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NOTES BRÈVES

88) Marginalia tubingensia — Das Museum der Universität Tübingen (MUT) beherbergt in seiner Altorientalischen Abteilung auch eine Tontafel (AOST 109),[1] die, den Zeichenformen folgend, der Uruk III-Zeit zuzurechnen ist. Als Ausstellungstück hat sie durch ihren piktographischen Charakter, vor allem der Darstellung eines Fisches wegen, einen besonderen ästhetischen Wert. Der Inhalt der Tafel ist leider, wie bei vielen vergleichbaren Tafelbruchstücken dieser Periode, von überschaubarer Bedeutung. Formal ist der Text der Rs. gegenüber demjenigen der Vs. um 90° gedreht. Auf der Rückseite der Tafel findet sich der deutlich erkennbare Abdruck von Stoffen. Die Vorderseite zeigt davon nur Spuren.

Nachfolgend soll – neben dem Photo von Vorder- und Rückseite der Tafel – lediglich eine Transliteration und kurze Kommentierung zu möglichen „lexikalischen" wie inhaltlichen Aspekten gegeben werden.[2]

Vs.   **Rs.**

Vs. i'

1        $\ulcorner x \urcorner$ […]

Vs. ii'

1a $KU_{6a}\ BU_a$
1b AB_a+SUKKAL
1c $NAM_2\ RAD_a\ PA_a\ ŠU$
1d RAD_a […]
2   […]

Rs. i

1   […] […]
2        $1(N_1)\ UŠ_a\ ŠUBUR\ GAL_a\ IM_a$
3        $ŠA$ […] RAD_a
4   […] […]

Rs. ii

1        $EN_a\ LAL_{2a}{}^?\ NIM_{b2}{}^?$ […]

Bemerkungen

Wenngleich ein Zusammenhang mit den bisher publizierten Uruk-Texten nicht zu erkennen ist, so fußt doch die Kenntnis der identifizierbaren „Lemmata" hauptsächlich auf Listen der Uruk III-Zeit. In der jüngsten Vergangenheit wurde die Materialbasis durch die Arbeiten von u.a. Monaco[3] und zuletzt Lecompte[4] deutlich erweitert. Dennoch bleibt es auch für das vorliegende Textfragment schwierig, ein abschließendes Textverständnis zu gewinnen.

Vs. ii' 1a-c: Die mögliche Deutung von KU_{6a} BU_a ist bedingt durch das Verständnis des Gesamttextes. Unterstellt man mit Lecompte,[5] daß der Text eine lexikalische Liste[6] mit einem Kolophon darstellt, dann dürfte es sich bei KU_{6a} BU_a um eine Berufsbezeichung oder einen Personennamen handeln. Der folgende Eintrag AB_a+SUKKAL als Personenname oder Berufsbezeichnung[7] würde sich hier nahtlos anfügen.[8]

Vor allem der häufigen Bezeugung wegen scheint NAM_2 RAD_a PA_a in Vs. ii' 1c von Bedeutung. Der Analyse einer vergleichsweise kohärenten Textgruppe durch Green 1980: 1-35[9] folgend, kann NAM_2 RAD_a PA_a als „Hirte von Kleinvieh"[10] bestimmt werden: „This official is mentioned very rarely in archaic documents other than these livestock accounts. He acts both as supervisor and as recipient/donor of goods."[11] Unabhängig von dieser Textgruppe ist NAM_2 RAD_a PA_a aber auch gut bezeugt in den lexikalischen Listen aus Uruk[12] und steht in der Liste lú A, in der überwiegend Funktionsträger verzeichnet sind, ganz am Anfang (i 10). Ob hieraus eine hervorgehobene Rolle in der Hierarchie der „Beamten" („Officials") abzuleiten ist, bleibt aber ungewiß.

Abhängig von der Klassifizierung des Textes ergeben sich unterschiedliche Ansätze, das auf derselben Linie stehende ŠU zu verstehen. Geht man davon aus, daß es sich bei AOST 109 um eine Liste handelt, dürfte ŠU die Berufsbezeichnung NAM_2 RAD_a PA_a ergänzen. ŠU könnte dann eine Qualifizierung „alt", „vormalig", angelehnt an altsumerisch šu-gi_4 darstellen.[13] Prinzipiell könnte ŠU, ausgehend von einem andern Gesamtverständnis des Textes, auch eine Bedeutung als „Erhalt(en)"[14] zukommen.[15] Hiermit würde eine Transaktion zwischen den vorgenannten Personen und dem Hirten für Kleinvieh (NAM_2 RAD_a PA_a) angezeigt sein.

Rs. i 2: In $1(N_1)$ $UŠ_a$ ŠUBUR GAL_a IM_a kann zumindest GAL_a IM_a als gut bezeugter Funktionsträger bestimmt werden.[16] Eine Verbindung von UŠ und ŠUBUR[17] läßt sich zumindest in den Texten aus Uruk nicht belegen. Die Frage, ob mit ŠUBUR eine Person, ein Sklave oder ein Tier gemeint ist,[18] könnte über die am Zeilenanfang angebrachte Zahl $1(N_1)$ zu entscheiden sein, da die Zahl $1(N_1)$ nach den Belegen aus Uruk so gut wie ausschließlich mit Tieren verbunden ist.[19] Anderseits gewänne $UŠ_a$ ŠUBUR als Personenname[20] wegen der definierten Bedeutung von GAL_a IM_a im Zusammenhang Plausibilität. Als Konsequenz müßte der voranstehende Keil, oben als $1(N_1)$ gelesen, auf einen „Fehler" des Schreibers zurückgehen.[21]

Rs. ii 1: Die hier befindlichen Zeichen sind abgesetzt von der danebenstehenden Kolumne im – soweit sichtbar – freien Raum. Sie könnten daher einen Kolophon bezeichnen.[22] Damit ließe sich die Funktion des Textes als lexikalische Liste bestimmen. Sollte sich die Lesung NIM_{b2} als korrekt erweisen, dann wäre auch hier ein Funktionsträger genannt.[23] Die Verbindung von EN_a LAL_{2a}? ist zumindest in den Texten aus Uruk bisher nicht dokumentiert.

Ergebnis: Die Interpretation des Textes bleibt nicht nur wegen seines fragmentarischen Charakters schwierig. Auch „Fehler" des Schreibers müssen eingeräumt werden, um ein halbwegs kohärentes Textverständnis zu erzielen. Nach der Summe der vorgetragenen Argumente dürfte es sich um einen lexikalischen Text handeln, würde also in den Bereich der Ausbildung von Schreibern fallen. Dem steht eine mögliche Funktion des Textes als Liste von Personennamen und Funktionsträgern nicht entgegen.

Wenngleich hier, bedingt durch die Überlieferungslage, fast ausschließlich mit Belegen aus Uruk argumentiert wurde, so bedeutet das keine Entscheidung hinsichtlich der Provenienz des Textes, da der Text keinerlei stichhaltige Kriterien für eine Zuweisung zu einem Entstehungsort bietet.[24]

Fußnoten

1. AOST 109 ist eine Dauerleihgabe der Universitätsstiftung, Schenkung Dr. C. Pelling und Dr. Dr. M. L. Zarnitz. Die Abkürzung AOST steht für Altorientalische Sammlung Tübingen. Die Tafel mißt 5,4×5,9×1,4 cm. Die Photos der Tafel gehen auf H. Jensen, Universität Tübingen, zurück.

2. Grundlegende Einsichten in die Struktur des Textes verdanke ich B. Englund und C. Lecompte. Beiden gilt mein herzlicher Dank. Photos der Tafel sowie eine Transliteration finden sich auf der Internetseite von CDLI sub „AOST 109 unpublished assigned (P006438)".

3. Zuletzt Monaco 2016. Auf ihn gehen mehrere einschlägige Monographien zum Gegenstand zurück.

4. S. zuletzt Lecompte (im Druck) mit ausführlicher Bibliographie.

5. Briefliche Mitteilung vom 9. Oktober 2024.

6. Alternativ vielleicht eine Liste von Personennamen und Funktionsträgern.

7. So belegt in MS 2439 (P006056) Vs. iv 6 und Rs. ii 2.a. Hier muß es sich um eine für eine Arbeitsgruppe verantwortliche Person handeln.

8. Ob das Zeichen ABa+SUKKAL eine graphische Variante zu AB+AŠ2 („Cities 44") oder UNUGa („Cities 4") darstellen und damit mit einem Toponym verbunden werden könnte, kann aus dem Kontext heraus nicht geklärt werden. Zu den referierten Zeichen s. ENGLUND & NISSEN 1993: 145 und 148.

9. Einzelne Exemplare dieser Textgruppe sind republiziert in ENGLUND & NISSEN 2001.

10. Mit dieser Übersetzung wird eine definierte Bestimmung der Art des Kleinviehs vermieden. Zur Problematik einer möglichen Etymologisierung des Terminus NAM_2 RAD_a PA_a s. ENGLUND 1998: 77 mit Anm. 157.

11. S. GREEN 1980: 10 und 16.

12. S. ENGLUND & NISSEN 1993: 14; 70 „Lú A" 10; 264 sub lú 10.

13. Vorschlag von C. Lecompte.

14. S. ENGLUND 1998: 70 „hand", „receipt" (298 Belege). Vgl. die Funktion von ŠU in den Abrechnungen über Herden von Kleinvieh; dazu GREEN 1980: 2 (Fig. 2) und 7. Zu ergänzen ist hier ENGLUND 1998: 73-74, wonach die Reduplizierung von ŠU „… would seem to represent administrative functions, and specifically verbal actions."

15. Bei den diversen Ansätzen zur funktionalen oder gar sprachlichen Zuordnung einzelner Elemente, so etwa šu versus $šu-gi_4$, dürfte weiterhin Zurückhaltung geboten sein. S. jedoch LECOMPTE (im Druck) sub 3. „Cultural Significance of the Archaic Colophons: Language-Related Features".

16. S. ENGLUND & NISSEN 1993: 14; 76 „Lú A" 35; 240 sub lú 35.

17. Zentraler Gegenstand der sog. „Liste ‚Swine'" (dazu ENGLUND & NISSEN 1993: 100-103).

18. Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Diskussion s. LECOMPTE & NACCARO 2024: 53-57. Hervorzuheben ist aber die Feststellung von LECOMPTE & NACCARO 2024: 55, wonach „The relatively high number of names containing ŠUBUR …" zumindest eine Tendenz markiert.

19. S. ENGLUND & NISSEN 1993: 319f.

20. Immerhin zitieren LECOMPTE & NACCARO 2024: 54 sub 23 mit Verweis auf MS 2391 ein GI ŠUBUR $UŠ_a$.

21. So C. Lecompte, briefliche Mitteilung vom 9. Oktober 2024.

22. Dieser Ansatz geht auf C. Lecompte zurück. Für eine Übersicht zu den Kolophonen der archaischen Listen s. LECOMPTE (im Druck).

23. NIM_{b2} ist in der Liste „Officials" als Nr. 6 verzeichnet (s. ENGLUND & NISSEN 1993: 87).

24. Zu beachten ist jedoch, daß sich unter dem CDLI-Eintrag P006438 „Provenience: Umma (mod. Tell Jokha)" findet.

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89) A few considerations on the ED history of Kiš — Two important articles, at a distance of a dozen years, have been dedicated by Piotr Steinkeller (2013; 2024) to the history of Kiš during the very long and in many respects still obscure ED period. The first article is the edition of the "Prisoner plaque", a list of 25 toponyms, to each of which is linked a group of prisoners of war (ŠAGA: LÚxÉŠ), for a round total of 36.000 captives. In this list of toponyms and teams of prisoners the name of 4 orchards are inserted, even if several others were surely mentioned in the original inscription. In these ᵍⁱˢkiri₆ ĝišimmar, followed by the name of their owners or surveyors, the likely blinded deportees were assigned to work. The provenance of this plaque from Kiš may be considered as sure: a line of its colophon seems to record that the monument was fashioned in this city and the following one mentions the poliad god of Kiš, Zababa, as "the god of the mankind". A part from Assyria (Šubur), from which the largest number of prisoners (6.300) comes, the only toponym of the plaque which may be identified with certainty is Uri, the Diyala region, with 1.470

prisoners. This inscription may be considered not a gazetteer of the territories controlled by Kiš, but rather a list of its victories, perhaps under the same king, with the related booty in prisoners, even if it is possible that some expeditions caused a territorial conquest. In any case, in this period Kiš must have exerted a powerful influence in the bordering regions both in the Northern Babylonia and in the Diyala-Adheim region, A similar influence Kiš had over the Southern Babylonia in the same period, that is the ED II: the king of Kiš Mesilim was overlord of Adab, Umma, Lagaš and perhaps Larsa (on the basis of the proverb which assigns to him the construction of Ebabbar of Utu in Larsa: ALSTER 1997: 218, 14.16).

The second article has as topic a dozen of Fara administrative texts, already frequently studied: they are interpreted as referring to a military expedition that the six cities of the Hexapolis launched against Kiš and a small centre, Ki-unkin, in all probability a "gathering place" in its immediate surroundings. In his reconstruction of this raid, Steinkeller suggests that the king of Kiš was Enna-Il, while the king of Uruk who would have leaded the Sumerian expedition was Lumma, the GAR-ensi$_2$ of TSŠ 302, which lists 102 territories (gu$_2$-saĝ) under the control of this ruler of Uruk. Nevertheless, Enna-Il results to be the overlord both of Nippur and of Umma, and it is not likely that these two cities were part of the Hexapolis during his reign. Besides, should be considered the power of Enna-Il, who in a clay tablet of Nippur, copy of an inscription to Inana (FRAYNE 2004: 75), records a victory over Elam. Now, that the quotas of ĝuruš, attributed to all or some of the cities of the Hexapolis in the aforementioned Fara texts were soldiers is evidenced by the term me$_3$ which follows ĝuruš in the total of WF, 95 and in the first item of WF, 101. And it is likely that these contingents of warriors were in relationship with Kiš, as it is stated explicitly of the 47 lu$_2$ Kiš DU, "47 men who went to Kiš" in WF, 93 and it is suggested by the measures of length listed in TSŠ 242, which, as brilliantly proved by STEINKELLER 2024: 6-7, must indicate the distance from Kiš of Šuruppak, Adab-Umma and Lagaš respectively. However, it is possible that these troops were sent in order to support Kiš in an expedition of its, or for other reasons, and not to attack it. Moreover, the numbers of WF, 95 (680), 92 and 101 (670), 94 (650), which probably refer to the same troops or, at least, to the same employment of theirs, seems to befit to contingents of auxiliary troops more than to an expeditionary force intended to assault a most powerful enemy. The numbers of the fragments STEIBLE & YILDIZ 1993: 24 (at least 1.672) and WF, 97 (6.580) are greater, but for these texts we have no element to establish if they mention soldiers and neither, for the ĝuruš of WF, 97, their provenance. For the following ED IIIa period, Kiš could have dominated a great part of Babylonia, keeping good relationships with Sumer, with the exception of Ur, as it is indicated by the bizarre name of its main temple. Uruk was able to achieve the dominance over Southern Babylonia, but not without interruptions: for a period this supremacy was probably achieved by Ur, with the kings of the period of the Royal Tombs, Mes-kalamdu and Mes-anepada, with the title of "kings of Kiš" and perhaps their predecessor A(ya)-kalamdu. Since the period of the Ur Royal Tombs has to be posed between the ED IIIa and ED IIIb, and then coincides with the defeat and the end of the Hexapolis, the hypothesis of the attribution to Ur of this victory cannot be dismissed. An element in favour of this ephemeral supremacy of Ur is supplied by the Sumerian King List in which the dynasty of Ur I follows the dynasty of Uruk I, which in turn follows the by far longer and more numerous dynasty of Kiš I.

At last, let us consider the datation of the I dynasty of Lagaš with his founder Ur-Nanše. In STEINKELLER 2024: 22-23, on the basis of the ortography and paleography of the texts of Ur-Nanše, in comparison with the ED IIIa Fara documentation and with the inscriptions of Ur-Nanše's grandson Eanatum, Ur-Nanše is dated to ED IIIa.[1] The reign of this *homo novus* allowed the overcoming of a dramatic crisis of the state of Lagaš, as it is demonstrated by the long series of his enterprises, from the reconstruction of the city wall to the (re)building of 19 temples or palaces, the fashioning of 12 statues of deities, and the excavation of 10 canals. Now, the destruction that must have preceded these frenetic activities seems to exclude the belonging of Ur-Nanše's reign to ED IIIa, when Lagaš was secured by its belonging to the Hexapolis, and may coincide, as well as the burning of Šuruppak, with the defeat that puts an end to the league of the Sumerian cities and to the Lagaš dynasty which predated Ur-Nanše. Besides, this end can have produced the resumption of the conflicts between Umma and Lagaš. The dispute between the two bordering states preceded the formation of the Hexapolis, as it is suggested by the initial part of the Cones of Enmetena, which records that Mesilim, as overlord of the two statelets, had to establish the

boundary between Umma and Lagaš. Whether was the unknown winner of the Hexapolis or Umma which hit so hard Lagaš, its redeeming by Ur-Nanše cannot but be put after the end of ED IIIa period.

If the ED I(-II) period is characterized by the height of Kiš's power and the ED IIIa by the formation of a league of Sumerian cities which was able to free themselves from Kiš's control, not necessarily *manu militari*, but perhaps by means of an equal covenant, the irreversible decline of Kiš has to be assigned to ED IIIb. The main cause was probably the expedition of the king of Uruk and Ur, Enšakušana, who in an inscription on a dozen of stone containers from Uruk records to have sacked Kiš, whose the king Enbi-Eštar was captured, and the more eastern Akšak. However, not was Uruk to take advantage of Kiš's fall. This expedition was only a lucky raid with a very rich booty, and Enšakušana admits to have returned Kiš and Akšak to their respective sovereigns, while Enšakušana's successor Lugalzagesi had no relationship with Kiš, apart from the 'Bellerophon letter' sent to the king of Uruk by Ur-Zababa of Kiš in the "Sumerian Sargon Legend". Thus, were the Eastern Akkadians to conquer the central Babylonia with its old capital Kiš. The formation of two strong states, that of Sargon and that of Lugal-zagesi, put an end to the political fragmentation of the ED IIIb period, but unavoidably leaded right after to the conflict between the two by now neighboring states, separated by the boundary between Adab and Umma, since Adab's governor Meskigala had far-sightedly deserted the field of Lugal-zagesi (see POMPONIO 2015: 193). This time the North won the South.

Note

1. For STEINKELLER 2024: 23 the best evidence for this datation of Ur-Nanše is considered the mention of Akurgal, his son and successor, in the legal text CUSAS 26, 29, whose orthography is estimated a transitional phase between the Fara tablets and Ur-Nanše's inscriptions and the inscriptions of Akurgal's son and successor Eanatum. But Akurgal's reign was very short, since it, with its only inscription, is inserted between the two very long reigns of Ur-Nanše and of Eannatum, to whom has to be added the reign of another son of Akurgal, Enanatum I. Now, in CUSAS 26, 29 is mentioned the sanga of Keš Billala, whose funerary offerings, together with those of his wife Lalla, are mentioned in another legal text (GELB, STEINKELLER & WHITING 1991: 99-103), which with the GAR-ensi₂ of Adab E-iginimpae, successor of at least other two rulers of Adab (Paraganedu and Mugsi: see POMPONIO 2015: 192), is to be dated to the middle of ED IIIb. Thus, the contemporaneity of the life of Billala with one of the few years of Akurgal seems to drag the reign of Ur-Nanše to the early part of ED IIIb.

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90) Diskussion einer Inschrift des Aja'anepada — In NABU 2024/38 hat Nicholaus Kraus eine ungewöhnliche Inschrift des Aja'anepada auf einem Kupfer- bzw. Bronzenagel bearbeitet (CUSAS 26, 217 + pl. III; CDLI P423674). Gabor Zólyomi und der gegenwärtige Autor haben Vorschläge zur Interpretation gemacht, die gleichzeitig als NABU 2024/50 und NABU 2024/51 erschienen sind.

Zólyomi macht die Beobachtung, dass bei drei Inschriften auf Tonnägeln aus Lagaš, nämlich RIME1.9.5.3, Enmetena (Q001092!); RIME1.9.4.17, Enanatum I (Q001084!); RIME2.13.1.1, Ur-ᵍᵉˢˢgigír, die zweite Kolumne auch bei verschiedenen Abschriften immer neben der ersten Zeile beginnt. Es lassen sich mehr Beispiele finden, etwa CUSAS 17, 6 (Ĝišakidu), OIP 14, 34 (Gudea). In den meisten Fällen ist der Anfang aber auch durch eine Lücke markiert, an der sich dann auch ii 1 orientiert. Das fehlt bei CUSAS 26, 217.

In der 1. Zeile einer frühdynastischen Bauinschrift wird immer entweder der Name einer Gottheit oder eines Herrschers genannt. CUSAS 26, 217 wäre die einzige Ausnahme, wenn man von Ur-Nanše 49

(RIME1.9.1.32) absieht, wo der eigentlichen Bauinschrift ein hymnischer Text vorangeht. Weil die Inschrift auf einem Nagel angebracht ist, den man sich auch schwerlich als Teil der für eine Weihung in Frage kommenden Krone denken kann, ist die Inschrift als Bauinschrift zu bezeichnen. Auch für eine Weihinschrift wäre ein Beginn wie in i 4 ganz ungewöhnlich. Die Anordnung der Zeilen bei Zólyomi führt auch zu einem Wechsel des Ergativs in zwei aufeinander folgenden Verbalformen ohne dass der neue Protagonist genannt wird.

Westenholz (CUSAS 26 S. 170) spricht sich dafür aus, die Zeilen von Kolumne ii in umgekehrter Reihenfolge zu lesen. Eine ähnliche Umkehr gab es auch bei der Beschriftung von Tontafeln. Man muss die Tafel gegenüber der heute üblichen Abbildung um 90° im Uhrzeigersinn drehen (cf. Edzard, RlA 5, 546f.). Dann beginnt die erste Kolumne rechts oben und wird Kästchen für Kästchen nach links gelesen, so wie auch nahezu alle Siegellegenden zu lesen sind. Ebenso die zweite Kolumne darunter. Wenn die Vorderseite voll war, drehte man die Tafel wie eine Buchseite und begann die nächste Kolumne rechts unten. Man schrieb weiter horizontal von rechts nach links, doch die Kolumnen wurden *von unten nach oben* angeordnet. Das lässt sich nicht eins zu eins auf den Nagel übertragen und ist bisher m. W. auf anderen Nägeln nicht belegt. Trotzdem macht der Vergleich einen Wechsel auch auf einem Nagel plausibler.

Kommentare zu einzelnen Zeilen

Zu i 3: Kraus: „who causes his lordliness to appear there". Also deutet er ni als einen im Kontext nicht vorhandenen Lokativ. Zólyomi schreibt, wegen ni in mu-ni-è müsse ein „human semantic object" vorliegen und nimmt an, dass sich ni zwar auf nam-men-na-né bezieht, aber der Klasse des Besitzers folgt. Eine ausführliche Diskussion erscheint lohnend.

Für pa è sind folgende Konstruktionen in Texten des 3. Jahrt. belegt: níĝ-du$_7$ pa nam-è „das Angemessene ist strahlend hervorgegangen", Gudea Zyl. A i 4. Hier wird entweder pa è zusammen als intransitives Verbum aufgefasst oder pa als direktes Objekt zu einem Ergativ in der Sachklasse (Sk), wobei b vor dem Verbum von Ventiv m verdrängt wurde. Der Ergativ ist jedoch nicht gekennzeichnet. Mit Ergativ in der Personenklasse (Pk) und weiterem Objekt in der Sk wird letzteres mit dem Lokativ-Terminativ markiert und beim Verbum durch bí- mit Assimilation mi- aufgenommen: pa e-mi-è Ĝišakidu RIME1.12.6.2, 21; pa bí-è Gudea Statue B vii 6 passim „er ließ strahlend hervortreten". Nach einem Dativ wird kein pronominales Element b gesetzt (Keetman NABU 2023/88) und daher wird der wahrscheinlich noch durch einen Vokal vertretene Lok.-Term. beim Verbum in der Schrift unsichtbar: pa mu-na-è „er ließ (es) für ihn strahlend hervorgehen" Eanatum RIME1.9.3.7a ii 6; + níĝ-du$_7$-e: Urbabu RIME3/1.1.6.4; Gudea Statue B v 14; D ii 6 passim. Mit Ergativ und Objekt der Pk: u$_4$ ^{d}šára pa mu-è-a „als sie Šara strahlend hervortreten ließ" Ĝišakidu RIME1.12.6.1, 6.

Beim letzten Beispiel unterblieb eine Markierung des personalen, aber inaktiven Objektes beim Verbum vermutlich weil diese für eine mehr aktive Rolle in einer Kausativkonstruktion vorbehalten blieb. Die echte Kausativkonstruktion ist durch –(n)ni/n- beim Verbum gekennzeichnet und es gibt eine weitere, am Nomen als Dativ markierte Person, die zu einer transitiven Handlung veranlasst oder befähigt wird. Cf. ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ èš-e nibru^{ki}-a aja-né ^{d}en-líl-ra indà mu-un-gu$_7$-e „Enki lässt seinen Vater Enlil im Heiligtum Nippur Brot essen" EJN 102f. siehe Ceccarelli, Fs. Attinger 95; siki-bé uš-bar-ra in-ni-lá (…) še bí-gu$_7$ uš-bar-ra nu-ù-na-an-zi „Die Wolle hat man den Weber abwiegen lassen. (…) Gerste wurde dafür verbraucht, dem Weber hat man es nicht abgebucht" SANTAG 6, 32, 2-5; mu lugal pà-mu-ni-ib „Lass ihn (beim) Namen des Königs schwören!" LEM 135, 9; [^{d}e]n-líl-le [gaba-š]u-ĝar nu-mu-ni-tuku „Enlil ließ ihn keinen Gegner haben" Lugalzagesi RIME1.14.20.1 (cf. Attinger ELS 197-99; Edzard Grammar 101; Balke AOAT 331, 156-58). Grammatische Texte übersetzen Verben mit Präfixen des Lok.-Term. häufig mit dem Š-Stamm (Huber JCS 59, 12-15).

Entsprechend also: nam-men-na-né pa mu-ni-⌜è⌝-[a] „(Enki) der ihn (Aja'anepada) sein ‚Kronenamt' hat strahlend hervorgehen lassen". Zu dieser Lösung passt, dass pa è normalerweise nicht zu den Handlungen gehört, die ein Gott an einem Objekt ausführt. Die Deutung als Kausativ ist aber nicht ganz sicher, da ein Dativ auch sonst manchmal mit -(n)ni- kombiniert wird, etwa wenn die betreffende Person einem intensiven körperlichen Kontakt ausgesetzt ist, also nicht für oder zu jemanden hin, sondern an jemandem etwas geschieht, wie Verletzung (Geierstele Vs. xi 2f.) und Beischlaf, Küssen (MBI 1 ii 1-8; cf. Krebernik OBO 160/1 333 Anm. 808 zu IAS 283 ii 10'-13'). Es gibt auch Fälle in denen man die Konstruktion sowohl als Ausdruck einer Handlung, die eine Person körperlich betrifft, als auch als Kausativ interpretieren kann. Z. B. die häufig zitierte Stelle Geierstele iv 24-26: ^{d}nin-ḫur-saĝ-ra du$_{10}$-zi-da-na mu-ni-tuš „sie setzte ihn der Ninḫursaĝa auf ihren rechten Schenkel" oder „sie ließ Ninḫursaĝa ihn auf ihren rechten Schenkel setzen".

Balke AOAT 331, 163-69 nennt weitere Belege und interpretiert Dativ mit –(n)ni- als „an jmd. etw. vollziehen" gegenüber –(n)na- „für jmd. etw. tun". Wir kämen also zu „der an ihm sein nam-men strahlend hervorgehen ließ". Erinnert sei an die Konstruktion von nam tar mit Dativ + –(n)ni-, z. B. sul-ge-ra nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re lugal nam gi$_4$-ri-ib-tar^{ar} „Für Sulge entscheidet er das Schicksal: ‚König, dir will ich das Schicksal entscheiden!'" Sulge D 383f. Frühdynastisch sind verschiedene Konstruktionen belegt: [n]am-n[é] mu-na-[ta]r-ra-[a] Enmetena RIME1.9.5.26 iii 6;

im-si-sá-ra nam mu-ni-tar „dem Nordwind (personalisiert) entschied er das Schicksal" MBI 1 ix 10f. Die Interpretation als Kausativ ist alles in allem weniger problematisch.

Das Lok.-Term.-Objekt kann nicht durch ein Präfix aufgenommen werden, da die dafür mögliche Stelle aufgrund der Kausativkonstruktion schon genutzt wird. Eine Vorverlagerung in der Präfixkette ist nicht möglich, da die Konstruktion /-e/ … ba-, im-ma- zu einem anderen Kasus gehört, nämlich zum Dativ der Sachklasse (Keetman NABU 2023, 58 mit Lit.).

Am Ende ist genügend Platz für –[a] (cf. Fotos + Kopie Westenholz). Denkbar wäre auch ein Anakoluth mit einem eingeschobenen unabhängigen Satz, wie ihn auch Zólyomi annimmt.

Zu i 4: Das erste Zeichen ist beschädigt und AB oder UNU daher unklar. Die Übersetzung „dwelling" ist nicht belegt und èš (AB) wie in der folgenden Zeile ergibt Sinn.

Zu i 5: Aufgrund der Anordnung der Zeichen ist es wahrscheinlich, dass mindestens ein Zeichen zu ergänzen ist, von dem nicht klar ist, wo es zu lesen ist.

Zu i 6: Zólyomi Kritisiert zu recht die Lesung ⸢gi⸣. Für gi müsste man einen graphischen Fehler annehmen, wie er umgekehrt für nu auf dem Siegel des Mesanepada (UE II 518) zu sehen ist. Das ist ziemlich unwahrscheinlich. Damit ist die Zeile aber nicht geklärt.

Zólyomi liest und übersetzt: abzu diĝir men na-me nu-še „Abzu (whose) god no crown (i. e. ruler) would disobey". Das erste Problem ist „(whose)". Wir würden diĝir-bé erwarten, denn ohne Suffix wäre diĝir Apposition zu abzu, was inhaltlich abzulehnen ist. Würde men „Krone" als Metonym für „Herrscher" gebraucht, so sollte dies in mehr als nur einem Text belegt sein. Der Verweis auf nam-men in diesem und in wesentlich jüngeren Texten füllt die Lücke nicht. nam-men lässt sich außer als Sandhi-Schreibung auch als Wortspiel mit men „Krone" und nam-en „En-Amt, Herrscheramt" erklären. Ein solches Wortspiel liegt auch deshalb nahe, weil es in dem Text auch um eine Krone geht.

Das Verbum še(-g) ist in frühdynastischen Inschriften nicht belegt. Auf der beschädigten (!) Oberfläche sind zwei offene Winkel erkennbar, die Anfang und Ende von še sein sollten. Das Zeichen ist möglich, fällt aber auffallend kurz aus, wofür kein Grund erkennbar ist. Die Reste erinnern an ru/šub oder taka$_4$. Es folgt vielleicht noch ein Zeichen. Soll es heißen, dass die Me nicht vernachlässigt werden? Das na bietet sich parallel zu i 5 als vorausgestellter Genitiv /-ane/ + /a(k)/ zu lugal-bé in i 7 an. Erklärungsbedürftig ist die Stellung von na nicht am Ende der Zeile. Doch auch na-me (so Zólyomi) erfordert eine Umstellung.

Zu i 7: Wie Zólyomi richtig bemerkt, wäre nicht -bé-am$_6$, sondern -bé für jünger -bé-em zu erwarten. Bevor IM auch für /em/ gebraucht wurde fehlte ein Zeichen dafür. Cf. ḫé-am$_6$ MBI 1 x 12; še-am$_6$ RIME1.9.9.2 v 13'; im-da-tag OIP 14, 53 i' 1. Andererseits ist diĝir ajá-an-né-pà-da(-k) ebenfalls problematisch. Der Bauherr würde in seiner Inschrift nur als Attribut im Genitiv genannt. Da der frühdynastische Dialekt von Ur nicht gut belegt ist, sind weder eine nichtkontrahierte Form noch eine morphemanalytische Schreibweise -bé-AM$_6$ auszuschließen. Dies erscheint gegenüber einer Marginalisierung des Herrschers weniger problematisch.

Zu ii 2: Zólyomi liest mu-na-še$_{21}$!(NA$_2$) und übersetzt „called its name for him" mit nú/ná als Fehler für še$_{21}$ = ḪU.NÚ. Die Übersetzung entspricht aber *<mu-bé> mu-na-še$_{21}$' (cf. Attinger Glossaire 979f.). Mit der von Westenholz vorgeschlagenen Lesung von unten nach oben ist die Zeile hingegen ohne Korrekturen verständlich. Etwas wird sorgfältig hingelegt, platziert. Cf. NABU 2024, 51 zur Stelle.

Daraus dass sich ii 2 letztendlich nur auf die in ii 3 genannte Krone beziehen lässt, folgt die Richtigkeit der umgekehrten Lesung von ii womit ein Beginn der Inschrift in i 4 auf Höhe von ii 1 noch unwahrscheinlicher wird.

i	1) ᵈen-ki ajá dú-⸢da-né⸣	Für Enki, den Vater, der ihn gezeugt hat,
	2) nam-men-na-né	der ihn sein Kronenamt
	3) pa mu-ni-⸢è⸣-[a]	hat strahlend hervorgehen lassen –
	4) ⸢èš⸣ AB.IGI+BUR [?]	des Heiligtums Abigibur,
	5) èš kur-muš ᵈinnana [?] -na	seines Heiligtums, des (…) Schlangenberges der Innana
	6) abzu ᵈmen me nu-⸢x⸣ [x$^?$ x$^?$]-na	seines Abzu, der (göttlichen) Krone, der Me(?), die nicht …
	7) lugal-bé-am$_6$ ajá-an-né-pà-da	Herr ist er – hat Aja'anepada
ii	3) ⸢men⸣-[n]é ⸢mu⸣-na-[dí]m	seine Krone gemacht
	2) ⸢mu-na-nú⸣	(und) sie für ihn hingelegt.
	1) [A]B.IGI+[B]UR mu-na-ĝar	Das Abigibur hat er für ihn gegründet.

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91) *Ad NABU* 2023/53 ("Der Ursprung des Zeichens EN …") — The author of NABU 2023/53[1)] suffered a small mishap: he forgot to cite several earlier works on this topic. The interpretation put forward that 'EN' is a sign composed of GÁN (field) and a plant lacks any foundation. It is sufficient to look at the Uruk IV writing phase forms of EN in ATU 1 (no. 383) and in ZATU (no. 134) (checking via the CDLI is easily possible). A second look at the *Uruk Vase* confirms this: the priest is not carrying a model of a field

with a plant growing at its edge, but a sacrificial utensil. The assumption expressed in the third paragraph that the (mutilated) "kleinere Pflanze, nur als Dreieck angedeutet" ("smaller plant, only indicated as a triangle") represents a woman seems objectionable. For details (with references) please refer to Gehlken, E., 2021, *Considerations on the Proto-Euphratic Language*, p. 67 ff. –

Notes

Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2024/1.

1. Keetman, J., "Der Ursprung des Zeichens EN und sein Zusammenhang mit dem 'Priesterfürsten'", NABU 2023/53: 107-110.

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92) Insights into the Ebla gold trade in the 3rd millennium BC — According to the mu-DU texts (ARCHI 2023), which record Ebla's income in metals and textiles, Armi (*Ar-mi*^{ki}) was the city's major supplier of gold.[1] Other exporters, listed in decreasing order, included: Gablul (*Gab$_2$-lu$_5$-ul*^{ki}), Dub (*Du-ub*^{ki}), Dugurasu (*Du-gu$_2$-ra-su*^{ki}), Ra'ag (*Ra-'a$_3$-ag*^{ki}), Kakmi'um (*Kak-mi-um*^{ki}), and Ḫarrān (*Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki}). Piotr Steinkeller recently discussed imports from Gablul in his talk, "Ebla's Commerce with Armi and Kablul and its Importance for History and Geography," at the 6th *Kültepe International Meeting* (*KIM*) on August 2, 2024 (precious metals and their sources have also been discussed by ARCHI 2017). Recent evidence also highlights the roles of Dub and Dugurasu, which I address here.

A detailed examination of gold imports during the reign of King Yitġar-damu (*Iš$_{11}$-ar-da-mu*) which is divided into two phases under the minister Yibrium (*Ib-ri$_2$-um*, hereafter Ib), and his successor and son Yibbi'-dikir (*I-bi$_2$-zi-kir*, hereafter IZ), reveals significant fluctuations in the amounts of imported gold. Armi, as the primary supplier of gold (in the form of *ti-gi-na* ornaments), dominated the second half of Yitġar-damu's reign (years IZ.4–IZ.13 and IZ.16 according to the chronology given in ARCHI 2023), with shipment peaks in years IZ.5 (6.16 kg) and especially IZ.6 (17.24 kg, see also GORI 2024: 199, fig. 1). Meanwhile, Gablul was also a crucial and consistent supplier. In the first phase of this reign, it was particularly active in years Ib.1 (3.29 kg), Ib. 3 (20.41 kg) and Ib.16 (5.28 kg), later stabilizing at an annual average of around 2.5 kilograms (or approximately 5 minas) during the second phase (IZ.1–IZ.13, IZ. 16). In contrast, Dub's shipments were mostly concentrated in the first phase, ceasing after year IZ.3—interestingly, just as Armi's began in IZ.4. Meanwhile, gold imports from Dugurasu were sporadic, with the major shipment (1.29 kg) occurring in year IZ.11.
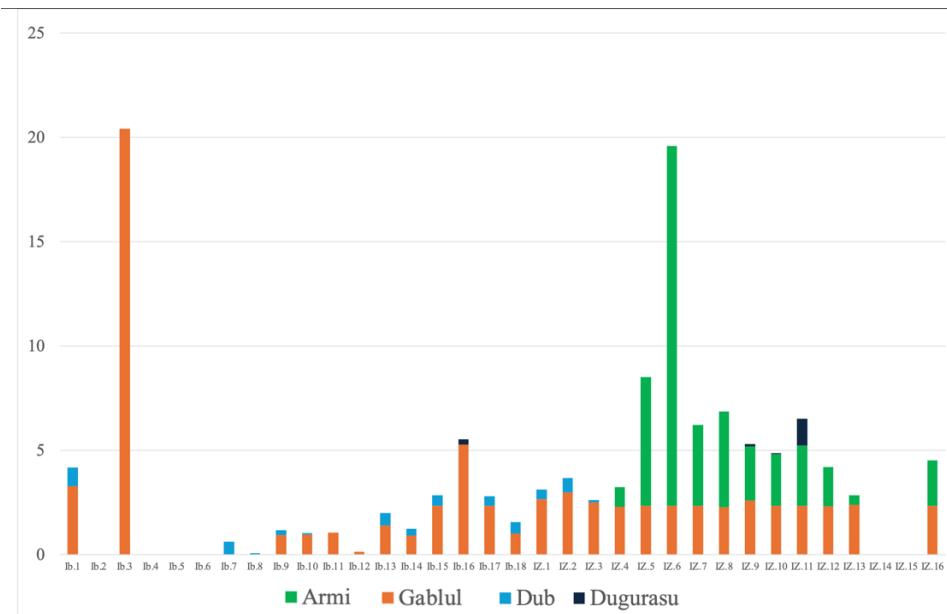

Fig. 1 – Gold imported by Ebla (in kg) from Armi, Gablul, Dub, and Dugurasu during Yitġar-damu's reign.

A significant pattern appears early in the reign: after a substantial initial import in Ib.1, there was a short hiatus in gold imports from all suppliers in Ib. 2 and later—except for some modest imports from Dub (0.63 kg in Ib.7 and 0.08 kg in Ib.8)—also from Ib.4 to Ib.8. This hiatus in the first phase of Yiṯġar-damu's reign represents a significant gap that warrants further investigation.

Year	Armi	Gablul	Dub	Dugurasu
Ib.1	—	3.29	0.89	—
Ib.2	—	—	—	—
Ib.3	—	20.41	—	—
Ib.4	—	—	—	—
Ib.5	—	—	—	—
Ib.6	—	—	—	—
Ib.7	—	—	0.63	—
Ib.8	—	—	0.08	—
Ib.9	—	0.94	0.23	—
Ib.10	—	0.98	0.07	—
Ib.11	—	1.06	—	—
Ib.12	—	0.15	—	—
Ib.13	—	1.41	0.59	—
Ib.14	—	0.93	0.31	—
Ib.15	—	2.35	0.5	—
Ib.16	—	5.28	—	0.25
Ib.17	—	2.35	0.45	—
Ib.18	—	1.01	0.55	—
IZ.1	—	2.66	0.47	—
IZ.2	—	2.99	0.68	—
IZ.3	—	2.51	0.12	—
IZ.4	0.94	2.31	—	—
IZ.5	6.16	2.35	—	—
IZ.6	17.24	2.35	—	—
IZ.7	3.87	2.35	—	—
IZ.8	4.59	2.27	—	—
IZ.9	2.58	2.61	—	0.11
IZ.10	2.47	2.35	—	0.05
IZ.11	2.35	2.89	—	1.29
IZ.12	1.87	2.33	—	—
IZ.13	0.47	2.39	—	—
IZ.14	—	—	—	—
IZ.15	—	—	—	—
IZ.16	2.17	[2.35]	—	—

Tab. 1 – Gold imported by Ebla (in kg) from Armi, Gablul, Dub, and Dugurasu during Yiṯġar-damu's reign.

As the gold imports from Gablul, those from Dub and Dugurasu varied not only in quantities but also in form. All three GNs supplied unprocessed gold [see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 71 obv. X:12–14 (Gablul), *ARET* XIV 61 obv. VII:5–7 (Dub), *ARET* XIV 90 VI:8–VII 11 (Dugurasu)] often described as ḫaš-ḫaš "(in) pieces" [see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 66 obv. X:5–8 (Gablul) and *ARET* XIV 71 rev. I:3–5 (Dub)]. Nonetheless, Gablul was the primary and most consistent supplier of such gold, especially in IZ's years (*i.e.*, the second half of Yiṯġar-damu's reign). In contrast, Dub and Dugurasu provided unprocessed gold more sporadically.

However, gold was also supplied in the form of specific objects. One was supplied by all three GNs: the an-zam$_x$(LAK304), a drinking cup (Sallaberger 1996: 98; Civil 2008: 86; Biga & Steinkeller 2021: 44), at Ebla with a capacity of $^1/_6$ or $^1/_5$ of a sila$_3$ (see Pasquali 2005: 41, Chambon 2011: 50–51 and Archi 2023: 524). This object is attested in imports from Gablul (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 64 15 rev. IV:5–13), Dub (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 62 rev. VII:9–14), and Dugurasu (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 69 rev. VII:15–VIII:9). Similarly, two other objects were supplied by only two of the three GNs. One was the niĝ$_2$-banda$_3$, a container (Sallaberger 1996: 104, Waetzoldt 2001: 66, Sjöberg 2003: 533, Pasquali 2005: 45, Civil 2008: 84), which appears in imports from Dub (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 67 rev. I:11–II:3) and

Dugurasu (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 69 rev. VII:7–14). The other was the ^{giš}ŠU$_2$, some kind of open vessel, possibly a bowl (WAETZOLDT 2001: 66, PASQUALI 2005: 44, BIGA & STEINKELLER 2021: 41), attested in imports from Gablul (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 66 obv X:2–8) and Dugurasu (see, *e.g.*, *ARET* XIV 69 rev. VII:7–14).

Nonetheless, a question arises as to whether the terminology used to describe these imported objects reflects the Ebla scribes' perspective—namely, a standardized lexical categorization of foreign products that may in fact have had distinct characteristics—or whether it genuinely indicates that these items were produced abroad in a similar manner and had the same features.

Note

1. This note summarizes results presented at the ARWA Online Conference (October 25, 2024), building upon an earlier article published in the *Festschrift Catagnoti* (Gori 2024), that examined the import of gold ornaments (*ti-gi-na*) at Ebla, primarily sourced from the city of Armi, with occasional contributions from two related locations: *Ga-mu-mu*^{ki} and ḪAR-*da-gum*-LUM^{ki}.

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93) A Prosopographical Focus on *Ne-ti-bu$_3$-du*, with Consequences for the Relative Chronology of Ebla[1] — While carrying out a prosopographical analysis on *Ne-ti-bu$_3$-du*, the mother of the last Ebla queen, *Da-bur-da-mu*, I noticed several peculiarities. *Ne-ti-bu$_3$-du* is documented as being alive in various texts which, according to the current understanding of Ebla's relative chronology, date from the reign of the second-to-last king, *Ir$_3$-kab-da-mu* (Irk-D.), with *Ar-ru$_{12}$*-LUM (Arr.) as minister, to the 7th year of minister *I-bi$_2$-zi-kir* (I-Z.), during the reign of the last king *Iš$_{11}$-ar-da-mu* (Iš-D.). The following passages ([**1–6**]) are presented according to this chronological order:[2]

[**1**] ARCHI 1996a, 113-117 = *MEE* 12 20 rev. V:1-VII:5: 25 tug$_2$-NI.NI / *Sar-du-ud* / *Za-li* / *Ar-dum* / *Ne-ti-bu$_3$-ud* / *I-da-d[u]*-[…] / *Kir-su-ud* / *Ti-ḫa-bu$_3$* / *Ḫu-za-u$_3$* / *Ma-a-du* / *Mi-da-a-nu* // *Sag-[g]i-[d]u-ud* / *En-nu*-NI / *Gu-zi-du* / *Da-du-bu$_3$* / [*Ra**]-˹*u$_3$**˺-*tum*[3] / ˹*Za*˺-*na-ma-al$_6$* / *Gu$_2$-li-ša-du* / *Ḫe$_2$*-˹*si-bu*˺-*ud* / *Ra-peš$_2$-tum* / *Ra-peš$_2$-tum* // *Ra-su-ud* / *Li-mu-ud* / *Da-a-šar* / *Da-ti*-[…]-x-*su* / […] / [… (Irk-D., Arr., month lost, ARCHI 2019, 11).

[**2**] *ARET* XX 9 obv. VI:18-21: 1 zara$_6$^{tug_2} / *Ne-t[i]-bu$_3$-du* / dam / *Ir$_3$-ib-da-mu* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 5, ^{iti}*Ga-sum* = 7th month, ARCHI 2018, 63).[4]

[**3**] *MEE* 10 29 rev. IX:3-9: 10 gin$_2$-DILMUN kug:babbar / 2 *bu-di* / *Ne-ti-bu$_3$-du* / dam / *Ir$_3$-ib-da-mu* / a-mu / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 6, ^{iti}*Ga-sum* = 7th month).

[**4**] *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15 obv. II:14-17: 1 zara$_6$^{tug_2} / *Ne-ti-bu$_3$-du* / ama-gal / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 7, ^{iti}*Ig-za* = 2nd month).

[**5**] *ARET* IV 7 obv. IX:4-10: 1 zara$_6$^{tug_2} 15 <gin$_2$> kug:babbar / 2 *bu-di* / *Zar$_3$-peš$_2$-du* / dam / *En-na-da-mu* / ama-gal / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 7, ^{iti}*Ig-za* = 2nd month).

[6] TM.75.G.2504 (unpublished, quoted in Archi & Spada 2023, 159) rev. VII:10-15: 2 *bu-di* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / 1 dam / *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* / a-mu / *ma-lik-tum* (Iš-D., I.-Z., ⁱᵗⁱ*Ga-sum* = 7th month).

However, two passages from the MAT (Monthly Account of Textiles) texts *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24 and the unpublished TM.75.G.1335 record the deaths of *Gi-mi*-NI-*za-du*, the sister of queen *Da-bur-da-mu* (**[7a]**), and *A-a-gi-du*, probably a daughter of king *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* (**[7b]**), both occurring in the 1st year of minister *I-bi₂-zi-kir*. In fact, both texts are parallel to the MMAM (Multi-Monthly Account of Metals) text *MEE* 10 20 (rev. V:8-VI:7 for *Gi-mi*-NI-*za-du*'s death and rev. XII:11-17 for *A-a-gi-du*'s death) written the same year as the death of *Ib-ri₂-um*, who was then succeeded by his son *I-bi₂-zi-kir*:

[7a] *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24 obv. VII:9-IX:14: 1? tug₂-NI.NI u₂-hab₂ / 1 gid₂ᵗᵘᵍ² 1 *du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂* / šušanaₓ(ŠU₂+ŠA)-4 <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / 10 ᵍᵉˢgeštug-la₂ / 7 <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / *du-ru₁₂-gu₁₂* / 16 <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / 1 *mi-at* // 20 *gur-gu₂-ru₁₂* / *wa* / 2 *al₆-la-nu* / 1 ½ <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / 1 kug-sal / 2 <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / 1 *ša-mu* / 1 *a-na-bu₃-bu₃-tum* / 2 <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / NU₁₁-za 1 *gu₂-li-lum* a-gar₅ / šušanaₓ(ŠU₂+ŠA) <gin₂> kug:babbar / ⌜2⌝ *bu-di* / ⌜10⌝ <gin₂> kug:⌜babbar⌝ / šu bala-aka / 2 <gin₂> kug-sig₁₇ / NU₁₁-za 2 sag-*SU₃* / *Gi-mi*-NI-*za*-du*⁵⁾ // *si-in* / E₂xPAP / šu mu-taka₄ / 2 zara₆ᵗᵘᵍ² 2 gu-dul₃ᵗᵘᵍ² / *Keš₂-du-ud* / *wa* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / 3 *'a₃-da-um*ᵗᵘᵍ²-2 3 ib₂+3ᵗᵘᵍ² sa₆ gun₃ / *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM) / *wa* / *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* / *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* / E₂xPAP / šu mu-taka₄ (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 1, ⁱᵗⁱ*Gi-'a₅* = 4th month).

[7b] TM.75.G.1335 (unpublished, quoted in Biga & Pomponio 1990, 184; Archi 2012, 23) obv. IX:7-X:1: 1 zara₆ᵗᵘᵍ² / 10 <gin₂> kug:babbar / 2 *bu-di* / *A-a-gi-du* / *si-in* / E₂xPAP / 3 *'a₃-da-um*ᵗᵘᵍ²-2 3 ib₂+4ᵗᵘᵍ² gun₃ sa₆ / *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM) / *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* / *Ib-ri₂-um* / 2 gid₂ᵗᵘᵍ² / *Keš₂-du-ud* / *wa* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* // šu mu-taka₄ (Iš-D., I-Z.'s year 1, month lost, see Pettinato 1979, 51, but suggested to be ⁱᵗⁱ*Ḫa-li*-NI = 5th month, see Biga 2016a, 703).

As highlighted by A. Archi and M. G. Biga (Biga 2007-2008, 263-264; Archi 2012, 23-25), on the occasion of the death of high-ranking individuals, gifts were also presented to the ancestors of the deceased's family, typically members of both the royal and the minister's family. In the case of *Gi-mi*-NI-*za-du*'s death, the gifts delivered to the royal ancestors are recorded following this order: first *Keš₂-du-ud* and *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*, then *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM) and *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* (**[7a]**).

As summarised in the table below, according to their mirroring positions stressed by the use of the coordinating conjunction *wa*, *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* corresponds to *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* – in fact, they were the mother and father of the last queen of Ebla. Similarly, *Keš₂-du-ud* aligns with *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM). It seems to me that this is a strong clue for identifying *Keš₂-du-ud* as the third-to-last queen.⁶⁾ The penultimate king *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* is also mentioned following *Ir₃-ib-da-mu*, but his wife is not included among the royal ancestors. In fact, her identity is still unknown.⁷⁾

[7a] *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24				
obv. IX:5-7	*Keš₂-du-ud*	*wa*	*Ne-ti-bu₃-du*	–
obv. IX:9-12	*Ig-ri₂-iš-Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM)	*wa*	*Ir₃-ib-da-mu*	*Ir₃-kab-da-mu*

The same deceased ancestors received gifts in the case of *A-a-gi-du*'s death, with the exception of *Ir₃-ib-da-mu* and the addition of *Ib-ri₂-um* (**[7b]**).

Since *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is listed among the deceased members of the royal family in both cases, all the texts in which she is recorded as still alive must be dated before the parallel texts *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24, TM.75.G.1335, and *MEE* 10 20, which is to say, before the 1st year of minister *I-bi₂-zi-kir*. This seemingly simple prosopographical detail affects the relative chronology of the texts from which passages **[2-6]** are drawn. Particularly, it affects MMAM *MEE* 10 29 (**[3]**), which had previously been dated to the 4th, 5th, or 6th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*.⁸⁾ This text should now be backdated to at least the final year of *Ib-ri₂-um*'s life, in agreement with what Archi had once suggested (18th year of *Ib-ri₂-um*, see Archi 2020b, 72). Similarly, this revised dating significantly affects MAT *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15 (**[4]**), which had been assigned to the 7th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir* (Archi 2021a, 24-25). In this text, *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is recorded as having received a zara₆-textile on the occasion of her daughter, queen *Da-bur-da-mu*, giving birth to a baby boy. Similarly, the chronological change also affects MAT *ARET* IV 7 (**[5]**), which dates to the same month and year as *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15, as shown by Biga & Pomponio (1993, 109). In this passage *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*, referred to as ama-gal *ma-lik-tum*, presents the usual female dressing set (one zara₆-textile and two toggle pins), to an unidentified *Zar₃-peš₂-du*, likely in celebration of the birth of her grandson. So far, *Zar₃-peš₂-du* is recorded only in another text, TM.75.G.10074 obv. XXI:16 (Biga 1996, 53). I propose that the term ama-gal in **[5]** refers not to *Zar₃-peš₂-du* but to *Ne-ti-bu₃-du*.

Based on this new premise, the backdating not only affects the events recorded in these specific texts, but also all those documented in their parallel texts. For instance, *MEE* 10 29 has numerous parallel MAT texts,[9] while *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15 and *ARET* IV 7 are parallel to the unpublished MMAM TM.75.G.10074 (BIGA 1996, 50-53), currently dated to the 6th, or 7th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*.[10] Since all these texts are interconnected, this backdating has significant consequences for the ongoing debate surrounding Ebla's relative chronology.[11] The present investigation results in a chain reaction of backdatings that seems to favour a shorter reign for *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* than previously believed.[12]

The new dating proposal is summarised in the following table:

Texts	Date
[1] *MEE* 12 20	Irk-D., Arr., month lost
[3] *MEE* 10 29	
[2] *ARET* XX 9	Iš-D., last year of Ibr. (*Ib-ri₂-um*), 7th month
[6] TM.75.G.2504	
[4] *MEE* 2 2 = *ARET* I 15	
[5] *ARET* IV 7	Iš-D., last year of Ibr. or I-Z.'s year 1, 2nd month
[7a] *ARET* IV 19 = *MEE* 7 24	Iš-D., I-Z's year 1, 4th month
[7b] TM.75.G.1335	Iš-D., I-Z's year 1, month lost

Notes

1. I will present some new aspects on the relative chronology of Ebla in a forthcoming study.

2. *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* is also mentioned in *ARET* XII 199 I':1'-5': *Keš₂-du-ud* / *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* / *Ne-ti-bu₃-du* / šu mu-taka₄ / [… This sequence of names suggests a funerary context, where gifts are presented to the ancestors of the deceased. Cf. *ARET* III 240 III':3'-6' and *ARET* XX 25 obv. III:18-IV:16.

3. Considering the list of women recorded in *ARET* XV 59 obv. IX:3-11, this suggestion seems likely.

4. This text and – I suspect – also the unpublished text TM.75.G.2504 run parallel to *MEE* 10 29 (ARCHI 2018, 63); therefore, both are affected by the backdating to minister *Ib-ri₂-um*'s last year.

5. Collated on photograph. Also cf. *MEE* 10 20 rev. IV:19 and rev. VI:2 and *ARET* XX 25 obv. IV:6.

6. *Keš₂-du-ud* was initially proposed to be the wife of king *Ig-ri₂-iš-Ḫa-lab_x*(LAM) (ARCHI 1996a, 105; BIGA 2016b, n. 9) and subsequently as the wife of *Ir₃-kab-da-mu* (ARCHI 2016, 6; ARCHI & SPADA 2023, 250 n. 1; BIGA 2024, 4).

7. Since the texts dated to *Ir₃-kab-da-mu*'s reign seldom mention the penultimate queen and the fifty-nine texts published in volumes *ARET* XV,1 and XV,2 apparently never once record her, Archi and Biga suggested that she died early in the first years of her husband's reign. The texts *MEE* 7 31 rev. II:5-III:4 (BONECHI 2021) and the unpublished TM.75.G.2410 rev. III:5-7 (quoted in ARCHI 2023, 12 n. 5) could keep track of her death; and most probably also text *ARET* XII 298 should be added to them, since it records the *ma-lik-tum*'s death (obv. IV:7-9). Even so, having passed away, the penultimate queen's absence from the deceased listed in **[7a–7b]** is puzzling.

8. On these dating see e.g. ARCHI 1996b, 99 (4th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*); ARCHI 2020a, 12 and BIGA & STEINKELLER 2021, 53 (5th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*); ARCHI 2024, 2 (6th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*).

9. The almost complete tablet TM.75.G.1224+*ARET* III 441+*ARET* III 458 (on this join, BIGA 2009, 38); then, *ARET* I 6; *ARET* IV 6; *ARET* IV 9; *MEE* 2 3 = *ARET* IV 4; *MEE* 2 8 = *ARET* I 16; *MEE* 2 17 = *ARET* I 10. The parallelism between the MAT texts *MEE* 2 17 = *ARET* I 10, *MEE* 2 8 = *ARET* I 16, and the MMAM *MEE* 10 29 has already been shown in BIGA & POMPONIO 1990, 179; for all the other parallelisms see also BIGA & POMPONIO 1993, 123; BIGA 1996, 43-44.

10. On these dating see e.g. ARCHI 1996b, 99, ARCHI 2020a, 15, BIGA 2020, 115 (6th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*); ARCHI 2024, 2 (7th year of *I-bi₂-zi-kir*).

11. In the reconstruction of Ebla's relative chronology, two main views have been proposed. One suggests that the Ebla written documentation covers from forty-five to fifty years before the archives' destruction (ARCHI 2022, 29-30). The other view proposes a much shorter timeframe around twelve years (BONECHI 2020, 106), with the reign of *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* lasting no more than ten years (BONECHI 2020, 150).

12. At present, a thirty-five-year reign is attributed to *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*, with *Ib-ri₂-um* serving alongside him for eighteen years, followed by *I-bi₂-zi-kir* for the remaining seventeen years (ARCHI 2021b, 3). However, the result of mine present investigation pushes the timeline of events back by at least seven years.

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94) More on the continuity of the Ebla royal personal names after the fire of Palace G — Recent studies[1] on the seal Ashmolean Museum no. 872 have provided more information on some personal names of Ebla kings documented before and after the fire of Palace G, which occurred at the end of the 24th century BC. Below I briefly discuss again two pairs of royal PNs and propose that a third pair can be added to them:

Presargonic Ebla	Post-Presargonic Ebla
Yibbiṭ-liʾmum (*I-bi₂-iṭ*ₓ(NI)-*li-im*)	Ibbiṭ-liʾim (*I-bi-iṭ-li-im*)
Yigriš-Ḫalab (*Ig-ri₂-iš-*⟨d⟩*Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM)⟨ki⟩)	Igreš-Ḫeleb (*Ig-ri-iš-*⟨d⟩*Ḫe-eb*)
Yiṯġar-damum (*Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*)	Ešʾer-damu (*Eš-er-da-mu*)[2]

Years ago I discussed the first two onomastic pairs, *I-bi₂-iṭ*ₓ(NI)-*li-im* // *I-bi-iṭ-li-im* (**nbṭ* + **liʾm-*) and *Ig-ri₂-iš-*⟨d⟩*Ḫa-lab*ₓ(LAM)⟨ki⟩ // *Ig-ri-iš-Ḫe-eb* (**grš* + **ḫalb-*), suggesting the continuity of these PNs from the 24th century to the end of the 3rd millennium BC.[3] Their different written forms betray their scribal and linguistic evolution and their semantic continuity: these two PNs in fact mean that the tribe to which *we* belong shines through its success[4] and that *our* Aleppo Storm-god hurled himself against the enemy.

I suggest that the third pair, *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* // *Eš-er-da-mu* (**ṯġr* + **dam-*), whose first member is the name of the last Presargonic Ebla ruler while the second member occurs in the Oxford seal, lowers the chronology of this continuity by some centuries and confirms (if once again their different written forms betray their scribal and linguistic evolution and their semantic continuity) one of its aspects: this personal name in fact means that *our* alliance based on blood ties conquered something by breaking through the enemy walls.

If all this is correct, the three abovementioned pairs of royal personal names shows that the praise of the tribe, of Hadda of Aleppo, and of the allies as illustrious victors, which was the core of the Presargonic Ebla royal (Palace G) ideology, was still alive and kicking even later, i.e., at the time of the Oxford seal and of the events narrated in the *Song of Release* – that is, likely, the end of the 17th century or even the beginning of the 16th century BC.[5] Remarkably, for the time being in the Levant there are no later attestations of the royal personal name Yirkab-damu (*Ir₃-kab-da-mu*), borne by the king who briefly ruled Presargonic Ebla after Yigriš-Ḫalab and before Yiṯġar-damum.

Notes

1. Archi 2015; Durand 2018:365-368; Archi 2020:22.

2. In his 2015 study Alfonso Archi read "*Šeʾ-ir-da-mu*" on p. 20 and interpreted this personal name as "Šer-Damu" on pp. 20 (with n. 14) and 24f., adding that "the first element of the name Šer-Damu could appear in *Še-er-ri* [Wiseman 1953: 146]" and that "Šer-Damu" is among the personal names "which share some elements of the pre-Amorite tradition". In his 2018 reappraisal of the evidence Jean-Marie Durand read (on p. 366) "EŠ-ir-da-mu (où EŠ pourrait équivaloir à Kušuḫ)" and (doubting that this was the name of an Ebla king and refusing Archi's comparison with *Še-er-ri*, which I also consider unlikely) observed that "il est possible que le 'EŠ-ir' soit en fait un IN incomplet. Le nom [...] serait, dès lors, inⁱ-*da-mu*. *Non liquet*" (the PN *In-da-mu* is attested in Palace G texts, but is not borne by any king). In his 2020 short discussion Archi transliterates *Šeʾ-ir-da-mu* the PN of the Oxford seal and transcribes it as "Šêʾ-damu" (on p. 22). With these observations in mind, it seems to me that *Eš-er-da-mu* is the most natural reading.

3. See Bonechi 1997 (this study is quoted in Archi 2015:24 and n. 27; in Archi 2020:24, instead, the equivalence of Yigriš-Ḫalab and Igreš-Ḫeleb is attributed to Archi 2002:26).

4. On the problems posed by *nabāṭum* in the Ebla texts, however, see Bonechi 2016 p. 59 n. 44.

5. Relevant discussions on the dating of the Oxford seal and the *Song of Release* as well as on related topics can be found in recent works such as Archi 2015 pp. 20f., Durand 2018, pp. 357ff., de Martino 2019 pp. 129f., Archi 2020 pp. 22f., and Prechel 2023 pp. 144f., all with previous literature.

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95) À propos de la célébration du *maš-da-bù* en l'honneur du prince héritier éblaïte — Les textes éblaïtes conservent le souvenir de l'accouchement (tu-da) du fils premier-né du roi *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* et de la reine *Da-bur-da-mu*. Il s'agit de la seule naissance d'un héritier légitime de la lignée royale éblaïte, fils de l'en et de la *ma-lik-tum*, tout au long de l'histoire des archives : les autres fils du roi (dumu-nita en) cités dans les documents éblaïtes ne sont que les fils d'épouses secondaires, y compris *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*, qui était le fils du roi *Ìr-kab-da-mu* et de *Du-si-gú*, une dam en, et ensuite ama-gal en, qui n'a jamais obtenu le titre de *ma-lik-tum*, même après la mort en accouchant de la reine officielle, dont l'identité à ce jour fait toujours l'objet de débat. Le fils de cette dernière, quant à lui, meurt soit pendant sa mise au monde, soit immédiatement après. Cela justifie la raison pour laquelle le premier fils d'*Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* et *Da-bur-da-mu* est le seul pour qui on célèbre le *maš-da-bù*. En effet, contrairement à ce que j'avais proposé précédemment (Pasquali 2013 : 53-56), les graphies *maš-da-bù* et *maš-da-ù* ne sont pas des variantes et elles doivent donc être séparées. La cérémonie du *maš-da-ù* est mentionnée surtout dans les comptes-rendus annuels de métaux, où l'on décaisse une faible quantité de métal précieux pour sa célébration, tandis que pour la réalisation du *maš-da-bù* ne sont jamais comptabilisées des sorties d'argent ou d'or. Dès lors, dans TM.75.G.2507 r. V : 7-10 : 3 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / *maš-da-bù* / dumu-nita / *Ig-su-ub-da-mu*, la citation du *maš-da-bù* n'est pas cohérente avec le reste de la documentation et on doit l'attribuer à une erreur du scribe : il faut donc entendre *maš-da-ù*!(BÙ). Mais nous allons procéder par ordre.

Le compte-rendu mensuel de tissus *ARET* IV 7, où dans plusieurs sections on cite l'accouchement (tu-da) de la *ma-lik-tum* et les rites qui marquent les premiers moments de vie de son dumu-nita, dont certains d'entre eux demeurent obscurs, enregistre aux paragraphes (31) et (56) les sorties de tissus et de laine pour la dame de NE-*na-áš*ˣᵏⁱ qui a réalisé (UNKEN-aka) le *maš-da-bù* et pour l'opérateur cultuel, indiqué par le terme sumérien énigmatique níg-DUG-DU, qui l'a livré (šu-mu-taka₄). Plus souvent, ce mot *maš-da-bù* et ses variantes (de *štp, « couper [des tissus] ») indiquent la cérémonie de vêture des souverains lors de la commémoration annuelle à NE-*na-áš*ᵏⁱ du rite de renouvellement de la royauté décrit dans les rituels de *ARET* XI (Pasquali 2019 : 7 ; Archi 2021 : 15-19). Par conséquent, on a de bons motifs de croire que le *maš-da-bù* en l'honneur du prince héritier avait lieu auprès du Mausolée des ancêtres à NE-*na-áš*ˣᵏⁱ. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant, vu que ce rite marquait deux phases de passage exactement similaires dans la vie des personnes royales : leur effective venue au monde et leur renaissance symbolique. Les passages de *ARET* IV 7, cités ci-dessus, démontrent en plus que le *maš-da-bù* pour l'héritier royal a été préparé juste au moment de sa naissance et non à l'avance lors de la célébration des rituels de *ARET* XI en vue du futur accouchement de la reine, comme en revanche Bonechi (2016 : 63–66) le voudrait.

Grâce au compte-rendu annuel de métaux TM.75.G.10074 r. XVI : 8-11 : 2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / *maš-da-ù* / dumu-nita / *ma-lik-tum*, nous savons que pour le prince héritier fut célébrée une autre cérémonie, indiquée par le terme *maš-da-ù*, qui entraîne la sortie d'une petite quantité d'argent. À l'inverse du *maš-da-bù*, réservé au seul prince héritier, le *maš-da-ù* concernait tous les nouveau-nés des deux sexes de l'entourage royal, comme le prouvent clairement les nombreux passages recueillis par Pasquali (2013 : 53-56) et Archi (2021 : 19-20). Cette cérémonie se déroulait – paraît-il – dans le temple du dieu des enfers ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* à Ébla, comme nous l'indique le compte-rendu mensuel de tissus *ARET* I 15 (13) : 2 zara-túg / ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* / *Gú-nu* / *ma-lik-tum* / ì-na-sum / *in* u₄ / *maš-da-ù* / dumu-nita-*sù*, où deux tissus précieux sont assignés à (la statue de culte de) ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* lors du *maš-da-ù* du fils de la reine, c'est-à-dire le prince héritier. L'information est confirmée par un texte de la phase la plus ancienne des archives éblaïtes *ARET* XV 21 (78) : 1 KIN siki / KÍD.SAG / ká / ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* / *Gú-nu* / *in* u₄ / [*m*]*a-da-ù* / dumu-nita en, qui enregistre la sortie d'une mesure de laine pour le portier du temple de ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* à l'occasion du *ma-da-ù* du fils du roi. L'événement semble être rappelé aussi dans *ARET* XV 28 (97) : 1 kin siki / *ìr*-NI-*ba* ur₄ / KÍD.SAG / *in* u₄ / dumu-nita en / è / é / ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* / *Gú-nu*, où encore la même quantité de laine est

attribuée au portier du temple de ᵈ*Ra-sa-ab* lors de la sortie du fils du roi de cet édifice. La réalisation du *maš-da-bù* mentionnée aux paragraphes (94) et (95) de ce même texte, en revanche, ne concerne pas la naissance du dumu-nita en, mais elle doit plutôt se référer à la commémoration annuelle du rituel de renouvellement de la royauté. Ce dumu-nita en, évoqué dans ces documents administratifs sans préciser son nom, peut être identifié avec l'un des fils de *Ìr-kab-da-mu* et d'une épouse secondaire. Probablement il s'agissait du futur roi *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*. Quant à la graphie *ma-da-ù*, qui apparaît en *ARET* XV 21 (78), elle est une variante de *maš-da-ù*, qui atteste d'un passage de la consonne /š/ en /l/ devant la dentale (PASQUALI 2013 : 55), un phénomène connu en éblaïte (KREBERNIK 1982 : 217) ainsi qu'en akkadien (HUEHNERGARD 1997 : 596). En conformité avec les règles établies pour le syllabaire éblaïte, le mot *maš-da-ù* doit donc être comparé avec l'hébreu biblique משתה, « banquet ; festin » (du sém. **šty*, « boire »), employé dans le livre de Jérémie (16 : 8) en tant que synonyme de מרזח, dont les connexions avec le monde des défunts et le culte des ancêtres ont été souvent suggérées (LEWIS 1989 : 89, 137-139).

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96) Vocabula sumerica 6. nam-ĝešba, nam-ĝešba₂ — Comme on sait, quelques textes poétiques ou liturgiques sumériens sont qualifiés de šèr nam-ŠUB(-ba). Depuis l'étude de M. E. Cohen (1975) nombre de textes sont venus s'ajouter à la liste, mais il est encore impossible de reconnaître une unité littéraire entre toutes les attestations. C. Metcalf (2019, 34–45) nous révèle deux nouveaux exemplaires sur une même tablette (MS 3392 = CUSAS 38, 4) et donne je crois le commentaire le plus récent sur le terme.

Jusqu'à aujourd'hui la discussion n'a pas pris en compte deux anciennes copies de Zimmern qui donnent la graphie suivante :

šèr nam-ĝešba₂(ŠU.BULUG₃) ᵈnisaba (rubrique finale de SK 65, 34) « chant ... de Nisaba ».

3 šèr nam-ĝešba₂(ŠU.BULUG₃) ᵈnin-maḫ (catalogue SK 216 rev. 11) « 3 chants ... de Ninmah ». À la face, ligne 7 du même catalogue Zimmern semble avoir copié šèr nam-šu-⌜ub⌝, mais les traces du signe qui suit ŠU parlent clairement pour BULUG₃ (voir la figure 1, effectuée d'après une ancienne photo du musée de Berlin).

Encore plus probant : le colophon de la version paléo-babylonienne du *Voyage de Ninisina* donne šèr nam-ĝešba₂(ŠU.BULUG₃, voir la photo chez Cohen 2017, p. 99 et corriger la transcription p. 90). La version d'Assur, qui donne šèr nam-ŠUB, doit donc être lue šèr nam-ĝešba.

Il faut donc à mon sens lire systématiquement šèr nam-ĝešba toutes les attestations de šèr nam-šub. Cela n'infirme qu'en partie les réflexions de Metcalf et des savants qui ont traité avant lui du défunt šèr nam-šub (on trouve les références dans Attinger, Glossaire *s. vv.* ser₃ nam-šub et nam-šub). Le sens est toujours aussi difficile à déterminer, mais je proposerai à mon tour en quelques mots mes propres réflexions.

Il est impossible de le séparer de nam-⁽ᵍⁱˢ⁾ŠUB = nam-⁽ᵍⁱˢ⁾ĝešba fréquent dans les textes magiques, et dont la lecture /namĝešba/ ou /namĝešbu/ est désormais prouvée par George 2016, 9 sq. La traduction « *chant du sort, charme, sortilège* » (Attinger, Glossaire *s. v.* nam-šub, nam-⁽ᵍᵉˢ⁾ĝešpa) est inspirée par l'équivalence avec l'akkadien *šiptu*, mais celle-ci ne peut être qu'approximative, comme le montre par exemple :

tu$_6$ du$_{11}$-ga nam-ĝešba(ŠUB) ba-an-ak // *ina* MIN-*e* (*tuduqqê*) *ša šipti uššapu/uššipu* (Udug-hul XII 156)

Geller (BAM 8, p. 429) traduit « through the magical formula that activates the incantation » ; le sumérien dit plutôt « il (Marduk) fit de la formule magique (tu$_6$ du$_{11}$-ga) un n. », ce que j'essaierai de comprendre comme « il en fit une arme pour le succès, un porte-bonheur, un gage de réussite », ou si on veut « il en fit un coup décisif, un lancer gagnant » ; utilisant à dessein le vocabulaire du jeu ou du sport, qui permet de comprendre la parenté avec ĝešba$_2$, un sport où on échange des coups de poing, une forme de pugilat qu'on pratiquait lors des fêtes (Sallaberger 1993, 178, n. 838, mais ĝešba$_2$ n'est pas exactement 'poing').

Cependant dans ĝešba il y a sans doute bien à l'origine ĝeš+šub+a // *isqu* 'lot, tirage au sort', comme le montre la figure étymologique ĝeš+šub šub (càd ^{ĝeš}ĝešba šub) « jeter le ĝ » (*isqam nadû* = tirer au sort, *v*. CAD I-J *s.v. isqu*). J'imagine donc une méthode où il fallait jeter (šub) un ou plusieurs objets pour gagner, un peu comme nous jouons à pile ou face. L'entrée lexicale ĜEŠ.ŠUB(.ba) dili : *isqu lemnu* 'ĝ. unique : *mauvais lot*' (Erimhuš I 209) suggère que pour gagner il fallait au moins deux unités (deux points sur un dé ? un bâton d'au moins deux doigts ? Deux coups dans une cible ? ...).

En magie l'abstrait nam- $^{(giš)}$ŠUB-a/u > nam-ĝešba/u est rendu par *šiptu*, mais ne désigne pas concrètement l'incantation, comme nous avons vu, et comme l'avait déjà vu I. Finkel (1980, 51), c'est peut-être plutôt la faculté de gagner grâce à la formule juste, au hasard heureux, à la chance ajoutée à la technique, la puissance de la magie, dans une situation ardue, incertaine ou dangereuse. Évidemment le nam-ĝešba d'Eridu, qu'on pourrait rendre par « la procédure heureuse, la formule heureuse d'Eridu », porte la baraka et est toujours efficace. En dehors de la littérature magique le mot est très souvent associé à la sphère acoustique, à la musique, mais n'y est peut-être pas limité : nam-^{giš}ĝešba galam-ma-na ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ é-e ul ba-ni-in-sa$_7$(SIG$_7$)-ga « Enki ayant embelli la maison de son *art magique* (?)» (Urnamma B 19).

Le concept de base véhiculé par ĝešba(ŠUB)/ĝešba$_2$(ŠU.BULUG$_3$) est celui de gain, de victoire dans un jeu de hasard ou une compétition. Comme šèr nam-ĝešba n'est pas un genre littéraire, et qu'on ne voit pas ce qu'ont en commun les textes ainsi qualifiés, je proposerais que šèr nam-ĝešba désigne simplement un poème qui a gagné, ou qui mérite un prix dans un concours, un très beau poème, au charme duquel on ne résiste pas. C'est ce sens qui peut servir aussi pour rendre *Enmerkar et le sire d'Arata* 134 sq.

> ... šèr kù nam-ĝešba du$_{12}$-a-ba
> nam-ĝešba ^{d}nu-dím-mud-da-kam e-ne-ra du$_{11}$-mu-na-ab

> « quand y seront chantés les chants les plus purs, les plus dignes de gagner le prix,
> ne lui dis rien d'autre que les formules de Nudimmud, dont l'effet est irrésistible »

Je rends les deux fois l'expression par une périphrase, tout en gardant l'idée de base, la parole triomphante ; pour éviter 'les chants gagnants', 'les formules gagnantes', qui me semble trop trivial (*v*. Mittermayer 2009, 74–76, que je ne suis que partiellement).

P.S. : Avec mes remerciements à Alrun Gutow et Olaf Tessmer du Pergamon Museum, et à Christopher Metcalf (Oxford), qui me signale que le deuxième šèr nam-ĝešba de MS 3392 a un duplicat syllabique dans CT 58, 44 revers (ce qui est noté dans la transcription de ce texte sur le site OBEL hébergé chez ORACC). On remarquera les lignes 68 à 71 de MS 3392, qui semblent manquer dans le duplicat (incomplet, il est vrai) :

> en-e eridu^{ki}-ga nam-ĝešba ba-an- sì(šúm$^?$)
> nam-ĝešba eridu^{ki}-ga igi-ni-šè mu-un-dib-bé
> aja ^{d}en-ki eridu^{ki}-ga nam-ĝešba ba-an-sì(šúm$^?$)
> nam-ĝešba eridu^{ki}-ga igi-ni-šè mu-un-dib-bé

« Le seigneur, c'est à Eridu qu'il a émis le *pouvoir magique* (ou peut-être : Le seigneur, c'est à Eridu que le *pouvoir magique* a été remis ?) ; et ce *pouvoir magique* d'Eridu le précède ; le Père Enki, c'est à Eridu *etc*.... », peut-être une manière de dire que, où qu'il aille, le pouvoir magique issu d'Eridu précède Enki. Peut-on déduire de l'absence de ce quatrain dans le duplicat que le copiste de MS 3392 l'a ajouté dans un second temps pour suggérer, faisant écho au 'titre' (šèr nam-ĝešba), l'idée que, dans ce poème, il est question de nam-ĝešba, du verbe puissant ?
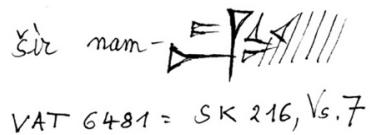
Fig. 1.

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97) Marriage of Martu 116 and the meaning of ŋeš-giri$_{19}$ —

1. Marriage of Martu 116
In Jacob Klein's brilliant reconstruction of *The Marriage of Martu* (KLEIN 1993 and KLEIN 1997), the god Numušda promises his daughter in marriage to Martu after the latter has won a boxing contest. Martu then pampers the citizens of Inab with precious gifts. The first of these gifts (line 116) was read by Klein (and all commentators after him) as ^{ŋeš}rab$_3$(LUGAL) kug-sig$_{17}$, or "golden neckstocks," given to the elders of the city. ETCSL (c.1.7.1) translates "golden torcs" and Klein himself renders "*ingots* of gold" (with the italics marking uncertainty). Yet, ^{ŋeš}rab$_3$ means "neckstock" and is a device for punishment – a very strange gift indeed, even in gold.

CBS 14061 is the only source for the Marriage of Martu. The photograph of the tablet published on CDLI (P269077) shows that the signs are more plausibly read ŋeš-giri$_{19}$(ŠU.LU$_2$). This word, associated with Akkadian *nēmettu*, is rare outside the lexical tradition (primarily Ura and Diri) but, as Pascal Attinger has seen, it appears in Enlilbani Year Name E (ATTINGER 2021: 417; 2023[2]: 545): "The year in which Enlilbani fashioned a golden ŋeš-giri$_{19}$ for Enlil" (for the year name and its placement in the Enlilbani sequence, see DE BOER 2021: 19 with previous literature).

2. The Meaning of ŋeš-giri$_{19}$
Both Attinger's *Glossaire* and Cohen's *Annotated Sumerian Dictionary* (COHEN 2023: 487) translate ŋeš-giri$_{19}$ (or ^{ŋeš}giri$_{19}$) as something to sit upon: a ceremonial chair (Attinger), or a couch (Cohen). Akkadian *nēmettu* does allow such an interpretation; the word, when referring to a physical object, may mean "support, staff" or "a seat or couch" (CAD N/2 164). The lexical evidence, in particular the first millennium version of Ura 7B, favors the understanding "staff," or "cane," by associating the term with ^{ŋeš}šibir (MSL 6, 127-128, with WEIERSHÄUSER & HRŮŠA 2018, 104-106):

136. ^{ŋeš}šibir	*ni-mit-tu$_2$*	staff
137. ŋeš-giri$_{20}$(ŠU.DINGIR)	MIN *ša$_2$ i-lu*	staff of a god
138. ŋeš-giri$_{21}$(ŠU.LUGAL)	MIN *ša$_2$ šar-ru*	staff of a king
139. ŋeš-giri$_{19}$(ŠU.LU$_2$)	MIN *ša$_2$ a-me-lu*	staff of a human
140. [ŋeš-gi]ri$_{19}$ ab-ba	MIN *ša$_2$ ši-i-bu*	cane for a senior citizen

Von Soden (AHw 777) suggests that the meaning "Ruhelager" for *nēmettu* may have been an Assyrian development.

The evidence from OB Nippur Diri (MSL 15, 20; dcclt/Q000057; see also MSL 15, 62: MLC 2638 = dcclt/P297026) favors a reading ŋeš-giri$_{19}$, rather than ^{ŋeš}giri$_{19}$:

217. ŋeš-gi-ri	GIŠ.ŠU.LU$_2$	*ne-me-tum ša a-wi-lim*
218. ŋeš-gi-ri	GIŠ.LU$_2$	*ne-me-tum ša i-l[um]*

Finally, Miguel Civil has suggested that an entry in an unprovenanced Old Babylonian school text provides the variant ŋeš-gi-ru, which he interpreted as a syllabic spelling of ŋeš-giri$_{19}$. Civil (2010) read the passage as follows (MS 4836 = P253866 o iii 25'-27', as edited in CUSAS 12, 96-97):

giš.⌜ŠU.LUGAL⌝
giš.gi-ru
giš.BI-⌜(x)⌝-ra-⌜ah?⌝

This presumed syllabic writing led P. Attinger (2021: 417; 2023^2: 545) to introduce a reading giru$_x$ as variant of giri$_{19}$ for ŠU.LU$_2$. However, the passage is rather abraded and, as it seems, the lines o iii 25'-27' all begin with the same sign (GEŠTIN?), as is common in this type of lexical text. At any rate, the entry ŋeš-gi-ru and the reading giru$_x$ for ŠU.LU$_2$ do not exist.

Martu provided the elders of Inab with golden canes and Enlilbani, similarly, fashioned a golden staff for Enlil.

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98) La création du temple de Keš — Le poème intitulé par les modernes *Hymne au temple de Keš* est l'une des rares œuvres littéraires sumériennes connues par des fragments en provenance d'Abū-Ṣalābīḫ et des copies presque complètes de l'époque paléo-babylonienne (en dernier lieu, C. Wilcke, *in Festschrift H.L.J. Vanstiphout*, p. 201-237; A. Zgoll, *JANER* 22, 2022, p. 258-314). Après un préambule de douze vers, il reproduisait la louange chantée par le dieu Enlil à l'intention de ce temple. Il faisait partie des dix œuvres poétiques enseignées de manière privilégiée dans les écoles paléo-babyloniennes. Le préambule s'énonçait comme suit :

1	nam$_2$-nun-e nam$_2$-nun-e e$_2$-ta nam-ta-ab-e$_3$
	^{d}En-lil$_2$ nam$_2$-nun-e e$_2$-ta nam-ta-ab-e$_3$
	nam$_2$-nun-e nam-lugal-la e$_2$-ta nam-ta-ab-e$_3$
	^{d}En-lil$_2$-le kur-kur-ra igi mi-ni-ib-il$_2$-il$_2$-i
5	^{d}En-lil$_2$-ra kur ni$_2$-ba mu-na-il$_2$-il$_2$-i
	an-ub-da limmu ^{d}En-lil$_2$-ra ^{giš}kiri$_6$-gin$_7$ mu-na-sig$_7$
	Keš$_3^{ki}$ saĝ men mu-na-ni-ib-ĝal$_2$
	Keš$_3^{ki}$ kur-kur-ra saĝ il$_2$-bi
	^{d}En-lil$_2$-le Keš$_3^{ki}$-a za$_3$-mi am$_3$-ma-ab-be$_2$
10	^{d}Nissaba nu-ka dili-bi-im
	enim-bi-da sa-gin$_7$ im-da-am-sur
	dub-ba sar-sar šu-še$_3$ al-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$

Variantes : La version d'Abū-Ṣalābīḫ écrivait en I 2-8 : [nam-nu]n-ne$_2$ / e$_2$-ta / nam-ta-e$_3$ / [^{d}En]-lil$_2$ / nam-nun-ne$_2$ / [e$_2$]-ta / [nam-ta-e$_3$], ignorant l'infixe -b- ; les manuscrits de la version paléo-babylonienne présentaient, au vers 1, deux variantes, l'une était ab-e$_3$, l'autre nam-ta-e$_3$.

1   « Le seigneur princier, le seigneur princier sortit du temple (variante : il (= Keš) le fit sortir du temple,
        Enlil, le seigneur princier, il (= Keš) le fit sortir du temple.
        Le seigneur princier, il (= Keš) le fit sortir du temple pour la souveraineté.
        Enlil leva son regard vers les montagnes.
5   La montagne (= Keš) se dressa spontanément pour Enlil.
        Les quatre rives du monde devinrent verdoyantes comme un jardin pour Enlil.
        Keš lui offrit un faîte couronné.
        Keš éleva sa tête au-dessus de toutes les montagnes.
        Alors qu'Enlil chantait la louange de Keš,
10   Nissaba - elle en était alors la seule experte -
        fila avec ces paroles le (chant) comme une *texture*(?).
        Elle l'inscrivit sur une tablette qu'elle avait fabriquée de sa main. »

Il présentait successivement, sous une forme abrégée, deux mythes lourds de sens. Dans le premier, l'auteur plantait le décor, dans le temps des origines et dans la ville de Keš, l'actuel Tulūl al-Baqarāt, à 40 km à l'est de Nippur. Enlil, le dieu suprême du panthéon sumérien, y incarnait la figure du préparateur, dont l'action s'était située à l'origine des temps ; il avait fondé le premier temple, identifié au cosmos. Alors qu'à l'initiative de Keš (l'infixe -b- dans la chaîne verbale indiquait le causatif), un agent inanimé actif, il sortit de son temple pour instituer un pouvoir royal, il lui fut offert de contempler les « montagnes » alentour, « montagnes » étant une métaphore pour désigner les temples. Celui de Keš se distingua « spontanément » par sa hauteur et son couronnement. L'ayant remarqué, Enlil l'activa par son chant, dont chaque vers énonçait dans un langage fleuri l'une des « forces vitales » (me) dont il l'investissait.

Deux acteurs divins, toutefois, manquaient à l'appel, la divinité locale et l'architecte du temple. Telle était l'une des fonctions du second mythème, introduit aux vers 9 à 12 du préambule. Enlil les nommait dans les refrains de son chant, à la fin de chaque strophe : « Quel être a jamais produit une chose incomparable comme Keš ? Quelle mère a jamais donné naissance à un être incomparable comme son guerrier Ašgi ? Qui a jamais vu un être incomparable comme sa dame Nintu ? ». La doxologie précisait : « Que Keš fut construite, louange à Ašgi ! Que Keš fut louée par un chant, louange à Nintu, la mère ! ».

Par sa parole, par essence performative, Enlil muait en un lieu sacré un monument qui existait déjà, et donnait naissance à deux divinités en les nommant. Ce faisant, il ne se contentait pas de les faire exister, il modifiait aussi le panthéon.

Mais, à ses côtés, l'actrice principale de ce second mythème était Nissaba, la déesse de l'écriture, le premier scribe. À mesure que le dieu énonçait son chant, elle en transcrivait les paroles par écrit sur une tablette qu'elle avait fabriquée. Il ne s'agissait pas, ici, de l'invention de la première tablette, mais d'une allusion au geste de l'élève scribe qui façonnait sa tablette avant d'écrire. Le verbe 'sur', « filer », disait l'action de filer un fil unique à partir de multiples fibres. Un texte n'est-il pas un canevas habilement fabriqué ? Le filage évoquait à son tour le tissage ou la vannerie, l'art dont Enlil avait fait usage, aux origines, au moment où il créa le monde (Th. Jacobsen, *in Festschrift I. Diakonoff*, p. 131). Nissaba lui emboîtait le pas. Il est vrai qu'en couchant la parole par écrit, on perdait la musicalité du chant, son accompagnement indispensable.

Une relation s'était donc établie, par l'intermédiaire de l'édifice sacré, entre Enlil, Nintu, la divinité tutélaire de Keš, une déesse-mère dont le temple était la résidence terrestre, et l'architecte Ašgi. Le temple était élevé au rang d'agent au même titre que les trois divinités mentionnées. Annette Zgoll comprend que le temple agissait à l'initiative de la déesse, ce que le texte ne dit pas. Des sources abondantes d'époque paléo-babylonienne faisaient parler les temples à l'image des humains. La continuité de l'action se déplaçait du divin à l'objet et de l'objet au divin.

En son temps, Émile Durkheim (*Règles de la méthode sociologique*, *Revue philosophique*, 1895) avait eu l'intuition du rôle actif d'un objet comme, par exemple, un monument architectural, mais, pour lui, celui-ci ne dégageait « aucune force vive par lui-même ». À présent, sur ce point, voir Alban Bensa (*La Fin de l'exotisme*, Paris, 2006, p. 241-249) et Bruno Latour (*Changer de société, refaire de la sociologie*, Paris, 2007, p. 101-118).

Le premier usage de l'écrit fut donc subordonné à la performance orale divine. Les deux mythèmes offraient une grille de lecture permettant de percevoir le monde comme immuable, doté d'une organisation

stable. Le second, tout particulièrement, mit en exergue l'écriture qui servait à pérenniser la parole divine en l'inscrivant sur l'argile.

Les faits alludés étaient identiques à ceux rapportés par le roi Gudéa de Lagaš (21ᵉ siècle) dans l'une de ses inscriptions, lors de la célébration des rituels pratiqués à l'occasion de la construction d'un temple : « Au moment où le destin de l'univers allait être décrété, Lagaš, sûre d'elle, leva fièrement la tête vers le ciel, (car) Enlil avait jeté un regard favorable sur le seigneur Ninĝirsu (…). Concernant son temple, le roi proclama : 'Je veux rendre l'Éninnu lui-même resplendissant au ciel et sur la terre'. (…) Comme Gudéa voyait en songe son roi, le seigneur Ninĝirsu, (celui-ci) lui commanda de construire son temple » (Gudéa, *Cylindre A*, i 1-19 ; J.-J. Glassner, *Festschrift Hayim and Miriam Tadmor*, p. 62-69).

Autrement dit, Enlil ayant regardé d'un œil favorable Ninĝirsu, le dieu souverain de l'État de Lagaš, celui-ci donna son aval pour la construction du temple en son honneur. Il en ordonna la construction au roi humain, Gudéa, pour qu'il en soit l'exécutant. Bref, la sphère du politique était convoquée dans ses représentants les plus éminents : Enlil autorisait, Ninĝirsu ordonnait, Gudéa obéissait. Mais cette explication est-elle véritablement satisfaisante ? Lorsqu'il lui annonçait l'achèvement des travaux du nouveau temple, Gudéa présentait à son dieu des dons appelés « nig₂.ba », ces présents dont on attendait en retour un geste ou une aide (J.-J. Glassner, *JA* 273, 1985, p. 42-43). Il existait donc un échange réciproque entre le dieu et le roi, une situation, qui signalait un respect mutuel, une attache non hiérarchique. Semblablement, on ne peut nier, à Keš, les liens affectifs qui unissaient la mère et le fils. Alors que l'*Hymne à Keš* rendait compte du point de vue d'Enlil, la source de Lagaš présentait celui du roi humain.

Il est difficile, à la lecture de ce passage, de parler d'invention s'agissant de l'écriture. Parmi les dieux, Nissaba était celle qui savait écrire. Son projet était d'enregistrer, fidèlement et par écrit, les paroles prononcées par le dieu, car seul un dieu était capable de créer des chants sacrés ; les humains ne pouvaient qu'apprendre de lui et reproduire ses paroles. De nombreuses sources supposées rendre fidèlement les paroles divines étaient introduites par la formule enim enim-ma, « mot à mot ». En un mot, elle se proposait de pérenniser une prestation orale, l'écrit instaurant la stabilité d'une tradition textuelle. Il était aussi, implicitement, une incitation à la reproduction à l'identique par d'autres mains.

Il faut se souvenir que ce texte était étudié dans les écoles.

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99) The Akkadians in the Ilu-šuma inscription — Any study on early Assyrian history before the classical Old Assyrian period primarily known through the traders' archives from Anatolia from the 19th and 18th centuries can only be preliminary. As long as the living quarters from the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia in Assur itself are not excavated, most discussions on Assyrian history of this period are more or less based on speculation. There is no question that any idea might easily be overthrown by new findings of written documents or other archaeological artefacts. But this must not keep us from asking questions towards this early phase of Assyrian history, just only because we can't give definite answers.

There is a number of peculiar characteristics known to us from the early Old Assyrian period demanding answers – at the same time providing us with some clues to the origins of these characteristics. How could the *waklum*-system of ruling evolve in Assur, being so very different from everything else we know in Mesopotamia proper? And the *līmum*-system, being so much more in the beginning than only a dating system connected to a high ranked official, to name only two of the most preeminent features of early Old Assyrian culture.[1] And then we still would have to talk about language, religion etc. In this context my small contribution to the discussion on early Assyrian history is focussing on the meaning of a much discussed passage from the large inscription of Ilu-šuma of Assur mentioning the "*andurārum* of/for (the) Akkadians". These Akkadians were in previous studies always seen as the inhabitants of the Mesopotamiann cities mentioned in the inscription. But as we shall see, this can easily be interpreted very differently. The lines 49-52 (see RIMA I p. 17) read:

> [49]*a-du-ra-ar* [50]*a-kà-dì-i* [51]*ù ma-re-šu-nu* [52]*aš-ku-un*
> "I decreed freedom (from taxes) for the Akkadians and their sons."

Something similar is done by Erišum, who decreed an *andurārum* on commodities like silver, gold and more. There can be no question that this is done for *his* people in Assur, not for someone else. So why should this be any different with Ilu-šuma's *andurārum*? There is no decisive argument why the Akkadians in the Ilu-šuma inscription should not be *his* subjects. At the same time it is impossible that Ilu-šuma was the ruler of the southern cities mentioned in the inscription. In the light of a recently published study on gods, names and history of the early Old Assyrian period (KRYSZAT 2021, 235-55) I would like to offer a new understanding for this passage, which allows to integrate it, and with it the whole inscription, better into the background of contemporary Assyrian history.

In the mentioned article I offered as a solution to a number of different questions arisen mainly from observations on the early Assyrian pantheon "(…) the possibility of a large group of immigrants, reaching the city of Assur from a place somewhere in the area they called Amurrum (…)" (KRYSZAT 2021, 251). Accepting such a possibility we find ourselves suddenly in a position to understand the term *Akkadians* in the early Old Assyrian royal inscriptions differently: the Akkadians mentioned are not Akkadians from the south, but the native Akkadian population of Assur itself, trading in and with the cities mentioned in the Ilu-šuma inscription. We also have a parallel in the edict of Ammi-ṣaduqa, were Akkadians and Amorrite conquerors, both subjects of Ammi-ṣaduqa, are repeatedly adressed together, as united subjects of the king. The supposed 'newcomers' in Assur (arriving sometime in the early 21st century?) are not directly mentioned in Ilu-šuma's inscription, because the *andurārum* is not aimed at them. But they are surely present through the person of the author, Ilu-šuma, himself. And the parallel in Erišum's inscriptions again suggests nothing which lets us think that you give an *andurārum* usually *for other and not for your own* people. With this in mind, there seems to be no reason why this should be different in Assur at the time of Ilu-šuma.

Back to Ilušuma's inscription, it is surely neither accidental nor unintentional that we find in *mārēšunu* the Akkadian form instead of the normal 'Assyrian' we would expect on first reflex. The sons of the Akkadians were indeed *mārū*, the sons of the 'newcomers' would have been *merʔū*. And it is clear that Ilu-šuma is talking about *future* sons of the Akkadians, i.e. their descendants. His *andurārum* is clearly also aimed for times to come.

The part of the Ilu-šuma inscription following the cited passage accurately describes the trade routes to the south which were affected by the *andurārum*. If the here proposed understanding of these lines should prove true, we also get a free explanation for the fact why so few, in fact close to none, references to the trade south of the city of Assur are found in the thousands of Old Assyrian letters from Anatolia: The trade with the south was still in the hands of families of the original Akkadian population of the city, not in the hands of the descendants of the 'newcomers'. Their families concentrated on the trade through modern Northern/Northwestern Syria – and their own ancient homelands, where their ancestors had lived next to Amorrite/West Semitic groups for a long time.

The rift between the 'newcomers' and the native Akkadian population of the city might well be still visible through the words of this passage, it was not overcome yet at the time of Ilu-šuma. A reminder of this is the name of the in Assur extremely important god Šarra-mātān, whose name is to be translated as the "King of the two lands/people" (s. KRYSZAT 2018, 196ff.) and who was, following my hypothesis, 'invented' to create a common religious focus for these two ethnical different groups, speaking different dialects of the Akkadian language.[2] There is a good chance that we have to view the first versions of the Assyrian King List (as stated in Subartu 46, p. 251) through the same lens: it was created with the same socio-political intention: to overcome the differences between the two groups by providing in this case not a common *religious* but a common *historical* identity.

Notes

1. For the early Assyrian *līmum*-system see Kryszat, *The Assyrian līmum-System, Eponym Lists and the Conquest Eponyms of Šamšī-Adad*, forthcoming in OBO.

2. But see now for a different view Y. Cohen in Subartu 51, 55-59. As I hope to show elsewhere, I see a number of arguments contradicting the admittedly ingenious explanation Yoram gave us. But I may say that his explanation is in my eyes too far away from everything truly Old Assyrian. His explanation would make Šarra-mātān a unique „Fremdkörper" with the Old Assyrian world known to us so far. Also unknown is the name type "X of Y" within the Old Assyrian Pantheon.

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100) City Models in Old Babylonian Art — Although models of cities are known from Neo-Assyrian imagery from Dur-Sharrukin, where they are shown set on special stands or carried, they have not hitherto been identified in the Old Babylonian period (for a general study of architectural models, J. Bretschneider, AOAT 229 [1991]; for Neo-Assyrian imagery and models of cities, J. Reade, *Iraq* 70 [2008]: 19-20; J. Osborne, in F. Pedde and N. Shelly, eds. *Assyromania and More: In Memory of Samuel M. Paley* [Münster, 2018], 198-202 (with consideration of mural crowns and earlier literature); K. Foster, *Kaskal* 20 [2023]: 251).

One may suggest that at least two Old Babylonian year names commemorate models representing cities. One such, at Malgum, was made of lapis and gold:

mu ^{d}Šu-Kakka lugal-e uru za-gìn kù-sig$_{17}$ ^{d}Dam-gal-nun-na-ra (variant: Dam-ki-na) mu-na-dím.
"The year Šu-Kakka the king made the city(-model) of lapis and gold for Damgalnunna (variant: Damkina),"

Archibab: Šu-Kakka 7 (for the reading from a photo, T. Ozaki, M. Sigrist, and P. Steinkeller, ZA 111 [2021], 29, note 8: "a clear URU", though considering GIŠGAL; Archibab skeptical, presumably *ad sensum* rather than for epigraphic reasons).

R. De Boer, JA 301 [2013]: 20, based on a suggestion by M. Stol, proposed that this object was a "mural crown," an object discussed, e.g., by Stol, in M. Roth et al., ed., *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs* [Chicago, 2004], 233 and S. Paul, in A. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji, ed., *"I will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar* (Winona Lake IN, 2006), 2: 787-94; earlier H. Hoffner, *IEJ* 19 (1969): 178-9, who cited evidence for mural crowns at Ugarit and Hattusha, as items appropriate for queens, as well as for Cybele and other female deities in Hittite and Classical sources. A mural crown would therefore at first sight indeed be suitable for Damkina, but the chronological and geographical gaps loom large.

Indeed, T. Ornan, in S. Parpola and R. Whiting, ed., *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Helsinki, 2002), 2: 474-7, describes the mural crown in Assyrian art as an "innovative element used specifically for displaying Neo-Assyrian royal women," and, commenting on the Hittite and Ugaritic examples, suggests, "It could well be that these referred to city models which were given to deities" (p. 476). Coordinating the two disparate bodies of evidence, one may wonder if the Assyrian queenly mural crown, like the *bīt ḫilāni*, was a first-millennium import to the Assyrian empire inspired by campaigns in the north and west, so would not likely be found at Old Babylonian Malgum.

In any case, a further Old Babylonian instance of a likely city model occurs in a year name from Eshnunna (CDLI: Ibal-piel II 8a):

mu é-^{d}En-líl ù a-lum (variant: a-lam) kù-sig$_{17}$ *I-bal-pi-El* ba-dím,
"The year Ibal-piel made the temple of Enlil and the golden city(-model)".

The same or a similar year name is found at Nerebtum (CDLI: Ibal-piel II 8a):

mu a-lum kù-sig$_{17}$ é-^{d}Sin ù é-^{d}En-líl ba-dím.
"The year he made the golden city(-model) (and?) the temple of Sin and the temple of Enlil".

Although a-lum in the year name is usually taken to be an alternative writing of alam "statue," this would be a singular instance of such a spelling in the large number of year names commemorating statues, so one may suggest that it is less of a stretch to see in this object a representation of a city in some form. Since a-lum as an item of specifically female ceremonial headgear seems here inappropriate in time, geography,

and cultural context (though in much later periods the Mesopotamian mural crown may also sometimes have been worn by men, as documented by Calmeyer, RLA 7: 595-6 ["Überraschend"] and Osborne, op. cit., 201), a city model presents itself as a compelling explanation.

An abbreviated Old Babylonian year name on a tablet said to be from Dilbat, N. Yoffee and S. Dalley, OECT 13 273, takes us further away from a crown, referring to "the year after the year after the city wall of lapis and gold," mu ús-sa-ús-sa-a bàd uru za-gìn kù-sig₁₇ (granting that Stol, loc. cit. above, notes a possible connection of the goddess Tashmetum with *dūrum* in a first-millennium epithet). Whereas Horsnell, *The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon* (Hamilton ONT, 1999), 2: 63 (5454), with collation, assigned this year name tentatively to Sumu-la-El of Babylon, Šu-Kakka of Malgum seems now, with new sources, more likely, if only because his year name commemorating the city model was also twice reused; if not, this surely refers to another such object.

The single unambiguous reference to a crown in an Old Babylonian year name, if correctly read, from Babylon but referring to Kish, calls it aga: mu aga? an-né Kiš^ki mu-un-na-dím-ma, "The year he made the heavenly crown? of Kish," Sumu-Abum 10 (so Horsnell, but read bàd an-né in CDLI, Sumu-abum 10). "Heavenly" seems to have been a specifically Kishite epithet both for objects, if aga is here correct, and structures. Besides the references cited by Horsnell op. cit., 2: 46 note 17 (bàd an-né), one may mention SB Etana I 23, also, of course, at Kish: (https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/1/9/SB/I): *parakki* AN-*e*. From this sole disputed instance one may conclude that a crown was not in fact a customary dedication for deities at this time, compared to thrones, daises, standards, and weapons, casting further doubt on interpreting the Malgum year name as a mural crown.

Models of cities in precious materials should therefore take their place with comparable models of boats, wheeled vehicles, and other objects, such as the golden plow commemorated in Ipiq-Adad I bb (CDLI), in the rich inventory of Babylonian temple dedications.

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101) The reading of BA = Lipit in Old Babylonian Personal Names from the Diyala — Connoisseurs of the Old Babylonian period know that the sign BA occurs frequently in personal names from Diyala region texts. Some examples:

> **BA**-ᵈEN.ZU, DUMU *ḫu-ša-šum*, *TIM* 3 4: 11-12 (Nur-Šamaš archive)
> *ša-ma-ia-tum*, DUMU **BA**-*é-a*, *TIM* 3 12:18-19 (Nur-Šamaš archive)
> **BA**-*iš₈-tár* DUB.SAR, Al-Hashimi 1964 H13: 26 (IM 63208, Šaduppum)
> **BA**-ᵈTIŠPAK, *UCP* 10/1 98: 21 (Nerebtum)

Lutz initially interpreted the element BA in Diyala texts as "Gimil" without explanation (e.g., LUTZ 1931: 12, line 20; index p. 55). Later scholars often equated BA with a form derived from the verb *qiāšum* "to bestow/present" based on its Sumerian meaning. However, Greengus (1986: 28, note 18) expressed doubt due to the Nerebtum text *OBTIV* 30, where line 18 mentions BA-*iš₈-tár* DUMU *mu-na-wi-rum*, but his seal inscription reads *li-pí-it-iš₈-tár* DUMU *mu-na-wi-ru-um*. Whiting (cited by Greengus) proposed BA = *li-bit-tu* (*MSL* 14: 260 no. 304, Middle Assyrian lexical text), suggesting BA could function as a phonogram for Lipit. Ultimately, Greengus remained unconvinced.

An inconvenience with the reading BA = *qiāšum* in Diyala personal names is that phonetic writings like *qí-iš*-DN or *i-qí-iš*-DN are almost completely absent in the Diyala (I only know *qí-iš-ì-lí-ia*, *JCS* 9 p. 119 no. 106: 3, Tutub). To which we can add that phonetic writings of Lipit (*li-pí-it*) are rare as well. However, the name type Lipit-DN is more common than Qiš-DN or Iqiš-DN. The reason why Diyala scribes preferred BA to the more cumbersome three signs *li-pí-it* was perhaps speed.

Another Diyala text offers additional evidence for BA = Lipit. In documents from the Ilšu-naṣir archive (DE BOER 2014: 198) we often encounter the three sons of Sin-iqišam: Lipit-Enlil, Satluma, and Šamaš-naṣir. Lipit-Enlil (always written: BA-ᵈEN.LÍL) occurs as a witness, sometimes with his brothers, in *UCP* 10/1 52, 74, 103, 107, and *UCLMA* 9/2826. However, in *TIM* 5 21 an orchard is bought by Ilšu-naṣir from this Lipit-Enlil (written in lines 6-7: *li-pí-it*-ᵈEN.LÍL DUMU ᵈEN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am*), his brothers Satluma and Šamaš-naṣir own neighbouring orchards and also witnessed the sale. Lipit-Enlil sealed *TIM* 5

21 with an anepigraphic seal and the scribe identified his impression with a caption reading … KIŠIB BA-^dEN.LÍL.

Finally, the element BA occurs specifically with the deities Sin, Ea, Enlil, Ištar, and Tišpak in Diyala personal names (see examples above), this is the same group of deities that we find with the element Lipit in other Old Babylonian texts. One can easily verify this with the new Archibab II interface where one can search for personal names, we find: (Lipit-)Aba, Adad, Aḫuya, Amurrum, Ea, Enlil, ili(šu), Erra, Ištar, Nanaya, Narum, Sin, and Tišpak. Other deities frequently occurring in personal names like Šamaš, Nunu, Ilabrat, and Kubi are not (yet) attested with the element Lipit.

To summarise, the above should provide enough evidence to establish that in Old Babylonian personal names from the Diyala region, we must read the sign BA as the element Lipit.

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102) An Unpublished Letter to Balmunamḫe (YBC 7566/YPM BC 21632) — The letter under study was most probably found in Larsa/Senkereh and written sometime during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I (1822-1763). Its measurements are 9,0×4,9×3,0 см. Although it was first identified by A. Goetze (DYCKHOFF 1999: 56, n. 176) and a copy was later made by T. Breckwoldt (according to the YBC database), the letter remains unpublished. The following edition was made possible by K. Wagensonner (YU), who kindly shared high-definition photographs and RTI images of the tablet, collated my copy and gave permission to publish the text. I would like to extend my gratitude to N. Kozyreva and A. Nemirovskaya (SPbU) for their critical remarks.

1	*a-na be-lí-ia*	Speak to my lord: Thus says Ṣillī-Šamaš.
2	*qí-bí-ma*	
3	*um-ma ṣi-lí-*^dUTU-*ma*	
4	60.0.0 ŠE GUR *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am*	(Regarding) the 60 gur of grain, about which you wrote to me:
5	*i-na* ^{giš}BA.⌈RÍ⌉.GA GI.NA *ša bi-tim*	"according to the standard *parsiktu*-measure of the House."
6	⌈^{giš}MÁ⌉.[ḪI.A] *im-qú-ta-ni-im-ma*	The boats have arrived, and
7	*uš-ta-ar-ki-ba-a-am*	I indeed loaded (it onto them)!
8	*ù i-di* ^{giš}MÁ.ḪI.A	(As for) the hire fee for the boats, they (i.e. the conveyors) did
9	*i-na li-ib-⌈bi⌉* ŠE-*e-em*	not receive (it) from the (aforementioned) grain.
10	*ú-ul* ⌈*il?*⌉-*qú-ú*	
11	3.[x x] ⌈*a*⌉-*na-ku i-di-ši-na*	3[+x… gur], their (i.e. the boats) hire fee, I paid myself.
12	*li-⌈ib⌉-ba-am uṭ-ṭi-ib*	

1) *a-na be-lí-ia* — Ṣillī-Šamaš's "lord" was identified as Balmunamḫe, son of Sîn-nūr-mātim, by N. Kozyreva on the basis of the correlation between *dimtum kattum* "your fortified settlement" in letters and the toponym Dimat-Balmunamḫe in legal and administrative documents (KOZYREVA 1988: 97; see also DYCKHOFF 1999: 59-60 and VEENHOF 2005: xviii-xx). 89 then known documents mentioning Balmunamḫe were studied in VAN DE MIEROOP 1987. For the latest treatments on Balmunamḫe's family-tree see, e.g. CHARPIN 1987 and MAGGIO 2014: 310.

3) *ṣi-lí-*^dUTU — currently twenty letters from Ṣillī-Šamaš to "his lord" are known: ten of them are housed in the Louvre (AO 6733, 6734, 6735, 6737, 6738, 6742, 6746, 6747, 6748, 6749; latest edition as AbB XIV 55-64), three in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (MAH 15906, 15928, 16045; AbB X 173, 177, 193), three in the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC 6122, 4526, 7566; AbB IX 94, 110), two in the Hermitage (Erm. 15058, 15059; KOZYREVA 2008: 216-218; 2016: 453-454) and one each in the British Museum (BM 113218; AbB I 90) and the Princeton Theological Seminary (PTS 256; YOS XV 67). These and seventeen other letters mentioning Balmunamḫe and his descendants are being studied by the author for his M.A. thesis.

5) *i-na* ^{giš}BA.⌈RÍ⌉.GA GI.NA *ša bi-tim* — or "in standard *parsiktu*-vessels of the House"; *parsiktu*-vessels, used for grain storage and measurement—mainly of capacity, but in the interesting case of Atra-ḫasīs's Ark, *parsiktu* conveys the thickness of its ribs, as described in the Ark Tablet (as PI) and the Babylonian Map of the World (as *par-sik-tu₄*) (FINKEL 2014: 168, 274),—are also mentioned in another letter of Ṣillī-Šamaš to Balmunamḫe (Erm. 15059:7, collated

by B. Alexandrov). ᵍⁱˢBA.RÍ.GA GI.NA «normal/standard *parsiktu*» appears in lexical lists (MSL VI 102, 111) and in two documents from Larsa during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I (YOS VIII 160:15) and Ḫammurapi (TCL XI 165:2). The term *bītum* "the House" in this context must indicate one of the largest administrative institutions of Larsa—large enough to have its own standard *parsiktu*-vessels—which was managed by Balmunamḫe, mentioned as "the Man/Boss" (*awīlum*) in administrative documents (KOZYREVA 2016: 421f.; 2018: 88-92); cf. ᵍⁱˢBA.RÍ.GA É in YOS XII 180:2, 4.

7) *uš-ta-ar-ki-ba-a-am* — for the use of the so-called "abnormal plene writings" in the letters of Ṣillī-Šamaš as well as in the omen texts published in YOS X, some Mari letters etc. see Aro 1953. In the letter under study it most likely indicates a sentence stress ("I did indeed!"), not a question (e.g. "Should I load it onto them?"), for which the Precative would be expected (GAG §153g). Similar orthography in Ṣillī-Šamaš's letters and omen texts (YOS X) was considered by Ch. Dyckhoff as evidence for a single archive (DYCKHOFF 1999: 110).

8) *i-di* ᵍⁱˢMÁ.ḪI.A — according to the administrative documents mentioning waterborne transport of grain from several settlements to the capital city Larsa, the transporting fee usually consisted of four parts: fee for the hire of boats (Á ᵍⁱˢMÁ.ḪI.A), wages for the grain-porters (Á LÚ.ŠE.ÍL), "drink(s)" (*maštītum*) and "offering(?)" (*makkû*) (BRECKWOLDT 1995/6: 71-74).

10) *ú-ul ⌜il⌝-qú-ú* — reading suggested by K. Wagensonner.

11) 3.[x.x] — the hire fee for the boats used for grain transport to Larsa varied between 3-36 gur (900-10800 l) of grain depending on the number and capacity of the boats, the point of departure and the travel time. A similar quantity of grain, namely 3.1.4 gur (1000 l) was paid for the transport of 240 gur of grain from the settlement Sîn-nūr-mātim to Larsa (YBC 7194; BRECKWOLDT 1995/6: 71, 87).

11-12) *i-di-ši-na li-⌜ib⌝-ba-am uṭ-ṭi-ib* — or "I satisfied their fee myself", cf. *ú i-da-am li-ba-am ú-ṭa-[a]b* „Und die Miete werde ich bezahlen" (AbB V 162:16); other examples of *libbum* without dependent genitive see YOS XIV 26:14 and VAS XVI 174:27 (CAD Ṭ: 39 2a 3´).

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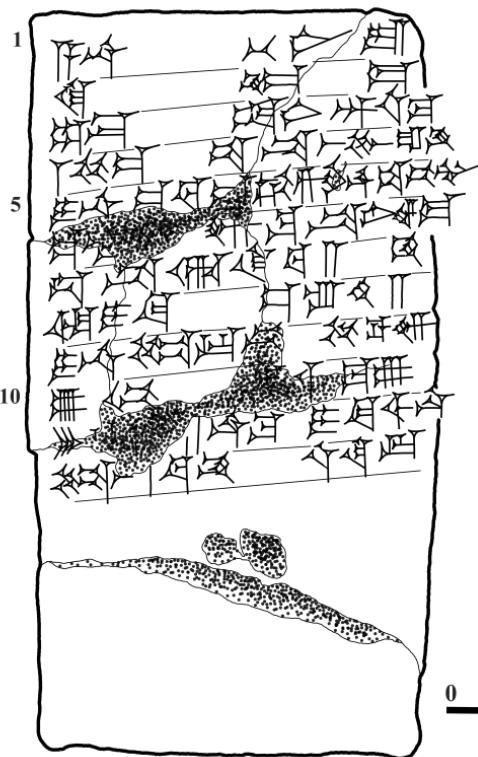
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103) Adoption Table of Little Girl — The adoption tablet fragment published below was provided with the kind permission of Prof. William W. Hallo from the Yale University Archives. It was copied by Prof. Oded Tammuz, Ben-Gurion University, Be'er-Sheva, in 2003.

YBC 12115

1. 1 DUMU GABA		Breastfeeding
2. KI la-ma-sa-ni		from Lamassani
3. DUMU.MÍ ᵈŠEŠ.KI-i-[…]		daughter of Nanna-i…
4. 1 ᵈUTU–tu-ku-u[l-ti]		Shamash-tukulti
5. a-na ma-ru-tim		adopted her […]
6. il-qí-ši šu [		
7. [	]	
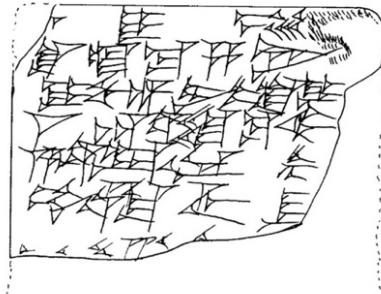
Line 1: This is a DUMU.GABA breastfeeding, meaning this is a girl who is still a baby under age 3.

Lines 2-3: The biological mother's name is mentioned with all her attributes. The father's name is not mentioned.

Line 4: The adoptive father's name is mentioned. It is unknown if the mother is mentioned because the table is broken. But it may not be written here, as every table does not show the parents in one line.

Conclusions

The text is an adoption contract, but it is not complete. The parties' names are not fully mentioned in the text, and perhaps there were none. The mother may have had to give her daughter up for adoption. The father, however, may be her biological father if the adoptive mother is not mentioned. According to other documents, the adoptive mother will not be mentioned if the biological mother is related in one way or another to the father. Maybe the mother was the father's concubine or gave birth to the girl for a certain purpose. If it is confirmed that the mother is related in a certain way to the girl's father, the father then legitimizes the girl. The preserved part of the text does not contain promises or obligations of the parties, nor witnesses.

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104) A note on BM 79022 – Flour or clay from liquorice root — In *An Ancient Mesopotamian Herbal* (Richmond, 2023, p. 139), co-authored with Shahina Ghazanfar and Mark Nesbitt, I included a reference to the Old Babylonian tablet BM 79022 which contains three incantations together with their ritual instructions; it is in one of these instructions that liquorice root is mentioned. The collective tablet includes a love incantation, a spell directed against stye in the eye and an incantation that is not well enough preserved to identify its target.

The great merit to have made the difficult text known is owed to N. Wasserman who published this tablet and a partial duplicate of one of the incantations in his contribution "From the notebook of a professional exorcist" that appeared 2010 in the volume presented to Brigitte Groneberg, *Von Göttern und Menschen* (eds. D. Shehata, F. Weiershäuser & K.V. Zand, Leiden–Boston, p. 329-349).

Because of the scope and primary audience of *An Ancient Mesopotamian Herbal* I did not include philological discussions and commentaries of the texts I have published in translation. The present note, apart from offering a new copy of one of the sides of the tablet and adding some remarks on the preceding incantation, aims at making up for the missing text critical comments on the ritual instructions.

BM 79022 is included in N. Wasserman's and M.P. Streck's database "Sources of Early Akkadian Literature" *SEAL* no. 7127 (https://seal.huji.ac.il/node/7137?tid=74) and listed as *OBI* 28 in N. Wasserman's and E. Zomer's *Akkadian Magic Literature: Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian Incantations. Corpus – Context – Praxis* (Wiesbaden, 2022).

Note that obverse and reverse in the edition princeps should be exchanged.

BM 79022 rev. 1-18

Rev. 1	en ki-aǧ₂-me-en ḫ[e₂-me-en]	I am the lord who is indeed in love,
2	en lugal-me-en ḫe₂-me-[en]	I am indeed the lord, the king,

3	nun-bi-me-en ḫe₂-me-e[n]	I am indeed her prince,
4	en me-bi x-ga-me-en	I am indeed the lord who … her divine power.
5	buru₅ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ zu₂-zu nu-ge ḫe₂-a	Little bird, may your tooth be turned away,
6	inim ᵈinanna-ta buru₅-bi ḫe₂-nim	By the command of Inanna may this little bird move upwards.

7	kid₃.kid₃.bi zi₃.da *ša* suḫuš še.du₃.a.k[a?]	Its ritual instructions:
8	*i-na* ᵈutu.e₃.a ᵈutu{utu}.šu₂.ba	Take the flour of liquorice root at sunrise or sunset and
9	*te-le-eq-qe₂-e-ma*	
10	*a-na ku-pa-ti-in-ni* 7 *u₃* 7	form it into seven and seven pills,
11	*tu-ka-ap-pa-at-ma*	
12	*ši-ip-tam a-na* 7 *u₃* 7 *ta-ma-an-[nu]*	recite the incantation over them seven and seven times.
13	*iš-tu ši-ip-tam ta-am-ma-a[n]-n[u]*	Once you have recited the incantation,
14	*a-na* 2-*šu ta-ṣa-ap-[pa-ma]*	moisten them (the pills) twice and
15	*ši-ip-tam ta-ma-an-nu-ma*	recite the incantation (again), then
16	*a-na bi-ri-it-tu-li-ša*	place them between her breasts and
17	*ta-na-ad-di-ma*	
18	*i?-ša-tum i-la-ka-ak-kum*	the woman will come to you.

Commentary

Line 1: N. Wasserman transliterates **e[n] ki-il₂?-me-en ḫ[e₂?-me?-en?]** and translates "The lord (of) *wild animals* – I am. –*l*[*et me be*!]." The sign **il₂** should be read **aǧ₂**; accordingly, the incantation begins with the presentation of the lover, the lord. This reading is also suggested by E. Zomer, *Corpus of Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian Incantations* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018), p. 266 n. 937. Zomer restores the line **en ki-aǧ₂-me-en n[i]n [ki aǧ₂-me-en]**, "I am a loving lord, [you are a loving lady]". However, the space left on the tablet does not allow to reconstruct so much text; the traces of the last sign preserved in the line fit better with the beginning of **ḫe₂** than with the sign **nin**.

Line 2: N. Wasserman transliterates **en ḫe₂-me-en n[in?] [ḫe₂-me-en]** and translates "A lord – let me be! A … [… – *let me be*!]. The second sign of the line is rather **lugal** than **ḫe₂**; the traces of the last two preserved signs fit better with the reading **ḫe₂-m[e-** than with **n[i]n?**.

Line 3: It is not clear to what or whom the possessive suffix **/-bi/** in this and the following line alludes. N. Wasserman opts for a reference to **buru₅ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ** in line 5. Taking into account the blurring opposition of inanimate **/-bi/** and animate **/-ani/** in Sumerian texts from the Old Babylonian time onwards – due to the influence of Akkadian which lacks this distinction – the possessive suffix could also refer to the woman mentioned in the ritual instructions in line 18 or to the goddess Inanna in line 6 (an interpretation which is favoured here).

Line 4: N. Wasserman transliterates **en me-bi sila₂ ku₅-bi-me-en** and translates "A lord, its power, its *decision* – I am!". The reading and interpretation of **sila₂ ku₅** poses indeed difficulties regarding epigraphy and lexicon. In his commentary on p. 336 Wasserman compares the expression to Akkadian *parsum* in Izi D ii: 26'. However, according to *CAD* P *parsu* 193b disc. sec. the Izi passage refers to a secluded street and not to the act of decision-making. As for the reading **ku₅**, neither the number of wedges nor the overall shape matches with its normal or standard way of writing. I am unable to offer any convincing alternative reading. Note that the following sign is **-ga-** (not **-bi-**) which requires that the word (perhaps a verb) before should end in **/g/**.

Lines 5-6: An alternative interpretation and slightly different reading (**buru₅ᵐᵘšᵉⁿ inim-zu nu-ge ḫe₂-a / inim ᵈinanna-ta buru₅-bi ḫe₂-deḫi₃**) is put forward by N.M. Gill, *Sumerian and Akkadian in Old Babylonian Tablets* (PhD Thesis, Baltimore 2024) who translates "If the sparrow does not reply to your command, that sparrow shall approach you by the command of Inanna!" (p. 233-234) and suggests that "sparrow" refers to the beloved woman.

Line 7: N. Wasserman transliterates after **kid₃.kid₃.bi** *ṭi-da* "clay". However, the sign is not DI but KU (see for another DI line 17). Accordingly, the ingredient used is **zi₃.da** (Akkadian *qēmu*), the flour or powder of the root of liquorice. The use of the root in a love ritual is
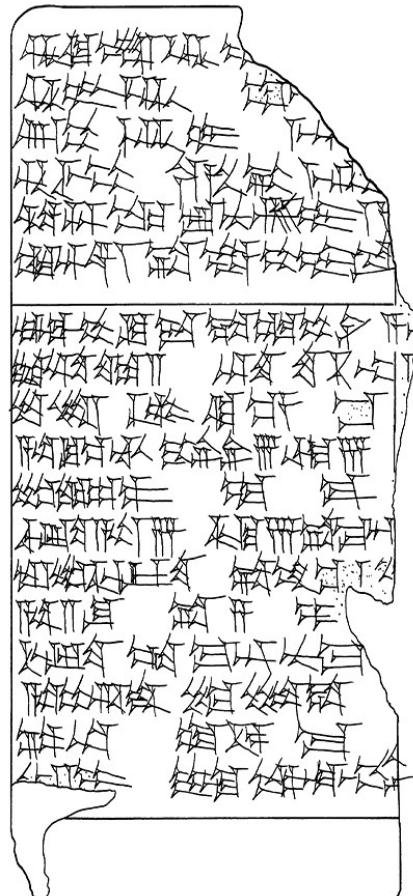
quite suggestive if one bears in mind its sweetness, its long and cylindrical shape and horizontal growth. The root is about 1cm in diameter and hard which makes it easy to pulverize. It seems that the stimulative use endured the millennia since it is found in the modern traditional medicine of Iran and Iraq. According to D. Hooper, *Useful Plants and Drugs of Iran and Iraq*, Chicago 1937 (p. 122) "the plant is said to yield an aphrodisiac".

   Line 13: Correct the reading *ta-am-˹nu˺-[(ma)]* in Wasserman (p. 331) and *SEAL* no. 7127.

   Line 18: Note that the traces to be seen now of the first sign do not suggest a reading A; pace Wasserman (p. 331) and *SEAL* no. 7127 who refers to a photograph taken about ten years before the publication of his contribution.

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105) Festival or Ritual Fragments Referring to Pirinkir: CTH 644.2.A VBoT 128 + Bo 9147 — Fragments of CTH 644 associate with the goddess Pirinkir, who appears in the ancient Near East in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC from Elam to Hatti and northern Syria, and the full edition of CTH 644 reviewed by Beckman (1999). Of these fragments, Bo 9147 was first cataloged in CTH 644, and its relation with VBoT 128 II 21 f. was noted by Lorenz (J. Lorenz, 29.11.2016). It was later determined that CHDS 4.198 (Bo 6351) IV/VI between lines 4'-10' is *Dupl.* or *Par.* with Bo 9147 rev.1-7 (J. Lorenz, 10.6.2020; Soysal 2024: 318). My research has shown that VBoT 128 in the Yale Babylonian Collection and Bo 9147 (measurements: 6.4 x 5.4 x 3.1 cm.) fragments in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations are directly joined.

  On the other hand, as the content of CTH 704 KBo 30.138, the fragment in question should also be included in CTH 644. Accordingly, KBo 30.138 rev. 2' *nu* ᴰ*Pí-*˹*ri*˺*-[in-kir₈* should be the correct reading, not *nu* ᴰ*Pí-*˹*iš*˺*-[*[1])*.* KBo 30.138 rev. 1'-9' → *Dupl.* CHDS 4.198 rev. IV/VI 3'-9' → *Dupl.* VBoT 128 + Bo 9147 rev. VI 1-9.

  CTH 644.2.A VBoT 128 + Bo 9147 (LNS), the transliteration of the relevant lines is as follows:

obv. I

§ 1'	x+1	]

VBoT 128
Bo 9147

§ 2'	2'	]x
	3'	*-a*]*z-zi-ya*
	4'	*-d*]*u*
§ 3'	5'	]
	6'	]*-ya-an-zi*
	7'	] ˹*A*˺*-NA* MU.KAM*ᵀᴵ*
	8'	*-š*]*a-an*
	9'	*-a*]*t?-kán*
	10'	]
	11'	]x*-nu-wa*
		join with Bo 9147
	12'	]x*-a ša-ra-a pa-iz-zi*
	13'	*-y*]*a-an-zi*
§ 4'	14'	]*-šu?(-)*ka*?-a*
	15'	]x*-ša-an a-ra-an-za*
	16'	*-y*]*a-aš-kán an-da*
	17'	*-a*]*n?-zi* UD*-ti wa-ar-ap-zi*
	18'	] *IŠ-TU* SISKUR*-ya Ú-UL a-ra-a-za*
	19'	]x*-ya wa-ar-ap-zi-pát*
	20'	]˹*a*˺*-pé-e-da-ni* UD*-ti*
	21'	[*wa-ar-a*]*p-*˹*zi*˺ *na-an šu-up-pí-ya-aḫ-ḫa-*˹*an*˺*-[z*]*i*
	22'	[*šu-up-p*]*í-ya-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi-ma-an kat?-t*[*a*²⁾]
	23'	]x*-a-a pé-en-na-an-zi* [
	24'	]x³⁾ *IŠ-TU* É ᴸᵁ̇KUŠ₇ *p*[*í-an-zi*⁽?⁾]
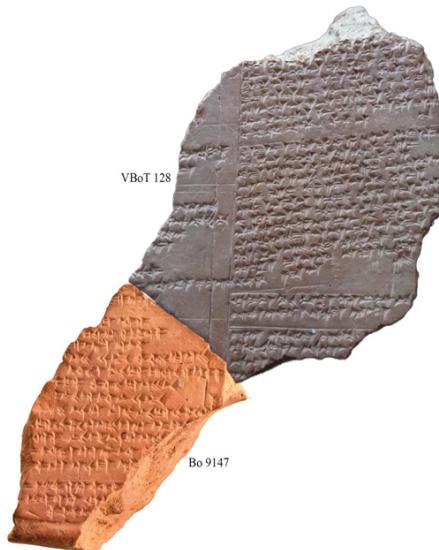
25' [*IŠ-TU* DINGI]R*LIM-at QA-TAM-MA* SI×S[Á-*at*⁴⁾)

---

§ 5' 26']x EGIR ÍD *ar-ḫ*[*a*
27'] EGIR ÍD *ki*-x[
28'] :*wa-ar-nu-*[

rev. VI

§ 1 1 [(*nu*⁷ ᴰ*Pí-r*)]*i-in-kir₈* T[(UŠ-*aš e*)-*ku-zi*]⁵⁾)
2 [(1 NINDA.SIG-*ya pá*)]*r-ši-ya*

---

§ 2 3 [(EGIR-*ŠU-ma*)] ⸢Ì⸣-*an iš-kán-zi*
4 [(*nu* Ì-*an*)] ⸢*e*⸣-*ku-zi* 1 NINDA.SIG *pár-š*[*i-ya*]

---

§ 3 5 [(EGIR-*ŠU-ma ḫ*)]*a-a-ri mu-šu-ni*
6 [(*e-ku-zi* 2 NINDA.S)]IGᴹᴱˢ *pár-ši-ya*

---

§ 4 7 [(*nu*⁷ *A*⁷-*NA PA-NI* DIN)GI]R*LIM pa-an-ku-un* x[
8 [(*ši-pa-an-da-an*)-*zi ...*⁷] *nu ap-pa-a-i*

---

9 [(UD 2ᴷᴬᴹ x⁷(-))]⁶⁾)

---

§ 5 *Space for colophon,* **join with VBoT 128**

10 [(DUB 1ᴷᴬᴹ *Š*)*A*⁷⁷⁾) … -*ḫ*]*a*⁷-*az-zi-ya*

Bo 9147

VBoT 128

VBoT 128

Bo 9147
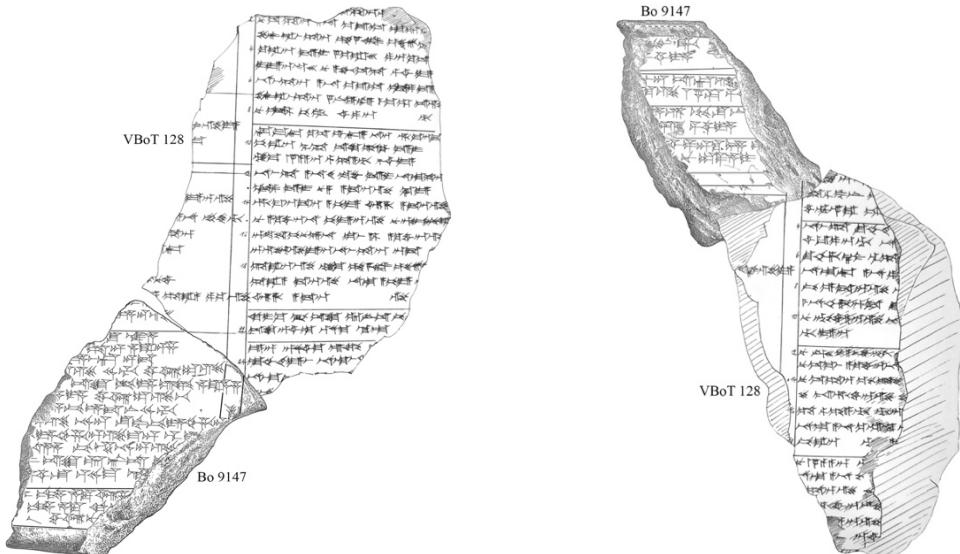
Bo 9147

VBoT 128

Notes

1. Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis, hethiter.net/: TLHdig KBo 30.138 (2021-12-31).

2. Perhaps GADA⁷-*m*[*a*, cf. Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis, hethiter.net/: TLHdig Bo 9147 (2021-12-31).

3. In accordance with VBoT 128 obv. II 21'-22' the sign is SISKUR, but here the end of the sign is not SISKUR.

4. Cf. *Dupl*. KBo 29.210 (+) KBo 34.172 obv. 9'.

5. Bo 9147 rev. VI 1'-8' *Dupl*. CHDS 4.198 rev. IV/VI 4'-11', Soysal 2024: 318.

6. CHDS 4.198 rev. IV/VI 12'; see also, CHDS 4.198 lk.Rd. (1)]x-ŠEŠ (2)]x, Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis, hethiter.net/: TLHdig CHDS 4.198 (2021-12-31).

7. KBo 30.138 rev. 9', Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis, hethiter.net/: TLHdig KBo 30.138 (2021-12-31).

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106) KUB 12.3 and the (a)mount of copper — The text KUB 12.3 (Bo 3170) is part of CTH 529.35 "Kultinventare ohne Kultbild- oder Festbeschreibungen", and it is paleographically datable as New Hittite. The tablet preserves a fragmentary cult inventory text, whose transliteration and translation are as follows:[1]

§ 1. [1'][…EZEN₄] DI_{12}-*ŠI*

§ 2. [2'][…]ᵣDUG KAŠ *A-NA*ᵀ EZEN₄ DI_{12}-*Š[I]* [3']ᵣEZEN₄ *zé-e-ni-ia*ᵀ *QA-TAM-MA-pát* 1 ᴺᴬ⁴ZI.KI[N *ŠA* …] [4']1 MÁŠ.GAL 30? NINDAᴴᴵ·ᴬ 3 DUG KAŠ *A-NA* EZEN₄ DI_{12}-*ŠI* [5']EZEN₄ *zé-e-ni-ia QA-TAM-MA*-pát 1 ᴺᴬ⁴ZI.KIN *ŠA* […] [6']2 MÁŠ.GAL 50 NINDAᴴᴵ·ᴬ 4 DUG KAŠ *A-NA* EZEN₄ DI_{12}-*ŠI* [7']EZEN₄ ᵣ*zé*ᵀ-*e*-ᵣ*ni*ᵀ-*ia QA-TAM-M*-pát *⟨⟨1 ᴺᴬ⁴ZI.KIN *ŠA*⟩⟩*[2] [(*vacat*)] [8']1 ᴺ[ᴬ⁴Z]I.KIN *ŠA* ᴰU.GUR 1 MÁŠ.GAL 20 NINDAᴴᴵ·ᴬ 2 DU[G KAŠ *A-NA* EZEN₄ DI_{12}-*ŠI*] [9']*EZEN₄ ᵣ*zé-e-ni-ia QA-TAM*ᵀ-*MA-pát* LÚᴹᴱˢ ᵁᴿᵁ*zi-ḫi-la e-eš-š[a-an-zi* (*vacat*?)]

§ 3. [10']2 *BI-IB-RU* SA₅ *ŠA* ᴳᵁ⁴AM *ŠU-ŠI* BANŠURᴴᴵ·ᴬ *ŠA* […] [11']ᵣ1ᵀ UDU 1 *ME* NINDAᴴᴵ·ᴬ 10 DUG KAŠ *A-NA* EZEN₄ DI_{12}-*ŠI* [12'] [EZE]N₄ *zé-e-ni QA-TAM-MA-pát* 1 ᴺᴬ⁴ZI.KIN *ŠA*ᵣᴰᵀ[…] [13'][x 1?] *ME* NINDAᴴᴵ·ᴬ 2 ᴰᵁᴳKA.GAG.A *A-NA* EZEN₄ DI_{12}-*ŠI* x […] [14'][… ᴺᴬ⁴?]ᵣḫu?ᵀ-*wa-ar-*mi*-li-iš*[3] *3 ᵣḫa-az-za?ᵀ-x-ᵣaš?-kán*ᵀ*[4][…] [15'][…]x[5] *ŠA URUDU an-da* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*pu-uš-ḫa-an-t[a?*[6] …] [16'][… D]UG KAŠ *A-NA* EZEN₄ DI_{12}-ᵣ*ŠI*ᵀ x[…] [17'][…]x x-ᵣ*ta*ᵀ-*an*-x […]

Translation

§ 1. [1'][…] the spring [festival] …

§ 2. [2'][…]ᵣvessels of beer forᵀ the spri[ng] festival. [3']ᵣAnd (for) the autumn festivalᵀ *idem.* 1 stel[e of …], [4']1 he-goat, 30? loaves of bread, 3 vessels of beer for the spring festival. [5']And (for) the autumn festival *idem.* 1 stele of […], [6']2 he-goats, 50 loaves of bread, 4 vessels of beer for the spring festival. [7']And (for) the ᵣautuᵀmn festival *idem.* [8']1 [st]ele of Nergal[7], 1 he-goat, 20 loaves of bread, 2 ves[sels of beer for the spring festival]. [9']ᵣAnd (for) the autumnᵀ festival *idem.* The men of the city Ziḫila cele[brate].[8]

§ 3. [10']2 red vessels (in the shape) of a wild bull,[9] 60 offering tables (made?) of […] [11']ᵣxᵀ sheep(s), 100 breads, 10 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer) for the spring festival. [12'](For) the autumn [fest]ival *idem.* 1 stele of the ᵣgodᵀ[(DN)] [13'][…] 100? breads, 2 KA.GAG-vessels (of beer) for the spring festival. […] [14'][…] *ḫuwarmili*? 3? ᵣx-x-xᵀ […] [15'][…]x **of copper inside, [in?] the mountain Pušḫant[a** …] [16'][… v]essel(s) of beer for the spriᵣngᵀ festival […] [17'][…]

The tablet preserves several offerings common to both the spring and autumn festivals[10] with a rather odd order for a cult inventory text.[11] Among these offerings, my attention has fallen on line 15': *ŠA URUDU anda* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*pušḫant[a?* as a clue for the location of a copper deposit or mine and, therefore, the proposed translation relates to something made of copper whose raw material comes from that mountain. Unfortunately, KUB 12.3 is scarce in known geographical references, because both the city of Ziḫila (l.9') and the mountain Pušḫanta (15') are *hapax*. For what concerns ᵁᴿᵁ*ziḫila* (RGTC 6, 499), the stele of Nergal (l. 8') might suggest a cult place for the deity in that city (VAN GESSEL 1998, 839), but we cannot speculate further on its proper location. On the other hand, ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*pušḫant[a?* (RGTC 6, 324) is yet *hapax*, but one can speculate on a possible misspelling for ᵁᴿᵁ*pu<ru>šḫanda* (RGTC 6, 323-324). As it is well known, Purušḫanda played an important role during the Assyrian colony period when, as *PURUŠḪADDUM*, it was the destination of two main trade routes throughout Anatolia (BARJAMOVIC 2011, 357-378). As for now, the exact location of the city is not sure, but the indirect reconstruction of Old Assyrian routes and of Hittite sources suggests a location to the west of Kaneš, in the vicinity of the Tuz Gölü.[12] For the present purpose, Purušḫanda was an important Assyrian center for copper, even though not as a production site but as a marketplace (BARJAMOVIC 2011, 372-375). However, the context could be more complicated than that. If we assume that Pušḫanda could have been a mountain in the territory of the city of Purušḫanda, we will see a long tradition of copper production or trade in that territory. If this were the case and if the mountain-

mine was already known in the Assyrian colony period, the large amount of copper preserved in the tablets from Kaneš could be more easily explained.

Moreover, ḪUR.SAG can be something more than a simply topographic reference as in the case, for instance, of the copper-axe preserved in the tablet Bo 9280+10306 obv. 7'-10' (KUB 31.65++, CTH 240)[13] related to selling, buying, and exchanging operations:

[7']1 GÍR LÚMUḪALDIM 12 [*ki*]-*in-za-al-pa-aš* AN.BAR 2 GAL ZABAR 4 *wa*-˹*ak-šur*˺ Z[ABAR]
[8']2 URUDUGA[L G]EŠTIN 2 ˹GÍR˺.TUR 1-*NU-TUM* TÚGGÚ.È.A GADA *A-NA* ˹*pí-ḫa-wi₅-i*[*a wa-ši-at*]
[9']1 URUDUḪA-AṢ-ṢÍ-IN-NU ḪUR.SAG 1 *wa-ak-šur* ZABAR 1 GAL ZABAR ˹*A-NA*˺ ᵐ*la*-x[- …]
[10']*da-a-aš*

Translation

[7']1 dagger (of) the cook, 12 pieces of [je]wellery[14] (made of) iron, 2 vessels (made of) bronze, 4 *sixth*-vessels[15] (of) br[onze], [8']2 copper-vessels of wine, 2 small knives, 1 garment (for) cloth, from Piḫawia [he bought]. [9']**1 copper axe[16] (of/from?) the mountain**, 1 *sixth*-vessel (of) bronze, 1 vessel (made of) bronze, from La-x[-x] [10']he took.

According to this text, URUDUḪAṢṢINNU ḪUR.SAG represents an object made of copper whose feature is a mountain, whereas the other vessels are of bronze. The difference can be explained thanks to the fact that the copper is mined, whereas the bronze is melted. Therefore, the specification ḪUR.SAG could be interpreted not literally, as "mountain", but generally, as a geographical designation for a mine place.

Another piece of evidence of this kind is CTH 413.1, where § 9, l. 45[17] reports: URUDU ZABAR URU*Alašiyaz* ḪUR.SAG*Taggataz uter*, i.e., "they brought copper (and) bronze from Cyprus, **from[18] mountain Taggata**". Also in this case, the sentence related to the metals from Alašiya could specify that mountain Taggata (RGTC 6, 385; RGTC 6/2, 155) was a mine place to be collocated either on a hill or close to a mountain.

In conclusion, the text KUB 12.3 provides a small insight into a possible place of mining for copper. The city of Purušḫanda could perhaps have had a mine of copper in a mountain nearby. Elements in contrast to this reconstruction are: the absence of any reference in the texts –from both Old Assyrian and Hittite tablets– of a very important place of copper mining, and the failure to identify any copper deposit[19] in the Tuz Gölü area for the Bronze Age. However, even though there is no conclusive evidence, the amount of copper traded in Purušḫanda's Assyrian market might be an element in favor of the existence of at least a small mine, from which, it could be extracted –literally– an (a)mount of copper!

Acknowledgment and notes

1. See also Hethitologie Portal Mainz (HPM):
https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TLHdig/tlh_xtx.php?d=KUB%2012.3.

2. The scribe has deliberately erased these words preferring to write them down at the beginning of the next line.

3. The first sign is not easy to read: ḪU or ḪA? Probably ḪU, but there are no terms for *ḫuwarmili*. Maybe ḪA, for the stone *ḫarmiyalli* or the adjective *ḫarmili*-? See Jɪɴ 1994, 27; HEG H, 178; HW² H5, 315a.

4. The number 3 may also be a NINDA sign, but the erasure prevents any sure reading.

5. Possibly, GIŠGAG, hitt. *tarna/i*-, "peg" *vel sim*. See HEG T, 185-189.

6. See Lᴀʀᴏᴄʜᴇ 1961, 69 n. 59; Jᴀᴋᴏʙ-Rᴏsᴛ 1963, 222; Gᴏɴɴᴇᴛ 1968, 132 (n° 111): "Montagne non localisée".

7. Vᴀɴ Gᴇssᴇʟ 1998, 837-839. With the ideogram U.GUR Hittites indicated the Hurrian god Nergal or the Anatolian Šulinkatte. See Pᴏᴘᴋᴏ 1995, 117.

8. Lines 8'-9', see RGTC 6, 499; and Cᴀʀᴛᴇʀ 1962, 49.

9. See Hᴀᴀs 1994, 533; and Pᴏᴘᴋᴏ 1978, 96.

10. HW² III/1, 128b. See Cᴀʀᴛᴇʀ 1962, 183; Aʀᴄʜɪ 1974, 11, 18 with n. 48.

11. See Cᴀʀᴛᴇʀ 1962, 3, 35; Cᴀᴍᴍᴀʀᴏsᴀɴᴏ 2012, 18 n. 39 with reference.

12. Bᴀʀᴊᴀᴍᴏᴠɪᴄ 2011, 366-372; Fᴏʀʟᴀɴɪɴɪ 2017, 131.

13. The text is a part of KUB 31.65+ still waiting for an official publication. See Burgin 2022b, 3-9 and the online transcription (HPM): https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TLHdig/tlh_xtx.php?d=KUB%2031.65.

14. "an object or ornament", see Burgin 2022a, 338, 443.

15. On the interpretation of the *wakšur*-measure see Burgin 2022a, 363.

16. Burgin 2022a, 544.

17. Exemplars: KBo 4.1+ obv. 39-40; KUB 2.2+ obv. I 48'-49'; KUB 9.33+ obv. 16'. See Görke (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 413.1 (2006ff).

18. CHD L/N, 449b translates here "and" leaving the ablative implied in the first "form". However, I think that a literal translation makes the role of the mountain better understood, see HED IV, 252.

19. De Jesus 1978, 98-99; Siegelová & Tsumoto 2011, 278-279, 284-286.

Abbreviations

CHD   The Chicago Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980ff.
CTH   E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris 1971.
HED   J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary, Belrin – New York 1984ff.
HEG   J. Tischler, Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar, Innsbruck 1977ff.
HW²   J. Friedrich – A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, Heidelberg 1975ff.
RGTC 6 G.F. del Monte – J. Tischler, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, Wiesbaden 1978.
RGTC 6/2 G.F. del Monte, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement, Wiesbaden 1992.

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107) Stele of Haniwasti with a Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscription (MARAŞ 18) — The provenance of the stele is unknown. To my knowledge, it first came into public view in an auction house in Germany in 2005[1] and subsequently it was subject to a few newspaper articles.[2] Following the news in the media, the stele appeared in two academic publications,[3] but its artistic content and inscription have not been treated in detail. The analysis presented here was made through the same photograph used in the previous publications.

The dark color of the stele suggests that it is likely made of basalt. There is no information about its dimensions, but very roughly, I am estimating it to be no more than a meter in width. The stele is broken

at the bottom and has a little damage at the top left corner. The published photo cuts the top of the stele, but it is likely that not much has been left out. The relief shows a female figure in front of a table, and there is a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the upper left corner below the frame. Nothing in the relief or the inscription causes me to distrust its originality. There is almost no doubt that this is a funerary stele associated with the Iron Age Neo-Hittite kingdoms of southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria.[4] The so-called "dining scene" depicted on the stele is a popular theme in Neo-Hittite art, and numerous examples of such funerary steles originate particularly from the region of Maraş (ancient Gurgum) and its surroundings.[5]

Relief: The scene is surrounded by a raised border on the left, top, and right sides. It is broken at the bottom. The piece must be more or less the upper half of the complete stele. Judging from the curvature of the top of the woman's head, her chest, and the top section of the table, it appears to be a rather high relief. She must be depicted as seated since the top end of a chair is just visible on her back. She is probably alone in the scene. Although a lone female on such funerary steles is somewhat unusual,[6] there does not seem to be much space in the broken part for another person, unless a small figure was squeezed somewhere below the table.[7]

Her attire is similar to that of the women of other funerary steles of the region, but unlike most others, the decorations and texture of her clothing are depicted in rich detail. Her head is a bit large in proportion to her body. The long veil that covers her hair and extends down is bordered with one narrow and plain and two wider and decorated bands.[8] Her forehead is covered with a band decorated with flowers.[9] The bottom of the band on the forehead has a narrower line of curly decorations that might depict hair. A couple of curls of hair are visible in front of the ear. On the helix of the ear, she probably has ear cuffs, a clear example of which is visible on another stele (BONATZ C 51).[10] A round earring is hanging on the earlobe, details of which are not clear. On her somewhat damaged face, a wide, almond-shaped eye, the tip of the nose, and lips are visible. Around the decorated neck section of her dress is a choker-type necklace with a cylindrical pendant in the middle.[11] The upper part of her dress has a lozenge pattern,[12] and the lower part has vertical lines. On the left side of the chest is a small tassel, likes of which are encountered elsewhere in the depictions of women's dress of the region.[13] Near the broken bottom edge are visible a couple of parallel horizontal lines that might belong to a typical belt or sash widely depicted in other steles.

The fingernails marked on her raised right hand are anatomically misleading, causing it to look like a left hand. She is holding a flat object, probably a drinking cup, as often portrayed on other steles. The edge of the vessel is lined with beads or round decorations. The object on her left hand is not apparent. It is depicted in strands. This might be either a part of the dress, an extension of the sash, or a separate item, perhaps something like a yarn of wool, which would not be unusual since women are often depicted with spindles and/or distaffs. She appears to have the same type of bracelets on both wrists, which have three parallel rings tied in the middle with two vertical lines.[14] Around the wrist of the raised right hand, there is a line of beads, which might be either attached to the ringed bracelet or perhaps itself a separate bracelet. On the left wrist, that part of the ringed bracelet is covered with the veil.

On the upper left side of the stele is a prominently displayed hand mirror with a decorated handle, another symbol of her feminine identity.[15] Similar mirrors are usually shown as held by women, but occasionally, as in here, they are depicted as unattached to the figure.[16]

In front of the woman is a small table. The flat items on it are likely pita-type breads, and another round food item, perhaps a fruit, is on the top right. The side of the table's top plate is decorated with round shapes (beads?). Unlike the more commonly encountered cross-legged tables, this one has vertical legs with inward-curving ends at the top, the likes of which are also known from other steles from the same region.[17] Does this table have three or four legs?[18] While a three-legged table would make sense for stability reasons, depictions do not seem to support it. In all examples, the table has a central column and a horizontal stretcher between the two legs. In all of these depictions, the vertical central column ends at the stretcher and does not extend below it to be identified as the third leg.

The stele is also unique in having decorations on the upper frame. Few steles of this type are bordered with a frame, and those that have one are typically undecorated.[19] The lower edge of the top

frame imitates a band of twisted cord. Above that, the frame is filled with six large flowers with five petals each. The broken top left corner likely had another flower. The left and right sides of the frame are undecorated.

Inscription: Since the stele is likely to originate from the area of Maraş, following the order of previously published inscriptions, this one can be catalogued as MARAŞ 18.[20] As most funerary monuments of the Maraş group are uninscribed, MARAŞ 18 is a rare addition to the small group of personal memorials from the region.[21] The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the upper left side is written sinistroverse in a single line with a couple of interruptions in the middle by a small blank space and the floating mirror figure. The relief-style inscription is in good condition and almost entirely readable from the photo. The second half of the characters are somewhat squished around the mirror figure with irregular intervals. The inner-facing side of the left frame does have some marks that bring to mind, although unusual, whether the inscription continued on there. Yet, by itself, the inscription is meaningful, and the markings on the side wall are likely due to damage as the dark color of the area suggests.
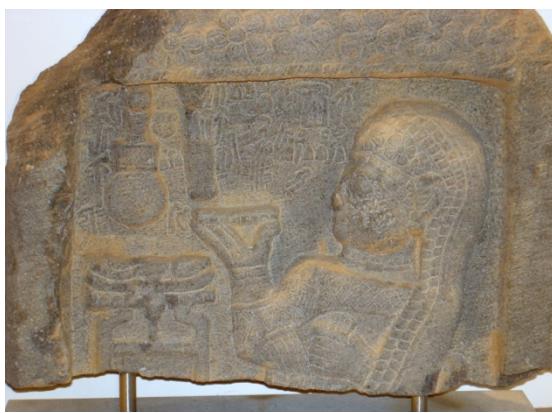

Fig. 1 Stele of Haniwasti (C. Özcan)　　　Fig. 2. Drawing of the stele of Haniwasti (T. Bilgin)
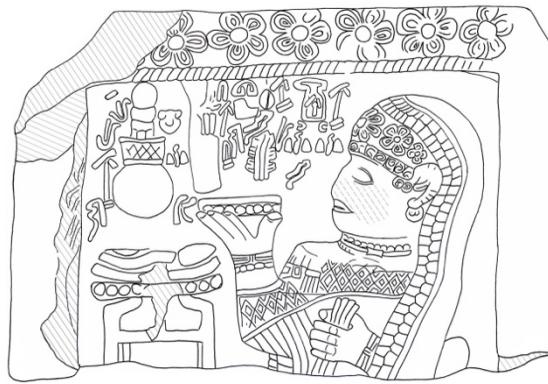
Transliteration and translation:

za-wa/i ("STELE")*wa/i-ní-za-a* [1?]*ha-ní-wà/ì-sa-ti-sá i-zi-ia-ta?- pa-wa/i-da* [1]*na-na-za-sá*
"This is the stele of Haniwasti. Nana(n)za made it."

Question marks indicate the difficulties in reading. It is uncertain whether Haniwasti's name is preceded by a determinative in the small blank space above the *ha* character. The outline of the sign to the left of the *zi* sign is difficult to determine, but a *ta* sign seems the most plausible and logical option.

　　　The second clause with the fronted verbal structure can literally be translated as "(One who) made it (is) Nana(n)za," i.e., "made by Nana(n)za." Thus, we have the names of both the subject, Lady Haniwasti, and the artist, Mr. Nana(n)za. However, it is perhaps more appropriate to think of the latter as a family member who commissioned the stele (i.e., "(had) it made") for the deceased.

　　　Both of the personal names are attested in Anatolian onomasticon. A female name, Haniwašdi ([f]*Ha-ni-wa-aš-di*), is mentioned in an Alalakh ration list.[22] Although this single cuneiform attestation is spelled with *di*, in cuneiform sources several personal names with the *wašti* element are spelled with *ti* as the final syllable.[23] The name is Luwian in origin, possibly a compound of *hanna-* (comparable to the Hittite word for 'grandmother') and Luwian *wass-* ('to be dear, pleasing'), thus 'dear to (her) grandmother'.[24] The male name Nana(n)za and its variants are attested a lot more commonly.[25] In hieroglyphic sources, it is attested with the same spelling of *na-na-zi/a* on a button seal dated to the Hittite Empire period (BECKMAN 1998:84).

Date: On stylistic criteria, within the Maraş group of steles, its carefully worked details, rich design, and high relief should place this stele in "Maraş IV," the youngest of the stylistic groups defined by ORTHMANN (1971: 84–88). Also, as noted above, multiple features of the iconography find parallels in other steles from the Maraş region, particularly BONATZ C 51 and C 59, but also C 19, C 20, C 21, and C 63, almost all of

which are dated to the period of 825–700 BCE.[26] However, the woman's stocky figure and disproportionally larger head separate it from later examples like BONATZ C 65 and C 66, which show better-proportioned and slender bodies and date towards the later part of the 8th century. Thus, stylistically, a date around 800 BCE can be suggested.

Paleographic clues also support this date. In the inscription, all three *wa/i* (L. 439) signs have the triangle-shaped outer and the hooked central elements that correspond to the variant labeled 3Ac in the detailed paleographic study of the *wa/i* sign by D'ALFONSO & PAYNE (2016). Although the 3Ac variant of *wa/i* has not been previously attested in the Maraş sub-corpus, the study reveals that within the Anatolian Hieroglyphic corpus it appears only in the latest inscriptions that date to the 8th century. Another clue may concern the *ní* (L. 214) sign. Both of the *ní* signs have a sharp downward curve at the left tip of their bottom line. My own survey of the *ní* signs in the Anatolian Hieroglyphic corpus suggests that this is a rather late feature. While there are a few attestations that can be dated to the end of the 9th century,[27] the great majority of the attestations of *ní* with a downward curve date to the 8th century.[28] Consequently, combined with the stylistic criteria, I would suggest a date in the first half of the 8th century BCE.

Notes

1. This and another uninscribed stele were brought to the attention of the Turkish media by journalist Celal Özcan in an article titled "Hitit Eserlerini Kurtaralım mı?" in the Turkish newspaper Hürriyet Gazetesi, 6 November 2005. The news article published the images of the two steles taken by Mr. Özcan in the gallery of the Gorny & Mosch auction house in Munich, Germany, and questioned their legal ownership.

2. A search on the internet reveals that the steles were mentioned in at least three other articles of the Turkish newspaper Hürriyet: https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kultur-bakanligi-yine-uyudu-3646790 (14-Dec-2005), https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa/turkiye-den-hala-ses-yok-1206682 (27-Jul-2006), https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/turkiye-belge-yollamadigi-icin-hitit-eseri-satilacak-5241654 (12-Oct-2006), which indicate that although Turkish authorities tried to intervene in the auction proceedings, supporting evidence was yet to be submitted by the approaching judicial deadline. To my knowledge, no further news appeared in the media about the outcome of this intervention, and the current whereabouts of the stele is unknown. Gorny & Mosch did not reply to my inquiry. For the second stele, which popped up in 2009 in a gallery in California, see TIRYAKI (2011).

3. In ÜNAL (2007: 139) with a photograph, and in TIRYAKI (2010) with a treatment of the iconography of the stele (No 41, *passim*), a line drawing (p. 119), and a photograph (Pl. XXXV). I am grateful to Gökhan Tiryaki for sharing the image and background information with me.

4. On the art, see ORTHMANN (1971), GENGE (1979), and BONATZ (2000).

5. See ORTHMANN (1971: 373–93), GENGE (1979: 91–124), and BONATZ (2000: 34ff.).

6. Already noted by ORTHMANN (1971: 374f.). One exception might be BONATZ C 19, if its rounded upper part is indeed the edge of the stele (thus BONATZ 2000: 35) and the broken section does not contain another figure. The lone females on the fragmentary BONATZ C 20 and C 34 are likely parts of larger scenes. Otherwise, women are always attested in the company of an adult, a child, or a servant.

7. Cf. BONATZ C 60.

8. For a somewhat similar and even wider decoration on a veil fringe, see a stele fragment from Ancoz (ORTHMANN 1971, Taf. 5g) and a depiction of a goddess on an orthostat from Karkamış (ORTHMANN 1971, Taf. 23e).

9. Very similar headbands can be seen in BONATZ C 51, C 59 and LO 635 (TIRYAKI 2011).

10. On such ear cuffs, see MUSCHE (1992: 230 and Taf. LXXXVII).

11. Similar necklaces are visible on a few other steles from Maraş (BONATZ C 20, C 51, C 59). For this necklace type, see MUSCHE (1992: 231 and Taf. LXXXVII).

12. Clothing with a similar pattern can be seen in BONATZ C 59, C 61, and LO 635.

13. BONATZ C 19, C 20, and C 21.

14. The same type of bracelet can be seen on BONATZ C 59 and less visibly on BONATZ C 63.

15. On the cultic symbolism of mirror, see BONATZ (2000: 82–85).

16. BONATZ C 21 and C 68.

17. Other examples can be seen in BONATZ C 8, C 12, C 42, C 51, C 53, and C 56. About this table type, see GENGE (1979: 103, 107f.), SYMINGTON (1996: 133f.), GIRGINER (1996: 39f. and Figs. 25–27), and TIRYAKI (2010: 37).

18. GENGE (1979: 103) considers this type table to be four-legged, SYMINGTON (1996: 134) expresses doubt ("four (?)"), GIRGINER (1996) does not comment, and TIRYAKI (2010: 37) assumes three legs.

19. The only exception might be BONATZ C 59, which is a rectangular prism-shaped block that imitates an architectural design with a somewhat decorated façade on its front face.

20. For the corpus of inscriptions, see Hawkins (2000) and Hawkins (2024).

21. The others are Maraş 2, 9, 12, 15, and Karaburçlu.

22. AT 298 iv 5 (Wiseman 1959: 54).

23. �🇫*Ta-a-ti-wa-aš-ti-iš*/*in* (KUB 5.6 ii 26; KUB 38.3:21); ᶠ*Wa-aš-ti-iš* (KUB 42.84:10; Emar VI 35:16).

24. For an analysis of the name, see Zehnder (2010: 142) and Yakubovich (2011: 185).

25. Cf. Nananza (NH 857), Nananta (NH 856), Nani(n)zi (NH 865), Naniyanza (NH 863).

26. See Bonatz (2000: 18–22). For C 21, he suggests an earlier date around 875–800 BCE.

27. Most clearly on KARKAMIŠ A61.3 (INFANS-*ní*), which should date to the regency of Yariri, but the other five *ní* signs in that inscription do not have the downward curve.

28. In the greater Karkamiš area, most clearly in ALEPPO 3 l.1, CEKKE ll.1–12, KARKAMIŠ A16e frag.1, A17b l.1, A31 ll. 5–7 and YUNUS 1 l.1, less clearly in KARKAMIŠ A4a ll.1–2, A13a-c l.1, A17c l.3, A18e l.2, and possibly ADIYAMAN 1 l.1, and elsewhere most clearly in ASSUR letter e l.2, GEMEREK l.1, KARATEPE 1 passim, KARATEPE 3 l.1, 4 l.1, and KULULU 2 l.1 and 4 l. 1–3, all of which date to the 8ᵗʰ century BCE or later.

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108) The triad Ninurta, Zababa, and Nergal in the imagery of the *kudurru*s — An anepigraphic *kudurru* Sb 25[1], with the shape of a hexahedron (56 cm. in height and 25 cm. in breadth), represents a crenelated building, with a pilaster at each cornerstone, in support of three heavenly bands. Another crenelated building with pillars, which support at least two bands, and a gate is represented on the fragment of a *kudurru*, which has a Babylonian and an Elamite inscription, Sb 14[2].

The inferior band of Sb 25 is blank for three sides, while the fourth contains three divine symbols: the lamp of Nusku, a *Mischwesen*, and the walking bird of Papsukal. The middle register, by far heigher that the other two, represents a procession of eight divine or semi-divine beings, as their horned headdresses and wings indicate, who bear musical instruments, interspersed by animals (lions, cattle, sheep, and an ostrich). In the middle of this parade a big drum with three equally big mallets is put. The superior register is filled by divine symbols, all of usual occurrence on the *kudurru*s. Therefore, the *kudurru* was left unfinished after only a side of the inferior band was engraved. Of course, the inscription would have been carved after the fulfillment of the relief.

Around at the entire base of the building a thin and enormously long serpent slithers, and its raised head, similar to that of the *mušḫuššu* di Marduk, almost touches its tail, while at the top of the stele another snake, this time thick and coiled, surrounds an ox. Now, these two snakes, different for poising (uncoiling and knotting) and position (at the base and on the top of the stele), alternatively occur in a great number of *kudurru*s, but, despite their differences, are usually considered the symbol of an only god, Ištaran of Dêr (see SEIDL 1971: 388), while LAMBERT 2011: 15 believes the curling snake on the top of the *kudurru* a symbol of the cosmic river Irḫan. But most recently DONÀ 2023, in distinguishing the two snakes of the *kudurru*s, has demonstrated that they must indicate two constellations: "il primo la Hydra, che si allunga quasi parallelamente alla traccia del percorso apparente del sole per un amplissimo spazio di cielo, mentre interseca con la testa l'equatore celeste; il secondo Draco, la costellazione più prossima al Polo arrivando a combaciare quasi perfettamente con esso verso il 2830 a. C., allorché il Polo in pratica coincise con *α draconis*, Tubhan (dall'arabo *thuʿbān*", Il grande serpente")" (p. 38). For an identification of many symbols of the *kudurru*s with celestial bodies, see also KOCH et al. 1990.

Returning to the superior celestial band of the *kudurru* Sb 25, in it are drawn 16 symbols, which, however, must refer to only 13 divinities. The first ten gods are: Anu and Enlil (a horned headdress upon a *Sockel*), Šamaš (the solar disk), Sîn (the lunar crescent), Ištar (the eight-pointed star), Gula (a female figure upon a *Sockel*), Nabû (a stylus and a pile of tablets upon a *Sockel*, beside which there is a *mušḫuššu*), Marduk (a spade upon a *Sockel*, beside which there is a *mušḫuššu*), the Mother Goddess (a band upon a *Sockel*), and Ea (a ram upon a *Sockel*, beside which there is a *šuḫurmašu*). To these symbols have to be added the "bird with the head backward", which likely represents a raven or a crow, and immediately behind it an *Adlerstab*: in my opinion, the bird and the mace, refer to an only god, Zababa, whose name is written into the *Adlerstab* of another *kudurru*, Sb 3224[3)], and a necrophagous bird like the raven is well-suited to a god of the war like Zababa. Indeed, in all the *kudurru*s in which this "bird with the head backward" and the *Adlerstab* are engraved, they are put near each other (Sb 22, Sb 32, Sb 798)[4)], while in Sb 31[5)], the bird is inserted between two maces whose head is broken, but must be the *Adlerstab* and the *Löwenstab*.

Now, in Sb 25, both at left and at right of the couple formed by the bird and the *Adlerstab* appears a big feline, squated and winged, which we may define as *Löwendrache* (see BRAUN-HOLZINGER 1987-1990: 98; see also "Lion-griffin": GREEN 1994: 258, § 3.25), and both these *Mischwesen* have near a *Löwenstab*. Also in these cases the *Löwendrache* and the *Löwenstab* must refer to an only god. These two *Löwendrachen* are rather different, above all at regard of the head, which for the second one is much more like that of a lion; besides, only the first *Löwendrache* has the long and upright ears of the normal *Löwenstab* and only the second *Löwendrache* has the body entirely covered by scales. Also the two *Löwenstäben* are different, since also the head of the second one is more like that of a lion and has not the characteristic ears of the normal *Löwenstab*; besides, the first mace is much taller and thinner. For these differences and since it not likely that the same god is represented twice, the two couples of *Mischwesen* and mace must refer to two different gods: the former one is surely Ninurta whose symbol is the *Löwenstab* (see POMPONIO 1973). As regards the other god, in the second register of Sb 22 are drawn, from left to right, three maces: a *Doppelöwenkeule*, put upon a *Löwendrache*, and an *Adlerstab* and a *Löwenstab*, flanked by the "bird with the head backward", and by a second *Löwendrache*, respectively. Also in this case, compared to the first *Löwendrache*, the head of the second *Mischwesen* seems to be more similar to that of a lion and it has not the long and upright ears of the *Löwenstab*. Therefore, the *Doppelöwenkeule*, the symbol of Nergal (see POMPONIO 1973), is replaced by a mace with the lion's head, unlike the normal *Löwenstab*, in Sb 25, while the two *Löwendrachen* must be the holy *Mischwesen* of Ninurta and of Nergal both in Sb 25 and in Sb 22. It should be noted that the *Doppelöwenkeule* is to be considered rather a scepter than a mace, and as such it well suits to the king of the Netherworld. Following the astral interpretation of KOCH et al. 1990: 103, in the freize of Sb 25 Saturn (*Doppelöwenkeule*), Aquila (*Adlerstab*), a not identified bird, Mars (*Löwenstab*), and Cygnus (*Löwendrache*) would be represented, but why should Cygnus appear twice?

The same sequence of maces/scepters and animals/*Mischwesen* appeared in all probability also in the *kudurru* Sb 32, where the maces put on the back of the two *Löwendrachen*, respectively at left and at

right of the "bird with the head backward" and of the *Adlerstab*, have vanished in two breaks of the stele. At regard of the two *Löwendrachen*, the first is considerably bigger, while both their heads are rather damaged. Also in Sb 798 at left and at right of the bird and the *Adlerstab* there are respectively a *Doppelöwenkeule* and a *Löwenstab*, but this time without the presence of the *Löwendrachen*. Lastly, in the *kudurru*s Sb 21 and Sb 3224[6]), also the bird is not present and only the three maces/scepters (in the order from left to right, the *Doppelöwenkeule*, the *Adlerstab*, and the *Löwenstab* in Sb 21 and the *Doppelöwenkeule*, the *Löwenstab*, and the *Adlerstab* in Sb 3224) are engraved. Sb 21, the so-called "Nazi-marutaš kudurru", but indeed to be assigned to Marduk-apla-iddina I (see SEIDL 1989: 33), lists all the 17 *šurinna ša ilāni rabûti*, "the 17 divine emblems of the great gods" depicted on the stele: among them are mentioned together ^{d}šàr-ur$_4$-ur$_4$ ^{d}šàr-gaz ù ^{d}mes-lam-ta-è (IV 25-26): given the similarity on the hand of the figures of the *Löwenstab* and the *Adlerstab* and on the other of the names Šarurur and Šargaz, it is evident the attribution of these names to the *Löwenstab* and to the *Adlerstab*, and consequently the *Doppelöwenkeule* must be assigned to Meslamtaea-Nergal.

All the above-mentioned *kudurru*s, in which the couples of *Mischwesen*/animals & maces/scepters appear together, belong to the *Dritte - Vierte Gruppen* ("Kanonisch A" and "Kanonisch B") of SEIDL 1989. On the contrary, on the messy iconography of the *kudurru* Seidl 1989: 40, nr. 63, belonging to the *Fünfte Gruppe* ("Parakanonisch"), the *Löwenstab* and the *Doppelöwenkeule* are placed side by side in the third register, but the "bird with the head backward", this time without its *Adlerstab*, is put in the second register between the stylus of Nabû and the dog of Gula. Lastly, in two *kudurru*s (SEIDL 1989: 55-57, nrr. 97-98) to the three maces/scepters of Ninurta, Zababa, and Nergal is added a fourth mace with the head which is a sphere, but the identity of the god warrior, whose this mace, present only in a half dozen of *kudurru*s (see SEIDL 1989: 133-134, *Einzelne Keule*), must be the symbol, escapes us.

Notes

1. Sb 25 [SEIDL 1989: 30-31, nr. 40; https://collections. louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010174455]

2. Sb 14 [SEIDL 1989: 31-32, nr. 41; https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010174455].

3. Sb 3224 [SEIDL 1989: 28, nr, 29; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010177194].

4. Sb 22 [SEIDL 1989: 29 nr. 32; https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010174455]
   Sb 32 [SEIDL 1989: 29, nr. 33; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174462]
   Sb 798 [SEIDL 1989: 30, nr. 39; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010175177]

5. Sb 31 [SEIDL 1989: 35-36, nr. 50; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174461].

6. Sb 21 [SEIDL 1989: 33-35, nr. 48; https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174451]
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109) The verb *ḫarāṣu* in the Middle Babylonian corpus — The Middle Babylonian administrative corpus features a handful of attestations of the verb *ḫarāṣu*. The different passages show at least two distinct uses of this poorly documented verbal root. By supplementing material from the M8 (PEDERSÉN 2005, 93ff) archive from Babylonia, I demonstrate that all forms are derived from the same verbal root and explain how it was used.

The basic meaning of *ḫarāṣu* is 'to cut off' and has parallels in Hebrew and Aramaic with the verbal root *ḥ-r-ṣ/ṭ* (see AHw, 323–24; *ḫarāṣu* A CAD Ḫ, 92–95; Cohen 2012, 927–28). A second entry, *ḫarāṣu* B, is found in the CAD (Ḫ, 95), meaning 'to stuff', based on its occurrence in Gurney 1983 no. 25 (*UET 6 19 in CAD Ḫ). The legal formula and the different variants were first discussed by Brinkman (1979) and subsequently by Paulus (2009):

> 1 *minâ šārta* 1 *minâ šipāti ana pîšu i-ḫar-ra-ṣu* 'they will stuff one mina of goat hair and one mina of wool into his mouth'; Gurney 1983 no. 25 r. 9–10 and CBS 10733 r. 10–11.

The same passage but with a slightly different spelling of the verb occurs once in the M8 archive as ⌜*i*⌝-*ḫa-ra-ṣu* Bab 39041:16 (M8: 14) and in a slightly broken context in VAT 21993:15′ (M8: 35) as ⌜*i*⌝-*ḫa-ra-ṣu-ma* l. 15′. The verb occurs in alternation with *elēḫu* (B 113+:33 = M8: 65) and *qarāru* (Bab 39041:14; B 113+:31; CBS 10733:9; and Sassmannshausen 2001, MUN 10:29), both meaning 'to strew'. The latter verb, *qarāru*, is only known in this meaning from the D-stem, but in Middle Babylonian tablets (*i-qar-ra-ru* Sassmannshausen 2001, MUN 10:29), the G-stem seems more common (Paulus 2009, 24). Both *elēḫu* and *ḫarāṣu* take wool or goat hair as their object, whereas *qarāru* seems to use lead (*abāru*) or pitch (*kupru*) and bitumen (*iṭṭû*). For *qarāru*, one may suspect that it is used to drip (or pour, CAD Q, 127) liquid forms of the commodities into the offender's mouth, whereas the act of 'strewing' or 'stuffing' works better with *elēḫu* and *ḫarāṣu*, which use only wool or hair as objects.

The other form of *ḫarāṣu* is used to deduct something from a due amount. This was previously attested in a legal document from Ur and a letter order from Dūr-Kurigalzu. The document from Ur, Gurney 1983 no. 10 (UET 7 10) deals with the theft of four cows by four thieves. In return, the owner takes three cows each from three of the thieves and has the issue settled before a judge. The fourth thief, Gula-šumu-līšir, gives a young girl instead and thereby pays part of the fine imposed on the four thieves: *Gula-šumu-līšir* 1 *ṣeḫerta Bilītu šumša kī* 6 <*šiqli*> *ḫurāṣi peṣâ ana Sîn-bēl-tabīni* ⌜*iḫ*⌝⌜?⌝-*ru-uṣ* 'Gula-šumu-līšir deducted one young girl, Bilītu her name, for 6 <shekels> of white gold to Sîn-bēl-tabīni'; Gurney 1983 no. 10:14–r. 1. The tablet makes no reference to any additional payment required, so it must be assumed that the owner of the cows, Sîn-bēl-tabīni, accepted that the value of the girl approximately covered the value of the cows. In comparison, a tablet like Gurney 1983 no. 30 (l. 1) reconstructs the value of an ox at two shekels of white gold, meaning that three oxen would reach the six shekels of white gold estimated to be the value of the girl. In MUN 21 (Sassmannshausen 2001) from Nippur, the value of a red-skinned ox is established as equal to ten sheep (1 GU₄ KUŠ SA₅ *kī* 10 U₈.UDU.ḪI.A *iḫ-ru-uṣ* l. 15).

The other tablet is the letter report IM 50992 (Gurney 1949, plate XLVII no. 11) from Dūr-Kurigalzu. Similar to the tablet from Ur, *ḫarāṣu* is used to determine value. The letter reconfirms that with the preposition *kī*, which is commonly used to provide the exchange value of commodities. The tablet may be read as follows:

> Obv. 1.) [ARAD-*ka* ᵐ]⌜*Ku*⌝-*un-nu* 2.) [*a-na di-n*]*a-an be-lí-ia* 3.) [*lu*]*l-lik* 4.) ⌜*um-ma*⌝-*a a-na be-lí-ia* 5.) *ša be-lí iq-bu-ú* 6.) *um-ma-a ka-an-ga* 7.) *ku-nu-uk-ma bi-la* 8.) DINGIR-*ka* ᵈNUSKA *ša* ZI-MEŠ-*ka* 9.) *i-na-ṣu-ru lu-ú i-di* 10.) ᵍⁱˢ⌜?⌝GIGIR⌜?⌝ ᵍⁱˢPAN *a-sá-an-qa* 11.) GAG.U₄.TAG.GA ZABAR⌐ GÍR ZABAR 12.) *ki-i* 38 KÙ.BABBAR *iḫ-*⌜*tar*⌝-*ṣu* Bottom 13.) ᵍⁱˢGIGIR⌜?⌝ *ki-i* 27 ⌜KU₃.BABBAR⌝ 14.) *iḫ-tar-ṣu* Rev. 15.) *ù a-na-ku* 1 ᵍⁱˢGIGIR⌜?⌝ *ku-*[…] 16.) *ù* 5 UDU *at-ta-din* 17.) *ki-i* ⌜GÍN⌝ KÙ.BABBAR 18.) *il-*[…]-⌜*nu*⌝⌜?⌝-*ši-ma* 19.) *id-*⌜*di-nu*⌝ 20.) […] 21.) *ù* […] MUNUS.TUR *il-qa-a* 22.) […] *ki-i* ŠÀ-*šú* 23.) […] *be-lí iq-ta-bi* 24.) [… *š*]*a be-lí i-qa-bu-ú* 25.) […] *lu-ud-di-na-šú* 26.) […]*-ú* Top 27.) […] ⌜*a-na*⌝-*ku* 28.) […]-⌜*ka*⌝-*a* 29.) […]-*ia*

> 1.) [Your servant] Kunnu. 2–3.) I want to go [as sub]stitute of my lord. 4.) Thus to my lord: 5–7.) Concerning what my lord said, thus: 'Seal the sealed package and bring it!' 8–10.) Your god Nusku, who protects your life, may know that I have(?) checked the value of the bow. 11–12.) They have determined (value) of the bronze arrows and bronze sword for 38 (shekels) of silver. 13–14.) They have determined the value of a chariot for 27 (shekels) of silver. 15–16.) And I have given one chariot […] and five sheep 17.) For ( ) shekels of silver […] 19.) […] they gave. 21.) And […] he took a small girl here. 22.) […] according to it. 23.) […] my lord said. 24.) […] that my lord said. 25.) […] I may give to him. 27.) […] I.

The M8 archive, belonging to members of the Ur-Nanna clan, features more attestations of the verb. The tablet B 173 has it in a similar function:

> *ina libbi 3 amīlūti kī* 1 ŠU ŠE ᵍⁱˢBÁN 12 SÌLA *Ṭābiya ana Itti-Ezida-lummir* ⌈*iḫ*⌉-*ru-ṣ*[*i*] 'From among three slaves Ṭābiya determined (the slaves) for Itti-Ezida-lummir at (the value of) sixty *gur* of barley (measured by) the seah of 12 liters' B 173+:9–12

Sixty gur of barley would approximately amount to 21,600 litres, worth about 36 shekels of gold or 12 shekels per enslaved person. Morphologically, the i-modus on the verbal form is notable, which can be found on other verbs in the archive: *i-da-a-ki* B 113+:40 and *id-da-a-k*[*i*]:20′ VAT 21993. The amount of 60 gur was part of a total of 70 gur paid by Itti-Ezida-lummir:

> 70.0.0 ŠE ᵍⁱˢ⌈BÁN 12 SÌLA ŠÁM⌉ […] *adi* 10 *šiqli ḫe-er-ṣi* […] 'Seventy gur of barley [measured by] the seah of 12 liters, price of [(three slaves)], together with 10 shekels, deducted amount […]' B 173+:1–2

The derived form *ḫerṣu* seems to have originally been a deverbal adjective. It is repeated later in the text while stating what should be done with the difference of 10 gur.

> ⌈*ù* 10?.0.0⌉ ŠE ᵍⁱˢBÁN 12 SÌLA ŠÁM 10 ⌈GÍN x⌉ *ḫe-er-ṣi er-šu ina muḫḫi Ṭābiya Itti-Ezida-lummir* [*u*]*kīn* 'And(?) Itti-Ediza-lummir established ten gur of barley [measured by] the seah of 12 litres, price of ten shekel, deducted amount requested, incumbent on Ṭābiya' B 173+:13–17.

There are two attestations of the verb in the archive. In a dispute about an enslaved girl, a lady addressed the girl's owner: MUNUS.TUR *ša iḫ-ru-ṣú-nik-ku* '[she said]: the young girl whom they established value for you' Bab 39036:5.

Finally, the verb is used to specify a specification for a witness: *šību Arad-nubatti mār Irība-Marduk ṣuḫurti šarri iḫ-ru-ṣu*⌉ 'witnessed by Arad-nubatti the son of Irība-Marduk, youngling of the king, whom they [?] deducted value of' B 143+:15–17.

While the interpretation of the description is uncertain, its function in a list of witnesses is clearer, as there is a similar passage in another text from the archive. In both cases, the designation concerns someone belonging to the *ṣuḫurtu* class: *šību Marduk-šumu-līšīr mār Bu*[*nna-nimgir*] *ṣuḫurtu e-si-ru* KÙ.SI₂₂ 'witnessed by Marduk-šumu-līšir, the son of Bu[nna-nimgir], youngling (who) collects gold [?]' B 77:19–20.

The verb *ḫarāṣu* generally takes two objects. The direct object concerns the item whose value is determined or from which the due amount is deducted. In the context of punishment, this concerns the material that is strewed. An indirect object is used for the party being compensated, or in the case of punishment, for the convict (or more literally, his mouth). This is marked with the indirect object *ana* and, in one case, with the dative pronominal suffix (*iḫruṣūnikku*). As a verbal action, *ḫarāṣu* refers to breaking small pieces off a larger unit for someone or something. In the context of punishment, it refers to breaking up a bale of wool or goat hair to place it in someone's mouth.

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110) Rib-Hadda's Devised Campaign against ʻAbdi-Ashirta (EA 101) — Letter EA 101 has been discussed many times since its publication by Knudtzon in his edition of the Amarna letters (1915: 452–455). The letter is the second of a two-tablet set and includes some statements whose interpretations are debated among scholars. As the interpretation of the letter is crucial for understanding the last stage in the career of ʻAbdi-Ashirta, the infamous ruler of Amurru, it has attracted much research attention; thus, in addition to the three editions of the Amarna letters (MORAN 1992: 152–154; LIVERANI 1998b: 197–198; RAINEY 2015: 552–555), the letter was discussed several times by other scholars (e.g., CAVAIGNAC 1955;

MORAN 1969; LIVERANI 1998a; EMANUEL 2020: 37, 40–41). Although Liverani (1998a: 389–390) solved the main problem in the interpretation of the letter (as discussed below), recent renderings of the letter did not accept his solution (RAINEY 2015: 553, 1445; EMANUEL 2020: 37, 40; but see VIDAL 2008:6). Moreover, scholars still contest various details in the transcription and translation of the letter; in fact, no two scholars agree on the accurate rendering of the text.

Below, I suggest a translation of the text, a short commentary and a discussion of the letter's contents.[1]

> (1–10) [Further]more, who is hostile [to] the king? (Certainly) not Haya! [No]w, as soon as the ships of the naval troops enter the land of Amurru they will defeat ʿAbdi-Ashirta, for they (the Amurrites) do not have wool and he (ʿAbdi-Ashirta) does not have garments of lapis lazuli or *mar*-stone to give as tribute to Mitanni.
> (11–18) Moreover, whose ships stood against me? Are they not of the men of Arwad? And behold, they are with you now. Seize the ships of the men of Arwad that are in the land of Egypt.
> (18–38) Moreover, when Haya says: "[Let us atta]ck ([*lū ma-an*]-*ga*)! If we do not [carry (*nu-ba-lu*) (troops)] to the land of Amurru, then the men of Tyre, the men of Sidon and the men of Beirut will carry (*tu-ba-lu-na*)". Whose cities are these? Are they not of the king? Place one man in each city, and as soon as he (Haya) let a ship enter to the land of Amurru they will defeat ʿAbdi-Ashirta. The king has installed him (Haya) over them, not they. May the king command the three cities and the ships of the naval troops, and as soon as they will go to the land of Amurru they will capture ʿAbdi-Ashirta, and he (Haya) will hand him over to you. So learn the words of your servant.

Notes to the text

For the translation of lines 3–5, 28–29 and 34–35, see LIVERANI 1998a: 390.
For the restoration [*lū ma-an*]-*ga* in line 20, compare EA 106:15, 362:15 and possibly 84:21. For the verb *magāgu* in the sense of "waging war" or "fighting", see KOTTSIEPER 1988: 125–129, 131.
I restore *nu-ba-lu* in line 21 in light of the verbal form *tu-ba-lu-na* in line 22. Both verbal forms refer to the carrying of troops to the battlefield.

Discussion

Throughout the letter, Rib-Hadda implores the Pharaoh to endorse the plan of Haya, the Egyptian commissioner in the Lebanese coast, to lead campaign to Amurru and arrest ʿAbdi-Ashirta. Rib-Hadda examines all the possible obstacles that might detain the campaign and dismisses them one by one. First, he points out the present weakness of Amurru after Mitanni's campaign to the Coast of Lebanon and assures the Pharaoh of an immediate victory over Amurru (lines 3–10). He then calls to confiscate the ships of Arwad, Amurru's ally, which were anchored at the time in Egypt (lines 10–18). Next, he cites the words of Haya, who calls for an immediate attack on Amurru, and the latter's warning that otherwise the attack will be conducted by Tyre, Sidon and Beirut (lines 19–25). In response, Rib-Hadda emphasizes that the three cities are Egyptian vassals, and that the Pharaoh should order their rulers to stay home, thereby blocking their plan to embark northward (lines 26–31). Finally, he calls for an immediate embarkment of the Egyptian naval troops to Amurru, where he envisions the instant capture of ʿAbdi-Ashirta followed by his delivery to the hands of the Pharaoh (lines 32–38).

Note

1. For an updated transcription of the text, see YODER & LAUINGER 2024.

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111) Egyptians(?) in Middle-Assyrian Assur — The presence of Egyptians in Assyria generally and in the city of Assur specifically is well-known, with two archives bearing witness to the existence of an Egyptian community in Neo-Assyrian Assur.[1] However, Egyptians are rarely linked to the city of Assur in Middle-Assyrian times. The suggestions that a *Maniya* (KAJ 17) and a *Ḫuraḫê* (WVDOG 106 53) had Egyptian names are exceptions to the rule.[2] A closer look at the latter source reveals that further examples of Egyptians in Middle-Assyrian Assur can be found.

Text WVDOG 106 53, in which the said *Ḫuraḫê*, son of *Uida*(?), is mentioned, is a document that the publishers of the text, Freydank and Feller (2004, 12), describe as a "Familien- bzw. Verpflegungsliste" that mentions people with foreign (i.e. non-Akkadian) names. Unfortunately, Freydank and Feller do not identify these foreigners by name, but the names of the man *Esi* and his three sons *Ḫiauri*(?), *Ibia*, and *Menenni* arguably stand out. Actually, there are good Egyptian equivalents for all of these names. The name *Esi* may be identified with the name of the Egyptian goddess Isis employed as a personal name (*ÄPN* 1, 3:18). Although it is true that this name is attested only for women in the *ÄPN* 1, it may be a shortform of a name that begins with this theonym, such as *ꜣst-m-ḥꜣt* (*ÄPN* 1, 4:4), which appears as a partly masculine name in the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1070). Besides, the name *ꜣst* ("Isis") is attested for a male individual in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus (PNA 1/II, p. 406). The name *Ḫiauri*(?) may be identified with the Egyptian name *Ḥywr* (*ÄPN* 1, 233:19), which appears as a masculine name in the New Kingdom. The name *Ibia* may be identified with the Egyptian name *Ibi/y* (*ÄPN* 1, 20:10, 13–15, 17), which is attested, in various forms, as a masculine name in the New Kingdom. Finally, the name *Menenni* may be identified with the Egyptian name *Mnn* (*ÄPN* 1, 152:16), which is a common masculine name in the New Kingdom.

Of course, possible Akkadian, West Semitic, Hurrian, Anatolian, and Iranian name equivalents must also be considered,[3] but the textual context (including "foreign" names and *Ḫuraḫê*), together with the circumstance that there are good Egyptian equivalents for the said four names, make it plausible that *Maniya* and *Ḫuraḫê* are not isolated examples of Egyptians in Middle-Assyrian Assur.

Notes

1. Archives "N 31" (published in StAT 2; 3) and "Assur 52b" (published in WVDOG 152).

2. For these suggestions, see HESS 1993, 110 and MAHLICH 2022, 137 respectively.

3. The name *Esi* does not appear (at least not clearly) in the Mesopotamian onomasticon, judging by the PNA, Prosobab, and the work by Tallqvist (1905) on Babylonian names. The onomasticons based on the texts from Anatolia and Nuzi merely give *Eši-adali* (LAROCHE 1966, 53) and (the feminine name) *Ešše…* (CASSIN & GLASSNER 1977, 46). The name *Ḫiauri*(?) does not appear (at least not clearly) in the Mesopotamian onomasticon, judging by the PNA, Prosobab, and the work by Tallqvist (1905) on Babylonian names. The onomasticons based on the texts from Anatolia (LAROCHE 1966) and Nuzi are largely unrewarding, with the exception of their giving *Ḫiari* (CASSIN & GLASSNER 1977, 58). The name *Ibia* does not appear (at least not clearly) in the Mesopotamian onomasticon, judging by the PNA, Prosobab, and the work by Tallqvist (1905) on Babylonian names, although it is true that names beginning with *Ibb-* (PNA 2/I, pp. 499–500) and the names *Ibāya* (Prosobab) and *Ibâ* (TALLQVIST 1905, 68) can be found. The onomasticons based on the texts from Anatolia and Nuzi (LAROCHE 1966; CASSIN & GLASSNER 1977) are unrewarding. The name *Menenni* does not appear (at least not clearly) in the Mesopotamian onomasticon, judging by the PNA, Prosobab, and the work by Tallqvist (1905) on Babylonian names, although the names *Menānu* (Iranian), *Meni'* (West Semitic) (PNA 2/II, pp. 748–749), and *Mena'* (Prosobab; TALLQVIST 1905, 111) can be found. The onomasticons based on the texts from Anatolia and Nuzi offer *Menani(ya)*, *Mininu* (LAROCHE 1966, 118), and *Menna…* (CASSIN & GLASSNER 1977, 93). *Esi*, *Ḫiauri*(?), *Ibia*, and *Menenni* are not brought up in the work by Saporetti (1970) on Middle-Assyrian names.

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112) Eponyms under the sons of Tukulti-Ninurta I — For the years around the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I (**TN**) the texts found at Tall Sabi Abyad (**TSA**) yield the most detailed information. Most of them are still unpublished, but WIGGERMANN 2014 allows a preliminary chronological analysis. The *dunnu* of TSA was then owned by Ili-pada, grand vizier of Assyria and father of the later king Ninurta-apil-ekur (Nae). It was administered in sequence by Mannu-ki-Adad, Buriya and Tammitte. Mannu-ki-Adad is attested for much of the reign of TN, Buriya in the two eponymates Urad-Kube and Erib-Sin. Due to the royal inscription RIMA A.0.79.1, Erib-Sin has long been known as eponym under Aššur-nadin-apli (**Ana**). The text TSA T98-16 from the last month of Erib-Sin already belongs to the archive of Tammitte. The latter served for at least nine years, including the royal eponymate of Aššur-nirari III (**Aššnir**). Thus the order of the three administrators is known.[1]

Concerning the eponym sequence under Ana, the first full Tammitte year was most likely the eponymate of Ubru, since according to T93-10 it came soon after the royal eponymate of Ana. As a next step, one would like to place the Buriya text T97-34 with eponym Urad-Kube. According to this text, Ili-pada was in Assur with troops. Wiggermann suggested a link with the burial of TN and deduced the eponym sequence Urad-Kube > Ana > Erib-Sin > Ubru. This scenario is plausible, but needs checks, once the texts are published. The sequence leaves the eponym of the somewhat uncertain fourth year of Ana to be determined. As preferred candidate Wiggermann named UDPu, based on an unpublished dossier of texts mentioning Karkemiš. Indeed, we now know that UDPu was steward (AGRIG) under Ana (Ass. 2001.D.1933). Thus it is very plausible that his eponymate preceded the royal eponymate of Aššnir. According to MARV 1 56, the latter was followed by the one of Salmanu-aḫa-iddina. Both years are well attested in the Tammitte archive.

The eponymates linked to Buriya and Tammitte cannot be fitted into the reigns of Ana and Aššnir alone, such that Tammitte must have continued to serve for some time in the reign of Ellil-kudurri-uṣur (**Eku**). The royal eponymate of Eku is known from MARV 3 8, but appears to be unattested at TSA. The last years of Tammitte's archive can be determined by a standard method. Archives were purged from time to time, so that the coverage of the final years is best. For TSA this means that the three years of Adad-nadin-šume, Adad-uma''i and Aššur-balāssu-ēriš were the last, in this order. Indeed, the Adad-nadin-šume texts go from month VI to XII, the Adad-uma''i texts from month I to XII and the Aššur-balāssu-ēriš texts from month I to X. This order reveals a remarkable pattern in the mentions of Ili-pada. Until month VII of the year of Adad-uma''i, almost two thirds of the texts have his name, afterwards none, with the dubious exception of T99-20a, where the reading is uncertain. Either he was dead or he had lost the possession of the *dunnu* in the power struggle with Eku. This struggle came to a climax in year 5 of Eku, which became the accession year of Nae. Thus Adad-nadin-šume, Adad-uma''i, Aššur-balāssu-ēriš must either have been eponyms of years 2-4 or of years 3-5 of Eku.

According to KAM 11 46, Adad-uma''i was steward in his own eponymate. In this function, he was preceded by Adad-riba, who was steward in the eponymate of Eku (MARV 3 8) and in his own eponymate (Ass. 2001.D.2404). Both he and Adad-ban-kala (T98-54 from the archive of Tammitte) must have preceded Adad-nadin-šume. Like Adad-uma''i and Aššur-balāssu-ēriš, they were already known from the M4 offering texts with chief officer Aba-la-ide. This also applies to Haburraru. According to MARV 8 81, he was eponym when Adad-riba was steward. In his eponymate, Saggiu was mentioned as son of the king (MARV 8 1). Since Saggiu became steward under Nae, it is more likely that he was a son of Aššnir than of Eku, the king overthrown by Nae.[2] Thus it is probable that Haburraru and Adad-riba were eponyms under Aššnir.

At the time of the sons of TN, the stewards (AGRIG) changed at an extraordinarily rapid pace, perhaps due to an epidemic. Between UDPu and Adad-riba came Ištar-tuballissu (eponym at TSA at the time of Tammitte, steward according to Assur Stele 100 and KAM 11 126). This means that we have the candidates Ištar-tuballissu, Adad-ban-kala, Adad-riba and Haburraru for the years 3-6 of Eku, though it is not at all excluded that Adad-ban-kala must be transferred to year 2 of Eku.

In 2012 I had not been able to find a match for Stele 100, whereas I had recognized that those of Urad-Kube and Aššur-mušezib were erected close to the death of TN, as has been confirmed by the texts from TSA.[3] It now seems that the years after TN were a period of experimentation with new ideas, including some with no future.

Perhaps one should wait for the publication of the TSA texts before going further. But two corrections to FREYDANK 2016 appear to be safe. The eponyms UDPu, Ištar-tuballissu and Adad-nadin-šume from the time of Tammitte cannot be placed under TN but must belong to his sons. For Eku, there is no space for the three successive Aba-la-ide eponyms Lab'u, Ibašši-ili and Adad-balti-niše.[4] They must be shifted to the early years of Nae, and three presumptive Nae eponyms must be shifted to Aššur-dan I.

Notes

1. In FREYDANK 2016: 23-24 the more complicated order Mannu-ki-Adad > Tammitte > Buriya > Tammitte was suggested with some hesitation, but according to the TSA letter T02-32, Mannu-ki-Adad was still administrator when TN was buried.

2. Cf. BLOCH 2012: 289 n. 32.

3. NAHM 2012, section 3, 117f.

4. FREYDANK 2016: 23.

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113) Middle Assyrian eponyms and the reign length of Assur-dan I — In his introduction to FREYDANK 2016, Freydank proposed to check if the number of known eponymates under Assur-dan I (**Ad**) is larger than 36. If yes, that would support the reign length of 46 years stated in the Khorsabad and SDAS king lists against the 36 years of the Nassouhi King List. Instead, one can count the number of eponymates between Tukulti-Ninurta I (**TN**) and Tiglathpileser I (**Tp**). For the sons of TN one has 14 or 15 years, for Ninurta-apil-ekur (**Nae**) 13 and 18 for Aššur-reša-iši (**Ari**). Because 15+13+18 = 46, more than 82 eponymates between TN and Tp mean more than 36 for Ad. FREYDANK 2016 contains tentative lists for the relevant reigns, with altogether 78 eponymates,[1] three of them with question marks.[2] This includes the still unattested eponymate *ša* EGIR Da"ani-Ninurta, in view of his second *ša* EGIR eponymate and the somewhat enigmatic fourth use of his name. For almost all of the 78 cases, the placement after TN and before Tp is certain, but the eponymates of Aššur-šallimšunu and Šamaš-apla-ereš had to be moved from Ari to Tp by Jeffers.[3] Of course, the discovery of further items was expected, but 76 is well below 82. No decision was yet possible.

By now the number is 90. The change arises in the following way. As has been explained in the previous note, Adad-nadin-šume, Ištar-tuballissu and UDPu cannot be placed under TN and must belong to the reigns of his sons. The style of the stela of Mardukija is even later. In particular, the rounded form of the inscription field only matches the stelae of Aššur-šuma-aṣbat, Aššur-mudammeq, Aššur-šezibanni<Habakar and Ninurta-apla-iddina, all from the reigns of Aššur-dan I (**Ad**) or his successor Aššur-reša-iši. Three eponyms are new, namely Aššur-šumu-lešir,[4] Ninurta-kašid[5] and Sin-uballiṭ.[6] Ili-uballissu was not assigned to any ruler by Freydank, but the very strong prosopographical link of KAM 11 60 (eponym Ili-uballissu) to KAM 11 97 (eponym Aššur-šuma-aṣbat) shows that Ili-uballissu must belong to late Ad or to Ari. This also concerns the eponymate *ša* EGIR Ili-uballissu. Finally, the five eponyms Adad-uballiṭ, Aššur-dammeq, Ibri-šarri, Kidin-Aššur and Taklak-ana-Aššur might belong to either Ari or Tp

when taken individually, but so many firm Tp eponyms are known that there is at most one free slot.[7] This also applies to Mutakkil-Aššur, Ninurta-ašared and …-qarrad, for whom Freydank was in doubt about a placement under Tp.

About 12 of the 90 eponyms are attested only once, about 20 twice. Statistically this is well compatible with three still unattested eponyms and 46 eponyms for Ad. Here is the complete list of all 90 known eponymates from Ana to Ari.

Adad-balti-niše	Aššur-mudammeq	Da"ani-Ninurta+3	Lab'u	Ragiššanu
Adad-ba(n)-kala	Aššur-nadin-apli	Da"iq-den-Aššur	Libur	Reš-Aššur
Adad-mušabši	Aššur-nirari	Ellil-kudurri-uṣur	Liptanu	Saggi'u
Adad-nadin-šume	Aššur-reša-iši	Erib-Aššur (Nae)	Marduk-aha-ereš	Salmanu-aha-iddina
Adad-riba	Aššur-šezibanni<H.	Erib-Aššur (Ari)	Marduk-šumu-lešir	Salmanu-šumu-lešir
Adad-uballiṭ	Aššur-šezibanni<P.	Erib-Sin	Mardukija	Salmanu-zera-iqiša
Adad-uma"i	Aššur-šuma-ašbat	Eru-apla-iddina	Mušezib-Aššur	Samedu
Aššur-aha-iddina	Aššur-šumu-lešir	Habakar	Mutakkil-Aššur	Samnuha-ašared
Aššur-alik-pani	Aššur-zera-iddina	Haburraru	Ninurta-apil-ekur	Sarniqu
Aššur-aplu-lešir	Atamar-den-Aššur	Ibašši-ili	Ninurta-apla-iddina	Sikiltu
Aššur-balassu-ereš	Bere	Ibri-šarri	Ninurta-ašared	Sin-šeja
Aššur-bel-le'ute	Bere+1	Ikkaru	Ninurta-kašid	Sin-uballiṭ
Aššur-dammeq	Bere+2	Ili-uballissu	Ninurta-nadin-apli	Tahulu
Aššur-dan	Ber-kena-šallim	Ili-uballissu+1	Ninurta-naṣir	Taklak-ana-Aššur
Aššur-iddin	Ber-naṣir	Ipparšidu	Pan-Aššur-lamur	Ubru
Aššur-išmanni	Da"ani-Ninurta	Ištar-tuballissu	Pa'uzu	UDPu
Aššur-kena-šallim	Da"ani-Ninurta+1	Kaššu	Pišqija (Nae)	Uzibu
Aššur-ketti-šeṣi	Da"ani-Ninurta+2	Kidin-Aššur	Pišqija<Kaššu (Ad)	...-qarrad

There are a few possibilities to reduce the list. One of the eponyms ascribed to Ari might have to be moved to Tp. Perhaps Mardukija is just a hypocoristic form of Marduk-aha-ereš, though both names appear in economic texts. Maybe some *ša* EGIR designation was doubled by a proper eponym during the year. Still it seems next to impossible to trim the list to one compatible with a reigh length of 36 years for Ad.

Notes

1. FREYDANK 2016: 22f., 31, 50f., 100f.

2. Namely Mutakkil-Aššur, Ninurta-ašared and …-qarrad. For …-qarrad see FREYDANK 2016:196.

3. JEFFERS 2013, section 3.4, 107-118.

4. Ass.2001.D-2034 (FRAHM 2001:74) and KAM 11 64, apparently under Nae. There is a homonym under Adad-narari I.

5. KAM 11 79.

6. SHIBATA 2016: 114-115.

7. See NABU 2024/66. For Taklak-ana-Aššur there is a homonym in the third decade of Tp.

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114) The eponyms of Aššur-reš-iši — In FREYDANK 2016, candidates for the 18 expected eponyms of Aššur-reš-iši (**Ari**) were listed, with 16 of them still valid.[1] In NABU 2024/66 I have argued that at least four of a set of five eponyms should be moved from Tp to Ari, namely of the set Adad-uballiṭ, Aššur-dammeq, Ibri-šarri, Kidin-Aššur and the earlier Taklak-ana-Aššur. We shall see that this move allows to fix much of the eponym sequence for Ari.

Freydank listed three blocks of Ari eponyms.[2]

Block 1 comprises

Aššur-kena-šallim, Aššur-šuma-aṣbat, Aššur-mudammeq and Mušezib-Aššur,

Block 2

Mušezib-Aššur → Erib-Aššur → Ninurta-[.. ,

Block 3

Aššur-aplu-lešir → Bere → Bere+1 → Bere+2 → Ninurta-nadin-apli.

Block 1 is not fully ordered, but Aššur-šuma-aṣbat and Aššur-mudammeq should be adjacent, because MARV 7 20 and MARV 5 16 from these eponymates list the same eight persons in identical sequence. Among the eight, Puhur-ilani appears only here.[3] Apart from the year of Mušezib-Aššur, neither the M4 supervisor Ezbu-lešir nor the M7 steward Apliya were in office at the time of Block 1. For Mušezib-Aššur, Ezbu-lešir is attested, but not Apliya. For Block 3, both of them were in office. Since both continued under Tp, the order of the blocks is as given.

The sequence Erib-Aššur → Ninurta-[.. in Block 2 is due to the unpublished tablet VAT 19887. The candidates for Ninurta-[… are Ninurta-nadin-apli and Ninurta-ašared. For the former, the sequence would skip over the first four years in Block 3. Moreover, Ezbu-lešir but not Apliya is documented for Ninurta-ašared. Thus at present the sequence Erib-Aššur → Ninurta-ašared is much more plausible. If one includes Ari himself, this fixes the order of twelve eponyms.

The history of the M4 personnel has been studied in JEFFERS 2013 and FREYDANK 2016, but GAUTHIER 2016 goes deeper. In particular, it is shown that M4 regularly had a team of two brewers.[4] The team of Mutakkil-Aššur (=Mutakkiya) and Sîn-ašared is documented over the entire reign of Ari, namely for Aššur-kena-šallim (MARV 5 21, 7 61), Aššur-šuma-aṣbat (MARV 7 20), Aššur-mudammeq (MARV 5 16, 5 26, 6 4), Mušezib-Aššur (MARV 5 54) and Bere+2 (MARV 7 91). The brewer Mutakkil-Aššur is documented one last time in the eponym year of Tp (MARV 6 69, 9 108). His colleague Sîn-ašared stayed on for five more years. For some time, he alone had the main responsibility (MARV 6 23). From Ina-iliya-allak, the 6th year of Tp onwards, Tišpakiya occurs. In this year, the team consisted of Sîn-ašared and Tišpakiya. From the year of Mudammeq-Bel onwards, the 14th or 15th year of Tp, Ša-Aššur-līšer led the brewers, in that year either with Tišpakiya or with Urad-Aššur. The latter only appeared in that particular year, whereas Tišpakiya stayed on. The documentation of brewers for the initial years of Tp is not extensive, but in any case the first seven eponyms under Tp are securely known. Thus the appearance of Mutakkil-Aššur as a brewer is a safe indication for eponyms under Ari. For Ibri-šarri he occurs in the texts MARV 5 25, 70, MARV 6 33, 41, MARV 7 96 and MARV 8 8, for Aššur-dammeq in MARV 5 50 and probably MARV 5 26. Thus Ibri-šarre and Aššur-dammeq indeed belong to Ari. In these two years, Ezbu-lešir but not Apliya is documented, so that they should be integrated in Block 2.

According to Gauthier, there are several reasons to place Ibri-šarri immediately after Aššur-mudammeq.[5] He follows Jeffers in their assignment to Tp, but this is irrelevant for the sequence. Moreover, under Ari the minor M4 *alahhinu* Kuttahhu only occurs in Aššur-mudammeq (MARV 5 16, 6 4), Ibri-šarri (MARV 7 21[6]), and Aššur-dammeq (MARV 5 50, 8 12). This yields the sequence Aššur-kena-šallim → Aššur-šuma-aṣbat → Aššur-mudammeq → Ibri-šarri → Aššur-dammeq, followed by Mušezib-Aššur. Indeed, MARV 9 102 contains the eponym sequence Aššur-d[ammeq] → Mušezib-Aššur,[7] though Freydank reads Aššur-k[e-na-šallim] → Mušezib-Aššur.[8] It follows that Ezbu-lešir took office in Ibri-šarri. This explains the large number of M4 texts from this year, only paralleled by the Tp eponymate of Mudammeq-Bel. When there was a change at the top of M4, an extensive documentation of the activities made sense, until the job became routine.

We now have 14 eponyms, but still have to place Adad-uballiṭ, Aššur-ketti-šeṣi, Kidin-Aššur, Mutakkil-Aššur and Taklak-ana-Aššur. For all of them, Apliya was in office,[9] so that they may be placed between Blocks 2 and 3 or at the end of Block 3. According to MARV 8 50, one of them has to be placed after Ninurta-nadin-apli, in the accession year of Tp.[10] Here Gauthier's analysis helps again. In years when the M4 agency faced some intervention from the government, the external administrator Urad-Aššur stepped in. In particular, he was active during the royal eponymate of Tp and the year afterwards.[11] In

KAM 11 104, he occurs in the eponymate of Adad-uballiṭ, which accordingly can be identified as the accession year of Tp.

In order to restrict the number of eponyms to 18, one of the remaining eponyms should be placed in the years 8-13 of Tp, which might yield 40 eponyms for this ruler.[12] Aššur-ketti-šeṣi was already *šakin mati* in the first year of Tp, thus probably eponym under Ari. This leaves Kidin-Aššur, Mutakkil-Aššur and Taklak-ana-Aššur. For Mutakkil-Aššur there are two arguments to place him in those Tp years. First, MARV 10 59 from his eponymate concerns the *kakardinnu* Šamši-lu-dan, who otherwise only appears in MARV 10 33 from the eponymate of Gadiu. Second, the unpublished tablet VAT 20281 contains the eponym sequence Sin-[… → Mu-[… . Few eponym names start like that and at present the sequence Sin-apla-iddina → Mutakkil-Aššur is the only candidate for a direct sequence. Gadiu and Sin-apla-iddina both have been assigned to years 8-12 (now better 8-13) of Tp.

Altogether one finds the provisional sequence

Aššur-reš-iši→ Aššur-kena-šallim → Aššur-šuma-aṣbat → Aššur-mudammeq → Ibri-šarri → Aššur-dammeq → Mušezib-Aššur → Erib-Aššur → Ninurta-ašared → Aššur-aplu-lešir → Bere → Bere+1 → Bere+2 → Ninurta-nadin-apli → Adad-uballiṭ → Tp,

with Aššur-ketti-šeṣi, Kidin-Aššur and Taklak-ana-Aššur to be inserted around Ninurta-ašared or after Ninurta-nadin-apli. In contrast, the eponyms Ipparšidu and Pan-Aššur-lamur from Freydank's list must be moved from Ari to Aššur-dan I.

Notes

1. Freydank 2016: 100-101.

2. Freydank 2016: 90-97.

3. He is not to be confused with the homonymous leather worker in MARV 1 59 and MARV 10 5.

4. Gauthier 2016: 796-799.

5. Gauthier 2016: 588-590.

6. Dated by prosopography.

7. Jeffers 2013: 143 n. 360.

8. Freydank 2016: 97 n. 218.

9. KAM 11 93 from Bere+1 concerns Babu-zera-eriš, son of Qibi-Aššur. who appears in a similar context in MARV 1 23 together with Apliya. Thus the eponym of MARV 1 23 should be the earlier Taklak-ana-Aššur.

10. Freydank 2016: 83.

11. Gauthier 2016: 321-324.

12. Nahm 2024.

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115) A revision to the eponyms of Adad-nārārī II's reign and its consequences for the Assyrian chronology of the late 10th century — In a recent article, the present author offered a new reconstruction of the reigns of Adad-nārārī II and Tukultī-Ninurta II (Edmonds 2023). Since then, Werner Nahm has brought to his attention a forgotten irregularity in the eponyms of the early reign of Adad-nārārī II warranting investigation.

Combining the two surviving lists for this period with the annalistic evidence, the conventional reconstruction of the eponymates of Adad-nārārī II's reign is as follows (Millard 1994: 23–24; followed by Morello 2020):

Year	SAAS 2, A1 i 1–13	SAAS 2, A8 i 1–13	Annalistic evidence
910	[broken]	ᵐIŠKUR-ERIM.TAḪ	
909	[ᵐš]*e-ʾi*-[*aš-šur*]	ᵐ*še-ʾi*-[*aš-šur*]	*še-ʾi-aš-šur* (RIMA 2, 0.99.1 r. 19')
908	[ᵐ]*aš-šur*-KAL[ⁱⁿ-*n*]*i*	ᵐ*aš-šur*-KALⁱⁿ-*a*[*n-ni*]	
907	⌜ᵐ⌝*aš-šur-de-n*[*i-a-m*]*ur*	ᵐ*aš-šur-de-ni-a-mur*	
906	ᵐ*bar*-[*m*]*u*	ᵐ*ba-*⌜*ar*⌝-*m*[*u*]	
905	ᵐAD-ᵈx[ ]	ᵐAD-[ ]x	
904	ᵐ*aš-šur-t*[*àk-l*]*ak*	-*tà*]*k*ʔ-[	
903	ᵐ⌜*qur*⌝-[*di*-DINGIRʔ]-*ma*	]-*ni*	
902	[broken]	ⁱ]ⁿ-*an-ni*	
901	[broken]	]-*šur*	ᵐBÀD-KUR-ᵈ*a-šur* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 39)
900	-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝	-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝	ᵐDINGIR-*e*-<*mu*>-*qa-a-a* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 42)
899	-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝	-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝	ᵐ*ni-nu-a-ia* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 45)
898	-*r*]*u*	[broken]	ᵐ*lik-be-ru* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 49)

The placement of the of Adad-nārārī II's eponymate in 910 would seem to harmonise neatly the two surviving eponym lists. However, close scrutiny of SAAS 2, A1 demonstrates that there is a gap of three lines (and not two as reconstructed by Millard) between the entries for Qurdi-ilimma(?) and Ilu-emūqāya (see Fig. 1), as is evident from the three DIŠ-signs beginning entries in the adjacent column (ii 8-10).

Moreover, the traces on SAAS 2, A8 i 8 exclude a reconstruction of the name Qurdi-ilimma. Considering that SAA 2, A1 is a carefully compiled manuscript from Naynawā while SAAS 2, A8 is a school exercise tablet rife with errors, the logical conclusion is that SAAS 2, A8 contains an omission, skipping Qurdi-ilimma and continuing with the next eponym, whose name ended in]-*ni*, and who would have lain in the unnumbered and broken line between between SAAS 2, A1 i 8 and 9. Hence, both Qurdi-ilimma and his predecessors must be shifted one year backwards into the past, with Adad-nārārī II's eponymate now in 911, in line with the earlier reconstructions by Smith (1875: 57) and Ungnad (1938: 418). This (old) new chronology would mean that Adad-nārārī II's tenure encompassed some 22 known eponyms (beginning with his own eponymate), an eventuality which Gurney (1953: 17) had already predicted, should SAAS 2, A1 be preferred over SAAS 2, A8. What prevented him from committing to this reconstruction was the ascription in the Assyrian King List (AKL) of only 21 regnal years to Adad-nārārī II (AKL §69, see GRAYSON 1980-1983: 114).

Figure 1. Detail of SAAS 2, A1 i 1–13 (from Millard 1994: pl. 1)

Yet, this deference to the AKL belies a circular argumentation, as it is generally accepted that durations of reigns in the AKL were compiled from eponym lists (i.e. by counting from one royal name beneath a ruling up to the ruling before the next royal name; e.g. ROWTON 1946: 97–98). The two exemplars of the AKL preserving Adad-nārārī II both hail from the latter half of the 8th century (the Ḫūrsabād exemplar was compiled in 738 using a list from Aššur, and the SDAS exemplar must date to the reign of Šarru-ukīn), while the eponym SAAS 2, A1 was copied out for the palace of Aššur-bāni-apli around the mid 7th century; nonetheless, this hardly guarantees that the eponym lists from which the compilers of the 8th-century king lists worked were more accurate than those available to Aššur-bāni-apli's scribes—indeed, the latter scholars may well have been able to study a wider range of exemplars, and restore 'lost' eponyms.

For example, the Ḫūrsabād edition of the AKL notably grants Tukultī-apil-Ešarra II some 32 regnal years, while the post-canonical eponym list SAAS A7 furnishes him with 33—as the near-contemporary late 10th-century Nassouhi List is broken at this juncture, it is unclear as to which is correct. No recensions of the AKL are known from any later than the reign of

Šarru-ukīn, and so it remains unknown as to whether examples from the reign of Aššur-bāni-apli would have presented a revised regnal length for Adad-nārārī II.

Regardless, it is much easier to omit an eponym than to insert one, and thus far more likely that Adad-nārārī II's eponymate fell in 911 than 910. Hence, a revised eponym sequence may now be presented:

Year	SAAS 2, A1 i 1–13	SAAS 2, A2 i 1'–5'	SAAS 2, A8 i 1–13	Annalistic evidence	Normalisation and notes
911	[broken]		ᵐIŠKUR-ERIM.TAḪ		Adad-nārārī (II)
910	[ᵐš]*e-ʾi-[aš-šur]*		ᵐ*še-ʾi-[aš-šur]*	ᵐ*še-ʾi-aš-šur* (RIMA 2, 0.99.1 r. 19')	Šēʾi-Aššur
909	[ᵐ]*aš-šur*-KAL[ⁱⁿ-*n*]*i*		ᵐ*aš-šur*-KALⁱⁿ-*a*[*n-ni*]		Aššur-daʾʾinanni
908	[ᵐ]*aš-šur-de-n*[*i-a-m*]*ur*		ᵐ*aš-šur-de-ni-a-mur*		Aššur-dēnī-amur
907	ᵐ*bar*-[*m*]*u*		ᵐ*ba*-⌜*ar*⌝-*m*[*u*]		Barmu
906	ᵐAD-ᵈx[ ]		ᵐAD-[ ]x		Abī-[DN-x]
905	ᵐ*aš-šur-t*[*àk-l*]*ak*		-*tà*]*k*ʾ-[		Aššur-taklak
904	ᵐ⌜*qur*⌝-[*di*-DINGIRʾ]-*ma*		(omitted)		Qurdi-ilimma(?)
903	[broken]		]-*ni*		]-ni
902	[broken]		ⁱ]ⁿ-*an-ni*		Aššur-daʾʾinanni (?)
901	[broken]		]-*šur*	ᵐBÀD-KUR-ᵈ*a-šur* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 39)	Dūr-māti-Aššur
900	-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝		-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝	ᵐDINGIR-*e-<mu>-qa-a-a* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 42)	Ilu-emūqāya
899	-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝		-*a*]-⌜*a*⌝	ᵐ*ni-nu-a-ia* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 45)	Ninūʾāya
898	-*r*]*u*		[broken]	ᵐ*lik-be-ru* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 49)	Likberū
897	[broken hereafter]		[broken]	ᵐ10-PAP-A (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 61)	Adad-aḫa-iddina
896			ᵐᵈIŠKUR-KALᵃ[ⁿ]	ᵐᵈIŠKUR-KALᵃⁿ (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 62)	Adad-dān
895			ᵐ*a-na*-DINGIR-*ia*-⌜*al*ʾ-*lak*⌝	ᵐ*i-na*-DINGIR-*ia-a-lak* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 91)	Ana-ilīya-allak (for the rendering, see Morello 2020: 171–172)
894		[preserved hereafter]	ᵐᵈUTU-AD-*u-a*	ᵐᵈ⌜UTU-AD⌝-*ia* (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 94)	Šamaš-abūʾa
893		x]-LUGAL-[x	ᵐᵈUTU-EN-PAP	ᵐDINGIR-ZI-PAP (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 134)	Šamaš-bēlu-uṣur/Ilu-kēttu-uṣur (an intrigue possibly led to Ilu-kēttu-uṣur's replacement as eponym during the year; see Edmonds 2023: 277–278).

892		MAŠ-ṣar?-[x?]-me?	md MAŠ.MAŠ-suk?-mi? [x x]		(Name unclear. suk? in A8 i is probably a visual mistake for ṣar?)
891		[m DUG.G]A-KAR-[aš+šu]r	m DUG.GA-KAR-[aš+šur?]		Ṭāb-kār-Aššur (for the rendering, see LLOP 2011).
890		[m aš]-šur-la-GIN nu-[x-x-š]a	m aš-šur-la-GIN nu-ú-ba-⌜ša⌝		Aššur-lā-kēnu-ubaša
Ruling in A2 and A8					
889		[m tukul-t]i-d MAŠ L[UGAL]	m tukul-ti-d MAŠ MAN		Tukultī-Ninurta (II)

While this resolves an issue in the eponym lists of this period, new chronological issues rear their head thereby.

Most pressingly, there is the problem as whether Adad-nārārī II's royal eponymate (now 911) corresponds to his first or second regnal year. On the strength of comparison between the Eponym Lists and Chronicles and the AKL, there has long been a consensus that the Neo-Assyrian king's eponymate was celebrated in his second regnal year (see already SMITH 1875: 206; SCHRADER 1878: 328–330), but opinions on the advent of this practice vary. Prevalent among Middle Assyrianists is that the royal eponym fell in the first regnal year until at least the reign of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I, although Yamada (2018: 83) has recently challenged this. In turn, Aššur-nāṣir-apli II may be demonstrated to have celebrated his royal eponymate in his second regnal year, furnishing a *terminus ante quem* for this practice (POEBEL 1943: 76–78). Some have sought to precise this further. Tadmor (1958: 28, fn. 53) argued that Adad-nārārī II' royal eponymate fell in his second regnal year considering that he had already completed an annalistic inscription laden with campaigns the following year (i.e. RIMA 2, 0.99.1, ep. Šē²i-Aššur); this has since been followed by Finkel and Reade (1995: 167). In turn, the aforementioned discrepancy in the length of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra II's reign has attracted attention, with both Reade (2004: 469) and Bloch (2012: 10–11, fn. 23) suggesting that the shift to the second year occurred with Aššur-dān II's accession, this provoking the differing figures.

Reusing Tadmor's argument, Adad-nārārī II's first regnal year is probably to be placed in 912 simply to accommodate all of his activities prior to the 6th Kislīmu (IX) 910, the date of the RIMA 2, 0.99.1's completion. These included the defeat of Qumānû, the conquest and annexation of Arrapḫa, and probably his first war with Babylonia (EDMONDS 2023: 242–244). The same inscription (o. 8–9) uses the formula *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina maḫrê palêya ša ina kussê šarrūti rabîš ūšibu* "at the beginning of my kingship, in my first regnal year, when I majestically seated myself on the royal throne" to presage its first campaign, led by Adad-nārārī II against Qumānû. This would imply that Adad-nārārī II lacks a 'Year 0', and rather that he had come to power soon before New Year, which had precluded a discrete coronation ceremony.

While this would suggest Adad-nārārī II's factitive accession at the very end of 913, it is important to note that Adad-nārārī II also presents clear (albeit previously unrecognised) indications of having been a usurper (EDMONDS 2025: 113–119), not only in his extended and unusual description of his transformation to a "lordly stature", and fixates upon his choice of throne name (see already GALTER 2018), but also in his very strange eponym stele which was fashioned by mutilating a monumental devotional statue of an Assyrian king (ANDRAE 1913: 14–18), who could only have been his immediate predecessor, likely an otherwise obscure *Aššur-uballiṭ* mentioned in an inscription upon a libation vessel of the god Aššur (KAL 3, 22).

Interesting thus is that another annalistic text of Adad-nārārī II's reign—probably compiled prior to 901 (EDMONDS 2023: 257)—using the otherwise unattested expression *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina maḫrê palêya* [*ša Aššur an*]*a rēʾût mātīšu rabîš ibbânni* "at the beginning of my kingship, in my first regnal year, [when Aššur] majestically named me [fo]r shepherdship of his land" (KAL 3, 48 o. i 6'–7') to introduce a brief, inconsequential campaign to Ušḫu and Atkun prior to his larger campaign to Qumānû with which RIMA 2, 0.99.1 begins (EDMONDS 2023: 256–257). This expression could allude to a situation following

Adad-nārārī II's popular acclamation as king but prior to recognition as such by Aššur's priesthood and scheduling of his enthronement at New Year. Adad-nārārī II displays a pattern of campaigning much earlier and later in the year in the mountains than his successors (EDMONDS 2023: 278), and so the Ušḫu and Atkun-campaign could plausibly have occurred at the end of winter, perhaps in Addaru (XII) 913.

Thus, it is cogent to shift Adad-nārārī II's accession to 912, with the consequence that the Assyrian chronology of the 10th century is also pushed backwards a year. Nevertheless, this cannot be unequivocally confirmed until further sources become available and the eponyms immediately prior to 911 are reconstructed.

More generally, the complicated relationship between the AKL and the eponym lists and chronicles must be further investigated, and their redactional logics better understood; neither source-type is entirely without inaccuracy, and the incoherencies between different exemplars within both genres may well reflect multiple, contradictory attempts by later scribes to rationalise complicated history into a linear chronology. Considering that the AKL was drafted and re-drafted using eponym lists, its use to resolve issues of chronology presented by diverging eponym lists betrays a circular reasoning.

Regardless, until more supplementary evidence emerges, Assyria's chronology prior to 911 remains all but absolute.

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116) A little more light on Sūḫu — In this journal's previous fascicle, Philippe Clancier (2024) responded to the present author's dismantling (EDMONDS 2024: 64–68) of his theory of two identically named, rival kingdoms of Sūḫu during the Early Iron age (CLANCIER 2021: 368–482) with various objections. This note addresses Clancier's salient concerns.

1. Tukultī-Ninurta II's itinerary (885 BC). The present author (EDMONDS 2024: 62) dismissed Clancier's two proposed crossings of the River Euphrates—one prior to Harbû (downstream of Ḫān al-Baġdādī), another before Sab/pīrutu (Bīǧān, both in Iraq)—by Tukultī-Ninurta II (see Fig. 1) as none are mentioned in the detailed itinerary (compare Aššur-nāṣir-apli II's explicit crossing using a fleet of boats RIMA 2,

0.101.1 iii 29–30. 33–34). Moreover, a march along solely the left bank conforms with the known historical geography (and Xenophon's route to Kounaxa in 401 BC).
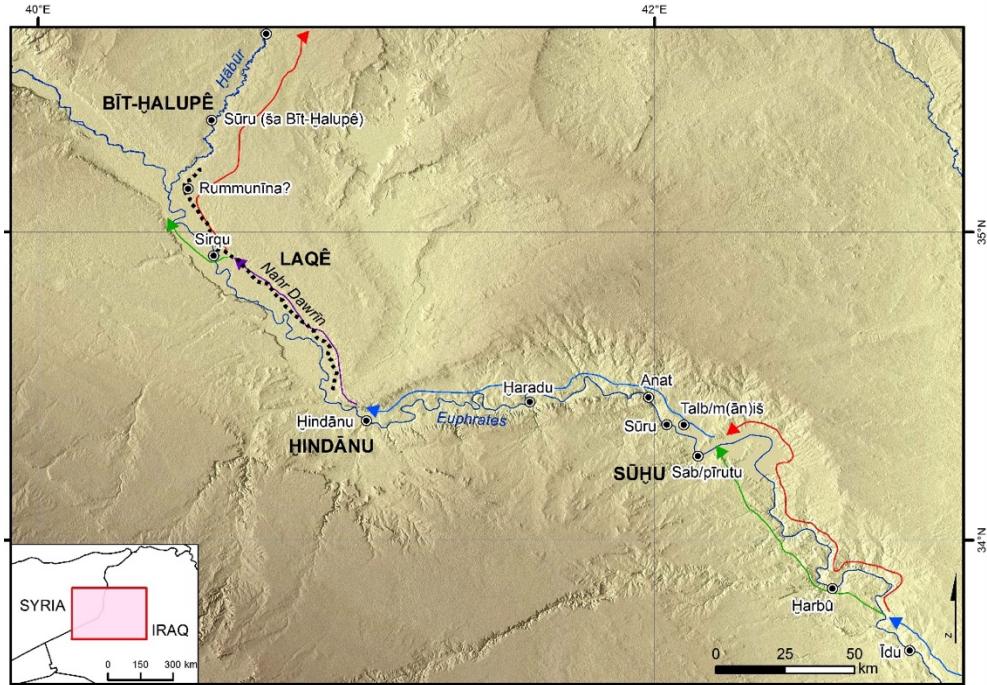

Figure 1. Proposals for Tukultī-Ninurta II's route through Sūḫu. Red: proposed by Edmonds; green: proposed by Clancier or to be inferred from his logic; blue: proposed by Edmonds & Clancier; purple: proposed by Edmonds & to be inferred from Clancier. (map: Bartłomiej Szypuła)

Noting the use of *ina* 'in' rather than *ina pūt* 'opposite' in the following passage (KAL 3, 19–20/RIMA 2, 0.100.5: 61–62), Clancier (2021: 140–142; 2024: 115) asserts a crossing of the Euphrates prior to Ḫarbû:

> *ina* ᵘʳᵘ*ḫar-bé-e* GAR-*an be-de* ᵘʳᵘ⌜*ḫar*⌝-*bé-e* GÌR ⌜*am*⌝-*ma-te šá* ᶦᵈ*pu-rat-te ṣa-li*

> I encamped and bivouacked in Ḫarbû. Ḫarbû lies on the Euphrates' other bank

Yet, another passage with the same quirk contradicts Clancier's *ina* / *ina pūt*-distinction (KAL 3, 19–20/RIMA 2, 0.100.5: 92–98):

> *ina puʾ-ut⁷* (var. *pu-ut*) ᵘʳᵘ*sir-qi us-ba-ku-ni na-*⌜*mur-tu*⌝ *ša* ᵐ*ḫar-ra-a-ni* ᵏᵘʳ*la-*⌜*qa*⌝-*a-*⌜*ia*⌝ (tribute follows) … *it-ta-*⌜*ḫar*⌝ *ina* ᵘʳᵘ⌜*sir-qi*⌝ GAR-*an be-*⌜*de*⌝ ᵘʳᵘ⌜*sir-qi*⌝ GÌR *am-ma-te šá* ᶦᵈ*pu-rat-te ṣa-li* ⌜*iš*⌝-*tu* ᵘʳᵘ*sir-*⌜*qi it-tum₄*⌝-*šá ina ú-šal-lì šá* ᶦᵈ*pu-rat-te šá* ᵘʳᵘ*ru-um-mu-ni-na a-šar pal-gu šá* ᶦᵈ⌜*ḫaʾ-bur*⌝⌜ *ṣa-la-an-ni* GAR-*an be-*⌜*de*⌝ ᵘʳᵘ*ru-um-mu-ni-na it-tum₄-šá* (var. *it-tum₄-muš*) *ana₃* ᵘʳᵘ*su-ú-ri šá* DUMU ⌜*ḫa-lu-pe-e*⌝ *šá* UGU ᶦᵈ⌜*ḫa-bur*⌝ *aq-ṭí-rib*

> While residing opposite Sirqu, I received the audience gift of Ḫarrānu the Laqian (tribute follows) … I encamped and bivouacked in Sirqu. Sirqu lies on the Euphrates' other bank. I departed from Sirqu. I encamped and bivouacked in the meadows of Rummunīna where a canal from the Ḫābūr lies. I departed from Rummunīna and approached Sūru of the son of Ḫalupê by the Ḫābūr.

By his logic, the Assyrian army would have crossed the Euphrates at Sirqu (Tall ʿAšāra, Syria), and marched onwards up its right bank. This is impossible, as Rummunīna's meadows contain a canal from the Ḫābūr which must be on the left bank (the Nahr Dawrīn, see GEYER & MONCHAMBERT 2015), and the next halt is near Sūru of Bīt-Ḫalupê (Tall Fidayn, Syria). Without the *ina* / *ina pūt*-logic, there is no cause for any river crossings. Considering the itinerary's many scribal errors (e.g. KAL 3, 19–20/RIMA 2, 0.100.5: 37. 53. 74–75. 91, see FRAHM 2009: 52–53), emendations to *ina <pu-ut>* ᵘʳᵘ*ḫar-be-e* and *ina <pu-ut>* ᵘʳᵘ⌜*sir-qi*⌝ are cogent.

Interesting remains the *kudurru* found at Tall ʿAšāra bearing an inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta II (RIMA 2, 0.100.1004). Either Tukultī-Ninurta II was ferried over to Sirqu for some inscription-carving and lodgings away from the army, this stele was originally deposited elsewhere, or Tukultī-Ninurta II had already campaigned to Sirqu during the somewhat obscure early years of his reign.

2. Marduk-apla-uṣur writes to Urtamis (ca. 840-820 BC). Citing the letter Ḥamā 1, Clancier (2024: 116–117) highlights an apparent rivalry between Marduk-apla-uṣur, governor of Sūḫu and tributary of Salmānu-ašarēd III, and Adad-nādin-zēri, listed by Šamaš-rēša-uṣur and Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur as an ancestor and governor (see Fig. 2). Therein, Marduk-apla-uṣur replies to Rudamu (Urtamis) of Ḥamat about the embezzlement of their trade goods by an individual hitherto rendered ᵐᵈIŠKUR-SUM-*n*[*a*-NUMUN], i.e. *Adad-nādin-*[*zēri*]. However, SUM-*na* invariably stands for *iddina* in Akkadian onomastics, not *nādin* (ARBØLL 2023: 100), and the *na*'s final vertical wedge precludes a reading ᵐᵈIŠKUR-SUM-N[UMUN]. Now Adad-iddina, this gentleman need not even be Sūḫian. Ḥamā 1 r. 1'–9' thus reads as follows:

> [x x] ᵐᵈIŠKUR-SUM-*n*[*a* (x x)] LÚ [*ka*]-*me* DINGIR-*šú ú-de-*[*e-ni*] *i-ta-kal ù a-na-ku al-tap-raš-šú at-ta* [*i-n*]*a* UGU *ú'-de-e-ka te-*[*me ù*] *i-ši ul i-ke*ᶦ(MAN)-*lak-k*[*aʔ ù a*]-*na-ku* [*i-na*] UGU *ú-de-e a-te-me ù a-n*[*a-á*]*š-ši*

> … Adad-iddin[a x x], that [*in*]*fidel*, has availed himself of your merchan[dise,] but I have written to him. Swe[ar o]n your merchandise and bear (it hence). He cannot withhold it from yo[u. I] for my part will swear [on] my merchandise and b[ea]r (it hence).

Having passed through neither Ḥamat nor Sūḫu, these goods must rather have reached Adad-iddina via the lower Ḫābūr or the Wādī aṭ-Ṭarṭār. Accessible to both rulers but closer to Marduk-apla-uṣur (who could influence him by letter), Adad-iddina must have been the ruler of a contemporary Euphratine polity, perhaps Ḫindānu. Trade's importance during this period (EDMONDS 2024: 72–74) is underlined by the frantic epistolary exchange, and the cursing therein of Adad-iddina (LÚ [*ka*]-*me* DINGIR-*šú* must be a religious slur, perhaps from Aramaic *kmh* 'to be blind').

While a coeval friction between Marduk-apla-uṣur and Adad-nādin-zēri is now removed, the simplest explanation remains a succession between brothers (EDMONDS 2024: 76).
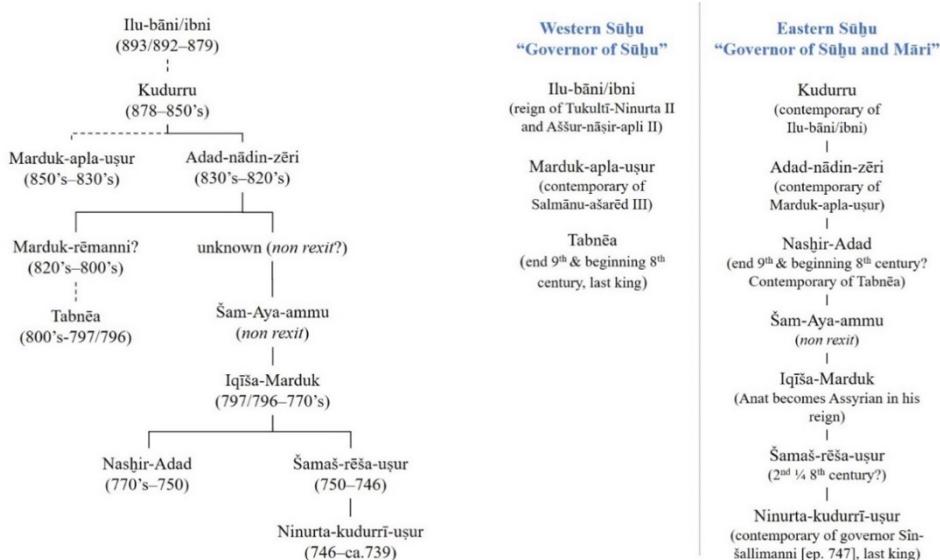

Figure 2. Reconstructions of Sūḫu's ruling dynasties by Edmonds (2025: fig. 14) [left] and Clancier (2021: 518–519) [right]

3. Ilu-bāni/ibni consults divination (881 BC). Clancier (2024: 116–117) asserts the Suḫian governor Ilu-bāni/ibni's alleged flight from Kudurru to Assyria, already dismissed by the present author on historical grounds (EDMONDS 2024: 75). A close reading of the passage (RIMA 2, 0.101.1 i 99–101) is illuminating:

> *ina li-me* MU MU-*a-ma ina qí-bit aš+šur* EN GAL EN-A *u* ᵈMAŠ AGA₂ SANGA-*ti-a šá ina tar-ṣi* man^meš-*ni* AD^meš-*a* ˡᵘGAR ᵏᵘʳ*su-ḫi a-na* KUR-*aš+šur la* DU-*ni* ᵐDINGIR-DÙ ˡᵘGAR.KUR ᵏᵘʳ*su-ḫi a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI^meš-*šú* (var. ZI^meš-*šú-nu*) *a-di* ŠEŠ^meš-*šú* DUMU^meš-*šú* KÙ.BABBAR^meš KÙ.GI^meš *ma-da-tu-šú ana* ᵘʳᵘ*ni-nu-a ana* UGU-*a ub-la*

> In the eponymate of my own name, by the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and Ninurta, who loves my priesthood, Ilu-bāni/ibni, governor of Sūḫu, brought his tribute of silver and gold before my presence at Ninūa in order to save his life along with (those of) his brothers and sons, although no governor of Sūḫu had journeyed to Assyria in the days of the kings, my ancestors.

When directed towards the Assyrian king, the sense of *ana šūzub napišti* is of grovelling, not flight (see RIMA 2, 0.101.1 i 80). Moreover, Ilu-bāni/ibni travels to Assyria "at the command" (*ina qibīt*) of Aššur and Ninurta, alluding to divinatory practices prior to a campaign (e.g. ODED 1992: 9). An avowed Assyrophile (EDMONDS 2023), Ilu-bāni/ibni must have consulted Assyrian gods prior to departing on his diplomatic mission (or have alleged to have seen the gods in a dream, akin to Aššur-bāni-apli's famous Gyges-narrative). His journey would be repeated by his successor Kudurru, who delivered tribute to Aššur-nāṣir-apli II at Imgur-Enlil (Balāwāt, Iraq) (RIMA 2, 0.101.97), and the ill-fated Tabnēa.

4. New biographical information on the rulers of Sūḫu and Bīt-Dakkūri (797-746 BC). Clancier's (2024: 115–116) discussion of RIMB 2, S. 0.1002.5 iv 7–10; 9 ii 5–12 occasions its re-investigation:

ul-tu muḫ-ḫi ᵐ*tab-né-e-a* ᵐBA-*šá-*ᵈAMAR.UTU *ù* ᵐNIGIN-*ir-*ᵈIŠKUR 3 ˡúGAR.KURᵐᵉˢ 50 MU.AN.NAᵐᵉˢ ᵘʳᵘ*an-at šá* ˡú*aš-šur*ᵏⁱ-*a-a* 3 MU.AN.NAᵐᵉˢ *i-na* UD *šá* ᵐᵈUTU-SAG-PAP MIN (var. ˡúGAR ᵏᵘʳ*su-ḫi u* ᵏᵘʳ*ma-ri*) AD-*ia a-di ina* ᵍⁱˢGU.ZA AD-*ia la uš-šá-bu* ᵈIŠKUR *u* A-ᵈIŠKUR *ki-i iš-ku-nu* ᵘʳᵘ*an-at a-na* AD-*ia it-tu-ru ina* (var. *i-na*) 4 MU.AN.NAᵐᵉˢ *šá* ᵘʳᵘ*an-at* ⌈*i*⌉!-*ša*⌉-*ru*⌉⌉ AD-*ia a-na* NAMᵐᵉˢ *ki-i* ⌈*il*⌉-[*li-ku*] *a-na-ku ina* ᵍⁱˢGU.ZA AD-*ia ú-šib gi-na-né-e ù* SISKUR[ᵐᵉˢ (…)] *u* (var. *ù*) *i-sin-na-ti šá* ᵈIŠKUR [(…)] ⌈*ki*⌉-*i pi-i* ᵐ⌈*ḫa*⌉-*am*-[*mu*]-*ra-*⌈*pí*⌉ [LUGAL TIN.TIRᵏⁱ *u*] *a-bi a-li-di-ia a-na-ku* ⌈*uk-tin*⌉

From Tabnēa, Iqīša-Marduk, and Nasḫir-Adad, three governors, for 50 years, Anat was the Assyrian's, and (also) three years in the days of Šamaš-rēša-uṣur, ditto (var. Governor of Sūḫu and Māri), my father, until I succeeded to the throne. When Adad and Apladad […] restored Anat to my father, in the fourth year, when Anat *flourished*? when my father we[nt] to his fate, I occupied the throne of my father. I established regular offerings, sacrifices […], and festivals of Adad […] according to Ḫam[mu]-rāpi, [King of Bābili, and] my father who begot me.

From the passage's logic and the interchangeability between Šamaš-rēša-uṣur's full titulary (CLANCIER 2024: 116) and a ditto (EDMONDS 2024: 66), he and his three predecessors must have occupied the same office afterwards assumed by the inscription's commissioner, Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur. As Nasḫir-Adad cannot be placed in the genealogies of Šamaš-rēša-uṣur and Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur (EDMONDS 2024: 65–67. 76, fn. 61), and is thus not a direct ancestor of either, but is mentioned deferentially in RIMB 2, S. 0.0.1002: 8' (probably by Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur), implying a peaceful succession, he can only have been Šamaš-rēša-uṣur's elder brother (NA'AMAN 2003: 102).

This is consonant with Šamaš-rēša-uṣur's mere four years of reign, suggesting his accession at an advanced age with a mature son. The regaining of Anat at the end of 747 (updated chronology in EDMONDS 2025: 247–252) occurred too soon to appear in Šamaš-rēša-uṣur's inscriptions, leaving Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur to restore Anat's temples and cult. Indeed, the inscription of his stele RIMB 2, S. 0.1001.1 seems a hasty creation, with Cols. i–iii cribbed from another stele (complete with curse formula), and Col. iv 1–12 extracted from a sealed decree (iv 11–12):

MU.AN.NA 4!ᵐᵉˢ *šá* ᵐᵈUTU-SAG-PAP ˡúGAR ᵏᵘʳ*su-ḫi u* ᵏᵘʳ*má-rí* ⁿᵃ⁴KIŠIB *ka-nik*

Sealed in the fourth year of Šamaš-rēša-uṣur, Governor of Sūḫu and Māri

Previously misconstrued as 13, i.e. 10(U)+3(DIŠ) years, close inspection (see Fig. 3) betrays a poorly carved 4, i.e. ŠÀ (EDMONDS 2024: 79, fn. 81). The remaining inscription (iv 13 onwards) discusses apiculture akin to RIMB 2, S. 0.1001.4 Side a. 1–7. Faced with an ailing king (note the regular offerings to the stele in Epigraph 4), his scribes must have cobbled this stele's inscription together from what was to hand. Indeed, Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur mentions elsewhere *not* commemorating an achievement of his father with a stele (RIMB 2, S. 0.1002.3 iii 14'–17'; 6 iii 21'–23'), implying the posthumous creation of inscriptions for him.

Figure 3. Detail of RIMB 2, S. 0.1001.1 iv 11's MU.AN.NA 4!ᵐᵉˢ (copy from WEISSBACH 1903: pl. 5)

Šamaš-rēša-uṣur's aged succession raises the question as to why Nasḫir-Adad was not succeeded by his own offspring. The answer must lie in the two contemporaneous plagues of 765 and 759 (SAAS 2, B1: 54'. 60'; B2: 49'. 55'), which also killed Aššur-dān III's children and wife, if the present author is correct in

allotting them Nimrūd's Tomb III Coffin 1 (EDMONDS 2025: 151–156). Nasḫir-Adad's sons must all have been either dead or underage upon Šamaš-rēša-uṣur accession in 750.

Nasḫir-Adad's apparent contemporary Nabû-šuma-līšir (RIMB 2, S. 0.0.1002: 6'–8') also warrants provisional contextualisation. If he corresponds to one Nabû-šuma-lišir, a Dakkūrian potentate known from a stone weight (RIMB 2, B.6.10.2001), then his rebellious exploits are best situated prior to Nabû-šuma-iškun of Bīt-Dakkūri's enthronement in Bābili around 760 BC (ZADOK 2017). This would place his conniving against Nasḫir-Adad at Raʾil roughly in the late 770's or early 760's.

5. A land sale in Sūḫu (793/772 BC). Edubba 10, 28, a Neo-Assyrian tablet from Nimrūd's Northwest Palace (Room 57), affords a rare glimpse into early 8th-century Sūḫu (EDMONDS 2024: 60. 67, fn. 34. 78). Dated to 793 or 772 BC, it documents the sale of land near Sab/pīrutu by three Sūḫian shepherds employed by the chief cook (Dayâ, Kandilānu, and Šamaš-naʾid) to another Sūḫian shepherd (Ṭāb-aḫūni) engaged by the Assyrian queen.

> [m]*a-nu ša ina ur-kiš i*-GIL$^?$-*a-ni* [*l*]*u-u* ^m*da-ia-a lu-u* ^m*kan-dil-a-nu* ^{md}*šá-maš*-I *lu-u* ŠEŠ^{meš}-*šú-nu* DUMU^{meš}-*šú-nu lu-u* EN *il-ki-šu-nu šá* TA ^mDUG.GA-PAB-*ú-ni de-nu* DU₁₁.DU₁₁ *ub-ta-ú-ni* 1 MA.NA TUG *gír-du* KÚ *a-mar* DUG *a*ᵌ-*ga-ni kur-r*[*u*] N[AG'?] 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA *ḫ*[*ar-ba-kan-nu* (x x x) 1 MA.N]A KÚ.SIG₁₇ *šak-ru* [(x x)] 1 [MA.N]A KÚ.BABBAR *a-na* ᵈIŠKUR *ša* ^{uru}*sa-pi-rit* SUM-*an ina de-ni-šu* DU₁₁.DU₁₁ *la* TI-*qé*

> [W]hosoever contravenes in future, [w]hether Dayâ, Kandilānu, or Šamaš-naʾid, or their brothers or sons, or those who perform their *ilku*-service and who initiates a suit or litigation against Ṭāb-aḫūni—he will eat a mina of *girdu*-cloth and dri[nk] a vatful of tanne[r's fluid], and gift one *ḫa*[*rbakannu*-horse, one mi]na of gold and one [mi]na of silver to Adad of Sab/pirutu, and will not succeed in his lawsuit.

As Clancier (2021: 216–218) convincingly argues, Sab/pīrutu can be equated to Ukalāya, cultivated by Šamaš-rēša-uṣur just prior to his death (RIMB 2, S. 0.1001.1 iv 3–4). As Šamaš-rēša-uṣur was active further upstream in Talb/m(ān)iš in the years prior to gaining Anat (RIMB 2, S. 0.1001.1 ii 17'–40'), Sab/pīrutu would hence fall firmly within Clancier's 'eastern Sūḫu' during the early 8th century (CLANCIER 2021: 6, map 3. 333, map 25). Considering that a contemporary sale of *ilku*-land here featuring penalties at a local temple was drafted by an Assyrian scribe in Kalḫu and stored there for Sūḫians in the employ of the Assyrian court, the entirety of Sūḫu must have been administratively integrated into Assyria as a 'transitional case' (EDMONDS 2023) in this era under a single dynasty. The resultant cultural hybridity is intimated by Adad of Sab/pirutu receiving a *ḫarbakannu*-horse, the preserve of Nergal in Assyria proper.

Outlook. These brief studies have addressed Clancier's (2024) chief objections to the present author's historical reconstruction, and added to present knowledge of this ancient kingdom. As this scholarly exchange has demonstrated, there is much yet to be gained from open and civil discussion of Sūḫu, whether 'in the shadow of great powers' or examined in a new light.

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117) On the restoration of PBS 1/1 14, line 4 — The incantations contained in PBS 1/1 14 (Kh[2] 1514 = CDLI P258848) were classified by W. G. Lambert (1974) as belonging to the category of *dingiršadibba* and have been treated more recently by Margaret Jaques (2015) as part of a comprehensive study of the genre. While the text of the tablet's initial incantation to Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk (lines 1–23) is mostly legible, there is a conspicuous break in line 4 that has so far eluded interpreters. The following sign readings are agreed upon by all:

ik-tap-du-ma GIM MUŠ *ma na* x [x] x *nu a-na-ku*

Some translators, like Lambert ("They strove and like a snake I . . . [.]") and Foster ("They laid their plans and like a snake I [   ]"), refrain entirely from rendering the word before *anāku* (LAMBERT 1974, 275; FOSTER 2005, 645). Others have offered a fuller translation based on the tentative reconstruction *na-[kar-š]u-nu* (and connecting the *ma* to the preceding prepositional phrase *kīma ṣēri* as an emphatic particle); thus Hecker: "sie machten Pläne, doch ich war wie eine Schlange ih[r *Fei*]*nd*" (1989, 776; see also SEUX 1976, 200; FALKENSTEIN & VON SODEN 1953, 338). Jaques's own translation ("Ils ont élaboré des plans. Moi, comme un serpent, j'ai(?) rampé") appears to be an inference from the metaphor of the snake and not based on any specific proposal for the signs to be restored (JAQUES 2015, 67, 87, 94–95).

In this case, however, thanks to the digital photo made available on CDLI (P258848), I believe it is possible to propose a new restoration:

ik-tap-du-ma GIM MUŠ *ma-na-⌜aḫ⌝-[ta]-⌜šú⌝-nu a-na-ku*

The ŠÚ sign on the right edge of the break is fairly visible on the photo; indeed, it looks as if both the vertical wedge and the lower Winkelhaken are entirely preserved, in contrast to how it is drawn on the original copy of Myhrman in PBS 1/1. As for the left edge of the break, only the beginning of the AḪ sign is visible, but comparison with the same sign in line 8 (i.e., the UḪ sign in *nu-uḫ-ḫu-tu*) shows a very close correspondence with the preserved wedges. The size of the break would also fit well with the width needed for the completion of the AḪ sign plus an additional TA.

The more difficult question is what the line would mean. The noun *mānaḫtu* is a *maprast* formation from *anāḫu* ("to toil, be tired") for which the CAD lists six major spheres of meaning: "1. toil, misery, weariness, 2. maintenance, upkeep, improvements (in fields and houses), expenses (incurred for these), 3. installations, equipment (mostly in the plural), 4. cultivated field or orchard, 5. vassal service (MB Alalakh), 6. place to rest" (CAD M/1, 203). (The sixth meaning seems more appropriate to a noun *manāḫtu*, from a II-weak root, for which CAD does not have an entry.) Setting aside the technical meanings involving fields, equipment, and the like, in what sense could the first-person subject here (that is, the supplicant of the incantation-prayer) be related to toil, misery, or weariness? The line in question is part of a section in lines 3–5 that describes the supplicant via the image of an unborn child in the womb. Since line 3 mentions the supplicant's father and mother, it makes sense that the verb *iktapdūma* in line 4 would have them as the plural subject (although the possibility of the gods as the subject has also been suggested; see JAQUES 2015, 94). In general, the verb *kapādu* tends to denote some sort of mental action of planning or plotting, whether good or evil, and here I would take it to be a metaphor for the process of procreation—the father and mother together "plot" or "make plans" to bring forth a child. With that understanding in mind, the subsequent verbless clause *mānaḫtašunu anāku* could refer to the supplicant's declaration that he is the result of this effort of plotting: "I was (the result/product of) their toil." This leaves the prepositional phrase *kīma*(GIM) *ṣēri*(MUŠ), which I take not to be an elaboration of the toil but rather as simply a physical description of the child in the womb, for which Lambert and Jaques have already cited parallels (LAMBERT 1974, 294; JAQUES 2015, 95). Alternatively, if one were to take the gods as the subject of *iktapdūma*, then the line could still make sense with those same gods as the referent of the pronominal suffix *-šunu*.

In sum, based on this proposed restoration, my translation of PBS 1/1 14, lines 3–5 is as follows:

3. My father sired me, my mother bore me.
4. They planned, and like a snake I was (the result of) their toil.
5. I came forth from the midst of the darkness and I saw you, O Šamaš.

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118) Lack of Parental Protection and Divine Installation: Two Ideological Themes Related to Contested Accessions in Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions — In the introductions of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, the king will occasionally recall his contested accession, which usually occurred because of rebellions started by his elder brothers. The longest description of this kind was composed by Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) in his Nineveh A inscription, narrating how he was installed as the crown prince as a younger son, how his elder brothers rebelled and fought each other for the kingship, and how, despite all the difficulties, he eventually triumphed and ascended to the throne. This passage is not featured in the early inscriptions of Esarhaddon, but was introduced in 673 BCE, his eighth regnal year, around the same time he appointed Ashurbanipal, also one of his younger sons, as crown prince. In the following year (672 BCE), Esarhaddon also imposed an *adê* on all the people of the Assyrian empire to ensure a smooth succession. Another example of the king recalling rebellions at his accession is found in the introduction of the annals of Šamši-Adad V (824–811 BCE). This passage was also introduced late in his reign, just a few years before his death.

Apart from these fuller narratives of contested accessions, which were made at a time the king was about to appoint his successor, brief mentions or hints of turbulent circumstances surrounding accession also feature in the introductions of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. Different from the former, these brief descriptions can be found throughout the king's reign, and were made for the purpose of legitimization: a contested accession would certainly cast doubt on the king's legitimacy, so it needed to be acknowledged. It is observed that these brief descriptions feature two unique themes: denial of human parental protection since childhood and divine installation of the king (*ina kussī šarrūti šūšubu*). The interconnectedness of these two themes and their ideological function will be explored in this short paper.

The king's divine parentage was a common theme in this period, as it was throughout Mesopotamian history, but was especially promoted during the reign of Ashurbanipal.[1] While the king claimed that certain gods were his mother and father, giving birth to and/or nurturing him, the denial of human parental protection since childhood was not common. The latter only appears in the inscriptions of two Assyrian kings: Ashurbanipal and Aššur-etel-ilāni. The denial of human parents was already attested near the end of the third millennium BCE, when Gudea, a ruler (ensi) of the state of Lagaš in Southern Mesopotamia declared the lack of mother and father in a prayer to the goddess Gatumdug: "For me, who has no mother, you are my mother; for me, who has no father, you are my father. You implanted my semen in the womb, gave birth to me in the sanctuary, Gatumdug, sweet is your holy name!" (The building of Ningirsu's temple [Gudea, cylinders A and B], lines 64–67). In the "List of the Rulers of Lagaš", Gudea is described as one "who was not the son of his mother nor the son of his father" (lines 198–199). It has been suggested that this denial of human parents was a result of having been conceived through the sacred marriage and born by a priestess.[2] However, the context here is different: the Neo-Assyrian kings Ashurbanipal and Aššur-etel-ilāni were certainly born and raised up by their fathers and mothers in the palace. Furthermore, both of them acknowledged that they were sitting on the throne of their fathers.

Divine installation refers to direct divine intervention at the moment of accession, which is distinct from the more common theme of divine nomination and support. While the installation of a king is often found in the context of the Assyrian king placing someone on the throne of an Assyrian vassal state, the divine installation of the Assyrian king is restricted to the context of a contested accession. When the two

themes appear together, a narrative is formed: because of the lack of human parental protection, the king suffered a contested accession, so divine intervention was required to safeguard or assist the accession.

These two themes are found, in various configurations, in the inscriptions of four Assyrian kings who experienced extraordinary or turbulent circumstances in the process of their accession: Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etel-ilāni, and Sîn-šarru-iškun (see Table 1, below).

Theme	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal	Aššur-etel-ilāni	Sîn-šarru-iškun
Lack of human parental protection	no	yes	yes	no
Divine installation	yes	yes	installed by an official	yes

Table 1: The presence of two themes (lack of human parental protection and divine installation)
in the inscriptions of four Assyrian kings

As mentioned above, Esarhaddon's accession was contested because he was not the eldest son of Sennacherib. Interestingly, Esarhaddon himself appointed one of his younger sons, Ashurbanipal, as the crown prince. At the same time, Ashurbanipal's elder brother, Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, was appointed as the future ruler of Babylonia, which was considered to be a lesser position. Ashurbanipal's accession to the throne of Assyria occurred at the sudden death of his father, Esarhaddon, during a campaign to Egypt. After Ashurbanipal's accession, fear of conspiracies and rebellions forced the queen Zakūtu, Esarhaddon's mother, imposed an *adê* on the royal families, in particular Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, and others to ensure political stability. After Ashurbanipal died, his throne was succeeded by Aššur-etel-ilāni, whose accession suffered rebellions as indicated by his royal inscriptions (see below). A few years later, Aššur-etel-ilāni's twin brother, Sîn-šarru-iškun, rebelled and successfully removed him from the throne.

An inscription of Ashurbanipal from the Ištar temple in Nineveh contains a description of the lack of protection from his father:

RINAP 5/1, Ashurbanipal 23, lines 18–20:

(18.) *šá a-bu la ú-rab-ban-ni la iṣ-pu-pan-ni* [*kap-pi* …] x TAR x [… *nu*]-*bal-lu* (19.) […]-Ú *taḫ-ti-nin-ni* […] x TI x [… *sa*?]-*li#-mu* (20.) [*ṣu-lul-ki*] DÙG.GA *tu-šat-ri-ṣi* UGU-[*ia* …] *šur-šú-diš tu#-*[*še-ši-bi-in-ni ina* ᵍⁱˢGU.ZA?] AD# DÙ-*ia*

"whom no father raised up or spread [wings] over, […] … [… w]ing […] you protected me […] … [… we]ll-being, you had [your] beneficent [protection] spread out over [me, …] you firmly [installed me on the throne of my fat]her and creator."

According to this inscription, Ištar of Nineveh was acting as the mother of Ashurbanipal and installed Ashurbanipal on the throne. In another inscription, she is called "the merciful mother" and is praised for her installation of Ashurbanipal again (RINAP 5/3, Ashurbanipal 1002, obverse, line 7'). Ashurbanipal is also said to be installed on the throne by a group of great gods: Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Bēl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, Šarrat-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, and Nusku (RINAP 5/1, Ashurbanipal 011, column I, lines 41–44). In another inscription (RINAP 5/3, Ashurbanipal 1030, line 15), these gods who installed Ashurbanipal are simply called "the great gods in the divine council" (*ilānu rabûtu ina puḫrīšunu*).

Similar statements were made by Aššur-etel-ilāni. For instance, in SAA 12: 36, Aššur-etel-ilāni explicitly mentioned the death of his father, which is rare in the corpus of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. He further claimed that he was installed on the throne by an official, Sîn-šumu-līšir, rather than a god or group of gods:

SAA 12: 36, lines 4–8:

(4.) [*u*]*l-tu* ⌈AD⌉ *ba-nu-ú-a il-*⌈*li*⌉-*ku n*[*am-mu-ši-šú*] (5.) [A]D? *la ú-rab-ba-an-ni-ma la* ⌈*iṣ*⌉-[*pu*]-*pa-an-ni* [*kap-pi*] (6.) [*b*]*a-an-tu ul iḫ-su-us-*⌈*ma*⌉ [*ul tu-š*]*ar-šá-an-ni* [*tè-e-mu*] (7.) [ᵐᵈ]30-MU-SI.SÁ ˡᵘGAL-S[AG EN-MUN?] ⌈AD *ba*⌉-[*ni-ia ša ki-ma* AD *it-tan*]-⌈*nàr-ra*⌉-[*an-ni ka*-x x x] (8.) [*ina* ᵍⁱˢ]GU.ZA AD *ba-ni-ia šal-mì-*⌈*iš*⌉ [*ú-še-šib-an-ni-ma*?] …

"After my father and creator died, no father raised me up or spread wings over me, no mother cared for me or arranged my education. Sîn-šumu-līšir, the chief eunuch, the one who was good to my father and creator, who helped me constantly like a father, safely installed me on the throne of my father and creator …"

To my knowledge, this is the only case where this divine role is attributed to an official, which may indicate that Sîn-šumu-līšir held the real power (rather than the king). This theory finds support in the fact that Sîn-šumu-līšir later claimed the Assyrian kingship for himself.

While Esarhaddon and Sîn-šumu-iškun did not claim a lack of human parental protection, they both adopted the theme of divine installation. As far as I am concerned, there is no clear reason for this. Esarhaddon stated that Aššur, Šamaš, Bēl and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, and Ištar of Arbela installed him on the throne:

RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 001, col. II, lines 45–47:

(45.) … *iš-tu* ᵈ*aš-šur* ᵈUTU ᵈEN *u* ᵈAG ᵈ15 *šá* NINAᵏⁱ (46.) ᵈ15 *šá* ᵘʳᵘLÍMMU.DINGIR *ia-a-ti* ᵐᵈ*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ *i-na* ᵍⁱˢGU.ZA AD-*ia* (47.) *ṭa-biš ú-še-ši-bu-ni-ma be-lut* KUR.KUR *ú-šad-gi-lu pa-ni-ia*

"After the gods Aššur, Šamaš, Bēl and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela joyously installed me, Esarhaddon, on the throne of my father and handed over to me the lordship of the lands …"

In another inscription, it is Aššur alone who installed him on the throne (RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 048, obverse, line 52–reverse, line 53).

Sîn-šumu-iškun ascended to the throne through usurpation and he stated in his inscriptions that he was installed by the great gods:

RINAP 5/3, Sîn-šarru-iškun 07, column II, lines 16–26:

(16.) [… *ul*]-*tú* AN.ŠÁR (17.) [ᵈEN ᵈAG ᵈ30] ᵈUTU (18.) [ᵈ*nin-urta* ᵈU.GUR *u*] ᵈ*nusku* (19.) [*ina bi-rit maš-ši-ia ut*]-*tu-un-ni-ma* (20.) [*iḫ-ši-ḫu*] ⌈LUGAL⌉-*u-ti* (21.) [*ki-ma* AD *u*] ⌈AMA⌉ *it-ta-nar-ru-un-ni-ma* (22.) [*i-na-ru*] ⌈*a*⌉-*a-bi-ia* (23.) [*ú-šam-qí-tu*] ⌈*za*⌉-ʾ*i-i-ri-ia* (24.) [*ú-sa-at* SIG₅] ⌈*i*⌉-*pu-šú-u-ni* (25.) [*ṭa-biš ú*]-⌈*še*⌉-*šib-u-in-ni* (26.) [*i-na* ᵍⁱˢGU.ZA LUGAL-*u*]-⌈*ti*⌉ AD DÙ-*ia*

"[…af]ter the gods Aššur, [Bēl, Nabû, Sîn], Šamaš, [Ninurta, Nergal, and] Nusku [ch]ose me [among my brothers] and [desired (me)] as king, guided me [like a father and a moth]er, and [killed] my [f]oes, [cut down] my [e]nemies, performed [good deeds] for me, (and) [gladly i]nstalled me [on the roya]l [throne] of the father who had engendered me …"

There are three other lists of gods bearing the role of installer in the inscriptions of Sîn-šarru-iškun: (1) Aššur, the goddess Mullissu, and the great gods (RINAP 5/3, Sîn-šarru-iškun 01, line 5 and 06, line 5); (2) Aššur, Bēl, Nabû, and Ištar (RINAP 5/3, Sîn-šarru-iškun 12, lines 8–9); (3) Aššur, Bēl, Nabû, Sîn, and Šamaš (RINAP 5/3, Sîn-šarru-iškun 19, line 22).

In summary, there appears to be a unique pattern of ideological themes in royal inscriptions of the Assyrian kings who experienced contested accessions—the king claimed his accession was achieved through divine installation, with one exception, where an official replaced the gods in this role. In order to support this narrative, some kings further claimed that the contested accession was the result of a lack of human parental protection since childhood.

Notes

1. MACHINIST 2006: 166–169; also, see OROSZ 2023.

2. EMELIANOV 2016: 65.

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119) Der Name Sargons II. in den Maßen der Mauer seiner Stadt — In *NABU* 2023/102 weist Michael Roaf auf die Ähnlichkeit der Maße der Mauer von *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn* und der im Gilgameš-Epos zweimal erwähnten Fläche von Uruk hin. Sargon gibt jedem, der seine Inschrift lesen konnte, ein Rätsel auf und zwar (RINAP 2, 43, 65):

> ŠÁR ŠÁR ŠÁR ŠÁR GÉŠ+U GÉŠ+U GÉŠ+U GÉŠ^{uš} 3 qa-ni 2 KÙŠ ni-bit MU-ja mi-ši-iḫ-ti BÀD-šu aš-kun
> „16 280 Ellen, die Nennung meines Namens, habe ich als die Maße ihrer Mauer festgelegt"

CAD N II 202b übersetzt „(corresponding) to the spelling of my name". Roaf zitiert dazu FRAME 2021, 230: „(corresponding) to the rendering of my name" und merkt an, dass *nibīt šumīja* auch „naming of my fame" bedeuten könnte. Die Wendung ist gut belegt und zwar nur im Sinne der Aussprache, der Schreibung, der Nennung oder Anrufung des Namens. Weiter kann *nibītu* auch „Nennung, Benennung, Name" bedeuten, meistens in *nibīta zakāru* „als Name aussprechen", „zum Namen geben". Entsprechend sind *nibīt šumi* und *nibītu* auch bei Sargon II. belegt (CAD N II 202). Eine Verknüpfung von *nibītu* mit *šumu* „Name" in der sekundären Bedeutung „Ruhm" wäre nur hier belegt und trägt zur Klärung der Stelle nicht bei. Ein Wortspiel mit dem Namen der Stadt ist auch möglich, wenn man ihn, alternativ zur Auffassung als Genitivverbindung, als Nominalsatz auffasst: „die Mauer (ist) Sargon".

Gematrie, die Erklärung von Worten als Zahlen bzw. umgekehrt, ist in der Keilschrift selten (FRAHM 2011, 76-79). Immerhin ist seit dem 9. Jahrh. das Kryptogramm ^{d}IÁ.MIN = 5x60x2 für die 600 ^{d}i-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ geläufig. So nach KIENAST 1976, 40 gegen den häufigen Versuch einer syllabischen Interpretation ^{d}í-gì-gì mit ungewöhnlichen Silbenzeichen, die hier nicht auf eine alte Tradition zurückgeführt werden können. Verwendung findet dabei das ternäre Zahlsystem des Sumerischen, in dem gi$_4$-gi$_4$ eine der Möglichkeiten ist, 2 zu schreiben. Cf. peš-bala = *erbēt*, peš-bala-gi$_4$ = *ḫanšet*, peš-bala-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ = *šiššet* CTMMA 2, 61, 42-44, woraus peš-bala = 4, gi$_4$ = 1 und gi$_4$-gi$_4$ = 2 abzuleiten ist (zum ternären System zuletzt Balke 2010). Außerdem wird die erste Zahl manipuliert indem i = 5xAŠ zu 5xDIŠ wird, was „5" aber wegen DIŠ = ĝéš = 60 auch 300 bedeuten kann. Auch in den Inschriften Sargons II. findet sich ^{d}IÁ.MIN (RINAP 2, 103 i 1; 116 i 1; 117 ii 72) neben ^{d}NUN.GAL.

Eine kleine Manipulation eines Zeichens kann auch bei der Deutung von Sargons Zahl helfen. Das Zeichen GÉŠ+U = 60x10 = 600 ist dem Zeichen ŠÚ sehr ähnlich, nur der Winkelhaken ist etwas verrückt. Statt uš kann auch NITA gelesen werden. Würde man *qanû* „Rohr" als Maßeinheit für 6 Ellen logographisch schreiben, hätte man GI. Schreibt man nun die einzelnen Teile in der Reihenfolge auf, erhält man: *šár kiššati*(ŠÚ) *zikaru*(NITA) *kēn*(GI) „der König der Gesamtheit ist ein rechtschaffener Mann". Dabei wird der Name erweitert, so wie auch die geläufige Deutung des Namens Sargon II. als *šarru-ukīn* „der König hat (das Recht?) etabliert" verlangt, dass man eine Erweiterung mitdenkt (zum Namen FUCHS 2009, 51-53; FRAME 2021, 19-21). Der Titel *šar kiššati* wird von Sargon II. ständig gebraucht. Von den Inschriften in *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn* löst nur eine einzige den Namen auf und zwar als [*šarru-ke*]-*e-nu* (Variante zu RINAP 2, 12, 1), also wie oben und nicht wie GI.NA = *ukīn*.

Sargon II. bezieht *šarru kēnu* auch im Kontext auf sich: *šarru kēnu dābib damqāte ša ikkibšu amat tašgirti* „der rechtschaffene König, der Verlässliches spricht, dessen Tabu das verlogene Wort ist" TCL 3, 114. Dabei steht *šarru kēnu* parallel zu *anāku šarru-ukīn*(LUGAL.GI.NA) „Ich, Sargon" in 112. Sargon II. spielt mit den beiden Namen. Außerdem verwendet er *rēʾû kēnu* „rechtschaffener Hirte" als Epitheton (FRAME 2021, 20), wobei *rēʾû* „Hirte" allgemein als Metapher für den König gebraucht wird.

Statt 2 KÙŠ lässt sich auch 2^ú = *šanû* „der zweite" lesen, der zweite Sargon. Gemeint ist wohl nicht Sargon I. von Assyrien, sondern Sargon von Akkade, *Šarru(m)-kēn*, der auch ein *šar kiššatim* war. Im 1. Jahrh. galt Sargon v. A. in Omina (STARR 1986, 631f.) und Chroniken (GLASSNER 2004, 268-71) als eine Art Heilskönig. Das Sargon-Epos *Šar tamḫāri* wurde weiter tradiert. Der älteste Beleg für die „Geburtslegende Sargons" stammt aus dem Palast des Nachfolgers von Sargon II. Sanherib (zu den Texten WESTENHOLZ 1997, 36-49; 102-139). Darin erzählt Sargon v. A. dass er ein Findelkind war aber durch die Liebe der Ištar König wurde. Seine erste heroische Tat ist ein Feldzug ins Gebirge. Auch Sargon II. war kein regulärer Thronfolger und unter seinen Taten hob er seinen 8. Feldzug, der durchs Gebirge führte, durch einen langen Gottesbrief besonders hervor (THUREAU-DANGIN 1912; RINAP 2, 65). Der literarische Sargon v. A. erwähnt große Hämmer, die vermutlich zum Zerschlagen von Felsen gebraucht wurden, nachdem diese durch Feuer und Abschrecken zuvor spröde gemacht wurden: [*šad*]*ê dannūti ina akkullāte*

ša erê lū up[*taṣṣid*] „mit Vorschlaghämmern aus Kupfer habe ich schwierige Berge durchschlagen" CT 13, 42, 14. Das ist aus der älteren Sargon-Literatur nicht bekannt, steht aber am Anfang des Berichtes über den 8. Feldzug: *akkullī erê dannūti sakbūja ušaššīma puluk šadî zaqri pīlāniš uparrirūma uṭibbū gerru* „Solide Vorschlaghämmer aus Kupfer ließ ich meine Vortruppen tragen. Die hohe Steinwand der Berge zertrümmerten sie als wäre es Kalkstein und verbesserten den Weg" TCL 3, 24. In Sargons „Prunkinschrift" aus Khorsabad leitet er die lange Auflistung seiner militärischen Unternehmungen damit ein, dass er über schwierige Wege in ferne Gebirge gezogen ist (RINAP 7, 14f.).

Eine weitere Zeile in der Geburtslegende macht hellhörig: [*man*]*nu šarru* ⸢*ša*⸣ *ilâ arkīja* „welcher König auch immer nach mir aufsteigt" (CT 13, 42, 20: P365306). Hier wendet sich Sargon v. A. an die Gegenwart und fordert dazu auf, ihm nachzueifern. Wieder beginnt er mit dem Zug in die Berge und erwähnt die Hämmer. Es drängt sich der Verdacht auf, dass die Geburtslegende Parallelen zwischen den beiden Sargons ziehen sollte.

Das Wort *zikaru* „Mann" wird meist in Abgrenzung zu *sinništu* „Frau", *aššatu* „Ehefrau" gebraucht, kann aber auch im Kontext von „stark", „kriegerisch" gebraucht werden. Das passt zu Sargon II., der sich auch als *zikaru dannu* „starker Mann" (RINAP 2, 9, 11 passim) bezeichnet und auch in den Kontext einer Befestigungsanlage. Die ungewöhnliche Verbindung von *kēnu* mit *zikaru* mag durch die begrenzten Möglichkeiten einer mehrdeutigen Schreibung bedingt sein.

Die größte Schwierigkeit ist die Umdeutung von qa-ni in das Logogramm GI und so auch in RINAP 2, 44, 47, während RINAP 2, 9, 80 die 18 Ellen als 1½ NINDAN schreibt. Das mag in anderen Versionen der Inschrift anders ausgesehen haben. Es ist auch auffallend, dass diese Position die einzige ist, die nicht in Ellen (KÙŠ = *ammatu*) angegeben wird. Nicht verwendet werden hingegen *ṣuppu* = 60 Ellen, *ašlu* = 120 Ellen, UŠ = 720 Ellen. Dass die Maße sonst durchgehend in Ellen ausgedrückt werden, hat eine Parallele in BM 54634 (George 1992, 130-33). Dort geht es jedoch um eine Art Bauaufnahme von Teilen der Stadtmauer von Babylon, nicht um die gesamte Länge und die Zahlen sind dezimal angegeben. Außerdem fällt auf, dass bei Sargons Mauer gerade die letzten 20 Ellen dann nicht auch als 20 KÙŠ geschrieben wurden. Die Schreibung des Maßes folgte weder der üblichen Form, noch wurde es konsistent nur in Ellen ausgedrückt, sie war ein Kryptogramm (FRAME 2021, 21 Anm. 76: „riddle"). Es mag sein, dass es die assyrischen Schreiber mit dem auffallenden GI nicht zu einfach machen wollten oder bei der x-ten Abschrift nichtmehr darauf achteten, GI zu schreiben.

Für die obige Deutung spricht, dass sie erklären würde, warum Sargon II. keine runde Zahl für die Länge der Mauer gewählt hat, wobei sich alle drei Elemente, mit denen die Zahl von 80 Ellen geschrieben wurde, in die Deutung einbeziehen lassen. Die 3 vor *qanû* bewirkt dabei, dass die Länge wenigstens etwas runder wird, als wenn sie mit 1 GI auf 6 + 2 = 8 enden würde.

Es ist aufgrund einer Parallele bei Asarhaddon möglich, dass der Name Sargons auch durch eine Reihe von Abbildungen mit fester Reihenfolge wiedergegeben wurde und zwar: König, Löwe, Vogel, Stier, Feigenbaum, Pflug und ein Mann, der mit einer Lanze auf den Boden weist. Vogel und Stier können auch fehlen. Siehe Frame 2021, 257-61 mit einer Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Lösungsvorschläge und weiterer Literatur.

Da *kēnu* auch die Bedeutung „fest, unverrückbar" hat, könnte der Mann mit der Lanze einen *zikaru kēnu* symbolisieren. Damit ergibt sich eine Parallele zur Deutung der Zahl, bei der das Wort für den König, durch *kiššati* „der Gesamtheit" vor dem Abschluss des Namens näher erläutert wird. Analog könnten die Bilder Attribute oder Appositionen zum Wort König meinen, ehe der Abschluss des Namens kommt. Einige Assoziationen sind möglich: Sargon II. vergleicht sich mit einem Löwen (*labbu* TCL 3, 420), der majestätisch (*etelliš*) schreitet. Das Bild hat besonderes Gewicht, weil es seinen besonderen Feldzug krönend abschließt. Sein Gegner flieht vor dem Klang seiner Waffen wie ein Rebhuhn vor einem Adler (*erû* TCL 3, 149). Der Wildstier (*rīmu*) ist als Bild für den kriegerischen König bei Salmanassar III. und Sanherib belegt (CAD R 361a). Sargon II. rühmt sich Gärten mit Fruchtbäumen um *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn* gepflanzt zu haben, was keiner der „350" vorigen Herrscher über Assyrien getan hätte (RINAP 2, 8, 28-30). Feigen (*tittu*) erwähnt er dabei nicht explizit. Eine Zylinderinschrift hat Sargon in so vielen Exemplaren hinterlassen, als wolle er dafür sorgen, dass sie die Nachwelt auf jeden Fall findet. Dann wurde sie noch um 10 Zeilen mit weiteren Taten Sargons erweitert. Darin rühmt er sich u. a. Land urbargemacht,

Obstgärten gepflanzt und Land zu Acker gemacht zu haben, das unter vorigen Königen den Pflug nicht gekannt habe (RINAP 2, 43, 36). Auch an anderen Stellen rühmt sich Sargon der Urbarmachung von Land und des Pflanzens von Obstgärten (z. B. RINAP 2, 109, 20'-30'). Obwohl die Verbindung bei den variablen Elementen Vogel und Stier nicht sehr spezifisch ist, lässt sich, insbesondere aufgrund des deutlichen Bildes mit dem Pflug vermuten, dass die Figuren für Taten und Eigenschaften des Königs Sargon stehen.

Mit der Deutung von Anfang und Ende als Name Sargon lässt sich auch die Anbringung auf glasierten Ziegeln an den Seitenrisaliten von Toren in Einklang bringen. Der König und der Mann stehen immer senkrecht zur Wand, die übrigen Figuren parallel vor der Wand. Insofern grenzen sich König und Mann nicht nur dadurch ab, dass sie die Reihe einrahmen, sondern auch dadurch, dass es die Elemente sind, die man erst wahrnimmt, wenn man näher kommt und dem Fries folgt. Dann würde man nach dieser Theorie Sargon als denjenigen erkennen, auf den sich die Figuren im Mittelteil beziehen und der in seinen Inschriften für sich beansprucht, dass niemand vor ihm gleiches getan hat.

Von Sargon II. gibt es keinen Hinweis darauf, dass es sich bei der an Hieroglyphen erinnernden Abfolge von Figuren um eine Schreibung seines Namens handelt. Aber wenn dieses Fries eine Art versteckte Inschrift enthält, dann sollte sie wie Sargons übrige Inschriften auch seinen Namen enthalten.

Zusatz

Nele Ziegler hat mich auf den Aufsatz von Martin Worthington, Solving the Starry Symbols of Sargon II, BASOR 391 (2024), 107-133 aufmerksam gemacht, der eine alternative Interpretation der Schreibung mit „Hieroglyphen" enthält. M. E. sind beide Ansätze diskutabel. Worthington bin ich dankbar dafür, dass er mir seinen Artikel und ein noch nicht druckfertiges Manuskript mit Überlegungen zu Mauer und Namen zugänglich gemacht hat. Darüber hatte er auch auf der Rencontre in Mainz referiert. Für diese Notiz konnten beide Artikel nicht mehr verwendet werden.

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120) La hauteur de l'Etemenanki sous Nabuchodonosor — La ziggurat de Babylone ou Etemenanki, qui était un temple de Marduk (tour de Babel biblique : ANTHONIOZ 2015), a connu plusieurs phases de reconstruction, dont la dernière a été conduite par le roi babylonien Nabopolassar, puis par son fils Nabuchodonosor (GEORGE 2005-6, 75-95). Nous considérons ici la phase finale, à la fin du règne de Nabuchodonosor. La forme, le nombre d'étages et les dimensions de l'Etemenanki font toujours l'objet de débats, notamment sa hauteur. Deux hypothèses sont en compétition pour la hauteur : environ 90 m et environ 60 m.

L'hypothèse traditionnelle de 90 m (JOANNES 2001, 919) s'appuie sur la tablette mathématique de l'Esagil, connue par deux duplicata (GLASSNER 2002, 32-33). Elle donne la hauteur de chacun des 7 étages, de bas en haut : 33, 18, 6, 6, 6, 6 et 15 m, et précise aussi : « La hauteur correspond à la longueur [et à la largeur] (*mēlû* (SUKUD) *ki-i pî* (KA) *šidi [u pūti]*) »[1], autrement dit 90 m. Une représentation schématique de l'Etemenanki est également gravée sur une stèle en basalte de la Collection Schøyen, accompagnée d'une légende explicite et d'une coupe de temple au-dessus de son sommet, sans doute celui du 7ᵉ étage. Le côté de sa base est égal à sa hauteur, autrement dit environ 90 m comme l'indique la tablette de l'Esagil, sachant que les archéologues ont vérifié la taille de la base (PEDERSEN 2021, 158-159). Les auteurs grecs postérieurs devaient avoir connaissance de ces dimensions car Hérodote indiquait pour la base : « un stade et la longueur et la largeur (σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος) »[2], soit 180 m pour la longueur + la

largeur, donc 90 m de côté. Strabon, bien qu'il ait mal interprété Hérodote en écrivant : « un stade de hauteur en même temps qu'un stade de côté (καὶ αὐτὴ σταδιαία τὸ ὕψος, σταδιαία δὲ καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν πλευρῶν) »[3], avait appris par ailleurs que la hauteur était égale au côté de la base.

Mais cette hypothèse traditionnelle a été récemment remise en question par une hypothèse de 60 m pour des raisons de stabilité de la structure de l'Etemenanki (VICARI- BRUSCHWEILER 1985 ; VICARI 2000, 37 ; MONTERO-FENOLLOS 2008, 229 ; JOANNES 2021, 4). Les tenants de la hauteur d'environ 60 m s'appuient sur des considérations générales, à l'exception de J.-L. Montero-Fenollos qui écrit : « Des études techniques – sur la résistance des matériaux comme la brique – nous autorisent à proposer une nouvelle hypothèse … 66 m de hauteur contre les 90 m traditionnels ». Nous examinons dans cet article la validité de ces deux hypothèses sur le plan de la possibilité technique de la hauteur de l'Etemenanki. Concernant le problème de stabilité de la structure par rapport à sa hauteur, nous devons répondre à trois questions :

1) La résistance des briques est-elle suffisante pour une hauteur de 90 m ?

La densité des briques en argile est estimée à environ 1600 kg/m³ (FERNANDES *et al.* 2009, 29-48 ; MOOREY 1994). L'Etemenanki est une tour à étages qui se réduisent avec la hauteur. Notre calcul tient compte des dimensions précises indiquées dans la tablette de l'Esagil (GEORGE 1992, 115-117), et de celles de la base relevées par les archéologues : 92,52 sur 91,56 m (SCHMID 1995). On calcule le volume de cette structure, sa masse et la pression sur sa base. Cette pression est d'environ 810 KPa (Kilo Pascal). Elle est élevée mais ne pose pas de problème, même pour les briques crues ou briques d'adobe, qui ont généralement une résistance à la compression de 1 à 2 MPa (Mega Pascal), inférieure à celle des briques cuites. Cela signifie que la base est suffisamment grande pour répartir le poids de l'ensemble de la structure sur les briques sans les endommager.

2) La couverture de briques cuites permet-elle de résister aux pressions qu'elles doivent supporter ?

La couverture de briques cuites, protégeant le cœur en briques crues, est sujette à des pressions latérales, provenant des matériaux qui composent la structure de l'Etemenanki. Ces pressions sont maximales à sa base. Pour modéliser la pression maximale exercée sur la couverture de briques cuites, nous considérons que la densité des matériaux est de 1600 kg/m³. Le coefficient de poussée au repos $K0$ est approximativement égal à 0,5 pour des matériaux de terre compacte. Pour une hauteur de 90 m, les matériaux sont répartis sur des terrasses, dont celles de la base sont beaucoup plus larges que celles du sommet. Pour une structure aussi massive, le calcul doit tenir compte d'un facteur de sécurité d'au moins 3 pour éviter les risques d'effondrement. L'épaisseur maximale de la couverture de briques cuites requise (de l'ordre de 1 m) est nettement inférieure à celle de 15 m qui a été relevée au cours des fouilles.

3) La résistance du sol (c'est-à-dire sa capacité portante) est-elle suffisante pour un tel édifice ?

La clé qui a permis de construire les ziggurats mésopotamiennes réside dans la technique de construction utilisée par les Babyloniens. Deux aspects sont à considérer.

– D'une part, la combinaison de briques et de nattes de roseaux sur une très grande surface agissait comme un « matelas de répartition » de charges. Elle augmentait la résistance au cisaillement, limitait les mouvements latéraux, et contrôlait les mouvements de retrait et de gonflement. Il en résultait un tassement du sol qui stabilisait parfaitement la structure. Quant au bitume, il agissait comme protection contre les infiltrations d'eau.

– D'autre part, les fouilles de l'Etemenanki ont révélé trois phases successives de construction, avec des bases de plus en plus larges : 65 m, puis 73 m, et enfin 91 m de côté (JOANNES 2021, 3). Les assises de briques cuites étaient renforcées à intervalles par des nattes de roseaux, du bitume et des matériaux très solides comme le précise Nabuchodonosor : « J'ai enduit de bronze des cèdres robustes et des poutres de bois-*musukkannu* et je les ai disposés à profusion en rangées » (GEORGE 2011, 167). Il dit ailleurs qu'il a continué à construire le socle de fondation du temple (E-TEMEN) bâti par son père Nabopolassar en le renforçant par des rangées de troncs de cèdres (GEORGE 2011, 167). Cette technique de construction permettait un renforcement progressif du sol et une consolidation du terrain entre chaque phase de construction. Elle donnait la possibilité au sol de se consolider sous la charge, chaque nouvelle strate étant construite après stabilisation de la précédente. Ce processus de « préchargement » améliorait progressivement la capacité portante du sol. Cette approche ingénieuse des architectes babyloniens leur a

permis de dépasser les limites apparentes de la capacité portante du sol en utilisant le temps et la technique comme alliés.

Au total, cette étude montre que les architectes babyloniens avaient une compréhension sophistiquée de la répartition des charges et de la stabilité, ce qui leur permettait de construire une ziggurat haute et stable, même avec les seuls matériaux disponibles à leur époque. Elle confirme que la structure propre de l'Etemenanki était compatible avec une hauteur de 90 m. Toutefois, la nature même de la construction en briques, en l'absence de pierres disponibles, n'était évidemment pas destinée à produire une construction défiant le temps. Un siècle plus tard, vers 450, Hérodote a tout de même vu l'Etemenanki conservée jusqu'à son sommet, lors de son voyage à Babylone (ELAYI 2024, 203-205), mais elle ne l'était plus en 330 à l'arrivée d'Alexandre, puisqu'il songeait à la restaurer. C'était, certes, à cause des matériaux dont disposaient les Babyloniens, un édifice fragile qui nécessitait des restaurations fréquentes auxquelles ils étaient habitués. Cependant, les couches de roseaux placées chaque cinq ou six assises étaient tout de même encore en place au début du 18ᵉ siècle car elles ont été observées par Claudius James Rich, consul général d'Angleterre à Bagdad (VICARI 2000, 13).

Notes

1. GEORGE 1992, 109-117.
2. Hérodote, *Histoires*, II, 181.
3. Strabon, XVI, I, 5.

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121) Terminology in Taurus, The Bull — In his paper "The Development Of The Babylonian Zodiac: Some Preliminary Observations", published in Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry (MAA) Vol. 18 No. 4 (2018), John Steele examined variabilities in naming and definition of the twelve zodiac signs (or their according constellations) over time. He considers the case of Taurus exceptionally complicated because three names are found in the cuneiform literature to refer to it. Steele expresses the hypothesis that MÚL.MÚL (a plural of the Sumerian term for "star") typically refers to the whole zodiac sign of Taurus in the Astronomical Diaries, while the other two terms, GU₄.AN (The Bull of Heaven) and ᵍⁱˢGIGIR or GIGIR (The Chariot) are used for subdivisions, namely the first and last half of the sign, respectively.

According to Steele's argumentation, this hypothesis would be contradicted by the combination of the terms MÚL.MÚL and GU₄.AN in other cuneiform documents (e.g. the so-called TE-tablet, BM 77824 published by Weidner 1915, and the microzodiac texts, cf. MONROE 2016). He mentions that seals

from Uruk always depict a bull in the place of this sign, but one could argue that a group of dots (frequently seven, interpreted as stars) represents the term MÚL.MÚL on earlier seals.

In earlier sources (like MUL.APIN, most recent edition by HUNGER and STEELE 2019), the term MÚL.MÚL is identified with the star cluster of the Pleiades. Hence, the original Sumerian name could also be freely translated as "Star Cluster" in texts of the earlier time. The fact that it is used in LB epochs (ADRT) for an abstract section of 30° along the ecliptic (namely the zodiac sign of Taurus) is a clear shift of the meaning of the term from a visual appearance in the sky to something invisible.

John Steele (2018) also suggests that "Taurus — uniquely — could sometimes be divided into two halves when used as a sign of the zodiac, at least before about 267 BCE". In our contribution, we substantiate this relatively concise hypothesis with data from the ADRT.

Data and Analysis

In the electronic version of the ADRT, we searched for the terms in question (MÚL.MÚL, GIGIR, and GU₄.AN) and copied all mentions to a spreadsheet. We skipped the cases where GIGIR is part of "The reins of the Chariot", the normal stars β and ζ Tauri because, in these cases, it is clear that the term refers to two points in the second half of the sign. Similarly, we skipped the cases where MÚL.MÚL refers to the star cluster of the Pleiades and not to any section of the ecliptic. We obtained a list of eight mentions of GIGIR, six of GU₄.AN, and 22 of MÚL.MÚL referring to the sign of Taurus or a section of it, a total of 36 cases to study (cf. Tab. 1 in the Appendix). The data covers the temporal range from the -567 to -77 (568 BCE to 78 BCE); we use astronomical year counting with "minus" and zero because it's easier for computing time differences.
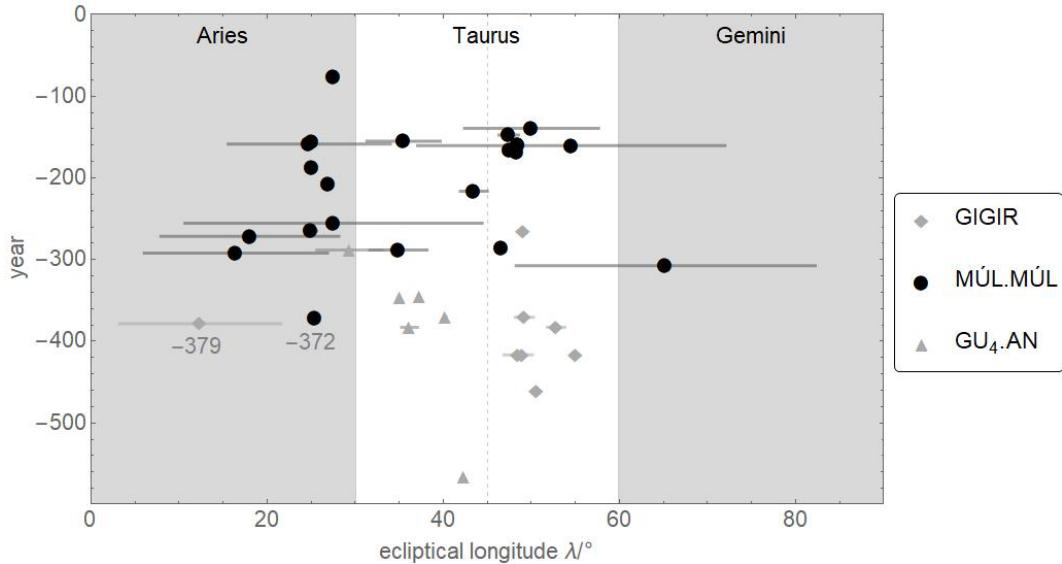

Fig. 1. Plot of the statistical data as described above. If the cuneiform text covers a time range (e.g., a month), the first to the last longitude is indicated with a horizontal bar, and the central point is the arithmetical mean. The diagram confirms the old find that the Babylonians considered the borders of the signs at 25° of the modern one.

Using the Stellarium desktop planetarium software, which is designed explicitly for questions of cultural astronomy (ZOTTI et al. 2020), we added the ecliptic longitudes for the planets' positions and performed a statistical analysis: We plotted the longitudes λ on the *x*-axis and the historical date (year, month, day) on the *y*-axis, choosing different symbols (filled circle, triangle, diamond-shape) for the various terms. The result is displayed in Fig. 1.

Interpretation & Discussion

The diagram makes it obvious that the terms GIGIR (diamond shapes) and GU₄.AN (triangles) are only used in the early time and MÚL.MÚL for the sign is solely used in the late time of this text genre. GU₄.AN refers to the first half of the Taurus sign (degrees 1 to 15) and GIGIR to the last half (degrees 16 to 30). In contrast, the mentions of MÚL.MÚL scatter over the whole range of the sign and the neighbouring signs.

Our time-resolved diagram (Fig. 1) shows that the vocable MÚL.MÚL for the entire sign of Taurus is only used in later epochs as if a change of standard was introduced roughly in the year -310 because the earliest use of MÚL.MÚL is for Venus in -307 (308 BCE). In this case, the term cannot refer to the Pleiades; Venus is at the opposite end of the Taurus sign. From then on, MÚL.MÚL appears for the entire 30° section. The last mention of GU$_4$.AN occurs in -289 (for Jupiter), and the last mention of GIGIR in -266 (for Saturn), and both are isolated cases after a break of half a century (two generations). The Jupiter case could be explained by the longer one of its two periods (83 years) in the goal year method, as the Astronomical Diary of this time is preserved and also deals with Jupiter in GU$_4$.AN. The other case remains open due to a lack of preservation for Saturn's goal year 59 years before the target year.

We conclude that the two terms GU$_4$.AN and GIGIR were used for Taurus's first and last half, respectively, before 308 BCE (deviating from STEELE 2018), and MÚL.MÚL thereafter.

The triangle point at the edge of Aries belongs to the year -289:

(o ii 8) ⌜MU⌝ 22 BAR 4 MUL$_2$.BABBAR ina SAG MUL$_2$.MUL$_2$ ŠU$_2$ GU$_4$ 7 MUL$_2$.BABBAR ina GU$_4$.⌜AN⌝ [IGI *N* na]

(o ii 8) Year 22. Month I, the 4th, Jupiter's last appearance in the beginning of Taurus. Month II, the 7th, Jupiter's [first appearance] in Taurus; [rising of Jupiter to sunrise: *N*°;]

The triangle sits on a bar, indicating the range of several weeks. Jupiter's last appearance is 'at the beginning of Taurus,' which requires its start in Aries. For our analysis, only the endpoint of the line (and not the middle) is relevant for this study—and the endpoint puts GU$_4$.AN at the beginning of Taurus, which confirms the general result.

Two seeming exceptions are labelled in our plot with their year numbers: "-379" and "-372." The latter case is easily understandable as our uncertainty: The text "17 MUL$_2$.BABBAR ina MUL$_2$.MUL$_2$ ŠU$_2$" translated "[... Ar]ound the 17th, Jupiter's last appearance in Taurus (MÚL.MÚL)" is highly likely one of the cases where MÚL.MÚL refers to the star cluster of the Pleiades and not to the sign of Taurus, but this was not automatically clear from the context, and we did not skip it. The further text in this passage continues, "Night of the 18th, first part of the night, Venus was 1 1/2 cubits below β Tauri (SIG ŠUR-GIGIR)," which strengthens this interpretation after our above-mentioned general result.

The case of -379 is more complex. The text reads:

GENNA ina ⌜ALLA AN ina⌝ GIGIR GU$_4$.UD ina ⌜x⌝ […]

Saturn in Cancer, Mars in Chariot, Mercury in …

The date is certainly correct because the planetary positions in the previous month (X) are well preserved. In line r 1, the last remnant of month XI, Saturn in Cancer, is reasonably legible and a little further back GU$_4$.UD is easily recognisable. Yet, this causes a problem with the sequence: Mercury should come before Saturn. Mercury may be listed at the end of this summary list because it had a morning first in the first days of the subsequent month and might have been added later. The last planet mentioned in the summary listed "in GIGIR" is not legible, and the original photograph does not help in making a decision. The proposal to read "Mars" is a guess that goes back to A. Sachs, but actually no planet is in Taurus (except the Moon, which occasionally crosses the whole sign) during the entire period given in the text (January 16 to February 14). Mars is in Aries, Saturn almost in Cancer as given. We need to neglect this poorly preserved passage for our evaluation.

A resulting correction in the ADRT edition

While collating the data, we noticed an incorrect computation of the date for section (o 6) in the translation of the ADRT, Vol. 1, year -346.

⌜GE$_6$⌝ 11 USAN SA$_4$-ša$_2$-GU$_4$.AN TA ŠA$_3$ sin E-a

Night of the 11th, first part of the night, α Tauri emerged from the Moon.

The translation gives 9 February -346 and seems to refer to an occultation of the bright star Aldebaran (α Tauri) by the Moon. This spectacular event happened on the 14th (five days later), while on the 9th, the Moon was not yet in the area of 0° < λ < 90° (Aries to Gemini). However, no Astronomical Diary is

preserved for the 14th and a recomputation of the date returns December 12th of the same year. At that date, the Moon was at the same longitude as Aldebaran but did not cover or even touch the star (grazing occultation). Due to the importance of occultations in ancient astronomy and the unlikeliness of a mistake in such an observation (perhaps a computation), this passage remains suspicious, even with the corrected date.

One more case

In the diary of the year 567 BCE 'GU$_4$.AN' is mentioned, but no coordinates are given. The text reads:

> 4 ILLU GIN 4 dele-bat 1/2 KUŠ$_3$ šap$^!$ SUḪUR-MAŠ$_2$ LAL$_2$ GE$_6$ 6 USAN sin TUR$_3$ NIGIN$_2$ MUL$_x$(AB$_2$).MUL$_x$(AB$_2$) GU$_4$.AN GIGIR […]

> (r 6') "The 4th, the river level rose. The 4th, Venus was balanced 1/2 cubit below *sic* Capricorn. Night of the 6th, first part of the night, the Moon was surrounded by a halo; Pleiades, the Bull of Heaven, and the Chariot [stood in it …]"

The passage implies that the new Moon became visible 'behind' GU$_4$.AN although it does not give how much 'behind'. Line r 6 mentions a halo around the Moon in which [stood] MUL.MUL, GU$_4$.AN and GIGIR.

Most halos have a diameter of 22°, but there are also 46° halos, which would cover more than one zodiac sign. On the day in question, the Moon was between Aldebaran and ζ Tauri. That means, with our above-derived new reading 'in GIGIR', a 22° halo would cover GIGIR completely, but it would also be nothing special for this time of the year (February). A 46° halo around the Moon in GIGIR would also include GU$_4$.AN and the Pleiades. Above, we derived that MÚL.MÚL in the 6th century still referred to the star cluster of the Pleiades only (and certainly not to the zodiac sign invented only in 400±10 BCE; Britton 2010).

Hence, this passage again confirms the results we derived above, although we had to skip this case for our data plot due to its uncertain interpretation.

APPENDIX (Table 1)

year/ date	term	"planet"	ecliptic longitude λ$_1$	ecliptic longitude λ$_2$
461.45	GIGIR	Moon	50° 32'	empty
417.05	GIGIR	Venus	55° 2'	empty
416.72	GIGIR	Venus	48° 58'	empty
416.78	GIGIR	Venus	50° 06'	46° 53'
382.97	GIGIR	Saturn	53° 48'	51° 48'
378.38	GIGIR	Mars	3° 15'	21° 30'
370.55	GIGIR	Jupiter	50° 14'	48° 11'
265.38	GIGIR	Saturn	49° 06'	empty
371.23	MÚL.MÚL	Jupiter	25° 26'	empty
307.37	MÚL.MÚL	Venus	48° 16'	82° 13'
291.9	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	6° 03'	26° 50'
288.28	MÚL.MÚL	Jupiter	31° 40'	38° 08'
285.38	MÚL.MÚL	Venus	46° 39'	empty
271.65	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	7° 56'	28° 07'
264.72	MÚL.MÚL	Jupiter	24° 18'	25° 36'
255.45	MÚL.MÚL	Venus	10° 40'	44° 24'
216.25	MÚL.MÚL	Jupiter	44° 59'	41° 56'
208.02	MÚL.MÚL	Saturn	26° 56'	empty
187.6	MÚL.MÚL	Mercury	25° 08'	empty
168.58	MÚL.MÚL	Venus	48° 24'	empty
165.68	MÚL.MÚL	Venus	47° 34'	empty
159.83	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	48° 27'	empty

159.83	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	48° 27'	empty
160.5	MÚL.MÚL	Venus	37° 05'	71° 57'
158.4	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	15° 34'	33° 58'
155.05	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	39° 38'	31° 19'
155.37	MÚL.MÚL	Mercury	25° 05'	empty
147.6	MÚL.MÚL	Saturn	48° 31'	46° 19'
139.4	MÚL.MÚL	Mars	42° 24'	57° 37'
76.33	MÚL.MÚL	Mercury	27° 30'	empty
565.93	GU$_4$.AN	Moon	42° 23'	empty
370.75	GU$_4$.AN	Jupiter	40° 18'	40° 17'
288.23	GU$_4$.AN	Jupiter	25° 38'	33° 04'
346.97	GU$_4$.AN	Jupiter	35° 03'	empty
382.97	GU$_4$.AN	Jupiter	37° 02'	35° 15'
344.6	GU$_4$.AN	Moon	37° 22'	empty

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122) Some Observations on Elamite-Turkish Language Relation[1] — The language of the Elamites, the oldest people mentioned in historical records of today's Iranian lands, has not yet been classified into any language family despite numerous Elamite clay tablets and stone inscriptions. However, it is accepted that Elamite is not part of the Indo-European or Semitic language families.[2] The claim that Elamite is related to Turkish remains a topic of ongoing debate. The first scholar to work on the relationship between Elamite and Turkish was the Turkish philologist, archaeologist, and ethnographer Hâmit Zübeyr Koşay.[3]

While conducting research on Turkish, Hâmit Zübeyr Koşay noticed similarities, and even identities, in terms of form and meaning between Turkish and Elamite. Considering that no study based on a comparison between these two languages has been conducted, he decided to work on this subject.[4] In his first study on the subject, *Elamca-Türkçe Dilakrabalığı (Elamisch-Türkische Sprachverwandtschaft)*, a brief work published in 1937 in Turkey in both Turkish and German, he compared Elamite and Turkish words as well as grammatical rules, arguing that Elamite and Turkish might be related.[5] In his work *Elam and Central Asian Relations* published 1968 in Tehran, he claimed that the Elamites most likely lived with the Proto-Turks in Central Asia before settling in the Iranian lands. In this work, he also provided examples of similar words and grammatical rules between Elamite and Turkish.[6] Koşay's paper titled *Türk Dilinin En Eski İzleri*, presented at the 14th Permanent International Altaistic Conference held in Hungary in 1971[7] was published in Turkey in 1972 in the journal *Belleten* under the title *Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler*.[8] Koşay's aforementioned 1968 study was republished under the same title in 1970 in the *Cultura Turcica* journal.[9] Furthermore, his 1968 and 1972 studies were republished under the same title in 1974 in a book that compiled his works published in various years.[10]

Some of the grammatical similarities identified by Koşay are as follows:[11]

1) In both Elamite and Turkish, the possessive meaning is expressed with the suffix *-e*.
2) The past tense is formed with the suffix *-ta* or *-ti* in Elamite, and with the suffix *-ti* in Turkish.
3) Vowel harmony is similar in both Elamite and Turkish.

Some of the 19 similar words identified by Koşay are as follows:[12]

Elamite: *atta* (father), Turkish: *ata* (father)
Elamite: *bali-be* ((statues of Gods), Turkish: *balbal* (In ancient Turks, a stone erected around a tomb or certain burial mounds to commemorate an individual.)
Elamite: *ike* (brother), Turkish: *eke* (elder brother)
Elamite : *kukki* (sky), Turkish: *kuk* (sky)
Elamite: *shak* (son), Turkish : *chaga* (son)

The Elamite-Turkish relationship has been further supported by the studies of the first Turkish Elamologist, the Azerbaijani scholar Yusif Behluloğlu Yusifov.[13] In his paper presented at the Third International Congress of Turkish Culture held in Ankara in 1993, Yusifov stated that the Proto-Turks and the Elamites might have had contact with each other. To support this view, he provided examples of certain word similarities between Elamite and Turkish. As noted by Koşay, he pointed out that the word *igi* means "brother" in both Elamite and Turkish. In addition, he argued that the names of the Elamite kings *Teumman* and *Urtaki*, who jointly ruled in the 7th century BCE, are also related to Turkish. He stated that the name *Teumman* is similar to the name of *Teoman,* the founder and first known ruler of the Asian Hun Empire, as well as the name *Tuman* used in Turkish. He noted that the name *Urtaki* is similar to the Turkish word for *ortak*, and suggested that it could be a royal title referring to shared rule.[14]

The recent studies on the similarities between Elamite and Turkish conducted by Turkish scholars are attributed to Allahverdi Alimirzayev, a student of Yusifov. In his studies published in Baku in 2019 and 2021, Alimirzayev presented various examples of similar words and grammatical rules between Elamite and Azerbaijani Turkish.[15]

Some of the examples provided by Alimirzayev regarding grammatical similarities are as follows:[16]

1) Elamite and Turkish are agglutinative languages.
2) Both Elamite and Turkish have simple phonological systems
3) In both Elamite and Turkish, the suffix *-n* is used to indicate the possessive case in nouns.
4) In both Elamite and Turkish, the suffix *-ki* is used to indicate possession.

Some of the 30 words identified by Alimirzayev that show phonological and semantic similarities are as follows:[17]

Elamite: *hal* (land), Azerbaijani Turkish: *el* (land)
Elamite: *kik* (sky), Azerbaijani Turkish: *göy* (sky)
Elamite: *kiman* (arrow), Azerbaijani Turkish: *kaman* (arc)
Elamite: *şak* (son), Azerbaijani Turkish: *çağa, uşaq* (son)
Elamite: *urtak* (King of Elamite), Azerbaijani Turkish: *ortak* (partner)

Notes

1. This article is derived from the author's unpublished doctoral thesis titled *Proto-Elam Kültürü ve Elam-Mezopotamya Siyasi İlişkileri*.

2. Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", *Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute (Iran, Pakistan, Turkey)*, 1/3, Tehran, 1968, p. 40-42; Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay, "Elam ve Orta Asya İlişkileri", Translated: Eray Karaketir, *Türkiye İran Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3/6, İstanbul, 2024, p. 75.

3. Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, "Hamit Zübeyr Koşay", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 26, Ankara, 2002, p. 225-226.

4. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Elamca-Türkçe Dilakrabalığı (Elamisch-Türkische Sprachverwandtshaft)*, Çankaya Matbaası, Ankara, 1937, p. 3; H. Z. Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", *Belleten*, 36/141, Ankara, 1972, p. 72.

5. Koşay, *Elamca-Türkçe Dilakrabalığı (Elamisch-Türkische Sprachverwandtshaft)*, p. 3-7.

6. Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", p. 40-43.

7. https://www.altaist.org/home/confessions/kosay-h-z/ (Access: 12 November 2024).

8. Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", p. 71-77.

9. Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", *Cultura Turcica*, 3/2, Ankara, 1970, p. 190-195.

10. Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", *Etnoğrafya, Folklor, Dil, Tarih v.d. Konularda Makaleler ve İncelemeler*, Ayyıldız Matbaası, Ankara, 1974, p. 211-217; Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", *Etnoğrafya, Folklor, Dil, Tarih v.d. Konularda Makaleler ve İncelemeler*, Ayyıldız Matbaası, Ankara, 1974, p. 300-307.

11. Koşay, *Elamca-Türkçe Dilakrabalığı (Elamisch-Türkische Sprachverwandtshaft)*, p. 4; Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", p. 43; Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", p. 75; Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", p. 217; Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", p. 304; Koşay, "Elam ve Orta Asya İlişkileri", p. 77.

12. Koşay, *Elamca-Türkçe Dilakrabalığı (Elamisch-Türkische Sprachverwandtshaft)*, p. 5-6; Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", p. 40-42; Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", p. 73-74; Koşay, "Elam and Central Asian Relations", p. 214-216; Koşay, "Türk Dili ile İlgili Prehistorik İzler", p. 302-303; Koşay, "Elam ve Orta Asya İlişkileri", p. 76.

13. Eray Karaketir, "Türk Dünyası'nda Bir Elambilimci: Yusif Behluloğlu Yusifov'un Hayatı ve Elamlılar Üzerine Çalışmaları", *Osmaniye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 4/2, Osmaniye, 2022, p. 80-89.

14. Yusif Behluloğlu Yusifov, "Proto-Türklerin İlk Vatanının Önasyada Olması Barede", *Üçüncü Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri*, 1, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, Ankara, 1999, p. 149-150.

15. Allahverdi Əlimirzəyev, "Elam Dilinin Türkmənşəli Sözləri Haqqında", *Sosial Elmlər*, 2, Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası, Bakı, 2019, p. 6-12; Allahverdi Əlimirzəyev, *Ön Asiyanın Mixi Yazı Sistemləri və Relikt Dilləri*, Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası A. A. Bakıxanov Adına Tarix İnstitutu, Bakı, 2021.

16. Əlimirzəyev, "Elam Dilinin Türkmənşəli Sözləri Haqqında", p. 8.

17. Əlimirzəyev, "Elam Dilinin Türkmənşəli Sözləri Haqqında", p. 8-9; Əlimirzəyev, *Ön Asiyanın Mixi Yazı Sistemləri və Relikt Dilləri*, p. 166-167.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

123) January 2025: launch of the Archibab 2.0 website — Thanks to the joint efforts of Dominique Charpin (Collège de France), Antoine Jacquet (Collège de France) and Christian Gaubert (CNRS - UMR 7192) and an international team of testers, the new version of Archibab (https://archibab.fr), online since January 2025, features major advances over the version launched in February 2010, whose functions had been progressively enriched (Dec. 2010, May 2011, Dec. 2011, June 2012, Nov. 2018), but whose interface had never evolved:[1]

- a redesigned architecture offering much greater speed, regardless of the size of the results;
- content that automatically adapts to the size of your browser window (computer screen, tablet, smartphone);
- much greater fluidity within the database, thanks to numerous internal links (in blue): you can move instantly from the bibliography to published or commented texts, from a text to the seals or toponyms it contains, etc.;
- integration of images (photos and copies in JPG format, transcriptions in PDF format) within the viewing window itself;
- unlimited cross-referencing of text content: all types of search can now be combined, both on data and on the rich metadata. A major advance: it is now possible to cumulate searches on lemmas, with two or more words or proper nouns. This radically changes the working conditions for lexico-graphy and prosopography. And you can combine them all: for example, asking for "texts discovered in: Mari" + "Asqudum" + "*têrtum*" + "*epêšum*" allows to analyze all the texts documenting Asqudum's divinatory activities. You can also search for several specific character strings at once;
- innovative interactive mapping in the Sites tab;
- an extension of perennial references by URL: in addition to texts (archibab.fr/Txxxx), archives (/Axxxx), bibliography (/Bxxxx), year names (/Nxxxx) and seals (/Sxxxx), you can now refer to place names (toponyms, gentilices, hydronyms) via a URL such as archibab.fr/Lxxxx.

Numerous other details enhance the user experience:

- transliteration and translation in parallel, usually aligned, with the text image next to it in a viewer that enables image manipulation; determinatives displayed in superscript; the choice of "raw" format for transcription makes copying and pasting easier.
- lemmatization visible by clicking on the word/name. Simple, clear color coding for lemmas: blue for deities, green for toponyms, red for men's names and pink for women's, black for vocabulary, wavy lines under non-lemmatized passages (notably dates). Clicking on a lemma displays all attestations of the same lemma. For toponyms, a click on the site name takes you to its entry in Sites (with map);
- for vocabulary, a search in the "lemmas" box for a word in French gives its Akkadian translation ("décret" gives *ṣimdatum*, etc.);
- notes visible by hovering over the ✳ sign (ANnotation, ANmerkung, ANnotazione, etc.) at the start of a line; the entire translation and notes remain visible at the bottom of the page for easy copy-and-paste;
- search results can be saved and the URL retained; when reused, results are updated according to the date of consultation;
- online help for each window, to help regular users understand the changes and newcomers quickly learn how to use it.

In short, this is not an evolution, but a complete revolution!

Note

1. Cf. Chr. Gaubert *apud* I. Arkhipov, "The Old Babylonian Glossary of the Archibab Text Corpus: results and prospects", *RA* 118, 2024, p. 91-102 (p. 99-100).

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