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NOTES BRÈVES

1) On two Ebla lexical lists with personal names (*MEE* 3 67, 59) —
    [1] TM.75.G.1565 = *MEE* 3 67 – This small rounded tablet, published among the "esercizi scolastici" in PETTINATO 1981:261, is a "word list with personal names" for ARCHI 1992:14 (and see also CIVIL 1984:81 n. 10). For Pettinato "il testo si compone di due parti nettamente distinte tra loro: la prima parte (recto) contiene un elenco di parole sumeriche ordinate acrograficamente in base all'elemento iniziale nì-; la seconda invece (verso) abbraccia una serie di nomi di persona che contengono tutti l'elemento lugal- in prima posizione. Mentre la serie che inizia con nì- ricorda da vicino l'omonima serie dei testi lessical *šè-bar*-unken, la seconda va rapportata al testo [*MEE* 3] n. 59 r. II:1-7". However, the comparison with TM.75.G.2014 = *MEE* 3 59 (see below) suggests that also in TM.75.G.1565 = *MEE* 3 67 the six personal names were instead written *before* the seven common nouns of the acrographic section ninda (and note not only "r.$^?$" and "v.$^?$" in the edition in PETTINATO 1981:261, but also the inversion of the obverse and the reverse in the photographs of the tablet in *MEE* 3, Tav. XXXVIIa-b).

    I read the lexical list TM.75.G.1565 = *MEE* 3 67 as follows:

(PN$_1$)	obv.I:1	Lugal-ˊáˋ-máḫ
(PN$_2$)	obv.I:2	Lugal-ur-sag
(PN$_3$)	obv.I:3	Lugal-ánzud(AN.MI)^{mušen}
(PN$_4$)	obv.II:1	[Luga]l-ˊda-zi$^{?}$ˋ
(PN$_5$)	obv.II:2	Lugal-gal-bí-DU
(PN$_6$)	obv.II:3	Lugal-(x$^?$-)š̀ùd-šè
(1)	rev.I:1	GAR-X
(2)	rev.I:2	kadra(GAR.ŠÀ$^!$.A)
(3)	rev.I:3	níg-šu$^!$-luḫ
(4)	rev.I:4	ninda-sag$^?$(-x$^?$)
(5)	rev.II:1	níg-ki-za
(6)	rev.II:2	ninda-géme
(7)	rev.II:3	níg-mul

[2] TM.75.G.2014 = *MEE* 3 59 – This tablet with rounded corners, six columns on the obverse and only three columns on the reverse, has been published among the "liste di nomi di persona sumerico-eblaiti e parole sumeriche" in PETTINATO 1981:243-245 (photograph in Tav. XXXIII). It is a "word list with personal names" for ARCHI 1992:14 (and see also CIVIL 1984:81 n. 10). Its text can be divided in two parts. The former includes a list of 22 personal names, clearly belonging not to one of the Syrian onomastic traditions, but to one or more Mesopotamian tradition(s) (note that in them the Sun deity is male). The latter includes a list of 41 (and not 42, see below) Sumerian terms. It may be noted that the obverse has been carefully written, unlike the reverse, whose columns are much larger than those of the obverse and are oriented in a rather irregular way. Pettinato has considered uncertain the sequence of the columns of the reverse, in which a drawing – a feature exceptional at Ebla – is partially visible in a broad blank space in the upper right part (see PETTINATO 1981:244; MANDER 1995:22s., 28). However, in PETTINATO 1981:244 the text of the reverse has been read from left to right. To me, instead, more likely the text of the reverse is to be regularly read from right to left. Doing so, in the last case of the last column of the reverse a personal name is written. This name, Nisaba-andul, may be that of a Mesopotamian scribe. Even if a scribe Nisaba-andul is unknown to me in texts written before those of Ebla (this name is lacking in VISICATO 2000), one ^{d}Nisaba-an-dùl occurs in the Sargonic letter from Girsu L.2903 = *STTI* 73 (see MICHALOWSKI 1993:24; KIENAST-VOLK 1995:78).

I read the lexical list TM.75.G.2014 = *MEE* 3 59 as follows:

(a$_1$)	obv.I:1	(X-)ŠID-Utu
(PN$_2$)	obv.I:2	*I-dúr*-Utu
(PN$_3$)	obv.I:3	*I-ku*-Utu
(PN$_4$)	obv.I:4	*Iš$_{11}$-gi*-Utu
(PN$_5$)	obv.I:5	*I-bí*-Utu
(PN$_6$)	obv.I:6	⸢X⸣-*il*
(PN$_7$)	obv.I:7	[*Iš$^?$*]-*du*[*b-il$^?$*]
(PN$_8$)	obv.II:1	Lugal-šembi(LAK-586)
(PN$_9$)	obv.II:2	Lugal-nir-gál
(PN$_{10}$)	obv.II:3	Lugal-GABA*vert.*-gál
(PN$_{11}$)	obv.II:4	Lugal-AN-GI-DUB
(PN$_{12}$)	obv.II:5	Lugal-UD
(PN$_{13}$)	obv.II:6	Lugal-ḪAR-SA
(PN$_{14}$)	obv.II:7	Lugal-[...]
(PN$_{15}$)	obv.III:1	*Šar*-⸢x⸣-TU
(PN$_{16}$)	obv.III:2	*Šar*-KU-*da*
(PN$_{17}$)	obv.III:3	*Šar-ma-ì-lum*
(PN$_{18}$)	obv.III:4	*Šar-ì-sa*
(PN$_{19}$)	obv.III:5	*Šar*-bàd
(PN$_{20}$)	obv.III:6	*Šar-ma*
(PN$_{21}$)	obv.III:7	*Šar-ma*-NI
(PN$_{22}$)	obv.III:8	*Šar-a-ba$_4$*
(1)	obv.IV:1	giš-DU
(2)	obv.IV:2	giš-DU-DU
(3)	obv.IV:3	DU-DU
(4)	obv.IV:4	^{àra}ara
(5)	obv.IV:5	KÍD.SAG
(6)	obv.IV:6	igi-lib
(7)	obv.IV:7	KA
(8)	obv.IV:8	gìš-rum
(9)	obv.IV:9	ad-ús
(10)	obv.V:1	balag

(11)	obv.V:2	íb
(12)	obv.V:3	ÍB×GAL$_4$
(13)	obv.V:4	báḫar
(14)	obv.V:4	ki-KAK:KAK
(15)	obv.V:6	sag:ki-kak
(16)	obv.V:7	ŠE-MURGU-ŠE-MURGU-sag-li$_9$-li$_9$
(17)	obv.VI:1	IM(LAK-377)-zur
(18)	obv.VI:2	šembirida$_x$(Ú.KUR)
(19)	obv.VI:3	[...]
(20)	obv.VI:4	[...]
(21)	obv.VI:5	[...]
(22)	obv.VI:6	[...]
	rev.I:1	(drawing)
(23)	rev.I:2	níg-ŠÈ-ak[a]
(24)	rev.I:3	ensi$^!$(EN.LI)
(25)	rev.II:1	[...]
(26)	rev.II:2	má-gar
(27)	rev.II:3	zabar
(28)	rev.II:4	kù:babbar
(29)	rev.II:5	kù-sig$_{17}$
(30)	rev.II:6	uruda
(31)	rev.II:7	a-lù-lù
(32)	rev.II:8	lù-lù
(33)	rev.II:9	ŠE+A.GAR$_5$
(34)	rev.II:10	al^{uruda}
(35)	rev.II:11	dùl
(36)	rev.III:1	[...]
(37)	rev.III:2	[N]E:NE-GAR
(38)	rev.III:3	níg-mul
(39)	rev.III:4	en-nun-aka
(40)	rev.III:5	an-aka
(41)	rev.III:6	níg-aka
(col.)	rev.III:7	^{d}Nisaba-an-dùl

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2) On the Ebla lexical list TM.75.G.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 — Published without photographs or handcopy as *MEE* 15 44 (PICCHIONI 1997:120-123), the Ebla lexical list (TM.)75.(G.)10012 has been considered as one of the "testi irregolarmente acrografici" in PICCHIONI 1997:XV. Previously, it has been discussed in ARCHI 1992:14 as follows: "Word List 75.10012+ (medium large tablet with rounded

edges). The list has no parallels in the Mesopotamian documentation. It is ordered according to the sign form and conceptual associations. The tablet looks in form and writing like those which make up source *D* of the bilingual lexical texts. The internal and external elements show that this list was composed at Ebla."

The text of 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 is written in six columns on the obverse and probably in two columns on the reverse (see PETTINATO 1979:219, and cf. PICCHIONI 1997:122f. "v.I' [...] v.II'") followed by a large unwritten space.

Developing Archi's observation on the closeness of the Sumerian lexical list 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 to the five tablets of the so-called source D of the Ebla bilingual, Sumerian-Semitic, lexical list (i.e. 75.2284+ = *MEE* 4 12; 75.1774 = *MEE* 4 24; 75.1448 = *MEE* 4 32; 75.1426 = *MEE* 4 40; 75.1825+3131+20093+5661 = *MEE* 4 47-48+53+60), I suggest that the main feature of 75.10112 = *MEE* 15 44 is that, in it, none of the Sumerian terms found in the éš-bar-kin$_5$ lexical list 75.2422+ = *MEE* 15 1-5 (i.e. the Ebla Sumerian source of the Ebla bilingual lexical list) occur. Instead, 31 of the 81 entries of 75.10112 = *MEE* 15 44 are also found in the last part of the two sources of the Ebla bilingual lexical list with entries following *VE* 1089, i.e. 75.3757+10023+ = *MEE* 4 63-64+ (so-called source A$_2$) and 75.2001+ = *MEE* 4 10+ (so-called source B).

Hereafter I present these 31 entries of 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 alongside their correspondences in the *VE* entries of 75.3757+10023+ = *MEE* 4 63-64+ and 75.2001+ = *MEE* 4 10+ as synoptically established in PETTINATO 1982:197-343:

Obverse: I:7', NU$_{11}$(LAK-24)-íb = *VE* 1436; I:8', šir = *VE* 1279;
I:9', lul-a = *VE* 1249;
I:10', še$_{29}$(LÚxÉŠ*tenû*) = *VE* 1283;
II:2', LUM = *VE* 1380;
II:4', mes-lu-lu = *VE* 1250;
II:8', probably úkuš-úkuš = *VE* 1349;
II:10', DIŠ-mu {DU} or {DIŠ} mu-DU, probably = *VE* 1141 (!);
II:13', SAR-è = *VE* 1397;
III:3', ^{a}azu$_x$(ZU$_5$) = *VE* 1328;
III:9', LUL:GU-aka = *VE* 1312;
III:11', ba-za = *VE* 1278;
III:13', ba = *VE* 1317;
III:15', im-babbar = *VE* 1332;
IV:5', mér-gi$_6$-an = *VE* 1403;
IV:6', IM = *VE* 1387;
IV:7', nu = *VE* 1147;
IV:9', túg-zukum = *VE* 1238;
IV:10', luḫ = *VE* 1239;
IV:11', NÍNDAxGÍN = *VE* 1285;
V:3', gi-sig = *VE* 1229;
V:4', ^{gi}tigidla$_x$(ŠÀ.TAR) = *VE* 1438;
V:5', gi-gíd = *VE* 1437;
V:8', ḫi-TIL = *VE* 1299;
V:9', šir-si-ga = *VE* 1280;
V:10', probably úr-si-ga = *VE* 1295;
VI:2', uzu(LAK-350) = *VE* 1237;
VI:4', mè$^!$ = *VE* 1305 (see the palaeography in PICCHIONI 1997:276);
VI:5', edin-DU.[DU] = *VE* 1342 (but "baḫar$_4$-DU" of PICCHIONI 1997:122 is not impossible, cf. the *List of Metal Objects* 52a);
Reverse: I':1, dur = *VE* 1255;
II':7, a-tu$_{22}$ = *VE* 1227.

In my opinion, the rationale of 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 is not of palaeographic (acrography, sign form) or semantic nature (conceptual associations). Rather, this list may have been written *after* the Sumerian éš-bar-kin$_5$ source 75.2422+ = *MEE* 15 1-5, *after* the so-called source D of the bilingual lexical list, and also *after* the two bilingual lexical lists which end with the entry *VE* 1089, i.e. the so-called sources A and C. During this late period, at Ebla very long lexical lists, both monolingual and bilingual,

were written: according to Archi 1992:18, the longer éš-bar-kin$_5$ list, i.e. 75.3043+, has around 1500 entries, while the so-called bilingual source B reaches the entry *VE* 1410 and the so-called bilingual source A$_2$ reaches the entry *VE* 1457. Therefore, it seems to me that, during the period of preparation of such longer lexical lists, 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 served the practical need of a gathering of further Sumerian terms in order to increase the inventory of entries beyond that of the previous, shorter lexical lists, in which, curiously, common terms such as those, e.g., for "reed" – gi in 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 obv. V:2' – or "donkey" – anše in rev.I:3 – do not occur! With this aim in mind – and perhaps working to a sixth tablet of the so-called source D of the bilingual lexical list (to me the chronological distance between all the Ebla lexical lists so far mentioned is very short) – the anonymous Ebla scribe of 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 used his own technical criteria for the ordering of the material he had gathered, such as acrography, semantic associations etc.

One can further note that 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44 includes several terms found in lexical lists dealing with names of professions, functions and occupations (e.g. še$_{29}$, lú-na-nu, lú-me-i, ^{a}azu$_x$, guruš, ba-za, túg-zukum, and also cf. the entries of the section ŠID in obv. III:4'-6': ŠID-GI-GI / ŠID / ŠID-ŠID), as well as a rather long IM-section which instead is lacking in the éš-bar-kin$_5$ source 75.2422+ = *MEE* 15 1-15 (see obv. III:14'-IV:6': ní-ti / im-babbar / IM-RU / IM-LAGAB // [...] IM-[...] / im-su$_4$ / tu$_{15}$-mer / IM-ŠUL / mér-gi$_6$-an / IM). Lastly, I suggest the following different readings of some other entries of 75.10012 = *MEE* 15 44: obv. II:14', esir$_x$(LAK-173)^e; III:12', BA.KU; V:6', kinkin-šu-šu; V:7', àr-àr^{uruda}; rev. II':6, probably gir$_{10}$-bil, "kiln, oven"; II':8: probably [a]:tu[$_{22}$-sá].

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3) The ED List Of Trees and Wooden Objects (SF 68; IAS 18+19, 20; MEE 15 70-74) — Earlier than the 2nd millenium lexical list of trees and wooden object studied in VELDHUIS 1997 are the thematic lists of names of trees and wooden objects (a) Uruk "Wood" list and (b) "ED List of Trees and Wooden Objects" (hereafter *LTWO*).

The synopsis of "Wood" ("only standardized in its first section", VELDHUIS 1997:13 n. 3) is available in ENGLUND - NISSEN 1993:103-112. As for *LTWO*, CAVIGNEAUX 1983:613 knew the Fara and Abu Salabikh sources ("SF 68, 74 et IAS 18-20"). Later, ARCHI 1992:9 pointed out an Ebla "List of Wooden Objects" (TM.)75.(G.)5197+ (this fragment has been then published in PICCHIONI 1997:142 as *MEE* 15 71), observing however that "it is not sure whether these tablets [i.e. *IAS* 18-20 and 75.1957+] belong to the same recension" (and see also ARCHI 2006:101). According to VELDHUIS 1997:88 and n. 122 "between the archaic and the Old Babylonian period the Wood list is known only from a few scattered fragments, *IAS* 18-20; TM.75.G.5197 ...; *SF* 68 and 74; *OSP* I 8". SF 68, 74 and IAS 18, 20 had been included among the fragmentary sources of lexical lists of the "Archaic HAR-ra" type by CIVIL 1987:134. While *SF* 74 + *SF* 43 is *Archaic HAR-ra C* and *OSP* I 8 is *Archaic HAR-ra E*, *SF* 68 is very probably relevant here, even though its terms do not find correspondence in the Abu Salabikh and Ebla sources. Even if it remained uncertain whether or not "Wood" and *LTWO* are the same list, CAVIGNEAUX 1983:613, following NISSEN 1981:103f., observed that "[*LTWO*] peut être à bon droit considérée comme un lointain précurseur de la section GIŠ du Ḫḫ vx.-bab. de Nippur et du Ḫḫ canonique". No synopsis including both the Uruk and Early Dynastic materials was possible for ENGLUND-NISSEN 1993:23ff., and the most ancient materials were not used in VELDHUIS 1997.

The Fara (F), Abu Salabikh (AS), and Ebla (E) sources of ED *LTWO* can be described as follows:

F = *SF* 68: if, as seems reasonable, this small fragment (with three columns, almost certainly of the obverse) belongs to ED *LTWO*, its entries belong to the first half of the list;

AS$_1$ = *IAS* 18+19: *IAS* 18 is a large fragment found in Room 44 ("from Level I*C* ... consequently earlier than most of the [Abu Salabikh] tablets", BIGGS 1974:80) with only the reverse preserved (the very small fragment *IAS* 19 probably has entries of rev. I); almost certainly the complete tablet had five columns on the obverse and one on the reverse, and its colophon was separated from the end of the list;

AS$_2$ = *IAS* 20: a fragment, found in Room 31, of the obverse of a tablet with six columns on the obverse and the reverse unwritten. It bears the lower parts of columns III-VI, with the colophon written just after the last entry of the list at the end of obv. VI;

E = *MEE* 15 70-74: this source not only includes the fragment 75.5197+, quoted in ARCHI 1992:9 and then published as *MEE* 15 71, but also the other fragments 75.5222, 75.5198, 75.20307 and 75.20124 = *MEE* 15 70, 72, 73 and 74 (they have "acrografia GIŠ" for PICCHIONI 1997:XVI). They belong to the obverse of a quadrangular tablet. According to Archi its colophon is *A-zi* [dub-mu-sar *Ib-dur-i-šar*] dub-zu-zu ab-ba *Dam-da-il* [um-mi-a *A-zi*]. Unrecognized, *A-zi* occurs in *MEE* 15 70 obv. III:4'. Since the beginning of the colophon occurs just after the last entry of the list, this source probably had, like *IAS* 20, only its obverse inscribed with, likely, six columns (or seven?). In the present state of publication the relative position of the *MEE* 15 fragments (and particularly that of *MEE* 15 71 and 74) is uncertain, but it may be guessed using both "Wood" and the 2nd millennium sources as guides. Neither photographs nor handcopies of the Ebla fragments have been published.

As stated before, judging from the photograph of the reverse of *IAS* 18, five columns on the obverse and one on the reverse, each on with around 16 entries, may be supposed. If so, ED *LTWO* had no more than 100 entries, to say between 90 and 96 entries. The synopsis of "Wood" has 108 entries, while the 2nd millennium list reached 705 entries (VELDHUIS 1997:167). A tentative synoptical reconstruction of ED *LTWO* may be the following one ("W" refers to the synopsis of Uruk "Wood" found in ENGLUND - NISSEN 1993:103-112, "N" to that of the 2nd millennium list as presented in VELDHUIS 1997:151-167; E^{70} refers to *MEE* 15 70, and so on):

		(trees)	
(1')	E^{71} obv. I:1'	[giš]-ḫurin$_x$(LAGAB.ḪU)	"(a kind of tree)" (W11$^?$)
(2')	E^{71} obv. I:2'	giš-ḫurin$_x$(LAGAB.ḪU)-ḪÚB	"(a kind of tree)"
(3')	E^{71} obv. I:3'	giš-eš$_{22}$	"terebinth-tree" (W14)
(4')	E^{71} obv. I:4'	giš-lam	"almond-tree" (W13)
(5')	E^{71} obv. I:5'	giš-ù-suḫ$_5$	"pine-tree" (W16$^?$, N25)
(6')	E^{71} obv. I:6'	giš-šim$^!$(BAPPIR)	"(a kind of incense-bearing tree)" (N29)
	[...]		
(7')	E^{71} obv. II:1'	giš-EN-GI-mes	"(a kind of tree)" (W26-32, N49-51)
	F obv. II:1'	[giš-...]-mes	
(8')	F obv. II:2'	[giš-...]-mes	"(a kind of tree)" (W26-32, N49-51)
(9')	F obv. II:3'	[giš]-mes	"(a kind of tree)" (W26-32, N49-51)
		[...]	
		(wooden objects)	
(10')	F obv. III:1'	giš-éš-ˋnu-éšˋ	"halter, muzzle, (tethering) rope" (W51$^?$)
(11')	F obv. III:2'	giš-ḪI-še-NUN	"(a kind of wooden object)" (W45-47$^?$)
(12')	F obv. III:3'	giš-URUDA-URUDA	"(a kind of wooden object)" (W52$^?$)
(13')	F obv. III:4'	giš-ŠÈ-ˊLUˋ	"(a kind of wooden object)" (W51$^?$)
	[...]		
(14')	E^{74} obv. III':1'	giš-gígir-2	"two-wheeled wagon" (W62-64, N326)
(15')	E^{74} obv. III':2'	giš-gígir-4	"four-wheeled wagon" (W62-64)
(16')	E^{74} obv. III':3'	giš-GÍGIR.ÉxGÍGIR	"wagon with covering" (W62-64, N327)
	[...]		
(17')	AS$_2$ obv. III':1'	[giš-a]d	"raft" (W71)
(18')	AS$_2$ obv. III':2'	[giš]-ad-ḪI-ˊxˋ	"(a kind of wooden object)"
(19')	AS$_2$ obv. III':3'	giš-ad-ˊàgaˋ-bar	"(a wooden part of an ax)"

(20')	AS$_2$ obv. III':4'	giš-naga$_4$	"pestle, mortar" (W50, N255)
	[...]		
(21')	AS$_2$ obv. IV:1'	[giš-a]l-[(x-)]ˊxˋ	"(a kind of hoe)" (W78-80, N478-482)
(22')	AS$_2$ obv. IV:2'	[g]iš-al-àga-[b]ar	"(a kind of hoe)" (W78-80, N478-482)
(23')	AS$_2$ obv. IV:3'	giš-al-sag-gál	"(a kind of hoe)" (W78-80, N478-482)
(24')	AS$_2$ obv. IV:4'	giš-al-nu-sag-gál	"(a kind of hoe)" (W78-80, N478-482)
(25')	F obv. IV:1'	giš-[al-ur$_4$]-ÁŠ (?)	"(a kind of hoe)" (W78-80, N478-482)
	AS$_2$ obv. IV:5'	giš-al-ur$_4$-ÁŠ	
(26')	F obv. IV:2'	g[iš-al^{uruda}] (?)	"hoe" (W77, N477)
	AS$_2$ obv. IV:6'	giš-al^{uruda}	
	E^{70} obv. IV:1'	giš-al^{ˊurudaˋ} (?)	
	[...]		
(27')	E^{72} obv. V:1'	giš-bar-i[g]	"(a part of the door)" (N374-394)
(28')	E^{72} obv. V:2'	giš-KU-i[g]	"box under the door pivot" (N374-394)
(29')	E^{72} obv. V:3'	giš-sag-[bal$^?$]	"(a kind of wooden object)" (N401?)
(30')	E^{72} obv. V:4'	giš-DU	"(a kind of (precious) wooden object)"
(31')	AS$_2$ obv. V:1'	[giš-MUŠxGÁNA*ten*]*û*	"(a kind of wooden object)"
	E^{72} obv. V:5'	giš-MUŠxGÁNA*tenû*	
(32')	AS$_2$ obv. V:2'	giš-MUŠxGÁNA*tenû*-DU	"(a kind of wooden object)"
	E^{72} obv. V:6'	giš-MUŠxGÁNA*tenû*-ˊDUˋ	
(33')	AS$_2$ obv. V:3'	giš-šerim	"(a part of the loom, perhaps the) shuttle or heddle" (W90, N407)
	E^{72} obv. V:7'	giš-šerim	
(34')	AS$_2$ obv. V:4'	giš-ùr$^!$	"log, beam"
	E^{73} obv. V:8'	giš-ùr	
(35')	AS$_2$ obv. V:5'	giš-GABA-taḫ	"(a kind of wooden object)"
	E^{73} obv. V:9'	giš-GABA*obl.*-ta[ḫ]	
(36')	AS$_1$ rev. I:1	giš-ˊDÚR.DÚRˋ	"(a kind of dam to hold back water)"
	AS$_2$ obv. V:6'	giš-DÚR.DÚR	
	E^{73+70} obv. V:10'	giš-DÚR.DÚR	
(37')	AS$_1$ rev. I:2	giš-RU-RU	"(a kind of weapon)"
	AS$_2$ obv. V:7'	giš-RU-RU	
	E^{73+70} obv. V:11'	giš-RU-RU	
(38')	AS$_1$ rev. I:3	giš-nu-RU	"(a kind of weapon)"
	AS$_2$ obv. V:11'	giš-nu-RU	
	E$_1$ obv. V:12'	giš-nu-RU	
(39')	AS$_1$ rev. I:4	ˊgiš-tiˋ	"arrow"
(40')	AS$_1$ rev. I:5	[giš-...]	"(a kind of wooden object)"
(41')	AS$_1$ rev. I:6	[giš-...]	"(a kind of wooden object)"
	[...]		
(42')	AS$_1$ rev. I:1'	giš-GAL$^?$-ˊxˋ	"(a kind of wooden object)"
(43')	AS$_1$ rev. I:2'	giš-ˊdaˋ	"board (also as part of plough)" (W102)
	[...]		
(44')	E^{70} obv. VI:1'	giš-NAGAR:NAGAR	"(a kind of wooden object)"
(45')	E^{70} obv. VI:2'	giš-kak	"peg, nail"
(46')	E^{70} obv. VI:3'	giš-kak-kak	"(a kind of peg, nail)"

As for (27'-28') see SJÖBERG 2003:256 n. 10. As for (29') cf. perhaps 75.1965 = *MEE* 4 80 obv. II:7f., giš-sag-bal = ḪAR-*u$_9$-um*, uninterpreted, and also giš-sag-bal$^?$ in *SF* 43 obv. III:11. As for (34') my reading follows *MEE* 15 73 I:1', but note that the copy in *IAS* has LAGABxÚ.

The 46 entries above should represent around half of the entries of the complete list. If (more or less) correct, my synopsis suggests that "Wood", ED *LTWO* and II millennium Nippur *LTWO* had the

same inner structure: first the trees (ll. 1'-9' in ED *LTWO*), then the wooden objects (ll. 10'-46' in ED *LTWO*). If so, ED *LTWO* was mainly conceived for updating the obsolete spellings of "Wood", while II millennium Nippur *LTWO* rearranged and expanded ED *LTWO*. Some archaic features – the colophon of AS_1 separated from the text and the arrangement of the signs in cases which do not follow the order of reading – together with the very probable occurrence of ED *LTWO* at Fara in *SF* 68, may suggest that ED *LTWO* was composed during the ED II period.

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Marco BONECHI

4) The God Alammuš ^{d}LÀL / $^{d.muš}$LÀL[1] — In a footnote in his new edition of *Udug-hul*, Geller presents some confusing evidence concerning the little known god Alammuš.[2] This god has caused the present writer some difficulties while working on *Šurpu*. An investigation into his name, character and associations therefore seems a desideratum.

The standard ideogram for Alammuš is ^{d}LÀL. LÀL is TAxḪI, which bears a formal similarity to the ideogram of the unrelated god Kabta, TA-*gunû*. Lambert[3] has already demonstrated that the two are distinct, and this has been restated by Borger.[4] The accuracy of Lambert's argument is confirmed by the lexical list *Ea* 4: 225-228:[5]

	Sumerian Pronunciation	Sign	Sign name	Akkadian translation
225	ga-an-zèr	TA-*gunû*	*ta g[u]-nu-[u]*	*e-ṭú-tum*
226	kab-ta	TA-*gunû*	MIN MIN	^{d}*kab-ta*
227	a-lam-muš	LÀL (=TAxḪI)	*ša ta-ta-ku* DU.GA I.GUB	ŠU-*ma*
228	la-al	LÀL	MIN MIN MIN	*diš-pú*

Lines 225-226 show that the sign now called TA-*gunû*, also so named by the compilers of *Ea*, can be pronounced ganzer as well as kabta, which correspond to *eṭûtum* 'darkness' and ^{d}*Kabta* in Akkadian. Lines 227-228 show that what we call LÀL or TAxḪI, whose ancient name is *ša tataku dùga ìgub* 'TA with an inscribed DÙG', can be pronounced /alammuš/ and /lal/, corresponding to Akkadian ŠU-*ma* 'the same' (i.e. ^{d}*Alammuš*)[6] and *dišpu* 'honey.' Thus, two different signs refer to two unrelated gods – Alammuš is no more Kabta than darkness is honey. It is worth noting that the name TAxḪI for the LÀL sign does not agree with ancient usage, in which DÙG was evidently a more natural reading than ḪI. In keeping with this, it seems logical that the sign should be read TAxDÙG.

A second writing of Alammuš is found in *Šurpu* 9:25[7] and *Udug-hul* 4:95'[8]. In *Šurpu* the relevant sign sequence (AN.MÙŠ.LÀL) has been rendered in the various editions as ^{d}Nanna-Lal,[9] ^{d}MÌM-Lal (translated Inanna-Lal by Reiner),[10] and ^{d}Innin-Làl;[11] in Udug-hul as ^{d}Inanna-làl. Each of these is inaccurate, the majority due to the confusion with Kabta, who is a spouse of Inanna. Given the fact, as

evidenced above, that LÀL has two readings, it is safe to assume that the INNIN sign preceding it is simply a pronunciation gloss. That is to say, MÙŠ.LÀL is the reading of LÀL that involves a MÙŠ sound. Thus, the name should be transliterated [d.mùš]làl, to be understood as Alammuš.

The character of Alammuš is very poorly understood. He appears in the OB Nippur god list, and another OB god list from Nippur, but not in a helpful context.[12] In three sources, *Udug-ḫul* 4:95',[13] *An=Anum* 3:37,[14] and an Ikribu-prayer to Sîn,[15] he is said to be the sukkal.maḫ 'grand vizier' of Sîn. *An=Anum* 3:38 informs us that his wife is Ninuri 'Mistress of Ur,' about whom even less is known. His only other consistent association is with the god Ningublaga, usually written [d]nin.EZENxGU$_4$. In *An=Anum* 3:30-37[16], *Šurpu* 9:25[17] and an *akītu* ritual from Hellenistic Uruk (LINSSEN 2004: 201 & 204, I 10), the association is simply that Alammuš and Ningublaga appear together. However, *mul.apin* I i 6[18] pairs the two as the constellation maš.tab.ba.tur.tur 'The Little Twins', commonly equated to ζ and λ Geminorum (the knees of Pollux) and surrounding stars.[19] In this text, they are immediately preceded by the chthonic gods Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea, maš.tab.ba.gal.gal 'The Great Twins', α and β Geminorum (Castor and Pollux) and surrounding stars.[20] It is possible that the parallel between the names of the two constellations, as well as their astronomical proximity to one another,[21] implies that the activities and influences of the gods involved were in some way related. If so, we may be justified in understanding Alammuš and Ningublaga as having a chthonic aspect.

This idea gains some measure of support from the mention of the two gods together on a *kudurru* from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina I. Editors of this text - Scheil,[22] Borger[23] and Paulus[24] - have taken [d]LÀL here as [d]Kabta (Scheil: [d]*Lil*), but in light of the above analysis Alammuš is certainly intended. A total of 47 deities are included in the *kudurru* list and the order is theological – gods are grouped with their families and courts, and according to their areas of responsibility. Not all of this list concerns us here, but V 35 – VI 4 is of interest: [V.35]Nergal, [V.36]Lâṣ, [VI.1]Išum, Šubula, [VI.2]Lugalgirra, Meslamtaea, [VI.3]Šarṣarbati, Mamītu, [VI.4]Alammuš, Ningublaga, Tišpak, Ištaran.[25]

The deities surrounding Alammuš and Ningublaga here are overwhelmingly associated with death and the netherworld. As the god list in the *kudurru* inscription is arranged along theological, rather than graphical lines, we can be confident that this implies a chthonic aspect to the gods under discussion. It should be noted that Alammuš and Ningublaga mark a dividing line in the list between Nergal, along with his family and avatars, and the distinct group of chthonic snake gods represented by Tišpak and Ištaran.[26] It is not clear in which of the two groups, if either, we should class our subjects. The fact that they share a line with the ophidian group may be significant, but this could equally be due to the space available on the stone. The fact that Ningublaga is a bull-related god[27] speaks against any close connection with snakes, but the *mùš* element of Alammuš (homophonous with *muš$_1$* "snake") may imply the reverse. It is also possible that they represent a third group of chthonic gods not closely affiliated with Nergal or with the serpent group.

An association with the netherworld fits well with the context of Alammuš in *Šurpu*. Tablet 9:1-40, the *Kultgötterbeschwörungen,* consists of a series of short godlists in which chthonic gods predominate. Further, the explicit relationship between Alammuš and Ningublaga in *MUL.APIN* explains this god's presence in tandem with Alammuš in *Šurpu*. They are not, as has been suggested,[28] married - they are brothers.[29]

1) I would like to thank Alasdair Livingstone, Henry Stadhouders, Selena Wisnom, Martin Worthington and Elyze Zomer for their improvements to this note. Any remaining mistakes are mine.

2) GELLER 2016: 151, note 95'.

3) LAMBERT 1966: 73.

4) BORGER 2010: 288, no. 170.

5) CIVIL 1979: 364. Aa IV/3: 311-315 (CIVIL 1979: 383) (mis)quoted by Geller, is broken, but what remains agrees with the text of *Ea* quoted above. One recension of *Proto-Ea* (CIVIL 1979: 114: 10) broadly agrees, but uses the variant spelling a-lam-mu-u[š].

6) That ŠU-*ma* here refers to the Sumerian pronunciation column, rather than to the previous entry in the Akkadian column, i.e. *Alammuš* not *Kabta,* is consistent with the general principles of lists (see e.g. LITKE 1998: 10), and is in any case certain from comparable entries in *Ea* (e.g. Ea 1: 337; Ea 1: 348 manuscript A. CIVIL 1979: 194). To read *Kabta* here we must have MIN 'ditto.'

7) In Reiner's edition this is tablet 8. The current author is in the process of preparing a new edition of the series, in which the renumbering will be discussed at length.

8) Geller 2016: 151.

9) Zimmern 1901: 41, 10.

10) Reiner 1958: 40, 25.

11) Borger 2000: 79.

12) Peterson 2009: 16, 197 & 87 iii 3.

13) Geller 2016: 151.

14) Litke 1998: 121 reads a.la.x.x, but this line is not damaged in Lambert's unpublished edition, III 36. Kabta is given by Litke as the equivalent of ^{d}Làl in a restored line of An=Anum 4: 190 '[^{d}LÀL] = [^{d}*Kabta*].' (Litke 1998: 162 restored from TCL 15: 25). This in fact reads '[^{d}TA-*gunû*] = [^{d}*Kabta*].'

15) Perry 1907: 25 ii 9 & Langdon 1915: 192, 10. Perry reads ^{ilu}*DIŠPU* and Langdon has ^{ilu}*LÀL*, but later translators (Seux 1976: 479; Foster 2005: 759, 23) have corrected this to Alammuš.

16) Litke 1998: 120-121.

17) Reiner 1958: 40.

18) Hunger & Pingree 1989: 19.

19) Hunger & Pingree 1989: 137.

20) *ibid*.

21) Koch 1993: 194 offers an alternative identification of m a š . t a b . b a . t u r . t u r as Procyon and Gomeisa, α and β Canis Minoris (the entire modern constellation). The important point for our purposes, however, is that the Little Twins were a pair of stars fairly close to the Great Twins. Canis Minor is the next closest pair after ζ and λ Geminorum.

22) Scheil 1905: 6, 38 (though he was uncertain of the reading, as indicated in the footnotes).

23) Borger 1970: 25b.

24) Paulus 2014: 434, VI 4 (misnumbered VI 6 in AOAT) & 439.

25) After Paulus 2014: 434.

26) Wiggerman 1997: 34ff.

27) Cavigneaux & Krebernik 2000: 374-376.

28) Geller 2016: 151, note 95' & Lambert's unpublished edition of *An=Anum* III 30.

29) The fraternal relationship of Alammuš and Ningublaga is also concluded by Cavigneaux & Krebernik (2000: 375).

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5) Old Babylonian Letters from UET 5 in the Archibab Database — In the most recent update of the online database <www.archibab.fr> one can find transliterations and translations of the Old Babylonian letters from Ur. They were found by the expedition of C.L. Woolley (1922-34) and subsequently divided over three museums: the British Museum, the Iraq Museum, and the University of Philadelphia Museum. They were eventually all published by H.H. Figulla and W.J. Martin (1953) in *Ur Excavation Texts* 5. The letters were studied by many over the years, most notably D. Charpin (1986): *Le clergé d'Ur*; and M. Van de Mieroop (1992): *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur*, but they were not yet integrally edited.

The late F.R. Kraus had intended to edit the letters in Leiden's *Altbabylonische Briefe* series. Towards this end, he had asked his contributors to collate the letters from Ur. J.J.A van Dijk collated the texts in the Iraq Museum in the late 1950's; R. Frankena collated the British Museum texts in 1960; and M. Stol collated the Philadelphia letters in the fall of 1982. The results of these collations were incorporated by Kraus into a set of useful transliterations containing Kraus' thoughts on difficult passages. These papers are part of his *Nachlaß* at the University of Leiden.

At the beginning of 2015 M. Stol and I decided to rework these UET 5 transliterations and collations into an edition intended for publication on the Archibab website. This note is to acknowledge that the transliterations and translations of the OB Ur letters are actually the result of this team-effort over the decades. This may explain any discrepancies between the copies in UET 5 and the transliterations in the Archibab database.

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6) En marge d'HIGEOMES 3 : quelques collations de noms géographiques des archives de Mari — Dans le prochain volume du projet TEXTELSEM, *Matériaux pour l'étude de la toponymie et de la topographie 1, la Haute-Mésopotamie au IIe millénaire av. J.-C*, édité par E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, A. Otto et N. Ziegler, on trouvera des collations concernant les noms géographiques de certains textes des archives de Mari, majoritairement ceux des ARM 22 et 24, à partir des fichiers de Paris. Les voici énumérées ci-dessous, pour commodité de références :

ARM 7 266 :   1', ṣ[*i-id-qa-an*^{ki}]
[2'], attestation de Till-badi mais la graphie est perdue
3', [*ti*]*l*$^?$-[*l*]*a-ab-na*^{ki}
4', *hu-ur-pí-iš*^{ki}
5', ^{d}AŠA$_5$-*ba-na*^{ki}
6', *hi-ir-zi-ip-hi*^{ki}
ARM 8 93$^+$:   3, ^{d}AŠA$_5$-*ba-na*^{ki}
7, *hu-ur-wa-aš*^{ki}
19, [*te*]-*el-la*-NA$_4$
23, *ši-ir-ši-ip-hi*^{ki} (il faut corriger ARM 16 p. 32 qui propose *ši-ir-w*[*a-an*^{ki}], ainsi que D. Lacambre FM 2, p. 282-283 : il n'y a pas de campagne de Zimri-Lim au pays de Širwum au mois v de l'année ZL 12).
ARM 22 11 :   3, pas d'attestation de l'ethnique Hanum (composante d'un NP)
ARM 22 36 :   ii' 3', ṣ*ú-ba-tim*^{ki}
ii' 9', *i-di-sí-im*^{ki}
ARM 22 41 :   i' 7', *i-ba-la-a-hu*
ARM 22 55 (= FM 4 2) : iv 7', *a-mu-ur-re-tim*
ARM 22 81 :   10, *šar-ra-bi-im*^{ki}
ARM 22 104 (+M. 7244) : à la fin de revers, *sa-ga-ra-tim*^{ki}
ARM 22 123 (= FM 2 103) : 8, collation *AD**-*ki-ri-im*^{ki}, déjà publiée par D. Charpin, NABU 1995/82
ARM 22 153 :   23, *li-li-ba-ra-yu*^{ki} et non *li-li-ma-ra-yu*^{ki}
ARM 22 181 :   4, ⌈*ra*⌉-*za-ma-a*^{ki}
ARM 22 274 :   4, *ha-bu-ra-an*^{ki}

ARM 22 284 : 22, [*h*]*u-ut-nim*
ARM 22 291 : 12, HA.NA
ARM 22 306 : 7', UMBIN^{ki}
ARM 24 2 : 2', [*hi-ša*]*-am-ta*^{ki}
ARM 24 22 : 17', *ú-ra-ah*^{ki}, les signes RA et AH ont depuis disparu
ARM 24 23 : iii' 16', *ša-ku-nim*^{ki}
ARM 24 35 : 3, *sa-ag-ga-ra-tim*^{ki}
ARM 24 42 : 2', pas de NG Bakrum
ARM 24 43 : 7, *zu-ru-ba-an*^{ki}
    2', pas de NG Bakrum
ARM 24 47 : 3, *pa-ša-ri-im*
ARM 24 50 : 2, [*ter-q*]*a*^{ki}
    7, [H]A.NA.MEŠ
ARM 24 158 : 5, *zi-ib-na-tim* et non DU$_8$-UR$^?$-*na-tim*
ARM 24 170+258 : 1', *qa-ṭá-*[*nim*^{ki}]
ARM 24 222 : 8', *da-bi-ša-an*^{ki} et non *da-bi-iš*-AN^{ki}
ARM 24 225 : iii' 42', [*p*$^?$]*a-pá-hu-um* et non [*ša*$^?$] É$^?$ *ma*$^?$*-r*[*i*]⸢^{ki}⸣
ARM 24 232 : 34, [*n*]*a-ra-a*^{ki} au lieu de [x x]*-ra-a*^{ki}
    41, É-RI/AR$^?$*-ra-an*
ARM 24 233 : ii 19-20, *zi-i*[*b-n*]*a-t*[*im*^{ki}] / *i-la-<sa->k*[*a*]*-a*[*r*] et non *zi-*[*ib-na-tim*^{ki} ??] / *i-la-k*[*a*$^?$]*-a*[*r*$^?$]
    vi' 8', É-*za-ar-ha-a*[*n*^{ki}] et non É-*za-ar-ri*^{ki}
    vi' 14', *za-ar-ri-yi*^{?ki} et non *za-ar-ri*^{ki}
ARM 24 236 : ii 13', [*ṣú-u*]*p-ri-im*
ARM 24 237 : i 13', *pa-la-a-an*^{ki} et non [*hu*]*-um-sà-an*^{ki}
    i 14', [… *ha-la-aṣ ma-ri*]^{ki}
    ii' 7', *hi-ša-*[*am-ta*^{ki}]
ARM 24 244+ : 3, *til-a-*[*ab-na*^{ki}]
    [11], attestation de Ṣidqan mais la graphie est perdue
    18, *ti-il-b*[*a-di*^{ki}]
    45, *h*[*u-ur-wa-aš*^{ki}]
    52, *hi-ir-zi-ip-*[*hi*^{ki}]
    65, ^dAŠA$_5$*-ba-*[*na*^{ki}] (cité M.6518+ dans MARI 5 p. 221)
ARM 24 271 : 3' *bi-ša-*[*a*^{ki}] et non *bi-i*[*t-*x x x]
    9' *ka-bi-it-ti-im* et non *ka-bi-it-ti*^{ki}
    12', *ia-ar-su-du* et non *ia-ar-*x[x x]
ARM 24 300 : 1'-2', *i-na ka-ra-ši-*[*im*] / *ša mi-iš-la-an*[^{ki}] et non *i-na ka-a*[*l*]*-š*[*i*$^?$*-*x x^{ki}]
ARM 24 302 : 4, Dabiš est sûr (*da-bi-iš*^{ki})
ARM 24 320 : 1', *ar-ra-a*[*p-ha-yu*^{ki}]
    2', [*a*]*-šu-ra-*[*yu*^{ki}]

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7) D'où vient *SAKF* 159 et de quand date-t-il ? — K. Oberhuber publia en 1958-1960 son *Sumerische und akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des Archäologischen Museums zu Florenz* (IBK 7-8, Innsbruck). Les 165 textes présentés dans cet ouvrage datent de différentes époques, surtout d'Ur III ; on y trouve aussi neuf documents paléobabyloniens et une trentaine sont néobabyloniens. Cependant l'un des textes, le numéro 159, n'est pas daté et n'est pas assigné à une époque ni à une région précise.

Ce *SAKF* 159 est passé presque inaperçu dans la littérature académique, en raison de son mauvais état de conservation : il n'en reste que quelques lignes fragmentaires. Les comptes-rendus de l'ouvrage d'Oberhuber (listés dans J. A. Brinkman, « Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Archeological Museum at Florence », *JNES* 25, 1966, 202 n. 1) ne le mentionnent pas. Cependant Borger, dans *HKL* 3

52, indique qu'il pourrait venir d'Alalaḫ ou Nuzi. À mon avis, l'idée de Borger vient du fait que dans *SAKF* 159: 5 on peut lire, d'après Oberhuber, TÚG ZU.PA.TUM, et que l'éditeur a indiqué en note : « Vgl. Wiseman, Alalakh, Nr. 362 Vs.: (TÚG) *su-pa-tum* "a general description for any type of clothing" ». Effectivement, d'après la copie de D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, OPBIA 2, Londres 1953, pl. XXXVI, le texte *AlT* 362 (niveau archéologique IV) est un document administratif mentionnant des tissus et vêtements ; aux ll. 1-5 apparaît le terme indiqué, précédé du logogramme TÚG; d'autres entrées, aussi de tissus et vêtements, semblent correspondre à des termes hourrites (Wiseman, OPBIA 2, 100, où il interpréta *su-pa-tum* comme correspondant à l'akkadien *ṣubātu*).

G. Giacumakis, *The Akkadian of Alalaḫ*, The Hague/Paris 1970, 100, a suivi Wiseman et a indiqué que ce terme doit être lu ^{TÚG}*ṣú-bá-tum*. Si c'est vrai, ce serait le seul cas à Alalaḫ (niveaux VII ou IV) où le terme *ṣubātu(m)* est écrit syllabiquement et, de plus, précédé par un dénominatif qui, en réalité, est son équivalent. À Nuzi aussi, le déterminatif TÚG – équivalent de *ṣubātu(m)* – précède des noms d'étoffes particulières, mais pas le mot *ṣubātu(m)* ; voir e. g. D. Cross, *Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents*, AOS 10, New Haven 1937, 50-51 ou *AHw* 1107b 4 (« Lesung? »), ce qui est confirmé par l'étude des textes du Palais par Ph. Abrahami (que je remercie pour cette information) ; W. von Soden renvoie aussi à d'autres archives datant du Bronze Récent, comme Ugarit. En revanche, l'emploi d'une écriture syllabique précédée du TÚG pour le terme *ṣubātu(m)* est habituel dans les sources paléobabyloniennes, comme cela est indiqué *e. g.* dans *CAD* Ṣ 223.

Une lecture *su/sú/šu₁₁-ḫat-tum/tu₄* ne serait pas très satisfaisante, parce que le terme *š/suḫattu(m)* est surtout attesté dans les sources néobabyloniennes. Sa traduction est « a textile » (*CAD* Š/3 205), « eine Binde » (*AHw* 1261a), ou bien « a kind of cloth » (*CAD* S 346b).

Le texte administratif *SAKF* 159 ne semble donc pas venir nécessairement du corpus d'Alalaḫ ou de Nuzi. Le seul argument serait qu'un terme présent dans *SAKF* 159 est écrit exactement comme il apparaît à Alalaḫ IV, mais une seule fois (aucune à Nuzi !) ; en revanche, une telle graphie est habituelle dans le corpus paléobabylonien. De plus, au moins sur le site de Tell Açana/Alalaḫ, l'existence de fouilles clandestines n'est pas connue (voir e. g. G. Wilhelm, « "Verhafte ihn!" », *OrNS* 59, 1990, 309) ; il est donc fort improbable qu'un texte acquis en Iraq en 1930 en provienne. En définitive, *SAKF* 159 est probablement un texte administratif datable du Bronze Moyen – mais le site exact ou même la région de provenance restent inconnus.

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8) [IM-160562] Charme de Larsa contre les divins trépassés — Cette petite tablette, 3×3 cm, mal conservée, remonte à l'époque paléo-babylonienne. Elle est en argile crue. Le texte est écrit en sumérien. Cette incantation fait partie de ma thèse (Ali Murad, *Textes cunéiformes de Larsa de l'époque paléo-babylonienne (Isin-Larsa) (2017-1741 av. J.-C.)* non encore publiée, p. 298-99). Ce manuscrit, l'une des 700 tablettes envoyées d'Amman, est entré en 1999 au Musée d'Irak à Bagdad. Ces documents proviennent de pillages (documentation du Musée d'Irak à Bagdad). Toutes les preuves que j'ai découvertes indiquent que la provenance de ces tablettes a été la ville de Larsa (Ali Murad, *op. cit.*, p. 305).

En revanche, il existe une incantation similaire (YBC 5627 [= YOS 11, 89]) publiée par A. Cavigneaux et F. N. H. Al-Rawi (« Charmes de Sippar et de Nippur », MHEO 2, 1994, p. 74). Nous pouvons donc comparer la face de notre incantation avec elle.

A.	IM-160562		B. YBC 5627
Face.			
	1. [h]é-da	B.	1. hé-da
A.	2. [d]a-da	B.	2. da-da
A.	3. ^{d}en-líl	B.	3. ^{d}en-líl

A.	4. ᵈen-ki	B.	4. ᵈen-ki
A.	5. ᵈnergal	B.	5. ᵈnergal
A.	6. an-an	B.	6. én-é-nu-ru
A.	7. lagar-lagar	B.	7. an-an
Rev.		B.	8. lagar-lagar

A. 8. [an-an-a]n-an-an-an-an

  9. lagar-lagar-lagar-lagar-lagar-lagar-lagar

 10. én?-en[-nu-r]i ?

 11-12. udug ᵈad₆ (LÚxBAD) ba-ug₇

     1-9) Qu'il (me) laisse ! Enlil, Enki, Nergal, les deux dieux, les deux prêtres, les sept dieux, les sept prêtres. 10-12) L'Enen[nuri](?) charme contre les divins trépassés.

     L. 1-2. L'ambiguïté de ce terme est traitée par A. Cavigneaux qui préfère que sa traduction soit (qu'il (me) laisse) (Id., ibid., p. 74).

     L. 11. udug : en akkadien *utukku*, est un terme sumérien qui se rapporte à un type particulier de démon (J. Black et A. Green, *God, Demons and Symbols of Mesopotamia*, 1992, p. 179).

     L. 8-9. On voit dans ces deux lignes qu'on a répété sept fois l'écriture des signes an (dieu /ciel) et lagar (prêtre). Dans la magie et dans l'incantation telles que les nôtres, on repère qu'il y a des mots répétés sept fois. On en ignore la raison mais il est probable d'ailleurs qu'il y avait, au moment de prêter serment, des prêtres assistants qui répétaient des mots comme an, lagar. Pourquoi sept fois ? Le nombre sept est le chiffre le plus significatif en Mésopotamie ancienne. Il est difficile de savoir quelle en est l'origine (*Id., ibid.*, p. 144).
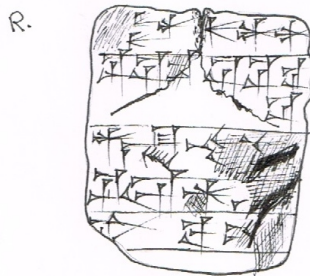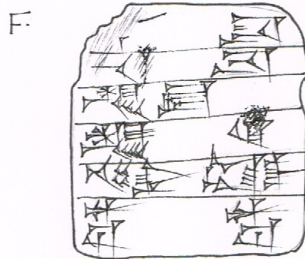
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9) Collations au mémorandum de Mari A.3209 — À partir de la photographie et de l'excellente autographie dessinée par F. Joannès de la tablette de Mari A.3209 (« Nouveaux mémorandums », *in Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, J.-M. Durand et J.-R. Kupper éd., 1985, p. 108-109), la lecture d'un passage relatif à la ville de Nahur peut être améliorée. La restitution des lignes 9-10 reste délicate.

     A.3209 : 6-10 :

6   aš-šum ⌜ṭe₄⌝*-[em] ⌈*⌜bu⌝-nu-*ma-ᵈ*i[škur* o o o o?-I]M

      iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ru um-ma-a-mi [sa-ba-am ni-iṭ]-ru-da-kum-ma

8   uru na-hu-⌜ur⌝ᵏⁱˡ⌝ ZA

      aš-šum 1 lu₂ X ⌜na-hu⌝-urᵏⁱ w[a*-ša-bi-i]m*?

10   a-na às-qúr-ᵈiškur iš-[ta]-na-ap-[pa-ru]

Au sujet du problème de Bunuma-Addu, […] ils ne cessent d'écrire disant : « [Nous t'avons] envoyé [une troupe] ; *pr<ends>* la ville de Nahur ! »

Au sujet *d'un homme qui se trouve à* Nahur, ils ne cessent d'écrire à Asqur-Addu.

l. 7 : entre *-mi* et le début de la cassure aucun signe n'est conservé.

l. 8 : la ligne a été effacée en partie. Il est impossible de savoir si ZA appartenait à une rédaction antérieure partiellement érasée. J'ai supposé une restauration du genre de ⌈*ṣa*⌉-*<ba-at>*.

La datation approximative de ces affaires est donnée indirectement par la mention d'Asdī-Lim le roi de Kahat (ZL 12-13 ; *FM* V, p. 266 ; mais si ce roi est attesté dans les textes administratifs à partir du milieu de ZL 12, il se peut que son ascension remonte à l'année précédente) et peut-être aussi d'Atamrum (*a-tam**-[*rum*] : l. 4 ; ZL 10-11 ; *FM* V, p. 267). Itûr-Asdu gouverneur de Nahur évoque dans sa correspondance (inédite) l'hostilité de Bunuma-Addu le roi de Nihriya et ses liens avec Asqur-Addu, roi déchu de Nahur (c'est le cas de A.566 à dater du mois xii/[ZL 9]). Le mémorandum permet donc de voir que la question de la sécurité Nahur préoccupa particulièrement le roi de Mari vers l'année ZL 10 ou 11, sans doute alerté directement par Itûr-Asdû lui-même.

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10) Ṣubâtum, le nom ancien de Tell Taya à l'époque amorrite — Tell Taya est un site localisé à moins de dix kilomètres au sud-est de Tell Afar, ayant connu une occupation à l'époque amorrite. Le nom du gouverneur de Karanâ d'époque éponymale, Hâṣidânum, fut ainsi retrouvé sur deux tablettes mises au jour sur ce site. L'une d'elles mentionne la ville de Zamiyatum (*TA* 2100, éditée par Nicholas Postgate dans Reade 1973, p. 174), dans le cadre d'un transfert de champs, selon l'interprétation de ce texte par R.M. WHITING 1990, p. 202, n. 175. Cette mention de Zamiyatum avait conduit Nicholas Postgate à considérer ce nom comme celui du site antique. Cette identification fut reprise par la majorité des travaux postérieurs (voir dernièrement DURAND & ZIEGLER 2014, p. 64).

Il semble toutefois que nous puissions dégager des textes de Tell al-Rimah (l'ancienne Qaṭṭarâ) quelques noms de localités qu'il faudrait chercher dans ce même horizon géographique mais également et surtout proposer d'identifier Tell Taya avec Ṣubâtum.

Plusieurs textes économiques mentionnent Zamiyatum : *OBTR* 226 (l. 5 : ᵘʳᵘ*za-mi-a-ti*) ; *OBTR* 244 (col. ii, l. 5' : *za-mi-'a₄*(HA)-*tim*ᵏⁱ) ; *OBTR* 245 (col. i, l. 33 : [*za-m*]*i-'a₄*(HA)-*tim*ᵏⁱ) et *OBTR* 316 (l. 3 : ᵘʳᵘ*za-mi-a-tum*ᵏⁱ).

Zamiyatum est attestée avec d'autres localités, et si certaines sont peu mentionnées ailleurs, deux d'entre elles reviennent de manière fréquente. La première, Arhinânum, est attestée quatre fois dans les

textes de Tell al‑Rimah : *OBTR* 245 (l. 12 : *ar-hi-[n]a-nim*^{ki}) ; *OBTR* 294 (l. 6 : ^{uru}*ar-hi-na-{NU}-nim*) ; *OBTR* 297 (l. 6 : *ar-hi-na-nim*^{rki}) ; *OBTR* 316 (l. 5 : ^{uru}*ar-hi-na-an*^{ki}). Elle apparaît principalement dans des contextes d'attributions de terres ou de personnels. Par deux fois elle est citée avec Zamiyatum (*OBTR* 245 et *OBTR* 316) et une fois avec Ṣubâtum (*OBTR* 316).

Ce dernier nom est aussi connu des textes de Mari. Une première lettre, *FM* VI 26, évoque dans un contexte militaire, la proximité de Ṣubâtum avec Qaṭṭarâ. Dans *ARMT* XXVI/2 523, Ṣubâtum est à la fois dite « des-Bords-du-Tigre » (l. 21 : *ṣú-ba-tam ša a-ah* i$_7$ *i-di-ig-la-at*), et appartenant au territoire d'Asqur-Addu (l. 22), le roi de Karanâ. Si le second qualificatif ne contredit pas une localisation près de Tell Taya, le premier invite plutôt à chercher Ṣubâtum plus à l'est, derrière le Djebel Ibrahim. La solution proposée par Nele Ziegler est de distinguer deux homonymes, l'un situé au bord du Tigre, l'autre à proximité de Qaṭṭarâ (ZIEGLER 2002, p. 264, n. 8, proposition reprise dans CHARPIN 2003, p. 28). C'est au second que l'on s'intéressera ici. Il est mentionné par ailleurs au moins sept fois dans les textes de Tell al-Rimah. *OBTR* 226 et 316 mentionnent à la fois Ṣubâtum et Zamiyatum. Voir aussi les lettres *OBTR* 70 (l. 8 : ^{r}*ṣú*$^{?}$*-ba-ti*^{ki}) et *OBTR* 157 (l. 14 : *ṣú-*^{r}*ba*$^{?}$*-a*$^{?}$*-tim*^{ki}), écrites par le roi Haqba-Hammû, ainsi que celle adressée à Warad-šarrim *OBTR* 300 (l. 5 : [^{uru}]*ṣú-ba-tim*^{ki}) . Enfin, Ṣubâtum est écrit avec la graphie Ṣubûtum dans les textes *OBTR* 246 (l. 24 : *ṣú-bu-tim*^{ki}) et *OBTR* 247 (l. 3' : [*ṣ*]*ú-bu-tim*^{ki}) ; voir aussi DURAND & ZIEGLER 2014, p. 64 renvoyant au travail de thèse de A.-I. Langlois.

Ces trois villes, Arhinanum, Ṣubâtum et Zamiyatum, étant mentionnées régulièrement les unes avec les autres dans des contextes impliquant un horizon géographique limité, les inclure dans un même ensemble, entre Karanâ et Qaṭṭarâ, au piémont ouest du Djebel Ibrahim, semble plutôt convaincant.

Le corpus rassemblé paraît être suffisamment conséquent pour que nous puissions débattre de l'importance de ces toponymes. Zamiyatum et Arhinânum semblent avoir un statut similaire, elles sont mentionnées généralement dans un même contexte, économique, et correspondent plutôt à des établissements agricoles ou à de petits villages (WHITING 1990, p. 202, n. 175). Ṣubâtum semble avoir un statut différent. Dans une lettre de Yassi-Dagan faisant également référence aux pillages du pays de Qaṭṭarâ par l'armée ešnunnéenne, Ṣubâtum est la seule parmi les localités pillées à être mentionnée directement par son nom alors que les autres sont simplement désignées par l'expression « les villages autour de Qaṭṭarâ » (*FM* VI 26 : (8) (…) *ṣu-ba-at*^{rki} (9) *ù ka-ap-ra-tim*^{ki} *ša i-ta-at qa-ṭá-ra-a*^{ki} *it-*^{r}*ta-sa*$^{?}$-[*ha-am*] : Elle (= l'armée esnunnéenne) s'est mise à [évacuer] Ṣubâtum et les villages autour de Qaṭṭarâ »). Son importance, d'un point de vue administratif et économique, est également entendue dans *OBTR* 316, seul texte mentionnant les trois toponymes étudiés ici ensemble. Il concerne des livraisons de céréales par différentes villes et individus. On constate que le centre de distribution est Ṣubâtum, alors que les deux autres toponymes sont récipiendaires des denrées. Il semble donc possible de considérer Ṣubâtum comme un chef-lieu dont l'autorité s'étendrait aux deux autres villes.

Cette hypothèse peut être confirmée par le dossier réuni sur le personnage de Warad-šarrim. Il est mentionné une première fois dans *OBTR* 300 pour une attribution de farine, nous en comprenons qu'il était l'autorité de référence à Ṣubâtum. Or le même personnage intervient aussi dans les lettres *OBTR* 294 et 297 dans lesquelles Ilî-Samas, administrateur aux compétences inconnues (sur cet homme, voir LACAMBRE & NAHM 2015), ordonne à Warad-šarrim de livrer des champs à des hommes d'Arhinânum et de les faire irriguer. Ces mêmes prérogatives apparaissent aussi dans la lettre *OBTR* 295. Warad-šarrim pourrait donc être un administrateur local chargé principalement de la gestion des terres à Ṣubâtum et dans les localités avoisinantes (J. D. Hawkins indiquait ainsi dans *OBTR*, p. 198 : « Warad-sarrim appears as a minor official with a largely agricultural sphere of competences »).

Cela amène à revoir l'identification de Tell Taya avec Zamiyatum. Ce site, fortifié, ayant connu une occupation antérieure à l'époque amorrite, jouit d'une position privilégiée à flanc de montagne maîtrisant par ce biais l'écoulement des eaux à ses pieds (comme cela est indiqué dans *OBTR* 295). Il nous semble donc plus pertinent d'y chercher Ṣubâtum, le centre administratif local, plutôt que l'un des petits établissements qui y étaient associés.

Il n'est pas étonnant à ce titre de voir la ville de Zamiyatum mentionnée dans une tablette de Tell Taya si nous considérons que le découpage administratif du territoire entourant Karanâ et Qaṭṭarâ ne changea guère entre l'époque de Samsî-Addu et l'époque des archives d'Iltani, Ṣubâtum (Tell Taya)

restant le relais local de décisions prises à Karanâ (Tell Afar) ou à Qaṭṭarâ (Tell al-Rimah).

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11) *ARM* **XXVIII 180 —** La lettre *ARM* XXVIII 180 a été très vite comprise par J.-R. Kupper (*ibid*., p. 258) comme ne faisant pas partie de la correspondance royale parce que le Zâziya qui envoie cette missive n'a pas le même père que celui qui est le *nuldânu* dont nous avons conservé l'empreinte du sceau (cf. Charpin & Beyer, *MARI* 6, p. 625-628). D'autre part, si ce Zâziya avait été un roi, il aurait fallu penser que Uqa-ki-El, le destinataire, en était un lui aussi et la présence de ce document dans les archives du palais de Mari aurait fait problème. Le contenu de cette lettre, d'autre part, n'a aucun ton royal.

En fait, la photo donnée *ibid*., p. 262, est assez claire : la lettre est adressée non pas à un *ú-qá-ki-*AN, mais à *ú-ṣur**-*pî**-*i**-lugal*. Cet Uṣur-pî-šarrim est bien connu : il s'agit du chef-portier du harem du palais de Mari. Que l'on trouve une lettre à lui adressée dans le palais de Mari n'est donc plus une surprise. Qu'il n'y en ait pas de lui, n'est en revanche pas étonnant : s'il en a écrit, elles sont ailleurs qu'à Mari ; s'il se passait quelque chose dans le harem, la transmission de l'information devait rester au niveau de l'oral.

En revanche, on a plusieurs fois remarqué (voir en dernier lieu, N. Ziegler, *FM* IV, 1999, p. 114) que l'onomastique des portiers était une onomastique de fonction, donc acquise secondairement à l'entrée en service. Lorsque l'on voit comment s'appelaient son père et sa mère, Tahuna et Elakka, ainsi que les noms des gens qui lui sont apparentés, on comprend qu'il devait effectivement avoir lui-même un nom bien différent de la bonne frappe akkadienne que l'on trouve dans "Uṣur-pî-šarrim". C'est donc un exemple net de redénomination. Cet akkadonyme doit en fait masquer un hourritophone.

Cette lettre est certainement un exemple du courrier adressé à ceux qui ont la chance d'être affectés au Palais par des parents qui se rappellent à leur bon souvenir, ce qui pouvait être l'amorce de bons profits ultérieurs, ce dont plusieurs exemples existent, comme *ARM* X 110 et autres textes de *LAPO* 18, p. 481 *sqq*.

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12) Kadašman-Enlil IIa as a Green Tiger — Occasionally young scientists are told the following story. An explorer comes home with a photo of a green tiger. One just about may discuss the existence of such an animal. If he shows a picture of a green deer in addition, one rather will discuss his equipment or his personality. The archive of Itti-Ezida-lummir in Babylon (Pedersén M8) contains two texts allegedly dated by ancient kings, A. 1998 (= Bab 39031) from the reign of Kadašman-Turgu, successor of Kadašman-Enlil and Bab 39045 from the 10th year of Kadašman-Harbe II. The latter text received little comment, but the former misled several authors to insert a king Kadašman-Enlil IIa into the Kassite kinglist. Pedersén had warned that the text may be an ancient fake and in view of Bab 39045 this is indeed the most likely possibility. Perhaps efforts to identify scribes on the basis of 3D recordings of cuneiform texts can use the two probable fakes and the tablets written by Itti-Ezida-lummir as a test case.

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13) The Immediate Successors of Burna-Buriaš II Revisited — Two cuneiform chronicles preserved in late copies shed light on an early Assyrian intervention into the political affairs of Babylon during the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I (1355-1319 BC). Known since the late 19th century, these sources were first edited and translated by Sayce and by Pinches (SAYCE 1873 and 1874; PINCHES 1891 and 1894). Today the two texts are generally known as the Assyrian *Synchronistic History* and the Babylonian *Chronicle P*, respectively (GRAYSON 1975: 157-177; GLASSNER 2004: 176-183, 278-281, calls them the *Synchronistic Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of the Kassite Kings*). Although they disagree in several details, the *Synchronistic History* and *Chronicle P* relate the same general sequence of events. The Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ had given his daughter as wife to a Babylonian prince of the Kassite Dynasty; this couple's son, Aššur-uballiṭ's grandson, was murdered by the Kassites and replaced as king by a commoner. Aššur-uballiṭ marched on Babylonia (Karduniaš), killed the usurper, and placed a legitimate Kassite king on the throne (GRAYSON 1975: 159, 171-172; GLASSNER 1975: 179, 279).

According to the Babylonian *Chronicle P* (i 5-10), the Babylonian king who was murdered by his subjects was Kadašman-Ḫarbe, son of Karaindaš and Muballiṭat-Ṣērūa, the daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ. In the following lines (i 11-14) Aššur-uballiṭ is said to have marched into Babylonia and avenged his daughter's son Kadašman-Ḫarbe by eliminating the usurper Šuzigaš and placing Kurigalzu (supplying the name, which is missing in a lacuna), a relative of Kadašman-Ḫarbe on the throne (WINCKLER 1897: 116; GRAYSON 1975: 172; BRINKMAN 1976: 419; GLASSNER 2004: 279). Here Winckler, Grayson, Brinkman and Glassner restored the details that Kurigalzu was the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe and that he was placed on his father's throne ([*i-duk* ᵐ*Ku-ri-gal-zu mār* ᵐ*Ka-dáš*]-*man-Ḫar-be ina ku*[*ssê abi-šú ú-še-šib*]) by analogy with the seemingly parallel text of the Assyrian *Synchronistic History*. This source stated (i 8'-11') that the Babylonian king murdered by his subjects was Karaḫardaš (sic!) son of Muballiṭat-Šerūa, the daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ. The Kassite usurper is here named Nazi-bugaš (i 11'-12', 15'). Aššur-uballiṭ then (i 13'-17') marched into Babylonia to avenge his grandson Karaindaš (sic!), killed the usurper, and appointed Kurigalzu the Younger, son of Burna-Buriaš, as king by putting him on his father's throne (WINCKLER 1897: 116; GRAYSON 1975: 159; BRINKMAN 1976: 419; GLASSNER 2004: 179).

To tabulate the cast of characters (compare BRINKMAN 1976: 420):

A. Murdered Kassite grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ I:

Kadašman-Ḫarbe (*Chronicle P*)

Karaḫardaš (*Synchronistic History* i 8')/Karaindaš (*Synchronistic History* i 14')

B. Father of A and husband of Muballiṭat-Šerūa, daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ:

Karaindaš (*Chronicle P*)

Not specified (*Synchronistic History*)

C. Kassite usurper who replaced A and was eliminated by Aššur-uballiṭ:

Šuzigaš (*Chronicle P*)

Nazi-Bugaš (*Synchronistic History*)

D. New Kassite king installed by Aššur-uballiṭ:

Kurigalzu (?), son (?) of Kadašman-Ḫarbe (*Chronicle P*) [name and kinship in lacuna]

Kurigalzu the Younger, son of Burna-Buriaš (*Synchronistic History*)

The obvious correspondence of the episodes described in *Chronicle P* and the *Synchronistic History* naturally inspired scholars to resolve the several apparent discrepancies, a task made difficult by the relative scarcity of evidence, the lack of surviving coverage for this period in the available Babylonian King Lists, and the multiplicity of Kassite kings with the names Kadašman-Ḫarbe and Kurigalzu; there were at least two kings named Kurigalzu: Kurigalzu I, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (for one of his inscriptions, see OSHIMA 2012), and Kurigalzu II, son of Burna-Buriaš II. Although there is no guarantee that the two texts had a common textual origin (the *Synchronistic History* knows nothing of the achievements of Aššur-uballiṭ's Kassite grandson listed in *Chronicle P* and names Burna-Buriaš, not Kadašman-Ḫarbe, as Kurigalzu's precursor in the end), Winckler attempted to combine the testimony of the two sources, making *Chronicle P*'s Kadašman-Ḫarbe the son of the *Synchronistic History*'s Karaḫardaš, and dismissed the *Synchronistic History*'s (and *Chronicle P*'s) Karaindaš as a scribal error

for Karaḫardaš (WINCKLER 1897: 117). Apart from giving preference to the hitherto unattested name Karaḫardaš over the well-attested name Karaindaš, this seems to miss the point, that the *Synchronistic History* ascribed to Karaḫardaš/Karaindaš the role of the murdered grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ, fulfilled by Kadašman-Ḫarbe son of Karaindaš in *Chronicle P*. Using a different approach towards reconciling the differences between the two testimonies, Weissbach suggested that the lacuna in *Chronicle P* containing the relationship between Kurigalzu II and Kadašman-Ḫarbe should be restored not as "son" (*mār*) as in the *Synchronistic History*, but rather as "father's brother" (*aḫi abi*) (WEISSBACH 1903: 4-6). This solution would resolve one of the most glaring differences between the two sources.

Other scholars placed more weight on one of the testimonies as opposed to the other. Luckenbill used a legal document naming Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, as a predecessor of Nazi-Maruttaš, son of Kurigalzu, to argue that Kurigalzu II was indeed the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, as assumed to have been stated in *Chronicle P*, and that the *Synchronistic History* was mistaken (LUCKENBILL 1907: 8). Schnabel reached a similar conclusion on different grounds (SCHNABEL 1908: 13-19). While these scholars assumed that Kurigalzu son of Burna-Buriaš was a distinct king who reigned earlier in time, Radau argued that *Chronicle P* was correct in naming Kurigalzu II as the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, and that when the *Synchronistic History* called Kurigalzu II the son of Burna-Buriaš II, it simply meant to identify him as a descendant of that king (RADAU 1908: 63-66). Kurigalzu II, moreover, might have chosen to name his more distant ancestor as "father," to avoid connection to his ill-fated and apparently unpopular real parent (RADAU 1908: 67). Indeed something like this could be discerned in the inscriptions of later Assyrian kings, where Sîn-aḫḫē-erība avoided mention of his father Šarru-kīn II, who had been felled in battle (SEUX 1980-1983: 145); something similar could be inferred for Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III in relation to Aššur-nērārī V, whom he seems to have eliminated in a coup. In principle, Radau's solution could resolve the discrepancy. But if Kurigalzu II really was the son of the Babylonian grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ, it would have been very odd for the Assyrian text to omit that point, and to associate Kurigalzu II with a hitherto unmentioned more distant ancestor instead!

In more recent times, von Soden and Röllig proposed reading the name Karaḫardaš as Karakindaš, which does not really resolve our discrepancies, and Röllig attempted to reconcile the sources with a rather artificial construct, whereby Burna-Buriaš II became the husband of Muballiṭat-Šerūa and father of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, Karakindaš, and Kurigalzu II – unless the last were the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe after all (SODEN 1962: 61; RÖLLIG 1967: 175-178). On the other hand, Brinkman asserted that the account of *Chronicle P* was based on damaged sources and is less accurate than that of the *Synchronistic History*, and that *Chronicle P* mistakenly attributed to Kurigalzu II (who is well-attested as the son of Burna-Buriaš II) the ancestry of Kurigalzu I (BRINKMAN 1969: 322-327; BRINKMAN 1976: 419-423). Brinkman also questioned Luckenbill's use of the legal document, noting that the implied passage of several generations militated against identifying its Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe with Nazi-Maruttaš's father Kurigalzu (BRINKMAN 1969: 323 n. 1; BRINKMAN 1976: 243). In his chapter on chronology for the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Rowton gave preference to the account of *Chronicle P* (ROWTON 1970: 205). Grayson concurred, pointing out, among other things, that elsewhere the *Synchronistic History* is mistaken about three rulers' names, whereas *Chronicle P* possibly mistakes only one, and concluded that *Chronicle P* is more likely to be correct (GRAYSON 1975: 212). Gadd also preferred *Chronicle P*, but with the emendations suggested by Winckler (GADD 1975: 28-30, replacing Karaindaš with Karaḫardaš).

Despite the apparent support for the testimony of *Chronicle P* in most of the studies that touched specifically on these issues, it is Brinkman's preference for the account of the *Synchronistic History* that has become established in Assyriology, perhaps in part because of the ready recourse to Brinkman's Mesopotamian chronology. But in fact the very reasoning Brinkman employed to suggest that the scribe responsible for the current text of *Chronicle P* restored the royal names Karaindaš and Kadašman-Ḫarbe incorrectly from a damaged source, could be used to support the opposite conclusion. The variation in the use of the name forms Karaḫardaš and Karaindaš in different lines of the *Synchronistic History* (i 8' and i 14') inspires little confidence in this text, and it should be pointed out that, apart from a hypothetical reconstruction of a broken name, the form Karaḫardaš remains unattested (BRINKMAN 1976: 167-168).

Surely it is not difficult to suppose that Assyrian scribes, especially if supplying the information at a later time, had trouble with relatively unfamiliar Kassite names and with the details of Babylonian history. Perhaps it was they, who had to work with a damaged source. Also in favor of Grayson's conclusion that *Chronicle P* is more trustworthy on these events, it seems apparent that the *Synchronistic History* confused Karaindaš and Kadašman-Ḫarbe. This is especially probable considering the idiosyncratic name form ᵐ*Ka-ra-ḫar-da-áš* in i 8', which could derive either from a misspelling of the familiar name ᵐ*Ka-ra-in-da-áš* (compare the discussion in RADAU 1908: 62-63), or from a conflation and perhaps even combination of the forms ᵐ*Ka-ra-in-da-áš* and ᵐ*Ka-dáš-man-Ḫar-be*. Indeed, although damaged, two other attestations of the name Karaindaš in the *Synchronistic History* (i 1' and i 14') clearly conform to the correct spelling ᵐ*Ka-ra-in-da-áš* (GRAYSON 1975: 158-159; BRINKMAN 1976: 166-172). The circumstantial considerations favor preferring the testimony of *Chronicle P* and identifying Aššur-uballiṭ's Kassite grandson as Kadašman-Ḫarbe, son of Karaindaš.

As for the paternity of Kurigalzu II, in following Winckler's restoration of the text, both Brinkman and Grayson assumed that the sources are irreconcilable and that *Chronicle P* named Kurigalzu the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, in contrast to the *Synchronistic History*, which Kurigalzu the son of Burna-Buriaš II. However, as we have seen, the relevant line (i 14') is badly damaged and both the name Kurigalzu and his relationship to Kadašman-Ḫarbe were restored by Winckler on presumed analogy with the *Synchronistic History*'s lines i 16'-17'. Therefore, we need not assume that we have an irreconcilable contradiction. *Chronicle P* may well have stated that Aššur-uballiṭ placed Kurigalzu, the "father's brother" (*aḫi abi*) of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, on the throne (I thank Professor Brinkman for confirming for me that this is a theoretical possibility in a private communication, October 2, 2003). Despite Radau's protestations (RADAU 1908: 65 n. 2), it seems that Weissbach was closer to the truth in maintaining that Kurigalzu II was indeed the son of Burna-Buriaš II and probably the uncle of Kadašman-Ḫarbe (WEISSBACH 1903: 4-6). As for the plausible restoration of the phrase "his father's throne" (*ina ku[ssê abi-šú ú-še-šib]*) in line i 14', it only requires that Kurigalzu II was the son of a king, not necessarily the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe. We can thus reconcile *Chronicle P* with the primary sources making Kurigalzu II the son of Burna-Buriaš II (and, in part, with the *Synchronistic History*). This obviates an implicit reason for preferring the account of the *Synchronistic History* (accepting Kurigalzu II as a great-grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ would involve too many generations in too short a time-span).

Another implicit reason for preferring the testimony of the *Synchronistic History* over that of *Chronicle P* is that the Assyrian source seems to imply one less undocumented reign between Burna-Buriaš II and Kurigalzu II. Whereas *Chronicle P* would imply the succession Burna-Buriaš II > Karaindaš II > Kadašman-Ḫarbe II > Šuzigaš > Kurigalzu II, the *Synchronistic History* would imply Burna-Buriaš II > "Karaḫardaš" > Nazi-Bugaš > Kurigalzu II. However, this apparent advantage is largely illusive, as we have two undocumented reigns even on the more economic, *Synchronistic History*-based scenario. While Aššur-uballiṭ's Kassite grandson (whether Kadašman-Ḫarbe II or "Karaḫardaš") and his non-royal replacement (whether Šuzigaš or Nazi-Bugaš) must clearly be considered kings, even if ephemeral, the same cannot be said with any certainty about the husband of Muballiṭat-Šerūa (unless he was, in fact, Burna-Buriaš II). In other words, the Karaindaš II implied by *Chronicle P* might not have reigned as king. This, or an extremely short reign, is implied by the apparent absence of any regnal years for a Kassite king named Karaindaš; the earlier king Karaindaš I had reigned before the adoption of numbered regnal years. The reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II was also probably very short, perhaps only a few months and probably not much more than a year, although in his case it is possible that some dated attestations survive, but are ascribed to the later and similarly ephemeral king Kadašman-Ḫarbe III in the late 13th century BC.

We may suggest the following probable course of events. Burna-Buriaš II's likely son and intended heir, Karaindaš II, had married Muballiṭat-Šerūa, the daughter of the Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ I. Karaindaš II either predeceased his father, or died after an extremely short reign. The throne passed to Karaindaš II's son Kadašman-Ḫarbe II. If the new king inherited his grandfather Burna-Buriaš II directly (which is possible), and especially if he was young and headstrong and tested the limits of his subjects' patience (something suggested by *Chronicle P*'s account of his military and building activities in lines i

7-10), he may well have provoked the reaction that led to his murder. The non-royal usurper Šuzigaš (or Nazi-Bugaš) clearly did not reign long: he is completely unattested in surviving contemporary sources, and much of the kingdom might have already recognized the authority of Kurigalzu II even before Aššur-uballiṭ I eliminated the usurper and "installed" Kurigalzu II as the undisputed king. Finally, Kurigalzu II, as the son of Burna-Buriaš II, was probably the uncle of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II. The succession to a nephew by an uncle is attested on several occasions in Mesopotamian history (in Assyria: Aššur-šadûni > Aššur-rabî I; Erība-Adad II > Šamšī-Adad IV; Aššur-nērārī IV > Aššur-rabî II; in Babylonia: Enlil-nādin-apli > Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē). While the absence of decisive new evidence prevents us from reaching absolute certainty on this matter, it seems reasonable to reconsider our understanding of this period along the lines suggested in this study.

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14) Ammuna, Ḫuzziya, and Telipinu reconsidered — According to the *Proclamation of Telipinu*, when the Hittite king Ammuna died, the Chief of the Bodyguard Zuru dispatched his own son Taḫurwaili and the courier Taruḫšu to eliminate Tittiya and Ḫantili and their sons, and Ḫuzziya became king (§21-22, ii 4-9). His *ḫantezziya* sister Ištapariya was married to Telipinu, and Ḫuzziya intended to kill the couple, but was expelled by Telipinu, who spared the lives of Ḫuzziya and his five brothers (§22-23, ii 9-15), and sat on the throne of his father (§25, ii 16) (KNAPP 2015: 84-85, 96).

Although the *Proclamation of Telipinu* is seemingly addressed to a future audience (see the wording of the "Edict," §28-50), the text is succinct and evidently assumed that the audience would be "in the know," providing very little indication of the relationships between the named individuals. This has led to significant disagreement among scholars' interpretations of the passage. Apart from the explicitly stated relationships (Zuru as father of Taḫurwaili; Telipinu as husband of Ištapariya, the sister of Ḫuzziya), the only thing that seems to be generally agreed, is that Tittiya and Ḫantili were the sons of Ammuna, who were eliminated to allow Ḫuzziya's accession to the throne. Beyond this, we are presented with two basic choices:

(A) Ḫuzziya was a second-rank or illegitimate son of Ammuna, and Telipinu's claim to the throne was through his marriage to Ammuna's daughter Ištapariya, or

(B) Telipinu was a surviving son of Ammuna, who happened to be married to Ištapariya, the sister of the usurper Ḫuzziya.

Option A was espoused by (e.g.) GOETZE 1957: 56-57; HOFFNER 1975: 51-53, BECKMAN 1986: 22; ATKINS 2000: 160; FREU 2007a: 134; option B was adopted by (e.g.) GURNEY 1973: 663-664; RIEMSCHNEIDER 1971: 93-95; SÜRENHAGEN 1998: 76, 90-91; BRYCE 2005: 103, 417-418 n. 35; KNAPP 2015: 103-104; both options were considered, without indicating a definite preference, by KLENGEL 1999: 77 (A), 79 (B). In the absence of additional clues from source evidence, we are forced to explore the question on the basis of circumstantial and logical considerations.

A literal interpretation of Telipinu's claim to have sat on the throne of his father (§25, ii 16: *INA* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *ABI-YA*), would require us to adopt option B. In this case Ammuna's murdered sons Tittiya and Ḫantili would have been Telipinu's older brothers, and Ḫuzziya's only apparent connection to the royal family would have been his sister Ištapariya's marriage to Telipinu. This is not a very promising scenario, as it does not provide Ḫuzziya with any plausible claim on the throne. Earlier kings who helped themselves to the throne, like Ḫantili I, Zidanta I, and Ammuna himself, had such claims (brother-in-law, son-in-law, and parricide son); as wife's brother to a king's son, Ḫuzziya did not. Assuming (largely on the basis of a theoretical model) that Ḫuzziya was the son of Ammuna's sister (RIEMSCHNEIDER 1971: 93-97; SÜRENHAGEN 1998: 90-91; KNAPP 2015: 104-105) might help provide him with a plausible claim to the throne, but it does not help vindicate option B. Neither does the appeal to papponymy, that Telipinu named his own son Ammuna in commemoration of his alleged father Ammuna (FORLANINI 2010: 125-127; KNAPP 2015: 105). But papponymy was not applied exclusively in the male line: consider the successive generations of (1) Tudḫaliya II, (2) his daughter Ašmu-Nikkal (who married Arnuwanda I), and (3) their son Tudḫaliya III.

Zuru, who engineered the murders of Tittiya and Ḫantili to place Ḫuzziya on the throne, was the Chief of the Bodyguard (§21, ii 5: GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*MEŠEDI*). This office was normally held by a king's close relative, usually a brother (e.g., Šuppiluliuma I's brother Zida; Arnuwanda II's brother Muršili II; Muwattalli II's brother Ḫattušili III; Ḫattušili III's son Tudḫaliya IV; Tudḫaliya IV's brother Ḫuzziya: BEAL 1995: 546; PARKER 1998: 270-271; KLENGEL 1999: 148, 165, 235; BRYCE 2005: 160, 232, 296; FREU 2007b: 210, 245-246, 274; FREU 2008: 17, 88, 119, 165, 202, 273-274; FREU 2010: 65). Although the most explicit examples come from the Hittite New Kingdom, we expect the same pattern to apply earlier (cf. FREU 2007a: 166, 173). Thus, Zuru was likely Ammuna's brother (FREU 2007a: 134). If so, why should we suppose that he would have helped a nephew to the throne he could have claimed for himself, unless that nephew were the son of the previous king? Making Zuru the husband of Ammuna's presumed sister (SÜRENHAGEN 1998: 91; ATKINS 2000: 155, but without the same implications) is no improvement: Zuru could have taken the throne of his wife's brother Ammuna (compare Ḫantili I in relation to Muršili I), instead of giving it to his own alleged son Ḫuzziya.

These considerations aside, to vindicate option B, we have little choice but to suppose that Ḫuzziya would have had to be the son of a sibling of Ammuna, despite the complication posed by Zuru. In this case, however, the relationship between Ammuna's son Telipinu and Telipinu's wife Ištapariya would have been that of first cousins. Such a relationship was expressly forbidden by Hittite custom: as Šuppiluliuma I instructed his sister's husband, Ḫuqqanā of Ḫayaša in their treaty (§25-26), a man was not to marry or have sexual intercourse with his sister or female cousin, a crime carrying the penalty of death (BECKMAN 1996: 27-28; cf. PETSCHOW 1976-1980: 147). The counter-argument, that in the preserved laws from the Hittite Old Kingdom marriage or sexual relations between cousins were not explicitly prohibited (SÜRENHAGEN 1998: 79 n. 17), seems forced. It is unlikely that the transition to the Hittite New Kingdom would have involved any change in such restrictions. Moreover, while the Hittite laws do not specifically mention or prohibit incest between siblings or cousins, they do not permit it either. Given that they do prohibit sexual relations between a man and his sister-in-law (§195), it is safe to assume that the unspecified relations between siblings or (first?) cousins would have been considered as prohibited and punishable then, just as they were in the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. Indeed, insofar as they can be checked against each other, the Hittite laws on sexual relations agree with Šuppiluliuma's instructions (cf. HOFFNER 1995, 236-237). Since Šuppiluliuma's instructions indicate that, for the purposes of defining incest, (first?) cousins were equivalent to siblings, we may conclude that Telipinu and Ištapariya were probably not first cousins after all. Thus, if Telipinu was Ammuna's son, Ištapariya's

brother Ḫuzziya would have had no plausible claim on the throne, and would not have been preferred to Zuru. This weakens the justification for supporting option B.

The description of Ištapariya as Ḫuzziya's *ḫantezziya* sister, if it is to be interpreted as "of first rank" as opposed to "elder," might also point to a royal parent for the two siblings, although it is not excluded that such terminology applied to aristocratic families as well as royal ones. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see why Ḫuzziya should have sought to eliminate both Telipinu and Ištapariya, if Telipinu were Ammuna's son, and if Ištapariya, like Ḫuzziya, was not a king's child. On the other hand, if Ištapariya were Ammuna's daughter (and perhaps especially if she were of higher rank than her brother), Ḫuzziya's need to eliminate her, and not just her husband, becomes more explicable as political necessity. The difficulties in identifying Ḫuzziya's claims to the throne if he were not one of Ammuna's sons (one younger or of lower status than Tittiya and Ḫantili, who had been eliminated to clear the way for him), strongly favors adopting the opposite alternative, option A. But if all this makes Ḫuzziya and Ištapariya children of Ammuna, and leaves Telipinu as Ammuna's son-in-law, how can we justify his statement that Telipinu "sat on the throne of his father?"

It is relatively well known, that in the political terminology of the Ancient Near East, "father" could designate not only one's biological parent, but also an adoptive parent, an ancestor (forefather), or simply a predecessor. Consider the Amarna Letter in which the Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ I (1355-1319 BC) referred to Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II (1392-1382 BC) as his "father" (*EA 16:* 19-21, MORAN 1992: 39). Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II was actually the first cousin of Aššur-uballiṭ's father Erība-Adad I (1382–1355 BC); unless Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē's daughter had married Erība-Adad and given birth to Aššur-uballiṭ (something perhaps unlikely), the latter was no son or even descendant of Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II. [The same applies to another possibility (MORAN 1992: 40 n. 9), that Aššur-uballiṭ was referring to the earlier king Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē I (?-1422 BC), who was also not a direct ancestor of Aššur-uballiṭ in the male line.] If, as likely, such conditions apply to our case, Telipinu could have referred to his father-in-law Ammuna as "father" without implying anything more than a related predecessor and taking advantage of a traditional stock phrase.

Another potential option is to consider a real or purported adoption. We have good reason to believe that Arnuwanda I was adopted by his father-in-law and co-ruler Tudḫaliya II (BECKMAN 1995: 535; BRYCE 2005: 129; FREU 2007b: 98). It is less clear that the same could be said for the relationship between Šuppiluliuma I and his predecessor Tudḫaliya III. Although for a long time it was widely believed that Šuppiluliuma was the son of Tudḫaliya III (e.g., BRYCE 2005: 148-149, 154), recent research has established that Šuppiluliuma's wife Ḫenti was the daughter of Tudḫaliya III (FREU 2007b: 200-201; STAVI 2011). Since brother could not marry sister in Ḫatti, this means that Šuppiluliuma was actually the son-in-law of Tudḫaliya III. Moreover, since Šuppiluliuma seized power by causing the murder of Tudḫaliya III's son and intended heir Tudḫaliya the Younger, evidently on the death of the old king (compare Zuru's elimination of Tittiya and Ḫantili on the death of Ammuna), it seems chronologically unlikely that Šuppiluliuma would have been formally adopted as son by his father-in-law. Thus, any references to Šuppiluliuma as the "son" of Tudḫaliya III should probably be considered a legal fiction at best, a retrospective "adoption" claimed for political reasons (for a seal impression naming Šuppiluliuma as the son of Tudḫaliya III, see OTTEN 1993). [This might also be the case with Telipinu's son-in-law and successor Alluwamna, named as a "king's son" in one text (KUB 11.3:6, see GURNEY 1973: 669; BECKMAN 1986: 22; KLENGEL 1999: 89), although Alluwamna could have actually been adopted by Telipinu on the premature death of Telipinu's son Ammuna.]

Since it is clear that a literal interpretation of Telipinu's claim to have "sat on his father's throne" is not necessary, option A outlined above is the least problematic interpretation of this episode in Hittite history. The death of King Ammuna allowed his Chief of the Bodyguard (and brother?) Zuru to murder Ammuna's heirs Tittiya and Ḫantili, and to elevate to the throne another, younger or lower-ranking son, Ḫuzziya. The new king failed to eliminate two remaining rivals, his sister Ištapariya and her husband Telipinu, and the latter seized the Hittite throne. Ḫuzziya, Zuru, and their respective families were deprived of power, while Telipinu embarked upon what is now considered the most important reign amidst a rather dreary period in the history of Hittite royalty.

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15) On the origin of the goddess Ištar-of-the-Sealand, *Ayyabītu* — The goddess Ištar enjoyed wide recognition throughout Mesopotamia, resulting in the consecration of a large number of temples (GEORGE 1993 *apud* BEAULIEU 2003: 103 n.1) and in the development of regional incarnations of her. The fourth tablet of the canonical version of AN = [d]Anum bears witness to this multiplicity of Ištar in listing several regional hypostases, a number of which had already entered forerunner lists dating to the early second millennium, for instance TCL 15, 10 (col.V line 14) and the Nippur God List SLT 122 (col.II lines 18-20). Two manuscripts of the canonical version contain among other regional incarnations of Ištar the entry [d]INANNA-A.AB.BA[ki] which is equated in the second column with *ia-bi-i-ᴾtu*[1], that is Ayabbītu (CAD A, s.v. *ajabbû*). The entries are in all likelihood to be rendered as "Ištar-of-the-Sealand" and "the Sealander", respectively. The gentilic *ayabbītu* is similar to the name of other regional aspects of Ištar which appear in the same list[2], all these aspects are expressed as denominative adjectives (nisbe) in the feminine singular. However, without further evidence this name of the goddess can only but puzzle, and indeed the line remained, unsurprisingly, uncommented in Litke's edition (1998). But new evidence has recently become available, which situates the origin of this goddess in the Sealand I kingdom, giving a clear geographical (even geo-political) sense to her name[3].

Relatively little is known of the kings who brought parts of middle and southern Babylonia under their sway in the late Old Babylonian period. Their names have entered the historiographic

tradition but the lack of royal inscriptions and the dearth of other contemporaneous official communication make it difficult to outline their dynastic tenets. However, when evidence from the unprovenanced archival texts dated to the Sealand I kings Pešgaldarameš and Ayadaragalama (DALLEY 2009) is examined in conjunction with an unpublished royal epic concerning their predecessor Gulkišar (ZOMER *forthcoming*), we can venture to affirm that the goddess Ištar enjoyed a privileged position in the dynastic pantheon.

Several of the known Sealand I archival texts pertain to cultic activity sponsored by the palace; these texts show that the goddess Ištar received systematically the largest number of animals, usually seven, while other deities always received less[4]. Also, most of the sacrificial animals offered to the goddess were female, usually ewe-lambs, and once a cow, making the offering the more valuable from the perspective of flock and herd husbandry. Ištar holds as well the distinction of having at least some of these sacrifices offered to her on the roof of the palace (as evidenced in CUSAS 9, 69: line 2), which suggests a close relationship between her and the royal household. In addition, she received under the name She-who-dwells-in-Uruk *a-ši-ib-ti* UNUG[ki] offerings in the context of (or in conjunction with) the ancient rites of Uruk GARZA UNUG[ki] *la-bi-ri* (CUSAS 9, 68). This specific reference to the ancient city and its cult of Ištar, here indeed the Ištar "who-dwells-in-Uruk", could indicate that the Sealand I kings were eager to revive an ancient cult which had been heavily disrupted during the southern rebellion under Samsu-iluna and his repression thereof, resulting in a displacement or flight of some of the Uruk clergy to Kiš (PIENTKA 1998: 179ff.; 375ff.)[5]. Several other hypostases of Ištar are attested in the Sealand I archival texts, some with a decided astral aspect, others are regional incarnations of her[6]. In short, the Sealand I Ištar, seen through the lens of the palace-sponsored cult, is a pan-Babylonian amalgamation of aspects, but she is also distinguished by performing the ancient rites of Uruk and sacrificing to her at the palace.

This evidence of her importance for the Sealand I kings appears even more clearly in the unpublished royal epic concerning Gulkišar which Zomer presented at the 59th RAI. In the epic she holds the pivotal role of war companion of the Sealand I king, she is also given the epithet *narāmti* A.AB.BA Beloved-of-the-Sea(-land?)[7]. While we must await full publication of the text for a discussion of its likely date and place of redaction, the strong association between the Sealand I king and the goddess appears indubitable, be it the result of indigenous, contemporary royal communication or of secondary interpretation.

It appears therefore that the Ištar-of-the-Sealand, the *Ayabbītu* of the list AN = [d]Anum originated in the great favour which Ištar enjoyed from the kings of the Sealand I dynasty; she was revered at the palace, but they also sponsored her cult, putting her in a high position in the Sealand I state pantheon and apparently perpetuating or reviving ancient Urukean rites. This importance of the goddess for the Sealand I dynasty was fully acknowledged in the scriptoria where AN = [d]Anum was compiled and copied, at least a few generations after the end of that dynasty[8]. This also contributes to our understanding of how evolving historical manifestations of a deity were integrated in the theological and scholastic tradition.

[1] Tablet IV, line 129 in Litke 1998. This line is attested in two manuscripts, one from Kuyunjik (K.4349), one from Aššur (VAT 13034 + VAT 10434).

[2] Beaulieu demonstrated that such a name, which probably started as an epithet, could become independent from the goddess it qualified: he was able to show that in Neo-Babylonian Uruk, Urkayītu had become distinct from Ištar-of-Uruk (2003: 255).

[3] The name (KUR) A.AB.BA[ki] may or may not have been used by the Sealand I kings and inhabitants themselves, but an inscribed mace head of Ulam-buriaš informs us that it was used at least by the Kassite conquerors of the kingdom, at the latest from the moment of their conquest (BE6405); the evidence is discussed in my upcoming dissertation.

[4] The sacrificial animals are sometimes recorded as delivered to the palace for (a sacrifice to) Ištar, and sometimes recorded as expenditure for such a sacrifice. The texts recording seven animals are CUSAS 9, 39; 69; 53; 57; and the unpublished BC 263 cited in DALLEY 2009: 55.

[5] The Sealand I evidence is posterior to the fall of Babylon, later than the Kiš evidence. We can therefore not establish whether such efforts by the Sealand I kings began concomitantly with a Urukean cult at Kiš.

[6] CUSAS 9, 59; 64; 66; 70; 74; 76; 78; 80; 81; 82; 83; 84.

[7] HS1885+; ZOMER forthcoming.

[8)] The goddess may also appear in an omen of the series *šumma ālu*: on Tablet 41, the sheep omens, line 40' begins with "If a ewe lies down in a man's house", followed by the passage "[d]U+DAR A.AB.BA-*ta ina* É LÚ x [...]". Freedman translates "Ištar of the sea(?) in the man's house [...]", adding that the ta could be a phonetic complement for tâmti (forthcoming: Tablet 41, line 40' and notes).

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16) *Adana(wa)* **vs.** *Ahhiyawa*: **a rejoinder to R. Oreshko,** *N.A.B.U.* **2015/3 (74) —** In *N.A.B.U.* 2015/3 (74) Rostislav Oreshko returns to the question of reading the Hier. Luw. sign L.429 citing the evidence of the recently published stelae ARSUZ 1 and 2, §11, where A1 reads L.429-*sa*(-*pawamu*)(URBS) and the damaged A2 x[...-*s*]*a*-[*pa*]-*wa/i-mu* (REGIO). In our edition (Dinçol *et al.*, 2014, p.64 f.) we restored the latter from the former, reading (A)*TANA-sa*(...)(URBS)// (A)*T*[*ANA-s*]*a*(...)(REGIO), "the city/land Adana". Oreshko argues that the traces suggest an initial *h*[*i*-...] rather than the right top corner of the sign L.429, and further that L.429 would not occupy the full height of the line as implied in our restoration. He therefore restores *h*[*i-ia-wa/i-s*]*a*-[*pa*]-*wa/i-mu* (REGIO), thereby gaining the alternation L.429-*sa* (URBS)(A1)//*h*[*iyawa*]*s* (REGIO)(A2), which he takes as establishing "the equation *429=*hiyawa* and the interpretation of *á-*429-*wa/i* of KARATEPE as *Ahhiyawa* beyond reasonable doubt."

Oreshko is perfectly right to draw attention to this damaged passage of A2, §11, and to demand a reconsideration. His remarks necessitate a careful collation of the stone here to see if any further details can be extracted, and until this can be undertaken, the matter must remain *sub judice*. Even as things stand however Oreshko's restoration and his inference are not without problems. More immediately important than the appearance of the trace which he identifies as *h*[*i*] is the spacing of the damaged/lost transition from the reverse to the right side of line 3, where he could have pointed out that there is insufficient space on the reverse to accommodate a wide sign like L.429. The same however would apply in a lesser degree to his restoration, which as he has drawn it is certainly wrong: there is not a single example on either stele of a sign or signs straddling the transition from one side to the next as he has drawn the *hi-* and the *-wa/i-*. So the proper question for him is whether the *hi-ia-wa/i* can be accommodated in a single column at the end of line 3 on the reverse. What must be clear is that no inference based on a questionable restoration can be described as "beyond reasonable doubt".

But even supposing that the reading *hi-ya-wa/i-sa* can be established here, or at any rate shown to be the most likely, this does not necessarily establish Oreshko's inference L.429 is to be read *hiyawa* "beyond reasonable doubt". I have emphasized that *Adana* is the name of the city (old) and *Hiyawa* the name of the land (post-LBA, replacing *Kizzuwatna* of the LBA). The names of the capital city and land tend towards being used interchangeably. We may compare the interchange of (the city) Kummanni and (the land) Kizzuwatna, although Kummanni was a religious centre not known to have been a political capital (GOETZE 1940, p.9 ff.). It may well be that here (ARSUZ 1-2) L.429(URBS) and *hiyawa*(REGIO) were interchangeable, which would explain the usage of URBS/REGIO. It is also implied by Hier. *á-TANA-wa/i-za*(URBS) (TERRA+*LA*+*LA*) *wa/i+ra/i-za* (=Phoen. '*mq* '*dn*, (KARATEPE Ho §V), *á-ta-na-wa/i-za*(-*ha*) TERRA+*LA*+*LA-za*(=Phoen. '*mq* '*dn* (KARATEPE Hu <§XXXVII), "plain of Adana"; Hier. *á-TANA-wa/i-ni-zi*(URBS) FINES+*hi-zi* (=Phoen. *gbl* '*mq* '*dn*, KARATEPE Hu XXXII), "frontiers (of the plain) of Adana"; [*hi*]-*ia-wa/i-za* (URBS) TERRA+*LA*+*LA-za* (=Phoen. '*mq* [??]), "plain of Hiyawa". (ÇİNEKÖY, §2). Thus the alternation L.496-*sa* and *h*[*i-ia-*

wa/i-s]a (REGIO) does not necessarily establish the reading L.429 as *hiya(wa)* in the face of other evidence.

Oreshko states: "The 'comments' of Hawkins ... offer few arguments which disprove the interpretation of *429 as *hiya*." This is of course because I considered and still consider the interpretation to be without foundation. As I noted the *sole* evidence offered in favour by Oreshko is the following (summarized):

ORESHKO, 2013, Fig. 3 Fig. 3. "Presumable evolution of the sign HI(YA) (*429 = *306)"

L.306 (established reading *hi(ya)*)	L.429
(1) *SBo* I/*SGG* (2) KARGA (3) Meskene	KARATEPE, ARSUZ 1
Oreshko interpretation of logogram	
"*streams* of rain" + "vessels" "separate →	"*multitude of drops*"
+ "separate *drops*" drops"	
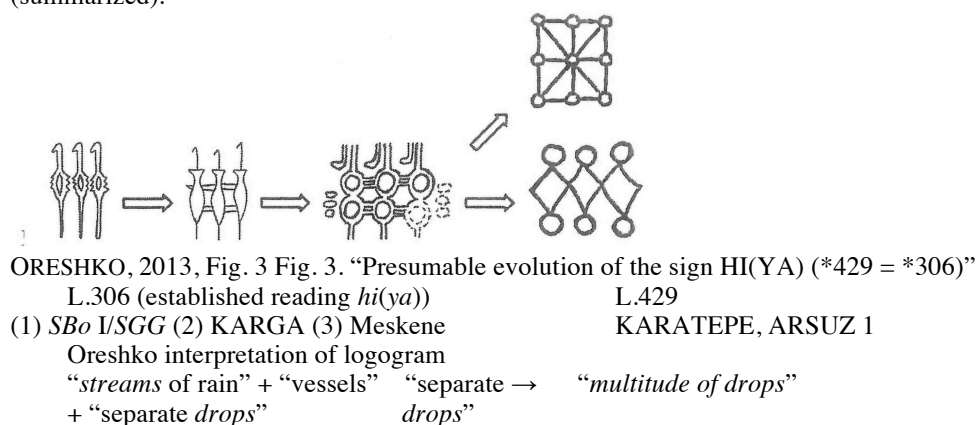
Some may find this convincing: I do not.

While L.306 has the value *hi(ya)*, and the Hittite for "rain" is *heu/heyaw-*, the attempt to interpret the logogram pictographically as "rain" is bizarre. By such argumentation any logogram could be interpreted as representing any wished-for outcome.

The transition postulated of LBA L.306 from "streams of rain" + "separate drops"/"vessels" to "separate drops", then to the "strikingly similar" IA L.429 "multitude of drops" could be characterized as "imaginative", though "imaginary" would perhaps be a better description.

This is what I mean by the reading of L.429 as *hi(ya)* as being "without foundation". But further, it is now necessary for Oreshko to abandon his syllabic reading of L.429 as *hiya*, and instead take it as logographic *HIYAWA* for ARSUZ 1, §11 (*HIYAWA-sa* (URBS).), as against KARATEPE *á-HIYAWA-wa*. This further weakens his supposed transition of L.306 (*hi(ya)*) to L.429 (*HIYAWA*).

I conclude with a final question: how much does Oreshko's re-reading matter? He claims that "it changes profoundly the ethno-political and historical perspective of KARATEPE" (2013, p.27.6). I cannot see that this follows: such change as it would introduce was already provided by the appearance of *Hiyawa* on ÇİNEKÖY as an alternative designation of Cilicia Pedias beside *Adanawa*, and the origin of Assyrian *Qawa/Que*. It is true that it would confirm the origin of *Hiyawa* in *Ahhiyawa*, doubted by some (GANDER, *SMEA* 54(2012), 281-309) but otherwise the inference of Mycenaean Greek migration to Cilicia after the end of LBA was already arguable on the basis of ÇİNEKÖY and is not significantly strengthened.

However I consider the evidence for the value *TANA* for L.429 still stands, and a re-reading as *HIYA* remains without foundation.

One further unrelated point: in ARSUZ l//2, §11, (LIGNUM) *tara/i-wa/i* // LIGNUM-*ru-wa/i-i* clearly represents *taruwi*, dat. sing. not nom./acc.plur. N. We noted the clause as an unexplained idiom. However, Oresho's interpretation of *taru* as "wood" > "spear" seems a very good idea, and translated as "put me to the spear" makes good sense.

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17) The unpublished hieroglyphic Luwian inscription ARSLANTAŞ 2: a duplicate version comparable with the situation of ARSUZ 1 and 2 — In their recent edition of two parallel Storm-god stelae, discovered in 2007 in Arsuz (mod. Uluçınar, Turkey), the authors regard the duplicate character of the texts of ARSUZ 1 and 2 almost unparalleled in our corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, "only the KARATEPE text exists in duplicate versions placed on both gates of a city" (DINÇOL *et al.* 2015:

66). There are however in the Late Neo-Hittite Period, more situations more or less comparable to the situation of Karatepe *c*. 700 BC, as will be demonstrated in my paper, forthcoming, reviewing the edition of the Arsuz stelae.[1] Especially the two inscriptions of ARSLANTAŞ (*c*. 780 BC), which DINÇOL *et al*. fail to mention, should be included in the debate about the location and erection of the two stelae from Arsuz. Their situation make clear that ideological motives will have played a role in the establishment of the stelae. Of these texts the duplicate version however, is still unpublished.

The hieroglyphic Luwian inscription ARSLANTAŞ (1) (cf. HAWKINS 2000: 246) is written along with Aramaic and Assyrian texts on the back of the south portal lion from the East Gate of Arslantaş (also Arslan Tash, anc. Hadattu), ca. 30 km to the east of Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates. Although both lions of the East Gate always remained visible *in situ*, the inscriptions were only noticed after the southern lion was erected in 1980 in Raqqa. Later it transpired that the northern lion of the same gate, taken to the Aleppo Museum, likewise bears three inscriptions on its back, which, according to their finder Hannes GALTER, duplicate those on the southern lion. These texts, together with the other texts, have now been dated more precisely by him to *c*. 780 BC (GALTER 2004: 449-450). Hawkins has only published the hieroglyphic text of the southern lion (erected in Raqqa) in his corpus (CHLI I: III.10, see HAWKINS 2000: 226 and 246-248, with plates 103-105), while publication of the duplicate text on the northern lion (erected in Aleppo) was not forthcoming.

The existence of this inscription, to be named ARSLANTAŞ 2, can thus be confirmed and is mentioned here while, due to the current serious situation in Syria, any future edition will be doubtful. It was spotted on 18th June 2009 by chance, in the afternoon sun in the garden of the museum by our visiting team,[2] but the presence of an Assyrian and Aramaic text on the back of the said lion could not be affirmed at that time and in that sunlight. The hieroglyphic Luwian text however, is a possible 4-line inscription, with dimensions *c*. 0.74 m. square, but the signs are faintly incised and the lines are barely visible, moreover it is badly damaged lower down due to a crack in the stone (*Fig. 1*). Several signs could be recognised and especially in line 1 (sinistroverse) one can read REGIO-*ni*-DOMINUS-*ia*-⌈*sá*⌉ 'Country Lord' (*Fig. 2*), which makes its duplicate character with ARSLANTAŞ (1) indeed most probable. Unfortunately the preceding name of the author of the inscription is missing in the edition and could not be established on the stone due to sunlight.

Fig. 1 The barely visible inscription ARSLANTAŞ 2,. 0.74 m. square,
in the garden of the Aleppo Museum
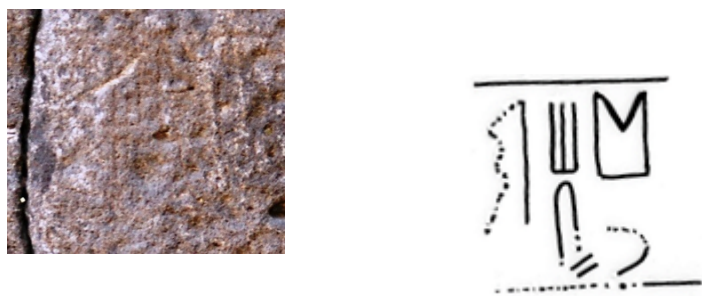(photo Marjan Vonk, 18 June 2009, 1.30 p.m.)

Fig. 2 ARSLANTAŞ 2, line 1 centre, showing: REGIO-*ni*-DOMINUS-*ia*-⌜*sá*⌝
(copy traced from photo)

GALTER (2004) examines the socioeconomic background of the inscriptions on the gate lions of Hadattu which are formulated in multiple languages. Apart from the above mentioned inscriptions in three languages on the East Gate, the two lions from the West Gate also both have an Assyrian and Aramaic inscription on the back, but a Luwian text is missing. All texts – where the Aramaic translations are taken from the Assyrian, while the Luwian shows a more independent character – report on the construction of the city walls and the formation of the gate lions by the Assyrian governor from Kar-Shalmaneser. The Luwian text names as probable author the 'Masuwarean Country-Lord', but whether this corresponds with the Assyrian text is still unclear (HAWKINS 2000: 247).

GALTER emphasises the multilingual situation on the military border at the Euphrates and the long distance trade between Assyria and the West. He contends that "there was no certainty, which party would hold the political power in the future. For that reason the Arslan Tash inscriptions were carved using three different writing systems" (GALTER 2004: 456).

The Neo-Hittite principality Masuwari with the capital of the same name (mod. Tell Ahmar), which perhaps around 1000 BC broke away from Karkamiš, was confronted around 900 BC with the Aramaean migration, culminating in the conquest and the formation of the Aramaean state Bit-Adini. Under the leadership of chieftain Ahuni the capital was conquered, which was given the Aramaean name Til-Barsip. Even after the Assyrian conquest under Shalmaneser III in 856 BC, who renamed the city in Kar-Shalmaneser, they continued to speak of "the royal city of Ahuni" and of Til-Barsip as well (cf. HAWKINS 2000: 224-225; BRYCE 2012: 115-121). The inscriptions in Hadattu were compiled from ideological motives in the Assyrian context, so that they served all population groups: Assyrian and Aramaic at both main gates, but also a Luwian text at the East Gate leading to the formerly politically Luwian area (Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates) and from there onto actual Luwian territory (Karkamiš, 20 km upstream).[3]

Also in Arsuz (Rhosus) ideological motives will have played a role in the establishment of the stelae. Rejecting the theory of Dinçol *et al*. that the erection site of the Neo-Hittite monuments from Arsuz was not the same as their find-spot, it seems likely that the stelae together, as in Arslantaş were placed at the entrance to the city. However, the other possibility is that, as in Karatepe, each was erected at one of the two entrances to the city. As I see it, however, there is only one road across Mt Amanus, connecting with the capital (Tell Tayinat). In that case one stele will have been positioned on the landward side, for people coming from the direction of the capital, and the other on the seaward side, the port side, for visitors coming from overseas. Given the differences in the sculpture of both stelae, which I will explain as intentional differences in design associated with an ideological motive – more or less comparable to Arslantaş –, the latter option appears to be preferable.

1) See M. Dillo, 'The location and erection of the Storm-god stelae from Arsuz: deciphering the unreadable Luwian city name in Cilicia as the port of *Urassa/i*', *BiOr* 73, 1/2 (2016), forthcoming.

2) Thanks to Jaap Croonen of our visiting team in 2009, while Mrs. Marjan Vonk made and edited the photographs, see DILLO 2013: 332 note 2. A collation of the hieroglyphic Luwian text of Şirzi (Malatya, now dated *c.* 750 BC) was given in that paper, having visited the rock inscription in June 2009 as well, identifying the name of the author as *Runti* (CERVUS$_3$)*ya-* 'Runtiya'(?) (2013: 339-340). The paper was criticised by Zsolt Simon in this journal (2014: 151-152). He doesn't agree with my translation of PES$_2$.PES-*pa-mi-na* 'field *construction*', perhaps a 'fence', preferring to understand a compound noun *immra-tarpamma/i-* 'country-side road', i.e. a 'highway' – more or less as Bossert did, but using different arguments. It is deemed that I ought not to be aware of the meaning of the verb *tarpa/i-* 'to tread, trample (on), crush', but it was exactly this meaning which led me to my interpretation (cf. e.g. 'to stamp' and 'stampede'). He gives no value to my important graphic argument of the word being written elsewhere (in broken context indeed) with CASTRUM 'wall' as determinative. Besides he notes the earlier translation 'warrior' by Ilya Yakubovich in his online corpus ACLT. This makes three possible translations, and I believe that the meaning of the 'construction' is not settled yet.

3) For the situation of the gates and direction of the roads 'vers Tell Ahmar' and 'vers Harran', see THUREAU-DANGIN *et al*. 1931: 6, Fig. 1, Carte de la région d'Arslan-Tash, et Annexe, Plan du site d'Arslan-Tash. Fig. 1 is repeated in GALTER 2004: 444.

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18) The "Lady" Kubaba (ANCOZ 1 § 2 etc.) in Hieroglyphic Luwian — Some years ago, Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich suggested the new value *<lá/í>* for the Hieroglyphic Luwian (= HLuw.) sign L172 which previously was read as *<ta$_5$>* (cf. RIEKEN / YAKUBOVICH 2010). This new reading lead them to a new interpretation of an epithet of the goddess Kubaba, which had traditionally been transliterated *á-ta$_5$* / ATA with unknown meaning (cf. HAWKINS 1981: 168f.). According to their new reading, they suggested that the two signs L19 and L172 in the sequence *á-lá/í-* "can be identified with the name of the Anatolian goddess Ala, the consort of the tutelary deity" (RIEKEN / YAKUBOVICH 2010: 203) and that "Ala was apparently syncretized with the Syrian goddess in the state cult of the principality of Kummuh, so that the hybrid deity Ala-Kubaba came into being" (*ibid*. 204). Also David Hawkins in his recent study of the texts from ANCOZ reached a similar conclusion saying "... a reading *ala*, especially with the occasional addition (FEMINA), is instantly recognizable as *Ala*, the Empire Period consort of the Stag-God, written in Cuneiform [D.MUNUS]*a-la-a-*, Hieroglyphic *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).L.461. Clearly we have here a syncretism of Kubaba with the Stag-God's consort Ala" (HAWKINS 2013: 71). His interpretation is obviously based on the sequence of the gods of the local pantheon (cf. HAWKINS 2013: 70f.): Tutelary deity (Stag-God) of the countryside – Kubaba – Sun-God – Ikura – Tasku (ANCOZ 7 § 4; cf. also ANCOZ 5, line 1; ANCOZ 1 § 2; ANCOZ 7 § 9; ANCOZ 10+11 § 1). What we learn from this sequence is that the Stag-God of the countryside holds the first position in this local pantheon, while *ala/i-* Kubaba has the second rank. Other texts from Kummuh also mention *ala/i-* Kubaba, either in the curse formula (BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 10; BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 20) or as the object of veneration (BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 1; cf. also BOYBEYPINARI 2 §§ 8, 10 ; cf. also POETTO 2010: 132f.).

While the reading *ala/i-* Kubaba seems now to be out of question, the identification of HLuw. *ala/i-* or (FEMINA)*ala/i-* as corresponding to the goddess Āla- from Hittite sources of the 2nd millennium

cannot be upheld. The Hittite goddess Āla- does not play a very important role in the Hittite cult although she is known since early times in central Anatolia, where she is taken as consort of a male tutelary deity (cf. MCMAHON 1991: 11-14). In the HLuw. corpus the goddess is attested only in the EMİRGAZİ inscription (§§ 26, 29, 35, 37) from the Tabal area, the Lower Land of the Hittites. In this inscription the divine name is written as *á*-(FEMINA.DEUS).L461, with the sign L461 being a logographic rendering of (parts of) the name (FORLANINI 1987: 78f.; cf. HAWKINS 2006: 56f.; RIEKEN / YAKUBOVICH 2010: 204). But as this writing widely differs from the writing (FEMINA)*á-lá/í-* or simply *á-lá/í-*, the equation of Kubaba's epithet in Kummuh with the divine name in EMİRGAZİ from the Tabal area cannot be taken for certain. In my opinion, the fact that the HLuw. sign for DEUS is constantly missing in all examples from Kummuh even rules out the possibility to take *ala/i-* or (FEMINA)*ala/i-* as a divine name. Also the parallel structure in the text does not favour a connection of *ala/i-* with the divine name Āla. The word *ala/i-* provides some specification of the goddess' name, comparable to the Stag-god's specification by the syntagma "of the countryside" (*imrassa/i-*; for the reading and the epithet see HUTTER 2004: 382-384; HAWKINS 2006: 56; HAWKINS 2013: 71; HUTTER-BRAUNSAR 2015: 214f.). Therefore an alternative interpretation of the syntagma *ala/i-* Kubaba as a title or local characterisation of the goddess can be suggested.

We surely have to be aware of a local tradition as *ala/i-* Kubaba is only known from Kummuh. As also the god Ikura is only attested as a local god in the ANCOZ texts, until now no suggestion to interpret this god had been made. Though it cannot be proved and must therefore be taken as a highly speculative suggestion, there is maybe a connection between Ikura and Kura, who is once mentioned in the *ḫišuwa* festival (KBo 20.114 i 5). WILHELM (1992: 26f., 30f.) has shown that Kura was introduced to the festival from Hurrian surroundings in Northern Syria. Problematic in the connection between Kura and Ikura is of course the /i-/ added to the god's name in HLuw. for no obvious reason. The only example in which a Northern Syrian divine name was augmented by an initial /i-/ is the god Rašap (attested already in 3rd millennium Ebla) whose name is rendered in Hurrian as Iršappa, obviously on the reason that words beginning with /r-/ are missing in genuine Hurrian. Therefore the parallelism between Rašap / Iršappa to Kura / Ikura is mainly outwardly. But if the guess to connect Ikura with Kura is acceptable, also another aspect of the *ḫisuwa* festival is worth mentioning: In that Hurrian festival also Kubaba occurs several times, always side by side with Adamma, as these two goddesses are the parhedras of the two Nupatik gods, Nupatik of Pibida and Nupatik of Zalmat, and they are attested in the "drinking ceremonies" during the festival (e.g. KUB 20.74 i 3-7; KBo 15.37 ii 29-33, iv 37-42). Such a relationship between Kubaba and Nupatik is missing in other Hittite-Hurrian texts about Nupatik.

Turning back to the ANCOZ texts, we can say that both Kubaba and Ikura in these texts belong to a local "Hurrian" pantheon, which is also documented by further Hurrian gods like TONITRUS (Teššub?), Hebat, Šarruma or Alasuwa/Alanzu (cf. also HAWKINS 2013: 70). This leads to the suggestion that we have to look for an interpretation for Kubaba's epithet *ala/i-* from a Hurrian point of view. A plausible interpretation for *ala/i-* is the connection of the HLuw. epithet with the Hurrian noun *allai-* "lady; queen". Hurrian *allai-* (cf. RICHTER 2012: 12f.) is frequently attested as epithet to the goddesses Šaušga, Ḫebat and also once to Piringir (KUB 34:104 ii 12, iii 33) in the Empire period. Even though Kubaba is never attested with this epithet in Hurrian or Hittite texts from the second millennium, the epithet matches well with the goddess who – in texts from Karkamiš – is given the HLuw. title *hassusara/i-* or MAGNUS.DOMINA "queen" (HUTTER-BRAUNSAR 2015: 211f.). The Hurrian epithet in the texts from Kummuh reflects another tradition related to Kubaba, as can be deduced from the female name Alli-Kubaba "Kubaba (is) the lady" from the 17th or 16th century in Alalaḫ (WISEMAN 1953: *AT 178,3). Therefore we should render the syntagma *ala/i-* Kubaba in the texts from Kummuh as "the Lady / Queen Kubaba" and discard both the idea of a syncretism between the Anatolian goddess Āla with Kubaba as well as the correspondance between the goddess Āla (written *á*-(FEMINA.DEUS).L461) with the epithet *á-lá/í-* or (FEMINA)*á-lá/í-*.

Though Hurrian words in HLuw. are not very common (RICHTER 2012: xxviii), there are at least a few examples, which are widely accepted. HAWKINS (2000: 149) mentions *kitara/i-* and (LIGNUM)*hazani-* from the CEKKE inscription or (LIGNUM)*sukala-* from EĞRİKÖY. To these

Hurrian words, also *á-lá/í-* should now be added. As *á-lá/í-* is in three cases also "augmented" by the logogram FEMINA, this "addition" – in my opinion – can be a hint for local speakers to understand the "loanword" in a better way: it indicates the "foreign" origin of this (feminine) title of the goddess to facilitate its understanding as "lady" for non-Hurrian speakers. In summary, HLuw. *á-lá/i-* is a substantive meaning "lady", thus enlarging our knowledge of the HLuw. lexicon.

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19) The Luwian inscription ŞARAGA: an improved edition — The Luwian hieroglyphic inscription ŞARAGA comes from the area of Carchemish, is dated to the 8th century B.C.E., and concerns an offering to the war god Santa. POETTO (2010) published a photograph of the inscription and provided its preliminary edition, dividing it into three clauses. Below we reproduce his analysis of the alleged final clause, first in his personal transliteration and then replacing it with more standard sign values. The latter are generally based on the system of HAWKINS 2000 but incorporate some changes, which were proposed in RIEKEN & YAKUBOVICH 2010 and have since been widely accepted.

§3 TRW-na/ni-ˌsˌ ˈá-ti$_x$/ta$_x$-mu-s$_2$ ^{DINGIR}s$_3$-ta $^{)WW(}$ˈu-wa/wi-n ˈá-na/ni-a/i-ta-wa/wi-n $^{[·]}$s-ha-ˌsa/siˌ-s

^{K}DUMU^K-za-s$_2$ á-pa-s ar+ha za-pa-ta

§3 IUDEX-ni-ˈsaˋ ^{I}á-lá/í-mu-sá (DEUS)sà-ta ("BOS")u-wa/i-na á-ni-ˈi(a)ˋ-ta-wa/i-na [^{I}]sa-ha-ˈsiˋ-sa

"INFANS".ˈNΓ-za-sá á-pa-sa *ARHA* za-pa-ta

"The ruler *A*. and *S*., his son, *zapa*-ed away to the god Santa (one) bull and (one) *a*."

Poetto analyzes the sequence *á-ni-ˈi(a)ˋ-ta-wa/i-na* as a substantivized ethnicon refering to a kind of bull originating from the putative toponyme ***Aniy(a)ta-*. He identifies it with the toponyme *á-na*(REGIO)*-i-ta* /Anaita/ (TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §34) also found in the ethnicon *á-na-i-tá*(REGIO)*-wa/i-na-ˊ* /Anaitawanna/ (TELL AHMAR 2, 6 §10). Poetto is only able to do it, because in his system the sign Í = L.411, now commonly read as <na>, is idiosyncratically assigned the value <na/ni> in his personal transliteration. Quite aside from this problematic etymology, the proposed interpretation also faces serious syntactic problems. Thus, Poetto takes *á-ni-ˈi(a)ˋ-ta-wa/i-na* to be in asyndetic relation with the preceding substantive ("BOS")*u-wa/i-na* 'bull'. The syntax obtained from his analysis would also force another asyndetic relation between the two putative subjects of the clause, ^{I}*á-lá/í-mu-sá* and [^{I}]*sa-ha-ˈsiˋ-sa*. Moreover, these two subjects would be separated from one another by both the indirect and direct

objects. In the end, the overall analysis of the passage emerges as unsatisfactory and this calls for its alternative interpretation.

The solution lies in separating the sequence *á-ni-ˊi(a)ˋ-ta-wa/i-na* in two different phonetic words *á-ni-ˊi(a)ˋ-ta* and *wa/i-na*, which is in turn conducive to dividing the passage under discussion into two clauses. This first clause would thus end with a finite verb *á-ni-ˊi(a)ˋ-ta*, while the second clause would begin with a clitic chain *wa/i-na*, consisting of the demarcational particle *(=)wa* and the enclitic pronoun of the 3ʳᵈ person singular accusative common gender *=an*. In the earlier Luwian hieroglyphic texts the comparable sequence is usually written as *wa/i-na-ˊ = *a-wa/i-na*, but the omission of "initial-a-final", which in this case corresponds to the clause introductory particle *a=*, in forms consisting of more than two syllables is overall typical of the late inscriptions from the mid-ninth century B.C.E. onwards (MELCHERT 2010: 149-150). For additional examples of *wa/i-na* cf. e.g. ÇİFTLİK § 5, KARKAMIŠ A7 § 4, and KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) § 48. In the passage under discussion, the pronoun *=an* (sg. c.) refers back to *uwin* 'bull' (acc.sg) in the previous clause.

Below we present the full sign-by-sign transliteration of the ŞARAGA inscription, which is divided into paragraphs according to the new proposal made above, together with its interpretative transliteration, grammatical annotation and translation.

> §1 [z]a-sa-wa/i ˊ"STELE"ˋ˥ʔ ku-ˊtaˋ-sa₅+ra/i-sa ˊ(DEUS)ˋsà-ta-ˊsiˋ-sá
> §2 ta-ma-tà-pa-wa/i-tà ᴵsa-ha-si-sa ᴵá-lá/í-mu-sá "INFANS".*NI*-za-ˊsa/sáˋ
> §3 IUDEX-ni-ˊsaˋ ᴵá-lá/í-mu-sá (DEUS)sà-ta ("BOS")u-wa/i-na á-ni-ˊi(a)ˋ-ta
> §4 wa/i-na [ᴵ]sa-ha-ˊsiˋ-sa "INFANS".ˊ*NI*ˋ-za-sá á-pa-sa *ARHA* za-pa-ta
> §1 zas=wa kuttassaris Santassis
> this.NOM.SG.C=PTCL orthostate.NOM.SG Santa.POSS.N.SG.C
> 'This is the orthostate of Santa'.
> §2 tamada=ba=w(a)=ada SaHassis Alamus(sa) nimuwizzas
> build.3PL.PRT=but=PTCL=he.ACC.SG.N Sahassi.NOM.SG Alamu.GEN son.NOM.SG
> '(One who) built it (was) Sahassi, son of Alamu'.
> §3 tarwannis Alamus Santa uwin aniyatta
> ruler.NOM.SG Alamu.NOM.SG Santa.DAT.SG bull.ACC.SG *aniya*.3SG.PRT
> 'Ruler Alamu *aniya*-ed the bull for Santa'
> §4 w(a)=an SaHassis nimuwizzas abas(sa) ahha zappatta
> PTCL=he.ACC.SG.C Sahassi.NOM.SG son.NOM.SG he.GEN away *zappa*.3SG.PRT
> And Sahassi, his son, *zappa*-ed him away'.

We learn from the new syntactic analysis that two different actions have been performed on the bull, one by the father Alamu and the other by his son Sahassi. The second one expressed by the verb *zapa-* has already been analysed in detail in POETTO 2010, where the Luwian stem *za-pa-* in the hieroglyphic passage under discussion has been convincingly compared with the Luwian stem *za-ap-pa-*, which refers to a destructive action attested in cuneiform rituals of the second millenium B.C.E. On the basis of his thorough philological analysis, Poetto defines the semantics of Luw. *zappa-* 'to slay (a victim) sacrificially, to offer sacrificially (to a god)', which finds a close parallel in Lat. *mactāre*.

If the son is performing the actual sacrifice, then one has to try to find out what his father does to the bull before. The father's action is expressed by the verbal stem *á-ni-ˊi(a)ˋ-*, which lacks other attestations in the Luwian hieroglyphic corpus. At first glance, it looks very similar to Luw. *ānni(ya)-⁽ᵈⁱ⁾* 'to do, cause', which is attested in Luwian cuneiform texts from Kizzuwatna and is normally taken as a cognate of Hitt. *aniya-⁽ᵐⁱ⁾* 'to carry out, treat' (KLOEKHORST 2008: 180, YAKUBOVICH 2010). But the present instance shows a different verbal stem class than the one in Kizzuwatna Luwian. As shown in RIEKEN 2008, the hieroglyphic sign <ta> is consistently used for syllables with fortis stops, and therefore the 3ʳᵈ singular preterit ending of HLuw. *á-ni-ˊi(a)ˋ-ta* is not lenited. On the other hand, the 3ʳᵈ singular preterit ending of the Kizzuwatna Luwian verb consistently displays lenition (KUB 35.39 iii 26, KBo 29.9 obv. 10 *a-an-ni-ti*; KUB 35.14 i 8, KUB 35.88 ii 11 *a-an-ni-i-ti*). Since triggering or not triggering lenition represents a formal lexical property of Luwian verbal stems, the two stems under discussion

cannot be regarded as identical. Furthemore, the meaning 'to do, cause' appears to be ill-suited for the context of ŞARAGA § 3.

Nevertheless, a root connection between the predicate *á-ni-ˈi(a)ˋ-ta* in our texts, on the one hand, and Hitt. *aniya-*[(mi)] 'to carry out, treat' Luw. *ānni(ya)-*[(di)] 'to cause', on the other hand, remains intuitively likely. One possibility to link these verbs would be interpreting *á-ni-ˈi(a)ˋ-ta* as a factitive formation in *-a-*[(ti)] derived from a non-attested action noun in *-a-* (c.), i.e. **anniya-*. As morphological parallels for the *ya*-verbs that may likewise have been derived from action nouns one can cite *tabari(ya)-* 'to command' vs. *tabariya-* 'command' and *waliya-* 'to favour' vs. *waliya-* 'goodwill', all attested in Late Luwian. The action noun **anniya-* could in turn be derived from the Luwian primary verb preserved as *ānni(ya)-*[(di)] in the Kizzuwatna dialect. If the semantics of the Luwian noun **anniya-* was similar to that of Hitt. *aniur* 'religious performance, ritual', then the derived verb could have a specific meaning 'to perform a ritual'. One can then hypothesize based on context that the father Alamu performed certain preparatory rituals upon the sacrificial victim before his son Sahassi actually slew it.

There is, however, an alternative. The stem of the form *á-ni-ˈi(a)ˋ-ta* may have been borrowed from Hittite into Empire Luwian, the dialectal ancestor of Late Luwian. Under such a scenario the loanword was likely used not for the full semantic range of Hittite *aniya-*[(mi)], as there are several other Luwian verbs to convey the notion of 'carrying out', but rather in some specialized technical meaning. The hypothesis that it was restricted to ritual treatment remains compatible with the second etymology but is not very likely, since the Hittite verb *aniya-*[(mi)] is normally deployed for treating gods or human patients, not for sacrificial animals. More plausible, in our view, would be the conjecture that Luwian acquired this verb in the meaning 'to turn out, produce, procure'. On the one hand, albeit not the most frequent, such a meaning is firmly attested in Hittite, e.g. KUB 13.2 iii 38-40 *arnuwalaš=a=ta=kkan kuiš* KUR-*az arha uizzi pidi=ma=šši=šan kuis āszi nu=šši* NUMUN.HI.A *aniya=pat* 'And a transportee that comes from outside the land but is settled in a place (here), likewise supply seeds to him'. On the other hand, it would suit perfectly well the context of ŞARAGA § 3. Alamu, in his capacity of a ruler, was well placed to supply the sacrificial victim, which his son Sahassi would then dispatch to the god Santa, presumably acting as a priest.

It is impossible to go further, since making an informed choice between these two options and excluding further alternatives is contingent upon finding additional attestations of the stem *á-ni-i(a)-*. It seems appropriate to conclude this note by indicating several constructions that are of syntactic interest. First, the enclitic pronoun *=ada* (§2) is coreferential with *kuttassaris* 'orthostat' (§1), a singular common gender noun. This syntactic irregularity is perhaps to be explained through semantic agreement with an inanimate direct object. Second, the word order [I]*á-lá/í-mu-sá* in §3 deviates from the general practice of placing the title after the personal name in Hieroglyphic Luwian (Bauer 2013: 285-290). Another similar exception is found in KARATEPE 3 §1 (BAUER 2013: 289). Alternatively one could place IUDEX-*ni-ˈsaˋ* at the end of §2 after "INFANS".*NI-za-ˈsa/sáˋ* 'son', which would imply that it is Sahassi and not his father Alamu who is the ruler. But such a solution is hardly more advantageous syntactically, because Luwian titles normally occur before relational terms in stacked appositions. Finally, the possessive pronoun *abas* stands after its head noun *nimuwizzas* in §4. Prenominal genitives are the rule in Luwian (BAUER 2013: 250), but some exceptions can be found, notably in the CEKKE inscription, where the combination *nimuwizzas abas* occurs several times. Perhaps the late Luwian inscriptions from the Carchemish area, such as ŞARAGA and CEKKE, bear witness to an incipient syntactic interference with West Semitic, where possessive pronouns represent clitics following their respective head nouns.

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20) Yet Again ^{DINGIR}*Sassa* — In a recent contribution (POETTO 2015) I had presented the correction ^{DINGIR}*Sa-as-sa* – in the sequence]*A-NA* ^{DINGIR}*Sa-as-sa*(*-kan*) (fragmentary context) – for the name of a deity given in cuneiform as "^{D}*Ta-aš-ša*", first in the edition of the document (belonging to the group of the so-called "Rituals for the Great Sea / the *tarmana*-Sea") in which it is attested, *KUB* 58.18 rev. vi 20[1)], and thereafter so repeated[2)] or, at most, emended to "*Ta*[!]*-*".[3)]

In fact the text (see POETTO 2015: 185 Pl. 1) shows *Sa-*[4)] for the initial sign of this name, as already emphasized by KOŠAK (1990: 147 / no. *18*) in his (automatic) transliteration of the line under consideration as "(-)]*a-na-an-ša*(so!)*-aš-ša-kán*", and made official by VAN GESSEL (1998: 382) in his accurate inventory of Hittite theonyms: "abs. ^{d}*Ša-aš-ša*". Besides, further support for such a reading came from the matching divine name expressed in Hieroglyphic Luwian as ^{DINGIR}*S-ś* (^{185}*211-346*), *i.e. Sas(s)a*, on the unpublished stele ŞEKERLİ[5)] C l. 5 (POETTO 2015: 182[6)], 187 Pl. 3).[7)]
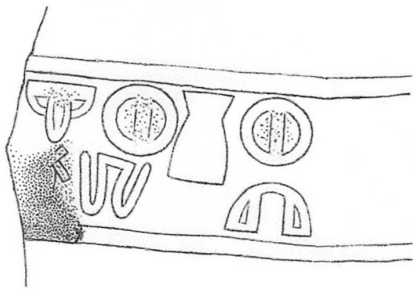
ŞEKERLİ line 5

En passant, it must be mentioned that the decodification "]*A-NA* ^{D}*Ta*[!]*-aš-ša-kán*" has meanwhile been called into question by LORENZ (2015: 125), who – though judging it "nicht auszuschließen" – offers instead "EZEN₄ *zé*]-´*e*`*-na-an-ta*[!]*-aš-ša-kán*" ('Autumn festival'), since "ein solcher Göttername [ist] sonst nicht belegt" besides the fact that "sieht es am Foto so aus, als seien noch die Reste von zwei Waagrechten direkt nach dem Bruch zu sehen. Dies spricht dafür, das erste Zeichen eher als *-e-* den als *-a-* zu lesen". Furthermore, "Das Zeichen TA[!] scheint einen zweiten eingeschriebenen Senkrechten zu haben, der allerdings sehr klein und am Foto kaum auszumachen ist". Therefore, it appeared necessary to make a careful reexamination of the enlarged online photo of this section shown by the "Hethitologie-Portal Mainz".[8)]

KUB 58.18 rev.

Objectively, the graphic reality – as seen by me – is the following:

● nothing definite emerges close to the break; should any remains of horizontal strokes actually occur, these might belong to the preceding lost word adjoining the next perceptible element (namely *A*), the script being here "ohne Wortabstand" (as already pointed out by KOŠAK 1990: 147);

● the shape of the grapheme *Sa-* turns out – also on the strength of collation (see n. 4) – not to be open to substantial criticism.

Consequently, the most economic solution is to confirm the reading *A-NA* (at best preceded by](- ˹x˺)[9] after the break, followed by DINGIR*Sa-as-sa*(-*kan*).

It seems of further interest to note that the newly-published (WILHELM 2014: 9) fragment *KBo* 62.29 (*Bo* 2009/2 + 2007/1) – a letter of the Chief of the Palace Servants addressed to the Chief of the Guards[10] – exhibits in l. 11 precisely the same name, but as a toponym, URU*Sa-as-sa* (abs., followed by EGIR-*pa ú-wa*[-), which adds validity to the solution just defended.
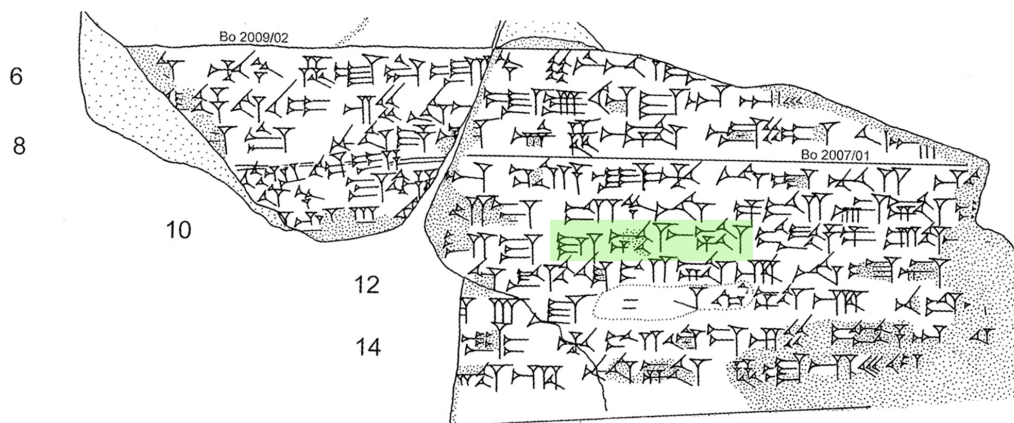
KBo 62.29 obv.

It is indeed an established fact that theonyms can come to designate toponyms, as in the case of DINGIR*Zahaluqqa*[11] / URU*Zahaluk/q(q)a*[12] DINGIR*Tashapuna* (goddess)[13] / URU*Ta*°,[14] DINGIR/URU*Lapana*,[15] DINGIR/URU*Tiwala*,[16] DINGIR/URU*Kam(m)am(m)a*,[17] DINGIR*Tatassuna*[18] / URU*T/Dat/dasuna*[19], etc. Besides, indirect evidence for the base *Sas(s)a* can be also drawn from some toponymic derivatives such as URU*Sas(s)and/ta*[20] and, possibly, URU*Sassuna*[21] (in perfect morphological symmetry to, *e.g.*, URU*Us(s)a*[22] : URU*Ussanda*[23] : URU*Ussuna*[24].

What is more, in regard to this same deity expressed in Hieroglyphic Luwian as DINGIR*S-ś* (referred to above), it is not irrelevant to point out that it can now emerge from its isolation by virtue of a welcome attestation – identically spelled – on a recently published fragmentary stele, DÜLÜK BABA TEPESİ 1[25] l. 2 § 3′, within the curse formula (apodosis):

§ 3′ …]-˹ha˺[26] K *á-183-ma-za* K *ar+ha* K ⟩268⟨

'… and … the name erases'

§ 4′ *pa-ti-pa-wa/wi-à* K *za-s* DINGIR*S-ś* ˹x-x-x˺[27]

'… to / against him this God *Sas(s)a* …'.

DÜLÜK BABA TEPESİ 1 l. 2 right
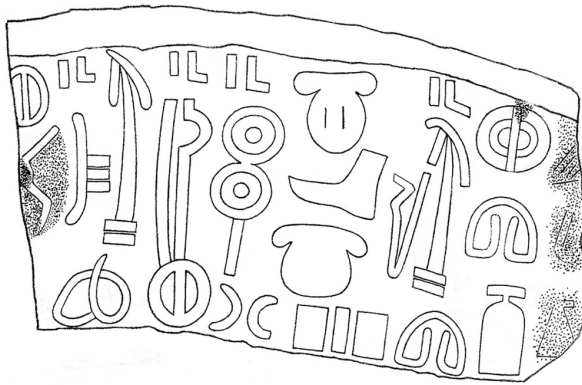
DÜLÜK BABA TEPESİ 1

| Drawing Poetto (traced from photos) | Drawing Simon (edition) |
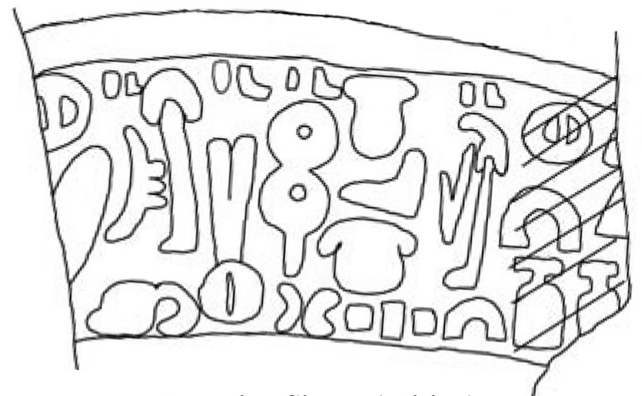
DÜLÜK BABA TEPESİ 1 l. 2

In the preceding lost part of § 3′ must have been placed the name of the author of the inscription[28] and, possibly, some kin of his, in view of the enclitic]-ˊ*ha*ˋ '-*que*' right before *á-183-ma-za* 'name' in analogous context, as conveniently shown by, *e.g.*, ANCOZ 7 D § 13 (collated text):

na/ni-pa-[wa/wi]-ta [ˋ]KÙ.PÚ.*M[I]* ˋ*HATTI×li-ha tá-ti-ia-za* ^KDUMU^K-*na/ni-za-ha á-183-ma-za ar+ha 268-a/i*

'or erases the name of Suppiluliuma and Hattusili, of the father and son',[29]

unless the simple … *á-ma-za]-ˊha*ˋ *á-183-ma-za* '… and [my] name (erases)' is to be expected.[30]

Incidentally, it may be worth observing that the endingless logographically written verb *268* with markers assuredly reoccurs in KARKAMIŠ 13*a* § 4;[31] on the contrary quite numerous are the

likewise plain logographic attestations without markers: KARKEMIŠ 16*b*, IZGIN 2 D l. 20 § 10, MALPINAR l. 5 § 20, ANCOZ 7 D § 10,[32)] ANCOZ 12 l. 2′ § 3′[33)] and now GÜRÇAY B l. 1′ § 1′.[34)]

1) POPKO 1987: 260-261, 262 commentary.

2) POPKO 1988: IX *sub* "Götternamen", echoed by TISCHLER 1989/1990: 175; add "dašša"(Jie 1994: 74).

3) TISCHLER 1993: 253; GARCÍA TRABAZO-GRODDEK 2005: 49.

4) Confirmed through collation on the tablet at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara, by Dr. Carlo Corti (see POETTO 2015: 182 n. 6).

5) From the homonymous small town of provenance, some 30 km South(-East) of Siverek, Şanlıurfa province.

6) Where the transcription, inadvertently given as "*Ś-s*", must be inverted.

7) An edition of the stone is currently being prepared by Dr. Meltem Doğan-Alparslan and Dr. Metin Alparslan.

8) *hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN06878.*

9) So already GARCÍA TRABAZO-GRODDEK 2005: 49.

10) See WILHELM 2014: VI ("Inhaltsübersicht") with cross-references.

11) On which cf. VAN GESSEL 1998: 566 with literature.

12) DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 487; DEL MONTE 1992: 190; POPKO 1995: 147; TARACHA 2009: 105.

13) GURNEY 1977: 6, 19; VAN GESSEL 1998: 568; TARACHA 2009: 140.

14) DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 409; DEL MONTE 1992: 163; HAAS 1994: 454, 458; TARACHA 2009: 103.

15) VAN GESSEL 1998: 279 / DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 243; HAAS 1994:502; FORLANINI 2008a: 45; cf. also PUHVEL 2001: 61.

16) VAN GESSEL 1998: 522-523 / IMPARATI 1974: 84-85; DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 431; DEL MONTE 1992: 171; FORLANINI 2008a: 158.

17) VAN GESSEL 1998: 215-217 with literature; POPKO 1999, in particular 98; TARACHA 2009: 46, 57 / KLENGEL 1998: 93, 167; FORLANINI 2008a: 167-169.

18) VAN GESSEL 1998: 461.

19) DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 419; DEL MONTE 1992: 165; HAAS 1994: 454-455, 458, 829 for a ceremonial itinerary; likewise TARACHA 2009: 103 and FORLANINI 2008a: 151.

20) GRODDEK 2010: 53 in regard to *KBo* 54.85a obv. ii 19 ([URU]*Sa-as-sa-an-da*, also in l. 20, integrated) and 22 ([URU]*Sa-ˀsaˀ-an-t*[*a*]); add FORLANINI 2009: 48.

21) DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 356 (in relation to *IBoT* 2.131 obv. 30: [URU` (so!)]*Sa-as-su-na*); now also in *KBo* 62.5 obv. 1 ([URU]*Sa-a-as-su-u-na*) and 30 ([URU]*Sa-aˡ-as-su-u-na*): references in WILHELM 2014: IV ("Inhaltsübersicht – Nr. 5").

22) DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 464-465; DEL MONTE 1992: 181; BARJAMOVIC 2011: 367-368, 370, 405 with references; MILLER 2013: 54.

23) On a fragment in private possession, obv. 4, 6 (FORLANINI 1988: 160 with n. 143; OTTEN 1992: (409-)410, 415, 418 Fig. 1) labeled "Privat 5" at "Hethitologie-Portal Mainz – Konkordanz der hethithischen Keilschrifttafeln" *sub* "Inventarnummer 341/e".

24) DEL MONTE-TISCHLER 1978: 465-466; FORLANINI 2008b: 79 and 2009: 268.

25) SIMON 2014. I am indebted to Dr. Zsolt Simon (to whom the present results were promptly communicated [e-mail of 7th August 2014] as well as to Dr. Michael Blömer (author with Wolfgang Messerschmidt of the iconographic study of the relief on the obverse of the stone [BLÖMER-MESSERSCHMIDT 2014]) for generously supplying me with valuable photographic material, partly published here.

26) Instead of "ˊDEUSˈ" of SIMON 2014: 18, replicated in *LC ad* "alaman- 'name'" / "Paradigm" *s.v.* "<á>-lá/í-ma-za, acc,sg", *ad* "ahha [!] 'away' / Paradigm" *s.v.* "ˈARHA", and *ad* "walla- 'to smash'").

27) In lieu of "DEUS-*sa* SIGILLUM ˊx xˈ *sa₅* […]" of SIMON 2014: 18, 19-20 commentary, reiterated in *LC ad* "za- 'this' / Paradigm" *s.v.* "ˈza-sa", *ad* "massan(i)- 'god' / Paradigm" *s.v.* "DEUS-sa", and *ad* "sas(a)- 'seal' / Paradigm" *s.v.* "SIGILLUM acc,sg".

28) Occurring in l. 1, for which no obvious interpretation suggests itself (despite Simon's attempt [2014: 18]).

29) Cf. HAWKINS 2000: 357 / Pls. 185-186 and 2013: 74.

30) The combination *á-ma-za á-183-ma-za*, governed by *ar+ha 268*(-), is fairly frequent (*i.a.*, KARKAMIŠ 14*a* l. 6 § 8, KARKAMIŠ 16*b*, KARKAMIŠ 6 l. 9 § 29, ADANA 1 l. 4 § 6 [with *á-la*(=180)*-ma-za*: see HAWKINS-TOSUN-AKDOĞAN 2013: 2, 4 commentary, and Fig. 13] but, apparently, so far without *-ha* interposed. Yet, with *TUWA-* 'put' and *55/tà-* 'take' as final verbs cf., *e.g.*, HAMA 4 A l. 3 §§ 7-8 (HAWKINS 2000: 405, 406 commentary).

31) HAWKINS 2000: 168.

32) HAWKINS 2000: 123, 316, 342, 357 respectively.

33) POETTO 2010: 189.

34) MARCHETTI-PEKER 2014: 185 with Fig. 2 and Pl. XVI.5-6.

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21) Hinweise auf einen luwischen Lautwandel[*)] **—** Das luwische Wort für ‚Sohn' wird in der jüngst gefundenen und veröffentlichten hieroglyphen-luwischen Stele des Suhis I. von Karkamiš als (FILIUS)*ní-mu-zi/a* geschrieben (§1, Dinçol et al. 2014: 145, 147), dem auch die Orthographie des weitgehend parallelen Textes KARKAMIŠ A4b entspricht ((FILIUS)*ní-mu-za* (§1), (FILIUS)*ni-mu-za* (§6), HAWKINS 2000: 80). Dieses Wort lautet allerdings *nimuwiza-*: obwohl die Mehrheit der syllabisch geschriebenen Belege wegen der Schreibung °-*mu-wa/i-zV*° zweideutig sind, ist diese Form durch die Belege (FILIUS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-* aus TELL AHMAR 1 §1, §19 bzw. (FILIUS)*ní-mu-wa/i-i-za-* aus MARAŞ 4 §1 gesichert (vgl. schon HAWKINS 1980: 143; STARKE 1989: Sp. 668; OSHIRO 1990: 87 mit Anm. 3, 1991: 67 Anm. 2; für die vorläufige Beleglage s. ACLT s.v.). Die Bearbeitungen der genannten Texte lassen nicht nur diese Form unerklärt (HAWKINS 2000: 80-81; PAYNE 2014: 71, 76 bzw. DINÇOL *et al*. 2014: 145, 147 [ihre theoretisch ebenfalls mögliche Lesung des Wortes als (FILIUS)*ní-mu(wa)-zi/a* erklärt den unterschiedlichen Vokalismus nicht]), sondern auch die von STARKE 1990 gebotenen zwei Erklärungen außer Acht. Als erste Möglichkeit nimmt er an (STARKE 1990: 452 Anm. 1633 mit 289 Anm. 985a), dass (FILIUS)*ni/ní-mu-zi/a* eine andere Bildung als *nimuwiza-* darstellt, und zwar eine mit einem -*za*-Adjektivsuffix. Obwohl diese Lösung formal möglich ist, ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass das Wort für ‚Sohn' mit zwei verschiedenen Suffixen existierte, aus denen das eine nur in zwei Inschriften vorkommt, die sich aus sprachlicher Sicht nicht von den übrigen Inschriften unterscheiden. Die zweite von Starke vorgeschlagene Möglichkeit ist, dass es sich um eine „defektive Schreibung" handelt (STARKE 1990: 635), obwohl solche durch Auslassung einer inlautenden Silbe abgekürzte Schreibungen in der Hieroglyphenschrift nicht üblich sind und die drei Belege beweisen, dass es sich um eine sprachwirkliche Form handelt (trotz des Parallelismus sind die zwei Inschriften aus Karkamiš keine Duplikate, vgl. hierzu z. B. §6 in KARKAMIŠ A4b).

Eine Kontraktion -*uwi*- > -*u*- wird allerdings von den gängigen luwischen Grammatiken nicht erwähnt (MELCHERT 2003: 183; PLÖCHL 2003: 19-20; PAYNE 2014: 16; YAKUBOVICH 2015, vgl. auch die historische Phonologie in MELCHERT 1994: 275-277). Da -*uwi*- aus -*u*- nach den bekannten luwischen Regeln nicht sekundär entstehen kann (und auch die geläufige Etymologie von *nimuwiza-* [aus *ni* + *muwa-* + -*izza-* ‚*der ohne *muwa-*', vgl. TISCHLER 1990: 239; STARKE 1990: 452; OSHIRO 1990: 87, 1991: 67, alle mit Lit.] unterstützt, dass -*uwi*- die frühere Form ist), muss man einen luwischen Lautwandel -*uwi*- > -*u*- annehmen. Dieser Lautwandel ist allerdings „sporadisch", da diese Lautsequenz meistens bewahrt bleibt. Solche „sporadische" Lautwandel sind aus dem Luwischen wohlbekannt, ein häufig belegter Typ ist gerade die Kontraktionen, wie z. B. -*iya*- > -*i*- oder -*uwa*- > -*u*-.

Dieser Lautwandel hilft auch eine bisher unklare Nebenform des Toponyms *Luwiya*- zu erklären. Dieses Toponym erscheint in der althethitischen Quelle KBo 6.2 und in deren junghethitischer Abschrift, KBo 6.3 (für die Belege s. RGTC 6/1 s.v.) und wird normalerweise in beiden Texten als *Lu-ú-i-ya-* geschrieben (KBo 6.2 i 4', 37', 40', 51' bzw. KBo 6.3 i 11, 45, 48, 50, 53). Das Toponym wurde allerdings in KBo 6.2 i 42', 45' auch als *Lu-ú-ya-* geschrieben (auch *Lu-i-in* [KBo 6.2 i 39'] kann hierher gehören, seine Lesung ist allerdings zweideutig). Diese Varianten erscheinen auch in dem Adverb *luwili* ‚auf Luwisch', das normalerweise als *lu-ú-i-li*, *lu-u-i-li* und *lu-i-li* geschrieben wird, bis auf *lu-ú-li* in KBo 12.100 Vs. 3. (für die Belege s. CHD L-N s.v.).(1) GÉRARD 2003: 6 mit Anm. 26 hält *Lu-ú-ya-* für die ursprüngliche Form und *Lu-ú-i-ya-* würde nach seiner Ansicht [Lūya-] ausdrücken (auch WIDMER 2004: 199-200 erwägt diese Interpretation), was allerdings nicht den Regeln der keilschriftlichen Orthographie entspricht, worauf YAKUBOVICH 2010: 113 Anm. 51 zu Recht darauf hingewiesen hat. YAKUBOVICH 2010: 113 Anm. 51 mit 405 Anm. 94 hat seinerseits vorgeschlagen, beide Wörter als durch synchrone Synkope zustande gekommene Nebenformen zu erklären (ähnlich WIDMER 2004: 200 zum Toponym), was allerdings als *ad hoc* zu bezeichnen ist. Da die gleiche Erscheinung in beiden

Wörtern auftritt (und im Falle von Luwiya- mehrmals), kann man sie nicht mit einem Schreibfehler nicht erklären. Man könnte diese Varianz zuerst dem Hethitischen zuschreiben, weil alle Belege aus hethitischen Texten stammen. Ein Wandel *-uwi- > -u-* oder *-ū-* ist jedoch aus dem Hethitischen nicht bekannt (HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008: 33). Die bisher bekannt gewordenen Beispiele beschränken sich auf isolierte Belege des Wortes *karūli-* statt *karūili-* ,früherer, uralt', und erscheinen mit einer mittelhethitischen Ausnahme alle in junghethitischem Duktus (KLOEKHORST 2008: 458, vgl. auch HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008: 33), was auch die Möglichkeit von luwischem Einfluss erlaubt. Da die Nebenformen also nicht aus dem Hethitischen erklärt werden können, ist eine luwische Herkunft zu vermuten. Der aus *nimuwiza- > nimuza-* erschlossene Lautwandel kann in der Tat die Nebenformen beider Wörter regelmäßig erklären: *Luwiya- > Lūya-* bzw. *luwili > lūli*. Die keilschriftluwischen Belege zeigen desweiteren, dass das Ergebnis der Kontraktion ein langes *ū* war (d.h. *-uwi- > -ū-*).

*) Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die DFG geförderten Forschungsprojekts „*Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpussprachen*" zustande gekommen ist

1) Diese Form wurde in Starke 1985: 244 und CHD L-N s.v. in *lu-ú-<i>-li* emendiert (nicht allerdings in Haas 2003: 475), was, wie wir sehen werden, nicht notwendig ist. Laroche 1973: 181 bezeichnet diese Form als „forme réduite" – was er damit gemeint hat, bleibt unklar. Vgl. auch die weitergebildete Form *lu-ú-i-u-ma-na-* (KBo 6.2 i 45) vs. *lu-i-um-na-* (KBo 6.3 i 53), letztere ist allerdings zweideutig ([luyumna-] bzw. [lu(w)iumna]-).

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22) A Revised Reconstruction of Col. II of the Synchronistic King List (A. 117 / Ass. 14616 c)* — The Synchronistic King List (ScKL) is a list recording the contemporary kings of Assyria and Babylonia in two sub-columns on the left and the right sides in parallel approximately from the 18th to the 7th centuries BC. Until now, the sources of the ScKL consist of one tablet (A. 117 = AfO 3, 70-71; KAV 216) and several tablet fragments (VAT 11931 = KAV 9, VAT 11261 = KAV 10, VAT 11262 = KAV 11, VAT 11338 = KAV 12, VAT 11345 = KAV 13, and A. 118 / Ass. 13956 dh = KAV 182), all excavated by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft at the site of Aššur at the beginning of the 20th century. The texts were first edited by E. F. Weidner (MVAG 20/4, 6-10; MDOG 58, 1-10; MVAG 26/2, 2-24; AfO 3, 66-77) and later reedited by A. K. Grayson (AOAT 1, 112-115; RLA 6, 116-125). Although nearly one third of the tablet has been lost, A. 117 is the main tablet of the ScKL, containing more entries of kings and rendering a clearer overview of the format. However, the obverse of the tablet (Col. I-II) was largely damaged and has badly deteriorated. This was indicated by Weidner's warning that "Was die Lesungen in Assur 14616 c, Vs. II, 2. Spalte (AfO 3, S. 70) betrifft, so sind sie mit grosser Vorsicht zu benutzen und bleiben besser unberücksichtigt"; and his later remark that the obverse of the tablet was "nummehr fast ganz verwittert" (AfO 17, 383, n. 1). Even though the earlier edition of Weidner of this part was improved with the help of the Babylonian King List C, which recorded the kings of the Isin II Dynasty by A. Poebel (AS 15, 14), the reconstruction of Col. II of A. 117 still remains uncertain.

Poebel's revision of Col. II of A. 117, basically followed by Grayson (RLA 6, 118-119), can be seen as follows:

. . . . .

10. [m]Ašš[ur]-dan[a]n	min	[md]Za-ba₄-[ba₄-šuma-iddina	min]
11. [m] min	min	[md]Enlil-nādin-[aḫḫē	min]
12.[md]Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur	min]	[md]Marduk-[kabit-aḫḫē-šú	min]
13.[m]Mu-tak-kil-[d]Nusku	min	[m][Itti-[d]Marduk-balāṭu	min]
14.[m]Aš-šur-rēša-iši	min	[md]Ninurta-[nādin]-šumi [	min]
15.[m] min	min	[md]Nabû-kudurri-uṣur [	min]
16.[m] min	min	[md]Enlil-nādin-apli [	min]
17. [m]Tukul-ti-apil-[É]-šár-ra	min	[md]Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē [	min]
18. [md]Ašarēd'-apil-É-kur	min	[md]Marduk-šāpik-zēri [	min]
19.		[m][…] um-[man-šú]	
20. [m]Aš-šur-bēl-ka-la	min	[md]Marduk-[šāpik-zēri	min]
21. [m]Aš-šur-bēl-ka-la	min	[md]Adad-[apla-iddina	min]
22. [m]Aš-šur-bēl-ka-la	min	[m][[d]Marduk-. . .-. . .	min]
23. [m] min	min	[m][. . .	min]
24. [m] min	min	[m][. . .	min]

. . . . . .

The reconstruction is problematic in several aspects: 1) in the unit of Lines 12-13, two Assyrian kings, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku, are listed parallel with two Babylonian kings, Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu; 2) in the two separate units (in Lines 18 and 20), the entry of the

Babylonian king Marduk-šāpik-zēri is listed twice. This reconstruction contradicts the overall format of A. 117.

In accordance with the overall organization of A.117, the methods applied by the scribe for placing the synchronistic kings of Assyria and Babylonia in single units – following the presumed structure of the ScKL – indicate that: either 1) one Assyrian king corresponds to one Babylonian king in a unit of one line, which can be seen in the first lines of Col. I and III; or 2) one Assyrian king corresponds to several Babylonian kings in a unit of several lines, which can be seen in Col. I 11-18, Col. II 7-9, 14-16, 20-24, Col. III 9-12 and Col. IV 14-16; or 3) several Assyrian kings correspond to one Babylonian king in a unit of several lines, which can be seen in Col. I 22-25, Col. II 5-6 and Col. III 13-15[1].

The arrangement that several Assyrian kings correspond to several Babylonian kings in a single unit is unattested in A. 117. An individual king (of Assyria or Babylonia) is never listed repeatedly in two or more independent units[2]. A similar design for avoiding this type of repetition can be seen in the unit of Line 12 of VAT 11338 (RLA 6, 124), where the entry of Enlil-nādin-apli listed in the left half-line corresponds to a blank space in the right half-line. According to the interpretation of J. A. Brinkman (AnOr 43, 28), the blank space would stand for an extension of the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši I inscribed in the preceding right half-line of Line 11. More importantly, A. 117, as a king list, is meant to list the kings in a direct chronological order without considering the actual overlapping reigns. This means that, in the right half-lines of Col. I, A. 117, the Babylonian kings from the first three dynasties of Babylon which are partly overlapped are listed one after another in a direct line (Weidner, MVAG 26/2, 23; Poebel, JNES 2/1, 61; Brinkman, AnOr 43, 29). The repeated entries of one same king in different units, which will break the chronological order, would be unusual.

Thus, the two rules followed by the scribe of A. 117 for registering the entries of kings can be summarized as follows: 1) never list two or more Assyrian kings parallel with two or more Babylonian counterparts in one unit; 2) never list a king in different units.

Furthermore, some traces on the tablet would also indicate that another arrangement might be preferable. The status of the tablet A. 117 around the time of the excavation can be seen from its excavation photo (Ass. 4128), on which the right part of Col. II still shows large shadows of cuneiform signs. However, the initial traces for the royal name in the right part of Line 16 seem to be one or two heads of horizontal wedges followed by two or three vertical wedges, clearly referring not to "ᵈBE-MU" of "Enlil-nādin-apli" (AfO 3, 70, Col. II, 16). More probably the signs should be read "PA-ku" ( ), which could match the first elements of "Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur"[3]. Additionally, the traces at the end of Line 18 seem more likely to be two crossed wedges followed by a vertical wedge ( ), which should be "PAB.MEŠ" as the last element of "Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē", rather than "DUB-NUMUN" or "ze-ri" as part of the name of "Marduk-šāpik-zēri".

Accordingly, the reconstruction on Col. II of A. 117 (especially from Line 13 onwards) can be revised as follows:

. . . . . .

10. ᵐAš-šur-dan^an	min	[ᵐᵈZa-ba₄-ba₄-šuma-iddina		min]
11. ᵐ [min]	min	[ᵐᵈEnlil-nādin-aḫi		min]
12.ᵐᵈ[Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aššur	min	[ᵐᵈMarduk-kabit-aḫḫē-šú		min]
13.ᵐ[Mu-tak-kil-ᵈNusku	min	**[ᵐ … um-ma-an-šú]**		
14.ᵐ[Aš-šur-rēša-i-ši	min	**[ᵐItti-ᵈMarduk-balāṭu**		**min]**
15.ᵐ [min]	min	**[ᵐᵈNinurta-nādin-šumi**		**min]**
16.ᵐ [min]	min	**[ᵐᵈNabû-kudurrī-uṣur**		**min]**
17. [ᵐTukul-ti-apil-É-šár-ra	min	**[ᵐᵈEnlil-nādin-apli**		**min]**
18. [ᵐᵈAšarēd-apil-É-kur]	min	**[ᵐᵈMarduk-nādin-aḫḫē**		**min]**
19.		**[ᵐ… um-ma-an-šú]**		

20. [^mAš-šur-bēl-ka-la]	min	[^{md}**Marduk-šāpik-zēri**	**min]**
21. [^mAš-šur-bēl-ka-la]	min	[^{md}Adad-apla-iddina	min]
22. [^mAš-šur-bēl-ka-la]	min	[^{md}Marduk-aḫḫē-erība	min]
23. [^m min]	min	[^m . . .	min]
24. [^m min]	min	[^m . . .	min]

. . . . . .

In this new reconstruction:

1) The entry of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu is suggested for Line 14, rather than Line 13, where the entry of a Babylonian ummânu must be registered (just like the entry of the ummânu in Line 19). The two Assyrian kings are thus listed parallel with only one Babylonian king in Lines 12-13[4].

2) The entry of Marduk-šāpik-zēri in Line 18 is replaced by the entry of Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē and so the former will not be listed repeatedly in Lines 18 and 20.

1) For more discussions on the arrangement of parallel pairs of Assyrian and Babylonian kings in A. 117, see the revised version of the present writer's doctoral thesis (submitted to Peking University in 2014) to be published as *Studies on the Synchronistic King List from Ashur* (forthcoming).

2) In Col. IV, the entries of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon are written closely together, but it should be noted that there was no Babylonian king after Babylon was destroyed by Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon himself was king of Assyria and Babylonia.

3) It is highly probable that the name of Nebuchadnezzar I in this line is written as "^dPA-ku-dúr-PAB" (A. K. Grayson, ABC 21, iii 6', 8'). The present writer thanks Dr. Jaume Llop for the discussions with him on the traces of this name.

4) Grayson (RLA 6, 121) suggested that a) if Itti-Marduk-balāṭu is listed in Line 13, then a horizontal dividing line between Line 12 and Line 13 (Brinkman, AnOr 43, 41, n. 178) would have been mistakenly omitted; or b) if an ummânu is listed here, then the entry of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu would have been omitted. Be that as it may, a new problem will be: another king of the Isin II dynasty between Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē and Marduk-šāpik-zēri will have to be expected in Line 18, which will contradict the evidence from the Babylonian King List C (Poebel, AS 15, 3).

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23) SB Gilgamesh XI 149-150 — In A.R. George's magisterial edition of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the term *i-pi-ra-am-ma* was left untranslated in the Standard Babylonian text. The corresponding lines, 149-150 of Tablet XI, describe Ūta-napišti's release of the dove to ascertain if there is dry land. The lines in the majority of manuscripts read:

149: *il-lik summatu*(TU)^{mušen} *i-pi-ra-am-m*[*a*]
150: *man-za-zu ul li-pa-aš₂-šim-ma is-sah-r*[*a*]

"off went the dove . . .
No perch was available for it and it came back to [me]" (GEORGE 2003: I 713)

Variants in two (of four and five witnesses per line, respectively) other manuscripts, one from Nineveh (K 3375) and one from Aššur (VAT 11294) preserve a different reading deemed by George as an "easy variant" of the untranslated verb *i-pi-ra-am-ma*. The lines in these two manuscripts read:

149: *il-lik summatu*(TU)^{mušen} *i-tu-ra-am-m*[*a*]
150: *man-za-zu ul li-pa-aš₂-šim-ma is-sah-r*[*a*]

George prefers the reading *i-pi-ra-am-m*[*a*] over *i-tu-ra-am-ma* one two grounds. The first follows the text critical rule of *lectio difficilior* in preferring the more difficult verb *i-pi-ra-am-ma*, for which he does not offer a translation. The second reason is the reading *i-tu-ra-am-ma*, from the verb *târu* "to return," is redundant since the dove clearly returns in line 150 with the verb *is-sah-ra* "to turn back (around)." There is, however, another reason to prefer *i-pi-ra-am-ma* over *i-tu-ra-am-ma*, as well as to discount *i-pi-ra-am-ma* as a "difficult verb because of its obscurity" (GEORGE 2003: II 889).

In addition to George's arguments against *i-tu-ra-am-ma* is the possible explanation of the verb as scribal error by dittography of the preceding Sumerogram TU in K 3375 or the syllable *tu* in VAT 11294, used to spell out *su-ma-tu*ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ. The error is likely reinforced by the scribes thinking about the act of the bird returning in the following line. While this posits dittography by two scribes in two separate texts, it seems plausible given the clearly redundant reading of *târu* and *saḫāru*. However, it is the translation of the verb *i-pi-ra-am-ma* that is of more importance and can be established more securely.

We suggest here that the verb *i-pi-ra-am-ma* be translated as a preterite of the root *ebēru* "to cross over," rather than from the root *epēru* "to provide food." George's suggestion is also difficult given the fact that he must extend the verbal nuance from "to provide food" to its near opposite "to forage" in order to make sense of it, though he offers the cautionary note that "it is better to withhold judgment." Reading *ebēru* "to cross over" aligns both with the context and the orthography of the texts.

With regard to the orthography, where a possible problem might arise from the substitution of syllable *bi* with *pi*, this exact interchange is seen in line 150 in the spelling of the verb *bašû* as *i-pa-aš₂-[ši]m-ma*. Thus the orthographic issue is null. The context also reinforces the reading of *ebēru*. Ūta-napišti has released the dove and watches it "go" (*il-lik*) and then "cross over" (*i-bi₃-ra-am-ma*) the expanse of the waters before finding no perch and turning back to Ūta-napišti. The line can now be translated confidently as:

149: The dove went; it crossed over (the water), and,

150: a standing place not available to it, it returned to me.

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24) The Assyrian GIŠ.*me/iḫru* — The correct identification of the Akkadian term *me/iḫru* to indicate a specific tree is still doubtful. In the *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* by CAMPBELL THOMPSON (1949: 267), *meḫru* is considered 'some kind of fir'. *AHw* (II: 641) translates *meḫru* with the general term 'ein Föhre', whereas *CAD* (X M: 60) prefers the translation 'fir'. ROWTON, who considers the native vegetation of contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan in his analysis, suggests to translate the word with 'a pine tree' (ROWTON 1967: 273). In an article published in the *Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture*, POSTGATE questions the identification of *meḫru* with fir and suggests translating it as 'pine' or, more probably, as 'juniper' (POSTGATE 1992: 183). He adds that *Juniperus excelsa* M. Bieb. may be a possible candidate. No further articles appeared on the topic, and the term *meḫru* continues to be frequently translated as 'a conifer' or even as 'fir'.

This note is meant to show, thanks to a multidisciplinary approach, the impossibility of an identification of GIŠ.*meḫru* with fir tree and the difficulties presented by its identification with *Juniperus excelsa* M. Bieb. In the opinion of the author, *Juniperus oxycedrus* L. or *Pinus brutia* Ten. may instead be good candidates for *meḫru*.

The tree indicated as *meḫru* in the Akkadian language exclusively appears in the corpus of the Assyrian documents. In the Royal Inscriptions, it is mentioned only in the texts of Tukūltī-Ninurta I (1233-1197 BCE), Adad-nārārī II (911-891 BCE) and Aššurnaṣirpal II (883-859 BCE). In one passage of his inscriptions, Tukūltī-Ninurta I claims to have defeated the Qutû (a generic label to indicate the people of the north-eastern mountains) as far as the country of the *meḫru*-trees (RIMA 1 A.0.78.3: 9-10; A.0.78.8: 7´-8´). There, the Assyrian king acquired mighty logs of *meḫru*, which were subsequently trasported to Aššur and used in Tukūltī-Ninurta's palace (A.0.78.1: iii 12-20). Considering the direction of Tukūltī-Ninurta I's campaigns and the reference to the Qutû, the country of the *meḫru*-trees can be approximately located in the area of the Upper Zab in modern Iraqi Kurdistan. This location is also confirmed by the reference to the River Rūrū of the *meḫru* country in Adad-nārārī II's inscription (RIMA 1 A.0.99.1: 8´), which must be probably identified as one of the tributaries of the Upper Zab (ASTOUR 1987: 6). According to his Annals, Aššurnaṣirpal II also entered the country of the *meḫru*-trees, where

logs of *meḫru* were cut and transported to Niniveh. In Niniveh, they were offered to Ištar (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 91-92a). This reference to the *meḫru*-tree follows a list of well-known conifers (i.e. cedar, cypress, *burāšu-* and *daprānu*-juniper) whose logs were imported from Mount Amanus in the West, thus suggesting that the *meḫru*-tree was also a conifer. In another passage of Aššurnaṣirpal II's inscriptions, the *meḫru*-tree follows box, rosewood (?), cedar, cypress, terebinth and tamarisk in a list of woods used to build up and decorate Aššurnaṣirpal's palace (A.0.101.30: 25-26a). The same list appears in other passages of Aššurnaṣirpal's texts (A.0.101.2: 56b-57; A.0.101.23: 18; A.0.101.26: 58b-59; A.0.101.30: 25-26a). Here, however, *meḫru* is replaced by *daprānu*, which is commonly interpreted as a juniper species of western origin, possibly the Syrian juniper (i.e. *Juniperus drupacea* Labill.; see POSTGATE 1992: 181). Aššurnaṣirpal II's Banquet Stele lists GIŠ.*meḫru* among trees, fruit trees and aromatic plants that the king collected for his park from distant lands and mountainous countries (A.0.101.30: 41-48). The text is highly ideological, and the plant names do not seem to have been listed according to any taxonomic order.

Besides Royal Inscriptions, the *meḫru*-tree is attested in other types of Assyrian texts. Four hundred logs of *meḫru* are mentioned as first item in an administrative list from Nimrud (PARKER 1961, ND 2796:1). Moreover, the *meḫru*-tree is mentioned after cedar, cypress and *daprānu*-juniper in an Assyrian dream-report, again suggesting the identification of the tree as a conifer (OPPENHEIM 1956: 323). This seems to be confirmed by the reference to *meḫru* in the medicinal plant list Uruanna = *maštakal*, where the latter is equated with *ašūḫu* (*KADP* 11, VAT 9000). Although previously translated as 'fir', *ašūḫu* must probably be identified with the Turkish pine (i.e. *Pinus brutia* Ten.; see POSTGATE 1987: 135; POSTGATE 1992: 180; *CDA*: 30). *Meḫru* appears in another Assyrian medical text dealing with the treatment of diseases, this time together with *daprānu*-juniper and *e'ru*, the cedar (BAM 1, IV 8). The tree is also associated to cedar in a tablet dealing with divinatory matter from Aššurbanipal's Library (Rm. 259: 4). A fragmentary administrative text from Tell Billa/Šibaniba in Niniveh province refers to a *meḫru*-wood door (FINKELSTEIN 1953: *Bi* 22: 3). Logs of *meḫru* are also mentioned in a very fragmentary Neo-Assyrian letter (SAA 5 253) which deals with beams transportation and involves some inhabitants of Arrapha, modern Kirkuk, and in another particularly interesting letter probably to be dated to Sargon II's time (SAA 5 295). In the latter, an Assyrian official informs the king that second-rate logs were cut probably to build up a door. Although the logs are numerous, they seem to be all unsuitable for the job. In fact, they are all made of *meḫru* wood and too thin. Thus, this text might suggest that *meḫru* is not a particularly good quality timber for construction mainly because the beams obtained from its wood are extremely thin. Since these are the only reference to the *meḫru*-tree in the documents of Aššurnaṣirpal's successors, it is reasonable to hypothesise that *meḫru*, although largely widespred in the mountains just to the north and east of the Assyrian heartland, was considered second-rate timber. Better quality timber was possibly available already during Šalmaneser III's reign, when the Assyrians entered the high mountains of Iran and Anatolia. Under Aššurnaṣirpal's successors, besides the conifers from the western mountains, the *burāšu*-juniper started to also be cut and transported from the mountains of Southeastern Anatolia and Western Iran. The timber of this tree was used for roofing in Urarṭu, where the "mountain of *burāšu*-juniper" is also located (MAYER 2013: 113, 169 and 125, 280).

To sum up the information provided by the sources, we know that *meḫru* was a conifer widespred in the mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan. As shown by the discovery of the text from Tell Billa, the wood of *meḫru* was already available in Middle Assyrian period, when the Assyrian territory was limited to Northern Mesopotamia. It seems to have had a strong connection with the *daprānu*-juniper in the mind of the Assyrian scribes and to have shared some pharmacological properties with *ašūḫu*-pine and cedar. Differently than for most of the other conifers, the *meḫru* tree does not seem to have provided particularly good quality timber, because it was often too thin and possibly small. Also in the Royal Inscriptions, it is never explicitly mentioned as building material in the construction of roofs and/or big doors of royal palaces and temples as it is the case for other conifers.

Considering the geographical indications provided by the texts, we can firmly exclude an identification of *meḫru* with fir. The latter is neither attested in the vegetation of Iraqi Kurdistan and Northwestern Iran today (GUEST-AL RAWI 1966; RECHINGER 1963-) nor appears in the pollen records

available for Lake Urmia in North-western Iran (BOTTEMA 1986; DJAMALI *et al*. 2008). Since Lake Urmia is a large basin catching also long-distance transported pollen, this non-evidence suggests the complete absence of fir trees in a wide area around Lake Urmia for the Late Pleistocene and the entire Holocene, i.e. before, during and after the Assyrian period.

An identification of *meḫru* with *Juniperus excelsa* M. Bieb. is also difficult. This species of juniper is not attested in Iraq today. Although it occurs both in the Hakkâri mountains of South-eastern Turkey and in Northern and Western Iran, i.e. not far from the border with Iraqi Kurdistan, it is a higher altitude species that grows in altitude ranges from 1000 up to 3500 m a.s.l. (PIRANI *et al*. 2011: 336). *Juniperus excelsa* is a tree that reaches an altitude of 20 m and is mainly used as fuel and building material for roofing. The distribution and the characteristics of this species clearly suggest an identification of *Juniperus excelsa* with the *burāšu*-juniper of Sargon's texts rather than with *meḫru*. The large use of the term *burāšu* (and especially of the corresponding sumerogram ŠIM.LI) in the corpus of the texts from the Old Babylonian periods onwards may, however, suggest that this term was used in Mesopotamia to indicate juniper in general (*CAD* II B: 326-328).

The identification of *meḫru* with pine is certainly much more credible. *Pinus brutia* Ten. is, together with *Juniperus oxycedrus* L., the only conifer from Iraq. *Pinus brutia* Ten. is a native species of Iraqi Kurdistan, still attested in the Zawita valley north of Mosul (GUEST-AL RAWI 1966; RECHINGER 1963–). The logs of this species of pine have an average diameter of about 1 m, can be up to 20-30 m high and are often manufactured to be used as floorboards or as timber for doors and windows. The pharmacological lexicon Uruanna = *maštakal* explicitly equates the word *meḫru* with *ašūḫu*, the pine. The exact relationship among the plants mentioned in the Uruanna list is, however, still unclear and the equation of two plants may indicate that one can substitute the other rather than correspond to it, as was previously thought (BÖCK 2011: 693-694). The fact that the terms *meḫru* and *ašūḫu* both appear in a passage of Aššurnaṣirpal's Banquet Stele seems to confirm this hypothesis and to suggest that they do not indicate exactly the same tree, but instead trees with very similar pharmaceutical properties. Recent ethnobiological studies on the traditional use of wild plants in Turkey have shown that both resin and cones of pine and *Juniperus oxycedrus* L. are used for the same medical purposes (KARGIOĞLU *et al*. 2010). The tar extracted from the wood of pine, juniper and cedar is considered to have similar pharmacological properties and is mainly used to treat injuries (KURT *et al*. 2008; ARI *et al*. 2014).

Juniperus oxycedrus L. is very common in oak and pine forests in the mountains of north-western Iraqi Kurdistan from Zakho to Rawānduz at an average altitude of 500-1700 m a.s.l. It can be found as 2-3 m tall shrub or occasionally as small erect tree up to 9 m within the natural oak forests (GUEST-AL RAWI 1966: 91). Since this species of juniper has generally the form of a large shrub, its timber products are relatively small and thin, but also resistant and durable thanks to the technological properties of its wood. This means that it is suitable as building material but only for small scale and domestic constructions, such as fencing, village roofing, components of windows and doors, and furniture. These characteristics of *Juniperus oxycedrus* L. correspond quite well with those of the logs of the *meḫru*-tree indicated in the aforementioned Assyrian texts and especially in SAA 5 295. One further argument in favour of an identification of *meḫru* with juniper might be the etymological connection with the Northern Kurdish word مرخ (*mərx*) 'juniper' that, as well as the Armenian word մարխ/մախր (*marx/maxr*), continue the Hurrian term *māḫri*, generally interpreted as 'a resinous conifer' (GREPPIN 1991: 725 note [41]; RICHTER 2012: 238). It cannot, however, be completely excluded that *meḫru* indicated the pine as well as *ašūḫu* but that it, in contrast to the latter, was a term of Hurrian origin.

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25) The 'Assyrian' Pazuzu/Lamashtu of Tell Shamlu — Tell Shamlu is located in Sharezur plain in the northern Zagros, near the confluence of the Zalim and Tanjero tributaries with the Sirwan/Upper Diyala river. Two tells near each other are called Shamlu. In 1960 an Iraqi team performed salvage excavation in one of the tells. The one locally known as Shamlu-i Khwaru (i.e. the southern Shamlu, to separate it from the other one located to the north of it, and known as Shamlu-i Saru).

The Iraqi team performed a long season of excavation (from June 12th to September 1st 1960, when the Darbandikhan dam was already finished and the site was about to be covered with water of the dam. The excavation revealed ten levels, the first level date back to the late Islamic period, and the rest date back to the second millennium BCE, in which a rare type of ceramic was discovered called after the name of the site as Shamlu Ware (for further details see, AL-JANABI 1961: 174-193. Also, recently the results of the discoveries at Shamlu were reevaluated and studied by MÜHL 2013).

In the level IV a small fragment of a black stone plaque was discovered, it is described by Al-Janabi, the head of the team as: "*a fragment of a black stone discovered, its measures 2.5cm x 3cm. found in the affiliation of square 4 south of the trench. There are three lines of inscription that bear a personal name. On the other face/side there is an image, a person like, with a mythological face, in his left hand is a throttling bird, and below his arm there is an animal with mouth, it looks like a dog, jackal or a wolf. It seems that the object accidentally reached that level from the upper levels, because we did not find any other inscribed objects, or similar objects with images.*" (AL-JANABI 1961 p.181).
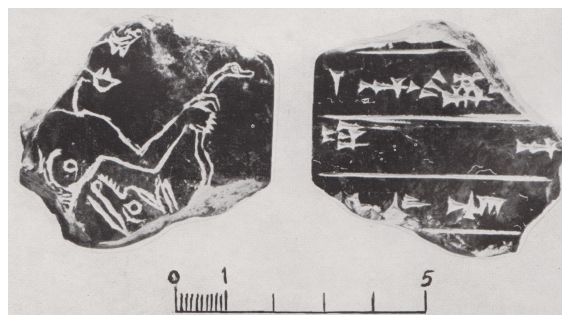
Photos of the both sides of the amulet (After: AL-JANABI 1961*: plate: 17b).*

The image shows a typical Lamashtu with lion's head, throttling a snake not a bird as Al-Janabi assumed. The head of the dog or jackal, always the scenes where a Lamashtu attacks, is also preserved. Among the missing details were perhaps a snake in his right hand, a pig to his right, and probably the Lamashtu was on a horse, but we have only a fragment of the amulet which was originally around 5 cm. in height. Some such Lamashtu amulets, in addition of the incantation, have a rounded image of Pazuzu depicted on the top, but that is missing from the amulet discovered at Tell Shamlu. There head of Pazuzu may or may not. have been there (For further details concerning the depiction of Lamashtu and Pazuzu on these types of plaque, especially the Neo-Assyrian examples see, HEEßEL 2002: no.20, no.22, no.30, BLACK & GREEN 1992: 147f.).

The 'incantation' on the other face of the plaque is written in Assyrian script. At least one line is missing above and two or more lines below. That inscription awaits further discussion by specialists.

Discovering that amulet in the northern Zagros was important and it indicates that the people of that area were also influenced by the social beliefs of the peoples of Babylonia and Assyria, especially, since it is probably an Assyrian object. Similar amulets with image of Pazuzu throttling snakes and dogs were discovered in Nimrud and other Assyrian sites.

The Mesopotamian influence in that area of the Zagros began since the Old Babylonian period, and the Old Babylonian tablets discovered in Tell Bakrawa to the northeast of Shamlu indicate that the people of that area, called the land of Lullubum, adopted many Mesopotamian cultural aspects as well as their language and script for their records. According to Al-Janabi, the amulet perhaps came from the upper levels. He also discovered Assyrian style potteries there, but no clear Assyrian. It is not easy to date that object, but generally, from the iconography of the depicted images and the script, we can suppose a late Middle Assyrian or more probably a Neo-Assyrian date.

On glazed bricks from the Mannean site of Rabat Tepe near the banks of the Lower Zab in the Iranian Zagros images of demons and mythological creatures are depicted. On two of them the lower part of their body is like that of a Lamashtu, with eagle's legs, but human heads, not a Lamashtu's lion's head (For further details see, Afifi & Heidari 2010: 152-187)

The Assyrian demon Pazuzu, who was a genie of sickness and fever, is well recorded in Assyrian art (For further details see, Heeßel 2002: 29, 35, 36, 38, 141).

Also, in the Zagros, in Tepe Nush-i Jan, a small bronze head of the 'Assyrian Pazuzu' was discovered. According to Stronach, it is a "*fully modeled head of the Assyrian demon Pazuzu*". About its origin Stronach assumes that it "*is not at all unlikely to have been looted from Assyria.*"(STRONACH 1968: 177-186, fig.14; MUSCARELLA 2013: 1020.)

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26) Diplomats and Renegades in the Neo-Babylonian Empire[1] **—** Apart of a small number of years that are covered by the Babylonian Chronicles, the history of the Neo Babylonian Empire remains largely unknown. Scholars try to reconstruct it on the basis of bits of information such as Menander's attestation of the 13 years siege that Nebuchadnezzar placed on the city of Tyre (Jos. *Contra Apionem 1.21*), and the Biblical descriptions of the long siege on Jerusalem and its aftermath. The four texts partially published by Weidner (WEIDNER 1939) that record oil rations distributed to beneficiaries in Babylon furnish additional information on the History of the Neo Babylonian Empire. Among these beneficiaries, that received oil, there were foreign diplomats from one subjected kingdom and two friendly states as well as renegades from two hostile kingdoms. The presence of these dignitaries in the city of Babylon, at the time of the writing of these documents (between Nebuchadnezzar years 11and 13)[2] shade light on the Geo-political situation of the Neo Babylonian Empire during that time.

The renegades and diplomats in the texts published by Weidner are summarized in the following table:

Name	Position and country of origin		Text
I an-ši-ia	LÚ par-su-maš-a-a	Persian	A obv. 12
I ba-gi-in-du-u	KUR par-su-maš-a-a	(From) the land of Persia	A rev. 15
[I] ba-gi-in-du-ú	KI.MIN (A rev. 17)	Ambassador of the land of Persia	A rev. 18
[ ]-di-bi-ia-ᵓ	LÚ EDIN-u šá KUR par-su-maš-[a-a]	Ambassador of the land of Persia	A. rev. 17
I pa-ta-am u (and) I ku-un-zu-um-pi-[ia]	Broken		A. obv. 15
I ku-un-zu-um-pi-[ia]	LÚ.EDIN-u šá KUR ia-man-na-a	Ambassador of the land of Greece	A rev. 16
I lab-bu-nu	LÚ[ ]		A obv. 10
I lab-bu-nu	LÚ EDIN-ú šá KUR ia-man-na-a-a	Ambassador of the land of Greece	A rev. 12
I kur-ban-ni	LÚ ma-da-a-a ma-ak-tu	Median renegade	B obv. col I, 24

			(transliteration only)
^Ikur-ban-ni	^{LÚ}ma-ak-tu šá ^{KUR}ma-da-a-a	Renegade from the land of Media	C obv. 23(transliteration only)
^Imar-ma-ᵓ	Broken		A obv. 22
^Imar-ma-ᵓ	^{LÚ}lu-da-a-a	Lydian	A rev. 25
^Imar-ma-ᵓ	^{LÚ}lu-da-a-a	Lydian	B obv. col. I, 22(transliteration only)
^Iur-kul-lu u (and) ^Ita-li-sa-am-mu	KI.MIN (B obv. col. I, 22)	Lydians	B obv. col I, 23 (transliteration only)
^Iur-ku-lu	^{LÚ}lu-da-a-a ^{LÚ}ma-ak-tu	Lydian renegade	C obv. col I, 24(transliteration only)
^Iza-bi-ri-ia	^{LÚ}lu-d[a-a-a]	Lydian	A obv 33
8 people	^{LÚ}ia-ú-d[a-a-a]	Judeans	A obv. 26
8 people	^{LÚ}ia-a-ḫu-da-a-a	Judeans	B obv. 40
6+ people	^{LÚ}ia-da-a-a gi-ri-šú-nu	Judeans. (For) their journey	A rev. 28

Ambassadors from friendly countries: These people are described as LÚ.EDIN-ú. We suggest LÚ.EDIN-ú = LÚ ṣēru (PEDÉRSEN 2005B, 270) which we translate "Ambassador."[3] The "Greek" Ambassador (?) may have been from Mytilene. Mytilene is known to have sent warriors to serve in the army of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in its early years.[4]

Emissaries from a vassal kingdom. Eight Judeans are listed twice (Text A Obv. 26, Text B Obv. 40). The same group is listed in Text A rev. 28: 6+? LÚ ia-<ú>-da-a-a gi-ri-šú-nu 3 SILÀ "6+? Judeans.[5] Three liters (oil) for their journey.

The journey that is alluded to in this text may have been a journey of Judean diplomats back to Judah after they have completed their assignment in Babylon. Such diplomatic groups of emissaries are known to have been sent by Zedekiah king of Judah to Nebuchadnezzar, his overlord (Jer 29:1-3, Jer 51:59).

1) We are indebted to Prof. Ran Zadok for his help.
2) PEDÉRSEN 2005, 117.
3) Following BORGER 2004, 311: "Bote." (Reference: Zadok) and PEDÉRSEN (2005B, 270) "messengers.". For LÚ ṣēru and its Hebrew cognate ציר (Isa. 13:2; eccl. 35, 13), see further PAUL 2005, 760-1 with earlier bibliography.
4) Alcaeus fr. 350 (Quoted in Strabo XIII 617), is a fragment of a poem written by Alcaeus in honor of his brother Antimenidas who served as an ally of the Babylonians. According to this poem Antimenidas took part in the Babylonian campaign against Ashkelon in the early years of Nebochanezzar's reign. However, the similarities between the descriptions of Antimenidas' foe from Ashkelon and Goliath (1Sam 17:4) put the historicity of this Alcaeus' poem in doubt.
5) WEIDNER (1939, plate 2) considered the sign *ia* as a mistake. His reading is generally accepted. However a more probable possibility is the sign ú was left out and that both lines refer to the same group of people.

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27) The cult for Seleucus II and his sons in Babylon — From Astronomical Diary AD 2 -229B obv. 9'-10' (SEB 82) it might be inferred that Seleucus II and his sons Seleucus (III) and Antiochus (III) were in Babylon in January 229 BC. I fear, however, that this diary rather refers to a cult for Seleucus and his sons. The text is badly broken, but references remain to rituals of gods, offerings, lamentation priests and the presence of the chief general of Babylonia. I read the text as follows:

Date: SEB 82 XI = 28 January – 25 February 229 BC

Text:
5: ITU BI ^{lú}UN^{meš} *šá ana* ⌜x⌝ [.. .. ..]
6: [.. .. ..] ⌜x⌝-*ú* ITU BI *e-nu-ma né-peš šá* DINGIR^{meš} x [.. .. ..]
7: [.. .. ..] TUŠ^{meš} *muh-hu-ru un-dah-hi-ru* ⌜x⌝ [.. .. ..]
8: [.. .. ..^{lú}]GAL.MAH ^{im}*ér-šà-hun-gá*^{meš} *u* ^{im}B[ALAG$^?$ .. ..]
9: [.. .. .. ^{lú}]GAL.ÉRIN^{meš} *šá* É 4 ^{lú}GAL.ÉRIN^{meš}-*ú-tu ina* INIM$^!$ [LUGAL .. ..]
10: [.. .. .. *ana bul-ţu šá* (?) $^!$*se-l*]*u-*⌜*ku*⌝ LUGAL *u* A^{meš}-*šú ina* 2, 30 ^{fd}UD.KIB.[NUN ....]
11: [.. .. ..] ⌜x⌝ GE$_6$ 17 17 *e-nu-ma né-peš ana* U[GU .. ..]

Translation:
5: ... . That month, people who for/to [......]
6: [......] That month, when the 'ritual of the gods' x [......]
7: [......] they settled$^?$, presented offerings x [......]
8: [......] The chief lamentation priest [recited$^?$] Eršahunga- and B[alag$^?$]-tablets [......]
9: [...... *That day*] the general of the house$^?$ of the four generals at the command [of the king ......]
10: [...... *presented offerings for the life (ritual$^?$)* of Seleu]cus, the king, and his sons on the left side of the Eu[phrates ......]
11:[.. .. ..] Night of the 17th and the 17th, when the ritual to [.. .. ..]

I suggest that mention is made of offerings presented by the chief general of Babylonia (the expression "general of the four generals of Babylonia" occurs more often in the late Seleucid and Parthian periods; the É here is odd, but the term must refer to the chief general of Babylonia) at the command of the king for the ritual (or for the life) of Seleucus, the king and his sons on the left side of the Euphrates, i.e. where the temple complex of Esagila is. The same expression is used in the Babylonian Chronicle ABC 13b = BCHP 12: 7'-8' of six years later (SE 88). Sacrificial animals were presented by the šatammu "for the ritual of Seleucus, the king, and his sons" (⌜*a*⌝-[*n*]*a dul-*⌜*lu*⌝ *šá* ^{m}*Si-*[*lu*]-*ku* LU[GAL] *u* A.MEŠ-*sú*), all this "at the command of the king" (*ina* INIM LUGAL, line 4'), who was absent. This diary now presents additional evidence that the ritual (*dullu*) for "Seleucus, the king, and his sons" mentioned in BCHP 12 indeed refers to a ritual for Seleucus II and his two sons and not for Seleucus III, who just had ascended the throne. The normal expression is that these offerings were made "for the life (*ana bulţu*)" of the king, so that I assume that this expression was in the lacuna. In my commentary on BCHP 12 I suggested that the term *dullu*, "ritual", was used instead of *bulţu*, "life",

because Seleucus II was dead in SEB 88 and already succeeded by his son Seleucus III. But we cannot rule out a reading *dullu* here as well.

The parallel diary of SEB 82 month XI reports different events, viz. "fights" (*ṣal-la-a-tú*, No. -229A r5) and a proclamation? from the "palace? … of the king" ([.. .. .. ..] ⌜É⌝-[GAL .. ..] LUGAL *šaṭ-ri*, *ibid*., r6). This may imply the presence of the king, but might equally explain the presence of the general of Babylonia in order to restore order and read a proclamation of the king.

Abbreviations

ABC = GRAYSON, A.K. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley NY.
AD 2 = SACHS, A.J. and H. HUNGER. 1989. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vol. II *Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C*. Vienna.
SEB = Seleucid Era according to the Babylonian calendar starting April 311 BC.
BCHP = FINKEL, I.L. and R.J. VAN DER SPEK. In preparation. *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*. http://www.livius.org/babylonia.html

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28) KI.LAM = *nadānu* in Late Babylonian — In the Hellenistic period the Akkadian reading of KI.LAM seems to be *nadānu*, rather than *mahīru*, 'exchange (rate)', from *mahāru,* 'to receive'. In fact, this does not affect the overall meaning of KI.LAM since it reflects as *pars pro toto* the principle of any transaction: *nadānu u mahāru*, 'giving and receiving' (see CAD M^{I} 58, *nadānu u mahāru*, 'to sell and buy, to do business.'). Both *mahīru* and *nadānu* can therefore mean "exchange; exchange rate". The Akkadian rendering of KI.LAM is given in an interest-bearing promissory note arising from a deposit (277/6 BC): KÙ.BABBAR *ši-mi dan-nu* KAŠ.SAG-*a'* | 5-TA *lìb-bu-ú na-dan šá ina* E.KI *ina* ITI.SIG *u* ITI.ŠU *in-na-an-din-nu ina-an-din-u'*, "the silver, the price of the aforementioned 5 vats of beer, they will give (pay) according to the exchange rate (*na-dan*) that is given in Babylon in months III and IV": CT 49, 111: 7 (= STOLPER 1993, text 13 + comm. p. 44; JURSA 2006: 183; n.b.: Stolper incorrectly deletes *ina-an-din-u'* as scribal error). In the same text we read: "If they do not pay at the appointed time for them, they will pay *lìb-bu-ú na-dan ma-ṭu-ú šá* MU 43.KAM, "according to the lowest exchange rate of year 43 (= according to the highest price)", CT 49, 111: 8-9 (= STOLPER 1993, text 13 + comm. p. 44). In a Parthian period Astronomical Diary from 108 BC, we have: *na-dan ina* SILA.MEŠ E.KI TAR-*is*, "the exchange in the streets of Babylon was interrupted" (AD 3 -107D 32'). Perhaps we might translate here: "the supply (of grain) was interrupted". It is a month of a peak price in grain (December 108 BC; cf. VAN DER SPEK *et alii* 2015, Appendix for the price). Note the phrase in a diary from Uruk, 464 BC: [so and so much grain etc. for one shekel of silver] *šá ina* KUR *a-na* KI.LAM SUM-*nu*, "which was given in the land for exchange" (AD 1 -463: 4'. Cf. VAN DER SPEK 2015: 7 and p. 13, n. 7). As these texts illustrate, the final short vowel was not pronounced in Late Babylonian (*na-dan*).

Abbreviations

AD 1 – 3 = SACHS, A.J. & HUNGER, H**.** 1988, 1989, 1996, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vol. I. *Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.,* Vol. II *Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.,* Vol. III, *Diaries from 164 B.C. to 61 B.C.* Vienna.

CT 49 = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part XLIX: D.A. Kennedy, *Late-Babylonian Economic Texts*. London 1968.

JURSA M., 2006, 'Agricultural management, tax farming and banking: Aspects of entrepreneurial activity Babylonia in the Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods,' in: P. Briant & F. Joannès eds., *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350-300 avant J.-C.)* Persika 9 (Paris), 137-222.

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VAN DER SPEK *et al*. 2015 = VAN DER SPEK, R.J**.,** B. VAN LEEUWEN & J.L. VAN ZANDEN (eds.) 2015, *A History of Market Performance. From Ancient Babylonia to the Modern World*. London.

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29) A Note on the Toprakkale Tablet[1] — The Urartian clay tablet VAT 7770 was found from the ancient site at Toprakkale, now in the limits of modern city of Van, Eastern Turkey, and the photo was published by Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt in 1907 (Fig. 1).[2] Since that period, the tablet had several publications.[3] The last edition was in the forth volume of the impressive corpus of Urartian inscriptions published by Mirjo Salvini in 2012.[4] The content of this tablet is very important, as it enumerates the members of the palace/temple personnel of the Urartian city named ^{m}*rusaḫinili* ^{KUR}*qilbanikai* ("Rusaḫinili in front of (mount) Qilbani").[5] The text is divided into eight sections, separated from each other by lines. The total number of the members of the palace/temple personnel is summarized at the end of the text – 5,507 persons, including 1,113 ^{LÚ}*mari(gi)* "charioteers" (i.e. "nobles, nobility"), 3,892 ^{LÚ}*ŠÁ.REŠI*^{MEŠ} "eunuchs" and another 502 individuals including some functionaries.
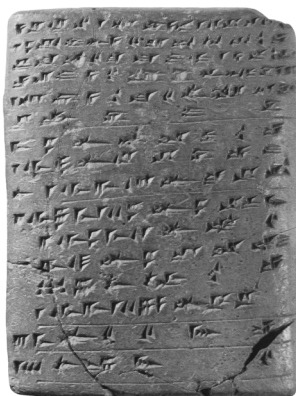
Fig. 1. Toprakkale tablet VAT 7770, Obverse (WARTKE 1993: 55, Taf. 86).

Only 66 individuals are mentioned as women, who were weavers and listed in the section of "eunuchs".[6] It is noteworthy that in the palace/temple personnel of Toprakkale, the number of female weavers is quite comparable with the numbers known from the Neo-Assyrian texts for Assyrian palace personnel. As an average number, there were twenty weavers in the royal palaces of provincial capitals and, perhaps, several times more in the palace of Nineveh.[7]

In previous publications of the tablet the determinative for "woman" MÍ was recognized only in front of the 66 weavers mentioned above (66 ^{MÍ}GAD-*ḫi-e*).

The fifth section on the Obv. of the tablet has only one line (Obv. 16). The publishers interpreted the texts as "90 ^{LÚ}UN^{MEŠ}-*še*," which means "90 people" (literally "population").[8] However, in the photograph of the inscription it is visible that the number "90" is followed not by the sign LÚ, but, clearly, by the MÍ (Fig. 2). It becomes more apparent when we compare the sign MÍ with that one inscribed on the Obv. 13 (Fig. 3) and with the signs LÚ on the Obv. 9-11 (Figs. 4-6). Thus, the meaning of the text here is "90 women" (literally, "(female) population").

Fig. 2.   Fig. 3.   Fig. 4.   Fig. 5.   Fig. 6.

In addition, also at the end of the same line is written not the phonetic complement -*še,* but the logogram KUR (Fig. 7, cf. with the logogram KUR on the Obv. 15, Fig. 8). Thus, we read here "90 ^{MÍ}UN^{MEŠ}.KUR".
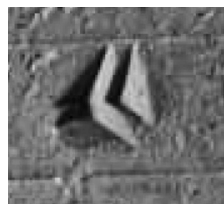
Fig. 7.   Fig. 8.

The logogram KUR had also the meaning "palace" in the Neo-Assyrian texts (KUR = *ekallu*).[9] This is also true for the Urartian cuneiform school where at least in one case the logogram KUR is used with the same meaning.[10] It is important to note that in the Neo-Assyrian texts the word "queen" is written logographically, MÍ.KUR (var.: MÍ.É.GAL).[11] Besides, in the Akkadian texts of different periods the combination MÍ.ERIM.É.GAL (var.: MÍ.ŠÀ.É.GAL, MÍ.UN.É.GAL) stands for the expression *sekret ekalli* "female personnel of the palace (?)", "palace woman" or "concubine."[12]

Thus, we may suppose that the [MÍ]UN[MEŠ].KUR of the Toprakkale tablet could also stand for the word "concubines", "palace women" or, rather, "harem."

The number of "palace women" is also interesting, 90 persons. It is noteworthy that there were *ca.* 50-100 "palace women" in the palaces of the Assyrian provincial capitals and around 150-300 "palace women" in the palace of Nineveh.[13]

According to an opinion, the king of Urartu Menua Išpuiniḫi (*ca.* 810-790 B.C.) in one of his inscriptions mentioned the harem in his capital city Ṭušpa ([... ... x-x-(*sa-a-i*? [URU]*ṭu-ú-uš-pa*)]-*a* URU .... [LÚ]*ú-e-di-a-ni tar-a-i-e pa-a-ra-la-ni gu-ú-*[(*ni* ...).[14] The text is certainly incomplete to be convincing, but if it is true, then there might have been recorded the Urartian word for "harem", the equivalent of which could have been the abovementioned combination [MÍ]UN[MEŠ].KUR.

1) My thanks to Margarit Khachikyan and Roberto Dan for their help during the preparation of this article.

2) Lehmann-Haupt 1907: 105, Abb. 77/a-b. For better illustrations see Wartke 1993: 55, Taf. 86; Salvini 2007: 48sq., Abb. 1-2; CTU IV: 146.

3) For references to previous publications, see Salvini 2007: 37sqq.

4) CTU IV, CT Tk-1.

5) In short see Zimansky 2007: 466f.

6) Diakonoff 1963: 39 (12₁₃), 81; CTU IV, CT Tk-1 Ro₁₃. Cf. KUKN, 412 Obv.₁₃, n. 16.

7) Teppo 2007: 267 and n. 55.

8) Diakonoff 1963: 39 (12₁₆), 81f.; KUKN 412, Obv.₁₆; CTU IV, CT Tk-1 Ro₁₆. It is noteworthy that this one-line text is separated from two sides and represents another section. Apparently, the scribe highlighted the people of a special group or class. It was done also in case of other groups/classes listed in the text.

9) Borger 1978: 148sq. (No. 366).

10) We mean here the inscribed bulla CB Ay-51 found from Ayanis, where [LÚ]KÙ KUR-*iš* official is mentioned (CTU IV, CB Ay-51₄). If we take into account that in the Neo-Assyrian texts KUR-*iš* meant also "palace", in this case the mentioned "man of the silver" ([LÚ]KÙ) must have been the "treasurer" of the palace.

11) Parpola 1988: 73. See also Kertai 2013: 108ff.

12) Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, *S*, 1984: 215ff. (*sekretu*). For later discussions see and cf. Melville 2004: 38ff.; Teppo 2007: 265 and n. 39; Svärd 2012: 157ff.

13) Teppo 2007: 267 and n. 55. See also, Barjamovic 2011: 53f. and n. 48.

14) CTU I, A5-2A₅ – F₅. Cf. also Çavuşoğlu *et al*. 2014: 240, 246f.

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30) Enlightenment on Išum — I read with interest Andrew George's article, *JNES* 74:1ff. I thought the argument a bit forced, but I was prepared to cheer along with the prospect of street lighting in ancient Mesopotamia until I noticed in footnote 23 the following: "An attempt to associate Išum with the hearth, and consequent identification of him with the *il bītim* "house god" (J. Scurlock, "Ancient Mesopotamian house gods," *JANER* 3 (2003): 99-106, esp. 103-104,106), contradict the certain fact that Išum operated in the street and thus protected households from without not from within."

I believe that I may be allowed to defend my article. In the first place, there is no such thing as a "certain fact". But let us take this simply to mean something for which there is hard evidence in the form of an actual text that says something in so many words. As anyone who has read the slandered article will know, there is a text that seeks to protect a household under demonic attack from a *katarru* fungus by making offerings to a number of divinities at specific locations in the household. It is, then, a "certain fact" that the divinities in question are household gods, that is that they are permanently resident in the house and are expected to roar to the defense when the house is attacked. The names of these gods are given in the text. All are gods who have a life outside the home, but then so do Janus and Vesta, the Roman equivalents. Išum's name is in the text, and his offering is buried in the midst of the house, obviously, given his association with fire, at the hearth. It is thus a "certain fact" that he protects the household from the vantage point of the inside and not the outside — certainly not from the vantage point of that nightwatchman passing by or that streetlight three houses down.

As I said, all of the Mesopotamian household gods had other functions besides protecting peoples' houses. We are talking about Gula, Ištar, and the Pleiades as well as Išum. To be observed is the "certain fact", as George's examples on p. 6 show, that the real cause of tripping in the dark was not inability to see one's way but demonic attack. So, why not expand our concept of Išum to make him the personification of the protective aspects of fire? This would allow him to be the divine protector of the house by virtue of being resident in the hearth fire, of night watchmen by virtue of being resident in the watchman's torch and of streets by virtue of being resident in street lamps.

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31) Getting to the root of a dye — Akk. *urṭû* (*uriṭû*) seems to denote a plant or its dye (CAD U/W, 256; cf. also AHw, 1434b; CDA, 427a and I. Hrůša, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste* malku = šarru [Münster 2010] 132-133, 269), but so far neither cognate nor etymology has been proposed.   Perhaps it can be compared with Arab. *'arṭan*, a tree that grows in sand, as well as Arab. *'ariṭ*, "a colour like that of the *'a*."

(Lane AEL, I, 49).   Note also Arab. *al-'arṭà* <'l'rṭy> (a collective term), sing.: *'arṭāt* <'rṭ'h>, plural: *'arāṭà* <'r'ṭy>, *'arāṭin* <'r'ṭ>, *'ārāṭ* <'r'ṭ>, "the tree whose fruits are like the grape" (L. Ma'lûf, *al-Munjid fî l-lugha* [Beirut 1966] 8; reference courtesy of Fabrizio Pennacchietti). Of particular significance is the following description of *'arṭan*: "its roots are red, intensely red; its leaves are red like the red pomegranate and its fruit is also red" (Lane, AEL I, 49).   Significantly, Akk. *urṭû* is described in similar terms: Ú(GIŠ).URI : Ú.URI *kīma bīni u sām*, "the *u.* plant is like a tamarisk, but red" (BRM 4, 32:10 as cited in CAD U/W, 256a), which would account for its use as a dye for textiles. Perhaps, too, this may explain Akk. *urṭû*, which denotes a bird (as a separate lemma in CAD), referring to its plumage (red feathers), habitat (the tree) and/or food (red berries).

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32) New on-line Version of *MĪS PÎ* (Text and photographs) — Our 2001 book C. Walker & M. Dick *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Mis Pî Ritual* (Vol. 1, State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001) is no longer in print. These rituals are of importance to a broad range of scholars, so with pleasure I announce that an updated and revised version of the text with photographs is available for free download at <https://sites.google.com/a/siena.edu/mis-pi>. Eventually this text will appear at the University of Pennsylvania's ORACC. The text appears in PDF and Word 2010, I just ask that any references to the new text follow the conventions of the Budapest Convention of November 2001.

　　　Christopher Walker and I always envisioned this text as a collaborative work. We kindly ask for any suggestions from colleagues: typos, incorrect readings, new texts, new suggestions at interpretation, etc. Any such contributions will receive attribution. In his manner, the on-line version should remain the most up-to-date text of *Mīs Pî*.

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