hetep and his wife Princess Merytyetes (see above for discussion of the stela of Queen Merytyetes which I no longer believe can have come from this tomb). Two dates: (a) Incised on back of block of north wall of chapel, adjoining the northern false-door; date reads: (b): 1 sp 12, month 2 of Shemu, day 10; this would then be the Year 23, probably of mustaba; and (b) painted on back of casing stone on north face of mastaba; date reads: (h): 1 sp 13 (Year 25), month 4.

14. (Fig. 8).—Marks on the walls of rock-cut tomb (; 7803C to which only vague Fifth to Sixth Dynnsty date can be signed. Three inscriptions: (a) horizontal hor ceiling: h3.t sp 2, month 3 of Peret, day 2 (b) on east door jamb: h3.t sp 2, month season uncertain, day 27; (c) on west do jamb; h3.t sp 2 (originally read 10), month of Peret, day 27.

Museum of Fine Arts Boston

# THE ARCHIVES OF THE PALACE OF MARI A REVIEW ARTICLE

## A. LEO OPPENHEIM

**op**ies, another series was started in 1950 ers as well as to the responsible authori-Correspondance de Samši-Addu, Charleswhich is to present the texts contained in wo more have followed since, and as a special series "Archives royales de **cholarly** world by the Musée du Louvre Mr. A. Parrot and his colleagues. The **expe**ditions to Mesopotamia have so far idable task which requires not only or--TCL, XXI) was published in 1941. 33 and 1939 are being offered to the Supper, Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan. **gen** published so far: Georges Dossin, pigraphers and philologists. Few if any reparation and execution. Parallel with Mari," of which the first volume (ARM, nore than twenty thousand tablets and **bla**boration of qualified and enthusiastic To the French and Belgian contribue first series in corresponding volumes ese volumes containing the autographic e latter, the following volumes have **ag**ments excavated in Mari between **et** this challenge as successfully as that transliterations and translations. Of **uny** are said to be in various stages of mization and tenacity but also the ARCHEOLOGICAL enterprise chancing form documents is faced with a forupon a very large amount of cunei-Lettres diverses, and J.-R.

Georgee Dossin, Archives royales de Mari. I. respondance de Samii-Addu et de ses fils. Avant-spo par André Parrot. Parles: Imprimerie Nationa. 1950. Charles-F. Jean, Archives royales de Mari. Lettres diverses. Parls: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950. L. Kupper, Archives royales de Mari. III. Corpeadance de Kibri-Dagan gouverneur de Tirqu. etc.: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950.

ties of the Louvre, Assyriologists are under a great obligation. The zeal and efficiency which have made these two parallel series possible have combined to promise a complete and competent publication of the Mari material within a reasonable length of time.

extensive notes, it would have constituted a step in the direction of the above-mengests of the letters were utilized for more tioned goal.2 useless and necessarily inadequate diso reduced in space as to make it practicalmentary of the translators had not been accessible source of material for those stated purpose (cf. Vol. I, p. II) of the ly worthless. If the pages given to the have been greatly facilitated if the com-East. This task, difficult as it is, would and the economics of the ancient Near interested in the history, the geography, literated and translated texts a readily new series to prepare in these transtion of the editor. It is the expressly ing which should be brought to the attentext-editions. There is another shortcom-II, p. III) do not refer to the pertinent awkward situation is aggravated by the the text edition (ARM). This somewhat titles in order to differentiate them from have to be quoted by their individual fact that these volumes (exception: Vol. The first three volumes of the new series

Two further points of criticism may be offered: first, the lack of co-operation between the authors of the several volumes where only exceptionally (and more or less accidentally) reference is made to the material contained in other publications of Mari texts; second, the inadequate transilteration of the logograms. To quote some random examples: 10.50, e1 and

some Assyriologists—seem to think. Smooth if sometimes painfully senseless the translators—and, as a matter of fact, even of passages which are easy to transunderstanding of the manifold facets interpretum in these letters, and a full way for a better understanding of the require much patient work to prepare the texts bas scarcely more than started; the published material. Serious and purless difficulties and obscure passages in translations cannot gloss over the countand J.-R. Kupper, have every right to translators, G. Dossin, Charles-F. Jean, late cannot be quickly achieved. The Mari letters. There are numerous cruces known in their cruder outlines, and it will their specific dialectical features are only poseful philological research on these look with pride upon their pioneer work. letters are far more difficult than some of be out of order in this context: the Mari A word of warning might perhaps not

In the following pages are assembled a series of remarks and observations rather than mere corrections which I have gathered from the numerous marginal notations in my copies. Their aim is mainly to point out parallels in the cunciform literature and to draw attention to some lexicographical problems.

#### ARM,

No. 2:9-15: "in these matters concerning which I am complaining, I myself cannot do anything; it is (now) up to your wealth and to your generosity! (But if)

1.6.āu.o<sub>1.</sub> A are indiscriminately renderted by (ard!)-thum (e.g., ARM, II, 83:11 and 18), 1.6.olr.stg.c.t. and 1.6.dlr.stg.c.a by (arrill)pirsigqûm (ARM, II, 35:54:6, etc.), vr.s.fr.r.a simply by kalbum (ARM, 11, 106:16), kaskal and ks.c.fa.l. by barrdnum (ARM, III, 12:17, etc.), ārl.c.fr. and šr.off.l by šamaišammum (ARM, II, 87:20, and ARM, I, 21:20) or amam (ARM, II, 87:20, and ARM, II, 27:9, 90: rev. 2, ARM, III, 45:20, 73:21, Dossin, Stud. Mariana, p. 43:1, 30).

you cannot do what is (in line with) you wealth or your generosity, then the count of I am had will [ in] 8 days."

servants killed him." Between the cri and (therefore) you (the addressed deit who committed a crime against I contexts: lines 13-16, "it was Jaggid-Li rences of a word salum in the follow fessor Landsberger, who recognized th cult letter has been made possible by Pr *šálum* (preceded respectively by the **ve** and its punishment, the deity is said he to[re down] and built a . . . (illegib) helped Ila-kabkabıı . . . and he conquen kabkabu (and) te-el-qí-e-ma³ ta-ša-alwould like to point out here two occ Mari archives (cf. Dossin, Syria, XII it constitutes another example in to which both passages refer with the ve (and) ta-al-li-ik-ma ta-ša-al-šu and his or 126) of a letter addressed to a deity: Mélanges . . . Dussaud, II, 990 ff. (in ni- $\delta a$ -al), also lines x+14, 21, 135: Jean, ARM, II, 62:x+15-16 (a-lam GN recurs in a series of other passages, such required by the context. The same we leqûm and alākum). A meaning "to reje both cases to have performed an active be assumed for this new verb *šálum*. meaning "to attack, turn against" has cated to me by Kupper). Probably ( from unpublished documents by Don (PN iš-tal-lu), and a series of quotation forsake, punish" or the like seems to 12, "your temple which a former kin**g bu** [the country of] [abdn-Lim," and x+: No. 3. The interpretation of this di

No. 5:8. For L¢ mu·uš·ta-ap·şt, Kuper drew my attention to the size tablet of the series dir -siįāku=vot (publ. as "Princeton Vocabulary" by

This use of the verb legam is also attested in ARM, II, 129:16, and—as Kupper informs man ARM, II, 130:11. The meaning seems to be "and derstand, learn."

caning "wrestler" results clearly from 48 (cf. also Goetze's commentary on 222) and perfectly fits the context of present letter.

wy P.

No. 7:25 attests multurum in the maning "to travel (by boat) upstream"?

XII d. also ARM, I, 36:7, 42(1), and ARM,

II, 7:10, 14). From the basic nuance occurs head a boat against the current (by lowing lowing boat (with a steering oar)" (cf. at II.

Line bcus classicus in the Adapa story KB, arad.

W11, p. 92:20-21) as well as "to row deity developed" (for the quest of the current of t

transport of loads overland by means transport of loads overland by means agons, as does also ARM, I, 75:32-34, d Jean, ARM, II, 7:15 f. In the first cases, it seems worthy of note, these cons are rolling toward the capital of empire of Shamshi-Adad, i.e., Subatabil, which, as these passages suggest, and only be reached in this way. Since crusing range of such vehicles was accessfully a rather restricted one, this cation of that capital.

No. 8:14 shows the sequence of ritual ctivities concerned with the funeral of a pivate person. Three technical terms appar in this context: massartum, "wake," addum, "keen," and ukullum, "funeral spast"; the word for inhumation (Il. 16 ad 17) is quburrû. As these terms are not bown in these specific nuances from the speciform literature, one has to assume that they reflect "West Semitic" customs. Lines 12 and 36 mention the local ad-

Professor (lears has communicated to me an Charactery gloss from an unpublished omen text in the British Museum (K 11374:9) which runs in pare-pri-ru.

verbial expression a-hu-ni-e, "over there. Cf. ahuniš, "separately," below su ARM, III, 19:20.

No. 9:16 indicates with the spelling Lû ta-ak-la-am the reading of 7:7 and 44 as Lû.MEŠ tāk(!)-lu-tim, and also of ARM, I, 76:27, 109:15, 42, Jean, ARM II, 21:8, Dossin, RA, XLII, 130:5; (against WO, 5, p. 399, n. 3), etc. The designation qallum is always spelled qa-al lu (never \*qal-lu which has to be reactified.

UET, IV, 192:14. 4), Clay, BIN, I, 25:29 (against Fheling, 51 f., No. 39:6-7, Ungnad, VS, V, 16:12 sage, Lacheman, HSS, XIII, 493:3, the worth (lit.: to fetch)," cf. my remarks in (against Ebeling, op. cit., p. 215), Figulla, Briefe aus Uruk, p. 179) and 61:14 12-13, Nbn, 145:2, Nbk, 307:2, RA, X, lonian quotations: Strassmaier, Cyr, 313: 35:21-22, and the following Neo-Bahy-Old Assyrian texts), also the Nuzi pastalent(s) of gold!" For (w)abālu, "to be action which you performed is worth [x (against Ungnad in Glossar to NRV, I, Middle Babylonian, Radau, BE, XVII, AfO, XII, 346, n. 8 (with references from No. 10:9 should be translated: "tha

Line 14 uses lišānum instead of (Lt) ša lišānim, "spy, agent," as attested in the Mari letters, Thureau-Dangin, RA, XXX, 172:50, 51-52, and Jean, ARM, II, 22:15; cf. also Jean, RES, 1937, p. 110. The shorter form appears also in ARM, I, 29:6. For the meaning cf. simply Thureau-Dangin, RA, XXX, 175, n. 10.

Line x+24 should have demonstrated to the translator that the rendering of BA.ZAL-ma with "au soir" is impossible because this passage refers to the actual time of the day when the letter was dictated (less likely: expedited) with duru er-bb-et. Kupper has called my attention to the letter ARM, I, 67:19, which

shows in the same context [i-na] ki-in-si-ki(1)-im. The Akkadian reading of BA.ZAL is actually attested in Jean, ARM, II, 78:7, 15, and 41, and has been correctly interpreted by Jean.

No. 12:23 (and other passages) mention the measure *imērum*, an obvious Assyrianism in a letter of Shamshi Adad.

No. 16:13-14 refers to the people known as the Turnkkû and frequently mentioned in the Muri texts (cf. also the name of the thirty-seventh year of Hammurabi and the inscriptions of Adad-nirāri III) in a way which indicates that they were considered in Mari Gothamites or the like. In their stupidity, these Turuk-kû's "wake up those asleep (to give them their rations) but do not give rations to those who are waiting for them." For the meaning of nadūlum in this phrase cf. the letter published (in transliteration only) by Dossin in Syria, XIX (1938), 120:22.

MEŠ dam-qú-tim, i.e., "poor soldiers," with a living for their families (bullutu nišē ina tary service by hiring their poorer comšarûm). The latter are said to avoid miliformer are being cared for by the "palace" the "sons of well-to-do persons." The et-lu-tum la-ap-nu-lum with dumu.mes lo ARM, II, 1:18 23, which contrasts 1.ú.meš they are liable to desert during the camuse any Lû šarûm in the army because igri). The king even warns his son not to patriots as substitutes who thus provide "poor" (let lapnum) with the "rich" (let to be living in the houses of their families. (of the capital) while the latter are said paign. ('f. in this connection the passage No. 17:8-13 contrasts revealingly the

No. 21:13, i-na tu-ši-ma-ti-ia should be translated "according to my estimate"

\*(Cf. for this term Nougayrol, R.A. XLIV, 35, and Labat, 170, XVIII\*(5, n. 23. The spelling kinstyum (instead of \*qistyum) is indicated by the fragment Iraq, VII, 110, and Fig. 14, No. 39; 5.

(against von Soden, ZA, XLIX, 18, which fits also in Jean, ARM, II, 44; (ak-ki-ma ta-8i-ma-ti-8u, "according to judgment") and in 140:11. In ARM, 46:10, lastmatum means simply "more

No. 28:30 refers to the transportation of prisoners in fetters with a number technical terms: kasûm, "to bind," šala pâdum (for pâdu cf. I andsberger, ZDM LXIX, 507, apud Walther, I.SS, VI/4-p. 240, and MSL, I, p. 137, also the Cassite text, Gurney, Iraq, XI, 133, II. 2:8) and šakānum x [ ] ana qabla. If the last expression cf. the same Castext mentioning unudumuróßin. "copper chains (to be put around) waist."

No. 34:4, 6, 7 refers to large can sheep, and kids by the expression & ma-tim, which is to be translated fattening" (cf. the Old Babyl. letters CXXXIII, 24:10, and Driver, OECT, I78:22, also Th. Baner, ZA, XLIII, 311, 9, and the Nebnkadnezzar II passage, grain, PBS, XIII, 79, I:19, name uku.meš).

No. 36:4 means "until the twents of this month" (a-di iš rie rri an-nie while Kupper, ARM, III, 39:11, [work iš rie-e-i[m], is correctly translated] "[apr]ès le dixième."

No. 37:19-20 seems to denote a specifical gesture with the phrase napistic lapatum. ('f. also Jean, RÉS, 1939, p. No. 6, ARM, II, 62:x+9 (napistic lana PN<sub>2</sub> lapatum) and 77 passim (assumewhat obscure context, note thing to napistim in l. 12). Reference to Old Testament, namely, Gen. 24:2 47:29, is made here only for the reased ne taceatur.

Line 23 refers with tuppu ntt clearly to an "international" treaty.

Line 34 has qa-ab-li-it ma-a-tim income.

of the usual libbi mâtim (cf. Landsber

merior of the country." The regions mered to by matum are off the regular of communication (cf. Jean, ARM, 178:32, KASKAL li-ib-bi ma-a-tim-ma GN mi-il-li-ik) and their inhabitants called marē matim (cf. ARM, I, 43:7, 18:15, and rev. x+14, Kupper, ARM, II, 23:13). Note also ba-bi-ri ša ma-a-tim Jean. ARM, II 131-13-14

JEAN, ARM, II, 131:13-14.

No. 38:4 and passim: for zamrūtum samrātum in Jean, ARM, II, 1:4, 1:4, etc.) ef. the "Vorlänfer" to HAR. r a = bullu, ('hiera, SLT, 23, II:8, Giš zarrutum (Landsberger) and the Old syrian references collected by J. Lewy KTHahn, p. 32, also Lewy, TCL, XIX (-TC, III), 48:8, 10, XX, 156:7, etc.

the letters Nos. 52, 64, 71, 73, 77, 85, and 103 reveal the lack of confidence of hamshi-Adad in the administrative chilities of his son Jasmah-am, an attitude is also reflected in a series of lack of some this correspondence distance by von Soden in WO, 3, pp. 193 f. In the present passage, the royal father

In the present passage, the royal father excers that certain high court officials of the on be kept informed of the content of the tetters addressed to Jasmah-4<sub>IM</sub>. These calls were to be present when the prince end a letter of his father (ef., e.g., ARM, 160:6, II, 8:22) or when it was read to im (ARM, II, 132:17). The purpose of precautionary measure is patently to the royal command properly and the precauted.

No. 46:24 mentions the name of a functionary, Lú mušallimum (cf. also the lettrapoted by Dossin in Syria, XIX [1938].

III), derived from is mullumum, attested a Mari (apart from its many other meanth) with the nuance "to transport obtained as fely overland"; cf., e.g., ARM, I, 34.4, 98:20, and also the Old Babyl.

g letters, Ungnad, VAB, VI, 2:24, 3:13, 17 s etc.

With its references to tirhatum, nidin tum, and silver rings (l. 31) (connected with Mesopotamian marriage custom from the Old to the Neo-Babylonian period) as well as with its mention of the concubine (l. 30: serretum), the presentablet offers new material for the studen of comparative law.

No. 57:7-12 should be translated "may he stay in prison (and) no news of him should be allowed to leak out as to whether he is dead or alive!" For neparum "prison," cf. the spellings nurparum in Old Babylonian texts (Ungnad, VAB, VI 235:13, 15) and (bût) nuparu in Nuz (Speiser-Pfeiffer, AASOR, XVI, 3:40 12:12) and in the Middle Assyrian text Ebeling, KAJ, 254:18. The Chagar Bazu texts (cf. Gadd in Iraq, VII, 27, 53, 58, and

"to think, ponder," while sasa (cf. my remarks BASOR, No. 103 [1946], 12) seems to describe 265 f.) and ina libbilu gabûm (lu Marl: Kupper, ARM) den, Die antike Kunstprosa, etc., pp. 6 ff. The phrases of reading which came into general use only in early medieval Europe. Cf., for the evidence for reading XXXI (1931), 311 ff.; for the classical world, E. Norcontent. Hence ula ina libbi|ka tadabbub| could well regent but that he "read" It lu a way which would III. 1:21, 73:12-13) are usually to be translated itti libbilu dababu (cf. my remarks ln JAOS, LX1 aloud in the Old Testament, A. Tacke, in reading aloud, ina libbi dababu denotes the sileut way preclude the latter from galulug any knowledge of its should actually open the letter lu the presence of the then only) you may open your letter 4-ta-a ina lib-|b|i-|k|a(?) (ladabbub(?)|). It seems that this last probetween the "puppet"-king of Tyre and the Assyrian 29 ff., esp. p. 31) is meant to regulate the relationship of the treaty between Esarhaddon and lla'alu, king of niean "(but) you must not read (the letter) sllently!" viso alms to exclude the possibility that the king the king of Tyre) you must not relad ( $\ell a \ ta-8a(?)$ regent with regard to orders sent by the Assyrian king. Tyre. The passage rev. col. II:13-14 (cf. for the text lu other words: šasû ln the nuance "to read" refers to the regent is not present you have to wait for him (and a[s-si] without the regent (ba-la-at LÓ qi-c-pu). In case (ever) letter I ( ≖Esarhaddon) shall send you (l.e.. paragraph can probably be restored as follows: "what-The few damaged signs at the end of the line and the i.angdon, RA, XXVI, 190, and Weldner, AfO, VIII \* A similar situation is alluded to in a selpulation ponder." while sasa (cf. my remarks

59) write neparum exactly like those from

tested in many Akkadian dialects.7 interpretation of a root which is well attionary (cf. Dossin, ARM, I, 223) for the and in Kupper, RA, XLII, 44, n. 2. It is verb which appears also in Kupper, ARM, not necessary to recur to the Hebrew die-III, 27:7, 84:32 (cf. p. 115 of this volume) No. 60:13 contains a III/2 form of a

our logogram unudu.NAGAR.unudu. Akkadian entry seems to correspond to HRHDH.NAGAR . . . = qur-qur URUDU. The JAOS, LXV, 223 ff., which runs di-bi-ra ARM, I, No. 5) published by Goetze in "Princeton-Vocabular" (cf. above sub connected with the line 66 of the so-called ARM, II, 50:x+9). The former can be with the determinative or as in Jean, şinnalu (cf. Ebeling, TuL, I, p. 50, n. b, NAGAR.FRUDU(?) and URUDU.NAGAR (i.e., side two names of professions: URUDU. tibira) in connection with the manufacture of the musical instrument gis No. 62:rev. x+19-20 mentions side by

na-ti, which are repeated in an interesting the pertinent phrases of this document: was to teach him the art of singing. <sup>8</sup> Cf. the articling of a slave(?) to an artist who tract (Clay, BE, VIII/1, 98) dealing with but very difficult Neo-Babylonian conwith the words na-ru-tam  $u-\delta a-hi-zu-\delta i$ refers to the teaching of the art of singing ('('T', III, 20:17-18, 38-39. Line rev. x+7Clay, BIN, IV, 9:20-21, and S. Smith, allels phrases in the Old Assyrian letters, Line 9 (saltim.meš ši-na ir-ta-bé-e) par-No. 64 invites comment in two respects.

ih-z[i] LU.N[AR4-]u šu-hi-zi-zu (line 4), and [ib]-zu LÚ.NAR<sup>d-tu</sup> [u]- $\S[a]$ -a[b-ba-az[u] L[ $\acute{v}$ .NAR] $^{\acute{u}-\acute{u}}$ ... $\acute{u}$ - $\mathring{s}\acute{a}$ - $a\hbar$ -zu (lines 5-6) (line 10).

to τύσ.σύ.ε. hur-ri, ibid., 2, I:32. the profession name Lu e-pl-is Tug.Gu.L. bur-ri in Hrozny, KBo, V, 7:rev. 13, and E.SU.A. With respect to this garment Chiera, PBS, VIII/1, 45, I:15, rúg.at from the country su," exactly as pointed out to me, GÚ.È.A.SU.HI.A, "com Professor Güterbock has referred me t No. 75:18 has to be read, as Geers he

i-na pt-i-im i-şa-ba-tu). such a message (LÚ ták-lum ša a-wa-k trustworthy person able to memoria ARM, II, No. 19:23) but through carried by a messenger (cf. below portant secret diplomatic message wa transmitted not by means of a clay table No. 76:22-29 reports that an

n. 6) ÈŠ.TA.LÚ = ŠU- $\dot{u}$  (i.e.,  $e\&tal\hat{u}$ ). "Lú = amēlu" (cf. simply Meissner MAOG, XIII/2, 41, l. 20, and also p. (NAR astalum) which—as Landsberger in forms me—is mentioned in the serior of a special type of singer and/or acta forms me-is mentioned in the seri No. 83:7 and 9 contain the designation

of actor as na-wi-ru for which references should be made to the discussions of Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, p. 43, because in AOS, XXXII, 24, and because of the control o Speiser in JAOS, LXVIII, 12 f. qualification of the above-mentioned type Line 10 is noteworthy because of

as to whether you should move on town report (based on) what I shall see my rum in the meaning "to avenge." me (našûm) or I toward you." row (a-na ka-şa-tim), I shall send you No. 103:x+11-14, translate "Tome No. 90:14 shows the idiom zittam to

'Daddy' has not wr[itten to me] to appoint me to a(n official) position." For the No. 108: rev. x+5 means "[until] ma

> ny remarks in Orientalia, NS, XVI, E. also below sub ARM, III, No. 1. **n.** 1. In contradistinction to the ere of the samum simat PN by the king. **rma**l usage, the dialect of Mari speaks nace of the phrase simat PN samum

based upon Landsberger, MSL, II, 77, ₱ 17 and n. 4; Herzfeld, Zoroaster, I, 227; ud Ungmad, Orientalia, NS, XIII, 94)  $\mathbf{Oppen}$ heim in JA, CCXXX [1938], 654; \*rak-kab as Meissner, Warenpreise, Gers apud Salonen in ArO, XVII3-4, 321. Te the pertinent vocabulary evidence cf. earty, GCCI, I, 65:2. 186. 466:11 (кик.sal.yob), Johns, **ind 989:5** (sal. Húb. Kur). Note Us. Hl. A the Neo-Assyrian material: Harper, 📜 a donkey mare which is attested in **ADD**, 988:7, 17, etc. (same logogram), MTRA.SAL. HÚB in Chiera, Nu, 264:7; Pol. Sem. Phil., IX/11, line 23, anše.hChiera, Nu, 297:19, Lutz, Univ. of Cal. 🖢 this term. (ˈf. for Nuzi anše.sal.ມູຕົນ Mee-Assyrian documents, where the fewithe kudurru's, King, BBSt, Pls. LVff. **tale** of the horse is equally characterized The reading Hún instead of KAB (thus to from Nuzi, in the kudurru's and in 39), I:16-17, for both animals, and No. 132:19 and 22 show a qualification

• e.g., in Dossin, ARM, I, 73:57. Lailar claims for masons are voiced in ( there is no temple [of Enlil] to be the (the mason, there) without work **he le**tters ARM, II, 101 and 127. had there, no palace to be constructed!" No. 5:13 is to be read §a pi-e §a(!)  $g\acute{a}$ -No. 2:7-10 should be translated "why

Desin, ARM, I, 103:x+20, a-na ma-alattested reading qat) on account of יים (in spite of the hitherto at Mari No. 13:7 I propose to read mi-el-qa(t)-

> qa-ti-šu. "share." The meaning seems to

sentences clearly imply a critical attitude toward actions of the king. throne is not 'clean' (any more)!" Both bellion, the king has shed blood and his ta-aq-na-at, "the men have made a LUGAL da-me e-ta-pa-a\u00e3-ma ku-s\u00e1-\u00e3u \u00bc IV, 30a:12-14: a-wi-lu-ù i-ta-ba-al-ku-h pt·iš-tam...i-du-uk) of the passage of wording (sa-ar-tum ib-ba-ši-ma lugal na the Old Assyrian letter, S. Smith, CCT No. 18:33-34 reminds with its caution

Eluhat to Supram, the "man" of Susa. copied a letter written by the king of of Zimrilim has clearly intercepted and which could be translated "to learn phrase is used euphemistically; the agent ARM, II, 109:31, however, the very same through secret unofficial channels." In šemûm (rarely: lamādum) ina ahiti PN, have the phrase of the diplomatic jargon, No. 19:23 and many other passages

a plan of one's own," in ARM, 1I, 75:19. with têm ramānišu şabātum, "to conceive my own responsibility," can be compared No. 21:x+7, ina têm ramāniama, "upon

tinent material of the is well known from the abundant perand specific form of this "Orakelanfrage" losses during the campaign. The concise as a divine promise that there will be no deity before the extispicy: "according to actual wording of the question put to the turn (lit.; enter)," which is clearly taken their favorable (oracle-)reports 150 soldiers will go out and 150 soldiers will re-No. 22:30-31 seems to contain the Neo-Assyrian

seen the confirmation of your departure)?" you actually have departed (lit.: have will say: Why did you report to me before if **Ha**mmurabi changes his mind, my lord No. 24:x+16-18, translate "afterward

No. 26:9-10 illustrates the social struc-

This is also true for ARM, I, 61:26, where for nuffupum (cf. Ebellag, MAOG, V/3, 35, n. 5, and von Soden, OLZ, XXXVIII, 146) a Hebrew root is

by M. San Nicolo, Der neubahylonische Lehrrertrag in rechtsveryleichender Betrachtung ("Sitz. Ber. Bayer. cunciform documents dealing with apprenticeship 8 This text is not included in the discussion of the

ture of the country Naw/mar because reference is made to its ruler as SAL Nawaritum (cf. also the letter, Kupper, RA, XI.III, 45, No. 27:x+9), i.e., "the Lady of Nawar" (interpretation of Landsberger). According to the present letter she had the misfortune that her own GAL-marry put her in fetters (ik-si(1)-ši-ma) and delivered her to the enemy.

Soden in Orientalia, NS, XX, 162 ff.) containers or the like. (Cf. now also von litzsch, HWB, p. 696a) denoting ganging Matouš, ZA, NIII, 146, Landsberger, Clay, BE, XVII, 199:42, 43 (large cattle well as in the Middle Babyl passage, uq-ma) (correction of Landsberger) as  $\sin$ , RA, XXX, 99:10 ( $\text{GUD} \dots \text{lu}(!)\text{-lu}$ verb latākum for which Jean, ARM, WO, 5, 376, n. 93) and maltaku (cf. Dethat of the nouns litiktu (Falkenstein-"to test, examine" is in harmony with ... a-na la-la-qi). The resulting meaning VII. 42:8 (arp . . .  $h \cdot il \cdot tu \cdot uq$ ), and Dosthe Old Babyl, letters, Alexander, BIN, éprouver." The same verb occurs, e.g., in II, 236, proposes the meaning "tenter, No. 30:7 (and 35:29) mention the

Nos. 45:5 6 and also 72:6 refer to persons (in the former case to messengers) with the designation *rākib imērim*, while the *rākibum* of cities are referred to in ARM, II. 55:5, and 99:40, 47. Cf. the Sumerian designation of a functionary as RA.GAN.

No. 60:16 (and 79:16) attest for Marithe verb mašāḥnm, "to take away by force," which we know, e.g., from the Eshminna Code (Goetze, Sumo, IV, 78, § 26).

No. 76:8 with 3 mi-ti, "the three of us," is paralleled by the Old Assyrian passage, Lewy, TC, 111, 199:3, 3 mi-a-ti (spelled

ša-la-ša-at ni-a-ti in Contenau, TC, L 37:16). Cf. also ARM, II, 137:18, 3 šu-ni with Old Assyr. 3 šu-nu-ti in Thurean Dangin, LC, 240:11 (note 3 ku-nu-ti in Lewy, TC, III, 75:25).

Line 23 attests the verb zaqāpum, "a protest, claim, vindicate," to be foun also in the Old Babyl. letter, Lutz, PBI 1/2, 3:23, the legal text of the samperiod, CT, II, 24:33, PN<sub>1</sub> u PN<sub>2</sub> and za-ka-pt-ša iz-za-zu(!), as well as in the "vindication clause" of numerous New Assyrian documents in Johns, ADD (mannu ša ina urkiš ina malēma izaqupani, etc.). This is in contrast with the meaning of the rare legal term zaqāpu in the Neo-Babyl. texts, Cuntenau, TCI XIII, 187:6 (bat-lu šā i-šak-kan i zaqap), and Clay, BE, IX, 29:23 (gup.pi. šā . . . i-mul-li i-zaq-qap).

No. 78:9 shows that a journey seven to nine days separated Mari from Rasama. Om biblim, line 9, refers, course, to the day of the disappearant of the moon; for imum rêqum, line 28, of the revealing sequence in Virolleau ACh, Shamash, VI:1-6, XIII:14 and 18, etc. The present letter establishes further more the immediate sequence of the months called Dagan and Liliatim and their place in the year (spring rains).

No. 87:18 and 20 use the verb napanto to refer to the crushing of the oleoferd seeds of the sesame plant instead sapanum (cf., e.g., Fanst, YOS, VIII, 1:27, 6:5).

No. 96:5 (cf. also Dossin, RA, XXXVI 48:2, 7, also Syria, XX, 111) mention the textile rrig mardatum which appearance (S. Smith, CT, I, 29:6-7) in the Cappadocian texts and frequently those from Nuzi (e.g., Lacheman, HS XIII, 431: passim), where the reference seem to indicate its use (ša giš. NA. M.)

Lacheman, HSS, XIII, 431:35, \$a pa-ni cal.wi in Lacheman, HSS, XIV, 520:40). According to HSS, XIV, 247:26, it was been made of linen.

No. 106:17 requires the translation they threw before him (the imprisoned ton) a dog and a pig but he refused (li.ms; cf. Thureau-Dangin in RA, XXI, 148f.) to eat; I (thought) as follows: Perhaps this lion will become melancholic (and die of hunger)!"

**nation** of a river or canal in which fish **n** p. 118 of that volume), referring prob-**4.** ctc., p. 189b, mnps=animus, monu**thy** to a fenced-off or otherwise separated Supper, ARM, III, 79:11, and his note MII/4, 39, and muballitum in Mari (cf. (**alach)**, in Amarna, muballițu, "life-boat." ARM, III, 9:6). For the last meaning, (ad. M.TI.LA), with Salonen, Stud. Orient., tainer" ("reviver," note Hebrew beth hane-"cage." Cf. also muballițu, "perfume con**mballifu**; it has to be translated here by Licier." Note, furthermore, K. Conti Exper refers me to the French term were kept (also called bāhtum in Kupper, emini, Chrestomatia Arabica Meridionascance to the semantic reach of the word **edum** funebre, instrumentum vel structura aquam distribuendam per agros, as a No. 106:20 adds a new and significant mantic parallel of some interest.

No. 125 belongs to that group of Mariaters—cf. also Dossin, ARM, I, 44, 68, and 99—which illustrates, somewhat cardingly, the lack or scarcity of plows and of competent plowmen in the agriculate of that region.

Nos. 134:6 and 139:10 refer with them to those itemized reports on the partentous features found by the MAS.—

Reduction to the liver of the mattered sheep. Such reports are actually extant; cf. simply Goetze, YOS, X. 2.

No. 135:7 read a-na bi-ir-tim(1).

No. 139:9-10 contains the idion

No. 139:9-10 contains the idiom SILA4 epēšum, "to slaughter and dissect a lamb in order to obtain the information "inscribed" on its intestines." The term nêpištum in Jean, ARM, II, 97:22 and 133:12, denotes the entire procedure.

No. 139:23-24 (and 127:14 [Kupper]) shows the adjective *birum* (meaning unknown) describing garments. The same word recurs in a similar context in the Neo-Babylonian text, Strassmaier, Nhn, 703:5 ff.

### ARM, III

No. 1:6 (and the historical inscription, Thureau-Dangin, RA, XXXIII, 50, II: 22) attest a novel type of name of a canal (Išim-PN) for which I know of only one other example from the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur: I-šim-dŠnl-gi-ra\*\* (e.g., Genouillac, Trow. de Drehem, No. 26:2). Cf. also above sub ARM, I, No. 108: rev. x+5.

Line 18 and 8:24 use bêrum, "to be hungry," instead of summûm (cf., e.g., Codex Hamm. XLIII:39) to refer to the craving of the dry soil for water. The strangeness of this usage is stressed by the fact that the verbs šatů, "to drink," and šaqû, "to give to drink," are well attested in connection with irrigation.

No. 3:16-17 opposes the administrative terminus technicus zi.ga (in the meaning "absent") to baštlum, "present." when speaking of soldiers. Another instance of a peculiar use of Sumerian expressions of this type is Nfg.pu. In Dossin, ARM, I, 39:rev. x+12, Nfg.pu. yi.a clearly stands for "food rations" as also in ARM, II, 82:8 et passim (food for a guest) while in Dossin, ARM, I, 52:33 and 34 the nuance "dish" (characterized as sūbum, "fanciful, extravagant," in contradistinction to na'dum. "plain, simple")

is attested. The same term refers also to the "handouts" of a ruler (ARM, II, 76:5).

No. 3:20 (also 1:13, 6:5) has rot satum epištum where 1:19 and 8:15, 20 show epištum alone. The translation "working crew" (cf. also Ungnad, VAB, VI, 268) fits in both cases.

No. 5:17 as well as 24:8, 27:8, 37:8, and 69:x+9 require the translation "thereupon, afterward" for ullimelam. For other temporal adverbia derived from the same root, cf.,e.g., ullānumma, "soon afterward," in an omen of the series šumma izbu (cf. simply Dennefeld, Geburlsomina, index, s.e.), ullalliassu, "spaeter einmal" (Landsberger in JNES, VIII, 288 f.), and ulliš, "later on," attested in Mari, Dossin, ARM, 1, 10:rev. x+17, Jean, II, 31:14, Kupper, III, 83:x+8, Thurcan-Dangin, RA, NNXIII, 173:15.

In Dossin, ARM. I, 118:10, however, ulliš means "beyond/apart from this" (cf. also Dossin, Syria, XIX, 129:15, ullānūa. "apart from myself").

No. 8:13 should probably be read a.šao4 nakar (written: Lú.Kúrk) ù na-zi-iq and translated "the field is adversed disagreeable to work and in a sorry state."

No. 11:33–34 could perhaps be better translated "in these days is the day for the receiving of the materials (hišhhum) from the palace..." With hišhhum the present text, and also ARM, 111, 12:8, 22:5, 24:6, 25:6, etc., refer to stores and materials required for a specific purpose. This meaning is well attested in Old and Neo-Bahylonian documents dealing with administrative transactions (but cf. also Thurcan-Dangin, Rit. acc., O 174:rev. 1, pp. 9 and 42).

No. 13:7 (and many other letters written by Kibri-<sup>4</sup>Dagan, also in Jean, ARM, II, 89:7, 90:7) use *sanitam* in the sense of the Arabic *anma ba'du* in letters, that is, as introducing the letter content after the

salutatory phrases, etc. In the letter ARM, III, 73:7, one can clearly distinguish between *šanītam*, "and now (to the subject of the present letter)," and *šanītam*, "secondly, another (subject matter)."

No. 18:15-16 characterizes a certain person involved (ba-al-lu-ma, lit.: "mixed up") in some rebellion with the apparent ly proverbial saying "like a mad dog he does not care (lit.: know) whom (lit.: where) he bites."

No. 19:20 attests ahuniš, "separately," which is to be linked to ahune, for which cf. above sub ARM, I, No. 8:12, 36.

sage is paralleled by those of the Old which can actually be seen on an unpub roof of a Babylonian private house and which were placed immediately under the reference for the word gisallum. This page lished clay model of such a house. ings (protected by reed-woven lattices) indicated the triangular ventilation opentinent discussions of S. Smith in RA, CT, XXII, 217:24-25; cf. also the per-Babylonian letter, Ungnad, VAB, VI, 114: XXX, 156 f., Meissner, MAOG, III/3, 107. The term gisallum seems to have 19 f., and Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge, p. 14 and of the Neo-Babylonian, Thompson No. 25:16-21 contains an interesting

No. 26:23 mentions the official Lő.Egn who appears rather frequently in Old Babyl. texts; cf., e.g., Ranke, Bl., VI/1, 59:case 9, Chiera, PBS, VIII/2, 194, IV:13, Jean, Tell Sifr, 29:28, Ungnad, VS, VII, 68:26, Alexander, BlN, VII, 65:19 (cf. also the earlier scal, OlP, XXXVII, No. 50).

No. 33:14 seems to offer a new reference for the difficult technical terminatum (cf. the discussion of Landsberger in MSL, I, pp. 233-45) in the phrase A.Ša64 i-na mi-i-ia-tim i-ir-ri-šu.

No. 42:16 could refer with mirkitum to

the secluded quarters of the residence of para the ugbabtum-priestess ("claustrum") so bulls that it would not be necessary (as prothe (one) on p. 116 of ARM, III) to assume Nonther "West Semitic" loan. "west"

pert) station in GN." muslated here in the indicated way, the benter the capital. While nubattam (cor-"toward evening"; cf. nubattātum, "overpart to the palace of Mari arriving travel-**Pre**nch: "la veille") for nubattam. The **nd J**ean, ARM, II, 129:11-14, nubattam thows that the word could also mean who then were granted the permission **requires** the translation "last night" nthurum ana GN, "to move on to the ightstations," in Dossin, ARM, I, 26:13, pasage Jean, ARM, II, 93:rev. x+8, prernor of Tirqa had apparently to rehadim meaning "tomorrow") has to be sponding to ina mustertim and ana The letters 44-46 offer a context which

No. 61:10 uses ilum with the implicafor "epidemic" (verb; akilum) and is

paralleled by Jean, ARM, II, 24:9 (verl) hulluqum). Both references recall § 249 of the Codex Hamm. (verb.: mahāsum).

No. 62:11 has âmum in the meaning

"weather" (cf. also ûmū dannū, "bad weather," in Jean, ARM, II, 78:31).

No. 79:10 (and 5:32) refer with kalak-

kum to the term discussed by Neugebauer-Sachs, AOS, XXIX, 65 f.
Line rev. x+8 read probably a-ia-nu-

um-ma la na-ak-li-im. No. 84:11 read [i-na £ še]-lu sal.meš iš-[t]a-ra-[tum].

Line 23 contains the designation of a feminine profession, *ēpišat mirsim*, for which Güterbock has pointed out to me a parallel in Hittite texts: Goetze, KUB, XXVI, 69 V(?):14, sal E-PIŠ balbala der (mentioned by S. Alp, Juhrbuch der kleinasiatischen Forschung, I/2, 114). (Y. also Landsberger-Balkun, Bellelen, XIV (1950), 240, n. 31.

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