

## NOTE E DISCUSSIONI

Amalia CATAGNOTI - Firenze: *Integrazioni allo scongiuro* ARET 5.2

Il testo letterario eblaita TM.75.G.11748 = ARET 5.2 si arricchisce oggi di due nuovi frammenti: il primo, TM.75.G.3216, che ho identificato tra i testi frammentari raccolti in ARET 3, dove è edito con il n. 186, ed il secondo, TM.75.G.18214, finora inedito, che mi è stato comunicato da A. Archi.<sup>1</sup>

Il recto della tavoletta ricomposta reca sei colonne, di cui solo tre completamente scritte: nella quinta colonna si trova il numero sette, scritto trasversalmente (Tav. XXXII, 1-2). Nel verso, anepigrafo e non diviso in colonne, vi sono soltanto alcuni piccoli cunei verticali ed un segno, probabilmente una variante di PÉŠ, per la cui forma si veda ARET 5, tav. 2.

Pur mancando sempre una parte sostanziale della tavoletta, le due identificazioni permettono adesso di conoscere l'incipit e la parte finale sia delle colonne sia del testo nel suo insieme.

Questo è il testo quale è noto oggi:

I

1	<i>i-li-lu</i>
2	<i>ʾi<sup>l</sup>-la-ba-nu</i>
	[rottura di 5-7 caselle]
1'	<i>ša-gi-tum</i>
2'	<i>a(-)na-a-su</i>
3'	MAŠKIM.E.GI <sub>4</sub>

II

1	<i>ʾa<sup>l</sup></i>
2	KA[-x]
3	<i>šu-lu</i>
4	[...]
5	[...]ʾx <sup>l</sup>
6	[...]ʾx <sup>l</sup> x
7	[x]ʾx <sup>l</sup> [x] <i>na</i>
8	[a-z]i-mi-[g]a
9	<i>ba-ti-la-du</i>
10	<i>a<sup>2</sup>ʾr<sup>7</sup>[(x) A]L<sub>6</sub></i>
11	<i>d<sup>1</sup>[d]u-na-nu</i>
12	<i>a-zi-mi-ga</i>
13	<i>ba-ti-la-du</i>
14	<i>a</i>

<sup>1</sup> Ringrazio il professor Archi per la cortesia dimostrata segnalandomi il joint da lui effettuato e mettendo a mia disposizione, per la pubblicazione, la foto della tavoletta ricomposta. Ringrazio anche il professor P. Fronzaroli che ha verificato ad Aleppo la mia ipotesi riguardante ARET 3.186, provando che si tratta di un joint e collazionando per me la tavoletta.

III	1	7 GIŠ.AL <sub>6</sub>
	2	d 'à-da
	3	a-zi-mi-ga
	4	a
	5	za-za-um
	6	la(-)da-bù
	7	SA.SAL
	8	a-zi-mi-ga
	9	a(-)zi-da-ḡa
	10	IGI.DUR <sup>?</sup>
	11	GÀR.SU
	12	ba-li
	13	MA-DA-NA

Le nuove parti identificate portano alla comprensione del testo i seguenti contributi:

I 1-2 Per l'incipit cfr. il passo analogo di *ARET* 5.3 r. I 1-2: <sup>d</sup>utu / ti-a-ba-an. (d)i-li-lu è grafia nota ad Ebla, sia nei testi letterari che nelle liste lessicali, per Enlil.<sup>2</sup> Per i-la-ba-nu cfr. inoltre *ARET* 5.1 r. IV 7-9: a-bi-nu-um / i-a-ba-nu / SIG<sub>4</sub>.GAR.

I 1'-3' Per questa sezione si cfr. il passo di *ARET* 5.1 V 8-VI 9: MAŠKIM.E.GI<sub>4</sub>-ma ... ša-gi-du-ma ... i-na-'à-āš / na-'à-su. ša-gi-tum è attestato anche in *ARET* 5.3, in un passo che, come notato da Edzard, è parallelo ad *ARET* 5.1.<sup>3</sup> a(-)na-a-su è così traslitterato per analogia con a(-)zi-da-na (III 9), quest'ultima lettura derivandosi dal passo parallelo in *ARET* 5.1 III 2-4: a-za-me-gà / al<sub>6</sub> / zi-da-nu, come già notato da Edzard.<sup>4</sup> Nonostante si abbia -a- per -'à-, l'etimologia di na-a-su, i-na-'à-āš e na-'à-su è verosimilmente la stessa.<sup>5</sup> Per MAŠKIM.E.GI<sub>4</sub> nei testi letterari eblaiti v. Krebernik, *BFE*, p. 323 n. 137.

II 1-3 Sezione frammentaria; per šu-lu cfr. šu-li, šu-ri in TM.75.G.1619 VI 1, 3.<sup>6</sup>

II 11 Il joint rende possibile l'identificazione del determinativo divino.

III 11 GÀR.SU in *ARET* 5, sia nel testo che nell'indice, è chiaramente un errore di stampa per GÀR.SU.

III 12-13 Sezione senza paralleli in testi analoghi. ba-li è attestato altre due volte in un' unica tavoletta, il trattato tra Ebla e Abarsal (TM.75.G.2420) col significato di "senza".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> V. *ARET* 5, p. 54 s.v. e *MEE* 4 n. 802; v. anche W.G. Lambert, *The Section AN*, in L. Cagni (ed.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. D.O. Edzard, *ARET* 5, p. 20. E' verosimile la connessione di ša-gi-tum con la forma verbale flessa iš-da-ga-SU (*ARET* 5.1 V 6 e *ARET* 5.3 II 4), che M. Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla*, p. 324 n. 137, dubitativamente fa derivare dal verbo attestato nella glossa *MEE* 4 n. 998: TUM.MA = ša-ga-du-um|tum "bringen".

<sup>4</sup> V. *ARET* 5, p. 21 ad II 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> V. *ARET* 5, p. 20 (14), \*nḥš, "vivere".

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. Krebernik, *Fara und Ebla*, B. 22, pp. 112 segg.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. E. Sollberger, *The So-Called Treaty Between Ebla and "Ashur"*: *SEb*, 3 (1980), p. 149, e P. Fronzaroli, *Per una valutazione della morfologia eblaita*: *SEb*, 5 (1982), 101e.

### 1. The Value IL<sub>x</sub> for the Sign NE

The resolution of the polyphonous NE sign stands as one of the significant difficulties in transliterating the Ebla texts. A number of words/names are neither readily reconcilable through the application of established values, nor explicable in terms of an alternation between NI and NE. Another alternative is inferred from a clear alternation between *il* and NE. Parallel passages in *ARET* 1 and *ARET* 3 suggest that, at Ebla, the NE sign may have an /il<sub>x</sub>/ value. The passages in question are:

*ARET* 1.17.r.9,9-12

9 *Du-bù-I-šar*  
10 *dumu-nita*  
11 *il-zi*  
12 *lu Du-nu*

*ARET* 3.59.r.7.3'-6'

3' *Du-bù-I-šar*  
4' *dumu-nita*  
5' *NE-zi*  
6' *lu Du-nu*

The variant writings of the personal name *il-zi* and *NE-zi* sustain the assumption of the *il<sub>x</sub>* value in word initial position.<sup>1</sup>

### 2. The Value LI of the Sign NI

The /li/ value has been called into question by a number of scholars.<sup>2</sup> While the value is certainly not common at Ebla it is nevertheless present. Among the clearest evidence supporting the value is the alternation NI/li in the writing of the personal name *Zahalia*.<sup>3</sup> Because the context of each occurrence is so similar, the juxtaposition of two of these passages is adequate to demonstrate that *Za-ḥa-NI-a* and *Za-ḥa-li-a* refer to the same individual.

\*An earlier draft of this study was presented at the 197th Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Los Angeles March 22-25, 1987. The substance of this study derives from my work in the computerization of the Ebla texts at the University of California, Los Angeles, under the direction of Prof. Giorgio Buccellati. This work has greatly benefited from the generous cooperation of Professors Alfonso Archi and Lucio Milano who have provided input, collations, and criticisms. To them, I express my gratitude. Thanks are also due to the David and Lucile Packard Foundation for their financial support of the computerization of the Ebla texts.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the *il<sub>x</sub>* value in other than word initial position is less clear. Certainly name pairs like *Ḥa-ra-Il* / *Ḥa-ra-NE*; *I-da-Il* / *I-da-NE*; and *Zu-ma-Il* / *Zu-ma-NE* are suggestive, but concrete prosopographical links are lacking.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the comments of M. Krebernik, *Zur Entwicklung der Keilschrift in III. Jahrtausend anhand der Texte aus Ebla*: AFO, 32 (1985), p. 57, n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The name is written *Za-ḥa-NI-a* in *ARET* 1.13.r.4,12 and v.3,15. The writing *Za-ḥa-li-a* appears in *ARET* 3.36.v.2,2' (where in 1' the name *Du-bi* can surely be restored); *ARET* 4.7.r.12,13; 24.r.3,5; and r.9.13. The only occurrence of the personal name *Za-ḥa-li-a* within the *ARET* volumes, which cannot be clearly connected to the preceding references is *ARET* 4.24.v.1,3.

ARET 1.13.r.4,8-13

- 8 2 ib + III-sa<sub>6</sub>-gùn-TUG<sub>2</sub>
- 9 ʾā-da-sē
- 10 lú Ga-ba-am<sub>6</sub>
- 11 Du-bi
- 12 lú Za-ha-NI-a
- 13 šeš-II-ib

ARET 4.7.r.12,9-14

- 9 2 ib + III-TUG<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub>-dar
- 10 ʾā-da-sē
- 11 lú Ga-ba-mu
- 12 Du-bi
- 13 lú Za-ha-li-a
- 14 šeš-II-ib

In this instance, there can be no doubt that the name is to be read Zahalia, that /li/ is here required, and that, in medial position, the value appears valid.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. The Reading of the Toponym I-NE-bu-NI<sub>ki</sub>

In his study, *L'organizzazione politica della Siria nell'età di Ebla*, Archi has convincingly argued, on the basis of sequences of geographical names, that the toponyms written I-NI-bu<sub>ki</sub>, I-NI-TUM<sub>ki</sub>, and I-bu-TUM<sub>ki</sub> refer to the same place.<sup>5</sup> To these three variant writings can be added I-NE-bu-NI<sub>ki</sub>, attested several times in the ration texts.<sup>6</sup> I cite sequences from three of these in support of this interpretation: Garmu / Lumnanu / I-NE-bu-NI /

Text 74  
(TM.75.G.217)

Garmu<sub>ki</sub>  
Lumnanu<sub>ki</sub>  
I-NE-bu-NI<sub>ki</sub>  
Guddanum<sub>ki</sub>  
Ursaum<sub>ki</sub>  
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Text 81  
(TM.75.G.449)

Garmu<sub>ki</sub>  
I-NE-bu-NI<sub>ki</sub>  
Imar<sub>ki</sub>  
Lumnanu<sub>ki</sub>  
Guddanum<sub>ki</sub>  
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Text 82  
(TM.75.G.217)

Imar<sub>ki</sub>  
Lumnanu<sub>ki</sub>  
I-NE-bu-NI<sub>ki</sub>  
Ursaum<sub>ki</sub>  
Garmu<sub>ki</sub>  
Guddanum<sub>ki</sub>

These parallels to the passages cited by Archi establish that a reading I-bi-bu-bu<sub>y</sub>(NI) is required here. This writing, as well as the writing I-bu<sub>y</sub>(NI)-bu-ib<sub>ki</sub>

<sup>4</sup> The value *li* can only be sustained in medial position. There has already been much criticism of the application of this value in initial position (cfr. L. Milano, *NI = ʾa<sub>x</sub> nel sillabario di Ebla*: SEb, 7 [1984], pp. 214-25, n. 7). In word final position, the personal name *En-na-NI-NI* is regularly transliterated *En-na-i-li*. This reading must, however, be questioned on the basis of clear parallels between the names written *En-na-ni-Il* and *En-na-NI-NI*. Cfr. ARET 3.105.r.2,3-4: *En-na-ni-Il* / lú *Ag-ga* / alternating with ARET 4.6.v.11,8-9: *En-na-NI-NI* / lú *Ag-ga*; ARET 1.5.r.15,11-13, ARET 8.521.r.4, 19-5,1, and ARET 8.523.r.1,5-6: *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar* / lú *En-na-ni-Il* alternating with ARET 1.4.v.6,10-11: *I-ti-<sup>d</sup>Eš<sub>4</sub>-dar* / lú [*E*n-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup>-NI-NI]. Such alternations require that these occurrences of the name *En-na-NI-NI* be interpreted as *En-na-ni-NI*, predicate + pronominal suffix + hypocoristic element.

<sup>5</sup> In this study, published in ARET 1, Archi (p. 220, n. 3) cites the following sequences from ARET 1: 1.9: (Garmu) - Lumnan - Ibutum - Ursaum - Gudadanum; 1.6: Garmu - Lumnan - I-NI-TUM - Ursaum - Utigu; 1.3 and 1.7: Garmu - Lumnan - I-NI-bu - Ursaum - Utigu. This variation in the writing of the toponyms I-bu-TUM; I-NI-TUM; and I-NI-bu points to the respective readings I-bu-ib; I-bu<sub>y</sub>(NI)-ib; and I-bu<sub>y</sub>(NI)-bu.

<sup>6</sup> These texts are to be published in ARET 9 by Lucio Milano, whom I thank for permission to quote from them.

## Notes on Ebla Graphemics

(TM.75.G.2244.r.IX,12), cited by Archi,<sup>7</sup> reflect a doubling of the middle consonant and suggest a form /Ibbūb/. The substance of this proposal can be summed up in tabular form:

### UNRESOLVED FORM

*I-bu-TUM*  
*I-NI-TUM*  
*I-NI bu*  
*I-NE-bu-NI*  
*I-NI-bu-TUM*

### RESOLVED FORM

<i>I-bu-ib</i>	}	= /Ibbūb/
<i>I-bu<sub>y</sub>-ib</i>		
<i>I-bu<sub>y</sub>-bu</i>		
<i>I-bi<sub>y</sub>-bu-bu<sub>y</sub></i>		
<i>I-bu<sub>y</sub>-bu-ib</i>		

### 4. Notes on the Ḥamazi Letter (TM.75.G.1342)

In the book *Ebla: nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Pettinato has republished the Ḥamazi letter.<sup>8</sup> The lines to be studied here are r.III,5-r.IV,5, which may be transliterated as follows:

III. 5 BAR.AN sa<sub>6</sub>  
 hi-mu-tūm  
 an-da  
 šeš  
 u

10 an-na  
 šeš

IV. 1 10 giš<sub>6</sub>ēš  
 2 giš<sub>6</sub>GAM giš<sub>6</sub>taskarin  
 I-bū-BU<sub>6</sub>  
 in-na-sum  
 sukkal-dug

"May you bring good equids.  
 You are a brother and I am a  
 brother. 10 reins and 2 boxwood  
 wheels (I), Ibbūb have given to  
 the messenger."

BAR.AN sa<sub>6</sub>, which Pettinato renders "Buoni mercenari", should instead be understood as "good equids",<sup>9</sup> and lines 5-6 can be understood as "May you bring good equids".

The major interpretive crux of this text is surely that which I have transliterated giš<sub>6</sub>GAM giš<sub>6</sub>taskarin.<sup>10</sup> The key to understanding this term is to be found in the administrative texts. Here the term giš<sub>6</sub>GAM.GAM occurs, always along with a chariot

<sup>7</sup> Archi, *ARET* 1, p. 220, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> The text is published in transliteration and translation (pp. 397-398) along with a photograph (Tav. XXII). The form and translation of the text is essentially unchanged from his original publication of the letter in 1977 in *RBI*, 25 (1977), pp. 239-240.

<sup>9</sup> The occurrence of this term in the texts concerned with animal husbandry at Ebla assures that the BAR.AN is a type of equid; cfr. the remarks of Archi, *Allevamento e distribuzione del bestiame ad Ebla*: *SEb*, 7 (1984), p. 48, n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Pettinato's transliteration of the sign as AŠUD is based upon the equivalence given in the Ebla sign list (TM.75.G.1907+12680). See Archi's recent publication of the sign list in *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Language*, vol. 1, Cyrus H. Gordon - Gary A. Rendsburg - Nathan H. Winter (eds), Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1987, p. 96. Here the reading AŠUD is established by the writing a-zu-tum. giš<sub>6</sub>GAM is retained here, because the efficacy of the AŠUD reading in this context cannot be assured. The reading giš<sub>6</sub>taskarin is based upon a proposal by I.J. Gelb, published in B. Kienast, *Zum Feldzugsbericht des EnnaDagan*: *OA*, 23 (1984), p. 20, n. 4.

gišgigir-II.<sup>11</sup> In fact, the ratio of gišGAM.GAM per gišgigir-II is always 2:1,<sup>12</sup> and that the meaning "wheel", as proposed in the *ARET* volumes is correct. This realization enables us to achieve a proper understanding of this letter. The 10 gišéš, translated by Pettinato as "mobili-E" (i.e. EŠ furniture), should, instead, be related to the kiri<sub>3</sub>.éš present in the administrative texts. In these texts, the kiri<sub>3</sub>.éš is undoubtedly part of the chariot equipment.<sup>13</sup> This understanding of the objects enunciated in the Hamazi letter enables the reader to recognize its internal coherence. Top-quality equids are being exchanged for chariot parts.

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. *ARET* 2.2.v.VII,5-VIII,10; *ARET* 3.755.r.II,1-4; *ARET* 8.537.r.VI,1-5. *ARET* 2.2.v.VII-VIII, 4 is transliterated: 5 NI / al<sub>6</sub> / Bu<sub>x</sub>(KA)-d[u] / i[n] / UNKEN.ak / 4 gišGAM-GAM / 2 gišgigir-II / lú nig-ba / "5 NI of gold to Budu for the preparation of 4 gišGAM.GAM of 2 two(-wheeled) chariots as a gift". The term gišGAM.GAM also occurs in the Ebla bilinguals (TM.75.G.1438+1443+1444), however, there is no Semitic equivalent. It is worth noting, however, that gišGAM.GAM appears within two entries of the entries for chariots.

<sup>12</sup> I am aware of no published texts which speak of gišGAM.GAM for a gišgigir-IV.

<sup>13</sup> About which see A. Archi, *Circulation d'objets en métal précieux de poids standardisé à Ebla*, in J.M. Durand - J.R. Kupper (eds), *Miscellanea Babylonica*, Paris 1985, p. 32. Passages including *ARET* 3.609.r.5,6-7; 802.r.3,4-5 and 907.r.2,2-3 firmly establish that the kiri<sub>3</sub>.éš is part of the chariot. The Akkadian equivalent of kiri<sub>3</sub>.éš, *šerretum* helps to verify the meaning of the term. Cfr. *CAD* vol. 16 S p. 134, where the meanings "nose-rope; lead-rope, and halter" are given. The Ebla bilingual texts (MEE 4, 0167) provide *ni-bi-tum* as the Semitic gloss of KA.ŠE (i.e. kiri<sub>3</sub>.éš), which may be compared to Akkadian *ebē<sub>2</sub>tum*, "to be tied; girt" (*CAD* vol. 4, E p. 13).

The present document (Tav. XXXIII, 1-2) is one of the only two sources contemporary to Enlil-nādin-aḫi,<sup>1</sup> the last king of the Kassite dynasty, who reigned for three years, from 1157 to 1155 B.C.<sup>2</sup> It is known to scholars as CT XXXVI 13, where it has been published in copy by C.J. Gadd.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it has been thought that a complete edition, never appeared till now, is certainly important, although the condition of the kudurru is rather bad.

The place where this boundary stone was found is unknown, for it was purchased by the British Museum in 1919,<sup>4</sup> and now bears the archives number BM 113891. It consists approximately of the central part of a flat white limestone - only the top portion of the left edge is remaining - the dimensions of which are the following: length-34.6 cm, width-37.5 cm, and thickness - from 8 to 9 cm.<sup>5</sup> Both sides of the stone are engraved, the obverse with reliefs representing divine symbols, while the reverse bears an inscription, of which 22 rather damaged lines are still extant.

### TRANSLITERATION

- 4') [ ]ta ši-im-ma lu-nam  
 5') [ d]la-ta-ra-ak  
 6') [ ]den-lil-nādin (MU)-aḫi (ŠEŠ) šarru (LUGAL)  
 7') [ ]šar(LUGAL) kiššāti (KIŠti)  
 8') [ ]a-na dnin-urta a-šib āli(URU) ša m-ú-ša-li  
 9') [ ]ūmē(U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ)-šū ša-lam zēr(NUMUN)-šū ku-un palê(BALA) -šū  
 10') [ ]den-lil-nādin (MU)-aḫi (ŠEŠ) X m-ú-ša-li  
 11') [ ]a-na ūmē(U<sub>4</sub>) ša-a-ti i-ri-īm lu-ú lúšakin(ŠÁ)-māti(KUR) ar-ku-ú  
 12') [lu-u]bēl (EN)lpihāti(NAM) lu-ú ḥa-za-an-nu lu-ú dajānu (DI.KU<sub>5</sub>) lu-ú  
 13') [ ša ] i-na muḥ eqli(A.ŠÁ) šu-a-tu i-da-bu-bu  
 14') [ ]i-nu-ú i-bá-qa-ru eqlu (A.ŠÁ) ul na-din-mi i-qa-bu-ú  
 15') [ ]šū-a-tu i-na maš-kâ-ni-šū ú-nq-ka-ru-šū a-šar-ša-ni  
 16') [i] -šá-ka-nu ib-ba-tu ú-ḥal-la-qu d a-nu den-lil ú d r e l - [ a ]

\* The photographs of this fragment are published by kind permission of the British Museum, London, for which I would like to thank particularly Dr. C.B.F. Walker, Director of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities. I want also express my thanks to Dr. F. Pomponio, University of Rome, for his valuable aid during the preparation of this article. The abbreviations used here follow The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

<sup>1</sup> The other is the administrative text U 7789i, published in copy by O.R. Gurney, UET VII, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology is that suggested by J.A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, vol. I, Chicago 1976, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> It also corresponds to no. 66 of U. Seidl, *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs*: Bagh. Mitt., 4 (1968); no. 229 of K. Jaritz, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaššu-Dynastie*: MIO, 6 (1958), p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> See J.E. Reade, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Comparable Monuments in the BM*: "Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project", 5 (1987), p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> As to the latter, see Seidl, cit., p. 42.

17) erasure  
 18) *sum*(MU)-*su li-hal-li-qu* <sup>d</sup>*nin-gi(r-s)u* <sup>u</sup> *ba<sup>5</sup>ba<sup>6</sup>*  
 19) [ *il-qu-tu* <sup>d</sup>*marduk*(AMAR.UTU) *bēl*(EN) *bābili*(KĀ.DINGIR.RA.KI) *lšid*  
 (SUḪUŠ)-*su li-* ]  
 20) [ ]UD *a-na ik-le-[ti* ]  
 21) [ ]IŠ SAG QA? N[I ]  
 22) [ ]i-na[ ]

Translation

- 4) ...  
 5) ...  
 6) ... Enlil-nādin-aḫi, king  
 7) ... king of the world  
 8) ... to Nīnurta who dwells in the city of Uṣalli  
 9) ... [the long-lasting] of his days, the health of his descendants, the stability of his reign  
 10) ... Enlil-nādin-aḫi ... Uṣalli  
 11) ... for future days presented. Or a future governor,  
 12) [or] a provincial governor, or a mayor, or a judge, or  
 13) ... [who] in respect of this field shall bring an action,  
 14) ..., shall displace (it), shall claim (it), shall say "the field was not given",  
 15) shall change this [stone] from its emplacement, in another place  
 16) shall set (it), shall destroy (it), shall ruin (it), may Anu, Enlil end E[a]  
 17) ...  
 18) may they destroy his name; may Nīngirsu and Baba  
 19) snatch away [his seed]; may Marduk, the lord of Babylonia, te[ar out] his foundation,  
 20) ... into a dark place ...  
 21) ...  
 22) ...

COMMENTARY

- 5) It must be probably a god element of a PN, although it does not appear elsewhere. As GN, see I. Bernhardt, *Sozialökonomische Texte und Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur zur Kassitenzeit*: TuM, NF 5 (1976), p. 29: 6.  
 6) The reading of the royal name is uncertain, being also possible the reading Enlil-šuma-uṣur; see J.A. Brinkman, *The Names of the Last Eight Kings of the Kassite Dynasty*: ZA, 59 (1969), pp. 245-246.  
 8) Mentioned only on this document; see K. Nashef, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 5, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 26. On PN Uṣalli see Bernhardt, cit., p. 13: 4  
 9) Possibly [arak].  
 10) The identification of the sign after the royal name is not certain, for it is damaged and engraved upon the edge corner.  
 15) Probably [narā] or [kudurra].  
 19) At the beginning of the line [zēr-šu] is to be completed; at the end li-[is-su-uh].

The inscription clearly records a royal land grant, even if very little can be said about, since it is mostly concerned with the conventional formulae of curse against whom shall destroy or remove the boundary stone.



The land seems to be granted by the king to the god Ninurta, who resides in the city of Ušalli.<sup>6</sup> The latter is a PN, and recurs together with the royal name also at line 10', although unfortunately in an uncertain context. Since it is unknown whether and how Enlil-nādin-aḫi was related to his predecessors,<sup>7</sup> it could be interesting to know something more about this person and his relationship with the king.

As regards the curses, those remaining are the more generic and conventional: the high officials mentioned here are very common figures; the same for the gods whose protection is invoked, that are Anu, Enlil and Ea - invariably - Ningirsu and Baba,<sup>8</sup> and finally Marduk. The last mention has been shown by the scholars who have dealt with this document as an evidence that Babylonia was not yet plundered by the Elamite Kudur-Nahhunte until the end of Enlil-nādin-aḫi's reign.<sup>9</sup>

### ICONOGRAPHY

As usual, divine symbols are engraved upon kudurrus: the obverse of this stone is entirely occupied by them. Those still remaining and recognizable - according to Seidl's interpretation - are the following: crescent moon?, sun-disk, shrine, spade?, springing water jar, single arrow, dog, bull, walking bird, snake, scorpion, lion-dragon.<sup>10</sup> Formerly C.J. Gadd had listed: solar disk, serpent, scorpion, walking bird, dog, shrine, fragment of a bull's head and horn, doubtful remains of a perching bird and a wing, a winged bull with an anchor-like-object.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, given the bad condition of the stone, it is necessary to enter again into discussion upon every divine symbol represented here and its interpretation.<sup>12</sup> On the ground of the sole photograph - from the top to the base of the stone, from the left to the right - we can briefly observe what follows:

(1) a doubtful remain of the crescent moon, representing the god Sin; (2) the single arrow, the interpretation of which is still uncertain; (3) the sun-disk, that is the symbol of Šamaš; (4) the snake, that is Ištaran; (5) the scorpion, representing Išhara; (6) possibly the band of Ninḫursaga; (7-8) two symbols that cannot be certainly identified from the photograph; the second one could be yet a remain of the plough of Ningirsu; (9) this seems to be a mythical figure, a winged creature with the eagle-head of the mace of Zababa; (10) a very doubtful and unusual emblem, of which both the identification and the interpretation are not certain and satisfactory; according to Seidl's proposal, it should

<sup>6</sup> Royal grants to the gods or their temples are rarely attested on kudurrus: see MDP II, pp. 86-92, pls. 16-19 (from Nazi-maruttaš to Marduk) and BBSt. 36 (from Nasū-apla-iddina to the Ebabbar of Sippar).

<sup>7</sup> See Brinkman, *Kassite History*, p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> These two gods are mentioned together on only one other kudurru (BBSt. 3 vi 5, dating from the reign of the Kassite king Meli-šipak).

<sup>9</sup> Since 1944 A. Ugnad, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie des zweiten Reiches von Isin*: Or, 13 (1944), p. 81; see then J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Roma 1968, pp. 88-89.

<sup>10</sup> Corresponding to Seidl's numbers: 1, 2, 8, 12, 16, 19, 26, 30, 33, 37, 38, 50; see Bagh. Mitt., 4 (1968), Tab. 1. Concerning divine symbols see also F.X. Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform*, Paderborn 1922.

<sup>11</sup> Introduction to CT 36, pp. 7-8.

<sup>12</sup> As regards the gods these symbols represent, we mostly follow the results of Seidl's work, cit.

represent the god Ea; (11) another hybrid as the case of no. 9, whose head can be associated to the lion-mace-head representing Ninurta;<sup>13</sup> (12) this is, together with no. 10, one of the stranger symbols among those engraved upon the stone: in general it can be defined a shrine on a pedestal and associated to some buildings of the kind of the *ziqqurat*, so that it probably represents the god Nabû;<sup>14</sup> (13) the possible remain of the *marru* of Marduk; (14) finally the remain of a horn and part of the head of the bull, the sacred animal of Adad.

The arrangement of the figures upon the stone is confused and chaotic, since they are not yet ordered according to a fixed principle, which is peculiar of a still Kassite kudurru.<sup>15</sup>

Among the gods expressly mentioned in the curses, only Marduk and Ea are possibly represented also in relief. Nevertheless it must be remembered that only a rather damaged fragment of the boundary-stone is extant, so that those divine symbols invariably recurring upon kudurru reliefs, i.e. Anu and Enlil, may be lost.

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<sup>13</sup> See F. Pomponio, "Löwenstab" e "Doppellöwenkeule". *Studio su due simboli dell' iconografia mesopotamica* : OA, 12 (1973), pp. 183-208.

<sup>14</sup> This element is peculiar of Seidl's fifth group ("Parakanonisch"); see Seidl, cit., pp. 83, 108-110.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Mario LIVERANI - Roma: *Uomini, forse*.

Il significato e l'etimologia del nome (o meglio dell'appellativo) degli Ummān-  
manda ha dato luogo a due teorie.<sup>1</sup> Una teoria, che risale ad E. Forrer,<sup>2</sup> connette o identifica  
questo nome all'ambiente indo-iranico e alla sua presunta invasione nel Vicino Oriente alla  
fine dell'età paleo-babilonese; gli attribuisce valore di nome proprio (di popolo),<sup>3</sup> o even-  
tualmente di appellativo di etimologia indo-europea.<sup>4</sup> L'altra teoria, che risale a B.  
Landsberger,<sup>5</sup> lo considera invece un appellativo spiegabile con l'accadico *manda/minde*  
"forse" (da \**man ide* "chi sa?"), il significato complessivo essendo dunque "Wer kennt den  
Stamm?", cioè "irgendein unbekannter Stamm". Le due interpretazioni divergono anche nei  
riflessi storici: secondo la teoria "indo-iranica" si tratta di una popolazione caratterizzata  
(come indo-iranica appunto, come invasori, come guerrieri, come dotati di carro e cavallo),  
il cui eventuale "reimpiego" nel corso di più di un millennio di attestazioni sempre però  
salvaguarderebbe certi caratteri specifici, collegando insomma le varie ondate di invasori/  
cavalieri indo-europei (dalla prima migrazione in età accadica,<sup>6</sup> attraverso quella  
"mitannica", e fino ai Cimмери e ai Medi del periodo neo-assiro e neo-babilonese).<sup>7</sup> Invece  
secondo la teoria "semitica" il termine non designerebbe neppure in origine una popolazione  
precisa, e sarebbe stato semplicemente applicato a popolazioni barbariche di cui si ignorasse  
l'origine.

<sup>1</sup> Per uno stato della questione cfr. G.H. Oller, *The Autobiography of Idrimi*, University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Dissertation 1977, pp. 62-69.

<sup>2</sup> E. Forrer, *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches*: ZDMG, 76 (1922), pp. 247-249 (8. *Die Sprache der Manda-Leute*; cfr. spec. pp. 247-249: Manda = "Arier"). A parte la questione dei Manda, l'articolo resta fondamentale come prima organica sistemazione dell'elemento linguistico indo-iranico in ambiente hittita e mitannico. Dello stesso E. Forrer si veda anche *Stratification des langues et des peuples dans le Proche-Orient préhistorique*: JA, 217 (1930), p. 249 (Manda = "les envahisseurs aryens").

<sup>3</sup> L'identità etimologica di Manda e Māda (i Medi), sostenuta dal Forrer, pur accettata da qualcuno (come F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Aegyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Heidelberg 1927, p. 137), è stata per lo più scartata anche dai sostenitori del generale quadro indo-iranico, cfr. ad esempio E. Meyer, *Die Völkstämme Kleinasiens, das erste Auftreten der Indogermanen in der Geschichte und die Probleme ihrer Ausbreitung*: "Sitzungsberichte der Preussischer Akademie der Wissenschaften", 1925, p. 254; id., *Geschichte des Altertums*, II/1, Stuttgart-Berlin 1928, p. 35 nota 3; M. Semper, *Rassen und Religionen im alten Vorderasien*, Heidelberg 1930, pp. 38-39.

<sup>4</sup> F. Cornelius, *Erin-Manda: "Iraq"*, 25 (1963), pp. 167-170: "\*Mandos ist indogermanisch das Pferd"; cfr. già ZAW, 72 (1960), p. 4 nota 13.

<sup>5</sup> B. Landsberger: OLZ, 1923, p. 73; id. - T. Bauer, *Zu neuveröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid*: ZA, 37 (1927), pp. 81-83.

<sup>6</sup> Già Forrer: JA, 217 (1930), p. 249.

<sup>7</sup> Sulle attestazioni tarde (quando il carattere indo-europeo delle genti designate Ummān-manda è ovvio ma non significativo, data la situazione dell'area iranica all'epoca) cfr. le rassegne già di J. Lewy, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens* (MVAG 29.2), Leipzig 1925, pp. 1-14 (*Die Einwanderung der Kimmerier*), e più recentemente di H. Cazelles, *Sophonie, Jérémie, et les Scythes en Palestine*: RB, 74 (1967), pp. 33-39.

La teoria "indo-iranica" - ovviamente in gran voga in Germania tra le due guerre<sup>8</sup> - nonostante alcune persistenze<sup>9</sup> sembra attualmente caduta in discredito;<sup>10</sup> mentre si segnalano esplicite adesioni alla teoria di B. Landsberger,<sup>11</sup> a suo tempo mal tecnicamente criticata ma per lo più ignorata dai sostenitori del quadro (se non dell'etimologia) indo-europeo. E però la proposta di B. Landsberger, nei termini in cui venne esposta, sembra effettivamente attaccabile: (1) intesa come etimologia effettiva, non si vede come in ambiente accadofono sia stata così vistosamente misconosciuta, dando luogo a numerose varianti;<sup>12</sup> (2) inoltre il valore corrente di *minde* è "forse" (proprio come in italiano "chissà") e non quello di una effettiva domanda cui agganciare *ummān* come un complemento diretto.

Entrambe le difficoltà si superano: (1) se si pensa che si tratti di un'etimologia secondaria, "popolare", che interpreta (occasionalmente) in accadico un nome/appellativo straniero e di significato ignoto o inesistente; (2) se si restituisce a *manda* il suo uso abituale, intendendo pertanto l'espressione nel suo complesso "gente? chissà/forse". L'occasione per una simile etimologia popolare è data dalla "Leggenda di Narām-Sîn",<sup>13</sup> in cui il re di Akkad, sotto l'incalzare degli Ummān-manda, e dubitando (per la loro fisionomia e imbattibilità) che si tratti di uomini in carne ed ossa, manda un ufficiale ad effettuare la prova di trafiggerne uno con una lancia: se esce sangue sono uomini veri (dunque su-

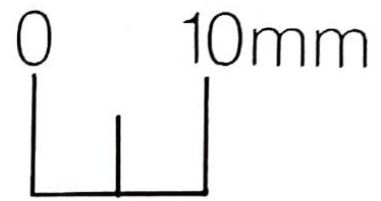
- <sup>8</sup> Scorrendo i rimandi di M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien. Mit einer analytischen Bibliographie*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 149 s.v. Manda; id., *Die Arier im vorderen Orient - Ein Mythos? Mit einer bibliographischen Supplement*, Wien 1974, p. 87 s.v. Manda, ben risulta la concentrazione degli studi nell'ambito di una precisa temperie politico-culturale (Germania tra il 1922 e il 1940), poi la sua netta rimozione nel periodo 1940-1960, la sua più recente ripresa (prevalentemente de-ideologizzata). Fra i pochi aderenti non-germanici della teoria di Forrer si segnala W.F. Albright (da JBL, 43 [1924], p. 383 fino a BASOR, 146 [1957], p. 31).
- <sup>9</sup> La ripresa si deve sostanzialmente a F. Cornelius, cfr. nota 4; dello stesso cfr. anche *Geistesgeschichte der Frühzeit*, II/1, Leiden 1962, p. 241; II/2, Leiden 1967, p. 90; *Indogermanen im alten Orient*: BO, 27 (1970), p. 315.
- <sup>10</sup> Significativamente A. Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze II B - Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 205 nota 16, nel polemizzare con le teorie indo-europee non ritiene di citarne gli autori (non cita neppure Landsberger, e non si occupa di etimologie).
- <sup>11</sup> Cfr. M. Astour, *Ezekiel's Prophecy of Gog and the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin*: JBL, 95 (1976), pp. 574 e 575 nota 45; F. Malbran-Labat, *Éléments pour une recherche sur le nomadisme en Mésopotamie au premier millénaire av. J.C.*: JA, 268 (1980), p. 20. Fra le precedenti adesioni all'etimologia di B. Landsberger si segnala B. Hrozný, *Weiteres zu den Ländern Churri und Mitanni: das Land Maiteni*: ArOr, 1 (1929), p. 253 (che anzi fa derivare da *man ide* sia *mandā* sia *maite(ni)*!); cfr. anche J. Friedrich: RLA I/2 (1929), p. 146; W. Feiler, *Die Sprache der obermesopotamischen Arier*: WZKM, 46 (1939), pp. 237-238; infine E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1968 (ma scritto prima del 1947), pp. 186-187. Fra le critiche più puntuali alla teoria di Forrer va ricordato A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, Berlin-Leipzig 1936, p. 83 nota 2.
- <sup>12</sup> Già S. Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV*, London 1944, p. 127 nota 50; e soprattutto J. Nougayrol, *Textes hépatoscopiques de l'époque ancienne, II*: RA, 44 (1950), p. 20; cfr. anche J. Bottéro, *Archives royales de Mari*, VII, Paris 1957, pp. 224-225.
- <sup>13</sup> Versione hittita: H.G. Güterbock, *Die historische Tradition bei Babyloniern und Hethitern*: ZA, 44 (1938), pp. 52-53 (3'-17'); versione accadica: O.R. Gurney, *The Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin*: AnSt, 5 (1955), pp. 100-103 (63-71).

## Uomini, forse

scettibili di sconfitta), altrimenti sono spiriti. L'etimologia popolare di *ummān-manda* come "gente? chissà" o come "uomini, forse" calza talmente bene con l'episodio della leggenda che li riguarda (episodio che ha peraltro un parallelo in Livio),<sup>14</sup> che è legittimo chiedersi se sia stato l'episodio leggendario a generare l'etimologia popolare, o non piuttosto il contrario. Chissà.

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<sup>14</sup> Cfr. *Naram-Sin e i presagi difficili*, in *Soprannaturale e potere nel mondo antico e nelle società tradizionali*, Milano 1985, p. 39 (per inciso: i sostenitori della teoria Forrer-Cornelius trattano la leggenda di Narām-Sin come storia vera).



1. Tokens from Tepe Guran



2. Tepe Gawra: Lapis Lazuli seal



Tepe Gawra XVII: cone-shaped tokens



Tepe Gawra XI: tokens

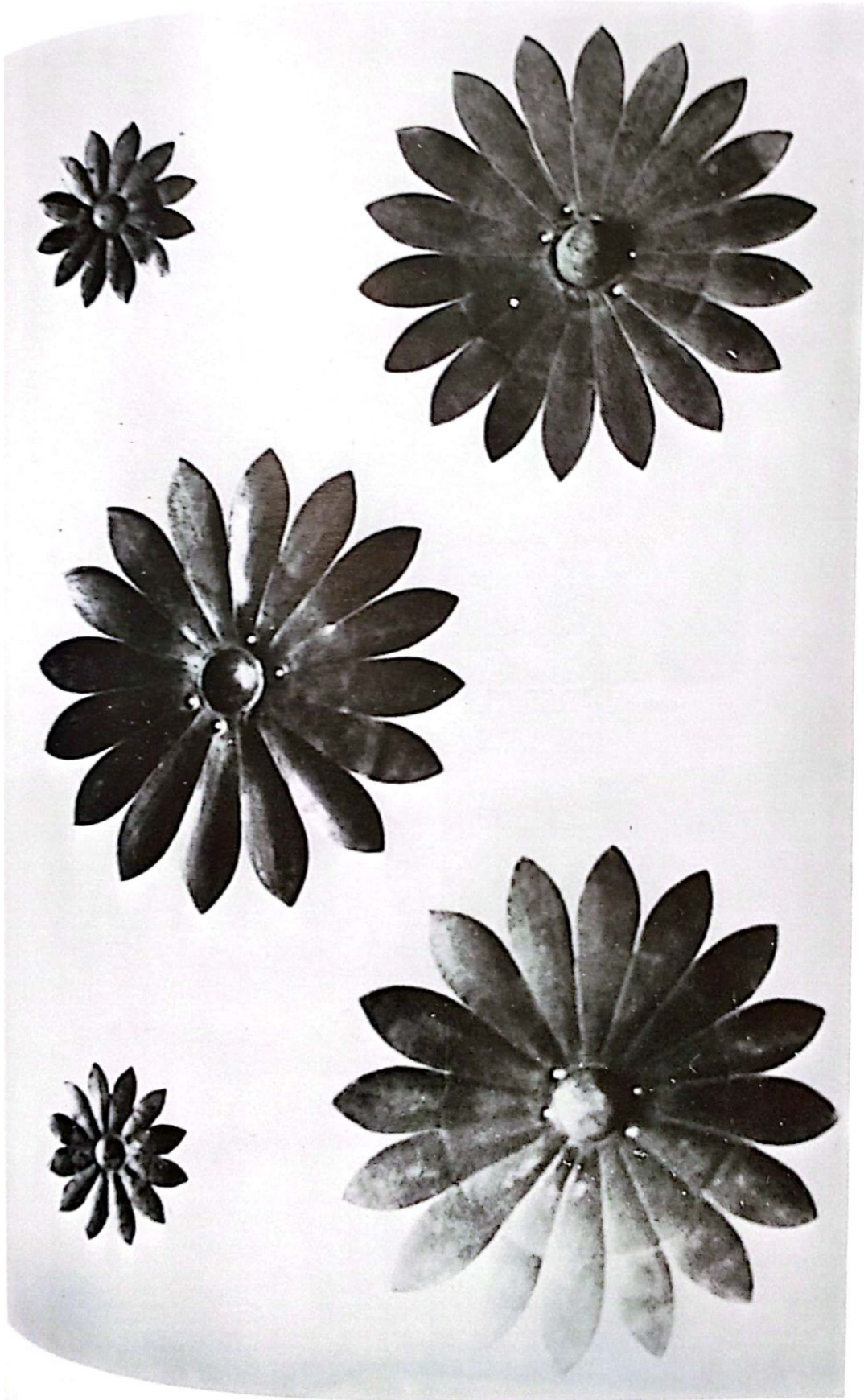




1. Tepe Gawra: electrum vessel

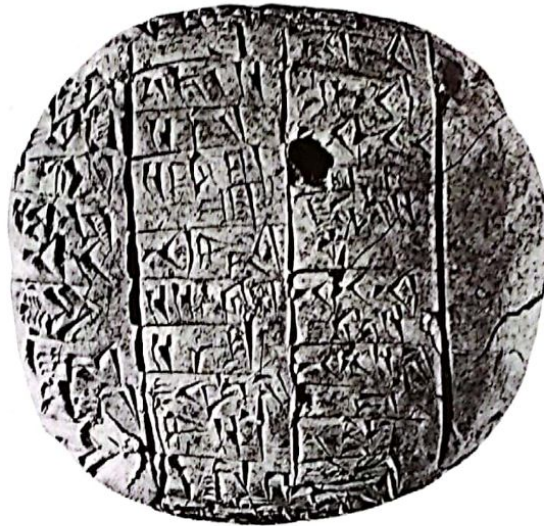


2. Tepe Gawra: stone macehead



Tepe Gawra: rosettes

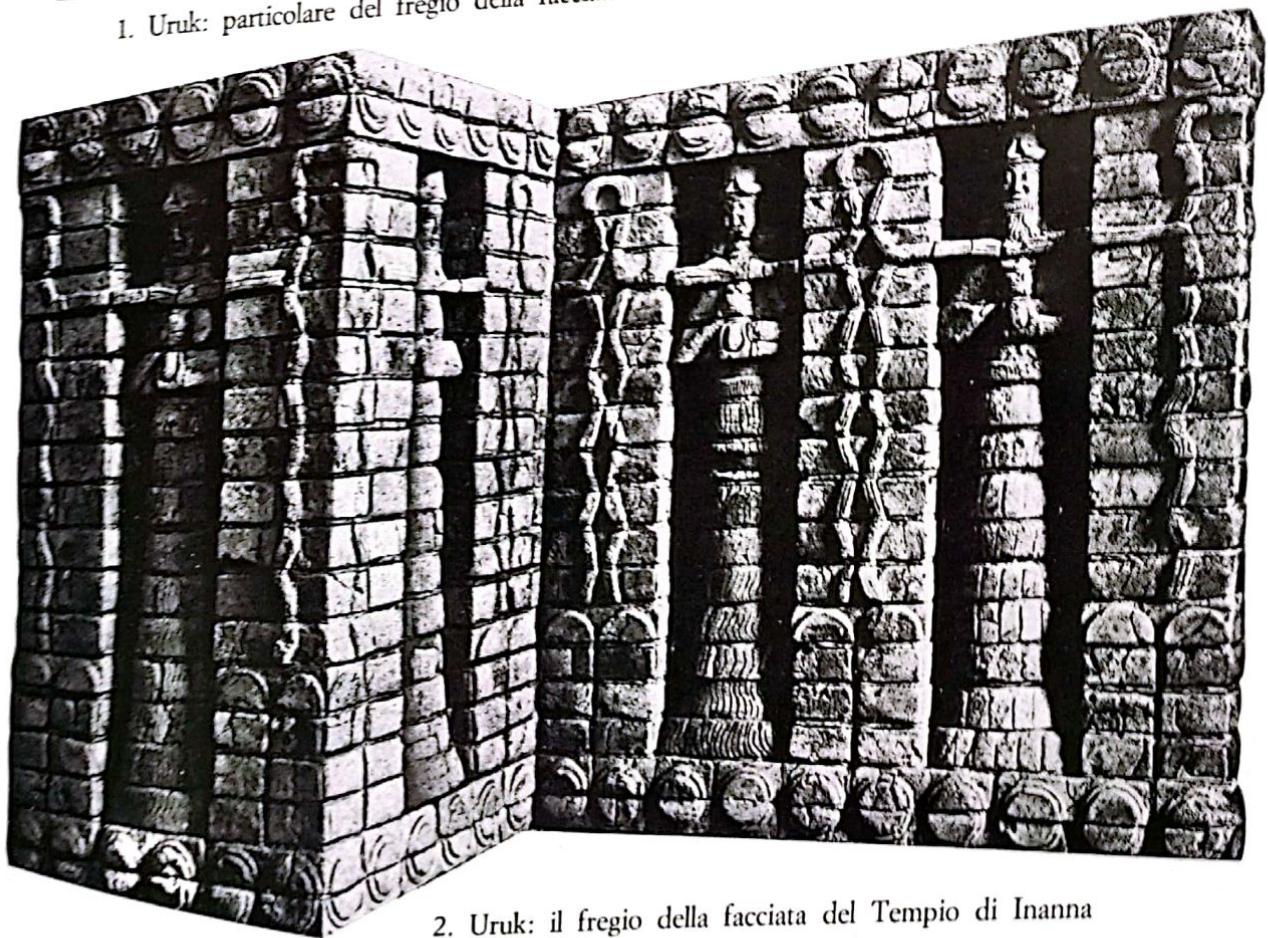
Tav. VI



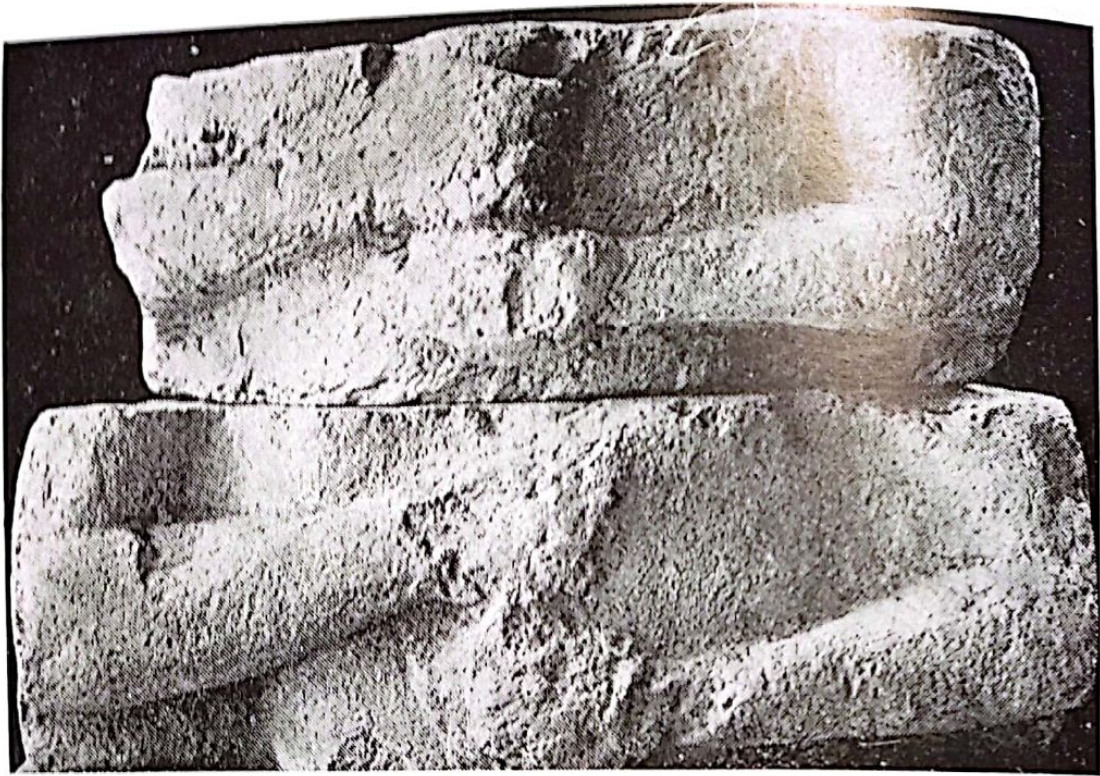
Ebla: tontafel TM.75/77.G.161



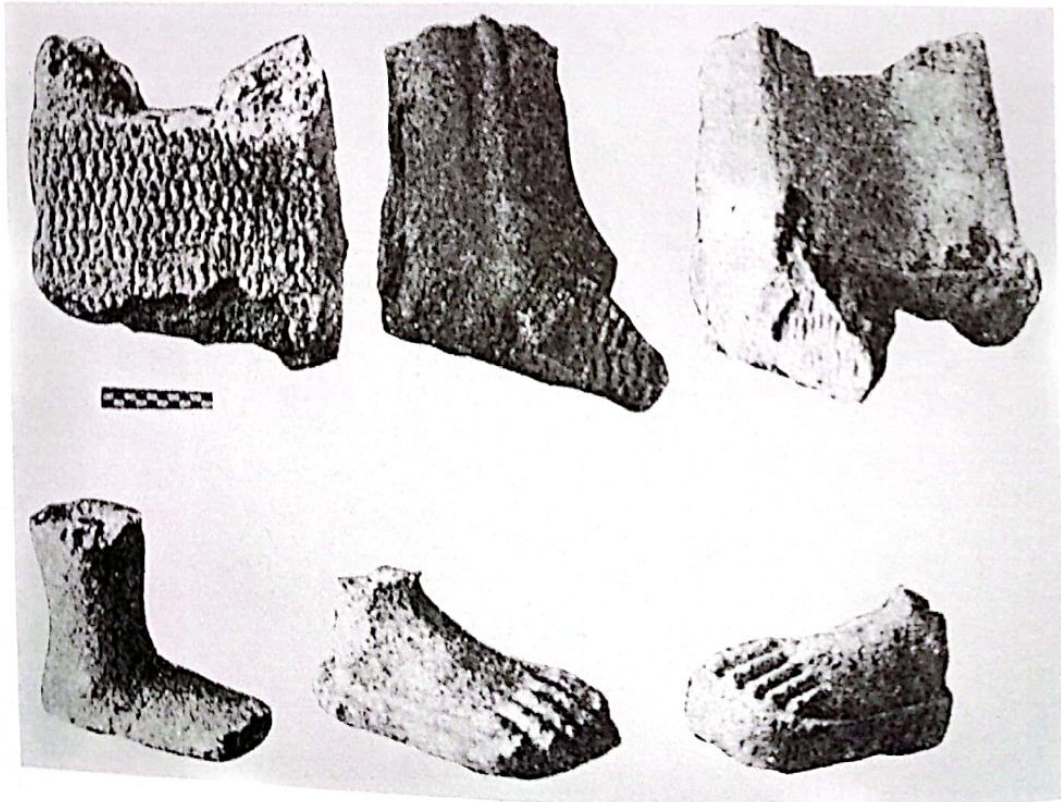
1. Uruk: particolare del fregio della facciata del Tempio di Inanna



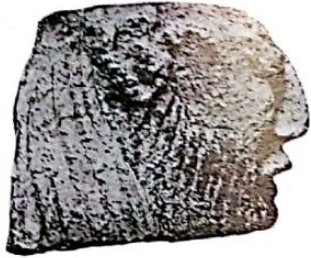
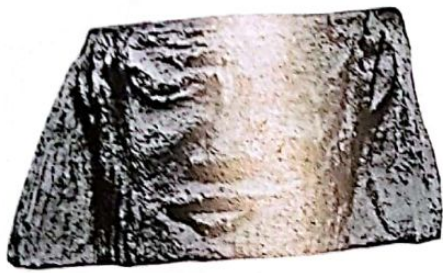
2. Uruk: il fregio della facciata del Tempio di Inanna



1. Nippur: resti di rilievi in mattoni a raffigurazioni umane



2. Isin: resti di rilievi parietali



1. Uruk: testa maschile a mezzo tondo



3. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin: impronta di sigillo cilindrico con uomo-pesce dal vaso zampillante, eroi e divinità



2. Mari: la «Statua Cabane»



4. Nippur: impronta di sigillo cilindrico con il dio della montagna e il genio dalle acque zampillanti



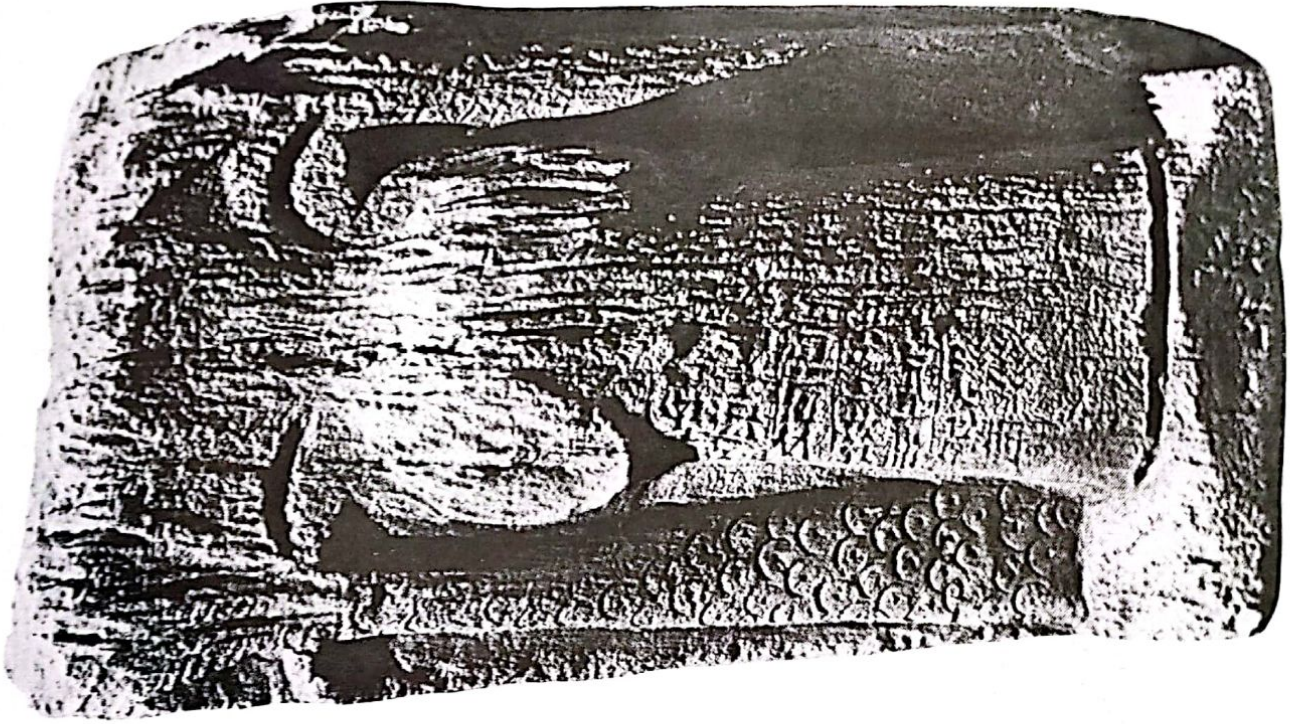
1. Susa: particolare del fregio del Tempio di In-Shushinak



2. Ur: rilievo in terracotta con la dea dalle acque zampillanti

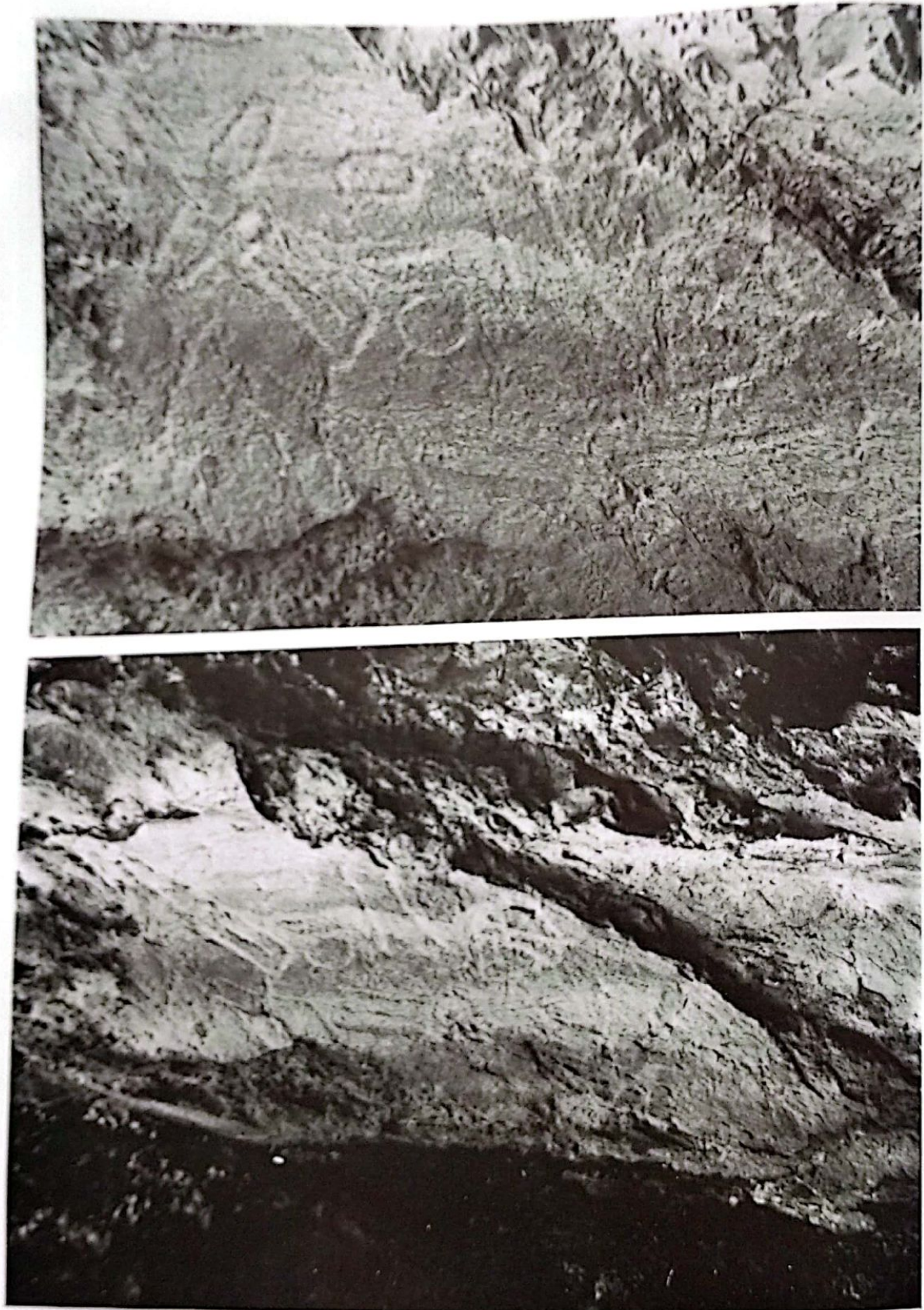


1. Ur: rilievo in terracotta con uomo-toro



2. Tell el Rimah: particolare del rilievo del Tempio

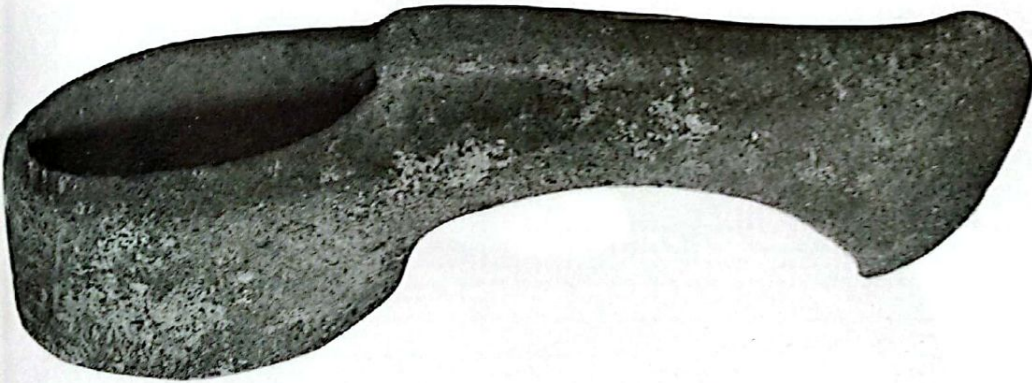




1-2. Iscrizione luvio-gerogifica: Monte Sipylos II



1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: ascia iranica

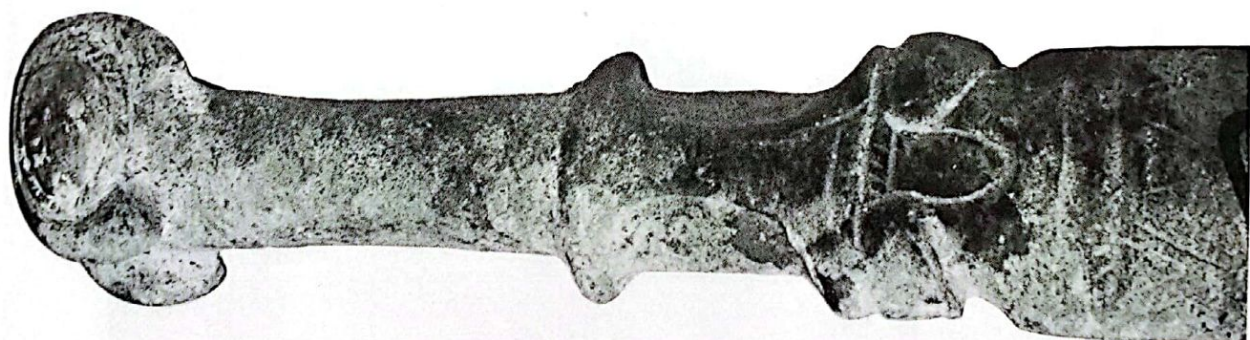


Tav. XIV

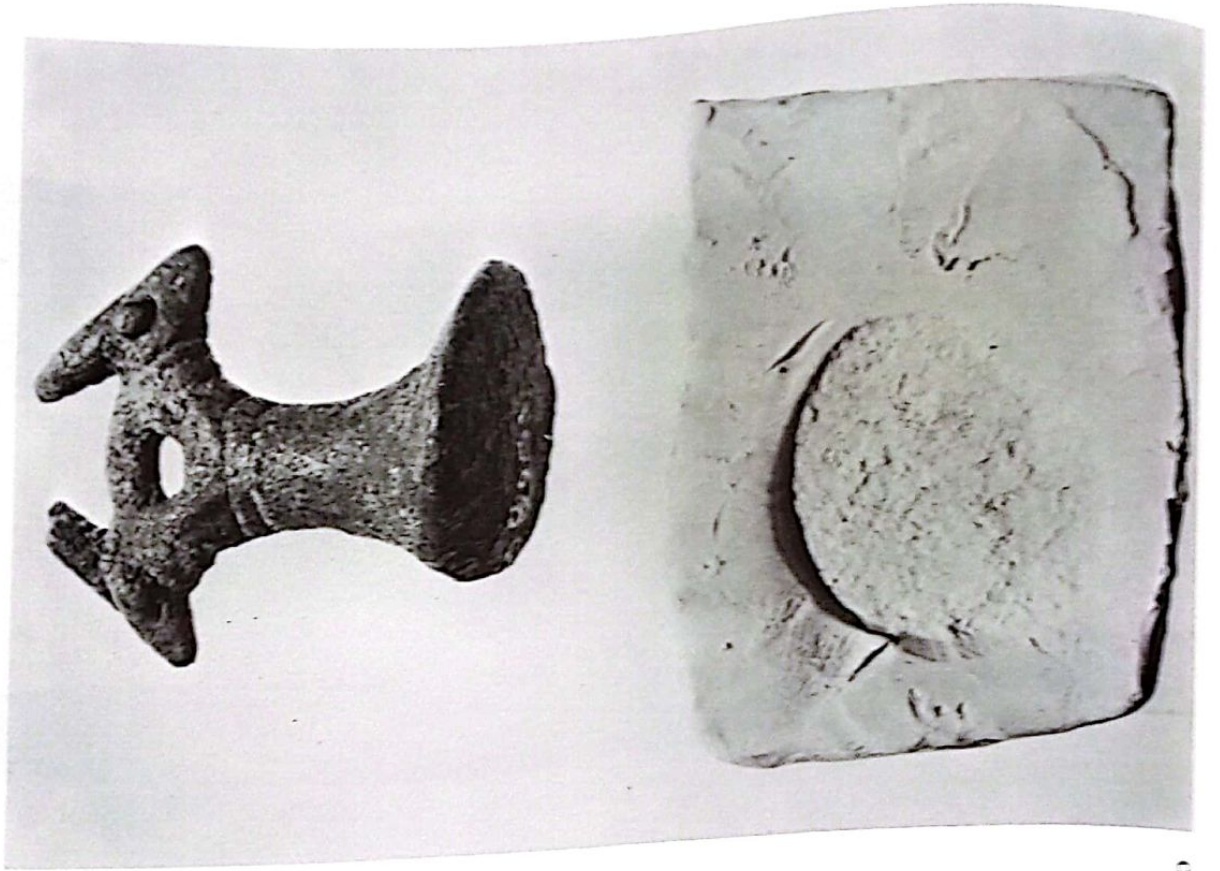


1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: ascia iranica





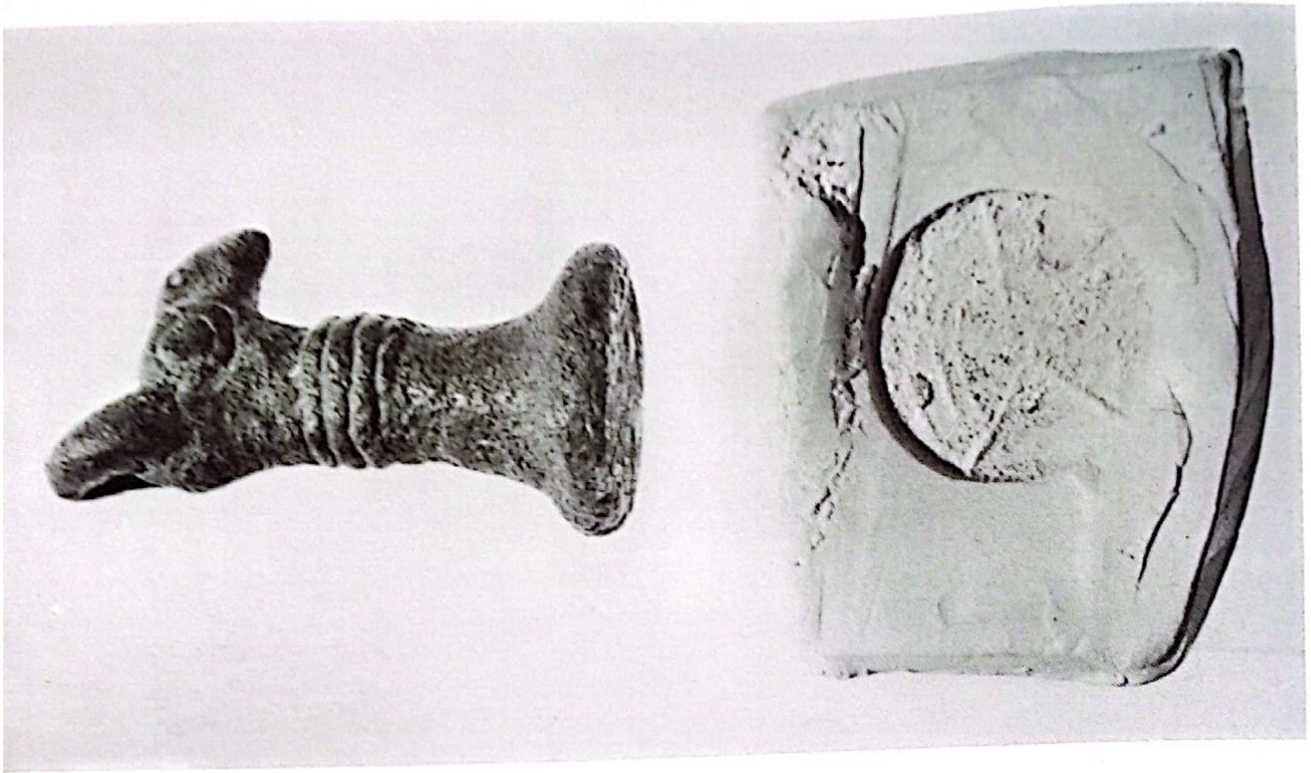
1-2, 3-4. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: pugnali in bronzo iranici



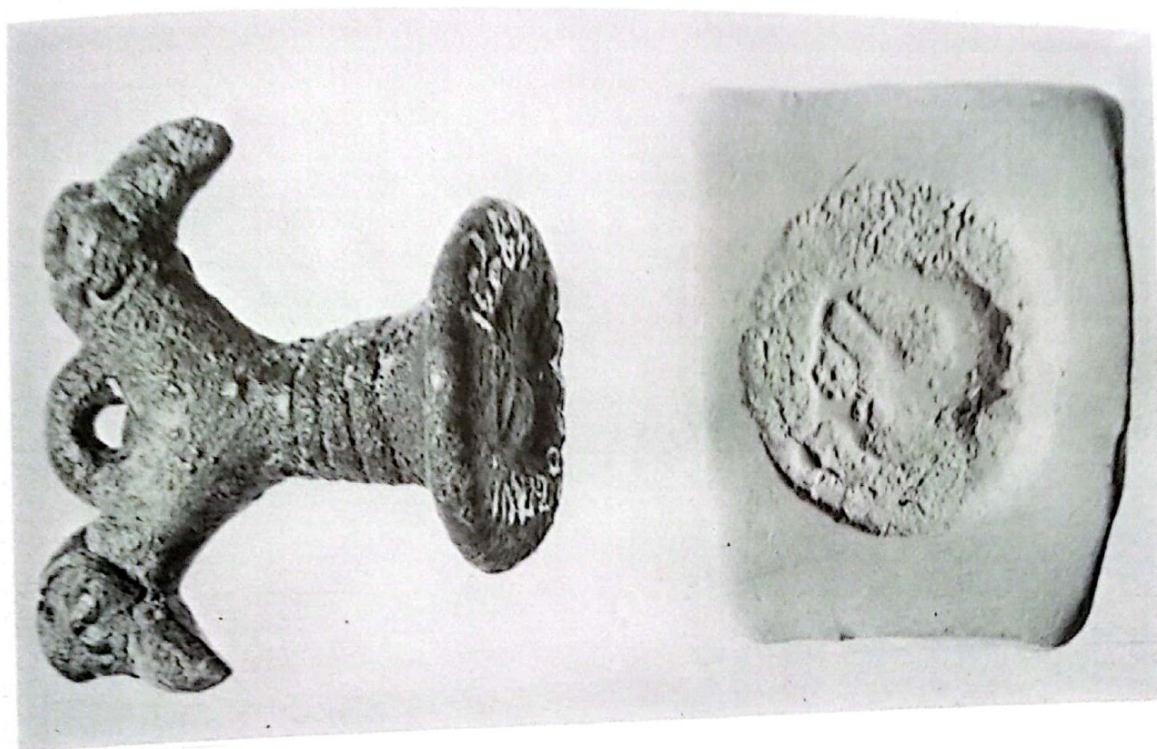
1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigillo a stampo franco



1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigillo a stampo iranico



1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigillo a stampo iranico

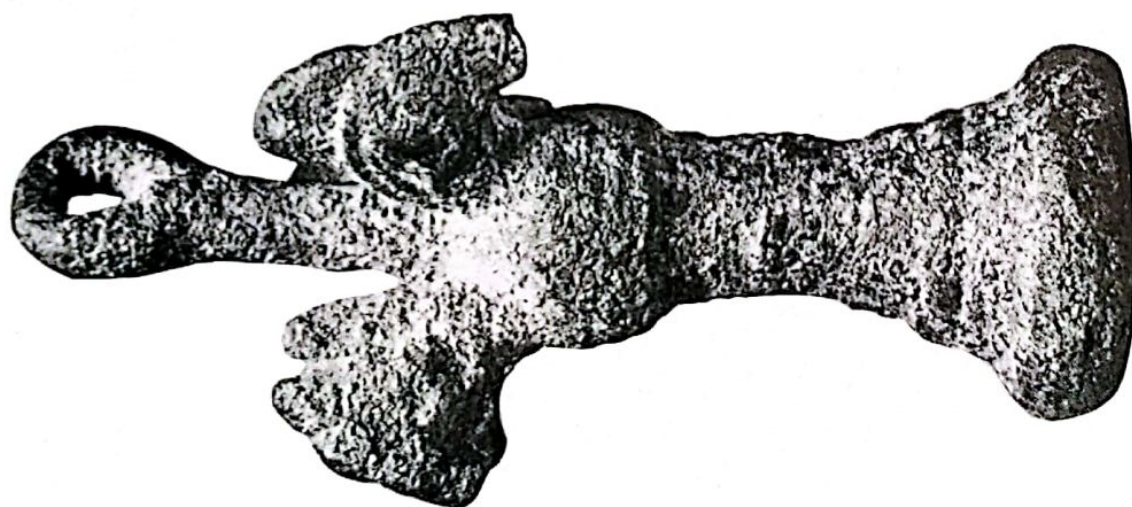


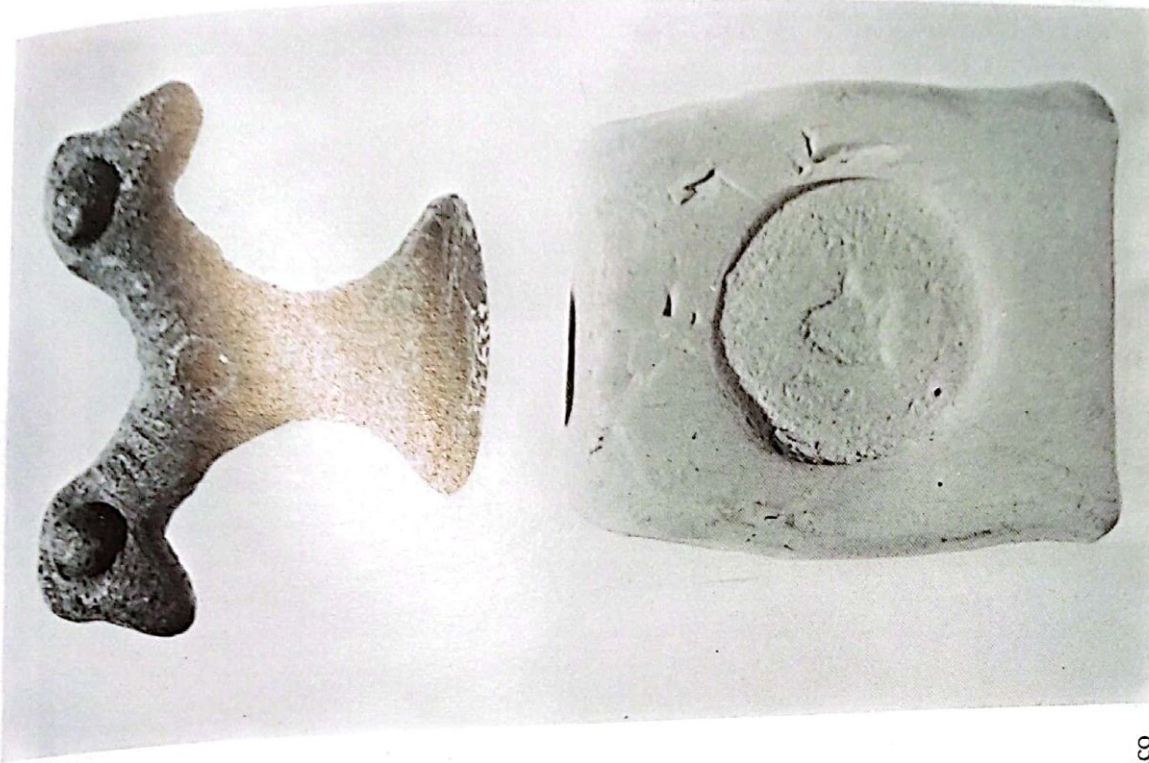
1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigillo a stampo iranico





1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigillo a stampo iranico





1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigillo a stampo iranico

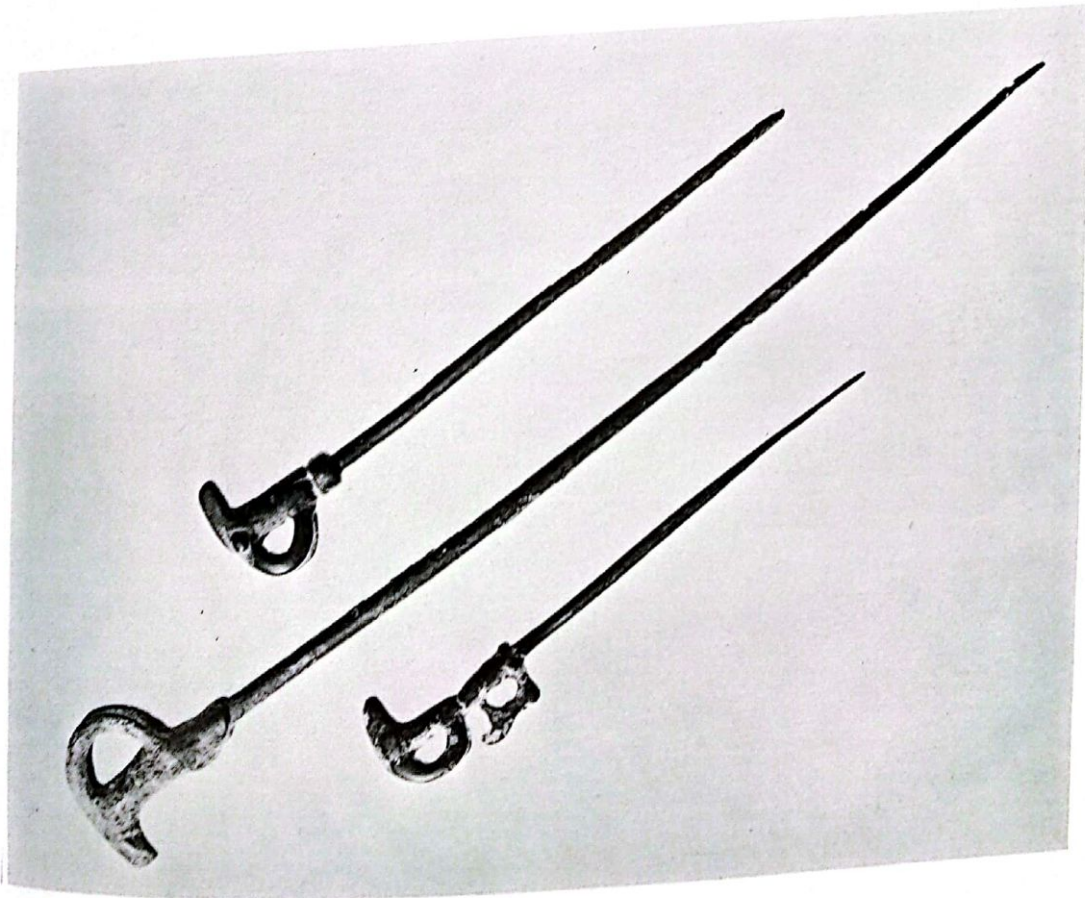
Tav. XXII



1, 2-3. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: sigilli in bronzo iranici



4-5. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale -  
Roma: bracciale in bronzo iranico

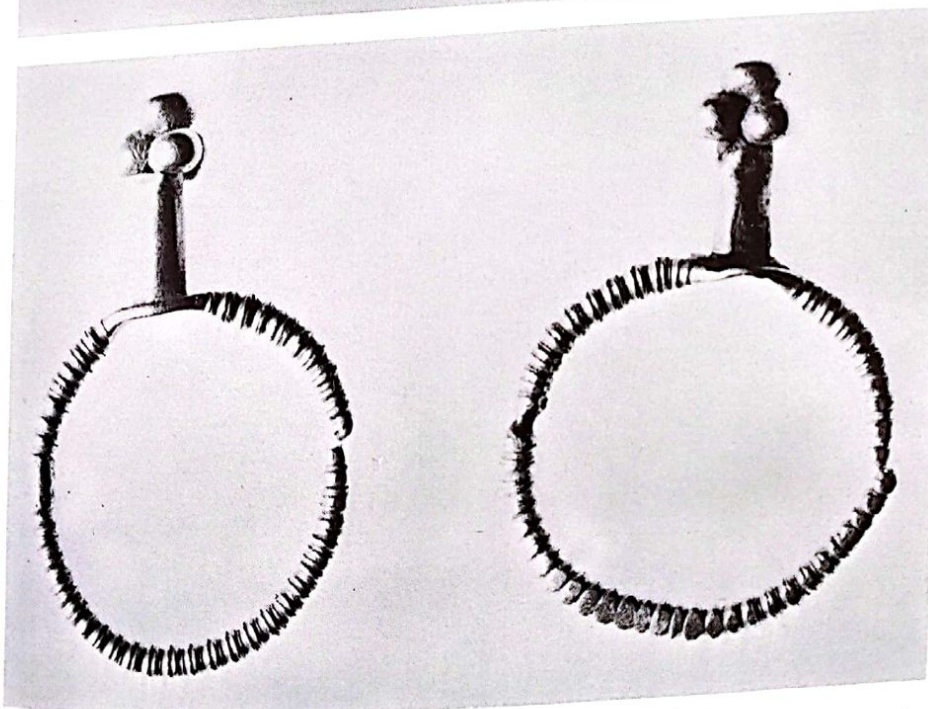
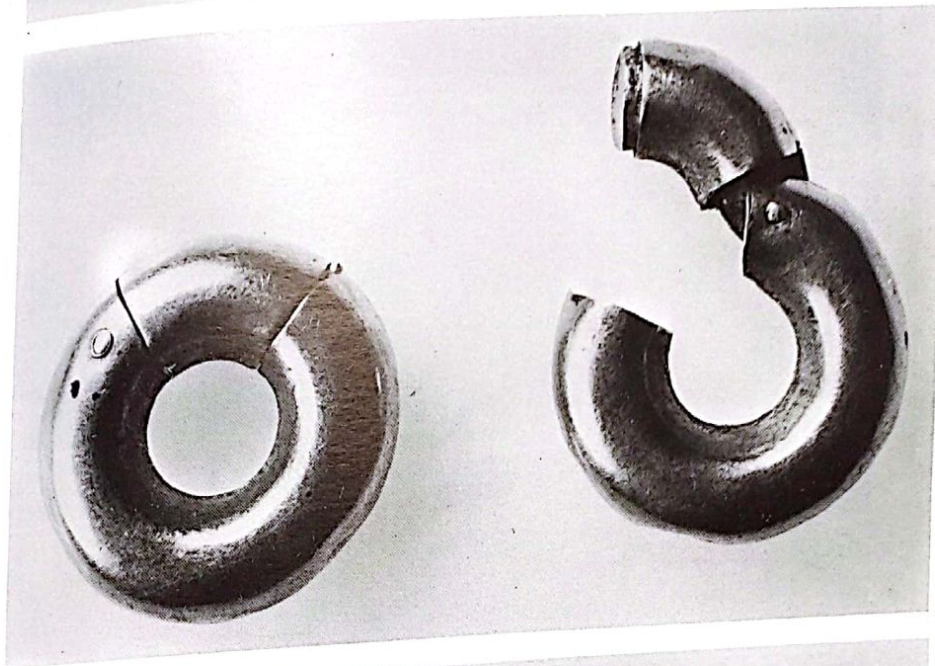


1, 2, 3. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale -  
Roma: spilloni in bronzo iranici

Tav. XXIV

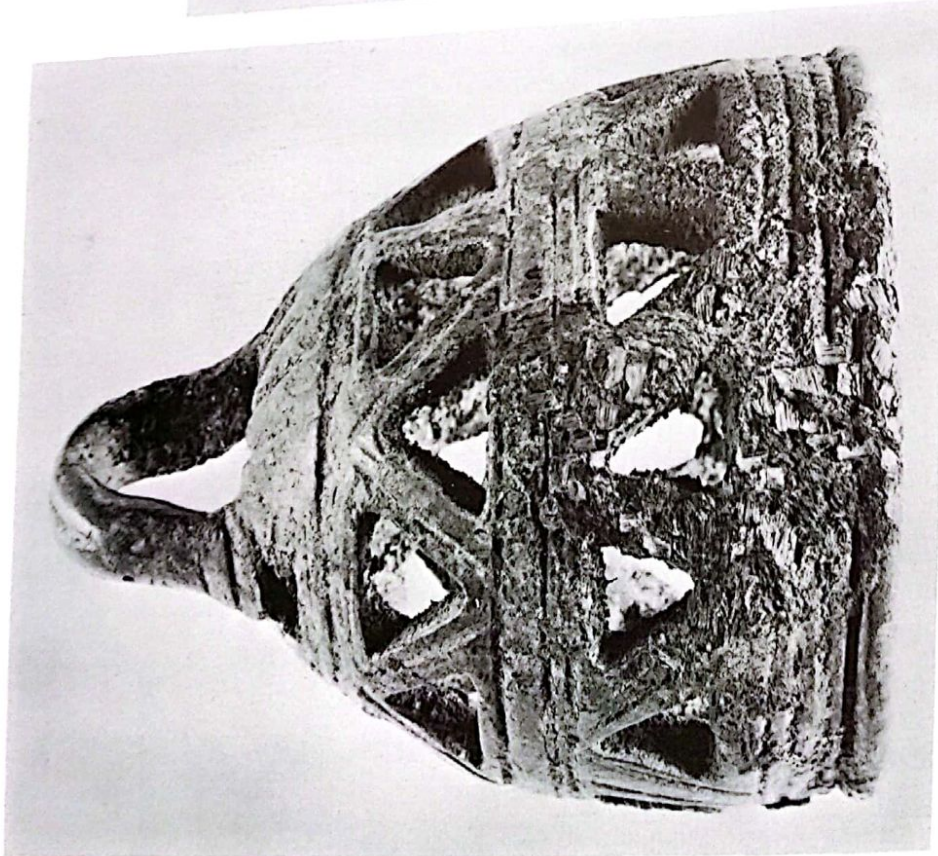


1-2, 3-4. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: bracciali in argento iranici



1, 2, 3. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma: orecchini in oro iranici

Tav. XXVI



1-2. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale - Roma:  
campanello in bronzo transcaucasico



1. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: veduta generale da sud.  
Sulla destra resti del Tempio B 300



2. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: veduta generale da sud.  
In primo piano resti delle costruzioni del pilone sul lato est





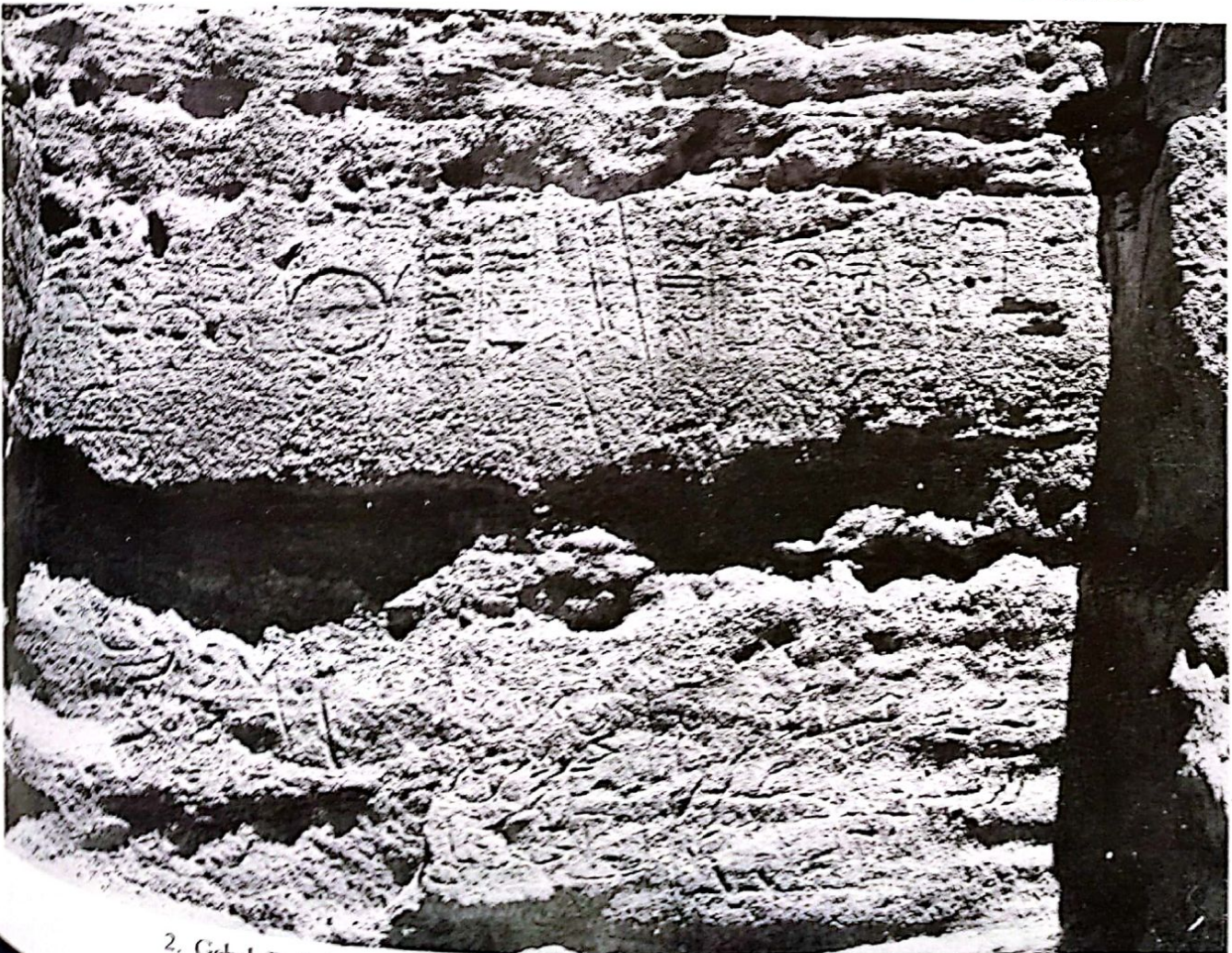
1. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200:  
particolare dei resti delle costru-  
zioni del pilone sul lato ovest



2. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: area dell'ipostila



1. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200:  
area del vestibolo



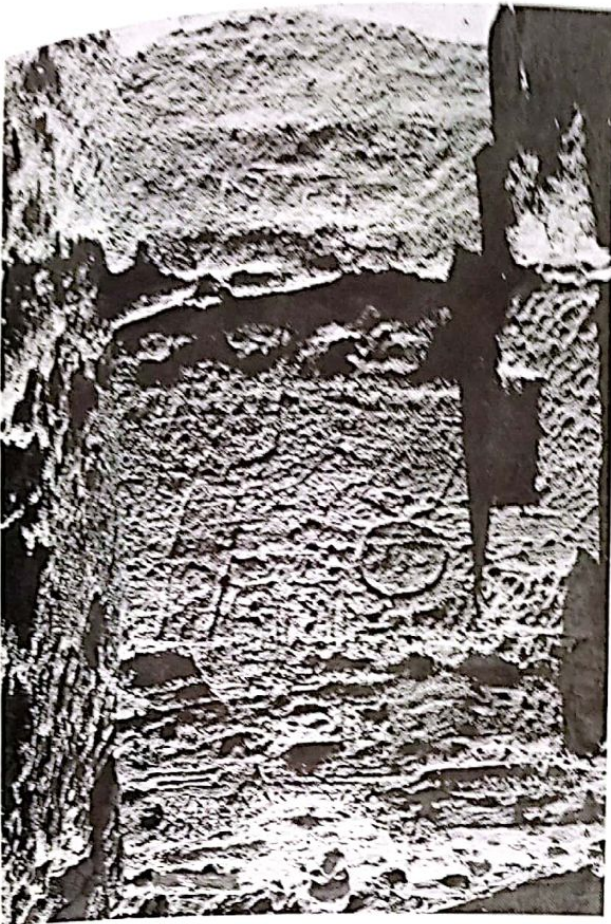
2. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: cella centrale. Parete di fondo (nord)



1. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: cella centrale. Parete di sinistra (ovest)



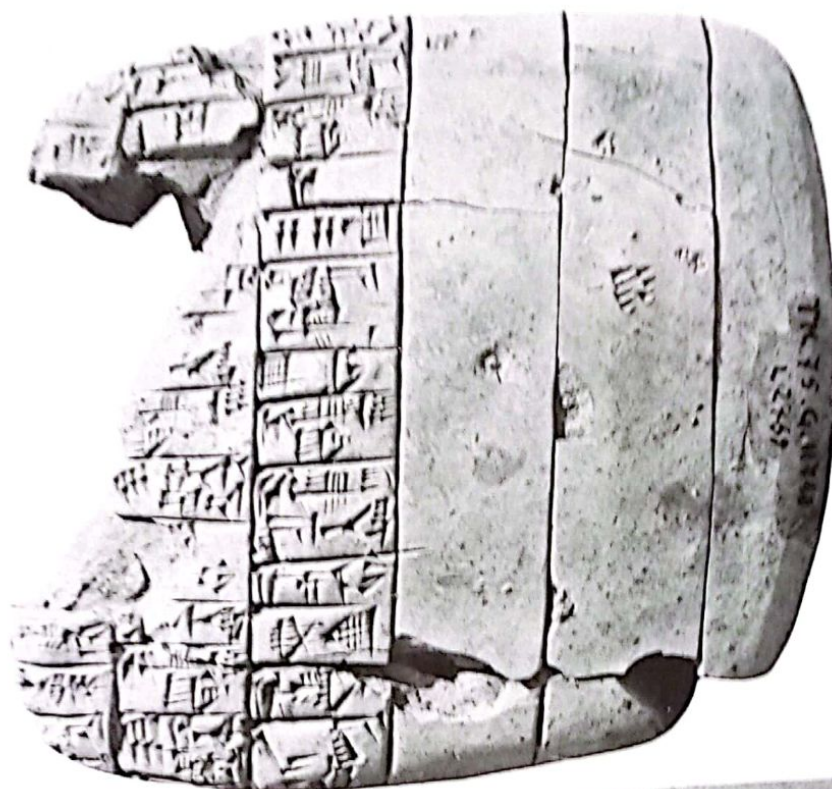
2. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: cella centrale. Parete di destra (est)



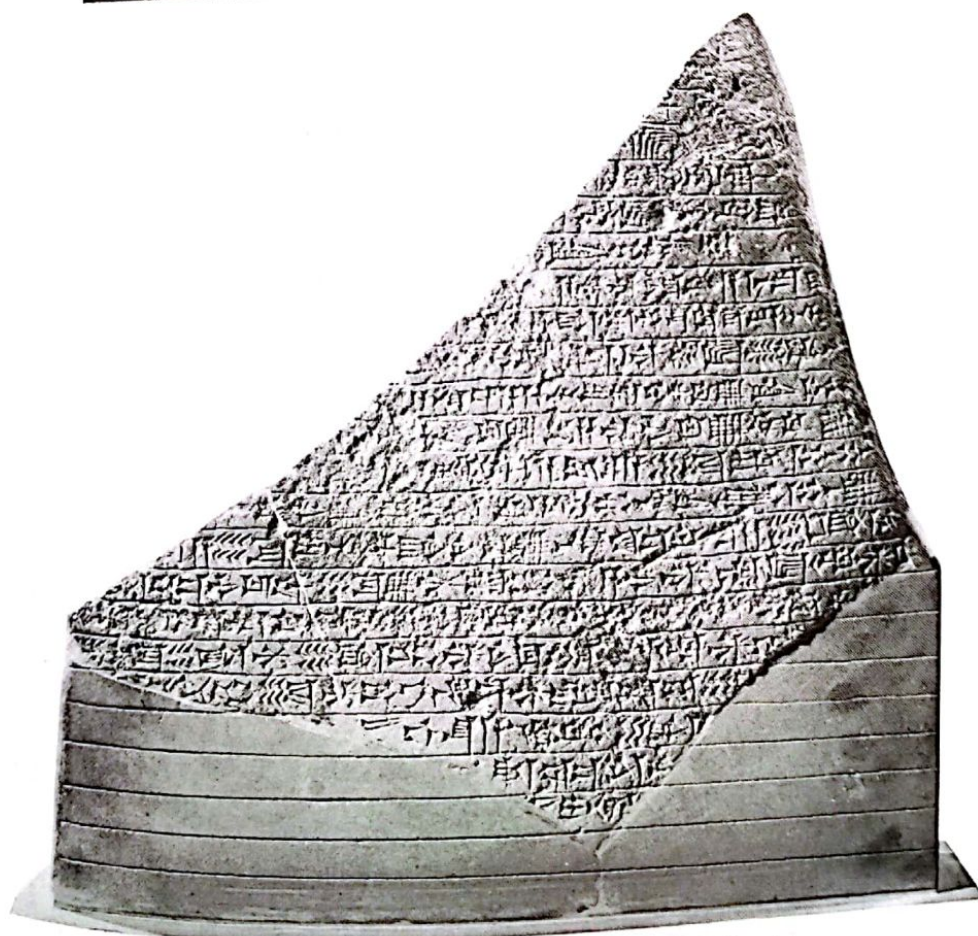
1. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200:  
cella di destra. Parete di fondo (nord)



2. Gebel Barkal, Tempio B 200: cella di destra. Parete di destra (est)



1-2. Ebla: tavoletta TM.75.G.11748 (= *ARET* 5.2) +3216+18214



1-2. British Museum: kudurru of Enlil-nādin-ahī