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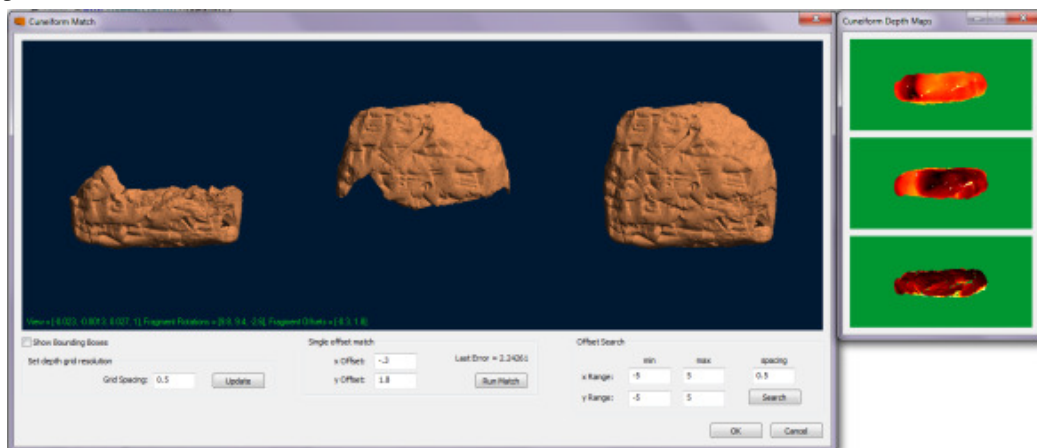
N°4 (décembre)

NOTES BRÈVES

73) Automated Joining of Cuneiform Tablet Fragments — “A good start is half the battle”, but not necessarily when trying to join a large number of fragments of clay tablets. Every Assyriologist who wants to publish a text corpus has to spend many months, if not even years, with the manual matching of the fragments, time which could be used more efficiently. For this reason a technical solution has long been sought for.

The results of a research project carried out with colleagues at The University of Birmingham, UK, have now provided that solution. The starting basis was that part of the Late Babylonian Eanna archive that is housed at Heidelberg University, Germany.¹⁾ Including also the smallest fragments the archive consists of 2658 pieces in total. If n fragments are given, the number of join possibilities is $\frac{1}{2} n(n-1)$, in other words in this case 3,531,153. The manual check of all those possibilities would take approximately twenty years.

Using a database in which in addition to 3D scans all the important facts about the fragments are stored (date, size, script, ...) the designed algorithm starts, after the choice of a given scan, with the attempt to join in succession all of the other fragments. The technical details are elucidated in the article *Automated Reconstruction of Virtual Fragmented Cuneiform Tablets* by T. Collins *et al.*, *Electronics Letters* (IET; awaiting publication, 2014). The first success – a tablet joined without human involvement – is presented here:



The scan shows the Late Babylonian letter W 18349 + Wy777²⁾: “¹Šu-la-[a šu-lum] / šá¹SUM-^d[DN] / ŠEŠ-šú i-šá-lu / šá¹Ba-ni-ia / u^{1d}+EN-NIGIN²-ir GIŠ-u¹ / mi-nam-ma / (rest missing, traces preserved)” – “Šulā inquires about the well-being of Iddin-[DN], his brother. (As to) what Bānija and Bēl-upaḥḥir² carried away (= received), whatever”

Our project was called into being under the title *A Collaborative Environment for Assisted 3D Reconstruction of Cuneiform Tablets* at the University of Birmingham.³⁾ We received generous financial support from The Leverhulme Trust, UK (research grant number F000 94 BP). We should like in particular to thank Margarete van Ess (German Archaeological Institute, Berlin) for her continuous help. Without her permission to scan and to publish fragments of the Heidelberg collection the project could not have been completed. In the initial stage we were also supported by Michael Müller-Karpe (Romano-Germanic Central Museum, Mainz). For the data acquisition with the 3D scanner of the *Heidelberg Graduate School of Mathematical and Computational Methods for the Sciences* at the *Interdisciplinary Center for Scientific Computing (IWR)*, Heidelberg University, we would like to express our gratitude to Hubert Mara and Susanne Krömker. A very special thanks goes to Sonja Speck, IWR, who made the actual scans and took great care with the post-processing.

1) See E. Gehlken, AUWE 5 (R. M. Boehmer [ed.], *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*, Endberichte, vol. 5), p. 6–7.

2) The philological publication will be given in AUWE 27 (for GIŠ see H. Freydank, *Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk* [Berlin 1971], p. 34); size (in cm): 3.3 x 2.6 x 1.0. The surface of the reverse is for the most part flaked off.

3) A detailed project history and a list of all collaborators will be published later, but Andrew Lewis and Luis Hernandez Munoz (both of them at The University of Birmingham) should be mentioned here.

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74) Etymologie der Zahlwörter für 600 (akkadisch), 60 (sumerisch) und die Bildung der sumerischen Zahlen zwischen 60 und 120 und zwischen 10 und 20 — a) nīru „600“: Das Wort fällt völlig aus der Systematik der akkadischen Zahlwörter und ist auch nicht sumerisch, da 600 auf Sumerisch ḡeš'u heißt (MSL 14, 258, 261-65). Geschrieben wird 600 mit einem senkrechten Keil für 60 und einem daran angefügten Winkelhaken für 10: DIŠ+U = 60x10 = 600. Diese Betrachtungsweise ist allerdings unsere. Keilschrifttexte gebrauchen in diesem Zusammenhang nicht „links“ und „rechts“, sondern „oben“ und „unten“. Präfixe werden mit AN.TA „oben“, Suffixe mit KI.TA „unten“ charakterisiert. Wenn Schriftzeichen neben bildlichen Darstellungen stehen, so sind sie bis einschließlich der altbabylonischen Zeit gegenüber unserer Sichtweise um 90° gedreht. Wer Hammurapis Gesetz lesen wollte hätte vor seiner Stele nach unserer Lesart den Kopf auf die Schulter legen müssen. Selbst Asarhaddon schreibt noch, Marduk habe das untere mit dem oberen vertauscht und so aus 70 (DIŠ.U) 11 (U.DIŠ) gemacht (CAD E 96-97 unter f). Bei 600 ist der Winkelhaken lediglich näher an den geraden Keil herangerückt als bei 70. Dreht man das Zeichen entsprechend, so erinnert die Figur an ein Joch. Akkadisch heißt nīru „Joch“.

Ursprünglich sah das Zeichen für 600 nicht wie ein Joch aus, sondern wie der Eindruck eines Daumennagels mit einem runden Fleck. Erst als man im letzten Drittel des 3. Jahrtausends dazu überging, auch die Zahlen nur mit den Elementen Keil und Winkelhaken darzustellen, erinnerte das Zeichen an ein Joch.¹ Die akkadische Bezeichnung nīru für 600 ist also jünger als die sumerischen Zahlwörter.

b) ḡeš „60“: Es ist nicht ganz klar, wie die Grundzahl 60 im Sumerischen zustande kam.² Zwei Möglichkeiten bieten sich an. Die eine ist das Zählen mit Hilfe von Fingergliedern, das heute noch unter anderem im Irak beobachtet werden kann. Offensichtlich kommt die Bevorzugung dezimaler Systeme in den Sprachen der Welt von dem Zählen mit Fingern, wobei für jede Zahl ein weiterer Finger von der geschlossenen Faust abgespreizt wird.³ Dass damit die Finger für das Zahlssystem verantwortlich sind, spricht nebenher bemerkt auch dafür, dass die Zahlen vom Vorgang des Zählens kommen und nicht durch den Vergleich der Mächtigkeit von Mengen entstanden sind. Doch mit dem Abspreizen der Finger kommt man nicht weit. Eine clevere Alternative ist es, den Daumen der einen Hand der Reihe nach an die

Glieder der Finger zu legen und bei jedem Zählvorgang um ein Glied weiter zu rücken. Nachdem das 12. Fingerglied erreicht ist, spreizt man einen Finger der anderen Hand ab und beginnt mit dem Daumen von vorne. Auf diese Weise kann man $5 \times 12 = 60$ Zähl Schritte markieren und nicht nur 10. Gegen diese Herleitung der Grundzahl spricht ein wenig, dass im Sumerischen keine eigenen Zahlwörter für 12, 24 etc. sondern für 10, 20 etc. belegt sind.

Eine andere Erklärung ist, dass das Rechnen mit einem Monat von 30 Tagen ausschlaggebend war. Dagegen spricht natürlich, dass man dann die Grundzahl 30 erwarten würde.⁴ Wenn man sich allerdings ein etwas fortgeschrittenes Rechensystem denkt, so erscheint eine Verdoppelung von 30 als grundlegender Recheneinheit durchaus plausibel, denn 30 lässt sich nicht durch 4 teilen, während sich 60 durch alle Zahlen, die kleiner als 7 sind, teilen lässt. Die 60 bietet einen weiteren Vorteil, denn die Grundzahl 60 ist auch durch 12 teilbar. Damit ist sie die niedrigste Zahl, die sich sowohl durch die Tage eines Monats als auch durch die Monate eines Jahres teilen lässt.

Damit wäre der Grund für die Entwicklung von Zahlen nach dem Sexagesimalsystem in einer Zeit zu suchen, in der das Rechnen mit Monaten wichtig war und das deutet auf eine Wirtschaftsform mit großen Einheiten hin, in der nach Tagen Rationen für Arbeitskräfte und Tiere kalkuliert werden müssen. Außer einer sprachlichen Repräsentanz der Zahlen mag es auch schon eine materielle durch Token oder die ersten in Ton geritzten bzw. gedruckten Zahlzeichen gegeben haben. Das Wort *ĝeš* (zum Auslaut siehe unten) erinnert an *ĝeš* „Holz“, „Holzstamm“ und das vermutlich identische Wort *ĝiš* „Penis“. Man vergleiche die obige Herleitung des Wortes *nīru* „600“ im Akkadischen und *šár* „Kreis“ für „3600“. Die Zahl kann auch tatsächlich mit dem Bild eines Kreises *šár* geschrieben werden. Dass *šár* auch die Bedeutung „sehr viel“ haben kann, widerspricht einer Herleitung des Zahlwortes vom Bild nicht, denn das Adjektiv kann auch vom Zahlwort abgeleitet sein. Vgl. deutsch „Tausendfüßler“, „Tausendsasa“, den türkischen Ortsnamen Bingöl „Tausendsee“ usw. Ein noch größerer Kreis steht für $60^3 = 216\,000$ und das Wort heißt folgerichtig *šár-gal* „großer Kreis“ im Sumerischen.⁵

Wenn es in einer Vorstufe des Sumerischen bereits Zahlwörter für 60 und höhere Zahlen gab, so wurden sie aufgegeben. Entsprechend besitzen auch die semitischen und die indoeuropäischen Sprachen zwar noch jeweils ein gemeinsames Wort für 100 aber nicht für 1000.

c) Unterscheidung von 60 + n und 60 x n: Das Zahlwort 120 wird als *ĝeš-min* „sechzig-zwei“ glossiert und Edzard (HdO 71, 65; 2005, 106) stellt die berechtigte Frage, wie 62 in der Aussprache von 120 zu unterscheiden wäre.

Zu 60 gibt es in Ea zwei Einträge und zwar zunächst mit der Glosse *ĝeš*, dann mit *ĝeš-ta* (MSL 14, 257, 242f.). Als *n-ta(-àm)* werden Distributivzahlen geschrieben (GAG³ § 71d). Doch das kann hier nicht gemeint sein, da sich nur nach 60 dieser Eintrag findet und außerdem keine abweichende akkadische Übersetzung angegeben wird.

Wörtlich kann */ĝešta/* aber für *ĝeš-ta* „nach 60“ stehen. Daher könnte *62 */ĝešta-min/* = „Nach sechzig zwei“ ausgesprochen und so von gleich geschriebenem $120 = 60 \times 2 = \text{ĝeš-min}$ unterschieden worden sein. Da dann *-ta* immer nach 60 und zwischen zwei Zahlwörtern steht, ist auch keine Verwechslung mit Distributivzahlen möglich.

Dies würde nicht nur ein praktisches Problem bei den Zahlwörtern lösen, sondern auch erklären, warum nur nach 60 eine Nebenform aufgeführt wird und warum diese Form in den Ausspracheglossen für Zahlen, die multiplikativ mit 60 gebildet werden, wie $240 = 4 \times 60 = \text{ĝeš-lim-mu}$ (MSL 14, 258, 250) nicht auftritt. Die akkadische Spalte schreibt hierzu 4 *šu-ši*, einen Mix aus sumerischer Sexagesimalbildung und der akkadischen Bildung der Hunderterzahlen mit 100 als Rektum einer Genitivkonstruktion (GAG³ § 69g). Das Sumerische bildet aber nicht „4 der 60“, sondern als „sechzigvier“. Diese Beobachtung spricht dafür, dass */ĝešlimmu/* etc. genuin sumerische Zahlwörter sind.

Angenommen wurde eine Aussprache */ĝešd/* für „60“ aufgrund des am Anfang von altbabyl. Reziprokentabellen aufgeführten *I-da 2/3-bé 40-àm* (Proust 2007, 120; 122-23), wegen des Ausdrucks *mu erén I-da-šè* „wegen der 60-ger Truppe“ (NG 215, 24; im Kontext ist 60 nicht zwingend) und altsumerisch *ugula ĝeš-da(-k)* „Aufseher von 60“ (Steinkeller 1979). Das sind keine schwachen Argumente für einen Auslaut */šd/*. Nichtsdestotrotz lässt sich auch einiges dagegen anführen.

Die Glosse *ġeš-ta* lässt auf */ġešta/*, nicht auf */ġešd/t/* schließen. Wäre die Schreibung eine Möglichkeit */št/* am Ende sumerischer Wörter auszudrücken, so sollte es mehr Beispiele geben. Außerdem sollte es mehr Worte geben, die in Listen mit *š* im Auslaut erscheinen, vor vokalischer Endung aber ein *d* einschieben. Man denkt natürlich sofort an *kéš* und *kešda*. Doch altsumerisch wird in *Lagaš* nicht *kéš-da/dè*, sondern *kéš-DU* (*-rá/re₆*) geschrieben. Außerdem gibt es auch eine Lesung *kéše*, so dass als ursprüngliche Lautform */kešeDR/* angesetzt werden kann. In anderen Zusammensetzungen wird kein Dental vor anlautendem Vokal geschrieben. Z. B. *ÉREN 60-am₆* „es sind 60 ‚Soldaten“ Ent. 28 iii 19 = 29 iv 10; Ukg. 6 iv 26'. Bei den multiplikativ gebildeten Zahlen, in denen nach 60 ein vokalisches anlautendes Zahlwort folgt wird in *Ea* kein *t* geschrieben. So sollte aus **/ġešt/* für 480 = 60x8 **/ġeštussu/* stehen, belegt ist aber die Glosse *ġeš-us-su* und für 600 nicht **/ġeštu/*, sondern *ġeš-u* (MSL 14, 258).

In allen Fällen, in denen nach 60 *da* steht, ist ein Genitiv vertretbar oder sicher. Da andererseits die Argumente gegen einen Dental auch nicht von der Hand zu weisen sind, ist es möglich, dass entweder Komitativ vorliegt „bei 60“ oder eine Kurzform für „eine 60“, so wie bei der Grundzahl 100 auch in einigen Sprachen oft „einhundert“ anstelle von einfachem „hundert“ auftaucht. Selbst das deutsche *hundert* bzw. engl. *hundred* stehen für „gerade hundert“. Cf. lat. *centum* etc. Siehe auch den folgenden Abschnitt.

d) die Zahlen zwischen 10 und 20: Ein später Text (Hunger 1998) gibt für 12 *ú-du-li-me-in* und für 15 *ú-du-li-ja* an. Diese Zahlen könnten die Zahlwörter *u* „10“, *min* „2“ und *i* bzw. *já* „5“ enthalten (die Lesung *já* ist nicht sicher, da es nur ein Zeichen für *jV* im 1. Jahrtausend gibt und das Zeichen für 5 im ältesten Akkadischen für *ji* steht). Aber für was steht „*du-li*“? Es könnte sich um das Adjektiv *deli/dili* „einzeln“ handeln, wobei der erste Vokal durch Vokalharmonie an den Vokal von *u* „10“ angeglichen wurde. Ein Einwand liegt auf der Hand. Da es eigene Worte für die Zehnerzahlen über 10 gab, brauchte man 12 nicht von 20 (*niš*) und 15 nicht von 50 (*ninnu*) zu unterscheiden. So lässt sich zwar eine als **u-min* gebildete 12 von 20 unterscheiden, nicht aber von „2 mal 10“. Der Zusatz „einzeln“ wäre dann als „nicht multipliziert“ zu deuten. Bei 12 gibt es noch ein weiteres Problem. Für 7 sind *imin* und *umun₅* als Aussprache belegt, wobei letzteres durch Vokalharmonie aus einer in *Ebla* belegten Form */umin/* entstanden ist (Edzard 2003, 63f.). Diese Form wäre wohl kaum gebildet worden, wenn */umin/* auch für 12 gestanden hätte. Zwar ist der Text spät und es werden nur die Zahlen 12 und 15 ausgeschrieben, doch es ist anzunehmen, dass alle Zahlen größer als 10 und kleiner als 20 so gebildet wurden.

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¹ Siehe ROBSON 2006, 76, wobei der Übergang mit „mid third millennium“ etwas zu früh angesetzt ist. Cf. RSP 27 mit Kommentar.

² Die Auffassung, dass 60 die Grundzahl des Sumerischen ist, also sprachlich ein Sexagesimalsystem vorliegt, wurde zuletzt in WILCKE 2005 verteidigt. Siehe dort für weitere Literatur.

³ Vigesimal Systeme wie sie etwa im Georgischen und in mesoamerikanischen Sprachen belegt sind, beruhen wohl auf dem Umdrehen der Hände und erneutem Abspreizen. Schon ein Zählen durch Zurückziehen der Finger in die Ausgangsposition fällt etwas schwerer als sie einzeln zu spreizen und wie man praktisch mit den Zehen zählen sollte, ist dem Autor nicht klar.

⁴ Die Etymologie von */uš(u)/* „30“ im Sumerischen ist unklar. EDZARD 2005, 105 bezweifelt die von M. POWELL vorgeschlagene Etymologie als „three ten“, da das Zahlwort als Adjektiv normalerweise dem Gezählten folgt, was auf „10 mal die 3“ und nicht auf „3 mal die 10“ hinauslaufen würde. Vgl. auch oben *ġeš'u* = „10 mal die

60“ und ninin „40“, was offensichtlich aus *niš-min „2 mal die 20“ hervorgegangen ist. Bei HUNGER 1998, 181 wird ein Hinweis auf eine Form /eše/ für „3“ besprochen. Wenn man das als Grundform akzeptiert, so kommt man mit Vokalharmonie auf u + eše_x > */uše/ > /ušu/ als „3 mal die 10“. Wie dem auch sei, auffallend ist jedenfalls, dass das sumerische Wort für „30“ nichts mit historisch belegten Wörtern für „Mond“ oder „Monat“ zu tun hat.

⁵ Zu šár und šár-gal WILCKE 2005, 436-39.

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75) Eblaïte *ga-zi-a-tum* = néo-babylonien ^{šim}*ka-ši-'a-a-tu₄* — Dans les textes d'Ébla concernant les livraisons de produits alimentaires publiés dans *ARET IX*, on trouve parfois [1-7] la graphie *ga-zi-a-tum*,¹⁾ écrite aussi avec la variante *ga-zi-tum* et sous la forme abrégée *ga-zi*. Ce terme se rapporte soit au pain (*ninda*) soit à la farine (*zì-gu*). Seulement en deux passages [6-7] le mot est précédé d'un numéral et il faudra donc sous-entendre dans ces cas-là le sumérien *ninda* ; par contre, on pourrait dire que son poids était exprimé en *níg-sagšu*.

En accord avec les règles phonétiques du syllabaire éblaïte, on peut interpréter, à mon avis, cette rare graphie sémitique en faisant une comparaison avec l'akkadien ^{šim}*ka-ši-'a-a-tu₄*, jusqu'à présent connu seulement grâce à deux listes de noms d'aromates et plantes aromatiques toujours inédites (BM 63707 et BM 73126),²⁾ qui remontent à la période néo-babylonienne, et grâce à une lettre (BM 67001) de la même période, provenant, elle aussi, des archives de l'Ebabbar à Sippar. La présence du déterminatif *šim* assure qu'il s'agit du nom d'une plante ou d'une herbe aromatique.

Ce mot akkadien vient d'être traduit conventionnellement par « *cinnamomum cassia* » sur la base de l'hébreu biblique *qsy't*,³⁾ qui est un *hapax* dans les *Psaumes* 45, 9, et qui a été ainsi interprété à partir des versions anciennes de la Bible (voir *HAL*, 1048, s.v. ; on remarquera qu'en akkadien le /q/ qui se trouve antécédent à l'autre consonne emphatique /s/ se désémphatise selon la loi de Geers). Le grec *κασ(σ)ία* ou *κασίη*, une variété de cannellier, attesté déjà chez Sappho, Hérodote et Théophraste, est très probablement emprunté à un terme sémitique.⁴⁾ Pour la plupart des auteurs classiques en effet la casse et le cinnamome naissent en Arabie, le mythique pays des aromates.⁵⁾

À Ébla au milieu du III^e millénaire a. C. le mot *ga-zi-a-tum* semble déjà indiquer une écorce en poudre ou épice, avec laquelle on aromatisait les pains. Le nom de cet arôme se retrouve jusque dans les textes néo-babyloniens du I^{er} millénaire a. C., dans la Bible et peut-être jusque dans la littérature classique. Toutefois, il demeure d'ailleurs difficile, sinon impossible, de déterminer la plante ou mieux les plantes indiquées par ce nom, probablement différentes selon les pays et les époques.

Passages cités

[1] *ARET IX* 9 r. IV:3': 5 *níg-sagšu ninda zì-gu ga-zi-a-tum*

[2] *ARET IX* 10 r. III:1-4: 6 *níg-sagšu / ga-zi-a-tum / 4 ninda / lú gaba-ru*

[3] *ARET IX* 14 r. IV:9-10: 5 *ninda gaba-ru / 5 níg-sagšu zì ga-zi-a-tum*

[4] *ARET IX* 16 r. IV:6-8: 3 *níg-sagšu ga-zi-a-tum / 1 níg-sagšu ga-da-LUM / ninda zì-gu*

[5] *ARET IX* 16 v. III:1: [x *níg*]-*sagšu <ga>-zi-a-tum ninda zì-gu*

[6] *ARET IX* 19 r. I:1-6: 5 *ninda 2 ninda ga-zi-tum / en / 2-1/2 ninda ma-lik-tum / 2 ninda 1 ga-zi / en-en*

[7] *ARET IX* 19 r. III:2-3: 2 *ninda 1 ga-zi / 'áb[ba]-'ábbá'*

1) On peut donc constater que la graphie n'a rien à voir avec *ga-zi-tum* qui glose en *VE 404 (C)* le terme sumérien *giš-URU*, indiquant un outil en bois (pour cela, CONTI 1990: 128-129). Nous nous demandons en revanche si le terme *ga-sa-a-tum* pourrait avoir une relation avec nos attestations. Ce mot désigne un bien qui est livré par un personnage anonyme de *Ša-da-du*^{ki} qui reçoit en échange un tissu dans *ARET XV 39 (35')*: 1 *íb-III gùn / Ša-da-du*^{ki} / *šu-mu-taka₄ / ga-sa-a-tum* (POMPONIO 2008: 428 traduit « coppe », mais il s'agit d'une hypothèse improbable) selon une typologie administrative bien connue à Ébla pour les aromates et les végétaux en général (voir, par exemple, les passages recueillis par CATAGNOTI 2007: 222). Il faut remarquer toutefois qu'en ce cas la graphie ne serait pas phonétiquement correcte à cause de l'emploi d'une syllabe de la série SA pour rendre /š/ étymologique.

2) Cités par JURSA 1997.

3) JURSA 1997; ZADOK 1997.

4) MASSON 1967: 48-49. Au contraire, selon DÉTIENNE 1972: 37, le nom de la casse est dérivé du chinois *kwei-shu* tandis que DE ROMANIS 1996: 42 ss., pense que le terme grec tire son origine de la langue égyptienne.

5) Pour la symbolique des aromates, en particulier de la casse et du cinnamome, et leur origine arabe chez les auteurs classiques, voir DÉTIENNE 1972: 27, 36-43.

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76) Notes on an early OB treaty between Larsa, Uruk, and Ešnunna — M. Guichard has published a very interesting text in *Semitica* 56 (2014). This Old Babylonian treaty (CHARPIN 2014) necessitates us to rethink several historical and political issues. In my thesis (DE BOER 2014) I was unaware of this text. It presents us with a confrontation between a Babylon-Nērebtum coalition and a Larsa-Uruk coalition. Ešnunna is forced by the treaty to take the side of the Larsa-Uruk coalition. The pact seems to be result of Sîn-iddinam's aggression towards Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region, as is attested from his 4th, 5th, and 6th year name (GUICHARD 2014:19). Guichard has shown convincingly that we must place the date of the text around 1843-1842 BCE.

The Mari Eponym Chronicle

The biggest problem presented by the text is the synchronism between Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-kāšid, Sabium, Ikūn-pi-Sîn, and Ibal-pi-El. The Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) dictates that Ipiq-Adad II was king of Ešnunna at the time, instead of his father Ibal-pi-El I (BIROT 1985, GLASSNER 2004). The solution presented by Guichard is that Ipiq-Adad II's reign was interrupted and that either a usurper also called Ibal-pi-El took the throne (after which Ipiq-Adad II regained it), or that Ibal-pi-El I, Ipiq-Adad II's father was indeed implied. The implication of Ibal-pi-El I would be that the Ipiq-Adad known from the early MEC between 1860 and 1853 ('Ipiq-Adad II') is another Ipiq-Adad than the one known from the later MEC ('Ipiq-Adad III'). Are there any other explanations? The easiest solution is that the MEC is incorrect by dating Ipiq-Adad II's feats too early. Guichard considers the MEC in essence trustworthy (GUICHARD 2014:22). However, the treaty is a contemporary document as opposed to the MEC that was written some 70 years later (eponym Aššur-emūqī ca. 1774 BCE). As it is now, we cannot unite the chronological data provided by both documents.

Warassa, king of...?

Guichard comments on the text *CUSAS* 17 37, a Sumerian royal inscription relating Sîn-iddinam's campaigns to the north. In the text a king called Warassa is defeated by Sîn-iddinam. Volk, the one who edited the text, tries to connect Warassa to an earlier Ešnunna king, I agree with Guichard 2014:15 that this is probably not right. Guichard connects this Warassa to Malgium, by reinterpreting some lines. The army that is headed by Warassa is described in Volk's edition as /ugnim ṛma'-an-ṛdi'/ (*CUSAS* 17 37 iii:54, with *CUSAS* 17 p.87-88), Guichard (2014:15 n. 17) suggest instead /ugnim ma-al-giṣ/. As he himself admits, this writing for Malgium is not attested elsewhere. Guichard interpreted Warassa as a king of Malgium. I have no other ideas for reading these signs. However, what Guichard does not mention is that in the inscription Sîn-iddinam's name was proclaimed in Dēr and he answered to Ištarān (Dēr's city god) about Warassa's fate. Warassa was probably a dynastic name in Dēr, because another king of Dēr from the time of Hammurabi was also called Warassa (*ARM* 26/2 372:44). Malgium and Dēr were located closely to each other and their fates must have been linked often. Whatever the political constellation was between the two kingdoms around 1843-1842 BC, Warassa could have been king of Dēr and led troops of Malgium.

Uruk and Sîn-kāšid

Uruk and its king Sîn-kāšid in an anti-Babylonian coalition is surprising, not only because the later Uruk king Anam claims that Sabium came to Uruk with a thousand men to assist Uruk (GUICHARD 2014:18). Also because Sîn-kāšid was married to Sabium's aunt, Šallurtum (FRAYNE 1990 E4.4.1.16). In addition, the texts found in Sîn-kāšid's palace at Uruk (all post-dating Sîn-kāšid) also attest to close relations between Uruk and Babylon (SANATI-MÜLLER 1988-2000). In one case perhaps even with Sabium himself (CHARPIN AND DURAND 1993:369-370). Another Uruk text (SANATI-MÜLLER 1994 no. 206 rev. iv:7'-9') mentions troops from Ešnunna stationed in the palace gate(?) receiving a large gift of wool. Sîn-kāšid calls himself 'king of the Amnānum' in his numerous inscriptions. In the Anam letter, the Babylonian royal house is of 'Amnān-Yahrūr', so the tribal connections between Babylon and Uruk are the same or similar. Why did Sîn-kāšid then turned against Babylon? Perhaps political-military pressure from Larsa?

Sumu-yamutbal, official of Sîn-iddinam of Larsa

Of interest to the situation at Larsa is the correspondence of Sumu-yamutbal, an official in Sîn-iddinam's service (STOL 2009-2011). One letter addressed to Sumu-yamutbal, *AbB* 1 86, mentions Sîn-iddinam's name. In *AbB* 8 23, one Hatitum writes to Sumu-yamutbal that the king had given him orders to station two soldiers in Kiš and that he had heard that [Sa]bium had lifted his torch and had ordered rations for his troops for three days. This is surely an allusion to a *mīšarum* and perhaps even to the death of Sumu-la-El. The lifting of the torch also meant the end of the period of mourning for the previous king (*AbB* 12 172, with CHARPIN 2013:72). Was Sîn-iddinam campaigning against Babylon already this early in his reign? We must also mention the literary letter written by Sîn-iddinam to the goddess Nininsina, where Sîn-iddinam complains that 'Asalluhi, the king of Babylon, child of Idlurugu is plotting daily against Larsa, searching to do evil to the king of Larsa' (BRISCH 2007:143, line 16-18); clearly an allusion to the battles either with Sumu-la-El or Sabium. The letter ends with a strange allusion about the same Asalluhi 'that when he speaks he may live' (BRISCH 2007:145).

Ikūn-pi-Sîn of Nērebtum

The fact that Ikūn-pi-Sîn was contemporary with Sabium and all the other kings from the treaty was also a surprise: in my thesis I had put Ikūn-pi-Sîn some 40 years earlier as king of Nērebtum; before Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur, and Sîn-abušu. He is first known from a Tutub year name, crediting him with the capture of Diniktum (HARRIS 1955:120 no. 110:2''-3''). He is furthermore encountered on a number of seal impressions. Two servant seals with Ikūn-pi-Sîn as the king were found on tablets from Nērebtum (FRAYNE 1990 E4.14.3.2001 and 2002). One seal seems to have belonged to himself; it is found on *OBTIV* 26 and 300: (FRAYNE 1990 E4.14.3.1): ^d*i-šar* '[ki-di-šu], LUGAL.A.NI.[IR], *i-ku-un-pi*₄^dEN.ZU.

I believe that the towns in the Lower Diyala region were unified under kings from one dynasty, we only need to place Ikūn-pi-Sîn between Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abušu. Apparently Sîn-abušu did not rule as long as we first thought: SAPORETTI (1998:253-300) attributes ca. 24 year names to Sîn-abušu. If Ikūn-pi-Sîn died soon after the conclusion of the treaty (ca. 1843-1842) and considering the conquest of Nērebtum by Ipiq-Adad II in 1823, we have ca. 20 years to fill in the reign of Sîn-abušu. Apparently some year names attributed to Sîn-abušu were not his. However, many of his year names carry explicitly Sîn-abušu's name, if we deduce those that do not have his name, we remain with ca. 18 year names. It is thus possible to fit in Ikūn-pi-Sîn between Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abušu. However, the MEC complicates matters again by stating that 'Sîn-abum' conquered the land of 'Šit' in the eponym of Ili-ennam/Ili-ālum (ca. 1861 BCE): this would be in a period when Ikūn-pi-Sîn or Hammi-dušur would have been ruler.

Wherever Šinam (Babylon?) went...

There is another source which might document events postdating the treaty. It is a text from Tell Harmal (IM 54005) published by Van Dijk in 1957. Van Dijk studied the document in an article published thirteen years later (VAN DIJK 1970, WU YUHONG 1994:77-79). The tablet contains two letters both written by the king of Ešnunna ('the Prince') to a unnamed vassal. The fact that two letters were written on one tablet suggests that we are dealing with a copy. The events in the letter suggest that it was written in the time of Samsi-Addu or Narām-Sîn of Ešnunna: the writer turned back somebody to

Hana and Qatna (line 24'-25'), and there is mention of a rebellion at Ekallātum (line 37'). The first letter concerns Ešnunna's discontent with the vassal's continued loyalty to the city of 'Šinam'. The king of Ešnunna gives examples of towns that Šinam was not able to help:

ga-na a-ša-ar ši-nam^{ki} ti-lu-ta-am i-li-k[u...], lu-ú ne-re-eb-tum ú-ul [ú]-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú ma-at ur-ši-tim^{ki} ú-ul ú-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú di-ni-ik-tum^{ki} ú-ul ú-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú ma-an-ki-si^{ki}.

Well, wherever Šinam went to aid militarily, it did not save Nērebtum, nor did it save the land of Uršitum, nor did it save Diniktum, nor Mankisum...

Šinam is a hapax in OB sources. It is hard to believe that a town mentioned only once in our sources had such a profound impact. However, given the participants of the treaty published by Guichard, we can argue that by Šinam, Babylon is meant. Babylon was allied with Nērebtum, it is not farfetched to think that it was allied to the other towns as well. The king of Ešnunna had eventually conquered all of these towns that Šinam (Babylon) had 'tried to save'. The town of Šinam is compared with 'šu-mi-ku-lu', either a town or a person. I do not believe, like VAN DIJK 1970:69 that Šinam is the same town as Šinamum, mentioned in the Mari texts (see also CHARPIN 2003:29). However, I am also unable to explain why the writing *ši-nam^{ki}* is used for (supposedly) Babylon.

To conclude

The treaty published by GUICHARD 2014 illustrates again how preliminary all our work is and how exciting the field of Assyriology is with new texts constantly being published forcing us to rethink our reconstructions and hypotheses. The chronological and political implications of this treaty are yet to be fully understood.

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77) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 19 : un « médecin-chef » à Isin – Préparant pour ARCHIBAB l'édition électronique des tablettes d'Isin datant de la première dynastie récemment publiées par C. Saporetti *et al.*, *Contratti della Collezione Ojeil*, Rome, 2014, le texte Ojeil 2 (transcription p. 27, copie p. 43) a attiré mon attention. À la l. 6, G. Matini a lu *KUM-BI(-)A.ZU¹(-)GAL*, et avoué que la lecture du passage lui posait problème (note p. 29). Elle a envisagé d'y voir un nom signifiant « Il mio Kūbu è il medico in capo » (mais ce nom n'est pas repris dans l'index p. 179). Elle aurait pu s'appuyer sur le CAD A/2, p. 529, qui indique que ^dDa.mu.a.zu.gal est un « (personal name) PBS 8/2 141 seal ». Elle a eu raison de ne pas le faire, car il s'agit en réalité d'un sceau à légende religieuse : ^dDa.mu / a.zu.gal / dumu^d ṛa¹-ba (selon la lecture de Th. Richter, *AOAT* 257, 2004, p. 117). G. Matini a par ailleurs souligné qu'une valeur phonétique ku₁₃ de KUM (*ku₁₃-bi-*) serait étonnante. Elle a donc envisagé que A.ZU.GAL soit le titre de « medico in capo ». Cette deuxième hypothèse n'est pas reprise dans l'index des titres et métiers p. 196 ; il est pourtant clair qu'elle s'impose. Dès lors, comment comprendre ce qui précède ? L'examen de l'excellente copie permet de reconnaître le nom de personne GAZ-ša* suivi du titre A*.ZU.GAL : le premier vertical qui suit le pseudo BI permet de lire un ša, tandis que le deuxième vertical du A est suivi de près par le signe ZU (qu'il ne faut pas corriger en ZU¹). Il faut donc lire Kasapša *azugallum*. L'équivalence GAZ-ND = Kasap-ND a été établie par M. Stol (*JCS* 31, p. 181 n. 26) et confirmée dans *BiOr* 38, p. 542 ; le possessif -ša renvoie de manière implicite à la déesse Gula / Ninkarrak (cf. ma note de *NABU* 1987/66), ce qui n'est pas étonnant pour un « médecin-chef » à Isin. Ce texte livre donc une des très rares attestations du titre d'*azugallum* et montre le lien étroit qui existait entre ce praticien et la déesse de la médecine : on a ici un bel exemple d'onomastique de fonction. On aimerait évidemment en savoir plus sur l'organisation du corps médical à Isin, mais ce texte nous fournit déjà un élément digne d'intérêt.

N.B. Par erreur, la note *NABU* 2014/67 a été numérotée « En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 16 », alors que ce numéro était déjà attribué à la note *NABU* 2014/16 et le numéro 17 à la note *NABU* 2014/45 ; *NABU* 2014/67 constitue donc le numéro 18 de la série et la présente note reçoit par conséquent le numéro 19.

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78) Assyrian kārum envoys in Mari — Some Old Assyrian colonies seem to have had diplomatic contacts with Zimrilim. This is suggested by the fact that three men identified as "envoys from Ursu" bear more or less good Babylonian and Assyrian names, Lusu'en and Sîn-malik in XIV 31:9 (coll. LAPO 16 no.191), and Aššur-šaduni in FM III p.293 no.139:6 (^dA-šur-ṛša¹-du-ni, ṛdumu¹ ši-ip-ri-im lú Ur-[si-i]m^{ki}). These Akkadian names are in contrast to the non-Semitic and probably Hurrian names of other individuals from the town of Ursu, such as the kings Šennam (*Še-en-na-am*, XXXI 161; also written *Še-na-am*, XXIII 524; *Še-en-na*, XXXII p.385 M.11445; *Še-ni-a*, XXX p.389 M.18258) and Atrušipti (XXX p.426 M.7328:13), for which see J.-M. Durand in *NABU* 1988/2, Aplahandu, the sukkal of Šennam (XXIII 524), and the envoys (*mār šiprim*) *Zi-ir-bi-gu-ni* and *Za-wa-da-an* (VII 209, receiving 10 shekels of silver each). Moreover, the case of Aššur-bāni from Kanesh in VII 173:4 (5 shekels (of silver) ^dA-šur-

ba-ni, lú *Ka-ni-iš^{ki}*), shows a similar discrepancy between the language of the name of an envoy and that of his home town.

Both towns, Ursu/Uršu and Kanesh, had an Assyrian trading colony (*kārum*) during the 19th century. The one at Kanesh continued to exist almost to the end of the 18th c., but such evidence seems to be lacking for the colony at Ursu. As it may be anachronistic to assume that the local palace appointed foreign merchants as envoy because of their cultural background or language skills, it is more likely that these envoys bearing Akkadian names were sent to Mari by the Assyrian trading colonies in those towns and not by the local kings.

Contacts between Mari and Assur on a personal level appear from the two important letters discussed by J.-M. Durand in the Veenhof AV (2001), exchanged between Iddin-Numušda, the chief of merchants of Mari, and an Assyrian named Habdu-malik. Among the goods requested by the man from Assur are textiles from/according to the fashion of Tuttub (*tu-tu-ba-a-tim*). One of the Assyrian year eponyms, Akutum son of Ali-ahum (KEL 107 = REL 108), is identified as *ša tù-tù-ba-a-tim* in two texts from Kt 94/k, showing that he specialized in such textiles. (The imperative form *ša-a-i[l₅]* (instead of OA *ša-i-il₅*) restored at the end of A.2881:23, seems unnecessary in the sentence ll. 17-26; one expects *kaspam damqam ša a-[im]/š[ur_x^{ki}]*, "good quality silver from (= refined in) the city/Assur".)

The Assyrian merchant Patiya, who arrived in Mari according to FM III p.297 no. 144:16, may or may not have done so in a diplomatic capacity.

If correct, the interpretation proposed here adds a new dimension to our understanding of the role of the Assyrian trading colonies around 1770 BC. It shows that they had become more independent from Assur in the post-Samsi-Addu period and that at least the *kārus* of Kanesh and Uršu began to develop diplomatic ties with neighbouring rulers.

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79) The date of Hammurabi's conquest of Larsa — Almost a decade ago, D. Charpin wrote about the date of the conquest of Larsa in *Florilegium marianum* 5, 261, and in *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit* (OBO 160/4), 322. He remarked that the first text from Larsa dated to Hammurabi is from xii/Ha 30, whereas the last known text dated to Rim-Sin is from the end of vi/RS 60. Moreover, Zimrilim sent a present to Hammurabi in a text dated to vi/ZL 12 (ARM 25, 9 = M.9013+). Charpin concluded that Larsa fell in xii/Ha 30 and that the calendar of Babylon was six months ahead of those of Larsa and Mari. These conclusions should be modified in the light of new evidence.

At present, the last known text from Larsa dated to Rim-Sin is CUSAS 15, 163 (with photos on CDLI) from 20+/x/RS 60, whereas the earliest known attestation of a date by Hammurabi is likely to be OECT 15, 38 from 1/xi/Ha 30 (with Charpin, RA 101 (2007), 150). If Rim-Sin was still king when the CUSAS text was written, his reign must have ended within a couple of days afterwards because the issuing of Zimrilim's precious gifts for Hammurabi was recorded in a Mari document dated 27/vi/ZL 12. This date is according to the edition of M.9013+ by I. Arkhipov in ARM 32, pp. 392-393, and replaces the earlier reading "17" as the number of the day in ARM 25, 9, where the translation even had "7".

Larsa may have fallen shortly after day 21 of month x in Babylonia, which corresponds to month vi of the Mari calendar. Whereas the calendars of Babylon and Larsa did not differ from each other in this case, the difference between those of Mari and Babylonia must be due to local systems of adding intercalary months.

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80) Marhatan in OBTR — In her review of OBTR in JNES 40 [1981] p. 349, M. Gallery corrected the tentative readings *a-di KUR-i* and *i-na KUR-i* in OBTR 139: 10 and 13 to [EG]IR *KUR-i*, on the basis of a comparison with OBTR 319:17. This is convincing, but one can go further. OBTR 139 records the gathering of workers for sowing barley in a particular region of Iltani's country, named for its location behind mountains. The gathering takes place at *Ma-ar-a-ta-an*, most likely the dominating town in that region. In OBTR p. 114 it is pointed out that the name of the town is spelt *mar-ra-ta-a* and *ma-ar-a-ta* in

the Urbana/Yale itinerary and *ma-ra-ta* in OBTR 232 (see also N. Ziegler *FM* VI, p. 266). Gallery's apt comparison with OBTR 319 allows to uncover a further occurrence in OBTR. The latter text lists groups of people from the major towns of Karana and names of responsible persons introduced by KUD. All other names appear to be GNs, though in many cases the indicator KI is omitted, as for *ma-al-ha-tum* (l. 4), *ra-ta-ma-an* (l. 11, cf. OBTR 244:27'), *[ap]-pa-a-ia* (l. 16). According to OBTR 319:37 the four names in ll. 33-36 should be GNs belonging to the region EGIR KUR-*i*, though KI is only written in l. 36. The first of the four names is *ma[r]-ha-ta*. The first sign was not read in OBTR, but Hawkin's drawing shows that only its last horizontal wedge was obliterated.

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81) Des réfugiés politiques turukkéens à Mari à l'époque de Zimrî-Lîm — Les textes administratifs de Mari peuvent parfois nous éclairer sur des faits politiques que la documentation épistolaire, dans l'état où elle nous est parvenue, n'évoque pas. Un épisode de l'histoire politique des royaumes de Haute-Mésopotamie, encore difficile à interpréter, pourrait ainsi provenir du rapprochement de deux textes, parus dans *ARMT* XXII puis corrigés et repris dans l'étude de J.-M. Durand dans *ARMT* XXX en 2009.

Le premier, *ARMT* XXII 151 (= *ARMT* XXX, p. 292-293), daté du 13/vii/ZL 5, enregistre, à la date du 12/vii, la remise de vêtements à cinq hommes dont deux portent des noms hourrites, Pirhen-adal et Pirdup-šarri :

(13) [1] túg si-sá ús *pí-ir-he-en-a-dal* (14) [1] túg si-sá ús *la-wi-la*-^dIM (15) [1] túg si-sá ús *pí-ir-du-up-šar-ri* (16) [1] túg si-sá ús *mu-ut-sa-am-si* (17) 1 túg si-sá ús ^dutu-ra-bi

Ces hommes étaient alors identifiés par les services administratifs mariotes comme « cinq réfugiés politiques qui sont venus depuis Kurdâ » (l. 18-19 : 5 lú-meš *ha-pí-ru, ša iš-tu kur-da*^{ki} *il-li-[ku]-nim* ; pour la définition du *hâpirum* comme réfugié politique, voir J.-M. Durand, « Assyriologie », *Annuaire du Collège de France* 2004-2005, *Résumé des cours et travaux*, 105^e année, p. 563-584).

Or, un autre document administratif, *ARMT* XXII 153+170 (= *ARMT* XXX, p. 301-303), daté du 23/x/ZL 5, soit trois mois plus tard, évoque la remise de vêtement à « sept réfugiés politiques turukkéens » (l. 8 : [7] lú* *tu-ru-uk-ku-ú*^{rki} *ha-pí-ru*), le 17/x (l. 11). J.-M. Durand a pu, après joint et collations, proposer la lecture suivante de leur nom :

(1) 1 túg 'si-sá' ús* 'pa^r*-ar*-he*-en*-a-dal* (2) 1 túg si-sá p[a*-a]r*-di*-ip*-šar*-ri (3) 1 túg si-sá x-x-x-AN (4) 1 túg si-sá 'na*²-ki*²-me*-en* (5) 1 'túg' si-sá i-ba-al-[sa]-am*-si* (6) 1 'túg' si-sá a-ri-ip-pí-za^o-i-iš (7) 1 [túg] si-sá ^dutu-ra-bi

Parmi ces sept hommes, nous retrouvons trois des noms déjà évoqués dans *ARMT* XXII 151 (= *ARMT* XXX, p. 292-293), Parhen-adal (dont la lecture proposée par J.-M. Durand se trouve alors confirmée), Pardip-šarri et Šamaš-rabi. On notera toutefois la graphie différente des deux premiers noms avec les alternances *pirhen-/parhen-* et *pirdup-/pardip-*. Il est possible également que le nom de la ligne 3 soit La-awîl-Addu, si on admet toutefois un dernier signe manquant après AN (pour ce NP, cf. J.-M. Durand, *LAP*O 17, p. 166, n° 551, n. a).

Qu'il s'agisse ici des mêmes hommes ne fait pas de doute en considérant d'une part les dates de ces deux tablettes et d'autre part la mention, commune dans ces deux références, de leur statut de réfugiés politiques. Interpréter ces deux textes s'avère toutefois complexe. Le motif de la présence de ces hommes à Mari nous est inconnu, de même que devient incertain le lieu d'où ils s'enfuirent.

J'avais dans un premier temps considéré qu'ils fuyaient le royaume de Kurdâ, ville d'où ils arrivaient selon *ARMT* XXII 151 (= *ARMT* XXX, p. 292-293). Je m'appuyais alors sur le fait que l'un des hommes évoqués, La-awîl-Addu (l. 14), apparaissait comme « homme de Kurdâ » dans le texte administratif *ARM* VII 208, daté du 14/x/(ZL) : (1) 1 su *mi*-il*-ki*-^dIM (2) 1 'su' *la-wi-la*-^dIM (3) 2 lú *kur-da*^{ki} : « 1 sicle (d'argent) Milki-Addu, 1 sicle (d'argent) La-awîl-Addu : deux hommes de Kurdâ » (après collations de D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand dans *M.A.R.I.* 2, 1983, p. 89, *sub* n° 208).

Qu'ils soient qualifiés trois mois plus tard de Turukkéens amène toutefois à reconsidérer cette hypothèse. Kurdâ pourrait ne plus être qu'une étape de leur fuite entre le Haut-Tigre, où étaient alors

établis les Turukkéens (Zaziya, leur roi, intervient déjà dans la région du Sindjar l'année précédente, lors de la guerre contre Ešnunna, cf. *FM* VI 12), et Mari. Ces textes apporteraient par ailleurs un nouveau témoignage sur le brassage entre Hourrites et Sémites au sein de la confédération turukkéenne qu'a évoqué J.-M. Durand (cf. *LPO* 17, p. 81).

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82) Ekallâtum dans la région du Sindjar, durant les années ZL 11 et ZL 12 — Iddiyatum, commandant de la garnison mariote à Karanâ, écrivit au roi de Mari la lettre *ARMT* XXVI/2 511. Des diverses affaires évoquées dans celle-ci, c'est celle qui conclut ce rapport qui retiendra ici notre attention :

« Quant au Turukkéen, il a pris la ville qu'il assiégeait, il a tranché la tête de son roi et l'a fait porter à Išme-Dagan avec ces mots : "Voici la tête de celui qui mettait sa confiance en toi !" ».

ARMT XXVI/2 511 : (T.L. 56) *ù tu-ru-u[k]-kum^{ki} a-lam ša il-wu-ú iš-ba-at ù lugal-šu (57) 'qa¹-qa-as-sú i[k]-ki-is-ma a-na iš-me-^dda-gan ú-ša-bi-il₅ (58) [u]m-ma-mi a-nu-um-ma qa-qa-ad mu-ta-ki-li-ka*

L'enjeu est alors d'identifier la ville prise par les Turukkéens et le roi décapité à cette occasion.

En analysant la géographie de la progression turukkéenne le long du Tigre dans le cadre des mes recherches de thèse (*Histoire politique des royaumes du Sud-Sindjar à l'époque amorrite*, thèse préparée à l'université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3), il m'a semblé possible de trouver derrière cette déclaration une référence à la ville de Kawalhu/Kalhû, localisée sur le site de l'actuelle Nimrud, sur la rive gauche du Tigre et à proximité de l'embouchure du Grand Zab. Des diverses lettres évoquant les menées de Zaziya, le roi des Turukkéens, il apparaît que leur progression se fit en deux temps. Dans le courant du mois iv/ZL 12, ils s'établirent dans la région de Ninêt/Ninive en s'emparant notamment des villes de Adê et Asnâ/Ašân (*ARMT* XXVI/2 517 et *ARMT* XXVI/2 518 = *LPO* 17 599, datée du 25/iv). La seconde phase de leur attaque s'ouvrit à l'automne de la même année, dans le courant du mois vi, et devait les conduire à terme jusqu'aux portes d'Ekallâtum. Des pillages au cœur du territoire d'Ekallâtum sont ainsi évoqués dans les lettres *ARMT* XXVI/2 510, *ARMT* XXVI/2 425 et *ARMT* XXVI/2 526.

C'est manifestement durant cette seconde phase de l'attaque turukkéenne le long du Tigre qu'il faut placer *ARMT* XXVI/2 511. En effet, si la lettre ne porte pas de date, les autres affaires qu'elle évoque, la présence des Ešnunnéens aux côtés d'Išme-Dagan et l'attaque de Hatnum et Šurnat par Haqba-Hammû, permettent de la situer dans le courant du mois vi/ZL 12. Or la seule localité importante que l'on situe sur l'axe partant de la région de Ninêt pour rejoindre le royaume d'Ekallâtum est la ville de Kawalhu/Kalhû. Plusieurs textes apportent par ailleurs la confirmation que Kawalhu/Kalhû était déjà tombée entre les mains de Zaziya lorsque les troupes turukkéennes razziaient les alentours d'Ekallâtum (*ARMT* XXVI/2 491, 525 et 526).

Il demeure toutefois le problème de l'identification du roi en question. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, un seul homme semble avoir régné sur Kawalhu/Kalhû, il s'agit d'Arriyuk à qui J.-M. Durand a consacré un article (« De l'époque amorrite à la Bible : le cas d'Arriyuk », *Mélanges Diakonoff, Babel und Bibel* 2, p. 59-71). Toutefois les conditions de sa disparition n'ont pour leur part jamais été déterminées.

La dernière mention claire d'Arriyuk date vraisemblablement de la seconde moitié de l'année ZL 11 lorsqu'il fut accusé par les rois de Karanâ et d'Azuhinum de favoriser les pillages opérés par les Turukkéens à l'ouest du Tigre (*ARMT* XXVIII 155 et 156). Or, ce fut durant cette période que la partie orientale du Sindjar devint le centre de la lutte d'influence entre Ekallâtum et Mari. En ce sens, la lettre *ARMT* XXVI/2 411 (= *ARM* II 39) et surtout sa collation dans *LPO* 17 594 (avec la note s), nous apprend que la ville de Kawalhu/Kalhû fut disputée entre Karanâ et Ekallâtum à la fin de cette année. Elle fut conquise par Yasîm-El, un général mariote envoyé dans le Sindjar pour soutenir les royaumes en lutte contre le roi d'Ekallâtum, puis confiée au roi de Karanâ, Asqur-Addu. Cette situation fut toutefois éphémère et quelques semaines plus tard, à la toute fin de l'année ZL 11, sinon au début de l'année suivante, Išme-Dagan lança une offensive qui lui permit de conquérir la majeure partie des rives du Tigre jusqu'à la ville d'Urzikka. Kawalhu/Kalhû retomba alors très certainement sous son influence. Elle le

resta jusqu'à la prise de la ville par les Turukkéens en ZL 12, épisode évoqué dans *ARMT XXVI/2* 511 selon ma proposition.

C'est donc dans ce contexte qu'il faut chercher la date de la disparition de son roi, Arriyuk. À ce titre, on ne peut qu'énoncer des hypothèses.

On pourrait en premier lieu dater sa disparition de la fin de l'année ZL 11 et la mettre en relation avec la prise de la ville par le général Yasîm-El. Dans ce cas, on ignorerait le nom du roi qui fut décapité quelques mois plus tard par les Turukkéens.

Le plus tentant serait de considérer qu'Arriyuk fut justement ce roi décapité par les Turukkéens. Il faut toutefois se demander comment il survécut à la brève tutelle de Karanâ sur cette ville. Une explication serait qu'il se soit alors placé sous la protection d'Îsme-Dagan et que celui-ci l'ait ensuite rétabli sur son trône lorsqu'il en reprit le contrôle à la fin de l'année ZL 11, d'où l'expression de Zaziya dans notre lettre : « Voilà la tête de celui qui mettait sa confiance en toi ! ».

Ainsi, si les lignes 56 à 58 de la lettre *ARMT XXVI/2* 511 semblent bien offrir un nouveau rebondissement dans l'histoire mouvementée de la ville de Kawalhu/Kalhû à l'époque de Zimrî-Lîm, l'identification du roi avec Arriyuk reste encore hypothétique. À défaut de preuves plus directes, il est en tout cas évident que celui-ci disparut au cours des événements des années ZL 11 et ZL 12, une information à ajouter à la biographie de ce souverain.

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83) En marge de HIGEOMES 1 : Dunnu-Kubbutim, un nouvel exemple de l'équivalence BÂD = *dunnum* — L'idéogramme BÂD est habituellement lu en akkadien *dûrum* « forteresse, muraille »¹⁾. Cette lecture se rencontre en particulier dans les toponymes en BÂD-NR, tels que Dûr-Abi-ešuh pour ne citer qu'un exemple. Des graphies phonétiques, variantes de celles employant l'idéogramme BÂD, assurent cette possibilité de lecture. Ainsi en est-il de la graphie *du-ur*-^dIŠKUR^{ki} pour le toponyme Dûr-Addu, fournie par M.7464 : 4', variante de BÂD^(ki)-^dIŠKUR^{ki} (ARM 1 43 : 33 et FM 3 21 : 15').

Pourtant J.-M. Durand mit en lumière dès 1977 une autre possibilité de lecture pour l'idéogramme BÂD : l'akkadien *dunnum*, traduit par « forteresse »²⁾. En effet, dans ses « Notes sur l'histoire de Larsa »³⁾, en commentaire de la nouvelle liste de noms d'années de Larsa, AO 8620, il signala une variante de l'an 22 du règne de Gungunum, [M]U *du-nu-um* 'I₇' [...], alors que la formule connue jusqu'alors comportait l'idéogramme BÂD : MU BÂD I₇ *i-šar-tum* BA.DÛ.A dans UET 5 530 (RA 71, p. 21 et n. 1). Fort de cette avancée, il identifia plus tard le toponyme écrit BÂD^{ki} de ARM 10 91 : 1' à la localité nommée Dunnum située dans l'alvéole de Mari (LAPO 18, 2000, p. 377 note b).

Même si J.-M. Durand concluait en 1977 qu'« il est possible qu'au moins à l'époque paléo-babylonienne, des noms géographiques en BÂD aient été à lire en *dunnum* et non en *dûrum* », les toponymes comportant cet idéogramme, en l'absence de graphies phonétiques indiquant explicitement quelle lecture choisir, continuèrent à être lus en *dûrum*. Ainsi le nom géographique BÂD-*ku-bu-tim*^{ki}, attesté par l'inédit A.362 : 14 cité par N. Ziegler (FM 9, 2007, p. 281 n. 165 et 285), fut-il interprété comme Dûr-Kubbutim. Cependant, deux attestations ultérieures du toponyme montrent par leurs graphies phonétiques *du-un-nu-ku(-ub)-bu-tim*^{ki} (FM 10 77 : ii 4' et FM 10 78 : 8, publiés par L. Marti, FM 10, 2008) qu'une fois encore l'idéogramme BÂD est à lire *dunnum* et non *dûrum*. Par conséquent le nom géographique documenté par A.362 est désormais à lire Dunnu-Kubbutim. Cet autre exemple de l'équivalence BÂD = *dunnum* incite à s'interroger de nouveau à propos de la normalisation des toponymes écrits à l'aide de l'idéogramme BÂD pour lesquels nous ne possédons pas — pour le moment — de variantes phonétiques.

En outre, la lecture *dunnum* de l'idéogramme BÂD renvoie au thème plus général des constructions fortifiées. Parmi ces dernières, le *dimtu* a été étudié par R. Koliński⁴⁾. L'auteur, à la suite de P. Koschaker, P. Garelli, I. Diakonoff et L. Biagov⁵⁾, fait le lien entre le *dimtu*, longtemps considéré comme hourrite, dont le caractère fortifié est explicité par HSS 13 363, et le *dunnu* assyrien (BAR 1004, 2001, p. 5, 19-20, et 30-32). K. Radner, soulignant le fait que cette évolution du « *dimtu* hourrite » en « *dunnu* médio-assyrien » demeure une hypothèse dans l'attente de sources écrites qui la confirmeraient, la juge très vraisemblable⁶⁾. Toutefois un lien existe peut-être davantage entre le *dunnu* assyrien et la

structure *dunnum* paléo-babylonienne, qui constitue en partie le nom de certaines localités telles que Dunnu-Kubbutim. Il reste à chercher dans les textes des précisions concernant la réalité cachée derrière ces termes désignant des constructions fortifiées.

1) CAD D, 1959, p. 192, **dūru A** (1. city wall, fortification wall, 2. inner city wall, 3. fortress); AHw I, 1965, p. 178, *dūru(m)* I ((Ring-, Stadt-)Mauer).

2) CAD D, 1959, p. 184, **dunnu A** (4. fort, fortified house and area); AHw I, 1965, p. 177, *dunnu(m)* (Stärke; Gehöft; Bett).

3) J.-M. Durand, « Notes sur l'histoire de Larsa », *RA* 71, 1977, p. 17-34.

4) R. Koliński, *Mesopotamian dimātu of the Second Millennium BC*, BAR International Series 1004, 2001.

5) P. Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit*, Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 39, 1928; P. Garelli, « Le problème de la "féodalité" assyrienne du XV^e au XII^e siècle av. J.-C. », *Semitica* 17, 1967, p. 5-21; I. Diakonoff « Agrarian Conditions in Middle Assyria », dans I. Diakonoff (éd.), *Ancient Mesopotamia, Socio-economic History*, 1969, p. 204-234; L. Biagov, « Zur Interpretation der Termini É und ^E*dunnu*^{URU} *dunnu* in den Urkunden der mittellassyrischen Periode », *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22, 1974, p. 333-335.

6) K. Radner, *Das Mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi*, Subartu 14, 2004, en particulier p. 69-72.

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84) On the Commentary to the Code of Hammurapi and the Babylonian God of Ordeals — The *Code of Hammurapi* belongs to the select group of texts that were transmitted without interruption from the Old Babylonian to the Late Babylonian period.¹⁾ Its first millennium fame was such that it received a *šātu*-commentary, the only known fragment of which is a piece from the "Sippar collection" (BM 59739) discovered and published by Lambert twenty-five years ago (LAMBERT 1989: 96-98). An electronic edition of this small piece, together with high resolution photos and a complete bibliography, is available now on the website of the Cuneiform Commentaries Project (<http://ccp.yale.edu/P461271>). The purpose of this note is to explore the nature and implications of the equations of this commentary in light of a fresh collation of the fragment.

As already noted by its first editor, one of the main concerns of the commentary is to provide lexical glosses for words that were outdated at the time of its composition: thus the Old Babylonian word *numātu*, "possessions," is explained as *unātu*, "utensils" (r 5'), a word common in the first millennium; and *rabannu*, "mayor," is glossed by its first millennium equivalent *ḫazannu* (r 3'). However the commentary does not limit itself to purely philological matters: it also contains some sophisticated elaborations of the type found in other late commentaries. The first preserved lines of the commentary comment on the second law of the *Code*:

*šumma awīlum kišpī eli awīlim iddī-ma lā uktnīšu ša elīšu kišpū nadū ana ^did illak ^did i-ša-al-li-a-am-ma
šumma ^did ik-ta-ša-sú mubbīrīšu bīssu itabbal šumma awīlam šuāti ^did ūtebbibaššū-ma ištalmam ša elīšu kišpī iddī
iddāk ša ^did išliam bīt mubbīrīšu itabbal*

"If a man accuses another man of witchcraft, but does not prove (his accusation), he who has been accused of witchcraft will go to the River and submerge himself in the River. If the River overcomes him, his accuser will take possession of his household. (However) if the River clears that man (of the accusation) and he lives, he who accused him of witchcraft will die, and he who had submerged himself will take possession of his household."

The commentary on this law reads as follows (collated in January 2014, asterisks indicate departures from Lambert's edition):

2' [i-šal-li-a]m*-^rma¹* : gir₅*.gir₅* : ^ršá¹*-[lu-ú...]

3' [id:] ^rd¹*idim : ^did : na-a-ri [...]

4' [ik-ta]-šad-su : sar : ka-šá-du [...]

2' ["He will subm]erge himself," GIR₅.GIR₅ means "to su[b]merge" ...]

3' [The "divine River"] is Ea; the "divine River" is the river [...]

4' ["It overc]omes him," SAR means "to overcome" [...]

Lines 2' and 4' of the commentary are constructed in a similar way: the verb from the base text is cited and then followed by an equation featuring that verb. In the case of $gir_5.gir_5 = \text{šalû}$, the equation is attested e.g. in *Diri* II 44. While the equation $sar = \text{kašādu}$ is seemingly unattested in lexical lists, it is known from bilingual texts (*CAD* K 272a). The commentator here cites equations that do not help the philological understanding of the text, but rather obscure it. This is also the case in line 5', where the very common preposition *ina* is explained as ÉŠ^{es} citing *Ea* I 180-181. These glosses are not intended to facilitate the interpretation of the text, but rather "to subject its base text to a rather 'esoteric' form of exegesis" (FRAHM 2011: 242), the aim of which may well have been to prove that the different units of each law were "etymologically" interrelated, thus demonstrating their internal consistency. The lacunas in the commentary prevent us from exploring this point any further, but enough text is preserved to tickle the imagination: it is conceivable for instance that the commentary could have related *šalû* ($gir_5.gir_5$) with *mubbiru*, "accuser," given the phonetic similarity between *ubburu* "to accuse" and *ubāru* "stranger" (the latter being equated with gir_5 in a number of lexical texts, see *CAD* U/W 10a).

The small fragment thus combines simple philological glosses and sophisticated speculation. In the case of line 3' the gloss that it contains could be placed between both extremes, since it equates the River god with the god Ea (meaningfully written ^dIDIM). This equation probably seeks to update the base text and to adapt it to a time when the functions of the River god as judge in ordeals had been assumed by Ea. Interestingly, in the famous ordeal scene from the *King of Justice* text (BM 45690 = *CT* 46 45), which is heavily influenced by the ordeal laws of the *Code* (HUROWITZ 2005: 507-516), the presiding deity is no longer the River god, but, as in the commentary, Ea. This theological development underlies the appearance of Ea in the ordeal in *King of Justice*, and is made explicit in the commentary. Both texts adapt to its new first millennium context not only the letter of the *Code of Hammurapi*, but also its spirit.

1) An updated list of all known manuscripts of the *Code* can be found in MAUL 2012. Another fragment of a Kuyunjik copy of the text, hitherto unidentified, is K.20847 (col. 48 1-5).

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85) Le dieu Kul(l)uh — Le roi dont dépendait Tell Sakka (= Ugulsat) à l'époque sans doute immédiatement antérieure à l'attaque hittite contre la Syrie portait un nom qui nous a paru étrange, au moment de l'édition : *am-mi-ku-lu-uh*, soit (H)ammî-kul(l)uh. On trouvera cette attestation dans notre article à F. Abdallah et moi-même, « Deux documents cunéiformes retrouvés au Tell Sakka », *BBVO* 24, 2014, p. 242.

Dans cet anthroponyme, « Kuluh » (à ne pas corriger en Kušuh !) peut représenter une divinité, selon le parallélisme avec d'autres NP comme Ammi-Ditana, etc. ; cette divinité n'apparaît cependant pas dans les répertoires. Néanmoins, elle se retrouve sur un sceau-cylindre paléobabylonien, étudié dans le temps par J.-R. Kupper, *RA* 53, 1959, p. 98, où l'on peut lire le NP *ia-mu-ut-ku-lu-uh*, fils de Habdu-Érah. La lecture de la seconde partie de l'anthroponyme, qui étonnait J.-R. Kupper, avait été confirmée suite à un examen de l'original par J. Nougayrol (*ibid.*, p. 99). Or, la séquence en Yamût- + NDivin est bien connue et, désormais, très bien documentée ; cf. les considérations de *OLA* 162, p. 245. L'occurrence de « Kul(l)uh » dans ce genre de nom est un bon indice qu'il s'agit bien d'un théonyme. On pouvait

néanmoins supposer que *Kulluhum/*Kulhum n'était qu'une épithète hypostasiée, ce qui expliquerait sa rareté.

Les deux contextes linguistiques où arrive ce théonyme sont manifestement sémitiques. Il est donc vraisemblable que la divinité l'était, elle aussi, mais était plutôt d'origine occidentale qu'orientale ou nordique, les termes *habdum* et (*h*)*ammum* faisant partie de façon courante du lexique des NP dits « amorrites ». Le NP Ammi-« kuluh » montre, en tout cas, que le H du théonyme n'était pas un 'ain puisque la séquence anthroponymique de Tell Sakka montre la disparition du 'ain initial dans Ammî-kul(l)uh.

Dès lors, il est tentant de retrouver dans ce « ku-lu-uh » la divinité ougaritique qlh, puisque le signe KU a les valeurs /ku/ ou /quí/ dans le cunéiforme des époques qui documentent ce dieu *ku-lu-uh*. On consultera pour cette divinité l'ouvrage classique de Del Olmo-Lete & San Martin, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language...*, HdO 67/II, p. 701. Il s'agit en fait d'une épithète de la déesse *ušhr(y)* (Ušhara). La divinité Qlh semble avoir reçu un culte à Ugarit.

Le sceau-cylindre étudié par J.-R. Kupper montre que son culte existait déjà à l'époque amorrite et avait été exporté jusqu'en Haute-Djéziré ; le texte de Tell Sakka montre la divinité dans un nom royal. Il devait donc s'agir d'une réalité religieuse importante pour les Sémites occidentaux.

On signalera simplement qu'il a été proposé (UF 6 198, n. 8) qu'il s'agisse d'un pot déifié, mais ce dernier semble avoir comporté un H, non un H̄.

Les textes cunéiformes ne peuvent néanmoins pas répondre à la question de savoir si la divinité se disait Quluḥ, état absolu du substantif **qulhu* ou Qulluḥ, forme II (D) d'un *QLH.

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86) Un cas de justification d'adoption à l'époque cassite* — Le document CBS 12902 est un contrat d'adoption daté du 5 šabatu, l'an 21 du règne de Kurigalzu III. Trouvé lors des premières fouilles de l'Université de Pennsylvanie à Nippur (1888-1900), il fut publié par A. T. Clay en 1906, comme BE 14 40 (*Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania 14, pl. 19). Le texte présente l'adoption de la jeune Ēirtu par une autre femme, Ina-Uruk-rīšat, qui doit payer au père biologique d'Ēirtu, un certain Ninurta-Mušallim, 7 sicles d'or.

Jusqu'à présent, plusieurs auteurs ont travaillé ce document, en se fondant exclusivement sur la copie de l'éditeur. Il faut citer les études de A. Ungnad, « Eine Adoptionsurkunde aus der Zeit der Kassitendynastie », *OLZ* 10 (1906), p. 533-538 (transcription, traduction et commentaires) ; D. D. Luckenbill, *A Study of the Temple Documents from the Cassite Period*, Chicago, 1907, p. 11-12 (commentaires) ; J. Kohler – A. Ungnad, *Hammurabis Gesetz*, vol. III, Leipzig, 1909, p. 11 (traduction des ll. 1-24) ; H. Pognon, « Lexicographie assyrienne », *RA* 9 (1912), p. 129-130 (copie typographique, transcription, traduction et commentaires) ; S. A. B. Mercer, « The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions », *AJSL* 30 (1914), p. 198-199 (commentaires) ; H. Schaeffer, *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*, New Haven, 1915, p. 48-49 et n. 200 (transcription et traduction des ll. 11-15 et commentaires) ; M. David, *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 1 (transcription et traduction des ll. 1-4) ; E. Cuq, *Études sur le droit babylonien*, Paris, 1929, p. 48 n. 3 (traduction des ll. 1-2 et commentaires) ; I. Mendelsohn, *Legal Aspects of Slavery in Babylonia, Assyria and Palestine. A Comparative Study (3000-500 B. C.)*, Williamsport, 1932, p. 7 n. 13 (transcription et traduction des ll. 6-10 et 19-20) ; *idem*, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1949, p. 22 (traduction et commentaires) ; W. G. Lambert, « Prostitution », *Xenia* 32 (1992), p. 134 (translittération et traduction des ll. 3-10 et commentaires) ; F. Joannès, « Prostitution », dans F. Joannès (dir.), *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Mésopotamienne*, Paris, 2001, p. 695 (commentaires) ; L. Sassmannshausen, *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*, BaF 21, Mainz, 2001, p. 99 et n. 1682 (translittération et commentaires de la l. 7) ; J. Fleishman, *Father-Daughter Relations in Biblical Israel*, Bethesda, 2011, p. 104-107 (translittération et traduction des ll. 1-24 et commentaires) ; J. J. Justel, *Mujeres y derecho en el Próximo Oriente Antiguo*, Saragosse, 2014, p. 93-94 (traduction et commentaires).

La copie de Clay pose problème, car elle interdit de comprendre d'une façon cohérente les quatre premières lignes du document. Cela est dû en particulier au début de la l. 2, endommagé, où Clay a dessiné un signe *-nu*, complément d'objet direct théorique du verbe *išû*, "avoir" (l. 2: *i-šu-ma*) ; or un complément d'objet direct, à l'accusatif, ne devrait pas se terminer par un *-nu*. C'est pourquoi certaines transcriptions, comme celle de J. Fleishman (*op. cit.*, p. 104), suivent littéralement la copie de Clay: (1)

^f[i-na-unu^{ki}-ri-šat] dumu-m[unus x]-^fgi¹ (2) [] [x]-nu ul i-šu-ma (3) [e]-^fi-ir-tum dumu-munus ^dnin-urta-mu-šal-lim (4) [a]-na ma-ru-ti šu ba-an-ti. Sa traduction, comme celles d'autres auteurs, "Ina-Uruk-rišat has adopted Eṭirtum, daughter of Ninurta-mušallim" (*op. cit.*, 105), ignore complètement la l. 2 (en outre, il ne traduit pas non plus la fin de la l. 1, dumu-m[unus x]-^fgi¹).

Ma propre collation permet d'éclairer ce document. D'abord, il est évident qu'à la l. 2, l'adoption était justifiée, puisque la particule enclitique *-ma* du verbe met en rapport une cause (ne pas avoir quelque chose) et une conséquence (l'adoption même d'Ēṭirtu par Ina-Uruk-rišat). L'analyse directe de la tablette montre que le premier signe que Clay a copié à la l. 2 est un signe DUMU, endommagée dans la partie gauche. D'autre part, le signe *-nu* de Clay est un signe SAL, légèrement allongé mais lisible. Par conséquent, le complément d'objet direct du verbe *išû* est ^fDUMU.SAL. Les quatre premières lignes ont finalement un sens, que certains auteurs avaient déjà imaginé (*cf.*, par exemple, la transcription d'Ungnad, *op. cit.*, 533 : [mâr]ta?). La transcription et traduction correctes sont :

2. ^f[i-na]-^fUNUG-^{ki}-ri-šat DUMU¹.SA[L^m] ^fx-gi¹
 [] ^fDUMU¹.SAL¹ ul i-šu-ma
 4. [^fe-^fi]-ir-tu⁴ DUMU.SAL^{m,d1} nin-urta-mu-šal-lim
 [a]-na ma-ru-ti ŠU.BA.AN.TI

"Ina-Uruk-rišat, fille de X-gi, n'avait pas de fille, et (c'est pour cela qu')elle a adopté Ēṭirtu, fille de Ninurta-Mušallim".

Nous voyons donc que CBS 12902 est un document exceptionnel sur la pratique de l'adoption au Proche-Orient ancien, car il n'est pas habituel d'inclure une justification de l'acte. Dans ce cas, Ina-Uruk-rišat voulait indiquer explicitement la raison pour laquelle elle adoptait Ēṭirtu : elle n'avait pas de descendance féminine.

* La nouvelle lecture de CBS 12902, intégrée à une étude plus générale, a été présentée dans une communication intitulée « Adoption in the Middle Babylonian Period », lors de la *Oxford Postgraduate Conference in Assyriology*, au Wolfson College (Oxford), les 25 et 26 avril 2014. Je remercie les organisateurs de cet événement de leur attention, ainsi que S. J. Tinney, G. Frame et Ph. Jones (University Museum, Philadelphie), de m'avoir donné l'opportunité de consulter plusieurs textes à la Babylonian Section du Penn Museum (septembre-octobre 2010), et de m'avoir permis de reproduire ici l'information de CBS 12902. Je remercie particulièrement le Prof. J. A. Brinkman, qui m'a fourni une aide précieuse pour l'étude de ce document et d'autres tablettes médio-babyloniennes. Enfin je tiens à remercier B. Lion pour l'aide inestimable qu'elle m'a apportée par ses corrections de la version française du texte.

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87) Zum alten Namen von Tell Sakka — Jean-Marie Durand, Faysal Abdallah¹⁾ und Boris Alexandrov²⁾ schlußfolgerten anhand einer in Tell Sakka gefundenen Keilschrifttafel („Tell Sakka Nr. 2“), daß diese Siedlung mit dem im Text genannten Ugulzat und der gleichnamigen Hauptstadt des Landes Nuḥašše identisch sein müßte, oder was weniger wahrscheinlich sein soll, mit dem außerdem darin erwähnten Ort Dûr Idda-Addu. Letzterer, so die Annahme, könnte eine Gründung des Königs Idadda von Qaṭna und somit das Verwaltungszentrum eines Randbezirkes seines Reiches gewesen sein.

Tell Sakka liegt 17 km südöstlich von Damaskus. Aufgrund des Textinhalts der Tafel Nr. 2 kann man davon ausgehen, daß Ugulzat und Dûr Idda-Addu zum selben Staat gehörten und relativ nahe beieinander lagen. In der folgenden Betrachtung werden zunächst Argumente aufgezeigt, welche den o. g. Annahmen von Durand und Alexandrov entgegenstehen. Sodann werden alternative Varianten aufgezeigt.

Der Identifikation von Tell Sakka mit Ugulzat stehen mehrere Tatsachen entgegen:

- Der König Šarrupše von Nuḥašše, sowie Biryawaza, der Herr des Landes Ube (der Gegend von Damaskus) und benachbarter Gebiete, regierten jahrelang parallel, offenbar ohne voneinander Notiz zu nehmen. Sie sind weder als Rivalen, noch als Bündnispartner belegt und hatten fast immer verschiedene Großmächte als Oberherren. Daher ist anzunehmen, daß ihre Machtbasen weit genug voneinander entfernt lagen.

- Nuḥašše grenzte im Nordwesten an Ugarit (zu erschließen aus den Texten RS 17.132, 17.227 und 17.334³⁾). Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß sich Nuḥašše von dort aus um das Königreich Qatna herum und entlang des Territoriums von Kadeš/Kinza bis in die Gegend von Damaskus erstreckte, mit einem Hauptort ganz an der Peripherie. Ein solches Gebilde hätte keinen Zusammenhalt gehabt. Und es hätte sich gegen seine Rivalen nicht behaupten können.

Demnach muß man Ugulzat außerhalb der Region von Damaskus ansetzen, am besten nördlich davon.

Wegen seiner Lage nahe Damaskus kann Tell Sakka auch nicht Dûr Idda-Addu gewesen sein, wenn Letzteres tatsächlich eine Bezirksstadt des Idadda von Qatna war. Auch dieser König war ein Zeitgenosse des Biryawaza, des Oberherrn der Region von Damaskus. Gemäß Brief TT 4:64f.⁴⁾ wurde Idadda durch Kinza/Kadeš bedroht und wird deswegen kaum in der Lage gewesen sein, die jenseits davon gelegene Gegend von Damaskus zu beherrschen.

Demzufolge müssen wir auch Dûr Idda-Addu außerhalb der Region von Damaskus suchen.

Tell Sakka könnte das Verwaltungszentrum des Landes Bît Api Samirî gewesen sein. Aber man kann es nicht mit Ugulzat und Dûr Idda-Addu gleichsetzen.

Ammi-kullu', der König von Bît Api Samirî, war sicherlich einer der von Biryawaza geführten Könige von Ube (gemäß EA 197:42⁵⁾ gab es dort mehrere Herrscher). Biryawaza residierte entweder in dem Tell Sakka unmittelbar benachbarten Damaskus (Gemäß EA 197:21 hielt er sich dort auf) oder in einem anderem Ort von Ube.

Ammi-kullu' könnte von Tell Sakka aus vorübergehend (als „die Könige“ von Nuḥašše sich gemäß der historischen Einleitung des Duppi-Tešub-Vertrages CTH 62 vom Hethiterkönig Šuppiluliuma abwandten, d.h. nach Šarrupše und vor Regierungsbeginn des Tette von Nuḥašše) den nördlich davon, außerhalb von Ube gelegenen Bezirk von Ugulzat beherrscht haben.

Wenn Dûr Idda-Addu eine Gründung des Idadda in der Nachbarschaft von Ube war, dann könnte er die Stadt an den König von Tell Sakka (in Bît Api Samirî) verloren haben, als Qatna (wahrscheinlich von Mitanni) besiegt wurde.

Sollte aber der Handlungsraum des Textes Nr. 2 tatsächlich lokal begrenzt sein, besteht die Möglichkeit, daß es außer Ugulzat, der Hauptstadt von Nuḥašše, einen zweiten, weniger bedeutenden Ort gleichen Namens gab. Dafür käme Tell Sakka wiederum in Frage.

Das Beispiel von Kadeš zeigt, daß diese Annahme einige Wahrscheinlichkeit besitzt. Insgesamt sind uns 4 Kadeš bekannt: am Orontes, in Galiläa (Jos 20,7; 21,32; 1Chr 6,61), in Naftali (Ri 4,6), in Issachar (1Chr 6,57) und Kadeš Barnea (Num 32,8; Num 34,4; Dtn 1,2.19; Dtn 2,14; Dtn 9,23; Jos 10,41; Jos 14,6.7; Jos 15,3).

¹⁾ F. Abdallah, J.-M. Durand, « Deux documents cunéiformes retrouvés au Tell Sakka » ; N. Ziegler, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum (eds.) : *Entre les fleuves – II, D'Aššur à Mari et au-delà*, BBVO 24 (2014), S. 233-248.

²⁾ B. Alexandrov, « La reconstitution de la conquête hittite de la Syrie à l'époque amarnienne: l'apport des textes de Tell Sakka », BBVO 24 (2014), S. 249-266.

³⁾ G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta 1999, S. 125 ff u. 166 f.

⁴⁾ T. Richter, S. Lange, *Das Archiv des Idadda*. Qatna Studien 3. Wiesbaden 2012, S. 60.

⁵⁾ W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, London 1992, S. 275.

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88) Prince Tuthaliya and Princess Ašnuhepa — A new Anatolian hieroglyphic sealing (AT 20414), which was found at Alalakh in 2014 has enabled us to read the name of Tuthaliya's spouse, the princess, who had been depicted on the Tell Atchana orthostat. Her name had not been deciphered so far. In this preliminary study a new reading is also proposed about prince Tuthaliya's profession.

Excavation Background. Numerous attempts have been put forward to read the eroded and illegible hieroglyphics of the female figure depicted on the Tuthaliya orthostat relief (AT/40-45/2) from the time it was first discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley at Alalakh. The basalt slab was found reused as a staircase step in Temple Ib (WOOLLEY 1955: plate 48). Hittite hieroglyphs were at their infancy when H.

G. Güterbock first correctly read the name of the male figure as Tuthaliya (published as Tutkhaliya). According to Woolley's interpretation, Tuthaliya was shown walking with a gesture of adoration and his wife followed him from behind. According to our careful examination, an attendant (possibly a priest) with a gesture of adoration was also depicted on the short, left side of the orthostat who was previously interpreted as an attendant with a spear. WOOLLEY (1955: 241-2) attributed the relief slab to Level III on historical grounds thinking that the male figure was Tuthaliya IV, the Great king of Hattusha. He also suggested that the orthostat was placed face down as a gesture of disrespect for the Hittites in the Level Ib temple staircase.

In the intervening years, new textual discoveries and new historical assessments revised the attribution of the relief not to Tuthaliya IVth nor as the great king (DE MARTINO 2010: 93 ff., NIEDORF 2002: 517 ff.) but as "Chief Charioteer" or "Great Prince of Hatti" (HAWKINS *apud* HERBORDT 2005: 304).

When the new round of survey and excavations at Alalakh began in 2000 (YENER 2010, YENER & AKAR 2014), one of the priorities was to determine whether high resolution photography would resolve the issue of the illegible hieroglyphs of the female consort behind Tuthaliya. By so doing, the identity of which Tuthaliya this was could be further revised. In 2011, with a permit to research the relief in the Hatay Archaeological Museum, Alalakh staff members¹⁾ used RTI photographic techniques on the basalt slab. Our Alalakh philologists were able to make out a few of the signs, but the results were inconclusive and the loss of Professor Ali Dinçol hampered further progress.

A solution was forthcoming as a result of an important target of the renewed Alalakh excavations, which was to securely date the floating chronology of Woolley's temples (YENER & AKAR 2013). A 10 x 10 m square (Square 42.10) was placed close to Woolley's deep temple sounding with the intent of fine-tuning the stratigraphy of the enigmatic Ishtar temple. With the application of more precise excavation methods and the contextual reading of depositional units, a stratified sequence of local ceramics is slowly being established and the chronology of the temple can finally be investigated. Copious radiocarbon dated material has been collected which will be published in a future article.

In the 2014 excavation season the surprise find was a stamp seal impression found on the floor of a local Phase 4 room in a mud brick building unearthed in Square 42.10. This phase dates to roughly LBII; however, the ceramics and radiocarbon dates are still being processed, thus a more precise dating other than late 14th or 13th century BC cannot be given for the purposes of this article. As it will be argued below, the names on the sealing offer tantalizing evidence of who was depicted on the basalt relief.

Philological and Historical Comments: The right side of the sealing bears the hieroglyphs of Tuthaliya's name and his title as a prince and the left side contains the name Ašnu-Hepa and her title as a princess. According to the stylistic analysis of the sealing, it can be dated to the late 14th - early 13th century BC. The name Tuthaliya on the relief slab, Tell Atchana, was previously known. But the elements of the name of the princess who accompanied him could not be resolved. In the light of the sealing we could now establish the name of the princess on Tell Atchana as Ašnu-Hepa. Furthermore, we also identified the title "Great Priest" below the name of Tuthaliya on the relief slab.

The name Ašnu-Hepa was hitherto attested only on a tablet fragment which consists of two letters (*KBo* 18.12 rev.; HAGENBUCHNER 1989: Nr. 52). We suggest that Ašnu-Hepa of the new sealing and of Tell Atchana is the same individual as the sender of the letter on *KBo* 18.12 rev. On the obverse of this fragment (*KBo* 18.12 obv.; HAGENBUCHNER 1989: Nr. 54) the main letter's recipient should be the Great King of Hatti and the missing sender must be Tuthaliya, the prince (governor of Alalakh, the Great Priest) spouse of Ašnu-Hepa. NIEDORF (2002: 517-526) suggested the identification of Tell Atchana's Tuthaliya with the recipient of ATT 35 (Letter of the Great King to Tuthaliya), with the sender of *KBo* 9.83 (Letter of Tuthaliya to the Great King, HAGENBUCHNER 1989: Nr. 34) and with the Tuthaliya mentioned in CTH 63 (Mursili II's Dictate to Tuppi-Tešup's Syrian Antagonists, MILLER 2007: 121 ff. and with its bibliography). We include the new sealing and *KBo* 18.12 into this Tuthaliya's corpus. Considering this new evidence, we propose the following historical context for Tuthaliya below:

a) Tuthaliya was a high official of Mursili II's reign (1321-1295 BC) and his area of responsibility consists at least a part of [Ugari]t or [Aštat]a, the possibly adjoining border areas of Alalakh.

b) (Great Priest Prince) Tuthaliya resided at Alalah as a governor.

c) The name Tuthaliya and his title as a prince originated either from the Hattusa dynasty or from one of the *secundo genitur* dynasties in Syria, namely Karkemish or Aleppo. To our knowledge there is no Prince Tuthaliya in Hattusa or Karkemish in that period. But Aleppo had a (Great) Priest, namely Telipinu (son of Suppiluliuma I), as a ruler. Furthermore, the Priest-Ruler notion is observed also at Alalakh. These resemblances point out that the Aleppo dynasty is the most suitable candidate for Tuthaliya's lineage. In that case, prince Tuthaliya should be a son of Telipinu, the (Great) Priest (of Aleppo).

The definitive detailed paper will be presented at "Hititology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday, 21-22 November 2014, Istanbul."

1) I thank Dr. Lynn Swartz Dodd of USC Archaeology Research Center and Dr. Murat Akar for the RTI photography.

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89) Note on the Second Column in Line 2 of the Luwian Hieroglyphic Inscription on the Stele Çalapverdi 3 — The Luwian hieroglyphic inscription on the stele Çalapverdi 3, which was reported to the authorities in 2009, has been expertly treated by İlknur Taş and Mark Weeden in their contribution to *JAOS* 130.3 of 2010. According to their interpretation, we are dealing here with a dedication of a stele to the Sun-god by a prince Anazitis whose name is also recorded for a seal impression from the Nişantepe archive. As rightly emphasized by the authors, from this latter observation it may reasonably be inferred that the inscription on the stele Çalapverdi 3 is a Late Bronze Age one, presumably dating to the 13th century BC.

The only problem concerning the reading and interpretation of the legend of this text which remains unsolved by the authors of the *editio princeps* and about which they only present a number of scenario's is formed by the second column of line 2.

Now, in order to tackle this problem, it needs first of all to be stressed that, in view of its placement on top of the other signs in this column, *70 SARA is not a proverb associated with the following verb *65 TUWA but a constituent component of what is written in the second column of line 2.

Secondly, the instance of *376 *i*, *zi* at its lower side is not used as a form of the demonstrative, as attested for the beginning of the text, but as an integral part of the ending of the form expressed by the column in question. If we leave out the number with which this column ends for a moment, it reads in sum *SARA-sa₄-i* and the ending of which the polyphone *376 forms an integral part can be positively identified as that of the D pl. in *-ai* (see WOULDHUIZEN 2011: 131-132).

Working along this line of reasoning, the noun *SARA-sa₄-* can be explained as an adjectival derivative in *-s(a)-* of the nominal root *sara-* which in variant writing *sa₅+r?* is attested for § 27 of the Emirgazi text where it definitely expresses the meaning “smoke offering” (WOULDHUIZEN 2004: 62).

It may safely be concluded, therefore, that by means of the sequence of signs in the second column of line 2 reference is made to subsidiary offerings made at the inauguration ceremony of the stele Çalabverdi 3, expressed in the *dativus sociativus*. With the authors of its *editio princeps*, finally, I am inclined, on the bases of consultation of the photographs presented by them, to identify the number at the lower right side of the column as “3” rather than “2”.

In sum, this leads us to the following transliteration and interpretation of the text on stele Çalabverdi 3 in its entirety:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. ¹ <i>i</i> WANA ² <i>MASANA</i> <i>TIWATI SARA-sa₄-i</i> 3
 <i>TUWA</i> ³ <i>á-na-ZITI-i</i></p> | <p>“This stele, prince Anazitis has placed
 (for) the Sun-god (together) with 3
 smoke offerings.”</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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90) Emar VI 205: A Proposal for Avoidance of Debt-slavery — *Emar VI 205* (Msk 731093)¹ is a text of the Syro-Hittite type concerning Ibni-Dagan, son of the well-known diviner in Emar, Zu-Ba'la. Although this text was treated only briefly in J.-M. Durand's review of *Emar VI/1-3* (*RA* 84 [1990], 72), it has several important points of its own. Firstly, it provides us with information on Ibni-Dagan's activity other than that as a witness (*SMEA* 30-T 7: 28). Secondly, it shows the proper legal procedure to acquire a personal pledge as a slave when a debt contract is defaulted. Thirdly, it demonstrates the use of the vb. *turru*, “to pay back (the money),” for persons other than the debtor.

The first part of the main text of *Emar VI 205* (ll. 1-16) before the list of sealers and witnesses (ll. 24-35), reads as follows:²

¹ *a-na pa-ni* ^m*mu-ud-ri*-^dIM ù LÚ.MEŠ.ŠU.GI URU.KI ² ^m*ib-ni*-^dKUR DUMU *zu-ba-la* LÚ.ĪHAL ^m*ma-di*-^dKUR DUMU ^r*še*¹-ⁱ-^dKUR ³ 25 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ *ĥu-ub-bu-ul* ù *i-na-an-na* ⁴ ^m*ma-di*-^dKUR DUMU *še-i*-^dKUR BA.ÚŠ ù 2 DUMU.MEŠ-šú⁵ *i-na* É ^m*ib-ni*-^dK[UR] ^rù¹ 25 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ *ša-a-šú um-te-eš-ši-ir* ⁶ ù *i-na-an-na* ^m*ib-ni*-^dKUR DUMU *z*]-^r*ba*¹-*la*¹ LÚ.ĪHAL ⁷ 2 DUMU.MEŠ ^m*ma*-^d[*di*-^dKUR DUMU *še-i*]-^r^dKUR¹ *a-na pa-ni* ^m*mu-ud-ri*-^dIM ⁸ ù LÚ.MEŠ.[ŠU.GI URU.KI ù *a-n*] *a pa-ni* ŠEŠ.ĪÁ *ša a-bi-šu-nu* ⁹ *ú-še-zi-is*-[*sú-nu-ti* ù *a-kán-na iq-bi m*] *a-a šum-ma* ¹⁰ 2 DUMU.MEŠ Š[*EŠ-ku-nu ta-la/laq-qa-a*] ^{20+r}5¹¹ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ-*ia* ¹¹ *te-er-ra* ^l-[*nim-mi* ù *ma-a ia-nu-ma*] 2 DUMU.MEŠ ŠEŠ-*ku*¹-*nu ša-a-šú*-[*nu*] ¹² *iš-tu* [(x x) *ra-ma-ni-ku-nu*] ^r*a*¹-*na* ĪR-*ut-ti-ia id-na-m*][*i*] ¹³ ù ŠEŠ.[ĪĪÁ *ša a-bi-šu-nu*] 25 GÍN KÙ¹.BABBAR.MEŠ *ša* ^m*ib-ni*-^d[KUR] ¹⁴ *na-da-ni* [*ú-ul i*]-^r*ma*¹-*gu-ru* ù 2 DUMU.MEŠ ŠEŠ-šú-*nu*] ¹⁵ *a-na* ĪR-*ut-ti* [*ša* ^m*ib-ni*-^dKUR *iš-tu* [*r*] *a-ma-ni-šu-nu-ma* ¹⁶ *ik-nu-ku-šu-nu*-[*ti* ù] BA.ÚŠ¹ *bal-tu* ĪR.MEŠ *ša* ^m*ib-ni*¹-^d[KUR] *šu-nu*

¹ In the presence of Mudri-Tešub and the elders of the city:

^{2-3a} (As for) Ibni-Dagan, son of Zu-Ba'la, the diviner, Madi-Dagan, son of Šei-Dagan, owed (him) 25 shekels of silver. ^{3b-5a} But now, Madi-Dagan, son of Šei-Dagan, has died and his two children (lit. sons) are (left) in the house of Ibni-D[agan]. ^{5b} A[nd so], he has remitted (i.e., written off) those 25 shekels of silver.

^{6-9a} Now, [Ibni-Dagan, son of Z]u-Ba‘la, the diviner, had the two children of Ma[di-Dagan, son of Šei-D]agan, stand in the presence of Mudri-Tešub and the eld[er]s of the city and i[n] the presence of the brothers of their father, [and said as follows]: ^{9b-11a} “If [you would take] the two children of [your] br[other], pay back my 25 shekels of silver! ^{11b-12} [Otherwise], give the[se] two children of your brother into my slavery of y[our own accord]!” ^{13-14a} Then, the brother[s of their father did not a]gree to pay the 25 shekels of silver of Ibni-[Dagan], ^{14b-16a} and (gave in a) sealed (document) the two children of the[ir] brother into the slavery [of] Ibni-Dagan of their [o]wn accord. ^{16b} Dead (or) alive, they are slaves of Ibni-[Dag]an.

Notes:

L. 5: Since in this part, each sentence except for the first one (ll. 2-3a), seems to begin with the conjunction *ù* (ll. 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14; cf. ll. 9, 11, 16), *ù* is indispensable here, and the sign trace in the handcopy (*Emar* VI/1, 170) fits it well. But this case does not leave enough space for restoring any verb (e.g., *irubū*, *ašbū*) in the lacuna. So I take ll. 4b-5a to be a nominal sentence. This means that the two children of Madi-Dagan, i.e., ^mIli-abi and ^fMadi-šimti (ll. 20f.), were with Ibni-Dagan before the death of their father as possessory pledges of the debt, 25 shekels of silver. Cf. -^dK[ur *ir-bu ù*] 25 *gín* (Arnaud, *Emar* VI/3, 216); -^dk[ur *a-na pu-hi*] 25 *gín* (Durand, *RA* 84, 72).

L. 9: For *qabū mā* (rather than *umma*) see l. 18f. (cf. also l. 11).

L. 10: As Durand correctly thought, the form of the vb. *leqū* must be G pres. 2.c.pl. (*te-le-qa* [*RA* 84, 72]). Cf. *li-qa-a* (Arnaud, *Emar* VI/3, 216). However, it may be worth noting that its G pres. forms attested in the texts of the Syro-Hittite type are more commonly Assyrian (*SMEA* 30-T 7: 14; 9: 28; *TS* 25: 15; 32: 4; 53: 7; 73: 18 [reading *-laq¹* instead of *-al-*]; 76: 11) than Babylonian (*RE* 7: 11; *TS* 65: 10). Furthermore, if one does restore a Babylonian form, *te-le-eq-qa* would be preferable in view of the size of the break after Š[EŠ-*ku-nu* and of the spelling in its other two occurrences.

L. 11: For *yānumma* see my following article on *RE* 39 (l. 15). Durand restores *ú-la-šu-ma* (*RA* 84, 72 n. 160) in its stead. The reading *-ku¹-nu* follows his (ibid., n. 162).

L. 12: Cf. *id-na-n[im-ma]* (ibid., n. 161). Although I would not exclude the possibility of reading *-n[im-mi]*, in view of *ana arđūtiya* in the same line, *-nim* (1.c.sg. dat.) might be a bit redundant.

The rest of the main text continues thus:³⁾

¹⁷⁻¹⁸ In the future, if Abdu, son of Ḫutammanu, and the brothers of their father say: ¹⁹ “We will redeem the two children of our brother,” ^{20-23a} they shall give two persons for Ili-abi and two persons for Madi-šimti, the blind (girl), to Ibni-Dagan, son of Zu-Ba‘la, the [diviner], ^{23b} so that they [may take] the two children of their brother.

Although the relationship between the deceased debtor Madi-Dagan and Abdu is not stated,⁴⁾ it appears that the brothers of Madi-Dagan were not his co-debtors. In this case, the text states that when Madi-Dagan died, the creditor Ibni-Dagan did not automatically enslave his children, the possessory pledges of the debt; rather, while he wrote off the debt, he first gave to the closest relatives of the debtor a chance to redeem them by repaying the debt in the presence of the Hittite dignitary and the city elders. However, since the brothers voluntarily abandoned their right to redeem the children, Ibni-Dagan legally acquired them as his slaves. As a result of this formal procedure, if Abdu and the brothers of Madi-Dagan want to redeem them in the future, they have to provide two persons per child, in other words, to pay double (cf. *Emar* VI 83: 8-12).

If the above interpretation of the text is correct, it is interesting to note that *terrā*, “pay back (the money)!” (l. 11) is used for the brothers of Madi-Dagan. This indicates that *turru* can be used for repayment by persons other than the debtor (in this case, his closest relatives). In my opinion, the same use of this verb is found in Subartu 17-T (Syro-Hittite type).⁵⁾ In this text, when Al-ummi, an *amiltātu* (female debtor owing silver and its antichretic pledge), lost her surety, we see that Kapi-Dagan, another son of the above-mentioned diviner Zu-Ba‘la, and the ‘great (men)’ of Emar urged Matiya (probably her closest relative, not the debtor) to pay back (*tēr* in l. 10) her debt (ll. 1-10a).

1) Abbreviations of Emar texts: *Emar* VI = D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata. Emar* VI/1-4, 1985-87, Paris; *RE* = G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (HANE/M II), Padova, 1996; *SMEA* 30-T = D. Arnaud, “Tablettes de genres divers du moyen-Euphrate,” *SMEA* 30 (1992), 195-245; Subartu 17-T = A. Cavigneaux and D. Beyer, “Une orpheline d’Emar,” in: P. Butterlin *et al.* (eds.), *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens* (Subartu 17 = *Fs. Margueron*), Turnhout, 2006, 497-503; *TS* = D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l’âge du Bronze récent* (AuOrS 1), Sabadell, 1991.

2) M. Yamada, “Notes on *amiltātu* and *qātātu* in Emar,” *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* (henceforth = *BSNESJ*) 54/1 (2011), 150, with slight revisions.

3) Reading: *na-pa-tar-mi* (l. 19), ^f*ma-dī-šim-ti* (l. 21), and *li-id-dī-nu* (l. 23; Durand, *RA* 84, 72).

4) I surmise that Abdu was the head of Madi-Dagan’s extended family or clan.

5) For this text, see Yamada, *BSNESJ* 54/1, 139-143; idem, “On *amīlūtū* in Emar,” a paper read at the third workshop of the REFEMA research program held in Carqueiranne, France, on 3-4 September 2013 (<http://refema.hypotheses.org/832>); cf. S. Démare-Lafont, “Éléments pour une diplomatie juridique des textes d’Émar,” in: S. Démare-Lafont and A. Lemaire (éds.), *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques* (HEO 48), Paris, 2010, 78-84.

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91) RE 39: On the Transfer of the Right to the Silver Owed by Three *amīlūtus* — The Emar text *RE* 39¹⁾ (Syro-Hittite type) is a testament of Igm[u...], which is noticeable for the unique occurrence in this kind of document of the term *amīlūtū*, i.e., a debtor owing silver who himself enters into the household of the creditor as an antichretic pledge in Emar.²⁾ Although this text has recently been reedited by J.-M. Durand on the basis of his collation,³⁾ the parts concerning the *amīlūtū* seem to me to leave the situation still unclear.

The main text consists of four sections, divided by rulings:

A) ll. 1-6: introduction (ll. 1-2a) and topics (ll. 2b-6), i.e., Igm[u...]'s household, all possessions, and silver loaned in Azu;

B) ll. 7-12a: sale of a house⁴⁾ for 25 shekels of silver (ll. 7-9) with a witness list (ll. 10-12a);

C) ll. 13-16: transfer of [x] shekels of silver to his wife (ll. 13f.) with instructions on how she may transfer it (ll. 15f.);

D) ll. 17-20: prohibition of any claim by his brothers and sons on his household, all his possessions and⁵⁾ his wife.

The term *amīlūtū* in pl. (l. 13) is attested in the context of transfer of the silver in Section C. On the basis of the handcopy, the relevant text reads as follows:⁶⁾

¹³ [x GÍN K]Û¹.BABBAR.M[EŠ] *an*-[na(-a²)] ¹³ša¹ [1+]² LÚ.MEŠ.Ú.LU-*te-i*[a] ¹⁴[qa-t]u₄ š[a]¹ ¹⁵a¹-šī-tu₄ DAM-*ia at-t*[a-din] ¹⁵[a-šar¹] ¹⁶[l]i-¹⁷ra¹-am [l]i-¹⁸id¹-din ¹⁹i¹-ia-nu-ma-[(a)] ²⁰a-na ²¹[x] li-p[è-i]a¹ [l]i-²²id-din /

I have gi[ven] th[ose(!)] x shekels of s[ilver] of m[y] th[ree] *amīlūtus* into the [han]d o[f] Ašitu, my wife. She shall [g]ive (this silver) to whom she [l]ikes. Otherwise, she s[hall] give (it) to [m]y two descenda[nts].

L. 13: On the amount of silver and the number of *amīlūtus*, see the note on l. 4 below. In view of the handcopy, there is not enough space for reading ¹³an¹-[nu-tu₄]² (Beckman, *RE*, 60) or *an-n*[u-tu₄] (Durand, *Semítica* 55, 32). Here, it should be noted that, to my knowledge, the form of the demonstrative pronoun modifying KÛ.BABBAR.MEŠ is consistently singular in the Emar texts (of the Syro-Hittite type): *an-nu-ú* in nom. (*RE* 65: 15); also *ša-a-šī* in any case (*Emar* VI 16: 3 [gen.], 34 [acc.]; 30: 21 [acc.]; 33: 16f. [gen.]; 115: 12 [nom.; with -šū¹]; 123: 6f. [gen.; with MĒŠ instead of MEŠ], 11 [acc.; with MĒŠ]; 205: 5 [acc.]; *ASJ* 10-T A: 6 [gen.]; *TS* 36: 14 [gen.], 25 [gen.]).

L. 14: The TUM-sign after the first break, partly preserved, seems certain. I suggest restoring *qa* in the lacuna for *qātu*, lit. “in the hand,” with the locative ending -*u*. For the use of the locative in the texts of the Syro-Hittite type, note UD-*um ša* ... (*Emar* VI 75: 5; 77: 4f.; possibly also 88: 6⁷⁾) in comparison with *i-na* UD-*mi ša* ... (*ASJ* 10-T A: 12), both meaning “on the day when ...” Although in *Emar* VI 75, 77 (and 88) the UD-*um* is read as *ūmum* (not *ūm*; cf. *CAD* U and W, 146b-147a [mng. 1b-8'a¹]) with the mimation, it seems better to read the above-restored *qa-TUM* in *RE* 39 as *qātu*, without it. This is based on the use of the TUM-sign for /tu/ in the spelling of the PN Ašitu in l. 14 (cf. *a-šī-ti* in l. 18). Cf. [o o] x ¹a¹-[na] [P]N (Beckman, *RE*, 61); [*an-nu-tu*]₄ ¹a¹-[na] ¹[PN] (Durand, *Semítica* 55, 32).

L. 15: Except for his restoration of [en.di²] at the end of the line, I follow Beckman's reading (ibid.); ¹⁵a-šā¹ seems most probable according to his handcopy. Cf. ¹⁵a¹-[l]i-¹⁶id-din *a-šar* ¹⁵[¹⁷a-šī-¹⁸tu₄] *ta-ra*-¹⁹am [l]i-²⁰id-din *i-ia-nu-ma* [*a-šar*] (Durand, ibid.). For *yānumma*, meaning “otherwise,” see *Emar* VI 123: 13; *TS* 52: 10 (both *ia-nu-ma-a*); *ASJ* 6-T (= *SMEA* 30-T 6): 8 (*i*-¹na¹ *ia-nu-ma*); cf. also *yānummê* (Subartu 17-T: 16): ^mPN ¹⁶*i-ia-nu-mi-e* LÚ *ša-nu-um-ma*, “PN or someone else.” All these texts are of the Syro-Hittite type.

L. 16: Or perhaps *li-d*[i-i]a¹, “[m]y (two) basta[rds]”? In any case, some kinship term seems to be required in this context (see below). If my understanding of the above *yānumma* is correct, for the last word, [l]i-*id-din* as parallel to l. 15 is most likely. Cf. *a-na* a²-[o] li-x [o] x [l]i- o o o] x (Beckman, ibid.); *a-na* a-[pa]-li-[l]i-šī ¹⁷i¹-[ra-gu-um] (Durand, ibid.). As for Durand's reading, since there is a wide space between his *a*-[pa]- and *li*-[l]i-šī according to the handcopy, these signs in all would hardly constitute one word.

At first glance, one might think that “*th[ese x shekels of s]ilver*” (l. 13) refers to the price of the house, sold for “25 shekels [of silver, the full price],”⁸⁾ mentioned in the preceding Section B. However, in view of the fact that the silver in l. 13 is designated as that of Igm[u...]'s *amīlūtus*, this silver seems rather to denote the loaned silver of Section A (l. 4). In this respect, the following points are noteworthy.

Firstly, neither the two ex-owners (l. 7) nor the buyer (l. 8) of the house can be regarded as those *amīlūtus*. The latter case (sg.) is, of course, out of question. Although one could suggest that the ex-owners of the house, two brothers, were the *amīlūtus*, who sold their house through Igm[u...], their creditor, for partial repayment of their debt, this is unacceptable. In this case, we would expect them to be referred to in ll. 5f. However, we do not find their names there (see below). According to Durand, the names of the brothers are “Dagan-nâ’i” and “Yâšu-Dagan” (*Semitica* 55, 31f.).

Secondly, after the transactions by Igm[u...] in Sections B-C, in Section D his ‘household, all possessions and wife’ (ll. 17f.) are mentioned as the objects to which his brothers and sons are forbidden to lay claim to. When we compare these three items with the topics enumerated in Section A, i.e., his ‘household, all possessions’⁹⁾ and silver loaned in Azu,’ the shift in the third item from his ‘silver loaned’ to his ‘wife’ is noteworthy. In my opinion, this reflects the transfer to his wife of the right to the silver of the *amīlūtus* in Section C. If this is correct, it would be reasonable to think that the *amīlūtus* in l. 13 correspond to the individuals listed in Section A as the text reads:

⁴[x G]ÍN KÛ.BABBAR.MEŠ *i-na URU.a-zu a-na UGU-ḫi 3¹ [LÚ.MEŠ] ⁵ [(x) m]z[u-aš-tar-ti DUMU bi-i-ú-ši m]it-[†]ti-EN DUMU¹ x [...] ⁶[ū m]i-li-ia DUMU ka-ti-ra [†]3¹ [LÚ.MEŠ¹ an-nu-t[u₄] /*

[x sh]ekels of silver in Azu (on loan) to three [men]: [Z]u-Ašarti son of Bi’ušu, Itti-beli son of .[...], and Iliya son of Katira. Thes[e] are the three [m]en.

L. 4: The formula, ‘(debt) *ana muḫḫi* (debtor),’ is peculiar to the texts of the Syro-Hittite type: *Emar* VI 75: 4; 88: 3; *ASJ* 13-T 41: 4; *RE* 18: 3; 60: 7 (cf. also 15); 72: 4, 9; 75: 3; *TS* 27: 3; 34: 2. Note also the expression without *ana* in *Anatolica* 16-T: 1 and *ASJ* 13-T A: 8. Both types are attested in *TS* 49: 9, 11 (*ana muḫḫi*) versus 3, 5, 7, 13 (*muḫḫi* only).¹⁰⁾ My reading of the numeral 3¹ (also in l. 13 above) is based on [†]3¹ in l. 6. Cf. *ugu-ḫi* ¹A-[... dumu ...] (Beckman, *RE*, 60); *muh-hi* ¹a-[... dumu ... i-ba-aš-ši] (Durand, *Semitica* 55, 31). The amount of silver in the lacuna must be the same as that in l. 13. Cf. Beckman (*ibid.*): n (l. 4) versus 25 (l. 13); Durand (*ibid.*, 31f.): x (l. 4) versus 25+x (l. 13).

L. 5: My reading is basically the same as Durand’s (*ibid.*, 31).

L. 6: Or perhaps [m]x-i-li-ia. Although Durand reads *an-nu-t[u₄ ši-bu-tu-ia*] (*ibid.*) at the end of the line, it is not necessary to assume that these three men of Azu were witnesses. Note that in this text each witness’s name is introduced with IGI (ll. 10f.; cf. ll. 12-12a?, 23’-27’).

If the above argument is accepted, the transfer of the loaned silver to Ašitu, Igm[u...]'s wife, actually means the assignment of the three *amīlūtus* to her. They will work for and take care of this probably old woman. Now she has manpower, but not a field. So she, though no doubt living in her husband’s house, still needs family support for food, clothes and other commodities. Particularly after her husband dies, her life will be dependent on the support of her sons. The above ll. 15f. should be understood in this context. The statement that she may transfer the loan of silver to anyone whom she likes, would not mean that she may give it to one outside the family, of course. I believe that l. 15 stipulates that she is to give it to *the* son who supports her. “Otherwise,” i.e., if no son supports her,¹¹⁾ l. 16 says that she has to give it to two descendants of her husband (i.e., his grandsons), dividing the amount of the silver on loan; she must not give it to an outsider.¹²⁾

As seen above, *RE* 39 reconfirms the results of previous studies that the *amīlūtus* in Emar were first of all debtors owing silver,¹³⁾ not just antichretic pledges. Furthermore, this text shows another aspect concerning them: their labor force as antichretic pledges could be transferred and inherited within the creditor’s family, in parallel with the right to their silver.

1) For the abbreviations of the texts used below, see n. 1 in my preceding article on *Emar* VI 205, with the following additions: *Anatolica* 16-T = H. Gonnet and F. Malbran-Labat, “Un contrat akkadien avec sceau hittite: AO 28366,” *Anatolica* 16 (1989-90), 1-6; *ASJ* 6-T = A. Tsukimoto, “Eine neue Urkunde des *Tili-šarruma*, Sohn des Königs von Karkamiš,” *ASJ* 6 (1984), 65-74; *ASJ* 10-T = idem, “Sieben spätbronzezeitliche Urkunden aus Syrien,” *ASJ* 10 (1988), 153-189; *ASJ* 13-T = idem, “Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (II),” *ASJ* 13 (1991), 275-333 (with no.); idem, “Six Text Fragments from the Middle Euphrates Region,” *ASJ* 13, 335-345 (with alphabet);

ASJ 16-T = idem, “A Testamentary Document from Emar: Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (IV),” *ASJ* 16 (1994), 231-238; *Ekalte* II = W. Mayer, *Tall Munbāqa - Ekalte II. Die Texte* (WVDOG 102), Saarbrücken, 2001.

2) For this term see M. Yamada, “On *amilūtu* in Emar: As a Type of Antichretic Pledge,” *BSNESJ* 53/2 (2010), 55-73 (in Japanese with English summary; pp. 63f. about *RE* 39); also my REFEMA paper referred to in n. 5 in the above-mentioned article on *Emar* VI 205.

3) “Quelques textes sur le statut de la femme à Émar d’après des collations nouvelles,” *Semitica* 55 (2013), 29-34, without photograph or handcopy. Durand suggests reading the above PN as IGM[ulu] (*ibid.*, 29 n. 7, 30).

4) This ‘house’ as a building (É in l. 7) must be a part of Igm[u...]’s ‘house’ (É in ll. 2, 3, 17), i.e., household or houses in collective. Cf., e.g., *TS* 71: 3, 4, 9, 13 versus 19-22.

5) In view of Beckman’s handcopy, his reading ‘ū¹ (*RE*, 61) is preferable to Durand’s ‘ugu¹ (*Semitica* 55, 33) in l. 18.

6) The transliterations of ll. 13-15a and 4-6 (below) follow Yamada, *BSNESJ* 53/2, 63, with slight revisions.

7) Reading after the PN with the enclitic particle (¹DU₁₀.GA-*ma*), ¹UD¹-[u]m¹ š[a¹], if not <*i-na*> ¹UD¹-[m]i š[a¹], (... *ú-šal-la-mu-ú-ma*¹ in l. 10). See Yamada, *BSNESJ* 54/1 (see n. 2 in my preceding article), 154 n. 19. As for the texts of the Syrian type, note UD.MEŠ-*tu*₄ ša TIL.LA-*at*, “during the days she is alive” (*Ekalte* II 39: 13), as correctly revised in J.-M. Durand and L. Marti, “*umâ/êti* ša « aussi longtemps que »,” *NABU* 2003/50.

8) I suggest reading l. 9 as: *a-na* 25 [GÍN KÛ.BABBAR.MEŠ ŠĀM TIL.LA *at-t*]-*a-din*. Cf. *a-na* 25 gín k[ū-babar-meš *a-na* ¹NP *at-t*]-*a-din* (Durand, *Semitica* 55, 32).

9) Although Durand reads *gáb-bá mim-[mu-ia ša ¹a-ši-ti dam-ia]* in l. 3 (*ibid.*, 31), the restoration of *ša* ¹PN DAM-*ia* is unnecessary (cf. l. 18).

10) On the other hand, *ana* is not used for the similar expressions in the Syrian-type texts from Emar and *Ekalte*: *RE* 84: 7; 96: 2 and passim; *Ekalte* II 69: 4; 93 (= *RE* 89): 3 and passim (all *muh̄hi* only); and also *RE* 37: 9 (*ina muh̄hi*). Cf. Démare-Lafont, HEO 48 (see n. 5 in my preceding article), 67-69.

11) Probably not meaning: if two sons support her.

12) Cf. *ASJ* 13-T 23: 34-38 and *RE* 15: 27-30, as well as *TS* 50: 21-23; *Ekalte* II 76: 15-17 (reading LÚ *a-mi-[ia]* in l. 16); and *ASJ* 16-T: 34f., although all these texts are of the Syrian type. On *ASJ* 16-T as an *Ekalte* text, see M. Yamada, “More *Ekalte* Texts?” *BSNESJ* 46/2 (2003), 187f. (see <https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/browse/jorient/>); J. J. Justel, “*ASJ* 16/51 (= HCCT-E 51), document from *Ekalte*,” *NABU* 2006/28.

13) See also Durand, *Semitica* 55, 33 and n. 26.

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92) AT 91 (= ATmB 33.1): Marriage vs. Matrimonial Adoption — Although the marriage contract from MB Alalaḫ, *AT* 91,¹⁾ has repeatedly received scholarly treatments,²⁾ its contents, particularly those of the main text (ll. 1-19), have not been fully comprehended. In his recent study, however, J. J. Justel correctly pointed out that this text contains the record of a matrimonial adoption (or marriage adoption), as indicated by the pairing of two nouns, *mārtu* (DUMU.MÍ), “daughter,” and *kallātu* (MÍ.É.GI.A), “daughter-in-law” (ll. 6, 18).³⁾ According to him, matrimonial adoption is “a legal act whereby a woman (generally under age) was transferred from the authority of her father or legal guardian to the authority of another person, who was entitled, if he so wished, to take her as wife⁴⁾ or to give her in marriage to a third party” (*SEL* 25, 37). His pairing of the two nouns rejects the term that has hitherto been considered by scholars to be the key term, *mariyannu kallātu* (Na’aman) or *mariyanni kallātu*, “daughter-in-law of a *mariyannu*” (Dietrich & Mayer, Niedorf; cf. also von Dassow), which was taken by Na’aman and Niedorf to contrast with what they saw as another key term in the text, *mariyannu zakû*.

As for the two women referred to in the main text of *AT* 91, Justel regards Akap-kiaše as wife of Akap-taḫe(/Agab-Dagan) and Ummitura as his (adopted) daughter and daughter-in-law, who are both *mariyannus* together with their children (*SEL* 25, 41-42).⁵⁾ However, it should be noted that a woman given into matrimonial adoption for future marriage must have been in a weak position in the adoptive family. One may wonder if such a position fits a woman with the elite status of *mariyannu*. Furthermore, how can the adoptive father determine the status of her children before her marriage, without knowing the status of her future husband? In addition to these problems, it seems to me that ll. 11-13 are yet to be fully explained. Although Justel’s study is important in providing a key for understanding the text, there are still points that need clarification. In this paper, I would suggest another key, the *contrast* between the two women, one the wife, and the other the (adopted) daughter and daughter-in-law, of a *mariyannu*.

The following is my version of AT 91: 1-19, made principally on the basis of the new handcopy (Niedorf, AOAT 352, 265), but consulting previous studies:

¹ *i-na pa-ni* ^m*níq-me-p[a* LUGAL] ²*a-kap-ta-ḫé* DUMU [š]^e*-ma-ṛ-ra²1-na²3* (erasure) ⁴ DUMU.<MÍ> *ta-ku-ḫu-li a-na* DAM-šú *i-ḫu-uz* ⁵*ṛ¹a¹-kap-ṛA.AB¹.BA ma-ri-ia-an-ni* ⁶ MÍ.É.GI.ṛA¹ *ù* DUMU.MÍ-šú ⁷ [š]a É [Ø] ⁸ *um-mi-tù-ra* ⁸ [qa-d]u DUMU.MEŠ-šⁱ-ma ⁹ [DUMU].MÍ.MEŠ-šⁱ *ma-ri-¹⁰ [i]a-an-nu* ¹¹ [šum-ma i]-na [EGIR]² *u₄-mi* ¹² *mi-im-ma mi-in-de₄ be-el* ¹³ *m<f>um-mi-[t]ù-ra* [T]UK ¹⁴ *ṛ¹a-kap-A.AB.ṛBA¹* ¹⁵ *qa-du* DUMU.MEŠ-šⁱ-ma ¹⁶ *ma-ri-ia-an-nu* *za-ku-ú* ¹⁷ *m^fa-kap-ki-a-še ki-ma* ¹⁸ DUMU.MÍ É MÍ.É.GI.ṛA¹ É ¹⁹ *ú-ul i-né-[e]r-ru-[ub]*

¹In the presence of Niqmeṣ[a, the king], ²⁻⁴ Akap-taḫe, son of [Š]ema[r]ana(?), took <Akap-kiaše>, daughter of Takuḫuli, as his wife. ⁵ Akap-ki[a]še is a *mariyannu* — ⁶⁻⁷ (whereas) his daughter-in-law and daughter [o]f the family is Ummitura — ⁸⁻¹⁰ (and) [als]o [h]er sons and [daught]ers are *mariyannus*. ¹¹⁻¹³ [If i]n [the fut]ure(?) anything (of Akap-taḫe's) can perhaps be taken over (by someone), he may [a]cquire Ummitura. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶ But (since) Akap-kia[š]e (and) also her children (lit. sons) are *mariyannus*, they shall be free (from his claim). ¹⁷⁻¹⁹ Akap-kiaše does not (need to) leav[e] (Akap-taḫe's house) like the daughter of the family and daughter-in-[a]w of the family (i.e., Ummitura).

Notes:

L. 1: The readings of the two PNs by Na'aman (OA 19, 111) have generally been accepted by scholars. Cf. ^m*a-gáb-dá-gan* DU[MU] *a[m]-ma-ra-du²* (Justel, SEL 25, 38). On the former PN, see Niedorf, AOAT 352, 268.

L. 5: Since *mariyanni* is a complement (sg.) of the subject Akap-kiaše and not in the genitive form (see above), it should be taken as the Hurrian word *mariyanni* (see von Dassow, SCCNH 17, 96) without an Akkadian case ending (i.e., absolute state).

L. 8: The form *mariyannû/û* (ll. 9-10, 16), with the pl. nominative ending *-û*, indicates that the preposition *qadu* (ll. 8, 15), lit. “with,” is substantially used as a conjunction. For this use of *qadu*, see AT 2 (= ATmB 1.1): 27-28 (Niedorf, AOAT 352, 371).

L. 9: For the first visible sign trace, I follow Justel's reading (SEL 25, 38, 40). Cf. [(û) DUMU.DU]MU.MEŠ-šⁱ or the like (Na'aman, OA 19, 111; Dietrich & Mayer, UF 28, 184; Niedorf, AOAT 352, 266). While DUMU is difficult in view of the two handcopies, MÍ is at least possible in Wiseman's handcopy.

L. 10: In my opinion, this line is only a continuation of the word of the previous line (cf. Justel, SEL 25, 38). Since, as shown in my translation, ‘*mariyannu zakû*’ is not a technical term in this text, there is no necessity to restore *zakû* here (as Na'aman, OA 19, 111).

L. 11: My restoration of the text is admittedly tentative. Cf. [za-ku-ú] ṛ¹ša¹ [i-n]a *u₄-mi* (Niedorf, AOAT 352, 266; see also Dietrich & Mayer, UF 28, 184). But, again, the restoration of *zakû* is unnecessary.

L. 12: For the second word *minde*, “perhaps,” I accept the reading by Na'aman and Justel (OA 19, 111; SEL 25, 38, 40-41) on the basis of the handcopy provided in J. Oliva, “Collations of Middle Babylonian Alalakh Tablets in the British Museum,” in: G. del Olmo Lete et al. (eds.), *Šapal tibnim mû illakû* (AuOrS 22 = Fs. Sanmartín), Sabadell, 2006, 332. Cf. *mi-šu-te/ti₇* (Dietrich & Mayer, UF 28, 184; Niedorf, AOAT 352, 266, 271).

Note also that the last sign can well be read as *el* in view of the handcopies (*pace* Niedorf, *ibid.*, who reads *lam*). I take *bēl* as G st. 3.m.sg. of the verb *bēlu*, lit. “to rule.” Cf. A.Š.Ā *e-el ša-mu ba-a-lu*, “the field is clear (of claims), it is bought and taken in possession” (JCS 9, 96, no. 82: 17 [OB Khafajah]; see CAD B, 200b [mng. 1b], also 199a).

L. 18: Although Na'aman (OA 19, 111) adds [A-kab-t]a-[ḫ]é (cf. -šú in l. 6) at the end of this line, this is not verified by the handcopies, and no comment is given in Oliva, AuOrS 22, 327.

L. 19: Together with Na'aman and others (OA 19, 112; Justel, SEL 25, 41; Niedorf, AOAT 352, 272-273), I take the verbal form as pres. 3.c.sg. of *nērubu* (N), lit. “flee.”

Let us start with analysis of the second part of the text (ll. 11-19). If my reading is correct, it deals with a possible case in which a creditor is entitled to take a part of Akap-taḫe's property as a pledge of or substitute for repayment of the latter's debt (ll. 11-12). The other possessions and people of his household aside, of the two women, the creditor may take Ummitura, but not Akap-kiaše and her children (ll. 13-16). In other words, whereas Ummitura may be taken from Akap-taḫe's house, Akap-kiaše may not (ll. 17-19). This contrast in their treatment is undoubtedly due to the difference in their positions: one is Akap-taḫe's ‘daughter and daughter-in-law of the family,’ and the other is his ‘wife.’ Furthermore, the reason given that Akap-kiaše and her children will be protected against the creditor's claim is simply that they are ‘*mariyannus*’ (l. 16). Therefore it is reasonable to think that Ummitura, who will not be protected like them, is not a *mariyannu*.

If these points are accepted, how can we read the first part of the text (ll. 1-10)? I suggest taking ll. 8-10 as continuation of l. 5; probably, the scribe impatiently inserted ll. 6-7 explaining Ummitura's

position immediately after the description of Akap-kiaše's status, in order to emphasize the contrast between these two women. Therefore I would suggest that the 'mariyannus' of ll. 9-10 are not the children of Ummitura but of Akap-kiaše.

Akap-taḥe (l. 2)⁶⁾ was most probably a *mariyannu*, so his wife Akap-kiaše, daughter of Takuḥuli (l. 4), bore the same status. The problem is the identity of Ummitura, who is referred to without the patronymic (ll. 7, 13). On this issue, Justel convincingly refutes the interpretation of her as Akap-taḥe's daughter, but suggests the possibility that she was a slave (*SEL* 25, 42-43). Although this could explain the lack of the patronymic, one may wonder why the matter of an (unrelated) slave is included in the marriage contract of Akap-kiaše. Rather, would not the emphasis on the contrast suggest that these two women were in a close relationship and in some way even equal in position? Taking this point into account, I suspect that Ummitura, too, was a daughter of Takuḥuli. Perhaps the scribe omitted her patronymic in l. 7 since he felt it was rather redundant (cf. l. 4) or did not want the inserted part (ll. 6-7) to be too long.

To summarize *AT* 91: 1-19 on the basis of the above discussions, Akap-taḥe took two women with the royal approval; possibly both of them were daughters of Takuḥuli.⁷⁾ He married Akap-kiaše and assigned her and the children she would bear him the status of *mariyannu*, whereas he took Ummitura in matrimonial adoption without assigning her the same status as he did his wife. As a result, a future creditor of Akap-taḥe can distrain the latter, but not the former and her children.

1) D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London, 1953, 54 (description of tablet), Pl. XXIII (handcopy).

2) E.g., N. Na'aman, "A Royal Scribe and His Scribal Products in the Alalakh IV Court," *OA* 19 (1980), 110-112 (collated); M. Dietrich & W. Mayer, "Hurritica Alalahiana (I)," *UF* 28 (1996), 184-187; C. Niedorf, *Die mittelbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden aus Alalah (Schicht IV)* (AOAT 352), Münster, 2008, 265-275 (as ATmB 33.1; with M. Dietrich and O. Loretz's handcopy); E. von Dassow, *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age Alalah under the Mittani Empire* (SCCNH 17), Bethesda, Md., 2008, 277-279.

3) "The Marriage Contract AIT 91 (Alalah) and Marriage Adoption in Late Bronze Age Syria," *SEL* 25 (2008), 37-46 (collated by J. Oliva), esp. 42. I would point out that in this text, more accurately, the element (ša) *bīti* (É), "of the family," is added to 'mārtu and kallātu' (and vice versa), collectively (ll. 6f.) or respectively (l. 18).

4) Or as wife of another member of his/her family, particularly of a son, as indicated by the meaning of *kallātu*.

5) His translation (*SEL* 25, 39): "Agab-Dagan ... has tak[en] as his wife the daughter< > of Taguḥuli. ^fAgab-[kia]še is *maryannu*. The *kallātu* and his daughter o[f] the house [x], ^fUmmit-tūra, [alo]ng with her sons and [h]er [daught]ers, are *maryannū*" (ll. 2-9); "And ^fAgab-kiaše along with her children shall also be *maryannū*, free" (ll. 14-16).

6) As Justel noted, the witness Akap-taḥe (l. 22) can be regarded as the same person (*SEL* 25, 39-40; cf. von Dassow, SCCNH 17, 277-278 n. 49; Niedorf, AOAT 352, 268).

7) Probably he is referred to as a witness in l. 21. As for the status of this Takuḥuli, von Dassow suggests that he was a *mariyannu* (SCCNH 17, 150, 270 n. 35; see also Justel *SEL* 25, 40). But if this is so, one can ask if it is likely that Ummitura was his daughter, since it is known that the women given into matrimonial adoption were usually from the families of poor citizens. However, can we not imagine an impoverished *mariyannu*? In this respect, let us note the Emar text *RE* 66 (G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* [HANE/M II], Padova, 1996, 85-86 and a handcopy), which, in my opinion, refers to a *mariyannu* who became a debt-slave. According to this contract of caring, the slave Abda-malik, together with his family, will be released to the status of *mariyannu* when he completes his obligation to take care of his master, probably a (rich) citizen of Emar, and his wife during their lives (ll. 1-9a). I believe that this manumission (ll. 2-4a [nominal/legal], 8-9a [actual]) should be understood as recovery of Abda-malik's original status, not as a new nomination to the status of *mariyannu* (cf. von Dassow, SCCNH 17, 276-277; Justel, *SEL* 25, 42-43). In any case, the present text *AT* 91 presupposes at the least that a *mariyannu* could become a debtor, if not a defaulter.

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93) A new join to the Mita-Text (Bo 8742) and a duplicate of the Zannanza-Affair (Bo 8757) — The Mita-Text (CTH 146 "Midas de Pahhuwa") is known as one of the significant historical records from the Middle Hittite period. The considerable large tablet which is preserved in the Boğazköy archives as one single exemplar consists of four joined fragments (Bo 2540, Bo 2558, Bo 2822, Bo 3961). Since the cuneiform edition of the main tablet as KUB 23.72 by A. Götze in 1929, the tablet has been enlarged as a result of several joinings with the small fragments KBo 50.66, KBo 50.216, KBo 50.218, KBo 57.238,

KUB 40.10 and KUB 40.11 (see <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de>). Another piece of this “tablet puzzle” was discovered in September 2014 while I was working in co-operation with Ms. Başak Yıldız from the Ankara Museum to conduct a study of the unpublished Bo 8000-9000 fragments. This study is now in preparation for a future publication entitled Unpublished Bo-Fragments in Transliteration II.

The fragment in question, Bo 8742, is a one-sided small piece. It makes up approximately two thirds of the missing upper portion of KUB 23.72 rev. 1-12 (see the image processing of the join below, kindly generated by F. Fuscagni), and its lines 1’-8’ directly join KUB 23.72 rev. 5-12. In the following text I present an improved transliteration and translation of KUB 23.72 rev. 5-12 after the present join, followed by brief remarks (in the form of footnotes) with small corrections to the latest text editions by G. Beckman, A. Kosyan and S. Reichmuth.



KUB 23.72 + Bo 8742

Reverse (Line numbers of Bo 8742 are in parentheses)

§ 1 1-4 ...

5 (= 1’) 1A-NA₁ LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Pa-aḫ-ḫu-wa-ma ḫa-at-ra-a-nu-un nu ma-a-an pa-a-ḫan-zi¹⁾ LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Pa-aḫ-ḫu-wa ḫa-an-da-a-an¹(-x²)[... É^mMi-i-ta³]

6 (= 2’) [Q]ḫA-DU¹ DAM-ŠU DUMU.MUNUS^m Ú-ša-a-pa DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU QA-DU MAR-ŠI-TI-ŠU⁴⁾ QA-DU SAG.GÉME.İR.MEŠ-ŠU GU₄.ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-Š[U MI-IM-MI-ŠU⁵⁾ ar-nu-an-zi(?)⁶⁾]

7 (= 3’) ḫÉ¹ ḫa-aš-ša-a-na É^m Ka-li-mu-na QA-DU DAM.MEŠ-ŠU-NU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU-NU SAG.GÉME.İR.MEŠ-ŠU-NU GU₄.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU UDU.ḪI.A-Š[U-NU MI-IM-MI-ŠU-NU]

8 (= 4’) ar-nu-an-zi nu ḫu-u-ma-an pa-ra-a pí-an-zi a-ap-pa^{SÍG} ma-iš-ta-a⁷⁾-an ma₁-ḫi-wa-an-ta¹-an Ú-UL a[p-pa-an-zi]

§ 2 9 (= 5’) V SAG.DU.MEŠ-ya-kán ku-e ŠA^m Ú-ša-a-pa I-NA^{URU} Pa-aḫ-ḫu-wa še-[er] IT-TI DUMU.MUNUS-ŠU nu a-pé-e-y[a ...]

10 (= 6’) ŠA^dUTU-ŠI-ya ku-i-uš URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A ḫar-kán-zi^{URU} ḫal-mi-iš-na-an^{URU} [ḫur-l]a-an^{URU} Pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-ra-an^{URU} A-pá[r-ḫu-u-la-an ...^{? 8)}]

11 (= 7’) ar-ḫa tar-na-an-zi DUMU^m Ú-ša-a-pa-ya ap-pa-an-zi na-an pa-[r]a-a pí-an-zi ma-a-na-aš-kán^{URU} Pa-[aḫ-ḫu-wa-aš[?] ar-ḫa(?) ...]

12 (= 8’) na-aš ku-wa-pí pa-a-an-za na-aš-ša-an⁹⁾ ku-e-da-ni URU-ri EGIR-an na-an-ša-an A-NA^dUTU-ŠI kat-ta u[p-pí-an-zi¹⁰⁾(?)]

(Bo 8742 breaks here off; text continues in KUB 23.72+ rev. 13 ff.)

(§ 1) ... But to the men of Paḥḥuwa I have written. If the men of Paḥḥuwa are loyally going to [do ... , so they shall transport² the household of Mita together w]ith his wife, (who is) the daughter of Ušapa, (and) his children, his possessions, his male and female servants, his cattle, hi[s] sheep, [his property]. They shall transport the household of Ḥaššana (and) the household of Kalimuna together with their wives, their children, their male and female servants, their cattle, th[eir sheep, their property (as well)]. They shall hand (them) all over, (but) [they shall] not wi[thhold] so much as a strand of wo[o].

(§ 2) And five persons who belong to Ušapa are u[p (there)] in the city of Paḥḥuwa with his daughter, they also [*have offended / transgressed the oath(?)*]. What cities of My Sun they are occupying, (namely) Ḥalmišna, [Ḥurl]a, Paḥḥura, Apa[rḥ]ula, ...³, they shall release (them). They shall seize the son of Ušapa and hand him o[v]er. If he [*departed from(?)*] the city of Pa[ḥḥuwa], and wherever he has gone and in whatever city he is, [they shall] s[en]d him down (here) to My Sun.

¹ Contra A. Kosyan's translation "the people of Pahhuwa go" in *Aramazd* 1 (2006) 82, the impersonal phrase *nu ... pānzi* is to be understood as part of a phrasal construction; cf. G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Text²* (1999) 163 "proceed [to ...]" .

² Clearly not *ḥandānzi* as posited by A. Kosyan, *Aramazd* 1, 76 and S. Reichmuth, DBH 35 (2011) 115. The tablet's photo (*hethiter.net*: *PhotArch N04763*) shows rather *ḥa-an-da-a-an'(-)m[a²(-)...]*. G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Text²*, 163 restores and translates: "[to act] loyally" for which I do not have any better suggestion.

³ For restoration with PN Mita see already O. R. Gurney, AAA 28 (1948) 36 and 42, later adopted by A. Kosyan, *Aramazd* 1, 76. My alternative reconstruction as "household of Mita" is based on the usage É^mḤaššana É^mKalimuna in the analogue context in KUB 23.72 + rev. 7.

⁴ The reading MAR(not E!)-ŠI-TI-ŠU "his possessions" is confirmed from the tablet's photo (*hethiter.net*: *PhotArch N04762*). Thus, the discussion of whether here a ghost word E-ŠI-TI-ŠU "his possessions" (A. Kosyan, *Aramazd* 1, 76) or a defective form E-SE₁₇-<ER>-TI-ŠU "his concubine" (S. Reichmuth, DBH 35, 135 and similarly G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Text²*, 163 "his secondary wife") could be attested is now superfluous.

⁵ Restorations with MI-IM-MI-ŠU "his property" here and MI-IM-MI-ŠU-NU "their property" in rev. 7 follow the similar passage in KUB 23.72 + obv. 41.

⁶ Restoration with *ar-nu-an-zi* is after KUB 23.72 + rev. 8; cf. also obv. 41 (*ar-nu-ut-tén*).

⁷ Reading with an additional "a" due to the sign remnant as seen in the tablet's photo (*hethiter.net*: *PhotArch N04763*). Thus, correct the reading ^{sig}*ma-iš-t[a-a]n* in CHD 3/2 (1983) 119 and add this form to the occurrences.

⁸ On account of "five persons" in KUB 23.72 + rev. 9 one would expect another city in this lacuna. The identical cities are mentioned together in the other two passages of KUB 23.72 + (obv. 9, 29), but they are always in broken context, presumably as part of somehow incomplete lists.

⁹ This reading is supported by the recent join and confirmed from the tablet's photo (*hethiter.net*: *PhotArch N04762*), so that the possibility of *na-an-ša-an* (A. Kosyan, *Aramazd* 1, 77; S. Reichmuth, DBH 35, 116) must be now abandoned. Furthermore, the present sentence does not require an accusative object.

¹⁰ For this alternative restoration instead of the generally accepted *katta p[ianzi]*; see KUB 23.72 + rev. 23: *na-an A-NA^dUTU-ŠI up-pt-an-zi*.

A further discovery is Bo 8757 as a fragment of the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I" (CTH 40 "Actes de Šuppiluliuma"). The lines 2'-7' of this one-sided small piece duplicate KBo 14.12 + IV 12-19 (CTH 40.IV.1.E₃) from where the restorations are adopted here. The placing of the restored words, either at the end of a line or at the beginning of the next one, is approximate and may slightly vary.



Bo 8757

§ 1'

1' (traces)

2' [LUGAL-u(n-ma-wa-ra-an-za-an Ú-UL i-y)]a-a[(t-te-ni) UM-MA ^mH(a-a-ni-MA A-NA A-BU-YA)]

3' [(BE-LÍ-YA a-pa-a-at-w)]a Ú-UL [a(n-ze-el KUR-aš te-ep-nu-mar)]¹⁾

§ 2'

4' [DUMU.LUGAL-wa (ma)-a-a(n-na-aš ku-wa-p)]í e-eš-t[(a an-za-a-aš-ma-an-wa) da-(me-e-da-ni KUR-e)]

5' [(ú-wa-u-en ma-a)]-an-wa-an²⁾-na-a[(š) a(n-ze-el BE-LÍ ú-e-ki-iš-ki-u-en)]

6' [an-za-a-aš-wa BE]-LÍ-NÍ³⁾ ku-iš₁ [(^mNi-ip-hu-ru-ri-ya-aš e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš)]

7' [(BA.ÚŠ) DU(MU-aš-ma-wa)]-aš-ši NU.G[(ÁL) ...]

8' [.....](-)ix-x-x(-)[

(broken off)

¹⁾ KBo 14.12 + IV has no paragraph stroke after this line.

²⁾ KBo 14.12 + IV 16 omits -an-.

³⁾ KBo 14.12 + IV 17 has EN-NI.

Bo 8757 is important in so far as it is hitherto the first duplicate text ever of the “Zannanza Affair” of this composition. Poorly preserved context does not furnish any additional or essential points to the main text which has been treated by H. G. Güterbock, DŠ (1956) 97-98 and G. F. del Monte, *Le Gesta di Suppiluliuma* (2008) 95, 122-123. However, the negation *UL* in line 3', which is missing in the main text, as part of the speech of the Egyptian messenger Ḫani addressed to Šuppiluliuma I “*My lord ! It is not our country's embarrassment*”, brings a new aspect to the narrative hence it contradicts the Egyptian queen's statement in her early correspondance when she wrote “*If I had a son, would I have written to another land about my own and my country's embarrassment ?*” (KBo 5.6 III 53-54, IV 1-2). This is perhaps an official denial to the queen's emotional, but also politically incorrect, statement in her personal letter.

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94) Die Datierung der drei Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V— In seinem Aufsatz zum Osttigrisgebiet hat A. Fuchs den Versuch unternommen, die Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V. mithilfe der Angaben zu datieren, welche die Eponymenchroniken zu den Regierungsjahren dieses Königs bieten.¹⁾ Da sich die beiden allzu knappen Einträge der Eponymenchroniken zu den Jahren 819 und 818 den ersten drei Feldzügen nicht eindeutig zuordnen lassen, schlägt der Autor für den Zeitraum von 821 bis 818 zwei mögliche Rekonstruktionen vor, ohne sich für eine der beiden zu entscheiden:

Jahr	Reg.- Jahr	Ereignisse und Schauplätze nach den Angaben der Eponymenchroniken ²⁾	Datierung der inschriftlich bezeugten Feldzüge	
			Variante a	Variante b
821	3	Aufstand		1. Feldzug
820	4	Aufstand unterdrückt ³⁾	1. Feldzug	2. Feldzug
819	5	Mannāja	2. Feldzug	3. Feldzug
818	6	[...]šumme/ [...]...-siKUR	3. Feldzug	(nicht erwähnt)

Der Text der Stele aus Kalah (Grayson, RIMA 3 A.0.103.1), der einzigen Inschrift Šamši-Adads V., in der die Partien zu den frühen Feldzügen des Königs erhalten sind, weist jedoch eine Besonderheit auf, die in dieser Rekonstruktion unberücksichtigt geblieben ist. Es handelt sich um einen Einschub, der unmittelbar auf den äußerst knappen und nichtssagenden Bericht über den ersten Feldzug des Königs folgt:

i 53 – ii 6) Auf meinem ersten Feldzug, bei dem ich nach Na'iri hinaufstieg, empfing ich den Tribut (bestehend) aus Wagenpferden von allen Königen von Na'iri. Damals warf ich das Land Na'iri in seiner gesamten Ausdehnung nieder wie ein Netz.

ii 7-16) Was das Gebiet von Assyrien anlangt, das von Paddira in Na'iri bis nach Kār-Salmanassar gegenüber von Karkemiš, von Zaddi im Gebiet von Akkad bis nach Enzi, von Aridu bis Suḫi (reicht), so beugten sich (seine Bewohner) auf Befehl des Assur, des Šamaš, des Adad (und) der Ištar, meiner göttlichen Helfer, unter meine Füße wie Fußschemel.

Im Vordergrund des Abschnittes steht nicht das wohl recht unspektakuläre Feldzugsgeschehen, über das der Text kein einziges Wort verliert. Es geht vielmehr um die Durchsetzung der Herrschaft des Königs, ausgedrückt zunächst durch die Unterwerfung der Könige von Na'iri als Ergebnis des Feldzuges, anschließend durch den Hinweis auf die Unterwerfung des gesamten assyrischen Reiches. Die beiden Themen werden durch den Hinweis auf das Land Na'iri verbunden, das Ziel des ersten Feldzuges, das mit der dort gelegenen Stadt Paddira zugleich auch einen Eckpunkt des als riesiges Sechseck skizzierten assyrischen Reiches bildet.

Da der Sieg des Königs über seine innenpolitischen Gegner weiter oben, im Abschnitt über die Rebellion von Šamši-Adads Bruder Aššur-da''in-aplu bereits vermeldet wird (RIMA A.0.103.1 i 39-53), der dem äußerst knappen Bericht zu Šamši-Adads erstem Feldzug vorangestellt ist, kann die Wiederaufnahme des Themas in einem Einschub unmittelbar nach diesem Feldzug kein Zufall sein. Die Verknüpfung mit diesem Feldzug ist wohl so zu deuten, dass der König sein Reich erst während dieses Kriegszuges oder unmittelbar nach dessen Abschluss wieder in vollem Umfang unter seine Kontrolle zu bringen vermochte.

Vor dem Ende der durch den Thronkrieg bedingten innerassyrischen Wirren, die den Angaben der Eponymenchroniken zufolge von 826 bis 820 andauerten,⁴⁾ hat folglich nur ein einziger Feldzug stattgefunden, der sich entsprechend der engen Verbindung, die in der Inschrift zwischen dem Feldzug und der endgültigen Unterwerfung des Reiches hergestellt wird, mit einiger Sicherheit in das Jahr 820 datieren lässt. Für den Beginn der Regierungszeit Šamši-Adads V. ergibt sich damit folgendes Datengerüst, das der Variante a bei Fuchs entspricht:

Jahr(e)	Ereignisse gemäß den Eponymenchroniken ⁵⁾	Ereignisse gemäß RIMA 3, A.0.103.1	
826-820	Aufstand	Rebellion des Aššur-da''in-aplu	i 39-53
820	Aufstand unterdrückt ⁶⁾	1. Feldzug, Unterwerfung Assyriens	i 53 – ii 6 ii 7-16
819	Feldzug nach Mannāja	2. Feldzug	ii 16-34
818	[...]šumme/ [...]...siKUR	3. Feldzug	ii 34 – iii 70

1) A. Fuchs, 'Das Osttigrisgebiet von Agum II. bis zu Darius I. (ca. 1500 bis 500 v. Chr.)', in: P.A. Miglus/ S. Mühl (eds.), *Between the Cultures: The Central Tigris Region from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*, HSAO 14, 2011, Heidelberg, 317-319.

2) A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC*, SAAS 2, Helsinki, 1994, 31f.

3) I.L. Finkel/ J.E. Reade, 'Assyrian Eponyms, 873-649 BC', *OrNS* 67 (1998), 250 sub 820.

4) Siehe hierzu die entsprechende Angabe in der Eponymenchronik bei Millard, SAAS 2, 31f. bzw. die Ergänzung durch Finkel / Reade, *OrNS* 67, 250.

5) A. Millard, SAAS 2, 31f.

6) I.L. Finkel/ J.E. Reade, *OrNS* 67, 250 sub 820.

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95) Ein Join zu dem Vertrag zwischen Šuppiluliuma I. von Ḫatti und Šattiwazza von Mittani KBo 1.1. — Die Vorbereitung der Edition von KBo 62 hat zu einem neuen Join geführt: Bo 69/299 schließt an KBo 1.1 (CTH 51.I.A, Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Šattiwazza von Mitanni) Rs. 49'-61' an. Die Entdeckung ist auch für den Fundort von KBo 1.1 relevant, weil sie die Herkunft aus dem Tempel I, die bereits Winckler in einem Brief an B. Güterbock erwähnte¹⁾, bestätigt. Bo 69/299 grenzt auch den Fundort präzise ein, denn das Fragment wurde vor dem Magazin 10 gefunden.

Das Fragment füllt die Lücke auf der Rückseite der Tafel und vervollständigt somit 13 Zeilen des Textes. Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass durch den Join eine sonst nicht belegte Variante des Ortsnamens ^{URU}Harrana bekannt wird: ^{URU}KASKAL-na (Rs. 54').

Hier folgt die Kopie des Fragments und die Transliteration des Joins:

...^{URU}Ka-t[a-pa] ...
 ...^{URU}La-an-d[a] ...-ia-wa-an-ni-iš ...
 ... KUR^{URU} ... DINGIR^{MEŠ} ...
 ...^DAm- ...^DTu-u-¹hu'-ši ...
 ... UD.KIB.'NUN'.NA ...
 ...^DUTU <AN> ù 'KI'-ti ...
 ... ha-sí- ...^DA-¹an'-tu₄ ...
 ...^{DINGIR.MEŠ}Na-ša- ...-na ...
 ...^DPa-ar- ...-ta ...
 ... KI-ti ...
 ... šum- ...^mŠat-ti-ú-a-za ...
 ...^mŠat-ti-ú-a-za ... Hur-ri ...
 ... iš-tu ...

- Rs. 49' ^DGa-[tah]-ha ša ^{URU}A-a[n-ku-wa] MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}Ka-t[a-pa] {Ras.} ^DMa-am-ma ša
^{URU}Ta-hur-pa ^DHal-la-ra ša ^{URU}Du-un-na ^DGAZ.BA.A.E
 Rs. 50' ša ^{URU}Hu-pí-iš-na ^DBé-la-at ^{URU}La-an-d[a] ^DKu-ni-ia-wa-an-ni-iš ša ^{URU}[La]-an-da DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 lu-la-^{hi}-i DINGIR^{MEŠ} SA.GAZ
 Rs. 51' DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ} MUNUS^{MEŠ} [gáb]-ba'-šu-nu ša KUR ^{URU}Ha-at-ti DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 LÚ^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ} MUNUS^{MEŠ} ša KUR ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-at-ni DINGIR^{MEŠ} er-še-ti
 Rs. 52' ^DNa-a-ra ^DNa-am-ša-ra ^DMi-in-ki ^DAm-mu-un-ki ^DTu-u-[hu']-ši ^DAm-mi-iz-za-du ^DA-la-lu
^DA-nu ^DA-an-tu₄ ^DEN.LÍL
 Rs. 53' ^DNIN.LÍL ^DNIN.É.GAL HUR.SAG^{MEŠ} ÍD^{MEŠ} A.[AB].BA ÍD^{URU}.KIB.[NUN].NA ša-mu-u
 ù er-še-ti IM^{MEŠ} úr-pa-tù

- Rs. 54' ^DU EN ša-me-e ù er-še-ti ^D30 ù ^DUTU ^D30 ^{URU}KASKAL-na <AN> ù [KI]-ti ^DU EN ku-ri-in-ni
^{URU}Ka-hat ^DGÍR ša ^{URU}Kùr-dá
 Rs. 55' ^DU EN ^{URU}U-hu-šu-ma-an ^DÉ-a-LUGAL EN ha-sí-sí ^DA-nu ^DA-[an]-tu₄ ^DEN.LÍL ù ^DNIN.LÍL
 DINGIR^{MEŠ} Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il
 Rs. 56' DINGIR^{MEŠ} Ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il₅ ^DIn-tar DINGIR^{MEŠ} Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na [^D]KASKAL.KUR ša
^DŠa-ma-a[n]-mi-nu-^{hi} ^DU EN ^{URU}Wa-aš-šug-ga-an-ni
 Rs. 57' ^DU EN ga-ma-ri ša ^{URU}Ir-ri-te ^DPa-ar-ta-^{hi} ^{URU}Šu-ú-ta [^D]Na-bar-wi ^DŠu-ru-u-^{hi} ^DA-šur MUL'
^DŠa-la ^DNIN.É.GAL
 Rs. 58' ^DDAM.KI.NA ^DIš-ha-ra HUR.SAG^{MEŠ} ù ÍD^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ} AN DINGIR^{MEŠ} KI-ti i-ná ŠÀ-bi a-
 ma-te^{MEŠ} an-nu-ti ša ri-ik-sí₁₇ li-iz-zí-[iz]-zu
 Rs. 59' li-il₅-te-mu-u ù lu-ú ši-bu-tù šum-ma at-ta ^mŠat-ti-ú-a-za DUMU.LUGAL ù LÚ^{MEŠ} Hur-ri a-ma-
 te^{MEŠ} ša ri-ik-sí an-ni-i
 Rs. 60' la-a ta-na-aš-ša-ra at-ta ^mŠat-ti-ú-a-za ù LÚ^{MEŠ} Hur-ri qa-du KUR-ti-ku-nu qa-du DAM^{MEŠ}-ku-
 nu ù qa-du mim-mu-ku-nu
 Rs. 61' DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN ma-mi-[t]i li-hal-li-qú-nu ki-ma bu-[uq-li] iš-tu el-te-šu i-ša-ad-dá-ad-du-ku-
 nu-ši

1) Alaura, „Osservazioni sui luoghi di ritrovamento dei trattati internazionali a Boğazköy-Ḫattuša“, Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (DBH 10), Dresden 2004, 141.

96) What was built in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of ŞIRZI?*— Thanks to the recent collation made by M. Dillo, the first clause of the Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian rock inscription ŞIRZI can be read now as follows (DILLO 2013: col. 334, but reading *463 as *MARA* with HAWKINS 2004):

[z]a-wali [i]-MARA PES₂.PES-pa-mi-na ru¹-ti-CERVUS₃-ia-sa IHEROS-sá MA_x.LI_x¹-za¹ REGIO. DOMINUS sa-HWI-sa IHEROS-sá [i]-(FILIUS)-[ni²]-mu-wali-za-sa (DEUS)CERVUS₃-ia-sá BONUS-mi-sa SERVUS-lali-sa li-zi-i-tà

The meaning of this clause is almost entirely clear:

“Runtiya,¹⁾ the Hero, the Country-Lord of Malatya, son of Sahwi, the Hero, the dear servant of (the god) Runtiya made this [i]-MARA PES₂.PES-pa-mi-na (sg. acc.).”

The text thus represents a building inscription; the only question is what was built there. Next to this passage the phrase *i-MARA PES₂.PES-pa-mi-na* appears only in the curse formula of the same inscription (§5 *za-pa-wali i-MARA PES₂.PES-pa-mi-na IREL-sá IARHA Ili-*375-ti* “who shall destroy this *i-MARA PES₂.PES-pa-mi-* completely”, DILLO 2013: col. 334) and in ANCOZ 3 in an entirely fragmentary and thus unclear context,²⁾ in other words one can rely only upon the present inscription.

The first editor of the inscription, BOSSERT (1954-1956: 61, 64-65, followed by ROSSNER 1988: 194), suggested that a road leading to an ancient mine was built here, due to the existence of an ancient mine in the neighbourhood and his assumption that also the Bulgarmaden inscription commemorates such a deed.

While the standard edition by HAWKINS (2000: 323-324) left the question open,³⁾ DILLO (2013: col. 336) rightly argued that Bossert’s interpretation cannot be upheld, since Bulgarmaden inscription is a donation text (Bossert’s suggestion was already doubted by MERIGGI 1975: 59). Instead, DILLO (2013: cols. 336-338) tentatively translates the phrase as ‘this field *construction*’ and proposes that it could be related to the hunting of wild animals, more precisely a kind of enclosure, perhaps a ‘fence’, in other words, a hunting park or an enclosure to trap wild animals. He is driven to this proposal by the observation that hunting success is granted by the Stag-God (BOHÇA §4-5) or the Stag-God of the Countryside (BULGARMADEN §7), i.e. by the god of the Country-Lord of the ŞIRZI inscription.⁴⁾

Nevertheless, Dillo’s interpretation faces two problems: First, neither hunting success nor hunting activity in general is mentioned in ŞIRZI. Second, the bigger problem is that Dillo’s suggestion is not supported by the meaning of the verb, which is ‘to tread, trample (on), crush’ (most recently YAKUBOVICH 2002: 202-208, 2010: 389 with earlier refs.). PES₂.PES-pa-mi-na (read *tarpammin*) obviously represents a participle, whose meaning in Luwian is the attained state, i.e. literally ‘the trodden one’, here clearly an elliptical construction. However, it is hardly conceivable that any building (especially any fence or trap) is characterised by having been trodden. It is much more compatible with the concept of a road, more specifically with its trodden version (like highways) in contrast with its paved version. The Luwian word for ‘road’ is known from Cuneiform transmission (*harwa-*) fitting the elliptical interpretation. It is well-known from the history of the word ‘street’ from Latin *strāta*, used elliptically for *via strāta* ‘paved road’ (from *sternere* ‘lay down, spread out, pave’) that the adjective referring to the type of the road can be substituted for the word ‘road’ itself.

As for [i]-MARA: since it does not show any case ending despite being an appellative noun, one must assume a compound noun. There is no ground to emend the text into a possessive adjective like Dillo, for the case ending must have been present in an 8th c. inscription. Though Luwian compounds as such require further research, BROSCHE 2010 demonstrated, on the basis of Hittite data, that the Anatolian languages inherited the Indo-European compound types, thus a compound noun in Luwian is unsurprising. Since the meaning of *immra-* is ‘field, countryside’, *immra-tarpammali-* can be translated as ‘*country-side road, the road in the countryside’, i.e. a ‘highway’. In other words, ŞIRZI commemorates the construction of a highway, a most fitting topic to a Country-Lord’s rock inscription, which also fits BOSSERT’s observation (1954-1956: 62) that there is a pre-modern road next to the inscription from where at least the lowest part of the inscription is visible.

*) This note has been written in the framework of the research project *Los ‘dialectos lúvicos’ del grupo anatolico indoeuropeo: aproximaciones genéticas y areales* financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (reference number: FFI2012-32672).

¹⁾ I cannot follow DILLO’s suggestion (2013: cols. 338-340) to read the name *ru-ti-CERVUS₃-ia-sa* as Runti(runti)yas, since, as he himself points out, names compound from two divine names always contain two different divine names (what would be the sense at all of a name consisting of the same divine name twice?). Thus the name should be read as *Ruti^{CERVUS₃}-ia-* /Runtiya-, similarly to *Ku^{AVIS}-papa-* /Kubaba-, what also Dillo himself considered.

²⁾ Line 2: [...]-x-wa/i lza-[...] (MONS)hu-[...] MONS[...] i-MARA tarali-pa-mi[-?]- IFRONS-la/iu[-?])(-za [...], HAWKINS 2000: 349.

³⁾ I. Yakubovich translates it in his online corpus as ‘warrior’. (*Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts*, <http://62.64.12.18/LuwianCorpus/search/>, s.v. *tarpami*(ya-), last accessed 19.11.2014). The reasons behind will be presented elsewhere.

⁴⁾ Dillo tries to support this identification with the determinative of (“CASTRUM”) *tarali-pa-ma_x-za-ha* (ÇALAPVERDİ 1 §2, 2 §3) as well. However, as he himself also concedes, the meaning and even the segmentation of this word is unknown, for the context is fragmentary and entirely unclear (cf. HAWKINS 2000: 498), even if the appearance of the signs MONS and CERVUS in these unclear contexts “seems relevant” to the author. He further speculates (cols. 337, 347-348) that the “DOMUS+SCALA”(-) *ha-ti-i* of the pray (§3) might mean ‘look-out tower(?)’ for the wild animals and cites the remains of walls and a tower in the neighbourhood of unknown date.

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97) On Assyrian building inscriptions: an addition to J. Novotny, JCS 66 (2014) — In an appendix to his recent article in JCS 66 (2014, 91-112) on “Esarhaddon’s Rebuilding of the Aššur temple” J. Novotny discussed the possible reasons for the omission of the names of several Assyrian kings in two building inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Aššur A and Aššur B). By reviewing the respective textual evidence from the time span between 744 until ca. 609 he puts his study into a wider chronological context (cf. table 1 on p. 110-111). The general question is: Why are certain kings named as previous builders in building inscriptions while others are not, even if we know about their work through their own documents?

While working on the building inscriptions of the Ištar temple in Aššur, the same question occurred to me (SCHMITT 2012, 57; see there for a detailed description with bibliographical references). The solution I offered was overlooked by Novotny. I will, therefore, briefly summarize my answer to the question.

In his building inscription for the Ištar temple Tukultī-Ninurta I. only mentions Ilu-šumma as previous builder although the information concerning the other kings’ activities (Puzur-Aššur III., Adad-nērārī I. and Šalmaneser I.) must have been available to him. We therefore have a parallel situation to what was observed for the Aššur temple.

If we want to explain why in some cases former kings are mentioned and in others they are not, it is crucial to look exactly at the extent of their work. Tukultī-Ninurta I. built a new temple for Ištar (which was proven by the excavations in Aššur). Puzur-Aššur III., Adad-nērārī I. and Šalmaneser I. were responsible for renovations of certain parts of the building (for which we have the respective inscriptions). Ilu-šumma seems to have built a new temple for Ištar (which most probably is Temple D of the Older Ištar temples). So when building a new temple Tukultī-Ninurta I. only mentioned in his building inscriptions rulers who had accomplished what he had in respect to the Ištar temple.

The same pattern can be observed with the Aššur temple in Aššur (SCHMITT 2012, 57). Esarhaddon, when building a new temple for Aššur, only mentions those rulers who had accomplished the same before him: Erīšum I., Šamšī-Adad I. and Šalmaneser I. All the other kings who had partially rebuilt the temple or added parts to it were not relevant in this case and it is therefore not surprising that their names were omitted. This in my opinion can be regarded as a general rule in Assyrian royal inscriptions. The naming or not naming of forbearers in inscriptions which only deal with partial renovations etc. can have different reason. It is an interesting field for further investigation and we can look forward to the announced study by J. Novotny.

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SCHMITT, A. W. 2012: Die Jüngereren Ishtar-Tempel und der Nabû-Tempel in Assur, WVDOG 137.

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98) Thoughts on some images of King Ashurbanipal — My recent study of the seventh century BCE Assyrian king's depictions on the stone reliefs from his North Palace at Nineveh has led to interesting observations. For example, in several representations the textile pattern on the cloth covering the king's chest is embellished additionally with a pectoral-like design consisting of a stylized tree -- the so-called "sacred tree" or "tree of life" -- flanked by a royal figure, and above is a winged sun disk (for illustrations, see: LIVINGSTONE 1989: fig. 20; FALES & POSTGATE 1992: fig. 27). The pectoral design affirms the historical continuity of Assyrian kingship that can be traced back to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859). At that time one large stone version was set up behind the throne base, and in the same chamber a second version was placed on the wall opposite the central outer entrance (RUSSELL 1998: pl. IV). Several interpretations of the ninth century stylized tree have been made, and these views have led to additional discussions (see: RUSSELL 1998: 687-692; COOPER 2000: 430-440). Nonetheless the importance of the Assyrian stylized tree, whether interpreted as apotropaic, icon or symbol, is acknowledged. The location of the pectoral design on Ashurbanipal's garment attests to a divine presence that leads directly to the person of this king as the center of the realm.

Another item of interest is the 'open crown', a diadem composed of a wide band decorated with rosettes and a long cloth end hanging pendant at the back. This headdress is new, and it may have served as a practical substitute of headwear for Ashurbanipal during informal occasions, such as hunting wild animals or relaxing in a garden. On the other hand, Ashurbanipal is always represented wearing the tall royal headdress when riding in his chariot (BARNETT 1976: pls. 8, 11-12. 56). It is interesting to observe, too, that Ashurbanipal's rosette-decorated diadem is a revival of the same type found on anthropomorphic winged and wingless genies (*umu-apkallu*) represented on the bas-reliefs of the ninth and eighth centuries. Ritual texts show these figures to be sages, and are beneficial since they procure life and chase away evil (KOLBE 1981: 14-19, pls. IV/1, V/1, 2, VI/1, 2; WIGGERMANN 1992: 46, 71). Perhaps in a subtle way the ornamental diadem creates a new "*umu-apkallu*" image in the person of the king, Ashurbanipal. We can only speculate whether this apotropaic imagery was an intentional display and thereby describes the king as benevolent ruler.

The image of an Assyrian ruler on horseback first appears in a late eighth or seventh century wall painting at Til Barsip (THUREAU-DANGIN & DUNAND 1936, pl. 53). In the reign of Ashurbanipal, a similar image occurs on a wall relief in an episode of the royal hunt. There, the king on his caparisoned horse boldly defends himself against oncoming lions, at which time he attacks a roaring lion by thrusting a long spear into the animal's open mouth (BARNETT 1976: pl. 52). This dynamically composed picture

seems to be an innovative version of the 'royal emblem' of the Sargonid period. Monumental in size, the royal emblem consisted of a hero on foot grasping a lion and flanked by winged human-headed bulls, their heads turned frontally. It decorated the outer palace walls near the throne room of each of the three Assyrian kings who preceded Ashurbanipal: Sargon II (721-705) at Khorsabad (ALBENDA 1986: pl. 16), Sennacherib (704-681) at Nineveh (BARNETT *et al* 1998: pl. 24), and Esarhaddon (680-669) at Nebi Yunus (HARRAK 1999: 25, figs. 2, 13; TURNER 1970: 81-82). Although there is no evidence of its occurrence on the walls of the North Palace, the iconic emblem has not disappeared entirely. Rather it is hidden cleverly in the garden banquet of the royal couple (BARNETT 1976: pls. 64-65). On the table immediately in front of the Assyrian king ('hero') relaxing on a couch is a small pyxis decorated with back-to-back winged bulls, their human heads turned frontally. The lion, the third required item, is represented as a repetitive motif that extends across the wooden plank on the lower part of the king's couch. Thus by design, the first hero-theme — the king on horseback — communicates visually the bravery and strength that is centered in the person of Ashurbanipal. The second hero-theme, by integrating the essential features of the traditional royal emblem into the banquet scene, is a discreet reminder that the hereditary recipient of the Assyrian Empire is Ashurbanipal.

This brief study on pictorial aspects of the Assyrian king that were displayed on the stone reliefs from the North Palace has resulted in noteworthy interpretations. Accordingly, messages were likely embedded in the respective representations of the royal figure. As indicated above, in my view these messages were intended to augment the imperialistic persona of Ashurbanipal.

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99) The toponym Hara in I Chronicles 5.26 — Following the discovery of Hoshea's collusion with Egypt and the cessation of his payment of tribute, the Assyrian king Shalmaneser (V) invaded Israel and initiated a siege of Samaria which went on to last for three years (II King 17.5)¹⁾. Although it remains uncertain whether the city actually fell in the reign of Shalmaneser or his successor Sargon II, the consequences were severe and involved deportation of large parts of the population: "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away to Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (II Kings 17.6, 18.11). These areas were all part of the Assyrian empire and the historicity of this statement is supported by evidence from Assyrian inscriptions²⁾.

But this was not the first time that the Assyrians had deported the population of Israel. A similar sequence of events is recorded in the Book of Chronicles where, following his conquest of Damascus, the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III went on to attack Israel, annexing substantial parts of its northern territories and deporting the Reubenites, the Gadites and half of the tribe of Manasseh to Halah, Habor, Hara and the river of Gozan (I Chronicles 5.26). These events took place in 733 or 732 BC. The list of locations to which Tiglath-Pileser transported these people overlaps substantially with the locations listed for the deportations made by Sargon, and it has been generally assumed that this is due to an assimilation made at the editorial level. However, this may not be correct and the possibility that I Chronicles 5.26 preserves authentic information should not be discounted without further reflection. One reason why it has in the past been discounted is on the assumption that the text is corrupted. This revolves around the reading of Hara. As summarised by Williamson, "Hara and" is absent from the parallel passages in II Kings 17.6 and 18.11 as well as from P and some of the manuscripts of the Septuagint and this is explained by some as a scribal error, a corruption either of *n^ehar* ('river of'), which follows, or of *hārê mādāy* ('the mountains of Media') which probably stood in the writer's Vorlage in 2 Kg. (cf. LXX)³.

But does the text need emendation? An important component of the argument for overturning the received text at this point was the absence of a toponym in the Assyrian sources to which Hara could correspond. This is however not the case. The letter in the Assyrian royal correspondence SAA 15 32 preserves a report to Sargon that messengers of Merodach-baladan had met the brother in law of the king of Elam and delivered a message to him to go to the city ^{uru}HAR, and a governor of ^{uru}HAR^{ki} is referred to in SAA 10 112 and SAA 18 131, both letters to Esarhaddon⁴. The place must consequently have been a settlement of some importance in Assyrian hands but near the Elamite border. Although the reading of HAR^{ki} has not been demonstrated conclusively, a reading *Hara* is not excluded and indeed perfectly likely. The reading of closed syllabic (CVC) signs with the internal vowel repeated at the end (CVCV) is an established phenomenon in Neo-Assyrian and not problematic. There is moreover a toponym *Ha-ra-a'* recorded by Ashurbanipal among the long list of settlements which he destroyed on his way back from Elam⁵, while a *Ha-ra-a* features in the letter ABL 462 in which Bel-ibni reports to Ashurbanipal on events on the Elamite border⁶. It is proposed that all these writings refer to the same location.

Could the Hara of I Chronicles 5.26 be identical with the Hara^(s) mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions? There is a reasonable case. The Assyrian attestations clearly refer to a location somewhere near the border with Elam and such a location is, in principal, very plausible: border zones were precisely the kind of region in which the Assyrians did settle deportees, the aim being to establish a firm Assyrian presence in the area and strengthen the domination of the territory. Furthermore, both the location and the timing are possible: in his ninth regnal year (737 BC) Tiglath-Pileser, after campaigning in Media, proceeded down to the east Tigris area and the Elamite border⁷. Following this campaign not only do the annals record deportations but one version specifically says that deportees were moved from the east to the Mediterranean coast. While Samaria is not mentioned in that instance, it should be borne in mind that only about a third of the text of Tiglath-Pileser's annals is extant and the passage in question does establish that deportations to the region were on the king's agenda. Given that deportation was often carried out in a reciprocal fashion it is not at all unlikely that deportees will have been moved from these Mediterranean regions out to the east. There is another dimension of interest. Galil in his study of ND 2443⁺ has shown that there were already Israelite deportees in Media by late in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III⁸. The important point for the present discussion is that the "cities of the Medes" do not feature in the list of locations of I Chronicles 5.26, the significance of which is that this passage does therefore not provide a complete list of the areas to which Israelites were deported in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III. This in turn alerts us to the fact that we can have no certainty that the list of locations in II Kings 17.6 and 18.11 is complete either, from which it follows that the citations in Kings cannot be used to exclude readings in the citation in Chronicles. But the fact that we can now say that there were deportations of Israelites to Media in the reigns of both Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II underlines the fact that for the Assyrians there were advantages in having members of the same ethnic groups together as well as advantages in having them apart⁹.

In conclusion, serious thought should be given to considering whether the Hara of I Chronicles 5.26 and the toponyms in Assyrian texts discussed above all refer to the same place. This does not prove that the text of Chronicles is correct but it does establish that there is an interpretation which yields sense without recourse to emendation.

- 1) I would like to express my thanks to J. Novotny and Luukko for their help and comments.
- 2) ODED 1979 p.27-29, BECKING 1992 p.61.
- 3) WILLIAMSON 1982 p.67, cf. SIMONS 1959 p.365-6 (entries 938-41).
- 4) For further remarks on SAA 10 112 and SAA 18 131 see FRAHM 2010 p.120f.
- 5) This is recorded both in Prisms A and F (cf BORGER 1996 p.49, translation p. 239) and in Prism C (BORGER 1996 p.161); and in Prism Kh (Borger's CKalach and Prism CND; BORGER 1996 p. 161); for the dating of Prism Kh to 646 see NOVOTNY 2008. The final aleph in *Ha-ra-a'* writing is not necessarily a problem: there is a certain amount of variation in the writing of aleph in place names, cf PARPOLA 1970 sub Du'ua, Itu'u, Kannu', Li'tawu, Mā'ab, Na'iri, Sam'al, Sāmīrīna, Sam'ūna, Si'me, Šidūnu.
- 6) DE VAAN 1995 p.262.
- 7) BRINKMAN 1991 p.79-80.
- 8) GALIL 2009.
- 9) ODED 1979 p.25.

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100) The *Maqlû* incantation *Attunu mû*, "You are the water"* — While ritually extinguishing a fire with water, the incantation *Attunu mû* could be recited. In *CMAwR* 1, text 8.3 (lines 113-14), for instance, once the figurines of warlock and witch have been ritually burnt, the exorcist recites "You are the water" three times, while cooling them off with water. The incantation would have been well-known to any competent exorcist, and thus it was not necessary to write it down in full; citation by incipit was sufficient (cf. T. Abusch's comment in *JNES* 33 (1974), p. 254f. = *AMD* 5, p. 102f. and especially n. 11, on several well-known incantations cited in the ritual tablet of *Maqlû* but not included in the incantation-tablets). One could even argue that the number of occurrences of this incantation attests to no more than a small percentage of its ritual recitations; even when this incantation is not explicitly mentioned, a reference to ritually dousing a fire with water may have been accompanied by its recitation.

The wording of *Attunu mû* is so far only partially known from *Maqlû* V 98–111. While working on K 2467 + 80-7-19, 166 for the second volume of *The Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals*, I noticed that the meagre traces of an incantation on its reverse share clear affinities with the beginning of *Attunu mû*. As can be seen from the following score, the overlap between K 2467+ and the *Maqlû* manuscripts is minimal, but combining their data, we can now plausibly restore the first five lines of “You are the water”.

Score:

The relevant *Maqlû* sources (the sigla follow the conventions established by T. Abusch and D. Schwemer; their transliterations are based on Schwemer’s copies and the photos that are available on the British Museum’s online collections database):

ms. J₁ = K 2530 + 8444 + 8467 + 8495 + 10356 + 11754 + 12917+ 13338 + 13858 + 15958

ms. K = K 2544 + 3470 + 5071 + 16948 + 17166 + Sm 125 + 2191

ms. LL = K 13354

¹ÉN *attunu mû* [ša tat]tanallakā kal māṭ[āti]

K 2467+ rev. III ² 10	[ÉN at-tu-nu A.MEŠ šá D]U.DU-ka kal KUR.K[UR]	
J ₁ rev. III 1	ÉN at-t[u-nu]
K rev. III 1	ÉN [at-tu-nu] ¹ []
LL rev. III 4'	ÉN at-tu-nu [A ¹ .]MEŠ]

²[(ša) tattanablakkatā kal šad[āni]

K 2467+ rev. III ² 11	[(šá) ta-at-ta-nab-lak-k]a-ta kal KUR.[MEŠ-ni]	
J ₁ rev. III 2	BAL.MEŠ-t[a]
K rev. III 2	BAL.MEŠ-[ta] ¹ []
LL rev. III 5'	ta-at-ta-nab-lak-k[a-ta]

³tuḥappā kāra [t]ušabbirā [eleppa(?)]

K 2467+ rev. III ² 12	[tu-ḥap-pa-a ka-ra t]u-šab-bi-ra ^{giš} [MÁ(?)]	
J ₁ rev. III 3	tu-ḥap-p[a-a]
K rev. III 3	tu-ḥap-pa-a [ka-ra] ¹ []
LL rev. III 6'	[t]u-[ḥap] ¹ -pa-a ka-r[a]

⁴mê nāri ālikūti mē [Id]iqlat u Pur[attu]

K 2467+ rev. III ² 13	[A.MEŠ ÍD ālikūti A.MEŠ ^{id} ID]IGNA u ^{id} BUR[ANUN ^{ki}]	
J ₁ rev. III 4	A.MEŠ Í[D] \ u ^{id} BURANUN ^{ki}
K rev. III 4	A.MEŠ ÍD a-li-[ku] ¹ -[t]i A.M[EŠ]	
LL rev. III 7'	[] ^{id} IDIGNA

⁵mē A'abba [tāmat]i ra[pašti]

K 2467+ rev. III ² 14	[A.MEŠ a-ab-ba ta-ma-t]i ra-[pa-āš-ti]	
J ₁ rev. III 5	A.MEŠ a-ab-b[a]
K rev. III 5	A.MEŠ a-ab-ba []
LL rev. III 8'	[ta-ma-t]i

Translation:

¹Incantation: “You are the water [that fl]ows over all the land[s],

²(that) traverses all the mount[ains],

³you have breached the quay (and) smashed the [boat].

⁴Flowing river water, water of the [Ti]gris and Eup[hrates],

⁵water of the Ocean, the w[ide se]a

(for the continuation, see *Maqlû*).

1–2: The first two lines are similar to *Maqlû* VI 142'–144':

ÉN e^{mmus}kaššaptīya(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) e-le-ni-ti-ia₅ / šá tattanallakī(DU.MEŠ-ki) kal māṭāti(KUR.KUR) / ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti kal šadāni(KUR.MEŠ-ni)
and Ritual tablet 119':

ÉN e^{munus}kaššāptīya(UŠ₁₁.ZU-MU) e-le-ni-ti-ia₅ šá tattanallakī(DU.MEŠ-ki) ka-lu mātāti(KUR.MEŠ)

However, the verbal forms are clearly feminine in *Maqlû* and refer to “my witch”; in K 2467+ they are plural forms. The reference to the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in line 4 makes it contextually plausible that water is addressed here.

3: The verbal forms *tuḥappâ* – *tušabbirâ* fit well together; cf., e.g., *Šurpu* VIII 60: *paššûra šebêru kâsa ḥepû* “breaking a table, smashing a cup”. There is room for only one or two signs at the end of this line (making *nēberu* [^{gis}MÁ.DIRI.GA]), which is used alongside *kâru* in *Maqlû* VII 8, a less likely restoration).

4–5: Cf. *Šurpu* VIII 84.

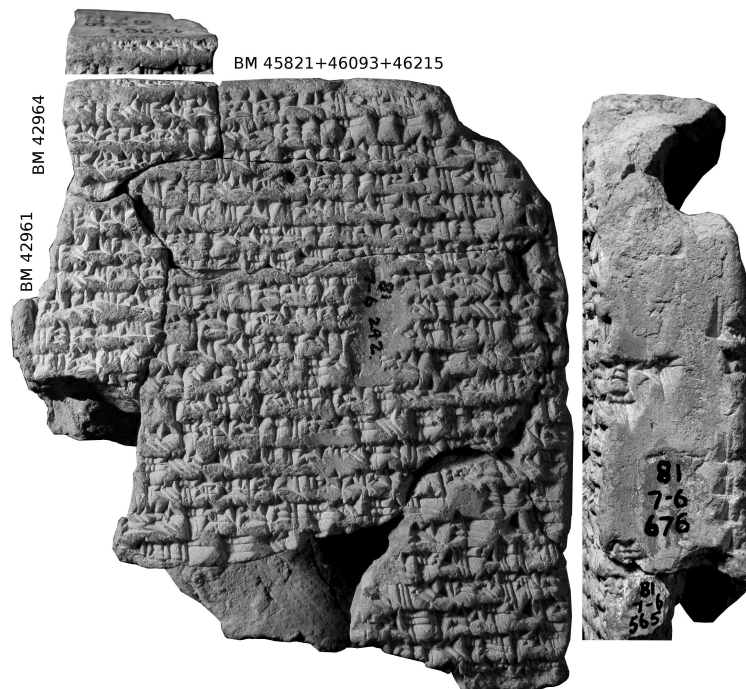
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CMAwR 1 = T. Abusch – D. Schwemer, *The Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Rituals*, Vol. 1, Leiden – Boston 2011.

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101) Some new results on a commentary to *Enûma Anu Enlil* Tablet 14 — The fragments BM 42961 (1881-7-1, 725) and BM 42964 (728) join BM 45821+46093+46215 (1881-7-6, 242+399 +565+672 +676), a Late Babylonian commentary on EAE Tablet 14 published by al-Rawi and George (1991/2) (=AG91/2). Apart from presenting an updated edition, a new interpretation is offered here for certain passages that were hitherto badly understood. BM 42964, situated near the left upper corner, preserves an invocation and parts of obv. 1-4. BM 42961 joins BM 45821+ below BM 42964 and partly preserves obv. 5-11. Both are destroyed on the reverse and colored grey, whereas BM 45821+46093+46215 has a brown color. The joined fragments measure 8.7 x 9.6 x 2.4-3.0 cm. At most a few cm remain missing near the bottom of the obverse. The invocation (obv. 0) implies that the tablet was written by scholars connected to the Esagila temple in Babylon. All numbers are expressed in the sexagesimal positional system, which is a relative notation, i.e. the power of 60 corresponding to each digit is not indicated. In order to render the algorithms most faithfully, this notation is maintained in the translation, but absolute values of all numbers, as inferred from the context, are mentioned in the commentary. For the reverse of the tablet see AG91/2.



Photograph of BM 42961+42964+45821+46093+46215 (obverse).

Transliteration and translation

Obverse

- 0 ^rina a-mar¹ ^dEN u ^dGAŠAN-ia liš-lim
 [DIŠ] ^rsin U₄.1.KAM¹ 3.45 GUB ša E-u IGI 3.^r45¹ 1^r6¹ 1[6 A.RA₂]
 [4] ^rIGI¹.GUB.BA IGI.DU₈.A ša₂ sin DU-ma 1.4 1.4 A.[RA₂ 3]
 [EN].^rNUN¹ GI₆-ka ^rDU-ma¹ 3.12 ^r: 3¹.12 A.RA₂ 3.45 DU-^rma¹ [12]
 [12 A].^rRA₂ 1¹ 12 U₄.1.KAM 12 UŠ ^rNA¹-su ša₂ 2-i IGI 3.45 1[6]
- 5 [16] ^rA¹.RA₂ 12 3.12 : 3.12 A.RA₂ 3.45 12 : 12 A.RA₂ 1 : 1^r2¹
 [U₄].1.KAM 12 UŠ ^rGUB-^rzu ša₂-niš 16-u₂ ša₂ 3.12 IL₂-ma 12
 [U₄].1.KAM 12 UŠ ^rGUB-^rzu 3.45¹ 16-u₂ šu-^ru₂¹ ina ŠA₃ 16-š^ru₂ ^rIL₂.A¹
 ša₂ šal-š^ru₂ IGI 3.45 16 16 A.RA₂ 15 4 4 ^rIGI.GUB¹.BA IGI.DU₈.A ^rša₂¹ sin
 3 MA.NA EN.NUN GI₆ A.RA₂ 4 IL₂-ma ^r1¹[2 IGI.D]U₈.A ša₂ sin tam-mar
- 10 4 A.RA₂ 3 : 12 : 12 man-za-za ša₂ U₄ 1 [:] ^r3¹.45 A.RA₂ 2 7.30
 [U₄.2].^rKAM 7.30¹ GUB : IGI 7.30 : 8 : 8 ^rA¹.RA₂ 4 : 32
 [32 A].^rRA₂ 3¹ : 1.36 : 1.36 A.RA₂ 7.30 : 12 : 12 A.RA₂ 2 DU-ma 24
 [U₄.2.KAM 2/3 D]ANNA 4 UŠ ša₂ 2-i IGI 7.30 : 8 : 8 A.RA₂ 12 ^r: 1.36
 [1.36 A.RA₂] 7.30 : 12 : 12 A.RA₂ 2 24 U₄.2.KAM 2/3 DANNA ^r4 UŠ¹ GUB
 [ša₂-niš 8-u₂ š]a₂ 1.36 IL₂-ma 12 a-na 12 NA ša₂ ^rU₄ 1¹ DAḤ^r-ma [:] 24
 [U₄.2.KAM] ^r2/3¹ DANNA 4 UŠ GUB-^rzu 7.30 8-u₂ šu-u₂
 [ina ŠA₃ 8-š^ru₂] IL₂.A 7.30 ^rA.RA₂¹ [2] DU-ma 15
 [U₄.3.KAM 15 GUB : IGI 15 4 : 4 A.R]A₂ 4 : 16 : 16 A.RA₂ 3 48
 [48 A.RA₂ 15 : 12 : 12 A.RA₂ 3 : 3]6 U₄.3.KAM «2/3» DANNA 6 UŠ GUB-^rzu
- 20 [ša₂ 2-i IGI 15 4 : 4 A.RA₂ 12 : 48] : 48 A.RA₂ 15 : 12 :
 [12 A.RA₂ 3 36 : U₄.3.KAM DANNA 6 U]Š ^rGUB-ma¹ ša₂-niš 4-u₂ ša₂ 48
 [IL₂-ma 12 : 12 a-na 24 NA ša₂ U₄ 2 DAḤ^r-ma 36 : DA]NNA ^r6 UŠ GUB 15¹ A.RA₂ ^r2¹
 [DU-ma 30 : U₄.4.KAM 30 GUB ...]

Obverse

- ^{0r}At the command of¹ Bēl and Bēltiya may it succeed (or: remain intact).
 (Day 1: i) ¹[¶] ^rOn day 1 the Moon¹ is present for 3.45. As it was said: the reciprocal of 3.^r45¹ is 1^r6¹. You multiply 1[6 times]²[4], the ^rigi¹gubbû-coefficient for the appearance of the Moon, it is 1.4. You multiply 1.4 ti[mes 3], ³[the wat]ch¹ of your night, it is 3.12 : You multiply ^r3¹.12 times 3.45, it is [12]. ⁴[12] ^rtimes 1¹ is 12. On day 1 its presence is 12 UŠ.
 (ii) According to a second one: the reciprocal of 3.45 is 1[6]; ⁵[16] ^rti¹mes 12 is 3.12 : 3.12 times 3.45 is 12 : 12 times 1 is 1^r2¹. ⁶[On day] 1 it is present for 12 UŠ.
 (iii) Alternatively: you compute a 16th of 3.12, it is 12. ⁷[On day] 1 it is present for 12 UŠ. ^r3.45¹ is a 16th - that is whereby you compute a 16th of it.
 (iv) ⁸According to a third one: the reciprocal of 3.45 is 16. 16 times 15 is 4. 4 is the ^rigi¹gubbû-coefficient for the appearance of the Moon. ⁹3 minas, the watch of the night, you multiply ('raise') times 4 and you see ^r1¹[2, the appea]rance of the Moon. ¹⁰4 times 3 is 12 : 12 is the presence for day 1 [:]
 (v) ^r3¹.45 times 2 is 7.30.
 (Day 2: i) ¹¹[On day 2] it is present for ^r7.30¹ : the reciprocal of 7.30 is 8 : 8 times 4 is 32. ¹²[32] ^rtimes 3¹ is 1.36 : 1.36 times 7.30 is 12 : you multiply 12 times 2, it is 24. ¹³[On day 2 2/3] bēru 4 UŠ.
 (ii) According to a second one: the reciprocal of 7.30 is 8 : 8 times 12 ^ris¹ 1.36. ¹⁴[1.36 times] 7.30 is 12. 12 times 2 is 24. On day 2 it is present for 2/3 bēru ^r4 UŠ¹.
 (iii) ¹⁵[Alternatively: you compute an 8th] of 1.36, it is 12. You append it to 12, the presence for ^rday 1¹, it is 24. ¹⁶[On day 2] it is present for ^r2/3¹ bēru ^r4 UŠ¹. 7.30 is an 8th - ¹⁷that is whereby you compute [an 8th of it].
 (v) You multiply 7.30 ^rtimes¹ [2], it is 15.
 (Day 3: i) ¹⁸[On day 3 it is present for 15 : the reciprocal of 15 is 4 : 4 ti]mes 4 is 16 : 16 times 3 is 48, ¹⁹[48 times 15 is 12, 12 times 3 is 3]6. On day 3 it is present for a «2/3» bēru 6 UŠ.
 (ii) ²⁰[According to a second one: the reciprocal of 15 is 4 : 4 times 12 is 48] : 48 times 15 is 12 : ²¹[12 times 3 is 36 : On day 3] it is present for [a bēru 6 U]Š.
 (iii) Alternatively: [you compute] a 4th of 48, ²²[it is 12 : you append 12 to 24, the presence for day 2, it is 36 : it is present for a bē]ru ^r6 UŠ.
 (v) You multiply 15¹ times ^r2¹, ²³[it is 30. ...]
 (Day 4: i) [On day 3 it is present for 15 ...]
 [unknown number of lines missing]

2 [4] igigubbû(^rIGI¹.GUB.BA) tāmarti(IGI.DU₈.A) ša₂ sin: ^r[4], the igigubbû-coefficient for the appearance of the Moon': this confirms a suggestion by STEELE & BRACK-BERNSSEN (2008).

3 *maššarti*(EN.NUN) *mūši*(GI₆)-*ka*, ‘watch of your night’: this denotes the duration of the entire night (AG91/2, 59-60).

4 *manzāssu*(NA-*su*), ‘its presence’: *manzāzu*, literally ‘station’, cognate noun of *izuzzu*(GUB), ‘to stand; be present’, is a technical term for the visibility of a celestial body, here the time from sunset to moonset. The emendation to GUB-*zu* suggested by AG91/2 is unnecessary, because NA-*su* is also found in the duplicate BM 45900 (STEELE & BRACK-BERNSSEN 2008). Furthermore, *manzāzu* appears with the same meaning at least two more times on the present tablet (obv. 10, 15). The Akkadian reading of UŠ, ‘time degree’, is unclear.

6 ‘GUB-*zu*’: this reading, suggested by AG91/2, is now confirmed; NA-*su* can be excluded.

7 ‘3.45¹ 16-*u*₂ *šu*-*u*₂¹ *ina libbi*(ŠA₃) 16-*šu*₂ ‘*tanašši*(IL₂.A)’: unlike AG91/2, I understand this to be a glosse explaining the usage of the reciprocal number 3.45 and similarly in obv. 16-17.

našū, literally ‘to raise’, here ‘to compute’. This meaning, usually with a fraction 1/*n* or a named quantity as the object, is not mentioned in the dictionaries but well attested in LB astronomical and mathematical texts (Ossendrijver 2012, 597).

ina libbi(ŠA₃) ‘whereby’: this instrumental meaning is not mentioned in the dictionaries, but attested in LB texts (Ossendrijver 2010). For other adverbial meanings of *ina libbi* see CAD L *libbu* 5.

16-*šu*₂: ‘its 16th’ and not ‘16-fold’ (AG91/2); the latter would require the preposition A.RA₂ or *adi*, ‘until’, before 16-*šu*₂.

12 [32 A].RA₂ 3¹: there is sufficient room for restoring 32; it was not necessarily omitted by mistake as suggested by AG91/2.

13 *bēru*(DANNA): literally ‘mile’: ‘double hour’, interval corresponding to 1/12 of a day = 30 UŠ.

15 12 *a-na* 12 ... *tuššab*(DAḪ), ‘(it is) 12, you append it to 12, ...’: there is no need to assume that a second instance of 12 was erroneously omitted before *a-na* as suggested in AG91/2.

19 «2/3»: as pointed out by AG91/2 one expects nothing here.

20 GUB-*ma*: the traces suggest *ma*, but one expects *zu*.

In the colophon, the tablet is labeled as ‘lemmata and oral explanations’ (*šātu u šūt pî*) of EAE Tablet 14. For this type of commentary cf. FRAHM (2011), 48-55. EAE Tablet 14, also edited in AG91/2, contains four numerical tables, A-D. The commentary is mainly concerned with Tables A and B, the first 15 entries of which describe the Moon’s ‘presence’, *manzāzu*(NA), the time from sunset to moonset, for days 1-15 of an ideal equinoctial month. In the commentary and in Table A NA is expressed in UŠ (‘time degrees’), where 1 UŠ = 4 modern minutes, but in Table B in minas and sheqels, units of the water clock. Since 1 sheqel (=1/60 mina) corresponds to 1 UŠ, Table B can be trivially converted into UŠ. For days 5-15 Table A coincides with the converted Table B, but for days 1 to 4 the values are different, say *a* and *b*. What the commentary does is to present several algorithms, here labeled i-v, that establish or suggest links between: 1) values of *a* and *b* for the same day; 2) values of *a* or *b* for successive days; 3) values of *a* or *b* for different calendar dates. All links of type 1 which are established in algorithms i-iv effectively employ the same sequence of operations $a \rightarrow \bar{a} \cdot b \cdot a = b$, where \bar{a} denotes 1/*a*, the reciprocal of *a*. Links of type 2 are provided by algorithms iii-v. As will be argued, it was hitherto not fully understood that links of type 3 are clearly suggested, though not spelled out, in algorithms i and iv.

Algorithm i (AG91/2: steps a-f)

Day 1: $a=3;45 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;16 \rightarrow 0;16 \cdot 4=1;4 \rightarrow 1;4 \cdot 3=3;12 \rightarrow 3;12 \cdot 3;45=\bar{a} \cdot 12 \cdot a=12 \rightarrow 12 \cdot 1=12=b$.

Day 2: $a=7;30 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;8 \rightarrow 0;8 \cdot 4=0;32 \rightarrow 0;32 \cdot 3=1;36 \rightarrow 1;36 \cdot 7;30=\bar{a} \cdot 12 \cdot a=12 \rightarrow 12 \cdot 2=24=b$.

Day 3: $a=15 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;4 \rightarrow 0;4 \cdot 4=0;16 \rightarrow 0;16 \cdot 3=0;48 \rightarrow 0;48 \cdot 15=\bar{a} \cdot 12 \cdot a=12 \rightarrow 12 \cdot 3=36=b$.

With the new reading of obv. 2, first suggested by STEELE & BRACK-BERNSSEN (2008), it is clear that 12=4·3 is construed as the product of ‘4, the *igibbū*-coefficient for the appearance of the Moon’ and ‘3 minas, the watch of your night’. The latter coincides with the entries in Table C for 15 VI and 15 XII, ideal dates of the equinoxes. Its mention can therefore be interpreted as a link with Table C, which provides the length of the night for 24 dates of the ideal year. The former term, the coefficient 4, is known from Mul.Apin II.iii.13-14 and well understood (HUNGER & PINGREE 1989; AG91/2). It links Table C to Table D, which includes 12 values of the time between sunset and moonset (NA) for day 1 of each month of the ideal year. To be precise, 4 is the ratio between any value in Table D and the corresponding value in Table C. While AG91/2 (p. 66) do hint at the implications of these links, they were not fully explored. In particular, it now seems clear that Tables A and B were viewed by the commentator as examples of a general algorithm whereby NA can be computed for arbitrary dates. That 3 minas is construed as an exemplary value of an underlying table and not as an isolated number is implied by the qualifying phrase ‘watch of your night’. Note that days 2-14 are not represented in Tables C and D, nor can *b* for days 2-14 be obtained by straightforward interpolation between the entries in Table D. It is therefore highly significant that the references to Tables C and D appear only for day 1. All of this suggests that the value of *b* for day 1 of a non-equinoctial month is meant to be computed by replacing 3 minas by the appropriate value from Table C. A slight complication arises from the fact that Tables C and D assign 3 minas and NA=12 UŠ to day 15 of the equinoctial months and not to day 1. Hence for a non-equinoctial month, $b=12$ must be replaced by the value in Table D for day

15 of that month. The value of a for day 1 can then, in principle, be computed by multiplying b by the ratio a/b for the equinoctial month, 3;12 (days 1, 2) and 2;24 (day 3), if one assumes that this ratio is the same for all months. Setting out from day 1, a and b can then be computed for days 2-4, etc., in analogy to the method for the equinoctial month. Algorithm i is therefore not merely a numerological exercise, since it incorporates astronomically meaningful explanations. By reinterpreting b in terms of exemplary values of named astronomical quantities of which the monthly variation is known, a method is suggested for generalizing Tables B and A to arbitrary dates.

Algorithm ii (AG91/2: steps g-l)

Day 1: $a=3;45 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;16 \rightarrow 0;16 \cdot 12=3;12 \rightarrow 3;12 \cdot 3;45=\bar{a} \cdot 12 \cdot a=12 \rightarrow 12 \cdot 1=12=b$.

Day 2: $a=7;30 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;8 \rightarrow 0;8 \cdot 12=1;36 \rightarrow 1;36 \cdot 7;30=\bar{a} \cdot 12 \cdot a=12 \rightarrow 12 \cdot 2=24=b$.

Day 3: $a=15 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;4 \rightarrow 0;4 \cdot 12=0;48 \rightarrow 0;48 \cdot 15=\bar{a} \cdot 12 \cdot a=12 \rightarrow 12 \cdot 3=36=b$.

In this variant, the algorithm is formulated entirely in terms of mathematical operations, i.e. the factor 12 is not construed as the product of two named astronomical quantities as in algorithm i.

Algorithm iii (AG91/2: steps m-r)

Day 1: $\bar{a}=0;16 \rightarrow 3;12/0;16=12=b$, where $1/0;16=3;45=a$.

Day 2: $\bar{a}=0;8 \rightarrow 1;36/0;8=12 \rightarrow 12+12=24=b$, where $1/0;8=7;30=a$.

Day 3: $\bar{a}=0;4 \rightarrow 0;48/0;4=12 \rightarrow 24+12=36=b$, [where $1/0;4=15=a$.]

Compared to algorithm ii the operations are presented in a different order. For days 2 and 3 the final multiplication is replaced by an addition to the value of b for the previous day, i.e. a link of type 2, with the same result. The phrase ' a is an \bar{a} th (part) - that is whereby you compute an \bar{a} th (part) of it' is here interpreted as a glosse explaining the function of the reciprocal numbers. It appears to be omitted for day 3.

Algorithm iv (AG91/2: steps s-u)

Day 1: $a=3;45 \rightarrow \bar{a}=0;16 \rightarrow 0;16 \cdot 15=\bar{a} \cdot 4 \cdot a=4 \rightarrow 4 \cdot 3=12=b$.

This algorithm is labeled the 'third one' (obv. 8). For days 2 and 3 it appears to be omitted. No explanation is given for the number 15, but it can be interpreted as $4 \cdot 3;45=4 \cdot a$, i.e. $0;16 \cdot 15 = \bar{a} \cdot 4 \cdot a=4$. Hence the rules for days 2 and 3 could be obtained by replacing 15 by $30=4 \cdot 7;30$ and $1;0=4 \cdot 15$, respectively, after which b could be computed as in algorithms i-ii or iii. For the term '4, *igigubbû*-coefficient for the appearance of the Moon' see the arguments presented above (algorithm i).

Algorithm v (AG91/2: step v)

Day 1: $3;45 \cdot 2=a(\text{day } 1) \cdot 2=7;30=a(\text{day } 2)$.

Day 2: $7;30 \cdot 2=a(\text{day } 2) \cdot 2=15=a(\text{day } 3)$.

Day 3: $15 \cdot 2=a(\text{day } 3) \cdot 2=30=a(\text{day } 4)$.

This algorithm links the value of b for the present day to that for the next day.

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102) *ginnu*-silver from the time of Nebuchadnezzar (and Nabû-ahhē-iddin's term as temple administrator)*) — One of the most interesting features regarding the much debated term *ginnu*-silver (*kaspu ša ginnu*) is its widespread use in a rather distinct time frame.¹⁾ In the present note I will not engage with the interpretation of the term *ginnu*; my contribution will instead focus on the earliest attestation of the word. In the process, I will also discuss the temple administrator (*šatammu*) of Eanna

Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin and the dates in which he held his office, which will constitute the time-frame for the early attestation of *ginnu*-silver that is discussed here

As regards the disappearance of *ginnu*-silver from the records, except for one text, BM 79000, written in Babylon in 1 Art (most probably Art I), there is currently no *ginnu* attestation which post-dates the Babylonian revolt in Xerxes' second year (484 BC). The first dated attestation of *ginnu*-silver is found in GC 2, 101 (4 Cyr); the text states that temple smiths are prohibited from melting it down.²⁾ Further restrictions regarding the use of *ginnu*-silver are found in a more or less contemporary private letter, CT 22, 40 (= Hackl, Jursa and Schmidl, *Spätbabylonische Privatbriefe*, no. 210); in both texts the restrictions come from the crown. Jursa (AOAT 377: 482) has shown that we can push the earliest mentioning of *ginnu*-silver further back into the Neo-Babylonian Period, by another letter, YOS 3, 153, which can be securely dated to 13-17 Nbn on prosopographical grounds. It seems however that the term *ginnu*-silver was known even earlier than the reign of Nabonidus, as will be demonstrated by TCL 9, 117:

AO 10327 = TCL 9, 117

[im^{Id}_{x-x}]-bul-liṭ-su a-na^{Id}+ag-šeš^{meš}-mu
 2 [e]n-ia^d+en u^d+ag šu-lum tin ù gíd.da u₄-mu
 á en-ia liq-bu-ú u₄-mu-us-su^d+en u^d+ag
 4 a-na tin zi^{meš} ù gíd.da u₄-mu šá en-ia
 ú-šal-lu a-na ugu mim-ma šá en iš-pu-ru ...
 ...
 34 8 gín kù.babbar pe-šu-ú^{kuš}[hi²-in²-du²]
 šá 1 1/2 ma.na kù.babbar ḥa-aṭ^{ku}[hi²-in²-du²]
 36 **kù.babbar šá gi-nu a-na ḥi-ši-iḥ-t**[u₄ šá]
¹lib-luṭ a-na en-ia ul-t[e-bi-lu]
 38 e-lat 2-ta^{kuš}ḥi-in-de-e-tu₄
kù.babbar šá gi-nu
 ...
 áš-šal-šú^ddumu.é a-na ugu en-ia a-šá-lu
 50 tu-un-da-áš!(T. ma)-ši-ri-an-na-a-šú
^rx³⁾ igi-ka ul ni-mu-ur
 52 [dingir/en lu-ú] i-de ki-i ^ra¹-di [...]

(1-5) [letter of ...]-bullissu to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, my lord. May Bēl and Nabû decree my lord's well-being, vigour and long life! Daily, I pray to Bēl and Nabû for the prosperity and long life of my lord. Regarding all that the lord has written ...

(34-39) I am (also) having brought to my lord - for the requirements of Libluṭ - eight shekel of white silver (and) one bag of 1 1/2 mina of silver, the remainder of the *ginnu*-silver bag. (This is) apart from the two *ginnu*-silver bags ...

(49-52) Thrice I have asked the (god) Mār-bīti about my lord. Have you abandoned us? We have not seen your face. ... [the god/lord should] know that until ...

TCL 9, 117 has been known to Assyriologists for many years, and the reading “kù.babbar šá gi-nu” was recognized already by Ebeling (NBU 1930-34, no. 342: 36, 39). Thus, the reason for it slipping under the radar must be attributed to the chronological question; when was the letter written? Our answer to this question will be based on palaeography, “museum archaeology,” and, most importantly, prosopography (focusing our attention on the addressee, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, due to the sender's half-broken name).

By examining diagnostic sign forms used by the scribe, we can firmly assign the letter to the Neo-Babylonian period (rather to the Achaemenid one). In fact, although less conclusive, the shape of some of the signs might point to a Nebuchadnezzar date; sometime in the first half of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. First, we notice the overall straight form of the wedges, characteristic of the Neo-Babylonian period, and clearly distinguishable from the often slanted wedges of the Achaemenid period. Two additional “Neo-Babylonian features” that should be mentioned here are the “meš” sign and the “še” element (i.e., the “še” sign itself, as well as the four wedges which are part of the *bu*, *tu*, *li* signs etc.)⁴⁾

Next we turn to the origin of the letter; not the place in which it was written, but where was it sent to (and found at). Most of the TCL 9 letters come from the Eanna archive in Uruk, while a smaller

part of the collection originates from the private archive of the Babylon branch of the Egibi family. Within these two archives, two men by the name of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin could be considered as a possible identification of our addressee (the fact that the writer refers to the addressee as his “lord,” forces us to look for a man of some importance as a possible candidate):

1) the Babylonian Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Šulāya//Egibi, and 2) Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Nergal-ušallim//Nūr-Sîn from Uruk. When we look at TCL 9, 117’s museum number, AO 10327, we can see that all of the nearby numbers (AO 10324-26, TCL 9, 121, 119, 94, respectively) unquestionably come from Uruk. Moreover, we do not have Egibi letters from the family’s second generation; i.e., from Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Šulāya, and the museum numbers of the Egibi letters in the Louvre fall into a different range (on the private letters of the Egibi family see Hackl, Jursa and Schmidl, *Spätbabylonische Privatbriefe*: 109ff.). Therefore, we should assign the letter to the Eanna archive and examine the addressee, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, in this light.⁵⁾

As mentioned above, giving the general chronological horizon we have argued for, and the assigning of TCL 9, 117 to the Eanna archive, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin can be identified as the well-known temple administrator; son of Nergal-ušallim descendent of the Nūr-Sîn family. This is evident first and foremost from the form of address. The writer addresses Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin as his “lord” (*bēlu*), a clear indication for Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s high status within the temple. The prosopography of the high level Eanna officials is well known, and there is no other plausible identification apart from this temple administrator. Again, this identification also fits the time frame suggested by the palaeography of the letter.

Kleber (AOAT 358: 29) lists Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s term as 14-17 Nbk. However, she also notes that his predecessor’s last attestation is in 3 Nbk and his successor’s first attestation is in 20 Nbk, and so Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s own term was probably longer than 14-17 Nbk (ibid: 119, n. 365). The documentation proving his longer stay in office is actually available to us. The end date of his term is clear; his last attestation as temple administrator (full three-part name and title) comes from 19 Nbk (YOS 17, 33). The earliest reference to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin as temple administrator is in 4 Nbk (YBC 7429). Both of these attestations seem to fit perfectly with his predecessor’s and successor’s last and first attestations (respectively) as mentioned above. The beginning of his career is, however, still unclear. That is because his predecessor in office, Nabû-nādin-šumi, is actually attested in 7 Nbk (YOS 17, 317), still with his title; i.e. while Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin is already addressed as temple administrator in 4 Nbk, Nabû-nādin-šumi still holds his title for three or four more years.

The question of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s first year in office will remain unanswered for the moment. Personally, I believe that Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s term was indeed 4-19 Nbk. Nabû-nādin-šumi’s 7 Nbk’s attestation needs to be clarified, but I think it would be much harder to explain Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s attestation in 4 Nbk as temple administrator in the middle of Nabû-nādin-šumi’s term. One can argue, for example, that the scribe of YOS 17, 317 miswrote the date of the document, or perhaps addressed Nabû-nādin-šumi as temple administrator out of habit (although he was no longer in office), or, that some unknown administrative and/or political considerations brought Nabû-nādin-šumi back from retirement; be that as it may, for the time being, the question will remain open.





Returning to the question of the earliest use of the term *ginnu*-silver; we can now confirm that *ginnu*-silver was used in Babylonia during first half of Nebuchadnezzar in one way or another. It must be stressed that this is an isolated attestation in an exceptionally well-documented period. The sheer number of administrative and economic texts from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar – with not even one attestation of *ginnu*-silver – affirms that TCL 9, 117 is a clear exception. This cannot be attributed to the coincidence of textual preservation. The slightly damaged and general context in which the term is mentioned in this letter might prove to be of little value for establishing the function and characteristics of *ginnu*, but the time in which it was first introduced can certainly contribute to the debate. And finally, does the fact that the first three (or three out of four) attestations of *ginnu*-silver come from the epistolographic material have any significance? Although all three letters come from different contexts (private, Eanna, Ebabbar) and are spread over three or four decades, one might argue, for example, that the term was used in day-to-day life prior to be officially adopted by authorities.

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1) See Jursa, AOAT 377: 480ff. for a survey and discussion regarding the main scholarly opinions.

2) According to Vargyas (*kaspu ginnu*: 263), the earliest *ginnu* attestation is S. 138 (Bertin 796) dated to 4 Cyr. However, the text should actually be dated to Darius (Jursa, AOAT 377: 482, n. 2629, the tablet was collated by J. Hackl).

3) Line 51: The copy clearly has a sign before “igi” (a clear photo of this part of the tablet was not available to us); one would perhaps think of *ina*, but then we would expect a stative or a N-form of *amāru*.

4) E.g. meš:  (l. 12)  (l. 17), tu:  (l. 18), and bu:  (l. 19). A thorough documentation of the subject is beyond the scope of the present note. The palaeography of the Neo- and Late Babylonian archival documents is currently studied by M. Jursa and R. Pirngruber at the University of Vienna.

5) It should be noted that the shape of the tablet itself stands out when compared to contemporary Eanna letters; it is relatively large (8.7x4 cm; see the table in TCL 9: 1ff. for the tablets dimensions), rectangular, with sharp angles and flat edges. We can thus say with some confidence that the letter was not sent by an Urukian official. Further support can be seen by the mentioning of the god Mār-bīti who did not have significant presence in Uruk (if any); see Beaulieu, *Pantheon of Uruk*: 342. It might point to Borsippa as the origin of our letter (on Mār-bīti in Borsippa see Waerzeggers, *The Ezida temple*: 22, 26ff.), although the fact that the writer addresses Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin as his “lord” should again be noticed. Generally speaking, a Borsippean priest would not be likely to address his Urukian colleague as his superior, and we would expect to find “brother” (*abu*).

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103) Kušû : Crocodile after all? — The correct translation for the Akkadian word *kušû* has long remained mysterious. The CAD (vol. 8: K: 602) remains noncommittal by merely declaring it an “aquatic animal”; a near certainty in view of its frequent association with the fish determinative KU₆ (COHEN 1973: 205). However, other scholars have long attempted to be more specific. The “crocodile” translation of *kušû* already appears in an early publication of VON SODEN 1936: 22, but when the word was first studied in detail by LANDSBERGER 1962: 89-94, he switched his own initial belief in “crocodile” to a translation of “shark”. This suggestion was cautiously supported by LAMBERT 1971: 347, but still failed to gain universal acceptance. A review of the textual evidence by COHEN 1973: 203-210 instead argued that *kušû* meant “turtle”, while also acknowledging a case for it meaning “shark”, “seal”, or “crab”. This last translation, “crab”, was subsequently endorsed by LABAT 1994: 231, but the “crocodile” translation also began to tentatively re-emerge (LIVINGSTONE 1989: 71, FOSTER 2005: 835). To date, the last installment of this translation saga came when COHEN 2011: 50-51, 218 changed his opinion on *kušû*, no longer considering it as meaning “turtle”, but rather tentatively supporting “crocodile” or “crab”. The confusion has therefore continued unabated, not at all helped by the evidence not being reassessed in over forty years. This piece aims to set the record straight, pointing out the inherent strength of the recently rehabilitated “crocodile” translation and the inadequacy of the perceived alternatives.

— *Kušû in literary texts*

Kušû is decidedly rare in literary texts; there being only three fully published attestations. These are:

ina šadî šinni kušî ašâtma t̄tanarrar

“From the mountain, a *kušû*-tooth had arisen and it trembled continuously” ; *Akkadian Lugale*: Tablet: 1: 39 (SEMINARA 2001: 56)

[šē]du lemnu qaqqadu qata ša amēlī agû apir šēpā erē(?) ina šēpi šumēliš u kušē kabis

“The Evil Genie (had) the head and hands of a human, was crowned with a tiara (and had) the feet of an eagle(?). With his left foot he was treading on a *kušû*

Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince: rev. 4 (LIVINGSTONE 1989: 71)

kušâ ina la'irāni t̄tetiḳ

He (Nabu) crossed over the *kušû* in standing water

Converse Tablet: obv. 18 (LAMBERT 1971: 345)

A fourth attestation, involving another *šinni kušû* (*kušû*-tooth), is found in a fragmentary Late Babylonian hymn to Shamash (REISNER 1896: 15: nr.7, 1.1). However an ensuing lacuna precludes further context.

Starting out with this admittedly very small dataset, we can still begin to make some initial inferences about the *kušû*. Apart from living in water, a key feature are its noteworthy teeth, and other beings can tread on it. The latter seems improbable for a shark, while crabs, turtles and seals are not usually renowned for their teeth. Perhaps ancient Mesopotamians thought otherwise, but it seems unnecessary to go this far when there is a perfectly plausible alternative which fits on all counts – crocodile.

– *Kušû in non-literary texts*

Fortunately, we can corroborate this suggestion by looking at texts outside the literary domain. Especially useful here is the lexical series HAR.ra=*hubullu*, which features two entries for *kušû* between turtles and crabs:

220	BAL.GI	<i>raqqu</i>	turtle
220a	“.TUR	<i>usābu</i>	turtle
221	NUNUZ.BAL.GI	<i>peḷ raqqi</i>	egg of a turtle
222	AMAR.BAL.GI	<i>atam</i> “	hatchling of a turtle
223	KUD.DA	<i>kušû</i>	<i>kušû</i>
224	“.A	“ <i>mê</i>	<i>kušû of the water</i>
225	I.LU	<i>alluttum</i>	crab
226	A.LU	<i>alluttum</i>	crab
227	BURU ₅	<i>eribû</i>	locust

Based on LANDSBERGER 1962: 25-26

While this can be construed as evidence for *kušû* meaning “turtle” or “crab”, both run into problems. Before coming to *kušû*, the lexical list already moves away from turtles *per se* to list their eggs and hatchlings. Returning to turtles at this point would seem somewhat counterintuitive. “Crab” does not have this problem, but seems quite unsuitable in view of the literary evidence discussed earlier. However, “crocodile” looks like a logical choice to fit between the two. It can exist both on water and on land, potentially accounting for its dual listing, and can be seen as having properties of both the reptilian turtle and the aquatic crab.

This interpretation gains further momentum when a lexical list of animals with useful hides is considered. The *kušû* appears again, but this time in completely different company:

37	“(KUŠ).DARA ₃ .MAŠ.DÙ	“ (<i>mašak</i>) <i>nayyalu</i>	(hide) of a roe deer
38	“ DARA ₃ .HAL.HAL.LA	“ <i>nayyalu</i>	“ of a roe deer
39	“ MAŠ.DÙ	“ <i>šabītum</i>	“ of a gazelle
40	“ [AMA]R.MAŠ.DÙ	“ <i>uzālu</i>	“ of a gazelle kid
41	“ KUD.DA	“ <i>kušû</i>	“ of a <i>kušû</i>
42	“ KIR ₄	“ <i>būšu</i>	“ of a hyena
43	“ KA ₅	“ <i>šēlebi</i>	“ of a fox
44	“ ANŠE	“ <i>imēri</i>	“ of a donkey
45	KUŠ.ANŠE.KUR.RA	“ <i>sisû</i>	“ of a horse

Based on LANDSBERGER 1959: 124-125

Here, we are firmly in the realm of large quadrupeds with tough skins, and a crocodile would fit this category far better than a crab, turtle, or any of the other options.

Alongside these lists, it may also be noteworthy that *dām kušê* (blood of a *kušû*) appears in a fragmentary pharmacological treatise from the library of Aššurbanipal (KÖCHER 1955: 64: nr.28, 1.2). While this may of course be a code name for an entirely unrelated ingredient, crocodile blood would in

fact make good sense from a medical perspective. This is now known to have unique antibacterial properties (PREECHARRAM *et al.* 2008: 3121-3128); although whether this was recognized by ancient Mesopotamians is unclear.

In summary, the *kušû* is an aquatic animal which can be stepped on, with sharp teeth, a useful hide, similarities to both turtles and crabs, and maybe even medicinal blood. The crocodile fits all of these criteria perfectly, while none of the alternative suggestions even come close. So why has the debate gone on for so long, if everything is this simple?

– *Crocodiles in Mesopotamia*

The key argument against “crocodile” is the absence of live crocodiles in Mesopotamia (VAN BUREN 1939: 96). It was above all this, rather than any truly viable alternative, that prompted LANDSBERGER (1962: 89) to seek an alternative translation for *kušû*, thus igniting the current debate. This argument is simple: if there were no crocodiles, the presence of a native word for them is inexplicable. However, while zoologically sound, such a viewpoint does not take into account archaeological evidence clearly showing that crocodiles were known in Mesopotamia. An Indus Valley-style seal discovered at Tell Asmar clearly shows a pair of crocodiles (FRANKFORT 1933: 50), while an elite Kassite tomb at Nippur was found to contain a figurine of the Egyptian god Bes standing atop two crocodiles (VAN BUREN 1928: 211). Egyptian-style apotropaic stelae showing the god Horus treading on crocodiles also occur in Late Babylonian contexts at Nippur (JOHNSON 1975: 146) and Susa (ABDI 2002: 209). Consequently, it is difficult to accept that there was no awareness of crocodiles in Mesopotamia – while they were certainly not an everyday animal, they do seem to have been significant enough to have had a word designated for them.

– *Egyptian, Akkadian and Sumerian crocodiles: Linguistic and graphic aspects*

A further counterargument is that Akkadian already had an unambiguous word for crocodile, *namsuḫu* (CAD vol. 11: N(1):245), derived from the Egyptian *n3 mshw* (LAMBDIN 1953: 284). Naturally this raises the question of why *kušû* should be synonymous, creating two words for an animal not even living in the region. However, *namsuḫu* is exceptionally rare, with only two firm attestations both coming from Middle Assyrian sources. Indeed, the word is even absent from the most comprehensive lexical lists, like *HAR.ra = ḫubullu*, which do contain *kušû*. Consequently, the existence of this very obviously non-native loan-word can probably be explained by divergences in dialect – perhaps *kušû* was simply absent from the Middle Assyrian vocabulary, and *namsuḫu* took its place. It certainly does not occur in other periods or regions of Mesopotamia, whereas the aforementioned material evidence for crocodile awareness is much more wide-ranging in scope – just like the attestations of *kušû*.

Furthermore, even if the words did exist in parallel, their vastly different linguistic origins mean that the existence of one should not preclude the other. Since the archaeological finds betray a strong connection between crocodiles and Egypt, it is unsurprising that on occasion an Egyptian word might have been used. However, this would not stop Akkadian from having its own word for “crocodile” too. Further evidence suggesting that this native word was indeed *kušû* comes from linguistic comparison with other Semitic languages, notably Ge’ez and Tigre. These respectively have *kaysi* and *käyəs* meaning “serpent” or “dragon” (KOGAN & MILITAREV 2000: 120). If *kušû* shares its origin with these, translating it as “crocodile” would be a highly suitable fit.

Finally, interpreting *kušû* as a native Akkadian word might also explain why this word corresponds to two different Sumerian words, KUD.DA and KUŠ U₂^{KU6} (CAD vol. 8: K: 602). The inherently problematic idea that these are two separate animals, uncomfortably merged in the Akkadian, can be avoided by taking *kušû* as an Akkadian loan-word into Sumerian, while accepting that KUD.DA could be an indigenous Sumerian word already meaning “crocodile”. Since Sumerians traded with the crocodile-rich Indus Valley, the concept may not have been entirely unknown to them. This interpretation may also solve the discrepancy in determinatives: as an Akkadian import, KUŠ U₂ would have been originally unfamiliar to Sumerians, which may explain the need for greater categorization through a determinative. However, as an established and familiar word, KUD.DA may not have needed this, with the graphic difference then becoming entrenched.

Concluding comments

While naturally the case cannot be proven, the balance of evidence is firmly in favour of translating *kušû* as “crocodile”. This animal alone comprehensively fits the descriptions provided in both literary and non-literary texts, and the ancient Mesopotamians clearly knew of its existence. From a linguistic perspective, such a translation would fit the idea that *kušû* is a Semitic word, closely matching occurrences in other related languages. It may have coexisted alongside an imported Egyptian word (*namsuḥu*) in Akkadian, and alongside a native Sumerian word (KUD.DA) in Sumerian.

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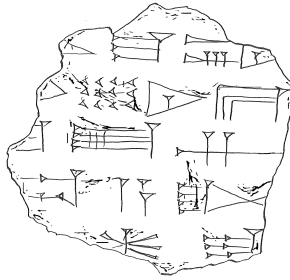
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104) Nabuchodonosor II dans une collection privée allemande — Il s'agit d'un fragment de brique portant une inscription standard de Nabuchodonosor II de Babylone. L'objet est parvenu dans le sud de l'Allemagne pendant les années soixante. Il aurait été trouvé dans la région de Babylone.

L'inscription couvre une face du fragment qui correspond à la partie centrale d'une brique cuite. Les mesures exactes de l'objet sous sa forme complète originale ne peuvent pas être établies. Le fragment mesure 9,8 x 6,6 cm. Les proportions de la brique ainsi que son inscription s'apparentent à celles d'autres briques retrouvées dans la même région et datant de la même époque.

L'inscription est une variante du texte catalogué par C.B.F. Walker (1981) sous le titre “Nabuchadnezzar II no. 41”.¹⁾ Elle se lit comme suit:



- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. [dAG-ku-dúr-ri-ÛRU] | 1. Nabuchodonosor, |
| 2. [LU]GAL ba-bi-[lu ^{ki}] | 2. roi de Babylone, |
| 3. [za-n]i-in É.[SAG.ÍL] | 3. pourvoyeur d'Esagil |
| 4. 'ù' É.Z[I.DA] | 4. et Ezida, |
| 5. [IBI]LA a-š[a-re-du] | 5. héritier prééminent |
| 6. [ša] dAG-[IBILA-ÛRU] | 6. de Nabopolassar, |
| 7. [LUGAL ba-bi-lu ^{ki}] | 7. roi de Babylone. |

1) Voir C.B.F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the city of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery* (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1981), p. 82 et suivantes.

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105) Note sur le nom du théâtre de Babylone¹⁾ — Babylone, centre du pouvoir d'Alexandre le Grand au lendemain de la victoire de Gaugamèles, est la seule ville ancienne de Mésopotamie comportant un théâtre et un gymnase. La cité grecque de Mésopotamie était évidemment la nouvelle Séleucie sur le Tigre²⁾, mais Babylone jouissait d'un statut particulier dans l'Empire séleucide. La communauté grecque y résidant se réunissait au sein du théâtre pour écouter le gouverneur de la ville ou la lecture de lettres royales. La construction d'un théâtre à Babylone, qui n'a, sur le plan urbain, aucune histoire en Mésopotamie³⁾, a donné lieu à la création d'un néologisme akkado-sumérien: É.IGI.DU₈.MEŠ. Il s'agit de la transcription logographique de l'idiome attesté également syllabiquement sous sa forme akkadienne: *bīt tāmartu* (sic! *tāmarti*: on attendrait un genitif après le *status constructus*). Ce néologisme a été expliqué par Van der Spek⁴⁾, qui montra comment le nom devait se comprendre sur la base d'une étymologie grecque où θεάομαι "voir" avait produit: θεᾶτρον⁵⁾. De ce fait, *tāmartu* avait été élaboré sur la base du verbe *amārum*, significatif "voir".

Notons cependant que IGI.DU₈ était connu lexicalement comme équivalent de *tāmartu* et de *šulmānu*, dans la liste de synonymes akkadienne néo-babylonienne (LTBA 2 2:277), en tant que logogramme. Les lettrés de Babylone ont donc interprété le monument du théâtre comme la "maison (É) où l'on voyait" ou la "maison du spectacle⁶⁾". Or, il faut souligner que *tāmartu*, comme *šulmānu* signifie également "cadeau" et non uniquement "vue". De ce fait, il est peu probable que l'idiome ait été créé artificiellement sur la seule base d'une étymologie grecque semblable.

Plus qu'une reconstruction étymologique, je pense que la proximité phonétique du mot grec θεᾶτρον avec le substantif akkadien *tāmartu* a conduit les scribes et les lettrés de la Babylone séleucide à produire une explication étiologique. Le mot *tāmartu* était, selon toute vraisemblance, prononcé à l'époque hellénistique *tāwart*, produisant (avec une metathèse tr / rt par rapport au nom grec⁷⁾) une quasi homophonie. Notons de plus que le verbe grec, et donc probablement aussi le substantif dérivé: "lieu où l'on regarde (des spectacles)" (all. Schau-platz/Seh-Ort), avait originellement un digamma (F) entre les deux voyelles e-a. La preuve est donnée avec les attestations suivantes: *tewâ*, die "Schau" en mycénien et en chypriote⁸⁾.

De plus, la valeur phonétique du θ initial devait avoir perdu l'aspiration. On voit par exemple dans les inscriptions grecques des catacombes juives de Rome⁹⁾ datant des II^e et III^e siècles que θ est confondu avec tau, comme dans εθων pour ἐτῶν ou dans la l'orthographe de παρτενος pour παρθένος¹⁰⁾. Peut-être que la prononciation du θ comme occlusive fut conservée dans les milieux

scolaires uniquement¹¹⁾. On sait de plus par les orthographes attestées dans le corpus des Graeco-babyloniaca, que le θ était utilisé pour le /t/; une seule et unique fois pour le ξ ¹²⁾.

De ce fait, *tāmartu* ne représente pas un néologisme en soi, puisque le mot était connu des dictionnaires akkadiens avec le sens de “observation”, “vue”, mais aussi “cadeau” (AHw: “Besuchsgeschenk” et “Pflichtgeschenk”). Cependant, les scribes ont su produire un équivalent sumérographique. Peut-être était-ce pour intégrer de façon durable cette nouveauté urbaine dans le paysage où une telle construction était totalement inconnue. Pour terminer, il est intéressant de souligner que les Babyloniens interprétaient le théâtre comme le lieu où l’on “voit” ou le “lieu du spectacle”, lorsque l’on sait que la population grecque de la ville s’y rendait aussi pour écouter les messages officiels, comme l’atteste cet extrait qui introduit le message cité par le verbe “entendre”. Il s’agit de la mention de la célébration d’une *pompê* par les *politai* (“citoyens” grecs de Babylone) après la victoire d’Antiochos IV en Egypte (BM 41581¹³⁾).

Abu (V), 143 SEB = 17 août- 15 septembre, 169 avant J.-C.

« Ce mois, j’ai entendu ceci (*alteme*): Le roi Antiochos a victorieusement marché contre les cités égyptiennes. Les *politai* (*pu-li-te-e*) [ont établi] une *pompê* (*pu-up-pe-e*) et un rituel suivant la coutume grecque. »

La richesse de cette étymologie est une brillante illustration de la vivacité d’esprit des lettrés d’alors et une preuve que, au sein des communautés dont la langue vernaculaire était alors l’araméen, l’akkadien mais aussi le sumérien étaient encore maîtrisés.

1) Mes chaleureux remerciements vont au prof. M. Egetmeyer (Paris-IV, Sorbonne) pour ses judicieuses remarques et suggestions. Bien entendu, toute erreur dans le texte serait mienne.

2) Fondée par Séleucos I^{er} Nicator, elle comportait un théâtre, cependant plus petit que celui qui sera construit à Babylone.

3) MICHEL, P. M., 2011, “Le théâtre de Babylone : nouveauté urbaine et néologisme en Mésopotamie”, *Etudes de Lettres*, Lausanne, p. 153-167.

4) VAN DER SPEK, R., 2001, “The theatre of Babylon in cuneiform”, in Veenhof Anniversary Volume. *Studies Presented to Klaas Veenhof on the occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday*, Leyde, p. 445-456.

5) Sur l’étymologie grecque, on verra en premier lieu le dictionnaire étymologique de Chantraine, p. 425 sous $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ “vue, spectacle, contemplation” et le verbe $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ en attique, mais très largement attesté au sens de “contempler”. Dans la liste des dérivés avec le suffixe *-tro-*, on retrouve évidemment $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$. Sur la formation des substantifs dérivés par *-tro-* ou *-tlo-*, on consultera par exemple FORTSON, B. W., 2010², *Indo-European Language and Culture. An Introduction*, p. 131. Ces suffixes servent à la formation de noms d’instruments dans l’accomplissement d’une action, et on retrouve une formation parallèle dans le substantif latin *stabulum* “place for animals to stand” formé sur *sth₂-dhlom*. Le bâtiment du théâtre est donc le lieu où se passe l’action, or cette étymologie devait encore être transparente à l’époque hellénistique.

6) Lecture au sens passif d’observation. Le substantif signifie également “vue”.

7) La métathèse est un phénomène phonologique également très bien attesté en grec. Avec les liquides, on consultera par exemple SCHWYZER, E., 1939, *Griechische Grammatik*, p. 267 qui donne de nombreux exemples.

8) Ce glide labial entre les deux voyelles avait théoriquement disparu entre *e* et *a* au III^e siècle, mais son souvenir aurait peut-être souligné la proximité phonétique grecque-babylonienne *-m/-w-*.

9) MICHEL, P. M., 2012, “Jewish catacombs”, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, Sabine R. Huebner (éds.), Wiley-Blackwell, p. 1365-1366.

10) ALLEN, S. W., 1968, *Vox Graeca*, p. 21-22.

11) *Ibid*, p. 22-23.

12) MAUL, S., 1991, “Neues zu den Graeco-Babyloniaca”, *ZA* 81, p. 87-106.

13) Edition en ligne: <http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/bchp-politai/politai_2.html> et voir VAN DER SPEK, 1987, “The Babylonian City” in SHERWIN-WHITE, S., & KUHRT, A., 1987, *Hellenism in the East*, p. 67.

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