N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

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NOTES BRÈVES

19) *NABU* **–** Suite à de nombreux problèmes de mise en page, plusieurs communications ont dû être repoussées au *NABU* 2013/3, lequel devrait paraître très vite car il est déjà presque plein. La Rédaction de *NABU* ne peut effectivement pas, pour des raisons budgétaires, dépasser les trente pages pour un numéro.

Nous suggérons, d'autre part, aux contributeurs de *NABU*, toujours les bienvenus, de lire nos instructions de publication (kindly read our « guide lines») pour la revue : pas de notes en bas de page (**« no foot-notes»**), pas de mise en page (**« no lay-out »**), pas d'illustrations intégrées au texte mais à part (**« no illustrations in the NOTE, but in separate files »**)

Il faudrait s'abstenir de donner 40 notes de bas de page pour une communication de 20 lignes, ou une bibliographie exhaustive ; point de références, sauf quand c'est nécessaire, au *CAD* ou au *AHw*.

20) Bemerkungen zu Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktionen und dem Unterschied zwischen Partizip und Infinitiv im Sumerischen[1] **–** Die syntaktische Konstruktion, in der eine nicht finite, transitive Verbalform (Verb-a) mit direktem Objekt (Absolutiv) und Agens (Ergativ) auftritt, hat Adam Falkenstein nach dem frühdynastischen Herrschernamen mes-an-né-pà-da benannt.[2] Die Analyse ist eindeutig: „Der Jüngling, von An berufen". Falkenstein erklärt den Gebrauch der Ergativendung –e ohne finite Verbalform damit, dass ohne eine Markierung die syntaktischen Rollen unklar wären.[3]

Denken lässt sich die Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion als Reduktion eines Relativsatzes: *mes an-né in-pà-da oder nach der üblichen Wortstellung[4]: *an-né mes in-pà-da „der Jüngling, den An berufen hat" oder als Erweiterung eines Partizips; pà-da „der Berufene" → *mes pà-da „der berufene Jüngling" → mes an-né pà-da „der von An berufene Jüngling". In den meisten Fällen folgerichtiger ist allerdings eine Ergänzung nach dem Schema mes →*mes pà-da → mes an-né pà-da. Jedenfalls dient die Konstruktion der näheren Beschreibung des Wortes am Anfang.

Wird eine Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion in einen größeren Satz eingefügt, so geht nur das direkte Objekt der Konstruktion in den übergeordneten Satz ein. Stellt man die Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion formal als A B-e Verb-a dar, so ist klar, dass nur A in den übergeordneten Satz eingehen kann und dass die Funktion dieses A im übergeordneten Satz gegebenenfalls durch ein Suffix nach Verb-a bezeichnet wird. Dies gilt auch für ähnliche Konstruktionen, wenn z. B. direktes Objekt und Ergativ die Rollen getauscht haben, bzw. die Konstruktion noch durch einen weiteren Teilnehmer erweitert wird. Etwa Gudea Zyl. A xix 17-18: sig₄-e é-šè saŋ íl-la-bé / áb tùr-ba zálag-zálag-dam „seine Ziegel, die

wegen des Hauses das Haupt erheben, sind die Kühe Nannas (Sterne), die in ihrer Hürde leuchten sollen". Also A-e B-še C Verb-a. Hier steht der Ergativ vorne und er geht in den übergeordneten Satz ein. Im übergeordneten Satz würde sich nicht viel ändern, wenn man nur sig_4-bé „sein(e) Ziegel" geschrieben hätte. Alles weitere, inklusive der Endung des Ergativs gehört nicht auch dem übergeordneten Satz an.

Nun gibt es aber auch eine Reihe von Fällen, in denen eine Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion oder eine ihrer Variationen vorzuliegen scheint, aber keiner ihrer Teilnehmer in den übergeordneten Satz eingeht:

— gú-eden-na-ka ^{d}ezinu kù-sù pa-sikil-e / àbsin-na saŋ an-šè íl-šè „Dass Ezinu, Kusu (und) Pasikil im Guedena in der Saatfurche das Haupt erheben", Gudea Zyl. B xi 19-20.[5]

— mi-tum an-na-ke_4 u_4-h[uš$^?$]-gen$_7$ / kur-šè gù ŋar-ra-a „Als die Mitum(-Waffe) des Himmels wie ein wütendes(?) Gewitter gegen das Fremdland brüllte". Gudea Zyl. B vii 24 – viii 1.

— ŋiša$_x$(^{ŋiš}KÚŠU)^{ki} / kiš^{ki}-am$_6$ / šu šè-da[g]-g[e] / ze$_x$(ÁB.ŠÀ.GE) dab$_5$-ba-ta / nam-ma-da-DU "Ĝiša ist Kiš, es lässt es umherlaufen. Nachdem du (es) gepackt hast, soll es dir nicht davonlaufen!" Ean. 1 Vs. vii 1-5.[6]

Im Grunde handelt es sich bei diesen Fällen um Infinitivkonstruktionen. Keiner ihrer nominalen Bestandteile geht notwendig in den übergeordneten Satz ein, sondern der Vorgang selbst und mithin der Infinitiv ist der Anknüpfungspunkt. Die Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion und ihre Varianten sind also nicht die einzige Möglichkeit für einen Ergativ ohne finites Verbum.

Formal ließ sich die Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion folgendermaßen erklären:

A → A Verb-a → A B-e Verb-a[7]

In der gleichen Weise könnte man sich auch die Entstehung eines Nebensatzes denken, denn er ist ja nicht die Aussage, um die es geht, sondern eine Erläuterung zu einem Teilnehmer der eigentlichen Aussage.

Die Infinitivkonstruktion hierzu lässt sich formal ableiten nach dem Schema:

A B-e Verb-a ←A Verb-a (oder B-e Verb-a) ← Verb-a

Dies entspricht akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen wie *dannum enšam ana lā habālim* „dass der Starke den Schwachen nicht bedrücke" KH i 37-39. Hier gibt die auf den Infinitiv bezogene Präposition *ana* die Verbindung zum übergeordneten Satz an.[8] Die Worte *dannum* und *enšam* haben die Funktion, den Infinitiv zu erläutern. Im Sumerischen geschieht genau das gleiche, mit dem Unterschied, dass zwischen Partizip und Infinitiv in der Morphologie nicht unterschieden wird, so dass eine echte Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion von einer Infinitivkonstruktion häufig nur aufgrund des Kontextes unterschieden werden kann.

Der Begriff Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion kann für eine Reihe ähnlicher Konstruktionen stehen, in denen das näher bestimmte Wort nicht unbedingt innerhalb seiner Bestimmung ein direktes Objekt ist wie in Mes-an-né-pà-da, sondern auch ein Ergativ, Dativ oder intransitives Subjekt sein kann. Z. B. an-né me šúm-ma nin ur-ra u$_5$-a „der von An Me gegeben ist, die Königin, die auf Löwen reitet", Nin me šár-ra 14; ^{d}nin-ŋí[r-su] a zi ^{d}en-l[íl-lá] / hur-saŋ-e dú-da / máš-lulim-e ga zi gu$_7$-a „Ninŋirsu, der rechte Samen Enlils, geboren vom Gebirge, das Hirschfohlen, das sich von der rechten Milch genährt hat", Gudea Frgt. 5 ii 2'-4'.

Jedenfalls steht das näher erläuterte Wort, insofern es explizit genannt wird, was häufig nicht der Fall ist, immer an erster Stelle der Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion, deren Wortstellung dadurch beeinflusst wird. Vgl. mes an-né pà-da und an-né me šúm-ma.[9] Diese Notwendigkeit entfällt bei Infinitivkonstruktionen, bei denen folglich die normale Wortstellung zu erwarten ist. Damit sollte es möglich sein, in einigen Fällen auch formal zwischen einer Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion und einer Infinitivkonstruktion im Sumerischen zu unterscheiden. Außerdem zeigt dies, dass der Unterschied zwischen Partizip und Infinitiv, obwohl morphologisch nicht bezeichnet, für die Syntax doch Bedeutung hat.

Mit „{Suffix(X)}" soll ausgedrückt werden, dass ein auf den Satzteilnehmer X bezogenes Suffix angefügt wird. Dabei soll die geschweifte Klammer „{}" andeuten, dass dies nicht notwendig ein

wirkliches Suffix ist, sondern auch „-∅" für den Absolutiv sein kann. Dies zu bedenken ist nicht sinnlos, da es darauf ankommt, welcher Teil der untergeordneten Konstruktion im übergeordneten Satz als Absolutiv erscheint. Mes-an-né-pà-da bedeutet in diesem Formalismus dann:

A B-e Verb-a-{Suffix(A)} (siehe aber Einschränkung unten)

Eine Infinitivkonstruktion hätte dann die wahrscheinliche[10] Satzstellung:

B-e A Verb-a-{Suffix(Verb)}.

Edzard hielt dagegen an einer morphologisch markierten Unterscheidung zwischen Partizipien und Infinitiv fest, wenn auch mit vorsichtiger Formulierung: „It seems practical to call (2) [Verb-a, Verb-/e(d)/] participles, (3) [Verb-/ede/, Verb-/eda/, Verb-/ada/] infinitivs".[11]

Die obigen Beispiele zeigen jedoch eindeutig, dass Verb-a syntaktisch sowohl die Funktion eines Partizips als auch eines Infinitivs wahrnehmen kann. Es ist in der Tat jedoch schwer, Verb-/eda/ als Partizip nachzuweisen. Der Nachweis als Partizip würde voraussetzen, dass die durch -/e(d)/ ausgedrückte modale Bedeutung, nicht Teil der Anknüpfung an den übergeordneten Satz ist. Knüpft dieser nämlich an diese Variation an, so auch an das Verb und also kann man es syntaktisch als Infinitiv interpretieren. Außerdem schließt häufig die Kopula -/am/ an und verhindert so eine Unterscheidung zwischen Verb-/e(d)/ und Verb-/eda/. Z. B. 6 lá 1/24 še gur-saŋ-ŋál / šubur / nu-banda / é-e gu₇-dam „5 23/24 Hauptkor Gerste, Šubur (ist der zuständige) Inspektor, sie ist durch das Haus zu verbrauchen."[12] In der Tat ist hier eine Unterscheidung zwischen Infinitiv und Partizip nicht leicht zu treffen, eine Auffassung als Partizip erscheint in diesem Beispiel jedoch eher angemessen. Siehe ferner Tempelhymnen 35: en zà-[an-n]a en nam tar-re-da „der Herr, die Seite Ans (?), der Herr, der das Schicksal entscheiden kann", mit Variante –dè (Ergativ). Siehe auch ebenda 131: me še-er-ka-an di nam tar-re-da „der die ‚Me' schmückt, der das Schicksal entscheiden kann".[13]

Die andere Wortstellung hilft nicht immer bei der Klärung weiter, weil nicht alle Teilnehmer an dem durch den Infinitiv angezeigten Geschehen unmittelbar vor Verb-a genannt werden müssen: Nur die vollen Formen *še é-e gu₇-dam (Partizip) oder *é-e še gu₇-dam (Infinitiv) würden weiterhelfen, wenn aus dem Kontext klar ist, dass é nicht das Bezugswort ist. Ein Bezugswort kann aber wie hier auch im Kontext an anderer Stelle genannt werden und muss dann nichtmehr wiederholt werden. Dies mag auch damit zusammenhängen, dass solche Verweise normalerweise durch Präfixe beim finiten Verbum erfolgen und das Sumerische ein vom finiten Verbum unabhängiges System von Verweisen durch Pronomina vernachlässigt.[14]

Es fällt auf, dass es meist vermieden wird, nach einer Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion ein Suffix zu setzen. Entweder wird noch eine Apposition gebraucht, die dann das Suffix bekommt oder das erklärte Wort steht im Hauptsatz im Absolutiv oder als ein nicht am Nomen ausgedrückter Dativ. Z. B. Enmerkara und der Herr von Arata 128-130 = 200-202[15]: ŋá-a-šè-àm ᵈen-líl bàndaᵈᵃ ki-en-ge-ra-ke₄ / en ᵈnu-dím-mud-e šà-kù-ge pà-da / kur me sikil(-la)-šè/ke₄ ha-ma-dù-e „(die Schätze Aratas) sind für mich, den der kleine Enlil Sumers, der Herr Nudimmud ins heilige (Tempel-)Innere berufen hat – er soll sie mir zu einem Berg der reinen Me aufrichten!" Ein Grund für diese Tendenz könnte sein, dass mit Suffix eine Unterscheidung zu einer Infinitivkonstruktion, die häufig ein Suffix erfordert, schwieriger wird.

1) Diese kurze Notiz ist aus der Beschäftigung mit Ean. 1 Vs. vii 1-5 hervorgegangen. Es werden nicht alle ähnlichen Konstruktionen behandelt wie die häufigen Fälle, in denen der Ergativ, das intransitive Subjekt oder der Dativ als Genitiv oder vertreten durch ein Possessivsuffix auftritt. Z. B. ŋidri šúm-ma ᵈen-líl-lá „dem Enlil das Zepter verliehen hat" etc.

2) Siehe Falkenstein 1950, 53 Anm. 2.

3) Falkenstein 1950, 54. Beachte dass in Sprachen, in denen keine Ergativmarkierung zur Verfügung steht, das transitive Subjekt, ebenso wie in manchen Konstruktionen mit finitem, passivem Verbum, dimensional markiert wird.

4) Edzard 2003, 2; Michalowski 2004, 22.

5) Römer 2010, 34 ersetzt in seiner Umschrift („íla{-ŠÈ}<-da>") –šè durch –da. Vgl. šu íl-la-da ebd. Z. 15. Das mag richtig sein, ist aber nicht unbedingt notwendig. Der Text kann auch versuchen, sprachlich etwas abzuwechseln. Auch sind die Zeichen nicht gut zu verwechseln und –šè ist die lectio difficilior.

6) Anders als der Autor zunächst angenommen hatte, liegt keine durch einen Einschub erweiterte Mes-an-né-pà-da Konstruktion vor, denn in *ŋiša$_x$^{ki} ze$_x$ dab$_5$-ba-ta würde sich der Ablativ auf den Ort beziehen, was offenbar nicht gemeint ist. Es liegt also ein mit der Angabe des Ergativs zu ze$_x$ dab$_5$-ba erweiterter Infinitiv vor, zu dem das direkte Objekt aus dem Kontext zu ergänzen ist. Zu Lesung und Deutung von ÁB.ŠÀ.GE an dieser Stelle siehe bereits Meyer-Laurin 2011 (Hinweis Attinger).

7) Die Variante in der obigen Ableitung, die von einem Partizip ausgeht, ist im Grunde hier anzuschließen, da ein Partizip von der Idee her ebenfalls einen Verweis auf ein A verlangt, während beim Infinitiv ein solcher Verweis nicht nur formal nicht existiert, sondern auch nicht aus der Semantik folgt. Ein Relativsatz mit finitem Verbum ist als Ausgangspunkt zwar ebenfalls denkbar, doch ist die Umstellung in der Wortstellung zu beachten.

8) Häufiger steht dieses *ana* dann vor der gesamten Infinitivkonstruktion, was aber am Prinzip nichts ändert.

9) Letzteres ist im Kontext natürlich als Verkürzung von *nin an-né me šúm-ma zu denken, was aber an der Stellung von Ergativ und Absolutiv nichts ändert.

10) Die Einschränkung bezieht sich darauf, dass die Wortstellung des Ergativs vor dem direkten Objekt üblich, aber nicht zwingend ist.

11) EDZARD 2003, 130.

12) Fö 63 iii 1-4, dazu BAUER 1972, 193-95 (Nr. 44). THOMSEN 1984, 268 übersetzt: „something to eat for the palace", also Lokativ-Terminativ als Dativ der Sachklasse. Hier wird eine Deutung als Ergativ aufgrund der Parallelen vorgezogen.

13) Zur Trennung von Infinitiv und -/e(d)/ (-/eda/, -/ede/) siehe auch KEETMAN 2008.

14) Manchmal werden lú „Mann, Mensch" und níŋ „Sache", vielleicht unter akkadischem Einfluss, wie Relativpronomen verwendet. Z. B. ur-^{d}namma lú erén-e ki áŋ-ŋá „Ur-Namma, den die Krieger lieben" Ur-Namma A 43. Ob diese Worte hier jedoch lediglich als zu Relativpronomen grammatikalisiert aufzufassen sind, ist fraglich. Nach ATTINGER 1993, 305 sind diese Worte bis zum Ende der altbabyl. Zeit „presque toujours appositves (non déterminatives)". Siehe auch KARAHASHI 2010.

15) Zum Text MITTERMAYER 2009.

Bibliographie:

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21) A Preliminary Catalog of Old Babylonian Sources for the Curricular Personal Name List Ur-Nanshe – As a supplement to my discussion of the occurrence of the curricular personal name list with the incipit Ur-Nanshe at Old Babylonian Nippur, where the text seems to possess the status of an "extra-curricular text" along with Syllabary A, with which it occurs several times in the same manuscript (Peterson ZA 101, 253-254), I list here all the sources currently known to me for this text that occur in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia. I would like to thank Alexandra Kleinerman for identifying a number of exemplars of this list in the collection of Cornell University Near Eastern Studies and allowing me to cite them here: these texts will be edited by her along with Alhena Gadotti (Kleinerman and Gadotti, CUSAS, forthcoming).

In contrast to its apparent status at Nippur, the text seems to have been used as a basic curricular text elsewhere, although further qualification of its status in each context in which it is found could yield

different individual impressions. The list of sources below is not intended to be exhaustive, but all of its approximately 121 entries can be reconstructed from this list.

Prism
Nippur:
UM 29-16-274+N 5969+N 6085 (four-sided)
Unprovenienced:
YRL SC 1826-Bx4-2=PARS 12/1, 77 (CDLI no. P387605, edition S. Brumfield) (six-sided)
Type I
Nippur:
N 4870 (follows Syllable Alphabet A)
N 6156 (follows Syllable Alphabet A)
UM 29-16-576 (follows Syllable Alphabet A)
Unprovenienced:
BM 118995
CUNES 50-02-147 (type I shape, repeats same three-line section over obverse and reverse)
MS 2718
MS 4161 (type I format, type III shape)
MS 4835 (type I format, type III shape)
Type II
Kish:
Ashm 1924-567 (MSL SS 1 113) (reverse Syllable Alphabet A)
Unprovenienced:
Cotsen 52191=SC 3, 033 (Wilson EES 65) (reverse, obverse PN list with initial A-li_2-)
MS 4858 (obverse and reverse)
Cotsen 52209=SC 4, 005 (Wilson EES 39) (type II obverse format advanced on obverse and reverse)
MS 2992 (Civil CUSAS 12 261-263) (follows Syllable Alphabet A, precedes igi-gal$_2$ n-am$_3$ fractions table, obverse blank)
MS 4156 (Civil CUSAS 12 54) (obverse Nigga)
Private collection referenced through Heritage Auction Galleries (CDLI no. P382663) (reverse, followed by additional PN list/lists(?) and Syllable Alphabet A, obverse theophoric PN list with initial ^{d}Nanna-)
Type III
Unprovenienced:
CUNES 48-11-104
CUNES 50-02-150
MS 4886
YRL SC 1826-Bx1-2=PARS 12/1, 25 (CDLI no. P387596)
Type IV
Ur:
UET 6/3 799
UET 6/3 800
UET 6/3 806
UET 6/3 807
Kish:
Ash 1924-863 (OECT 5 52)
Ash 1924-1779 (OECT 5 53)
Ash 1931-149 (Ohgama/Robson Black MV 230)
Shaduppum/Tell Harmal(?):
IM 51392 (TIM 10 17)
IM 53984b (TIM 10 92)
IM 55459 (TIM 10 120)
Ishchali:
A 21954 (Greengus OBTI 289)
Unprovenienced:
Cotsen 40833 = SC 2, 005b (Wilson EES 8)
CUNES 48-06-387
CUNES 48-11-093
CUNES 49-02-053
CUNES 49-03-030
CUNES 49-08-029
CUNES 49-11-075

CUNES 50-02-076
CUNES 50-02-107
CUNES 50-02-140
CUNES 50-04-150
CUNES 50-04-173
CUNES 50-05-035
CUNES 50-05-036
CUNES 50-07-011
CUNES 50-09-029
CUNES 51-07-108
CUNES 52-02-039
CUNES 52-18-165
Gesche Pettinato FS pg. 60 no. 4
MAT 775 (Archi/Pomponio/Stol TCVC 775)
MS 2201/1
MS 2201/3
MS 2268/4
MS 2268/10
MS 4864
Private collection, referenced through Archaeological Center (CDLI no. P429586)
Tablet type unidentified
Nippur:
CBS 5824 (PBS 11/3 28)+unnumbered
Uruk:
W 16603au (AUWE 23 181)
Unprovenienced:
CULC 347 = F 47 (three separate fragments, CDLI no. P416255)

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22) Update to *NABU* 2011 no. 73 – Reverse ii' 8' of the Shulgi text CBS 11317 (SEM 30)+CBS 11347 (STVC 82)+N 3347 should be read [Anz]u?^{mušen} an-šag$_4$-ta KA-KA dub$_2$ izi-ĝar šen-šen-na, "the Anzud bird(?) shouting(?) in the midst of heaven, the torch of battle." For the concluding phrase of this line, compare the Ninurta šu-il$_2$-la prayer from the Seleucid-Arsacid Nanna-utu archive at Babylon MMA 86.11.298 +VAT 268+VAT 443 (SBH 74) (Maul CTMMA 2: no 15) line 12 as well as the analogous izi-ĝar me$_3$/me$_3$ izi-ĝar-bi that occurs in Lugalbanda Hurrim lines 464 and 471 (see, for example, Alster Iraq 67 (2005): 65-66). Given the context, the combination KA-KA dub$_2$ would be expected to reflect the compound verb gu$_3$ … dub$_2$ "to shout," but reduplicated KA is more suggestive of the presence of /kag/ "mouth."

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23) News of a Mari Defeat from the Time of King Šulgi – *AUTBM* 7 (BM 12411) is a partially preserved account of expenditures of silver to a number of individuals.[1] Marcel SIGRIST and Tohru OZAKI (2013: 88), who published a transliteration of this British Museum tablet, assigned the provenance as Lagash, i.e. Girsu; an Umma origin may have to be taken into account, but is much less likely. The tablet had two columns on each side, but the top part is missing; Jon Taylor estimates that no more than an inch is missing, but without personal inspection I cannot estimate how many lines may be missing. The end of the last column that must have had the date is broken off and there is no indication of the officials responsible for the expenditures or of the bureau that was involved. The final summary is 1 talent and 36 5/6 mana of silver, but the preserved sections only account for a small percentage of the total. Collation of the tablet resulted in some minor improvements and therefore I provide a full transliteration for the convenience of the reader.

Obv. i
1'.   […]x
2'.   [2$^?$ ma-n]a ku$_3$-babbar   A
3'.   [arad$_2$$^?$-g]u$_{10}$

4'.   [mu a$_2$]-⌜a$\hat{g}_2$⌝-$\hat{g}$a$_2$

5'.   [si-mu-r]u-um^{ki}

6'.   [lu-lu-b]u-um^{ki} a-ra$_2$

7'.   [10 la$_2$ 1]-⌜kam⌝ ba-hul-a

8'.   [m]u-de$_6$-a-še$_3$

9'.   2 ma-na ku$_3$-babbar   B

10'.   ṣe-lu-uš-da-gan

11'.   mu a$_2$-a$\hat{g}_2$-$\hat{g}$a$_2$ ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki} hul-a ⌜mu-de$_6$⌝-a-še$_3$

12'.   [x ma-na] ⌜ku$_3$-babbar⌝   C

(13')   [PN]

        (rest of column broken)

ii

1'.   […] x x […]

2'.   lu$_2$ bala-a […]   D

3'.   1 ma-na ku$_3$-[babbar]   E

4'.   lu$_2$ kin-gi$_4$-a

5.'   ṣe-ru-um-ma-ba

6'.   5 ma-na ku$_3$-babbar   F

7'.   ku$_3$-pad-da

8'.   gir$_3$ ur-^{d}x[…]

9'.   1 ma-na k[u$_3$-babbar]   G

10'.   ur-^{d}šul-pa-[e$_3$] aga$_3$-[us$_2$]

11'.   mu a$_2$-a[$\hat{g}_2$-$\hat{g}$a$_2$] ma-ri$_2^{ki}$ hu[l-a] mu-⌜de$_6$⌝-[a-še$_3$]

12'.   1 [ma-na ku$_3$-babbar]   H

        (rest of column broken)

Rev. col i

1'.   šu ba-ab-t[i ...]   I

2'.   lu$_2$ lugal-ma$_2$-[gur$_8$-re]

3'.   2/3 ma-na ku$_3$-bab[bar]   J

4'.   igi-kar$_2$ en un[u^{ki}-ga-(še$_3$)]

ii.

1'   x[…]

2'.   šu-nigin$_2$ 1 gu$_2$ 36 5/6 ma-na ku$_3$-babbar

        (preserved space following this line blank; date must have been at the bottom of the column)

        Before proceeding with an analysis of the salient parts of this account, a few short notes are in order.

        Obverse:

        i 3', 9'.   The restoration in 3' is suggested by *MVN* 21 346 (Š46.4.-, Girsu), a messenger text that includes rations for a number "messengers" (sukkal) with their guards (aga$_3$-us$_2$). One such messenger is guarded by an Arad$\hat{g}$u aga$_3$-us$_3$ (13) and Ur-Šulpae, aga$_3$-us$_2$, probably the person named in line ii 9' below.

        i 5'. The name ṣe-ru-um-ma-ba, possibly a foreign ruler, appears here for the first time, to my knowledge.

        Reverse

        i 2'. A person, or persons designated not by their name but as lu$_2$ of Lugal-magure appears twice in Girsu texts (*AAS* 167: 10, *Nisaba* 22 160: r. ii 12' [-me]). Others, mentioned by name are: Lugal-igihuš (*TCTI* 1 812: 17), NE.NE.A (*RA* 59 [1965] 113 S4: 13), Ahuni (*RA* 59 [1965] 111 S1: 17), Ur-Baba, Ur-barasiga and Lu-di$\hat{g}$ira (*MVN* 11 K: 6, 10, 23). Not one of these texts bears a year name.

        i 4'. The igi-kar$_2$, "a form of gift" for the high priest of Inana in Uruk is also attested in the undated *BIN* 5 120: 3, possibly from Umma. The term igi-kar$_2$ has been most recently discussed by ZETTLER and SALLABERGER 2011: 5 n. 13.

        ii. 1'. This part of the last section must have contained a purpose comparable to section B, with an indented line.

        ii. 2'. The sum of the silver in the account is 96 and 5/6 mina's, but the preserved sections only add up to 11 2/3, leaving more than 85 mina's unaccounted for.

        Sections A, B and G are similar in structure: "because PN brought the news that X." While there is only one other strict parallel to this, comparable expressions using the term a'a$\hat{g}$$\hat{g}$a, "news,

instruction(s), work assignment," do occur in Ur III accounts (SALLABERGER 2003: 611-12; many new references in the GARšana texts represent the use of the term as "instruction(s), work assignment").

Section A, "because he brought news that Simurrum and Lullubum were defeated for the ninth time," refers to Šulgi year 44, which is generally written, with minor orthographic variants: mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} u$_3$ lu-lu-bu-um^{ki} a-ra$_2$ 10 la$_2$ 1-kam-aš ba-hul, "Year: Simurrum and Lullubum were defeated for the ninth time." Section B, "because he brought news of the defeat of Urbilum," references the following year, Šulgi 45. This year was named, in its fullest form: mu ^{d}šul-gi nita kalag-ga lugal uri$_2^{ki}$-ma lugal an ub-da limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$ ur/ar-bi$_2$-lum^{ki} si-mu-(ur$_4$)-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} u$_3$ kara$_2$-har^{ki} diš-še$_3$ sag-du/sagdu-bi tibir$_x^?$ (ŠU.BUR$_2$) bi$_2$-(in)/im-mi-ra-(a)-še$_3$), "Year (in which) Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the universe, smashed the heads of Urbilum, Simurrum, Lullubum and Karhar all together" (for slightly different renderings see, recently, WILCKE 1988: 44 n. 143 and PETERSON 2010: 37). The predicate of the full version of this year name is philologically challenging. The prefixes on the verb are written as bi$_2$-(in)- in texts from Drehem and im-mi- in accounts from Girsu. More difficult is the term written as ŠU.BUR$_2$; I know of no direct evidence to support this, but analogy with later year names and literary texts strongly suggests that this is an Ur III version of /tibir/, "open hand," usually written as tibir$_2$(TAG×ŠU). The expression tibir$_2$ ra is encountered in a year name of the Ešnunna ruler Nur-ahum, who reigned in the period immediately following the collapse of the Ur polity, and in Old Babylonian versions of Sumerian literary compositions such as GHA 151= GHB 131; Lugale 73, 581; Gudam C 17 (for other examples, see CIVIL 1976). A year name of Nur-ahum reads: mu ^{d}tišpak su-bir$_4$-a-ke$_4$ tibir$_2$ bi$_2$-in-ra-a, "The year that the god Tišpak smote Subartu with his hand" (WHITING 1987: 23). From the Ur III period the expression is documented only once in that form, in an Old Babylonian copy of a series of inscriptions of King Šu-Sin (CIVIL 1967: 25 iv 7-8 = FRAYNE 1997: 298), in which the ruler of Ur claims to have "smitten the heads" of Simanum, Habura and their territories (sag-du-bi tibir$_2$ im-mi-ra). R. WHITING (1987: 23 n. 66) pointed in the same direction when he noted the sequence šu-^{bur}bur$_3$, šu-$^{ti-bir}$tibir$_2$, both translated by Akkadian *upnu* in the lexical series Nabnitu VII 57-58 [*MSL* 16, 106]). M. CIVIL (1976), who first explicated this expression correctly, interpreted šu-bur$_2$ as a syllabic spelling of tibir$_2$, invoking the alternation of tibir(TAG) and šibir in the Keš Temple Hymn; the phonology is undoubtedly the motivation behind the sign change. The matter may be more complicated, however, as there are multiple word combinations involved in such body part nomenclature, far too complicated for this short note; see for the present COUTO-FERREIRA (2009: 33–34).

But this is an aside; in the present context the important issue is just how rare the full version of this year name actually is. To my knowledge it occurs five times in texts from Girsu and twenty-nine times in documents from Puzriš-Dagan, all from the second half of the year. In all preserved Ur III archives the more common form of the name is simply mu ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki} ba-hul, "Year: Urbilum was defeated." There is a homonymous year Amar-Sin 2 and there are some problems in sorting out the two, but that is not our concern here. The short version of the formula was also included in the only preserved year-name list that covers the latter part of Šulgi's reign (Ungnad 1938: 138), which happens to be from Girsu. While in A the news reference the exact formulation of the associated year name, in B the verbal form hul-a is different than in the year name in question, where it is almost always written as ba-hul. Nevertheless, the most likely explanation of formula A and B is that they record gifts to official messengers who brought the authorized form of the new year name to be used in the provincial administration of Girsu; less likely, but not to be excluded, is the interpretation that they simply reported victories. Tablets with announcements of the full version of a year name that were distributed to administrators have survived from Old Babylonian times (MICHALOWSKI & BECKMAN 2012), but to my knowledge the text under discussion here provides the first record of such practices in earlier times.

If formulae A and B record gifts presented to government representatives who delivered the announcements of the official names of years Šulgi 44 and 45, what are we to make of formula G: "because they brought news of the defeat of Mari"? The editors indicate that the space after the city name is broken, and it looks like they restored the verb in analogy with A and B, but the beginning of hul, "destroyed/defeated," is clearly visible and no other restoration is possible. No such Ur III year name

exists, but such a reconstruction implies historical events that cannot be substantiated by any other sources.

If one assumes, for the sake of the argument, that the Mari reference follows years Š44 and 45, then according the pattern of the text it should reference the name of the year that follows. But that was clearly not the case, because Š46 celebrated a victory over Kimaš in the east. In Girsu year-names mentioning Kimaš are attested in the first month of the year, so there seems to have been no hesitation in naming the new year name, even if some scribes used the "year following" formula throughout Š46. The defeat of Kimaš (and Hurti) that served as the basis for the year name is also mentioned in texts from the previous year (Hallo 2008: 102).

So what is one to make of formula G in *AUTBM* 7? This is the first occurrence in an Ur III administrative text of a defeat suffered by a foreign polity and the only one that would not subsequently serve as the basis of a year name. The only prior parallel is the mention of níĝ-AN.AN.AN.AN.NA, lagaša^{ki} hul-a (*MVN* 10 124: r. 10-11), "news of the defeat of Lagaš," in a post-Sargonic text of unknown origin ("parallel" texts: *MVN* 2 298; FARBER & FARBER 2003: 69-76 [with discussion]; M. Molina is preparing still another one for publication).

The Ur III information on Mari has been collected and discussed a number of times, most recently and completely by OWEN (1992) and MICHALOWSKI (1995, 2004), and will not be fully reiterated here. As is well known, some time during the first two decades of the Ur III polity, a daughter of the Mari ruler Apil-kin, who changed her name to Taram-Uram for the occasion, married one of Ur-Namma's sons. This is the earliest attested Ur III diplomatic marriage and the only one in which a foreign princess joined the family of the king of Ur. We would not know about this, however, if some Old Babylonian scribe or antiquarian in Nippur had not copied an inscription from an earlier artifact (CIVIL 1962 = FRAYNE 1997:86). After that, most of the southern references to the city on the Euphrates mention messengers from that city or a group of citizens of Mari who appear to have been permanently settled in the south. The most numerous occurrences cluster during the reign of Amar-Sin, but that may be a function of the distribution of Puzriš-Dagan texts in modern collections. The earlier occasions registered in Ur III documents are relatively few and all date to the time of Šulgi:

kaš$_4$ lu$_2$ M.	*YOS* 18 12: 28	Š45.8.30
A-da-tum lu$_2$ M.	*OIP* 115 179: 3	Š45.10.6
lu$_2$ M.	*CST* 107: 6	Š46.4.25
lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a lu$_2$ M.	*Orient* 16 42 10: 4	Š46.8.3
Itraq-ili lu$_2$ M.	*PDT* 1 161: 10	Š47.4.25
Amir-Šulgi; Šulgi-palil lu$_2$ M.-me	*MVN* 15 189: 14, 17	Š47.8.28
Išme-Dagan lu$_2$ M.	*MFM* 2005 20 03: 1	Š47.9.9
lu$_2$ M. (same event)	*AUCT* 1 494: 5	Š47.9.9
Amir-Šulgi; Šulgi-palil lu$_2$ M.-me	*CST* 190: 2, 4-5	Š47.10.16
Amir-Šulgi; Šulgi-palil$^?$; AKbani,		
Iliš-tikal lu$_2$ M.-me	*OrSP* 18 5 17: 22-32	Š48.9.9

Now that one has in mind the "destruction" or victory over Mari some time following the year Š45, the distribution of these references acquires new saliency. Indeed, it is toward the end of that very year that Mari first appears in the Ur III administrative record: an unnamed messenger (kaš$_4$) and man from there by the name of Adatum. There were other individuals by that name, one of them most probably a general, but there is no reason to think that this was the same man. If Mari were "destroyed" one would not expect a constant flow of messengers between the Syrian city and Ur and there are no other indications of any hostility between the two. Indeed, as BOESE & SALLABERGER (1996) have shown, the funerary cult of Apil-kin, the king who has joined the Ur III royal family through a marriage alliance, was venerated in Sumer. It is therefore much more probable that the news brought by Ur-Šulpae concerned the defeat of Mari by some unknown forces some time during the last years of Šulgi's reign, and not a victory by Ur over its Syrian ally. In this context it is noteworthy to observe that generally reports of victories by the home armies are reported as "wonderful news," a$_2$-aĝ$_2$-ĝa$_2$ sig$_5$ in Sumerian, rather than simply as "news" (SALLABERGER 1963: 611–12; B. Lafont kindly reminds me of the *mubassirū*, "bringers of good news," in OB texts from Mari, which also occurs in OB Leilan and in Neo-Assyrian; also Aramaic *mpsr*). The Sumerian verb hul, so often translated in year names as "destroyed,"

is a hyperbolic expression that can refer to any form of military defeat, sometimes low level and sometimes more profound, as SOLLBERGER (1966: 132–33, "to raid, to carry out a punitive expedition, to sack") noted many years ago.

If formula G is to be taken at face value, Mari experienced some military setback during the final years of Šulgi's reign, but details are definitively lacking; it could have been a simple border skirmish or a total defeat; the city could have been sacked and the local dynasty allied with Ur driven from power, or the battle could have had no consequences whatsoever. But given our current state of knowledge it is impossible to ascertain if nothing had changed, or if the people from Mari living in Sumer may have been refugees, related in some manner or associated with the family of Apil-kin, even as the House of Ur pragmatically sought diplomatic relations with a new set of rulers on the throne of Mari. The only native Mari source on the history of this period, the šakkanakku list A (Durand 2008), breaks off after the reign of Apil-kin, and is therefore useless for our purposes. The unexpected Ur III reference to an event far up the Euphrates is all that we have for now.

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1) *AUTBM* = Sigrist and Ozaki 2013. I am grateful to the authors for providing me with a copy and to Manuel Molina and Bertrand Lafont for comments.   I am also indebted to Jon Taylor of the British Museum, for information on the tablet and for sending me a photograph that allowed me to collate it.

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24) (lu$_2$) KAxSA.GAZ or KA.GAZ as worker of the palm fibers – Workers designated as (lu$_2$) KAxSA.GAZ or KA.GAZ occur in three Ur III documents from the Ĝirsu province. MVN 6, 499 (undated) records the employment of several workers under the supervision of a captain, NU-banda$_3$. The workers are subdivided in groups taken in charge by three garden managers, santana, and by an official quoted just by name, except for few workers who directly fall under the general supervision of the NU-banda$_3$. Most of the recorded workers are garden workers, a-bala (in the text indicated as ĝuruš SIG$_7$-a)[1] and du$_3$-a-ku$_5$, the others are workers simply called ĝuruš (as it appears in the total), or workers seldom attested in the garden context, such as specialists of the gazi-culture, lu$_2$-gazi, or workers not belonging to the garden working sphere, such as doorkeepers, i$_3$-du$_8$. Among them, five ĝuruš KA.GAZ occur under the general supervision of the NU-banda$_3$. Workers designated as KAxSA.GAZ are also attested in a fragmentary text, MVN 15, 178 (lost date), which probably records an inspection of garden workers. The mention of KAxSA.GAZ, as well as that of lu$_2$-gazi, appears in a broken context, so that it is impossible to connect those workers with a specific area or sector of employment.

KA-gaz workers occur, then, in CT 3 9, BM 18344 (Š 48/xii), text recording the barley rations of the whole personnel of a mill: kilib$_3$-ba še-ba ša$_3$ e$_2$-kikken$_2$. All the recorded workers are classified as gan-dab$_5$ and are subdivided for production units connected to the mill,[2] such as garden or shipyard, or professions, such as potters, leatherworkers, etc. This text quotes KA-gaz workers among those assigned to the shipyard (mar-sa gub-ba-me). KAxSA indicates mangaga (*mangagu*), i.e. palm fibers,[3] while gaz (*našālum*) could be meant as to crush (by pounding).[4] Since the shipyard was a place where the raw material coming from the garden, timber and palm by-products, was processed, one can suppose that these workers were devoted to the processing of palm fibers in order to create tools, such as šu sar mangaga, i.e. palm fibers cords. It seems clear that KA.GAZ[5] can be an abbreviation for KAxSA.GAZ.

1) The connection between SIG$_7$-a and a-bala workers (water drawers) is highlighted by W. Heimpel, 2009. However, such designation is not necessarily a synonim of a-bala outside the garden contexts.

2) See S. Alvernini, 2013, and J.-P. Grégoire, 1999. J.-P. Grégoire interprets the KA.GAZ workers as "specialists in the husking of hulled grain such as barley and emmer", whose "main working tools were the mortar (naga$_4$ (GUM)) and pestle, of stone or wood", cf. J.-P. Grégoire, 1999, 15.

3) See B. Landsberger, 1967, 22-30; M.P. Streck, 2004, 267-270.

4) See J.N. Postgate, 1984, 107-108.

5) TÉL 310 (lost date) records amounts of palm by-products provided by santana of Ĝirsu (Ĝirini, Ur-Lisi, and one whose name is lost), including 30 ma-na (15 kg) KA, likely an abbreviation for mangaga (KAxSA), the only palm by-product in Ĝirsu province measured according to the weight. The text also records a cord made out of palm fibers coming from the shipyard (šu-sar mangaga KA.ER$_3$/ mar-sa-ta). For Ĝirini and Ur-Lisi as santana see A. Greco, 2013: *L'amministrazione dei giardini* (^{ĝeš}kiri$_6$) *a Ĝirsu nel periodo neo-sumerico*, (Ph.D. diss.).

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25) ***Sa-bi-bu-um* as an Amorite Personal Name**[*] – One of many Mesopotamian personal names of uncertain derivation is *Sa-bi-bu-um*, attested mostly during the Old Babylonian period. The name is un-translated in the dictionaries, and the simplest solution – that the name's form suggests either a G stem participle, or a substantivised verbal adjective, from a geminate root √*sbb* – is hindered by the fact that the root is otherwise unattested. In this brief communication, the author analyses possible interpretations of the name using evidence from other Semitic languages.

Occurrences of the name *Sa-bi-bu-um* : While attested relatively infrequently, the name in question is found at Nippur, written *Sa-bi-bu-um* (ARN 162: 2) and on several contracts from Sippar. TLB I 220 records a deal between *Lamassatum* and *Sa-bi-bu-um*, son of *Abum-ṭābum*; CT 47 18, MHET II/5 627 and MHET II/5 630 mention a *Sa-bi-bu-um*, son of *Ḫaiabni-ēl*; and TCL 171 records loans made by *Amat-Šamaš*, daughter of *Sa-bi-bu-um*. The two different patronymics show that Sippar housed at least two people with the name *Sa-bi-bu-um*. As well as Old Babylonian cases listed above, *AHw* II gives one Neo-Assyrian example from ADD 930 IV 13.

Also of interest is a name recorded on a seal from Tell ed-Dēr, rendered *Sà-bi-bu-um* (EDZARD, 1970: 57). While *sà* could alternatively be read *za*, no other occurrences of a name *Za-bi-bu-um* can be found, and it seems more likely that Edzard's rendering is correct, as an alternative spelling of *Sa-bi-bu-um*.[1]

Since root √*sbb* only occurs in this one form and does not seem native to Akkadian, it is tempting to see the name *Sa-bi-bu-um* as foreign, probably Amorite. Indeed, root √*sbb* is well attested in North-west and South Semitic, as discussed below, and so linguistically this is a valid assumption. There is also the above evidence that at least one individual named *Sa-bi-bu-um* from Sippar had a father with another Amorite name. Following Hoffmann's work on Amorite PN's from Mari, *Sa-bi-bu-um* would be a *Qatil*–type, Amorite in root and form with the addition of an Akkadianising –*um* ending (HOFFMAN, 1939: 215). Such cases are numerous, but for parallels see for example √'*zr* becoming *Ḫāzirum* (STAMM, 1939: 215) Thus the form and root of the name are plausibly Amorite – the next step is to investigate possible meanings.

Root √*sbb* : It is first worth providing a blanket overview of attestations of the root in other Semitic languages, to consider whether its meanings are synonymous across them, and therefore what range we can reasonably expect. Table 1 shows meanings of the verbal root √*sbb* in various Semitic languages:

Hebrew (KLEIN, 1987).	**Ugaritic** (OLMO-LETE SANMÁRTIN, 2004.)	**Arabic** (WEHR, 1976)	**Ethiopic** (LESLAU, 1987).
Turn about Surround Walk/march around	Turn round Go round/through Turn towards/into	To cause To insult/hate	Go around/circle Pour/spill Be joyful/puff up Look for a cause Detest

Table 1: Basic stem meanings of root √*sbb* in Hebrew, Ugaritic, Arabic and Ethiopic.

Though Ethiopic has the widest range of meanings, some of which are unique, it is possible that many are secondary derivatives and therefore not found in, for example, Hebrew, the closest relation to Amorite. For example, the concepts of 'pouring/spilling' and 'puffing up/being joyful' plausibly have common ground in the idea of overflowing or igniting, either physically or with elation. Though such meaning is not attested in Hebrew, such Ethiopic meanings could derive from another Semitic root √*šbb* which refers to 'burning' (the ideas of fire and passion or joy being easily linked). It is a well attested root – see Aramaic √*šbb* and also Akkadian *šabābu* (*CAD* Š 2, 'to burn'). Relevant to this argument is Arabic *šabba* شبّ which as well as meaning 'to blaze up' can also be used in the sense of 'to rhapsodise about a woman' (WEHR, 1976) showing this similar idea of 'igniting' with positive emotion.

Both the Arabic and Ethiopic roots √*sbb* also share the sense of 'insult/hate', very much the opposite of the above joyful connotations. This strengthens the idea that the emotional antonyms covered by the Ethiopic developed from different roots, later coalesced into one.

The sense of movement at the heart of the Hebrew verb is shared also by Ethiopic and, perhaps more relevantly, Ugaritic.[2] It has been proposed (LESLAU, 1987: 483) that, while unattested verbally in Akkadian, it is the origin of its word *šibbu*, 'belt', as an item which encompasses the body.[3] This is presumably related to Ethiopic *šābbābā*, 'bridle' (LESLAU, 1987) and Arabic *sabab*, 'rope' (WEHR, 1976). If so, it is interesting that in two cases the derivatives have initial /š/. Such an issue is beyond this piece, but even if Akkadian *šibbu* does derive from root √*sbb* it does not mean that *Sa-bi-bu-um*, with initial /s/, cannot be from the same. Arabic *sabab* shows retention of the initial letter (as do other derivatives discussed momentarily), and since as explained above the name *Sa-bi-bu-um* is directly taken from contemporary Amorite, there is no reason why its initial letter should change in this form.

The same sense of movement, specifically turning, has led to numerous other derivatives related to the ideas of marching or patrolling, movement back and forth. In Ethiopic, the plural *'asbab* means 'guards/sentinels' (LESLAU, 1987) and MARGOLIOUTH (1939: 59) similarly argued that the Arabic *'asbab* should mean 'guardhouses' or the like. Though, admittedly, there are no such derivatives in Hebrew, there does exist the related word בֶסֶב 'circle/rotation' (KLEIN, 1987); and the Hebrew root itself can have notions of 'marching' or 'patrolling' in both basic and derived stems. It then becomes a question of whether we can legitimately hypothesise similar behaviour from the Hebrew root as the others. If so, the sense of 'he who guards/protects' (in the case of the name's form being a participle) or 'he who is guarded/protected' (in the case of a verbal adjective) is a tempting translation for Akk. *Sa-bi-bu-um*.[4]

√*sbb* **and *tāru*** : In its basic meaning, the root considered throughout this article bears numerous semantic similarities to Akkadian *tāru*, 'to turn/turn back'. It is therefore worth postulating whether these words were also noted as similar at the time. If so, can we suggest that use of the two verbs in PN's was also considered comparable, and that meanings attributed to *tāru* in this context could also have been placed on Amorite √*sbb*?

tāru itself seemingly did not have a participle form with which we can compare. However, the form *tajār* was used in PN's to basically the same purpose (*CAD T*, 60; STAMM, 1939: 220). In such cases it was usually followed by a divine or royal name with the sense of 'relenting' – see for example [D]*AŠ-ta-a-a-ar* (KBo 9 4: 14) and [D]*-ta-a-a-[ar]* (YOS 12 15: 3). Perhaps, then, we could see *Sa-bi-bu-um* also in the sense of 'relenting' or being under divine protection? If so, we would probably need to understand it as an abbreviated form of a compound including a divine name.

Conclusion : An exploration into potential origins of the PN *Sa-bi-bu-um* has found plausible comparisons with Hebrew and other West Semitic languages, and tentative translations have been proposed, derived from both the root's sense of movement and possible comparability with Akkadian *tāru*. If the above findings are valid, it means that we can add another Amorite PN to the list of those known, used apparently as late as the Neo-Assyrian period.

*) My heartfelt thanks go to Martin Worthington for both his time and his criticisms.

1) It is also worth mentioning here a broken attestation of a name *sa-bi-bu-bu* on H8: 31, and *za-ba-bi-i* on H11: 8, though it is uncertain whether the latter actually is a PN. For these see Ranke (1905: 140).

2) Perhaps Arabic *sababan* ('a way/course') found several times in the Qu'ran (Surah 18:85, 89 and 92) should also be considered relatable.

3) *šibbu* is also Akkadian for 'snake', but it is believed that this is a later development from the word 'belt', rather than being contemporary. See Landsberger (1936: 58) and Kogan and Militarev (2000: n.200).

4) Though such distantly related evidence should be used cautiously, it is interesting to consider the Egyptian term *sbb*. A statue group of Amenemope (Berlin 6910) describes *imn p3 sbb* ('Amun the protector') - see the discussion in ASSMANN (1999). Another statue of Amun uses the same word – see KAISER (1982: 335 note c).

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26) Une mention de Damrum dans une lettre de Mari ? – La ville de Damrum est connue essentiellement des textes paléobabyloniens[1], où elle apparaît sous la graphie HI.GAR^KI. La liste lexicale Hh en donne la lecture akkadienne, *dam-ru* (MSL IX, p. 171). En ce qui concerne la localisation de la ville, il est connu seulement qu'elle se trouvait à proximité de Babylone et de Kish[2].

Il n'est pas rare que les textes de Mari préfèrent les graphies syllabiques des toponymes qui sont le plus souvent écrits dans le Sud avec des sumérogrammes[3]. Une lettre de Mari contient probablement une graphie syllabique de Damrum non reconnue auparavant. *ARM* 27 162 a été envoyé à Zimri-Lim par son fonctionnaire Zimri-Addu qui se trouvait à Larsa lors d'une mission en Babylonie. Entre autres choses, l'ambassadeur raconte l'histoire d'un jeune homme qui se prétendait le neveu du roi de Mari (ll. 16-26) :

a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA^KI *i-tu-ur-ma a-wa-tum ša la ba-la-ṭì-šu*, *i-na pí-i-šu it-*[*t*]*a-ṣí um-ma šu-ma* DUMU LÚ *a-na-ku*, DUMU *a-hi zi-im-*[*r*]*i-li-im a-na-ku an-n*[*i-tam iq-b*]*i-ma*, *a-na ***da-aw***[4]***-r*[*i-***im***^K]***^I** *ša-ap-la-nu-u*[*m* …]^KI, 4^? KASKAL *uš-*[*ta-r*]*u-šu i-na-an-n*[*a*], *i-na* UD.UNUG^KI *pa-i-la* DAM.[GÀR ÌR *b*]*e-lí-*[*i*]*a*, [*i*]*t-ti* DUMU^M[EŠ] *ši-ip-ri ša be-lí-i*[*a*], [*š*]*a a-na* [*ṣe-er b*]*e-lí-ia i-il-l*[*a-ku*], ⌈*a*⌉*-na* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^KI *aṭ-ru-ud-ma i-na* [*a-la-ki-šu*], [*a*]*-na ka-si-im ša-te-em a-n*[*a*] ***da-aw-ri-i*[*m***^ki]], *i-ru-ub-ma* ^LÚTUR *ša-ti i-mu-ur*, 10 LÚ^MEŠ *ša* ^GIŠŠUKUR *i-na-a*[*ṣ-ṣ*]*a-ru-šu* SÁ.DU₁₁ *ša-ak-na-as-sú-um an-ni-tam pa-i-la* DAM.GÀR, *iq-bé-em-ma a-na ṣe-er be-lí-ia aš-pu-ra-am*

À son retour à Babylone, des paroles impardonnables sont sorties de sa bouche. Il disait: « Moi, je suis fils de gentilhomme! Moi, je suis le fils du frère de Zimri-Lim! » Comme il avait dit cela, on l'a *conduit* …[5] à **Dawrum**, en aval de … À présent, de Larsa, j'ai envoyé à Babylone le marchand Pa-ila, sujet de mon seigneur, avec les chargés de mission de mon seigneur qui se dirigent vers lui. *En faisant route*, il est entré à **Dawrum** pour boire une coupe et a vu ce jeune homme. 10 piquiers le gardent et une ration de subsistance lui a été fixée. Voilà ce que le marchand Pa-ila m'a dit et que j'ai écrit à mon Seigneur.

M. Birot a mis le toponyme dans les ll. 19 et 25 en rapport avec l'hydronyme moderne Nahr Dawrīn et a proposé une lecture *da-aw-ri-in*^KI, en l'étymologisant comme « les deux murs ». L'examen de la photographie n'empêche pas la lecture *da-aw-ri-im*^KI, et la situation géographique du lieu, à proximité de Babylone, incite à l'identifier avec la ville de Damrum. L'alternance *w~m* ne pose aucun problème puisque la graphie *dam-ru* vient d'un manuscrit néo-babylonien, et /*dawrum*/ paléobabylonien deviendrait nécessairement /*damru*/ à cette époque (cf. *nawrum*/*namru*). L'exemple d'un toponyme qui présente déjà cette même alternance dans les textes paléobabyloniens est le nom de tribu Amnan, écrit tantôt avec un AM et tantôt avec un PI /*aw*/ (*RGTC* 3, p. 14).

Les substantifs dérivés de la racine *dwr* sont nombreux dans les langues sémitiques et ont souvent un sens de « demeure » ou de « forteresse », convenant à former des toponymes ; certains de ces substantifs ont la structure QaṬL-, notamment l'Akkadien *dūrum*, le mandéen *daurā-* et le syriaque *dairā-*[6]. La rétention du diphtongue /*aw*/ trahirait l'origine non-akkadienne du toponyme.

La ville de Damrum/Dawrum se trouvait alors sur un chemin menant de Larsa, sans doute au sud-est de Babylone ; il n'est d'ailleurs pas sûr que Pa-ila ait choisi la route la plus directe. Hélas, les lignes 19-20 qui ont contenu de précieuses indications géographiques sont endommagées.

1) *RGTC* 3, p. 50, à compléter par les textes indiqués dans A. Millet Albà, *RA* 97, p. 3. Pour les documents issus de fouilles clandestines à Damrum, notamment la correspondance d'Alammuš-naṣir, voir provisoirement D.

Charpin, *Annuaire de l'EPHE* 139, p. 17-19. La totalité de ces documents sera (ré)éditée par le même auteur dans la série *ARCHIBAB*.

2) D. Charpin, *RA* 78, p. 19, n. 26. Outre le contexte géographique général des mentions de la ville, sa localisation repose surtout sur les textes savants du Ier millénaire où son nom fait partie des séquences Kiš – Hursagkalamma – Damrum – Kutha (*ABRT* I 58: 6-10) et Babylone – Borsipa – Damrum – Kiš (*MSL* 11, p. 57).

3) Cf. e.g. *RGTC* 3, p. 150-152 (Larsa), 165 (Maškan-šapir), 205-208 (Sippir).

4) Je transcris /aw/ et non /aw$_x$/ ou /am$_7$/ puisque la valeur /aw/ pour PI est cataloguée dans *MZL$_2$*, p. 382-383.

5) Pour le verbe, je préfère la lecture de J.-M. Durand (*apud ARM* 27, p. 275, n. f), mais la séquence « 4[?] KASKAL » qui le précède laisse perplexe (cf. le commentaire de l'éditeur).

6) HALOT 217 ; cf. P. Marrassini, *QdS* 1, p. 47–50 (référence L. Kogan).

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27) KUB 4, 13: 15'-23' revisited – The following communication concerns a fragmentary tablet (Bo 4822) containing two Akkadian incantations found in Boghazköy and was published in copy in KUB 4, 13 by WEIDNER 1922. The first incantation KUB 4, 13: 1'-14' was quickly identified as variant of the famous 'Cow of Sîn' and has been fully edited and discussed by RÖLLIG 1985: 260-273 and VELDHUIS 1991: 12-13, 65. The second incantation however, was left unrecognized until VELDHUIS 1991, 65 published its first transliteration. He already noticed that this incantation has parallels with the OB incantation VS 17, 34 and the NA compendium BAM 248 i 40-41. The aim of this note is to offer a new transliteration with adjusted readings and a translation.

Transliteration:

15'. ÉN.É.NU.RU *ar-ḫi-mi i-da-*[...]
16'. *sú-ú-pu*[!] (MU)-*ur* [d]ŠAKKAN *ar-ḫi-m*[*i* ...]
17'. *i-na* ⌈KUN⌉-*ša ú-še-iš-še-r*[*a* …]
18'. *i-il-*⌈*la*⌉-*a-me-e il-la-k*[*a* …]
19'. *i-il-la-a-*[*me*]-*e il-l*[*a-ka* …]
20'. *aš-šúm ú-ni-*⌈*i*⌉-[*qí*…]
21'. *li-i-šìr ár-d*[*a-tum* …]
22'. TU$_6$.EN$_2$.É.NU.[RU …]

23'. ⌈x⌉ ⌈x⌉ […]

Translation:

15'. Incantation: (O) cow […]
16'. The sheepfold of Šakkan, (O) cow […]
17'. With her tail she sweeps […]
18'. The 'pure-of-rites' [his tears] are flowing.
19.   [(but) why are the tears] flowing of the 'pure-of-rites'?
20'. Because of (my) she-goat […]
21'. May the young woman give birth normally […]
22'. Incantation (for) […]
23'. […]

Commentary

15'-16': Noteworthy to mention is that we find here a new attestation of the particle *–mi* suffixed with the first noun of the opening line, which is already common for the OB and OA incantations, s. FARBER 1996. WASSERMAN 2012:189 discusses the function of *–mi* used within incantations and concludes that it directly addresses a person who is present in the situation, i.e. as an apostrophe.

17': VELDHUIS 1991:65 offers the reading *i-na* ⌈EGIR[?]⌉-*ša*. It should be assumed that after the address to the cow, the pregnant situation of the cow is depicted. VS 17, 34 simply states in its address that the cow is pregnant, but our text seems to follow a more poetic tradition. If we compare this line with the NA compendium BAM 248 iii 56-57: *ina* SI.MU *qaq-qa-ru ṭe-ra-ku* / *ina* KUN.MU *uš-te-eš-še-ra tur-bu-*[ʾ]-*i* (With my horns I uproot the soil, with my tail I sweep the dust) and if we check the sign traces within the copy and the photograph (hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN00106a), we clearly see the traces of the sign ⌈KUN⌉ (HZL 35).

20': Veldhuis 1991:65 offers the reading *ú-ni-q*[*í*…]. However, the sign traces clearly suggest to reconstruct *ú-ni-*⌈*i*⌉-[*qí*…].

22'. Veldhuis 1991:65 offers the reading TU$_6$.ÉN.E.NU.[RU …], which should be read TU$_6$.ÉN.É.NU.[RU …]. Note that the sign É in line 15' differs from the sign in line 22'. The variant found in line 15' is the expected variant in Boghazköy (HZL 199). However, the variant found in line 22' also occurs in KUB 4,17:14; KUB 4,24 obv: 1; KUB 4,24 rev. 8; KUB 29, 58:1.

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28) *qubbatu, qubbutu* "mourning, wailing" – The El-Amarna letter no. 11, sent by Burnaburiaš II of Babylonia to Napḫururia king of Egypt (Amenophis IV), makes use twice, in damaged lines, of the word *qubbatu*: [. . .] ⌈*a*⌉-*bi-ka qu-ub-ba-tu*$_4$ (EA 11, 5); [. . . *a*]-*bi-ia qu-ub-ba-tu*$_4$ (EA 11, 11).[1] In the original edition of the El-Amarna letters, Jorgen A. Knudtzon understood this term as a noun "scream, outcry" ("Geschrei").[2] Five decades later, Benno Landsberger proposed to restore the broken beginning of l. 5 as [*ana aššat*] ⌈*a*⌉-*bi-ka qu-ub-ba-tu*$_4$ "For the wife of your father, a mourning . . ."[3] A mention of mourning over the wife of the addressee's father fits well with the general context of the letter, which deals with preparations for the dispatch of a Babylonian princess to the king of Egypt. Apparently, a new marriage alliance between the Babylonian and the Egyptian courts was planned, once the old alliance expired with the death of the Babylonian wife of the addressee's father, Amenophis III. Then, l. 11 would belong to a passage citing a previous letter of Amenophis IV to his Babylonian counterpart, which made the same mention about the mourning over the wife of Amenophis III, but presented her as the wife of the speaker's father ([*a*]*biya*).[4]

With regard to the meaning of *qubbatu*, Landsberger's proposal provides a reasonable interpretation. But the grammatical form of this word is still unclear. William L. Moran suggested that the word should be normalized as *qubbâtu* and understood not as a noun but as a 3 f. sg. stative form of the verb *qubbû* "to mourn, lament,"[5] with the subjunctive ending marking a subordinate clause. According to Moran, EA 11, 5, should be restored [*ultu aššat*] *a-bi-ka qu-ub-ba-tu*$_4$ "[After the wife of] your father had been mourned"; and a similar restoration, albeit with [*a*]-*bi-ia* "my [fa]ther," is to be made in EA 11, 11.[6] Moran's interpretation has been accepted by Mario Liverani, in his Italian translation of the El-Amarna letters.[7]

In contrast, the dictionaries list *qu-ub-ba-tu*$_4$ in EA 11, 5, 11, under the noun *qubbatu/qubbātu*, but do not provide any specific meaning for this noun.[8] Another attestation of *qubbatu* (or *qubbātu*) listed in the dictionaries appears in the Neo-Assyrian letter *ABL* 988. This letter (K.1231), with the join of two additional fragments (CT 53 522 and 808), is now available as SAA 5 156. The letter, as a whole, deals with the arrival of a group of deportees to some location in the northeastern part of Assyria. The relevant passage reads: 1) UN.MEŠ *e-ta-[an-šú]* 2) *a-dan-[niš]* 3) ⌈*šá*⌉-*ár*⌉-*bu la*[*m*?-*šú-nu*] 4) *e-ta-kal* KUR.⌈MEŠ⌉-[*ni*] 5) [*i*]*m*!-*tar-qu-šú-nu* 7) *qu-ba-te-šú-nu* 8) *il-la-ku-u-ni* "The people are ve[ry] we[ak]; *weather* has eaten up [their] *loo*[*ks*] and the mountains have crushed them. They are coming *ague-stricken*" (SAA 5 156, rev. 1-7). The italicized words in the translation in SAA 5 indicate that the meaning of the relevant Akkadian terms is unclear; this pertains also to *qubbātešunu*, which is tentatively rendered by the editors of SAA 5 as "ague-stricken."[9]

Grammatically, *qubbātešunu* in SAA 5 156 appears as an adverbial (pl.) accusative, indicating a condition in which the deportees arrived to their destination. Semantically, since the deportees arrived to their destination alive, *qubbātešunu* in the present instance can hardly refer to mourning.[10]

The final attestation of *qubbatu*, listed in the dictionaries, appears in the cultic commentary *LKA* 73 (= SAA 3 40), obv. 20.[11] The sequence of signs [*q*]*u-ub-ba-tú* in this commentary appears in a much damaged context, and no specific meaning can be proposed for *qubbatu*/*qubbātu* on this base.

However, an additional occurrence of a phonetically variant form of the word *qubbatu* can be found in the Assyrian itinerary VAT 9968. This itinerary was published by Ernst Weidner, who dated it tentatively to the reign of Adad-nērārī III (809-782 B.C.E.).[12] Albert K. Grayson listed this document under the reign of Adad-nērārī II (911-891 B.C.E.).[13] However, as observed by Karlheinz Deller and John Nicholas Postgate, the language of the itinerary is Middle Assyrian.[14] A dating to the Middle Assyrian period, on paleographic and historical grounds, has also been recently proposed by Amitai Baruchi-Unna, and his arguments are convincing.[15]

The text of VAT 9968 is given below in transliteration and translation, based on the hand-copy published by Weidner:[16]

Obv. 1') [. . .] ⌜x x x x⌝ [. . .] 2') [. . .] *a-na* URUKir₆*ir*-ᵈMAŠ ⌜x⌝ [. . .] 3') [. . .] *te ṣa-al-ʾu-ni* 1 KASKAL.GÍD 20 MAL [. . .] 4') [. . .] x *gal-le-te a-na* UGU ÍDŠi-i[š-šar . . .] 5') [. . .] *e-t*[*e*]-*bir il-ta-kan* ÍDŠi-iš-[šar . . .] 6') [. . .] ⌜x⌝ MEŠ *ù ú-ma-ma*.MEŠ *am-mar iš-*⌜x⌝ [. . .] ᴵ 7') [. . . *iš-tu* ÍDŠi-iš]-*šar it-tu-muš* 1 ME 1 *šu-ši* MAL DU-*ak* [. . .] 8') [. . .] *ku-da-ra a-na* ZAG-*šu il-ta-kan i+na* MURUB₄ *tu-š*[*a*ʔ-*re*ʔ . . .] 9') [. . .] *a-na* GÙB-*šu iš-ku-nu-ni* DU-*ak* 1-*en* URU *e-d*[*a-ni-a* . . .] 10') [. . .] -*ab-di i-qa-bi-ú-ši* A.MEŠ *e-ṣu la-a iš-qi* [. . .] 11') [. . .] ⌜x⌝ *a-ḫa-iš a-na* GÙB *ša-ak-nu* [x] MAL *iš-t*[*u*] ⌜x⌝ [. . .] 12') [. . . x+]80-*ma* MAL DU-*ak* 1-*en* URU *e-da-ni-a a-na* [. . .] 13') [. . .] KAL PÚ 1 LÚ *šap-lat il-ta-aḫ-lu* A.MEŠ *ma-a-d*[*u* . . .] 14') [. . . x] KASKAL.GÍD 70 MAL *iš-tu* UGU ÍDŠi-šar *a-di* PÚ *ir-*⌜x⌝ [. . .] ᴵ 15') [. . . .]-*ni-te it-tu-muš* 85 MAL DU-*ak a-na* ⌜x⌝ [. . .] 16') [. . .] *qu-bu-tu i-na* MURUB₄ URU-*šu* URU *a-na* GÙB-*š*[*u* . . .] 17') [. . .]-*a-ni iq-ṭi-rib i+na* ŠÀ *na-aḫ-le* ⌜x⌝ [. . .] Rev. 1') [. . .] ⌜x⌝ [. . .] 2') [. . .] ⌜x⌝ *ša* URU [. . .] 3') [. . . I]N.NU.MEŠ [. . .] 4') [. . . É].GAL-*LIM* [x x (x) ME]Š-*šu* [. . .] 5') [. . .] *ú-ma-*[*mu*.MEŠ x (x)] *nu* [. . .] ᴵ 6') [. . .] *ú-ma-mu*.MEŠ *ša i+na* [. . .] 7') [. . . K]ÁM *li-*[*m*]*e*ʔ ᵐᵈ*A-šur*-BA *iz-*⌜x⌝ [. . .] 8') [. . .] *ù* IN.NU.MEŠ *ša* 10 UD.ME[Š . . .] 9') [. . . UR]U.MEŠ-*ni ša* KURS*u-ḫi a-n*[*a* . . .] 10') [. . .] UGU ÍDP*u-rat-te il-*[. . .] 11') [. . . *i+n*]*a ta-ia-ar-te₀-šu* x ⌜x⌝ [. . .] 12') [. . . ᵐᵈIM]-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN KUR ᵈ*A-šur ik-šu-*[*ud* . . .] 13') [. . . *i-tu*]-*ru-ni a-na* URUŠÀ.U[RU . . .] 14') [. . .] ⌜x x⌝ [. . .] ᴵ 15') [. . .] ⌜x⌝ [. . .]

Obv. 1') [. . .] . . . [. . .] 2') [. . .] to the town Kīr-Ninurta[17] [. . .] 3') [. . .] is located. 1 double-hour (and) 20 furlongs [. . .] 4') [. . .]-*gallete* to the brook Ši[ššar . . .] 5') [. . .] he [c]rossed and stayed. The brook Šiš[šar . . .] 6') [. . .] . .s, and the animals,[18] as much as . . . [. . .] ᴵ 7') [. . .][19] from brook Šiš]šar he departed, 160 furlongs he passed [. . .] 8') [. . .] *kudāru*(-terrain)[20] he left to the right of him, and into the st[eppe (?) . . .] 9') [. . . (which)] he left to the left of him, he passed. One sol[itary] town [. . .] 10') [. . .]-*abdi* they call it. Water was scarce, and he did not give (them) to drink[21] [. . .] 11') [. . .] one another, they lie to the left. [x] furlongs fro[m . . .] 12') [. . . x+]80 furlongs he passed. One solitary town to [. . .] 13') [. . .] . . . (there was) a well. (As) one person, they filtered (water) at the bottom.[22] The water (was) muc[h . . .] 14') [. . . x] double-hour(s) (and) 70 furlongs from the brook Šiššar to the well (of) . . . [. . .] ᴵ 15') [. . .] . . . he departed, (and) 85 furlongs he passed. To [. . .] 16') [. . .] (there was) *qubbutu* inside his town; he [left] the town to the left of him [. . .] 17') [. . . (to)] . . . he approached. In the wadi . . . [. . .] Rev. 1') [. . .] . . . [. . .] 2') [. . .] of the town [. . .] 3') [. . . s]traw [. . .] 4') [. . . p]alace [. . .] his [. . .] 5') [. . .] anim[als . . .] . . . ᴵ 6') [. . .] animals which in [. . .] 7') [. . . In the month x, day x (?)] the epo[ny]my of Aššur-iqīša, he/they . . . [. . .] 8') [. . .] and straw for 10 days [. . .] 9') [. . . the ci]ties of the land Suḫu t[o . . .] 10') [. . .] on the Euphrates he/they . . . [. . .] 11') [. . . O]n his return . . . [. . .] 12') [. . . Adad]-nērārī (?), the king of Assyria, rea[ch]ed   [. . .] 13') [. . . (when) he/they retu]rned, to the Inner Ci[ty (Aššur) . . .] 14') [. . .] . . . [. . .] ᴵ 15') [. . .] . . . [. . .]

Although in its extant state the document is very fragmentary, it clearly describes a journey undertaken by some person – apparently the king of Assyria mentioned in rev. 12' – which proceeded in several stages until the traveling party reached the land Suḫu on the Middle Euphrates. For each stage of the journey, the document specifies the distance covered. The distance is measured in *bēru* (KASKAL.GÍD), equaling ca. 10.8 km and translated conventionally as "double hour," and MAL, which is apparently a variant writing for GÁNA, the logogram expressing the distance unit *ikû* that equals ca. 60 m and is translated here, by the way of a shorthand designation, as "furlong."[23]

An important landmark on the route described in VAT 9968 is the brook Šiššar, which is most likely identical with Wadi Tharthar.[24] Part of the journey appears to have proceeded more or less along the Šiššar, judging by the fact that departure from this brook is mentioned at least twice (obv. 7' and 14'). Between these two departures, the traveling party appears to have experienced some difficulties with water supply: in one instance, there was not enough water to drink, and in another instance the water was

sufficient but it had to be filtered (obv. 10'-13'). The difficulties with water supply suggest movement in a steppe region, which fits the territory around Wadi Tharthar.[25]

As noted above, the land Suḫu appears to have been the final destination of the journey described in VAT 9968. In the second millennium B.C.E. there were two roads leading from Suḫu to the region of the Middle Tigris across Wadi Tharthar: one ran from Suḫu more or less directly to the northeast, leading to the city of Aššur, and the other passed due east from Suḫu, reaching the Tigris at Šitullum, ca. 100 km south of Aššur.[26] From VAT 9968 it appears that once the Assyrians reached Wadi Tharthar, they switched from one of those roads to the other, probably from the northern one (starting at Aššur) to the more southern one. Making such a maneuver would be liable to prolong the journey, in an inhospitable terrain, and thus would require some special reason. It seems likely that the maneuver would be carried out as a military stratagem, in order to make the Assyrians enter Suḫu from an unexpected direction. This suggests that the itinerary VAT 9968 describes a march of the Assyrian army against Suḫu, probably during the reign of Adad-nērārī I (i.e., in the first decades of the 13th century B.C.E.).[27]

Notably, the distance passed by the Assyrians after the second departure from Šiššar was relatively small: just 85 furlongs, which equals ca. 5.1 km (VAT 9968, obv. 15'). After the specification of this distance, apparently a mention of some local leader or deity appeared, in a part of the text that is now broken, followed by the remark "*qubbutu* inside his town" (*qubbutu ina qabli ālešu*, VAT 9968, obv. 16'). A noun *qubbutu* is not recognized in the dictionaries, but it can be understood as a form of the noun *qubbatu* with the Assyrian vocal harmony.[28] For such a noun, derivation from *qubbû* "to mourn, lament" is likely. Either the Assyrians stumbled, in what was essentially a no-man's land, upon a town which did not allow them access to such necessities as food and water, so that the Assyrian army inflicted mourning on that town; or the Assyrians had to bury in the town their own soldiers or officers who died of the hardships encountered on the road in the inhospitable region of Wadi Tharthar. One way or another, a town that found itself on the track of a marching Assyrian army would have good chances to be transformed into a scene of mourning or wailing. Thus, the noun *qubbatu*, whose attestation in singular has been put in doubt by Moran's re-interpretation of EA 11, ll. 5, 11, appears to be re-introduced (in the Assyrian form *qubbutu*) in VAT 9968, obv. 16'.

Now we can return to SAA 5 156. As noted above, the plural noun *qubbāte* in that letter probably does not refer to mourning. Yet, the deportees who came alive to Assyria (in the late 8th century B.C.E., thus ca. 550 years after Adad-nērārī I) would have every reason to bemoan their own condition, especially as they encountered considerable hardships on their trail. Thus, the clause *qubbātešunu illakūni* (SAA 5 156, rev. 6-7) can be translated as "they came hither wailing" (lit., "in their wails"). Whether the wailing termed *qubbatu* (Assyrian sg. *qubbutu*) was over dead people, or people who were still alive but in a miserable condition, would depend on the context of each specific use of this term.

1) In the first instance, the sign A is partly preserved after the break (J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, I [Leipzig 1915], 94, n. f; and see the hand-copy of the tablet published as VS 11 6).

2) Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, I, 94-95.

3) Landsberger's proposal was cited by E. F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, With Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten* (Baltimore 1964), 46.

4) W. L. Moran, "Additions to the Amarna Lexicon," *Or*. NS 53 (1984): 301; idem., *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore - London 1992), 21-22, nn. 1, 5.

5) For this verb, see *AHw*: 890a, s.v. *qabû(m)*, D; *CAD* Q: 292, s.v. *qubbû*.

6) W. L. Moran, "Additions to the Amarna Lexicon," *Or*. NS 53 (1984): 301; *idem*., *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore - London 1992), 21-22, nn. 1, 5.

7) "[Dopo che la moglie] di tuo padre era stata compianta"; "[La moglie] di mio padre è stata compianta" (M. Liverani, *Le lettere di el-Amarna*, 2: *Le lettere dei «Grandi Re»* [Brescia 1999], 358).

8) "unkl[ar]" (*AHw*: 925b, s.v. *qub(b)atu*); "m[eani]ng unkn[own]" (*CAD* Q: 291b, s.v. *qubbātu*).

9) G. B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, SAA 5 (Helsinki 1990), 117. Cf. also the translation of *qubbāti* as "ague (?)" in the word-index to the volume (ibid., 233; question mark preserved).

10) Theoretically, the deportees could mourn their compatriots who perished in a war against Assyria or died in the process of deportation. However, SAA 5 156 speaks solely of the condition of those deportees who managed to arrive to the destination point, and nothing is said about their relation to other members of the population to which they had originally belonged.

11) The attestation of *qubbatu/qubbātu* in *LKA* 73, obv. 20, is mentioned in the *CAD*, not in the *AHw*.

12) E. F. Weidner, "Assyrische Itinerare," *AfO* 21 (1966): 44-45, pl. VIII. A king of Assyria named [. . .]-nērārī is mentioned in VAT 9968, rev. 12'.

13) A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 2: *From Tiglath-pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II* (Wiesbaden 1976), §§449-453.

14) K. Deller and J. N. Postgate, "Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu RGTC 5: Mittelassyrischer Teil," *AfO* 32 (1985): 68.

15) Most importantly, the form of the signs BA and MEŠ in VAT 9968 is clearly Middle Assyrian, and the eponym Aššur-iqīša (*li-[m]e*? md*A-šur*-BA, rev. 7'), is not known for the period after 910 B.C.E. (A. Baruchi-Unna, *Genres Meet: Itineraries, Prayers and Divine Messages in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* [PhD thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009], 36 [Hebrew]).

16) Baruchi-Unna has proposed an indirect join of VAT 9968 with VAT 13038, published as *KAH* 2 145 (Baruchi-Unna, *Genres Meet*, 35). It is not clear to the present author that this join is justified. In any event, VAT 13038 preserves only a few signs in seven fragmentary lines, which do not add up to a single complete clause. Without a direct join to another text, the interpretative value of VAT 13038 is severely limited.

17) Weidner read the name of the town in VAT 9968, obv. 2' as URU*Tùm-sa-*d*Maš-ta*[*b-ba*] (Weidner, "Assyrische Itinerare," 44). However, Deller and Postgate observed that the sign specified by Weidner as TÙM can be also read as KIR$_6$/QIR$_6$, and that the theophoric element in the town name can be Ninurta (MAŠ), in which case the two horizontal wedges following the sign MAŠ would have to be understood as the beginning of the next word (Deller and Postgate, "Nachträge," 75). The reading KIR$_6$ instead of TÙM is made all the more likely by the fact that KIR$_6$ is used in the Middle Assyrian period phonetically, while TÙM is not so used before the first millennium B.C.E. (W. F. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar*[4], AnOr 42 [Rome 1991], nos. 245, 252). Indeed, the sign following KIR$_6$/TÙM appears on Weidner's hand-copy as IR rather than SA, which suggests that it is a phonetic complement specifying the reading of the preceding sign as *kir*$_6$. Hence, it seems likely that the town name is to be read URUKir$_6$*ir*-dMAŠ (Kīr-Ninurta, "a kiln of Ninurta").

18) Weidner understood the term *umāmu* in VAT 9968 as a reference to wild animals, which were possibly hunted by the king of Assyria (Weidner, "Assyrische Itinerare," 44). However, *umāmu* may also refer to domesticated animals (*CAD* U-W: 96a-b, s.v. *umāmu*, c), who in this instance may have been used by the traveling party as pack and draught animals.

19) A small vertical line before a line number in transliteration and translation indicates a horizontal dividing line drawn on the tablet before the relevant line of text.

20) For *kudāru* "a kind of terrain, a topographical feature" see *AHw*: 499a; *CAD* K: 492b.

21) Translation similar to the one proposed by Grayson: "Since water was scarce he could not water" (Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 2, §451). Weidner translated "nicht (einmal) wenig Wasser gab er zu trinken" (Weidner, "Assyrische Itinerare," 44). However, it does not appear likely that an Assyrian king would intentionally deny water to people traveling with him, if it were not due to objective constraints (such as water being too scarce in a certain location).

22) Weidner read the sequence of signs after PÚ in obv. 13' as 1 LÚ ŠAB KUR (Weidner, "Assyrische Itinerare," 44). This reading does not yield a meaningful phrase. However, if KUR is read syllabically as *lat*, the sequence can be understood as 1 LÚ *šaplât* "(as) one person, at the bottom" (with *šaplâtu* "lower part" in the absolute state; for adverbial use of the absolute state, cf. *GAG* §62h-i).

23) For the values of *bēru* and MAL (as a variant for GÁNA), see M. A. Powell, "Maße und Gewichte," *RLA* 7 (1987-90), 467, 477.

24) For the identification of the brook Šiššar, see Kh. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*, RGTC 5 (Wiesbaden 1982), 317. The only alternative possibility to the identification with Wadi Tharthar is a canal branching off from the Tigris near the city of Aššur. However, in a proximity to Tigris the traveling party would hardly experience difficulties with water supply, mentioned in VAT 9968, obv. 10'-13'.

25) The conclusion that the traveling party moved through a steppe region was reached already by Weidner, "Assyrische Itinerare," 44.

26) See the map in F. Joannès, "Routes et voies de communication dans les archives de Mari," in *Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux: actes du colloque international, Paris, mai 1993*, ed. J.-M. Durand, Amurru 1 (Paris 1996), 325.

27) Adad-nērārī I is the only king of the Middle Assyrian period whose name ends in the element *nērārī* "my help" (see above, n. 12) and for whom military activity in the region of the Upper and Middle Euphrates is attested, if only in the form of a royal title: "scatterer of all enemies above and below, trampler of their lands from Lubdu and the land Rapiqu to Eluhat" (RIMA 1, A.0.76.1, 5-8). An interpretation of VAT 9968 as an itinerary of a military campaign has already been proposed by Baruchi-Unna, based on stylistic similarities between this text and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions which include war itineraries (Baruchi-Unna, *Genres Meet*, 48, 64, 128).

28) For the Assyrian vocal harmony (assimilation of short *a* in an open unstressed syllable to the vowel of the following syllable), see *GAG* §10e-f.

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29) Small or Ancient *sūtu* ? Some remarks on the reading of BATSH 9 72, 8-9 – In his recent article "Anmerkungen zu mittelassyrischen Texten, 8" (*OLZ* 107, 2012, pp. 209-14), H. Freydank discussed some points that I presented in my book *Climate, Environment and Agriculture in Assyria in the 2nd Half of the 2nd Millenium BCE* (Studia Chaburensia 2, 2011). He especially made one suggestion for the reading of BATSH 9 72, 8, which would invalidate part of my discussions on the equivalencies between the different sorts of *sūtu*-measures (thereafter '*s*.') found in Middle Assyrian texts related to field productions at Dūr-Katlimmu (published in Röllig W., *Land- und Viehwirtschaft am unteren Ḫābūr in mittelassyrischer Zeit*, BATSH 9, 2008). The debate focuses on the equivalencies between three types of *s*.: the old one, the small one, and that of the *ḫiburnu* (thereafter '*s*. of *ḫ*.'; see the details in StCh2, pp. 105-121). The equivalency between the *s*. of *ḫ*. and the small *s*. has long been established to 1:1.25 (i.e., 4 *s*. of the *ḫ*. equal 5 small *s*.; Freydank H., "Zwei Verpflegungstexte aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta", *AoF* 1, pp. 55-89), whereas it is usually admitted that the *s*. of *ḫ*. and the old *s*. were equivalent. I, on the other hand, suggested a new reading of BATSH 9 72, 8-9, which rather implies the equivalency 1 small *s*. = 1 old *s*. = 0.8 *s*. of *ḫ*. — or 1 *s*. of *ḫ*. = 1.25 old or small *s*. This reading is questioned by Freydank. For the sake of clarity, I give here the two existing editions of the passage:

- The original edition by Röllig reads: (8) 20 ANŠU 1(n) 2 BÁN ŠUK-*at ši-luḫ-li i*+na GIŠ.BÁN SUM[UN$^?$], (9) *a-na* 10+6 ANŠU 60+10+4$^?$ x *i*+na GIŠ.BÁN *ḫi-bur-n*[*i*] = "20 *emāru* 1 *paršiktu* 2 *sūtu* sind Verpfelgung der *šiluḫlu*-Leute, nach dem [alten] *sūtu*-Maß. Für 16 *emāru* 84(?) [*sic*] x nach dem *sūtu*-Maß des *ḫibur*[*nu*]." (BATSH 9, p. 132)

- My own reading in StCh2 proposes: (8) 20 anše 1(n) 2 bán šuk-*at ši-luḫ-li i*+na ^{giš}bán sum[un], (9) *a-na* 10+6 anše 1(n) {over erasure} ⌜4°⌝ [s]ilà* *i*+na ^{giš}bán *ḫi-bur-n*[*i ta-lik*] = « 20 *emāru* 1 *paršiktu* 2 *sūtu*, as food allocation to the *šiluḫlū*-dependants – according to the old *sūtu*-measure; it *went to* 16 *emāru* 4 *sūtu* 4 *qû* – according to the *sūtu*-measure of the *Ḫiburnu*." (StCh 2, pp. 259-60).

Freydank's suggestions (*OLZ* 107, pp 9-10) change this reading on two points. First, if he follows my readings for the numerals of l. 9 ("16 *emāru* 6 *sūtu* 4 *qû*") and the general structure of the sentence, he justly points out that the final verbal form should be rendered *ta-ur*, since MARV 9 95:26 bears a more detailled form *ta-ú-ur* instead of the usual sequence *ta*-UR traditionnally read **ta-lik*. The MARV 9 volume (Freydank H./Feller B., *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexten* IX, KAM 8, WVDOG 125, 2010) appeared when I was putting the final touch to my manuscript, and I have to admit that this text escaped my attention then. The reading of this line and all similar sequences should be emended accordingly. The general understanding (a conversion between two different *s*.) remains however valid.

Freydank's second suggestion regards the nature of the *s*. mentioned in the text. As often, the crucial sign lies in a damaged part of the tablet, at the end of l. 8. I followed Röllig's reading of the last sign as sum[un] (or, better, ⌜sumun⌝), whereas Freydank suggests that what was read and copied by Röllig as a *Winkelhacken* should be understood as a horizontal, corresponding not to a BE sign, but to the upper part of a TUR sign (*OLZ* 107, p. 9). This reading would allow to get back to the usual equivalencies of 1 old *s*. = 1 *s*. of *ḫ*. = 1.25 small *s*., and nullify my remarks on the aforementioned equivalency, as well as yields reconstructed for the second of all tables and graphs in chapters 6 and 7 of StCh 2 (see p. 121 for the details). As I mentioned in the book, the unfortunate situation in Syria prevented me from collating the tablets at Deir ez-Zôr museum, as was initially planned, so it will be hardly possible to reach a consensus with the present state of available material. Since I cannot foresee a date for such a verification, I wish nevertheless to present the elements I have at hand, in order to substantiate the debate.

In Röllig's copy (BATSH 9, p. 133), the second element of the sign is clearly a *Winkelhacken*, not a horizontal. There is no resin cast of this tablet in the Šēḫ Ḥamad Projekt collection, but an unpublished photograph does exist. It is not the clearest picture ever (even if it looks better on a computer

screen and in colors than the presently published pictures might suggest) and was done for the sake of documentation, not for philological use. In my opinion, however, it suggests not to discard Röllig's copy so easily, and at least leave open the question whether the sign was a BE or a TUR. The second element of the sign could well be one of these huge *Winkelhacken*s common in Middle Assyrian script when in final position, like in BE, TI or KAM. Alternatively, the remaining traces do not completely exclude the possibility of a TUR sign, provided that the second horizontal would have been quite exaggerated (which is also possible in the Middle Assyrian script). I give here a close-up picture of the sign, as well as two tentative copies, where I tried to follow the available traces according to both signs.

BATSH 9 72, 8: ;

Suggested reading with BE: ;

Suggested reading with TUR: ;
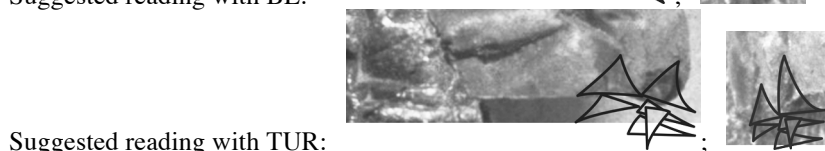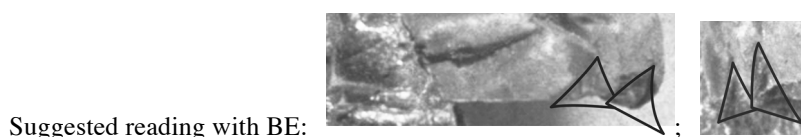
The exercise has its obvious limits, and the drawing is very tentative — especially for the second picture (from the edge), where it is difficult to render the perspective. My personal feeling is that both the inclination of the preserved final sign and the apparent length of the sign fit BE better than TUR; I would however not argue on the basis of this photograph alone that one or the other reading should definitely be discarded. Given that the reading ⌈tur⌉ makes things much simpler, it would be tempting to follow Freydank's suggestion. Palaeographic reasons lead me, however, to reject this *lectio facilior* in the final instance, and stick to Röllig's first impression (who furthermore had the chance to see the tablet *de visu*, a tremendous advantage). Looking at other writings of ^giš^bán sumun and ^giš^bán tur in the archive (when photographs are available), two patterns appear clearly. First, the BE sign is consistently written with a huge final *Winkelhacken*. But also, and more importantly, the scribes tend to write on the same horizontal line the horizontal of BÁN and that of BE. When they write ^giš^bán tur, on the other hand, they line up the horizontal of the BÁN with the lower ones of the TUR, leaving the two uppermost horizontals level with the head of the vertical of BÁN.

- ^giš^bán sumun:

BATSH 9 63, 01: ; 29: .

BATSH 9 67, 25: .

BATSH 9 69, 24: .

BATSH 9 71, 01: ; 09: .
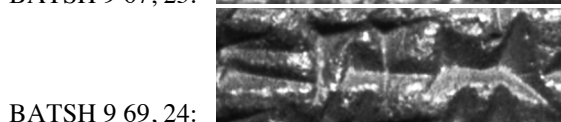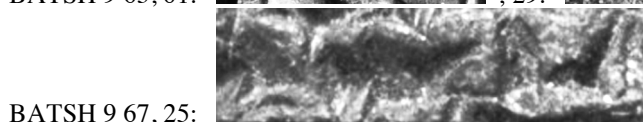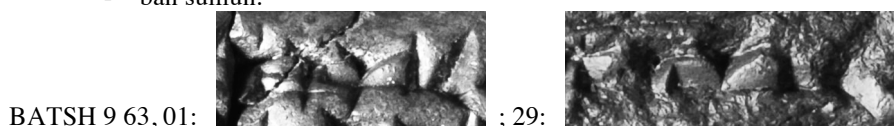
- ^{giš}bán tur:
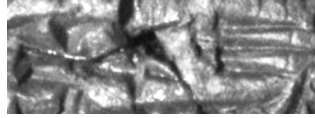
BATSH 9 75, 19:   ; 28:   .
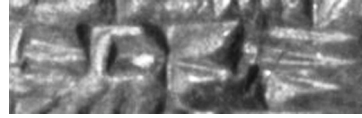
In BATSH 9 72,8, the first (and probably only) horizontal is level with that of the BÁN sign, the breach of the tablet following the weak point caused by the incision of this sign. I cannot say with full certainty that sumun (and not tur) is to be read here, but in my opinion the stakes are higher in favor of Röllig's reading than of Freydank's suggestion. Even if it blurs our understanding of the Middle Assyrian *sūtu* system, and raises more questions than it gives answers, I am reluctant to reject the palaeographical evidence in that case. As I stated in StCh 2, I cannot give a definite system for these equivalencies, therefore I decided to study Middle Assyrian yields according to the three different possibilities the texts suggest to me – even if it has the inconvenient to make the reading at times rather tedious. Two out of these three options will, in a time that I hope not too distant, surely be discarded by a better understanding of the system. In the present state of the documentation, however, I have the weakness to think that time has not yet come to declare any of them *weitgehend irrelevant*.

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30) Getting to the point – The Ugaritic term *sbrdn* (KTU 4.337 [RS 18.024]:1; KTU 4.352 [RS 18.042]:6) [1] remains difficult.   Essentially it seems to comprise the elements *sbr* with the ending *-dn*, the Ugaritic equivalent of the Hurrian affix *-tennu*, denoting a profession.[2] It has been translated "maker of bronze lances"[3] because it corresponds to RS Akk. lú.meš zag.lu zabar (PRU 3, 204 [RS 16.257+] edge ii 1). Since zag.lu = Akk. *imittu*, "lance",[4] the literal meaning is "men of the bronze lance". However, it also occurs as lú.zag.lu (PRU 3, 78 [RS [Varia 7] 15.Y]: 12) and lú.meš.zag.lu-*ti* (lines 11, 16), where it means "man/men of the (bronze) lance", with ellipsis of zabar. More specifically, these expressions could also mean "(bronze) spear-carrier(s)"[5] and the same seems to apply to Ug. *sbrdn*. Others simply translate Ug. *sbrdn* as "bronze-smith"[6] because a word for "spear" seems to be missing[7] or because raw recruits would not have been classed as spearsmen.[8] However, it now seems clear that both lú.zag.lu and Ug. *sbrdn* mean "lancer, spear-bearer".[9]

The Ugaritic word for "bronze" is *spr*,[10] corresponding to Akk. *siparru(m)*, "bronze".[11] Therefore, I suggest that the element *sbr* in Ug. *sbrdn* does not mean "bronze" but is cognate with Syriac *zbrn'*, "spears" (m. pl.). The meaning of Syriac *zbrn'* is clear as it occurs in the well-known expression: "And they shall beat their **spears** into scythes" (Micah 4:3).[12] For Ug. /s/ as corresponding to Syriac/Aram. /z/, see Ug. *msk*, "to mix" (DUL, 582) – Aram./Syr. *mzg*, "to mix"[13] and Ug. *mss*, "juice" (DUL, 584) – Jewish Aram *mz*, "squash, juice" (DNWSI, 607).[14]

If this is correct, then Ug. *sbrdn* = *sbr*, "spear, lance" + the professional affix *–tn* and means "lancer", which is the exact equivalent of Ugaritian Akkadian lú zag.lu(-*ti*), "lancer".[15]

1) Possibly also to be restored in KTU 6:26 [RS 17.361 B]; cf. W. H. van Soldt, "Labels from Ugarit", *UF* 21 (1989) 375-384 (379 n. 27).

2) See G. Wilhelm, "*ta/erdennu, ta/urtannu, ta/urtānu*", *UF* 2 (1970) 277-282; I. Wegner, *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache* (Wiesbaden 2000) 51.

3) See M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, "Das ug. 'Sumerogramm' für die Hersteller von Bronzespeeren", *UF* 9 (1977) 335. Translated as "Hersteller von Bronzelanzen" by J Sanmartín, "Das Handwerk in Ugarit: eine lexikalische Studie", *SEL* 12 (1995) 169-190 (184).

4) "Lanze mit Hüftstütze" (AHw, 377b, mng 3); "(a kind of spear or lance)" (CAD I/J, 126-127); "(a kind of lance)" (CDA, 128b). See the comments in A. F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit", *JNES* 24 (1965) 17-27 (25b).

5) With some hesitation, translated "porte-lance" by S. Lackenbacher, *Les Textes akkadiens d'Ugarit* (Paris 2002) 238 and n. 813.

6) For discussion see J. Vidal, "Lances and Javelins in Administrative Texts", *Gladius* 27 (2007) 5-14 (10).

7) "Bronzeschmied" in J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Münster 2012²) 103.

8) D. Arnaud, review of J. P. Vita, *El ejército de Ugarit*, Madrid 1995, in *Syria* 76 (1999) 298-302 (301); he prefers "fondeurs".

9) As shown by Vidal, "Lances and Javelins in Administrative Texts", 10.

10) DUL, 769. See M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, "Akkadisch *sipparu* "Bronze", Ugaritisch *spr*, *ġprt* und Hebräisch *spr*, *cprt*", *UF* 17 (1986) 401 and J. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton 1994) 365 §542. Of course, Ug. *sbr* could be an allograph of *spr*.

11) See AHw, 1048; CAD S, 296; CDA, 324b.

12) As "hastae" in C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Hildesheim 1962 (orig. ed. Edinburgh – Berlin 1895) 188 and as "spiculum ferreum" in R. Payne Smith, *A Comprehensive Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford 1903) 1080.

13) *Lexicon Syriacum*, 378; DJBA, 651b; DJPA, 297b; DNWSI, 608.

14) Possibly also Ug. *srdnn*, "dart(?)", kept in quivers, may correspond to Aram. *zrdh*, which denotes a type of reed (cf. DJBA, 420b). For Ug. /s/ as an affricated consonant, especially in Akk. loanwords, see the discussion in Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, 102-104, §32.143.2, although neither Syriac and nor Aramaic is mentioned there.

15) Or, in view of its equivalence with lú.meš zag.lu zabar (see above), "(bronze) spear-carrier".

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31) Akk. *wâru, Ug. *yry (II), "aller, marcher" (?) – Dans le texte ougaritique KTU 1.10 III 17[1] on trouve le syntagme *tlk w tr*. L'interprétation habituelle voit dans le dernier lexème une forme inf., soit de la base *tr, "tourner"[2] soit de la base *ntr, "sauter, échapper"[3]. La structure inf. narratif est bien connue par la grammaire ougaritique, mais une telle forme, normalement au début de la phrase, est suivie par le sujet[4], nominal ou pronominal, comme c'est le cas dans d'autres langues sémitiques[5]. Cet usage se trouve attesté en ougaritique : *ṣḥq btlt ʕnt* (KTU 1.4 V 25), *šmḫ btlt ʕnt* (KTU 1.4 V 20), *w ʕn aṯrt ym* (KTU 1.6 I 53), *w rgm ảnk* (KTU 2.42:24).

En ougaritique, apparemment, les seules exceptions seraient KTU 1.3 II 20/36: *ttʕr ksảt lmhr tʕr tlḥnt l ṣbỉm* (phrases appositionelles sans /w/) et les textes de KTU 1.10 (phrases copulatives avec /w/) dont il est question dans cette note. La solution pour cette anomalie morphologique serait de prendre *ttʕr* et *tʕr* comme des formes passives avec *ksảt* et *tlḥnt* comme sujets. Dans la formule *tdʕṣ pʕnm w tr ảrṣ* (1.4 V 20) on attendrait aussi ce dernier mot en tant que sujet de *tr*, ce qui nous amène à la traduction déjà suggérée par Ginsberg, Driver et Jirku: "et la terre tremble"[6]. Certainement, une analyse de la forme *tr* en tant qu'infinitif de *tr ou bien de *trr est ici tout à fait possible, comme nous l'avons dit, mais cela n'arrive pas à nous convaincre complètement pour les raisons morphologiques signalées.

Dans les autres cas, et malgré l'absence de sujet, une compréhension : "elle va/alla et parcourt (// fait/fit le tour de (la terre?)" n'est pas impossible ; elle est même aceptable, une fois que l'usage ougaritique est accepté comme sûr.

Mais il n'est pas moins sûr qu'à côté d'expressions comme *tqrb w ld* (cf. n. 4), la syntaxe de la racine /h-l-k/ manifeste une tendance à s'organiser en phrases avec des formes finies copulatives (*ảp ʕnt ttlk w tṣd* (1.5 VI 25f.), *ttlk w tṣd kl ġr* (1.5 VI 26 et //), *ản ỉtlk w ảṣd* (1.6 II 15), *bʕl ytlk w yṣd* (1.12 I 34)) et non copulatives (*ttlkn šd tṣdn pảt mdbr* (1.23:68), *tlkm rḥmy tṣd[* (1.23:16)). À ce propos, une expression comme *lqḥt w ttb ảnk lhm* (2.38:22f.) semble assurer en ougaritique la présence du sujet si on fait servir la forme non finie dans une clause copulative, même si le sujet est celui du premier prédicat. Si on tient compte de ce fait et du manque constant de sujet après la forme verbale *tr*, une analyse plus simple verrait ici un couple constitué de deux formes verbales finies synonymes avec préfix. /t-/ féminin (la déesse Anat étant le sujet) : une sorte de cliché rhétorique formulaire, étant donné sa répétition : *tlk w tr* (1.10 III 17) // (par inversion lexicale) *tr b lkt* (1.10 II 28-29) // *tšu knp w tr b ʕp* (1.10 II 11). Dans tous ces textes l'analyse de la forme *tr*, comme infinitif de la base *tr, "tourner, parcourrir", quoique possible, ne s'impose pas, surtout dans le cas d'accumulation de formes infinitives : *tr b lkt* (d'ailleurs le mouvement se présente comme directionnel, et non comme "faire le tour de"). De son côté, l'analyse de la forme *tlk* comme forme finie est tout à fait claire du point de vue morphologique et sémantique.

Or, nous trouvons aussi dans l'akkadien d'Amarna une expression rhétorique qui met, l'une à côté de l'autre, dans une phrase copulative (*u*) et avec des formes finies (imp.) les deux verbes *alāku(m)* et *wâru(m)*, "aller": *šalmiš alik u ina šalāme i'-ir-ma*, "marche en sûreté et avance en sûreté"[7]. Le verbe

(w)âru(m), “aller”, est bien attesté en akkadien et en particuler à Mari (*wêru(m)*, *mêru(m)*)[8]. Il s'agit apparemment d'une formule de salutation, d'un cliché rhétorique dont je proposerais la traduction dans le cas des textes ougaritiques cités : “elle va/est allée et marche/a marché” // “… et elle marche/a marché en s'en allant” // elle lève/a levé son vol et marche/a marché en volant”. Dans ce cliché la possible nuance sémantique d'opposition hostile[9] n'est pas présente, bien au contraire, comme dans la lettre d'Amarna également ; on peut prendre cette nuance comme un développement secondaire.

Néanmoins cette hypothèse a une sérieuse difficulté : la racine de l'akkadien *wârum* semble être *w?r*[10]. Or ces racines comportant une IIe /?/ sont bien marquées en ougaritique et ne présentent pas la chute ou contraction de l'alef, à la seule exception du terme *ks* (ar. *ka?s*)[11]. Il serait donc nécessaire d'admettre ici un emprunt morphologique et sémantique direct à l'akkadien (akk. *wârum*, oug. *w:yVr* < *w:y?r*) où la chute de l'alef est tout à fait normale[12]. Dans le cas de clichés rhétoriques, formulaires, ce type d'emprunts n'est pas à exclure. D'ailleurs, cet emprunt a pu être facilité par le caractère “faible” de la première consonne qui produirait la contraction normale d'une diphtongue, voire d'une triphtongue : *yaw'ir* > *yô'ir-*[13] ou bien *yayir* > *yē/īr-*, partant d'une base ougaritique /yāra/ < akk. *wâru(m)*, empruntée sous forme déjà réduite. De toute façon, il faut tenir compte du fait que la base /w-?-r/ semble correspondre à ug. /y-r-?/, “craindre”[14]. On pourrait supposer une métathèse semblable également dans notre cas pour le sens “s'en aller, marcher”, et postuler une racine ug. /y-r-y/ (II), produit d'une contraction/métathèse/compensation-prolongement /-y/.[15]. Cette base ainsi développée aurait subi une contamination par glissement sémantique[16] de ug. /y-r-y/ (I), “tirer” (cf. héb. *yārāh,* ASA *wrw*, éth. *warawa*, ar. *warra(/ā)*, *wara?a*(?))[17].

1) Ce texte fragmentaire et “hétérodoxe” a été analysé généralement d'une manière cursive, en vertu justement de son caractère fragmentaire : Virolleaud, *Syria* 17, 1936, 150-173; Caquot-Sznycer-Herdner, *TOu* I 273-389 (avec la bibliographie antérieure à 1970, p. 279) ; Del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 463-467 (avec bibliographie complémentaire, p. 463, n. 1); De Moor, *ARTU* 110-116; Day, *Fs. Gottwald* 141-156; Day, *JNES* 52, 1992, 181-190; Walls, *GAUM* 131-134; Lloyd, *GA* 259.268; Wyatt, *RTU* 155-160; Del Olmo Lete, *MLRSO* 128-135.

2) Cf., parmi d'autres, Wyatt, *RTU* 159 (“and she turned”), cf. 159 n. 9; Caquot-Sznycer, *TOu* I 287 (“elle circule”; p. 283, “explore”); Tropper, *UG* 484, 492 (“und sie zog umher”).

3) Cf. par exemple Del Olmo, *MLC* 473, 594 (“escapó”); Del Olmo-Sanmartín, *DUL* 652 (“escaped, began to”); voir aussi Dahood, *Mél. Tisserant* 91; Dijkstra-De Moor, *UF* 7 1975 191; De Moor-Spronk, *CARTU* 156.

4) Cf. Tropper, *UG* 484, 491-492. Expressions ougaritiques non recueillies par Tropper, comme *w tqrb w ld bn(m) lh*, 1.15 III 20-21 et // ; *ytn (…) w ld šph l krt*, 1.14 III 48; *å<g>zrt ʕnt w ld*, 1.13:30, ne permettent pas de douter d'un tel usage en ougaritique. Mais dans tous ces cas une nuance adverbiale-incohative ou d'expression de but, non pas simplement copulative et rhétorique, n'est pas à exclure. Voir aussi à ce propos les expressions “gérondives” *tr b lkt* (1.10 II 28-29) // *tšu knp w tr b ʕp* (1.10 II 11).

5) Cf. Lipiński, *SL* 510f.; Friedrich-Röllig, *PPG*[3] 192s.; Solá-Solé, *IS*, pp. 110ss.

6) Cf. à ce sujet Caquot-Sznycer, *TOu* I 174 n. i ; Del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 638 ; l'“alternative” a été *reprise* par Smith, *UNP* 130, Smith-Pitard, *BC* 2 538 : “the earth shook” (*pace* Xella BO 64 2007 553) qui font aussi dériver cette forme de la racine *trr*. Comme on le verra plus loin, dans ce texte il serait aussi possible de donner à *tr* une valeur transitive, normale dans les verbes de mouvement : “parcourir”, très proche de celui de *tr* dans *tr årṣ wšmm* (KTU 1.16 III 2 : “faire le tour de”, “Geh' herum auf der Erde”). Dans la phrase citée (KTU 1.4 V 20) *arṣ* serait le complément d'objet (le sujet étant toujours la déesse Anat : “et parcourt”; mais à nouveau dans un mouvement directionel). Voir les traductions de Del Olmo Lete, *MLRSO* 85 : “y saltó a tierra” (< *ntr*) ; Dijkstra - De Moor, *UF* 7 1975 191: “and took off from the earth” (< *ntr*?). Dans KTU 1.16 III 2 au contraire nous sommes devant un autre usage et la dérivation de la forme *tr* du verb *tr* est sûre (// *sb*.). Cf. déjà Herdner, *TOu* I 560: inf. narratif, “parcourt”, avec *ʕn<t>* comme sujet précédant (!) le verb ; Parker, *UF* 21, 1989, 284, 286 : “search through”, imp. ; Greensberg, *UPN* 35 : “scout”; Del Olmo Lete, *MLRSO* 199 : “recorriendo”, usage adv. de l'inf.; Del Olmo-Sanmartín, DUL 876 : “traveling”; Wyatt, *RTU* 231: “explore”, imp. ; Tropper, *UG* 484: “geh' herum”, imp.).

7) Cf. Moran, *LEA* 88 [= *AL* 24 : “march in safety and safely push on”]. Le texte est cité par CAD A II 319. Cette expression rhétorique et érudite a un certain parallèle aussi en grec homérique: βῆ δ'ἴμεν/ἰέναι, “and went his way” (*Il.* 5 167; cf. Murray, *Iliad* 206s.). Ça serait un cas de “chaîne sémantique” (Palache; cf. Del Olmo Lete, *QLS* 140), développée donc de façon indépendante. Mais on ne peut pas exclure un emprunt mycéno-sémitique à l'époque. En grec, il s'agit certainement d'une forme inf. avec une valeur adverbiale emphatique (P. Chantraine dans sa *Grammaire homérique* II [Paris 1986, p. 301], parle de cette forme comme expression “de conséquence ou de but”), tandis qu'en akkadien, et à mon avis en ougaritique aussi, les formes sont finies et coordonées (*u/w*). Je remercie J.-M. Durand pour cette référence.

8) Cf. AHw 1471, qui cite les attestations des commentaires akkadiens: *a-ru-um = a-ma-*[*ru*], *a-la*(*-a*)*-ku*, *qé-re-*[*bu*], CT 18, 18 II 11/3; *i-ʔi-ir = a-ri = al-lak*, CT 41, 40, 18 ; et aussi *a-la-*[*a-ku*] = *a-ru-um*, dans la liste lexicale BAW 1, 72, 7.

9) Cf. Durand, *MRSO* I 191, n. 68: "Il faut sans doute apparenter à ce verbe akkadien l'arabe *waʔara* qui signifie 'effrayer, épouvanter'". Mais bien sûr, le contexte n'est pas le même.

10) Cf. AHw 1471 ("Wurzel *w²r*") ; Durand n. précédente.

11) Mais ça pouvait bien être dans ce cas une extension secondaire, étant donné l'absence de l'alef dans les autres langues sémitiques ; cf. DUL 460. Dans d'autres cas, comme *mšmn/mằšmn*, *tšḫr/*tšʕḫr* (RS 94.2284:33; 94.2457:5) et *mdḫ/mĭdḫ*(?), il ne s'agit pas de racines avec II*ᵉ* /ʔ/.

12) Cf. Von Soden, GAG & 98-26/j ("Die Verben II ʔ können mit festen ʔ stark oder nach Art der hohlen Wurzels schwach flektiert werden"), &104-5/b ("Anm. Der Flexion nach werden in veschiedenen Dialekten auch mehrere Verben med. ʔ in die Klasse der med. *ā* überführt"). Cf. aussi le même phénomène dans l'hébreu samaritain et le syriaque.

13) Le schéma (*pattern*) vocalique serait donné par l'arabe; *ya²iru* (<*waʔara); cf. DAF 1472.

14) Cf. DRS II 483; DUL 977; Tropper, *AuOr* 14 1996 139.

15) Cette transformation aurait pu avoir lieu en akk. aussi: /warû/; AHw p. 1473, "führen". La forme ug /tr/ est de toute façon homographe-non-homophone (< /tr/, /trr/, /yry/). L'objection de Tropper, *UG* 484, à ce propos n'est donc pas définitive. D'ailleurs en KTU 1.16 III 2 nous n'avons pas le syntagme *tlk w tr*, le contexte n'est donc pas le même.

16) Pour tous ces phénomènes morphologiques et sémantiques voir Del Olmo Lete, *QLS* 140s., 182ss.

17) Pour l'ar. cf. Hava 861. AHw 1473 met en relation cette racine avec akk. *warûm*, "guider", ce que Leslau (CDG 618) considère comme "unlikely", en suggérant à son tour akk. *arû*, "to vomit" (!). De fait le recours à la base /y-r-y/ trouverait appui dans la "chaîne sémantique" : "tirer/exécuter un tir" > "sortir rapidement" (cf. ang. "to shoot off, out", esp. "salir disparado"), mais on perdrait alors la relation directe avec le syntagme et la base akk. citée.

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32) A late Old Assyrian sale of a house plot, KAM 10 1 – The recent publication of KAM 10 1 (VAT 19864) has delivered us the third land purchase text from the Middle Assyrian archive Assur 14446 (M 6). This text was previously edited by Donbaz (1985, Akkadica 42, 1-23) as Assur photo 4159. It was

also quoted in a number of studies (bibliography in KAM 10 p. 3; also Kryszat 2004, AfO 50, 348-9) and twice in CAD Ṭ (p. 82 *tēḫu*/1 and p. 113 *ṭīru* A/a). However, as Donbaz only had a picture at his disposal, his transliteration leaves room for some corrections. In this note the relation with the two other Old Assyrian land purchases will be discussed and a short edition of the text will be given.

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       1  šu-ba-ʿat qá-qíʾ-r[i]
2         pá-ṣí-ú-tim ša a-na Ú-ʿzuʾ-a
          DUMU E-dí-in-ᵈA-šùr
4         i-zi-zu-ú-ni ša ṭé-ḫi
          ša Ni-mar-ᵈTaš-me-tum DUMU Áb-zi-a
6         ṭé-ḫi qá-qí-ri ša Ku-ta-<láʾ>-nim
          DUMUⁱ Zi-ba-a ur-kà-at
8         qá-qí-ri ša Ḫu-ur-šeʾ-a
          DUMU A-murʾ-Iš₈-tár a-na ší-mì-im
10        a-na 1 2/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABAR ṭí-ri
          ᵐÚ-zu-a DUMU E-dí-in-ᵈA-šùr
12        i-na mì-ig-ra-tí-šu
          a-na Ma-ṣé-e-EN
14        DUMU ᵈIM-ga-mil i-dí-in
          iš-tù u₄-mì-im
16        an-ni-im lu DUMU.MEŠ
          ᵐÚ-zu-a lu DUMU.MEŠ
Rev. 18   E-dí-in-ᵈA-šùr
          lu ḫu-bu-lu-šu-nu
20        a-na Ma-ṣí-EN DUMU ᵈIM-ga-mil
          ʿùʾ DUMU.ME.EŠ-šu lá i-tù-ru
22        IGI Sà-ma-a DUMU ᵈUTU-ga-mil
          IGI Še-le-bu DUMU ᵈIM-ga-mil
24        IGI Lá-ba-an-LUGAL-DINGIR.ʿME.EŠʾ
          DUMU Ga-ši-wi-ʿriʾ
26        IGI 30-ga-mil DUMU A-pá-pá
          ITI.1.KAM áb šar-ra-nim
28        li-mu-um ᵈA-šùr-ba-ni
edge.     DUMU ʿIšʾ-me-ᵈʿDa-ganʾ
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Translation: (1-9) 36 m² cleared ground which belongs to Uzu'a son of Eddin-Aššur and which is adjacent to Nimar-Tašmētum son of Abzīya and is adjacent to Kutallānum son of Zibāya and is behind the plot of Ḫuršeya son of Amur-Ištar. (9-14) Uzu'a son of Eddin-Aššur sold it out of his own will for 100 shekel *ṭ*-silver to Maṣi-Bēlī son of Adad-gāmil. (15-21) From this day onwards, be it the sons of Uzu'a, the sons of Eddin-Aššur or their creditors, (nobody) may raise claims against Maṣi-Bēlī the son of Adad-gāmil or his sons. (22-26) Witnessed by Samāyâ son of Šamaš-gāmil, by Šēlebu son of Adad-gāmil, by Laban-šar-ilāni son of Gašiwiru, by Suen-gāmil son of Apapa. (27-29) Month Ab-šarrānim, eponymy Aššur-bāni son of Išmē-Dagan.

Discussion: As with all texts published from the Middle Assyrian archive M 9 in Berlin it was claimed by the editors of KAM 10 that the late Old Assyrian text KAM 10 1 was closely related to two similar tablets of otherwise unknown archaeological provenance: MAH 15962 (Gelb/Sollberger 1959, JNES 16, 163-75) and Izmir 1493 (Donbaz 2001, NABU/56). At the same time, this implies that all three texts derive from the same archive, where they were saved by the owners until the Middle Assyrian period. This was no doubt due to their similar subject, the sale of an empty plot of ground on which a house was to be built. The long lasting validity of a sale of real estate made the texts still relevant for the Middle Assyrian owners in order to prove ownership. Prices of the ground differ greatly, thus in KAM 10 1 we can calculate on an exchange shekel/m² ±2,8:1 (KAM 10 1); ±5:1 (MAH 15962); ±3,5:1 (Izmir 1493),

see also Veenhof (2011, Fs. Meijer, 213-31) p. 219f. Clearly, prices for a piece of ground varied considerably, probably based on location. Unlike the relation between the three texts none of the persons directly involved in KAM 10 1 occurs in the other two texts. The person linking these three texts may be Apapa, in the first two texts being a direct party involved, in KAM 10 1 merely being the father of a witness (Suen-gāmil). The dating of these three texts was most recently discussed in Barjamovic *et al*. (2012, Ups and Downs at Kanesh p. 22f; also Kryszat 2004), where it was pointed out that the texts date from after KEL G, probably late 18th or early 17th century. Another post KEL G text, published in Veenhof 1982, Fs. Kraus, 359-85, dates to the eponymy Išmē-Dagan, son of Šamšī-Adad. In this text Babylonian influences are the most prominent in palaeography and orthography, but also in the grammar where we find Babylonian *nadānum* "to give" l. 22 instead of Assyrian *tadānum*. It is therefore not impossible, that this text is to be dated later than the other texts, and that the *līmum* in question is to be identified with king Išmē-Dagan II son of Šamšī-Adad II, who reigned around 1600 B.C. (AKL nos. 57/8; see Barjamovic *et al*. (2012, 23; cf. Veenhof 1982, 359 n2). If this is correct, we are to date our text before this king.

The other two Old Assyrian texts both feature the scribe Nabium-qarrād, who is noticeable for his absence in KAM 10 1. Still, it seems possible to make his involvement likely. Veenhof (1982 369 n20) already did some preliminary research on this subject pointing out the similarities between MAH 15962 and KAM 10 1. The main peculiarities are noted below. Sign values: The typical Old Assyrian values *ší/é* (SI) are only found in *ší-mì-im* l. 19. Otherwise they are replaced with *ši* (IGI) in PN *Ga-ši-wi-⌈ri⌉* l. 25 and *še* (ŠE) in PN *Ḫu-ur-še!-a* l. 8, *Še-le-bu* l. 23. Another, value unknown in OA is *mil* (IŠ) in PNs ᵈIM-*ga-mil* l. 14, 20, 22, 23 and in 30-*ga-mil* l. 26. Gemination: *an-ni-im* "this" l. 16, ITI.1.KAM *áb šar-ra-nim* l. 27. "Personskeilen" are rare as compared to the other two texts and only occur in l. 11 and 17 with Uzu'a. The sound change i > e in *E-dí-in-*ᵈ*A-šùr* (*Iddin-Aššur*) l. 3, 11, 18 is uncommon but does occur elsewhere e.g. *E-dí-in-A-šùr* AKT 3 1:6. Judging by the available onomastic material, spellings with /e/ seem to be confined to a number of individuals, most notably Eddin-Aššur the son of Aḫīya or Aššur-malik from the Kt n/k archive (cf. Donbaz 2008, GS Garelli, 47-62). We may therefore assume a different etymology for *eddin* than *t/nadānum* "to give." Sound change of initial wa > u was on-going in Old Assyrian but complete in the Middle Assyrian period, here we find it in l. 7 *ur-kà-at* (< *warkat*). As our number of contract of sale on real property is rather limited, the formula of this text remains unique. A parallel may be drawn with I 568, which deals with a house rather than empty ground, but gives a similar geographical description of the situation of the house. Otherwise the few sales of houses are formulated rather differently. Still, the differences between the three sales of land were already pointed out (Veenhof 2011, 220f). Notice also the formulary of the text: (object), *ana šīmem, ana* x *kaspem tīrī*, (seller), *ina migrātišu, ana* (buyer), *iddin*. Unlike the other two contracts it includes the expression *ina migrātīšu* "out of his own will," which is unexpected in a contract of sale. Moreover, the formula is not followed by *ušabbīšu* "he satisfied him." The disclaimer uses the adverbial clause *istu ūmem anni'em* "from this day onwards" in l. 15, which to my knowledge is unprecedented in Old Assyrian. Notice also the unusual *ḫu-bu-lu-šu-nu* "their debtors" l. 19, which is clearly a short form for *bēl ḫubullīšu* "their creditors." In terms of palaeography, there is little to add to Veenhof's study, though it may be added that unlike MAH 15962 the copy of KAM 10 1 does not clearly show the spelling ME.EŠ instead of MEŠ, which is found in MAH 15962, except in l. 21 and perhaps l. 24 (cf. Veenhof 1982, 369 n20). Otherwise the most significant change is in the sign AN from its archaic star-like shape to the stylized variant as found in the Neo Assyrian sign lists. A copy or photo of Izmir 1493 is not available.[1]

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33) On the etymology of shekel fractions in the Hellenistic period[*] – In 1973 A.L. Oppenheim[1] called attention to a hitherto unknown subdivision of the shekel (aram. *mā'āh*, written <*ma(-ḫat)*> on which see below) in a group of administrative texts from Late Hellenistic Babylon (notes of income and expenditure). This text group is now commonly referred to as the Rahimesu archive.[2] He concluded that

at the time these texts were drafted two systems of subdividing the shekel seem to have been operating: "*an older one, and a new one, using from one to five m.* [= *mā'āh*] *in combination with* [the fraction] ½."[3] A few years later W. R. Mayer[4] identified two additional subdivisions of the shekel (*ḫi* "one half of a *mā'āh*" and *ra* "one fourth of a *mā'āh*") which occur in the very same text group but had previously been overlooked by Oppenheim. Based on his findings Mayer was able to account for the arithmetical discrepancies Oppenheim had encountered when calculating the accounts recorded in the Rahimesu notes CT 49, 154, 156 and 158 (see Mayer, *Or.* 54, 207-209).

In addition to metrology, both scholars also studied the etymology of the terms denoting the various shekel fractions. On the basis of unpublished epigraphic material[5] the present note aims to re-evaluate the lexicographical suggestions given by Mayer and to provide new information on the correct rendering of the full forms of *ḫi* and *ra* (Mayer, *Or.* 54, *passim*). Note that *mā'āh* "one twelfth of a shekel" is excluded from the following discussion, as the Aramaic origin proposed in Oppenheim, *Or.* 42, 327 is generally accepted.

ḫi   Mayer proposed to interpret *ḫi* as the short form of West Semitic *ḫi/eṣī* "one half". In addition to the semantic meaning which corresponds well to the metrological value of the *ḫi*, Mayer based his suggestion on Nabatean coins which give *ḫṣ ksp* to designate a half *m'h ksp* "one silver obolus" (Mayer, *Or.* 54, 207). In view of *plene* writings in AB 245 (McEwan, *Iraq* 43, 139, line 4), BM 33009 (CT 49, 156, line 13) and 41780 (Kessler 2000, no. 10, line 5), however, R.J. van der Spek, the editor of the Rahimesu archive, did not endorse Mayer's interpretation. According to him, the full form of *ḫi* is to be read <*ḫi-tú*(UD)> in the instances cited above (van der Spek, *Rahimesu*, 211; on the reading <*ḫi-tu₄*> see below). Van der Spek, however, did not take into account that the GIŠ sign (two horizontals followed by a single vertical) often resembles the UD sign (two obliques followed by a single vertical), especially when written cursively (a common feature of cuneiform texts from the Hellenistic period). If we thus assume that the sign is rather GIŠ (with the phonological value <*iṣ*>) than UD (<*tú*>), we might argue for the reading <*ḫi-iṣ*>.[6] In fact, collation of the BM tablets (CT 49, 156 and Kessler 2000, no. 10; on McEwan, *Iraq* 43, 139 (AB 245) see note 5) shows that in each case the rendering of the sign following the *ḫi* clearly differs from the numerous attestations of the UD sign throughout the texts. In addition, there is yet another text supporting the reading <*ḫi-iṣ*>. Unlike CT 49, 156 and Kessler 2000, no. 10, the unpublished receipt BM 40161 (81-3-24, 26; SE 92, no placename) features comparatively large signs and a barely slanting ductus. This is indicative of a non-professional scribe who apparently completed his scribal education at a relatively low level (note that the scribe is a party to the contract which is also indicated by the phrase *ina qātišu* "in his own hand" at the reverse). Hence, the ductus allows for a clear differentiation between the GIŠ (two horizontals) and UD (two obliques) signs. The first two lines of the obverse read:

BM 40161
1 cm
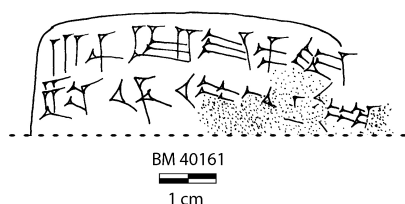
3 ½ gín *ma-ḫat ḫi-iṣ*(GIŠ)

kù.**babbar**(UD) *ši-⌈mi* zú.lum.ma⌉

(...)

Van der Spek not only based his rendering of the half *mā'āh* (viz. <*ḫi-tú*> rather than <*ḫi-iṣ*>) on paleographic grounds but also on what he interpreted as an alternative spelling of */ḫit(u)/*. According to him (van der Spek, *Rahimesu*, 211), the sequence <*ma ḫi tu₄*> attested in two very similar texts from Late Hellenistic Uruk (MLC 2193 (= YOS 20, 100): 4 and TCL 13, 228: 3; both are notations of disbursement of money paid as wages(?) to a group of individuals, see L.T. Doty, *Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk* (PhD thesis, Yale University 1977), 116-118) is to be read *<ma ḫi-tu₄> (viz. "one and a half *mā'āh*"). However, there is no reason to assume that two different units of weight are employed here (the figures in the following lines are given without units of weight, implying the use of a single unit only; neither text gives a balance). In addition to the evidence presented above, one is thus inclined to interpret

the sequence <*ma ḫi tu₄*> as an alternative spelling of <*ma-ḫat*> without a CVC sign indifferent to the vowel.

ra In the absence of a full form of the second subdivision of the shekel Mayer tentatively suggested a derivative of the West Semitic root *rbʿ "one fourth" (not only because of the first consonant being *r* (<*ra*>), but also on metrological grounds: the *ra* amounts to a fourth of a *māʾāh*; see Mayer, *Or.* 54, 212). Mayer's assumption is now confirmed by an unpublished text in the holdings of the British Museum. In line 8 the promissory note BM 41582 (81-6-25, 196; SE 116, Babylon) reads:

[8] (...) 1 gín 2-*ta ma-ḫat u ra-bu-⸢ḫu⸣* kù.babbar (...)

The cuneiform text gives the expected orthographic realization of West Semitic /ʿ/ in word final position: <*ḫ*> (also <ʾ> or Ø; see W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. III," *Or.* 46 (1977), 183-197 and R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia* (Jerusalem 1977), 247). The spelling suggests a form /rabūʿ/.

Note that the attestations of the shekel fractions presented here are considerably older (SE 92 and 116 respectively) than those collected by Mayer, *Or.* 54, 214 (all of which date to the Arsacid period; TBER 85 (MNB 1891) and Mayer, *Or.* 54, 206 (BM 33900) give no date).

1) A. L. Oppenheim, "A New Subdivision of the Shekel in the Arsacid Period," *Or.* 42 (1973), 324-327 (henceforth Oppenheim, *Or.* 42).

2) See R.J. van der Spek, "Cuneiform Documents on Parthian History: the Rahimesu Archive. Materials for the Study of the Standard of Living," in: J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart 1998), 205-258 (henceforth van der Spek, *Rahimesu*) and in general M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents. Typology, Contents and Archives.* GMTR 1 (Münster 2005), 75-76.

3) See the discussion in Oppenheim, *Or.* 42, 325 and 327. Also note that for example in CT 49, 156 the scribe employs <4-*tú*> (in line 11) alongside <3 *ma*> (in line 13) to designate one fourth of a shekel.

4) W. R. Mayer, "Zur Unterteilung des Sekels im spätzeitlichen Babylonien," *Or.* 54 (1985), 203-215 (henceforth Mayer, *Or.* 54). Also see W. R. Mayer, "Ergänzendes zur Unterteilung des Sekels im spätzeitlichen Babylonien," *Or.* 57. (1988), 70-75 (henceforth Mayer, *Or.* 57).

5) Both BM 40161 and 41582 will be edited in full in my forthcoming dissertation on Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic archival texts from northern Babylonia.

6) This has already been suggested by Mayer for AB 245 (McEwan, *Iraq* 43, 139). However, the absence of GIŠ signs in this text renders comparison impossible (see Mayer, *Or.* 54, 205[6]). In CT 49, 156 (line 13) Mayer apparently interpreted the sign following the *ḫi* as an incomplete erasure (*ibid.* 207); Kessler 2000, no. 10 was not available to him.

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34) *Ad* **RA 105, 123 –** I herewith would like to apologize for having forgotten to quote Steven Cole's article "The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun," ZA 84, 1994, 220-252, 223 in my article in RA 105, 2011, 123 in the last paragraph of the page and beginning of the following page.

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35) Collège de France — Dans leur assemblée du dimanche 30 juin 2013, les professeurs au Collège de France, qui avaient déjà décidé en mars 2013 la création d'une chaire de *Civilisation mésopotamienne*, y ont élu Dominique Charpin, directeur d'Études à l'EPHE, IV° Section.

La rédaction de *NABU*

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