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### NOTES BRÈVES

**22) Eine weitere Nebukadnezar II. Backstein-Inschrift** – Die Veröffentlichung einer « neu »-babylonischen Backsteininschrift durch Eleonora Cussini in *NABU* 1998/88 hat in Erinnerung gebracht, daß auch eine Inschrift von Interesse ist, die bereits bekannte Textexemplare dupliziert. Dies gilt insbesondere solange, als keine moderne Edition der spätbabylonischen Königsinschriften vorliegt. Neben den von E. Cussini aufgezeigten wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Aspekten einer solchen Inschrift, sind für die weitere Forschung vor allem technische Daten wie etwa der Schriftspiegel (nicht notiert von E. Cussini) von Bedeutung, da erst dieser unter der Vielzahl gleichlautender Inschriften eine Zuordnung zu einem spezifischen Stempeltypus erlaubt.

Das Altorientalische Seminar in Tübingen besitzt einen im Originalzustand  $33 \times 33 \times 7$  cm messenden Backstein, dessen linke obere Ecke beschädigt ist. Die auf dem Backstein angebrachte 7-zeilige Inschrift ist, von winzigen Rißchen auf der Backsteinoberfläche abgesehen, makellos erhalten und weist einen Schriftspiegel von  $11,2 \times 14,5$  cm auf. Die Inschrift lautet:

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <sup>d</sup> AG-ku-du-úr-ri-ŠEŠ  |
| 2 | LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA <sup>ki</sup> |
| 3 | za-ni-in é-saḡ-fl                |
| 4 | ù é-zi-da                        |
| 5 | DUMU.NITA a-ša-re-du             |
| 6 | ša <sup>d</sup> AG-DUMU.NITA-ŠEŠ |
| 7 | LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA <sup>ki</sup> |

Für diese 7-zeilige, in archaisierendem Duktus und liniert abgefasste Inschrift notiert schon P.-R. Berger, *AOAT* 4/1, 193ff. sub *Nebukadnezar Backsteine A<sub>p</sub>(b'')*<sup>7</sup> eine große Anzahl von Duplikaten, die C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions*, 82-85 sub 102. Nebuchadnezzar II no. 41 (mit Angabe älterer Literatur) ergänzt. Ziegelmaße und insbesondere der Schriftspiegel ergeben für diejenigen Textexemplare, die aufgrund der Quellenlage untersucht werden konnten, einen recht unterschiedlichen Befund. Das Ziegelmaß des Tübinger Exemplars ist mehrfach bezeugt, der Schriftspiegel der bisherigen Dokumentation nach hingegen selten (vgl. z.B. P.-R. Berger, op. cit., 195 sub 41; C.B.F. Walker, op.cit., 85, gibt keine Individualmaße an). Der hier vorgestellte Backstein kam schon Anfang der 80er Jahre in die Sammlung des Altorientalischen Seminars in Tübingen und stammt dem Vernehmen nach aus Babylon.

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**23) Minima Alalahiana I : Zur Lesung in Al.T. 49 : 15 und šul in Alalah IV** – In Al.T. S. 46, 49 : 15, (Plate XIII) hat D.J. Wiseman : *šulmānu* gelesen, obwohl er keine Transliteration gewagt hat. In derselben Textstelle hat G. Giacomakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah*, Janua Linguarum Series Practica 59, Paris 1970, S. 106, die Lesung : SILIM-*ma-ni* vorgeschlagen, die sowohl B.L. Eichler, *Indenture at Nuzi*, YNER 5, New Haven-London, 1973, S. 77 (in S. 78 aber Anm. 15 : *šulmāni*), als auch J. Hoftijzer-W.H. van Soldt, UF 23 (1991) S. 203 : *silim-ma-ni* ohne weitere Diskussion wiedergegeben haben.

Die akkadischen Wörterbücher haben diese Stelle beiseite gelassen, und buchen nur Al.T. 117 : 5 (JCS 8 [1954] S. 9) *šul-ma-ni-ka* mit der Bedeutung « Geschenk » (AHw S. 1268a ; CAD Š/III, S. 245b).

Eine Lesung SILIM in diesem Eintrag als Äquivalenz von mA/mB *šulmānu* ist jedoch nicht mehr zu halten, weil sum. *silim* keine akk. Isoglosse *šulmānu* bzw. ähnliche Vokabeln mit dieser *ni*-Endung kennt, sondern eigentlich *salāmu*, *šalāmu* und ihre entsprechenden Ableitungen (cf. A. Deimel, ŠL II 3, 457 ; R. Borger, ABZ 457), deren Bedeutungsfeld mit dem späteren ökonomischen Terminus *šulmānu* « (Aus-, Be-) Zahlung », « Abtragung » – s. auch CAD Š III, S. 244a, « retaining fee », « gratuity », [nach E.A. Speiser, JAOS 74 (1954) S. 23b, « bonus »] – im Kontext dieser Passage deutlich nicht zusammenhängt.

Da AHw und CAD keine Entsprechung SILIM = *šulmānu* in anderen akkadischen Belege anführen, sondern nur syllabische Graphien die mit : *šul-* oder *šu-ul-* anfangen, kann man wahrscheinlich schließen, daß SILIM nicht direkt dem späteren *šulmānu* entspricht, d.h. *-ma-nu* wäre in Al.T. 49 : 15 keine phonetische Ergänzung von « SILIM ».

Das in Frage stehende Zeichen bittet also – mit W. von Soden-W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, AnOr 42, 4 durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage, 19 S. 52 (jedoch nicht als PN aufzufassen), die Lesung *šul-* in *šul-ma-ni*, in gutem Einklang mit R. Borger, ABZ S. 52, wo dieser Lautwert als : « n(eu) » [« im allgemeinen später als die altbabylonische Zeit »] festgestellt wird. Parallele Verwendungen mit dem Lautwert *šul* : in *šul-ma-ni/u* sind in mA PNN aus Tell Billa (s. J.J. Finkelstein, JCS 7 [1953] S. 144 und C. Saporetti, OMA 1, S. 78) gut bekannt, obwohl AHw kennzeichnet *Aḫu-šul-m[a-n]i* mit Fragezeichen, und CAD zieht eine Lesung : *Aḫu-DI-m[a-n]i* vor. Die Lesung *šul* (DI) wird aber stillschweigend in einem weiteren Beleg in CAD Š III, S. 247a angenommen.

Der Lautwert *šul* war also in Alalah IV. gut bekannt (s. Von Soden-Röllig *ibid.*). Da Al.T. 117 : 5 (s. JCS 8 [1954] S. 9) *šul-ma-ni-ka* bezeugt, werden sowohl *šul* als auch *šul* gleichzeitig für dieses Wort verwendet. Vgl. auch in Ugarit immer syllabisch : *šul-ma-nu/i* (RS.20.178 R : 9' ; 20.184 : 17' ; Aphek : 39 ; 17.354 : 10 ; W.H. van Soldt, AOAT 40, S. 422).

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**24) Minima Alalahiana II : Zur Verwendung von T/ṬÍ im Syllabar von Alalah VII** – Eine Lesung *pa-ṭí-šu gamram* wurde von G. Giacomakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah*, Janua Linguarum Series Practica 59, Paris 1973, S. 94, und B. Kienast, WO 11 (1980) 53, 57, in Al.T. \*54 : 2 und \*58 : 2 vorgeschlagen. Nach den Textkopien von D.J. Wiseman (Al.T. Plates XV und XVII), ist das betreffende Zeichen nach *pa-* deutlich als ABZ 396 zu erkennen, jedoch statt *ṭí* (nach R. Borger, ABZ *ebd.*, ein assyrischer Lautwert) mit W. von Soden, AHw 852a als *ṭà* zu lesen (es soll also auch in W. von Soden-W. Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar*, AnOr 42, 1991, unter Nr. 229 eingelistet werden). Diese schon aus grammatischen Gründen gebotene Lesung wird durch Schreibungen mit ṬA gestützt : *pa-ṭa(DA)-šu gamram* (\*52 : 2 ; \*79 : 3) und *pa-ṭa(DA)-šu-nu gamram* (\*53 : 3).

Die Lautwerte *ṭa* und *ṭà* sind also in Alalah VII. in *pāṭa-šu gamram* ohne Unterschied verwendet worden. Der Genetiv *pāṭi-šu* erscheint nur nach der Präposition *qa-dum* (\*53 : 2 ; \*56 : 4) und wird dann mit dem Zeichen TI = ṭi geschrieben (s. auch TI im Syllabar von Ugarit W.H. van Soldt, AOAT 40, S. 308ff.)

Ein Lautwert ṬÍ (LAK 237) in Alalah VII., soweit ich sehe, wird nur deutlich in *i-ṭí-ru* (\*378 : 22) und *i-ṭí-ir* (\*409 : 46) verwendet. Auch der PN *Ti-iš-ša* (\*270 : 7, vgl. *Ti-iš-ša*, JEN 201 : 25 ; NPN, S. 156) statt *Ḫi-iš-ša* (Al.T. S. 135) scheint es zu bezeugen.

Sonst, bleibt die Lesung von LAK 237 in den folgenden Textstellen von Alalah VII. unsicher :

PN : *E-pa-ar-na-ḫi/t/ṭí* (\*76 : 7). *-nati*, *-nate* am Ende? (vgl. I.J. Gelb et al., NPN S. 238)

PN : *A-ḫi/t/ṭí-iš-tu-ia* (\*86 : 9 ; \*98c : 1,6)

PN : <sup>f</sup>*E-pá-at-ḫi/tí* (\*245 : 11)

PN : <sup>f</sup>*I-ḫi/tí-ma-AN* (\*273 : 9).

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**25) Minima Alalahiana III. Akk. *massu* und die Lesung in Al.T. 161 : 10,43 : LÚ *ma-as-(a)-le*** – Die akkadischen Wörterbücher haben unter *massu* als Bedeutung entweder « Dienstverpflichteter » (AHw 619a) oder « corvée worker » (CAD M I, 327a) in westakkadischen Texten verbucht, und zwar aufgrund der Belege LÚ.MEŠ *ma-as-sà* ME[Š] in EA 365 : 14,23,25 und der Belege LÚ.(MEŠ) *ma-si/si* bzw. *ma-a-si* (\*274 : 25) in den Alalah VII-Texten.

Unter den letzten Belegen haben AHw und CAD, *ibid.*, noch einen weiteren Beleg aus Alalah IV. vermerkt, nämlich Al.T. 161 : 10,43.

Dieser Text Al.T. 161 (vgl. D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets*, 1953, S. 69), der in dem Antakya Museum zu Hatay aufbewahrt wird, wurde m.W. bisher weder in Umschrift noch in Handkopie veröffentlicht. Eine Autographie des Textes liegt aber in der Ugarit-Forschungsstelle vor, für deren Benutzung ich hiermit M. Dietrich und O. Loretz ganz herzlich danken möchte. Diese Personennamenliste schließt Herkunftsorte sowie Filiationen und Berufsbezeichnungen ein.

Die hier besprochenen Zeilen 161 : 10,43 belegen (nach AHw und CAD) offenbar den akk. Terminus *massu* falls es sich tatsächlich um diesen handelt folgendermaßen :

Vs. Z. 11 (nicht 10) :	[ <sup>1</sup> A-ri]-ib-an-šur LÚ <i>ma-as-le</i>
Rs. Z.43 :	<sup>1</sup> Ta-ku-ḫu-le
	\ LÚ <i>ma-as-a-le</i>

Angesichts der Schreibung : LÚ *masle* (Z.11) erscheint es unwahrscheinlich, daß in Z.43 von einer Stadt (so AHw 619a : *mas āli* ; von CAD als Logogramm URU mißverstanden) die Rede ist, wobei die Lesung : LÚ *ma-as āli* m.E. in dieser Textstelle aufgegeben werden sollte. Der sog. Glossenkeil vor LÚ *masale* in Z.43 stellt in diesem Fall möglicherweise eher ein Verbindungszeichen (Hyphenation) zur vorangehenden Zeile (siehe G. Giacomakis, AA, S. 26) als ein Fw. im Akkadischen von Alalah IV. dar.

Unter diesen Umständen, erscheint es wenig überzeugend, daß LÚ *ma-as-(a)-le* in Al.T. 161 : 11,43 wirklich zu akk. *massu* gehört, zumal die Endung *-(a)le* dann als Suffix erklärt werden müßte. Ein Verhältnis zu RS-Akk. LÚ *ma-ši-lu* (s. CAD M I, S. 332a ) halte ich in jedem Fall für unwahrscheinlich.

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**26) Les adversaires « élamites » de Sargon et de Rimuš** – Dans plusieurs inscriptions royales de l'époque d'Agadé, rassemblées par I.J. Gelb et B. Kienast dans *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr. (FAOS 7, 1990)*, différents souverains élamites sont mentionnés à l'époque de Sargon et de Rimuš. En réalité, ces textes sont des copies récentes de textes anciens contemporains des événements. On trouve ainsi :

Sargon C 7 BS e et 13 BS g : *Lu-uh-iš-an* / DUMU / *Hi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* / LUGAL / NIM<sup>ki</sup>  
 Sargon C 13 BS j : *Hi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* / LUGAL / NIM<sup>ki</sup>  
 Rimuš C 6 : 25 : *E-mah<sup>?</sup>-si-n[i]* / LUGAL / NIM<sup>ki</sup>

Par ailleurs, dans la Liste royale de Suse, une tablette d'époque paléo-babylonienne qui mentionne douze rois d'Awan suivis par douze rois simaškéens (V. Scheil, *RA 28 (1931) 1-8 ; MDP 23, IV*), on trouve en 8<sup>e</sup> position des souverains awanites un certain *Lu-uh-hi-iš-šà-an* et en 9<sup>e</sup> position un certain *Hi-še-ip-ra-te-ip*. La plupart des exégètes de ces inscriptions s'accordent à considérer que *Lu-uh-hi-iš-šà-an* est la graphie élamite de l'accadien *Lu-uh-iš-an* et que l'élamite *Hi-še-ip-ra-te-ip* est rendu en accadien par *Hi-si-ib-ra-si-ni*.

A priori, les sources élamites semblent présenter deux contradictions avec les textes accadiens puisque dans les premières Hisibrasini est le successeur de Luhišan alors que dans les secondes, Luhišan est le fils de Hisibrasini. En outre, Emahsini n'apparaît pas dans la Liste royale alors qu'il est dit « roi d'Elam » dans le texte de Rimuš. Mais ces contradictions ne sont vraisemblablement qu'apparentes.

En effet, dans le nom d'*E-mah<sup>?</sup>-si-ni*, le signe *-mah-* est très douteux. Il pourrait être lu <sup>1</sup>*-sip-ra-* et on aurait ainsi *E-<sup>1</sup>sip-ra<sup>1</sup>-si-ni* qui pourrait représenter Hisibrasini, les signes *hi* et *e* pouvant être interchangeables en élamite. Ainsi, on désigne la « porte », tantôt par <sup>A</sup>Š *e-el*, tantôt par <sup>A</sup>Š *hi-li*. Malheureusement, cette hypothèse ne peut pas être confirmée (ni d'ailleurs infirmée!) sur les photographies que m'a généreusement envoyées B. Kienast que je remercie vivement ici. Le signe est trop abîmé. Cependant cette restitution demeure plausible pour une autre raison.

Sargon s'oppose donc successivement à deux « rois d'Elam » : Luhišan et Hibrasini. A leur sujet, il faut tout d'abord noter que dans les deux inscriptions de Sargon mentionnant *Lu-uh-iš-an* / DUMU / *Hi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* / LUGAL / NIM<sup>ki</sup>, c'est Luhišan qui est le roi et non Hisibrasini comme on l'a parfois affirmé (en particulier T. Potts, dans *Mesopotamia and the East*, Cambridge 1994, 98, n. 63, à la suite de *FAOS 7*, Sargon C 13, BS g). Ainsi, rien ne permet de dire que Hisibrasini, le père de Luhišan ait un jour régné. Ce doute paraît renforcé par la Liste royale de Suse où le prédécesseur de Luhišan est Kikku-sime-temti et non Hisibrasini. Le phénomène n'est pas unique puisque Šimpišhuk, le père du dernier roi d'Awan Puzur-Inšušinak n'y est pas

non plus mentionné. Comme Luhišan a été fait prisonnier par Sargon, il a disparu de la scène politique et il a été remplacé par Hisbrasini qu'on trouve seul (et non plus comme père de Luhišan) en Sargon C 13 BS j. Et c'est vraisemblablement lui qui figure sur la Liste royale de Suse en 9<sup>e</sup> position et qu'on retrouve opposé à Rimuš sous le nom de *E-<sup>1</sup>sip-ra<sup>1</sup>-si-ni*.

Ainsi, si cette interprétation s'avérait, les sources mésopotamiennes et élamites ne présenteraient plus aucune contradiction entre elles. En outre, elle rendrait quelque crédibilité à la Liste royale de Suse tant décriée et fort heureusement réhabilitée par W.G. Lambert, au moins pour l'époque de Simaški (*Iraq* 41 (1979) 38-44).

Enfin, il n'est pas inutile de souligner, à propos de ces textes, que les chancelleries mésopotamiennes sont peu au fait des réalités élamites puisque ceux qui apparaissent dans les textes de Sargon et de Rimuš comme des « rois d'Elam » sont pour les Élamites des « rois d'Awan ». Ce genre de confusion se répétera tout au long de l'histoire élamite.

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**27) Milkilu's Messenger and the Sons of Lab'ayu (EA 250 : 28-34)** – Lines 28-34 in Ba'lu-UR.SAG's letter to the Pharaoh are badly broken, and W.L. Moran did not translate them in his edition of the Amarna letters (*The Amarna Letters*, 1992). A.F. Rainey suggested a partial transcription and translation of the damaged passage in his comprehensive work on the Grammar of Amarna Canaanite (*Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by the Scribes from Canaan*, 1996, I p. 84 ; II p. 117 ; III p. 44). However, his restorations are unconvincing and the translation he proposes does not invest the passage with a reasonable meaning.

The passage in lines 53-60 closes the letter and repeats what was said before, in order to emphasize its most important messages. At the beginning of the passage (lines 53-54), the scribe noted that « the messenger of Milkilu does not move from the two sons of Lab'ayu ». But the journey of Milkilu's messenger to Shechem is not mentioned in the deciphered parts of letter EA 250. It seems to me that this apparent omission is the key for the correct decipherment of lines 28-34 :

28.     ù EGIR šu-a-te ia-a[š]-p[u-r]a LUGAL EN-ia  
29.     a-n[a ia]-ši i-[na<sup>2</sup>-an<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>] ip-ši  
30.     [LUGA]L [E]N-ka UGU 2 DUM[U L]a-ab-a-yu  
31.     [UGU<sup>2</sup>-ka<sup>2</sup>] y[i]-š[a-ak<sup>2</sup>-n]u  
32.     [ù<sup>14</sup>DUMU<sup>2</sup> š<sup>2</sup>-ip<sup>2</sup>-r]i [š]a<sup>2</sup> mMil-ki-li  
33.     [a-n]a m[u-ḥ]i-[š]u-ni yi-i[n<sub>4</sub>-n]a-bi-[i]l  
34.     [ù ka]-i-[a-n]u-u[m] i-n[a] lib-bi-šu-ni

« After this may the king, my lord, write to me : “N[ow], the deeds of [the kin]g, your [lo]rd, against the two sons of Lab'ayu, are p[re]sented [before you]”. [And the messenger] [of] Milkilu was b[rou]ght in front of them, [and he is per]manently in their midst ».

*Commentary :*

Line 28 : Winckler and Abel copied the fifth sign as *di*, and Rainey (III pp. 8, 121-22 ; *AfO* 42/43 [1995/96], p. 119a) read it *ù EGIR-šu a-di*. Knudtzon read it *te* (with an exclamation mark). He was followed by Moran, and his reading is adopted here.

Line 31 : The verbal form *yiššaknū* is an N stem preterite. Compare EA 119 : 58.

Line 33 : The verbal form *yinnabil* (see Moran, *ibid.*, EA 250 note 4) is an N stem preterite of the verb *abālu*.

In sum, the journey of Milkilu's messenger to Shechem and his long sojourn in its court (ll. 32-34) open the report on Milkilu's misdeeds (ll. 32-39). It is mentioned for the second time at the end of the letter, in order to emphasize the close cooperation of Gezer and Shechem in their operations against « the land of the king ».

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**28) Exit Préxaspès des textes de Persépolis** – En publiant les *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (OIP 65, 1948) 104), G.G. Cameron a lu le cylindre de la tablette n° 12 :

<sup>1</sup> I *áš* <sup>2</sup> *ba-ša* <sup>3</sup> DUMU *pa-* <sup>4</sup> *ir* (!)-*rák* (!)- *áš* (!)- <sup>5</sup> *pi-na* (!)

avec, cependant, les remarques suivantes : « In line 4, *ni* is written for *ir*, *rák* is missing one horizontal wedge, and only the vertical of the *áš* sign appears ever to have been written. In line 5 the final *na* appears to need one

more horizontal » et a traduit : « Aspathines, son of Prexaspès », considérant que le père était le Préxaspès d'Hérodote VII 97. Il a été suivi par R.T. Hallock (OIP 92 (1969) 741) et par W. Hinz et H. Koch (*EIWI* 124) qui ont cependant remplacé les points d'exclamation par des points d'interrogation. M. Mayrhofer (*Onomastica Persepolitana* (1973) 215, s.v. *Parrakašpi*) considère que le nom de Préxaspès est douteux. Récemment, M. Garrison (*Ach. Hist.* XI (1998) 123, fig. 4-6) a publié ce cylindre intégralement. Plus prudent, il préfère lire :

<sup>1</sup> I áš<sup>2</sup> ba-za<sup>3</sup> DUMU pa-<sup>4</sup> ni-x (-x)<sup>5</sup> pi-*na*!

Or, il paraît fort curieux qu'un cylindre de cette qualité, appartenant à un homme éminent, ordonnance de Darius, représenté sur le relief de Naqsh-e Rostam (DNd) puisse comporter autant de signes erronés : 4 sur 10 et une omission, le *-na* d'Ašbazana!

Il semble cependant qu'une hypothèse n'a pas encore été envisagée pour la lecture de cette inscription, celle de la fragmentation des signes.

En effet, les scribes élamites de Persépolis (et avant eux ceux de l'époque néo-élamite dans les textes économiques de Suse) avaient non seulement l'habitude de fractionner les mots (début du mot sur une ligne, fin du mot à la ligne suivante), mais aussi, dans des cas plus rares, de fractionner les signes.

Ainsi, le signe ANŠE est souvent écrit sur deux lignes, la première partie du signe à la fin de l'une, la seconde au début de la suivante. On le trouve fractionné, par exemple, dans les textes PF 1642 : 3-4 ; 1645 : 3-4 ; 1646 : 3-4 ; 1649 : 4-5 ; 1667 : 3-4 ; 1672 : 4-5 ; 1673 : 7-8 ; 1679 : 4-5 ; 1683 : 11-12 ; 1684 7-8 ; 1980 : 24-25, etc. Et d'autres signes peuvent subir ce même traitement : GEŠTIN (par exemple PF 617 : 1-2) ou NUMUN (par exemple PF 450 : 3-4 ; 487 : 6-7 ; 491 : 3-4).

Ce phénomène est même attesté dans une inscription royale sur pierre, sur une table de fondation de Suse (DSz) où j'avais lu (F. Vallat, *RA* 64 (1970) 150) la fin de la ligne 7 et le début de la ligne 8 : <sup>m</sup> RUH <sup>MEŠ</sup>-pa ANŠE.KUR.RA <sup>MEŠ</sup>-e alors que j'aurais dû transcrire <sup>m</sup> RUH <sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA <sup>MEŠ</sup>-e car le *-pa* de RUH n'est que le début du signe ANŠE et non pas le suffixe de l'animé pluriel comme je l'avais pensé!

Il ne serait donc pas étonnant de rencontrer le même phénomène sur un cylindre de qualité. Pour éliminer les quatre erreurs des deux dernières lignes, il suffirait de considérer que les deux derniers clous verticaux de la ligne 4 appartiennent au premier signe de la ligne 5. On aurait ainsi un *ur / taš* et les deux dernières lignes pourraient être lues *ni-min-t=aš-na*. En donnant des valeurs élamites à ces signes on pourrait lire le nom du père d'Ašbazana *Pa-ni-mín-tiš<sub>e</sub>*, dont la seconde partie pourrait se trouver dans le NP *Mi-in-te-iz-za*. en PF 412. (Pour la valeur *tiš<sub>e</sub>* de *taš*, cf. M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1992, dans l'index p. 28 et omise sous le n° 575).

Quant à l'absence du signe *-na* à la fin du nom d'Ašbazana, elle ne peut s'expliquer que par une omission du lapicide malgré la présence d'un certain Ašbaza (*Aš-ba-az-za* : PF 238 : 11-12 ou *Aš-be-iz-za* : PF 1952 : 16-17) dans l'anthroponymie persépolitaine. En effet, comme l'a rappelé M. Garrison (*op. cit.* 117), sur les lettres, le seul sceau qui puisse apparaître est celui de l'expéditeur. Or, dans la lettre PF 1853, c'est bien Ašbazana qui donne un ordre, de même que sur la tablette PT 12.

Il faudrait donc lire l'inscription de ce cylindre :

<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>áš<sup>2</sup> ba-za-<na><sup>3</sup> DUMU pa-<sup>4</sup> ni- *mín-ti*=<sup>5</sup> š<sub>e</sub> -na, « Ašbaza<na>, fils de Pani-mintiš »

et ainsi éliminer Préxaspès des textes de Persépolis.

François VALLAT (30-03-99)

**29) A lost tablet located and now accessible** – Nearly forty years ago, René Labat wrote a short note on a neo-Babylonian tablet<sup>1</sup>. It comprised a copy, with transliteration and translation, of a privately owned but otherwise unidentified tablet, although Labat, in fact, worked from a cast and presumably never saw the actual tablet<sup>2</sup>. It is now certain that the tablet in question has been located and identified. At present it is in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne (U.K.). It was donated by L. Potts on 2nd September, 1952, possibly the same individual who so kindly sent the cast to Labat. Unfortunately, no other information concerning either the donor or the tablet is available<sup>3</sup>. Once the tablet had been « re-discovered »<sup>4</sup> it was then photographed<sup>5</sup>. In the meantime, P. Beaulieu has written an article which includes discussion of this tablet<sup>6</sup>.

The text itself details plots of land belonging to the Ištar temple in Uruk, and is of particular importance in referring to « Kašša, the king's daughter » as a landowner. An interpretation of the significance of the tablet for our understanding of the activities of this woman has recently been published by Beaulieu<sup>7</sup>.

An examination of the tablet itself has not led to any significant new readings, beyond the likely figure to restore at the end of line 9. However, it is possible to suggest restorations, by reference to other texts. Thus, in line 1, the following alternatives are proposed :

- (a) [qaq-qar 1000<sup>m</sup>]<sup>eš</sup> šá<sup>d</sup> INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
- (b) [1000<sup>m</sup>]<sup>eš</sup> šá<sup>d</sup> INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
- (c) [qaq-qar<sup>m</sup>]<sup>eš</sup> šá<sup>d</sup> INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

There is room for restoration (a) and it is directly paralleled by *qaq-qar 1000<sup>meš</sup> šá dbēltu šá uruk<sup>ki</sup>* (TCL 12 64 : 3). The use of *qaqqar* also gives a link with AnOr 9 19, which details plots of agricultural land in the Uruk area, including plots in Šakillatu, the area specified in line 8 of the tablet :

Line 56 *qaq-qar šá ina ši-i-ḫu šá LAGAB×KÛ šá-kil-la-tu<sub>4</sub>*

Although the use of *1000* in these texts appears to denote plots of land with a linear measurement of *1000 ammatu*, (*1000 šarri*, AnOr 9 1 : 4 ; *1000 ... re-mut šarri*, BIN 1 159 : 44 ; *1000 sa x x x*, AnOr 9 19 : 7 ; *1000 qaq-qar*, YOS 3 19 : 3 and a list of ‘1000’ plots, at least 18 of them, TCL 13 230), when used with <sup>meš</sup> in TCL 12 64 it denotes a collection of such plots :

*qaq-qar 1000<sup>meš</sup> šá dbēltu šá uruk<sup>ki</sup> 1000 šá LAGAB×KÛ šēr-ilūtu(AN)<sup>l[u]4</sup> /*  
*1000 šá ḫar-ri šá ma-ba-a-ši u 1000 šá šubat-<sup>m</sup>šu-la-a*

These references raise the interesting question as to whether we can understand *1000* in this context as *līmu*, « (plots with a measurement of) 1,000 (*ammatu*) » rather than the interpretation « region, neighborhood », given in CAD L (198b, *sub līmu* D). Their only references are [...] *u ištēn<sup>en</sup> li-i-mu pāni<sup>dmār</sup> bīti*, VAS 4 197 : 8, and AnOr 9 19 again, which commences

*li-i-mu šá LAGAB×KÛ ḫar-ra-tu<sub>4</sub> pa-na-at dūr ú-gu-um*

and starts another section in line 47 with *li-i-mu šá bāb maḫīri*.

From the references given, it will be appreciated that restoration (b) above is equally as likely as (a), and that (c) is paralleled by *e-lat 100<sup>am</sup> u qaq-qar<sup>meš</sup>*. Beaulieu’s restoration of [A.ŠĀ.ME]Š cannot be disproved, but lacks the parallels afforded by key Uruk texts.

A restoration can also be suggested for line 2, namely [13]00 SAG.KI., since there is considerable evidence for the Uruk temple utilising a *kurru* of 50,000 *ammatu*<sup>2</sup> rather than the *kurru* of 54,000 *ammatu*<sup>2</sup> in use for private transactions<sup>8</sup>.

Whilst the plot defined in lines 4-5 is not given a total area, preventing us from restoring the *pūtu* measurement, that in lines 6-8 clearly uses the ‘Uruk’ system. Its total area of 840 *kurru* is far beyond any other single plot known from published texts. This in itself might suggest that the figure at the end of line 9, for the third plot, is unlikely to be the 2,000 *kurru* suggested by Beaulieu in his transliteration<sup>9</sup> although the figure of 200 *kurru* in the translation<sup>10</sup> would seem possible. However, collation suggests that in fact we should read 13 *kurru*, giving a figure of 130 *ammatu* for the *pūtu* measurement.

1. R. Labat, « Domaines de la déesse Ištar d’Uruk » RA 54 (1960) 85-88.

2. « Il appartient à un particulier qui, voici déjà quelques années, nous en avait envoyé un excellent moulage, en nous autorisant à le publier » – Labat, RA 54 (1960) 85.

3. Other material from Mesopotamia housed at the Hancock Museum includes 2 large inscribed but well-worn road bricks and some fragments, a lion with a worn cuneiform inscription, an Assyrian relief, showing 2 heads and clay nails or cones.

4. Several years ago, when it was still on display. Later, it was put into storage and subsequently was located by Leslie Jessop, a member of the museum staff, and catalogued. The catalogue number is now NEWHM : 1998.H8002.

5. By the Audio-Visual Centre, The University, Newcastle upon Tyne. The photographs are now stored with the tablet.

6. P.A. Beaulieu, « Ba’u-asītu and Kaššaya, Daughters of Nebuchadnezzar II », Or 67 (1998) 173-201, esp 194-195.

7. See n. 6.

8. Marvin Powell’s ‘Uruk’ system as opposed to his ‘Common’ system ; see his article « Late Babylonian Field Mensuration. A contribution to the History of Babylonian Agriculture and Arithmetic », AfO 31 (1984) 32-66 (38-40). Whether these *ammatu* were of the same area is not of importance to the present calculations.

9. Beaulieu, Or 67 (1998) 194.

10. Beaulieu, Or 67 (1988) 195.

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**30) Magic and Medicine at Meskene** – Akio Tsukimoto has performed a much-appreciated service in making available (in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* = Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East – The City and Its Life held at the Middle Eastern Cultural Centre in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo) March 22-24, 1996 (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg) pp. 188-200), an important stray medical text from Meskene/Emar now housed in a private collection in Japan. Any such literature from the second millennium BC must be of importance, and so large and complete a text is doubly so. Disregarding *materia medica*, some remarks follow on the incantations as treated in his *editio princeps*, since

they are of interest for the history of the genre.

Obv. 23-24 : Two incantations are mentioned by incipit, the first ÉN kat-ta-ri-tu<sub>4</sub> kat-ta-ri-tu<sub>4</sub>, which is given in extenso in lines 25-26 (see presently), and the second ÉN šá išātu (IZI). The latter is perhaps not so much an incipit as such (if so, it is unknown in precisely this form), but is probably a description referring to the incantation which is then given in extenso in lines 27-35. This would then mean, as it were, «a ‘fever’ incantation», since this text corresponds to several spells that begin ÉN išātumma išātu published by W. G. Lambert under the title «Fire Incantations,» *AfO* 23 (1970) 39-46, on which see further below.

Obv. 25-26 : As interpreted («GADA tá-ri-du» etc.), this spell makes little sense, and one can hardly forbear comparing the first millennium spell ÉN ka-ra-ra-tum, attested in Köcher *BAM* 354 iii 12-13 (here A), *AMT* 58 : 7, i 4-5 (B) and *AMT* 69 : 9, 7-8 (C) :

Meskene :

25. ÉN kat-ta-ri-túm kat-ta-ri-túm abzu kat-ta-ri-túm ní-g-gu (or : šá-gu) abzu kat-ta-ri-túm  
 26. saḥar abzu kat-ta-ri-túm [kat-ta-ri-túm] [kat-ta-ri]-[túm] ÉN

Late Assyrian :

- A ÉN ka-ra-ra-tum ka-ra-ra-tum(MIN) abzu ka-ra-ra-tum(MIN)  
 A [ši-ku] ka-ra-ra-tum [ka-ra-ra-tum]-ma TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN  
 B [ÉN.....-t]um ka-ra-ra-tum  
 B [.....-t]um ka-ra-ra-tum-ma TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN  
 C [É..... ka-ra-ra-tum abzu [ka-ra-ra-tum]  
 C [..... T]U<sub>6</sub> ÉN

Obv. 27-35 : It is worth stressing (as has not been pointed out at all by Tsukimoto) that this incantation, in addition to duplicating the more or less contemporary RS 17.155 (J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V 32), is also closely related to the first millennium «Fire» incantations published by W. G. Lambert, *op. cit.*, and strongly indicates that «fire» in the latter is to be understood as «fever.»

Obv. 37-40 : This interesting spell is woven together out of three distinct parts. The first two appear side-by-side in the well-known first millennium Sumerian incantation ÉN me-šè ba-da-ri, (for which see Köcher *BAM* 3 p. XIV ; *AfO* 21 (1966) 17 : 22 ; 26 ; the present writer, *AuOr* 9 (Fs. M. Civil) : 100 ; 103 fn. 17 (where this Meskene tablet has in fact been quoted), and E. von Weiher, *SpBTU* vol. IV 39. n. on 4), and partly involves a «shorthand» spelling of the individual elements of a charm that are required seven times. Note especially in Meskene the varying spellings of imin, «seven,» as ú-mìn and ú-me-en :

Meskene :

37. me-šè pa-da-ri i-ki-du ba-da-an-za-aḥ me-te gub-ba i-ki-du nu gub-ba  
 38. an-nu ú-mìn ki ú-me-en bar-da i-ki ú-me-en

Late Assyrian (e.g. *AMT* 38 : 2, iv 11-17, and dups.) :

ÉN me-šè ba-da-ri ki-šè ba-da-zaḥ me-šè gub-ba igi-mu n[u-gub-ba]  
 an imin ki imin im imin im-gal imin ne imin igi imin bar imin bar-ta ig[i imin zi an-na ḥé-pà zi ki-a ḥé-pà

Since related spells of this sevenfold-reiterating type are attested on amulets as well as tablets (see, e.g. A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, «Charmes de Sippar et de Nippur,» in *Mesopotamian History and Environment* : Occasional Publications vol. III (Fs. L. de Meyer) : 73-84), we might assume that this second section of incantation material, if not the incipit ÉN me-še ba-da-ri, also occurs on amulets, which should accordingly look like this :

an an an an an an  
 ki ki ki ki ki ki  
 im im im im im im etc.

The Meskene spell continues with a third element, a stock list of demons :

uḍug ḥul a-lá ḥul gidim ḥul gal<sub>5</sub>-lá ḥul dingir ḥul maškim ḥul eme-ḥul-gál bar-šè ḥé-en-da-gu-ub zi an-na ḥé-pà zi ki-a ḥé-pà,

and thus differs from the conclusion in the first-millennium version :

mušen an-gin<sub>7</sub> ḥa-ba-re-en i-izi-gin<sub>7</sub> an-na ḥa-ba-e<sub>11</sub>-dè  
 im-dugud-gin<sub>7</sub> ki-a ḥa-ba-ni-in-šub  
 tu<sub>6</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga en-gal <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>

eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> nam-mu-un-da-an-búr-ra TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN

Reverse 93 : It is perhaps uncertain whether the phrase *lumun libbišu ana maḥar Šamaš idabbub* should be translated as Tsukimoto suggests, or whether *lumun libbišu* might refer to an incantation.

Rev. 97 : See the present writer, *op. cit.* 97 fn. 9.

Another point worthy of consideration is the terminology used in this Meskene tablet. After the fashion of contemporary omens, *šumma*, « if, » is consistently written BE. More significantly, besides writing LÚ, this tablet once employs NA, and three times uses ZA for « man, » or « patient, » probably indicating that the text has been compiled from diverse sources. Indeed, although this usage of ZA is supported by lexical texts, it is not one that can be paralleled in known medical texts from Mesopotamia, and probably points to the existence of a distinct and unidentified stream of medical literature.

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**31) Datteln und Dattelpalmzweige in den altassyrischen (aA) Texten vom Kültepe –** Obgleich die Dattelpalme von den klimatischen Bedingungen her weder im assyrischen noch im zentralanatolischen Raum anzutreffen ist, kannten die aA Kaufleute diesen Baum zweifellos durch ihre Handelsverbindungen zum südlichen Mesopotamien.<sup>1</sup> Diese, wenn auch nur wenigen, schriftlichen Hinweise sollen hier vorgestellt werden.

– *suluppum* « Dattel »

**TC II 7** (Puzur-Aššur in Assur an Pūšu-kēn in Kaniš), 30-32 : (nach der Erwähnung von Stoffen u.a. aus Akkad) ... *ri-IG-le* <sup>31</sup>*ú sú-lu-pí* / KI *Šu-Ištar* <sup>32</sup>*ú-šé-ba-lá-kum* « *rig/kl/qlū*<sup>2</sup> und Datteln werde ich dir mit Šu-Ištar senden. »

**ICK IV 740** (Pr.No. über Waren, die der anonyme Verfasser der anatolischen Ehefrau (*amtum*) eines Kollegen(?) gab), 11f. : *kà-mu-ni* 49 *kà-ma-ru* <sup>12</sup>*sú-lu-pu* / Ī.GIŠ *ku-nu-ki-a* « Kümmel, 49 *kamārum*-Fische, Datteln, Öl, unter meinen Siegeln. »

Als begehrte Süßwaren, wohl auch zum Süßen von Speisen, werden in den Texten neben Datteln noch Honig (*dišpum* (LĀL))<sup>3</sup> und Süßrohr (*qanu'um ṭābum* (GI.DU<sub>10</sub>.GA))<sup>4</sup> erwähnt.

– *ḥuṣābum* « Dattelpalmast », *warūm* « Dattelpalmzweig », *sissinnum* « Dattelrispe(nbesen) »

**Fs. N. Özgüç, 1993, S. 145f., Nr. 8 (kt 88/k 713 [Kārum Kaniš Schicht Ib])**, 26-30 :<sup>5</sup> ... *lu šé(!?)-am* <sup>27</sup>*lu ḥu-ša-bi lu wa-ar-e* [(...)] <sup>28</sup>*lu sí-sí-ni*<sup>6</sup> *a-na É (Nu-nu)* <sup>29</sup>*Tū-ut-ḥi-li-áš* <sup>30</sup>*i-za-bi-il*<sub>5</sub> « ... Sowohl Weizen als auch Dattelpalmäste als auch Dattelpalmzweige [...] als auch Dattelpalmrispen(besen) wird Tuḥiliaš an das Haus [von Nunu] liefern. »

Während die ersten beiden Begriffe *ḥuṣābum* (AHw. 360b s.v. 1) b) und *wārum* (AHw. 1435b s.v. *urū(m)* III) für das aA bisher nur hier belegt sind, ist uns das Wort *sissinnum* noch aus weiteren aA Texten bekannt, z.B. :

**AKT III 79** (Enna/u(m)-Aššur in Kaniš an seine Frau Nuḥšatum in Assur), 18f.21f.24f. : *i-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>si</sup> *tup-pí-i* <sup>19</sup>*ta-ša-me-i-ni* ... <sup>21</sup>*šé-na-tim sí-sí-ni* <sup>22</sup>*a-ni-qí* ... <sup>24</sup>*a-na ḥa-ra-ni-a* (Ras.) <sup>25</sup>*a-na wa-ša-i-a šé-bi<sub>4</sub>-lim* « Am Tage da du meine Tafel vernimmst, schicke mir ... Schuhe, Dattelrispen(besen), Ringe ... für meine Reise (bis) zu meinem Abmarsch. »

**AKT III 80** (Enna/u(m)-Aššur in Kaniš an seine Frau Nuḥšatum und seinen Transporteur Lālīja in Assur), 37-40 : ... *pa-ší na-ki-pí* <sup>38</sup>*ší-pá-ra-tim sí-sí-ni mī-ma sà-ḥe-er-tum* <sup>39</sup>*a-ḥu-ra-at-ni* ... <sup>40</sup> ... *šé-bi<sub>4</sub>-lá* « Die Beile, Hämmer, Nägel, Dattelrispen(besen), alles was an Kurzwaren in Verzug ist, ... schickt! »

Aus diesem Text wird deutlich, daß Dattelrispen(besen) zu den häufig erwähnten Kurzwaren gehörten.

**AKT III 84** (Enna/u(m)-Aššur in Kaniš an seine Frau Nuḥšatum und an Allāku in Assur), 29-32 : *áb-nam sú-a-am sí-sí-ni* <sup>30</sup>*ší-pá-ra-tim iš-ra-tim* <sup>31</sup>*šé-na-tim* / Ī.GIŠ *ša i-É<sup>tim</sup>* <sup>32</sup>*tá-ú-bu / ub-lu-nim* « Einen *su'um*-Stein, Dattelrispen(besen), Nägel, Gürtel, Schuhe (und) Öl, das im Hause verfeinert wurde, brachte man mir. »

**BIN VI 84** (E. Bilgiç, Appellativa, 1954, S. 73f. ; Aššur-muttabbil (Sohn von Pūšu-kēn) in Zalpa an seine einheim.-anatolische Frau Kunania und an Karunu(w)a in Kaniš), 13f.22-25.27-29 : [x p] *á-né-re / 5 sí-sí-né-e* <sup>14</sup>[x m] *a-na SÍG.ĪA* ... <sup>22</sup>*mī-ma a-nim / šú-ḥa-ru ub-lu-ni-ki=im* <sup>23</sup> *pá-na-ra-am* <sup>1</sup> *sí-sí-nam* <sup>24</sup>*A-al-DU*<sub>10</sub> DUMU *ḥu-ra-ší* <sup>25</sup>*ub-lá-ki-im* ... <sup>27</sup> *pá-na-ra-am* <sup>2</sup> *sí-sí-né* <sup>28</sup>*kà-ša-ar A-zu-ta-a* DUMU *E-me* <sup>29</sup>*ub-la-kim* « [x T]ierbürsten, 5 Dattelrispen(besen), [x M]ine Wolle ..., dies alles haben dir die Knechte gebracht. 1



Tierbürste (und) 1 Dattlerispe(nbesen) hat dir Āl-ṭāb, Sohn von Ḥurāṣī, gebracht ... 1 Tierbürste (und) 2 Dattlerispen(besen) hat dir der Packmeister des Azutāja, Sohn von E/Imeme, gebracht.»<sup>7</sup>

Die häufig gemeinsame Erwähnung von *sissinnum* «Dattlerispe(nbesen)» mit *pannarum* «Tierbürste» läßt vermuten, daß letztere ebenfalls aus Dattlerispen hergestellt wurde.<sup>8</sup> Es erstaunt, daß solche verhältnismäßig geringwertigen Gebrauchsgegenstände (Beile, Nägel etc.) über eine so weite Distanz von Assur nach Kaniš (ca. 1000 km Luftlinie) transportiert wurden, zumal man diese oder vergleichbare Gebrauchsgüter genauso gut in Anatolien herzustellen vermochte. Im Falle der Produkte der Dattelpalme wäre deren Verwendung im Kult eine mögliche Erklärung für diesen Aufwand.<sup>9</sup>

Sicherlich als Element des Kultes begegnet der Dattelpalmbaum auf einem syrisch-kappadokischen Siegel, das auf der Hülle eines aA Verpflichtungsscheins (TC III 221) abgerollt wurde.



Abb. : B. Teissier, 1994, Nr. 477.

Es zeigt neben dem Hauptmotiv der Einführungszone eine Dattelpalme, unter der zwei Beter und eine Göttin(?) stehen.<sup>10</sup> Die Zuordnung des Palmensiegels zu einem der drei Zeugen ist aufgrund des Fehlens weiterer Texte mit Abrollungen desselben bisher nicht möglich.

1. Zur Dattelpalme und deren Bedeutung im Alten Orient s. z.B. B. Landsberger, *The Date Palm and its By-products according to Cuneiform Sources*, AfO Beih. 17, Graz 1967 und M. P. Charles, *Onions, Cucumbers and the Date Palm*, BSAg 3, 1987, S. 1-22.

2. Zu dem noch nicht gedeuteten Begriff *rig/kqlum* s. zuletzt J. Lewy, HUCA 27, 1956, S. 32<sup>14</sup> («pieces of furniture or ornaments representing palm trees and their fruits») und AHw. 982a.

3. Zu «Honig» in den aA Texten s. als Belege AMM 1994, ersch. 1995, S. 211-213 (kt 93/k 81), 7.11.14; BIN IV 219 (ITPA 11 Nr. 55), 4.6; BIN VI 29, 21; CCT I 8 b (EL 64), 13; CCT III 46 b (ACMI, S. 311f.), 24 (lies hier LÄL!); KTB 14 (APU 556), 34; TC III 5, 33; RIMA I, S. 22f., Nr. 2, 28.

4. Zu Süßrohr s. den bisher einzigen Beleg Fs. N. Özgüç, 1993, S. 290f. (kt k/- 129; Schultext), Rs. 9'.

5. V. Donbaz, Fs. N. Özgüç, 1993, S. 146, bietet zu Z. 27f. keine Übersetzung.

6. Die Schreibung *ni<sub>7</sub>* (NIM) statt *ni* (NI) beim Akk. Plural von auf *-n* auslautenden mask. Substantiven ist im aA zwar selten, vgl. aber z.B. noch: *a-lá-ni<sub>7</sub>* «Eicheln» (BIN IV 228, 3); *pi/pi-ri-kà-ni<sub>7</sub>* «*pirikannum*-Stoffe» (kt n/k 1385 [OACT, S. 129<sup>402</sup>], 15' [ibd., fälschlich *-nim*]; BIN IV 162 [APU Nr. 591], 34); *ku-ta-ni<sub>7</sub>* «*kutānum*-Stoffe» (CCT I 49 a [EL 249], 7); *ki-pu-na-ni<sub>7</sub>* «?» (TC III 159 [APU Nr. 592], 8.19).

7. Die Verben *ublūnikkim* und *ublakkim* sind hier sicherlich als Präteritumformen aufzufassen. Formal könnten beide jedoch auch als Stativ (*wa/tubill*, s. AHw. 1450a) für das Präsens/Futur stehen. Letztere Bedeutungsvariante wird in Übersetzungen bisweilen nicht bedacht: emendiere so z.B.: EL I, S. 236f. und AC, S. 193<sup>1</sup> (CCT I 37 a, 5.17.23); APU, S. 178 (KTS I 52 c, Rs. 4' und KTS I 53 a, 21); TPAK I 149, 6; vgl. hierzu auch ICK II 98, Rs. 6'; TC III 203, 11 und 204, 10 (<*ú*>-*bi<sub>4</sub>-il<sub>5</sub>*). Zur korrekten Übersetzung s. z.B. CAD Q 138b s.v. *qarnu* 4. a) 1' (TMH I 3 c, 9).

8. Bürsten aus Dattlerispen sind im Orient bis zur heutigen Zeit gebräuchlich.

9. Zur Dattelpalme im Kult (nur in Südmesopotamien, nicht in Assyrien!) s. jetzt J. Black, A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*. London 1992, S. 170f., sub «stylised tree and its 'rituals'». Beachte aber auch die Rolle des Palmzweigs für das jüdische Laubhüttenfest. – Im Falle der auch heute gebräuchlichen Dattlerispenbesen wurde mir von einem Gewährsmann versichert, daß diese gerade wegen ihrer überaus großen Haltbarkeit begehrt seien.

10. Zu diesem Siegel s. B. Teissier, *Sealing and Seals on Texts from Kültepe Kārum Level 2*, 1994, S. 170, Nr. 477. Zur Hülle TC III 221 gehört die Tafel TC II 63 (EL 28). Aufgrund der Filiation Iddin-abum, S.v. Itūr-ilum, (kt k/k 97, 1f.) können die ersten drei Zeilen von TC III 221 zumindest teilweise ergänzt werden: <sup>1</sup>[KIŠIB Šu-Ištar DUMU x]-[x x<sup>1</sup>-(x)] <sup>2</sup>[KIŠIB I-dí-(n)a-bi-im] <sup>3</sup>[DUMU<sup>1</sup> I-tur<sub>4</sub>-[DINGIR] <sup>3</sup>[KIŠIB] [I-a]-šar ... Von den 32 mit bekannten Vatersnamen für den PN Šu-Ištar (von Aguzā bis Šu-kettum) paßt keiner zu den beiden noch teilweise erkennbaren Zeichen von Z. 1 (Kollation!). Die drei Zeugen sind bei B. Teissier, ibd., sub Nr. 477 und 641 (= Abb. einer der beiden übrigen Siegelabrollungen [= TC III/3, Abb. 84]), jeweils Spalte 7, nachzutragen.

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**32) Kadeshman-Enlil's Request of Exotic Animals (EA 4 : 23-35)** – Letter EA 4 contains a series of complains of Kadeshman-Enlil against Amenophis III. It opens with a bitter complaint of the Pharaoh's refusal to send his daughter to Babylon to be married. In response to Amenophis' claim that «since time immemorial no daughter of the king of Egypt has ever been given to anyone», the Babylonian king answers thus (lines 11-13): «Grown (or) y[oung] (*š[u-ḥa-ar-ti]*) daughters, pretty women, must be available. When (a daughter) is n[ot av]ailable (*ki-i l[a-a b]a-ši-i*), send a pretty woman. Who is going to say: “She is no daughter of the king”».

Following the long discussion about the diplomatic marriage between the two royal houses (lines 4-22), the Babylonian king complains about the delay in the dispatch of exotic animals. Details of the complaint are missing, as they appear in a badly damaged passage (lines 23-35): about six lines are missing altogether, and the rest is badly broken. Following is a tentative restoration of the passage:

23. *mi-in-de-e-ma a-na a-ḥu-za-ti ki-i aš-p[u-ra-ak-ku]*  
 24. *'a'-[n]a ú-ma-mi ki-i aš-pu-ra-ak-ku u[m-ma-a at-ta-ma]*  
 25. *[ú-ma-mi G]AL<sup>meš</sup>-ka ki-i ḥ[a-mu-ut-ta ušēbbil-ka]*

About five lines are broken

31. *[ ..... ki<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>2</sup>]*  
 32. *š[a ú-ma-mi GA]L<sup>meš</sup>-ka iq-bu-ni-m[a<sup>2</sup> .....]*  
 33. *i-na-an-na ša DUMU.SAL-ia ša ú-še-[eb-bi-la-ak-ku]*  
 34. *at-ta zi-ra-ša ul ta-ša-a[b-ba-at šum<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>]*  
 35. *ša ú-ma-mi mi-nu-um-ma e-ri-iš-ka l[a-a tušēbbilam]*

«Perhaps, too, when I w[rote you] about marriage, I likewise wrote you about the animals, [(and) you answered] sa[ying: “[I will send to you] pr[om]tly your big [animals]. ..... When] they told me ab[out the b]ig [animals I became angry<sup>2</sup>]. Now, about my daughter whom I shall se[nd to you], you shall not ha[ve] her offspring [if<sup>2</sup> you do] n[ot send me] such animals as I asked you for».

A second threat not to send the Babylonian daughter to the Pharaoh appears at the end of the letter (lines 49-50): «Even if you send me 3,000 talents of gold I would not accept it. I would send it back, and I would not give my daughter in marriage».

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**33) A Missing Fragment of the Khorsabad Kinglist** – During a recent reorganization of archival papers and photographs dealing with the two seasons of Oriental Institute excavations at Khorsabad (excavation dates: November 30, 1932-April 15, 1933 and December 5, 1933-April 15, 1934; records: 1929-1935), one of the authors (John A. Larson) noted a discrepancy between the official publication photo and the excavation photo of the reverse of the Khorsabad Kinglist. The excavation photo, showing the tablet still salt-encrusted before conservation work, contained a section of the reverse that was missing when the later official publication photo was taken; this publication photo appeared as plate XV in the editio princeps by I. J. Gelb in *JNES* 13 (1954) 209-230 and has been utilized as a principal reference by researchers since then. The missing fragment, measuring approximately 24 × 18 mm, extends over parts of lines 9-14 in column iii, which contain entries for kings nos. 71-73 (Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē II, Erība-Adad I, and Aššur-uballit I); an average of 2-3 signs is missing per line, covering more than 30% of the most affected lines. The discovery of the discrepancy between the two photos raises the issues of what happened to the fragment and how it came to be missing.

The question is not inconsequential for present-day research, since the two principal publications of the kinglist deal differently with the section in question. Gelb in *JNES* 13 (1954) 216, 218 treats these lines as though the fragment were present and does not refer to the accompanying photo (*ibid.*, pl. XV), which shows a lacuna here. Grayson in his standard edition of the Assyrian kinglist treats these lines as though the fragment were missing (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6/1-2 [1980] 109) and restores the pertinent sections in square brackets. So the discrepancy has carried over into major text editions as well.

To shed light on the puzzle, it is worth reviewing the modern history of the kinglist. The tablet was excavated at Khorsabad in February 1933 (sometime between the 22nd and 24th of the month, inclusive, to judge from the expedition diary entries) in room 12 of the Nabû Temple (pictures of the room in *OIP* 40 pl. 18D [taken on Feb. 25, 1933] and 18E [taken on Feb. 26, 1933], map on pl. 79, showing room 12 off Court I, the forecourt). A workman's pick damaged the tablet and broke off at least one piece (a field number of DŠ 828 was assigned to the principal tablet; and another field number DŠ 32-54 was given to a separate fragment, though we have been unable to trace – from records currently available to us – whether the latter number refers to the fragment in question, since several loose pieces of tablet can be seen in the photos). The two main pieces are shown together and with salt encrustation in the excavation photo [Photo A] (date unknown). The tablet was subsequently brought to Chicago and baked; and, presumably in the process of baking, the fragment in question here became detached and what eventually became the official publication photo [Photo B] was taken of the desalted tablet minus that fragment (date unknown). The fragment was later rejoined to the main text;

and another photo [Photo C] was taken of the cleaned tablet with the fragment in place (date unknown, but a print of this photo was accessioned in the Oriental Institute museum archives on July 8, 1935). Casts were made of the tablet with its rejoined pieces; and Arno Poebel made a copy of the full original text, including the fragment. Unfortunately, Photo B was chosen for publication in Gelb's edition.

This photo [B], showing the small fragment as missing, has provided the principal direct access to the text for the scholarly community, appearing as an illustration in the British periodical *The Sphere* (issue of April 7, 1934, p. 25) which Weidner subsequently reproduced in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14/5-6 (1944) 362, and in *JNES* 13 (1954) pl. XV. Photos A and C, to the best of our knowledge, have not been published; nor has a cuneiform copy of the tablet been made available. Other photographs are known to have been made, e.g., one published in the *Chicago Tribune* on Feb. 24, 1934, which shows the same lacuna as in Photo B, but with another piece of the tablet seriously askew.

The kinglist, including the errant fragment, was returned to the Iraq Museum in 1953. Photographs of both obverse and reverse (with the fragment in question present) were published in Faraj Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum* (Baghdad: Ministry of Information, Directorate General of Antiquities, 1975-76) as no. 166, with a description on p. 404.

It may be of use to have a full transliteration of these lines of the Khorsabad Kinglist, since it is the only Assyrian kinglist version which preserves the reign lengths of rulers at this point. So we add here a transliteration made with the help of the fuller photos, the casts, and Poebel's copy; this for the most part agrees with Gelb's edition.

column iii

(9)	$I_{aš}+šur-SUM-†PAB.MEŠ^1$	DUMU $I_{aš}+šur-ÁG-[U]N.MEŠ-šú$
(10)	10 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> [DÙ]- <i>uš</i> <sup>1</sup>
(11)	$I_{SU}^{-d}IM$	DUMU $I_{raš}^1+†šur-EN-U[N.MEŠ]-†šú^1$
(12)	27 MU.MEŠ	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> [DÙ- <i>u</i> ]š
(13)	$I_{aš}+šur-TI.LA$	DUMU $I_{SU}^{-d}IM$
(14)	36 M[U]. $I_{MEŠ}$	LUGAL- <i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> DÙ- <i>uš</i>

Poebel's copy of the pertinent lines is reproduced below.



Because the museum numbers for the Assyrian kinglist fragments are not given in the primary publications, we add here the list as known to us. Nassouhi Kinglist: Istanbul A. 116 (Assur 8836). Khorsabad Kinglist: IM 60017 (excavation nos.: DŠ 828, DŠ 32-54). Seventh Day Adventist Seminary (SDAS) Kinglist: IM 60484. Berlin fragment: VAT 11554. British Museum fragment: BM 128059 (1929-10-12,715).

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**34) Ana tab-ba : qui scelle la tablette de qui?** – Dans le cadre de l'étude de la relation entre le sceau et la tablette, il est clair que les contrats de bail à ferme sont rédigés en deux exemplaires, un pour le propriétaire, comportant le sceau du bailleur, et un pour le bailleur, comportant le sceau du propriétaire. Mais qu'en est-il lorsqu'il y a deux bailleurs dans les contrats appelés « ana tab.ba »? Un texte des archives d'Ur-Utu<sup>1</sup>, grand lamentateur d'Annunitum apporte la réponse.

Dans *MHET* I, 6 (Aš 5), Ur-Utu et son partenaire Iddin-Marduk, fils de Šîn-išmeanni prennent à bail 0.0.1 iku de champ ab.sín. Il s'agit d'un sous-bail (*šušūt*): les deux partenaires le prennent à bail du scribe Utul-Ištar, qui à son tour le prend à bail d'Erišti-Aja, *nadītum* de Šamaš. Un sceau avec le kišib du partenaire d'Ur-Utu a été déroulé sur le bord gauche du contrat. Puisque ce contrat fait partie des archives d'Ur-Utu, nous pouvons en déduire que chacun des partenaires de bail scellaient la tablette de l'autre. La tablette d'Ur-Utu comporte le sceau d'Iddin-Marduk, par conséquent la tablette d'Iddin-Marduk doit comporter le sceau d'Ur-Utu<sup>2</sup>.

Dans une telle opération, il n'est cependant pas question de deux, mais de trois tablettes. Les deux partenaires possèdent chacun une copie du contrat scellée par l'autre à titre de preuve de leur participation et

leurs responsabilités l'un envers l'autre. Evidemment, le propriétaire – ou dans le cas de *MHET* I, 6 celui qui sous-baillie le champ –, possède également une copie du contrat. Les bailleurs, scellaient-ils alors les deux la tablette du propriétaire? Des textes des archives d'Ur-Utu nous apportent de nouveau la réponse.

Dans Di 1056 (Aş 7) Ur-Utu baille 1.0.0 iku de champ à Awil-Ištar, fils d'Ilišu-bāni et Elaja fils de X. Sur le bord gauche des sceaux avec des kišibs des deux bailleurs ont été déroulés. Puisque ce contrat fait partie des archives du bailleur Ur-Utu, nous pouvons en déduire que des partenaires de bail scellaient chacun la tablette du propriétaire.

Dans Di 691 (Aş 4) Inanna-mansum, père et prédécesseur d'Ur-Utu, baille 1.1.5 iku de champ à son fils Bēlanum<sup>3</sup> et Warad-Gipar, fils de Warad-Ulmaššitum. Sur le bord gauche un sceau avec le kišib de Warad-Gipar<sup>4</sup> a été déroulé. Le revers de la tablette comporte un sceau illisible. Il nous semble fort probable qu'il s'agit du sceau de Bēlanum.

Grâce à cet usage, nous pouvons attribuer quelques contrats « ana tab.ba » aux archives de telle ou telle personne.

Dans *TCL* I, 154 (Ad 25) Ili-amtaḥar, fils de Lipit-Ištar et Sîn-iddinam, fils de Sîn-išmeanni prennent à bail un champ de Sinātum, PA.PA. Puisque des sceaux avec des kišibs des deux bailleurs ont été déroulés sur le bord gauche, nous pouvons attribuer cette tablette aux archives du bailleur Sinātum.

Dans *CT* XLV, 59 (Aş 10) Alkûm, le Sutéen, fils d'Abdānu et Tamlātum, fils d'Ipqu-Sippir prennent à bail un champ. Puisque le sceau avec le kišib du père d'Alkûm a été déroulé sur le bord gauche, nous pouvons attribuer cette tablette aux archives de son partenaire Tamlātum, fils d'Ipqu-Sippir.

Dans *MHET* II, 4, 528 (Aş 12) Etel-pī-Sîn, fils de Sîn-mušallim et Warad-kūbi prennent à bail un champ. Puisque le sceau avec le kišib de Warad-kūbi a été déroulé sur le bord gauche, nous pouvons attribuer cette tablette aux archives de son partenaire, Etel-pī-Sîn fils de Sîn-mušallim.

Dans *BDHP*, 16 (Aş 14) Mār-ešrê, PA MAR.TU et Alû, fils d'Ipqu-Annunītum prennent à bail 0.1.0 iku de champ. Puisque le sceau avec le kišib de Mār-ešrê a été déroulé sur le bord gauche, nous pouvons attribuer cette tablette aux archives de son partenaire Alû, fils d'Ipqu-Annunītum.

Dans *CT* XLVII, 76 (s.d.) Šumum-libši, fils de Pirḫi-ilīšu et Ibni-Sîn, fils de Tamar-ḫ x<sup>1</sup> prennent à bail un champ. Puisque le sceau de Šumum-libši, fils de Pirḫi-ilīšu a été déroulé deux fois sur le bord gauche et une fois sur le bord droite, nous pouvons attribuer cette tablette aux archives de son partenaire Ibni-Sîn, fils de Tamar-ḫ x<sup>1</sup>.

Comme le montre Di 1615 (Aş 12), il y avait des contrats de bail à ferme où un des partenaires de bail était également le propriétaire du champ en question. Analogie à ce contrat-ci, nous pouvons proposer l'attribution des textes suivants aux archives de telle ou telle personne.

Dans *CT* II, 32 (Aş 17) Abdu-Ištara, *suqāqu* et Rēš-Marduk, fils de Mār-ešrê, fils de Šugieš prennent à bail 0.0.3 iku de champ ab.sîn. Le sceau avec le kišib d'Abdu-Ištara a été déroulé sur le bord gauche. Puisque Rēš-Marduk est également le propriétaire de ce champ, nous pouvons proposer l'attribution de cette tablette aux archives du bailleur, également son partenaire Rēš-Marduk, fils de Mār-ešrê, fils de Šugieš. Le déroulement du sceau avec le kišib d'Abdu-Ištara sur la tablette indique ses deux rôles. Premièrement comme bailleur, scellant la tablette du propriétaire, deuxièmement comme partenaire, scellant la tablette de son partenaire de bail.

Dans *MHET* II, 4, 550 (Aş 17) Sîn-imguranni, fils d'Ina-palēšu et Kurû, fils d'Aḫi-aqar prennent à bail un champ. Le sceau avec le kišib de Sîn-imguranni a été déroulé sur le bord gauche. Puisque Kurû est également le propriétaire du champ, nous pouvons proposer l'attribution de cette tablette aux archives du bailleur, également son partenaire Kurû, fils d'Aḫi-aqar.

Dans *TIM* V, 48 (s.d.) Utul-Ištar, *abi erîn* et Warad-Ulmaššitum prennent à bail 0.1.0 iku de champ. Le sceau avec le kišib de Warad-Ulmaššitum a été déroulé sur le bord gauche. Puisqu'il est également le propriétaire du champ, nous pouvons proposer l'attribution de cette tablette aux archives de son partenaire Utul-Ištar, *abi erîn*. Le déroulement du sceau avec le kišib de Warad-Ulmaššitum sur la tablette indique ses deux rôles. Premièrement comme propriétaire, scellant la tablette du bailleur, deuxièmement comme partenaire, scellant la tablette de son partenaire de bail.

Qu'en est-il alors lorsqu'il y a plus de deux bailleurs dans ces contrats « ana tab.ba »? Puisque les archives d'Ur-Utu ne contiennent pas de tels contrats, nous en disposons seulement hors d'un contexte archival. Pour cela, une recherche plus profonde nous semble indisponible.

Nous retenons que dans la plupart des cas, les sceaux en question ont été déroulés sur le bord gauche de la tablette.

#### *Bibliographie et abréviations*

*BDHP* = WATERMAN, L., 1916, *Business documents of the Hammurapi period from the British Museum*, Londres  
*CT* II = PINCHES, T.G., 1896, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, part II*, Londres  
*CT* XLV = PINCHES, T.G., 1963, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, part XLV, Old-Babylonian Business Documents*, Londres  
*CT* XLVII = FIGULLA, H. N., 1967, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, part XLVII*,

*Old-Babylonian nadītu records*, Londres

JANNSEN, C., 1992, « Inanna-mansum et ses fils : relation d'une succession turbulente dans les archives d'Ur-Utu », *RA LXXXVI*, 19-52

*MHET I* = VAN LERBERGHE, K., et G., VOET, 1993, *The Ur-Utu Archive*, Gand

*MHET II*, 4 = DEKIERE, L., 1995, *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the British Museum, Part IV: Post-Samsu-Iluna Documents*, Gand

*TIM V* = VAN DIJK, J., 1968, *Texts in the Iraq Museum, volume V, Old Babylonian Contracts and related Material*, Wiesbaden

1. Nous tenons à remercier le Prof. Dr. Em. L. De Meyer d'avoir voulu mettre aimablement à notre disposition les textes des archives d'Ur-Utu.

2. Un autre texte des archives d'Ur-Utu, Di 1615 (A<sub>5</sub> 12) nous donne une situation un peu différente. Ur-Utu et son partenaire Gimil-Marduk, PA.PA, y prennent à bail 0.2.0 iku de champ ab.sín. Ici aussi un sceau avec le kišib de son partenaire a été déroulé sur le bord gauche du contrat d'Ur-Utu. Puisque son partenaire est également le propriétaire du champ, le déroulement du sceau avec son kišib sur la tablette nous semble indiquer ses deux rôles en même temps. Premièrement comme propriétaire, scellant la tablette du bailleur, et deuxièmement comme partenaire, scellant la tablette de son partenaire de bail.

3. Pour l'identification de Bēlanum et Ur-Utu, cf. Janssen, C., 1992, 47.

4. Seulement les signes ir-d<sup>1</sup>gi<sup>6</sup>?-[x] sont lisibles. Puisqu'aucune autre personne dont le nom commence avec ir-d ne figure dans le texte, il nous semble fort probable qu'il s'agit de Warad-Gipar.

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**35) A proposito di TM.75.G.2286** – Nel 1992 Giovanni Pettinato ha pubblicato in *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Rusconi, Milano, una tavoletta dell'archivio di Ebla, sia in traslitterazione che in traduzione (*ibid.*, p. 401 sg.): si tratta di TM.75.G.2286 (= MEE 1, 1724).<sup>1</sup> In essa vengono rendicontati gli apporti allo stato eblaita da parte di vari governatori (Kum-Damu ed Igrish-Halab, r. I, 1-7, Ebrium, r. II, 1-6, Gigi, r. III, 1-v. I, 5), con l'aggiunta d'una sezione in cui si ha il rendiconto dell'utilizzo di oro e argento per la manifattura di vari oggetti (v. I, 6-IV, 6).<sup>2</sup>

Nell'elencare l'apporto di materiale prezioso, lo scriba utilizza nel documento una terminologia non univoca; si hanno infatti tanto della « barre » (*li<sub>2</sub>-qi<sub>3</sub>-tum*, nell'interpretazione dell'Autore), il cui peso varia da 7 a 20 mine, quanto vasi definiti « *zi-ru<sub>12</sub>* », tradotto semplicemente con « vaso » da Pettinato, « *bù-za-tu<sub>3</sub>* », tradotto con « boccale », e infine « *gu<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>* », tradotto con « orcio »; la natura etimologica di questi oggetti è controversa ma senza dubbio debbono rappresentare dei contenitori di varia natura e forma. Nel prospetto che segue ho evidenziato sotto forma di tabella il contenuto degli apporti<sup>3</sup> per quanto concerne i contenitori per una più agevole visualizzazione strutturale del contenuto:

vasi- <i>zi-ru<sub>12</sub></i>	60+40+84	184 vasi per un totale di 1840 mine, quindi 10 mine ciascuno
orci- <i>gu<sub>2</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub></i>	80+64	144 orci per un totale di 720 mine, quindi 5 mine ciascuno
boccali- <i>bu<sub>3</sub>-za-tu<sub>3</sub></i>	10	10 boccali per un totale di 40 mine, quindi 4 mine ciascuno <sup>4</sup>

Trasportando il valore della mina in kg, alla *ratio* di 1 siclo = 7,83 g, si ottiene che un vaso pesava 4,7 kg ca., un orcio 2,35 kg ca. e un boccale 1,88 kg ca.

Viene spontaneo a questo punto porsi una domanda: che cosa rappresentavano questi vasi, boccali e orci, che in così gran numero venivano consegnati alla Tesoreria di Ebla dai suoi governatori? Si trattava in effetti di contenitori in argento e oro che pesavano tutti indistintamente 10, 5 o 4 mine? La tesi che qui si vuole sostenere è in realtà che questi recipienti « contenessero » il valore e non ne fossero il corrispettivo. In altre parole, essi erano fatti di semplice argilla, in varie forme e fogge, ed erano l'involucro per la polvere d'argento e d'oro in essi stipata nelle quantità che essi esprimono (cioè 10, 5 e 4 mine). Insomma, erano tre recipienti standard che avevano il solo valore di ciò che contenevano, non avendo in sé altra attrattiva né come materiale, né come valore artistico. Sembra quindi che la tesaurizzazione ad Ebla prevedesse, oltre ai lingotti o « barre », anche l'immagazzinamento di vasi in argilla dal valore predefinito (nella foggia e nel volume) in cui veniva posta polvere d'argento (e forse d'oro).<sup>5</sup>

Questa pratica è attestata ancora all'epoca di Dario I, come ci informa un passo assai significativo per il nostro tema di Erodoto. Nell'elencare il tributo delle 20 satrapie al re persiano, infatti, ammontante a 14.560 talenti euboici, lo storico greco scrive (Hist., III, 96):

« Questo tributo il re lo conserva nel modo seguente. Fattolo fondere, lo conserva in vasi d'argilla e, riempito il vaso, toglie via il recipiente di terracotta. E ogni volta che ha bisogno di denari, conia tutto quanto gli necessita di volta in volta. »

La differenza tra questa informazione di Erodoto e la documentazione di Ebla, evidenziata esemplarmente nel documento sopra citato, è che nella città siriana, in epoca pre-monetale, la fusione del metallo non era certo significativa (non si «coniava» moneta), quindi è più che probabile che il metallo fosse conservato sotto forma di polvere. Questa informazione di Erodoto è poi supportata da altre notizie che la documentazione classica ci offre: nei templi di Atena ad Atene e di Apollo a Delo è noto per esempio che si era soliti conservare il Tesoro dello Stato in contenitori di argilla.

Insomma è probabile, se non certo, che anche ad Ebla l'oro e l'argento venissero conservati sotto varie forme e specie, una delle quali era l'immagazzinamento nella Tesoreria di contenitori in argilla ricolmi del loro peso in volume dei due preziosi metalli.

1. Come si evince da *TIE A/1*, Roma, 1995, p. xxxviii, il testo sarà a breve pubblicato in *MEE* 12 da H. Waetzoldt. Tengo qui a ringraziare per la loro disponibilità G. Pettinato e F. D'Agostino, che hanno voluto leggere una prima bozza di questa nota offrendomi consigli e spunti di riflessione.

2. Si prescinde in questa breve nota da considerazioni di carattere storico e sociale sullo stato e la regalità di Ebla, così come da considerazioni di carattere etimologico: come si vedrà, l'interesse precipuo di questo articolo è rivolto all'aspetto monetario e finanziario.

3. Si tratta degli apporti di Ebrum e Gigi, poiché in precedenza il testo parla solo di «barre».

4. Purtroppo è in rottura parte dell'apporto di Gigi, così che non è possibile sapere cosa ci fosse scritto dopo i 64 orci; sembra però da escludere che si trattasse di boccali, vasi o orci, in quanto il valore delle mine che ne indica il peso, 11, non è un multiplo di nessun contenitore qui citato.

5. Si prescinde in questa nota dalla complessa questione della tesaurizzazione ad Ebla, che prevedeva ancora «lamine» (dib) e pugnali-Martu d'oro. Vale la pena di sottolineare ancora che nell'apporto di Gigi lo scriba annota, dopo i lingotti e i vari contenitori, ancora 78 mine e 24 sicli, che presumibilmente non dovevano essere né sotto forma degli uni, né contenute negli altri; è possibile pensare che si sia trattato di «spezzature di metallo»?

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**36) Concordances among Hemerologies and Neo-Assyrian Reports and Letters** – The use of hemerologies and menologies by the Neo-Assyrian scribes is only partially known; actually, it is difficult to investigate on this subject, since we do not have enough updated editions of the texts<sup>1</sup>. Among other obstacles that hamper a more thorough analysis of the topic, particularly troublesome is the lack of concordances among the sources identified so far which consist in hemerological texts *stricto sensu*, hemerological reports, and quotations from hemerologies and menologies in letters dealing with the most diverse topics. Such a fact prevents us from hypothesizing the coexistence of several different yet parallel traditional streams. As concerns the data contained in both hemerologies-menologies and reports-letters, it must be stressed that they hardly ever overlap and often clearly contradict themselves as to the favourable/unfavourable nature of the days. See for example the information offered by the letter SAA 10, 5: 8-rev 6 and 7: 6-rev 3 concerning the oath to be entered on dates other than the ones recommended by the hemerological tradition (cfr. S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal II*, Kevalaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1983, p.4); and the letter SAA 10, 70:13s., concerning the *qaritu*-ceremony (cfr. B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Leipzig, 1915, p.14) on the 13th, 15th and 17th of an unspecified month, a prescription that does not agree with other hemerological known sources.

Thus, comparison of hemerologies, reports and letters concerning the scheduling of different activities only yields a very small set of concordances. To my knowledge they are limited to the following cases.

– Nisannu :

1) Nisannu 1st is meant for a (good-portending) complex ritual involving the releasing of two doves, as is said in SAA 8, 38 and 231. The whole ritual is also described in the tablet K 2438 (cfr. R. Borger, *Einige Texte Religiösen Inhalts. III Eine rätselhafte Ritualtafel*: Or 54 [1985], 14-26 [22ss.]). See also J. Nougayrol, *Parallèles, duplicata etc.*: RA 36 (1939), 34ss.

2) On Nisannu 13th a votive offering for Šin and Šamaš is scheduled in SAA 8, 378 rev 2 ss. (*ina* ITI.BÁRA UD.13.KAM / PAD.HI.A-su ana 30 u<sup>d</sup>UTU / liš-kun). Nevertheless, this datum differs from KAR 178 ii 10s. ([UD.14.KÁM ...] ù PAD-su ana [d3]0 [u<sup>d</sup>UTU] / ù<sup>d</sup>Nin-<É>.JGAL GAR-ma ma-gir<sup>1</sup> // KAR 176 ii 25': UD.14.KÁM1 (...) KIMIN PAD-su ana d30 u<sup>d</sup>UTU u<sup>d</sup>Nin-É.GAL GAR-ma ma-hir).

– Ayāru :

3) Ayāru 2nd is recorded as a favourable day, see SAA 8, 164 :1 : [IT]L.[GU]D UD.2.KAM [AB.ŠE.GI.DA] // SAA 8, 232 :1 (ITI.GUD.SI.SÁ UD.2.KÁM AB.ŠE.GI.DA). SAA 8, 232 is by far the most meaningful source of concordances among hemerologies and reports: its data are confirmed by seven further texts, i.e. 5 R 48-49 ii 2

([2 AB.ŠE.G]I.DA) // CTN 4, 56 A (i) 13' (UD.2.KÁM AB.ŠE.GI.DA) // CTN 4, 57 : 8' (*ina* ITI.GUD 2 (...) AŠ) // KAR 177 rev iv 6 (ITI.GUD 2 (...) ŠE) // STT II 301 i 10 ([[*ina*] ITI.GUD UD.2.KÁM ŠE.GI).

4) Ayāru 10th is a good day for the trial, as is claimed by SAA 8, 162 : 1 (UD.10.KÁM *ina di-nim ma-gir*) // SAA 8, 164 : 4 ([...] *ina de-e-ni ma-gir*) // SAA 8, 232 : 3 ([...] *in di-nim ma-gir*) // 5 R 48-49 ii 12 (10 *in di-nim ma-gir*) // IM 50696 ii 10 (UD.10 *ina* DI ŠE).

5) Ayāru 22 is another favourable date for being on trial/bringing a legal action see SAA 8, 162 : 7 : UD.22.KAM *in di-nim* [ma-gir] e-pe-eš Á.ÁŠ // SAA 8, 232 : 4 ([...] *in di-nim ma-gir* DÛ-eš Á.ÁŠ) // 5 R 48-49 ii 26 (22 *in di-nim ma-gir* DÛ ÁŠ) // IM 50696 ii 22 (UD.22 *ina* DI ma-gir).

6) Ayāru 20th is said to be a good day in order to reach the highest rank, on condition that a snake is killed, see SAA 8, 269 rev 4 s. : « *ina*? ITI.GUD UD.20.KÁM MUŠ *li-duk / a-šá-ri-du-ti il-lak* » ; and SAA 8, 567 : 4 ss. : « (...) [M]UŠ HÉ.EN.[GAZ] / *a-šá-ri-du-tú DU-a[k]* » // IM 50696 ii 20 (UD.20 MUŠ HÉ.EN.GAZ) // IM 63388 ii 9 (20 MUŠ GAZ).

Indeed, Ayāru is considered a very lucky month by virtue of its numerous auspicious days : cfr. SAA 10, 207 : 13s. : « [ITI].GUD<sup>1</sup> *ur-hu ta'-a-bu šu-u / UD.MEŠ-šú DÛG.GA.MEŠ ma-a'-da* ».

– Sīmānu and Ulūlu

7) Sīmānu and Ulūlu are good months for restoring temples according to the letter SAA 10, 14 rev 1 ss. : « ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> DÛG.GA / UD.17.KÁM DÛG.GA / (...) ITI.KIN DÛG.GA » // KAR 177 ii 11 s. (†BÁRA GIBIL-eš<sup>1</sup> (...) ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> ITI.KIN (...) ŠE).

– Kislīmu

8) On Kislīmu 15th a ritual involving the prostration before Nergal is meant : « *ina* ITI.GAN UD.15.KÁM *ana* dU.GUR *liš-ken* » ; as is claimed by SAA 8, 371 rev 4 ss. which quotes a still unidentified source.

A slightly different date (i.e. Kislīmu 16th) is implied by the hemerological text Babyloniaca 4 104 : 29' (UD.16.KAM *ana* dU.GUR *liš-ke-en*).

– Šabātu

9) Šabātu 1st is an auspicious day according to the letter KAV 113 (cfr. F.M. Fales - G.B. Lanfranchi, *Lettere dalla corte assira*. Venezia, 1992, n°41, with previous literature) : 7s. : « (...) UD.1.KÁM / *ša* ITI.ZÍZ DÛG.GA » // KAR 177 ii 1s. (« LUGAL KUR lu É-DINGIR DÛ-uš / lu ZAG.GAR.RA *ud-diš* ITI.ZÍZ (...) ŠE ») ; see *ibid.* rev iv 30ss. (« ITI.ZÍZ 1 (...) ŠE ») // IM 63388 rev xi 1 (*ina* ITI.ZÍZ UD.1.KAM AŠ) // IM 50696 rev xi 1 (*ina* ITI.ZÍZ UD.1.KAM ŠE).

10) Šabātu 17th is a good date for the crown-prince to visit the king, see SAA 10, 190 rev 1-4 : « ITI.ZÍZ DÛG.GA *šu-u / UD.17.KÁM ta-a-ba /* †DUMU-LUGAL<sup>1</sup> *ina pa-an* LUGAL / [EN-ia le]-ru-[ba] » // 5 R 48-49 rev xi 19 (17 AB.ŠE.GI.DA) // KAR 177 rev iv 31 (ITI.ZÍZ (...) 17 (...) ŠE) // KAR 178 rev i 10' ([UD].†17<sup>1</sup>.KÁM<sup>1</sup> ŠE) // CTN 4, 56 A (vi) 9' (ITI.ZÍZ (...) 17 (...) [AŠ]) // STT II 301 rev iv 16' (UD.17.KÁM AB.[ŠE.GI]).

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**37) Two stone inscriptions of Amar-Su'en** – The two texts presented here come from an Italian private collection. The writer is very grateful to Mrs. Paola Rasia Dani of Vicenza for having shown her the pieces.

On the basis of analyzed samplers, the two pieces (both fragmentary, named A and B in the following) prove to be made of limestone, a sedimentary clayey mineral commonly found in the Mesopotamian floodplain.

Fragment A shows a clear Neo-Sumerian inscription carved into the stone on whose surface also appear traces of bitumen and the piece seems to be framed ; Fragment B, bears a quite fragmentary Neo-Sumerian text, due to the presence of clayey sediments.

The dimensions of the pieces are respectively : A, 8 x 6 cms ; B, 12 x 8 cms.

Text A bears on its carved side parts of Amar Suen's standard inscription in 9 lines, commonly known as Amar Suen 2 (Cfr. H.Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau-und Weihinschriften*, Teil 2, Stuttgart 1991 [FAOS 9,1], p. 218-221)

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. d <sup>a</sup> amar d <sup>a</sup> suen | 1. Amar-Suen           |
| 2. nibru <sup>ki</sup> .a                  | 2. in Nippur           |
| 3. d <sup>a</sup> en.líl.le                | 3-4. proposed by Enlil |
| 4. mu.pàd.da                               |                        |
| 5. sag.ús                                  | 5. patron              |

6. é. <sup>d</sup> en.[líl.ka]	6. of the temple of Enlil
7. [nita-kal-ga]	7. the mighty man
8. [lugal-uri <sub>5</sub> <sup>ki</sup> -ma]	8. the King of Ur
9. [lugal-an-ub-da-límmu-ba]	9. the king of the four quarters

The arrangement of the lines and the frame of the piece indicate that only a few lines are missing, thus the possibilities that the inscription would have more than one column, such Amar-Suen 3, has to be left out.

On the other hand, text B bears only 5 lines, but the inversion of nibru<sup>ki</sup>.a with <sup>d</sup>en.líl.le and the size of the piece clarify that this inscription belongs to the pattern of Amar-Suen 5 (cfr. H. Steible, Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften, Teil 2, Stuttgart 1991 [FAOS 9,2], p. 226-228).

I	
1'. [ <sup>d</sup> amar <sup>d</sup> suen ]	1. Amar-Suen
2'. [ <sup>d</sup> en.líl].le	2. by Enlil
3'. ni[bru] <sup>ki</sup> .a	3. In Nippur
4'. [m]u.pàd.[da]	4. proposed
5'. sag.ús	5. patron
6'. [é]. <sup>d</sup> en.[líl.ka]	6. of the temple of Enlil
7'. [lugal-kal-ga]	7. the mighty king
8'. [lugal-uri <sub>5</sub> <sup>ki</sup> -ma]	8. the king of Ur

II	
1'. [lugal-an-ub-da-límmu-ba-ka]	1. the king of the four quarters
2'. [ <sup>d</sup> en-ki]	2. for Enki
3'. [lugal-ki-ág-gá-ni-ir]	3. his beloved king
4'. [abzu-ki-ág-gá-ni]	4. his beloved apsu
5'. [mu-na-dù]	5. he built

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**38) Corrigendum to *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I/1*** – In my article on Aqār-Bēl-lūmur (pp. 121-122), I was unable to determine the approximate reign for a Babylonian who corresponded with Bēl-ibni by letter (entry no. 5). In this heavily damaged letter (ABL 854), Aqār-Bēl-lūmur mentions a diviner by the name of Šulâ (rev. 10', written <sup>m</sup>š<sup>u</sup>-la-a LÚ.ḪAL). Since the publication of this article, I have discovered another Babylonian letter found at Nineveh which refers to this same diviner. In CT 54 25, the Babylonian sender (name lost) advises the king of Assyria :

(rev. 4) a-du-ú <sup>m</sup>š<sup>u</sup>-la-a LÚ.ḪAL šá ina BÀD-LUGAL-GI.NA (rev. 5) u <sup>m</sup>a-qar-<sup>d</sup>AG ÌR.MEŠ šá LUGAL ṛšá ul-tu re-eš (rev. 6) dib-bi-i-ni gab-bi i-d[u]-ṛú<sup>l</sup> LUGAL liš-'a-al-šú-nu-tú "Now then let the king ask Šulâ the diviner, who (is) in Dūr-Šarru-kēn, and Aqar-Nabû, servants of the king, who know all about our affairs."

This letter suggests that a diviner named Šulâ resided at the political capital of Dūr-Šarru-kēn (cf. also a-n[a x x ] ṛšá<sup>l</sup> LUGAL-GIN in CT 54 25 :11) in proximity to the Assyrian king. Since Sennacherib moved the seat of government from Dūr-Šarru-kēn to Nineveh shortly after the death of his father, it seems reasonable to date both CT 54 25 and ABL 854 to the only known royal resident of the city, Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). Therefore, the dating of entry no. 5 for Aqār-Bēl-lūmur should be changed from "reign undetermined" to "reign of Sargon II."

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**39) Zum Verwaltungspersonal des Ebabbar zur Zeit Kandalānus –**

1. Šamaš-šum-lišir, šatammu des Ebabbar, und Šamaš-šarra-ušur, der ḫazammu von Sippar :

Seit langem ist ein šatammu des Ebabbar aus BM 50186, (Kan [-]I[-]IO9) gekannt, aber leider war sein Name bisher nicht lesbar (Frame, *Babylonia 277*<sup>58</sup> ; Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, 26). Der Name ist folgendermaßen zu ergänzen :

Z. 2 : [(ù) <sup>l</sup>dutu-mu-]ṛsi<sup>l</sup>.ṛsá<sup>l</sup> lúšā.tam ṛé<sup>l</sup>.ṛbabbar<sup>l</sup>.ra

In zwei neuen Texten aus der Sippar Sammlung des British Museum wird der gleiche šatammu erwähnt



und beide Belege bestätigen daher unsere Ergänzung :

–BM 67175 ([Kan -l-l-]), wahrscheinlich eine Urkunde über einen Sklavenkauf (C. Waerzeggers hat mich auf diesen Text aufmerksam gemacht).

Z. 7-9 :

[*ina du-zu* <sup>I</sup>d utu-mu-si.sá  
 [(x x x )] <sup>I</sup>úšà.tam é.babbar.ra  
 [ù <sup>I</sup>utu-ag-lu]gal <sup>I</sup>úqí-i-pi šá é.babbar.ra

–Viel hübscher ist aber BM 50110 (Kan 24/12/[-], Sippar), ebenfalls einen Sklavenkauf betreffend. In diesem Text ist nicht nur unser *šatammu* belegt, sondern auch der erste Bürgermeister von Sippar, der aus neubabylonischer Zeit bekannt ist : Rs. Z. 3-4 :

[<sup>I</sup>u]tu-mu-si-sá <sup>I</sup>úšà.[tam é.babbar.ra]  
<sup>I</sup>utu-lugal-ùru <sup>I</sup>úha-za-a[n -n]u

2. Ein *qīpu* des Ebabbar zur Zeit Kandalānus :

Im MMA 86.11.203, Z. 4 (Kan 17/07/13) wird ein gewisser *Šarru-lu*-[x x] als *qīpu* des Ebabbar bezeichnet :

<sup>I</sup>Šarru-lu-ú-[da-ri <sup>I</sup>úqí-i-pi šá é.[babbar.ra]

Wohl wegen der Beschädigung wurde dieser Beleg nicht in die prosopographische Studie des Ebabbar-Personals aufgenommen (Bongenaar, Ebabbar, 47).

In dem sehr fragmentarischen Sippar-Text BM 52848, Z. 3-4 (Kan 12/08/[-]) wird der gleiche *qīpu* erwähnt. Das Dokument betrifft wahrscheinlich eine Rohrlieferung in seiner Anwesenheit :

*ina du-zu* <sup>I</sup>lugal-lu-ú-<sup>I</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[ri]  
<sup>I</sup>úqí-i-pi <sup>I</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x(x)]

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**40) Ḫattušili I and the Treaty with Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo again** – The expression in ll. 11-12 : *ù LUGAL-zu-nu* <sup>I</sup>*Ha-at-tu-ši-li ... ul-tam-li* (where the verbal form has been usually translated “caused to be full, fulfilled”) has provoked some problems to the interpreters of the historical introduction of this treaty. Most of them have followed A. Götze, *MAOG* 4 (1928-1929), p. 63 : “*ultamli* (kann) nur bedeuten ‘er hat erfüllt, zu Ende gebracht’”, note 2 : “vgl. die ähnliche Bedeutung von *gamāru* II,1”. English : “but Ḫattušili ... brought their kingship to fullness (i.e. to an end)”.

Recently, Gert Steiner, *AoF* 26 (1999), pp. 13-25, has noted that this meaning is not attested for *malû* in the Št Stem (op. cit., pp. 22-23) : “Somit kann *ultamli* nur das Präteritum des Št-Stammes sein. Von der Bedeutungen dieses Stammes sind ‘voll liefern’ oder ‘austatten mit (Akk.)’ (*AHw* II, p. 599) bzw. ‘to assign (fields, houses, persons, animals, etc.)’ (*CAD M I* p. 188, s.v. *malû* 12a) ebenfalls kaum passend ; einen Sinn ergibt jedoch die Bedeutung ‘to make up a complement, a fixed number, to add’ (*CAD M I* p. 188, s.v. *malû* 12b), also ‘etwas um etwas ergänzen’. Demnach bedeutet \**šarrussunu* ..... *ultamli* ‘ihr (Groß)Königtum ..... ergänzte er (um ein zweites)’, nämlich um das von ihm neu geschaffene ‘Großkönigtum’ von Ḫatti.” I reproduce the relevant passage in Steiner’s transliteration and translation (the references to previous treatments of the passage are given by Steiner at p. 14 note 4). :

11 [*i-na*] *pa-n*[a L]UGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> ša KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-la-ap* LUGAL-*ut-ta* GAL-*tam ša-ab-tu*<sub>4</sub> ù LUGAL-*zu-nu*

12 <sup>I</sup>*Ha-at-tu-ši-li* LUGA[L.G]AL LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-ti ul-tam-li* EGER (*arki*) <sup>I</sup>*Ha-at-tu-ši-li*

13 LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-ti* <sup>I</sup>*Mu-ur/Mur-ši-li* LUGAL.GAL DUMU.DUMU-*šu ša* <sup>I</sup>*Ha-at-tu-ši-li*  
 LUGAL.GAL

14 LUGAL-*ru-tam* ša KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-la-ap* ù KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-la-ap uḫ-ta-liq*

11 [Vor]mals hatten die Könige des Landes Ḫalap das ‘große Königtum’ (d.h. ‘Großkönigtum’) angenommen, aber ihr Königtum

12 hat Ḫattušili, der Gro[ß]könig, der König des Landes Ḫatti ‘voll sein lassen’. Nach (dem Tod von) Ḫattušili,

13 dem König des Landes Ḫatti, hat Muršili, der Großkönig, der Sohnessohn von Ḫattušili, dem Großkönig,

14 das Königtum des Landes Ḫalap und das Land Ḫalap vernichtet.

Two Old Hittite documents (quoted *in extenso* by Steiner, pp. 16-20, 21, with previous literature) give us to understand that Hattusili did not succeed in conquering Aleppo and left the task of revenging this defeat to his successor and adoptive son, Muršili I.

1) KBo III 57 II 1-20 (dupl. KUB XXVI 72 1-12): "... Hattušili left to execute (*a-n*)*i-ja-u-wa-an-zi pa-iš*) [this to his son Muršili]. [After Hattušil]i, [Muršili]li, his son, ruled .... He set out [against Aleppo]o to fulfil his father's [word] / to avenge his father's [blood] (*[ut-tar(-še-et) / e-eš-ḫar(-še-et)* EG]ER-*an ša-an/na-aḫ-ta*). [The task] which [Hattušili] had given him to fulfil, the king of Aleppo gave satisfaction to him for it (*[na-a]t-ši* LUGAL KUR URU*Ḫa-la-ap šar-ni-ik-ta*). He, further, destroyed all the Hurrian [countries]."

2) KBo III 27 Vs. 30-31 : ... *na-aš-ma LÚ URUḪal-pu-u-ma-aš-ša [at-t]a-aš ut-tar pí-eš-ši-at URUḪal-pa-aš-ša ḫa-ra-ak-zi* "... Now even the man of Aleppo has rejected the father's (i.e. Hattušili's) word : Aleppo also shall be destroyed!"

At Hattuša the tradition which held that Hattušili I had decreed the destruction of Aleppo and had told his son of this will, continued to be transmitted over the years. The documents quoted above are later copies which have come down to us. Muršili II is able to refer to this tradition in the treaty with Talmi-Tešup. Moreover, he does not hesitate to mention the insult suffered by Hattusili I, line 20: "but he (the king of Aleppo) committed an offense against Hattušili". If we accept the meaning "to assign" for *šutamlû* (CAD, *malû* 12a) the translation of the treaty, ll. 11-14, runs as following: "But Hattušili, Great King, King of Hatti, assigned (to its end) their kingship. After Hattušili, King of Hatti, Muršili, Great King, grandson of Hattušili, Great King, destroyed the kingship of Aleppo and the land of Aleppo".

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**41) The Nippur Calendar : some notes** – Here we should like to sum up some interesting results of our Russian Ph.D. "The Nippur Calendar: Month Names, Festivals and Rituals" (St.-Petersburg Institute for Oriental Studies, 1997 ; supervisor Prof.Dr. I.M.Diakonoff).

V NE.NE **gar** in Astrolabe B and corresponding sources is connected with the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh and war with the demons of the Nether World (KAV 218, II 1-14 ; Nippur Compendium III 24' ; Tsukimoto, Untersuchungen, 48-51 ; Abusch, Anti-witchcraft literature, 251-262 ; Abusch, An early form of the Witchcraft ritual Maqlu, 50). We think that traces of this connection can be found in the well known Sumerian epic song "Gilgamesh and kur-lu<sub>2</sub>-ti-la". Sum. kur means at the same moment "the foreign country, the mountain, the Nether World", and it will not be so wonderful to make a projection from the war with the foreigners from the mountain country to the war with the demons of the Nether World. At the beginning of epic song Gilgamesh says : kur-ra ga-an-ku<sub>4</sub> mu-gu<sub>10</sub> ga-am<sub>3</sub>-gar / ki mu-gub-bu-ba-am<sub>3</sub> mu-gu<sub>10</sub> ga-bi<sub>2</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-gub / ki mu-nu-gub-bu-ba-am<sub>3</sub> mu-dingir-re-e-ne ga-bi<sub>2</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-gub "To the Mountain (= Foreign Land = Nether World) I want to enter, my name I want to establish here. Where is possible to 'stand' the name, my name I want to 'stand' ; where is not possible to 'stand' the name, names of gods I want to 'stand' (5-7). "Establishing of somebody's name" in cuneiform literature associated with the establishing of the written stelae : *manzâz narê... tpušma šumšu kabtam iškun* "the place for stela... he founded, and established his respectable name" (RA 11 92 I 21, Kudur Mabuk). Then, establishing the name on the written stela is very important for the warrior who tries to overcome and subdue the space around of his country : *amur šarri bēlija šakan MU-šu ana muši Šamši u erbi Šamši* "Look at the king, your lord, who established his name from sunrise to sunset" (EA 288 : 5). It is quite unaccidentally, that Gilgamesh recites a proverb : lu<sub>2</sub>-sukud-da an-še<sub>3</sub> nu-mu-un-da-la<sub>2</sub> / lu<sub>2</sub>-dagal-la kur-ra la-ba-an-šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub> "the high man do not distribute himself to the edge of the Heaven ; the broad man do not cover (all) foreign lands by himself" (27-29). We may conclude from this a very close connection between the establishing of name and distribution of somebody's power. Compare with Shulgi hymn (Shulgi's destiny from Utu) : ur-sag-kalag-ga pirig-še<sub>3</sub> tu-da... /ḫur-sag-gal-gal-la giri<sub>3</sub>-ni gar /ur-sag-kur-ra mu-ri-ri-ge-eš... /mu-zu za<sub>3</sub>-an-na-še<sub>3</sub> mu-u<sub>3</sub>-gar "the mighty hero, born to be a lion... On the mountain hills he established his step, heroes of the kur he overthrew..., your name is established up to the edge of the Heaven" (Klein, TSH, Shulgi X, 83, 86-89). Finally, establishing of name and distributing of somebody's kingship to the surrounding world are very useful to ensure the afterdeath feeding of the king and praying for him. In the OB Kuthu Legend one can read : *ina narê ul ištur... šuma ul ušēšima ul aktarrabšu* (29-30). So we can conclude that there was a chain of metaphors "to distribute oneself to the foreign country - to establish somebody's written name in the conquered land - to ensure the afterdeath feeding and praying for somebody - to subdue the Nether World and its citizens". This may be the answer of the question about competitions in NE.NE gar, Gilgamesh and demons of kur.

IX **gan-gan-e<sub>3</sub>** is also unsolved problem. Landsberger reads kan-kan-e<sub>3</sub>(-a) and offers to translate "Pflügemonat", because of Frank's hypothetical urudu kan-kan-na "Pflug" (Landsberger, Kkal, 35). Langdon proposes to derive kan-kan from Acc. *kinūnu* "fire, brazier" (Langdon, Bab.Men ; 135). Cohen and Sallaberger have no translation in their books. Our conclusion on this subject is simple. We know from one of syllabaries [G]AN.GAN = *ša<sub>2</sub>-ga-[a-šu] ḫa-ba-a-lu* "to murder, to plunder" (K.4177+I 1ff ; CAD A, 66). We also know that

in the text of Astrolabe B the IXth month is named *iti-ur-sag-GIR<sub>3</sub>.BIL<sub>2</sub> AŠ.DU* “month of the hero Nergal” (III 6’). Here Nergal <sup>ur</sup>*urugal-la-[ta ba-ra-]e<sub>3</sub>* “rises from the Nether World” (III 3’ ; see also BPO 2, X 32). Nergal is well known as <sup>d</sup>*Ir<sub>3</sub>-ra(-gal)* who was in Babylonian texts *bēl mehi u šaggašte* “the Lord of the South Wind and Murder” (Pant.Bab ; 1597). Thus we can translate the whole name of the month “Rising of the Killer”, where Killer is Nergal-Erra.

XI *ku<sub>3</sub>-ŠEM* (till Ur III) is now possible to interpret due to J.Bauer’s readings *ŠEM = su<sub>x</sub>* and <sup>su<sub>3</sub></sup>.PA.SIKIL = /sug/ (Altorientalische Notizen (1982), 4-7 ; ZA 79 (1989), 8-9). We know from Eblaite syllabary *SU<sub>3</sub>.PA.SIKIL = sa-ba-tum* (MEE 4, 333, 1277b). Though Eblaite meaning of this verb remains uncertain, one can mention Afrasian verb *sbṭ/šbṭ* with the original meaning “to be naked, to go bald”, also the word *šabaṭ* “a stick, a birch, a twig”. We think that Sum. *sug* “to be naked” and the present Eblaite equivalent give us very good possibility to translate *ku<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>x</sub>* as “the Holy Bald Spot” (cf. *iti-ŠEM* in Umma ; Cohen, CCANE, 116). This is the time of the Earth’s holiday : <sup>d</sup>*UTU šu-ba-ru-ta u na-i-[la] ša<sub>2</sub> er-še-ti i-ša-ka-[an]* “Utu establishes liberation and rest of the Earth” (KAV 218, III 22-23).

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**42) Minding an oath** – In translations of Mari letters it has become standard practice to translate the verbs *zakārum* and *hasāsum* as synonyms when they have an oath as object. Take for example ARM 14 89 : 9’-12’ *šumma nīš ilim azakkarakunūšim šehram u šehertam ša ālānīkunu ana Dur Yahdullim kimsānimma nīš ilim luhsusakkunūšim*. M. Birot translates “Si (vous voulez que) je jure le serment envers vous, rassemblez les garçons et les filles de vos villages à Dur-Yahdun-Lim afin que je prononce le serment envers vous.” J.-M. Durand translates in LAPO 17 688 “Si je dois vous prêter serment par le dieu, rassemblez dans la Forteresse de Yahdun-Lim la population homme et femme de vos bourgs afin que je vous prononce le serment par le dieu.” Swearing, taking, or pronouncing an oath is all the same thing expressed with so many words and the translations seem to be motivated by style, not substance (in 26 208, Durand translates both verbs with “prêter”). The pair *zakārum/hasāsum* is found repeatedly in one and the same context. I quote some relevant passages and propose a difference in substance. It is suggested already by the semantic field of *hasāsum*, which designate the mental functions “to mind, respect, remember, recall.” Since *hasāsum* follows *zakārum*, the distinction should be between declaring an oath, by which act an oath becomes operative, and minding an oath, by which it stays operative. I translate the quoted passage accordingly : “If I declare an oath of god to you, gather boys and girls of your towns in Dur Yahdun-Lim, and I shall respect the oath of god (sworn) to you.” ARM 26 208 : 11’-14’ : and ARM 26 208 : 11’-14’ [*kīma nīš ilim*] *nizakkaru ru[šam] u sippam ša bāb [Mari] lilqunimma nīš ilim [ī nih]sus* “[as] we declare [an oath of god], they should take [grease] (M. Stol, JAOS 111, 627-28) and (a piece of the) threshold of the city gate [of Mari], and [we shall mind] the oath of god.” ARM 14 106 : 13’-15’ is difficult. *warki dāk dawdēm lú.meš Šarraya ana šuzkur Išnukkim illikū umma šuma nīš ilim hussānimma ana [hal/rub]šika lūrūb*. Birot translates “Après (leur) défaite les hommes de Šarraya sont allés faire jurer l’homme d’Ešnunna. Il (leur) dit : “Prononcez le serment envers moi, afin que j’entre dans ton district!” Durand translates in LAPO 16 374 : “Après la défaite, des gens sont allés pour faire prêter serment à Šarraya envers l’homme d’Ešnunna. Lui, il a dit : “Indiquez-moi les termes du serment, pour que j’entre dans ton camp.” *šuzkur Išnukkim* must be the “causing to declare (an oath) ‘of’ the Ešnunakean where the Ešnunakean is the causator of the declaration. When he is said to exhort the men of Šarraya to respect the oath, we have to understand that they had sworn the oath infact, which is not expressed in the text. We can then paraphrase and translate : “After suffering defeat, men of Šarraya went to be ordered by the Ešnunakean to declare (an oath). They did so and he (said) “Ahem, mind the oath of god, and I shall enter your [ ] (to protect you).” I do not believe that Durand’s translation “indiquez-moi les termes du serment” can apply here, because the victorious Ešnunakean was in the position to dictate the oath. Nevertheless, a similar meaning is attested in the newly published text 28 48:37. Ibal-Addu mentions that Zimri-Lim made him swear an oath and quotes from it : *ina nīš ilānī hasis šumma ...* “in the oath is mentioned : if ...” The meaning of *hasāsum* here differs ; it does not apply to the other passages quoted above and does not invalidate the meaning *hasāsum* has in these passages.

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**43) The Calendar Date of the Flood in Cuneiform Texts** – As it is known, main ancient sacred books disagree about the exact time of the Flood. In the Old Testament it is the mysterious “second month” : “on the 17th day of the second month all the sources of the Great Abyss had opened” (Gen. 7 :11). When counting from the post-exilic Hebrew New Year in Tishrin, it may be Marheshwan. The late Hebrew tradition also names the VIIIth

Babylonian month Arahsamnu/Marheshwan (our October-November) (Tsalnik, Month names). The sacred book of Ancient Persians Avesta tells of the lord of the Flood named “the magician Markusan”, who resembles us of the same Marhashan-Marheshwan (Zoroastrian texts, 18). Some information on the Flood is known from the Berossus extracts, where the date of the Flood falls on the Macedonian month Daisios (our April-May): “Kronos appeared to him in the course of dream and said that on the 15th day of the month Daisios mankind would be destroyed by a flood. So he ordered him to dig a hole and to bury the beginnings, middles and ends of all writings in Sippar, the city of the Sun(-god); and after building a boat, to embark with his kinsfolk and close friends” (Berossus according to Polyhistor; Atr. 135). But there are no any sources about the cuneiform Flood date. The attempt is made to reconstruct it from all three versions of the cuneiform Flood myth with the additions of Babylonian menologies.

First of all, data of sacred texts and Greek authors are not suitable for the cuneiform tradition. The Old Testamental Flood lasted more than 5 months, while in our texts it was only 7 days and 7 nights. The Old Persian Flood has hypothetically reconstructed date, the Late Hebrew sources on the Flood have given some kind of the word play where mar in Marheshwan simultaneously means “bitter” and “a drop” (Tsalnik, Month names). The evidence of Berossus has 2 main disadvantages: 1) Berossus names Sippar instead of cuneiform Shuruppak; 2) Berossus gives impossible date of the Flood, because Daisios is the time of Babylonian Ajaru, well known by the culmination of spring freshet. Sumerian and Babylonian words for spring freshet are the following: a-de<sub>2</sub>-a, a-gar-ra, *milu*, *edu* (PSD; CAD). However, in all three cuneiform versions of the Flood myth one can see a-ma-ru and *abubu* (PSD; CAD). Moreover, Gudea in his Cyl.B has distinguished between the sea-water, water of spring freshet and water of the Flood when he has said about Ningirsu: en-na ša<sub>3</sub> aba-gim zi-ga-ni i<sub>7</sub>-Buranun-gim ħu-luĥ-ĥa-ni a-ma-ru-gim SA.GA-ka-ni “The heart of the lord rising as the Sea, angry as the Euphrates, ??? as the Flood” (B X 19-21). So, it is really impossible to follow the evidence of Berossus in this question.

Our approach to the problem is rather simple and reliable. There are no Space-and-Time for the ancient tradition without the cultic calendar with its main attributes: a) monthly rituals and sacrifices to the gods of landscape; b) monthly rituals and sacrifices to the gods of humanity; c) the same to the celestial patrons of the season or month. We know Sumerian epic texts and hymns based on the calendar rituals, especially on the rituals of Spring (such as, Lugale, An-gim, the beginning of Cyl.A Gudea). So, it would be possible to suggest, that the Flood of cuneiform texts also symbolizes the real climatic period of the Mesopotamian year. This period must have its space deities, human deities and star patrons of Heaven.

The first cuneiform Flood text is the Sumerian tablet PBS IV/1, no. 1. It says:

- V 201 im-ĥul-im-ĥul im-si-si-ig du<sub>3</sub>-a-bi teš<sub>2</sub>-bi i<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>8</sub>-ge-eš  
 202 a-ma-ru ugu-KAB-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga ba-an-da-ab-ur<sub>3</sub>-e  
 203 u<sub>4</sub>-7-am<sub>3</sub> gi<sub>6</sub>-7-am<sub>3</sub>  
 204 a-ma-ru kalam-ma ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ta  
 205 <sup>giš</sup>ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub> a-gal-la im-ĥul tuk<sub>4</sub>-tuk<sub>4</sub>-a-ta  
 206 <sup>d</sup>Utu i-im-ma-ra-e<sub>3</sub> an-ki-a u<sub>4</sub> ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>
- V 201 All the destructive winds (and) gales (IM.ĤUL, IM.SI.SI.IG) were present,  
 202 The storm (A.MA.RU) swept over the capitals.  
 203 After the storm had swept (UR<sub>3</sub>) the country for seven days and seven nights,  
 205 And the destructive wind had rocked the huge boat in the high water,  
 206 The Sun came out, illuminating the earth and the sky.  
 (Civil in Atr; 142-44)

Here main causes of the Flood are the destructive activities of the winds and gales. IM.ĤUL and IM.SI.SI.IG are both at the disposal of Enlil and Adad. In Babylonian Flood texts IM.ĤUL complemented with IM.U<sub>x</sub>.LU = *meĥu* “the gale, or the South Wind”. This wind is one of the main actors in Babylonian versions of the Flood story:

- II VIII 34 *i-lu iq-bu-u<sub>2</sub> ga-me-er-t[am]*  
 35 *šip-ra le-em-na a-na ni-ši i-pu-uš* <sup>dE</sup>[n-lil<sub>2</sub>]
- III II 48 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu iš-nu-u<sub>2</sub> pa-nu-u<sub>2</sub>-šu*  
 49 *iš-ta-ag-na* <sup>dAdad</sup> *i-na er-pe<sub>2</sub>-ti*
- III IV 24 *7 u<sub>4</sub>-mi 7 mu-š[i-a-tim]*  
 25 *il-li-ik ra-du me-ĥu-u<sub>2</sub> [a-bu-bu]*
- II VIII 34 The gods commanded total destruction,  
 35 Enlil did an evil deed on the peoples.
- III II 48 The appearance of the weather changed,  
 49 Adad roared in the clouds,
- III IV 24 For seven days and seven nights

25 Came the storm (*radu*), the gale, the flood  
(Lambert-Millard in Atrahasis)

In the Late Assyrian version of the Flood story can be found in Gilg XI we may read the full list of the Flood deities :

- |    |     |  |
|----|-----|--|
| XI | 96  | <i>mim-mu-u<sub>2</sub> še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri</i>   |
|    | 97  | <i>i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šame<sup>e</sup> ur-pa-tu<sub>4</sub> ša-lim-tu<sub>4</sub></i>  |
|    | 98  | <i><sup>d</sup>Adad ina lib<sub>3</sub>-bi-ša<sub>3</sub> ir-tam-ma-am-ma</i>            |
|    | 99  | <i><sup>d</sup>Šullat u <sup>d</sup>Haniš il-la-ku ina maḥ-ri</i>                        |
|    | 100 | <i>il-la-ku guzalle<sup>meš</sup> šadu<sup>u<sub>2</sub></sup> u ma-a-tu<sub>4</sub></i> |
|    | 101 | <i>tar-kul-li <sup>d</sup>Er<sub>3</sub>-ra-gal i-na-aš-lil<sub>2</sub></i>              |
|    | 102 | <i>il-lik <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta mi-iḥ-ra u<sub>2</sub>-šar-di</i>                         |
|    | 108 | <i>išten<sup>en</sup> uma<sup>ma</sup> me-ḥ[u-u<sub>2</sub> ...]</i>                     |
| XI | 96  | Just as dawn began to glow   |
|    | 97  | There arose from the horizon a black cloud ( <i>urpatu šalimtu</i> ).                    |
|    | 98  | Adad rumbled inside of it,   |
|    | 99  | Before him went Shullat and Hanish,  |
|    | 100 | Heralds going over mountain and land.  |
|    | 101 | Erragal pulled out the mooring poles,  |
|    | 102 | Forth went Ninurta and made the dikes overflow.  |
|    | 108 | All day long the South [Wind blew...]  |

(Gilg. Epic XI; Kovacs, 100)

This list is very important for us. We know from it that in the events of the Flood the following deities except Enlil participate : Adad (winds, rains and storms), Erragal (god of the Nether World), Ninurta (god of the battle), Shullat and Hanish (deities of unknown object). No freshet and no mentions of rivers. We also know the defender of mankind, it is Enki/Ea. He plays very complicated role. When saving Ziusudra, Enki has overcome Enlil's predomination over the world and established the human knowledge over destructive activities of nature forces. Now we must look to the cuneiform menologies.

Babylonian menologies (BPO 2 X, KAV 218a, Labat, Calendrier...) and Assyrian ritual texts (van Driel, Assur = M.E.Cohen, CCANE) know only one period when the efforts of Enlil, Adad and Enki are united. It is the XIth month of the Nippur calendar ITI.UDRA (January-February), the month of the Ea season, which is mentioned as ITI... *ḫurbāši bibil libbi ša<sub>2</sub>* <sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub> "the month of cold, the favourite month of Enlil" (BPO 2 X 34), ITI... *ša<sub>2</sub>* <sup>d</sup>Adad *gugal šamē u eršeti* "the month of Adad who is the supervisor of the channels of the Heaven and Earth" (Labat, Cal. 105 :11). The Accadian equivalent of this month is *šabātu* "to blow (said of the wind)", "to strike, hit (said of demons, illness)", "to sweep". We also know the evidence of Nabitu XXIII 59 : Sum. [xx]UR<sub>3</sub> = Acc. *ša-ba-tu ša<sub>2</sub> a-bu-bi* "to wipe out, said of the flood" (CT XII, 50 Vs. 23 ; AHw, 1119 ; CAD A<sub>1</sub>, 77). In such a way, the Accadian name for the XIth month is closely connected with climatic period of the Flood. At that time of the year there are three main rituals in Mesopotamia. The first one is 'the Great Feast (IGI.GURU<sub>6</sub>) of Enlil' (BTT III 33') and "weeping with sacrifices in Nippur" (Sallaberger, 1993, 149). The second one known from Assur : on the 25th day of *šabātu* there was reciting of a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa to Enlil who destructs and ruins Nippur by the Flood. In this text Nippur described as *alu ša<sub>2</sub> nak-ru-u ana me-e sa-lu-u* "city which has been destructed (and) flooded with water" (a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa, 274). Sources of the I millenium indicate the sacred marriage between Bel and Beltija, Nabu and Tashmetu, which took place at that time of Nippur year (AfO 24, 102 ; ABL 65 r.17). It is known that this ritual had its prototype in the sky where Nabu and Tashmetu corresponded with the stars <sup>mul</sup>MA<sub>2</sub>.GUR<sub>8</sub> ("The Bark") and <sup>mul</sup>SUḪUR.MAŠ<sub>2</sub> ("A Fish-Goat") (VR 46 1.37). To compare these three rituals with the plot of the cuneiform Flood story, one can see correlations between the Enlil's feast (and weeping in Nippur) and destructive role of Enlil in the events of that time ; between the reciting of a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa and the description of the Flood ; between the sacred marriage of gods and the initiation of Utnapishti and his wife. The main idea of this time is saving the frozen and flooded world within the family by means of the human intelligence.

It is possible to suggest that there were the celestial patrons of this period. These are stars of the Ea path (= Ea season) : <sup>mul</sup>PA.BIL.SAG (belongs to Nergal/Erragal), <sup>mul</sup>MA<sub>2</sub>.GUR<sub>8</sub> (which is Tashmetu and may be the bark of Ziusudra), <sup>mul</sup>SUḪUR.MAŠ (which is Nabu and one of Enki's images), <sup>mul</sup>ŠAR.UR<sub>3</sub> (belongs to Ninurta), <sup>mul</sup><sup>d</sup>Šullat u <sup>d</sup>Haniš (BPO 2, 8). Everyone may compare these stars with main actors of the Flood in Gilg. XI - Nergal, Ninurta, Shullat and Hanish.

It is supposed here from the discussed sources that the most probable date of the cuneiform Flood is winter (the Ea season), January-February (the time of Enlil's wind and Adad's heavy raining, which is the Accadian *šabātu* "to blow (said of the wind)", "to wipe out (said of the flood)"). Now we have one more argument to prove this version. It is the argument of Sumerian historiography. We know several date formulae

related to the Sumerian post-Flood a-ma-ru kalam-ma ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ta (V 203). These are :

An-gim dim<sub>2</sub>-ma, 72 :

lugal a-ma-ru ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ta : “The lord had swept as the Flood”  
*be-lu<sub>4</sub> a-bu-ba-niš ib-ta-’*

King List from Lagash :

1 eger a-ma-ru ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ta “After the Flood had swept over  
 2 u<sub>3</sub> gil-le-em kur-ra-ge<sub>2</sub> ba-an-gar-ra-ta and had brought about the destruction of the land -  
 3 nam-lu<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>8</sub> da-re-eš i-na<sub>3</sub>-ba-a-ta As mankind had been made to endure,  
 4 numun nam-lu<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>8</sub> im-mi-in-tag<sub>4</sub>-a-ba As the seed of mankind had been left...”

Ishme-Dagan, Enlildiriše :

120 <sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub> lugal-kur-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> “Enlil, the lord of all countries,  
 121 eger a-ma-ru ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ta after the Flood had swept over,  
 122 [u<sub>4</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>]-ga-ni-še<sub>3</sub> called me by auspice  
 maš<sub>2</sub> ħe<sub>2</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-in-pa<sub>3</sub>-de-en for his (most) propitious days,  
 123 [.....]-še<sub>3</sub> igi-ħul<sub>2</sub> ħe-em-ši-in-bar on [Ishme-Dagan] he joyfully looked”

King List from Nippur :

eger a-ma-ru ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ta “After the Flood had swept,  
 nam-lugal an-ta e<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-a-ba after kingship had come down from Heaven,  
 Kiš nam-lugal-še<sub>3</sub> the kingship was in Kish”

JCS 21, 128 :

*li-i-pu ru-u<sub>2</sub>-qu ša<sub>2</sub> šar-ru-u<sub>2</sub>-ti* “Distant scion of kingship,  
*ze-ru na-aš-ru ša<sub>2</sub> la-am a-bu-bi* seed preserved from before the Flood”

All these formulae dedicated to the king’s enthronization and thus connected with the real process which takes place in Spring, March-April. Election of a new king is the time after spring-freshet or during it. It means that the Flood must be the preceding event, connected with the activities of the winter forces. In this context the ideological transformation of the Flood myth is very important.

PSD A1, 115 quoted under a-ma-ru the following fragment of the text from Abu-Salabich (OIP 99, no.174, I 5’-6’) : a-MAR mu<sub>x</sub> (NUN)-na<sub>5</sub>-šub “he sent down upon him a heavy flooding”. However, this part of the dictionary article based on the regrettable misunderstanding of UD.GAL.NUN-writing. M.Krebernik has read the whole sentence in the following way : [ne] NUN (=mu)-ni-MUNSUB<sub>x</sub> (=sub<sub>5</sub>) / ki-na<sub>2</sub> / NUN (=mu)-GAL (=da)-ak / UŠ<sub>2</sub> (=giš<sub>3</sub>) NUN (=mu)-ŠID (=du<sub>11</sub>).du<sub>10</sub> / a MAR (=ša<sub>3</sub>) / NUN (=mu)-[Š]A (=n]a<sub>5</sub>)-ru “He kissed her here, he was in bed with her, he inserted his penis (and) poured his semen into her womb” (Krebernik, BFE, 278). Thus we must conclude irretrievable disappearance of the most ancient a-ma-ru-context.

In Sumerian texts from OS period till Ur III a-ma-ru is the attribute of god and king. In the OS royal inscriptions, cylinders of Gudea and epic texts the Flood was at disposal of Enlil and Ninurta. The main epithet of Ninurta is a-ma-ru-<sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> and his big weapon Sharur also called a-ma-ru. During the battle Ninurta was allowed to hand his might and weapon to the righteous king. Eanatum in the “Stela of Vultures” Umma<sup>ki</sup>-a im-ħul-im-ma-gim a-MAR mu-ni-TAK<sub>4</sub> “as the most angry wind from the winds, unleashed a flood in Umma” (Ean.1 X, 2-4). Personal name of Shulgi’s time was lugal-a-ma-ru (L’anthroponymie sumérienne, 456), and Shulgi himself mentioned his own flooding of the mountain countries (Shulgi D 344-347). Since the end of Ur III the conception of the Flood has changed. From this time the Flood is the weapon of Enlil against the unjust or the illegitimate king who does not sacrifice to the ancient Sumerian temples. In the text “Curse of Agade” king of Agade Naram-Suen was overthrown from the Sumerian throne by wild Guteans who were represented as the Flood of Enlil (Agade, 75-76). All kings of Isin were righteous and pious lords saved from the Flood and survived as Sumerian Ziusudra. The King Lists of this time mentioned the Flood period as a great pause between the time of the first cities and the time of a new kingship. However, from the Isin royal hymns we know that this ideological construction is no more than transformed spring ritual of enthronization after the winter period. The argument in addition is the beginning of the text written at the time of Ur-Ninurta : “In the primeval day, that day ... In the remote year, the year ... After the Flood had been brought about...” (Atr ; 16). Here the beginning of the world is the time after the Flood. We know that the beginning of the world in the Ancient Mesopotamia connected with the beginning of the year and king’s enthronization. Now we may give an answer about the ideological essence of the Flood myth during the Isin kingship. It was the ancient principle of monarchy : “The king died. Long live the king !” The end of the year was associated with the period of the world destruction (that is, destruction by enemies), Ziusudra was understood as the eternal symbol of kingship, and enthronization of a new king in spring may have interpreted as Ziusudra’s survival and new life at Dilmun<sup>1</sup>.

Reverberation of the Flood myth we may recognize in the Mesopotamian incantation tradition where main actors of the flood are seven demons : *se-bet-ti-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *lem-nu-tu<sub>4</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> GIM a-bu-bi te<sub>9</sub>-bu-ma KUR i-ba-'-u šu<sub>2</sub>-nu* “Seven are the evil gods who rise like a flood and sweep over the land” (CT XVI, 21 : 142-145). These seven are children of An (or Asag, or Enmesharra) defeated by Ninurta before his enthronization (see about the myth of conflict Livingstone, MMEW, 151-153). All actions of the Seven often compared with the wind, storm and flood activities. In Iqur-ipush 105, 12 *Se-bet-ti* are lords of the XIIth month. They symbolize the period between the destruction of the XIth month and the new creative activity of spring forces.

1. The last extant lines of the myth describe the deification of Ziusudra : after he had prostrated himself before An and Enlil, he was given a woman, “life like a god” and transported to Dilmun, the divine paradise-land, “the place where the sun rises”. Where is it ? According to B.Alster’s exploration, “the notion “true east” did not exist at the time under discussion, and would strictly speaking apply only at summer and winter solstices. During most of the year the sun rises over the Zagros mountains, but during part of winter over the Persian Gulf, albeit not as far south as Bahrain... We may safely conclude that sunrise is a vague term that may refer to anywhere roughly speaking east of Mesopotamia, and why not Bahrain” (Alster, Dilmun, 45). If he is right, we may receive the additional argument to our hypothesis about winter as the season of the Flood in Mesopotamia.

*List of abbreviations :*

- Agade – Cooper J.S. The Curse of Agade. Roma, 1983  
 Alster, Dilmun – Alster B. “Dilmun, Bahrain and the Alleged Paradise in Sumerian Myth and Literature // DILMUN : New Studies in the Archaeology and Early History of Bahrain. Berlin, 1983 (=BBVO 2)  
 An-gim – Cooper J.S. An-gim dim<sub>2</sub>-ma. Roma, 1978  
 Atr. – Lambert W.G. & Millard A.R. Atra-hasis. Oxford, 1969  
 BPO 2 – Reiner E. & Pingree D. Babylonian Planetary Omina 2. Malibu, 1981  
 BTT – George A.R. Babylonian Topographical Texts. Leuven, 1992  
 CAD – Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. Chicago, 1958-  
 Civil in Atr. – Civil M. The Sumerian Flood Story // Atra-hasis. P. 138-146  
 Cohen M.E.. CCANE – Cohen M.E. The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East. Bethesda, 1993  
 CT – Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum  
 Ean. – Eanatum // Steible H. Die Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften. Wiesbaden, 1982  
 Gen. – Genesis  
 Gilg. Epic – Campbell Thompson R. The Epic of Gilgamesh. Oxford, 1930  
 Gudea Cyl. – Thureau-Dangin F. Les cylindres de Goudea. Paris, 1925  
 Kovacs – Kovacs M.G. The Epic of Gilgamesh. Stanford, 1989  
 Krebernik, BFE – Krebernik M. Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla. Hildesheim, 1984  
 Labat, Calendrier – Labat R. Un calendrier babylonien des travaux. Paris, 1965  
 Livingstone, MMEW – Livingstone A. Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Babylonian and Assyrian Scholars. Oxford, 1986  
 PSD – Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary. Philadelphia, 1984-  
 Sallaberger, KUZ – Sallaberger W. Der Kultische Kalender der Ur-III Zeit. Berlin-New York, 1993  
 Shulgi – Klein J. Three Shulgi Hymns. Ramat-Gan, 1981  
 Tsalnik, Month names – *Nazvanija mesjatsev v evrejskoj tradicii* (“Month names in the Late Hebrew tradition”)  
 VR – Historical Inscriptions of the Western Asia, vol. V  
 Zoroastrian texts – *Zoroastrijskije texty* (“Zoroastrian texts”), transl. by O.M.Tchunakova. Moscow, 1997

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**44) Hallatum, hālätum, and ha-la-tum** – In ARM 26 515 and 519 the word *hallatum* refers clearly to groups of people who left their homes and entered fortresses in the face of danger of raiding enemys. J.-M. Durand discussed the word in MARI 5, 171, and came to the conclusion that it designated also transhumant sheep. He thought that the latter meaning applies in ARM 1 90 (unchanged in LAPO 17 497) and A.2237. I believe that two words with different etymologies are involved, (1) *hallatum* which designates a group of people who fled from military action and (2) *hālätum* “milk-giving (sheep and goats),” and order the references accordingly.

(1) *hallatum* “runaways, refugees”

In 1 90 Šamši-Adad informed his son Yasmah-Addu of an enemy attack in which a certain Dadanum and 5 soldiers were killed. Šamši-Adad described the counter-action against the enemy tersely : *warkānum ha-la-tam uterrūma 5 nakram iddūkū*. Durand, after justly rejecting interpretations by G. Dossin and W. von Soden, proposed to see in it the word *hallatum* whose meaning he defined as “troupeau en transhumance” when referring to small cattle and “gens en déplacement” when referring to people. In the case of ARM 1 90, he decided for the first meaning. It seems more natural to assume that the action, in which Dadanum and 5 soldiers were killed, caused the other soldiers, who had been in Dadanum’s “isolated” (*ana ramānimma*) camp, to flee, and that it was these who were designated as *hallatum*. I translate accordingly “Later they returned those having sought refuge, and they have killed 50 enemies.”

In A.2237 : 27-30, quoted by Durand (MARI 5, 171), we find *ha-al-la-tum ša ina dadmim u Ahuna<sup>ki</sup> sadrat*. The letter speaks about the places where Yamina found refuge. It fits such context well, if *hallatum* refers to the displaced Yamina who were now frequenting the areas indicated. “The refugees are regulars in d. and Ahuna.”

(2) *hālātum* “milk-giving (ewes and goats)”

The terms *ha-la-at zu-mu-ra-tim* and *ha-la-at za-ma-ra-tim* designate a category of sheep in the list of sheep in text ARM 24 51. J.-M. Durand thought that the term “fait référence à un troupeau.” R. Zadok suggested in NABU 1992 58 cognates in other Semitic languages in the semantic field of suckling. In fact, in the list of 24 51 the sheep called *ha-la-at* ... are followed by suckling lambs. The number of lambs is equal with, or slightly below, the *ha-la-at* .... Such numerical distribution indicates that the *ha-la-at* ... were ewes with milk. Most suckled, the lambs of a few had just been weaned and their mothers were now milked only by their keepers. Durand saw that *a-lá-tum* of ARM 19 462, a list of goats, is the same word. The first two entries are : 700 uzud *PI-bi-sa-tum*, 310 uzud *a-lá-tum*. The meaning “milk-giving” fits very well here if we understand the first entry as writing for *yabīsātum* “dry (goats)” and thus as cognate of Semitic *ybš/s*. Note that in 24 51 the word *ha-la-at* was used as a noun, presumably in the plural, i.e. *hālāt* ... “the milk-giving (animals) of ...” D. Charpin quotes in M. Wäfler et al. Tall al-Hamidiya 2 (1990) 69, note 14, a text which mentions “sheep *ha-la-tum ina Kahat*.”

(3) *ha-la-tum* = ?

Durand’s reference to M.18071, which includes an entry *ha-la-tum* in a list of 14 orchards in the district of Mari receiving quantities of salt, was treated again by Guichard as M.18070+M.18144 = Florilegium Marianum 3 18. Despite his best efforts, Guichard’s connection with the alleged meaning “transhumant herd” remains unconvincing.

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**45) A remarkable bundle of synonyms** – The words *harrānum* and *girrum* constitute a remarkable pair. F. Joannès, “Routes et voies de communication dans les archives de Mari,” *Amurru* I, 328, tried to distinguish their meaning and concluded that *harrānum* “désigne en général la route normale, celle qui traverse les régions habitées, tandis que *girrum* fait souvent référence à des pistes qui permettent de passer au plus court.” But he himself saw that “l’opposition n’est pas absolue.” In fact the words form a particularly close pair, their semantic fields having an almost identical structure. Furthermore, the words share the rare feature of being either masculine or feminine grammatical gender. Semantic differentiation of gender is not evident. One road was *rūqat* “far” (27 64 :11), another is *nasik* “far-flung” (27 102 :26) ; the troops of Ešnunna block *girri šunūti* “those routes” (26 373 :15) and other *girrētum parsā* “routes are cut” (26 548 :9’). The feminine gender is more common in the case of *harrānum* and the masculine in the case of *girrum*. The plural of *harrānum* is always feminine, while that of *girrum* is masculine or feminine.

AHw translates *harrānum* “Weg, Strasse, Reise, Karawane, Feldzug” and *girrum* “Weg, Karawane, Feldzug.” The translators of ARM 26 and 27 agree on the translation “route” for both words. They also agree generally on the translation “expédition” for *girrum* in contexts where it does not mean “route.”

*harrānum* and *girrum* have semantic fields with 4 clearly differentiated meanings, and each of the 4 meanings of one word has an exact equivalent among the 4 meanings of the other word. They are here differentiated for clarity by assigning equivalents from the wide pool of synonyms of English. There exist of course subtle differences between “road” and “route” and “expedition” and “campaign” in English, and such may have existed for a sophisticated speaker and writer of Akkadian between *harrānum* and *girrum*. If it did, it is too subtle for verification on the basis of the references collected here. Any “road” could be replaced with “route” and viceversa, any “expedition” with “campaign,” any “voyage” with “journey,” and any “caravan” with “travel group.” In the case of the pair “expedition/campaign” the writer of ARM 14 48 used actually *harrānum* and *girrum* for the same event. He stated that the king proceeded on an expedition (*harrānum*) that the king in his own words to the soldiers called a campaign (*girrum*).

My understanding of the connections of meanings in the semantic fields of *harrānum* and *girrum*, entirely home-made and devoid of expertise in the field of semantics, is visualized in the enclosed sketch. One can observe that connections of meanings are more or less close. Thus the meanings “road/route” and “expedition/campaign” are closer than “road/route” and journey/voyage.” It is not inconceivable that the Akkadian speaker had the mental image of a road when he heard sentences 11-12 and 14-15 of *harrānum* and 10,11,13,14,16,18 of *girrum*, where we could in fact translate “road/route.” The meanings “journey/voyage” are further from “road/route” and closer to “expedition/campaign”. Use of the translation “road” becomes impossible in example *harrānum* 18 where a *harrānum* is possessed by a person. Roads are not possessed by individuals. So we cannot translate “my road was altogether safe” and mean the physical reality of a road, yet we can hesitate between “expedition” and “journey.” In fact, we could replace all “journeys” with “expeditions”



and “voyages” with “campaigns” if we were not used to distinguish military and non-military spheres terminologically. The meaning “caravan/travel group” grew out of “journey/voyage” or “expedition/campaign,” or both, in typical Akkadian fashion where the total of people constituting something are designated by that something, as, for example, “the land” that can speak. It is much harder to conceive that “caravan/travel group developed out of “road/route.” There is a third word, *kirrum*, that belongs in the semantic field of *harrānum* and *girrum*. It is often understood as being identical with *girrum*, being distinguished only in spelling or pronunciation. J.-R. Kupper devoted a short article “*Kirrum* dans les textes de Mari,” RA 90 (1996) 97-100, to it, and concluded that it was a separate word. In addition to his arguments, note that in 26 523 *ki-ir-ra-am* occurs in line 6 and *gi-ir-ri* in line 39.

*kirrum* has the meaning “campaign” just like *girrum*, but only in 1 of 13 references. Otherwise it designates a group of soldiers going on campaign and thus represents the same kind of development that is attested in the shift from “expedition/campaign” and/or “journey/voyage” to “caravan/travel group.” Yet it became specialized in its military application, while the parallel meanings of *harrānum* and *girrum* are restricted, at least in our sample, to the non-military sphere.

The unusual bundle of synonyms may be the result of a borrowing. There does not seem to exist a Semitic etymology for *girrum*, while Sumerian knows a word /*g̃ir*/, written *g̃ir* or *g̃ir*, which means “road.” When *girrum* was adopted in Akkadian it converged on *harrānum*, adopting the masculine and feminine construction and the semantic field. Sumerian /*g̃*/ was borrowed as /*g*/ or /*k*/ into Akkadian, as, e.g., *kiškanû* = *g̃iš-kín* and *gišimmaru* = *g̃išimmar*. The two phonetic variants of the borrowed word may well have lived side by side and be found, in OB Mari, in the process of semantic diversification.

*girrum* = route (1-9), campaign (10-18), voyage (19-21), travel group (22-26).

The references are from ARM 26, asterisked references from ARM 27.

	editor's transl.	context	reference
1	route	And that route is desert. It is dangerous.	14 :10
2	route	[Take] the route to Arrapha [and (so) reach] Ešnuna!	523 :39-40
3	route	He does not dispatch runners by the route to Malgum and Der.	273 :21
4	routes	The troops of Ešnuna closed those routes to them.	273 :17
5	route	The enemy set out from Hiritum and took the route to Kakkulatam.	145* :10-11
6	routes	The land is stirred up and the routes are [cut <sup>1</sup> .	548 :7'-9'
7	convoi	PN took the route to Ekallatum and arrived in Babylon.	372 :47-48
8	route	And I will start on my route.	470 :25'
9	expédition	I heard that tablet, and immediately, in the middle of the route, I returned to Andarig.	424 :20-22
10	expédition	When my lord set his mind on the campaign, ...	196 :5-6
11	expédition	About the matter of the campaign, on which my lord goes,	207 :3-4
12	expédition	And (according to) the god of my lord our campaign should succeed.	190 :7'-8'
13	expédition	Why [did we go] [ ] on campaign? (ask starved soldiers)	356 :7-8
14	expédition	My lord may dispatch them on any campaign.	356 :10'-11'
15	expédition	Išme-Dagan conducted an earlier campaign of his.	519 :6
16	campagne	2.000 troops of my lord and 3.000 of Babylon went on campaign [with <sup>1</sup> Ibal-Pi-El.	141* :24-26
17	campagne	They should stay one day, two days, in Ša-Baši and return to their campaign.	141* :34-35
18	expédition	And the Babylonian troops received each 20 liter barley travel provision. “Ahem, they go out on campaign.”	437 :19-21
19	expédition	We brought to a close a safe voyage (on behalf) of my lord.	9 :4-5
20	expédition	I and Ibbi-Amurru collaborated for the voyage of Warad-Ilišu to the east side, and our extispicies were not safe.	122 :3-5
21	expédition	I ordered extispicies for the safety of [their] [voyage <sup>1</sup> for the big road of the east side of the Habur.	183 :9-13
22	expédition	My lord may send that tablet with the travel group which is passing on to Babylon.	21 :8'-10'
23	expédition	[Dadi-Hadnu <sup>1</sup> came and entrusted this [travel group <sup>1</sup> [to] his pasture chief.	114 :3-5
24	expédition	I have dispatched the travel group. It has gone out.	114 :12-13
25	expédition	My lord [fitted all <sup>1</sup> my brothers, my travel group, the scouts, with field and houses in Tuttul.	157 :5-9
26	expédition	I assembled the vanguard of [my <sup>1</sup> travel group in Tillazibi.	17 :5-6

*harrānum* = road (1-10), (military) expedition (11-15), journey (16-21), road/expedition/journey (22-23), caravan (24-25), unclear (26-27).

	written	editor's transl.	context	ref
1	kaskal	route	The road is far ( <i>rūqat</i> ).	64* :11
2	kaskal.a	route	The road is far flung ( <i>nasik</i> )	102* :26
3	kaskal	pour aller	Those designated for the road of GN left their guard.	52 :7-8
4	kaskal.a.há	routes	‘Give strict orders’, and they should guard the roads.	26* :32
5	kaskal.a	route	I will dispatch them on (ana) the road of Šuprum or where the omen comes out straight	16* :38
6	kaskal.a.há	route	[I] ordered [extispicies] for 3 roads.	404 :82
7	kaskal.a	route	He will ‘take’ that road.	404 :84
8	kaskal	route	As the Kahateans ‘took’ the road to Kahat,	357 :18±
9	kaskal.a	route	I ordered extispicies for the safety of [their] ‘voyage’ for the big road of the east side of the Habur.	183 :9-13
10	kaskal.a	route	They saw him on the road.	118* :8*
11	ha-ar-ra-nim	expédition	When you (Zimri-Lim) headed for the expedition, ...	5 :6
12	kaskal	route	If the god has given a positive answer to my lord’s going on expedition, ...	119 :21-22
13	ha-ra-na-tim	expédition	About the ‘soldier Gumul-Sin’, who was assigned for (duty) on expeditions in the rear of my lord, ...	286 :7
14	kaskal-nam	campagne	No sooner than I am on expedition, Zakira-Hammu pressures my household.	138* :21-23
15	[ha-r]a-nim	campagne	After my lord instructed us and dispatched us on ‘expedition’, ...	151* :5
16	kaskal-ia	route	I purified 4 lambs for my journey.	20 :8’
17	kaskal	expédition	‘Make’ extispicies ‘for’ the journey of Warad-Ilišu! Make his journey go straight!	163 :5’-6’
18	ha-ra-ni	caravane	My journey was altogether safe.	20 :5
19	kaskal	expédition	The journey (on behalf) of my lord was safe.	468 :3
20	kaskal.há	expédition	The ‘journey’ was safe.	19 :7
21	kaskal.a	voyage	I heard about the journey on which Asqudum goes and escorts my lady.	14 :5-6
22	ha-ra-na-am	voyage	My lord ‘spoke’ to me ‘about’ not going on the road/journey/expedition	159 :6-7
23	kaskal.a	campagne	Zimri-Lim, do not go on the road/a journey/expedition! Stay in Mari!	237 :24
24	ha-ra-na-tum	caravane	Their caravans, their oxen and their carts, will go out for transporting barley, wine for profit.. ... I will detain the caravans.	532 :10-15
25	kaskal	caravanes	Since ‘Babylonian’ caravans do not come, turquois wool has become scarce in this country.	285 :12-14
26	kaskal.a	expédition	The road/journey is <i>uK-Ku-ba-at</i>	261 :8
27	kaskal.a	voyage	kaskal.a <i>te-bé-e qé-ru-ub</i>	412 :59

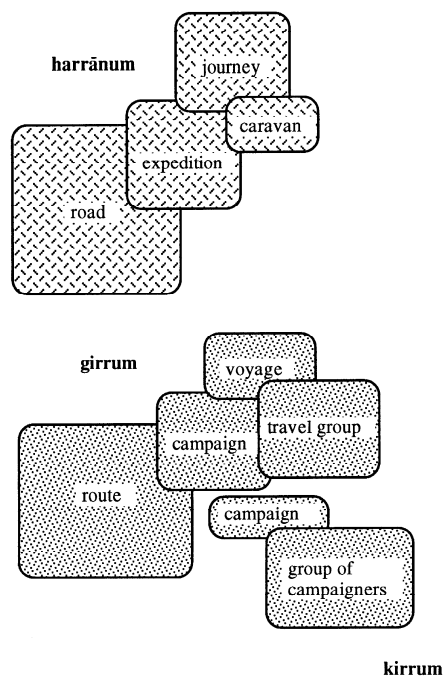
*kirrum* = “group of campaigners” (1, 3-6), *kirrētum* = “groups of campaigners” (11-12), *kirrum* = “campaign” in “campaign troops” (2), *kirrum* = campaign (9), *kirrum* = ? (10)

Numbers 1-13 are those of Kupper’s collection of references in RA 90. In the second column I give the translation of the latest editions, including those of Durand in LAPO 16 and 17. Column 3 gives my translation of the minimal context and the spelling of the word *kirrum*. The numbers of the last column are all from volumes of ARM.

1	Durand : troupe	60 Suteans, a second group of campaigners ( <i>kirrum šanītum</i> ) went to attack Tadmer and Našala.	5 23 :15-18
2	Joannès : corps expéditionnaire	campaign troops ( <i>šābum kirrum</i> ) [went out] from Ekallatum and [ ] and took the city of Purattum [and the city] of Ašan of Numha.	26 415 :5-6
3	Durand : expédition	I dispatched [Hana and] troops in guise of a group of campaigners [of] the enemy ( <i>kīma kirrim [ša] nakrim</i> ).	4 43 :2’-3’
4	Lackenbacher : détachement	We dispatched a group of campaigners ( <i>lú kirram</i> ). They captured an informer for us.	26 476 :6-8

5	Lafont : hommes en expédition	[ ] a group of campaigners (lú.meš <i>kirrum</i> ) [ ] stayed [ ] in [the midst <sup>1</sup> of the reed thicket.	26 514 :9-11
6	Lafont : corps expéditionnaire	Now Aškur-Addu dispatched a group of campaigners (lú.meš <i>kirram</i> ) and Ili-Ram, the Nusarean, leading them, to Ekallatum, and they captured 12 donkeys, 8 merchants, informers.	26 523 :6-9
[7]	Biot : une bande	20 [... <sup>1</sup> (lú.me[š <i>k</i> ]i-i[r-ru-um]) of the Numheans attacked them. Epigraphically too insecure for use.	27 68 :25-26
[8]		The word <i>kirrum</i> results from emendation. Passage can be interpreted differently	27 68 :14-15
9	Durand : expédition	4 tablets that the vizier of Susa of Elam, whom they killed, was carrying, which they took in the campaign ( <i>ina kirrim</i> ), those [tablets <sup>1</sup> I opened.	2 121 :4-8
10		May my boys stay <i>ina kirrim</i> .	28 39 :5'-6'
11	Lafont : corps expéditionnaire	As much as the man of Ekallatum took and the groups of campaigners (lú <i>kirrētum</i> ) took, I will return.	26 511 :32-33
12	Charpin : détachements	His (Rim-Sin's) groups of campaigners ( <i>kirrētūšu</i> ) keep entering the land of Hammu-Rabi.	26 372 :29-30
13		We sent men of a group of campaigners (lú.meš <i>ša kirrim</i> ) [of <sup>1</sup> the field to capture a telltale, and they captured 2 [men <sup>1</sup> in the gate of Assur.	28 171 :18-21
14	Charpin : troupe	When we dispatch a group of campaigners ( <i>kirram</i> ) to the land of Numha, ...	26 358 :8'-9'
15	Joannès : expédition	PN went out on campaign ( <i>ana kirrim</i> ) from Ekallatum [with <sup>1</sup> 600 reservists.	26 430 :26-30

Semantic fields of *harrānum*, *girrum* and *kirrum*



Wolfgang HEIMPEL (4-05-99)

**46) Amorrite Musicians at Mari** – In her recent important book on *Le harem de Zimri-Lim*, SEPOA Paris, 1999, N. Ziegler mentions 5, respectively 6 Amorrite female musicians, which are listed among the personnel of the harem of Mari (p. 118 3.19. : document no. 2, p. 130, and no. 37, p. 216). Ms. Ziegler surmises that the women originated in the region of Qatna (p. 216, doc. 37 and the explanations to l. 4). Yet, we have now the express evidence of a letter of Manatan to Zimri-Lim, published by G. Ozan in FM III (1997), no. 143, ll. 15-18 (p. 296), that 3 Amorrite musicians were brought to Zimri-Lim from the city of Hazor. Thus, it may be the latter city, 300 km to the south of Qatna, where at least some of the musicians of the Mari harem originated. On the other hand

Durand remarks on the basis of unpublished material (in *La circulation des biens...* ed. D. Charpin et F. Joannès = RAI 33, 1992, p. 127), that musicians at Mari are attested from Qatna, Hazor, Aleppo, Carchemish and Ashur.

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**47) Ebl. \*qdm (= igi-tùm) “to dam up (waters)”** – In a recent article I proposed a reading igi-kéš, possibly equivalent to the Sum. kéš “to dam up (a watercourse)” (*Subartu* IV, 2 [1998], p. 108 [16] and p. 110 [25]). After collation at the museum of Idlib (October 1998) I am now able to improve my readings. The signs in both tablets are definitely to be read igi-tùm. So both attestations have to be corrected as follows:

- (1) ... ] / [na-še<sub>11</sub>]-II / IGI.DU / kam<sub>4</sub>-mu / lú Ar-mi<sup>ki</sup> / è / igi-tùm / a-a (TM.76.G.196 r. III 1-7);  
 (2) ʾwaʾ / Sal-ba-ʾa<sup>ki</sup> / ʾšū-ba<sub>4</sub>-[t]i / Na-gàr<sup>ki</sup> / kam<sub>4</sub>-mu / igi-tùm / a / -sù (TM.76.G.270+191 v. II 1-8).

The same Sumerogram also occurs, in relation to waters, in a fragmentary epistolary context and in a narrative text:

- (3) ... ] / lú igi-tùm / a-a / nídba / i-giš (TM.76.G.196 r. V 1-4).  
 (4) ap / an-da-nu / si-in / Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup> / e-gi :maškim e-gi :maškim / nu du-du / igi-tùm<sup>ki</sup> / a (TM.75.G.2290 r. VII 6-v. I 3);  
 (5) wa / KA.UNKEN / ugula-ugula / Ib-al<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup> / igi-tùm / in / Bu-sa<sup>ki</sup> / ba-ma-a / i-bi-ra-an / a (TM.75.G.2290 v. II 6-III 2).

The Eblaic equivalent of this Sumerogram is given by the gloss *ga-ti-mu* (VE 721 D), which was interpreted as /qadimu(m)/ “former” by P. Steinkeller (*OA* 23 [1984], p. 36). The same equivalence between a derivative of \*qdm “to be in front” and the Sumerogram igi-tùm occurs in the two major texts of the royal rituals, where we find *gú-ti-im i-ba-na-a* (ARET XI 1 v. X 2-3), “he goes forward”, parallel to igi-tùm *i-ba-na* (ARET XI 2 v. VIII 25-26).

In the text (4), in relation to waters, the spelling igi-tùm<sup>ki</sup> seems to hint at a topographical term, such as “weir” or “dam”. Therefore an Eblaic derivative from \*qdm “to be in front” could tentatively be proposed. Such derivative could be equivalent to the Akk. *mīhru* “weir, dam” (cf. *maḥra* “before; in front”; *maḥāru* “to meet; to face”), and it is possible that one of the two words was a “calque” of the other. As to the form of the Eblaic derivative, \*qdm- can perhaps be proposed on account of Akk. *qudmu* “front (in prepositional use)”, Syr. *qudmā* “forepart, front”, Ge. *qōdm* “beginning, front, façade”.

In the other texts, where the Sumerogram occurs in relation to waters, the function of igi-tùm (without KI determinative) is probably to be compared with the use of the Akkadian verb *maḥāru* with the meaning “to dam up” (CAD, M, I, p. 62, 2 f); also expressions such as *meḥeršu amahḥar* “I erected a weir for it” should be recalled (CAD, M, II, p. 59, 4). If the interpretation of the Sumerogram is correct, the texts should be translated as follows:

- (1) “[...] two [men] who took care to make the families of Armi leave to dam up the waters”

The integration of the first case is suggested from the attestation of *na-se<sub>11</sub>*-II in the same tablet (v. II 4). For the meaning of IGI.DU, see G. Conti, QS 17 (1990), p. 184; for *kam<sub>4</sub>-mu* as a term used to indicate family groups, perhaps half-nomads, who maintained preferential relations with the royal family, see P. Fronzaroli, *Subartu* IV, 2 (1998), p. 111 f.

- (2) “and at Salba’u (officials of) Nagar took (with them) the families to dam up its waters”.  
 (3) “[...] and officials in care of the families], who dammed up the waters, performed the oil offering”.

The lacuna at the beginning of the sentence cannot be integrated. The text probably referred to officials who had to perform the oil offering but other interpretations are of course possible.

- (4) “and then, you towards Mari in relation to the dam of the waters did not make the commissioners go”.  
 (5) “and (when) the chiefs of Ibal gathered in half at Buša to dam up (the waters), he inspected the waters”.

The spelling *ba-ma-a* is possibly to be compared with Akk. *bamā* “in half”. It should be noticed that *i-bi-ra-an* in the present context corresponds to the Sumerogram *igi-gar* (TM.76.G.235 r. III 5, v. 11 1), interpreted “to inspect (the waters)” in *Subartu* IV, 2 (1998), p. 109. The same equivalence appears in the bilingual lexical list, where *igi-gar* is glossed *ba-la-um*, /barāy-um/ “to inspect” (VE 145 A).

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**48) Improvements to BM 78614 (= ASJ 19 [1997], 262)** – A remark of J.-M. Durand, who kindly reminded me that [Ú]-HUB might be read *sukkuku*, “deaf”, made it possible to improve my readings in ASJ 19, 262 : 2’-3’.

These lines seem now to be a partial parallel of Eršahungas nos. 40-42 (edited by S. Maul in *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 219f. : 15’-16’).

The relevant lines in BM 78614 read as following :

- 2’        [.....ú]-hub-me-en igi hu-mu-ni-in-d[u<sub>8</sub>]  
             [.....s]ú°-ku°-ka-a-ku ú-ul a-na-<sup>1</sup>ta-al<sup>1</sup>  
3’        [.....x]-mi-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ne ba-ab-dir  
             [.....eli? ša?] iq-bu-ú ú -ša-te-er

“[... ], I am deaf, I do not see,  
..... above what] he has said, he has surpassed”.

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## VIE DE L’ASSYRIOLOGIE

**49) Célébration du cinquantenaire des fouilles de Kültepe sous la direction de T. Özgüç** – Les lundi 31 mai et mardi 1 juin 1999 s’est tenu un symposium international au Türk Tarih Kurumu (Société d’Histoire Turque) célébrant cinquante années de fouilles à Kültepe dirigées par le professeur T. Özgüç : *Kültepe/Kaniş Kazılarının 50. Yıldönümü’nü Kutlama Sempozyumu*. A l’ouverture du symposium, le lundi matin, une série d’interventions de personnalités turques et étrangères a rappelé l’importance des résultats offerts par les fouilles de Kültepe depuis 1948, aussi bien sur le plan archéologique qu’épigraphique, le rôle joué par le Türk Tarih Kurumu dans le financement des travaux, et la personnalité du directeur des fouilles, le professeur T. Özgüç. Se sont ainsi exprimés les professeurs T. Özgüç, M. Mellink, H. Hauptmann, P. Landau, E. Klengel-Brandt, D. Collon, A. Çavdar et Y. Halaçoğlu. Le lundi après-midi avaient lieu les conférences archéologiques des professeurs T. Özgüç, N. Özgüç et K. Emre, retraçant les découvertes de 50 saisons de fouilles à Kültepe : architecture, tablettes cunéiformes et leurs empreintes de sceaux, céramique, bijoux et objets divers. Enfin, le mardi, six intervenants, les professeurs K. R. Veenhof, C. Günbattı, K. Watanabe, P. Garelli, V. Donbaz et M. T. Larsen, ont fait le point sur les données recueillies dans les quelques 20 000 tablettes paléo-assyriennes retrouvées à Kültepe : principaux travaux publiés, chronologie du *kārum* II, commerce et firmes familiales ... Dans un discours de clôture de symposium, M. Mellink a exprimé les remerciements de tous les participants aux professeurs T. et N. Özgüç et K. Emre ainsi qu’à la Türk Tarih Kurumu pour leur accueil chaleureux et les félicitations de l’assemblée pour l’ensemble de leurs travaux sur le riche site de Kültepe.

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**50) Publication récente** – Sophie Lafont, *Femmes, Droit et Justice dans l’Antiquité orientale. Contribution à l’étude du droit pénal dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (OBO 165). 1999. XVI-576 pp. ISBN 3-7278-1226-5. SFr. 148.-, DM 178.- À commander auprès des Éditions Universitaires, Bvd. de Pérolles 42, CH-1700 Fribourg, fax +41-26-426 43 00, eduni@st-paul.ch.

**51) Élections, recrutement et promotion** – Lors du Conseil du 20 juin dernier de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études (IV<sup>e</sup> Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques), Sophie Lafont a été élue Directeur d’Études non cumulant à la chaire de « Droit comparé du Proche-Orient ancien ».

Dans sa séance du 27 juin 1999, l’Assemblée des Professeurs du Collège de France a élu Pierre Briant sur la chaire « Histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l’empire d’Alexandre ».

Nele Ziegler a été recrutée comme Chargée de recherche au CNRS.

Bertrand Lafont a été promu Directeur de recherche au CNRS.

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