualquier otro « país superior » (*matum elitum*).

Una transcripción como *hal Hatamti* o bien <sup>hal</sup>*Hatamti*, en vez de *halhatamti* no resuelve el problema, sino que más bien lo elimina. En principio el término elamita *halhatamti* goza de buena salud, a menos claro está que se trate de una dittografía, (cf. *ELW* p. 597 sub voce, e igualmente la voz *halhatamtir* que parece confirmarla).

Que la « h » es muda desde los tiempos más antiguos puede verse en el ejemplo, entre otros, pu-ur-hi-en-šà-al/pu-ur-hi-en-šà-hal (cf. *ELW* sub voce). Por lo demás los intercambios « ha/am » (por ej. ha-ba-ráš/am-ba-ráš), « ha/a » (por ej. ha-pi-ni/a-pi-ni), « hi/i » (por ej. hi-še/i-še), « hu/u » (por ej. pu-hu/pu-ú) abundan en el mismo sentido. Igualmente el valor de diptongo se puede deducir claramente de la alternancia « h/e/ia » (cf. por ej. na-ri-e-iz-za/na-ri-ya-az-za/na-ri-hi-iz-za).

Sostener que el signo MEŠ indice en elamita que « le ou les signes qui précèdent sont considérés comme des logogrammes », no trace sino repetir una antigua afirmación no verificada, transmitida de autor en autor. En elamita este signo tiene, no una, sino varias funciones, entre ellas dos muy claras:

a) los escribas elamitas lo utilizaban para indicar que el signo precedente era una abreviatura, lo que se ha dado en llamar « elamograma » (cf. entre otras mu.MEŠ abrev. de *murun*; GAM.mu.MEŠ abrev. de *muktu*, etc.); y

b) señala precisamente que la palabra que le precede no es elamita, sino de origen extranjero. Los ejemplos se cuentan por decenas, pero basten unos pocos: bu-uh-ar.MEŠ del acadio *bu'uru*; ši-in-nu-um.MEŠ, acadio *šinnu*; du-ud-da.MEŠ, persa antiguo *tuta*; mi-za-ru-um.MEŠ, acadio *misarrum*; etc.

Es lícito preguntarse justamente, ¿dónde están los logogramas en estos casos?

Por lo demás, el signo MEŠ también aparece precediendo a la palabra que califica (cf. MEŠ.áš-ku-tur, MEŠ.GUD.UD.ma etc.), lo que es contrario a la usada pero huérfana afirmación.

Enrique QUINTANA (01-03-97)

C/ San Martin de Porres 1-1A

30001 MURCIA ESPAGNE

**34) Aromatika** – Im jüngst von John MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996), p. 115 (Kopie p. 148) als Nr. 16 publizierten neubabylonischen Brief BM 67001 werden unter anderem zwei aromatische Substanzen genannt, die in den Wörterbüchern nicht verzeichnet sind: [<sup>šim</sup>ka-ši-'a-a-tu<sub>4</sub>] (Zeile 5) und [<sup>šim</sup>šá-li-ḥa[tú/tu<sub>4</sub>]] (Zeile 11).

MacGinnis emendiert Zeile 5 nach RAcc. 18 : 6 (<sup>šim</sup>ka-ši-si-ḥa-tu<sub>4</sub>) zu [<sup>šim</sup>ka-ši-<si>-'a-a-tu<sub>4</sub>]. *kašī'ātu* ist jedoch auch (in der Schreibung <sup>šim</sup>ka-ši-a-tú/tu<sub>4</sub>) in den noch unpublizierten Texten BM 63707<sup>1</sup> Rs. 3 und BM 73126 Rs. 4 (beides neubabylonische Listen von Aromatika aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv) belegt. Allenfalls könnte man also das Hapax <sup>šim</sup>ka-ši-si-ḥa-tu<sub>4</sub> zu <sup>šim</sup>ka-ši-{si}-ḥa-tu<sub>4</sub> emendieren. Es liegt nahe, *kašī'ātu/kašīḥātu*? etymologisch mit Althebräisch *qōšī'ōt* zusammenzustellen (« Geers' law »). Das Wort bedeutet « Kassia, Zimtblüten »; s. neben den einschlägigen Wörterbüchern s.v. \**qōšī'ā* vor allem I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* II (Hildesheim 1967, Nachdruck der Ausgabe Wien/Leipzig 1924), 113f. Die LXX übersetzt κασία.

*šalihātu*, auch in BM 63707 Rs. 5 (<sup>šim</sup>šá-li-ḥa-tu<sub>4</sub>) und vielleicht in BM 73126 Rs. 3 ([<sup>šim</sup>šá-li]-ḥa-tu<sub>4</sub>, vor *kašī'ātu*) und einem weiteren einschlägigen Text, BM 77429 : 21 (<sup>šim</sup>šal-ḥa<sup>1</sup>-at), belegt, entspricht Arabisch *salīḥa* « Kassia(rinde) » (von \**slḥ* « abschälen » etc.). Das Wort findet sich auch im Altsüdarabischen (*slḥt*) und (als *serichatum*) sogar bei Plinius (*Naturalis Historia* XII 99); s. dazu Löw, *Flora* II, 114f., W. W. Müller, *OLZ* 77 (1982) 164 und F. Bron, « De quelques noms d'aromates chez Pline l'ancien », *Museum Helveticum. Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 43 (1986) 131-134, besonders 133f. (den Hinweis auf diesen Artikel verdanke ich A. Sima).

Über die Etymologien hinausgehende weitere, auch prosopographische, Aspekte von BM 67001 werden in der Untersuchung zu den neubabylonischen Aromatika, die ich derzeit vorbereite, behandelt.

1. Zitate aus unpublizierten Texten hier und im folgenden mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Trustees des British Museum.

Michael JURSA (04-03-97)

Inst. für Orientalistik, Universität Wien

Universitätsstraße 7/V A- 1010 WIEN, AUTRICHE

35) RS 88.2158 – Les textes retrouvés à Ugarit par la mission de Ras Shamra entre 1986 et 1992 paraîtront prochainement dans un volume de la série Ras Shamra - Ougarit dont D. Arnaud est l'éditeur. Parmi ces textes figure RS 88.2158, une lettre d'Égypte dont j'ai cité et commenté certains passages lors du colloque de Paris, « Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. », dans ma communication « Une correspondance entre l'administration du pharaon Merneptah et le roi d'Ugarit », publiée dans RSO XI, 77-83. L'un de ces passages, cité notes 11 et 13, était

10'    *ù ki-i ša at-ta tàš-pu-ru um-ma-a lugal li-id-din*  
*a-na a-la-ki l-en lú pur-kúl-la ù a-na ʿiaʿ-ši li ʿi-š-ša*  
*a-na e-pé-ši l-en ʰalam ša ʰmar-ni-ip- t[a-ah]*  
*ha-at-pa-mu-a i-na pa-ni ʰalam an-ni-i ša ʰIŠKUR*  
*ša i-na lib-bi é dingir-lì an-ni-i eš<sub>15</sub>-ša*  
15'    *ša a-na-ku e-te-ʿné-ep<sup>1</sup>-[pu]-uš-šu a-na ʰIŠKUR*  
*ša kur ú-ga-ri-it at-ta ka-an-na táq-bi*

que je traduisais

«<sup>10'</sup> Et voici ce que toi, tu as écrit : “Que le roi accorde<sup>11'</sup> que vienne un lapicide et [qu'il sor]te vers m[oi(?)]<sup>12'</sup> pour faire une image de Marnipt[ah]<sup>13'</sup> Hatpamua en face de cette image de Ba'al<sup>14'</sup> qui (sera) dans la demeure de ce<sup>1</sup> dieu, la nouvelle<sup>15'</sup> que, moi, je suis en train de faire pour Ba'al<sup>16'</sup> du pays d'Ugarit.” Toi, tu t'es exprimé ainsi. »

Je lisais *eš<sub>15</sub>-ša* à la fin de la ligne 14', arguant du fait que *eššu* est écrit *eš<sub>15</sub>-šu* dans la lettre du prince héritier Šutahapšap KUB III 70 Rs. 15 et 16 (à Ugarit, voir *bīta eš<sub>15</sub>-ša* RS 15. 85 l. 3, PRU III p. 52) et je me demandais si l'adjectif s'appliquait à l'image ou à la demeure, le verbe *epēšu* pouvant signifier aussi bien faire une statue que bâtir ou rebâtir un temple, mais je reconnaissais qu'aucun des deux substantifs auxquels ce terme est susceptible d'être rattaché n'est à l'accusatif. Lire *iš-ša*, de *našû*, la lecture la plus simple, m'avait paru incompatible avec la phrase qui suit dont le sujet est sans doute possible à la première personne du singulier. D'autre part, outre que l'on attendrait *iš-ša-a*, le verbe *našû* à la forme I, qui signifie plutôt « apporter » et se construit en général avec *ana*, n'est pas celui que l'on attendrait. Dans les lettres expédiées d'Égypte (voir maintenant E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, Opladen, 1994), *našû*, sauf erreur, n'est employé que dans l'expression *rēša našû* ; pour dire que le pharaon envoie une personne ou une chose, les scribes emploient *šarāhu* (dans le premier cas seulement), *šapāru* ou *šūbulu*, sinon *nadānu*. Je n'étais cependant pas sûre de mon fait et D. Arnaud m'ayant indiqué qu'il préférerait malgré tout *iššā* à *ešša*, j'ai repris l'étude du passage pour l'édition de la lettre.

J'aurais dû prêter plus d'attention aux deux autres occurrences d'*annû* dans ce texte. Il m'apparaît maintenant que *an-ni-i* doit se rapporter à é et non à *ili*, comme l'impliquait ma traduction « dans la demeure de ce<sup>1</sup> dieu » (RSO XI, 78) : il y a un parallélisme entre *i-na pa-ni ʰalam an-ni-i ... ša ...* et *i-na lib-bi é ... an-ni-i ... ša ...*, « en face de l'image...que » et « à l'intérieur du temple ... que », ainsi que, à la ligne 29', *i-na ša giš.má-ia an-ni-i ša ... (illak)* « dans mon bateau qui ... ». Dans les trois cas, la meilleure traduction de *annû ša* me paraît « la/le ... que/qui » ; d'autre part, *bī ili* doit être plutôt un terme global, « temple » (voir les exemples cités dans CAD B, 1 c 2' p. 288). Il devient alors très difficile de justifier un adjectif *ešša* et non *ešši* puisqu'il ne peut être rattaché qu'à *bīt ili annî*, et le parallélisme incite à lire un verbe. J'ai repris l'examen du moulage et il y a peut-être sur la tranche, qui est en mauvais état, les traces d'un *a* un peu décalé. Malgré la rupture de construction de l'akkadien – qui s'explique peut-être par la longueur de la phrase qu'il aurait fallu introduire avant *iššā* (et n'apparaît d'ailleurs pas en français) – je lirais maintenant :

14'    *ša i-na lib-bi é dingir-lì an-ni-i iš-ša ʿaʿ?*  
15'    *ša a-na-ku e-te-ʿné-ep<sup>1</sup>-[pu]-uš-šu*  
« qu'il a présentée dans le temple que moi, je suis en train de faire »

Les lettres de l'époque de Ramsès II n'évoquent rien de cette sorte. L'offrande d'une image divine dans un temple n'est pas du même ordre que l'envoi d'un messenger, d'un médecin ou d'un « cadeau », ce qui peut expliquer le choix du verbe *našû*, dont le premier sens est « lever » (comme son équivalent sumérien *il*). J'ai une fois de plus consulté J. Yoyotte pour savoir s'il ne s'agirait pas de l'équivalent akkadien d'une tournure égyptienne ; selon lui, « il existe au moins un verbe égyptien classique *si'r*, littéralement “faire monter, élever” employé pour dire “présenter, offrir” quelque chose (notamment à un dieu) » et il précise que « les pharaons sont en général dits “donner (eux-mêmes)”, apporter des présents qu'en réalité leurs agents acheminaient en pratique au destinataire divin. » Il faut d'ailleurs noter que cette prétendue citation d'une lettre du roi d'Ugarit, encadrée par *ù ki-i ša at-ta tàš-pu-ru um-ma-a* « et voici comment toi, tu as écrit » et *at-ta ka-an-na táq-bi* « toi, tu t'es exprimé ainsi » résume sans doute l'esprit de la dite lettre mais à l'aide de tournures caractéristiques des scribes de Ramsès II écrivant en akkadien, en prenant soin par ailleurs de préciser « pour Ba'al de l'Ugarit » quand un scribe d'Ugarit aurait probablement écrit « pour Ba'al ».

Le parallélisme que je décèle maintenant dans les trois occurrences d'*annû* me porte à rattacher *ša ... etenepuššu* à *bīt ili annî* ; mais on peut se demander si la précision de la ligne 15' ne se rattache pas à *ʰalam ša ʰmar-ni-ip- t[a-ah]*. J'avais écarté cette hypothèse mais de fait, D. Arnaud serait enclin à traduire « (pour faire

l'image de Marniptah ...) que moi j'ai l'intention de faire avec constance pour Ba'al (du pays d'Ugarit) ». Je continue à penser que s'il est courant qu'un souverain affirme « j'ai construit tel ou tel monument », il est plus difficile d'admettre qu'*epēšu* à la voie I signifie dans la même phrase « faire (soi-même) » et « (faire) faire » ; la fabrication de l'image n'étant évidemment qu'à l'état de projet, il faudrait aussi que la notion d'intensité et de persévérance introduite par l'emploi de la forme en *-tana-* (celle d'« être en train de », comme à la l. 18', étant exclue ici) s'applique à l'intention de l'acte et non à l'acte lui-même. Il reste que c'est l'une des traductions possibles.

Deux remarques s'imposent : si l'on accepte ma nouvelle interprétation du passage, le roi d'Ugarit, comme je l'avais supposé, dut restaurer sinon reconstruire le temple de Ba'al, peut-être pour les raisons qui nécessitent la reconstruction d'une partie de la ville dans la deuxième moitié du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle (RSO XI, 78s. ; O. Callot, *La tranchée "Ville Sud" - Etudes d'architecture domestique*, RSO X, chapitre IV p. 197s.). En revanche, ce texte n'implique nullement qu'il se proposait d'installer l'image de Merneptah en face de l'image cultuelle de Ba'al, une hypothèse que J.- C. Margueron avait rejetée lors du colloque de Paris (voir RSO XI, 79 n. 15) ; même si je continue à penser, contrairement à lui, qu'il y avait probablement une image cultuelle dans le temple de Ba'al, ce n'était évidemment pas l'image offerte par Merneptah. On sait qu'à cette époque, Ba'al était assimilé à Seth, le dieu de prédilection de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie ; l'akkadien (<sup>d</sup>alam= *šalmu*) ne permet pas de savoir si l'image en question était une statue, une statuette ou une stèle mais elle dut être faite en Egypte et l'on peut penser que, comme sur la stèle de Mamy, Ba'al était représenté avec la posture et les attributs de Seth (voir M. Yon, « Stèles de pierre », dans M. Yon et alii, *Arts et industries de la pierre*, RSO VI, Paris, 1991, 286). Notons d'ailleurs que l'image est « *ša* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR » et le temple « *ana* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR *ša* kur Ugarit ». D'après M. Yon (ibid. 274) la stèle de Mamy est « l'unique stèle importée d'Egypte » retrouvée à Ras Shamra, et aucune statue égyptienne de Ba'al/Seth n'est mentionnée parmi les trouvailles du temple de Ba'al, mais s'il s'agissait d'un objet de dimensions réduites, stèle ou ronde bosse, ou fait d'une autre matière, il n'est pas surprenant qu'on ne l'ait pas retrouvé.

Sylvie LACKENBACHER (07-03-97)  
303 rue du Faubourg Saint Antoine  
75011 PARIS

### 36) TÛN = tûn bei Gudea –

1. Nochmals zu den Gießbechern des Gudea.

[1] Der Ningišzida geweihte grüne Steatit-Becher<sup>1</sup> gilt als besonders schönes und interessantes Beispiel der Gudea-zeitlichen Reliefkunst. Die Reliefdarstellung zeigt zwei aufgerichtete sich kreuzende Schlangen, deren Köpfe den Ausguß rahmen und hinter denen je ein aufgerichteter geflügelter Schlangendrache steht. Dieser hält mit seinen Pfoten den sog. « Bügelschaft ». Dieser Becher ist, verbunden mit der Weihinschrift an Ningišzida, auch religionsgeschichtlich bedeutsam.<sup>2</sup> E. Braun-Holzinger nennt nun in ihrem Katalog mesopotamischer Weihegaben zwei weitere Bruchstücke, die wahrscheinlich zu Gießgefäßen vom Typ des Ningišzida-Bechers gehört haben. Ohne (erhaltene) Inschrift ist AO 3287 : « Steatitfragment eines Bechers mit Ausguß, der von einem Vogelkopf überragt wird, Kopf durchlocht ».<sup>3</sup> Insbesondere das zweite, nicht reliefierte, Fragment hat E. Braun-Holzinger bereits in ZA 79 (1989) 1-7 unter dem Titel « REC 447.LÁ = Libationsbecher » behandelt. Dieses Bruchstück eines der <sup>d</sup>nin-izi-mú-a<sup>4</sup> geweihten Steatit-Bechers nennt nämlich den Weihegegenstand selbst : TÛN(=REC 447).LÁ. H. Steible deutete dieses Fragment als wahrscheinliches Gegenstück<sup>5</sup> des berühmten Schlangenbechers des Ningišzida, dessen Name etwa « Herr des rechten Baumes » bedeutet.<sup>6</sup> Er wies vollkommen überzeugend darauf hin, daß wir in der Schreibung <sup>d</sup>nin-izi-mú-a eine (Schreib(?)-)Form des Göttinnennamens Ninazimu'a vor uns haben, die der späteren Tradition als Gemahlin des Ningišzida galt.<sup>7</sup>

[2] Das als TÛN.LÁ bezeichnete Gefäß wurde von E. Braun-Holzinger als Libationsbecher bestimmt.<sup>8</sup> Es war vornehmlich aus Metall, « Kupfer, Bronze, oder auch aus Silber und Gold hergestellt ».<sup>9</sup> Als Charakteristikum nennt sie den Ausguß dieser Gefäße, der allerdings in Stein nur schwer zu formen gewesen sei. Dieses Fragment ist von besonderer Bedeutung, bezeichnet die Inschrift (Gudea 89) das zuerst genannte Gefäß(-Bruchstück) doch ausdrücklich als TÛN.LÁ. Bemerkenswert – und von Braun-Holzinger ja auch beschrieben – ist für die Bestimmung von TÛN.LÁ folgende Tatsache : Wie das unbeschriftete Fragment AO 3287, so ist auch der Gießbecher des Ningišzida mit Durchbohrungen versehen : die Köpfe der sich kreuzenden Schlangen, die den Ausguß rahmen sind für eine Aufhängung durchlocht.<sup>10</sup>

[3] Zur philologischen Bewertung des Befundes möchte ich nun zu E. Braun-Holzinger folgendes nachtragen : TÛN (= REC 447, RSP 305), das sie zurecht von GÍN (= REC 448, RSP 306)<sup>11</sup> unterscheidet, ist wohl zu verbinden mit der Gleichung *uzu.tûn.bar* = *sapsapu(m)* « lower lip » ; « fringe(=) of a garment » ; (CAD S 167).<sup>12</sup> Gleichfalls hierher gehört dann das Adjektiv *sapsapānu(m)* « with protruding longer lip (describing persons and a species of fish) » (CAD S 167), wobei, wie die Gleichung *suḥur-tûn-bar*<sup>ku6</sup> anzeigt, höchstwahrscheinlich eine Karpfenart<sup>13</sup> mit besonders ausgeprägter Unterlippe gemeint ist (nach *Nabnītu* XXVII (=M) (MSL 16, 235 : 78) *šaptu šaplītu*)<sup>14</sup>, d.h. « (Karpfen) mit (starker) Unterlippe ».<sup>15</sup>



Bemerkenswerterweise geht in Hh XVIII 6-7 **suḥur-tūn-bar<sup>ku6</sup>** unmittelbar voraus eine als **suḥur-sun<sub>4</sub>-lá<sup>ku6</sup>** = *ziqnānu* «bärtig» bezeichnete Karpfenart (MSL 8/2 96 : 6, val. AHW 1530). Nach diesen Belegen scheint folgender Analogieschluß naheliegend : Während die letztgenannte Fischart einen Karpfen bezeichnet, « an dem ein Bart hängt », meint unsere Gefäßbezeichnung einen Becher « der an (s)einer Lippe (aufge)hängt (wird) ». <sup>16</sup> Im Zusammenhang mit dem archäologischen Befund bedeutet dies, daß die Durchbohrungen an den Ausgußlippen der Gefäße offensichtlich für den Gefäßtyp charakteristisch und namengebend gewesen sind.

## 2. Der Karpfen <sup>ku6</sup>**suḥur-TÛN**

[4] Unter den « Brautgaben für Baba », die von Ningišzida überbracht werden, sind auch <sup>ku6</sup>**suḥur-TÛN**-Fische, genannt, die in der Edition von H. Steible unübersetzt und ungedeutet bleiben. Er verweist lediglich auf den Unterschied der Schreibungen **TÛN<sup>ku6</sup>-suḥur-a** in Gudea St.E 5 : 19, 7 : 10 gegenüber <sup>ku6</sup>**suḥur-TÛN** in Gudea St. G 4 : 13, 6 : 8. Der Zusatz **a** in St. E wird, wie auch sonst in Fischtexten, einfach « frisch » bedeuten. <sup>17</sup> Der dann noch scheinbar auffällige Wechsel in der Zeichenfolge ist jedoch kaum signifikant, zeigen doch die Urkunden häufig solche wechselnden Schreibungen. Die einschlägigen Gudea-Passagen möchte ich deshalb wie folgt deuten :

[6] **60 mušen-TUR.TUR ḡiš-ḤU-bi 15 60 TÛN<sup>ku6</sup>-suḥur-a ḡiš-ḤU-bi 30 ... níḡ-MÍ-ús-sá-dba-ba<sub>6</sub> é-libir-u<sub>4</sub>-bi-ta-kam** « 60 "Klein-Vögel" (?) <sup>18</sup> : ihre "Käfige" <sup>19</sup> (sind) 15, 60 frische "Wulstlippen"-Karpfen : ihre "Käfige" (sind) 30 ... waren die Brautgaben für Baba (im) früheren alten Tempel. » Gudea St.E 5 : 17-6 : 4 ; // Gudea St.G 4 : 11-20 (mit der Schreibung <sup>ku6</sup>**suḥur-TÛN**) ; vgl.a. die "Neuregelung" in Gudea St.E 7 : 8-16 // Gudea St.G 6 : 6-14 (<sup>ku6</sup>**suḥur-TÛN**).

[7] Daß bestimmte Karpfenarten nach ihren ausgeprägten Lippen oder « Baarthaaren » unterschieden werden, überrascht nicht. Beides sind ja besonders auffällige Merkmale der *Cyprinidae*, zu denen der bei weitem größte Teil der im Iraq gefangenen Süßwasserfische gehört. Bekannt ist die Beschreibung der **suḥur<sup>ku6</sup>** aus « The Home of the Fish » [M. Civil *Iraq* 23 (1961) 154ff.] 69-73 : **su<sub>6</sub><sup>17</sup> ša<sub>6</sub>-ša<sub>6</sub> ú-làl KA.K[A] ku<sub>6</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> suḥur-gal<sup>ku6</sup>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḡé-ga-me-da-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub> gi-ub-zal kú ka-šè ì-[x-x] ku<sub>6</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> suḥur-tur<ku<sub>6</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub>> ḡé-ga-me-da-[an-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>] nundun-gal-gal gi-zi naḡ-ḡá**, nach M. Civils Übersetzung : « Der (Fisch) mit schönen Barthaaren ißt süße Pflanzen, O mein Fisch, der große Karpfen möge mit dir eintreten ; der (Fisch) der "Ecken"-Rohre <sup>20</sup> ißt, der kleine Karpfen, möge mit dir eintreten ; der (Fisch) mit den großen Lippen, trinkt <sup>sic!</sup> "Futter-Rohre" » <sup>21</sup>.

[6] Nicht unerwähnt bleiben darf allderdings, daß bisher zur Deutung des Fischnamens **suḥur-tūn-bar<sup>ku6</sup>** auch die Gleichung **tūn** = *tākaltu(m)* herangezogen wurde. <sup>22</sup> B. Landsberger MSL 8/2, 86 identifizierte den Fisch **mur-ra-tūn-a** von Z. 31 Hh XVII mit *Saccobranchus fossilis*, einer Art der Familie *Siluridae*, die durch den besonders großen Luftsack gekennzeichnet ist. <sup>23</sup> Auf der anderen Seite hatte noch A. Salonen, *Fischerei* 16. 144 das Wort *sapsapānu* mit den "Baarthaaren" des Karpfens in Verbindung gebracht ; vgl. a.a.O. 218 « suhur-Karpfen mit Bocksbart ». Zumindest von Soden verbindet *sapsapānu* und *sapsāpu* jedoch auch etymologisch mit *šaptu(m)* « Lippe ». <sup>24</sup> Mit allergrößter Wahrscheinlichkeit bezieht sich die Fisch-Qualifikation demnach auf die wulstigen Lippen der Karpfen, bzw. einer bestimmten Karpfen-Spezies.

[7] Zu erörtern bleibt nun noch die Lesung des Zeichens **TÛN** in der Gefäß- und Fischbezeichnung. Nicht endgültig bewiesen, <sup>25</sup> aber sehr wahrscheinlich, erscheint die Lesung unseres Gefäßes als **tūn-lá** und zwar aus folgenden Gründen : 1. Für die Lippe, akk. *šaptu(m)*, ist sumerisch neben **KA×NUN** = **nun/mdun** auch **tu-un TÛN** überliefert, und zwar bereits in Proto-Aa (MSL 14, 134 n. 13 iii 13 ; vgl. a. MSL 14, 493 = A VIII/1=39 : 112). <sup>26</sup> 2. Auch die Gleichung **tu-un TÛN** *suqtum* « Kinn » (Aa VIII/1=39 (MSL 14, 492) : 111 ; AHW 1061 ; CAD S 399f.) wird man hier heranziehen können. 3. Nach Aa VIII/1=39 (MSL 14, 492) : 108-129 gehört zu den 22 Gleichungen für **tu-un TÛN** auch noch *mākaltu(m)*, ein « Eßnapf ». <sup>27</sup> Wenn wir nun **tūn-lá** als « (Gefäß,) das an den Lippen aufgehängt (wird) » richtig gedeutet und gelesen haben, so wird auch die Karpfenart sicher <sup>ku6</sup>**suḥur-tūn** gelesen werden müssen.

[8] **Zusammenfassung** : Aus den vorstehenden Darlegungen ergibt sich : 1. Der Gefäßtyp, der durch die Gießbecher der Ninizimu'a und des Ningišzida repräsentiert wird, heißt so nach seinem "lippenförmigen" Ausguß, an dem diese aufgehängt wurden. 2. Obzwar er als "Libationsgefäß" bezeugt scheint, so ist diese Funktion jedoch aus dem Gefäßnamen allenfalls mittelbar abzuleiten. Die von E. Braun-Holzinger ZA 79 (1989) 6<sup>+22-23</sup> herangezogenen Gefäßtypen aus dem Königsfriedhof von Ur, können – mangels Durchbohrung – nur in eingeschränktem Maß zum Vergleich herangezogen werden. 3. Es darf als sicher gelten, daß der Name des Gefäßtyps **tūn-lá** zu lesen ist. 4. Die mit **TÛN** qualifizierten Karpfenarten heißen so nach ihren (besonders auffällig) hervortretenden Lippen. 5. Aus der Analogie der Bezeichnungen folgt, daß auch bei den Karpfen das Zeichen **TÛN** mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit **tūn** gelesen werden muß.

1. Vgl. E. Braun-Holzinger, *Mesopotamische Weihgaben* (HSAO 3) 170f. : G 255 (Daten, Lit.). Die Inschrift wurde zuletzt bearbeitet als « Gudea 65 » von H. Steible FAOS 9, I 329f. (Bibl.).

2. Vgl. z.B. A. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, 101ff., bes. 103 ; E. Braun-Holzinger, ZA 79 (1989) 1f. ; F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits* (Cuneiform Monographs 1) 168.

3. E. Braun-Holzinger HSAO 3, 99<sup>+406</sup>.

4. Zu **d<sup>nin</sup>-izi-mú-a** (auch **d<sup>nin</sup>-a-izi-mú-a** u.ä.) als Gemahlin des Ningišzida (von Gudea gleichgesetzt mit der in Lagaš seit alters beheimateten **d<sup>(ama)</sup>-ḡeštin-an-na**) vgl. ausführlich H. Steible FAOS 9, 2 350f. Die Namensdeutung bleibt

schwierig; vgl. die Diskussion bei H. Steible FAOS 9,2 74; P. Attinger ZA 74 (1984) 74. Beachte auch Gud. St.M 1 : 1-4 : **dġeštin-an-na nin-a-izi-mú-a dam-ki-áġ-dnin-ġiš-zi-da-ka**. Auch Steible läßt diesen « Beinamen » der Geštinanna unübersetzt. Die von ihm zitierten *Fāra-* und *Abū-Šālabīḥ-*zeitlichen Schreibungen weisen auf eine ursprüngliche Namensform \***dá-zi(d)(-mú(-a))**. In ihr ist möglicherweise das Syntagma **á-zi(-da)** « rechter Arm » « Helfer » vgl. PSD A/II, 120-124 enthalten. Beachte weiter die Deutung des Göttinnennamens durch Th. Jacobsen, The Harps ... 59 : « the lady who makes the branches grow rightly ». Weiter schreibt Jacobsen : « Since, mythopoeically, the ancients assumed tree roots and serpents to be identical and wrote the word for roots with a picture of crossed snakes [MUŠ×MUŠ, d.h. /arina/ o.ä., vgl. M. Civil JCS 15 (1961) 125ff., Zusatz d. Verf.] Ningishzida was also king of serpents ».

5. H. Steible FAOS 9,1 351.

6. Vgl. Th. Jacobsen, The Harps ... 394 Anm. 27 : « lord of the good tree », leicht abweichend a.a.O. 59.

7. Vgl. A. Falkenstein AnOr 30 74<sup>+6</sup>; H. Steible FAOS 9,1 305f.

8. S. ZA 79 (1989). Auf S. 2 verweist sie auf Darstellungen, die die Verwendung solcher Gefäße bei Libationen zeigen, etwa auf die Ur-Namma- oder die Suasa- Stele (Sb7), auf S. 6<sup>+22-23</sup> verbindet sie unser Gefäß mit im Königsfriedhof von Ur gefundenen Gefäßtypen; vgl. dazu unten [7].

9. ZA 79 (1989) 4.

10. E. Braun-Holzinger HSAO 3, 170f. zu G 255.

11. ZA 79 (1989) 3f. mit Verweis auf die bei H. Limet, Le travail du Métal 219 (s.v. **ma-lá**) bzw. 231 (s.v. **tùn(-lal)**) noch herrschende Verwirrung. [Beachte, daß die Gleichungen *pašū(m)*, *paštu(m)* « Axt, Hacke o.ä. » zum Zeichen **GÍN** mit der Lesung **gín** bzw. **gím** gehören.] Noch ZATU Nr. 561 führt unter dem « Zeichennamen » **TÜN** die Formen von **GÍN** auf.

12. UM 29-13-644 (B. Landsberger JAOS 88 (1968) 144) überliefert die Lesung **su-ul KA×SA** mit den Gleichungen *ziġnu*, *sapsāpu* und *tarru*.

13. **suġur**<sup>ku6</sup> = *purādu(m)* AHW 880; vgl. B. Landsberger MSL 8/2, 82; A. Salonen Fischerei 216ff. : *Barbus esocinus/(grypus)*, arabisch *bizz*. Beachte insbesondere die Gleichungen **su6-lá** neben **suġur-lá**, beide mit *ziġnānu* geglichen (MSL 12,105 :34-35). Die « Barthaare » kennzeichnen also den « Karpfen »; s.a. MSL 14, 102 : 809/1-4 mit **suġur** = *qimmatum*, *kezērum*, *ek/qēk/qum*, *š/šahūru(m)*.

14. Vgl. **tùn-bar** = *šaptu šaplītu* Nabn. M. 78; vgl. a. Salonen, Fischerei 222.

15. Sie dazu unten [4]ff.

16. Vgl. **zà-gú-lá** etwa « Gefäßkammer » und meinen Versuch dies als « Kammer(, in der man die Gefäße an ihrem Hals aufhängt » zu interpretieren; FAOS 15,2 556. Vgl. a. die folgenden Gefäßbezeichnungen in Inventarlisten : VS 25, 75 4 : 12-13 // VS 27, 26 4 : 10-11 : **1 dug-bala 1 NUNUZ×KISIM5-lá-a-ku6-ġáb** (= **LAGAB×TIL**). « 1 Schöpfgefäß, 1 aufgehängte "Amphore" für Fischsauce » und VS 27, 24 2 : 1 **1 dug1-lá-a gú-mun** « 1 aufgehängter Krug (für) Kümmel », 5 : 3 : **1 gur4-gur4-lá-a-lam** « 1 aufgehängte Vase (für) Nüsse(?) ».

Anzuführen sind hier auch z.B. **dug-a-lá**, neben **dug-a-naġ**, = *naġbū*, *našbū*, **ġiš-nindá-lá** = *šimdu* oder auch die Schreibung des « Wasserschlauches » <sup>(kuš)</sup>A.EDIN.LÁ bzw. <sup>(kuš)</sup>EDIN.A.LÁ = <sup>(kuš)</sup>ummud; vgl. ferner die PSD A/I 104 s.v. **a-lá C** « a device for hoisting water » gebuchten **gi/ġiš/dug/pa5-a-lá**.

S. ferner die Berufsbezeichnung **šagan-lá** = *šamallū*; beachte, daß die **šagan**-Spitzgefäße « zum Transport in Netze gesetzt » wurden; offensichtlich war auch eine Umhüllung aus Korbgeflecht für diese Gefäße typisch; vgl. H. Waetzoldt WdO 6 (1970-71) 21f. mit Anm. 159 und dem Verweis auf den **šagan-keš** « Korbflechter ».

17. Anders als H. Steible (und H. Behrens) vermute ich, daß **a** nicht Bestandteil der Karpfenbezeichnung ist. Vielmehr liegt wohl das auch in Urkunden bezeugte aus **a-dé** « Wasser gießend » > « frisch » verkürzte **a** vor; s. G. J. Selz FAOS 15/2 570. 591f.

18. Abgesehen von der nicht zu klärenden Lesung (**tur-tur** oder **di4-di4?**), scheint hier **mušen-TUR.TUR** nicht einfach « kleine Vögel », sondern eine bestimmte Spezies zu bezeichnen. Im Anschluß an A. Salonen, Vögel 231 sind vielleicht « Sperlinge », *Passeriformes*, gemeint.

19. Diese Deutung basiert auf einer Interpretation der Zeichen und auf dem Kontext. Die Struktur des Textes lehnt sich hier eng an Wirtschaftsurkunden an, in denen sich Vermerke der Form « x gezählte Dinge, deren "Verpackungs-/Liefereinheiten" sind y » häufig finden. Daß für Vögel und Fische ein gleiches oder ähnliches Transportmittel gewählt wird, verwundert nicht; vgl. A. Salonen; Fischerei 56 mit **ġiš-pār** = *ġišparru(m)*, « Falle für Vögel und Fische ».

20. Zu **gi-ub-zal** = *qa-an tu-bu-ug-tú* s. M. Civil a.a.O.170; MSL 7, 52 : 313; AHW 1365; Bedeutung unklar.

21. Beachte hierzu die Bemerkung von A. Salonen, Fischerei 16. Zu **gi-zi** « Futterrohr », d.h. als Grünfütter verwendetes Rohr s. H. Waetzoldt BSA6 (1992) 129f. mit verweis auf R. Frankena Abb 6, 133 : 7 und SLB IV, 43.

22. **dùn/tùn** = *tākaltu(m)* « Tasche »; « Futteral »; « Magen, oberer Teil der Bauchhöhle » (AHW 1304).

23. Vgl.a. A. Salonen, Fischerei 253 und beachte 102. Obgleich sein Stachel giftig sei, und die Fischer ihn deshalb fürchten, gilt er als Delikatesse.

24. AHW 1027.

25. Auch wenn ich nicht glaube, daß die vorgestellte Analyse der Zeichenbedeutungen bezweifelt werden kann, so besteht doch die Möglichkeit, daß, wie z.B. bei <sup>(kuš)</sup>A.EDIN.LÁ = <sup>(kuš)</sup>ummud, eine andere Lesung der Zeichenkombination existierte.

26. Cf. also MSL 14, 306 : 75-77 mit der bemerkenswerten Reihenfolge : **nun-du-un [KA]×NUN šap-[tu] / su-un K[A]×SA zi-i[q-nu] / mu-un-su-ub K[A]×SUġJUR<sup>2</sup> 1šar<sup>1</sup>- [tu]**.

27. Rücksichts der Gleichungen *mākaltu(m)* und *tākaltu(m)*, die einen Napf oder einer Tasche für Nahrung bezeichnen, liegt die Spekulation nahe, daß ihre sumerischen Entsprechungen ebenfalls mit **KA×NUN** = **nundun** bzw. **tu-un TÜN** = *šaptu(m)* zu verbinden sind, vielleicht also. eigentlich « Napf oder Tasche für den "Mundvorrat" » o.ä.?

Gebhard J. SELZ (10-03-97)

Seminar für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde  
Bitterstr. 8.-12 14195 BERLIN, ALLEMAGNE

**37) La date du règne de Gudea** – Le règne de Gudea était généralement situé entre la dynastie d'Agade et celle d'Ur III. Mais P. Steinkeller (*JCS* 40 (1988) 47-53) a montré, par une habile étude de la carrière de différents fonctionnaires, qu'il était, au moins partiellement, contemporain de celui d'Ur-Nammu. Il est possible aujourd'hui de le situer avec davantage de précisions.

L'essentiel pour résoudre ce problème, comme l'a clairement exposé P. Steinkeller, est de savoir si Nammahni – qui a été tué par Ur-Nammu – a régné avant ou après Gudea et ses deux successeurs, Ur-Ningirsu et Pirigme. Dans le premier cas, le règne de Gudea est contemporain d'Ur-Nammu et éventuellement du début du règne de Šulgi, dans la seconde éventualité, le début de son règne est pré-Ur III. Or, l'histoire de l'Elam peut fournir un élément de réponse à ce problème.

Nous savons, en effet, que Gudea a été aux prises avec les Elamites par plusieurs documents :

– Sur la statue B (VI 64-69) on peut lire : « Il [= Gudea] a vaincu la ville d'Anšan en Elam ; il a rapporté son butin pour lui [= Ningirsu] dans l'Eninnu. »

– Il est probable qu'une date fait allusion à cet événement : « l'année où [Anšan] fut vaincu ». Cette restitution de P. Steinkeller (*op. cit.* 52, n. 19) est d'autant plus vraisemblable que les faits se sont déroulés peu de temps après que Puzur-Inšušinak eut soumis une partie de la Babylonie du nord.

– Dans le Cylindre A (15, 6-7), Gudea précise que « les Elamites vinrent d'Elam, les Susiens vinrent de Suse » lors de la construction du temple de Ningirsu. Il est vraisemblable que les Elamites et les Susiens ne sont allés à Lagaš que contraints et forcés.

– Ce même cylindre (A 15-16, 24) nous fournit d'autres informations concernant la provenance de certains matériaux de construction pour ce temple : le cuivre provient de Kimaš (ce qui est confirmé par la statue B 6, 21-22 ; sur l'exploitation des mines de Kimaš, en dernier lieu, B. Lafont, *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad*, 1996, 87-93 ; du bois de Magan et de Meluhha, ce dernier pays fournissant également une pierre alors que la diorite (W. Heimpel, *RA* 76 (1982) 65-67) vient également de Magan.

– Enfin un texte inédit nous apprend que Gudea a construit un temple à Adamdum, en Susiane.

Ces différents éléments indiquent que Gudea tient Anšan et la Susiane et qu'il parcourt le plateau élamite en toute tranquillité. Pareille situation est inconcevable à l'époque de Puzur-Inšušinak. En effet, le dernier souverain de la dynastie d'Awan, profitant de l'affaiblissement des derniers rois agadéens, s'empare de Suse comme l'indique l'inscription sur dalles de pierre (*MDP* 10 (1908) 9-11 et Pl. 3, 1 ; B. André-M. Salvini, 1989, 65 ; *FAOS* 7, 333-334 ; *IRSA* II G ; 2 c.) Il n'est donc que « roi d'Awan » quand « Inšušinak le regarda et lui donna les quatre régions ». Dès lors, il abandonne ce titre pour prendre celui d'« ensi de Suse » (inscription de la statue de Narundi : *MDP* 14 (1913) 17-19 ; P. Amiet, *Elam* n° 166 ; P. Amiet, 1976 n° 36 ; *FAOS* 7, 335-356 ; *IRSA* II G 2 e et inscription sur une pierre de crapaudine (*MDP* 6 (1905) *FAOS* 7, 336) avant de soumettre l'Elam. Il devient alors « ensi de Suse, GIR.NITÁ d'Elam » (titulature de toutes les inscriptions suivantes). Ce titre porté auparavant par les représentants des rois d'Agade comme Ešpum, Epir-mupi, Ilišmani (M. Lambert, *JA* 267 (1979) 11-40) devait être alors plus prestigieux que celui de « roi d'Awan ». Fort de son nouveau pouvoir, il soumet alors l'ensemble du Plateau élamite (inscription sur statue : *MDP* 6 (1905) 14-15 ; *MDP* 14 (1913) 7-16 et Pl.1-2 ; P. Amiet, 1976 n° 35 ; *FAOS* 7, 321-324 ; *IRSA* II G 2 e) et le roi de Simaški lui fait acte d'allégeance. Il est alors suffisamment puissant pour s'emparer du nord de la Babylonie comme l'indiquent deux inscriptions. La première, le « Prologue » du Code dit « d'Ur-Nammu » (F. Yildiz, *Or* NS 50 (1981) 87-97) mentionne le fait que le souverain mésopotamien a libéré du joug anšanite plusieurs villes de la Mésopotamie du Nord. Le second, une copie paléo-babylonienne d'une inscription royale (C. Wilke, in B. Hrouda, *Isin-Išān Bahrīyat III*, Munich 1967, 109-111), indique qu'Ur-Nammu a chassé l'Elamite Puzur-Inšušinak des territoires situés au Nord de la Babylonie. P. Steinkeller a supposé, à juste titre, que des deux textes faisaient allusion à un seul et même événement, ce que refuse J.-J. Glassner (*NABU* 1994, 9) et il faut noter qu'aucun des arguments présentés par l'auteur pour réduire d'une quarantaine à une trentaine d'années, comme l'avait proposé W. Hallo (*RIA* 3, 714), le laps de temps qui sépare la mort de Šar-kali-šarri du début du règne d'Ur-Nammu, n'est déterminant.)

Or, si on admet, d'une part, avec P. Steinkeller (*op. cit.* 51), que le minimum d'années pour les règnes successifs de Gudea, Ur-Ningirsu et Pirigme est de 18, c'est-à-dire la durée du règne d'Ur-Nammu, et, d'autre part, que Gudea n'a pas pu s'approvisionner en matières premières en Elam à l'époque de Puzur-Inšušinak, Nammahni n'a pas pu être leur successeur. Il faut en effet souligner que P. Steinkeller, en attribuant 11 ans au règne de Gudea n'utilise que les données assurées. E. Sollberger (*Afo* 17 (1954-5) 33-34) en comptait 16 tandis que M. Sigrist et T. Gomi (*op. cit.* 317-318) en proposent 19, à la suite d'A. Falkenstein (*RIA* 5, 676) et de bien d'autres.

Par ailleurs, comme le temple de Ningirsu dont la construction a nécessité tant de matériaux en provenance de l'Est, est achevé en l'an 5 du règne de Gudea (cf. M. Sigrist et T. Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur Tablets*, 1991, 317), il est vraisemblable que c'est au tout début de son règne qu'il a soumis l'Elam. On peut même supposer que Gudea a profité de l'éviction de Puzur-Inšusinak par Ur-Nammu pour lui asséner le coup de grâce en s'emparant d'Anšan. Ceci conduit à considérer que les règnes d'Ur-Nammu et de Gudea sont contemporains et qu'ils ont débuté pratiquement en même temps. Il en résulte également que

Nammahni est le prédécesseur de Gudea, Ur-Ningirsu et Pirigme et non leur successeur. Dès lors, il devient probable qu'Ur-Nammu a exécuté Nammahni au début de son règne comme l'affirmait E. Sollberger (*op. cit.* 31) et on peut se demander, dans ces conditions, si la date mystérieuse de l'an 2 d'Ur-Nammu n'y fait pas indirectement allusion (M. Sigrist et T. Gomi, *op. cit.* 319 : mu kib-kib-še Legaš<sup>ki</sup> giš bí-ra-a : « Year ... in Lagaš was beaten ». Le début du règne de Gudea se situerait donc en l'an 2 d'Ur-Nammu.

Un autre élément semble venir renforcer cette hypothèse. Si, comme le suppose E. Sollberger et J. R. Kupper (*IRSA II K 3 b et n. 1*), l'inscription d'Utu-hegal qui affirme avoir arbitré un différend entre Ur et Lagaš fait bien allusion au conflit qui opposa Ur-Nammu et Nammahni, nous aurions là un argument supplémentaire pour situer le règne de Nammahni avant celui de Gudea.

Ces différents textes permettent la reconstitution du scénario suivant : le dernier roi d'Awam, Puzur-Inšušinak, après avoir soumis Suse puis Anšan, refait l'unité de l'ensemble élamite et fort de son pouvoir occupe le nord de la Mésopotamie. Lors de son accession au pouvoir, Ur-Nammu chasse les envahisseurs élamites et Gudea donne le coup de grâce à Puzur-Inšušinak en soumettant Anšan et l'ensemble du monde élamite. Il apparaît ainsi qu'Ur-Nammu et Gudea sont des contemporains mais que, sur la scène internationale, seul Gudea a joui d'un certain prestige. Aucun événement extérieur ne peut être attribué au règne d'Ur-Nammu ni aux débuts de celui de Šulgi. Il semble que c'est donc après la disparition de Gudea que Šulgi, fils et successeur d'Ur-Nammu, a pu constituer ce qui deviendra l'« empire » d'Ur, en reprenant la Susiane et une partie de l'Elam aux héritiers de Gudea. Il est à noter, à ce propos, que Šulgi a commencé son expansion territoriale avant la 24<sup>e</sup> année de son règne (date de la destruction de Karhar, première expédition attestée). En effet, les textes de Suse pour la construction du temple d'Inšušinak (*MDP 6*, p. 20, Pl. 6, n°1 ; I. Kärki, *Die Königsinschriften der dritten Dynastie von Ur* (1986) p. 31, Šulgi 6 ; *LIRS* n° 2) montrent que Šulgi n'est pas encore divinisé. Or, cette déification aurait eu lieu « no later than the year Šulgi 20 » selon P. Steinkeller (in McG. Gibson - R.D. Biggs, *SAOC 46*, 1987, 20) et beaucoup plus tôt si on suit M. Lambert (*JA 267* (1979) 30) qui avait proposé, à la suite de McEvan (*SAOC XIII*, 9), repris par W. W. Hallo (*EMRT*, 1657, 60) qu'elle avait eu lieu au cours de sa 12<sup>e</sup> année de règne alors que M. Sigrist (*Drehem*, 1992, 8) la situe en l'an 23!

Quoi qu'il en soit, la fin de Puzur-Inšušinak marque un hiatus dans l'histoire élamite car le premier roi de la dynastie de Simaški, Girname, (V. Scheil, *RA 28* (1931) 1-8 ; *MDP Z3* (1932) IV-V) ne peut pas être celui qui a saisi les pieds de Puzur-Inšušinak lors de ses conquêtes (*MDP 14*, p. 13, Col. 5 : 9-13, Col. 5 : 9-12 ; *IRSA II G 2 e* ; *FAOS 7*, Elam 2, p. 324) puisque le souverain est encore documenté en Šu-Sin 6 (T. Jacobsen, *CTNM* 1939) n°7) : il aurait régné plus de 80 ans!

François VALLAT (13-03-97)  
Chemin du Grand Saint Paul  
13840 ROGNES

**38) Le caractère funéraire de la ziggurat en Elam.** – L'étude de la religion élamite est difficile en raison du peu d'informations contenues dans les textes. Et dans ce domaine, les épithètes divines peuvent être parfois révélatrices de certains de ses aspects. Ainsi, une des titulatures du grand dieu susien mérite une attention particulière. Il s'agit d'*Inšušinak temti kukunnum lahakra*.

Dans cette épithète, le suffixe *-ra* (délocatif animé) de *lahakra* renvoie à *temti. temti ... lahak-ra* signifie donc « le seigneur ... du lahak ».

*lahak* est un participe passé passif du verbe *laha-* « mourir, tuer, anéantir ». (Certes, on pourrait considérer *lahakra* comme une 3<sup>e</sup> personne de la conjugaison II au relatif : « qui meurt, qui tue, qui anéantit ». Mais on imagine mal qu'Inšušinak soit « le seigneur qui meurt dans le *kukunnum* » ou « le seigneur qui anéantit le *kukunnum* ! ») Le participe passé passif peut être pris substantivement comme : *hutlak* « le messager » de *hutla-* « envoyer » ; *kullak* « la prière » de *kulla-* « prier » ; *limak* « le feu » de *lima-* « brûler » ; *turuk* « parole » de *turu-* « dire » ; *huttak-halik* « travaux et œuvres » de *hutta-* « faire » et de *hali-* « œuvrer » etc., etc. Donc *temti ... lahakra* signifie « Seigneur ... de la mort ».

Reste à expliquer « *kukunnum* » qui n'est affecté d'aucun indice grammatical. Le *kukunnum* désignant un bâtiment, on peut supposer que le mot est au locatif. Or, en élamite, le locatif n'est pas forcément indiqué. Ainsi, par exemple : *kukunnum pittena* : « caché (dans) le *kukunnum* » ; (*EKI 72 III*) ; *NG ... kuših* : « (à) N ... j'ai construit » (*EKI 48*, passim) ; *puhu sunkipe* <sup>GIS</sup>GU.ZA<sup>MES</sup> *atta apirinipa murtampi* : « les enfants du roi s'installeront (sur) le trône de leur père » (*RA 14* (1917) 31, *Présage*, Face 2 § 2).

L'ensemble doit donc être traduit : « Inšušinak, seigneur de la mort dans le *kukunnum* ». Le *kukunnum* qui est le temple-haut de la ziggurat et, *pars pro toto*, peut désigner la ziggurat elle-même. A Suse, le mot *ziggurat* n'est d'ailleurs jamais attesté (et il est très rare dans l'ensemble de la documentation élamite). Mais j'ai montré ailleurs (*Enc Ir, sv.*, « Elam », à paraître) que le seul temple de Suse dédié à Inšušinak, quelle que soit son appellation, désignait la ziggurat. La seule exception est le *kumpum kiduia*, le « temple extérieur » ainsi nommé car il était construit à l'extérieur du quartier sacré de l'Acropole, sur ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler aujourd'hui le Tell de l'Apadana.

Le caractère funéraire de la *ziggurat* qui est explicite dans cette épithète peut d'ailleurs être confirmé par d'autres éléments. Ainsi, le mot *haštu* dont le sens premier est « fosse, tombe, tombeau » désigne à Suse le « temple-bas » de la *ziggurat*. Or, ce *haštu*, consacré également à Inšušinak, a fait l'objet, au moins depuis l'époque d'Ur III, d'un entretien et de restaurations constantes (EKI 48). C'est là qu'a lieu le « jugement » du mort d'après les tablettes funéraires de Suse, rédigées en accadien et qui utilisent le mot *šuttu* synonyme de *haštu* (en dernier lieu, M.-J. Steve et H. Gasche, CPOA 3 (1996) 329-348). Dans ces textes, la triade infernale est composée d'Inšušinak, d'Išnikarab et de Lagamal. Mais ces trois dieux ne sont pas les seules divinités du panthéon élamite à posséder le caractère infernal assuré par les textes. Ainsi, sur une inscription de Bouchir (EKI 57), Kiririša est dite *zana Liyan lahakra* : « dame de la mort à Liyan ». Une autre déesse, Upurkupak, bénéficie d'une *ziggurat* à Tchogha Pahn Est (M. W. Stolper - H. T. Wright, *Mélanges J. Perrot*, 1990, 151-163).

Par ailleurs, la *ziggurat* est associée à deux autres éléments, tous deux également de caractère funéraire : les portes (*hiel / sip*), passage obligé vers l'au-delà – et dédiées à Inšušinak, Išnikarab, Lagamal et Kiririša, – et le bosquet sacré (*husa*) qui entoure la *ziggurat* ou les temples de caractère funéraire.

En EKI 48 §§ 22-39, Šilhak-Inšušinak mentionne la restauration d'une vingtaine de temples dont la plupart sont dits « temple du bosquet » (*siyan husame*). Les noms de 9 des 20 divinités dessinatrices de ces temples sont perdus mais parmi les 11 restant, 8 sont dédiés à Inšušinak, les autres à Napiriša, Suhsipa et Lagamar. Dans une dizaine d'autres textes qui mentionnent un « temple du bosquet » apparaissent Inšušinak (4), Išnikarab (2), Manzat, Simut, Lagamar et Kiririša. Toutes ces divinités qui figurent parmi les plus importantes du panthéon élamite sont donc rattachées au monde de l'au-delà. Mais il y en a d'autres encore.

En effet, cette épithète susienne d'Inšušinak se retrouve dans un texte de Tchogha Zambil où il est dit « seigneur de la mort dans le *siyan-kuk* » (M.-J. Steve, MDP 41, 53 A 8, 13). A Tchogha Zambil, le *siyan-kuk* est constitué par l'ensemble des temples qui entourent la *ziggurat*, le quartier sacré situé à l'intérieur de la deuxième enceinte. Or parmi les 26 divinités honorées sur ce site, 21 portent l'épithète « ND du *siyan-kuk* » (M.-J. Steve, MDP 41, passim). On peut dès lors supposer que ces dieux et déesses sont affectés, eux aussi, d'un caractère funéraire.

Les différents éléments présentés succinctement ici seront développés dans un travail plus ample consacré à la « religion élamite » mais il importe dès à présent d'en tirer les trois principales conclusions. Il faut tout d'abord souligner que la *ziggurat* est très étroitement associée au culte des morts. Ensuite, il est vraisemblable que chaque divinité élamite joue, à l'endroit où elle est tutélaire, le même rôle qu'Inšušinak à Suse. En d'autres termes, pratiquement toutes les divinités élamites possèdent, entre autres caractéristiques, un aspect infernal très marqué ce qui implique que la religion élamite est essentiellement orientée vers l'au-delà.

Enfin, il faut noter que l'élamite *sik<sub>(e)</sub>-ra-tu<sub>4</sub>-me* (le signe *zag* a une valeur *sik<sub>e</sub>*, cf. M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite*, 1992, n° 332, confirmée par M. W. Stolper – H. T. Wright, *Mélanges J. Perrot*, 1990, 160, fig. 9), contrairement à l'opinion généralement admise, n'est pas un dérivé de l'accadien *ziqquratu* ou de ses variantes. Aucun mot d'emprunt n'est suffixé du *-me* en élamite. D'ailleurs le mot paraît parfaitement élamite. Il s'agit du composé de deux éléments « le *sik* du *rat* ». *sik* est le substantif de *sikka-* « élever ». Sur les tables de fondation de Suse, Darius, après avoir décrit la préparation des fondations, dit : <sup>AŠ</sup>UL.HI <sup>MEŠ</sup> *sik-ka* « j'ai élevé le palais » (DSz Z3) ou <sup>AŠ</sup>UL.HI <sup>MEŠ</sup> *sik-ka-ak* « le palais a été élevé » (DSf 23). Pour la racine *rat-*, F. W. König a proposé « bilden, formen » (EKI p. 210). A Persépolis, les <sup>f</sup>*ratip* sont des femmes qui viennent d'enfanter et qui ont droit à des rations particulières (PFT 37 et 748). R.T. Hallock traduit le mot par « post partum women » mais il propose pour *ratempa* « they give birth ». *ElW* 1032-1034 considère que ces <sup>f</sup>*ratip* sont des « femmes allaitantes ». Mais ce sens trop restrictif ne convient pas au dieu *Ruhu-rater* dont le nom signifie « créateur de l'homme », ni aux *Nap-ratep*, les « dieux créateurs ». Le sens de « créer, enfanter » paraît convenir à toutes les attestations et comme ce verbe est utilisé en particulier pour les humains, on peut proposer pour le mot *sikratume* le sens d'« élévation de la création (humaine) » ou « élévation de l'humanité ».

Ces différents éléments viennent renforcer l'hypothèse d'une origine orientale de la *ziggurat* comme je l'avais supposé (DHA, 138 (1969) 48). Et à ce propos, il n'est pas indifférent de constater que parmi les plus anciennes attestations mésopotamiennes, plusieurs textes associent le *gigunû* au « bosquet » : Entemena, Urukagina, Gudea (cf. CAD s.v. ainsi que le texte de Nippur C1') et qu'une inscription de Sennacherib mentionne explicitement des tombes en relation avec le *gigunû* (OIP, 99 : 46).

François VALLAT (13-03-97)

**39) Nar directly connected to a temple in Ebla** – As other similar categories of personnel (NE-di, ba-za, HÚB(KD), lú gi), the nar seem to have taken part in feasts and religious ceremonies related to the Ebla palace.<sup>1</sup> But, at present, we lack any text directly connecting them to a temple, since the only two known occurrences (ARET VIII 532 (18) and ARET I 2 18'-21') have to be expunged from the documentation as being wrong.

1) ARET VIII 532 (18) : 1 nar <sup>d</sup>NI-da-kul Lu-ba-an<sup>ki</sup>

the reading : 1 nar, in VII 15, has to be replaced by : 1 bur-KAK.<sup>2</sup>

2) ARET I 2 18'-21' (now ARET I 2 + rev. VII 26-30, according to a recently proposed join).<sup>3</sup> 10 lá-2 mí-túg / nar-nar-SÛ / é / <sup>d</sup>BAD ga-na-na / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti, is translated by the editor « tessuti (8) : per i suoi cantori, il

tempio di ND ha ricevuto ». A different translation, instead, is obtained connecting this section to the preceding one and relating the pronominal suffix -SÛ to the there mentioned PN: *ARET I 2 v. IV 14'-17'* (= *ARET I 2 + rev. VII 22-25*): TAR (= 30) kù :bar<sub>6</sub> / níg-ba / en-na-ni-il / ma-r<sup>ki</sup> / 10 lá-2 mí-túg / nar-nar-SÛ / é / <sup>d</sup>BAD *ga-na-na / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti* « 30 silver (shekels), gift of/for Ennani-'II of Mari ; 8 fabrics his singers received in the temple of the Lord Ganana ». <sup>4</sup> This interpretation is confirmed by the parallelism with the section immediately following in *ARET I 2 + v. VII 31-VIII 5* (= *ARET I 2 v. IV 23' + ARET IV 23 v. VIII 1-5*): 1 'à-da-um-túg-ii 1 aktum-túg 1 íb-iv-túg-sa<sub>6</sub>-gùn / en / i-mar<sup>ki</sup> / é / <sup>d</sup>BAD *ga-na-na / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti* « 1+1+1 fabrics the king of Emar received in the temple of the Lord Ganana ».

1. See lastly M. V. Tonietti *RLA* s.v. Musik. A. III. In Ebla, forthcoming.

2. Collated by A. Archi.

3. *ARET I 2 + ARET IV 23*. See M. Bonechi, *VO* 10 (1996), pp. 83-84.

4. For singers travelling in the train of notables of centers other than Ebla, see Tonietti, *Subartu* IV, 2 (1994), pp. 83-86.

Maria Vittoria TONIETTI (18-03-97)  
via dell'Olmeto 15  
50135 FIRENZE, ITALIE

**40) Un témoignage paléo-assyrien en faveur du port du voile par la femme mariée** – De plus en plus de témoignages dans la littérature du Proche-Orient ancien montrent que la femme mariée porte le voile. Outre les différents exemples bibliques, un texte de Mari relatif au mariage par procuration de la reine Šibtu, analysé par J.-M. Durand, *ARMT* 26/1, p. 103–104, s'attache aux gestes symboliques par lesquels le mariage est consacré (*ARMT* 26/1, 10, texte daté de ZL 1' par P. Villard, *MARI* 7, 1993, 326). Parmi ceux-ci, l'imposition du voile à la jeune épousée semble être le fait, à Mari, de la famille ou des représentants de l'époux. Cet acte symbolise l'entrée de la jeune fille dans la famille de son mari. Selon S. Lafont, *NABU* 1989/45, Zimri-Lim aurait pris pour épouse secondaire une femme sur laquelle il a posé le pan de son habit (*ARMT* 26/1, 251). Dans la Bible, le geste de recouvrir la jeune épousée incombe effectivement à l'époux : dans Rt 3.9, Ruth s'adresse ainsi à Booz : « Etends sur ta servante le pan de ton manteau ». En revanche, Rébecca se voile d'elle-même lorsqu'apercevant Isaac, elle apprend qu'il s'agit de son époux, Gn 24.65 : « Elle prit son voile et se couvrit. »

Les premiers exemples assyriens du port du voile par la femme mariée remontaient jusqu'à présent aux lois médio-assyriennes (§40). La publication des textes de Kültepe découverts en 1970 par E. Bilgiç et C. Günbatti, *AKT* 3, confirme cette pratique chez les Assyriens du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. (voir également J. G. Derksen, *NABU* 1991/28). Parmi ces documents découverts dans la maison d'Ennum-Aššur et de son épouse à Kaniš, quelques lettres proviennent de la correspondance adressée à Nuhšätum par son mari, alors qu'il organise des caravanes au départ d'Aššur (voir le compte-rendu de cet ouvrage à paraître dans *Afo*). Deux de ces missives, écrites en réponse à des lettres perdues de Nuhšätum, sont destinées à la rassurer sur le sort d'un jeune homme et d'une jeune fille, peut-être neveu et nièce de Nuhšätum (*AKT* 3, 79, 3–14 et 80, 3–10). Ennum-Aššur dissuade sa femme d'écouter les médisances colportées par sa sœur et par la nièce d'Ennum-Aššur (*AKT* 3, 79, 5–8). Cette nièce, vraisemblablement fille du défunt Dān-Aššur, est conduite à Ennum-Aššur sur sa demande (*AKT* 3, 80, 14–20). Il la réprimande, puis, afin de réduire au silence disputes et calomnies, il décide de la marier à l'un de ses collaborateurs, Lalīya (*AKT* 3, 80, 82, 87, 88 et 89). Il attend donc l'arrivée de Lalīya pour procéder au mariage de la jeune fille, et se sentir libre de poursuivre sa route, *AKT* 3, 80, 21–25 : *Lá-li-a : ú-qá-a : Lá-li-a, i-na ma-qá-tim : pu-sú-nam, i-na qá-qá-ad šú-ha-ar-tim, a-ša-kán-ma : ha-ra-ni, e-pá-ša-am : lá ta-áš-ta-na-me-i*, « J'attends Lalīya. A l'arrivée de Lalīya, je placerai le voile sur la tête de la jeune fille, puis je poursuivrai mon voyage » (extrait également cité par R. Rems, *WZKM* 86, 1996, 363).

Ici, ce serait donc en tant qu'oncle paternel qu'Ennum-Aššur accomplirait le geste de voiler la jeune épousée. Nous ne connaissons malheureusement pas ses éventuels liens familiaux avec Lalīya. Celui-ci est un proche de la famille, hébergé par Nuhšätum lors de ses séjours à Kaniš (*AKT* 3, 80, 29–32), et il appelle cette dernière « la dame » (*awiltum* en *AKT* 3, 89, 36–38).

Notons que le terme pour désigner le voile qui recouvre la jeune mariée utilisé dans le cas présent, *pussunum*, est formé sur la racine *pasānum* = « couvrir, voiler », de même qu'à Mari, on emploie le terme *kutummum* construit à partir du verbe *katānum* = « couvrir, recouvrir ». Enfin, il est intéressant de noter que le féminin de *pussum/nu, pussumtum* apparaît dans certaines listes lexicales comme équivalent du mot *kallatum* (A. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83, 1963, 427, l. 174 *pu-us-su-um-tú* = *kal-la-tu*), terme qui désigne également la femme mariée par rapport à sa belle-famille (J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4, 1985, 156, note 45).

Cécile MICHEL (20-03-97)  
Le Mas Laurent 11, rue des Causses  
91940 LES ULIS  
michel@msh-paris.fr

**41) The price of a bundle of reeds** – The Neo-Assyrian text *Ladders to Heaven* no. 84 was first published in a catalogue by A. Kirk Grayson<sup>1</sup>, then re-transliterated and translated by the present author<sup>2</sup>, and most recently included in a full-length treatise of NA judicial documents by Remko Jas<sup>3</sup>. As well established by Jas, the text records the settlement of a lawsuit brought by one Šarru-nūrī against Sēr-nūrī on a matter on which no specific details are given (*ina* UGU GÉME.MEŠ, «concerning the slave girls», Obv. 3). The case is heard by the god Adad, who imposes a fine of 1 1/2 minas on the defendant. The usual formulae of judicial «peace» conclude the main part of the document, followed by the names of the witnesses.

The left-hand edge of the text bears an interesting note of 7 lines, viz.: (12) 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1.MAN.ZALÁG (13) 1.se-er-nu-E! *ina* URU.ni-nu-u (14) TA\* e-bi-su qa-ni (15) 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (16) <sup>d</sup>.IM e-te-me-di (17) u-sa-IGI<sup>II</sup> it-ti-din (18) šùl-mu *ina* bir-ti-šú<-nu>. Since Grayson's rendering of was a bit too liberal («*In fact* Sir-nuri has paid in full two minas of silver (to) Šarru-nuri at Nineveh by means of bundles of reeds (worth) two minas of silver, (although) Adad imposed only one and one-half minas of silver. They are mutually satisfied») <sup>4</sup>, the present author attempted to focus more precisely on the text, while basically accepting Grayson's idea that the reeds had a counterpart in weight/value of 2 minas of silver («*(Concerning): The two minas of silver of Šarru-nuri. Ser-nuri was in Nineveh, and out of a bundle of reeds of 2 minas of silver in weight, the god Adad imposed the 1 1/2 minas of silver) and gave it to him (= Šarru-nuri) in full. There is judicial peace between them (?)*») <sup>5</sup>. This translation was subjected to criticism by Jas, on the grounds that «the weight of the reeds is completely irrelevant here» <sup>6</sup>; his translation accordingly runs as follows: «Two minas of silver of Šarru-nūrī: Sēr-nūrī, in Ninū, from a bundle of reeds paid in full (the equivalent of) two minas of silver. Adad imposed 1 1/2 minas of silver. There is peace between them».

The present author finds himself in basic agreement with Jas' translation – save for the minor point of discussion on whether URU.ni-nu-u was a relatively rare orthography for Nineveh, (SAAB 4, 75 note 4) or referred instead to «probably a town in the vicinity of Guzana» (Jas, p. 23), albeit lacking parallels as such. On the other hand, Jas' commentary sticks him back with all previous authors into the quagmire of considering the difference between the value of the reeds and the fine imposed by the god, with all sorts of ensuing speculations: «The reason why the fine in silver is paid in reeds worth 1/2 mina of silver more than the fine imposed by Adad is the conversion of the silver debt into a debt of reeds, a favor of the creditor which usually entailed expenses. It is also possible that the extra reeds were intended to make up for the cost of transporting them from Ninū to Guzana» <sup>7</sup>.

But there is actually no need to reach out this far. Taking a closer look at the text, the issue of prices is fully spelled out – although none of the previous commentators had hitherto seen it. L. 21, in point of fact, reads: «(Concerning:) the two minas of silver of Šarru-nūrī»: now, these two minas are nowhere previously mentioned in the document itself. The sum must therefore refer to a preceding credit which this man had with the defendant Sēr-nūrī – and it was presumably the very sum «concerning the slave-girls» due to which the judicial hearing, on the part of Adad was held.

If this were the case, then the note on payment would be crystal-clear, since (ll. 22 ff.) «Sēr-nūrī paid in full the 2 minas of silver – and the god Adad imposed on him 1 1/2 minas of silver – from a bundle of reeds (sold) in Nineveh (!). There is judicial peace between them». In conclusion, the famous bundle of reeds from which the defendant paid back all his dues would have been worth not two, not one and one-half, but three and one-half minas of silver.

1. O.W. Muscarella (Ed.), *Ladders to Heaven. Art Treasures from the Land of the Bible*, Toronto 1981, pp. 126-127.

2. SAAB 4 (1990), 73-75.

3. R. Jas, *Neo-Assyrian Judicial Procedures*, Helsinki 1996, no. 11, pp. 22-24.

4. Grayson, cit., I 27.

5. SAAB 4, 74

6. Jas, p. 23.

7. Ibid.

Frederick Mario FALES (24-03-97)  
via S. Vitale 19/D  
I-37129 VERONA, ITALIE  
e-mail: marinal@borgoroma.univ.it

**42) Raining Terror: Another Wordplay Cluster in Gilgamesh Tablet XI (Assyrian Version, ll. 45-47)** – When Utnapishtim asks Ea what he should tell the people of the city when he begins constructing his boat, Ea responds with a witticism. Utnapishtim is to tell them that Ea will shower down *kukku* «cakes» and *kibātu* «wheat,» a remark that has long been seen as a wordplay on *kukkû* «darkness» and *kibittu* «heaviness.» <sup>1</sup> E. A. Speiser referred to these puns in this way: «Wily Ea plays on this ambiguity: To the populace, the statement would be a promise of prosperity; to Utnapishtim, it would signal the impending deluge.» <sup>2</sup>

While this play has found wide acceptance, <sup>3</sup> two other allusive lexemes in Ea's speech which add

disasterous import to his words have escaped attention. The first is the polysemous verb *zanānu* (ll. 43, 47, 87, and 90), which in addition to meaning «rain down,» as it usually is translated,<sup>4</sup> also means to «provide with food,» often in connection with a temple or city.<sup>5</sup> Though the verb *zanānu* meaning «provide with food» is to my knowledge not attested in the III/1 conjugation, the forms *ušaznanakkunuši* (ll. 43, 47) and *ušaznannu* (l. 87) echo the homonym especially in juxtaposition with the puns *kukku* and *kibātu*. In addition, with one exception,<sup>6</sup> the variant texts we possess record the verbal form in line 90 ambiguously as *i-za-an-na-nu*, perhaps to make the play more transparent when the threat is repeated for the last time.<sup>7</sup>

The second suggestive lexeme in Ea's speech is *nuḥṣu* «abundance, prosperity» (l. 43), which can refer to prosperous agricultural yields and also to the abundance of flood waters.<sup>8</sup> The cleverness of Ea's initial message, therefore, hinges not just on two wordplays, but on four. Elsewhere I have pointed out additional instances of wordplay in Ea's words to Utnapishtim<sup>9</sup> and it now appears that the god's warning is replete with puns and paronomasia.<sup>10</sup> The observations here would seem to confirm Samuel N. Kramer's remark that the reader of Ea's words «must be wary, prepared for ironic turns, double talk, and wit even in the most sacred of contexts.»<sup>11</sup> The two additional examples of lingual cleverness adduced here add an even further dimension to the sophistication of Ea's message and demonstrate what in a previous issue of this journal<sup>12</sup> I have dubbed wordplay clustering.<sup>13</sup>

1. The first to spot the wordplay was Carl Frank, «Zu den Wortspeilen *kukku* and *kibati* in Gilg. Ep. XI,» ZA 36 (1925), 216.

2. In James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 93, n. 190.

3. In addition to Speiser see, e.g., CAD K 498, s.v. *kukki*, and more recently Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 110, 112, 133.

4. As it is in CAD Z 43, s.v. *zanānu* (A).

5. CAD Z 43-44, s.v. *zanānu* (B).

6. K. 3375 has *u-ša-az-na-na*.

7. Moreover, puns need not be grammatically accurate to be effective. See, e.g., M. Malul («A Possible Janus Parallelism in the Epic of Gilgamesh XI, 130,» ASJ 17 [1995], 338-342) who misses the point when he remarks that the pun I noted in «A Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story,» ASJ 13 (1991), pp. 419-421 is unconvincing on grammatical grounds. Moreover, the example he chooses was discussed already in my dissertation which has since been published as *Janus Parallelism and Its Literary Significance in the Book of Job (JSOTSup)*, 223; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), see especially pp. 160-162. Similarly, see the dream interpretation: DIŠ Ì+GIŠ MUŠEN SUM-šú *i-šur i-šur* KA-ú «If one gives him bird "oil": they will shout "Watch out! Watch out!»,» about which A. Leo Oppenheim, (*The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a Translation of the Assyrian Dream Book* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 46/3 (1956); Philadelphia, PA.: American Philosophical Society, 1956], p. 279, n. 87) remarked: «The obvious pun with *iššuru* "bird" is difficult to explain philologically. One expects *ušur* (I/1) or *iššar* (I/2), but not *i-šur*.»

8. CAD N/2 320-321, s.v. *nuḥṣu*.

9. Scott B. Noegel, «A Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story,» ASJ 13 (1991), pp. 419-421; «An Asymmetrical Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story,» ASJ 16 (1994), pp. 10-12.

10. Though partially broken, the legible portion of line 45 also might constitute a pun, but of a visual type. Note how the signs *meš-ra-a e-bu-ra-am-ma*, usually normalized *mešra ebūramma* and translated «He will bring you a harvest of wealth,» suggest by way of a logographic reading of the signs MEŠ.RA.A, *mādūtu*, *maḥāšu/dāku*, and *mū*, respectively. The visual message, therefore, hints that «many» will be «annihilated» by means of «water.» For *maḥāšu* in conjunction with the flood see also Gilg XI: 130. For the logographic readings see CAD M/1 20, 23, s.v. *mādu*, CAD M/1 72, s.v. *maḥāšu*, CAD D 35, s.v. *dāku*, CAD M/2 149, s.v. *mū*.

11. Samuel Noah Kramer and John Maier, *Myths of Enki, the Crafty God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 5-6. Note also Ninurta's words: *mannuma ša lā dEa amātu ibann[u]* «Who, other than Ea, can devise words» (XI:175-176)?

12. See Scott B. Noegel, «Janus Parallelism Clusters in Akkadian Literature,» NABU 1995/71, pp. 33-34; and compare Jonas C. Greenfield, «The Cluster in Biblical Poetry,» *maarav* 55-6 (1990), pp. 159-168.

13. Perhaps one also should add P. Michalowski's observation that the boat sealer Puzur-dAmurri (l. 94) bears a name meaning «Protection of Enlil» (reading <sup>d</sup>KUR as a name of Enlil), i.e., an unpropitious «nomen omen.» See his «Sailing to Babylon: Reading the Dark Side of the Moon,» in Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz, eds. *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), p. 189. Moreover, this name is punningly anticipated in line 69 when we are told that the boatman stored away (*upazziru*) quantities of oil.

Scott B. NOEGEL (27-03-97)  
Rice University, MS-15 6100 S. Main St.  
HOUSTON, TX 77005-1892, USA  
snoegel@rice.edu



## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**43) Ordinariat für Altorientalistik (Assyriologie) Universität Göttingen** – Nachdem Ende Januar 1997 die Fortsetzung des Lehrstuhls als Ordinariat genehmigt worden ist, erscheint Anfang Februar der Ausschreibungstext in der Wochenzeitung « Die Zeit ». Auszüge aus dem Ausschreibungstext :

An der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen ist eine C 4-Professur für Altorientalistik (Nachfolge Prof. R. Borger) ab 01.10.1997 wieder zu besetzen.

Von der für dieses Amt zu gewinnenden Persönlichkeit wird eine umfassende Kompetenz in Bereich der Sprachen/keilschriftlichen Sprachdenkmäler, der Geschichte und der Kulturen des Alten Orients erwartet. Willkommen ist auch ein Interesse an interdisziplinärer Zusammenarbeit, namentlich im Bereich der Religionswissenschaft und der Geschichte/Kulturgeschichte.

Die Voraussetzungen für die Berufung in ein Professorenamt ergeben sich aus § 51 des Niedersächsischen Hochschulgesetzes (Nds. GVBl. 1994 S. 13). Einzelheiten werden auf Anforderung erläutert.

Bewerbungen mit Lebenslauf, einer Darstellung des wissenschaftlichen Werdeganges einschliesslich der Lehrtätigkeit und einem Schriftenverzeichnis sowie einem Bericht über bisherige und geplante Forschungsvorhaben werden bis 6 Wochen nach Erscheinen dieser Anzeige erbeten an den Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Wilhelmsplatz 2, D-37073 Göttingen.

R. BORGER (01-02-97)

**44) Contributors for a neo-assyrian prosopography wanted!** – Within the State Archives of Assyria Project a prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian empire is to be realised in the next three years. This book will both serve as a « Who's who? » and a traditional name book like e. g. APN or NPN. Also, the book shall be used as a reference book for studies relating to e. g. a particular profession.

The prosopography will be edited as a set of three volumes consisting of the catalogue of names (two volumes) and indices of the name components, the professions and titles and the geographical data (one volume). The catalogue is to be published in six fascicles, the first of which will go to press by the end of the year. Entries for ca. 7000 names have to be written. In order to fulfil this task we are currently looking for assyriologists willing to contribute entries. Each entry will be marked by the author's name. The authors are to receive free copies of the book or at least a substantial reduction on its price instead of offprints which would be of little use. The SAA project will provide all working material needed for writing the individual entries. If you are interested in contributing to this project, please write to :

Karen RADNER (11-02-97)

Department of Asian and African Studies  
SAA Project, P.O.Box 13 Meritullinkatu 1B  
FIN - 00014 University of Helsinki HELSINKI, FINLANDE  
karen.radner@helsinki.fi

**45) Unpublished neo-assyrian texts** – If you know of any Neo-Assyrian text which has not yet been published or is little known to the Assyriological world and you feel that there is a chance that it has not been included in the Corpus of Neo-Assyrian Texts, forming the data base of the State Archives of Assyria Project, please do not hesitate to bring it to our notice! Since work on a prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian empire is currently begun, CNA needs to be as complete as possible. Thank you for your help!

Karen RADNER (11-02-97)

**46) Erratum** – La nouvelle adresse d'Antoine Cavigneaux, communiquée dans *NABU* 1996/4, doit se lire : Université de Genève, Faculté des Lettres, Sciences de l'Antiquité, CH-1211, GENÈVE 4, SUISSE.

**47) International Workshop on Aramaic Argillary Texts, Istituto di Anatomia ed Istologia, Pavia.** – On March 7-8, 1997, an international workshop on "Aramaic argillary texts : toward a new corpus" was held in Pavia (Italy), organized by Prof. Frederick Mario Fales (University of Udine) and Profs. Clelia Mora and Marco Mozzati (University of Pavia). The aim of the meeting was to evaluate the present state of knowledge on Aramaic texts on clay tablets from the Neo-Assyrian – but also the Neo-Babylonian -- period, some ten years after the publication of the corpus of the material (F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Rome 1986), and in the light of the existence of various groups of yet unpublished tablets (from excavations or from the market) currently under study in an number of European research institutions. A secondary theme of the workshop was the evaluation of the seal impressions on some of the Aramaic argillary texts.

Invited speakers were : E. Attardo (Padua) ; L. Bachelot (CNRS, Paris) ; P. Bordreuil (CNRS, Paris) ; F.M. Fales ; D. Homès-Fredericq (Royal Museum, Brussels) ; F. Joannès (Université Paris 8, Paris) ; E. Lipinski

(University of Leuven); A.R. Millard (University of Liverpool); C. Mora; M. Padula (CNR Research Labs, Milan); W. Röellig (University of Tübingen). The meeting took place in the historic halls of the University of Pavia and in one of the outlying Colleges, and was attended by a number of Italian semitists, orientalist, ancient historians, as well as by students of various Universities of northern Italy. Three sessions were held (Morning and afternoon, March 7; Morning of March 8), with Profs. Gabba, Carruba, Mozzati of the University of Pavia resp. as Chairs.

A.R. Millard gave an opening outline of the Aramaic tablets on clay underscoring their contextual information and potential: dating, archival contexts, types of epigraphs, and the relationship with contemporary cuneiform material were analyzed.

C. Mora gave an overview of the problem of Aramaic–Neo-Hittite relations in NW Syria and SW Anatolia, with particular regard to the case studies of Sam'al and Til Barsip.

E. Lipinski presented the 25 Aramaic argillary texts in the Brussels Museum collection from Ma'allanate, a site presumably near Tell Halaf, concentrating on names, toponyms, and specific legal and administrative formulae.

D. Homès-Fredericq gave a richly illustrated overview of the sealings from the same corpus, with attention to dating, form and function of cylinder and stamp imprints, as well as fingernail-marks.

W. Röellig presented – with the aid of transliterations and of a group of clay casts – the rich Aramaic argillary evidence uncovered by the German archaeological expedition directed by H. Kühne at Tell Sheikh Hamad /Dur-katlimmu, discussing specific formulae and writing habits.

E. Attardo gave an overview of the palaeography of the Aramaic argillary texts from Assyria, comparing shapes with monumental and cursive attestations from elsewhere: the pitfalls of palaeography for dating purposes, but also some guidelines for inner study of the development of writing, were analyzed.

M. Padula presented a multimedia Web application for the study of Aramaic argillary materials: the extant corpus of inscriptions in copy, transliteration, translation, concordances, and palaeographic charts – with full cross-referential links – was encoded for the participants of the workshop. Chat pages on each text plus forms for adding new materials to the corpus were also included.

L. Bachelot discussed three sealings from one of the Aramaic tablets discovered in the French-Italian excavations at Tell Shiyukh Fawqani (ancient Burmarina) in Syria, which have little or no parallels in their clear Neo-Hittite derivation, intriguing also for their late-7th century date.

F.M. Fales gave the transliteration and translation of the main Aramaic text from Burmarina, a 21-line pledge contract replete with complex formulae of straight Assyrian derivation.

P. Bordreuil presented a number of triangular docketts from the collections of the Louvre, discussing the main formulae and problematic clauses.

F. Joannès gave an overview of the Aramaic epigraphs on Neo-Babylonian clay tablets, dividing them by dated archives and establishing their main differences on the Neo-Assyrian material as regards function and overall cultural-linguistic impact.

The final discussion centered on various topics: policy for information on the results of the workshop – from which the present note stems –, the need to refine specific instruments of philological and contextual interpretation of the material (from Assyrianisms to paleographical techniques to the study of seal impressions), the possibilities of using Internet and/or other electronic means for exchanging data, and the welcome opportunity of the workshop itself for accelerating traditional publication of the texts. A further meeting in approx. 2 years, possibly in Tübingen, was generally agreed upon.

**48) Le 19 mars 1997**, une table ronde, à l'initiative de la Fondation Assyriologique G. Dossin qui fêtait ses dix ans d'existence, a réuni sous la présidence du Pr. L. De Meyer: J.-M. Durand, D. Charpin, J.-R. Kupper et S. Lafont sur le thème « *Dernières découvertes à Mari d'après les textes: religion, société, histoire, Droit* ». Les contributions seront publiées dans un prochain numéro d'Akkadica.

**49) Les lundi 31 mars et mardi 1er avril 1997**, une table ronde organisée à la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen par l'Institut F. Courby et la revue Topoi a réuni sur le thème « *Recherches récentes sur l'empire achéménide, autour de l'ouvrage de P. Briant, Histoire de l'empire perse, 1996* »: J. Kellens, F. Vallat, D. Stronach, H. Sancisi, M. Roaf, M. Cool Root, J.-C. Gardin, R. Boucharlat, F. Joannès, A. Kuhrt, A. Lemaire, J. Yoyotte, D. Metzler, R. Descat, C. Tuplin, P. Bernard, et P. Briant. Les contributions présentées à cette occasion et les discussions auxquelles elles ont donné lieu seront publiées dans un prochain numéro de Topoi.

**50) Les 20 et 21 juin 1997** se tiendra à la IVe Section de l'EPHE, à l'initiative de J.-M. Durand, une table-ronde intitulée « *Les traditions amorrites et la Bible* ». Spécialistes du corpus de Mari et spécialistes de la Bible y confronteront leurs opinions sur un certain nombre de thèmes définis à l'avance, afin de faire le point dans chaque discipline et d'ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives de recherche dans un souci de complémentarité. Une mise au point bibliographique sur le thème de « *Mari et la Bible* » viendra compléter les divers exposés.

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*N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association sans but lucratif  
(Loi de 1901). Directeur de la publication : D. Charpin. ISSN n° 0989-5671.  
Dépôt légal : Paris, 04-1997. Reproduction par photocopie*