

SOME COMMENTS ON ARCHIVE KEEPING AT MARI

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In approaching the problem of Archive keeping at Mari, it might be profitable to inspect, at the outset, the archaeological evidence. On doing so, one is immediately struck firstly by the heterogeneous arrangement of objects in storage and secondly by the apparent lack of a noticeable system in organizing the archives. A spot check of other second millennium palaces which produced appreciable quantities of texts reveals this observation to be generally applicable.¹ In almost every major segment of the Mari palace, a cluster of chambers, really store-rooms, contained a collection of tablets, varying in size. In addition, a text or two would be uncovered here and there at unexpected quarters. For this scattering, Hammurapi's victorious troops were often blamed. This accusation is contradicted, however, by the evidence, documented with archival tags, that after its initial victory, Babylon attempted to preserve Mari's archives under a modicum of order.²

In the south-east section of the palace, dubbed by Parrot as the "Eastern" and "Workshops and Store-rooms" Quarters, at least twelve chambers sheltered tablets, many of which dated to the days of Yahdun-Lim and his (son (?) and) successor Sūmū-Yamam. On the opposite end, tablets were found in four rooms and in one large chamber of the Administrative Quarters. More to the centre of the palace, and around the vast open courtyard no. 106, the largest proportion of tablets were stored. Rooms 115 to the east, 110 to the north-west, and 108 to the west came the

¹ (A) *Alishar*. See figure 1 (opposite p. 8) of I. J. Gelb's *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* (*OIP*, 27), 1935.

(B) *Shemshāra*. Provisionally, see J. Laessøe, *The Shemshāra Tablets*, Copenhagen, 1959, p. 27 (11).

(C) *Tell al Rimah*. D. Oates, *Iraq* 30 (1970), 4 ff.

(D) *Alalah*. C. L. Woolley, *Alalah*, London, 1955.

(1) Level VII. Rooms 11-13 (pp. 93-95; 102-103).

(2) Level IV. Room 7 (p. 119); 9-10 (p. 120); 16 (pp. 121-124).

(E) *Nuzu*. R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*, I. Cambridge (Mass.), 1939. Rooms N120 (p. 131); L14 (p. 143); L27 (p. 148); L6 (p. 152); L2 (p. 152); R46 (p. 164) (closest to being a palace archive); courtyard (p. 165); R76 (p. 174).

(F) *Boğazköy*. Conveniently, see H. Otten, "Bibliotheken im Alten Orient", *Das Altertum* I/2 (1955), 71-74; *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient*, 401-406.

(G) *Ras Shamra*. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica IV*, Paris, 1962, pp. 95-101; 113-121. It

should be noted, however, that the secretariat of Ugarit seems to have displayed more care in classifying its archives.

(H) *Knossos*. Cf. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge (England), 1956, pp. 114-117. Note the interesting remarks of L. R. Palmer, *Myceneans and Minoans*, London, 1961, pp. 182-207.

(I) *Pylos*. C. W. Blegen and M. Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, I, Princeton, 1966. Room 7, 8 (pp. 92-100); Magazine 23 (pp. 134-139); Room 38 (pp. 170-173); Room 99 (pp. 318-321).

(J) *Mycenae*. Cf. G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton, 1966.

(K) *Thebes*. *Kadmos* 9 (1970), 170-171.

Some first millennium sites have been surveyed by G. Goossens, *RA* 46 (1952), 98-107. Add now M. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, I, New York, 1966, Chapter XI; O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets*, I, London, 1957, p. iv (cf. also *An. St.* 2 (1952), 15).

² F. Thureau-Dangin, *Symbolae Koschaker*, Leiden, 1939, 119-120.

closest to being strictly archival in character. Even these, however, show evidence of additional function.³ Documents were also discovered in what appears to be the Royal Quarters (Room no. 40); the Scribal Schools ((?)Room no. 24); and the Visitors' Quarters (Room J, no. 165, and no. 160). Each one of these rooms differed in size, in the number of exits, and in its furnishings. Some were equipped with bathing and sanitary facilities, others with cooking fixtures. Some contained wall niches, others benches, and still others were shelved with wooden planks. The floors of a few chambers were paved; the remainder consisted of beaten earth. In many rooms, a large amount of fragmented pottery was mixed with text-containing debris. This may indicate that, just as in Shemshāra and Kültepe, among other sites, Mari's tablets were stored in jars.⁴ Epigraphical evidence, however, speaks only of baskets. From the above, it is clear that no special architectural design was ever reserved for rooms expected to shelter tablets.

This apparent unconcern for a predetermined order was accompanied by a curious resistance to classification. Room 110, north-west of the courtyard no. 106, affords a good example. In one heap were thrown the economic texts published as *ARM VII*, a few letters, contracts, administrative documents, and a respectable corpus of the female correspondence. Room no. 108, another example, contained over a thousand items consisting of letters, contracts, accounts, Hurrian texts, an incantation, a model of a monumental inscription of Zimri-Lim, and 32 liver models formerly published by Mlle. Rutten.⁵ In addition, it is noticeable that no separation was made among the texts stemming from the reign of Mari's two dynasties. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that to locate a tablet filed long ago, elaborate steps had to be taken. This procedure was further complicated by the startling fact that the palace functionaries seem rarely to have been drawn from the scribal classes. This, it would seem, confirms Landsberger's suggestion. In *City Invincible*, he had stated: "Except during the Ur III period, when the *dubsar* could climb to the highest administrative post, he was generally a secretary."⁶ Secretary, but in the basic meaning of the term, it should be emphasized.

Scribes were well known, of course, at Mari. H. B. Huffmon's *Amorite Personal Names* collects the names of over 30 such personnel.⁷ To this a few more citations can now be added, and specified that a substantial group of female scribes flourished in the palace.⁸ The existence, within the palace, of what appears to be a scribal school should be highlighted.⁹ A study of those scribes who bore names likely to be controllable, that is less subject to homonymy, reveals a peculiar, but perhaps not

³ A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari*, II/1, Paris, 1958. Room 108 "Toute la salle n'avait été qu'une gigantesque brasier, comme si, plus qu'ailleurs, elle avait fourni davantage de matière comestible". (p. 102) Room 115 also seems to have other functions beyond archive keeping; see p. 80. For materials found in Room 110, see p. 163.

⁴ Cf. J. Laessoe, *Shemshāra*, pp. 25-28; *CAD* §, 187 (s.v. *šiliānu*).

⁵ *MAM* II/1, pp. 162-163; 102; M. Rutten, *RA* 35 (1938), 36-70.

⁶ C. H. Kraeling and R. M. Adams, editors, Chicago, 1960, p. 99.

⁷ Baltimore, 1965, p. 278.

⁸ *ARM XIII*: 41: 8, 12; *SAL.DUB.SAR VII*: 206: 11; *TEM IV*: iv: 19-27.

⁹ *MAM* II/1, Chapter IX, pp. 187-192. Note *ARM VII*: 101, a text which declares that "In the month of Eburum, at the end of the 10th day, Masiḥa was registered as scribe" (*a-na ṭup-šar-ru-tim/[in-]na-di*). On the peculiarity of this tablet see J. Bottéro, *ARMT VII*, § 38, 20; § 54.

accidental, detail. The Mari of Šamši-Adad's time boasted of well-placed functionaries, such as Mašum, La'ūm, and Ursamanum, who had mastered the art of writing. During Zimri-Lim's tenure, it seems, bureaucrats rising from the scribal profession were few. Best known among these was Išhi-Addu, scribe, messenger, and *bārū*-diviner. Other less well-known personalities from Zimri-Lim's time were Masiḥum, Ḫālu-rapi, Apil-Sin, and Addu-rapi. This list does not include Ibāl-Addu, since he bore a name quite common at Mari.

A strong case can be made, as Oppenheim has done,¹⁰ to prove that Šunuḫraḫalu was literate. This powerful official seems to have acted as the king's private secretary. Correspondence to (and from (?)) the king passed his desk. To Huffmon's list in *APN*, p. 59, the following may be added: XIII: 47-52. *ARM X* is particularly instructive on Šunuḫraḫalu's position. X: 29 is an angry letter sent by a princess who styles herself, *vis-à-vis* Šunuḫraḫalu as "the lady, your mother". She is badly treated and would like to return to her father's home. Another correspondent was Inib-šarri, another princess married to Ibāl-Addu of Ašlakka (X: 74), who finds herself playing second fiddle to another one of his wives. In writing to Šunuḫraḫalu, she asked that he interfere on her behalf before the king to order the appropriate official action (X: 75). X: 78 finds her wishing Šunuḫraḫalu a secure position and a good reputation before the king. After having appointed an official to a high position in Zalluḫān, Inib-šarri writes again (X: 79) requesting Šunuḫraḫalu to inform Zimri-Lim of her action.¹¹

With these points in mind, one can turn to the epigraphical evidence to highlight the operation, somewhat extreme in its complexity, designed to retrieve a document, and for that matter, almost any other palace product, from a store-room.¹²

It is not always simple to distinguish between a store-house and an archive room. Indeed, as has been shown by W. F. Leemans,¹³ the O. B. É.DUB.BA need not have stored tablets only; and the strictures of K. R. Veenhof,¹⁴ who suggests that DUB may simply stand for a (wooden) board, should be noted. This is in connection with an unpublished text which speaks of [#]PISAN DUB-*pi* containing clothing.

To demonstrate the latter point, the letter published in *ARMT XIII*: 22 could be offered as an example. Compare the steps taken by Mukannišum to secure various objects from the store-room of NI[xx]-Ištar and those taken by the queen and Inib-šina in order to obtain archival material. Mukannišum writes to his lord (ll. 8-39): "My lord has also written for me to dispatch to him a high-backed chair, a silver tray (?), and silver bowls. On the tablet which my lord sent to me the silver bowls were mentioned. But Appuḫ-illassunu, the cup-bearer, came to me and said 'I have not been told about any silver bowls . . . golden bowl. . . They are sealed with his [the king's] seal'. And [someone(?) (the king(?))] added:

¹⁰ *AS* 16, 253-256.

¹¹ See also M. Birot, *Syria* 41 (1962), 26.

¹² For the various nouns at Mari designating a store-room, see M. Birot, *ARMT IX*, pp. 326-327 (125). To É *nakkantim*, add XII: 613: 3'. To *abūsum* add XIII: 40: 35 (note spelling of *a-bu-usi-im*). New entries include *ašahḫu* XIII: 52: 5;

É *karēn* XIII: 40: 32; *RA* 64 (1970), 28: 13: 6 (Dossin, however, reads É [na-]ab-ri-im); É *ḫurši*, C-F. Jean, *ArOr* 17 (1949), pl. 6: 4. Note also É *našrim*, III: 17: 12.

¹³ *RA* 48 (1954), 64.

¹⁴ *BiOr* 27 (1970), 32.

‘The baskets containing the bowls are in the store-house of NI[xx]-Ištar. Have Mukannisum open (it) and remove a basket containing bowls and *uridu*-bowls. I examined this store-house. Have ‘ma/ba/ku[. . .] take out a basket of *uridu*-bowls, and have her seal this store-house (afterwards).’ I have now entrusted Napsuna-Addu, Appuḥ-illassunu, and the barber Aḥum with [x silver bowls], *uridu*-bowls, a silver tray, and a high-backed chair.’

The operation is well borne out by *ARM* X: 12; 82; and XIII: 14.

ARM X: 12—

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p><i>a-na be-lí-ia</i>
 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>
 <i>um-ma</i> ¹<i>ši-IB-tu</i> GEMÉ-ka-ma
 É.GAL <i>ša-lim be-lí ki-a-am</i>
 (5) <i>iš-ḫu-ra-am um-ma-mi a-nu-um-ma</i>
 ¹<i>ia-as-[s]ú-ur-^dIM</i>
 <i>aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-ak-ki-im</i>
 LÚ ^{meš} <i>eb-bi [it]-li-šu ṭú-ur-di-ma</i>
 <i>a-šar ṭup-ḫa-lim ú-ka-al-la-mu-šu-nu-ti</i></p> <p>(10) <i>li-il-qú-nim-ma ṭup-ḫa-tum ši-na</i>
 <i>a-di ka-ša-di-ia ma-aḫ-ri-ki</i>
 <i>li-iš-ša-ak-na</i>
 <i>i-na-an-na ki-ma ša be-lí iš-ḫu-ra-am</i>
 [<i>it</i>-] <i>ti</i> LÚ <i>ša-a-ti</i></p> <p>(15) ¹<i>mu-ka-an-ni-ša-am</i>
 ¹<i>šu-ub-na-lu-u</i>
 ù ¹UD-ḫi-ri-iš-ḫI.BAD
 <i>aṭ-ru-ud-ma</i></p> <p>rev. <i>i-na ne-ḫa-ri-im</i></p> <p>(20) <i>ša NIG.ŠU e-tel-pi₄-LUGAL</i>
 ¹<i>ia-as-sú-ur-^dIM</i>
 I É-tam LÚ <i>eb-bi ša it-ti-šu</i>
 <i>aṭ-ru-du ú-ka-al-li-im-ma</i>
 <i>ba-[a]b É-tim ša ú-ka-al-li-mu</i></p> <p>(25) <i>ša ku-nu-uk ig-mi-li-im</i>
 <i>ša É te-er-tim ka-an-ku</i>
 <i>ip-tu-ú-ma</i> 2 ¹PISAN <i>ṭup-ḫa-lim</i>
 ¹PISAN <i>šu-nu i-na ku-nu-uk e-tel-pi₄-</i>
 LUGAL
 <i>ka-an-ku il-qú-^{nu}-nim-ma</i></p> <p>(30) <i>qa-du-um ku-nu-uk-ki-šu-nu</i>
 [¹PI]SAN <i>šu-nu a-di ka-ša-ad be-lí-ia</i>
 [<i>m</i>] <i>a-aḫ-ri-ia ša-ak-nu</i>
 ù <i>ba-ab É-tim</i>
 <i>ša ip-tu-ú² i-n[a k]u-nu-uk-ki-ia</i></p> <p>(35) <i>ak-nu-uk</i></p> | <p>Tell
 my lord
 thus (speaks) Šib/ptu, your handmaid.
 The palace is fine. My lord had
 written as follows: “ I have
 just now sent to you
 Yassur-Addu ;
 send along with him <i>ebbū</i>-officials, and
 from where he will show them the tablets’
 location,
 have them take (them) for me and
 have these tablets placed
 before you until my arrival to you.”
 Now, in accordance to what my lord
 wrote, with this man
 I sent
 Mukannišum,
 Šubnalû
 and UD-ḫi-ri-iš-ḫI.BAD.
 Yassur-Addu
 showed the <i>ebbū</i>-officials, whom
 I have sent along with him, one
 (store)-house in the
 workshop that was under Etel-pi-šarrim’s
 supervision. They opened the door
 of the (store)-house to which he pointed,
 (a door) which was sealed by
 Igmilum of the “ secretariat ”,
 (and) took out two baskets, together with
 their sealings ;
 these baskets having been
 sealed by Etel-pi-šarrim.
 These baskets are placed before
 me until the arrival of my lord,
 and the door which they
 opened, I sealed with my
 (own) seal.</p> |
|---|--|

Commentary

(1. 3) Because of etymological problems, it might be best to write *ši-IB-tu*. Her seal (cf. ll. 24–25) probably read as follows (X: 119: 2'): *ši-IB-tu/DUMU.SAL ia-ri-im-li-im/aš-ša-at zi-im-ri-li-im*. Cf., already, G. Dossin, in *MAM* II/3, p. 254, and *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists*, Cambridge, England, 1954, pp. 142–143. A true 'ešet hayil, as the correspondence of *ARM* X shows, the queen seems to have been involved in almost every aspect of palace life.

(1. 6) Obviously a servant-messenger of the king. He is known also from the fragment of a related letter X: 13. After the usual formula, Šip/btu writes to Zimri-Lim: “⁵/i-nu-ma ia-as-sū-ur-^{1M}/[i-na] É te-er-tim ša e-tel-pi₄-LUGAL/(rest broken).”

(1. 8) *ARM* X: 12 is of interest in that it actually gives the name of persons who, in the opinion of the queen, constituted such *ebbū*-officials. Mukannišum and Šubnalū are well-known functionaries (see below). For this reason the *CAD* (E, 4 (a, 2')) comes closest to offering a viable rendering, in that it allows the term to retain some “flexibility”. *Contra*, F. R. Kraus, *AbB* IV, 5, n. 6a. Further on the term in Mari, see A. Finet, *RA* 60 (1966), 21–22, and especially M. Birot, *ARMT* IX, 317¹: “Le terme (*avil*)*ebbu* a pu servir à désigner des personnes de condition ou de fonction tout à fait différentes.”

(1. 15) We know nothing of Ḫabdu-Baḫlati, Mukannišum's father (H. B. Huffmon, *APN*, p. 31). In *RA* 49 (1955), 16: I: 50, the same name is possessed by a member of the Yakalitu-clan of the Ḫanean tribe. (Cf. (?) IX: 248: rev: 16': [LÚ ia-]ka-li-ti-i). There is no way to identify the two at this point.

As was the case of most officials at Mari, Mukannišum's dossier reveals him to have been a *factotum*, an all-purpose palace bureaucrat who received his orders directly from Yasim-Sūmū, a well-known *šandabakku* (see M. Birot, *Syria* 41 (1964), 26–65). Mukannišum headed a specific segment of the palace (XI: 32: 5; XII: 159: 4; 263: 2). (On É PN, see *ARMT* XI, p. 130, n. 1.) Perhaps earlier in his career, he belonged to the Terqa-secretariat (VII: 283: 1'). In connection with the former position, he supervised a workshop (XIII: 53: 1) where weapons (XIII: 15), metallic instruments (XIII: 54), but more often ritual artefacts were manufactured from precious materials (VIII: 91: 6'; IX: 176: 8; 189: 6; X: 61: 1; XIII: 2: 15–25; 4; 5; 9; 16; 19; 20; 55). Some of the artefacts consisted of miniature chariots probably intended as offerings (VII: 16: rev. 2'; 270: 13'; VIII: 89: 18; IX: 28; 127: 7). In conjunction with this work, it is not surprising to find Mukannišum not only stocking silver and gold (X: 18: 11'; XIII: 6), but also purchasing copper (VII: 135: 5; 132: 5(?)), dispatching lead (XIII: 3; 17: 31–35), and shipping weapons (XIII: 56). Wood working, or some segment of the palace's total involvement in carpentry, required his attention (XIII: 7; 11: 11–28; 17: 1–16; 21: 1–10; 24: 1–7). Perhaps in the line of this duty, Mukannišum writes to Terqa, familiar to him, requesting log shipments (XIII: 138). Should a building, here and there, require attention, he could be called upon to effect the necessary repairs (XIII: 17: 24–29).

Another element of his responsibility consisted of personnel entered into the royal cloth industry. An incoming prisoner of war might be set free upon payment of eight shekels of silver (*Mélanges Dussaud*, II, 993), but most of the others, especially the females, would be entered into workshops under the supervision of, among

others, Mukannišum (XIII: 1: xiv: 65; 21: 1'-16'; 137(?)). It seems that some of the prettier ones would be selected and sent to *šitru*-singing (?) schools (X: 126: 25; or is it the making of "fine veils"?). Mukannišum might, in this case, be asked to send a few of such entertainers to amuse the king (XIII: 22: 40-50). But most of these prisoners wove (XIII: 10; 11: 1-11). According to VI: 39 (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, Chicago, 1967, no. 50), Mukannišum was expected to produce enough textile material to clothe 100-300 palace workers.

Typically, the store-house of Mukannišum contained a variety of foodstuff: oil (XIII: 57); grains (IX: 221: ii: 12'; XIII: 36; 44); *burru*-cereal (XI: 32: 5; XII: 159: 4; 263: 2); and sesame (VII: 262: 6). Other goods could have been found there. For this reason, the king would now and then ask this trusted official to dispatch a large selection of products (II: 139: 14; XIII: 2: 1-15; 8; 12; 16: 26-29; 18: 20-23; 22: 8-39). Finally, Mukannišum could be called upon to witness documents official in nature (VIII: 62: 11'), re(?)distribute palace personnel (VII: 120: 27'), send reports of diviner's omens (II: 139: 5-13), and prophets' encouragements (XIII: 23).

In all this, it must be admitted, it is impossible to decide whether Mukannišum's various occupations were held at one time—a view favoured here—or resulted from constant reassignments in the palaces of Terqa and Mari. The datable texts of his dossier are few and spread out over eight date-formulae. The following is given, without much hope of reaching profitable conclusions. The Date-formulae follow the numeration of G. Dossin, *Studia Mariana*, pp. 54-59.

"Census taking" (no. 26)	VII: 132 (metal work); 283 (<i>é tertim ša Terqa</i>); IX: 127 (votive chariot).
"Statue of Ḫatta" (no. 21)	VII: 120 (personnel assignment).
"Benjaminites" (no. 6)	XI: 32 (food storage).
"Throne of Šamaš" (no. 16)	XII: 263; 159 (food storage).
"Dur Yaḫdun-Lim" (no. 28)	VII: 161 (votive chariot); IX: 176; 189 (metal work).
"Euphrates" (no. 29)	VIII: 62 (witnessing document).
"Elam Expedition" (no. 13)	IX: 28 (votive chariot).
"Babylon Expedition" (no. 11)	VIII: 89; 91 (metal work).

(l. 16) Šubnalû was one of a group of officials whose service to Mari spanned the Assyrian domination and the Lim-dynasty restoration. He belongs, then, to a group of bureaucrats whose services were highly regarded, demonstrating a continuity of administration despite the most vicious hostilities.

Even as early as Yasmaḫ-Adad's reign, Šubnalû was in charge of a store-house. VII: 74: 4 reveals him to have dispensed ointments to female weavers. His depot, however, must have contained other products. X: 172: 1 is a letter to Akatiya in which Šubnalû, upon the order of his "Lady", dispatches a variety of wooden products. This letter is datable to the Assyrian period. Akatiya, not to be confused with the homonymous names appearing in *RA* 50 (1956), 68: iii: 8 and VII: 217: 3' (a male!), seems to have been a/the wife of Yasmaḫ-Adad from whom she receives a letter (X: 178) concerning the aggressive posturing of Šamši-Adad's old enemy Larim-Numa'a (cf. V: 21: 6, 11; 72: 9). Another missive from the official Yakûn-Dagan (cf. VIII: 34: 15, envel. [14], Assyrian

period) informs her of the king's singer and of a battering ram placed at the rampart of the city. There is no way to know, as yet, whether Akatiya was the daughter of Išhi-Addu, king of Qatna (cf. I : 77 : 24 ; G. Dossin, *BARB* 40 (1954), 421-422).

To return to Šubnalû, all other references to his various activities proceed from Zimri-Lim's time. Šubnalû stored mostly edibles (zíz.zu.um-cereal : IX : 237 : iii : 4' ; XII : 164 : rev. 8' (and cf. XII : p. 6)) ; peas (XII : 608 : 4), and chick-peas (XII : 556 : 5 ; 712 : 11). X : 160 is a letter datable to Zimri-Lim's time largely because it mentions Šidqi-Epuḥ. In it, Šubnalû writes his "Lady" to intercede on behalf of a farmer whose girl had been detained pending the return of a load of *amannu*-plants lost (?) by this man.

(l. 17) The normalization of the name is not without difficulties. G. Dossin, *ARM X*, "description des tablettes", no. 106, renders Tamḥiriš-Ḥēbat.

(A) Although initial UD = *tam* is attested at Mari (e.g. V : 59 : 4 ; X : 82 : 22) it might be better to leave the first element UD-*hi-ri-iš*.

(B) The Hurrian goddess Ḥēpat is attested at Mari. X : 92 : 22-23 contains the following : *ma-ḥa-ar* ^{IM} / *ù* ^{ahé} *ba-at lu-uk-ru-ba-kum*. It is not certain whether the deity Ḥubat, also known at Mari (see *ARMT IX*, p. 350 (§ 150, 4°), is to be identified with Ḥēpat. Similarly ḤI.BAD of our PN may not be referring to the Hurrian goddess. But it must be observed that Alalaḥ VII, slightly later in time, does preserve names with ḤI.BAD as the theophoric element (e.g. AT 52 : 4 ; 178 : 8, 14, 19). For O.B. attestations, see J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 9 (1955), 5, n. 46 ; J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32 (1961), 68, n. 212.

Difficulties in reading aside, this official writes in X : 106, to the important Dāriš-Libūr communicating the sad message of a death in the king's family(?) : "Heaven forbid that the king will hear of the death of the little girl upon entering Mari. He will begin to be distraught."

(l. 19) On *nepārum*, see *AHw*, 804 (s.v. *nupārum*) ; M. Birot, *Syria* 41 (1964), 29-31 ; J. M. Sasson, *Studia Pohl*, no. 3, pp. 53-54. The two seemingly unrelated and disparate meanings, "prison" and "workshop", share the semantic ranges of "detention". This is one more instance which suggests that most chambers in the Mari palace found wide and versatile use as storehouse, prison, workshop, and living area. For other examples, outside Mari, cf. *CAD* and *AHw* s.v. *é nakkamtim*, "store-house/treasury", and add *JCS* 23 (1970), 33 : 12 for the meaning "workshop", *é maššarti* ; and add *JAOS* 83 (1963), 426 : 97-98, (É) *asiri* ; and add the conclusions of W. F. Leemans, *RA* 55 (1961), 68-71.

(l. 20) Etel-pi-šarrim was another official whose orders came from Yasim-Sūmū. In a letter addressed to Mukannišum, Yaḥatti-El, and Etel-pi-šarrim, the latter requests continuous information concerning the palace and the workshop (XIII : 53). It is as head of one such workshop that Etel-pi-šarrim becomes known. In VII : 263 : ii : 4-7 one reads "seven *ugar* of barley . . . ration for the artisans (*DUMU* ^{meš} *ummēni*) who are with (i.e. under the order of) Etel-pi-šarrim and Nanna-Manse" [on the last, see VII : 177 : 2' (?) ; VIII : 87 : 4' ; XII : 403 : 4 ; 411 : 5 (ŠEŠ.KI-*ma-an-šu* (*sic*))]. That these artisans' work was appreciated can be gathered from IX : 34 which records that "three jars of honey, taken out from the old store-room, were registered as ration for the workshops. Received by Šidqi-Epuḥ ; supervised by Etel-pi-šarrim". XIII : 40 : 41 indicates that important repairs

and restorations to some sections of the palace forced the relocation of Etel-pi-šarrim's workshop (i.e. its personnel (?)) into the "secretariat" near Nergal's gate (see below, l. 26). From XIII : 1 : xiv : 60 we learn that some "houses" (i.e. store-rooms) could be found near that gate. This relocation may find confirmation in the fragmentary X : 13, for which see l. 6 above.

(l. 25) Yet another bureaucrat, Igmilum, is not too well known. In addition to XIII : 120 : 5, which depicts him in charge of grain storage, he appears only in the texts discussed in the paper (X : 12 : 25 ; 82 : 10 ; and XIII : 14 : 13).

(l. 26) For *tértum*, a *taprist* form of (*w*)*árum*, see GAG § 56e.

The basic meaning seems to be an "order", a "command". Hence *é tértim* could be rendered: "bureau, secretariat", with the proviso that within Mari's palace many such bureaus existed. In addition the meaning "position, job" is often met at Mari. In this last sense, the following are the occurrences of *tértum*, and related terms, in the Mari archives.

(A) *tértum* : ARMT XV, p. 273 ; G. Dossin, RA 64 (1970), 41, fragment of the still to be published A.12 (= ARMT XIV : 73) : 24-26 : *šum-ma KÙ.BABBAR ta-aš-na-am i-din-^asin NI.LÁ.E/ù KÙ.BABBAR é ^ax-il-tim ša iḫ-li-^{qú} ú-ma-al-la a-na te-er-ti-šu li-t[u-]ur*. "If Idin-Sin [cf. X : 90 : 5, which speaks of the same incident ; IX : 252 : 12 ; 256 : 14], pays double the amount of silver and (thus) returns all the silver of the . . . temple which disappeared, have him go back to his position."

(B) *é tértim* (cf. *bi-il te-er-ti-im* in II : 76 : 31) ; ARMT XV, p. 273.

VII : 283 : 2'-3' : Mukannišum *ša i-[na é] te-er-tim/ša ter-qa(ki)*.

IX : 127 : 7-9 : gold for a (model of a) chariot : SI.LÁ *mu-ka-an-ni-ši-im/ša i-na é te-er-ti[m]/ša KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{K1}*.

IX : 89 : 2 : gold leaf weighed *i-na NA₄^{h1.a} ša é te-er-tim*.

IX : 234 : iii : 6'-8' : grain *nam-ḫa-ar-ti[]/it-ti ^asin-i-[]/i-na é te-er-tim*.

X : 12 : 26 ; 13 : 6—see above. In 13 : 6 it is to be noted that *i-na é te-er-tim ša e-tel-pi₄-LUGAL* seems to be equal to *i-na ne-pa-ri-im ša NIĜ.ŠU e-tel-pi₄-LUGAL*. Since the two letters are obviously related, this poses the question whether the "secretariat of PN" was a term not to be distinguished from "store-house" of PN. But see l. 20 above.

XIII : 1 : xii : 20 *pa-ar-tum/a-ḫa-tum/a-ḫa-tum MÍN/3 SAL ša é te-[er-t]im*.

Were these girls employees of a "secretariat" ? The last two bore names that were too common in Mari to allow for prosopography. Partum's, on the other hand, was held by a respected personality (VII : 91 : 5), a weaver (XIII : 1 : x : 24), and the wife of a fuller (IX : 291 : iii : 25'. Cf. VII : 181 : rev. 9' ; XIII : 1 : xiv : 51). It is possible that all three names Partum referred to the same person.

XIII : 40 : 41-43 : *ne-pa-ra-am ša e-tel-pi₄-LUGAL/a-na é te-er-tim ša KÁ ^aNÈ.IRI₁₁.GAL/[ú-]šá-ḫi-ir*. "(Because of repair activities), I have transferred the workshop of Etel-pi-šarrim to the 'secretariat of the Nergal Gate'." See above l. 20.

A. Finet, AIPHOS 14 (1954-7) : 135 : 14-7. *ša-am-ma-am ša ḫi-mi-t[ḫ]/še-e-tim ša LÚ a-si-im/ša é(it) te-er-tim/be-lí il-tu-uk-su*. "My lord has tried out the herb of *š*-inflammation (given) by the official physician (and I have

tried out the herb for ς -inflammation (given) by the physician of GN, and it is effective.” (Translation *CAD* s, 153 (2, a).

- (C) *bēl tērtim* “bureaucrat”. I : 61 : 27–33 translates as follows: “Who will care for your house since the death of Ušur-awassu [cf. VIII : 1 : 32(?)]. If a bureaucrat does not give orders for a few days, would the position not be neglected? Why did you not appoint, on that very same day, someone to that position?” (cf. *CAD* A/2, 321 ; I/J, 162 (2’).

X : 140 : 20–25 : *i-nu-ma ia-ás-ma-aḥ-^dIM i-na ma-ri^{ki}/ú-su-ú É.GAL-lum im-ma-ši-iḥ/ù iš-tu ša a-na ḥa-ar-ra-na-tim/at-ta-al-la-ku ša-al-la-tam ma-li/ša qa-ti-⟨⟨ia⟩⟩ ik-šu-du/a-na qá-ti be-el te-re-tim [ú-ma-]al-li. “When Yasmaḥ-Adad left Mari, the palace was plundered. It is only since I [Zimri-Lim] have been going on campaigns that I have been filling the hand of the bureaucrats with as much booty as reaches my hands.” [This text, incidentally is interesting in that : (1) it shows that Yasmaḥ-Adad escaped (?) Mari with his life (and cf., already, *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, 981, n. 1) ; (2) it might explain the two burnt layers of the palace as having resulted from Yasmaḥ-Adad’s expulsion and Ḥammurapi’s victory over Zimri-Lim. On the problem see W. Röllig in XV^e *RAI*, Liège, 1967, 97–102].*

X : 150 : 17 : broken context.

XIII : 35 : 22–25 : I šu-ši še ugar . . . /a-na i-din-ia-tum ú-lu-ma-a/a-na be-el te-re-tim li-in-na-di-in-ma . . . “Let 60 ugar of barley be given either to Idinyatum or (another) bureaucrat.”

In order to clarify the content of this letter, it might be helpful to view the steps involved in the reverse order. Let us suppose that *ARMT* XIII : 1, a large register of weavers and their supervisors, had some time ago been drawn up. This tablet had been placed, among other documents, perhaps, in a basket which had been sealed by Etel-pi-šarrim. In the presence of Yassar-Addu, the basket had been entered into one of the store-houses, in the workshop area under the former’s supervision. Igmilum, yet a third official, had been dispatched by the *bīl tērtim*, the “secretariat”, to seal this room.

Now the king decides to refresh his memory of this tablet’s content. He writes the queen, who appoints three trustworthy officials to accompany Yassar-Addu, an attaché of the king, who had some knowledge of the tablet’s whereabouts. Led by Yassar-Addu, these trustworthy officers break Igmilum’s seal, open the door of the store-house, remove the baskets, and proceed with them, untouched, to the queen. Upon receipt of the baskets, the queen, either on her own or through a proxy, reseals the chamber. From the time the tablet was inscribed until the moment the king re-read it, at least eight officials were involved, from all levels of the administration. This is so, it is here suggested, as much to insure proper security as to compensate for the illiteracy of officials and the almost haphazard storage of inscribed tablets.

Details are added by the two other missives. *ARM* X : 82 reads as follows :

[a-na] ka-ak-ka-bi-ia qí-bi-ma
um-ma †[i]-ni-ib-ši-na-ma
ki-ma ša na-aš-ḫa-ar-ti

Tell my Star
thus (speaks) Inib-šina
In accordance to the letter

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- (5) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am*
 É *tup-pa-tim ša i-na ku-nu-[u]k-ki-ka*
ka-an-ku ep-te-ma
¹*mu-ka-an-ni-šum*
ù t̃a-ba-at-šar'-ru-sú
i-zi-zu-ma
- (10) ¹*ig-mi-lum* ^{g¹PISAN}^{hi.a}
a-na mu-du-ti-šu-nu
[ú-ka-]al-li-ím-šu-nu-li-ma
- rev. [^{g¹PISAN}]^{hi.a}
¹*[š]a na-ap-ḥa-ra-at*
- (15) *te-bi-ib-tim*
i-na qa-ta' ra-ma-ni-šu-nu
ú-še-šú-nim-ma
ku-nu-uk-ki ša bu-lu-t/tim-ma
a-na še-ri-ka
- (20) *ú-ša-bi-lam a-nu-um-ma*
 I ^{g¹Š} GU.ZA I ^{g¹Š} GÌR.GUB
tam-li ^{na₄}GÌŠ.ŠIR(NU_x).GAL
ú-ša-bi-lam
- which you sent,
 I opened the archive room which
 had been sealed by you (while)
 Mukannišum and
 Ṭabat-šarrussu
 were standing by.
 Igmilum pointed out the
 baskets to those who were
 acquainted with them.
 They took out,
 with their own hands,
 the baskets (concerned)
 with the totality of
 the census.
 I have sent to you the
 seals of . . .
- . Now I
 have (also) sent you a
 chair and a footstool
 studded in alabaster.

Commentary

(1. 1) This term of endearment, mixed with reverence no doubt, is common in the feminine correspondence, and is often employed by princesses. Note *kabkabum* in X : 95 : 1, 8' [7'–8' reads : x ^{na₄}KIŠIB ZA.GÌN *ša šu-mi-ia/ be-li kab-ka-bu-um li-ša-bi-lam*. “Let my lord the Star, bring me [x] cylinder-seal of lapis lazuli (inscribed) with my name.”] For PN with this element, see H. B. Huffmon, *APN*, 220, and XIII : 1 : ii : 9. Note also the epithet, “my Sun”, in X : 39 : 1.

(1. 2) It is apparent that Inib-šina and Inib-šunu were variations of the same name. But the former was certainly not a “hybrid” name half-Akkadian, half-Hurrian as M. Birot, *RA* 50 (1956), 64, n. 5, asserts. On this type of name, see J. J. Stamm, *Akkad. Namengebung*, 243–246. This equation finds confirmation in comparing X : 82 : 3 to XIII : 14 : 20 and, perhaps, VII : 139 : 1–2 to VII : 206 : 4'–5'. See further, J. Bottéro, *ARMT* VII, p. 240 (§ 54 bis).

To complicate further matters, Mari's archives speak to at least two different well-born ladies who bore the same name. One, possibly a daughter of Zimri-Lim, was apparently married to Baḥdi-Lim, the well-known official (J-R. Kupper, *BARB* 40 (1954), 587, n. 5). It is not surprising, therefore, to find her involved in matters pertaining to the palace, as in VII : 220 : 1, where she is allotted clothing, possibly to be distributed to people under her orders. At other occasions, she is recorded as receiving a shekel of silver (VII : 139 : 1), and a choice cut of meat (VII : 206 : 8'. [*AHw*, 594a, “tongue”]). *RA* 50 (1956), 68 : 1 : 20 finds here listed among the female members of the palace. In addition to X : 82 and XIII : 14, discussed in this paper, Inib-šina writes X : 80, a text discussed by Moran, among other scholars, in *Biblica* 50 (1969), 52–54. The reference in VII : 190 : 3 is almost certainly to be assigned to her.

The other Inib-šina was a sister of Zimri-Lim. XI: 191 preserves her seal impression, confirmed by Dossin from unpublished material (cf. *ARMT* XI, pp. 126–127 (§ 7): [*i-ni-*]ib[*-ši-na*]/DUMU.SAL *ia-aḫ-du-[li-im]*/GEMÉ ša ^d[IM]. Highly positioned, this Inib-šina heads the list of females in the palace, preceded only by the goddesses Ištar and Bēlet-Ekallim. *RA* 50 (1956), 68: 1: 4–5: 1½ SILA₃ *i-ni-ib-ši-na*/NIN.DINGIR ša ^dIM; [DUMU.SAL^{meš} LUGAL, which occurs in l. 17, refers to the daughters of Zimri-Lim whose names are registered below Inib-šina's]. Our priestess finds preferential treatment also in VII: 206: 4', where she is allowed a double (?) portion of choice meat. While XI: 191 reveals her to dispense ghee, *ḫimetum*, destined to anoint a daughter of a king, VIII: 56: 5 refers to her, almost certainly, as lending grain (from the property of Adad?).

(l. 8) Apart from X: 82: 8 and 14: 19, this official is known from XIII: 40: 32. The last letter contains his remarks to his superior, Yašim-Sūmū concerning rebuilding some section of the palace.

(l. 15) For this usage of *AHw*, 737, B5 (s.v. *napharu(m)* "Summierungen"). Cf. VI: 40: 5–12 'Yasarti-El from Ḫišamti, his sheikh recruited him as a soldier. But Yašim-Sūmū seized him saying: "It is inscribed in the tablets of the palace that he is a palace slave." Also of interest is VI: 77, a letter Baḫdi-Lim sent to his king 'Concerning the activity of the *wedū*, about whom my lord wrote me, since my departure was near, I said ["] I will take along [tablets . . .] of soldiers/workers . . .". And now I have inscribed and sent a tablet [] of soldiers/workers individually, per person and name []. I have inscribed also the tablet concerning the heads (?) of the totality of the crew. But to whom should I send it?' Finally note the interesting ^{g1}PISAN *qa-tim ša* LUGAL *ep-te-e-ma* of X: 61: 4–5. For this usage see J. G. Lautner, *Altbab. Personenmiete*, 1936, p. 197, n. 573.

It is fortunate that one of those "who were acquainted with the basket" chose to write a letter, *ARMT* XIII: 14, to his lord.

"Tell my lord: thus (speaks) Mukannišum, your servant. My lord had written concerning the tablets, sealed by Sammetar, dealing with the (field)-soldiers who belonged to the *wedū* and the body-guards (GÍR.SIG₅.GA^{meš}) of the district. In accordance with my lord's message, Inib-šunu opened the storeroom (É *kunukki*), and the tablets concerned with the census. . . . When . . . Igmilum . . . showed to us the baskets (containing) the tablets which were concerned with the district(s) which had been sealed by Sammetar, Ṭabat-šarrussu and myself took them out with our own hands. According to what my lord wrote (to me), I did not unseal any basket. I have (only) taken out two baskets and sent them to my lord. Now, I have (also) sent good quality *ḫawa*-type cloth, one (pair) of shoes of good quality, one flask of cypress-oil, one flask of 'bowl'-oil, and one flask of Mari-type oil."

Commentary

Sammetar: There seems to be no dearth of material concerning the PN. To Huffman's list in *APN*, 56, add X: 75: 18; 100: 17; 155: 25; XII: 601: 6; XIII: 1: xiv: 61; 14: 8, 17; *MAM* II/1, p. 15, n. 3.

As A. Finet, *ARMT* XV, 154, and M. Birot, *ARMT* IX, 329–330 (§ 126, 15°) have indicated, homonymy complicates the disentangling of Sammetar's fortunes. It may be that, early in his career, Sammetar was just another palace official (XIII: 1: xiv: 61). Rising in the ranks, he was appointed as administrator of the large province of Suḫu, thus supervising the work of Terqa's governor, Kibri-Dagan (III: 67: 82; VII: 283: 4'). It is likely that the following references deal with the material activities of this personage: XIII: 14: 8, 17; *Syria* 19 (1930), 121–122; *RA* 35 (1938), 181. Sammetar would also dispatch to Mari a variety of material stored under his supervision: sheep (VII: 225: [5]; 226: [5]); clothing (VII: 284: 16; IX: 102: 19); wine (IX: 186: 2; 187: 2); honey (IX: 241: 3, 15); grain (II: 138; XII: 601: 6); and gold and silver products (VII: 166: 2; 219: 20; 217: 10(?)).

Other references to a Sammetar speak either of a scribe-official in the palace of Yasmaḥ-Adad (VIII: 5: 22; 8: 35; V: 87: [19]), of a tribal leader (I: 8: 18, 38), or of a kinglet of the upper region during Zimri-Lim's time (*Syria* 20 (1939), 109; VII: 199: 19'; IX: 298: 2; *MAM* II/1, p. 15, n. 3). It might be, however, that some of these careers are to be combined into those of only two personalities.

Among the features common to *ARM* X: 82 and *ARMT* XIII: 14, leading me to suppose close connection between the two, are the following:

- (a) The same protagonists: Mukannišum, Igmilum, and Ṭabat-šarrussu.
- (b) The same number of document-containing baskets were requested by the king.
- (c) The usage of *ina qātā ramānim* plus pronominal suffix is peculiar in Mari to these two letters.

Should these features be considered acceptable enough to relate these letters, then some interesting equations can be made.

- (a) Inib-šina is a name born by the same person also known as Inib-šunu.
- (b) The *bīt ṭuppātim* opened by Inib-šina in X: 82: 5 is called *bīt kunukki* in XIII: 14: 11, demonstrating the interchangeability, at Mari at least, of the various names for store-houses.
- (c) [^gPISAN]^{hi.a} *ša napharāt tēbibtim* of X: 82: 13–15 parallels ^gPISAN^{hi.a} *ša ṭ[upp]āt[im]* [*ša h*] *alšim* of XIII: 14: 15–17. The latter is detailed in XIII: 14: 4–6 as *ṭuppāt be'rim ša¹⁰ wedētīm à girsiqqé ša ḫalšim*. Without wishing to stretch this evidence, it might appear that, to a Mari administrator, the term *tēbibtum* denoted the specific secular act of census-taking. If so, this would confirm Speiser's view on the subject rather than Kupper's. The latter advocated a religious connotation as primary in meaning.¹⁵

Acknowledgements

With much profit, one can consult the article of G. Goossens, "Introduction à l'archivéconomie de l'Asie Antérieure", *RA* 46 (1952), 98–107. For a bibliography of archive-keeping, see *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 721. Particularly useful were the following studies:

¹⁵ Cf. *Studia Pohl*, no. 3, pp. 9–10.

J. Papritz, "Archive in Mesopotamien, Theorie und Tatsache", *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 55 (1959), 11-50; M. Weitemeyer, "Archive and Library Technique in Ancient Mesopotamia", *Libri* (Copenhagen) 6 (1955-56), 217-238; and A. Pohl, "Bibliotheken und Archive im Alten Orient", *Or NS* 25 (1956), 105-109.

The substance of this paper was delivered on 8th April, 1971, to the 181st sessions of the AOS. Submission for publication awaited the appearance of Dossin's "official" *ARM T X* which apparently was in an advanced state of preparation (see *RA* 64 (1970), 107). W. H. Ph. Römer's study of *ARM X* has just appeared, containing transliteration, translation, and (selected) notes on X: 12 and X: 82 (*AOAT*, no. 12, pp. 83-85). Since my approach and the aim of my treatment have in no way been duplicated by Römer, the original manuscript is offered here unrevised. Note, however, his suggestion for X: 82: 18 on p. 86².

Reference to *ARM X*: 12 has also been made in *Or NS* 40 (1971), 83.

To comments on *ARM X*: 12: 26 (c), see now the important text published by G. Dossin, *Syria* 48 (1971), 1-6, in particular p. 2, ll. 9-12.

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