

- p. 173: La photo en bas est de la tablette X.32.Rev.  
 p. 183: Le fait que Yaḥdun-Lim contrôle Kaḥat doit, peut-être, être mis en rapport avec la victoire de Yaḥdun-Lim sur Šamši-Addu à Nagar, cf. *IOS III* (1973), p. 14.  
 p. 184, § 4.1: L'alternance lè r (dans le nom Zal/rwar) est fréquente dans la langue d'Ebla.  
 § 4.4, XXII.167.R.4'-5': En tenant compte du modeste envoi à Šuhalān nous pensons qu'il ne s'agit pas du roi de Qatanum, mais d'un simple individu, et en conséquence nous proposons de corriger LUGAL en LÚ, et cf. en effet *ARM(T) XXIII*, pp. 350, 353.  
 p. 192, XIX.337: Cf. *ARM(T) XXI*, p. 222.  
 p. 195, n. 22: Pour la lecture de la séquence HÚB-TIL-LÁ à lire GUR<sub>7</sub>-ME, voir *ARM(T) XXI*, pp. 240-242.  
 p. 257: Pour le nom <sup>d</sup>Iškur-lú-til ajouter *ARM(T) XXIII*, 101.7'.  
 p. 262, M. 11500.10: A transcrire *na-aš-pa-ki-im*, cf. *CAD N2*, p. 66b.  
 p. 280, M. 10412.6: Corriger 5 en 6.

Pour terminer ce compte-rendu il ne nous reste qu'à remercier les savants qui ont participé à ce beau recueil de études sur Mari et qui nous ont enrichis de tant de nouveaux renseignements.

Tel-Aviv, juillet 1985

MOSHÉ ANBAR

p.s. Voici l'ordre des mois de l'année éponymique établi par D. Charpin (*M.A.R.I. IV* [1985], pp. 244-247: I. Niqumum, II. Kiūnim, III. Tamḥirum, IV. Nabrūm, V. Mammitum, VI. Mana, VII. Ayyarum, VIII. Addarum (= Nisan), IX. Maqrānum, X. Dumuzi, XI. Abum, XII. Tirum.

\* \*  
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*ARCHIVES ROYALES DE MARI, XXI: Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du Palais de Mari*, par Jean-Marie DURAND. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1982 (24 cm., vi + 154 pls.) = Textes Cuneiformes de Mari, V.

*ARCHIVES ROYALES DE MARI, XXI: Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du Palais de Mari*. Transcrits, traduits et commentés par Jean-Marie DURAND. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1983 (24 cm., x + 596 pp.).

*ARCHIVES ROYALES DE MARI, XXII. Volumes 1 & 2: Documents administratifs de la salle 135 du Palais de Mari*. Transcrits et traduits par Jean-Robert KUPPER. Paris, A.D.P.F., Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983 (24 cm., iii + 618 pp., 5 pls.). ISBN 2 86538 058 0. Price: 93 F. per volume.

*ARCHIVES ROYALES DE MARI, XXIII: Archives administratives de Mari 1*. Publiées pour le Cinquenaire de Mari par Guillaume BARDET, Francis JOANNÈS, Bertrand LAFONT, Denis SOUBEYRAN, et Pierre VILLARD. Paris, A.D.P.F., Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984 (24 cm., vi + x + 651 pp.). ISBN 2 86538 074 2. Price: 110 F.

The volumes under review appeared over a three year period and although I have had *ARM XXI* on my desk

for as long a time, I cannot say that this review will do full justice to the amazing wealth contained in these volumes. For only those assyriologists who have left this planet will have failed to notice that a major effort has been unfolding in the past few years to edit the large number of as yet unpublished Mari documents, an effort that is primarily due to Jean-Marie Durand and Dominique Charpin, and which includes a rich harvest of studies in the new annual *MARI: ANNALES DE RECHERCHES INTERDISCIPLINAIRES* (acronym: MARI) as well as in more established scholarly journals such *RA*. Already a dissertation based on *XXI* (actually also *XXII*) has been defended (Bryan E. Beyer, *Aspects of Religious Life at Ancient Mari as Seen through a Study of Archives Royales de Mari 21*. HUC, 1985), and I am sure that there is grist here for many future mills.

The volumes under review differ in the scope of their contributions. Kupper transliterates and translates 342 documents retrieved from one single room. His comments are confined to a few pages of Notes (612-618), although he published some remarks on the calendar in light of the texts he edited in *MARI 3* (1984), pp. 181-184. His index is full and includes a helpful catalogue that gives a date for each document. However, even since Kupper gave the ms. of *XXII* to the printers, many joins were made with materials found elsewhere in the palace. Moreover, many texts in *XXI* and *XXII* were collated when used in the diverse commentaries to *XXIII*. A list of texts so used is found *XXIII*, pp. 639-40. N.B.: In my comments below, I assume that the list in *XXIII* will be consulted and indicate only the moments when it needs further elaboration.

Durand is, so far, alone to publish autograph and his edition includes texts that were recovered from two rooms. However, the directors of *XXIII* have abandoned the scheme of collecting documents by rooms because one cannot as yet determine the function of rooms wherein tablets were recovered but also because many documents with obvious thematic continuity were found in rooms distant from each other and seemingly belonging to distinctly separate quarters within the palace. The first of these reasons, it seems to me, is not very cogent; for it is our problem, and not the Mari architect's, if we do not quite understand his living arrangements. The second argument, however, is much more defensible, yet I would have wished that the editors placed the room number when heading each text, rather than leaving it to catalogue entries in the last pages. For there is yet much for us to learn about the habits of the ancient bureaucrat. One notes for example, that the tablets in room 135 (*XXII*) come generally from ZL's early years, 1'-3', to which is added a smattering of texts from earlier rulers. Such an observation is more difficult to make in the case of *XXIII*; while this volume is likewise rich in texts from the same year — indeed years ZL 1'-2' are now well stocked thanks to *XXII-XXIII* —, there is a healthy number that can be added to year 4'. It remains striking, however, that this major infusion of dated texts nevertheless has hardly diminished the darkness in which all but one (12') of ZL's last years. Perhaps those archives, after all, remain in other locations within the palace.

The editors of *XXIII* allude to yet one more reason for dispensing with publication of texts according to room

Sumu of Ilanšura within a few years after Zimri-Lim became king, and certainly within a couple of years of his marriage to a Šiptu. 68' "Yasim-hammu, the *suqāqum* of the king [cf. LUGAL<sup>1</sup> in XXIII:446:54'] of Yabliya." 334. There is here an interesting variation for the year-name 4'; cf. also XXIII:406 (and p. 311). 350. i.10. What does it mean that women from various GNs are called "princesses"? The last two signs are unclear, and it is not likely that they read MEŠ LUGAL. Many of the names can be reconstructed from TEM IV. ii.2 4SKUR-*ba-aš-ti*; 4 *bu-uḫ-ta-ni*; v.2e-*la-an-[ša-ki]*; 14IGI.NU<sup>1</sup>.DU<sub>3</sub>; 16a-*pil-<i<sub>3</sub>>-li<sub>2</sub>-šu*; vi.3 Maybe ITI *e-bu'-[ri]-im*. 353 dates to the YL period, see below sub XXII:123. 375. 3'. [š*u*-*bu-ul*-]tum cf. 364:6; for 18' see also 364:11. 379. For PNs cf. TEM IV ii.7f. hence read *ḫa-li-ia[-ma]* and *ya-pa-[ḫa-tim]* in ii.13', 15'. 381. 44' in light of 382:ii.30'-33', read the PN as ip-qu<sup>2</sup>-{u<sub>2</sub>'}<sup>d</sup>ša-<la>. 382. Col.i is equivalent to rev. of XXIII:240. Cf. XXIII, p. 219f.

386 belongs to a type of memorandums, the study of which begins with F. Joannès's good pages on the *aššum*-clause types in XXIII, pp. Other categories include those texts: which end in an *aššum* clause (e.g. XXIII:84); which sandwich an *aššum* clause (e.g. XXI:90; 101); which begin with *ša* (VII:260) and which contain orders to be fulfilled upon receipt of documents (XXII:283; XXIII:593). Additionally we have aide-memoires for meteorological observations. Our text apparently belongs to yet another category which includes notes kept to recall or assign tasks shared by colleagues in the same bureau (XXI:386; XXIII:561, 562, perhaps also XXIII:72 and XXII:332). As such, these texts are not necessarily narrative in continuity and indeed may skip radically between topics and even time-frames. In his study mentioned above, Joannès tries to date the memorandums published in XXIII, but recognizes that we do not have the tools available to confidently assign them secure locations. It should not be surprising, therefore, if one proposes schemes other than those he gives on p. 92 (89-91, 94 can easily be moved to the ZL column). But more important is the rule of thumb that needs to be adopted in offering translations for the *aššum* memorandums. My own is to presume that whenever one finds *aššum*, a new clause begins (see J.'s fine overview of the syntax, pp. 87-88), and this forces alternate understandings of what activities were at stake. This is not to say that these activities were necessarily unconnected, but that it is impossible now to be categorical about the perimeters for each entry within a given memorandum. Thus, in 91, I find reference to 5 separate activities: "Re: the Babylonian troops matter. Re: Hana deliberations. Re: going up to Yamhad. Re: travelling by Haneans for the Terqa sacrifices. Re: Apqum..." In 92, I distinguish 4: "Re: Berry-trees for the *ikkarum*. Re: talking to Mukannišum about the *maḫsi* of silver. Re: the matter of Ahi-malik, about which they spoke to the king. Re: writing to Yaqqim-Addu and Kibri-Dagan. 102, on the other hand, is a collation of two meteorological events, one in Saggartum, the other in Mari. Although they occurred at different hours, I think that they were from the same day, hence restore U<sub>4</sub>.4.KAM in l. 7. The main point here is that rain fell on Saggartum, where the king was staying, "as if it were springtime"; while Mari remained dry. A good omen, very likely.

XXI:386 deals with the transfer of females and is difficult

to translate whether one understands the verbal forms as 2psm or as 3psf (as does Durand): "In the estates of PN<sub>1</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> and Aššur's temple you have assigned work (to) the female palace personnel, retaining her salary at all times; you have [extracted?] the female personnel of your group. The girl of Yar'ip-Ninsi'anna, I brought/will bring (*u<sub>2</sub>-še-ri-ib-ši'*) into the palace; and I have handed/will hand over a female servant to Yar'ip-Ninsi'anna (in exchange?). Yar'ip-Ninsi'anna [had gotten her] in/at the time of the campaign, [and had brought her] into Mari."

387-388. From the "Assyrian" period, these two texts (drawn within 2 weeks of each other) give a count of the leadership (using the generic term "*šābum*") in Mari and Terqa. [But cf. Durand: "il s'agit de simples localisations des dépenses pour la nourriture de ces gens" p. 518.] It is not necessary to think that this is a complete roster for either town, since as Kibri-Dagan's letters on this subject indicate (III:30f) there was much shifting of personnel at all times.

387

13 DUMU.M *damqūtīm*  
6 GAL.KUD  
6 NU.BANDA<sub>3</sub>  
40 šūt SAG  
10 LU<sub>2</sub>.ELAM

10 *kartappu*  
20 GIR<sub>3</sub>.SIG<sub>5</sub>.GA.M  
55 LU<sub>2</sub>.DIRIG.GA  
ŠUNIGIN 110 *šābum*  
*ina* Mari

Worth noting is the following: 1. the slot for *šūt SAG* in 387 is occupied by *rēdū* in 388. The numbers involved here, though different may indicate that we are dealing with personnel of rather lower rank. 2. The main difference in the numbers between the two columns is the personnel sandwiched between LU<sub>2</sub>.ELAM and *kartappu*; but note here that some of those in 388 may overlap personnel reckoned as *gir-sekkū*, although it is possible that the traces in 388: 7 may be read [x GIR<sub>3</sub>.SIG<sub>5</sub>.]GA.M.

389. This text apparently lists the Babylonian personnel (military and diplomatic) in Mari which includes 7 GAL.MAR.TU. It is related to XXII:42:r.6-10. The two texts can now be completed as follows:

XXI:389:1-5	XXII:42:r.6-10
1. 7 LU <sub>2</sub> GAL.MAR.TU	6. 7 LU <sub>2</sub> GAL.MAR.TU LU <sub>2</sub> (Babylon)
15 GAL GIŠ.PA	15 GIŠ.PA
[2] LU <sub>2</sub> <i>nāgirū</i>	2 LU <sub>2</sub> <i>nāgirū</i>
[1] LU <sub>2</sub> DUB.SAR	1 LU <sub>2</sub> DUB.SAR
[x]LU <sub>2</sub> <i>ša sikki</i>	[?]LU <sub>2</sub> <i>ša sikki</i>
[etc.-]	[broken]

The names of the generals in XXII:42 are lost in the obverse. Note that one of the personnel, obviously *not* from Babylon, bore the name Zimri-Lim-bēli! The documents probably dates to ZL 10' when Mari hosted a number of Babylonian officers and their staff: XXIII:564-567 (9.ii.10'), XXI:100 (29.ii.10'). But the welcome apparently began earlier, cf. IX:46 which dispenses 7 vases (to each?) of these "generals" (viii.9'), that is just as ZL was about

388

46 LU<sub>2</sub>.ŠU.GI  
13 DUMU.M *damqūtīm*  
4 GAL.KUD  
15 NU.BANDA<sub>3</sub>  
62 AGA.UŠ<sub>2</sub>  
[X] LU<sub>2</sub>.ELAM  
[x] *ša* ?  
[x] *ša na--/Zi-[x]*  
[x] *ša tem[meni]*  
[x *ka*]'*tap-pu* [N.B.]

[5?] LU<sub>2</sub>.DIRIG.GA  
ŠUNIGIN 218 *šābum*  
*ina* Terqa

to aid Hammurabi. 391. Very unusual way to give order of importance by using Sumerian ideograms read phonetically (see Durand, p. 527n). 396. PNs can be reconstructed on the basis of 59. 6. *ki-ki-nu-um* (= (59:6. *ki-ik-ki-nu*); 9-11. *ya-an-ti(e-ra-ah)* | *ba-la-an* | *u<sub>2</sub>-sa-ta-an*). 398 and 400. These texts — unfortunately not dated — are exceptionally interesting in that they give a listing of the middle-level cadre at Mari. The information is collected as follows:

- a. PN 1-3 // 3 LU<sub>2</sub> ŠA<sub>3</sub>. TAM.M (*šatammū*)  
 b. PN 1-9 // 9 DUMU.M ŠAGLA (*šāqū*)  
 c. PN 1-12 // 12 DUMU.M. ŠU.I  
     GIR<sub>3</sub>.SIG<sub>5</sub>.GA (*girsekkū*)  
 d. PN 1-7 // 7 DUMU.M ŠU.I *u<sub>2</sub>-uš<sub>2</sub>-mu-u* } 20 DUMU.M. ŠU.I  
 e. PN 1 // LU<sub>2</sub> ki-sa-lu-hu

398 goes on to speak of 3 *sukkukūtu ušmū*, as well as 3 *sukkukūtu TUR* before fragmenting. The 32 officials of the *tubuqtum* (obviously an area in the palace, perhaps a special floor) are allocated into *šatammū*, *šāqū*, and *gallābū*, the last term, itself, is subdivided into those who are *girsekkū*, those who are *ušmū*, and one person who is a *kisallūhu*. Generally speaking, at Mari, the *girsekkū* seems to be a palace guard or (the king's personal) attendant, the *ušmū*-class is discussed by Durand, p. 530n, and the *kisallūhu* seem to be applied to a menial worker, perhaps in the palace's chapels. 400 gives interesting variations, in that the 3 *sukkukūtu ušmū* are inserted, nameless (as, with Durand, in XVIII:55), into the ŠU.I group (note that the PNs in 400:12-18 seem to exactly parallel the sequence found in 398:28-34). I presume that the 3 s. TUR are entered, by name, as *kisallūhu*. If so, this gives some sense of the relative importance between *ušmū* vs. TUR as well as between ŠU.I and *kisallūhu*.

On the PN in 398:29 = 400:13 perhaps one ought to read *i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-ka-na-si*, [<sub>AB</sub> = *si<sub>x</sub>*]; but cf. Durand, p. 531n8.

411. 4. 4 LU<sub>2</sub>. [MUHALDIM.M]; cf. 381:36'f; 382:ii.24f.

413. The information within this text must be compared with that preserved in XXII:64:

- |                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| XXII:64 [Rm. 135]                 | XXI:413 [Rm. 160]                 |
| 1. 'Annu-duri                     | 1. 'Annu-duri                     |
| N.Š. Ana-Sin-taklaku              | N.Š. Ana-Sin-taklaku              |
| 'Annu-milki                       | 'Annu-milki                       |
| N.Š. Akka                         | N.Š. Akka                         |
| 5. <i>šūlūtum ana</i> Ninhursagga | 5. <i>šūlūtum ana</i> Ninhursagga |
| 'Raḥiba                           | Raḥiba                            |
| 'Bēlet-Agade-ummī                 | Bēlet-Agade-ummī                  |
| N.Š. Nabi-ili                     | N.Š. Nabi-ili                     |
| <i>šūlūtum ana</i> Diritim        | <i>šūlūtum</i>                    |
| 10. 'N.Š.                         | 10. <i>ana</i> Diritim            |
| 'N.Š.                             | [erased]                          |
| <i>šūlūtum ana</i> Bēlet-ekallim  | Annu-raḥmi                        |
| 15. Maniḥa                        | N.Š. Ḥanna-Sin                    |
| N.Š. Nabi-ili                     | <i>šūlūtum ana</i> Bēlet-ekallim  |
| 'Niḥmatum                         |                                   |
| N.Š. Ḥana-Sin                     |                                   |
| <i>šūlūtum ana</i> Ištar-pišra    |                                   |
| 20. 'Aḥat-iqra                    | 15. Aḥata-waqra                   |
| N.Š. Ea-kabar                     | N.Š. Ea-kabar                     |
| <i>ana</i> Niḥmatim               | <i>ana</i> 'Niḥmatim              |
|                                   | GEME <sub>2</sub> .LUGAL          |
| Š+N. 9 M.M. <i>ša šallat</i>      | Š+N. 7 M.M.                       |

tr. Mišlan<sup>K1</sup> *ša šallat* Mišlan<sup>K1</sup>  
 25. ZI.GA *ana* DINGIR.MEŠ 20. ZI.GA DINGIR.MEŠ  
 [8.ix.2'] [8.ix.2']

The two texts are dated to the same day, but it is obvious that XXI:413 was written to correct some problems in XXII:64. In the case of the latter, the scribe was compiling captured women who were to be reassigned, two to each of the temples of four female deities; one woman was to be assigned to a concubine of the king. The scribe knew that Bēlet-ekallim was to receive 2 prisoners, but did not know their names nor those of the cell leaders whence they were to come out. Nevertheless he entered a total which presumed that his list will be completed in time.

In the case XXI:413, the scribe recovered the names for those to be assigned Belet-ekallim, but a doubt forced him to erase one of these, leaving him with the recording of only 1 woman to that goddess. That the erasure occurred after the text was at the point of drying up is clear from the totaling — 7 rather than 6 —, which presumes the inclusion of the erased name. I do not know why the scribe completely ignored the assignment to Ištar-pišra, unless it be that he suspected an error within 64: Note how Niḥmatim and her erstwhile leader Hana-Sin in XXII:64 bore names that were suspiciously close to those of the kings' concubine and the cell leader of Annu-raḥmi.

414. Collation and correction in XXIII, p. 477n.

## COMMENTS TO ARMT XXII

ARMT XXII opens with a series of personnel lists with a variety of arrangements, some of which may well have been peculiar to individual scribes:

a. Simplest are compilations, such as found in 1 (SY or YA period), that carefully enter individuals by name, rough designation of age (when not adult, usually TUR "young"), occupation at the moment of compilation, and by person to whom they are assigned. When groups are exclusively filled by young males, they are listed first, and they are followed by lists of women.

b. A variation is found in 14 (probably ZL period) where the multi-columned obverse compiles *male* workers while the reverse, also multi-columned, has *female* names.

c. Lists which contain only the names of persons who for one reason or another — they may have died, "disappeared," or escaped — are no longer under the control of group leaders, e.g. 32-33 (SY).

d. lists such as 16, wherein female workers are grouped by ten. In this case, however, the list may reflect an organizational scheme that was peculiar to temple personnel.

e. lists, such as 64 (ZL, 2') and 83 wherein blank spaces were apparently reserved for filling before the tablet dried up. Documents wherein the scribe does not finish a date-formula, e.g. 157 and 256, are not uncommon to Mari. This is not to be confused with occasions in which the scribe, not knowing the name of a specific individual, merely gives his occupation or his hometown (e.g. XXIII:593).

f. lists wherein a whole section is erased. 67 is a good example. Note that it belongs to a dossier regarding mass

reshuffling of personnel taken prisoners at Mišlan during Zimri-Lim's early battles against the Benyaminites [not included within Villard's fine study of the topic in XXIII; cf. p. 485 n. 88].

g. lists which idiosyncratically and *ad hoc* stretch the meaning of a term, probably in order to avoid too elaborate totaling. In 80, for example, LU<sub>2</sub> is applied to kids, women and slaves.

h. lists which uses abbreviations for terms, e.g. 103, 136 (cf. Kupper, p. 613 [s.n.]), and even PNs, e.g. in XXI:71, 396 (see above), and XXII:185 (see below).

Comments to individual texts. 1. This Sumu-Yamam period text seems to come from the same context as the list published in RA 65, p. 66 (dated 15.viii). 3. The *limum* here had not been attested earlier, "Sin-muballiṣ son of [xx]-dinnam." Veenhof's study, MARI 4, 204-205, includes Kupper's testimony upon collation that the father's name could not have been \*Aššur-idinnam, a reading which would have allowed linking this eponym with one in documents from Tell Leilan whose father's name is Aššur-[-?]. Kupper (MARI 3, 181), wonders where to assign this text since the man in charge, Hamatil, is usually linked to Sumu-Yamam (cf., Charpin, MARI 2, 211-214), but the shape of *u*<sub>2</sub> is that of the "Assyrian" and later periods. Actually, these two criteria are not mutually excluding, since Hamatil functioned even into the time of Zimri-Lim (X:151 — cf. MARI 3, 137-138; perhaps also VII:202.ii':2), and the shape of *u*<sub>2</sub> is not always a reliable guide. This text raises an interesting issue about personnel lists that the Mari scribes undertook continuously: How far in their collations did they need to keep track of dead (BA.UŠ<sub>2</sub>) or even run-away (?- BA.GI) personnel? See below, sub 10.

5 (27.x.1') and 6 (20+.xi.1' — cf. XXIII:516) reflect reassignment of carpenters over 1 month. 5 gives 4 males who are "carpenters *ša takkim*", everyone of whom finds reassignment under a group leader a month later. (F. Joannès has assembled in XXIII p. 415-416, a dossier of texts dated to the early years of ZL wherein leather workers and carpenters were distinguished by *ša tukkim*, a term which seems to characterize *independent* workers who indeed may have been located in one segment of the palace — hence Joannès's "atelier.") 7. The GN Ziniyan Yaḥappilim occurs in XXIII:464 where the first segment is followed by KI. According to X:143, Ziniyan seems to be located near Šubatum (cf. XXIII:241). It would seem that Yaḥappilum ought not be confused with Yaḥpila near Mankisum; the last was evidently regarded by the Mari chancellery as foreign territory (see XXIII, p. 220), whereas our Ziniyan Yaḥappilim obviously belonged to Mari.

10. This text was written on the same day as XIII:1, the great register which compiled the names of weavers and their assignments (19.x.3' — discussed in ARMT XVIII, p. 251; colophon collated by Durand, MARI, 2, p. 128). The heading tells us that it is a *tuppi* ZI.GA SAL.UŠ.BAR, whereas the ending makes allowance for listing dead personnel (*tuppi* ZI.GA *u* BA.US<sub>2</sub> *inūma* SI.LA<sub>2</sub> UŠ.BAR). The supervisors are the same in both texts, except for the absence of Mukannišum from the roster. The scribe followed a very elaborate path: except in one case, at i.12-13, which was extracted from the rolls of the previous year (27.xii.[2]'), his attention focused on changes within

the first 8 months of the year 3'. He surveyed lists written during the months i-iii, v-viii and noted the cases when specific female weavers either died or were reassigned to a group leader, always a male. He did not particularly worry about the chronology of texts whence the names were extracted; rather, he simply tried to group a number of these females under the name of their new charge. This creates a certain lack of order; for this reason, the scribe ended col. iv. by giving a total (N.B. mistaken for 60! — probably because of an error in iii.12, which should be 4'). Moreover, in col. v. he collated all those who are dead in one column headed "BA.US<sub>2</sub>." Here he could afford to be less than completely careful, and he has some names out of sequence, others lacking the proper ideogram such as PA.

12. This text lists artisans under the supervision of the same administrators as those of 10, but excludes that of Aqba-ahum. It adds: "NIG<sub>2</sub>.ŠU Mukannišim/ *ina bit ti-qi<sub>3</sub>-tim* [cf. ? *tēqitum*, AHw, 1348a]", thus making the roster almost equivalent in this respect to XIII:1's. It should probably be dated to the same period, that is ca. 19.x.3'. Note the presence of women as leather and metal workers and that the cells under the controls of Kiriban and Zilip-nawar, ii.1'-18', seems to contain Hurrian names almost exclusively. 14. See above; on iv'.26', see Kupper's good suggestion (p. 612) to read as PN. 16. See above, for this text's unusual grouping of temple workers. 17. 11. Read *ša Patiha*. 32. This text is a PS to a larger list (perhaps 33-both SY?) which collect the names of persons no longer in service. Two of the terms used, BA.ḤA and BA.GIR, may have had distinctive meanings, but the scribe collapsed them into one, BA.ḤA, when drawing up his total.

38. Probably dated to "Šamaš" whence originated most of the census lists. Restore the names of persons of Sammetar, Habdu-Hanat, ?, and Aqba-ahum in the colophon. 42. See above, sub XXI:389. 43. This (or a duplicate) may well be the text mentioned by Charpin and Durand in their article on Zimri-Lim's origins (MARI 4, 330). It is equivalent to TEM IV and does not mention Šiptu, coming as it does from 2.vi.1'. 55 may come from the same period. Line 43:10' may read SAL E<sub>2</sub>.GAL [but note 55:i.14' where nothing follows SAL]. 44 and 45 are registers that obviously depended on the same data. The list for harem ladies in 44:iii and those to be published in Durand's study on the harem (MARI 4) can now be mutually collated; cf. also 55:rev.iii. N.B. the female name Šamhatum in vi: 4' and in 45 A r.ii.2'. 49. Intentionally or otherwise, this text displays a chiasmic pattern: two outlays (n.b. *si<sub>2</sub>-tum* rather than ZI.GA) of 1/2 manas of silver sandwich lesser amounts. If so, KU<sub>3</sub>.UD/ PN of lines 1-2 are replaced by *ta-ma-li-a-tum*/ PN of 20-21; and the latter, therefore, may be a term, rather than another PN. 50:17: See XXIII, p. 8. 53-54 are separated by about 124 days of the year "Addu of Aleppo" — paralleling either ZL 2' or 3'; yet except for a minor discrepancy in the use of a cuneiform sign (-li- in 53:9; -li<sub>2</sub>- in 54:9), these texts are not only duplicates, but actually share the same format and configuration. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that either they were written at the same time or were reproduced whole despite the supposed passage of time. 55:iii.6' should be read Kazubtum, cf. XXIII:220:3. 56 may belong to YA's reign, since the very few attestations of

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 "Amadugga" beyond sealings are restricted to that period (but cf. Durand, MARI 4, 411 n. 162).

61-62 deal with the same topic: the reassignment of four women to Šiptu, apparently occurring soon after she came to Mari. 61 is apparently earlier, in the women had been handed out to detail leaders. 62 contains different rendering of 2 of the names — Marašaya vs. Marušatum; Belessunu vs. Belassunu — and recalls that the women had come from the spoils of war at Saknatum, a place that is not known to me, but likely a Benyaminit strong-hold. This topic has been discussed ably by Villard in XXIII, pp. 476ff. 64. See discussion above sub XXI:413. 66. This undated text tells of the palace's reorganization of personnel at the time of visits by foreign kings (including that of Haya-Sumu of Ilanšura). It is divided into four parts: 7 females are assigned to the kings of Zalmaqum and Idamaras (N.B.: Yahad-maras in XXIII:89:3, which forces a new search for an alternate etymology for Idamaras; lastly, Dossin, *Akkadica*, 22[1981]), 3-4). Another 7 are given to Haya-sumu's and his entourage, 6 to 6 princesses. 1 young girl was permanently assigned to Bahli-bašti and 8 are readied for permanent release, possibly as gesture of good will to the various kings. The last entry (l. 41-42) is difficult for me to assess. We can date this text by a number of approaches. According to XXIII:84//423, Bahli-bašti was taken from the household of Yarim-Addu to become princess Naramtum's "mammy/nanny" when the latter married Šarriya of Eluhut. Since this act occurred 24.iv.4', 66 is to be dated earlier. It is possible, therefore, that this text comes from 2', when a big *hafla* took place to honor visiting monarchs, an occasion when Haya-sumu came likely to collect his bride Kirum (on all this, see Durand, MARI 3, 162f). Additionally, 66 swells by 3 the names of princesses that are known to us from the list conveniently available in Batto's work on the Mari women and from the additions given by Birot in *Syria* 54, 279 and Durand in MARI 3, 162n, MARI 4, 335.

72:7. See XXIII, p. 9 n. 10. 73-75 are likely to come from the YA period. 73:5-6 speak of PN, *mār šiprim ša Ru-bi-im*. The last is attested 4 times in XXII (cf. p. 591), all in pre-ZL (probably YL) documents, and may, in fact be a tribal name. Rubben of X:100 may be the same name. Stol suggests a connection with the Rubum of Ešnunna discussed by van Dijk in *AfO* 23 (1970), 65ff. Whiting, *apud* OBTI, p. 13 n. 55, makes this ruler precede Ibalpiel I, which may well place him a bit too early for our context [see now Charpin, *Fs. Birot*, 62-64.] 75:4 as read by Kupper is suspicious; I would expect some form of *nasāhum*, referring to the date, rather than to a choking incident. It would be surprising if the scribe was so quick as to register Ištar-ummi's death within the same day as it happened. 77. Although not easily supported by the traces given by Kupper, the GN in r. 8' may be *Ab'-ba-an<sup>K1</sup>*, a spelling known from the YA period, MARI 3, p. 103, No. 134:3. 78, also discussed in XXIII, p. 149, yield interesting bits of data: The palace was getting ready for sheep plucking in the early days i.20 (paralleling either 2' or, as I tried to show in MARI 5, to 3'), expecting the process to take up at least one full week, ending in the second third of the month. Given climactic conditions which apparently obtained in the OB period and which allowed Spring to enter a couple of weeks earlier than in our present days, mid-Urahum 2'/3' fell in later March.

During 4', almost two years later, with the lunar calendar falling behind the solar cycle, wool from sheep-shearing was entered into storage on 16.xii (93-95).

78's addition is suspect. There is a break in l. 13 where the number of women workers was recorded. In order to balance with the 117 total given in l. 21, one has to restore 11 which, given the range of numbers in that text, would be very unlikely. Were we to include in the calculations the 11 males, the tally will match, but it will force us to consider the number of l. 13 to have been erased by the scribe; another unlikelyhood. What to do? 80. See above on the use of LU<sub>2</sub>. 85. See XXIII, p. 139 n. 13. 86 + XXIII: 51 deal with the wool storage and rationing during vi.3' [i.e. ZL 7a]. N.B. "plene" writing of date formula in l. 8.

89 and 90, both dating to 9.iii.4', register at the temple of Istar separate outlays of wool, differing in amounts (45 and 30 lbs. respectively) and in destination; but for the same purpose: the manufacture of many pieces of embroidered (?) wrapper destined to be thrown over an apparel (*ana* [TUG<sub>2</sub>] *harūri ša pan* NI<sub>3</sub>.BARA<sub>3</sub> — on the last see, XXI, pp. 412-413; on *ha/urūrum*, see XXI:425 with comments). One of the manufacturers, well-known to Mari text, is a specialist in BAR.KAR.RA weaving (89 and 96), for which see XXI, pp. 423-425. The reading of the last is now confirmed by M. 5888's TUG<sub>2</sub> *ba-ar-ka-ru-u<sub>2</sub>*, MARI 3, p. 112 s.v.

98 is without a date formula, but with an intercalary *Abum* (*abum tašnitum*). It may have been drafted outside of Mari proper. The text is certainly not from ZL's time since *pi<sub>3</sub>-qi<sub>3</sub>-ti* (*piqitti*) PN for the ubiquitous S.LA<sub>2</sub> PN (lastly, Rouault, XVIII, pp. 276, 278 s.v.) tends to be found in documents from before his reign (cf., XXI:287b [although Warad-kube is known from ZL's time] and, in this volume, YL — 290, 291, 294 [read in 13 MU.DU' *pi<sub>3</sub>'-qi<sub>3</sub>'-ti*]; SY — 121, 269; YA — 306). 121, which also contains the same formula and may have been composed in Kiretim, a town that was reckoned as belonging to the district of Terqa (e.g. XXIII:428/429:19-21; add? 340:4') or that of Saggaratum (e.g. XXIII:427:30'; p. 324; XIV: 63:6). 99. Note Kupper's observation (p. 613) that despite an insertion "*sissikti* PN" after the year-formula, there is no trace of fringes on the tablet! Durand's copy of XXI: 231 — which also mentions the *sissiktu* of 2 jewelers (a third was better off: he had a seal) —, indicates that one of them was indeed impressed. Nevertheless, it remains to be asked: How would one confirm the authenticity of a fringe or decide on who is its owner by looking at its impression on clay?

100 (YA) and 138 (YL). On the month name IM.UD.UD, see Kupper, MARI 3, 182. 110 and the broken 111 may have been "genuine" duplicates, i.e. those where no changes are entered into the body of the text or the colophon in order to make allowance for different destination or purpose of tablet. Such "genuine" duplicates are very rare in Mari; indeed it is puzzling why the scribe would even create them. 123. Among the texts from the YL period, the formula *ina* KA<sub>2</sub> GN [not to be confused either with *ina* GN/DN or with *ina* KA<sub>2</sub> + substantive] is found right after the mot-clef. The GN's involved vary: Tarnip (123; 161, 162), Šuna (138), Kallatum (140), Pahudar (160), Tuttul (if correctly restored, note OAKK, spelling, 163), Zi[?'] (Zinen? 164, cf. 161:4), Arduwan (166), Kahat (227, probably also 277), Kallahabru (278) Šubat-Ištar (272, 273). The international flavor for these gates ought not lead us

to think that the tablets were written far away from Mari (contra: Kupper, MARI 3, 183); rather it suggests that YL named many of Mari's gates after foreign locales, some of which may have witnessed a particularly striking victory (e.g., Pahudar). In one case in fact, the scribe did not bother to be precise and merely recorded: *ina* Mari (139). Kallatum may be the same GN better known as Kallassu (i.e. *kallat* + *šu*). Kallahabru is certainly Kallahubra, a village in Kahat (cf. XVI/1, 18). Arduwan finds here its first attestation in the Mari texts, and ought not be related to Mardaman, which appears in another YL text (162). This perspective allows us to date XXI:353, a MU.DU *ina* KA<sub>2</sub> Saggaratim, to YL's reign. XXI:416, which has the same formulation, already has a YL year name.

124. See XXIII, p. 203. 127. Another text with obvious accounting errors: read 306<sup>1</sup> in line 5. It seems to contain at least two separate transactions, each with its own summary, that were simply compiled into one document without any attempt at retotaling (cf. l. 14 whose number does not include the 306 of l. 6). The first of these transactions gives an account of gifts in clothing given the palace from palace workers and bureaucrat; the second lumps into one category of clothing all the donations from the districts of Mari, Terqa and Saggaratim (but not Qat-tunan!). 129. For the reading EŠ<sub>2</sub> rather than TUG<sub>2</sub> before *nanaptum*, see XXIII, p. 139 n. 15. 131:4. Read *Šamaš-ba-le-e* as in XIII:143:4. 134:3' on the *bitum* of Yaggid-Lim, son of the king, see also 276:i.37 (ZL, 3') and the discussion of Durand, MARI 4, 338 n. 227. 136. Note the abbreviations: *pa-li* for *palihum*, TUG<sub>2</sub> *gu* for *gusānum*; the scribe apparently favored a two-sign abbreviation. To make the totals in 25-26 square with the list, we need to restore <*gusānu*> in l. 2 and assume that Yawsi-el and Ili-dinnam of l. 9-10 shared 1 *palihum* between them (note the peculiar use of *u*<sub>3</sub> there). On *gusānum*, a sac of some sort which could also be made of leather (174:6), see XXIII, p. 162. 139 is discussed in XXIII, p. 18. 141:1-4. The PNs here should be compared with those in 162:1-3 and 8-12. Since the verbal forms are N pret., the lines ought to be rendered: "Clothing (given to) PN, which had been taken from PN(s)." In line 14 *ša ḥumāši* may not refer to a PN, but to the fact that Ali-waqrum is an acrobat (with Durand, MARI 3, 154 n. 31; cf. XXIII:386). See also below sub 298.

143 and 252. On the formula, see already Rouault, XVIII, p. 125. Another way of specifying that a text is a "duplicate" is recorded in XXI:218. 143, dated 15.i.31 ("Muballittum") comes a week later than XXIII:355 which records the dispatch of wine and honey to Babylon and Elam, see Lafont's discussion, XXIII, pp. 284-285. 151 contains what may well be an early attestation of the *kurkūm*-fowl. Read the GN in l. 12 Šu<sup>1</sup>-da<sup>KI</sup> (cf. XXIII:17). Note that the 5 Habiru of Kurda listed in 13-17 have Hurrian (2×), WS (2×) and ES (1×) names. 153:5-7 repeat the name of one and adds 1 Hurrian and 1 ES names. 154. See MARI 3, 162 n. 4 where Durand restores: [clothing to four women] *ša ana niditti* NIN.DINGIR.RA *ša* <sup>d</sup>IM *iddinū*. However, it should be noted that Darkatum has not been attested as yet; rather odd for a priestess of the ZL period. 157. It is difficult to evaluate the title DAM <sup>d</sup>IM attached to Maniha's name, a title which may have been traditional for Mari (cf., DAM.MI<sub>2</sub> AN in XIX 291:3; 365:r.7'). A similar title DAM <sup>d</sup>Dagan is applied to Kunšimatum (XXIII:195, 195, both ZL 4') whose thick dossier allowed Durand ("Harem" MARI 4) to consider her a daughter of Samsi-Addu. Whatever the title's implication, it is possible to imagine some type of priesthood for as noble a person as Kunšimatum. In our case, however, Maniha does not seem to have royal blood. A Benyaminite captive was given as a *šulūtum* to the goddess Istar-pišra (64:15 = XXI:413 — date: 8.ix.2'). Apparently the same woman was transferred to Mukannišum after her capture (cf. XXIII, p. 504, i:35 — date: 26.ix.2'). She may have been shuffled around a bit more (cf. XXII, p. 585 s.v.). A Himmaman (Terqa district) woman of that name is known as GEME PN who took part in the oath-taking ceremonies of ZL 9' (XXIII:236). She may have been a homonym, as well may have been the weavers listed in XIII:1 (cf. XVI/1, 149). Our text is imperfectly dated, with the scribe leaving a good portion of the formula out.

164:8-9. The Yarim-Lim LU<sub>2</sub> Numahû in this text, which dates to the YL period, may well be the Benyaminite chieftain during ZL's reign (cf. Durand, MARI 3, 137-138). 170 shows the same geographical breadth as VII:191 and IX:288, XXI:243; 367; in fact some of these documents may be referring to the same activity. When Kibri-Dagan wrote in III:81 that emissaries from Simurru, Huršitum (whose king was Puhuya — XXI:281), and Qabara had just reached Terqa, he may have been announcing the vanguards of delegations that were to take part in a big *ḥafla* chez ZL (cf. also XXIII:243), the date and circumstance of which are still not available to us. One of the two Yamhadians listed in 5'-6', Hanni-Addu, is known as Hanna-Addu, DAM.GAR<sub>3</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> *Emar* in XXIII:523. This would confirm what we always suspected: that during ZL's reign, Emar was part of Yamhad. The Lillimaraean who accompanied Addu-duri to the king (should it be the other way around?) allows us to date this text before her ZL 5' death. This is also her first attested trip outside the capital.

185:10. With regards the PN here, *all* of the citations in XVI/1, 126 referring to "Ini-irmuk" are likely to belong to this smith Inir-muqtabli (also in this volume 12:iv.12'; 203:iv:[16']). This is certainly the case in VII:96:2'; 104:iv:3, and in XXIII:235:ii:19. In VIII:60:16, the scribe apparently (?) left out the last two signs. 186:5 maybe *i/id'-di*. 188 is briefly mentioned in Soubeyran's chapter on the production of cultic paraphernalia, XXIII, pp. 335-336. 190 speaks of 588 sh. of bronze to make 10 rivets of 60 sh. each! Either the scribe was rounding off, or he expects that the difference will be made up from other quarters. This type of "shortage" is not isolated but appears also in other records, as in the next two documents. 193 and 194. Comparison of data in show how scribes corrected themselves. The first is dated to 19.i.11'; the second which is not dated, is briefer because it leaves out certain bits of information. Yet it was written probably afterwards since the scribe took occasion to correct an obvious mistake in computing the bronze needed from Šamaš' estate: In 194 he was short by 15 sh.; in 195 he was to have 10 sh. leftover.

201 is related to these two documents and gives the amount of bronze that was unused (LA<sub>2</sub>+U) by those mentioned above. 203 is interesting in that it is headed by a year-date (ZL 4') within which various transactions are (re)entered one month after the other, during i-ix. 205 does the same for ZL 3', but from months iv-xii only.

203:19'-21' refers to bronze given out to manufacture some objects for the SAL *saḫ(h)iratum*. The same female personnel (also written without MEŠ) occurs in XXIII:40, a text which interestingly enough comes from the same period of time (i.4'). In his comments to that document, Bardet cites M. 8261 which gives SAL.TUR.MEŠ s., allowing him to treat *saḫ(h)iratum* as fem. to *saḫ(h)irum*. Here the "marchandes ambulantes" (Kupper) makes little sense. I wonder whether the Arabic *saḫhara*, "female magician" may be at stake here, bringing the meaning somewhat closer to AHW's *saḫhiru(m)*, "Hausierer" (applied to demons, p. 1009a). L. 26'. One expects ITI *Urāḫim* somewhere here. L. 38'. There is now a healthy dossier on the *ša hamuḫhi*-chariots, the function of which has been elucidated by Durand, XXI, p. 292n (add XXII:207:r.5'; 311:6; 317:13; XXIII:100, 394, 410, 575). In fact many of the terms left untranslated in these texts, when they refer to chariots, are discussed in Durand's chapter. To the types of chariots add: G. *ša zi-iḫ-tum* [SAG] 311:5; G. *ša zu-ḫ-ru-x*, 317:12; (sous-entendu) *ša* ANŠE.KUR.RA (already XXI:215), which may refer to a special type of chariot (204:i.22'; r.ii.5'). To parts of chariots, add *taktak(k)um*, 192:6; to parts of wheels, add *kabkurru* KAK.HA<sub>2</sub> x' MUL of 203:iii. 18'-19'. XXIII provides further information on chariots, for which see the index below for access to appropriate texts and comments. On *nakwūm* of iv. 1'-5' see XXI, p. 360 which cites a passage now published as XXIII:481. There seems to be a preference for manufacturing them in groups of 5. In 204:rev.iii.38-39, 5 *nakwū* are to be used in connection with clothing — if Kupper's reading is correct. The small amount of copper necessary to manufacture it (although it may have been alloyed), makes me hesitate to think of it as an "ironing" device (cf. arabic *mikwayya*). On the use of *bulluṭum* in the colophon, see Durand MARI 3, 260-263, which he renders by "ventiler." Note the use of *gamer-ma*, applied to months, to mean "inclusive."

204 may have been written in the year ZL 2' or 3', after the conquest of Mišlan. It is remarkable how broad were the activities of Asqudum, — diviner, son-in-law to YL, eponym, owner of a "house," father of officials (Kabi-Addu), temple official, etc.; see Charpin, MARI 4 (453-62); Lafont, XXIII: pp. 250-251, parallels some of his activities to that of an Ur III *maškim* at Puzriš-Dagan. His travels were wide, including trips to Aleppo (14.x.4 [= "Kahat"] — A. 13180, cited in XXIII, p. 304) and to Ašnakkum (TH 82-185, cited in Charpin, *ibid.*, p. 458; in XXIII:45:3, read: *ša <ana> Asqudim ublūnim*). In fact, as Charpin points out, Asqudum, who is sometimes titled *awilum*, conducts himself and his household as a kingly within Mari. On the terms *nazinum* [N.B. *na-zi-i-nu* in 231:4), *katappum* (a weapon?), *maš-qaltum*-balance, *šušmarūm*, and *mušarrirtum* in this and other XXII texts, see Durand, XXI, pp. 366, 342-3, 353, 357, and 356-7. Recording that Etel-beli received some products "when the king went to Andariq" (203:rev.iii.38-39) is here used not to date the transaction but to tell of the particular need for the product. The same can be said about the allusion to the marriage of princess Kihila to Naram-išū, who is either another vassal or another Mari official. 224 records the supply of *samrātu* to personnel and townships and inserts two (independent?) notes intended to refresh memory on the circumstances for the disburse-

ments: "Just before the king went on a campaign; when Hadanum, the 'general' came up here." As an archival or bureaucratic technique, it is difficult to judge how important these additions were to the scribe. Was the decision his to make about inserting such statements? It cannot be denied, however, that some of these clauses were indeed intended to secure dates as in, e.g., XXIII:42 where the scribe added: *inūma Habur ihtutu* (cf. Bardet's remarks.) It might be useful to study the whole Mari corpus on this topic.

205:ii'.13'. *zakannum* is now well attested as a building of some sort, see Charpin, MARI 3, 113, with unpublished excerpts furnished by Durand. 208:rev.i.4'-9' possibly allows restoring XXI:288b: [copper] *ana napās [šu-zi-bi-]i' / [ša ḫu-bu-uš] / KU<sub>3</sub>-GI'*. 218:1. See XXIII:512 and restore [*la-ab-]du* GAL'. The PN in l. 4 is Til-abnu (cf. VIII:88 as well as PN indexes XXII, XXIII). The dossier on *labdum*, which includes this text, is discussed in XXIII, p. 436-438. 222:14' LU<sub>2</sub> *ya-am-ha-am/mi-i*. 225:3-4. The intents of these lines is to make certain that the weapon sent via Yašub-Ašar would be restored to stock. 230 (same date — 24.vii.2') confirms the fact that the king, away (in Raqqim?), was in need of supplies, as he had been a few days earlier (XXIII:27 — 22.vii). 228 recording a gift for Qatna through the diplomat/merchant Idin-Numuša is placed within a dossier of gifts exchanged during ZL 2' in XXIII, pp. 344f. We have an interesting letter, perhaps on the same occasion (so also, Bardet, XXIII, p. 42), in II:133, wherein a frustrated Idin-Numuša writes: "My lord earlier spoke about the detention of the group (heading) for Qatna, so that I am detaining the men for the past 5 days, and they have used up their lambs observing entrails for omens. If it is agreeable to my lord, he ought to write so that these men should no longer be detained, but they ought to go; the men are pretty distressed. Three days ago, the (main) caravan departed. The messengers (should go) in the next caravan." [Note the distinction here between *girrum*, referring to the assembly of messengers, and *ḫarrānum*, which here refers to the larger unit, comprising merchants, perhaps in transit.]

229. The total of scythes in the reverse is obviously incomplete, and the obverse must have had its own total. Note the coda, unfortunately in fragment: "Total: 13 scythes which Mukannišum ordered to retrieve from the 'bitumen'-room; Šunuhrahalu is to [?] according to this tablet." The *bit kuprim* is just another storehouse that has its own name; many things were stored there, in particular oil (cf. XXIII, p. 418). 232 is another list that comprises a *niddittum* for a princess; see Durand, MARI 3, 163 n.9. For various objects that are fabricated out of *ašnugallum*, see XXIII:68 (and Bardet's comment s.v.). 233 speaks of the production of a votive chariot, and dates to 20.iv of a newly recovered date-year of YL: "Year: Yahdullim opened the Puzuran canal." The text gives an Akkadian reading for the chariot's "chest," *irtum*, which had been known only through its Sumerian equivalent GABA.GAL<sub>2</sub> (XXI:254:6), or as a loanword from Sumerian *gabgallum* (VII:243:4; cf. Durand's comments, p. 285). The *ru-qu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub> ša i-ir-tim* probably refers to thin leaves beaten for the purpose (cf. XVIII, p. 151 n. 185; re: XIII:17:14-16; AHW, 995 *ruggu(m)* II). The *bi-ri-x* of l. 4 may be related to the *Bi-ri-di/ki'* of 237:5, both of which are rather small in weight. The term is not likely to be related to *birikkum* of XXI:34:3 or to the *pirikkum-*

emblem (AHw, 866a). 234:6-10 (ZL 11.ix.2') refers to the "...gold... that was taken from the UKU.UŠ of' the 'man' of Tizrah" and may allude to one of ZL's early victories reported in his "victory" stele, although Durand and Charpin MARI 4, 319-24, think it ought to be Yasmah-Adad's.

237. This text wonderfully recreates the complicated steps taken in releasing precious objects to artisans: 2 artisans are responsible for the manufacture (SILA<sub>2</sub>), 2 inspectors (*ebbūt* PN<sub>1-2</sub>) attest to the need of the artisans, and 4 highly placed officials are to supervise the enterprise (GIR<sub>3</sub>). No room for trust here! [See also 245, 246. In the last text, IGI seems to substitute for the expected GIR<sub>3</sub>, which confirms the supervisory function of those so labelled. On the issue of bureaucratic responsibility, see Durand's important study in MARI 2, 123-130; but note that GIR<sub>3</sub> officials may append their seals to a text, as in XXIII:551]. Verb in l. 2 is difficult and can be from *wabālum* D (cf. AHw, 1452, [12]) or, less likely, from *apālum* D (cf. possibly IX:258:33). Note *šūšummū* (*ša* Diritim) of l. 12, so far attested only in lexical texts.

239 (ZL 1.ix.2') is concerned with the manufacture of Sin's axe and should be added to Lafont's table in XXIII, pp. 336-337. However, it is cited in Joannès's comments to XXIII:173 (ZL 9.i.1'), another text dealing with the same job. On E<sub>2</sub>.UZU of 240:5, see XXIII:224:13 and (p. 199). Many examples for the process of fixing lapis-lazuli plaques by means of gold filaments are given by Limet, MARI 4 (§2.6). 248. For this text and another cited long ago by Dossin, see Lafont, XXIII, p. 332-333. Limet, MARI 4, §3.7 cites another text which speaks of the statue of the king, and it may be related to this one although we know of 3 already (destined for Halab, for Dēr, and for Hatta of Kakkulum).

252:4 for *hubusum*, see XX:104:1; 131 and comments. 254:5 read *za-ar-ni-kum*<sup>2</sup> as in XXI:398:13 (LU<sub>2</sub> ŠAGIA); XXIII:424:1. [In XXIII: 104:25', the attestation is not likely to be a PN.] Perhaps restore that name in III:69:5 *za-ar-ne*<sup>2</sup>-[*kum/ki*]. The text speaks of 2 lances (*innātum*, plur. of *immitum*, cf. XXI, p. 342) which (they gave/were given) to PN.

258 is a fragment of a list of gifts Zimri-Lim distributed during one of his early years to vassals and their attendants, a group which included 2 delegates from Šadum-atal; Zimri-Hammu, probably the king of Buzullum (note the size of the silver ring he received!) and many rings for Hanean women. The disbursement was made at "*apqum* of the Habur," a term to be understood as WS *'efeq* rather than as homonym of the well known GN. The text is dated to 30.iv. "Annunitum," a "full" year (i.e., a has texts datable throughout the 12-month cycle) and which is likely to be coeval with "Throne of his father." The last shows all the indications of being a "co-year" in that it has, so far, found attestation only at the beginning of the year (4.i [XXII:313; TH.82-116], 22.i [XXIII:125]), before skipping to its end (list in Lafont, XXIII, p. 278). Further on this, see Charpin, MARI 4 p. 454 § 1.1 and n. 3.

261. Nice price list for purchased aromatic wood (cf. Kupper, *Kraus Festschrift*, p. 165 n. 13), to be sent to Šarraya of Razama. According to XXIII:523 wood was imported from the Northwest, through Imar. 262:r.iv.9' mentions the GN *ša huššurātīm*, which apparently is a "suburb" of Mišan. It is also known

by a spelling *ša he-šu<sub>2</sub>-ra-tim*, *ša iššurātīm* as well as *ša MUŠEN* (cf. ref. in XXIII, pp. 593-4), depending on the branch of Semitic whence it stems (cf., Arab. *'usfūr*). col. vi.f. gives a value of 10:1 for tin, a value which does not remain stable in Mari (14:1 in VII:233:19'; 11:1 in 262:v. 1'-5'; 264:7' [restored]; XXIII:557 [last 3 texts are related]). 269 and 282 seem to belong to the same period, SY. The first text informs us that this king had decent relations with Aleppo, then ruled by Sumu-epuh.

271. perhaps belong to the outlays for Addu-duri's oil-lamps. 2734. First signs are likely to be [*i-nu*]-*ma*. The text dates to YL's reign. 275, an oil disbursement account, is recalled in conjunction with XXI:125 by Durand in MARI 3, 160. 275 follows the other text by one day and has a curious insertion (line 11) that raises the total without being specific on who receives the additional outlay.

276 is the famous document that Kupper cited in the *Böhl Festschrift*. The first column enters and totals incoming oil and sesame from ix.1' through xii.3'. The broken last lines can be reconstructed as follows: *adi* ITI *Eburim gamerma* MU [ZL 4']. Since this account was meant only to register what was added to Mukannišum's own *bitum*, only spotty months are registered: all of the last 3 months of ZL 1', while those of ZL 2' and 3' are not even stated; the only hint of specific time here being the statement that the ZL 3' collection was made when the king was attending (presided over?) a festival [*inūma šarrum ki-la-u<sub>2</sub>-tam/tim' ušbu*]. The reading with *-u<sub>2</sub>-* rather than *-sa-* for the festival is, therefore, to be maintained over AHw's (1584b) emendation of XVIII:42:7. For *wašābum* in this context, see XXIII:218:3-5: *inūma šbeltum* QAR.NI *ina bit Annunitim ušbu*; QAR.NI, is likely to be another festival and not *qarnum*. Columns ii to mid iv are much more careful in giving a monthly detail of the outlays from Mukannišum's stockpiles, even to the point of including the intercalary Eburum of ZL 2'. The colophon, further, raises the issue of how the Mari scribe understood the term "year" when an intercalary month is at stake; on this see my remark in MARI 4, 440 n. 12 to which must be added consideration of the interesting colophon at XXIII:588:7-13. In this text, the scribe writes that he spanned "1 year, 1 month," from ZL v.11' until vi.12'. Now we know that 11' included an intercalary Hibirtum (vb) and the scribe ought to have had 15 months. We can conclude that:

1. the scribe's "year" could span 2 different year-formulae;
2. the scribe did not include vi.12' in his calculation. Indeed, note absence of *gamerma!* in l. 11, and contrast this with its presence in l. 17;
3. the scribe included vb.11' within his understanding of the term "yearTT";
4. the "1 month" in total apparently refers to v.12'

283 is an order to be filled upon receipt (note imperative in l. 3), with a date and the seal of Yasim-Sumu. See below sub 332. 287:3. NINDA *hamišātum* is likely to be equivalent to NINDA *emšum*. 288. *haškurū* are not likely to be apples, which, like other fruits, are usually measured with solid, rather than with weight, measures (e.g. IX:115). Moreover, the *abussum ša šundurim* seems to stock mostly metal (e.g. IX:30 [silver]), VII:86 and XXIII:524 [tin]). 291. The grand total of 147 UDU and the subtotal of 122 UDU combine sheep and goats within the UDU category. The grand total presumes the inclusion of one more animal, and this was probably listed in l. 12. 292:3. The notation



*uš<sub>2</sub>-ma* is read *UG<sub>7</sub>-ma* by Durand, XXI, p. 34 n. 5 and *DIM<sub>7</sub>-MA* by Lafont, XXIII, p. 234 n. 1. 293 gives a thumb-nail listing of most small animals raised in Mari texts (cf. VII:224; IX, pp. 299-301). 298. For more on *humā/* (*ušum*, see MARI 3, 153-154. The number of such athletes — 60; at any one time?? — during ZL's reign amazes. See above, sub 141.

300. MARI 4, 328-329. 302. LA<sub>2</sub>U in this context is more likely to mean "remainder, left-over"; cf. e.g. XXI:272, a text which is surely related to XXIII:303, an end of the year account of left over timber in various districts (N.B. *ina ḫalsāni* in l. 17'); if so, it will allow us to restore LA<sub>2</sub>U HA<sub>2</sub> in l. 8, Eburum as the month name (ZL 1') in XXI:272, and in XXIII:303 to fill the gaps in lines 6-7: ŠA<sub>3</sub>BA 1 ME 25 GIŠ.HA<sub>2</sub> as well as to restore in l. 20 the number as "37." Perhaps "Qattunan" is to be filled in rev. 2', but note the absence of \**ḫalaš* GN where it would be expected in 4'. Yamsum is now better known thanks to Durand's study in MARI 3, 168. 306 is of the same type (but different date) as the texts in the dossier of YA stock inventory studied by Charpin in MARI 2 (see above sub XXI:195). Note that a syllabic spelling for GIŠ.KA.GIŠ.KARA<sub>4</sub> (l. 7 and 316:ii:8') is given in XXI:303:7 *ki-in-na-aš-ka-ra-ki* (gen.), a spelling attested also in Sippar; but *ka-ni-iš-ka-ra-ki-im* in XXIII:103:8; *ka-an-giš-ka-ra-ki* in XXIII:213:13. For more variations in spelling, see XXI, p. 362 n. 29. On GIŠ *a-su* of l. 10, see XXI:106:11. 313 is one of two tablets dated to ZL 4.i.i' [above sub 258, and it is a record of gift giving among which is one to Apil-ilīšu. We know of 2 men by that name: a Babylonian (150:5//XXIII:448:54//449:53 [cf. XXIII, p. 347f.; XXI, p. 576]) who, within a decade rose from the rank of messenger/diplomat to that of a GAL.MAR.TU; and a courier for the king who is attested 3 times in XXII (cf. p. 564). 314 is a record of a package sent to the king while on tour (cf. XXIII:353). Among these are jars of perfumed oil, a typology of which is now given by Soubeyran, XXIII, p. 417, to which we may add from here the reference to I<sub>3</sub> *te-li-il<sub>5</sub>'-tim*. 316:ii.2'-5' is discussed in XXIII, p. 146. 318:10'. TUG<sub>2</sub> *zakū* is discussed in Durand's XXI, p. 416. Add 324:r.iii.30.

321:11 speaks of products that are *ḫummušātum* sa GN, allowing Kupper (notes, p. 617) to derive from *ḫamāšum* D and hence to translate generically as "butin de GN." In Mari the usual term is *šallatum*. I do not know whether any etymological connection can be made with the apparent DN *ḫu-mu-ši<sub>3</sub>-im* (gen.) attested in XXIII:319:7 and in PNs from Mari (cf. XXIII, p. 242). 322 is regarded as a dowry list by Durand. According to Kupper (p. 617), there is a duplicate to this inventory. The articles are given according to their value in silver and include jewelry (value: 297 sh.), vases, cutlery, furnishing, linens (value: 220 sh.), and slaves (value: 100 sh. [cf. MARI 3, 162]), giving us a total value of 617 shekels, i.e. 5 kg. or 12 lbs of silver! 323:26. Many forms with *-ā* in XXIII:531; von Soden, ZA 73 (1983), 86f. 324:r.iii.23. For TUG<sub>2</sub> HUŠ.A, see XXI:350b:1; for *ša zi-mi* see XXI:131:2-4 (= ? XXIII:482:13-15) and M. 6052 (cited in Durand, ARMT XXI, p. 146 n. 12) where the *zīmū* required oil in order to be fixed (*šakānum*) or even sawn (*šakākum*); perhaps it is some sort of thinnish sequin. For *zīm ḫurāšim šakānum* of XIII:18:12-13, see Durand, MARI 2, 137 n. 42. 326:8 gives the name of a *muhhūtum* (of the goddess Annunitum), and the formulation suggests that

this is an office and not in a term that is applied *ad hoc* to whomever happened to be the vessel for the divine pronouncement. Since, for the first time in Mari texts, we have a name associated with the office, I may speculate further. 'Annu-tabni's name is unfortunately unattested elsewhere. But it can be noted that there are many names formed with the DN Annu (not to be confused with Anum), even though this deity does not appear beyond PNs. Annunitum's case is the exact opposite: she is so far never called upon as element in PNs! I wonder therefore, if Annu(nu) may actually be a shortened form of Annunitum when entered into personal names. [Note that Nakata had already argued for Annu as a goddess, JANES 5 (1973), 299f.] If so, "Annu-tabni" would have been a perfect name to give to one dedicated to the worship and command of Annunitum.

327 is discussed in Soubeyran's excellent overview on the gift-givings during ZL 2', XXIII, p. 344f. (text #446-451). There is a mystery with regards the name of Siptu's "mammy/nanny," given as *zi-zi* in some texts and *u<sub>2</sub>-uš-še* in others (listings on pp. 397-398), and the discrepancy may be due to variations (nicknames?) of one Hurrian name, possibly pronounced something like \*(u)d-de.

328: see below. 329 details apportionment of orchards and vineyards to various individuals. The areas are fractions of an acre, generally between a quarter and one half. Some of the recipients belonged to the palace, the others may well have been local persons who doubtless received portions of the fruits upon harvest. 332 belongs to one category of memorandums in which notes are taken for future reference. The scribe seems to indulge in making observations which may well have been superfluous to bureaucratic record keeping. 333. Durand, MARI 4, 152-153) reads this text as a fragment from a dynastic list (*šakkanakku* period) and makes important restorations.

#### ARMT XXII No. 328

No. 328 is a register for a series of land transactions involving a Warad-Sin who sought, by means of complex legal maneuverings, to solidify his control of a specific area in a section called *ugar Ilaba* (for a "wide" meaning for *ugārum*, see Lafont, XXIII, p. 224). This required him to purchase land elsewhere in order to complete transactions. It is not clear at all where this land is located: some of it seems to lie by of the ZL's palaces, but it cannot be said at which locality. The document is dated to ZL 23.xii.9', a period, we know, that began with ZL visiting the Northwest and included the war fought alongside Babylon. A number of documents from this year speaks of wholesale oath taking: in Guru-ilim; by profession (XXIII:235 -?.x.9'), by villagers (XXIII:86 -12.xi.9'), by Terqa women (XXIII:236 -9.?.9') and in Mari's (?) citadel by palace women (VIII:88 [MARI 2, 69] -26.xii.9'). Similar occasions may well have occurred earlier in the same year (cf. XXIII:85 -25.vi, oath by male functionaries). During that same year but under different circumstances (XXI:202 -10.vii.9') transferred land gives 1/2 shekel as the price paid for 1 iku, and this highlights the comparative value of Warad-Sin's land purchases. The text also refers to payments made to assorted notaries and gives formulations

for the ceremonial acts done at the conclusion of each transaction. Those involved in one transaction reappear in another, and there is evidence that many were bound in kinship.

Warad-Sin himself remains difficult to pin down, if only because the name was likely owned by a number of contemporaries during ZL's reign, both Mariyites and foreigners. We could mention an important functionary of that name during the "Assyrian" period (V: 59; 60) or refer to the fact that a *halsum* was named after "Warad-Sin" (XXIII:594:8, 11); but this district was apparently not in Mari itself. Another possible link could be made with a son of a Warad-Sin, Sin-eribam, who was a rich landowner, but whose estate had to be liquidated by the king himself under circumstances that are not clear (VIII:36, 59, and XXIII:237; cf. Joannès's comments, pp. 214-216).

All the above only hints at the diversity of the issues provoked by this text, not to speak of the West Semiticisms embedded therein, and the recording of different versions of the same transactions in a pattern that is difficult to understand. In order to facilitate further study of it, therefore, I give here an outline of its various segments. On the right hand, in brackets, I append a few observations. I use the terms "fee, validation, attestation" without much conviction.

[TRANSACTION I (i.1-i.55). Warad-Sin purchases outright 1 acre of land in the Ugār-ilaba from Tir-Annu for which he pays 10 shekels. Further, Tir-Annu cedes for the purpose of exchange (verb: *sakād/ṭum*) 2 other acres in the same region. To replace these last 2 acres, Warad-Sin needed to purchase land in other sections of town.

*Final result: Warad-Sin owns 3 acres in the Ugār-Ilaba.]*

**Aa. i.1-6.** Purchase: A brief version of which is given in iii.54-iv.4.

WARAD-SIN BUYS FROM TIR-ANNU S. MUT-HAKKA 1 ACRE IN UGĀR-ILABA.

*adjoining:* field of Qišatum s. Anine [s. Aba-AN<sup>1</sup>, i.50; iii:55]  
*price:* 10 sh. [value: 10 sh./acre]  
*fee:* 1 sh. *nēbiḥ Ilalakam, malki* [malki not in iv.2]

**Ab. i.7-9.** Exchange of land.

TIR-ANNU S. <MUT>-HAKD'A CEDED TO WARAD-SIN FOR EXCHANGE 2 ACRES OF LAND IN THE UGĀR-ILABA.

**B. i.10-14.** This section specifies Warad-Sin's further obligation towards Tir-Annu.

IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS FIELD, [WARAD-SIN] GAVE [TIR-ANNU] 1 ACRE IN THE RESERVOIR AREA; HE ALSO GAVE HIM 1 ACRE, BELONGING TO YASSI-EL S. YATAR-NAR, IN THE CANEBRAKES OF THE CEMETERY.<sup>1)</sup>

**C. i.15-24.** This section resumes the attestations and witnessing of A.

*fee:* 1/2 sh., Mutu-Dagan, *kasadu*<sup>2)</sup> [i.35]  
0,0.1 oil, 3 PNs [i.35]  
*witness:* 4 PNs [cf. i.38]  
*validation:* The elders broke bread  
*attestation:* [0,0.1 oil Durni-El]; scribe [iii.2]

**D. i.25-40.** How Warad-Sin acquired Yatar-Nar's field, mentioned above, in order to cede it to Tir-Annu.

WARAD-SIN BUYS FROM YATAR-NAR 1 ACRE OF LAND IN THE CANEBRAKES OF THE CEMETERY.

*adjoining:* 2 PN  
*price:* [10<sup>3</sup> sh.]  
*fee:* [1 sh.] *nēbiḥ Ilalakam*  
1/2 sh. <> *kasadam*  
0,0.1 oil, 3 PNs  
*witness:* 3 PNs [cf. i.20]  
*validation:* The elders broke bread, drank beer

**E. i.41-55.** How Warad-Sin acquired land in the reservoir in order to cede it to Tir-Annu. A composite version of this and the above transactions are repeated at N. (v.5-17+).

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES FROM IDIN-ANNU S. IDDINIM 1.05 ACRES OF LAND IN THE RESERVOIR OF THE TOWN<sup>3)</sup>

*adjoining:* Hammurabi  
*price:* 14 1/2 sh. [value: 14 sh./acre]  
*fee:* "I have given 1 sh. *nēbiḥ malkim*"  
"I have given 1/4 sh. to Zanzanum"<sup>4)</sup>  
1/4 sh. Yassi-dagan s. Iddinum [brother of seller]  
0,0.30 ŠE Kabutum s. Hassum

*witness:* Qišatum s. Aban [neighbor of Warad-Sin]  
+ 3 PN

*validation:* The elders broke bread  
???? [expect scribe's name]

[TRANSACTION 2 (i.56- [unclear end]).]

**E. i.56-ii.17.** Warad Sin purchases [x] acre(s) in the Ugār-Ilaba from [?] for which he pays (x) shekels as well performs a certain act. After a break, the text resumes with payment statement.

[... WARAD-SIN PAYS] THIS PRICE AND *našbam iṣṣibšu*.

*adjoining:* Sumu-lane in the ?  
*price:* [not given]  
*fee:* 0,1.0 SE *nēbiḥ* Nuhmina-Addu *kasadu*  
0,1.0 SE Išruhi-el  
1 sh. Išdušu [cf. PN Išdiya, etc.]  
1 sh. Zimri-Dagan  
[plus 9 other men, many of whom are related or appear in other sections of the text, each receiving 1,0.0 of grain]

*validation:* The men broke bread, drank beer  
[additions:] 0,1.0 ŠE Hammutar; 1 sh. Iddinum<sup>5)</sup>

**G. ii.18-ii.28.** Warad-Sin purchase land in the Akkadini, probably for exchange for field mentioned below in I.

WARAD-SIN BUYS A 1.1 ACRES FIELD IN THE AKKADINI FROM YASMAH-<?> S. ŠAMAŠ-BANI.

*adjoining:* Abi-šaduq [i.20, 38, ii.8]  
on a second side, Yasmah-Addu  
fronting on the walkway of the reservoir  
*price:* 22 sh. [value: 20<sup>1</sup> sh./acre]

<sup>3)</sup> Read *ina balittim ša' ālim* as in iv.5-6. The last can now be completed as follows: 1 GAN<sub>2</sub> A.ŠA, *ina balittim/ša ālīm u' US<sub>2</sub> SA.DU Hammurabi/ A.ŠA<sub>3</sub> Idin-Annu s. Iddi[nim]/u 1 GAN<sub>2</sub> A.ŠA<sub>3</sub> ina šur[im] ša e<sub>2</sub> balātim/ A.ŠA<sub>3</sub> lassi-el s. [Yatar-nar]/Warad-Sin [iddinšum]/ 0,0.1 oil Ha[ti-el s. Taban]/ etc...*

<sup>4)</sup> It is difficult to explain the switch to the first person here. But it is not without parallel in legal contracts.

<sup>5)</sup> Read as PN, probably *id-di-nim*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Read i.12 *ša' E<sub>2</sub> ba'-la-ti-im* as in i.25.

<sup>2)</sup> Added in iv.3-4: 1/2 sh. Mutu-Dagan s. Yassi-el/ *kasadu māhiš* GIŠ.GAG ḪA. See note 10, below.

*fee*: 1/2 sh. *nēbiḫ* Abi-maraš [ii.24, 35; sons:59, v.5]  
 1/2 sh., to 2 PN, [broken]  
 1/3 sh. Yasmah-Addu *kasadum*  
 1 shawl Banuki-El  
 1 shawl Erra-abi

**H. ii.29-47.** Warad-Sin purchases a field in the Akkadini which he gives [to whom?] in order to release a slave-woman.

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES A .85 ACRE FIELD IN THE AKKIDINI AREA FROM BANUKI-EL S. ILI-AŠRAYA.

*adjoining*: the field of Ahu-waqar  
 the palace  
 fronting on the walkway of the reservoir  
*price*: 15 sh. [value: 17.65 sh./acre]

THE FIELD IS GIVEN FOR THE RELEASE OF A FEMALE SLAVE (nawirtum<sup>6</sup>)

*fee*: 1/4 sh. Abi-maraš [cf. ii.24]  
*witness*: 10 PN, many of whom are mentioned in other capacity elsewhere

*validation*: The elders broke bread, drank beer and wine, and smeared each other with oil.

**I. ii.48-iii.3.** Warad-Sin purchases 1 acre in the *arbahtum* of the Ugār-Ilaba for a hefty sum.

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES 1 ACRE IN THE ARBAHTUM [SECTION OF THE UGĀR-ILABA<sup>7</sup>] FROM HABDU-HEL S. GA'IDIM.

*adjoining*: field of Qišatum s. Aba-AN  
 field of the palace

*price*: 22 sh. [value: 22 sh./acre]

*fee*: 1.5 sh. *nēbiḫ* Yasim-Addu  
 2/3 sh. 15 gr. Idin-Abba *kasadu*  
 1/2 sh. Qišatum s. Aba-An [N.B.]

1/2 sh. Larim-Nar s. Larapuki-el  
*witness*: 5 PN of men, some of whom mentioned above

*validation*: The elders broke bread, drank beer

*attestation*: 0,0.1 oil Durni-El, Scribe

**J. iii.4-11.** Warad-Sin purchases 1 acre in the Ugār-Ilaba. [Short version.]

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES A 1 ACRE FIELD IN THE UGAR-ILABA FROM (?)

*adjoining*: Ilak-halli's field  
 Tanuhma-el s. Ili-[]

*price*: 10 sh. [value: 10 sh./acre]

*fee*: 1 sh. *nēbiḫ* Ilalakam

**K. iii.12-33.** Warad-Sin purchases a half-acre field in the Ugār-Ilaba from a group!

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES A 1/2 ACRE FIELD IN THE UGĀR-ILABA FROM "THESE MEN" HAMMI-KEN S. BURQAN, ADA-AN S. HAŠBI, ZAKIRUM S. BINYAMINA<sup>8</sup>), YABIT-[X] S. YAHQUB-EL FOR [?]<sup>9</sup>).

*adjoining*: [x]ka-el  
*price*: 5 sh. [value: 10 sh./acre]

*fee*: 1/2 sh. *nēbiḫ* Ilalakam  
 0,0.10 sesame [read? "oil"?], [cf. i.15 ff.]  
 Mutu-Dagan (*kasadu*?)  
 [one more PN, broken]

*witness*: 8 PN, repeated elsewhere

*validation*: The elders broke bread, drank beer

*attestation*: 0,0.1 oil *nēbiḫ* [x]

**L. iii.34-44.** Warad-Sin buys an awfully small plot in the Ugār-Ilaba.

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES A .08 ACRE PLOT IN THE UGAR-ILABA FROM IBAŠŠI S. DADU[X]

*price*: 1 sh. [value: ca. 12 sh./acre]

*fee*: 0,0.1 oil Laka'i[x]

*witness*: 4 PN, two of whom appear in K, above

*validation*: The elders broke bread

**M. iii.45-53.** Warad-Sin buys an acre field in the Ugār-Ilaba. Fuller version in O (iv.10'-v.6), adds the name of 2 more "fee" takers and 4 witnesses.

WARAD-SIN BUYS A ONE ACRE FIELD IN THE UGĀR-ILABA, IN THE ARBAHTUM OF I[DIN-ANNU], FROM YAŠDUQI-EL S. YAŠUB-[x].

*price*: 10 sh. [value: 10 sh./acre]

*fee*: 1 sh. *nēbiḫ* Ilalakam  
 1 sh. Askur-Lim s. Hagalim, the *kasadum*, "sikkatum striker"

1/2 sh. Yakunum s. Ganibum [iv.17': 1/3<sup>1</sup> sh.]

**N. iii.54-iv.17.**— perhaps even into iv.9' — has versions of A, E, and perhaps also of one other section<sup>10</sup>.

**O. iv.10'-v.6.** is fuller version of M.

**P. v.7-20.** Warad-Sin buys a remarkably inexpensive piece of land in the Zuhpa'i section, from a group.

WARAD-SIN PURCHASES A 5 ACRE FIELD IN THE ZUHPA'I SECTION OF TOWN, FROM YAKUNUM, YAŠDUQA-EL, YAPAH-LIM, ASKUR-LIM, IHIL-PI-EL, ŠIDQU-IŠTAR, SUMU-LA'UMU, AND NUHMA-AN<sup>11</sup>)

*price*: 20 sh. [value: 4 sh./acre]

*fee*: 4 sh. *nēbiḫ* Yakunum<sup>12</sup>)

*witness*: 5 PN, some of whom mentioned earlier.

*validation*: The elders broke bread, drank beer

**Q. v.21-30+.** This is a summary account of land transacted, along the Habur (??), by Warad-Sin, as well as the "fees" imposed on him (?).

TOTAL: 2 *ebel* 4 *iku* of field of ??? [i.e. 16 *iku*]

10 sh. Išhi-erah s. Hili[x] [received?] from Warad-Sin for the *nēbiḫum*. Witnessed by Mutu-Dagan, Yawi-el s. Ya[x], Durni-El

2 (2) *ugār* 6 1/2 kur 20 qa barley: Išhi-erah [cf. vi.2'']

3 sh. PN [broken]

*nēbiḫ* [...]

**R. v.?-vi.4''.** Very fragmentary, this section seems to repeat some information found in Q.

**S. vi.5''-8''.** Date: 23.xii.9'.

<sup>6</sup>) Probably not a PN, but stands for *amtum nawirtum*, i.e. a slave. The price of trained slaves ranged from 15 to 20 sh., while that of the untrained around 8 sh.; cf. Durand, ARMT XXI, p. 193; Villard, XXIII, p. 499.

<sup>7</sup>) Cf. iii.45.  
<sup>8</sup>) Two matters here: 1. This may not be a PN, but that of tribe, hence translate, "Zakirum, a Benyaminite." 2. The writing makes it clear that calling this tribe "Yaminite, DUMU Yaminite," or the like, is a reticence that is no longer necessary; the name for the tribe is *Binyaminite*.

<sup>9</sup>) A PN?, cf. v.23. But how to understand?

<sup>10</sup>) See note 2, with reference to iv.4.

<sup>11</sup>) Note that a number of persons from this group are known previously, acting as *nēbiḫum*, *kasadum*, etc.

<sup>12</sup>) Note that the "fee" is remarkably high for the amount of silver involved in the transaction. Moreover, the *nēbiḫum*'s name seems the same as that of one of the sellers.

## Subject index for ARMT XXI, XXIII

1. This is an index of selected topics that are covered in ARMT XXI and XXIII. XXI collects and discusses related terms under specific topics, for which see below. XXIII does have an "index des termes commentés" on pp. 635-638, and this will need to be consulted for fuller access to that particular volume. If information in XXI is repeated and supplemented in XXIII, I generally give only the latter;

2. Indexing of topics in ARMT XXIII is always preceded by ||;

3. Page number gives only the *first* page wherein a discussion begins;

4. Notes within a page are not identified; readers will easily locate the particular one for which they are searching.

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The University of North Carolina, JACK M. SASSON  
June 1985

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ARCHIVES ROYALES DE MARI. XXIV. *Textes administratifs des salles "Y et Z" du palais de Mari*. Publiés par Philippe TALON. Paris, A.D.P.F.; Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985 (I. *Textes*. P. v + 297; II. *Planches* Pp. XIII + 144 planches.) Prix: 161 F. ISBN 2 86538 099 8.

Philippe Talon edits here 316 tablets recovered from phantom rooms labelled Y and Z. I say "phantom," because no one seems to know to which rooms Y and Z refer, since the labels were applied to specific rooms of the palace in the early days of Parrot's excavations. In a letter to Talon (see *avant-propos*). Dossin suggests rooms 51 (a courtyard, apparently) and 171 (a cul-de-sac), at the NW corner of the palace (See Margueron, *Palais mésopotamiens*, I, index, s.n.). Tablets had been found in these rooms (contra Talon), respectively X:103, 161 and X:105, 117, 134, but the proposal nevertheless seems unlikely. Dossin had apparently also suggested to Durand (cited, by Talon in the same pages) that these tablets came from 160 (edited in XXI). However, I agree with Talon that the years-spread of his documents parallels better the archives stored in rooms 5 and 110 (ARM IX, XII, and VII). In particular, there is a larger percentage of texts dating to the last of ZL's (ZL = Zimri-Lim) rather than the earlier years (see also below, sub. 261-262, for an additional piece of evidence). We should be able to get a better handle on this problem when the volume containing texts from ZL 7'-12' (announced in MARI 4, p. 9) is published.

Talon has provided his edition with a limited number of philological remarks, sometimes being (too) reticent to alert the reader to unusual features in individual texts. His commentary section is likewise brief, addressing issues dealing with wine, metals, and personnel activities. This is so probably because he had published articles on relevant topics in various journals (listed on. 211) as well as because the publication of XXI-XXIII, which occurred too late for Talon's profitable use, will in any case force major reassessment on many of these subjects. On the other hand, Talon has provided the reader with some very useful indexes on pp. 233-299 of vol I, as well as the first dozen pages of vol II. I cannot find, however, the tabulation of dated documents which Talon mentions on p. iv of volume I. This is a pity, and I hope that future volumes will feature a catalogue such as the one Kupper offers in XXII/2, pp. 544-553.

The volume holds some surprises: A new year formula for Shamshi-Adad (#165), broken as it is, refers to him as