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NOTES BRÈVES

1) Incipits as ‘tablet names’ already in the archaic text corpus* — As is well known, the individual entries of administrative texts can be summarised in the subscripts under a generic term. Just one example: in c31/59, sheep and goats are collectively referred to as ‘UDU’ (‘sheep’ in the sense of small livestock): “3 UDUNITA | 2 UTUA | 2 MÁŠ || 7 UDU”. The same approach can be followed in lexical lists: in m1/243, a list of cities, the subscript reads “43 URU BA”. The matter should be judged somewhat differently for three excerpt lists from the lexical list Lú A (each of them with slight deviations at the end of the tablet). The subscripts of the three tablets MS 2429/2, ~3 and ~4, which all originate from one and the same scribe GAR.AMA, read as follows: “NÁM, 41 GAR SANGA, AMA”, “41 NÁM, GAR.AMA, SANGA” and “NÁM, 41 SANGA, GAR.AMA”. The Lú A entries are cited here after the ‘incipit’, in this case the first entry of the lexical list (NAMEŠDA, abbreviated as NÁM; cf. the colophon in PETTINATO, G., 1981, MEE 3, p. 6: “dub, ŠITA.GIŠ.NÁM [“=” NAMEŠDA], ...”). Two further examples from Lú A are the witnesses P006042 (subscript: “NÁM.tenû, 36 [calculation error; correct: 26] BALA”) and P411611 (“[] DU, [] NÁM”). This anticipates the custom of naming entire series of tablets after the beginning of the first tablet. GAR.AMA also prepared a (shortened) copy of the lexical list a3/VESSELS (MS 2503/2; the entries only match the canonical version at the beginning). The tablet name (if there was one) is broken off (“[] SANGA, 71 GAR.AMA []”). On the fragment MS 2900/4 (only the subscript is preserved) one could read “[N]I, SANGA, [n] + 1 GAR.A[MA]”; if the supplementation is correct, in this case GAR.AMA would also have named a tablet after the first entry (NI). An example for a3/CATTLE could be the colophon of witness W 24016,1: “[n] ÁB.É (‘instead of’ É.ÁB), NUN, PAP”. The first entry is not completely preserved in the list a3/CATTLE¹⁾; in SF 81 (ED) it reads “ÛR.ÁB”. The signs ÛR and É look fairly similar (later adaptation of the lists). Here the considered interpretation is very speculative. A (very uncertain) candidate for an excerpt list from a3/WOOD is the witness P000614; the colophon reads “[] X, 63, GIŠ ...]” (first entry in a3/WOOD: GIŠ.NÁM). — The type of naming of lists discussed was not yet a standard (cf. ATU 3, passim).

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2024/1.

1. Cf. though the administrative text P005401, ii1 (1 É.ÁB). In the corresponding entry with GU₄ (CATTLE, no. 27) there is some uncertainty about the witness W 24219,1 (ÛR.X instead of É (?); no photo available); the AMAR and AM entries (numbers 53 and 79 respectively) are not completely preserved.

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2) The plant in the sign EN in Uruk IV and what we may see on the Uruk Vase — In NABU 2024/91 Erlend Gehlken has rejected my interpretation of the sign EN (NABU 2023/53) as a composition of two elements, the picture of a plant and the inverted sign GÁNA (= *eqlu* “field”). There are variants, but the picture of a plant is very clear in Uruk IV texts. See for example P004046, P001429, P001310, P003251, P000005 (photo), P000745, P000830, P000846, P000958 and P001206 below.

What we see on the Uruk Vase may be an allusion on the sign EN in the rare Uruk III variant EN_c. EN_c is combined with the sign MUNUS in P005069; MSVO 1, 3; 5; 60; 64; 4, 80. In P002525; MSVO 3, 61; 63 and probably MSVO 4, 73 EN_c and MUNUS are combined as a ligature. The only example of EN_c without MUNUS which I was able to find is P004910 (no photo). But in this case EN_c shows a variation like in the ligature in P002525 and MSVO 3, 61. The variation is a crossing in the GÁNA part of EN and its intention may be to differentiate this part clearly from NIN (= MUNUS+NÁM). EN_c together with MUNUS designates an official as it can be seen for example from MSVO 3, 61 = P005372 where MUNUS+EN_c stands parallel with GAL.TE, KINGAL, NÁM.IRI and GAL.SUKKAL. If the picture on the Uruk Vase has something to do with the sign EN, its nearest parallel is a ligature of EN_c and MUNUS. Missing are all internal lines. The Uruk Vase could be dated by stratigraphy to Uruk III/I₇ (Braun-Holzinger AOAT 342, 24). Therefore an allusion to the shape of a sign from Uruk III would be chronologically sound.



EN_c may have forerunners in Uruk IV (P003267, P004230). It is not clear if EN_c shows the same plant or another one or even something else and it may have a special meaning, since it is closely related to MUNUS in Uruk III and EN_{a/b} is not. But it cannot show a pile of bevelled rim bowls (Glockentöpfe) as Gehlken has argued for the sign with regard to the Uruk Vase (Considerations on the Proto-Euphratic Language (PE), Jüchen 2021, 68f.) since there is a line in the middle and the triangles pointing to the sides are not symmetric as it would be with a pile of goblets. The plant of EN_{a/b} in Uruk IV is clear and it is not a marginal variant in Uruk IV. In many texts from Uruk IV the strokes at the top are gone and then the strokes on one side. The triangle may be opened or not. The result is exactly the main variant in Uruk III and the only form of EN in ED.

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3) Darlehen oder Pacht? Was die Zahlen über den Streit zwischen Lagaš und Umma verraten — In seinem Bericht über die endlosen Streitigkeiten mit dem nördlichen Nachbarn weiß Enmetena nichts Gutes über sie zu berichten. Nur einmal leistet Umma eine Zahlung. Jedenfalls ist das trotz Zweifeln der Konsens der Übersetzer. Frayne RIME1.9.5.1 iv 11-12: še lagaš^{ki} 3600 gur₇-am₆ ì-su „He repaid(?) (only) 3600 *guru* (IX,662,400 hl.) of Lagaš’s barley“. STEIBLE 1982/I, 241: “Das Getreide von Lagaš hat er (nur) im Umfang von 3600 Gur₇ erstattet(?)“. Anders ZÓLYOMI 2019, siehe unten.

Der Kontext handelt vom aggressiven Verhalten des Stadtfürsten ìl gegen Lagaš. Dass er dabei Lagaš irgendetwas ersetzt, ist nicht plausibel, insbesondere wenn es sich um eine so gewaltige Menge handeln soll. Für FD IIIb Lagaš gilt: 1 gur₇ bzw. guru₇ = 3600 gur saĝ+ĝál, 1 gur saĝ+ĝál = 144 silà, 1 silà ≈ 1 Liter, POWELL 1990, 494f. nachzurechnen in RTC 71. 3600 gur₇ bedeuten demnach 1 866 240 000 silà. Der Autor konnte keinen frühdynastischen Wirtschaftstext finden, der einen Betrag von 3 oder mehr gur₇ enthält. Ein Träger (ìl) bekam meistens 36 silà im Monat (PRENTICE 2010, 28), also 3 gur in 12 Monaten. Mit 3600 gur₇ hätte man 3600x1200 = 4 320 000 Träger 12 Monate lang bezahlen können. Enmetena beschwert sich also nicht über eine niedrige Zahlung.

Frayne verrät nicht wie er gerechnet hat. Doch auch nach Fraynes Umrechnung handelt es sich um ein unrealistisch großes Volumen. In BEHRENS/STEIBLE 1983, 156 findet sich die viel zu niedrige Angabe von „ca. 909 Liter“ für 1 gur₇, bezogen auf Enmetena und darunter „guru₇ = 3600 gur = 909,360 Liter“. Offenbar wurde das Komma in einem englischen Text fälschlich wie ein Komma bei Zahlen im Deutschen verstanden. Wenn man die Zahl wie im Englischen liest und zugleich das erst in der späteren Akkad-Zeit eingeführte gur mit 300 silà zugrunde legt, so kommt man mit dieser Gleichung auf 1 silà = 0,842 Liter und genau diese Angabe findet sich in BEHRENS/STEIBLE 1983, 298 für 1 silà.

Das Verb *su* ist im Sinne der Gleichung *ri'abum* „ersetzen“ gut belegt und kann auch die Rückzahlung einer Schuld mit Zinsen ausdrücken: ½ *kù ma-na ur₅ gu₇-a lugal-ĥur-saġ ur-é-zi-da in-su* „eine halbe Mine Silber, ein verzinster Darlehen hat Lugalĥursaġ an Ur-*ezida* zurückgezahlt“ Banca Adab 14 i 1-5 (cf. WILCKE 2007, 199f.). Von einem Darlehen könnte weiter vorne im Text die Rede sein. Doch die Stelle ist im Zusammenhang mit der Geierstele anders zu interpretieren.

Nach seinem Sieg über Umma (zu ĜEŠ.KÚŠU = umma SALLABERGER 2025) stellt Eannatum die alte Grenze wieder her und erhebt eine Pacht auf einen Streifen Land an der Grenze: *aša₅ ^dnin-ġír-su-ka 210 nindan ½ éše á umma^{ki}-šè mu-taka₄ aša₅ lugal nu-tuku (...)* še ^dnanše še ^dnin-ġír-su 1 gur₇-am₆ lú umma^{ki}-ke₄ ur₅-šè ì-gu₇ ku₅-rá ba-ús 144 000 gur₇-gal ba-ku₄ „Feld des Ninġirsu, 210 Doppelruten und ein halbes Seil (ca. 1,3 km) gab er nach der Seite von Umma auf. Ein Feld ohne (menschlichen) Eigentümer (...) die Gerste der Nanše und die Gerste des Ninġirsu betrug 1 Gur₇. Der Ummäer pachtete gegen Zins (und diese) Abgabe wurde auferlegt. 144 000 große Gur₇ wurden (von Umma) eingebracht“ RIME1.9.5.1 ii 4-26.

Von der Verpachtung von Land des Ninġirsu ist bereits auf der Geierstele die Rede (cf. WILCKE 2007, 112 Anm. 359): *a-ša da-n[a] ki ur₅-ra ^dnin-ġír-^rsú-ka¹* „die Felder an seiner Seite, das Pachtzinsgebiet des Ninġirsu“ xii 11-13; *a-ša ^dnin-ġír-su-ka ^ruru₅ ì-gu₇* „die Felder des Ninġirsu werde ich für Pachtzins nutzen“ xvi 23f. zur Schreibung KEETMAN 2021, 232. Frayne: „I might explore the field of the god Ningirsu as a(n interest bearing) loan.“ Diese auf Dauer angelegte Pacht ist zu unterscheiden von der einmaligen Pacht zur Feldbestellung *apin-lá*, wie sie in Kodex Ur-Namma § 41 (CIVIL 2011, 248) beschrieben wird. 1 gur₇ Gerste von Nanše und Ninġirsu ist wohl der Pachtzins. Ein Darlehen passt nicht zum Kontext, ein anderer Grund für diese Angabe erschließt sich nicht und das Volumen läge hierfür sogar in einem realistischen Bereich. Nach Kodex Ur-Namma § 41 musste ein Pächter, der das Feld nicht bearbeitete, statt eines Ernteanteils pro iku 3 gur Gerste bezahlen. Beachtet man, dass das gur in Lagaš nur 144 silà hatte, bei Ur-Namma aber 300, so würde die Pacht von 1 gur₇ ca. 600 iku entsprechen. 1 iku = 100 nindan². Da eine Seite des Feldes 215 nindan ist, ergibt sich für die andere 600x100/215 nindan = 279 nindan ≈ 1,67 km. Für die Länge des Grenzstreifens wäre das nicht viel. Jedenfalls zeigt die Rechnung, dass 1 gur₇ Pacht weder völlig untertrieben, noch völlig übertrieben ist.

Enmetena will dann wohl zum Ausdruck bringen, dass Umma auf diesem Grund gewaltige Ernten eingebracht hat, damit aber nicht zufrieden war und nennt die astronomische Menge von 144 000 gur₇-gal mit 1 gur₇-gal = 60 gur₇.

Umma wird erneut besiegt. Doch dann kommt Il und verhält sich wieder feindselig.

Für *su* gibt es auch eine andere Möglichkeit, auf die STEIBLE 1982/II, 121 beiläufig hinweist: *su-su = tubbû (tebû D)* „untergehen lassen“. Entsprechend *a-ġe₆-a buru₁₄ su-su* „Flut, die die Ernte ertränkt“ Lugale 124 (jung: [a]-ġe₆ buru₁₄ sù-sù [aġû š]a ebûra u^tabbû), cf. buru₁₄ isin-ba mu-ni-fb-su-su ebûri ina simānīšu u^tabbi „(sein Wort) ertränkt die Ernte am Halm“ SBH No. 4, 159f. etc. Offenbar davon abgeleitet sù-sù, kuš₇ su-su *sapānu* „gewaltsam einebnen“, z. B. Angim 76 nach Vergleichen mit Flut und Gewitter in Angim 73-74. In übertragener Bedeutung in ELA 500 (MITTERMAYER 2009, 295). Ebenso bereits ZÓLYOMI 2019: „‘He (= Il) set under water 3600 guru of barley of Lagash’ would therefore fit better into the context“. ZÓLYOMI ebd. gibt auch die Umrechnung von 3600 gur₇ auf der Basis 1 silà = 1 Liter in Hektoliter korrekt an.

Damit ergibt sich *a-e ì-mi-è še lagaš^{ki} 3600 gur₇ ì-su* „Grabenwasser ließ er hierher heraus, die Gerste von Lagaš, 3600 Gur₇ ertränkte er“ iv 10-12. ZÓLYOMI 2019 meint, dass hier è die Bedeutung „to obliterate“ habe. Doch die angenommene semantische Entwicklung ist nicht belegt und dass Il Wasser herausließ, um gezielt die Felder von Lagaš zu überfluten, ergibt Sinn (cf. KEETMAN 2020, wo der Ventiv noch fälschlich auf Umma bezogen wird). Darauf schickt Enmetena Boten zu Il. Als Grund wird der Graben genannt und nicht die angeblich zu geringe Zahlung. Enmetena wäre auch ein schlechter Propagandist, wenn er annähme, irgendjemand würde eine Zahlung von 3600 gur₇, geleistet aufgrund von einem Darlehen von 1 gur₇, als ungenügend empfinden.

Den Schaden übertreibt Enmetena, doch nicht im gleichen Maße wie zuvor die Getreideernte Ummas. Das dürfte damit zusammenhängen, dass Enmetena keine Bestrafung Ummas schildern kann. Eannatum annektiert nicht einfach Gebiete oder das Gebiet von Umma, sondern akzeptiert die

Grenzziehung zwischen Ninĝirsu und Šara. Trotzdem beansprucht er jenseits dieser Grenze dann doch Felder des Ninĝirsu für die er Pacht verlangt. Er kassiert also faktisch regelmäßigen Tribut. Ob ihn ideologische oder praktische Gründe wie Mangel an zusätzlichen Arbeitskräften oder anderes davon abgehalten haben, Land zu annektieren und selbst zu bewirtschaften, lässt sich nicht sagen. Jedenfalls schuf er einen Grund für neue Konflikte, die dann aus der Perspektive von Lagaš geschildert werden.

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4) Kein Keulenkopf des Dudu — STEINKELLER 2020 weist auf einen Keulenkopf mit einem Relief hin, der im Bagara-Tempel des Ninĝirsu in Lagaš gefunden wurde und mit du-du beschriftet sein soll. Der Autor sieht darin den Namen des Tempelverwalters (saĝĝa) des Ninĝirsu, der unter Enmetena eine wichtige Rolle spielte (zu Dudu: BAUER 1998, 471f. STEINKELLER 2019). Doch oben an dem zweiten DU befinden sich noch zwei Striche, die sicherlich als A zu lesen sind. So auch STEIBLE 1982, 367: „DU.DU-a ... (PN(?))“. Als Deutung bietet sich du-du-aja „Dudu ist (wie) ein Vater“ an. Dieser Name ist in Lagaš sonst nicht belegt. Doch vergleiche WF 77 xiv 7: du-du-a, genauso geschrieben, mit dem a über dem zweiten du; TSS 53 vii 4 über dem ersten du; a-du-du IAS 479 Kolophon (= a-DU dub-sar IAS 494?); a-du-du CUSAS 11, 190 Meskigala (Reihenfolge auf ältere Texte übertragbar?).

Trotz der Parallelen könnte der Name auf Dudu anspielen und deshalb in späteren Texten nicht belegt sein. Das Relief erinnert nach Stil und Thema deutlich an die Weihplatte des Dudu (AO 2354, BOESE 1971, 74-77, Tf. XXXI 3) und die Vase des Enmetena (AO 2674, RIME1.9.5.7). Sonst werden erkennbar nur die Namen der Stadtfürsten in andere Namen integriert und auch das kommt nur selten vor. Siehe e[n-an]-[na-túm¹-sipa-zi (AO 4156, Enmetena), Irikagena, BALKE 2017, 214.

Es gibt jedoch eine weitere Möglichkeit, nämlich der nur einmal belegte Name a-DU.DU-ěš VS 27, 33 vi 4 (dazu SELZ 2004, 205). Dass der Schreiber unkonzentriert war und an eine Verbalform dachte, ist nicht plausibel. Das Präfix a- ist in Lagaš im Kontext sehr selten und er musste die Tafel etwas drehen, um dann ěš mit 8 Keilen sorgfältig auf den Rand zu schreiben (P020349). Aber auch wenn es eigentlich a-du-du heißen sollte, käme dieser Name in Frage. Der Name ließe sich als a-laĥ₅-ěš „(sie) Götter haben (die Mutter?) für immer weggeführt“ deuten. So mit Vorbehalt, weil nicht durch ähnliche Namen gesichert. Auf dem Relief ist eine Ergänzung a-DU.DU-[ěš] gut möglich.

Die spielerische Art der Anordnung der Zeichen spricht für die erste Lösung, doch die zweite ist wahrscheinlicher, weil der Name dann in Lagaš belegt ist. Bei VS 27, 33 handelt es sich um Ausgaben für „Freunde“, die SELZ 2004, 201f. mit der bevorstehenden Thronbesteigung des Irikagena verbindet. Der auf dem Keulenkopf abgebildete Mann kann sehr wohl der von Irikagena beim Babu-Fest beschenkte a-laĥ₅-ěš sein. Beide gehörten der Oberschicht an und trugen einen seltenen Namen. Enentarzi, der spätestens im 17. Jahr Enmetenas auf Dudu in seinem hohen Amt folgte (BIN 8, 352), starb nur 6 Jahre vor VS 27, 33. Daher sprechen auch die stilistischen Vergleiche nicht gegen a-laĥ₅-ěš.

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5) On the phonotactics of /r/ in Sumerian — The Sumerian phoneme /r/ has been characterized as an alveolar tap and its involvement in phonetic alternations has been discussed in previous Assyriological literature. It is known that the phoneme /r/ occasionally alternates with /l/ (FALKENSTEIN 1959: 28), and that it can occur as an allophone of alveolar stops in intervocalic and post-vocalic positions (JAGERSMA 2010: 53). In addition, when the phoneme /r̥/, with assumed pronunciation [t̥ʰ] in IPA, disappeared from Sumerian, it was reflected in South Sumerian and later Neo-Sumerian as /r/ (JAGERSMA 2010: 45).

All this implies that the phoneme /r/ is not original in all contexts where it can be observed. One intriguing detail of the Sumerian phoneme /r/ is that it is extremely rare in word initial positions and suggests that in the earlier stages of Sumerian it might have been restricted or even prohibited by phonotactics. Without making assumptions on the Sumerian homelands and language contacts, the absence of word initial /r/ is typologically common in the Eurasian linguistic area, occurring in Proto-Turkic, Proto-Mongolian, Proto-Tungusic, Proto-Koreanic, Proto-Japonic and Southern Yukaghir (ROBBEETS 2017: 591), as well as in Proto-Uralic (AIKIO 2022: 9). Various restrictions such as allophonic shift into /l/ or /r̥/ exist also elsewhere, as in dialects of Thai and in the Polynesian languages (VOVIN 2020: 102) to mention a few.

As of April 2025, the ePSD2 contains merely 70 /r/-initial words, which constitute 0.44% of the whole dictionary, a majority of these are Akkadian proper nouns. This, and the fact that Emesal does not have a single known confirmed /r/ initial word (see SCHRETTER 1990: 247) raises some questions on the distribution of this phoneme in Sumerian. To better understand the etymological nature of the Sumerian /r/ initial words, let us examine all the ePSD2 entries excluding proper nouns, commonly known etymologies with a confirmed initial /r̥/, and three words (rag, rin₂ and rin₅-na-ra) of unknown meaning and no attestations in the corpus. The data is split into Old Sumerian, Neo-Sumerian and the Old Babylonian and later Sumerian. In the tables below, the frequency of the word in the given time span is indicated in the second column, and its first attestation in the second-last column.

Old Sumerian

Freq.	Word	Meaning	Period	Notes
165	raḥ ₂	‘to beat’	ED III	
124	ru	‘(compound verb verbal element)’	ED III	
34	ri	‘to impose, lay down’	ED III	← /r̥/?
13	rig ₇	‘to donate’	ED III	
11	ru-ga	‘(designation of calves)’	ED III	participle of rig ₇
9	ra-gaba ₂	‘rider’	ED III	← Akk. <i>rākibum</i>
6	rib	‘to be surpassing’	ED III	variation rib ~ lib
6	ri ₂ /re ₂	‘to be distant’	ED III	exophoric demonstrative suffix
5	ru	‘to remove’	ED III	
2	ra-šum	‘(a flour)’	ED III	← Akk. <i>rāšum</i>
1	ru-ru-buru ₅ ^{mušen}	‘(a bird)’	ED III	ornithonym
1	ru-ur-ra ^{zabar}	‘(an object)’	ED III	object
1	ra-bi-a-num	‘commander’	OAKk	← Akk. <i>rabiānum</i>

Of the words attested in Old Sumerian, three are apparent Akkadian loanwords and one is an ornithonym, which are commonly known to be onomatopoeic and originate from communicative interactions between humans and birds (KURASHKINA 2012). In this particular case, /ruruburu/ shows a high likelihood having a phonetically motivated origin. Of the remaining nine words, seven are verbs according to ePSD2. As for *ri* ‘to impose, lay down’, lexical lists give equations $RI = de-e = ma-qa-tu$ (Ea 02, 296) and $RI = \langle (ri-i) \rangle = ma-qa_2-tum$ (Karpeles 01, o iii 56), suggesting that this verb originally featured the phoneme /r/. As for *ru-ga* ‘(designation of calves)’, this likely a perfective participle of $rig_7 = re^?u$ ‘to tend, graze (animals)’ (Bauer AWL p. 297 ad 98 iii 4), and therefore etymologically related to rig_7 ‘to donate’. The word *ri*₂ (likely to be read in Old Sumerian as *re*₂) is an exophoric demonstrative suffix {*re*} ‘that (further away)’ and not a verb stem. To my knowledge, all its uses as a verb stem (written *ri*) are attested in the second millennium BCE. The word *rib* ‘to be surpassing’ has been shown to alternate with *lib* (FALKENSTEIN 1959: 28), suggesting that the /r/ might not be original, or at least that it is unstable in this context. Finally, it has been proposed that *rah*₂ ‘to beat’ is borrowed from Akkadian *rahāsum* ‘to flood, wash’ (JAQUES 2006: 396). Although this is conjectural, considering the rarity of the word initial /r/ in Sumerian, this proposition is fairly appealing. In conclusion, four words with an initial /r/ remain unetymologized: *ru* ‘(compound verb verbal element)’, rig_7 ‘to donate’, *ru* ‘to remove’ and *ru-ur-ra*^{zabar} ‘(an object)’. Since names of objects are prone to be borrowed and this word looks phonotactically suspicious, the foreign (non-Akkadian) origin of /rur(r)a/ cannot be excluded.

Neo-Sumerian

Freq.	Word	Meaning	Period	Notes
23	<i>ru-gu</i> ₂ (d)	‘to withstand’	Lagaš II	← /r/ cf. <i>ru-gu</i> ₂ ~ <i>du</i> ₅ - <i>gu</i> ₂
7	^{urud} <i>ra-tum</i>	‘drain pipe’	Ur III	← Akk. <i>rātum</i>
3	<i>ri-gi</i> ^{mušen}	‘(a bird)’	Ur III	ornithonym
2	<i>ra-ba-tum</i>	‘garment’	Ur III	← Akk. <i>rabātum</i>

The Neo-Sumerian examples contain two obvious Akkadian loanwords, and one word that can be shown to have contained an original /r/ based on the Ur III alternative spelling *du*₅-*gu*₂-*dam* (VAT 07131, 07). The remaining word is an ornithonym. Although it is not as clearly onomatopoeic as our previous bird name, this possibility cannot be excluded. In addition to the words listed above, Attinger (2023: 1107) mentions a word *rin*₂ in the Gudea Cylinders, but the first three occasions (Cyl. A xix 18, B v 22, B ix 15) seem to be reduced spellings of *erin*₂ ‘yoke; to harness’ based on their contexts. The last one is not certain as it occurs in a broken context *mušen-#be*₂ [...] *rin*₂-*na-da* (Cyl. B xii 10), but an interpretation “to tether ... its birds” cannot be excluded on basis of the surrounding lines.

Old Babylonian and later

Freq.	Word	Meaning	Period	Notes
270	<i>re</i>	‘that’	OB	(developed from a suffix)
57	^{ḡeš} <i>rab</i> ₃ (a)	‘clamp’	OB	variants: <i>a-la-ab</i> ~ <i>a-ra</i> ₂ - <i>ab</i>
15	<i>rum</i>	‘perfect’	OB lex	
10	^u <i>rib-ba</i>	‘(a plant)’	OB	
8	<i>ra-bi-zi-ga-tum</i>	‘official’	OB lex	← Akk. <i>rabi sikkatim</i>
8	rig_7	‘to eat’	OB lex	
8	rig_3	‘weapon’	OB lex	object
4	rig_7	‘to boil’	OB lex	
5	<i>ra</i> ₃	‘to be pure’	1 st mill. lex	
2	<i>ri-ḡeš</i> ^{mušen}	‘(a bird)’	1 st mill. lex	ornithonym
1	rig_{10}	‘sheepfold’	OB lex	
1	<i>ra-aḥ</i>	‘(a disease)’	OB lex	

The final 12 words come from the times when Sumerian was likely no longer a vernacular, if we accept the general 19th century BCE dating of Sumerian's decline as a spoken language (at least in the urban areas). Therefore these words provide slightly less certain evidence in comparison to our previous ones. Yet, we have one bird name and one Akkadian loanword. The word ^urib-ba is possibly descriptive and etymologically connected to rib 'to be surpassing' (compare ^urib-ba = *šūtuqum* [AHw 1294]). The word ^ēs^ērab₃(a) 'clamp' is perhaps reduced from original /alaba/, /araba/ or perhaps /ařaba/, since Attinger (2023: 1100) points out its non-standard late third millennium BCE spellings a-la-ab and a-ra₂^{1?}-ab. Yet, the later pronunciation as /rab/ is evident from Akkadian *rappu*, borrowed from Sumerian perhaps in the early OB period (CAD R: 159). The word re 'that' is likely etymologically connected to the already mentioned exophoric demonstrative suffix {re} via reanalysis of a bound suffixal morpheme into a free one. The first millennium BCE forms like re-en₃ and re-en₃^{en} can likely be explained via analogical formation from the demonstrative {nēn} 'this'. Finally, it cannot be excluded that ra-aḥ '(a disease)' could be related to raḥ₂ 'to beat', but this is speculative.

We are left with six words which of all are attested only lexically (ra₃, rum, rig₃, rig₇, rig₇, rig₁₀). Four of these words show a phonetic shape /rig/. Considering that this coincides with the Old Sumerian word rig₇ 'to donate', it begs the question whether this is chance resemblance, or whether the syllable final /g/ (reconstructed as a voiceless velar stop [k]) has something to do with it. Since one of our Old Sumerian examples has also the phonetic shape /rib/ [rip] and we know that there is a sound alternation between /n/ and /l/ before velar and bilabial stops in Sumerian (compare lugal 'king' ~ Ebla nu-gal (EDZARD 2003: 18); nu-banda₃ 'overseer' ← *lu₂-banda₃ → OAk. *lupatta'um* → *lapatta'um* (JAGERSMA 2010: 50)), it would be tempting to speculate that the Sumerian word initial /r/ is not phonemic here, but a later allophone of some other Sumerian phoneme in this environment. One possibility for the original phoneme is /l/, since Falkenstein (1959: 28) has already pointed out the variation rib ~ lib 'übergroß'. The proximity of a velar or a bilabial stop seems to trigger this alternation elsewhere too, as in gibil ~ kibir (FALKENSTEIN 1959: 28); saḡ-gir-mud (OB Nippur Ura 4 174) ~ saḡ-gil-mud (Ura 16 Seg.12, 8) and the already mentioned a-la-ab ~ a-ra₂^{1?}-ab, but since these comparisons are anachronistic, making further conclusions on the details of this suggested allophony in Old Sumerian (or even Proto-Sumerian) is yet premature.

Were the speculation on the allophonic variation in /rig/ (or even more so /rib/) from original /lig/ and /lib/ justified or not, the distribution of word initial /r/ is undeniably extremely restricted based on our current understanding of Sumerian lexicography. Of the initial 29 examples, 12 are attested only in the Old Babylonian period or later, mostly lexically. Of the 16 third millennium BCE examples: four are certain Akkadian loanwords and one is conjectural, two are ornithonyms, two are likely derived from an original /r/, one is a name of an object of unknown meaning, and two share a common etymology essentially removing one of these entries. In conclusion, this leaves us only three or four words, all verbs, with an initial /r/ attested before the second millennium BCE: ru 'to remove', rig₇ 'to donate', ru '(compound verb verbal element)' and possibly raḥ₂ 'to beat'. Therefore, the Sumerian word initial /r/ can be considered as a phonological anomaly with a fair certainty and its etymological origins should be challenged.

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6) Minima Eblaïtica 31: Annual documents and homonymy in personal names — Three types of administrative documents of Ebla of the third millennium B.C. are the basis of the classification of historical data: *a)* the annual accounts of the incomes (mu-DU) of metals; *b)* the annual accounts of expenditures (è) of metals as raw material to be processed into objects or employed in part in a circuit of gifts and counter gifts; *c)* the monthly documents of distribution of textile products, only dated according to the month.

a) The mu-DU texts published in ARET XIV, and classified as annual documents, present a clear structure. A first long section registers the gold and silver (in part hoarded in objects) together with clothing collected by the minister (in later texts copper is added), which constituted by far the largest revenue for the Administration. This is followed by deliveries from the “lords”, lugal-lugal (the highest officials; in some later documents: ugula-ugula, probably corresponding to a period of major centralization of administrative power), and then by those from the city-state which recognized Ebla’s supremacy. All these deliveries are minimal compared to the revenues registered under the name of the minister. Some later texts of minister Ibbi-zikir are closed by few other deliveries from the city-states, dated on the occasion of a festival: *in ma-wa-tim* (see the index in ARET XIV, 558), celebrated in the second part of the year.

b) Only the following documents of the second group, which concerns the “expenditures”, è, of metals are dated according to an event (ARET XXI; ARET XXII forthcoming):

ARET XXI 4: *in ud Ib-rí-um 2 mu* “second year since Ibrum (was appointed minister)”.

ARET XXI 5: è 2 mu 2 dub “expenditures of the second year of (minister Ibrum): second document”.

ARET XXI 21: DIŠ mu úš *Ib-rí-um* “year of (minister) Ibrum’s death”: i.e. eighteenth full year of Ibrum as minister.

ARET XXII 3: DIŠ mu úš ama-gal en “year of the death (of Dusigu), the king’s mother”: third year of minister Ibbi-zikir.

ARET XXII 10: DIŠ mu šu-ba₄-ti Ì-li-ga-ù^{ki} “Year in which the city of Iliga’u was conquered”: tenth year of minister Ibbi-zikir.

The final part of ARET XXII 13: thirteenth year of minister Ibbi-zikir, is not preserved.

Only the *incipit* of the documents for years 15–16 of minister Ibbi-zikir are preserved: this is the usual registration of “1 mina of silver (for) the silver head of (the city-god) Kura”, 1 ma-na kù:babbar saġ kù:babbar ^d*Ku-ra*.

This author has presented already many years ago (ARCHI 2000) a study on the lugal-lugal of the mu-DU documents. A simple look at the tables at pp. 23, 39, and 45, where the names of these officials are collected, is sufficient to realize that they remained in office for a limited number of years. By then putting these names in relation, one has obtained the chronological sequence of these documents (see ARET XIV pp. 169, 303).

ARET XIV 93 is a document which registers the delivery of gold and silver from minister Ibbi-zikir for “16 years”: § 15: 15 mu; § 16: [16 mu]: the goods he had collected during his mandate. The final sums of gold and silver are only partially preserved: “... 444 minas (208.68 kg) of gold in relation 1 : 2½ with silver [...]. Final total. Silver: 5602[+3³] minas (2634.3 kg) of silver [...] of Ibbi-zikir (lú *I-bí-zi-kir*)”. This proves that the minister was in office for seventeen years.

It is therefore proven that Ibrum and his son Ibbi-zikir held the position of minister for eighteen and seventeen years respectively.

Starting with the first document of minister Ibrum, ARET XXI 4, concerning the “expenditures”, è, dated: *in ud Ib-rí-um 2 mu* “second year since Ibrum was minister” (in fact: his first full year he was minister), all these documents open with the registration of “one mina (470 g) of silver for the silver head of (the city-god) Kura”: an evident rite of renewal which inaugurated every year. Only ARET XXI 5, because it is the “second tablet” 2 dub, of that year (see above), doesn’t present this expenditure. Starting with the following year, a second expenditure (mu-ti-II) of 3 (24 g) shekels of silver (in later years of 6

shekels) is given every year at a later date for completion of this rite, without mention of its date (cf. e.g. ARET XXI 14: § 17: 3 gín DILMUN saĝ kù:babbar ^d*Ku-ra in mu-ti-II*; see ARET XXI, p. 366: mu-ti). All these annual documents register “expenditures”, è, of metals mentioning the months only in few cases, because this was not deemed necessary for this type of document (like most of the others in general). MEE 10, 29 = ARET XXII 5, for example, mentions only the months *za-’à-tum* (III), *za-ġa-li* (V), and *’a₅-nun* (VIII), while ARET XXII 6 the months *i-si* (I); *i-rí-sa* (VI), and *’a₅-nun* (VIII), and ARET 7 the months *i-rí-sa* (VI), and *’a₅-nun* (VIII).

c) NEti-budu: a lady at the court of king Irkab-damu

(1) Two long lists of the ladies of the royal house, to be dated to Irkab-damu, the last-but-one king, mention the name *NE-ti-bù-ud*, TM.75.G.2551 obv. VII 4, and TM.75.G.2168 rev. V 5 (ARCHI 1996, 110 and 115). Each lady of the first list received a cloak: a *zara₆-TÚG*, a garment of greater value than that the women on the second list receive: a *túg-NI.NI-sa₆*. They were probably two different ladies.

(2) ARET XII 199 has only one line preserved, I’ 1’-3’:] *Keš-du-ud Tar₅-kab-du-lum NE-ti-bù-du šu-mu-tak₄* [...]. It preserves part of a list of deceased ladies who received a gift on the occasion of the funerary rite for an important member of the royal house (see below). This Kešdut was quite probably the “queen”, *maliktum*, of king Igriš-Ĥalab, to whom the oldest documents in the archive belong (see the data in ARET XIV, 11–12). For Tarkab-dulum, see ARCHI 1996, 107–108.

(3) It is uncertain if the following passage also refers to this lady, TM.75.G.1830+ rev. VI 11–14: (1 garment) *NE-ti-ù-du lú é en si-in ÉXPAP* “NEti-budu of the king’s house for (her) funerary rite”.

The synchronism which connects the annual document of expenditures (è) of metals ARET XXII 1 (published as MEE 10, 20 by Pietro Mander in 1990), to be dated to the first year of minister Ibbi-zikir, and the monthly document ARET IV 19 (below), shows that the Kešdut mentioned in text 2 (above) was already dead at that time (an event surely dating back some years). The date of ARET XXII 1 / MEE 10, 20 to the year Ibbi-zikir 1 is made certain by the fact that it registers the gifts to the spouses of minister Ibrum on the occasion of his funerary rite. This document further registers the funerary rite for “GimiNI-zadu, sister of the queen”: *Gi-mi-NI-za-du nin-ni ma-lik-tum si-in ÉXPAP* (rev. VI 2–6), and also the funerary rite (ÉXPAP) for “*A-a-gi-du* daughter of the king” (rev. XII 13–17).

(4) The detailed list of the many gifts for the “funerary rite” (ÉXPAP) of *Gi-mi-NI-za-du* are recorded in the monthly document ARET IV 19 = MEE 7, 24 (mentioned above) obv. VIII 17–IX 2. It dates this text to the year Ibbi-zikir I. These gifts are followed by those for the illustrious ancestors, who will receive GimiNI-zadu in the afterlife: a custom well established at Ebla (ARCHI 2012, 23–25). These ancestors are the former queen Kešdut and *NE-ti-bù-du*; the former kings Igriš-Ĥalab and Irkab-damu; and *Ìr-ib-da-mu*. According to this document and ARET XXII 1 / MEE 10, 20, therefore, this NEti-budu was already dead before the year Ibbi-zikir I.

GimiNI-zadu is also associated to two illustrious female ancestors: Kešdut and Tarkab-dulum, on the occasion of the funerary rite for Tarib-damu, daughter of the king and priestess of the god ’Adabal, whose death felt in one of the four years preceding the fall of Ebla, according to ARET XX 25 § 2 (approximately ten years later).

(5) TM.75.G.1335 (also a monthly document) registers in obv. IX 7–X 1 the gifts for the “funerary rite” (ÉXPAP) for *A-a-gi-du*, followed by the gifts for the two former kings: Igriš-Ĥalab and Irkab-damu, the former minister Ibrum, and the former queen Kešdut together with *NE-ti-bù-du*. This document also must be dated to the year Ibbi-zikir 1 because the funerary rite of A’agidu is mentioned in ARET XXII 1 rev. XII 13–17 (above), and this confirms that this NEti-budu had died on a previous date.

d) NEti-budu: the first rang spouse of Irib-damu

A cursory reading of the annual document TM.75.G.1918, published in the year 1990 by Pietro Mander as MEE 10, 29, (to be republished as ARET XXII 5, and attributed by this writer to the year Ibbi-zikir 5), shows that the name of minister Ibrum is mentioned only once, and as a patronymic (obv. X 33–34: *Ir-ti lú Ib-rí-um* “Irti (son) of Ibrum”). His son and successor Ibbi-zikir was evidently the minister in office because he is instead mentioned thirteen times.

A simple scan of MEE 10, 29 = ARET XXII 5 therefore makes a backdating of this document impossible. One must as a consequence accept that even for a poorly attested personal name as NE-*ti-bù-ud/du*, a case of homonymy has occurred. Not only this annual document, but also two monthly documents to be dated to the minister Ibbi-zikir mention this lady as the spouse of Irib-damu.

(6) ARET XXII 5 rev. IX 3–9: 10 gîn DILMUN kù:babbar 2 bu-DI NE-*ti-bù-du* dam *Ìr-ib-da-mu* a-mu *ma-lik-tum* “10 shekels of silver (for) two toggle-pins (for) NEti-budu, the spouse of Irib-damu, the queen’s father”.

(7) ARET XX 9 is undoubtedly to be dated to minister Ibbi-zikir; see § 14: 2 gada-TÚG mu⁴ en *I-bí-zi-kir* “two garments (for) the king (and) Ibbi-zikir”; see further §§ 2, 40, 94–95: “12 dam *Ib-rí-um* ... 122 dam ... é *I-bí-zi-kir*”.

Obv.VI 18–21: 1 zara₆-TÚG NE-*ti-bù-du* 1 dam *Ìr-ib-da-mu* “1 garment (for) NEti-budu: one spouse of Irib-damu”.

(8) TM.75.2504 is also to be dated to minister Ibbi-zikir; see obv. II 9–12: 2 fb-TÚG-gùn sa₆ en *wa I-bí-zi-kir*.

Rev. IV 9–15: 1 zara₆-TÚG 10 kù:babbar 2 bu-DI NE-*ti-bù-du* 1 dam *Ìr-ib-da-mu* a-mu *ma-lik-tum* “1 cloak, 10 shekels of silver (for) two toggle-pins (for) one spouse of Irib-damu, father of the queen”. This second NEti-budu, who survived approximately until the destruction of Ebla, is therefore usually qualified as “spouse of Irib-damu” to distinguish her from the NEti-budu who had already died at the end of the mandate of minister Ibrium. She had married Irib-damu and they were the parents of Dabur-damu, the last queen of Ebla, who married king Iš’ar-damu in the year Ibrium 14, when she was probably thirteen or fourteen years old (therefore born about the year of king Irkab-damu’s death, when Ibrium became minister), and Iš’ar-damu was presumably four or five years older.

On the marriage of Iš’ar-damu with Tabur-damu, see ARCHI 2021, 7–16.

Ìr-ib-da-mu is at the third place in the list TM.75.G.2624 of the royal family at the time of king Irkab-damu), after Tarkab-dukun and Irkab-damu (obv. I 1–9; ARCHI 1996, 118–119): he was probably a brother of king Irkab-damu. He is still mentioned on the occasion of the funerary rite for Tarib-damu, the priestess, daughter of king Iš’ar-damu, together with two former kings: Igriš-Ḥalab, Irkab-damu, Irib-damu” (ARET XX 25 § 29–11). Iš’ar-damu (Irkab-damu’ son and successor) had several spouses. As the mother of the future queen, however, a daughter of his uncle was chosen among his spouses: a cousin marriage preserved the purity of the royal blood. The name of the new queen was Tabur-damu.

The line in ARET III 641 I’ 1’ could be restored in the following way: *Da-bur-da-mu*] dumunus *Ìr-ib-da-mu*.

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7) Sur certaines nouvelles variantes graphiques rares des textes administratifs éblaïtes — La récente publication des comptes-rendus de la période du ministre Ibrium nous fournit des variantes graphiques rares de mots déjà connus, mais à ce jour non identifiées comme telles. Elles nous permettent des réflexions intéressantes :

1) a-a-nu. Les éditeurs (ARCHI – SPADA 2023 : 329) traduisent de façon générique : « (a jewel) », mais il s’agit en réalité d’une variante graphique, caractérisée par le phénomène décrit comme « L-Reduktion » (en général, sur ce phénomène, TONIETTI 1992), du terme *al₆-la-nu*, qui indique un pendentif en forme de gland (acc. *allānu* ; héb. אֵלָאָן, voir PASQUALI 2005 : 99). La graphie est attestée dans les passages suivants :

[1] *ARET XXI* 18 r. XVI:12 – XVIII:8 : 7 ma-na TAR kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 1 ma-na TAR kù-sig₁₇ / kin₅-aka / 2 ti-gi-na / 10 lá-2 geštu_x-lá / 92 gur-gú-ru₁₂ / 3 mi-at 60 ha-za-nu / 1 šu-dub / 1 ma-ha-na-gúm / 2 kù-sal / 1 **a-a-nu** / 2 GIŠ-du / TAR kù:babbar / 2 GIŠ-du / Tal-du-du / dam / en

[2] *ARET XXI* 24 r. I:2-6 : 4 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / ha-za-nu / wa / **a-a-nu** / gú-zu-ra-tum

Dans [1] l'un de ces pendentifs en forme de gland est attribué avec d'autres objets précieux à une dame de la cour, *Tal-du-du*, qui reçoit le même bijoux aussi dans :

[3] TM.75.G.2259 r. II:1 – III:8 : (perles et bijoux) 1 a-la-nu kù-sig₁₇ 1/2 3 a-la-nu nab-ḫu 4 a-la-nu si₄ gín (perles et bijoux) *Tal-du-du* dam en (cité par BIGA 2007/08 : 260, n. 49).

Dans [2] ce pendentif en forme de gland et un autre pendentif en forme d'oignon (*ha-za-nu*) semblent constituer les éléments ornementaux d'un « fermoir » (*gú-zu-ra-tum*, du sém. *qšr, « lier », voir PASQUALI 2005 : 148-149) ; ce qui paraît aussi le cas dans l'extrait ci-dessous :

[4] *ARET XIV* 103 v. III:3-7 : 6 kù-sig₁₇ / 1 gú-zu-ra-na-tum gig-ḫar ʿx¹ / 3-1/2 kù-sig₁₇ 1 gú-zu-ra-ʿna¹-tum gig-ḫar ʿx¹ / 5 kù-sig₁₇ / NU₁₁-za / al₆-la-nu-sù.

La décoration (NU₁₁-za) pourrait faire référence à la cupule en or du gland, qui ailleurs, dans un texte encore inédit, est évoquée de manière explicite à travers le terme *ri-iš-da* à comparer avec l'accadien *rēštum*, « partie supérieure » (CAD, R, 272 ; la même étymologie est proposée aussi par ARCHI 2003 : 30, n. 13, qui toutefois interprète la formule comme « two fruits of the oak ») :

[5] TM.75.G.2622 r. XVI:29 : 2 *ri-iš-da* al₆-la-nu

Ce même rare terme semble être cité aussi dans un compte-rendu annuel de métaux encore inédit :

[6] TM.75.G.2507 v. XVIII:33-36 : ½ kù:babbar / 1 *ri-i-ša-du* / 1 dumu-nita / *ma-lik-tum* (cité par BIGA 1996 : 62)

mais apparemment sans aucun lien avec les pendentifs en forme de gland.

2) *ma-da-u₉*. Cette graphie est attestée dans :

[7] *ARET XXI* 19 (99) : 2 kù:babbar / *ma-da-u₉* / dumu-nita / en.

Les éditeurs (ARCHI – SPADA 2023 : 226), considèrent *ma-da-u₉* comme une variante de *ma-da-ḫu*, qui dans la documentation éblaïte indique un bijoux, dont la typologie demeure malheureusement énigmatique. Cette hypothèse, toutefois, est difficile du point de vue phonétique. Il s'agit, en revanche, d'une rare variante graphique du terme *maš-da-ù* (var. *ma-sa-da-ù*, *ma-da-ù*) indiquant une cérémonie qui concernait tous les nouveau-nés des deux sexes de l'entourage royal et qui était célébrée peu après leur naissance en entraînant la sortie d'une modeste quantité de métal précieux de la part de l'administration palatine (PASQUALI 2024, avec bibliographie). En conformité avec les règles établies pour le syllabaire éblaïte, le terme doit être comparé avec l'hébreu biblique מנשם, « banquet ; festin » (du sém. *šty, « boire »). La nouvelle variante *ma-da-u₉*, comme *ma-da-ù* qui apparaît en *ARET XV* 21 (78), atteste d'un passage de la consonne /š/ en /l/ devant la dentale, un phénomène connu en éblaïte (KREBERNIK 1982 : 217) ainsi qu'en akkadien (HUEHNERGARD 1997 : 596), tandis que l'emploi du signe *u₉* pour exprimer /y/ étymologique s'avère plus correct que celui du signe *ù* présent dans les autres graphies de la série.

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8) Another Province in the “Cadastre” of Ur-Namma — Of very few Neo-Sumerian documents we must complain as bitterly about the serious gaps as of the “Cadastre” of Ur-Namma. If we had its whole text, we would most probably know the entire core of the Ur III state, with all its provinces and their respective boundaries and, in addition to them, a good number of its canals, settlements and also of the towers and the shrines that stood outside the city walls. But right now, we must make do with two OB copies from Nippur (Ni. 2464 and Ni. 2438), which record the boundaries of a few provinces/districts¹⁾ of Central-Northern Babylonia (KRAUS 1955; FRAYNE 1997: 51-54), a Late OB copy of its prologue followed by a very detailed account of the province of Nippur, accompanied by the short fragment of a duplicate of its, both belonging to the Schøyen Collection (STEINKELLER 2011: 25-28, Nrr. 20-21), and a dozen of bits that were, in all likelihood, part of the original stone stele(s) kept in Nippur (FRAYNE 1997: 54-56).

The first province described in Ni. 2464 (FRAYNE 1997: 51, obv. i 1-16) is Kiritab with its god Numušda. The list of its boundaries is the briefest of the surviving part of the “Cadastre”, since it just mentions the corners of its four sides. The order of the sides indicated by the cardinal directions is the following:

South – East – North – West,

and the corners are:

NW: “The Mount (ḫur-saĝ) ...”
SW: “The Tower of Numušda”

NE: “The Canal of Kazallu”
SE: “The Shrine of Numušda”.

The second province is Apiak with its god Meslamtaea (FRAYNE 1997: 51, obv. i 17 - ii 22). Here the description of the boundaries is more detailed. The order in which the cardinal directions are listed is different from that of Kiritab:

North – East – South – West,

and the corners are:

NW: “The Tower of Numušda”
SW: “The Canal of IM.NI.A”

NE: “The Canal of Ušartum”
SE: “(The Canal of) Me-en-ili”.

From these data we infer that the province of Apiak bordered directly to north with the province of Kiritab and that the former one was by far larger than the latter one: “the Shrine of Numušda”, with which Kiritab’s southern side ends, is only the first stage of Apiak’s northern side: it proceeds with “the Tower of the Mountain”, goes across “the Canal of Šer-ussa”, includes “the Village (é-duru₅) of Ibilum” and hits “the Canal of Abgal”.

The name of the third province of Ni. 2464 get lost, but the name of its god, Sîn, is read (FRAYNE 1997: 54-55, obv. ii 24 - rev. ii 24). The description of this province’s boundaries is even longer than that of Apiak. The order of quotation of its cardinal directions differs both from that of Kiritab and that of Apiak:

North – West – South – East,

and the corners are:

NW: “Ka-ĝeštinana”
SW: “Bank of the Canale Irnina”

NE: “Ušarum on the bank of the Canal Zubi”
SE: “Back side of the bank of the Canal Zubi”.

This province is not adjacent to the provinces of Kiritab and Apiak; indeed, the second stage of its eastern side after the SE corner is the capital provincial Pus. Thus, its location in Northern Babylonia and the identity of its poliadic god Sîn make very probable the identification of this province with Urum (see *e.g.* SALLABERGER 1999: 134; STEINKELLER 2011: 25, *contra* KRAUS 1955: 62-64 who prefers Akšak²⁾), to be identified with the modern Tell Uqair, about 25 km. to N/NE of Kiš (see STEINKELLER 2022: 5, map 1 and 7). It should be added that in the “Cadastre” the Canal Zubi touches the northern, eastern and southern sides of this province (FRAYNE 1997: 54, obv. ii 24-25, rev. i 29-ii 2), and, following the reconstruction of STEINKELLER 2022: 7, the canal Zubi branched off the Tigris somewhere to the north of the province of Urum(-Tiwa).

Of the fourth and last province of Ni. 2464 the only surviving datum is the corner of the northern or the southern side: “the source of the Canal Simat(*si-ma-at*)-Erra” (FRAYNE 1997: 53 rev. ii 25-26).³⁾

The tablet Ni. 2438, although it has about the same dimensions of Ni. 2464, with two columns in the obverse and two in the reverse and about 30 lines for each column, is considered to describe the boundaries of an only province, Marad with his god Lugal-Marad (see KRAUS 1955: 56-58; FRAYNE 1997: 55-56, obv. i 1- rev. ii 28), mentioned together with Ur-Namma in the last lines of rev. ii, a part from the only line which regards the following province with the toponym *tu-la-um* (FRAYNE 1997: 54, rev. ii 33). As a matter of fact, the starting point of the boundaries of this province, “the base (ki-gal) of the boundary (ki-sur-ra) between Kiš and Kazallu” (FRAYNE 1997: 53, obv. i 1-2) is also their finishing point, “the base of the boundary between Kazallu and Kiš”, with an inversion in the mention of the two cities (FRAYNE 1997: 54, rev. ii 25-27), as “the Tower of Numušda” is both for the province of Kiritab (SW corner: FRAYNE 1997: 51, obv. i 1, 11) and for that of Apiak (NW corner: FRAYNE 1997: 51, obv. i 17, ii 19).

However, against the description of a single province in the whole Ni. 2438, it should be noted that the section of Marad would be about twice the longest section of Ni. 2464, that of Urum, even if there is no element to assign to Ur III Marad such an exceptional importance or extension. But the double mention of a western side of this province (obv. ii 16, rev. ii 28) is even more significant at this regard. In my opinion, then, Ni. 2428 describes in its obverse the boundaries of a province, whose name and god get lost in the gaps of the last lines of obv. ii, and in its reverse the boundaries of Marad. A monument or, anyway, an indication linked to the boundary between Kazallu and Kiš designated a corner (evidently the same place) of the boundary both of the former province and of Marad. Now, since Marad is situated south of Kazallu and of Kiš, this corner must be the westernmost point both of the southern side of the former unknown province and of the northern side of Marad’s province. The strict relationships of Kazallu and Marad lasted for great part of their history, from the Obelisk of Manistusu and including the period of about a quarter of a century in which Kazallu and Marad may have been the two capitals of a bicephalous kingdom⁴). Therefore, I assume that the province in the obverse of Ni. 2438 is Kazallu. Unfortunately, this section of the tablet does not tell us much about this province because of his large gaps. At regard of Marad, it should be noted that in its section only “the southern side” (rev. i 20), which should be described first, and “the western side” (rev ii 28), which is described last, are mentioned. Therefore, the order of quotation of the cardinal directions should be:

South – <East> – <North> – West,

which is the same order of the province of Kiritab. The omission of the terms “the eastern side” and “the northern side” in this section is not exceptional, since “the western side” lacks in the section of Apiak.

The corners of the province of Marad are:

NW: “kigal of the boundary of Kazallu e Kiš” NE: “(The Canal of) Me-en-ili⁵)”
 SW: “Dunni-Edin” SE: “(x) of Ninḫursaĝ”.

Lastly, STEINKELLER 2011: 25 notes that, on the basis of the “Cadastre”, a stretch of the boundary of the province of Nippur (KA.IGI.ŠĔ-ta é-^dnin-SAR-ka-šè: STEINKELLER 2011: 27, iv 1-2), in all probability part of its western side, matches a stretch of the southern side of the province of Marad, inverting the two toponyms (é-^dnin-SAR-ta KA.IGI.ŠĔ<-šè>: FRAYNE 1997: 53, rev. i 6-7). Therefore, the provinces of Nippur and Marad were bordering, and indeed in the territory between the two cities, about 40 km. apart, there does not appear to have been any centre suitable to be a provincial capital.

Notes

1. We do not know for sure if the partition of the core of Ur III state, described by the “Cadastre”, was identical to the system of provinces which was part of Šulgi’s reforms. In this regard, it is doubtful whether Kiritab was a province (see STEINKELLER 1987: 22; SHARLACH 2004: 7-8). Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity, we’ll use the term of “province” for the sections of the manuscripts of the “Cadastre”.

2. Akšak is not a province of Ur III state and has only a couple of quotations in the Neo-Sumerian tablets. However, it may be mentioned in the prologue of the Code of Ur-Namma, even if the toponym is written ĜIŠ.KÛŠU (Umma) and not UD.KÛŠU (Akšak), among the cities that the king freed from the yoke of Anšan, together with Marad, Ĝirkal, and Kazallu (see D’AGOSTINO – POMPONIO 2023: 107).

3. Perhaps a homonymous canal (*šè-ma-at-^dēr-ra*) occurs in an inscription of Rīm-Sîn I (GRONEBERG 1980: 310; FRAYNE 1990: 293, 44), but it flowed in Southern Babylonia and cannot be identified with the canal of the boundary of Ni. 2464 rev. ii 25-26.

4. For the history of Kazallu, we refer to an article of the writer in print for the volume in honour of a Colleague, on which it is not allowed to say more.

5. This canal is mentioned also as bordering the eastern side of the province of Apiak (FRAYNE 1997: 51, obv. ii 1-4). Now, since the province of Marad and that of Kiš seem to be directly to the south and to the (north-)west of that of Kazallu respectively and the Canal Me-en-ili bordered the eastern sides both of Apiak and Marad, we infer that the province of Apiak was placed directly to the north of that of Kazallu. Therefore, from north to south there would be the following sequence of cities: Kiritab – Apiak – Kazallu – Marad. Consequently, this canal must flow through the province of Kazallu: now, as a matter of fact, the bank of (the Canal) Me-en-ili is also mentioned with regard to the northern side of the first province of Ni. 2438 (FRAYNE 1997: 53, obv. i 4).

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9) Two Ur III Tablets in Detroit* — The two Ur III tablets published here were purchased in 2010 by Mr. and Mrs. William H. Peck of Detroit at an auction in the Detroit area. They are published here with their kind permission. Purchased as part of a lot of bric-a-brac that included a cone of Gudea¹) and a Cycladic figurine, the tablets appear to have been deaccessioned from a library or a small museum. No. 1 (from Puzriš-Dagan) bears the number 95 written in black ink. No. 2 (from Umma) bears the number 1982.4.10 in white ink, written over what appears to be an 8 written in black ink. The Gudea cone bears the number 118 written on the head of the cone. Nothing more is known of the provenance of the tablets, though they were certainly part of the finds from clandestine excavations in the early years of the twentieth century. Both tablets are baked, presumably in antiquity.

Cuneiform texts are cited using the abbreviations of BDTNS.

No. 1. Puzriš-Dagan. Brief account of animals transferred from Abbakalla to the animal fattener Duga (sealed by Duga). Šu-Suen year 9. A large piece of the obverse has splintered off.

Obv. 1.	40 [+ 2 udu (?)] / []	Rev. 6.	ki Ab-ba-kal-la-ta
2.	iti Ezem-[^d Nin-a-zu]	7.	Du ₁₁ -ga i ₃ -dab ₅
3.	10 udu [u ₂] (?)		(seal impression)
4.	iti A ₂ -ki-ti	8.	mu e ₂ - ^d Šara ₂ / ba-du ₃
5.	e ₂ -udu bala-a-še ₃	L.E.	52

Seal: Du₁₁-ga dub-sar / dumu Lu₂-^dNin-gir₂-su / sipa na-kab-tum

Commentary

For a discussion of Drehem during the reign of Šu-Suen, see SIGRIST 1995, p. 85-102. See also SUCH-GUTIÉRREZ 2008, 209-214, for discussion of sealing practices during the reign of Šu-Suen.

It appears that late in the reign of Šu-Suen, Abbakalla was involved in transferring animals to the fattener Duga in several documents with month designations, such as our text. Although Duga was involved in the first three years of Šu-Suen's reign in documents such as those cited here, I will cite only his sparsely attested participation in similar transactions late in Šu-Suen's reign.

TRU 200, dated Šu-Suen 9, month I, has 12 udu iti Ezem-me-ki-gal₂ (i.e., month XII of Šu-Suen year 8) and various sheep and goats (udu maš₂-hi-a) iti še-KIN-ku₅ (i.e., Šu-Suen year 9, month I), followed

by kišib PN and ki Ab-ba-kal-la-ta Du₁₁-ga šu ba-ti. A similar document for month II has not been identified. Syracuse 62, dated ŠEŠ-da-gu₇ (i.e., month III), also has ki Ab-ba-kal-la-ta Du₁₁-ga šu ba-ti. Similar documents for months IV and V have not been recovered. Our text covers the months VI and VII. Note that the two texts just cited use the term šu ba-ti, whereas ours has i₃-dab₅, without any obvious distinction between the terms in such contexts. Our text and the two just cited are all sealed by Duga. As for the remainder of SS 9, no such document has been identified for month VIII. In the last three months of SS 9, it is officials other than Abbakalla who transfer animals. For month IX, we find Abba-Enlilgen transferring animals to Duga (Du₁₁-ga i₃-dab₅) in TRU 142. For month IX again but also for months X and XI Intaea transfers animals to Duga in Nisaba 33 101. Both documents are sealed by Duga. In month XII, we again find Abba-Enlilgen transferring animals to Duga in ASJ 9, p. 265, No. 65. The seal is illegible, but based on the documents just cited with legible seal impressions, it was likely also sealed by Duga.

Although Du₁₁-ga i₃-dab₅ occurs in at least 222 different published Puzriš-Dagan documents dating to the reign of Šu-Suen, it may be of interest to note that in his entire nine year reign there are only six occurrences of Du₁₁-ga šu ba-ti, and four of them are in SS 9 (AUCT 3 54; BPOA 7 2881; Syracuse 62; TRU 200), all sealed by Duga. BIN 3 448 (SS 3) is also sealed by Duga. TAD 9 is not sealed, and in fact the text says so explicitly (kišib nu-ub-ra). I do not know whether or not this observation has any particular significance.

Our tablet is only the fourth example with Du₁₁-ga i₃-dab₅ in SS 9. Of the other three, Duga has sealed two and the other has an illegible seal, but likely Duga. We can only confirm, thirty years later, the correctness of Sigrist's observation in SIGRIST 1992, p. 302-303, that Duga was fully engaged in his work at Puzriš-Dagan in the first three years of Šu-Suen but that there is scant evidence in subsequent year.²⁾

1. The number on the edge of the tablet does not specify the kind of animal, but sheep would seem to be the most likely. Because the first entry is long, it obviously included some further specification (such as a-lum u₂, if the entry is sheep). The parallel texts cited above suggest that the lost continuation of the first entry may have included kišib PN.

2. The restoration Ezem-Ninazu (month VI) is likely since it precedes Akiti in the Puzriš-Dagan calendar in use at this time in Šu-Suen's reign. Normally in such documents covering several months, the months are in sequence (for example, OrSP 47-49 No. 113) though occasionally a month is skipped, as in AUCT 2 342.

3. The traces tentatively read as [u₂] are very uncertain. There may have been additional signs now lost.

5. Presumably this indicates that these animals had come from the sheep pen to fulfill the bala obligation, though I have not been able to find other occurrences of e₂-udu bala-a-še₃.

6. For discussion of the Puzriš-Dagan official Abbakalla, see SIGRIST 1992, p. 311-312 and TSOUARPOULOU 2015, p. 95.

Seal. Duga's seal with a presentation scene³⁾ has been rolled multiple times on the obverse of our tablet as well as in the usual space on the reverse. See now TSOUARPOULOU 2015, p. 166-168, No. 68, with drawing of the seal impression and a list of occurrences, with a photo on Plate VIII, No. 41. See also p. 93-95 on Duga's sealing practices.

For nakabtum (the conventional spelling), see discussion in HILGERT 2003, p. 43-53, with reference specifically to texts from the reign of Amar-Suen. It is described in SIGRIST 1992, p. 29, as "des parcs à bétail sous le contrôle de tel ou tel responsable de Drehem." A recent discussion is BRUNKE 2008. See HEIMPEL 2011, p. 80, for further nuances of the term.

7. SIGRIST 1992, p. 301, remarks concerning Duga, "... bien qu'étant scribe, il fait partie des bergers-engraisseurs. Ceux-ci étaient plus des régisseurs que des gens travaillant directement avec les animaux."

No. 2. Umma. Šu-Suen year 6. Sealed agricultural account dealing with plowing and harrowing in the La₂-tur field. The upper left corner is missing. It appears to be a modern break as though the tablet had been dropped and the broken piece lost. Some signs on the obverse were largely obliterated by multiple rollings of the seal and also by an apparent scraping action when the clay was still damp.

- Obv.1. [] gan₂ tug₂-sag₁₁(ŠE.KIN)
 2. [1/2 1/4] gan₂-ta [giš] a-ra₂ 3 (diš-tenú) / 4 ½ gan₂-ta
 3. a₂ erin₂-na-bi u₄ 60 + 60 + 42 (= 162)
 4. 4.0.0 gan₂ [giš] a-ra₂ 3 (diš-tenú) / 4 ½ gan₂-ta
 5. a₂ erin₂-na-bi u₄ 60 + 60 + 24 (= 144)
 6. gan₂-gu₄
 7. 0.1.0 gan₂ giš a-ra₂ 3 (diš-tenú) / 4 ½ gan₂-ta
 8. a₂ erin₂-na-bi u₄ 10 + 2 (= 12)

9. [š]uku engar
 Rev. 10. a-ša₃ La₂-tur
 11. ugula I₇-pa-e₃
 12. kišib Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB
 13. mu ^dŠu-^dSuen lugal / [ŠEŠ].UNUG^{ki}-ma-ke₄ na-/[du₃]-a mah ^dEn-lil₂ ^d[Nin-lil₂-r]a mu-ne-/du₃
 Seal : Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB / dumu Lugal-a₂-zi-da / gudu₄ E₂-mah

Commentary

This document dealing with plowing and harrowing work is typical of such Umma records. A convenient summary of the plowing and harrowing of fields is provided by DAHL 2022, p. 226, with references to the earlier fundamental studies on the subject by Maekawa and Maeda. On p. 227 he transliterates and translates a typical section of such a text, in this case an excerpt from a much longer text, No. 155, transliterated on p. 351-357. NOTIZIA 2022, especially p. 160-161, also has a very clear explanation of the terminology and explanation of what is going on in such texts. CIVIL 1994, p. 77, explains how the worker-days for the labor were calculated.

Note that the term for harrowing, giš-ur₃-ra, is abbreviated in our text to simply giš, as in several other similar accounts.

1. For sag₁₁ or sig₁₈ as the reading of ŠE.KIN in tug₂.ŠE.KIN, see CIVIL 1994, p. 168-170 and for tug₂ as a graphic replacement for LAK 483 in mid-third millennium texts. See also MAEKAWA 1990, p. 115.

3. See MAEDA 1995, p. 333-337, for discussion of the work teams used for plowing and sowing. For a₂ erin₂-na-bi as referring to manpower, and not to wages for workers, see MAEKAWA 1990, especially p. 117-119 and also MAEDA 1995, p. 337. See also WIDELL 2013, p. 59-62 on field management.

6. The term gan₂-gu₄, usually translated as “domain land,” is defined more fully by GRÉGOIRE 1970, p. 287, as “terres de réserve, c. à d. les terres exploitées directement par l’État, pour ses propres besoins.” See also WIDELL 2013, p. 65, n. 3. Notizia notes that a parcel of domain land was reserved for the cultivator (the land being referred to as šuku engar). He also refers to the engar as “plot manager.”

11. I₇-pa-e₃, the ugula in our text, is frequently the supervisor of various agricultural work teams involving workmen (guruš), in plowing and harrowing, as in our text (also in NYPL 63 in the field a-ša₃ ^dNin-ur₄-ra), also other fieldwork, as well as cutting reeds. He is the ugula in 21 published documents in Šu-Suen year 6. In the same year he was listed as nu-banda₃ gu₄, “captain of the plow oxen,” in nine documents. STUDEVENT-HICKMAN 2008, p. 142, has a detailed discussion of the terms ugula and nu-banda₃ gu₄ in Umma documents.

12. Sigrist in SIGRIST 2004, p. 112, points out that Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB was active from Šu-Suen year 2 to Šu-Suen year 6 in agriculture and irrigation in the Umma area.⁴⁾ Ur₃-BAR.TAB is apparently a deity largely restricted to the Umma region in the Ur III period, though amply attested earlier in the third millennium with a slightly different orthography. See SCHNEIDER 1939, p. 87, and now KREBERNIK 2015, who points out that the element written BAR.TAB is of uncertain reading, and suggests that the deity may be a goddess. There is further discussion of the element BAR.TAB in KREBERNIK and LISMAN 2020, p. 156-160. It appears that BAR.TAB corresponds to LAK 131 in mid-third millennium texts, whose reading has not been determined.

Ur-Ur₃-BAR.TAB’s seal impression is found on a number of Umma tablets (BDTNS cites 22 previously published examples). An example is SAT 3 1573, dealing with the same field and also with I₇-pa-e₃ as the supervisor (SS 5). See MAYR 1997, p. 485, No. 889, for a drawing of the seal impression. He describes the scene as “Introduction to god seated on high-backed throne enclosing lion; star-disc-crescent above; end of second line of inscription cuts through column line.” Rollings on the reverse of our tablet show the inscription plus the standing figure. Nothing is visible beyond what is in Mayr’s drawing. The unpublished examples in the Yale Babylonian Collection cited by Mayr are now all published and can be accessed in BDTNS by searching with the museum number.

10. The field La₂-tur (“the small la” where the meaning of la₂ is unknown) is frequently attested in Ur III Umma documents. See especially PETTINATO 1967, p. 53-57. He estimates (p. 54) that the La₂-tur field was approximately a thousand iku, that is approximately 360 hectares, which is the equivalent of approximately 860 acres. To form an idea of the size, it may be helpful to remember that in the United States a square mile is 640 acres. See also SAUREN 1966 index s.v. a-ša₃ la₂-tur.

Field plans for the Girsu area are abundantly attested, but relatively rare for Umma. However, our field La₂-tur is in fact attested in Umma plans. See SCHNEIDER 1931, No. 96, for which see PETTINATO 1969, p. 282-285, No. 44. Another example is CLAY 1915, No. 23, for which see HANSON 1952, p. 21-26, LIVERANI 1990, p. 151, No. 10, and FRIBERG 2009, p. 18-19.

It appears that there are at least three different men named Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB who figure in Umma administrative documents. They are differentiated by their seal inscriptions. The man in our text is Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB / dumu Lugal-a₂-zi-da / gudu₄ e₂-mah. The others are Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB / dub-sar / dumu Dingir-ra (attested in seal inscriptions from late in the reign of Šulgi, through the reign of Amar-Suen, and as late as the first year of Šu-Suen), and Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB / dumu Ur-nigar_x^{gar} (attested by a single seal inscription in AS 7).

Our man is attested in the following plowing and harrowing texts involving the field La₂-tur: AnOr 1 166 (SS 3); MVN 16 983 (SS 3); Nisaba 23 93 (SS 5); SAT 3 1549 (SS 5); SAT 3 1573 (SS 5) (in the latter, the ugula is I₇-pa-e₃). In addition he was involved occasionally in plowing records of other fields: BPOA 6 492 a-ša₃ Agar₄-tur (SS 6) and Nik. 2 242, field not named (SS 5).

Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB also occurs in other contexts in texts involving the La₂-tur field, a number of them dealing with the hire of workmen (guruš): BPOA 6 346 (SS 6); MVN 21 189 (SS 6); Nik. 2 102 (SS 6); Nik. 2 210 (SS 6); OBO 200 104 (SS 6); Ontario 2 167 (SS 3); Princeton 1 430 (SS 3); SACT 2 45 (SS 6); SAT 3 1549 (SS 5).

The documents cited above show that Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB had a prominent role in keeping the records of labor in the La₂-tur field in the years Šu-Suen 1-6. Scrutiny of the documentation in the remaining years of the reign of Šu-Suen reveals a striking fact whose cause may simply be the result of accidents of recovery of documents or may reflect an ecological or administrative situation such as fewer documents having been created in the first place. While BDTNS documents seventeen occurrences of the La₂-tur field in SS 6 (and our text would be the eighteenth), in SS 7 there are only two occurrences and in SS 8 only one, and in SS 9 again only two. Was part of the field taken out of cultivation in those years? Or was there a breakdown in the meticulous recordkeeping as previously carried out by Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB?

Interestingly, a similar observation can be made about another well-known Umma field, a-ša₃ La₂-mah, “the big La-field.” The number of occurrences goes from a high of 42 in SS 3 to 19 in SS 7, then only four in SS 8 and seven in SS 9. While the size of the La₂-tur field can be estimated (see above), PETTINATO 1967, p. 50, did not have the data needed to estimate the size of the La₂-mah field, but from its name, we know that it was larger, and we would expect that it would require more work crews than La₂-tur and that there would be a correspondingly larger number of documents. A somewhat similar observation can be made regarding yet another well-known field, a-ša₃ ^{giš}ma-nu. The number of documents goes from 16 in SS 6 to six in SS 7, to only one in SS 8 and four in SS 9. A similar situation can be observed in the case of the field called a-ša₃ Ka-ma-ri₂. The attestations go from a high of 19 in SS 1, 15 in SS 4, ten in SS 6, three in SS 7, but none in SS 8 and 9. No single explanation is obvious, but see CIVIL 1991, p. 36-39, for suggestions of factors that may influence the number of documents available to us.

Note that PETTINATO 1967, p. 54, suggests that there were two fields called a-ša₃ La₂-tur in the province of Umma and that one of them was in the vicinity of KIAN. Perhaps now with more data available, one could determine whether or not this is correct.

Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB’s seal

The seal, with a presentation scene, is known from multiple occurrences. Ur-^dUr₃-BAR.TAB’s father, Lugal-a₂-zi-da, is identified as a gudu₄-priest of E₂-mah. Sallaberger has recently pointed out, in AL-MUTAWALLI and SALLABERGER 2025, p. 24, that E₂-mah is the temple of the god Šara in KIAN, thus providing important information on the cultic topography of the Umma province. In an undated text (Nisaba 31-2 No. 3), Lugal-a₂-zi-da is listed as gudu₄ KIAN^{ki}. Another son, Lu₂-^dŠara₂, appears to have a connection to KIAN as well, though because Lu-Šara is such a common name in Umma documents, he cannot be easily identified without his patronymic. Note especially BPOA 7 1614 that mentions ^dŠara₂ KIAN^{ki} and is sealed by Lu₂-^dŠara₂ /dumu Lugal-a₂-zi-da / gudu₄ E₂-mah. A site near Umma, Shmet, has been identified as KIAN. See FAHAD and ABBAS 2020.

Perhaps because of the abundance of Ur III documents that associate Umma with its principal deity, Šara, it is easy to overlook the importance of Šara of KIAN. Note that in the Abu Salabikh Zame “hymns,” Umma’s deity is not Šara, as might be expected based on later traditions, but ^dNin-ur₄. Instead, Šara is the deity of KIAN, indicating that in the mid-third millennium B.C., KIAN was the principal cult center of Šara. Note that SALLABERGER 2025 has recently addressed again the controversial issue of the name of Umma (GIŠ.KUŠU₂^{ki}).

Notes

* To the memory of Elsie Holmes Peck (1935-2023), remembering al-Hiba and the marshes of Iraq 1970-1971.

1. The cone, having several lines destroyed, is a duplicate of the one most frequently attested (more than a thousand exemplars are known). See No. 37, p. 135-136, in EDZARD 1997. My copy of the transliteration was lost when I sold my copy of the Edzard volume, and the Peck copy with my transliteration and Edzard’s translation has not been located.

2. In SS 1, there are 29 examples, 23 sealed by Duga, six not sealed; in SS 2, of 104 cases, 84 are sealed and 20 not sealed; in SS 3, of 81 examples, 79 are sealed and two not sealed. There are no attestations in SS 4, 5, and 6. In SS 7 the only example is AUCT 3 50, sealed by Duga. MVN 13 422 has Du₁₁-ga i₃-dab₅, but he is not the principal participant and has not sealed the document. CST 441, cited by SIGRIST 1992, p. 303, n. 88, turns out not to involve Duga. There is a single document, AUCT 3 51, sealed by Duga, in SS 8. Furthermore, Duga appears in only eight

Puzriš-Dagan documents in SS 8. In two (HSS 68 578 and MVN 15 272) Abbakalla receives (šu ba-ti) animals from Duga.

3. There is an extensive bibliography of studies on presentation scenes in Ur III glyptic as scholars attempt to understand what is being conveyed by the imagery. SUTER 2024 adds to the discussion and summarizes previous proposals.

4. A text published subsequently (BPOA 1 699) dated to Šu-Suen year 1 shows that he was active earlier than was previously known.

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10) Une tablette UR III d'une collection privée parisienne — À l'occasion de sa mise en vente par une galerie parisienne spécialisée dans la commercialisation d'objets archéologiques, une petite tablette cunéiforme ayant refait surface a fait l'objet d'une étude. Cette tablette était jusqu'alors associée à un cartel sommaire des années 50 d'une institution américaine, la « *School of Design* », mentionnant qu'une certaine « *Miss Davidson of the Museum staff* » estimait la tablette comme « *an assyrian contract for the delivery of goods, namely, some kind of cloth, probably linen* ». N'ayant aucun manuel de signes comme précisé par le cartel, elle ne put produire la moindre translittération ou traduction.

Transcription

- Av. 1) 1(barig) 5(ban₂) še ba-an-du₅ [...]
 2) 1(barig) 3(ban₂) lu₂-dingir-ra
 3) 1(barig) 3(ban₂) lu[gal]-n[ig₂]-lagar-e
 4) 1(barig) 2(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃ u₃-ma-ni
 5) 1(barig) 2(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃ bahar₂-ta
 6) 1(barig) 2(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃ ur-^dnu-<muš->da
 7) 1(barig) 1(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃ ku₃-^dšara₂
 Rev. 1) 1(barig) 2(ban₂) [...]
 2) šunigin 2(aš) 1(barig) 4(ban₂) [...] še-ba gur
 3) ki ša₃ a-ša₃ [...] -ta
 4) ki ka-guru₇-ta
 5) kišib₃ ^dšara₂-a-mu
 6) 'iti¹ pa₄-u₂-e
 7) mu na-ru₂ ba-du₃

Traduction

- 1 barig, 5 ban de grains pour un panier de semis [...]
 1 barig et 3 ban pour Lu-Dingira
 1 barig et 3 ban pour Lugal-nig-Lagare
 1 barig, 2 ban et 5 sila pour Umani
 1 barig, 2 ban 5 sila pour Baharta
 1 barig, 2 ban et 5 sila pour Ur-Numušda
 1 barig, 1 ban et 5 sila pour Ku-šara
 1 barig et 2 ban [...]
 Un total de 2, 1 barig, 4 ban [...] ration d'orge
 Depuis le champ [...]
 Du responsable du silo
 Sous le sceau de Šara-amu
 Le mois de Pa'u 'e
 L'année « La stèle a été érigée »

Sceau

- 1) ^dšara₂-[a-mu]
 2) [dumu ^dšara₂-šeš]

- Šara-[amu]
 [fils de Šara-šes]



(Photographie avers)
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(Photographie revers)
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Commentaire

La tablette est une tablette administrative d'époque Ur III, provenant de la ville d'Umma (actuel Tell Jokha).

En effet, du point de vue hémérologique, le mois de *Pa'u'e* (revers, ligne 6) est un mois propre à la ville d'Umma à l'époque Ur III. Du point de vue onomastique, 7 anthroponymes sont mentionnés (Lu-Dingira, Lugal-nig-Lagare, Umani, Baharta, Ur-Numušda, Ku-šara et šara-amu) dont deux théophores et renvoyant à la divinité Šara, divinité poliade.

L'année mentionnée (revers, ligne 7) est sans doute une forme abrégée de la 6^e année du roi Šu-Sin, connue comme « l'année où Šu-Sin, roi d'Ur, créa une stèle somptueuse pour Enlil et Ninlil ». La pratique d'abrégé les noms d'années, parfois très longs, est bien connue et attestée en Mésopotamie pour l'époque Ur III.

Un oubli scribal (avers, ligne 6) est à noter. Le signe – muš-, attendu pour la notation du nom théophore d'Ur-Numušda, est en effet manquant.



(Apographie avers)
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(Apographie revers)
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11) Old Assyrian *mazlagum* “fork” or *maslaqum* “a (metal) pot”? — The word *mazlagum*, attested in five Kültepe texts, one of them is yet unpublished, is defined as “a fork or hook” (CAD M/I, 438) or “Dreizack” (AHw, 637). Gelb related the word in OIP 27, 62: 34 to the Hebrew *mazlēg/mizlāg* meaning “fork”, “trident” and the Arabic *mizlāg* (OIP 27, 68). Lewy discussed this etymology but interpreted the word as “hook” or “flesh-hook” (Lewy, Or. 19, 15–31). These suggestions have frequently followed by other scholars.

The contextual associations of the word in Old Assyrian texts prove further evidence its potential function. *Mazlagum* is frequently listed alongside household goods, including:

CCT 4, 20a: 4–12 (Lamašša’s letter to Musa and Pūšu-kēn): bronze tong, knife? (*šugarriā’um*), ladle, container (*supannum*), axe, implement (*arzallum*), and cauldron.

PRAG I, 705: 4–9 (listed inventory of a deceased merchant’s house): a container (*qablūtum*), table, knife? (*šugarriā’um*), a cup (*samallum*), and hides.

OIP 27, 62: 33–34: stone weight and knife? (*šugarriā’um*).

AKT 8: 186: 7–8, 19–20: mirror (*mušalum*).

Kt 88/k 689 (unp.): 1–5: an implement (*arzallum*) and knife? (*šugarriā’um*).

These collocations, particularly its recurrent pairing with *šugarriā’um* (knife³), appear to support the interpretation of *mazlagum* as “fork” or “hook”. Nevertheless, an alternative hypothesis merits consideration. If the word is instead derived from the verb *salāqum* “to boil” (CAD S, 92), its form *maslaqum* could denote a pot or tool associated with boiling processes. This interpretation is supported by its possible fem. form *maslaqtum* (“a metal cooking pot”), attested with ladle, various containers, and table (*urzannum*) in ICK 2, 344: 3. While the *mazlēg* etymology remains plausible given its household and functional parallels, the derivation from *salāqum* offers a lexically and contextually coherent alternative.

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12) Re: The Old Assyrian letter KBo 71, 140 — The transliteration of KBo 71, 140 proposed by the editor of the text, Daniel Schwemer, in KBo 71, XVIII and by Federico Giusfredi in N.A.B.U. 2024/3 note 58, differs in several respects from what I believe can be read. Our understanding of the letter is severely hampered by the damage in several lines, but on the whole, the text seems written in good Assyrian. Of particular interest is the mention of the town Haššum in line 4 of the reverse.

obverse: (1) *a*-na* š[a* ki*-ma* i*-a*-t*]* (2) *ú* up-ha-ki-im* (3) *a-na up-ha-ki-im <qib̄ma>* (4) *um-ma a-šur-ták*-lá-ku*-/ma* ‘<Speak> to my representative and Uphakum, to Uphakum, thus Aššur-taklāku’ ;

reverse: (3) ... *ú** *a-wi-lúm** (4) *i-na ha*-šř*-im** (5) *e-zi-ib-šř a-lá-kam* (6) *lá i-le-e* ‘and the man left her behind in Haššum. He cannot come.’

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13) En marge d’ARCHIBAB, 40 : les sceaux-cylindres du scribe Išū-dan à Ešnunna — Récemment, A. Al-Luhaibi a publié 18 sceaux-cylindres découverts par une mission irakienne lors de la fouille en 2001-2002 d’un quartier d’habitation sur le site de Tell Asmar¹⁾. Parmi eux figure le sceau d’un serviteur du roi Bilalama, un scribe nommé Išū-dan²⁾. Or des empreintes du sceau du même scribe Išū-dan se trouvent sur six tablettes découvertes par la mission de l’Oriental Institute de Chicago à Tell Asmar en 1930 ; sa légende a été transcrite par R. M. Whiting³⁾ et reprise dans RIME 4⁴⁾. A. Al-Luhaibi a cru qu’on avait affaire à un cas où l’on dispose à la fois de la matrice et des empreintes du même sceau. La mise en parallèle des inscriptions montre qu’on a en réalité affaire à deux sceaux différents, qu’on désignera ci-après comme sceau I et sceau II :

	Sceau I (Whiting <i>AfO</i> 34 p. 32 n. 15 = RIME4.5.3.2004)	Sceau II (IM 186713)
i	1 <i>bi-la-la-ma</i>	1 <i>bi-[la-la-ma]</i>
	2 <i>na-ra-am</i> ^d TIŠPAK	2 <i>na-[ra-am</i> ^d TIŠPAK]
	3 PA.TE.SI	3 PA.TE.[SI]
	4 ÁŠ.NUN ^{ki}	4 ÁŠ.NUN.NA ^{ki}
ii	5 DINGIR-šū-dan	5 DINGIR-šū-dan
	6 DUB.SAR	6 DUMU UR. ^d NIN.SÚN
	7 DUMU UR. ^d NIN.SÚN	7 DUB.SAR ÌR.ZU
	8 ÌR.ZU	

Le fait le plus frappant est que l’inscription du sceau I est organisée en deux colonnes, contrairement au sceau II. Par ailleurs, le sceau I comporte au total 8 lignes, contrairement au sceau II qui n’en a que 7 : le titre de DUB.SAR n’y suit pas le nom d’Išū-dan, dans une nouvelle ligne, mais a été placé au début de la dernière ligne⁵⁾. Enfin, le nom de la ville d’Ešnunna n’est pas écrit de la même manière sur les deux sceaux : le lapicide du sceau II a ajouté le signe NA. On notera pour terminer que le sceau imprimé sur les tablettes de Tell Asmar comporte une image⁶⁾, alors que le sceau IM 186713 est aniconique (la place laissée libre par les 7 lignes de la légende étant d’ailleurs très limitée). Ce (rare) exemple de coïncidence entre une matrice et des empreintes ne doit donc pas être retenu⁷⁾.

Mais on ne peut en rester à ce constat. Il faut en effet se demander quel était le statut du sceau II. La gravure sur une colonne est inhabituelle pour les légendes de sceaux de ce type à cette époque⁸⁾ ; l’absence d’iconographie est par ailleurs étrange. Or on sait que la gravure de l’image n’était pas forcément effectuée en même temps que celle de la légende ; on peut donc se demander si l’on n’a pas ici affaire à un exemple de plus d’un exercice effectué par un lapicide⁹⁾.

Notes

1. Voir archibab.fr/L11 : un zoom sur la carte permet de voir très bien l’emplacement de ce quartier.
2. A. Al-Luhaibi, « New cylinder seals from Tell Asmar (the ancient city of Eshnunna) from the Iraqi excavations 2001–2002 », *Iraq* 85, 2023, p. 29-48, spéc. p. 45 no 14 et Fig. 21 (IM 186713).
3. R. M. Whiting, « Four Seal Impressions From Tell Asmar », *AfO* 34, 1987, p. 30-35 (p. 32 et n. 15).
4. D. R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, RIME 4, Toronto/Buffalo/Londres, 1990, p. 497 Bilalama E4.5.3.2004.
5. Ce déplacement est intéressant, car on aurait pu croire a priori que le titre de DUB.SAR était porté par Ur-Ninsun, le père de Išū-dan. Pour cette problématique, voir M. Béranger & D. Charpin, « En marge d’ÉcritUr, 11 : le sceau d’un prêtre ŠITA ÈŠ, serviteur de Nimintabba », *NABU* 2020/54, repris dans D. Charpin *et al.*, ARCHIBAB 4, Paris, 2020, p. 489-490.
6. Voir notamment la photo de la tablette 30-T735 dans la Diyala Database de C. Reichel : https://dialadb02.uchicago.edu/ords/f?p=103:101:12893026121327:::101:P101_FIND_ID,P101_BRANCH,P101_OBJ_TABLE:394247,91,DG&cs=3eFoTIM1XfvdyRZnw5w_w_NLbBVSIIhTyY6vmWwA1qBLJDPHSKhtW9du1E-9fk9HqnUYlj3Vp23IdpWWNvIDGgg.

7. Treize exemples de toutes les périodes ont été étudiés par J. Dahl, « Where Have All the Ur III Seals Gone? », *AVAR* 3/2, 2024, p. 195-256, spéc. p. 199-213 (<https://avarjournal.com/avar/article/view/2851/2073>) ; sur ce nombre, 4 peuvent être écartés avec certitude.

8. De ce point de vue, les transcriptions données par Th. Jacobsen sont trompeuses, car il n'a jamais indiqué les colonnes ; voir Th. Jacobsen, « Historical Data », dans : H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd & Th. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar*, OIP 43, Chicago, 1940, p. 116-120 (p. 146-149).

9. Voir D. Charpin, « Un sceau gravé et inscrit sur commande d'après une lettre inédite des archives royales de Mari », dans : J. Patrier, Ph. Quenet & P. Butterlin (éd.), *Mille et une empreintes. Un Alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l'honneur du 65e anniversaire de Dominique Beyer*, Subartu 36, Turnhout, 2016, p. 87-97 (p. 91).

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14) En marge de PCHEM, 2 : trois cuisiniers de Mari identifiés — Dans sa contribution aux *Mélanges Garelli*, J.-M. Durand a publié un lot de tablettes datant de la première année de Zimri-Lim (« Kahat ») qui enregistrent les noms de différents individus ayant prêté serment une fois que les devins ont examiné les présages relatifs à chacun d'eux¹. La tablette M.6771 (p. 42-43) débute par le nom de « 15 dignitaires (*wédûtum*) » (l. 1'-14'), suivis par ceux de 8 individus ainsi décrits :

23' 8 LÚ.MEŠ MU* ša SILA₄.H[I.A-šū-nu]
24' la in-ne-ep-šu a-w[a-sū-nu pa-ar-sa-at]
25' à ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-[ru]

« 8 cuisiniers² dont les agneaux n'avaient pas été traités, dont l'af[faire a été élucidée³] et qui ont prêté serment par les dieux ».

Les noms qui précèdent ne sont que partiellement conservés :

L. 20', J.-M. Durand avait restitué ¹a-[n]a-^dd[a-gan-ták-la-ku] ; Ana-Dagan-taklaku se retrouve en effet parmi des cuisiniers en ARM 23 613 : 3 et sous la forme abrégée Ana-Dagan en ARM 21 71 : 2 et 6, où il reçoit de la viande (sans titre).

À la l. 22', ¹e-tel-pi₄-DINGIR [...] peut être restitué en ¹e-tel-pi₄-^d[UTU], car il figure également parmi les 9 cuisiniers de ARM 23 613 (l. 4).

Enfin, à la l. 21', on trouve ¹x-x-ah-ri-gi-i[m-...]. Grâce à la recherche par caractères d'Archibab II, j'ai pu facilement trouver comment restituer ce dernier nom : ¹pa-lu¹-[u]h-ri-g[i-im-šū]. Le nom Paluh-rigimšu, qui n'était pas encore connu à Mari, est attesté par ailleurs⁴ et notamment à Kar-Šamaš⁵.

Notes

Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet PCEHM (« Pouvoir et culture écrite en Haute-Mésopotamie au 18^e siècle av. J.-C. »), financé pour 48 mois (2022-2026) par l'ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche) ; voir <https://pcehm.hypotheses.org/>.

1. J.-M. Durand, « Précurseurs syriens aux protocoles néo-assyriens. Considérations sur la vie politique aux Bords-de-l'Euphrate », dans : D. Charpin & F. Joannès (éd.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris, 1991, p. 13-72, spéc. p. 36-45.

2. Le signe MU a été oublié dans la publication ; ma collation a été faite sur la photo installée sur le site ARCHIBAB par F. Nebiolo le 1/12/2023 (voir archibab.fr/T20219).

3. L'expression de la fin de la l. 24' n'a pas de parallèle dans le dossier. La restitution de J.-M. Durand peut être aujourd'hui confortée par FM 6 32 : 3-4 (*ša adīni warkassunu lâ parsat*).

4. Voir CAD R, 1999, p. 333a.

5. Paluh-rigimšu était un habitant de Kar-Šamaš vers le dernier tiers du règne de Samsu-iluna : il est témoin en YOS 12 556 : 23 (Si 25), voisin en YOS 12 536 : 6 et YOS 12 537 : 6 (Si 30), et apparaît parmi les Anciens de cette ville en VS 29 19 : 11 (Si 25) et VS 18 17 : 11 (Si 26) ; pour ces deux derniers textes, cf. D. Charpin, *RA* 99, 2005, p. 134-139. Il était fils de Ibni-Addu et frère de Bayum / KUya'um ; voir Z. Földi, « The property of the city, the property of the king? A new fragment of YOS 12, 321 », *HAR* 1, 2020, p. 43-59.

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15) En marge de PCHEM, 3 : Rubatum, épouse du chef des marchands Iddin-Numušta — Dans FM 4, Nele Ziegler avait publié la légende du sceau d'une femme nommée Rubatum, « qui fut l'épouse d'un Iddiyatum, qu'on peut supposer être le chef des marchands »¹). La tablette sur laquelle figure cette

empreinte, M.10418, a depuis été publiée par J.-M. Durand dans ARM 30, p. 390 ; la photo a été mise en ligne sur ARCHIBAB en 2017 (archibab.fr/T5102). On lit :

[^{munus}](figure)ru-b[a-tum]
 [DU]MU.MUNUS i-ší-ia*-[tum]
 [DAM] i-dí-ia-[tum]

Soit : « Rubatum, fille de Išiyatum²⁾, épouse d’Iddiyatum ». Le texte est un reçu par Rubatum de 14 talents et 40 mines de laine, datant du -iv/Zimri-Lim 11.

N. Ziegler avait proposé que cet Iddiyatum, époux de Rubatum, soit le chef des marchands également connu sous son complet de Iddin-Numušda³⁾. On peut désormais confirmer cette hypothèse, grâce à FM 15 183. Il s’agit d’un « Petit récapitulatif de quantités de pains confectionnés avec divers types de farine ; reçu (ŠU.TI.A) par dame Rubatum, lorsque dame Rubatum et dame Haliyatun ont fait une libation dans le temple de Taški-Mamma ». G. Chambon ajoutait : « Ce texte qui ne mentionne pas explicitement Ilu-kân, a été néanmoins intégré dans cette étude, car il concerne la livraison de pains, certainement confectionnés par le personnel du service d’Ilu-kân ». Mais il n’a fait aucune remarque sur le fait que le texte est scellé avec le sceau de Iddin-Numušda – et non par celui de Rubatum comme on l’aurait attendu. Lorsqu’il a lemmatisé ce texte dans Archibab, I. Arkhipov a noté : « Texte des archives privées de Iddiyatum » (archibab.fr/T28539). La consultation du catalogue établi par M. Birot et J.-M. Durand permet de confirmer cette indication : la tablette FM 15 183 (M.10426) a en effet été découverte dans la salle 24, de même que la tablette M.10418. Or on sait que la salle 24 abritait les archives d’Iddiyatum/Iddin-Numušda (voir notamment sa correspondance passive, publiée dans ARM 13 58-101).

Rubatum était donc bien l’épouse du chef des marchands Iddiyatum/Iddin-Numušda et l’hypothèse que le personnel énuméré dans ARM 9 24 soit celui de sa maison est par là même également confirmée⁴⁾. La question reste de savoir pourquoi dans FM 15 183 Rubatum a employé le sceau de son époux et non le sien propre : l’avait-elle momentanément égaré⁵⁾ ?

Notes

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1. N. Ziegler, *Florilegium marianum IV. Le Harem de Zimrî-Lîm*, Mémoires de NABU 5, Paris, 1999, p. 20 n. 117.
2. L’hypocoristique Išiyatum est attesté e.g. dans YOS 5 129 : 3, selon la lecture de B. Fiette (voir archibab.fr/T11724), ou dans BAP 100 : 36 (archibab.fr/T27869).
3. D. Charpin, « Iddiyatum et Iddin-Numušda », *NABU* 1989/59.
4. N. Ziegler, *Florilegium marianum IV. Le Harem de Zimrî-Lîm*, 1999, p. 19-20.
5. J. Patrier, « Entrusting One’s Seal in the Ancient Near East in the First Half of the 2nd millennium BC », *Ash-Sharq* 1, 2017, p. 40-47.

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16) '84' years from the removal of Marduk’s statue by Muršili I until its return by Agum II — The *Marduk Prophecy*¹⁾ mentions three trips of the statue of Marduk: one to Ḫatti (i.13-14), a second to Aššur (i.3'-4', 12'), and a third to Elam (i.22'; iii.22'). The trips to Ḫatti and Aššur were followed by the return of the statue to Babylon by a Babylonian king; the third exile is promised to end in a similar return. The three trips have been linked with historical events (BORGER 1971: 17-18, 21; LONGMAN 1991: 133-134, 138-141; FOSTER 2005: 388):

1) The first trip with the removal of the statue by the Hittite king Muršili I (alluded to in Muršili II’s *Hymn and Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna*, CTH 376.1, KUB 24.3+ ii.44'-48')²⁾ and with its return by the Kassite king Agum II, who brought Marduk’s statue back from Ḫana (*Agum Kakrime Inscription*)³⁾ i.44-iii.12). The “land of the Ḫaneans” (ii.9) would here stand for Ḫatti.⁴⁾

2) The second trip with the removal of the statue by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I and with its return by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Aššur (both mentioned in *Chronicle P*:⁵⁾ iv.3-6, 12-13). The name Tukulti-Aššur is generally emended into Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (e.g. BRINKMAN 1968: 102 fn. 557; CHEN 2020: 72).

Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur is known to have sojourned in Babylonia (Letter K.212+4448 [+ Sm 2116+BM 104727, and its duplicate BM 55498+55499).⁶⁾

3) The third trip with the removal of the statue by the Elamite king Kutir-Nahhunte II (reported in RIMB 2 B.2.4.6, obv. 3'-13') and with its return by Nebuchadnezzar I of Isin II (B.2.4.5, B.2.4.9, and possibly B.2.4.7). Given that the *Marduk Prophecy* does not mention the actual return from Elam, the redaction of the prophecy has been dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar I (BORGER 1971: 21; LONGMAN 1991: 138-141).

One fragment of the *Marduk Prophecy* (K.3353) mentions the number of years that Marduk stayed in Ḫatti (i.17), which has generally been read as 24 years (BORGER 1971: 5, 16; FOSTER 2005: 388; cf. LONGMAN 1991: 233: '24' years). This reconstruction fits with the conventional opinion that Muršili I attacked Babylon near the accession of Agum II.⁷⁾ Agum II would have brought the statue back 24 years after it had been removed by Muršili I. In *SAAB 27*, however, I have proposed that Gandaš, the first king of the Kassite dynasty, was the king who ruled following Muršili I's raid (MAHIEU 2021b: 99-100). If so, Agum II—who is generally considered to be the ninth Kassite king (see the survey in MAHIEU 2021b: 98)—cannot have brought the statue back after only 24 years, as this period is far too short to cover nine reigns.⁸⁾ Yet, the number found on K.3353 is fragmentarily preserved, with its first part broken off.



Detail of the obverse of K.3353
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As noted by F. Martin (1902: 99), “Marduk semble rappeler son séjour dans le pays des Ḫatti, séjour qui aurait duré 24 ans, ou 34 ans, ou encore un nombre d'années terminé par un de ces deux chiffres.” The picture above shows that the number 𐎠𐎠 24 may originally have been preceded by 𐎠 60, which would result in '84' years.

This supposed number of '84' years can be related to the period between Gandaš and Agum II. The reign lengths that have been preserved for the first Kassite kings are:

- (no. 1) Gandaš: 26 years (*BKLA* i.16).⁹⁾
- (no. 2) Agum I: 22 years (*BKLA* i.17).¹⁰⁾
- (no. 3) Kaštiliašu I: 22 years (*BKLA* i.18).
- (no. 4) 𐎠𐎠]-ši: 8 years (*BKLA* i.19).

Beginning with no. 5 (Abi-Rattaš, *BKLA* i.20), the reign lengths for the early Kassite kings are lost in the *BKLA*, and the contemporary documents provide no information on their reign lengths. The four reign lengths that are preserved in the *BKLA* yield a total of 78 years for the first four kings. This would seem to make improbable a time span of only 84 years from Gandaš until Agum II, the ninth king, as it would only leave six years for the fifth to ninth kings. However, in *SAAB 27*, I have postulated that the Kassites reigned in two parallel lines, with Agum I as a contemporary of Gandaš.¹¹⁾ Agum II would have been preceded by Agum I → Kaštiliašu I → Abi-Rattaš → Urzigurumaš → Agum II; the sequence found in the *Agum Kakrime Inscription* i.1-19 (MAHIEU 2021b: 100-101, 111). The period from Gandaš (the contemporary of Agum I) until Agum II would thus be far shorter than conventionally supposed.

According to *BKLA* i.17-18, Agum I and Kaštiliašu I reigned for 22 + 22 = 44 years. Given that Abi-Rattaš is a son (DUMU) of Kaštiliašu I (*Agum Kakrime Inscription* i.15-17) and that Urzigurumaš is a descendant (*liblibbu*) of Abi-Rattaš (i.13-15), Abi-Rattaš and Urzigurumaš may have reigned for ca. 20 + 20 = 40 years, with 20 years per generation (MAHIEU 2021b: 121 fn. 190). This would result in a total of 44 + 40 = 84 years for the period from Agum I until Agum II, which number corresponds exactly to the duration proposed for the period between Muršili I and Agum II. Thus, the '84' years in the *Marduk Prophecy* (i.17) seem to represent the period lasting from the beginning of the Kassite dynasty (at Muršili I's raid) until Agum II's accession (at the end of Urzigurumaš's reign). The supposition of a count until the accession of Agum II is in agreement with the practice attested in the early Assyrian

Distanzangaben, which do not include the reign of the king concerned (i.e. the endpoint of the *Distanzangabe*) in the time span (see JANSSEN 2012: 14-15; MAHIEU 2021a: 69, 80-81).

Notes

1. Copies, transliteration, and German translation in BORGER 1971: 5-13, 16-20; English translation in LONGMAN 1991: 233-237; FOSTER 2005: 388-391. Photograph and transliteration of K.2158+ at ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/K.2158?tab=photo.

2. Trans. SINGER 2002: 53 (§8): “In the past, Hatti, with the help of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, used to maul the surrounding lands like a lion. Moreover, Aleppo and Babylon which they destroyed, they took their goods—silver, gold, and gods—of all the lands, and they deposited it before the Sun-goddess of Arinna.” See also the *Proclamation of Telipinu* (CTH 19, KBo 3.1+ i.29'-30'): “Now, later he [i.e. Muršili I] went to Babylon, he destroyed Babylon and fought the Hurrian [troops]. Babylon’s deportees (and) its goods he kept in Ḫat[tuša]” (trans. Th. P. J. van den Hout in HALLO and YOUNGER 1997: 195 [1.76]).

3. Photograph, transliteration, and English translation in Oshima 2012: 233-252, 258-261; transliteration and German translation in STEIN 2000: 150-165; English translation in LONGMAN 1991: 221-224; FOSTER 2005: 360-364. The authenticity of the *Agum Kakrime Inscription* is debated: see BRINKMAN 1976: 97 (D^b.3.1); LONGMAN 1991: 86-87; OSHIMA 2012: 232-233; PAULUS 2018. Foster (2005: 360) and van Koppen (2017: 65) argue in favour of its authenticity.

4. For possible explanations why Ḫana is mentioned instead of Ḫatti, see VAN KOPPEN 2017: 74.

5. Transliteration and English translation in GRAYSON 1975: 170-177 (Chronicle 22); GLASSNER 2004: 278-281 (no. 45).

6. Copy, transliteration, and German translation in LLOP and GEORGE 2001-2002: 2-8, 21-23. BM 53351 might belong to BM 55498+55499: *ibid.* 2, 20.

7. On this setting, see, for instance, JARITZ 1958: 193 fn. 42, 207; VAN KOPPEN 2017: 65-67.

8. Dalley (1997: 165-166) likewise supposes that there must have been more than 24 years between Muršili I’s raid and Agum II’s reign, and therefore (and for other reasons as well) disconnects the *Marduk Prophecy* from the *Agum Kakrime Inscription*.

9. Brinkman (1976: 128 [H.5.3]) and Grayson (1980: 91) prefer 26 years to the former reading of 16 years (GADD 1921: pl. 24 [CT 36]; OPPENHEIM 1969).

10. Gadd (1921: pl. 24 [CT 36]), Brinkman (1976: 95 and n. 3, 96 [D^a.1.1]), and Grayson (1980: 91) have 22 years, while Oppenheim (1969) reads 12 years.

11. In addition to the arguments for a parallel line within the Kassite dynasty that have been given in MAHIEU 2021b: 99-109, one more argument can be found. Kadašman-Ḫarbe II ruled for one year and six months (*BKLA* ii.9— which period is probably reckoned from the Assyrian New Year in autumn until the Babylonian New Year in spring, one and a half years later: MAHIEU 2021b: 101 fn. 45), and he is still attested in the sixth month of year 1 (BRINKMAN 1976: 148 [K^b.2.2.5]; MAHIEU 2021b: 116 fn. 166). Adad-šuma-iddina (*BKLA* ii.10) is attested in the first and fifth months of his accession year (BRINKMAN 1976: 87 [B.2.1.1-2]), and so he cannot succeed Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, as the latter would still have been ruling in the sixth month of Adad-šuma-iddina’s accession year. Adad-šuma-iddina rather succeeded Enlil-nadin-šumi (*BKLA* ii.8, ruling for one year and six months). Enlil-nadin-šumi is only found with day 29 in an unknown month of an unknown year (BOEHMER and DÄMMER 1985: 77 [no. 719], pl. 161—in the days of Brinkman [1976: 125] no dated tablets were known for Enlil-nadin-šumi), and so Adad-šuma-iddina can have ruled in the first and fifth months of Enlil-nadin-šumi’s year 1.

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17) An Egyptian in two cuneiform texts from the 15th century BCE — A man named *Amanḥatpa* (^m*A-ma-an-ḥa-at-pa*) is mentioned in the remains of an administrative archive from the city of Taanach (modern Tell Ti’innik), near Megiddo. The archive is dated to the mid 15th century BCE and consists of seven letters and five lists of individuals (PEDERSEN 1998, 37–38).¹⁾

Amanḥatpa appears in two of the texts, which are letters from *Amanḥatpa* to *Rēwašša*, ruler of Taanach. In his first letter (TT 5), *Amanḥatpa* urges *Rēwašša* to send him men, chariots, and horses. He also instructs *Rēwašša* to send all the captives held by *Rēwašša* to Megiddo, where *Amanḥatpa* apparently stayed at the time.²⁾ In his second, fragmentarily preserved letter (TT 6), *Amanḥatpa* urges *Rēwašša* to send him a certain *Šūnu*, son of *Narzu*. He then seems to complain to *Rēwašša* about him not receiving the attention and (military) resources owed to him by *Rēwašša*.

Amanḥatpa does not present himself with a title in his letters, but he must have been an individual in possession of considerable authority, in the context of New Kingdom Egypt controlling southern Levant (to which Taanach belonged). Albright (1924, 140, n. 2) initially suggested that *Amanḥatpa* can be identified with a young Amenhotep II (1438–1412),³⁾ then that he can be identified with a/the viceroy of Kush under Thotmes IV (1412–1403) (ALBRIGHT 1927, 63–64), only to land in the conclusion that *Amanḥatpa* was an Egyptian governor residing in Gaza (ALBRIGHT 1944, 27), which seems to be the present mainstream identification (see e.g. DER MANUELIAN 1987, 283–290).

Amanḥatpa, whose name clearly corresponds to the Egyptian name Amenhotep / *Imn-ḥtp(.w)*, which means “(the Egyptian god) Amon is pleased” (see e.g. HESS 1993, 29), stands out in research on relations between Egypt and Western Asia by representing the earliest clear example of an individual with an Egyptian name in a cuneiform text.⁴⁾

Notes

1. The best preserved letters, known as TT 1, 2, 5, and 6 in scholarly literature, are published in an article written by Albright (1944, 16–25).

2. At the time of the writing of the letters, following a successful campaign to the region by Thotmes III (1490–1436), Megiddo housed an Egyptian garrison (ALBRIGHT 1944, 24, n. 81).

3. See also MALAMAT 1961 for this identification.

4. As recognized most recently by Mahlich (2022, 1). Additionally, Albright (1944, 16–17, n. 20; 24, nn. 82, 84) regards the names of the afore-mentioned *Narzu*, *Rēwašša*, and *Šūnu* as likely or possible Egyptian.

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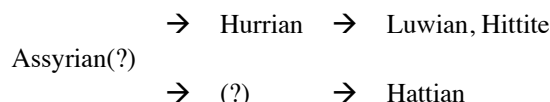
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18) A very short note on Hittite *kazzi(t)*- and related forms — The word *kazzi(t)*-, an alternating *i*- and *it*-theme, is the Hittite reflex of a Wanderwort that emerges in several Semitic and non-Semitic languages of Western Asia, including Arabic (كأس), Akkadian *kāsum* (both feminine and masculine), Aramaic *ks*, Hebrew כוס, Ugaritic *ks* (see Watson in AuOrS 27, 88; Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín HdO I/112, 454f.), Phoenician *ks*, possibly also Eblaite (*gi-šu* in Aret II 2) and Egyptian *kt* and/or *ks* (cf. the voice *kt* in Lesko, 2004, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II*, 180 and the voice *ks* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/165360> accessed on 25/01/2025). In the III millennium, we have a matching Sumerian form ^{du}gu₂-zi, typically but not exclusively attested in literary texts and lexical lists, but we also find the writing ^{du}KA-ZI (with by-forms, on which see Steinkeller and Postgate, MesCiv. 4, 39, 54). Despite most of the languages involved in its circulation being Semitic, as observed by Mankowski (2000, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*, 62f.) it should be regarded as a cultural word. In addition, it has no clear etymology (Tropper, AOAT 273, 46).

The diffusion of the word in the corpora of Anatolia deserves some further observations. The word is attested as *kazzi(t)*- in Hittite, and the alternation of the *i*- and *it*-themes makes it likely that it was borrowed from Hurrian via Luwian (cf. also the Luwian occurrences in HW² V, 284; Richter, BGH 193, with extensive references; and the brief discussion in ALAC 4, 373f.). The presence of the word in Hurrian, which, geographically, is a Northern Mesopotamian language, is not surprising, and the Luwo-Hurrian region in which the transmission must have occurred was probably Cilicia. A Hurrian form *kazi* is indeed attested in Boğazköy Hurrian in the bilingual tablet KBo 32.14 i 56 / ii 56, where the corresponding form in the Hittite version is *teššummi*- (cf. Richter, BGH 192f.) and not *kazzi(t)*-. Not only Hittite but also Hattian (written by the scribes of the Hittite court) employs Z-signs for the rendering of the sibilant: we have the form **gaz(z)u(e)*-, attested with a number of grammatical prefixes and suffixes (for a list of forms see Soysal, HdO I/74, 288).

The consistent rendering of the sibilant with Z-signs in Hattian, Hittite and Boğazköy Hurrian can be explained if the borrowing occurred at a stage in which the Akkadian consonant was still an affricate, which should indeed be the value of the Old Assyrian writings *kā-sú* and *kā-sā* (on Old Assyrian sibilants, cf. Kouwenberg Hdo 118, 48f.). Therefore, since the Hattian forms do not transparently depend on the Hittite ones, we can reconstruct a path of diffusion that started in Northern Mesopotamia and reached Anatolia during the Middle Bronze Age:



A couple observations should be made about a couple of peculiar writings from the Hittite archives. The first is the Akkadographic spelling ^{DUG}GA-A-ZI in KUB 12.12 vi 43 and KBo 33.194+ vi 22: it is interesting that the forms also use the ZI sign instead of SI, thus going back to an earlier graphemic system, while the standard Babylonian writing *ka-si* is used in the Akkadian Treaty of Šattiwaza (KBo 1.3 ro. 33). The second is the ^{DUG}*gaz-zu-ú-ul* in KBo 13.230:4 (Torri and Barsacchi, DBH 51, 25), which was mistakenly read

DUGGAZ-ZU in HW² (V, 284). The *ú-ul* is clearly not an Akkadogram but the end of the word – a morphologically elusive *gazzul* for which I can find no explanation (could the direct borrowing of a by-form of Hittite *gaz(z)u(e)- be involved? But if so, how?).

Finally, the form ("SCALPRUM")*ka-ti-na* in Hieroglyphic Luwian BABYLON 3 clearly refers to the very item on which it is inscribed, a stone bowl. Given the presence of a dental stop where an affricate or sibilant was expected, it is in my opinion not certain that the form is related (*pace* HW² V, 285).

Note

I employed the abbreviations of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. The present note is a result of my independent cooperation with the project PRIN 2022 Nr. 2022JM4H92 “Plurilingualism in Hittite Anatolia: the case of the Hurrian and Hattic tradition between reception and translation”).

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19) On some restorations in the ÇINEKÖY bilingual — In the Luwian version of the ÇINEKÖY bilingual (second half of the 8th century BC), king Wraykas calls himself king of *Hiyawa*, says he enlarged *Hiyawa* and made it prosper, and states that *Hiyawa* and Assyria have become a single “House,” which means that the two became allies or, in Assyrian terms, that *Hiyawa* was Assyria’s tributary (ÇINEKÖY Luw. §§ 1–2, 6, quoted with minimal restorations; *ed. pr.* TEKOĞLU and LEMAIRE 2000; cf. YAKUBOVICH 2015: 40; HAWKINS 2024: 110):

- § 1 [EGO-*mī*] *wali+rali-i-[ka-sá ... (FILIUS)ni-]mu-wali-za-sa [mu-ka]-sa-sa* || |FILIUS.NEPOS-*si-sá* **hi-ia-wali-
[ni]-sá**[(URBS)] **IREX-ti-sa** |(DEUS)TONIT[RUS]-*hu-t[a-sa]* || |SERVUS-*lali-sa* --- (?)
- § 2 [*á-mu-wali*] *wali+rali-i-ka-sá* “[TER]RA”(-)*la-tarali-ha* [--- (?) **hi-ia-wali-za**(URBS) TERRA+LA+LA-*za* ||
|(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-ti lá-mi-ia-ti-ha* *ltá-ti-ia-ti* |DEUS-*na-<ti>*
- § 6 **hi-ia-wali-sa-ha-wali**(URBS) *lsu+rali-ia-sa-ha*(URBS) |“1”-*za* |DOMUS-*na-za* *li-zi-ia-si*
- § 1 [I am] Wray[kas], son of [---], descendant (lit. “grandson”) of Muksas, **king of Hiyawa**, [servant] of Tarhunza [--- (?)].
- § 2 [I myself], Wraykas, extended [--- (?)] **the plain of Hiyawa** by grace of Tarhunza and of my paternal deities.
- § 6 And **Hiyawa** and Assyria became a single House.

The corresponding passages in the Phoenician version are not fully preserved and, crucially, in two out of three cases the Phoenician rendering of the phrases where the Luwian has *Hiyawa* is lost. I quote the relevant text according to the commonly accepted restorations offered in the *editio princeps* (TEKOĞLU and LEMAIRE 2000, my translation):

- 1 *'nk w[r(y)k bn* ---]
- 2 *'šph mp^lš^l [mlk dnnym(?)]*
- 3 *hbrk b'l 'r^lš^l [yrhbt]*
- 4 **bt 'rš 'mq^l ['dn b'br]**
- 5 *b'l wb'br 'lm ...]*
- 9 ... **wdnnym** *w'šrym*
- 10 *kn lbt 'hd ...*
- 1 I am W[raykas son of ---]
- 2 of the lineage of Mopsos, **[king of the dnnym]**
- 3 the blessed one of Ba'al,¹⁾ (I) who [extended]
- 4 **the House of the land of the plain of [Adana** by the grace of]
- 5 Ba'al and by the grace of the g[ods. ...]
- 9 ... And **the dnnym** and the Assyrians
- 10 were one House. ...

In line 2, the restoration [mlk dnnym], “king of the dnnym,” is based on the ethnonym *dnnym* which is found in line 9 and on the title *mlk dnnym* attributed to king Awariku in the Phoenician version of KARATEPE 1 (§ 2). In line 4, the restoration (bt) 'rš 'mq ['dn], “(the House of) the land of the plain of Adana,” is based on the phrase 'rš 'mq 'dn attested in KARATEPE 1 Phoen. §§ 5 and 43, and on the simpler variant 'mq 'dn attested there multiple times. However, a more careful scrutiny suggests that a different restoration should be preferred in both cases.

The case of line 4 is more compelling so I shall begin from there. As can be seen from the text quoted above, the corresponding Luwian version (§ 2) is also damaged and a secure restoration is precluded. Here follows a synopsis of the various proposals:

(1) TEKOĞLU and LEMAIRE 2000

(§ 2) [*á-mu-wali*] *wali+rali-i-ka-sá* “[TER]RA”[?] *la-tarali-ha* [*hi-ia-wali-na*(URBS) (§ 3) *ARHA-ha-wali la+rali+a-nú-ha hi-ia-wali-za*(URBS) TERRA+LA+LA-za || (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-ti lá-mi-ia-ti-ha ltá-ti-ia-ti* |DEUS-na-<ti>

“Moi, Warikas, j’ai agrandi [**Hiyawa et fait prospérer**] la plaine de Hiyawa par Tarhunzas et mes dieux paternels.”

The passage is restored and interpreted as if it comprised two different clauses (named §§ 2 and 3). The restoration of the beginning of (putative) § 3 is based on KARATEPE 1, § 4, although the editors themselves (p. 977) acknowledge that with this restoration the two clauses have different direct objects. Yakubovich (2015: 40, 42–43) notes that this way the Luwian text would significantly depart from the Phoenician one and that there does not seem to be sufficient space on the stone to accommodate this lengthy restoration.

(2) Hawkins *apud* LICHTENSTEIN 2005: 155–156, further developed in HAWKINS 2024: 112

... *wali+rali-i-ka-sá* (“L.69”) *la-tarali-ha* [*hi-ia-wali-za*(URBS) TERRA-LA+LA-za || (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-ti lá-mi-ia-ti-ha ltá-ti-ia-ti* DEUS-na-<ti>

“[...] dehnte ich, Warikas, **die hijawäische Ebene** (durch die Hilfe von) Tarhunzas und meinen väterlichen Göttern aus.”
“I Warika extended **the Hiyawan plain** by (the grace of) Tarhunda and my fathers’ gods.”

This interpretation posits that nothing is missing between *latraha* and *Hiyawanza wal(i)lanza*. The physical arrangement of the components of the statue on which the inscription is engraved is cited to justify this interpretation: “[T]he shield on the back of the chariot, though its lower part is broken away, probably came down to interrupt this line in the middle” (HAWKINS 2024: 112). Also, Hawkins claims that “it is difficult to restore a Hier. equivalent” (*ibid.*) to the awkward Phoenician phrase “the House of the land of the plain of Adana” as restored by the first editors. More on this point below.

(3) YAKUBOVICH 2015

[*á-mu-wali*] *wali+rali-i-ka-sá* “[TER]RA”[?](-)*la-tarali-ha* [*DOMUS-na-za TERRA-sa-za hi-ia-wali-za*(URBS) TERRA+LA+LA-za || (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-ta-ti lá-mi-ia-ti-ha ltá-ti-ia-ti* |DEUS-na-<ti>

[I myself], Wraykas, extended [**the House of the land of**] **the plain of Hiyawa** by grace of Tarhunza and of my paternal deities.

This restoration is based on the first editors’ interpretation of the corresponding Phoenician text, line 4: *bt ’rš ’m^fq¹ [’dn]*, “the House of the land of the plain of [Adana].” The principle followed by Yakubovich is one of internal logic: the Luwian version of ÇİNEKÖY is best restored on the basis of the Phoenician version of ÇİNEKÖY rather than based on parallels drawn from KARATEPE 1.²⁾

Now, in that point the Phoenician text poses two problems:

(1) The phrase *bt ’rš ’m^fq¹ [’dn]*, “the House of the land of the plain of [Adana],” as per the editors’ interpretation, is awkward and unparalleled. Some twenty years ago, E. Lipiński (2004: 127) proposed the alternative restoration *’š¹ [’lm yrh] |bt ’rš ’m^fq¹ [’dn]*, “... man [of the gods. I extend]ed the land of the plain of [Adana].” Here, the sequence *bt* at the beginning of the line is interpreted as part of the verb *yrhbt*, “I extended,” which would be split between lines 3 and 4, while the word *’š* is interpreted as the term “man” in the phrase *’š ’lm*, “man of the gods.” This phrase has a parallel on a Phoenician stamp seal and may well correspond to the Luwian phrase DEUS-na-ti (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-(i-)sa* CAPUT-ti-(i-)sa, “the one beloved by the gods,” attested in several hieroglyphic inscriptions (Lipiński *loc. cit.*). This has been rejected by Yakubovich (2015: 42) on the grounds that a sequence of two epithets at the end of Luw. § 1, required to match the restored Phoenician version as proposed by Lipiński, is “precluded by reasons of space.” In his recent *addenda* to the Iron Age corpus, Hawkins (2024: 112) proposes to treat the sequence *bt* in the same way as Lipiński but acknowledges that something else may have been lost between *’š* and *yrhbt*, as otherwise “this would leave a line (3) rather short of restored letters.”

(2) Whichever proposal we follow for the various restorations of the Luwian and Phoenician texts, the crucial point remains the toponym. The Phoenician phrase *'mq* [---] does not correspond to Luw. *Adanawanza wal(i)lanza*, “the plain of Adana,” as in KARATEPE 1, §§ 5 and 37, but to *Hiyawanza wal(i)lanza*, “the plain of Hiyawa.” In KARATEPE 1, §§ 5 and 37, the phrase *Adanawanza wal(i)lanza*, “the plain of Adana,” finds a literal correspondence in Phoen. *'mq* *'dn*. The phrase *Adanawanza wal(i)lanza* is analogous to the one used in ÇİNEKÖY Luw. § 2 except for the adjective qualifying *wal(i)lanza*, that is, *Adanawanza* as opposed to *Hiyawanza*. If we restore *'mq* [*'dn*] in ÇİNEKÖY Phoen. line 4, the correspondence with the Luwian text will be lost.

No-one has ever questioned the restoration [*'dn*] in the Phoenician text. Although the phrase (*'rs*) *'mq* *'dn* is “formulaic” in KARATEPE 1 and one is tempted to restore it in ÇİNEKÖY as well, following Yakubovich’s principle one wonders whether the Phoenician text of ÇİNEKÖY should be explained and restored based on ÇİNEKÖY’s internal logic, rather than based on KARATEPE 1. If we decide consistently to follow this principle, then ÇİNEKÖY Phoen. line 4 should be restored as *'rs* *'mq* [*qw*], “the land of the plain of Que/Hiyawa,”³⁾ based on the Luwian text of ÇİNEKÖY rather than on the Phoenician text of KARATEPE 1.

Even if we admit that discrepancies are possible between the Phoenician and Luwian texts, the choice of the name by which the country is referred to is a politically loaded factor whereby consistency may have been sought purposefully. That KARATEPE 1 and ÇİNEKÖY follow different, even contrasting, political agendas and ideologies has been clarified a few years ago by G.B. Lanfranchi (LANFRANCHI 2009; cf. also LANFRANCHI 2007). Here we should note that the toponym “Hiyawa” is never employed in KARATEPE 1, which consistently uses “Adana” even when the two versions present slightly different formulations: compare e.g. Phoen. § 5, “the land of the plain of Adana,” vs. Luw. § 5, “the plain of Adana;” Phoen. § 32, “all borders of the plain of Adana,” vs. Luw. § 32, “the borders of Adana.” By contrast, “Adana” never features in the Luwian version of ÇİNEKÖY, which consistently employs “Hiyawa.” One wonders whether these differences are meaningful and therefore what the best choices are when it comes to restoring the Phoenician version of ÇİNEKÖY. Even if one concludes the Phoenician and the Luwian have overall two slightly different formulations (Phoen. “I extended the land of the plain of ---” vs. Luw. “I extended the plain of Hiyawa,” following the arguments of Lipiński and Hawkins as cited above), the restoration *'rs* *'mq* [*qw*], “the land of the plain of Que/Hiyawa,” should in any case be preferred as it closely matches Luw. [--- *Hi*] *yawanza wal(i)lanza* and is fully coherent with the internal logic of ÇİNEKÖY.

Following the same logic, it can also be suggested that ÇİNEKÖY Phoen. line 2 should be restored [*mlk qw*], “king of Que/Hiyawa,” instead of the commonly accepted [*mlk dnnym*]. The title *mlk qw* exactly matches the title *Hiyawannis hantawattis* of the corresponding Luwian text (§ 1). This argument finds support in the fact that the title “king of Que/Hiyawa,” *mlk qw*, is also attested in the Phoenician version of the İNCİRLİ trilingual (front side 9; back side 10; right side 1), commissioned by the same king Wraykas.⁴⁾

Notes

1. See now MELCHERT 2021: 369 for this interpretation.

2. According to the same principle, Yakubovich proposes to restore Phoen. line 5 *wb* *'br* [*'l* *'by* *wp* *'ll*, “and by the grace of the g[od of my father etc.]” (read *'by* in lieu of erroneous *'bt* in the original) based on Luw. § 2 *á-mi-ia-ti-ha* [*tá-ti-ia-ti* | *DEUS-na-<ti>*]. By contrast, the editors’ restoration, *wb* *'br* [*'lm* *wp* *'ll*, “and by the grace of the g[ods etc.]” is based on parallels from KARATEPE 1 (§§ 10, 58).

3. *qw*, “Que,” is the Phoenician rendering of “Hiyawa;” cf. İNCİRLİ front side line 9, ed. KAUFMAN 2007.

4. I believe that the kings mentioned in KARATEPE 1 (Awariku) and ÇİNEKÖY-İNCİRLİ (Wraykas) are two different individuals, following the persuasive analysis of SIMON 2014.

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20) On volcanoes and Luwian migrations — The Hittite mythological passage cited below, which is incorporated into a conjuration belonging to the so-called Tauriša tradition (CTH 764), focuses on the anger of a deity referred to as the Great god, who was not invited to a divine feast. His wrath led to a world-wide collapse, as well as the illness of an unspecified “human child”, which constitutes the primary target of the conjuration under discussion (the restorations were made according to KBo 43.223+ obv. i 27’–36’, which contains a repetition of the same passage).

KBo 43.223+ obv. i

4’ [n]a-aš-ta DINGIR-LUM R[A-BU-Ú kar-di-mi-ia-it-ta-at]

5’ na-aš I-NA É^{rLÚ}B[ÁḪAR pa-it nu-za ...]

6’ 9^rGU⁴ da-a-aš na-aš^ra¹-[ru-ni pa-it nu a-ru-na-an te-e-kán]

7’ ták-ša-an ḫar-nam-ni-e[t]

8’ da-an-du-ki-iš-na-an [DUMU-an tu-ek-ku-uš SAG.DU]-SÚ ták-ša-an

9’ [ḫ]ar-nam-ni-et na-aš-kán [ŠA AM.SI Z]U⁹ A^{ŠÁ}te-ri-ip-í

10’ [i]š-^rtar¹-na ar-ḫa i-^ria¹-[an-ni]-iš

11’ [nu-za] ^{KUŠ}E.SIR-^rŠU-an¹ ar-ḫa [ḫa-a]p-pí-iš nu-uš-[š]i-^rkán¹

12’ ^{KUŠ}E.SIR<(x)>-az ku-it š[a-a]n-ku-wa-a-i ar-ḫa [w]a-at-ku-ut-ta

13’ [na-aš-t]a ^{HUR.SAG}ḫar-ga-i-i[a š]e-er pa-aḫ-ḫu-u-ur^r ú-ra-a¹-ni

14’ [x x x] da-an-du-ki-i[š-na-aš] DUMU-aš SAG.DU-SÚ-^raš¹

15’ [NÍ.TE^{HU}]^rA¹ša pa-aḫ-ḫ[u-u-ur u-r]a-a-ni

‘4’ Then the G[reat] god [became angry]. 5’ [He went] to the p[otter’s] house. 5’-6’ He took [...] nine cows. 6’ He [went to the] s[ea]. 6’-7’ He stirred [up] [the sea] together (with) [the earth]. He stirred up [the limbs of the] human [child] together with his [head]. 9’-10’ Then he went away [th]rough the plowed field [of ivory]. 11’ He [lo]st his shoe. 11’-12’ Because his t[oe]nails sprang out from the boot, 13’ a fire is burning [o]n top of Mount Whi[te]. 14’-15’ [...] the head and [the limb]s of the hum[an] child are burning with fire’ (cf. STEITLER 2017: 388–91).

A ‘cosmic’ consequence of the Great god’s destructions and depredations includes ‘a fire is burning on top of the Mount White’ (KBo 43.223+ obv. i 13’). It is the contention of the present note that this natural phenomenon is to be interpreted as volcanic activity.

The likely reason why such a hypothesis has not been advanced thus far is that the town of Tauriša, with which the narrative under discussion is associated, is situated in the northern part of Central Anatolia, where no volcanoes have been identified. Yet, other probable references to volcanoes could be found in texts from Ḫattuša, e.g., the ‘smoking’ mountain in the Song of Emergence (CTH 344, OETTINGER 2019: 74–6) or the burning river, possibly reflecting a lava stream, which is mentioned in the mythological fragment KUB 17.8 (SOYSAL 2017: 83).

The Hittite conjuration KBo 43.223+ refers to the mountain that is burning with fire as *ḫargaya*, formally dat.sg of Hitt. *ḫarki-* ‘white, bright’ (EDHL: 307; HOFFNER, MELCHERT 2024: 138–9). In principle, *ḫar-ga-i-i[a]* could represent an adjective describing a snow-capped mount, as well as its proper name (STEITLER 2017: 394–5). The lack of space between the logogram ḪUR.SAG and *ḫargaya* leads me to the conclusion that ḪUR.SAG is a classifier placed in front of a toponym. But even if ḪUR.SAG represents a logogram corresponding to a phonetic word, *ḫargaya* could still be a proper name of a mountain (for the parallel case, see KUDRINSKI 2017: 117). Mount Ḫarki is also known from other Hittite religious texts, e.g., the foundation ritual for a palace (CTH 414, KUB 29.1 ii 25, see GONNET 1968: 123). The figurine of Mount Ḫarki is mentioned in cult inventories, in both logographic (^{ḪUR.SAG}BABBAR, KBo 2.7 rev. 25, 29, KBo 2.13 obv. 22, 26) and syllabographic (^{ḪUR.SAG}*ḫarga*, KBo 48.115:5’) spellings.

Several scholars associated Mount Ḫarki with Erciyes Dağı near Kayseri (BOSSERT 1954: 135; LAROCHE 1961: 78; RGTC 6: 88). This mountain is mentioned in classical sources as Greek Ἄργαῖος and Latin Argaeus (Strabo 2.1.15, 12.2.7; Pliny 6.8); the Greek word presumably represents a source of the Turkish toponym Erciyes (LAROCHE 1961: 78). The Roman geographer Strabo reports that the top of Argaeus is always covered with snow and there are fire plains and pits full of fire at its foot (Strabo 12.2.7). The traces of volcanic activity at Argaeus mentioned by Strabo correlate with the evidence that Erciyes Dağı is a stratovolcano that was active in late Pleistocene, although no large eruptions were noticed there in historical times (ŞEN *et al.* 2003: 244).

The Greek proper noun Ἄργαῖος, which is also attested as a personal name among the members of Macedonian dynasty, was thought to be derived from the unattested noun *ἄργη ‘shine’ (HOFFMANN 1906: 132–3; cf. γυνή ‘woman’ → γύναιος ‘womanly’, RISCH 1973: 126). Taking into consideration that the suffix -αῖος can be added to the adjectives as well (e.g., ἴσος ‘equal’ → ἰσαῖος ‘equal’, CHANTRAINE 1933: 45–49), one can propose a derivation from ἀργός ‘shining white, gleaming’. If so, Ἄργαῖος, the Greek name of Erciyes Dağı, is to be interpreted as ‘silver mountain, shining mountain’. Greek ἀργός is a cognate of Hittite *ḫarki-* ‘white, bright’ and Greek ἄργυρος ‘silver’ (HED Ḫ: 171; FRISK 1960: 132–3; BEEKES 2010: 126), cf. also the possible interpretation of the Hittite semi-logographic spelling KÙ.BABBAR-*ant-* as **ḫarkant-* ‘silver’ (HED Ḫ: 171). Yet, despite the semantic proximity and etymological relationship between *ḫarki-* and ἀργός, the Greek name of Erciyes Dağı was hardly borrowed or calqued directly from its Hittite counterpart. The initial “laryngeal” of Hittite Ḫarki is absent in Ἄργαῖος, although the “laryngeals” are normally preserved in Greek loanwords from the Anatolian languages (see Gk. κύμβραχος ‘crest of a helmet’ < Hitt. *ku(m)paḫi* ‘headgear’ and other loanwords cited in DURNFORD 2021: 51). To this one can add that a direct borrowing of a central Anatolian toponym from Hittite into Greek is hard to justify in historical terms. Using ‘white’ or ‘silver’ with reference to a mountain with a snow-covered summit is, of course, a cross-culturally widespread practice, cf., e.g., Mont Blanc in the Alps or Dhaulagiri (from Skt. ‘White Mount’) in Nepal. The common Greek word for ‘white’, λευκός, is used for toponyms as well, e.g., Λευκά ὄρη ‘White mountains’ on Crete. Therefore, one could argue that the Hittite and Greek names, although not connected directly, reflect the same feature of the mountain, the shine of its snow-covered summit.

Yet, the Luwian evidence provides a missing link. According to the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Iron Age that were found at the vicinity of Erciyes Dağı, its Luwian name was Ḫarḫarra (see HİSARCIK 1 § 2; HİSARCIK 2 § 1; TEKİRDERBENT 1 §§ 3, 4; HAWKINS 2024: 626). This toponym is etymologically related to Hittite *ḫarki-* (BOSSERT 1954: 135; HAAS 1982: 112–3), featuring the reduplication of the root (see YAKUBOVICH 2023a: 329 for such a process in Anatolian color terms) and the assimilation of the historical palatovelar (cf. Hitt. *parku-* ‘high’ vs. Luw. *parrayali-* ‘id.’, MELCHERT 1993: 167). Given that the Luwian word for ‘white’, used with reference to a sheep, is *arrazza-* (YAKUBOVICH, MOUTON 2023, I: 305), the meaning of Ḫarḫarra may be closer to that of Gk. ἀργός ‘shining’. These data are conducive to advancing a hypothesis that the Greek name of Mount Argaeus was calqued from Luwian.

Forlanini (2009: 42–3) states that another name of Erciyes Dağı in the 2nd millennium BCE could be Aškašepa. This proper noun can appear in cuneiform texts accompanied by the classifiers for both a deity (DINGIR) and a mountain (ḪUR.SAG). Aškašepa is mentioned in a divine list embedded in a treaty

of Old-Assyrian merchants with a ruler of Kaniš, and in texts from Ḫattuša as well, often in connection with the Kanišite pantheon. According to Forlanini, the mountain deity Aškašepa may represent Erciyes Dağı, because Kaniš is situated in its vicinity, and Mount Aškašepa is better attested in the Hittite corpus than Mount Ḫarki. Forlanini supposes that Mount Ḫarki could be the Hittite name of another snow-covered volcano, e.g., Hasan Dağı, situated further to the west. This interpretation derives support from the toponymy of Byzantine period, when Erciyes Dağı and Hasan Dağı were both called Argaeus (HILD, RESTLE 1981: 43, 55). While Forlanini's solution is in general worth considering, it is hardly optimal for our context. The mythological narratives of KBo 43.223+ reflect a Luwian religious tradition; in fact, two of them are entirely composed in Luwian (STEITLER 2017: 388–93). If so, Mount White mentioned in this corpus is also likely to represent a calque of the Luwian Mount Ḫarḫarra and therefore can be identified with Mount Argaeus, which squares well with its volcanic properties.

The Luwian background of the text under discussion also helps to explain why mount Ḫarki can be mentioned there together with the northern Anatolian town of Tauriša. The Hittite-Luwian texts of the Tauriša tradition reflect grammatical interference with the Luwian dialect of Kizzuwatna, e.g., the morphological expression of the plurality of the possessor, and several Hurrian loanwords. It was suggested that the Luwian population of Tauriša was transferred from Kizzuwatna to the northern part of the Hittite kingdom in the 15th or 14th centuries BCE (YAKUBOVICH 2023b: 307–8). If so, the Luwian myth featuring a volcanic eruption may have its origin in south-central Anatolia, where Erciyes Dağı is situated. This myth was supposedly brought to north-central Anatolia by the Luwian inhabitants of Tauriša as a result of their relocation.

Acknowledgments

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Abbreviations

EDHL – Kloekhorst, A., 2008, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden.
 HED – Puhvel, J., 1984-, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin–New York–Amsterdam.
 RGTC 6 – Monte, G.F. del, Tischler J., 1978, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*. Wiesbaden.

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21) Shared sobriquets — The Ugaritic expression *rkb* ‘*rpt*, as an epithet of the god Ba^cal, occurs as many as 15 times,¹⁾ always as the B-line in a couplet, as Rahmouni has shown.²⁾ This expression has been much discussed, but the consensus now is that it can be translated “Cloud-Rider” or the like.³⁾ As is well-known, the only equivalent found so far is Hebrew *rokēb bā^ca-rābōt*, “Charioteer of the Clouds” or “Rider on the Clouds” (Ps 68:5). And, as Rahmouni correctly pointed out, a corresponding expression does not occur in Akkadian and “Akkadian deities, in particular the storm god Adad, are said to ride not clouds (*erpetu*), but storms (*ūmu, abū, ugalla*)”.⁴⁾

As luck would have it, relatively recently, a similar expression has been found in Old Babylonian, curiously not with reference to a deity but as part of a love poem (“A Field Full of Salt”), in lines 21–25:

Let me tell you how it is with [you]:
you do not listen to me,
(you do) as you please,
riding the clouds,
you drive every boyfriend away.

Here, “riding the clouds” is a translation of *ú-[pe-e] rakkātima* (line 24).⁵⁾ It would seem, then, that a mythological epithet has been adopted in a very secular context and applied to a person with the slightly weakened but even so correct meaning of him being wilful, of having his own way, just as the god Ba^cal can do as he pleases. Significantly, in lexical texts, Akk. *upū* is equated with *erpetu* (see CAD U/W, 191–192) so that the verbal equivalence between the Ugaritic and Babylonian expressions is very close indeed, confirming the generally accepted meaning for the Ugaritic phrase.

Notes

1. KTU 1.2 iv 8.29; 1.3 ii 40; 1.3 iii 38; 1.3 iv 4.6; 1.4 iii 11.18; 1.4 v 60; 1.5 ii 7; 1.10 i 7; 1.10 iii 36; 1.19 i 43–44 and 1.92:37.40.

2. RAHMOUNI 2008: 289 n. 4.

3. Surveys of translations: RAHMOUNI 2008: 289 n. 5; DUL, 728.

4. RAHMOUNI 2008: 290 n. 7. Similarly, the god Adad is said to ride the four winds in an Assyrian recension of Atrahasis – LAMBERT – MILLARD 1969: 122/123, lines 5–6, as noted by SMITH – PITARD 2009: 297 – but again, these are not clouds.

5. Literally: “you ride the clouds”; text and translation: GEORGE 2009: 63–64.

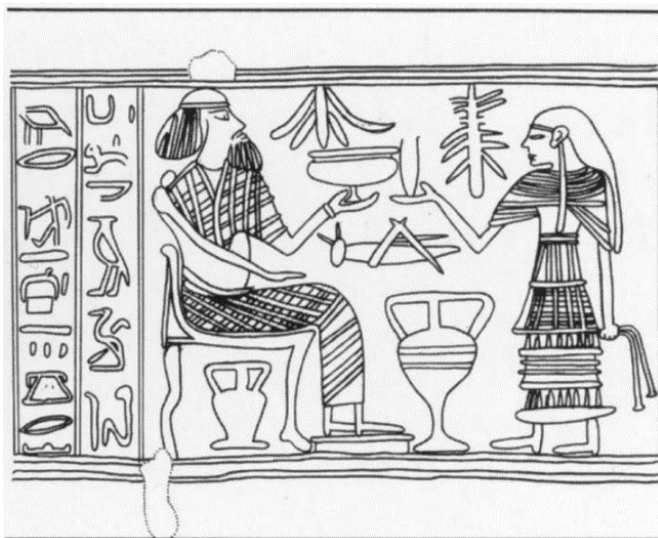
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22) The purpose and date of the Metsamor seal of Kurigalzu — An unusually large carnelian seal mentioning Kurigalzu was found in an Iron Age grave dating to c. 1000 BC in Metsamor in Armenia. It shows a bearded man sitting on a chair-throne and a standing woman: both figures wear costumes typical

of New Kingdom Egyptian depictions of Asiatics. Also included are a locust and two two-handed jars similar to Mycenaean LH IIIB stirrup jars. The scene is accompanied by an inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs.



Provisional drawing of an impression of the seal by Dominique Collon (2011: fig. 3.1c). Height c. 6 cm.

The first decipherment of the inscription was made by Khanzadian and Piotrovskii (1992). Their attempt was revised by O.D. Berlev who identified the hieroglyphs and recognised both the Egyptian name for Babylonia (*sng-r*) and the name of the Kassite king Kurigalzu.

The inscription may be read (with possible determinatives labelled according to Gardiner 1957) as:

left-hand column: *wr-r A19 n s3-n-g-r N25*

right-hand column: *k3-rw-k-3-ḫ T14 A41*

where *wr-r A19* ('bent man leaning on stick') is read *wr* 'great one', 'chief', and N25, T14, and A41 are the determinatives for 'foreign country', 'foreign person', and 'king'. The whole inscription may be translated as: 'Chief of Sangar (foreign country), Kurigalzu (foreign king)'. Perhaps because the craftsman who carved the inscription was not used to carving cylinder seals, he got the order of the columns wrong.

It is uncertain whether the seal was made for Kurigalzu I (d. c. 1375 BC) or Kurigalzu II (1332–1308 BC). Khanzadian and Piotrovskii (1992) and Collon (2011) favoured Kurigalzu II. Also uncertain is the reason for its manufacture. Khanzadian and Piotrovskii (1992: 72–73) suggested that the seal was 'apparently a gift from the Egyptian pharaoh to the Babylonian king' and 'was made by an Egyptian craftsman in the same style as the Ugaritic artwork'. They also mentioned an alabaster vessel found in Ugarit with a hieroglyphic inscription naming Niqmaddu as 'chief (*wr*) of the land of Ugarit', using the same title written with the same hieroglyphs (*wr-r A19*) as Kurigalzu. On this vase is a fragmentary scene showing a head identified as that of Niqmaddu facing a lady in Egyptian dress, and the vase may have been made to commemorate the marriage of Niqmaddu II to an Egyptian bride (FELDMAN 2002 with references to previous studies). Inspired by the scene on this vase, Collon (2011: 32) concluded, 'it may well be that the Metsamor seal celebrates the marriage of Kurigalzu II, depicted as a Syrian, to a Syrian princess – perhaps from Ugarit'. This interpretation, however, was rejected by Ursula Seidl (2017: 316–317).

Both Khanzadian and Piotrovskii (1992) and Collon (2011) noted that Kurigalzu I was mentioned in an Amarna Letter (EA 9 MORAN 1992: 18). In this letter Burna-buriaš (1359-1333 BC) wrote to the pharaoh:

'In the time of Kurigalzu, my ancestor, all the Canaanites wrote here to him, saying, "C[om]e to the border of the country so we can revolt and be allied [*wi*]th you." My ancestor sent them this (reply), saying, "Forget about being allied with me. If you become enemies of the king of Egypt, and are allied with anyone else, will I not then come and plunder you? How can there be an alliance with me?" For the sake of your ancestor my ancestor did not listen to them.'

It is, therefore, possible that the Canaanite rebels commissioned an Egyptian craftsman to carve the Metsamor seal (a typically Mesopotamian artefact), as a precious gift for Kurigalzu I to entice him to support their rebellion against the Egyptians. Whether Kurigalzu received this gift or not, Kurigalzu refused the appeal of the Canaanites.

This tentative suggestion could explain some aspects of the manufacture of the seal, but many questions remain unanswered, not least how it reached Armenia where it was eventually deposited in a grave more than two hundred years after it had been made.

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23) On a “property” stamp — In his edition of a short, stamped brick inscription of the Middle Assyrian king Shalmaneser I, Kirk Grayson referred to the unpublished stamp NCBS 877 (YPM BC 037774). Examples of the brick inscription were inventoried in RIMA 1 (A.0.77.35). One of them is VAS 23, 54 (CDLI P373468): E₂.GAL / ^rd¹šul₃-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN KIŠ, “Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe.” Another example, albeit rather fragmentary, is BM 122033 (= WALKER 1981: No. 131; photo on CDLI P428477). In his review of WALKER 1981, William Hallo referred to the afore-mentioned unpublished stamp in the Yale Babylonian Collection (HALLO 1982: 113) as a “property inscription.”

The small stamp NCBS 877, which is published here for the first time, is made of a black stone, probably steatite. It measures 18 × 50 × 27–36 mm. When viewed in profile, the object appears slightly trapezoidal. The stone has greater depth towards the beginning of the inscription, which may or may not have been an intentional design choice to facilitate its use as a stamp. As was pointed out by Hallo, the mirrored inscription only reads E₂.GAL, “palace.” The two signs are carved in reverse into the flattened surface of the stamp. The sign forms are carefully executed. There is only minor damage on the right side of the mirrored sign E₂.

Hallo discussed the piece in the context of the afore-mentioned Middle Assyrian inscription. Be that as it may, there are several reasons, which make a Middle Assyrian date for this stamp unlikely:

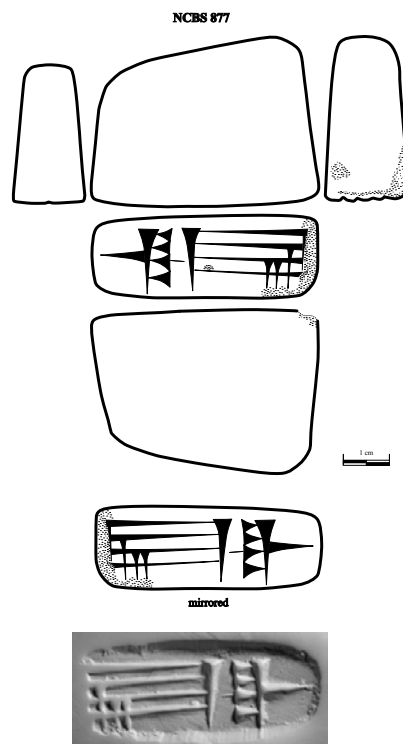


Figure 1: Handcopy and photo of impression of NCBS 877 (Drawing and photo by the author)

a) **Size discrepancy:** The height of the cuneiform character on the stamp is 14–15 mm, in stark contrast to the approx. 35 mm on the afore-mentioned brick inscription. Figure 2 presents a detail from the Middle Assyrian brick YOS 23, 21 (in print; reign of Adad-nīrārī I) showing the word E₂.GAL and its distinct paleography.



Figure 2: Handcopy of YBC 2163, inscription
(Drawing by the author)

b) **Paleographic differences:** The paleography of the carved sign appears significantly earlier than that found on Middle Assyrian brick inscriptions (see Figure 2), despite the existence of archaizing inscriptions from this period (compare YBC 2246; CDLI P429204). A comparable example is the property mark on the fragment of the stone weight (originally possibly duck-shaped) YBC 2163 (YOS 1, 30; CDLI P431666), bearing the inscription NA₄ 1.0.0 GU₂ / E₂.GAL ^dZUEN-*i-ri-ba-am*, “One-talent stone (weight), palace of Sîn-irībam” (Figure 3).

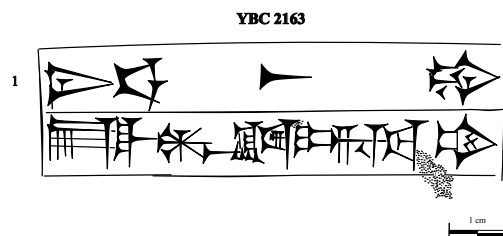


Figure 3: Handcopy of YBC 2163, inscription
(Drawing by the author)

c) **Impression in raised relief:** Finally, when used on clay, the stamp would produce an inscription in raised relief, which is absent in Middle Assyrian brick inscriptions and otherwise extremely rare. An example for raised impressions is the Early Old Babylonian brick UM 84-26-14 (RIME 4.1.4.4; CDLI P257408; Q001948). Typically, cuneiform characters are carved in raised relief. An Old Babylonian example is the stamp AO 27586 (CDLI P345952), where the signs are meticulously carved. The stamp under discussion creates raised impressions similar to those of cylinder seals. A comparable case is the Old Babylonian trial piece for seal inscriptions WAS III, 656 (BM 91923), which is also inscribed in reverse and carved in sunken relief.

In 2016, Joachim Marzahn re-examined the possibility of using movable letters in the production of brick inscriptions, which could explain some of the textual irregularities found in stamped brick inscriptions (MARZAHN 2016), such as unexpected line breaks or misaligned and tilted signs. A similar approach was recently undertaken comparing two brick inscriptions of Gudea (Corfù 2021; I would like to thank Nele Ziegler for the reference). As Marzahn pointed out, a Neo-Babylonian example from Babylon, VA Bab 1672 (Bab 12183), is a metal type containing the two signs DUMU and UŠ or IBILA in mirror script (for a photo see MARZAHN & SCHAUERTE 2008: 142, Fig. 71). Another stamp from the Lord Amherst of Hackney collection, which may have been used to stamp configurations of cuneiform wedges on textiles, was mentioned by Nicolas Assur Corfù (Corfù 2021). Whether NCBS 877 can be interpreted in a similar manner remains an open question; if so, it would represent a very early example. Short, so-called “palace inscriptions” on bricks are attested in the Old Babylonian period. An example is an Early Old Babylonian brick of Enlil-bānī from Isin (IB 953; see the photo at <https://publikationen.badw.de/de/A1/abb#~0a.1a.2a>; accessed March 2025). Other examples include similar short inscriptions by Sîn-māgir and Damiq-ilīšu. However, none of these examples exhibit impressions in raised relief. Furthermore, in these cases, the signs E₂ and GAL are spaced farther apart and distributed differently within the line.

In summary, if NCBS 877 is an authentic stamp rather than a forgery, a date in the Old Babylonian period appears more likely on paleographical evidence. However, to the author’s knowledge, no evidence exists of this type of property mark being used on clay artifacts.

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24) A lapis disk for Ninurta — In this note is published for the first time a small lapis lazuli disk from Nippur registered as YBC 8946 (YPM BC 023001) and dating to the Kassite period into the reign of Kadašman-Turgu, the 24th king of the Kassite dynasty (reigned 1281–1264 BCE). The disk measures 27 × 27 × 2 mm. According to the Yale Babylonian Collection archives it was purchased by Albert T. Clay from the antiquities dealer Thomas Meymarian of Baghdad on 17 November 1927 in a lot of seven objects. It appears in the archival letters as early as October 1924.

The inscription consisting of four lines of text is carved on the front side. The disk gets slightly thinner towards the lower right side (Figure 1). A photo of the piece was published in LASSEN, FRAHM & WAGENSONNER 2019: 12, Fig. 2.1. The carving of the inscription is not done particularly well, which is reflected in the handcopy (Figure 2).



Figure 1: Photo of YBC 8946
 (photo by the author)

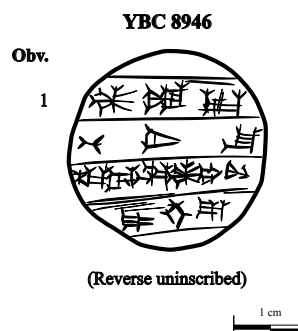


Figure 2: Handcopy of YBC 8946
 (Drawing by the author)

	<<a-na>>	<<To>>
1	^d nin-urta	Ninurta,
2	be-li ₂ -šū	his lord,
3	ka-da-aš-ma-an-tur ₂ -gu	Kadašman-Turgu
4	i-qi ₂ ¹ -iš ¹	gave as gift.

Although there was space, the stone carver forgot to add the preposition *ana* in the first line. There are also some paleographic shortfalls. Examples are the sign KI in line 4, which appears not to have any internal wedges. Also, the oblique internal wedge in the sign IŠ in the same line is missing. The small vertical wedges in the sign IB in line 1 are also only crudely indicated.

A comparable, but better executed piece is HMANE 1890.3.8 (CDLI P405618), which was studied by the author in March 2022. The disk was first discussed by David G. Lyon in 1890 and presented in copy as BE 1/1, 61 by Albert T. Clay. It is added here in photo (Figure 3) and new drawing (Figure 4).



Figure 3: Photo of HMANE 1890.3.8
(photo by the author)

Figure 4: Handcopy of HMANE
1890.3.8 (Drawing by the author)

1	<i>a-na</i>	To
2	^d nin-urta	Ninurta,
3	<i>be-li₂-šu ka₄-daš₂-man-tur₂-gu</i>	his lord, Kadašman-Turgu,
3	DUMU <i>na-zi-ma-ru-ut-taš</i>	son of Nazi-maruttaš,
4	AŠ.ME ^{na} ZA.GIN ₃ <i>eb-bi</i>	had a sun-disk ornament of polished lapis lazuli
5	<i>u₂-še-piš-ma</i>	made and
6	<i>a-na ba-la-ti-šu</i>	for (the sake of) his life
7	<i>i-qi₂-iš</i>	he gave as gift.

On the *šamšu*, “sun-disk ornament” (logogram AŠ.ME) see BEAULIEU 2003: 387. It occurs, for instance, also on the disk BE 1/1, 58 (CDLI P373756), line 5, and BE 1/1, 59 in an identical line. The term *uqnû ebbu*, “pure/shining lapis lazuli,” is also used for Kassite objects made of blue glass. For objects made of imitation lapis lazuli, see CLAYDEN 2011. For the quality *ebbu*, see now also THAVAPALAN 2020: 96–107.

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25) Further Evidence That the “White Obelisk” Did Not Derive from Assurnasirpal II — The tall limestone obelisk that Hormuzd Rassam discovered in Kuyunjik in 1853 contains the name Assurnasirpal: *ina li-me^m aš-šur-PAB-A ak-[š]ud* “in the eponymy of Assurnasirpal, I conquered” (RIMA 2 A.0.101.18: 7’). It is this royal inscription’s only mention of an Assyrian king’s name. Until Eckhard Unger challenged the attribution in 1928, the king who commissioned the work was assumed to be Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC). Unger argued that the ruler was actually Assurnasirpal I (1049-1031). Consequently, for nearly a century, the identity of the White Obelisk’s commissioner and kingly subject has been debated. Yan Jia (2014, p. 68 n. 170), who favours Assurnasirpal II as its commissioner, summarizes the impasse: “despite all the research efforts, the dating of the White Obelisk [WO] is still under much debate, and should be treated with a question mark”. While the British Museum, where the obelisk is housed, associates it with

Assurnasirpal I (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1856-0909-58), recent discussions of the subject confirm that the issue remains unsettled (TURNER 2020, p. 262; COLLINS 2019, p. 272; SHIBATA 2023, p. 191).

This is not the forum to detail each side of the argument. This is done in READE 1975; FRAHM 2009, p. 117-23. Rather, I wish to draw attention to an aspect of the WO that, to my knowledge, has not figured prominently in the debate: the sole epigraph that it displays.

Many scholars conclude that among Assurnasirpal II's artistic innovations was the creation of epigraphs to accompany narrative scenes carved in stone or embossed in metal that he commissioned. These epigraphs describe, or better label, the scenes (GERARDI 1988, p. 3-4; JIA 2014, p. 120-39). If such labelling originated with Assurnasirpal II, the WO must have come from his reign since it contains a textbook example of the genre. In frame A3 above the image of a shrine in which a goddess is enthroned and before which the king is pouring a libation, there is a two-line epigraph: E₂-na-at-*hi* ša₂ URU ni-nu-a GEŠTIN UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ-te ša₂ E₂.KUR DINGIR šir-te DU₃-aš₂ "Bīt-natḫi of the city Nineveh: I perform the wine libations (and) sacrifices of the temple of the exalted goddess" (RIMA 2 A.O.101.18). The epigraph accurately describes the scene in the frame (SOLLBERGER 1974, p. 237-38). Other scenes carved on the obelisk are mundane; they concern warfare, hunting, ceremonies, and receiving tribute. This one alone treats the divine realm. Its caption refers unambiguously to its attendant image. The obelisk text's relationship to other images it exhibits is at best indirect (READE 1975, p. 149).

Assurnasirpal II did commission the Rassam Obelisk found outside Nimrud's "Central Building" (READE 1980, p. 3; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1856-0909-206). Its condition is fragmentary but, insofar as can be deduced from the extant pieces, unlike the WO, none of its images pertained to the divine realm. What it portrayed was Assurnasirpal receiving "interminable rows of tributaries" (READE 1980, p. 20). While its stepped apex possibly contained his Standard Inscription (SI), its numerous epigraphs, which were carved above/below the images, refer to tribute brought to the king (READE 1980, p. 21).

The horizontal bronze relief bands affixed to two sets of gates in Balawat (Imgur-Enlil), which Assurnasirpal II also commissioned, evince a similar pattern. Although the subject matter shown on the two sets of gates differs somewhat (see CURTIS and TALLIS 2008, p. 72), neither pair refers to the divine realm in text or image on its horizontal bands. This is surprising since one pair enclosed the shrine of Mamu, god of dreams. Even the *lamassu* figures on band 6 (right and left) of the Mamu Temple gates are not religious referents but rather index the Assyrian location of the episode. The ensign with the disk-shaped top on the left gate row 1 similarly contextualizes its scene (CURTIS and TALLIS [eds.] 2008, Figs. 58, 68, 84). Another shared feature of the two sets of gates is that epigraphs, rather than block inscriptions, provide the text on the horizontal bands. They explain in clipped but direct terms the attendant image's meaning. For instance, the top right band on the Mamu Temple gates reads URU *im-gur*₂ dBAD ma-[da]-tu₂ ša₂ ku-dur₂-ri KUR [su-*hi*] "The city of Imgur-Enlil. Tribute from Kudurru of Suḫū" (CURTIS and TALLIS [eds.] 2008, Fig. 74). The scene below the label duly shows a walled city and the king receiving tribute.

Thus, these two expressions of text-image collocation by Assurnasirpal II, namely, the Rassam Obelisk and the Balawat gates, both employ epigraphs to contextualize and explain the scenes they depict. And in neither does an epigraph refer to the numinous domain. Their design strategy therefore departs from that of the WO.

Many of the reliefs of Assurnasirpal's Northwest Palace in Nimrud refer to the numinous realm, however. They portray a god in a winged disk and numerous semi-divine *apkallus* in their human- and bird-headed forms. No relief carries an overt label; the only words they convey are those of the SI, which is repeated on each one. Yet, on some reliefs, the placement of the signs was manipulated to label an object or human figure cryptically. In such cases, the values of the signs in question do not necessarily denote those they convey in the SI. To take examples from Room B, the throne-room: GIŠ is the sole sign on the "sacred tree" on B-23, the orthostat located behind Assurnasirpal's throne. Here in the SI it denotes the syllable *-is* in *mu-kab-bi-is*, not the logographic value "tree". On B-23 also, the only signs on the pommel of the mace held by the left king figure are AN and KIB. In the SI, they respectively signify the divine

determinative for “Dagan” and the syllable *kib* of *kib-rāt* “quarters”. But isolated thus and thanks to cuneiform polyvalence, logographically they label the mace as ^d*kibbu* “divine object”. On B-16, the two signs on the purification bucket held by the winged *apkallu* are NUN A. In the SI, they denote NUN *a-[lik]* “the prince [who] went”. In the context of the miraculously efficacious purifier, though, they produce the cryptic label *nunni mē* “container for water” (BAKER 2024, p. 118-21). These labelled items connected the king with the numinous realm. But the conceptual approach that shaped them differs from that seen in the WO’s caption with its unambiguous and exclusive indexing of the divine.

To conclude, both the WO and proven artistic creations of Assurnasirpal II employ epigraphs to explain narrative scenes that they accompany. The strategy that informs Assurnasirpal II’s epigraphs, though, differs markedly from that operating on the WO. He could not have been its commissioner. Nor, for all his creative genius, was he the king who introduced epigraphs into Assyrian narrative art. Eckart Frahm’s research (2009) suggests that his much earlier namesake was a more consequential figure than was previously thought. This fine monument may indeed have been his creation.

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26) The eponyms under Ninurta-apil-ekur — In Freydank 1991, the reign of Ninurta-apil-ekur (Nae) was correlated with the time of the M4 heads Aba-la-ide, Sin-uballiṭ and Sin-apla-iddina, with a firm synchronism between Nae and Sin-uballiṭ. The M4 office provided offerings for the god Aššur and produced many Middle Assyrian documents with eponym dates. Due to the number of such eponyms, the previously uncertain reign length of Nae could be fixed as 13 years. But two questions remained open. Did the period of office of Aba-la-ide extend into the reign of Nae or not? And in what order acted Sin-uballiṭ and Sin-apla-iddina? Both problems are linked with the eponyms sequence Lab’u → Ibašši-ili → Adad-balti-niše from the time of Aba-la-ide.¹⁾ Its placement under Nae’s predecessor Ellil-kudurri-ušur can hardly be maintained, because ten of the eleven eponyms for Aššur-narari III and Ellil-kudurri-ušur are already known.²⁾ Exactly one further eponym from the time of Aba-la-ide is known, namely Ber-kenāšallim, the obvious candidate for the eleventh place.³⁾

The eponymates of Nae and Adad-balti-niše were close, because in both years the government steward was Šamaš-aḥa-iddina, at the head of the M7 office for a few years between Adad-uma”i and Saggiu.⁴⁾ With Nae → Lab’u → Ibašši-ili → Adad-balti-niše we appear to have the first four eponyms of Nae’s reign. They were followed by eight well-known eponyms linked to Sin-uballiṭ.⁵⁾ One of those was Uzibu, who according to KAM 11 64 was preceded by Aššur-šumu-lešir. Altogether, this yields the expected 13 eponyms for Nae. For his final years one has Pišqiya, Salmanu-zera-iqiša and Liptanu, whereas the eponyms Ber-našir, Marduk-šumu-lešir and the pairs Aššur-zera-iddina → Saggiu and Aššur-šumu-lešir → Uzibu from the middle years of Nae cannot be ordered yet. Freydank’s candidate Ikkaru must be placed after Nae, but he always had stronger links to the reign of Aššur-dan I.

Because there is no further space under Nae, the three known eponyms from the time of Sin-apliddina should be placed under Aššur-dan, too. They form a tight sequence Salmanu-šumu-lešir → Erib-Aššur → Marduk-aḫa-ereš. Their placement is in agreement with Freydank 1991.⁶⁾ Indeed, MARV 5 5 and MARV 5 12 link Marduk-aḫa-ereš with the eponym Ātamar-den-Aššur from the time of Aššur-dan I. Nevertheless, in Freydank 2016 those three eponyms were placed immediately after the eponymate of Nae and before the time of Sin-uballiṭ. That order was based on MARV 6 40 and MARV 7 71. MARV 6 40 is a tablet from the early reign of Nae, so that it must be decisive. Here it will be argued that its eponym should be read differently, whereas MARV 7 71 is ambiguous because of homonymy. Thus the order proposed in Freydank 1991 was correct.

Only the first two signs of the eponym name in MARV 6 40 are preserved, with a slight damage at the end of the second sign. The reading DI²-KU₅²-[...] in Freydank 1991 made no chronological sense and the later reading DI-M[U-*le-šir*] yields a paradox, as explained above. A comparison of MARV 6 40 with MARV 7 8 now shows that the eponyms are identical, namely Adad-balti-niše, with the sign division X-UR instead of DI²-KU₅² or DI-M[U]. The spelling for the MARV 7 8 eponym only became clear in 2022,⁷⁾ which explains the problems with his name in MARV 6 40.

Two further issues should be kept in mind. In MARV 7 71 the eponym Marduk-aḫa-ereš is followed by Pišqiya. Freydank himself showed that there were homonymous eponyms named Pišqiya under Nae and Aššur-dan I.⁸⁾ The eponym of MARV 7 71 should be identified with the later one. Finally, MARV 9 29 from the eponymate of Lab'u mentions the steward Adad-riba together with an unreadable eponym. This requires an explanation, because this steward had been replaced by Adad-uma"i already three years before Lab'u.⁹⁾ The tablet records the delivery of a large quantity of shoes, in part with special ornaments. The delivery of textiles often occurred several years after they were ordered, with one case of four years and one of seven in A 70 (Assur 11017) and another one of four years in A 1722. Perhaps the same could happen for shoes. Moreover, the war against Ellil-kudurri-ušur may have delayed the work.

Notes

1. FREYDANK 2016:20, 23. For the third name, see DE RIDDER 2022.
2. NAHM 2024.
3. This form of the name is found in TabT05A-43+ and preferable to Ber-kena-šallimmi.
4. Ass.2001.D-2036 and Ass.2001.D-2276, to be published in a chapter authored by de Ridder and Frahm in BÜRGER *et al.* 2025.
5. FREYDANK 2016:31.
6. FREYDANK 1991:69-70, 195.
7. DE RIDDER 2022.
8. FREYDANK 2016:40-41.
9. NAHM 2024.

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27) Eponyms and grain storage — In NAHM 2021 new arguments for the placement of most eponyms under Salmanu-ašared I were found, but for the six years from Adad-šamši son of Adad-šumu-lešir to Ber-bel-lite the sequence had to be taken over from BATSH 18. This is unfortunate, because a crucial text remains unpublished even today. A new argument for the sequence is the following. MARV 2 23 describes the storage of the harvest of the year Ber-bel-lite. It was placed over (*ina* UGU) old grain from the year of Aššur-dammeq that had been treated in some way in the year of Ber-bel-lite, over grain from the year of

Ištar-ereš that had been treated in the same way in the year of Lullayu and over grain from the year of Adad-šamši that had been handled in the year of Kidin-Sin. The way the old grain was treated is stated in the similar document MARV 3 4, where grain from the year of Ištar-ereš was buried (*haṭṭa*) in the year of Lullayu. In every case the burial happened four years after the harvest. Changing the sequence of eponyms would destroy this regularity. The type of storage clamp or pit remains to be determined.

Some further remarks concerning NAHM 2021. I apologize for overlooking CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2018, where the placement of Adad-šamši son of Aššur-mušabši in the second year of Salmanu-ašared I was first proposed. CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2023 now dates him much later, based on BATSH 10 54 (DeZ 3321). This is a further example of the importance of BATSH 10, which hopefully will be published soon and may well allow a decision.

In NAHM 2021:274 two sequential eponyms were mishandled. Qibi-Aššur was the father and not the son of Aššur-iddin and should have been registered as son of Ibašši-ili. His successor was Adad-bel-gabbe.

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28) Aššur-bāni-apli’s friendship won and lost. Notes on the ‘Bēl-ēṭir affair’ and a new moniker for Šamaš-šuma-ukīn — Bēl-ēṭir of Bīt-Ibā is an obscure Chaldean who ran afoul of the late Neo-Assyrian state (PARPOLA 1983: 11; FRAME 1992: 118; MICHALOWSKI 1999: 84–87; RADNER 2005: 157; MACHINIST 2018: 356–359; SANSONE 2023: 260), as attested by two obscene Assyrian compositions found at Naynawā of which he is the butt: a literary parody of *narû*-literature (SAA 3, 29), and a (mock?) execration text (SAA 3, 30). Frame and Parpola’s (2023: 122) recent publication of K 961, a Neo-Babylonian letter from this Bēl-ēṭir to Aššur-bāni-apli, permits a re-exploration of this historical scenario. After a lengthy greeting and statement of loyalty, Bēl-ēṭir writes the following to his Assyrian liege (SAA 22, 151 o. 11–19):

mim-ma ma-la LUGAL EN-a a-na UGU-ḫi ^{mi}ba-a ^{mi}ḫu-la-li-ti tam-ri-iḫ-ti ^{mi}ba-li-ḫi-ti DUMU.MI-su šá ^{md}UTU-ib-ni A-šú šá ^{mt}tam-meš-na-ta-nu LUGAL EN-a iš-pu-ra gab-bi a-na kit-ti-šú LUGAL EN-a il-tap-ra man-na a-ni-ni kal-ba-a-ni mi-tu-tu šá LUGAL MU-a-ni i-du-ú

Regarding all which the king, milord, wrote to me about Ibā, Ḫulālītu *tamriḫtu*, and Balīḫītu, the daughter of Šamaš-ibni son of Tammeš-natānu, the king, milord, wrote everything truthfully. Who are we? But dead dogs whose names the king knows!

Bēl-ēṭir is mentioned as Ibā’s son in both obscene texts (SAA 3, 29 o. 1; 30: 2), explaining the latter’s mention here. In turn, in the execration text, Bēl-ēṭir is disparaged as Balīḫītu’s “slave” (SAA 3, 30: 4). Finally, Ḫulālītu appears Bēl-ēṭir’s “lady” (GAŠAN-su) in the satirical *narû*-text (SAA 3, 29 o. 8). In SAA 22, 151 o. 13, Ḫulālītu is styled *tamriḫtu*, read by Frame and Parpola (2023: 122) as an additional female name Riḫtu (i.e. ^{mi}ri-iḫ-ti). Yet, SAA 3, 29 o. 7’s identical writing UD-ri-iḫ-ti preceded by a -tú (see Fig. 1) suggests the same combination *Ḫulālītu tamriḫtu*, and thus that this is an epithet (CAD T: 146).



Figure 1. Photograph of the signs]-tú¹ tam-ri-iḫ-tú on K 1351, l. 7 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

With this collation, SAA 3, 29 o. 7–8 would form a thematic doublet:

x x x x-aš-^fši-nu¹-uš-ši šá [(x) ^{mi}ḫu-la-li]-tú¹ tam-ri-iḫ-tú te-^fpu¹-šu-uš GIM nak-di
 x x (x)]ul¹ NAG ul it-x [x x x x] x KUR ^{mi}ḫu-la-li-tú GAŠAN-su i-pal-làḫ

...her, which Ḫulālītu *tamriḫtu* did to him, reverently

... he did not drink, nor [...], he venerated Ḫulālītu, his lady

Here, Bēl-ētir’s worship of Ḫulālītu parallels his slavishness to Ḫulālītu’s contemporary Balīḫītu in SAA 3, 30: 4. The near-hapax *tamriḫtu* derives from Akkadian *marāḫu* ‘to spoil’ (CAD T: 146), but the Aramaic stem *mrḫ* ‘to be bold’ is also conceivable. Regardless, her name can be translated as something akin to “pushy Ḫulālītu”, a feisty nickname. Two points necessarily follow:

1. “pushy Ḫulālītu” was a personal acquaintance of Aššur-bāni-apli, as also were Bēl-ētir, Ibâ, and Balīḫītu.
2. Aššur-bāni-apli commissioned the obscene compositions SAA 3, 29 & 30.

Machinist (2018: 356) already assumes Aššur-bāni-apli’s compositional involvement, and Bēl-ētir’s *lèse majesté* in proclaiming himself peerless in Assyria and Babylonia (SAA 3, 29 o. 5) leaves scarce alternative. Moreover, an interpretation of SAA 3, 29 & 30 as propaganda against rebellious Chaldeans (MICHALOWSKI 1999: 86–87; MACHINIST 2018: 357) hardly explains the Egyptians and Elamites mentioned (Ammanapu, Ammanipite, Ḫaimbia, Nummurīya, Tamrû), let alone the texts’ personal allusions.

Key is that Balīḫītu was daughter to Šamaš-ibni, a rebellious Chaldean king of Bīt-Dakkūri whom Aššur-aḫa-iddina deported to Assyria and executed in 678 (BAKER & GENTILI 2011: 1198–1199). In SAA 3, 29 o. 3, Bēl-ētir is derided as having waited upon Šamaš-ibni during this period. It might be presumed that Šamaš-ibni’s daughter Balīḫītu, his attendant Bēl-ētir, and presumably Ibâ and “pushy Ḫulālītu” were all deported to Assyria, where Aššur-bāni-apli befriended them among Assyrian court’s pool of royal hostages, exiles, and wards. Supporting this is mention of one *Ammanapu* (SAA 3, 30 o. 8) perhaps corresponding to Ummanappa, son of Urtaku, who fled with his family to Assyria in 664 following Teumman’s ascent in Elam (WATERS 2011). By this logic, *Tamrû* (o. 8) would then be either Tammarītu I, brother of Ummanappa, or Tammarītu “II” —perhaps the latter, should *Tamrû* be a diminutive. Bēl-ētir’s father Ibâ presumably returned to southern Babylonia to form Bīt-Ibâ, an Assyrian puppet faction within Bīt-Dakkūri.

While the late Neo-Assyrian royal family’s dynamics are well attested (e.g. FRAHM 2014), this would be the first tangible evidence for Assyrian princes and monarchs cultivating friendships among the court’s royal hostages, wards, and exiles — a practice with myriad intercultural parallels. Such is consonant with Bēl-ētir’s unique salutation of Aššur-bāni-apli (SAA 22, 151 o. 1–6):

a-na LUGAL EN-ia ki-i-ni ŠUL 1dan1-[ni] q[la-iš ba-la-ṭi šá]-im tu-ub ŠA-[bi] ṭ[u-ub UZU.ME] 1ù1 a-ra-a[k UD-mu] AR[AD-ka mEN-KA]R-1ir1 lu-ú šu-lum a-n[a LUGAL EN-ia AN].ŠÁR dUTU dAMAR.UTU šu-lum LUGAL EN-ia liš-2a-a-lu

To the king, milord, the just, the strapping fellow, bestower of life and decreer of happiness, health, and longevity: your servant Bēl-ētir. May the king, my lord, be well! May Aššur, Šamaš, and Marduk inquire after the health of the king, milord!

Personal amity also explains Aššur-bāni-apli’s forceful demand for any news at all from him (r. 1–4), and that Bēl-ētir even dared not to respond immediately to a royal letter. A background of friendship past also sheds light on Bēl-ētir’s circuitous aforementioned statement of loyalty to Aššur-bāni-apli of Assyria:

MUL GAR-ú [šá] d+EN ki-i i-na NUMUN šá d30-PABmeš-SU AN.ŠÁR-PAB-MU ENmeš šá É-mi-ba-a mGÍN-ŠIR4 a-na la AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A EN-ia a-ra-mu-ú-ma ù ana la ZI-ti-ia la a-ra-mu-ka

By Bēl’s great star, I swear that among the scions of Sîn-aḫḫē-erība and Aššur-aḫa-iddina, the lords of Bīt-Ibâ, I do not love *Lowly Flesh* (= Šamaš-šuma-ukīn) more than Aššur-bāni-apli, milord, and that I love you more than my own life.

Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s curious name warrants study. In their commentary, Frame and Parpola (2023: 122) explain mGÍN-ŠIR4 as “a purposefully mocking writing for GIŠ.ŠIR (GIŠ-NU11)” standing for the first element in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s name. Their translation “*Lowly Flesh*” must be derived from GÍN = DÜN, for which a lexical equivalence with *šuplu* ‘depth’ exists (see the lists Aa 8/1, 101. 106 and Ea 8, 40–41), and ŠIR4 = UZU = *šīru* ‘flesh’. As the translation’s italics suggest, this tenuous logographic wordplay is less than apposite. Close inspection of Line 9’s beginning is instructive (see Fig. 2):



Figure 2. Photograph of K 961, 1. 9’s first three signs
(© Trustees of the British Museum) and Harper’s (1900: 458) copy

The first sign is certainly a *Personenkeil*, the third UZU. The second, however, only partially resembles a Neo-Babylonian GÍN; rather than beginning with two vertical wedges atop one horizontal wedge as Harper (1900: 458) copied (see Fig. 1), a single vertical wedge ensconced between two horizontal wedges is evident (Fig. 3). Moreover, traces of a *Winkelhaken* are also apparent within the sign's 'box' prior to the final two vertical wedges. Hence, the sign resembles much more closely the sign ʾD (i.e. LUXBAD) in its Neo-Babylonian form (Fig. 3, sign d.) than it does GÍN (Fig. 3, sign a.). Considering the mutability of this composite sign's wedge configurations (e.g. BORGER 2010: 684, sub. 814), the *Winkelhaken* preceding the terminal two verticals akin to a Neo-Assyrian ligature for ʾD (Fig. 3, sign c.) is unproblematic.



Figure 3. Photograph of K 961, l. 9's second sign (© Trustees of the British Museum) with a Neo-Babylonian GÍN (a.), Neo-Assyrian ʾD (b.), Neo-Assyrian ʾD's ligature (c.), and a Neo-Babylonian ʾD (d.) as comparanda. Sign fonts created by S. Vanséveren (Hethitologie Portal Mainz)

This results in a reading of ^mʾD-UZU, Akkadian *paḡar š̄ri*, literally 'body/corpse of flesh', an unattested sobriquet necessitating contextualisation.

Were Bēl-ētir's missal written just before or during Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Aššur-bāni-apli's war of 652–648, then the moniker could be derogatory. Three letters of Aššur-bāni-apli from 652 refer to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn simply as *lā aḫū* 'non-brother' (SAA 21, 2 o. 1'. 14'; 3 o. 3; 5: 2'), and three later letters style him *ḫummuru* 'the cripple' (SAA 21, 21 o. 4; 37 r. 1; probably 58 o. 22). In SAA 18, 180, one Nabû-balāssu-iqbi writes to Aššur-bāni-apli, mentioning the *ḫummuru* (r. 6'), and also both Bēl-ētir (r.e. 13–14) and one Aḫḫēšāya (o. 11), perhaps corresponding to a homonymous individual found in Bēl-ētir's letter (SAA 22, 151 r. 13–14), and thus coeval with SAA 22, 151's drafting. As Šamaš-šuma-ukīn suffered various defeats, he may have been severely wounded; certainly, Aššur-bāni-apli thought it plausible that he might mutilate his face to flee the siege of Bābili unrecognised (SAA 18, 180 o. 19–23), perhaps complimenting an existing disability. Regardless, *paḡar š̄ri* could convey something akin to the English colloquialisms 'dead meat' or 'dead man walking'.

Yet, considering Bēl-ētir and Aššur-bāni-apli's demonstrable personal connection, this could also be an earlier nickname for Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. Thereby, *paḡar š̄ri* 'fleshy body' might suggest that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (passed over for crown princeship) was (at least once) corpulent, unathletic, or overindulgent. Sardanapallos' legendary self-immolation derives from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's fiery death (MONERIE 2015)—why not his luxuriousness? Certainly, Nicholas Al-Jeloo informs the present author that the modern North-eastern Neo-Aramaic (i.e. Sūrīt) cognate expression *paḡrā b^esrānā* describes a heavy-set individual.

Whether Bēl-ētir sought to curry Aššur-bāni-apli's favour by mocking Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's disability, or by evoking halcyon days at the Assyrian court, this was unsuccessful. The inventory SAA 7, 51 lists various scholarly texts looted from Bēl-ētir's Bīt-Ibâ dated 29th Addaru (XII) 648 (ep. Bēlšunu), suggesting that these were seized in the wake of the capitulation of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's Bābili to Assyrian forces, and that Bēl-ētir had simultaneously suffered his wrath (PARPOLA 1983: 11), although his ultimate fate (whether escape or execution) remains unknown. If SAA 3, 29 & 30's invective is not light-hearted, then the grounds for Bēl-ētir's fall were conceivably personal. Certainly, Biōn (BNJ₂ 89 F1a) and Alexander Polyhistor (BNJ 273 f81a) describe a figure called Belētaras (Βελιτάρως) or Belētaran (Βελιτάρων), a gardener at the Assyrian court, as grafting himself onto the Assyrian royal family, fathering its final kings (HENKELMAN 2011: 121). Curiously, Šamaš-ibni would also be reburied by Aššur-etel-ilāni in Bīt-Dakkūri (RINAP 5, Aei 6). Babylonia's rumour mills were evidently at work during this period. Perhaps Bēl-ētir had the last laugh.

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29) AN.ŠÁR, ^dŠÁR, An-hi, ^dI[M], or ^drGAŠAN¹ — The spelling AN.ŠÁR for the name of the god Aššur was first used in Assyrian royal inscriptions during the reign of Sargon II (722-705 BC). It is therefore surprising that, in a tablet dated to the year 729 BC, the name of an owner of a field has been transliterated as MÍ.AN.ŠÁR*-[x x x x] (BM 1904-10-9, 147+, SAA 6 22: 4) and translated as Aššur-[…], under which name she appears in PNA 1/I (Aššūr-[...] 2.). Otherwise, the earliest securely dated occurrences of AN.ŠÁR in personal names in Assyria date to the reign of Sargon’s son Sennacherib. Moreover, AN.ŠÁR is extremely rare in personal names other than those of members of the royal family. In fact, amongst the thousands of mentions of the names of the approximately 850 non-royal persons recorded in PNA with names beginning with Aššur, there are only 21 occurrences of this spelling in the names of 18 individuals.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that a woman’s name began with the name of the god Aššur. Amongst the almost 900 individuals recorded in PNA 1/I, whose names began with Aššur, there is only one other woman. Her name was transcribed as MÍ.aš-šur-tú-¹x-x¹, and she is listed as Aššūr-[...] 4. in PNA 1/I. This turns out to have been a mistake, and the online updates to the PNA (BAKER 2017) have corrected it to MÍ.DÛ-tú-¹dan-nat¹ (Bānītu-dannat). At the same time as removing this exceptionally rare exemplar of a woman whose name began with Aššūr, the updates to the PNA have annoyingly added a replacement, a female slave called Aššūr-rā¹im-[...] (MÍ.aš-šur-¹ra²-im²-x-x¹) (StAT 3 4: 6).

There is the possibility of reading the signs AN.ŠÁR as ^dŠÁR, a way of writing the name of the goddess Ištar/Issar attested in personal names in Babylonia (BAKER 2024, p. 113). Ištar is certainly preferable to Aššur as the theophoric element of the name of a female; but, as Heather Baker notes, ‘in Neo-Assyrian sources the divine element Issar is almost invariably written ^(d)15 (only 23 out of 289 writings in cuneiform of Issar names in PNA are written differently, with INNIN or iš-tar)’, and the spelling ^dŠÁR has not been recognised in Assyria.

If, as seems probable, the name recorded in SAA 6 22 did not begin with Aššūr or Ištar, it is feasible that it might be read phonetically with, for example, the alternative reading of the sign ŠÁR as HI giving a name that began An-hi-, but this is unlikely since there is no easy way to complete such a name.

There is, however, another possibility. Examination of the photograph in CDLI (P335957) shows a break immediately after the ŠÁR and so the ŠÁR/HI might be the beginning of a different sign. An obvious possibility would be IM with the reading of the name as ^dI[M-x x] i.e. Adad not Aššur. The unexpected appearance of AN.ŠÁR in an inscription of a Kurigalzu on an agate knob from Kish was eliminated in the same way (BEAULIEU 1997: n. 22 on p. 64 with further references). There is, however,

the same problem of the rarity of female names beginning with Adad as there is with names beginning with Aššur. There are no female names in PNA beginning with ^dIM (or any other logographic writing of the name of the god Adad).

Enrique Jiménez has suggested a possible solution. Closer examination of the CDLI photograph reveals that there may be traces of one or more horizontal wedges visible below the HI sign thereby turning it into a Neo-Assyrian form of the sign GAŠAN (see the Neo-Assyrian section of <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/signs/GA%C5%A0AN>) and giving a name beginning ^dBēlet. Jon Taylor of the British Museum has kindly collated the sign and writes ‘I see two horizontals below the HI’, thus confirming that the sign can be read as GAŠAN. This is a particularly attractive proposal, since of the 21 individuals in PNA, whose names began with Bēlet, 7 were women, and the names of all of these except for one were written with the sign GAŠAN.

Having removed this instance of the name of the god Aššur being written as AN.ŠÁR before the reign of Sargon II, there still remains one surprisingly early example of this spelling. This is found in an inscription on a small, broken “black, white and brown, barrel-shaped cylinder” in the British Museum (BM 89156, GALTER 1987: No. 7, p. 13, 19, BEAULIEU 1997: n. 22 on p. 64) of unknown provenance and date. No photograph has been published, and a more detailed description and a revised transliteration are desirable. The text includes the name AN.ŠÁR twice, first with what looks like an archaic form of the sign ŠÁR and then with the regular sign HI. It was dedicated to AN.ŠÁR by a palace overseer for the life of a king whose name began with Tukulti, limiting its date to the reign of a Tulkulti-Ninurta or a Tiglath-pileser and thus at the latest before the reign of Sargon II.

It is uncertain why Sargon’s scribes adopted the writing AN.ŠÁR for the name of the chief god of Assyria. It could have been its connection with the Babylonian god Anshar who played a prominent role in the Babylonian creation epic and who, like Aššur, was called the king of the gods, or it could have been the parallelism of the title of the Assyrian king, ‘king of the universe’ written LUGAL ŠÁR with the writing AN ŠÁR, which could be interpreted as ‘god of the universe’, or it could have been because god lists equated AN.ŠÁR with Enlil who was also identified with Aššur, or there could have been some quite different reason. The writing AN ŠÁR was presumably already associated with Aššur when the British Museum cylinder was inscribed. Whether Sargon’s writing of AN.ŠÁR for Aššur derived from this earlier practice or was conceived independently cannot yet be answered.

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30) L’origine d’une maxime hédoniste — Le monument d’Anchialé en Cilicie est considéré par plusieurs auteurs anciens comme le tombeau du roi mythique Sardanapale, assimilé à Assurbanipal (LENFANT 2001, 44-55). Le témoignage d’Aristobule, compagnon d’Alexandre, est rapporté par Athénée :

« Selon Aristobule, Alexandre, dans son expédition contre les Perses, fit étape à Anchialé, ville fondée par Sardanapale. Dans les environs se trouvait le monument de Sardanapale sur lequel se dressait un bas-relief de pierre, représentant le roi joignant les doigts de la main droite comme s’il les claquait. La stèle portait l’inscription suivante, gravée en écriture assyrienne : ‘Sardanapale fils d’Anakyndaraxès a fondé en un même jour Anchialé et Tarse. *Mange, bois, prends du bon temps !* Car tout le reste ne vaut pas ça !’ Apparemment, c’est une allusion au claquement de doigts » (YANG 2007, 115-129).

Ce n'est pas le tombeau qui a connu une grande célébrité dans l'Antiquité, mais la maxime contenue dans l'épithaphe. Selon Ctésias cité par Diodore, Sardanapale lui-même aurait composé son épithaphe et recommandé à ses héritiers de la faire graver sur son tombeau (CHAMOIX 2006, 206).

Cette maxime était déjà connue au milieu du 4^e siècle par Aristote qui la citait pour stigmatiser un cynisme scandaleux, la jugeant plus digne d'un bœuf que d'un roi. Elle fut surtout reprise à l'occasion des campagnes d'Alexandre, par deux de ses compagnons, Amyntas et Aristobule, dont les récits nous ont été transmis par Strabon et Athénée. Cratès de Thèbes la mentionnait aussi, ainsi que Cicéron dans ses *Tusculanes*¹. Peut-être doit-on sa rédaction à Coirilos de Samos, qui a vécu pendant la seconde moitié du 5^e siècle². Le claquement de doigt est un geste désinvolte, qui symbolise sans doute l'insignifiance de la vie. C'est dans ce sens que semblait l'entendre Arrien lorsqu'il écrivait : « Toi, étranger, mange, bois, amuse-toi, car le reste des actions humaines vaut moins que cela »³. On a interprété cette maxime comme l'expression d'une doctrine sceptique et cynique, scandaleuse, celle d'un roi qui se vantait d'avoir passé sa vie dans la bonne chère, les bons vins et les jeux de l'amour car ses richesses ne lui serviraient à rien après sa mort. Mais c'était peut-être simplement une conception hédoniste du pouvoir royal oriental : le luxe et les agréments de la vie comme privilège du pouvoir, que l'on retrouve aussi dans les monarchies hellénistiques.

Le tombeau d'Anchialè se présentait sans doute comme un bas-relief assyrien, avec la représentation du roi à côté de son inscription (FRAHM 2003, 44*). Aux yeux des Grecs, le roi assyrien représenté sur la stèle ne pouvait avoir été que Sardanapale. L'inscription devait donc nécessairement illustrer la morale décadente qu'on lui prêtait. Ainsi, le mythe orientaliste de la décadence de Sardanapale, que le récit de Ctésias avait fortement contribué à fixer au 4^e siècle, fut renforcé par l'invention de son épithaphe qui venait en retour confirmer la véracité du récit de Ctésias et l'existence de Sardanapale. En fait, la question de l'existence de ce roi a eu finalement peu d'importance car il avait la fonction d'un paradigme qui se prêtait à des usages variés. La maxime hédoniste de son épithaphe, véritable profession de foi, fut constamment citée jusqu'à l'époque byzantine (LENFANT 2001, 50 ; MONERIE 2015, 173).

Pour établir un rapprochement entre Sardanapale et Assurbanipal, on a suggéré que la maxime hédoniste de l'épithaphe figurait déjà dans les inscriptions royales de ce dernier (FRAHM 2003, 44*). Lorsqu'il préparait la guerre contre son ennemi le roi élamite Teumman, l'interprète d'un rêve lui expliquait que la déesse guerrière Ishtar d'Arbèles lui promettait de l'aider et s'efforçait de le rassurer en ces termes : « Mange de la nourriture, bois du vin et fais de la musique (*a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nu nin-gu-tú šu-kun*) »⁴. Cependant, cette maxime hédoniste, attribuée à Sardanapale sur le monument d'Anchialè, ne signifie pas pour autant qu'il faille identifier ce roi avec Assurbanipal car elle existait de longue date en Mésopotamie. Ainsi, elle figurait déjà dans l'épopée de Gilgamesh qui remonte au 2^e millénaire. Gilgamesh, qui venait de perdre son ami Enkidu, confia son immense douleur à la cabaretière Siduri. Celle-ci lui proposa d'adopter une attitude hédoniste : « Toi, Gilgamesh, remplis ton estomac, jour et nuit reste festif, chaque jour fais la fête, jour et nuit danse et amuse-toi, ... laisse toujours une femme se délecter sur tes genoux » (ABUSCH 1993, 4, col. III, ll. 1-13). Sans prétendre être remonté jusqu'à l'origine de la doctrine hédoniste qui était peut-être encore plus ancienne que l'épopée de Gilgamesh, on peut dire en tout cas qu'elle précédait l'origine attribuée par les Grecs à Aristippe de Cyrène, philosophe grec né vers 435 et mort en 356, disciple de Socrate et fondateur de l'école dite « cyrénaïque » à Cyrène de Libye, dont l'orientation principale était l'hédonisme (GOUIRAND 2005). En réalité, l'évitement des souffrances et la recherche des plaisirs relèvent d'une attitude humaine naturelle que l'on peut retrouver dans plusieurs cultures.

Notes

1. Cicéron, *Tusculanes*, V, 35.
2. *FgrHist*, 696 F, 33-34.
3. Arrien, *Anabase*, II, 5, 2-4.
4. RINAP 5.1, n° 3, p. 70, V, ll. 61-64.

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31) The Shared Use of the Address “You, Man!” in *Erra* and *Ezekiel* — Scholars have long made comparisons between the *Book of Ezekiel* and the *Poem of Erra* (for a summary of such comparisons, BODI 2020 [“The Mesopotamian Context of Ezekiel,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ezekiel*, Oxford UP, 2020, 34–59], 36–38), with the most extensive being BODI 1991 (*The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra*, OBO 104). To my knowledge, neither Bodi nor other scholars who have written on *Ezekiel*'s Babylonian context—e.g. WINITZER 2014, “Assyriology and Jewish Studies in Tel Aviv: Ezekiel among the Babylonian literati” (in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon* [eds. U. Gabbay and S. Secunda], 2014, 163–216); and NISSINEN 2015, “(How) Does the Book of Ezekiel Reveal Its Babylonian Context?” (*WO* 45/1, 85–98)—have noted one point of similarity between the two works. That is the shared use of the vocative second-person address “You, man/human being!” (Akk. *atta amēlu*/Heb. אתה בן אדם). This phrase occurs once in *Erra* (IV 26), namely as part of Išum's description of the havoc Erra caused in Babylon. (For an edition of *Erra*, CAGNI 1969 [*L'epopea di Erra*, StSem 34]; a score edition with additional material, TAYLOR 2017 [*The Erra Song*, Harvard University Dissertation]. A more up-to-date edition is now under preparation by eBL, with the edition of Tablet I already up [<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/1/5/SB/I/>].) In *Erra* IV 1–19, Išum tells Erra of how Erra had entered Babylon and manipulated its citizens into rebelling against their governor (*šakkanakku*, here likely referring to the Babylonian king himself). Erra then left the city for its outskirts and, after putting on a “lion's features” (*zīm labbi*), entered the royal palace (IV 20–21). Upon seeing Erra, the soldiers girded on their weapons (IV 22). Then the governor himself became enraged, and sent his army—headed by a general (*ālik pān ummāni*, “he who goes before the army”)—to plunder Babylon:

IV 23 *ša šakkanakki mutēr gimil bābili tteziz libbašu*
 IV 24 *kī šallat nakiri ana šalāli uma" ara šābāšu*
 IV 25 *ālik pān ummāni ušahḫaza lemutta*
 IV 26 *ana āli šāši ša ašapparūka **atta amēlu***
 IV 27 *ila lā tapallaḥ lā taddar amēla*
 IV 28 *šeḥra u rabā ištēniš šumītma*
 IV 29 *ēniq šizbi šerra lā tezziba ayyamma*
 IV 30 *nakma bušē bābili tašallal atta*

IV 23 “The heart of the governor, Babylon's champion, became enraged:
 IV 24 “He gave his army the command to plunder, as if to plunder foes,
 IV 25 “He inflamed the general to evil:
 IV 26 ““As for that city to which I am sending you, **you, man (atta amēlu)**:
 IV 27 ““Fear no god, respect no man,
 IV 28 ““Slay young and old alike,
 IV 29 ““Do not spare a single suckling babe,
 IV 30 ““You yourself shall plunder the heaped up wealth of Babylon!”

In no other Akkadian text of which I am aware is someone addressed with the phrase *atta amēlu*. The Hebrew phrase אתה בן אדם is likewise unique to *Ezekiel*—as, in fact, is the vocative use of בן אדם. God addresses Ezekiel as אתה בן אדם no less than twenty-four times in the book. To cite four examples:

וְאַתָּה בֶּן אָדָם אֵל תִּירָא מֵהֶם וּמִדְּבָרֵיהֶם אֵל תִּירָא
 וּמִפְנֵיהֶם אֵל תַּחַת כִּי בֵּית מְרֵי הֵמָּה

“**And you, human being**, do not fear them and their words—for *nettles and thorns* are with you, and you dwell among scorpions; do not fear their words, nor cower before them, for they are a rebellious house.” (*Ezekiel* 2:6)

וַאֲתָהּ בֶן אָדָם קַח לְךָ לֶבְנָה וּנְתַתָּהּ אוֹתָהּ לִפְנֵיךְ וְהִקוֹת עָלֶיהָ עִיר אֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם (2)

“**And you, human being**, take for yourself a brick, and place it before you, and engrave upon it a city—Jerusalem.” (*Ezekiel* 4:1)

וַאֲתָהּ בֶן אָדָם קַח לְךָ חֶרֶב הַדָּה תַעַר הַגְּלָבִים תִּקְחֶנָּה לְךָ וְהִעַבְרַת עַל רֹאשְׁךָ וְעַל זָקֶנְךָ וְלָקַחְתָּ לְךָ מֵאֲזָנַי מִשְׁקַל וְהִלַּקְתָּם (3)

“**And you, human being**, take for yourself a sharp blade, a barber’s razor you will take for yourself. And you will pass (it) over your head and beard, and you will take weighing scales and divide them (the hairs).” (*Ezekiel* 5: 1)

וַאֲתָהּ בֶן אָדָם עֲשֵׂה לְךָ כְּלֵי גוּלָה וְגוּלָה יוֹמָם לְעֵינֵיהֶם וְגַלִּית מִמְּקוֹמְךָ אֶל מְקוֹם אַחֵר לְעֵינֵיהֶם אוֹלֵי יִרְאוּ כִּי בֵית מְרֵי הֵמָּה (4)

“**And you, human being**, make for yourself tools of exile, and go into exile daily before their eyes. And you will go into exile from your place to another place before their eyes—perhaps they will see that they are a rebellious house.” (*Ezekiel* 12: 3)

In the same way that the governor of Babylon addresses his subordinate, the general, as *atta amēlu* before giving him commands, God addresses his prophet Ezekiel as אַתָּה בֶן אָדָם before issuing him instructions. The significance of this similarity, as well as of the fact that such a phrase appears to be found nowhere in the preserved Mesopotamian corpus outside of *Erra*, and of the biblical one apart from *Ezekiel*, is unclear. Is this a coincidence? An indication of dependence of *Ezekiel* on *Erra*? Or a shared use of a phrase—current in contemporaneous Aramaic, perhaps—used in Babylonia at the time of the composition of both works yet surviving nowhere else? (On the contentious dating of *Erra*, TAYLOR 2017, *The Erra Song*, 251–4 with references to previous literature. On that of *Ezekiel*, GREENBERG 1983 [*Ezekiel*, 1–20, Yale Anchor Bible 25], 12–17, among many others.) At present, one may only wonder.

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32) An Egyptian in two cuneiform texts from the first century BCE — A man by the name *Paširî* (^m*Pa-ši-ri-i*) is mentioned in the archive of the temple treasurer *Rahimesu* from the city of Babylon. The archive in question is dated to 94–93 BCE (i.e. the reign of Mithridates II and the Parthian period) and consists of 29 documents (VAN DER SPEK 1998, 209–210).¹⁾

Paširî appears in two of the texts, which (like the rest of them) are documents that centre on the financial administration of the temples of Babylon (VAN DER SPEK 1998, 209). The texts (CT 49 150; BRM 1 99) include a passage that “3 shekel is given to/for the rations of Paširi and Nabu-iddina, the cleaners of the Day One Temple”.²⁾ *Paširî* is not mentioned any further in the two texts.

The title of *Paširî* and the man with the Akkadian name *Nabû-iddina* is not immediately clear. According to the CAD (M II, p. 217), the word translated as “cleaner” (*muremmiku*) derives from *ramāku*, which means “to bathe, wash o.s.”, and it is attested only in these two texts and in a text from Middle-Babylonian times. The AHW (II, p. 675) gives the translation “Bademeister” and brings up just the Middle-Babylonian attestation. It is unclear whether the cleaning act had a directly religious connotation, with people having professions like miller, brewer, soaker, porter, and butcher likewise allotted rations. Thus, *Paširî* and his companion *Nabû-iddina* probably did not enjoy an elevated social status. Regarding the sanctuary referred to as “the Day One Temple”, it can be identified with the *Aktū* temple, or the “New Year Festival House”, in Babylon (VAN DER SPEK 1998, 225).

Paširî, whose name clearly is Egyptian and probably corresponds to the Egyptian name *p^l-n-Wsir*, which means “the one who belongs to (the Egyptian god) Osiris” (MAHLICH 2022, 58),³⁾ stands out in research on relations between Egypt and Western Asia by representing the latest clear example of an individual with an Egyptian name in a cuneiform text.⁴⁾

Notes

1. These documents are published in an article by Van Der Spek (1998, 214–245).
2. Translation by Van Der Spek (1998, 223, 230).
3. In his review of the just cited work by Mahlich, Bojowald (2023) instead suggests that *Paširi* corresponds to Egyptian *p3-šri*, “Der Sohn von Gott X”.
4. Additionally, the name of the archive owner, *Raḥimesu*, is partly Egyptian, containing the name of the Egyptian goddess Isis, as recognized already by Zadok (1977, 27).

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33) Rawlinson and Hincks on Yadnana (Cyprus), Ionia, and Ionians — Although I discussed the subject of this short article in a previous publication (CATHCART 2012: 163-166), I did not deal with certain aspects of H. C. Rawlinson’s, and Edward Hincks’s, interpretations of the texts of Sennacherib and Sargon to which they refer. Research on “Greeks” in the eastern Mediterranean is ongoing (see the absorbing study by RADNER and VACEK 2022). The earliest attempts to identify Yadnana, Ionia, and Ionians in the mid-nineteenth century are not without interest.

Yadnana

One of the texts to which Rawlinson paid special attention was the inscription on a pair of bull colossi that were at the main entrance of Sennacherib’s throne room (SMITH 1878, Bull Inscription no. 4; GRAYSON and NOVOTNY, RINAP 3/2, no. 46).¹⁾ Rawlinson informed his readers that he had access to “the copy of an inscription taken by Mr. Layard from one of the bulls at the grand entrance of Kouyunjik Palace” (RAWLINSON 1851: 903; see 1852: 18).²⁾ He translated lines 18-19 as follows:

“In my third year I went up to the country of the *Khetta* or Hittites. Luliya, king of Sidon, had thrown off the yoke of allegiance. On my approach from Abiri he fled to Yetnan, which was on the sea coast” (RAWLINSON 1852: 21)

Compare the translation in RINAP 3/2, no. 46: 18-19:

“On my third campaign, I marched to the land Ḫatti. Fear of my brilliance overwhelmed Lulî, the king of the city Sidon, and he fled from the city Tyre to Iadnana (Cyprus), which is in the midst of the sea, and disappeared”.

The following discussion revolves around the final part of the sentence: *ul-tu qé-reb URU.šur-ri a-na KUR.ia-ad-na-na ša MURUB₄ tam-tim in-na-bit-ma KUR-šú e-mid* (RINAP 3/2, no. 46: 18-19). Rawlinson offered no explanation for his “Abiri” (*a-bi-ri*). He may have mistaken *šur* for *bi* because of the similarity of the signs. In a letter to A. H. Layard, dated 2 August 1852, Hincks wrote: “He (Rawlinson) has strangely mistaken the name Tyre for Abiri” (CATHCART 2008: 126). Many years later Edwin Norris included Rawlinson’s “Abiri” in the “Additions and Corrections” at the end of the first volume of his dictionary, describing it as the “name of the province from which Luli, king of Sidon, fled to Cyprus” (NORRIS 1868, p. i).

It is surprising to find that Rawlinson’s unexplained “Abiri” was replaced by another equally erroneous reading in 3 R, pl. 12. See the note in RINAP 3/2, p. 79: “URU.šur-ri, ‘the city Tyre’: the reading is clear despite 3 R which has KUR.a-mur-ri ‘the land Amurru’”. Until the late nineteenth century, most scholars read *a-ḫar-ri*, “Phoenicia” or “west, western country”, not *a-mur-ri*. Norris gave examples from the annals of Ashurnasirpal II (NORRIS 1868: 28). Compare his *ana uddi rabte sa Aḫarri lu eli*, “to the great sea of Phoenicia I ascended” with *ana tâmdi rabtê ša Amurri lû eli*, “I went up to the Great Sea of the land Amurru” (GRAYSON, RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, col. iii 84-85). *Aḫarri* is found in the translation of the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, which Hincks prepared for the Trustees of the British Museum in 1853-1854.³⁾ He had

noticed that *Aḫarri* was interchanged with MAR.TU and used for “west”. In a letter to the Egyptologist François Chabas, written in December 1863, Hincks went further with the observation that “the name Amurru is interchanged in the Assyrian inscriptions with MAR.TU.KI, an old Chaldean [= Sumerian] term meaning the land of Martu or the west” (CATHCART 2009: 233). Some months later, Norris sent Hincks a cahier containing a draft of the first part of his dictionary. In a letter, dated 9 July 1864, Hincks replied: “I went no further in it than the name of the country which you call *Aḫarri* and I *Amurri*” (CATHCART 2009: 256). It has been claimed that the credit for having discovered that the reading is *a-mur-ri*, not *a-ḫar-ri* belongs to Alphonse Delattre (see CLAY 1909: 99; DELATTRE 1891: 233-234). It seems that Delattre was the first to publish this correct reading, but the discovery was made much earlier by Hincks. As late as 1905, Muss-Arnolt included an entry for *aḫarru*, “west wind” and *mat Aḫarri*, “western country” in his dictionary, but he acknowledged that other scholars read *a-mur-ru* (MUSS-ARNOLT 1905: I, 30; see p. 61 with an entry for *Amurru* and a reference to DELATTRE 1891: 233-234).

Returning to the Sennacherib inscription, none of the above explains how the editors of 3 R (Rawlinson and Smith) arrived at *a-mur-ri* (their *a-ḫar-ri*) for *ṣur-ri* in the first place. Years later Smith correctly read *ṣur-ri* (1878: 54), but Rodwell still read *a-ḫar-ri*: “from the midst of the land of Aharri to Yatnana”, and, like Norris, he identified Aharri as Phoenicia (RODWELL 1876: 61). When Rawlinson came to discuss the place name Ušû, his Husuva, in line 19 of Bull Inscription no. 4, he identified it as “Tyre”, and added the comment: “In a subsequent part of the inscription, Sennacherib speaks of the ‘Tyrians’ under their own proper name” (RAWLINSON 1852: 22). He was referring to the “sailors of Tyre” (*malāḫī Ṣurraya*) in the account of Sennacherib’s sixth campaign (RINAP 3/2 46: 59). His failure to recognize *ṣur-ri* in line 18 is, therefore, all the more puzzling.

Rawlinson has a hopelessly incorrect understanding of KUR.*ia-ad-na-na*, “Yadnana”, his “Yetnan” and “Yatnan”. He writes: “Yetnan is always spoken of as a maritime city, south of Phoenicia, which formed the extreme limit of the Assyrian territory towards Egypt; it must, therefore, represent the ‘Rhinocolura’ of the Greeks” (RAWLINSON 1852: 21-22). In a footnote he adds:

“The inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib rendering it certain that a district at the south-east angle of the Mediterranean, and intermediate between Egypt and Phoenicia, was known to the Assyrians by the name of Yatnan, or Atnan, it becomes of interest to inquire whether the Hebrew *’ētān* or *’etān*, usually rendered in our version of the Bible by “strength”, may not refer to the same place”.

None of the Biblical examples he gives stands up to scrutiny and his proposal is philologically unsound.⁴⁾ In a letter to Layard, dated 2 August 1852, Hincks wrote: “Yatnan is Asia Minor, or Cyprus”; but he crossed out Cyprus (CATHCART 2008: 126; 2012: 164). In a lecture delivered at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Belfast in September 1852, Hincks dismissed Rawlinson’s views about the location of “Yatnan”, but made the surprising comment that he had “good reason for reading the name Yavan, instead of Yatnan” (CATHCART 2012: 164). Unfortunately, he did not elaborate his “good reason”. Some months later he wrote, “The place intended is not Rhinocolura, or any other country bordering on Egypt, but the isles of Greece, or at any rate Cyprus” (HINCKS 1852: 351). In the following year, Layard, commenting on Luli’s flight “from Tyre to Yavan”, reported that Hincks identified Yavan with the island of Crete, or “some part of the southern coast of Asia Minor” (LAYARD 1853: 142). Hincks did not abandon completely the name “Yatnan”. In his *Report to the Trustees of the British Museum*, he describes the hexagonal clay prism, which contains a list of twelve kings from the shore of the sea, and ten kings of “Yatnan (or Yavan) in the middle of the sea” (HINCKS 1854: 9 = CATHCART 2008: 228; see LEICHTY, RINAP 4 no. 1: v 63, 71-72). However, seven years later, he was still convinced that Luli fled to “Yavan, i.e. Cyprus or Crete” (HINCKS 1861: 88 n.*).

Ionia and Ionians

There is general agreement that in the account of Sennacherib’s sixth campaign, where it is recorded that sailors from Tyre, Sidon, and Ionia were employed to sail down the Tigris, the correct reading is KUR.*ia-[am]-na-a-a*, “of the land Io[n]ia”, not KUR.*ia-[ad]-na-a-a*, “of the land Ya[d]na (Cyprus)” (RINAP 3/2, 46: 59-60; LANFRANCHI 2000: 28; bibliography in RADNER and VACEK 2022: 75 n. 73). Rawlinson has “The mariners and artisans of Tyre and Sidon, and *Yabna* (*Jabneh* of Scripture)...” (1852: 26). In his Belfast lecture Hincks said that the “Yavnay” were Ionians or Grecians, “not as Col. Rawlinson has

conjectured, the people of Jabneh” (CATHCART 2012: 165). Rawlinson had made claims about Jabneh in the previous year (RAWLINSON 1851: 902-903). He thought that the conquest of Ashdod and “the reduction of the neighbouring city of Jamnai, called Jabneh or Jamneh in the Bible”, were mentioned in the annals of Sargon. Unfortunately, he offered no information on the alleged mention of Yabna/Jabneh. In another part of his article, he went as far as to say that Sennacherib’s “pretended conflict with the Greeks on the coast of Cilicia, will, I suspect, turn out to be his reduction of the city of Javnai, near Ashdod – the mistake having arisen from the similarity of the name of Javnai to that of Javani, or Ionians, by which the Greeks were generally known to the nations of the East” (RAWLINSON 1851: 903). He does not explain his use of two forms Jamnai and Javnai, but he does refer to Greek *Iamneia* (later *Iamnia*) and Judith 2:28, *Iamnaan/Iemnaan*, which is listed among coastal cities. Rawlinson admitted that he had not yet studied closely all of Sennacherib’s “chronicle”, but he believed that most of the events attributed to Sennacherib by the historians Polyhistor and Abydenus would be found in the annals. For an examination of the clash between Greeks and Assyrians in Cilicia during Sennacherib’s reign as it is preserved in the accounts of Polyhistor and Abydenus, see LANFRANCHI 2000: 24-29; ROLLINGER 2007 [2008]: 70.

It is not surprising to find that Rawlinson’s views about “Yatnan” and “Yabna” (biblical Jabneh) attracted no support. Hincks’s initial view that Yadanana was Cyprus was a correct one. His suggestions that Yadanana or Yavan was Cyprus or Crete, the Isles of Greece or the southern coast of Asia Minor, reflect his uncertainty about the matter.

Notes

1. Rawlinson listed the Bull Inscription as one of three “very important documents” which he had consulted for the study of Sennacherib’s reign. The other two were the Bellino Cylinder and the Taylor Prism (RAWLINSON 1852: 18).

2. Layard’s copy has not been located. It must be borne in mind that the inscribed slabs, which Rawlinson sawed off the winged bull colossi, did not reach the British Museum until 1854. See the Commentary in GRAYSON and NOVOTNY, RINAP 3/2, p. 75. Rawlinson’s claim in 3 R, p. 6 that Layard’s copy “first led in 1851 to (his) identification of the name of Sennacherib” is manifestly wrong. Hincks had already identified the name in 1849 (HINCKS 1850: 34). See RAWLINSON 1851: 902-903; disputed by LAYARD 1853: 138-139.

3. BL MS Add MS 22097, fol. 46, § 52.

4. Rawlinson was equally unsuccessful in his explanation of the place-name *Altaqu*, “Eltekeh”, in the inscriptions of Sennacherib (see RINAP 3/2, nos. 22: iii 6; 46: 24). He called it *Allakhis* and claimed that it was the biblical Lachish. In his view, *Lakisu* in the Sennacherib epigraph was a different place, because the two names “are written quite differently in the cuneiform characters” (RAWLINSON 1852: 23-24; see the Hincks-Layard correspondence, CATHCART 2008, p. 125-129).

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

34) Cycle de conférences de Dominique Charpin sur le règne de Zimri-Lim mis en ligne — Dans le cadre du projet PCEHM (*Pouvoir et culture écrite en Haute-Mésopotamie au 18^e siècle av. J.-C.*), D. Charpin a donné en 2025 au Collège de France une série de cours intitulée « La Haute-Mésopotamie au XVIII^e siècle av. J.-C. : galerie de portraits ». Ces cours d'une heure portent sur l'époque du roi de Mari Zimri-Lim. Vous pouvez en regarder les vidéos à l'adresse : <https://www.college-de-france.fr/fr/agenda/cours/la-haute-mesopotamie-au-xviiiie-siecle-av-galerie-de-portraits> ou encore <https://pcehm.hypotheses.org/ressources/videos/cours-du-college-de-france-2024-2025>.

35) Mise en ligne de Archibab 5 (Marine Béranger, 2024) — La SEPOA a reçu le soutien financier de l'*Institut für Altorientalistik* de la *Freie Universität Berlin* pour la mise en ligne de la version numérique du livre de M. Béranger, *Archibab 5. « Écoute ma tablette ! » L'essor de la correspondance en Mésopotamie (2004–1595 av. n. è.)*, Mémoires de NABU 23, Paris, 2024. Le PDF est désormais disponible sur le site de la SEPOA à la page <https://sepoa.fr/produit/2024-memoires-de-nabu-23-pdf/>. Le texte seul est publié sous licence CC BY-SA 4.0. Les images (illustrations, photographies, etc.) sont « tous droits réservés », sauf mention du contraire.

36) Change of E-mail address Nele Ziegler — Since January 2025 the mail address ~~nziegler@msh-paris.fr~~ has been closed by the provider. All mails sent to this address are lost. Please use the following address **nele.ziegler@college-de-france.fr**. Mails concerning NABU should be sent as usually to nabu@sepoa.fr.

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