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NOTES BRÈVES

60) Wie sagte man „Ovaltempel“ auf Sumerisch? — Es scheint weitgehend akzeptiert, dass *ib-gal* „großes Ib“ für „großes Oval“ steht (z. B. FRAYNE 2007, 78). Der IB-gal-Tempel der Innana in Lagaš besaß eine ovale Umfassungsmauer und Falkenstein 1966, 161 + Anm. 6 sah in *ib* einen „Bauterminus“. Krecher 1976-80 skeptisch: „Lesung und Bedeutung von IB unklar“.

Akkadisch ist *ib* mit *tubuqtu* geglichen, das synonym wie *tubqu* stehen kann. CAD übersetzt beides mit „corner“. Doch allein *tubuqtu* entspricht *ub* und *ib*, *tubqu* aber nur *ub*. Daher ist in Gleichungen mit *ib* wahrscheinlich *tubuktu* gemeint und dies eine Nebenform zu *tubku* „Aufschüttung“. Jedenfalls deutet keine der beiden Möglichkeiten auf eine Übersetzung „Oval“.

Ur-Nanše richtet neben einem *é-muḫaldim* auch ein IB-muḫaldim im Bagara-Tempel in Lagaš ein (RIME1.9.1.6b iii 1-6). Das *é-muḫaldim* ist ein Gebäude oder Gebäudeteil in dem Speisen zubereitet werden. In den Nanše-Opferlisten wird auch ein IB-ku₆-gu₇ „ein ... (wo) man Fische ist“ erwähnt und zwar häufig vor Innana und Ġatumdu (z. B. DP 53 vii 5'), also Gottheiten, die nach Lagaš gehören. Ashby/Pittman 2022, 103 schlagen die Identifikation einer in etwa ovalen Feuerstelle in einem Nebengebäude des Bagara mit dem IB-Muḫaldim vor. Die ursprüngliche Form des Zeichens IB könnte der Querschnitt einer Feuerstelle sein. Dem Autor ist aber keine Stelle bekannt, an der IB zusammen mit Feuer oder Öfen genannt wird. Die Identifikation ist trotzdem zu erwägen.

Tempel mit dem Element IB werden im frühdyn. Staat Lagaš mehrfach erwähnt (SELZ 1995, 152f.) und archäologisch ist ein weiterer Mauerrest nachgewiesen, der zu einem Oval-Tempel gehört haben könnte (HANSEN 1980-83, 425). Nach Ashby/Pittman ist der Bereich nach „ED I“ (vor FD IIIa) zu datieren. IB ist als Bezeichnung für Tempel in Eigennamen aus Ur bereits in dieser Zeit belegt - z. B. aka-^dinnana-IB UET 2, 98 iv 1.

Für das von Aanepada erbaute Tempeloval der Ninḫursaġa in Tell el-ʿUbaid ist keine andere Bezeichnung als *é* „Haus, Tempel“ überliefert. Auf dem Fragment einer im Tempeloval von Ḥafāġah gefundenen Inschrift ist vielleicht I[B] oder IB' statt GĀN zu lesen (OIP 53, 147 Nr. 3). Doch das bleibt unsicher.

Archäologisch sind Tempelovale nur frühdynastisch nachgewiesen. Es gibt aber in Ur III Umma eine ^dnin-IB-gal und ein (*é*-)IB-gal und die altbabyl. Keš-Hymne bezeichnet den Tempel einmal als IB-gal (GEORGE 1993, 103). ^dnin-IB-gal und wohl auch ein entsprechender Tempel sind auch für Isin nachweisbar (RICHTER 2004, 236f.). Ein Klagelied aus dem 7. Jahrh. erwähnt ein *é*-IB-gal der Getreidegöttin (KRECHER 1976-80). Dies mag auf Vermischung der Getreidegöttin mit Nanibgal/Gašanibgal beruhen (siehe jedoch unten). Die literarischen Zeugnisse lassen sich keinem ausgegrabenen Tempel zuordnen und enthalten zum Teil einfach einen traditionellen Namen.

Die große altbabyl. Götterliste aus Nippur schreibt ^dnin-IB-gal (TCL 15 XXVIII 227), wofür An *Anum* IV 40 (YBC 2401) ^dnin-ur-gal schreibt. Die Zeichen IB und UR sind ähnlich und ^dnin-ur-gal „Herrin großer Hund/Löwe“ ergibt einen Sinn, was den Fehler begünstigt. IB ist jedenfalls falsch interpretiert. Auch Nanibgal/Nisaba (MCEWAN 1998-2001, 151) und ihre Emesalform gašan-ni-ib-gal können die Lesung nicht festlegen, denn ein IB-gal ist weder für sie noch Nisaba belegt und die Schreibung AN.AN.(ŠE.)NAGA, statt ^dnin-ib-gal spricht gegen den Bezug auf diesen Tempelnamen.

Ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Zeichen IB und einem Gegenstand mit einer ovalen Form ergibt die Lesung *dára* = *izhu*, *nībittu* „Gürtel“. Also könnte die Benennung als IB tatsächlich mit der Form des Gebäudes zu tun haben. Lesung *ib*, *dára*, *uraš*? Die Quelle für eine Lesung *eb* ist unklar.

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61) Zu einer fröhdynastischen Statuette und zum Alter des IB-gal der Innana in Lagaš — In NABU 2025/37 hat Nicolas Assur Corfù ein Fragment einer fröhdynastischen Beterstatuette veröffentlicht. Erhalten ist die linke Schulter mit einem Teil des Oberkörpers und dem Armansatz. Unten ist wohl noch ein Rest eines Wulstes zu erkennen, der zu einem Rock gehörte. Wegen des nackten Oberkörpers ist es eine männliche Person. Corfù gibt die Höhe des Fragmentes mit 8,7 cm an und schätzt die ursprüngliche Höhe auf „likely ca. 75 cm“. Wenn die Beobachtung mit dem Ansatz des Rockes stimmt, dann sollte der erhaltene Teil kaum weniger als 20 % der Höhe ausmachen, die dann, wenn stehend, bei ca. 45 cm anzusetzen wäre. Vermutlich kommt Corfù aufgrund der Ergänzung der Inschrift auf 5 Felder auf der Rückseite zu seiner Annahme. Es ist aber auf der Vorderseite noch der Anfang eines Rechtecks zu sehen, wenn auch im erhaltenen Teil ohne Spuren von Schrift. Auch bei der Statue des *lú-pà(-d)* (ELTS 21; HUH 2008, 275f.) steht ein Teil der Inschrift auf der Brust. Die Inschrift könnte mit dem häufigen Namenselement *en* begonnen haben, was die unbeschriebene Ecke rechtfertigen würde.

An das Textfeld auf der Vorderseite schloss kein weiteres unmittelbar an. Dies ließe sich damit erklären, dass die Statuette einen Bart hatte, weshalb die verdeckte Mitte nicht beschrieben wurde. Das würde zwei getrennte Felder auf der Brust und vermutlich drei auf dem Rücken ergeben.

Auf dem Rücken sind noch zwei Textfelder erhalten, die das Ende der Inschrift darstellen. Zu lesen ist ^dnin-IB-gal / *é dù*. Corfù zitiert ein Schreiben von W.G. Lambert, das dem Objekt beigelegt ist, mit der Übersetzung: „(for) Nin-ebgal / He built the temple.“

Fröhdynastisch ist IB-gal als Tempel der Innana in Lagaš nachgewiesen. Daher vermutet Corfù, dass die Statuette einen der beiden bekannten Bauherren des IB-gal, Ur-Nanše oder Enannatum I zuzuweisen ist. Das Fragment wurde von jemandem gekauft, der zwischen 1960 und 1980 im Irak gearbeitet hat (CORFÙ 2025, Anm. 1), also auch in der Zeit als am IB-gal und in seiner Umgebung ausgegraben wurde, wodurch das Fragment möglicherweise besser zugänglich wurde.

Ur-Nanše schreibt das finite Verb immer *mu-dù* (je nachdem als /*mun*/-*dù* oder /*munnan*/-*dù* zu interpretieren). Eine Konstruktion ohne finites Verb ist viel seltener belegt und würde entweder *é dù GN* „der Tempelbauer des GN“ (cf. Mesilim, RIME1.8.1.1) lauten oder [*lú*] GN *é dù-a* „der (für) GN der Tempelbauer (ist)“. Nach Ur-Nanše werden eher mehr Präfixe geschrieben.

In RTC 8 ii 2 ist das vergöttlichte ^dIB-gal belegt. Nach HUH 2008, 278f. könnte RTC 8 noch in den Anfang der Regierungszeit des Ur-Nanše fallen, aber auch älter sein.

Hansen stellte drei Phasen beim Bau des IB-gal fest. Nur die oberste I war durch Inschriften am Ort auf Enannatum I zu datieren. Ur-Nanše berichtet mehrfach vom Bau des IB-gal. Enannatum I war sein

Enkel und Nachfolger seines Bruders Eannatum, der nicht von einem Bau am IB-gal berichtet. Ur-Nanšes Sohn und Nachfolger Akurgal ist durch eine fragmentarische Inschrift auf einem gebrannten Ziegel aus Lagaš belegt. Doch der Ziegel wurde weitentfernt vom IB-gal in Area B gefunden (HUH 2008, 230; RIME1.9.2.3). Auch die kurze Zeitspanne spricht gegen einen Neubau bereits unter Akurgal. Daher muss II der Bau des Ur-Nanše sein. Ebenso datieren ASHBY/PITTMAN 2022, 97 IB-gal II auf Ur-Nanše.

HANSEN 1980-83, 425 nimmt ohne Gründe zu nennen an, dass die älteren Phasen Ibgal II und III „probably also date to the late Early Dynastic III period“, also FD IIIb. STEINKELLER 2013, 134 Anm. 8 datiert Ur-Nanše aufgrund der Verwendung von LAK 798 statt LAK 799 für za in za-gin (Ur-Nanše 49) nach FD IIIa. Doch das ist ein Vergleich einer Inschrift auf Stein mit Inschriften auf Tontafeln. Dabei werden auf Stein oft ältere Formen verwendet. Aus historischen Überlegungen und unter Hinweis auf die Erwähnung von Ur-Nanšes Sohn Akurgal in CUSAS 26, 69 (!) kommt POMPONIO 2024 auf eine Datierung von Ur-Nanše in FD IIIb. CUSAS 26, 69 wirkt mit seinen fast quadratischen Kästchen älter als die meisten FD IIIb-Texte, aber die Zeichen sind bereits weitgehend in der Reihenfolge angeordnet in der sie gelesen werden. Außerdem schreibt der Text NE×KASKAL statt PA₄.NE wie in Fāra und PA₄.NE/NE×PA₄ wie in Tell Abū Šalābīḥ (KEETMAN 2025). Mithin ist Akurgal in die Frühphase von FD IIIb zu datieren, bzw. diese ist nach ihm zu datieren.

Die Länge von Akurgals Regierungszeit ist unbekannt. Sie muss nicht besonders kurz gewesen sein. Er war vielleicht nicht der älteste Sohn des Ur-Nanše. Auf der Weihplatte T 6, die nur 4 Söhne zeigt, von denen bāra-^{sa}sag₇-nu-di als Sohn nicht ganz gesichert ist, wird nur er als dumu bezeichnet, was weil es bei den Brüdern fehlt, hier wohl als „(kleines) Kind“ zu deuten ist. Auf T 4 erscheint Akurgal in zentraler Position und als einziger der Söhne mit einem Reif am Kopf, offensichtlich bereits als Thronfolger hervorgehoben. Doch auf T 5 befindet sich Lugalezen in der gleichen zentralen Position, während Akurgal als letzter in der oberen Reihe hinter drei Brüdern steht (siehe schon BOESE 1971, 66 Anm. 357; Abbildungen Tf. 29f.; BRAUN-HOLZINGER 2007, FD 1; 2; 4, Tf. 16f.). Daher kann man aus dem Umstand, dass Akurgal auf dem Thron folgte, nicht darauf schließen, dass er notwendig der älteste Sohn war. Dass von ihm nur wenige Bautätigkeiten überliefert sind, könnte auch damit zusammenhängen, dass sein Vater bereits alle wichtigen Tempel erneuert hatte. Doch auch mit einer moderaten Regierungszeit von Akurgal rückt sein Vater Ur-Nanše in die Wende von FD IIIa zu FD IIIb bzw. an den Anfang von FD IIIb.

Also ist IB-gal III als FD IIIa zu datieren. Da tiefere Schichten nicht großflächig ergraben wurden (HANSEN 1980-83, 425) sind weitere Vorgängerbauten des IB-gal nicht auszuschließen. Die überregionale Verbreitung des Kultes der Innana reicht weit zurück. Dafür sprechen die Schreibungen von Zabala, INNANA.ĒŠ und Susa, INNANA.EREN und das Alter ihres Tempels in Nippur, an dessen Stelle schon in FD I ein Tempel stand (RIA 9, 552). Der Name ^dIB-ki-du₁₀ (KI.AN.DU₁₀.IB) „das (göttliche) IB ist ein guter Ort“ UET 2, 199 iv zeigt außerdem, dass IB als Bezeichnung für einen Tempel schon in FD I/II gebraucht wurde.

Die Statuette gehörte also dem Erbauer des IB-gal, Phase III, FD IIIa oder einem Vorgänger. Bereits Mesilim schreibt das Präfix mu- und der auf seinem Keulenknauf erwähnte Ensi von Lagaš lugal-ša-engur scheidet aus Platzgründen sicher aus (RIME1.8.1.1). Wenn die Annahme zutrifft, dass es eine bärtige Figur war, dann deutet das ebenfalls auf ein höheres Alter, denn Ur-Nanše und seine Nachfolger Akurgal, Eannatum, Enannatum I werden immer ohne Bart dargestellt. Schließlich ist der Umstand, dass ^dnin-IB-gal im Frühdynastikum nur hier belegt ist, ein weiteres Indiz für die in Lagaš schriftlich kaum belegte Zeit vor Ur-Nanše.

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62) Ein übersehener Priestergemahl der Innana in Lagaš — Im Tempeloval der Innana in Lagaš wurde eine Scherbe einer Alabasterschale mit folgender Inschrift gefunden: ^dinnana / nin an ki (an ki nin¹) / dam ur-téš (UR UR dam) / [a m]u-na-r[u] „Innana, der Herrin von Himmel und Erde, der Gemahlin des Urteš, hat er (die Schale) geweiht“ BiMes 3, 33. Selz 1995, 147 liest den Namen als UR:UR:dam. UR:UR ist ein seit den Archaischen Texten von Ur (Nisaba 25, 57 i 3; UET 2, 63 i 6?) und auch in Lagaš gut belegter Name (BALKE 2017, 450 + Anm. 151, ohne unsere Stelle), der niemals mit einer Erweiterung gebraucht wird. Ein Schreibfehler für ur-dam oder ur-éš-dam (zu diesen Namen BALKE 2017, 409f. 419) in dem nur wenige Zeichen umfassenden Text ist unwahrscheinlich. Die u. a. auch von Balke a. a. O. erwogene Lesung ur-téš ist wahrscheinlich, aber nicht gesichert.

Die Scherbe wurde zusammen mit zwei anderen Scherben beschrifteter Alabastergefäße (BiMes 3, 32; 34) gefunden. Dazu BIGGS 1976, 7: „Area A, X 1115, Y 1071.30, Level II fill, nested inside 1 H 98 and 1 H 99 (...) It appears that the three inscribed votive bowls may have been gathered together, already broken and with parts missing, in an act of piety.” Daraus lässt sich der Bau des Enannatum I, Level I als Zeitpunkt ante quem für alle drei Gefäße ableiten. Die Anordnung der Zeichen spricht für eine Datierung nach FD IIIa. Jedoch schreibt Ur-Nanše das Präfix des Dativs fast nie (Ausnahme: RIME1.9.1.17 ii 7). Daher ist eine Datierung auf Akurgal oder Eannatum auch möglich.

Belegt ist ein Priestergemahl in Lagaš nur für Nanše und ausschließlich bei Ur-Nanše (RIME1.9.1.17). Später sind ein en-šu en kalam-ma (DP 92 v 5, Enentarzi 4) und ein lugal-šùd-du₁₀-ga en (AWL 178 ii 7, Lugalanda 4; DP 519 iii 3; RTC 27 iii 3, Irikagina Ensi) belegt. Damit ist nicht klar, ob es in dieser Zeit für Nanše und Innana jeweils einen En-Priester gab oder nur für eine Göttin. Für das dára(İB)-gal der Innana ist nur ein Tempelverwalter (saĝĝa) belegt (SELZ 1995, 151).

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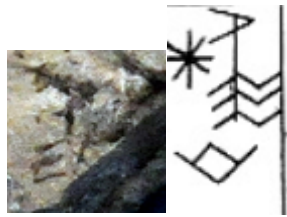
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63) Ein weiterer Sohn des Ur-Nanše — Auf der Weihplatte des Ur-Nanše EŠEM 401, Boese UAVA 6, 198, Tf. 29, T 5 ist der Name eines Sohnes bisher unklar. RIME1.9.1.5: x 'x' [x]. Die Reste gehören zu nur einem Zeichen und zwar zu 'zi'. Siehe unten und zum Vergleich zi^dutu Geierstele, Rs. i 11:



Für die Identifikation entscheidend sind die Kerben, die schräg nach unten abgehen. Das gibt es nur bei ZI und DU₈ und letzteres scheidet aus. Dass die Kerbe an der schwierigen Stelle am Gürtelwulst abzuknicken scheint, ergibt weder ein anderes noch ein weiteres Zeichen. Sicher nicht zum Zeichen gehörende kleine Ritzungen gibt es auch anderen Zeichen. Für zi-... in Namen aus Lagaš, Balke, dubsar 1, 464f. Mit anderer Reihenfolge z. B. a(-agrig)-zi, ba-zi, igi-zi, nam-zi ebd. s. v. Ur-Nanše hatte also nicht 8 (RIA 14, 431), sondern 9 nachweisbare Söhne. Unsicher bleibt als möglicher 10. Sohn bára^{sa}sag₇-nu-di auf der Weihplatte AO 2345, RIME1.9.1.3.

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64) marmarrum ‘meadow’: an early Anatolian loanword in Eblaite — One of the many stumbling blocks in the Eblaite “chancery text” ARET 13, 9, first edited by Pelio Fronzaroli (2003) and now under investigation by the present authors, is wa / GÍrgunû.MUŠEN / TU.MUŠEN / ti-na-ga / mar-ma-ru₁₂-lum / si-in / É-gú-nu (rev.

IV 8–14), translated by the editor as “E la civetta (e) la colomba gemono con forza verso la vostra casa”¹⁾. For several reasons, we find this interpretation difficult to accept and suggest to replace it with the following one: “And a *Ĝirgunû*-bird (and) a dove will be sacrificed on a meadow for your houses”. In our forthcoming annotated re-edition of the text we will hopefully explain in detail each of the elements leading to the new understanding²⁾. What will interest us here is the word *mar-ma-ru₁₂-lum*, which Fronzaroli identified with the Mesopotamian Akkadian adjective *marmāru* ‘strong’ (CAD M₁ 284), reliably attested once in Malku (= *dannu*, HRŪŠA 2010: 32–33). Such an exceedingly rare (and, presumably, late) word is *a priori* unlikely to show up in the text under scrutiny – where it, moreover, hardly fits the context.

Neither Fronzaroli, nor later researchers were attentive to the fact that a nearly complete match to *mar-ma-ru₁₂-lum* is found in the Vocabolario di Ebla, viz. *mar-mar-lum* in VE 302, equated to the Sumerian entry Ū.KISAL. It was the merit of Å. Sjöberg (2003: 545–546)³⁾ to suggest that ū.kisal here is to be understood as Ū.GIPAR_x, designating a pasture or meadow, as effectively does the later Akkadian reflex of Sumerian ĜEPAR, viz. *gipāru* (CAD G 84). Such a meaning would fit much better the context of ARET 13, 9: the bird sacrifice would be an open air event, taking place on a meadow or a similar landscape feature.

What is the origin of the “new” Eblaite word? Hardly Semitic, as common sense suggests: a reduplicated structure with the last consonant geminated is not very likely to show up in (East) Semitic at such an early date and, in any case, there is no material etymological support for *marmarrum* ‘meadow’ (or, to be sure, any other clear-cut meaning) in any Semitic language known to us. A perusal of other ANE languages has yielded a remarkably attractive solution: Old Hittite *marmarra-*, designating a kind of terrain side by side with “the steppe” and “the meadow” (CHD L–N 192), perhaps “waterlogged woodland, overgrown swamp, wetland, slough, moor, marsh” (HED 6 79). The exact formal (and, presumably, semantic) correspondence between the Eblaite and Hittite words can, in our view, scarcely be accidental: in all probability, we are faced with one and the same Syro-Anatolian lexical isogloss. Indeed, in view of the numerous Early Anatolian personal names detected in the Eblaite sources by A. Archi (2020a, 2020b), such a possibility is by no means ephemeral.

According to the common opinion, the Hittite word is of IE pedigree, “a reduplicate of the ‘sea’ word”⁴⁾, which has numerous reflexes referring in particular to wetlands (cf. English “moor”). If this etymology is correct, the Ebla sources provide us with the **earliest IE appellative attested in writing** so far.

Notes

1. With the following extended explanation in the commentary: “Il lamento della civetta e della colomba, per la sua somiglianza con i gemiti delle lamentatrici, era associato alla solitudine e alla desolazione delle città abbandonate. Nel presente contesto esso potrebbe indicare che la casa che è stata costruita per i tre funzionari eblaiti è luogo di tristezza finché essi non verranno ad abitarla”.

2. Notably, reading *Ĝirgunû.mušen* (a kind of small edible bird) rather than MUN.MUŠEN (the edition’s “owl”), and deriving *ti-na-ga* from **nqy* ‘to sacrifice’ rather than **nwq* ‘to cry’.

3. Inspired by P. Steinkeller (1985: 46) and M. Krebernik (1986: 194, 204).

4. Puhvel in HED 6 80, also HEG 5–6 141, both with copious references.

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65) On the orthography of Sum. NIG₂-tuḥ-ḥum = Akk. *muthummu* “garden fruit(?)” — The Sum. word, which appears as niḡ₂-tuḥ-ḥum “fruits, produits du jardin” in P. Attinger’s *Glossaire sumérien-français*,¹⁾ can also be written with the compound logogram U₂.GIŠ.SAR. This observation was initially made by M. Civil, as evident from his restoration of this sign sequence for the damaged second column of Diri IV 19 (MSL 15, 150). In this lexical entry, the Akkadian column reads *mut-ḥu-um-mu*, while the syllabic Sumerian spelling is broken but can be plausibly restored as mut-ḥu-um (see CAD M/2 298b). Civil’s restoration, likely based on Hh. XVII 120,²⁾ is further supported by l. 37 of the Sum. composition “The Message of Ludiḡira to His Mother.”³⁾ This line is preserved in four OB manuscripts: one from Nippur and three of unknown origin.⁴⁾ A score of this line is provided below:

Ni. 2759 rev. 9	g[urun] za ₃ -[m]u-a NIG ₂ -tu[h ¹] ⁵⁾ -mu-um ṛnisaḡ ¹ -ḡa ₂
LB 2112 rev. 6	gurun za ₃ -mu-a NIG ₂ -tu-ḥu-um nisaḡ-ṛḡa ₂ ¹⁾
CBS 1554 rev. 2	gurun za ₃ -mu U ₂ .GIŠ.SAR guru ₃ ^m -a ⁶⁾
AO 6330 rev. 8	[g]urun za ₃ -mu-am ₃ GIŠ.U ₂ .SAR nisaḡ-ḡa ₂

(My mother is) a spring fruit, the yield of the first month.

The sign group U₂.GIŠ.SAR in CBS 1554 and its erroneous variant GIŠ.U₂.SAR in AO 6330 correspond to NIG₂-tu[h¹]-mu-um and NIG₂-tu-ḥu-um in Ni. 2759 and LB 2112, respectively. Editors of Ludiḡira’s Message, including Civil, have commonly interpreted U₂.GIŠ.SAR as the composite u₂ ḡeš¹kiri₆ “garden produce” rather than a Diri logogram.⁷⁾ However, evidence from a Late Bronze Age version of Ludiḡira’s Message, known from a tablet from Ugarit (*Ugaritica* V, no. 169) and a fragment from Hattusa (KUB 4, 97), confirms that these are indeed different writings of the same word. This version presents the Sumerian text in both traditional and syllabic orthography, along with Akkadian and Hittite translations. The relevant passage in the Ugarit tablet reads:

rev. i 1	[gurun za ₃]-mu ṛU ₂ ¹ .GIŠ.SAR / [ṛiṣp]ara ₁₀ -za ₃ -ḡar
rev. ii 1	ku-ru-um za-an-ku mu-ut-ḥu / pa-ra-za-an-ṛkar ¹
rev. iii 1	<i>in-bu ša pa-na ṛšatti</i> (MU.KAM) ¹⁰⁾ / <i>mu-ut-ḥu-mi ni-is-sa₃-ni</i>
rev. iv 1	MU.KAM-ti-ia-aš ḥa-an-te-ez-zi[i-iš] / še-ša-aš IGI-zi-ia-aš-ma-aš IT[I].ṛKAM ¹ -a[š] / ḡiṣ ¹ la-aḥ-ḥur-nu-uṣ-zi

Sum., Akk.: (My mother is) a spring fruit, the yield of the first month.

Hitt.: She is the first fruit in the year, the first month’s foliage.⁸⁾

The damaged sign preceding GIŠ.SAR in col. i, left unidentified by J. Nougayrol, the first editor of this tablet, is read as gurun “fruit” by D. Arnaud and M. Viano.⁹⁾ Judging from Nougayrol’s copy (*Ugaritica* V, p. 445), it is most probably U₂. Thus, the Ugarit tablet presents the same compound logogram as CBS 1554. In col. ii, the Sum. word behind this logogram is phonetically rendered as mu-ut-ḥu. This reading, presumably derived from an earlier */mutuḥum/, finds a close parallel in Hh. XVII 120. It raises questions regarding the correct interpretation of the sign NIG₂ in the OB occurrences of the word. We concur with Nougayrol that NIG₂ in the writing NIG₂-tuḥ-ḥu-um and its variants should be read as mu₈ (ibid., p. 318, ad l. 41’). This unusual value of NIG₂, primarily known from Syllabary A (MSL 3, 32, l. 257), likely originated in the rare Emesal equivalent /mun/ of the standard Sum. niḡ₂ “thing.”¹⁰⁾ However, in this instance, we propose a learned orthography, suggesting that Sum. mu₈-tuḥ-ḥum is a borrowing from Akk. *muthummu* rather than a native Sum. word.¹¹⁾ The peculiar orthography for the first syllable of this loanword was likely chosen to align it with niḡ₂-sa-ḥa, a more common Sum. equivalent of Akk. *muthummu*.¹²⁾ Unlike niḡ₂-sa-ḥa, which is well attested in both administrative and literary texts, this Akk. borrowing appears to be a rare literary lexeme (but see n. 7 about U₂.GIŠ.SAR in Ur III texts). Aside from its appearance in Ludiḡira’s Message and lexical lists, mu₈-tuḥ-ḥum is otherwise found only in the debate between Bird and Fish: gurun mu₈-tuḥ-ḥum (vars. mu₈-tuḥ-um, mu₈-du₁₀-ḥum) pu₂-ḡeš¹kiri₆-pu₂-ḡeš¹kiri₆ sa₂-du₁₁ gal-gal-ḡu₁₀-še₃ “Fruits and garden produce of each and every orchard (are) for my great daily offerings.”¹³⁾ It is possible that mu₈-tuḥ-ḥum was not fully synonymous with niḡ₂-sa-ḥa; as a borrowing, it may have carried a more restricted sense.¹⁴⁾ It may, for example, have referred to a specific garden fruit. However, the two cited occurrences are clearly insufficient to establish this definitely.

Notes

1. Attinger, P., *Glossaire sumérien-français, principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens*. 2nd ed. (rev. and enl.), <https://zenodo.org/records/8369441> (last accessed August 2025), p. 1037.
2. [U₂].¹mut-¹hu-um.GIŠ.SAR = mut-[¹hu-mu] (MSL 10, 87). In this entry, mut-¹hu-um appears to be a gloss on U₂.GIŠ.SAR. Cf. Hg. B 200 (MSL 10, 104), where the gloss is omitted: U₂.GIŠ.SAR = mu[¹t-¹hu-um-mu...].
3. Civil, M., The “Message of Lú-Dingir-ra to His Mother” and a Group of Akkado-Hittite “Proverbs,” *JNES* 23 (1964), p. 1–11; Çiğ, M., Kramer, S.N., The Ideal Mother: A Sumerian Portrait, *Belleten* 40 (1976), p. 413–421; ETCSL no. 5.5.1; Gadotti, A., A Woman Most Fair: Investigating *The Message of Ludingira to His Mother*, in A. Kleinerman, J.M. Sasson (eds.), *Why Should Someone Who Knows Something Conceal It? Cuneiform Studies in Honor of David I. Owen on His 70th Birthday*, Bethesda, 2010, p. 115–129.
4. Ni. 2759 (published by Çiğ and Kramer, op. cit.); AO 6330 (TCL 15, 39; CDLI no. P345383); LB 2112 (TLB 2, 5; CDLI no. P345844); CBS 1554 (Civil, op. cit., p. 6; CDLI no. P258887). CBS 1554 belongs to the Khabaza II collection (Civil, op. cit., p. 1, fn. 4). Thus, *contra* Gadotti (op. cit., p. 115), it does not come from Nippur (cf. Civil, RA 73 [1979], p. 93).
5. According to the copy, the *Winkelhaken* at the end of this sign are arranged in three rows, suggesting ta[h] rather than tu[h].
6. The variant reading guru₃^u-a in CBS 1554, which has gone strangely unnoticed by the editors, seems clear from both Civil’s copy and the photo in CDLI.
7. The existence of this composite may be inferred from Hh. XVII 121 (MSL 10, 87) and its Ugarit forerunner (MSL 10, 110, ll. 76–77), where Sum. u₂^{ges}kiri₆ corresponds to Akk. *šammū kirī* “garden plants.” It remains unclear whether U₂.GIŠ.SAR in Ur III documents, which usually occurs in the phrase nuḡun U₂.GIŠ.SAR “seeds of ...,” represents this composite or a logographic writing for NIG₂-tu₈-¹hu-mu. For U₂.GIŠ.SAR in Ur III texts, see Focke, K., *Der Garten in Neusumerischer Zeit*, AOAT 53, Münster, 2015, p. 290, fn. 2775.
8. The Boğazköy fragment preserves only the Akkadian and (very fragmentarily) Hittite translations of this line: *in-bu pa-an ša-at-ti mu-ut-¹hu-mu ni-is-sa₃-a-n[i]* = ‘mu¹.[...] IGI-z[i-...]’ (KUB 4, 97 i’ 7’–8’, ii’ 1’–2’).
9. Arnaud, D., *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936–2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien*, AulaOr. Suppl. 23, Sabadell–Barcelona, 2007, p. 180, l. 37, and his comment on p. 184; Viano, M., *The Reception of Sumerian Literature in the Western Periphery*, Venezia, 2016, p. 259, 261–262.
10. The existence of Emesal /mun/ = standard Sum. niḡ₂ is deducible from mu-un-¹ši-ma-al (= *šik-na-at n[a-pi]š-ti*) “living being” in Mayer, W.R., *Or.* NS 47 (1978), p. 432, l. 9. Outside the context of Emesal, a similar form is represented by mu-un-zi-ga-le (= *ši-ki-in na-pi₂-iš-tim*) in TIM 9, 35, l. 20 (RIME 3/2.1.2.38), a school tablet from Tell Harmal with a copy of a Sulgi inscription in syllabic Sumerian (for this interpretation, see Conti, G., *EVO* 16 [1993], p. 92, ad ll. 22–23). The reading of NIG₂ as niḡ₂ in the standard Sum. form niḡ₂-zi-¹ga₂ is confirmed by the writing ni-zi-¹ga₂-a[l¹] in TCL 15, 3, l. 5’ (Sulpae A 36). Cf. also Emesal mu-un-gur₁₁ which, alongside ma-an-gur₁₁, corresponds to the standard Sum. niḡ₂-gur₁₁ “property” (Attinger, *Glossaire*², p. 1026), and the variant mu-un-sila₁₁ for niḡ₂-sila₁₁ “dough” in a manuscript of the hymn to Ninkasi, ll. 13//15 (Civil, M., *FS Oppenheim*, p. 77). Cf. further Krecher, J., *Zum Emesal-Dialekt des Sumerischen*, in D.O. Edzard (ed.), *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient. Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966*, Heidelberg, 1967, p. 107, fn. 20.
11. Sum. mu₈-tu₈-¹hu-mu and its shortened variant /mut¹u(m)/ seem to represent the bare stem of the Akk. source lexeme. Presumably, the Akk. nominative ending -um was dropped due to haplology: /mut(u)ḡummu/ > /mut(u)ḡum/. This ending appears to be preserved in the variant mu₈-tu[h¹]-mu-um from Ni. 2759. For the insertion of the vowel /u/ in mu₈-tu₈-¹hu-mu, cf. perhaps Sum. ^{ges}du₂-lu-bu-um “plane tree” (Gudea Cyl. A xv 32; St. B v 57), borrowed from Akk. *dulbum* (in texts from Garšana, this loanword appears as ^{ges}du₂-ul-bu-um, see CUSAS 4, p. 40). The gemination of /h/ in the spelling mu₈-tu₈-¹hu-mu is purely orthographic.
12. That NIG₂ in this word should be read as niḡ₂ may be deduced from the Emesal form aḡ₂-sa-sa-ḡa (Kramer, S.N., *GS Finkelstein*, 140, l. 22). Civil (*JNES* 23, p. 8–9) suggests that both Akk. *mutḡummu* and Sum. niḡ₂-sa-ḡa are loanwords from a third language. Furthermore, he supposes that the hypothetical source word was borrowed into Sumerian first as niḡ₂-sa-ḡa and later reborrowed as niḡ₂-tu₈-¹hu-mu. With Attinger (*Glossaire*², p. 1115), we think it more likely that niḡ₂-sa-ḡa is a native Sum. word, consisting of niḡ₂ “thing” and the verbal root sa-ḡa (also occurring in the reduplicated form sa-sa-ḡa). This root might be compared with the rare literary adjective sa-sa-(ḡa), saḡ₆-saḡ₆ “radiant(?)” (ibid., p. 1116). Although Akk. *mutḡummu* has no convincing Semitic etymology, we believe that the phonetic similarity between *mutḡummu* and niḡ₂-sa-ḡa is insufficient to propose an etymological connection.
13. Hermann, S., Vogel und Fisch — *Ein sumerisches Rangstreitgespräch: Textedition und Kommentar*, Hamburg, 2010, p. 125, l. 77; Mittermayer, C., ‘Was sprach der eine zum anderen?’ *Argumentationsformen in den sumerischen Rangstreitgesprächen*, UAVA 15, Berlin–Boston, 2019, p. 250, l. 75.
14. Admittedly, the meanings of both Akk. *mutḡummu* and Sum. niḡ₂-sa-ḡa remain somewhat unclear. In particular, the precise difference between *mutḡummu*/niḡ₂-sa-ḡa and *inbu*/gurun is uncertain. For different opinions, see the references collected in Attinger, *Glossaire*², p. 1034, fn. 3630. Noteworthy is W. Farber’s suggestion that *mutḡummu* did not merely denote “garden fruit,” but “might have included the lush appearance of the foliage” (Farber, W., *Lamaštu*, MC 17, Winona Lake, 2014, p. 208, ad l. 63–64). This interpretation aligns well with the Hitt. translation *lahḡurnuzzi* “foliage, leafy branches, greenery (of trees or shrubs)” (CHD L–N 15) of Sum. /mut¹u/ = Akk. *mutḡummu*.

in *Ugaritica* V, no. 169, and further helps explain the variant guru_3^m -a in CBS 1554: “(My mother is) a spring fruit, bearing lush foliage.”

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66) Drinking Song: an Editorial Gloss — ROM 910x209.047 is a copy of the Drinking Song (CIVIL 1964; new translation in SALLABERGER 2012: 323-24); as far as I know the only exemplar that is not associated with Ninkasi A. The text was identified by me from photographs published on CDLI around 2011 (P416942); my edition appears in <http://oracc.org/epsd2/P416942>. The new tablet generally agrees with the previously known texts (see the composite in ETCSL text 5.5.a), but offers an interesting variant in line 16. For this line, the only complete version is found in AO 5385 (TCL 15, 20) r 11 which has therefore been adopted as the *textus receptus*:

- 11. šeg_{12} nam-tar-ra a de_2 -a-zu
- 12. ki-tuš he_2 - ηal_2 -la ki us_2 -sa-zu
- 13. ^dnin -ka-si za-da hu-mu- u_8 -da-an-ti $_3$

when you have poured water over the destiny brick,
when you have established your dwelling in abundance,
may then Ninkasi live there with you.

The A in **de_2 -a-zu** was omitted by Genouillac in his copy, but is clearly visible in the CDLI photograph (P345364). The reading ki-tuš, “dwelling,” rather than **silim-ma** “in health” (CIVIL 1964 and ETCSL) in the second line was proposed by SALLABERGER 2012: 323.

The ROM text (r 1-3) offers instead:

- [šeg_{12}] $^1\text{nam}^1$ -[tar]-ra e_2 du_3 -a-za
- [ki-tuš] he_2 - ηal_2 -la ki us_2 -sa-a-za
- [^dnin -k]a-si za-da he_2 -da-an-ti $_3$

when you have built the house on the destiny brick,
when you have established your dwelling in abundance,
may then Ninkasi live there with you.

The only other source that preserves (part of) the first line of this passage is Ni 4569 (ISET 1, 119 r ii 30) which may now be read [...] **e_2 du_3 -a-za**, agreeing with the version in the ROM tablet. What is more interesting is that AO 5385 includes the variant, too (by now the majority variant) in the form of a gloss. The gloss is written just under the line and had successfully evaded decipherment so far (CIVIL 1964: 72 ad line 63; SÖVEGJÁRTÓ 2020: 143 read **e ta $_3$ -a**). Inspection of the CDLI photograph shows that the gloss may well be read **e_2 du_3 -a** (the extra wedges around the DU_3 , which may have prompted Sövegjártó’s reading, belong to the DE_2 above) which means that this is either a correction, or the notation of a variant - in both cases a rare usage of glosses in the Old Babylonian period (SÖVEGJÁRTÓ 2020: 121-24).

Since the word for water was likely pronounced /e/ (often written **e** or **e_2** in Old Babylonian unorthographic texts) the variant **a de_2 -a-zu** may be understood as an auditory error, either external (from dictation) or internal (from memory retrieval).

CIVIL, Miguel, 1964, “A Hymn to the Beer Goddess and a Drinking Song.” In: R. D. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman (eds.), *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964*, 67-89.

SALLABERGER, Walther, 2012, “Bierbrauen in Versen: Eine neue Edition und Interpretation der Ninkasi-Hymne.” In: Catherine Mittermayer and Sabine Ecklin (eds.), *Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger* (OBO 256), 291-328.

SÖVEGJÁRTÓ, Szilvia, 2020, *Sumerische Glossenhandschriften als Quellen des altbabylonischen hermeneutischen Denkens* (Dubsar 18).

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67) Une nouvelle tablette de comptabilité de Drehem (Collection privée) —

Historique

Cette tablette de 12 x 10 cm, conservée dans des collections privées depuis sa venue en France, n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une publication¹⁾. La facture lui étant associée, datée de 1910, est émise par les frères Indjoudjan. Ces derniers, citoyens ottomans d'origine arménienne, étaient connus à Paris depuis leur installation en 1908 dans le cadre de leur activité d'antiquaires. La même facture précise l'acheteur : M. Julien Bessonneau (1842-1916). Cet industriel angevin se constitua une importante collection privée d'antiquités orientales et égyptiennes.

Provenance

Bien que renseignée par les frères Indjoudjan comme provenant de la ville de Mardin, la tablette provient de Drehem comme l'onomastique de la tablette et l'élément calendaire le confirment.

Commentaire

La tablette d'époque Ur III est datée de la 6^e année du roi Amar-Sin (col. VIII, ligne 11). L'expression de l'année est une forme abrégée de « l'année durant laquelle Sašru fut détruite pour la seconde fois ». Le mois d'Akiti (col. VIII, ligne 10) est un mois spécifique à la ville de Drehem.

Grande tablette administrative, elle liste des opérations de comptabilisation de troupeaux sous la supervision d'administrateurs. Ce format multi-colonnes centralise la comptabilité journalière de tablettes de plus petit format sur une échelle mensuelle. Les comptes journaliers sont ainsi recopiés et portés sur une tablette pour couvrir un mois entier²⁾.

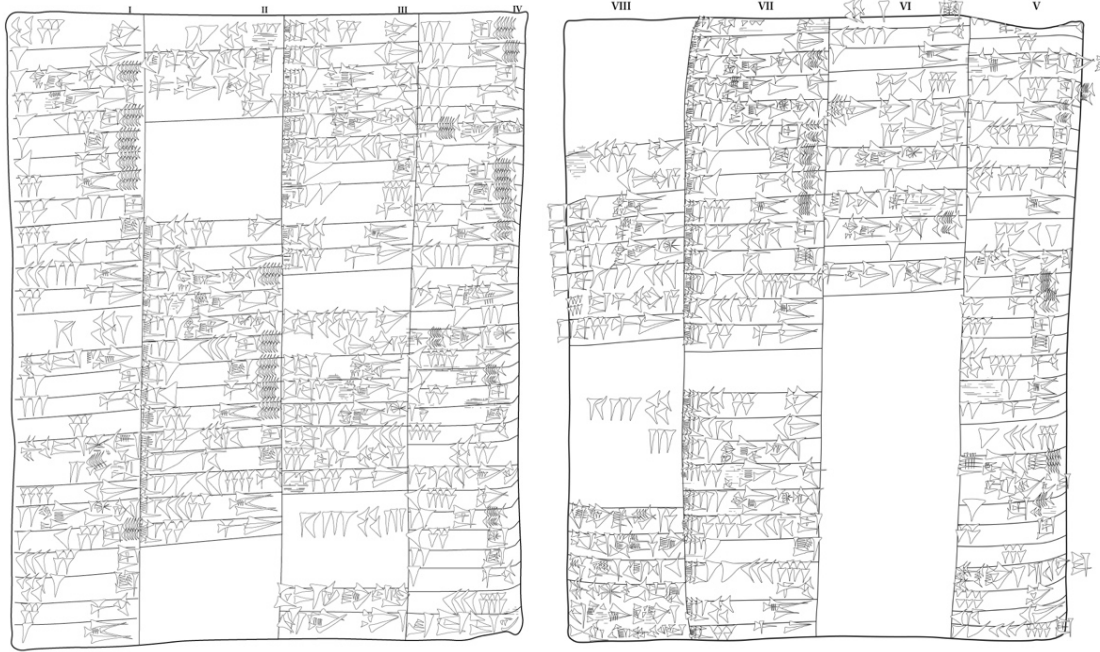
L'onomastique de la tablette ne mentionne que des administrateurs, tous bien connus à Drehem pour le règne d'Amar-Sin. Si la plupart des noms sont sumériens, d'autres sont sémitiques (comme Uda-mišarem).

Une certaine symétrie définit la tablette. Après une première somme aux dénominations précises suit une seconde comptabilité aux catégories plus larges, précédant à son tour un troisième calcul dont la classification semble phylogénétique (bovinés ensemble, caprinés regroupés). Différentes parts sont ensuite annoncées et rattachées à chaque administrateur et dont le total vaut la somme calculée par trois fois en début de tablette. Reviennent ensuite (créant une symétrie) les trois comptabilités de début de tablettes dans le même ordre.

Photos (avers et revers)



Apographies (avers et revers)



Transcription

Avers

Col. I

1. 4(u) 5(diš) gu₄
2. 1(diš) ab₂
3. 1(diš) dur₃ niga
4. 4(diš) šeg₉-bar munus
5. 1(geš₂) 1(u) 5(diš) udu niga
6. 1(diš) u₈ niga
7. 1(u) maš₂ niga
8. 6(diš) ud₅ niga
9. 5(geš₂) 1(u) 2(diš) udu
10. 8(diš) u₈
11. 2(geš₂) 2(u) maš₂
12. 3(u) 3(diš) ud₅
13. 5(diš) maš-da₃
14. 1(geš'u) 4(u) 1(diš)
15. mu-du lugal
16. 2(diš) udu
17. 3(diš) maš₂
18. 5(diš)
19. mu-du ⁴šul-gi-ra
20. 8(diš) ab₂
21. 2(diš) ^{anše}kunga₂-ninta₂
22. 1(geš₂) 1(u) 5(diš) udu niga
23. 3(u) 5(diš) udu
24. 5(u) 1(diš) [u₈] ?
25. 5(diš) maš₂
26. 1(diš) ud₅

Col. II

1. 2(geš₂) 5(u) 8(diš)
2. ki ensi₂ u₃ šabra-ne-ta
3. šunigin 4(u) 5(diš) gu₄
4. šunigin 1(u) la₂ ab₂
5. šunigin 1(diš) dur₃ niga
6. šunigin 4(diš) šeg₉-bar munus
7. šunigin 2(diš) ^{anše}kunga₂-nita₂
8. šunigin 2(geš₂) 3(u) udu niga
9. šunigin 1(diš) u₈ niga
10. šunigin 1(u) maš₂ niga
11. šunigin 6(diš) ud₅ niga
12. šunigin 5(geš₂) 5(u) la₂ udu
13. šunigin 1(diš) la₂ u₈
14. šunigin 2(geš₂) 2(u) 8(diš) maš₂
15. šunigin 3(u) 4(diš) ud₅
16. šunigin 5(diš) maš-da₃

Col. III

1. šunigin 4(u) 5(diš) gu₄
2. šunigin 1(u) la₂
3. šunigin 1(diš) dur₃
4. šunigin 4(diš) šeg₉-bar munus
5. šunigin 2(diš) ^{anše}kunga₂-nita₂
6. šunigin 8(geš₂) 2(u) la₂ udu
7. šunigin 1(geš₂) u₈
8. šunigin 2(geš₂) 3(u) 8(diš) maš₂
9. šunigin 4(u) ud₅
10. šunigin 5(diš) maš-da₃
11. nigin₂-ba 5(u) 4(diš) gu₄ ab₂ ħi.a
12. nigin₂-ba 1(diš) anše
13. nigin₂-ba 4(diš) šeg₉-bar
14. nigin₂-ba 2(diš)
15. nigin₂-ba 1(geš'u) 2(geš₂) 3(u) 7(diš) udu maš₂ ħi.a
16. nigin₂-ba 5(diš) maš-da₃
17. 1(geš'u) 3(geš₂) 4(u) 3(diš)
18. sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam
19. ša₃-bi-ta

Col. IV

1. 3(diš) udu niga
2. 3(diš) ud₅ niga
3. 1(u) 2(diš) udu
4. 3(diš) maš₂
5. 3(diš) maš-da₃
6. zi-ga lugal
7. 2(diš) gu₄
8. 5(diš) udu niga
9. 1(diš) u₈ niga
10. 6(diš) maš₂ niga
11. 1(diš) ud₅ niga
12. 2(u) 3(diš) udu
13. 1(geš₂) maš₂
14. nig₂-ba lugal
15. 1(geš₂) 3(diš)
16. zi-ga-am₃
17. 1(u) 8(diš) gu₄
18. 2(diš) udu niga
19. 1(u) 4(diš) udu
20. 2(diš) u₈
21. 8(diš) maš₂
22. 4(u) 4(diš)
23. a-ħu-we-er i₃-dab₅
24. 1(u) 8(diš) gu₄
25. 2(diš) udu niga
26. 1(u) 5(diš) udu
27. 2(diš) u₈
28. 1(diš) maš₂
29. 3(u) 8(diš)
30. šu-ma-ma i₃-dab₅

Revers

Col. VIII

1. 5(u) 4(diš) gu₄ ab₂ ħi.a
2. nigin₂-ba 1(diš) anše
3. nigin₂-ba 4(diš) šeg₉-bar
4. nigin₂-ba 2(diš)
anše kunga₂
5. nigin₂-ba 1(geš'u)
- 2(geš₂) 3(u) 7(diš) udu
maš₂ ħi.a
6. nigin₂-ba 5(diš) maš-
da₃
7. 1(geš'u) 3(geš₂) 4(u)
3(diš)
8. ki-be₂ gi₄-a
9. ab-ba-sa₆-ga
10. iti a₂-ki-ti
11. mu^damar^dsuen lugal-
e ša-aš-ru^{ki} mu-ħul

Col. VII

1. šunigin 4(u) 5(diš) gu₄
2. šunigin 1(u) la₂ ab₂
3. šunigin 1(geš₂) dur₃
niga
4. šunigin 4(diš) šeg₉-bar
munus
5. šunigin 2(diš)
anše kunga₂-ninta₂
6. šunigin 2(geš₂) 3(u)
udu niga
7. šunigin 1(diš) u₈ niga
8. šunigin 1(u) maš₂ niga
9. šunigin 6(diš) ud₅ niga
10. šunigin 5(geš₂) 5(u)
la₂ udu
11. šunigin 1(diš) la₂ u₈
12. šunigin 2(geš₂) 2(u)
8(diš) maš₂
13. šunigin 3(u) 4(diš) ud₅
14. šunigin 5(diš) maš-da₃
15. šunigin 4(u) 5(diš) gu₄
16. šunigin 1(u) la₂ ab₂
17. šunigin 1(geš₂) dur₃
18. šunigin 4(diš) šeg₉-bar
munus
19. šunigin 2(diš)
anše kunga₂-ninta₂
20. šunigin 8(geš₂) 2(u)
la₂ udu
21. šunigin 1(geš₂) u₈
22. šunigin 2(geš₂) 3(u)
8(diš) maš₂
23. šunigin 4(u) ud₅
24. šunigin 5(diš) maš-da₃

Col. VI

1. 5(u) 1(diš) [u₈][?]
2. 3(u) 2(diš) maš₂
3. 1(diš) ud₅
4. 4(geš₂) 1(u) 8(diš)
5. in-ta-e₃-a i₃-dab₅
6. 2(diš) anše kunga₂-ninta₂
7. 2(diš)
8. šu-er₃.ra i₃-dab₅
9. 1(diš) niga
10. 1(diš) dur₃
11. Šabra ib₂-dab₅

Col. V

1. [...]
2. 4(diš)
3. lu₂-dingir-ra i₃-dab₅
4. 2(geš₂) 1(u) 5(diš) udu
niga
5. 2(diš) ud₅ niga
6. 1(geš₂) 5(u) 5(diš) udu
7. 2(diš) u₈
8. 5(u) 6(diš) maš₂
9. 1(diš) ud₅
10. 5(geš₂) 1(u) 1(diš)
11. na-lu₅ i₃-dab₅
12. 1(diš) udu niga
13. 4(diš) maš₂ niga
14. 8(diš) udu
15. 2(diš) u₈
16. 4(u) 7(diš) maš₂
17. [...] 2(diš) ud₅
18. 2(diš) maš-da₃
19. 1(geš₂) 3(u) 6(diš)
20. u₂-da-mi-šar-ra-am i₃-
dab₅
21. 1(geš₂) udu niga
22. 4(diš) udu
23. 6(diš)
24. taħ-ša-tal i₃-dab₅
25. 7(diš) gu₄
26. 1(u) la₂ ab₂
27. 2(geš₂) 3(u) 8(diš) udu

Traduction

Avers

Col. I

1. 45 bœufs,
2. 1 vache,
3. 1 âne mâle nourri aux
céréales,
4. 4 daines,
5. 75 moutons nourris aux
céréales,
6. 1 brebis nourrie aux
céréales,
7. 10 boucs nourris aux
céréales,
8. 6 biques nourries aux
céréales,
9. 312 moutons,
10. 8 brebis,
11. 140 boucs,
12. 33 biques,
13. 5 gazelles,
14. (pour un total de) 641,

Col. II

1. (pour un total de) 177,
2. (vient) du gouverneur
et des gestionnaires.
3. Total de 45 bœufs,
4. total de 10 moins 1
vaches,
5. total de 1 âne mâle
nourri aux céréales,
6. total de 4 daines,
7. total de 2 ânes-*kunga*
mâles,
8. total de 150 moutons
nourris aux céréales,
9. total d'1 brebis nourrie
aux céréales,
10. total de 10 boucs
nourris aux céréales,
11. total de 6 biques
nourries aux céréales,

Col. III

1. total de 45 bœufs,
2. total de 10 moins 1
vaches,
3. total de 1 âne mâle,
4. total de 4 daines,
5. total de 2 ânes-*kunga*
mâles,
6. total de 500 moins 1
moutons,
7. total de 60 brebis,
8. total de 158 boucs,
9. total de 40 biques,
10. total de 5 gazelles.
11. En tout : 54 bœufs et
vaches,
12. En tout : 1 âne,
13. en tout : 4 daims,
14. en tout : 2 ânes-
kunga,

Col. IV

1. 3 moutons nourris aux
céréales,
2. 3 biques nourries aux
céréales,
3. 12 moutons,
4. 3 boucs,
5. 3 gazelles.
6. (sont la) déduction du
roi,
7. 2 bœufs,
8. 5 moutons nourris aux
céréales,
9. 1 brebis nourrie aux
céréales,
10. 6 boucs nourris aux
céréales,
11. 1 bique nourrie aux
céréales,
12. 23 moutons,

15. (est) la livraison royale.
16. 2 moutons,
17. 3 boucs,
18. (pour un total de) 5,
19. (est) la livraison de Šulgi.
20. 8 vaches,
21. 2 ânes-*kunga* mâles,
22. 75 moutons nourris aux céréales,
23. 35 moutons,
24. 51 brebis,
25. 5 boucs,
26. 1 bique,

12. total de 350 moins 1 moutons,
13. total de 60 moins 1 brebis
14. total de 148 boucs,
15. total de 34 biques,
16. total de 5 gazelles,

15. en tout : 757 moutons et boucs,
16. en tout : 5 gazelles,
17. (pour un total de) 823,
18. sont le dû
19. d'ici.

13. 1 bouc,
14. (sont les) cadeaux du roi,
15. (pour un total de) 63
16. comptabilisés.
17. 18 bœufs,
18. 2 moutons nourris aux céréales,
19. 14 moutons,
20. 2 brebis nourris aux céréales,
21. 8 boucs,
22. (pour un total de) 44,
23. Aḫū-wēr a accepté.
24. 18 bœufs,
25. 2 moutons nourris aux céréales,
26. 15 moutons,
27. 2 brebis,
28. 1 bouc,
29. (pour un total de) 38,
30. Šu-mama a accepté.

Revers

Col. VIII

1. [En tout] 54 bœufs et vaches,
2. en tout 1 âne,
3. en tout 4 daims
4. en tout 2 ânes-*kunga*,
5. en tout 757 moutons et boucs,
6. en tout 5 gazelles,
7. (pour un total de) 823,
8. ont été retournés à leur place
9. (par) Abbasaga.
10. Mois d'Akiti,
11. l'année « Amar-Sin, roi, détruisit šašru ».

Col. VII

1. Total de 45 bœufs,
2. total de 10 moins 1 vaches,
3. total d'1 âne mâle nourri aux céréales,
4. total de 4 daines,
5. total de 2 ânes-*kunga*,
6. total de 150 moutons nourris aux céréales,
7. total d'1 brebis nourrie aux céréales,
8. total de 10 boucs nourris aux céréales,
9. total de 6 biques nourries aux céréales,
10. total de 350 moins 1 moutons,
11. total de 60 moins 1 brebis,
12. total de 148 boucs,
13. total de 34 biques,
14. total de 5 gazelles,
15. total de 45 bœufs,
16. total de 10 moins 1 vaches,
17. total d'1 âne mâle,
18. total de 4 daines,
19. total de 2 ânes-*kunga*,
20. total de 500 moins 1 mouton,
21. total de 60 brebis,
22. total de 158 boucs,
23. total de 40 biques,
24. total de 5 gazelles.

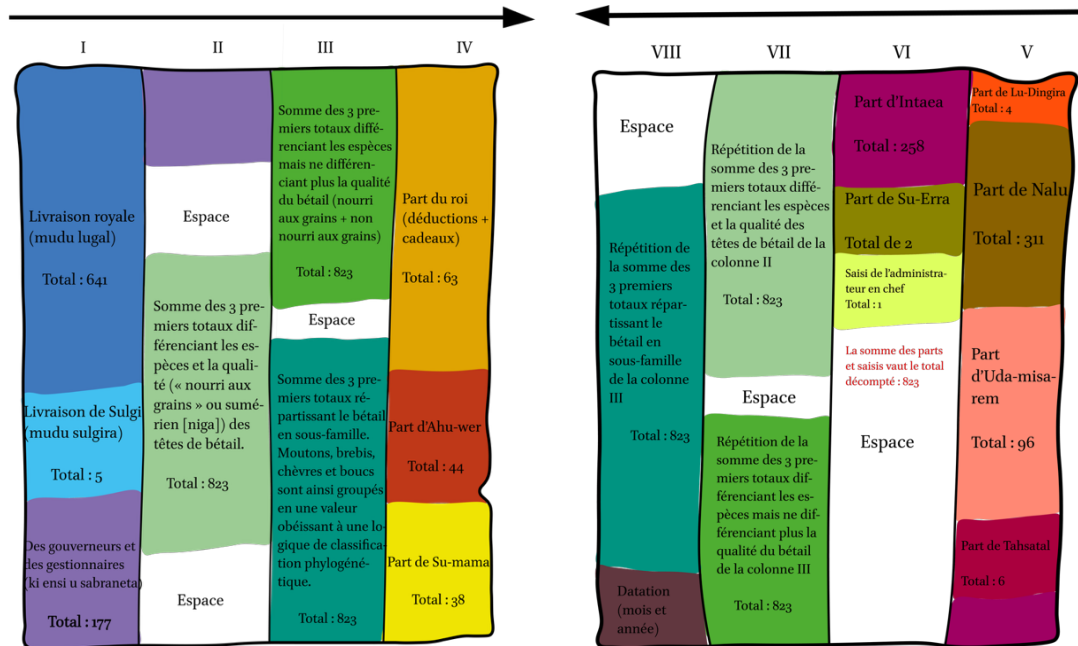
Col. VI

1. 51 (brebis), ?
2. 32 boucs,
3. 1 bique,
4. (pour un total de) 258,
5. Intaea a accepté.
6. 2 ânes-*kunga* mâles,
7. (pour un total de) 2,
8. Šu-Erra a accepté.
9. 1 âne mâle nourri aux céréales,
10. (pour un total de) 1,
11. l'administrateur en chef a saisi.

Col. V

1. [...]
2. (pour un total de) 4,
3. Lu-Dingira a accepté.
4. 135 moutons nourris aux céréales,
5. 2 biques nourries aux céréales,
6. 115 moutons,
7. 2 brebis,
8. 56 boucs,
9. 1 bique,
10. (pour un total de) 311
11. Nalu a accepté.
12. 1 mouton nourri aux céréales,
13. 4 boucs nourris aux céréales,
14. 8 moutons,
15. 2 brebis,
16. 47 boucs,
17. [92] biques,
18. 2 gazelles,
19. (pour un total de) 96,
20. Uda-mišarem a accepté.
21. [2] moutons nourris aux céréales,
22. 4 moutons,
23. (pour un total de) 6,
24. Taḫšatal a accepté.
25. 7 bœufs,
26. 10 moins 1 vaches,
27. 158 moutons.

Structure



Notes

1. Une partie de la collection de M. BESSONNEAU fut publiée en 1911 par M. Louis Joseph Delaporte dans un article. Bien qu'acquise en 1910, cette tablette ne figure pas dans la liste de celles publiées. Voir Delaporte, L. J., 1911, « Tablettes de Dréhem », RA 8, p. 183-198.

2. La tablette A 04527 de l'*Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures* de Chicago offre l'exemple unique d'une tablette de comptabilité mensuelle provenant de Drehem ainsi que des tablettes journalières de plus petite comptabilité qu'elle compile.

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68) About the publication of the terracotta U.1375, from Diqdiqqeh — In the 1920s, Leonard Woolley (1880-1960) made some tentative approaches to Diqdiqqeh, a settlement in the outskirts of Ur, where he was leading the archaeological campaigns promoted by the British Museum and the Penn Museum. The report of the 1923-1924 season, published in 1925 in *The Antiquaries Journal*, was closed with the following words: “the Diqdiqqeh site is of great importance for the wealth of small objects which it continues to produce, objects of a kind not generally common in temple or house ruins and illustrating in an unusual way the religious ideas and the domestic life of the period to which they belong” (WOOLLEY 1925: 20). This same idea, that of the “wealth of small objects”, was pointed out again in UE VII, where it was stated that the site “yielded several times as many terracottas as the whole of the rest of Ur produced in the course of twelve years’ work” (WOOLLEY and MALLOWAN 1976: 85). However, also in UE VII, the modest site of Diqdiqqeh was introduced in these terms: “The site was disappointing - it was indeed precisely what had been foretold to us by the men who had previously started digging there on their own account. [...] At the end of a few days it was evident that the work was a waste of money” (WOOLLEY and MALLOWAN 1976: 82). It is clear, then, that despite their abundance, over the years the terracottas were considered second-rate materials, insignificant for historical research. It can be inferred that perhaps the somewhat more positive assessment of the 1925 publication, if compared to the 1976 one, was related to the desire to continue obtaining permits and funding, rather than genuine interest.

Fortunately, this has changed in the 21st century, as demonstrated by volumes such as *Goddesses in Context. On Divine Powers, Roles, Relationships and Gender in Mesopotamian Textual and Visual Sources*, by Julia Asher-Greve and Joan Goodnick Westenholz (2013). In this volume terracottas, including

those from Diqdiqqeh, take centre stage. However, as inevitably happens in publications that deal with large numbers of sources, it is easy for errors to creep in between the excavation number and the museum number. As far as I know, one of these mistakes has not been corrected in the reviews published of the volume (for a list, see <https://vergil.uni-tuebingen.de/keibi/Record/KEI00127443>), nor through other media, so I am pointing it out here for anyone interested in this collection of pieces.

The caption of figure 93 (ASHER-GREVE and WESTENHOLZ 2013: 426) shows indeed the terracotta at the Penn Museum, Philadelphia, with museum number CBS 15633. However, the U number, that is the excavation ID assigned by Woolley, is U.1375, rather than U.6846, as indicated in the same caption. Both terracottas are quite similar, as can be seen in plate 80 of UET VII, where U.1375 and U.6846 are shown together with numbers 144 and 147 respectively. The archival materials made available through the Ur Online project (<http://ur.iaas.upenn.edu/subject/1432/>) also corroborates this correspondence U.1375 = CBS 15633.

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- ASHER-GREVE, J. M. and J. G. WESTENHOLZ, 2013, *Goddesses in Context. On Divine Powers, Roles, Relationships and Gender in Mesopotamian Textual and Visual Sources*, OBO 259, Fribourg – Göttingen.
- WOOLLEY, L., 1925, "The Excavations at Ur, 1923-1924", *The Antiquaries Journal* V (1), p. 1-20.
- WOOLLEY, L. and M. MALLOWAN, 1976, *Ur Excavations vol VII: The Old Babylonian Period*. London – Philadelphia: British Museum Publications.

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69) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 41 : la provenance du contrat FM 43 (TJAUB, pl. XVII) et un nouveau nom d'année de Kisurra — Ce petit contrat (tablette et enveloppe) concernant l'échange de champs a surtout attiré l'attention par son nom d'année inhabituel : MU ÚS.SA I₇ SUMUN BA.BA.AL « Année suivant celle où (le roi) a creusé le canal ... ». É. Szlechter (*TJAUB*, p. 52 n. 2) a restauré le nom du canal comme SUMUN.<DAR>, en proposant qu'il s'agit d'une année suivant soit AS 4 soit Ha 8. Cet avis a été adopté par F. al-Rawi (*ZA* 83, p. 26), et par la suite l'identification avec AS 5 a été canonisée par M. Horsnell, *Year Names* II, p. 79.

À l'époque de la publication du texte, sa provenance ne pouvait pas être établie. Aujourd'hui, une simple recherche dans ARCHIBAB a permis de trouver un parallèle remarquable : les deux participants du contrat, *a-wi-lu-ma* et *iš-me-eh-ba-la*¹⁾, ainsi que les témoins *za-a-zum* et *uš-ta-aš-ni-DINGIR*, apparaissent, tous en tant que témoins, dans *Santag* 9 221, un document de Kisurra daté de Sumu-El 16. La tablette FM 43, acquise en 1904, provient donc de Kisurra²⁾.

Le nom d'année de FM 43 n'a donc rien à voir avec les rois de Babylone et se lit simplement : « Année suivant celle où (le roi) a (re)creusé le vieux canal ». La solution la plus évidente est de le considérer comme une variante de Sumu-El 8 : MU ÚS.SA I₇ LUGAL.(d)EN.ZU BA.BA.AL, concernant un canal nommé Šarrum-Sîn. En même temps, la formule MU I₇ (nom du canal) BA.BA.AL était populaire chez les rois éphémères de Kisurra : on connaît pas moins de quatre noms d'année de ce genre (A. Goddeeris, *Santag* 9, p. 19–22). Il est vrai qu'en ce cas la distance chronologique entre les deux documents devient plus considérable, mais une telle identification n'a non plus rien d'impossible.

Notes

1. Ce dernier a scellé la tablette et l'enveloppe. La légende, très claire sur la photo de *CDLI* (P162223), se lit DUMU *ba-zi-zum* / *iš-me-eh-ba-la*. Pour d'autres exemples de légendes de sceau où le patronyme précède le nom voir D. Charpin, *RA* 73, p. 128-129, B. Alexandrov, « On Some Old Babylonian Tablets in the Collection of the State Hermitage », in : D. Charpin & A. Jacquet (éd.), *Archibab 6. Archives paléo-babyloniennes : 150 ans de publications et d'études (1872-2022)*, Mémoires de NABU 24, Paris, 2025, sous presse.

2. La date d'acquisition ne donne que le *terminus ante quem* pour la trouvaille de la tablette : comme il est évident du catalogue de *TJAUB*, la collection cunéiforme du Fitzwilliam Museum a commencé avec l'achat d'un lot de tablettes hétérogènes en 1904, qui provenaient sans doute de propriétaires intermédiaires. Aucun autre texte de la collection du Fitzwilliam Museum, qui contient surtout des documents de la Babylonie du Nord datés de Samsu-iluna, ne semble au premier regard provenir de Kisurra. Des candidats possibles sont la lettre *AbB* 10 143 (cf. la photo *CDLI* P448690) et la liste non-datée des noms propres FM 42 (*TJAUB*, pl. XLII). Ils ne contiennent pas de repères

géographiques ou prosopographiques clairs, mais leur écriture indiquerait une date pré-Hammu-rabi. Leurs numéros d'acquisition, E 81-1904 et E 82-1904, sont contigus à celui de FM 43 (E 80-1904).

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70) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 42 : dons et ventes de terres par les rois, quelques ajouts — Voici quelques années, j'avais fait le point sur les actes royaux paléo-babyloniens par lesquels un souverain donnait ou vendait une terre à un individu, qu'il s'agisse d'Isin, de Babylone ou du Moyen-Euphrate (Mari, Terqa)¹⁾. Je me suis depuis rendu compte de quelques ajouts possibles.

Le premier concerne le royaume d'Ešnunna. Il s'agit d'un lot d'une soixantaine de contrats de vente de terrains (champs ou maisons), échelonnés entre les règnes de Ušur-awassu et de Warassa, soit environ de 1950 à 1850 av. J.-C. et dont l'existence a été commentée par R. Whiting²⁾. Dans un certain nombre de cas, le vendeur n'est autre que le roi : à la place du nom du vendeur (KI PN), on trouve de manière anonyme KI LUGAL.(LA.)KA.TA « (Un Tel a acheté) au roi ». Dans les contrats ordinaires, le sceau du/des vendeur(s) (de type « BUR.GUL ») est imprimé à la suite de la liste des témoins, à côté du sceau personnel d'un *šassukkum* (s'il s'agit d'un champ) ou d'un *kakikkum* (s'il s'agit d'une maison). Mais la situation est différente lorsque le vendeur est le roi : le sceau de celui-ci n'est pas imprimé, de sorte que celui du *šassukkum* ou du *kakikkum* l'est deux fois. On espère que ces contrats seront publiés dans un futur pas trop éloigné³⁾.

Le second ajout a trait au royaume de Larsa. On trouve en effet la mention d'un don du roi dans un contrat appartenant aux archives d'Amurru-šemi⁴⁾. Il s'agit d'un échange de champs, daté de l'année 45 de Rim-Sin I, dans lequel la première parcelle est ainsi décrite : ⁽¹⁾ *aš-šum 0,1.1 GÁN A.ŠÀ ša a-a-bu-um* ⁽²⁾ *ša šar-ru-um a-na* ^(d) *MAR.TU-še-mi* ⁽³⁾ *id-di-nu* etc. (Limet Mél. Finet 11 = archibab.fr/T4393). Le contrat, rédigé en akkadien, ne reproduit pas les formules sumériennes habituelles de ce genre de texte. On retiendra la mention du fait qu'Amurru-šemi cède un champ qui lui a été donné par le roi : en insérant cette relative, le rédacteur voulait sans doute écarter le danger d'une confusion avec un champ attribué en bénéfice au titre d'un *ilkum*, par nature inaliénable. Jusqu'à présent, sauf erreur de ma part, aucun contrat de don d'une terre par un roi de Larsa n'a été publié. Le présent texte permet de savoir que la pratique existait également dans ce royaume.

En ce qui concerne Mari, on peut relever le texte de comptabilité qui enregistre l'apport de 100 ovins par le dignitaire bien connu Yassi-Dagan « lorsque le roi lui eut donné un champ »⁵⁾. On ignore l'étendue et la valeur de la terre donnée par Zimri-Lim. Si l'on compte un minimum de 1 sicla d'argent par mouton, le total du contre-don effectué par Yassi-Dagan se monte à 1 mine 40 sicles, ce qui n'est pas négligeable.

Notes

1. D. Charpin, « Dons ou ventes de terres par les rois à l'époque paléo-babylonienne », dans G. Neumann, S. Paulus & K. Kleber (éd.), *Grenzüberschreitungen. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Hans Neumann anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 9. Mai 2018*, dubsar 5, Münster, 2018, p. 99-142.

2. R. M. Whiting, « Sealing Practices on House and Land Sale Documents at Ešnunna in the Isin-Larsa Period », dans McG. Gibson & R. D. Biggs (éd.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, BiMes 6, Malibu, 1977, p. 67-74. Voir depuis C. D. Reichel, « Seals and Sealings at Tell Asmar: A New Look at an Ur III to Early Old Babylonian Palace », dans W. W. Hallo & I. J. Winter (éd.), *Seals and Seal Impressions. Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Part II Yale University, Bethesda, 2001*, p. 101-131 (p. 126-130).

3. Le volume de textes juridiques annoncé par R. Whiting (BiMes 6, p. 74 n. 2) n'a jamais paru jusqu'à présent.

4. H. Limet, « Amurru-šemi, propriétaire foncier à Larsa », dans M. Lebeau & P. Talon (éd.), *Reflets des deux fleuves, volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet*, Akkadica Supplementum 6, Louvain, 1989, p. 99-111. Voir tous les textes à l'adresse archibab.fr/A28.

5. ARM 7 137 archibab.fr/T29596 : (3) *i-nu-ma* LUGAL (4) *A.ŠÀ id-di-nu-šu-um*.

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71) En marge de PCEHM, 8 : Repas du roi à Tuttul à l'époque de Samsī-Addu, *KTU* 82 et *KTU* 310 — Parmi les textes trouvés à Tell Bi'a (l'ancienne Tuttul) et édités par M. Krebernik (2001), plusieurs tablettes documentent l'alimentation d'un roi (Yasmah-Addu ou peut-être Samsī-Addu). Il s'agit par exemple de *KTU* 82, *KTU* 83, *KTU* 120 ou encore des textes *KTU* 307 à *KTU* 315 (cf. KREBERNIK 2001, p. 194-195, § V.4.2 pour une liste complète et un commentaire). Ce sont pour la plupart des tablettes du type « repas du roi » (NÍG.GUB LUGAL) enregistrant en particulier la distribution de grain, de pain ou de bière.

Plusieurs d'entre elles sont très abîmées, mais il est possible, grâce aux photos des tablettes de Tell Bi'a disponibles sur le site du CDLI (*Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*), et à l'aide de textes parallèles de Chagar Bazar, de proposer de nouvelles restitutions.

En effet, Chagar Bazar (l'antique Ašnakkum) a livré plusieurs textes enregistrant les repas de Yasmah-Addu lors de sa présence dans la ville pour recenser les Bédouins en Addu-bāni (cf. la liste réunie dans TALON 1997, p. 15-16 ; pour le contexte historique, cf. CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003, p. 128-130 ; voir aussi LACAMBRE 2016). D'autre part, plusieurs textes de « repas du « maître » » (NÍG.GUB LÚ), Šin-iqīšam, le dirigeant de la région autour de Chagar Bazar (cf. LACAMBRE 2019, p. 529-530, § 3.4), peuvent aussi être utilisés car ils possèdent une structure similaire à ceux des « repas du roi » (cf. LACAMBRE & MILLET ALBÀ 2008, p. 221-238). Pour le royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie (à la différence du règne de Zimrī-Līm), la documentation de Mari en ce domaine est beaucoup moins abondante. En effet, peu de textes de « repas du roi » nous sont parvenus pour le règne de Yasmah-Addu, en tout cas parmi les tablettes publiées à l'heure actuelle (sur ce sujet et sur l'alimentation royale à Mari, une étude très complète a été réalisée par J. Sasson en 2004 à laquelle je renvoie).

La tablette *KTU* 82 enregistrait les denrées fournies à Tuttul pour un repas de Yasmah-Addu et de sa troupe le 3/ii*/warki Addu-bāni (correspondant à l'éponyme Tāb-šilli-Aššur). Le texte est très abîmé (copie : KREBERNIK 2001, pl. 14 et photo : CDLI P392717) et le détail des aliments consommés est en partie perdu. Cependant, à l'aide des photos, de la copie, en tenant compte des collations déjà proposées pour les lignes 7 et 11 (cf. DURAND & MARTI, 2004, p. 131) et en s'appuyant sur les textes parallèles de Chagar Bazar (cf. ci-dessous), on pourrait proposer la lecture suivante de *KTU* 82 (les nouvelles propositions de restitutions dans les cassures sont ici soulignées) :

(1) 1 (BÁN) 8*1 [qa NINDA SAG] (2) [1 (BARIGA) 2 (BÁN)] 5 qa NINDA [ÚS] (3) 1 (BARIGA) 5 (BÁN) NINDA GU (4) 1 pá-an NINDA ŠE (5) [...] qa N[Ī*].ĀR.RA] (T.6) 2 (BÁN)*1 ar-sà-n[u*] [une ligne blanche] (R.7) ŠU.NIGIN 1 1/2 GUR 4 (BÁN)* 8 qa NINDA {ŠĪ* IP* KU*} (8) 2 (BÁN)*1 [...] qa ši-ip-ku (9) NÍG.GUB LUGAL à 3a-bi-im (10) [ITI ki-nu]-nim U₄ 3-kam (11) li-mu [š]a* EGIR* dĪŠKUR-ba*-ni] (T.) [anépigraphe] (T.L.) [anépigraphe]

(1) 18 [qa de pain de bonne qualité], (2) [8] 5 qa de pain [ordinaire], (3) 65 qa de pain-GU (4) 60 qa de pain d'orge (5) [...] qa de gru[au-mundum] (6) 20 [+x] qa de gruau-arsān[um] (7) Total : 228 qa de pain (8) 20 [+x] qa de šipkum (9) repas du roi et de sa troupe. (10-11) (Date :) 3/ii*/warki Addu-bāni.

La reconstitution des six premières lignes se fonde notamment sur trois des repas de Yasmah-Addu pris à Ašnakkum en Addu-bāni : *OBTCB* 20, l. 1-6, *OBTCB* 50, l. 1-6, *OBTCB* 114, l. 1-6 auquel il faut sans doute ajouter *OBTCB* 18 bien qu'il soit très abîmé (la face est presque entièrement perdue). En effet, l'ordre des denrées est exactement le même dans ces textes (NINDA SAG, NINDA ÚS, NINDA.GU, NINDA ŠE, NĪ.ĀR.RA et arsānum), seules les quantités étant différentes.

Quant à l'écriture du gruau-arsānum, pour l'instant, la graphie AR.ZA.NA proposée par M. Krebernik ne m'est pas connue dans les tablettes de Chagar Bazar ou de Mari qui nous sont parvenues (voir déjà les remarques à ce sujet de M. Birot [1960], p. 280, § 57 ; les deux exemples de Chagar Bazar cités par ce dernier [*ibid.*, note 2, sub *Iraq VII*] attestent en fait d'une graphie « ar-sà-nu » et non AR.ZA.NA, avec désormais A.927 = *OBTCB* 20, l. 6 et A.957 = *OBTCB* 50, l. 6). Dans *KTU* 82, l. 6, repris ci-dessus, une lecture « ar-sà-nu* » paraît donc la plus probable.

En ce qui concerne le total, le scribe regroupe les denrées en deux grandes catégories : les pains (NINDA/akalum ; y intégrant le gruau-mundum et le gruau-arsānum) et la catégorie des denrées šipkum. La traduction de ce dernier terme pose problème car, dans les textes de Mari, il peut regrouper différentes denrées, céréales et légumineuses. Il s'agit dans l'ordre alphabétique de : appānum (pois chiche), arsānum (gruau), buṭumtum (térébinthe), hallūrum (GÚ.GAL ; pois), isqūqum (ZĪ.KUM ; une farine de bonne

qualité, cf. MILANO 1993-1997, p. 26b [sub 8. zì-kum]), *kakkûm* (GÚ.TUR ; lentilles), *pappāsum* (une sorte de farine), *saskûm* (EŠA [A.TIR] ; une farine fine, cf. MILANO 1993-1997, p. 25a [sub 1. eša(A.TIR)] ; pour la lecture *saskûm* plutôt que *sasqûm*, voir la lettre **A.4626**, l. 7', 9' et 14' ; Archibab T4324 ; la lettre a été publiée dans CHARPIN 1990). Les denrées sont citées ici dans l'ordre alphabétique ; cf. notamment BOTTÉRO 1957, p. 266-268, § 71-16 ; BIROT 1960, p. 279-280, § 56 ; BURKE 1963, p. 138, § 16 et note 1 pour la bibliographie ; SASSON 2004, p. 190 ; CAD Š/3, p. 71-72, s.v. *šipku* B ; voir encore pour une partie de ces différentes denrées Milano 1993-1997. Ici, je suis parti du principe que, au vu du total conservé, NĪ.ĀR.RA (*mundum*, « gruau ») avait été comptabilisé dans la catégorie *šipkum*. Cela n'était pas encore attesté par les textes publiés de Mari : pour un aperçu du nombre de textes de repas pour le règne de Zimrī-Līm dans l'ordre chronologique, cf. SASSON 2004, p. 183, table 1, mais il y a encore au moins 500 textes inédits du type « repas du roi », d'après J.-M. Durand (1997, p. 72) et il s'ajouterait à la longue liste des produits de type *šipkum* citée ci-dessus. À Chagar Bazar, dans les textes qui nous sont connus (repas de Yasmah-Addu pour le recensement, cf. références citées ci-dessus), le scribe avait comptabilisé toutes les céréales comme du « grain (pour faire du) pain » (ŠE.NINDA), c'est-à-dire que le gruau-*arsānum* ou le gruau-*mundum* étaient inclus dans le total final.

La différence entre ces deux manières de comptabiliser le grain doit résider dans la différence entre les deux catégories de textes : à Chagar Bazar, il s'agit, dans ce cas précis, de textes prévisionnels tandis qu'à Tuttul ou à Mari il s'agit de textes enregistrant les dépenses faites (pour toute cette question, voir CHAMBON 2021). Il faut noter aussi qu'à Chagar Bazar, une plante légumineuse (*kakkûm* / GÚ.TUR, sans doute des lentilles ou des pois) qui est présente en faible quantité (1 *qa*), n'est pas comptabilisée dans le total (d'après des collations inédites de ces textes).

La tablette **KT 310** est elle aussi très abîmée (copie : KREBERNIK 2001, pl. 42 et photos : CDLI P392945), mais la lecture du texte pourrait désormais être la suivante :

(1) [... NINDA SAG] (2) [... NINDA ŪS] (3) [... NINDA.GU] (4) [... NINDA ŠE] (5) [1 *pá-a*]n* *a*[r*-sà-nu] (6) 5 (BÁN)¹ NĪ.ĀR.R[A] (T.) [anépigraphie] (R.7) [ŠU.NIGIN x+1] 1/2 GUR NINDA (8) 1 (BARIGA) 5 (BÁN) *ši-ip-ku* (9) *a-na x x x* (10) ù NÍG.[GUB] LUGAL (11) *i-na tu-[ut-t]u-ul^{ki}* (T.12) ITI ŠE.[KIN.K]U₅ (13) U₄ [... .KAM] (14) [*li-mu* ...]

(1) [... *qa* de pain de bonne qualité], (2) [... *qa* de pain ordinaire], (3) [... *qa* de pain-GU] (4) [... *qa* de pain d'orge] (5) [6]0 *qa* de gruau-*a*[*rsānum*] (6) 50 *qa* de de gruau-*mundum* (7) [Total : x+]180 *qa* de pain (8) 110 *qa* de *šipkum* (9) pour [...] (10) et le repas du roi (11) à Tuttul (11-12) (Date :) [...]viii*/[...].

À la ligne 7, il faudrait restituer au moins 1 GUR. Pour le total de la ligne 8, un problème se pose : la photo (CDLI P392945) semble confirmer la lecture de M. Krebernik, soit 110 *qa* de *šipkum*, même si les deux têtes de clous finales du signe « 5 (BÁN) » ne sont pas très claires. Comme la lecture de la quantité de la ligne 6 semble bien être « 5 (BÁN) », la seule solution possible est de restituer une quantité de 60 *qa* à la ligne 5 et donc de lire « [1 *pá-a*]n* ». Même si la tablette est très abîmée, il ne semble pas possible d'ajouter une ligne supplémentaire contenant une autre denrée appartenant à la catégorie *šipkum*, surtout que la tranche inférieure est très clairement anépigraphie. Dans ce texte, comme dans **KT 82**, le gruau-*arsānum* et le gruau-*mundum* (NĪ.ĀR.RA) appartiendraient à la catégorie *šipkum*. Enfin, une datation en Awīliya de ce texte a été proposée, cf. LACAMBRE 2025.

Si mes propositions de restitutions sont justes, il est frappant de voir qu'à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, les administrations de sites aussi éloignés que Tuttul (Tell Bi'a), Ašnakum (Chagar Bazar) ou Mari (Tell Hariri) ont une norme administrative globalement identique, avec une hiérarchie des items relativement similaires. Cela devait être nécessaire afin que chacun puisse recevoir la ration qui lui revenait en fonction de son statut (cf. Gelb 1965). Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y avait pas des variations ponctuelles dans le type de pain distribué. On a ainsi, dans deux textes de repas du roi de Tuttul, la mention d'un pain « de luxe » (*bērum* ; **KT 83**, l. 1 : NINDA *bi**-[...]) ou d'un pain « cuit sous la cendre » (*didallum* ou *ditallum* ; **KT 312**, l. 4 : NINDA.GU *di**-*da**-*lim**, d'après les relectures de DURAND & MARTI 2004, p. 11 et p. 25). En ce qui concerne ce phénomène de hiérarchisation des rations distribuées, cela avait été aussi constaté dans l'énumération des différentes qualités de bière à Chagar Bazar (cf. LACAMBRE 2008, p. 184-193, § 10.3.3). Cela est un nouvel indice de la volonté de Samsī-Addu de disposer d'un système cohérent pour contrôler son empire que ce soit par le biais d'une mesure standard comme la

mesure de Šamaš (pour cette dernière, cf. RECULEAU 2018, p. 94-96) ou par le biais d'un calendrier commun, le calendrier dit « de Samsī-Addu » (pour celui-ci, cf. en dernier lieu ZIEGLER 2021). Les variations semblent indiquer que des particularismes locaux ont dû subsister, ce que l'on savait déjà par exemple avec la persistance de l'usage du calendrier de Mari en parallèle de celui dit « de Samsī-Addu ».

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Abréviations

KT (= *Keilschrifttexte aus Tell Bi'a/Tuttul*) : KREBERNIK 2001 ; **OBTCB** (= *Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar*) : TALON 1997.

Webographie

ARCHIBAB : Archives babyloniennes (XX^e-XVII^e siècles av. J.C.) : <https://archibab.fr>

CDLI (*Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*) : <https://cdli.earth/>

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72) En marge de PCEHM, 9 : KTT 89, un approvisionnement pour un déplacement de Yasmah-Addu entre Tuttul et Mari — Les rations enregistrées dans **KTT 89** (Archibab T24954) comme provisions de voyage (*magarrûm*) étaient destinées à Yasmah-Addu (d'après D. Charpin & N. Ziegler, *FM* 5, p. 123, n. 391). Au vu des informations réunies dans LACAMBRE 2025, il est possible de proposer une nouvelle lecture de la tablette **KTT 89**, dont la face est très abîmée, et qui confirmerait tout à fait cette proposition. En effet, je pense que l'on pourrait retrouver exactement les mêmes denrées que dans les textes de « repas du roi » (NÍG.GUB LUGAL) cités précédemment, ce qui confirmerait que le destinataire de ces rations était bien Yasmah-Addu, alors à Tuttul à cette période (cf. *FM* 5, p. 122-124, § 2.5.7).

1. Une relecture de KTT 89, un texte enregistrant des rations de pain pour un déplacement de Yasmah-Addu

La lecture de **KTT 89**, avec l'aide des photos disponibles sur le site du CDLI (P392724), pourrait désormais être la suivante (les nouvelles propositions de lecture dans les cassures sont ici soulignées) :

(1) [... NINDA SAG] (2) x [... NINDA ÚS] (3) x x [... NINDA.GU] (4) x [... NINDA ŠE] (5) 1 (BÁN) [NĪ.ĀR.RA] (6) 1 (BÁN) [ar-sà-nu] (7) 4 *qa* 'qa-ia-tum' (T.) [anépigraphe] (R.8) ŠU.NIGIN 9 1/2 GUR NINDA (9) 2 (BÁN) *ši-ip-ku* (10) 4 *qa* *qa-ia-tum* (11) *ma-ga-ru-um* (12) ITI ŠE.[KIN.K]U₅ U₄ 20+1.KAM (13) *li-mu a-wi-li-ia* (T.) [anépigraphe] (T.L) [anépigraphe]

soit :

(1) [... *qa* de pain de bonne qualité], (2) [... *qa* de pain ordinaire], (3) [... *qa* de pain-GU], (4) [... *qa* de pain d'orge], (5) 10 *qa* [de gruau-*mundum*], (6) 10 *qa* [de gruau-*arsānum*], (7) 4 *qa* de noix tigrée. (R.8) Total : 1140 *qa* de pain, (9) 20 *qa* de *šipkum*, (10) 4 *qa* de noix tigrée ; (11) provisions de voyage. (11-12) (*Date* :) 21/viii*/Awīliya.

L. 7 et 10 Pour la traduction de *qayyātum* par « noix tigrée » (tubercule du souchet comestible, plante de la famille du papyrus), je suis la traduction donnée par A. Dornauer (2018) dans son étude très complète sur le sujet. Il citait d'ailleurs notre texte, cf. DORNAUER 2018, p. 108, n° 84.

La proposition de restitution faite ici implique qu'il s'agisse de denrées pour un très haut personnage, en l'occurrence Yasmah-Addu. La quantité de pains reçus (plus de 1140 *qa*) dans **KTT 89** est un peu supérieure aux rations reçues par Yasmah-Addu lorsqu'il a été par la suite (en Addu-bāni) présent à Chagar Bazar (l'ancienne Ašnakkum) sans doute avec toute sa suite (cf. LAFONT 1985, pour la composition de celle-ci) même si l'ordre de grandeur est globalement similaire. On peut réunir ainsi les données suivantes parmi deux textes similaires qui totalisaient du pain (NINDA) : **OBTCB 18** : 920[+x] *qa* et **OBTCB 20** : 984 *qa* ; ces pains étaient mesurés selon la mesure de Šamaš (la mesure n'est pas précisée dans **KTT 89**). Le total dans **OBTCB 114** est en partie perdu et **OBTCB 50** est un cas à part puisque la quantité très importante comptabilisée (3 250 *qa*) correspondait aux denrées pour le banquet qui s'est tenu avec les Bédouins pour fêter la fin des opérations de recensement effectuées par Yasmah-Addu en Addu-bāni. Manifestement, **KTT 89**, étudié ici, comme les textes de Chagar Bazar cités ci-dessus, impliquent que Yasmah-Addu se déplaçait avec une suite importante au vu des quantités distribuées. Il est par contre impossible de savoir si ces provisions de voyage sont pour une journée ou pour plusieurs jours sachant que le voyage pouvait durer 5 jours entre Mari et Tuttul (cf. JOANNÈS 1996, p. 330 qui renvoyait à **ARM 1 43**, lettre citée ci-dessous, cf. l. 29 et l. 39).

2. Le contexte historique : un déplacement militaire à Tuttul de Yasmah-Addu

La date de la tablette **KTT 89**, quant à elle, correspond tout à fait aux instructions que lui avait données Samsī-Addu dans la lettre **ARM 1 43** (= *LAPO* 17 492 ; Archibab T4464) avant son départ pour Tuttul. En effet, dans cette lettre qui a été datée d'Awīliya (cf. en dernier lieu *FM* 5, p. 121, § 2.5.5), Samsī-Addu apprenant le plan de son fils, qui était de se rendre à Tuttul avec son armée afin d'impressionner le royaume d'Alep par un déploiement de force important, avait conseillé son fils comme à son habitude. Il lui donnait ainsi un calendrier très précis sur le déplacement qu'il devait effectuer. Après avoir rassemblé l'armée et atteint Tuttul à la fin du mois d'Ayyarum (mois vii*), ce qui devait entraîner le retrait des armées d'Alep, Samsī-Addu indiquait la chose suivante à son fils : « Reste 15 jours là-bas (à Tuttul) et 5 jours pour ton retour : retourne à Mari pour le 20 *Niggallum* (= mois viii*), soit 5 jours avant la moisson. [Expédie] l'armée à la moisson. Fais comme je te l'ai écrit ! », soit : (38) U₄ 15.KAM *aš-ra-[nu]-um ši-ib-[ma]* (39)

U₄ 5.KAM *ta-ar-ka a-na* U₄ 20.KAM ITI* [ŠE.KIN.KU₅] (40) [U₄] 5*.KAM *la-ma e-še-di-im a-na* [ma-ri^{ki}] (41) [tu]-ur *ša-ba-am a-na e-bu-ri-i[m tu-ru-ud]* (42) [ki-ma] *na-aš-pa-ar-ti-ia* (43) [ep-š]a-am

3. Le mode de déplacement de Yasmah-Addu et sa troupe : voie terrestre ou voie fluviale ?

La distance à parcourir entre Tuttul et Mari via le fleuve ou en longeant celui-ci est d'environ 260 kilomètres. Si l'utilisation de la voie fluviale semble le plus probable, vu qu'il s'agit d'un déplacement de l'amont vers l'aval, rien ne nous l'indique expressément. Il n'est désormais plus possible de savoir quel moyen de transport a été utilisé sur la base du seul terme *magarrûm*. En effet ce dernier n'impliquerait plus forcément un déplacement en bateau comme l'a montré J.-M. Durand (2018), qui propose de chercher l'étymologie de ce terme du côté du « chariot » (*magarrum*) et non plus d'en faire un terme emprunté au sumérien lié à un déplacement en bateau. Il indiquait ainsi : « le *magarrû* représente les denrées véhiculées par chariot, sans que l'on ait besoin de lui postuler une étymologie sumérienne » (DURAND 2018).

4. KTT 310 et KTT 311, deux autres textes de « repas du roi » à dater d'Awīliya ?

Par ailleurs, il n'est pas impossible que deux autres textes du type « repas du roi » trouvés à Tuttul et datés du mois viii* mais dont l'éponyme est perdu soit à rattacher à ce déplacement à Tuttul : **KTT 310** et **KTT 311**. Pour une relecture de **KTT 310** (CDLI P392945) du [...] / viii* / [...], voir LACAMBRE 2025. Quant à **KTT 311** (CDLI P392946) du 21(?) / viii* / [...], il s'agit de l'enregistrement de rations de bière pour le roi et sa troupe (cf. l. 4, [NĪG].GUB LUGAL *ù ša-bi-[im]*). Cette proposition de placement chronologique doit cependant être tenu pour hypothétique pour le moment.

5. Yasmah-Addu, un roi sous surveillance

La date de rédaction de **KTT 89** correspond globalement au calendrier que Samsī-Addu avait indiqué à Yasmah-Addu, même si ce dernier avait pris du retard. C'est peut-être la raison pour laquelle, son frère Išme-Dagan, alors dans la région du Haut-Tigre, rédigea **ARM 4 76** (= *LAPO* 16 31 ; Archibab T7971), datée du 21 / viii*, le même jour que **KTT 89**. Dans **ARM 4 76**, il lui conseillait de retourner à Mari (pour un commentaire historique de cette lettre, cf. *FM* 5, p. 123, § 2.5.7 et LACAMBRE à paraître), notamment, bien que cela ne soit pas indiqué, parce que la moisson allait commencer et peut-être pour lui rappeler que son père lui avait indiqué de suivre un calendrier bien précis. Il faut cependant préciser que la lettre a dû rejoindre Yasmah-Addu alors qu'il était déjà reparti de Tuttul au vu de la distance qui séparait les deux frères à ce moment-là.

Quoiqu'il en soit, avec l'hypothèse de reconstitution chronologique proposée ici, on aurait une nouvelle fois la preuve que Yasmah-Addu était toujours surveillé de près à la fois par son père et par son frère qui doutaient de sa manière de conduire correctement les affaires de son royaume (sur ce thème bien connu de la correspondance de Mari, voir par exemple les données réunies par J.-M. Durand dans son volume *LAPO* 16, p. 136-138).

6. Conclusion

En conclusion, **KTT 89** serait à verser au nombre des tablettes qui attesteraient de la présence de Yasmah-Addu à Tuttul en Awīliya (*contra FM* 5, p. 121, n. 379 mais en suivant *FM* 5, p. 123, n. 391) et permettrait d'augmenter le corpus des textes de repas pour Yasmah-Addu qui reste faible comparativement à ceux qui nous sont parvenus pour le règne de Zimrī-Līm. Notre proposition de reconstitution des événements permettrait de montrer une nouvelle fois que Yasmah-Addu était surveillé étroitement par son père et par son frère.

La mort du roi d'Alep Sumu-ēpuh (cf. *FM* 5, p. 121-122, § 2.5.6), et le changement politique qui s'en serait suivi, aurait peut-être incité Yasmah-Addu à considérer que sa présence à Tuttul n'était plus aussi nécessaire. Il aurait ainsi décidé de retourner à Mari alors que d'après **ARM 1 43** la moisson allait commencer le 25 / viii* (cf. *FM* 5, p. 121 et p. 149, tableau), analyse que faisait aussi de son côté Išme-Dagan.

Abréviations

ARM 1 : DOSSIN 1946 et 1950 ; **ARM 4** : DOSSIN 1951a et 1951b ; **FM 5** : CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003 ; **KTT** : KREBERNIK 2001 ; **LAPO 16** : DURAND 1997 ; **LAPO 17** : DURAND 1998 ; **OBTCB** : TALON 1997 ; **T+numéro** : identifiant du texte dans la base de données Archibab.

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73) Between Ram and Landlady: The Semantics of *nap̄tartum* and Gendered Social Categories in Old Babylonian Incantations — In NABU 1997/64, C. Michel and the present author discussed the formula *šumma zakar eṭūdāni šumma sinniṣat šapparāni*, found in an Old Assyrian birth incantation (Kt 90/k 178 = AML No. 9: 14–16). In that note, we corrected the earlier reading *a-li-da-ni* to *a-tu^o-da-ni*, leading to the conclusion that *eṭūdum* and *šapparum* (Old Assyrian by-forms of *aṭūdum* and *sapparum*) refer to a pair of hooved and horned animals serving as metaphors for an easy birth of a healthy child – male or female, respectively. A direct parallel to this sentence was later found in another Old Assyrian incantation (Kt 94/k 429 = AML No. 11: 17–20).

Similar formulae – “if (the newborn) is male – it is like ...; if the (newborn) is female – it is like ...” – also appear, with variations, in Old Babylonian incantations. In RA 70, 135/137, a bilingual incantation, the boy/girl dyad is compared to two objects, each reflecting the perceived shape of the newborn's sex organ. The text reads:

[tukum-bi dum]u?-ta kalag tukul-a-ni igi [mu-u]n-ši-in-bar // [šum-ma] ¹ma¹-ar a-na ka-ki šu-a-ši [ip-pa]-¹li-su¹

[tukum-bi dumu-munus-ta] ¹kalag¹ TUK ga-ri-im-¹ma¹-a-ni igi [mu-un-ši-in]-bar // [šum-ma ma-r]a-at a-na ¹x¹-[... šu]-a-<ši> i-[ip-pa]-¹li-su¹

“If it is a (Sum.: strong) boy, they [look]ed at his ‘weapon’; [If] it is a (Sum.: strong) g[irl], they [look]ed at [h]er [‘crucible’?]” (AML No. 10: 54–57).

Another incantation, VS 17, 34 (AML No. 12: 16–17), uses a formula closer to the Old Assyrian texts: *šumma zikar aṭūdāni šumma sinniṣat nap̄tartāni* “If it is a male – like a wild ram; if it is a female – like a *nap̄tartum*...”¹ In NABU 1997/64, it was cautiously suggested that *nap̄tartum* might be the “equivalent d'un bovin femelle,” akin to the *šapparum* of the Old Assyrian formulae. However, this idea was not substantiated, and the meaning of *nap̄tartum* remained unclear in this context. Looking outside the magical corpus may help clarify things.

ARM 10, 59, a letter from Queen Addu-dūrī to her son, King Zimrī-līm, mentions an unnamed Sim'alite *nap̄artum*, who was also a *qadištum* dedicated to Annunitum, together with a man from the region of Suḫum. Addu-dūrī tells the king this person held some money, probably a considerable sum. The nature of the relationship between the man and the *nap̄artum* is not explained. CAD N/1, 324b, s.v. *nap̄artu* “person with certain privileges,” proposed that *nap̄artum* in this letter might be a “wife of second rank,” similar to its use in Hittite texts. J.–M. Durand in LAPO 18, 2000, 286f., was more cautious, translating the term as “la servante qu’il avait embauchée.”²⁾ Recently, D. Charpin (NABU 2025/45) offered a new perspective: inspired, I assume, by the Laws of Ešnunna § 41, where *nap̄artum* is tied to *sābītum*, a female tavernkeeper, D. Charpin translated *nap̄artum* as “logeuse,” a landlady or guesthouse keeper.³⁾ Does this interpretation fit the reference in VS 17, 34?

While Old Assyrian incantations use two bovine metaphors (*aṭūdum* and *sapparum*) to denote healthy male or female newborns, and RA 70, 135/137 compares the male and female with two utensils which probably recall their sex organs, VS 17, 34 features a semantically unbalanced pair: a ram (*aṭūdum*) and a landlady. Could it be that *nap̄artum* in the latter Old Babylonian incantation refers not to a female social role, but to an object, like the “crucible” (// *agarinnu*), “womb,” or “mother” in RA 70, 135/137 (CAD A/1, 145f.⁴⁾)? This remains a possibility, as dictionaries also list a *nap̄artum* as “part of a lock” or “buckles” (CAD N/2, 324a, s.v. *nap̄artu* A, where VS 17, 34 is indeed cited). Nonetheless, “ram–buckle” is not much clearer than “ram–landlady.”

To choose between these options, we should look again at the corpus of incantations from the 2nd millennium BCE, which mention other feminine social designations. These women often appear in love, childbirth, or baby incantations. In the love incantation CUSAS 10, 11: 12–14, three feminine social types are listed: *šumma qašdat imdaša* [i-x-x] *šumma nadītāt bibilša* [i-x-x] *šumma kezret likappir aštammaša eliya limqut* “If she is a ‘consecrated’ woman, may she [...] her support; If she is a cloister-lady, may she [...] her gift; If she is a prostitute, may she clean(?) her tavern, may she throw herself (lit. fall) at me!” (AML No. 131). In YOS 11, 87: 7–14, another similar passage appears: *šumma qašdat limqut dāduša šumma nadītāt muppirša limqut batultum māratu awīlim ana rigmiya ana {ri ig} šagīmiya mqut* “If she is a ‘consecrated’ woman, may her sweetheart perish (lit. fall); if she is a cloister-lady, may her provider perish (lit. fall); may the nubile girl, a daughter of a gentleman, fall at my cry, at my shout!” (AML No. 136). In addition to *qadištum*,⁵⁾ *nadītum*,⁶⁾ *kezertum*,⁷⁾ *batultum mārat awīlim*, Old Babylonian incantations also mention *sābītum*, the ale tender or female innkeeper. Unsurprisingly, this role appears in spells for digestive ailments where beer is mentioned (CUSAS 32, 32a = AML No. 27; CUSAS 32, 32c = AML No. 29). In one attestation, *mār sābītīm*, “son of an ale tender,” is found in an incantation against a crying baby. After asking why the baby cries and disturbs the household, the text closes: *kīma šātū karānim kīma mār sābītīm limqutaššum šittum* “Like (over) a drinker(s) of wine, like (over) a son of a tavern keeper – may my sleep fall over him.” (ZA 71, 62a: 9’–11’ = AML No. 124).

In all these incantations, different feminine social categories appear with the verb *maqātum* (“to fall”).⁸⁾ The *batultu* and *kezertum* are asked to fall on (yield to) the speaker. The *qadištum* and *nadītum* are requested to drop (literally “let fall”) their supporters, thus submitting to the speaker. Sleep is invoked to fall over the crying baby, as it would over the son of a *sābītum* (who perhaps drank some beer when his mother was distracted). To this list, we can add *nap̄artum* in VS 17, 34, where it is likewise asked to fall: *šumma zīkar aṭūdāni šumma sinniṣat nap̄artāni limqutam qaqqaršum* “If it is a male – like a wild ram; if it is a female – like a *nap̄artum*, may it fall (safely) to the ground.” The association of *nap̄artum* with *maqātum*, just like the other female social terms, supports the idea that *nap̄artum* in VS 17, 34 also refers to a female social group or profession – possibly, with D. Charpin, a landlady or lodging-house keeper (and not an object).

All these female designations share the quality of socio-sexual liminality, occupying a threshold position compared to normal family households in Old Babylonian society. The *qadištum* could be married, but as a “holy woman” she was positioned between the sacred and the secular. The *nadītum*, a woman “set apart,” was a significant economic actor, living in an enclosed religious-economic community, mostly separated from the rest of the urban community. She could have sexual relations or even marry, but could not have children, forming a non-patrimonial alternative to usual inheritance mechanisms. The *kezertum*

stood on the other socio-sexual boundary, as a professional sex worker – a prostitute. A special hairstyle marked her distinct role. The *batultu* (“nubile girl”) represented age liminality, standing at a crucial transition between childhood and adulthood. She was both “not-yet-woman” and “no-longer-child,” a transitional figure seen as both risky and promising, especially sexually. The *sābtum* and *nap̄artum* – the tavern-keeper and the landlady or lodging-house keeper (lit. “a releaser”) – were marginal in social and spatial terms (note the mention of *aštammum* “tavern” in CUSAS 10, 11: 12–14, cited above). The members of these professions worked on the fringes of dominant, legitimate society; taverns and lodging houses were liminal places, akin to city walls, where social norms could be redefined – places of both danger and opportunity.

This context explains why *maqātum* (“to fall”) appears repeatedly with female social designations in Old Babylonian incantations. Here, “to fall” does not simply mean to collapse; rather, it signifies crossing a social boundary. Falling marks the activation of a liminal passage: a *batultu* “falling” into womanhood; a *kezertum* “falling” – that is, leaving her tavern (where she probably stayed) and yielding to the speaker; and the supporters of the *nad̄ittum* and *qadištum* “falling away,” disappearing and thus allowing the speaker to gain sexual access to them. Thus, in love and sex incantations, *maqātum* expresses the hope that these liminal figures, precisely because they stand in transitional positions, will step across boundaries and enable the changes desired by the incantation’s speaker. A similar situation is found in the incantation for a crying baby – the last text cited. There, *maqātum* has a clear subject: *šittum*, “sleep.” In this incantation, *maqātum* replaces *reh̄ūm* (“to pour out, over”), the typical verb used with sleep in Old Babylonian literary texts. The choice of *maqātum* is explained by the tavern setting, a context where social boundaries often dissolve and dominant social norms tend to be crossed. Finally, in incantations for easy childbirth, *maqātum* carries a double meaning. First, it refers to the natural act of the baby emerging smoothly from the birth canal, “falling” to the ground as gazelles do in nature, namely crossing the liminal status of “not-yet-born” and becoming “already-born.” Secondly, because of the metaphors used – “like a ram,” “like a landlady” – *maqātum* also suggests surrendering or yielding, giving way.

Notes

1. Cf. CAD N/1, 324a, s.v. *nap̄artu* A, noting the old, incorrect reading *a(?)li-da-ni* (“obscure”).
2. A translation retained by ARCHIBAB <https://archibab.fr/T8548>.
3. See also in CDLB 2024/4 9: 6’ = ARCHIBAB (<https://archibab.fr/T29048>). Note *bēt nap̄arte* “guest house” in two MA and NA sources, listed in SAD 4, 23.
4. See further on this lemma in the dictionary of eBL s.v. *agarinnu*.
5. For *qadištu*, see recently BUDIN 2008, 23–25 (and *passim*) and STOL 2016, 608–614.
6. For *nad̄ittu*, see BUDIN 2008, 22–23 (and *passim*) and STOL 2016, 587–607.
7. For *kezertu*, see BUDIN 2008, 29–31 (and *passim*) and STOL 2016, 422–425.
8. More female social groups are found in the corpus Babylonian incantations. Besides magic figures as the *pāširtum* (see AML, p. 27, 232), one can find also the *bakk̄ittum* “wailing woman” in a Middle Babylonian love and sex incantation (KBo 36, 27: 18’–19’ = ALL No. 21).

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74) Waterways — In 2008, Jon Taylor briefly discussed UM 29-16-239 (CDLI P228722), a small fragment of an Old Babylonian multi-column tablet from Nippur. Although one side is completely broken away, the fragment’s profile suggests that it comes from the tablet’s reverse. The preserved text contains names of rivers (*i*₇) and runlets (*pa*₅). In his discussion, Taylor compared several of its entries with the Standard Professions List NAMEŠDA, since they appear to be modeled on a sequence from this ancient composition (TAYLOR 2008: 205), which continued to circulate in the Old Babylonian period (see VELDHUIS 2010: 397, with further manuscripts listed in *DCCLT*). The tablet fragment had first been published in *MSL* 11, where the preserved lines were associated with Division 5 of the multi-thematic compendium *Ura* as an “aberrant geographic list” (p. 96; see the handcopy on Plate III of *MSL* 11) (Fig. 1).

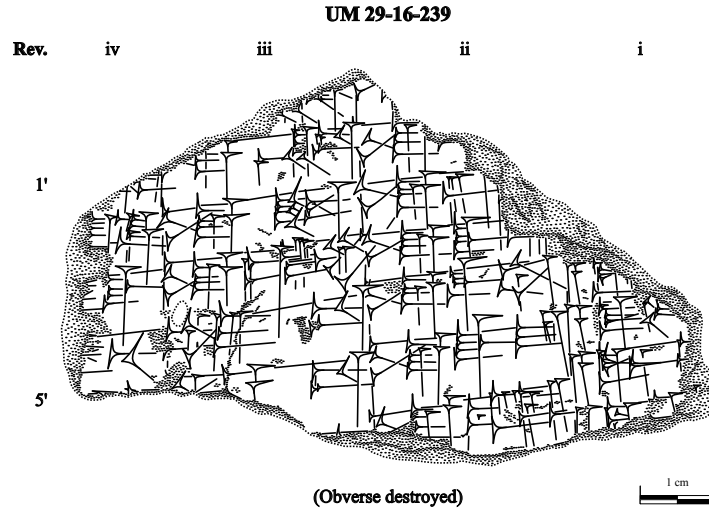


Figure 1: Handcopy of UM 29-16-239 (drawing by the author)

In revisiting this material, it has become clear to the author that UM 29-16-239 does not, in fact, belong to the context of Old Babylonian *Ura*, but should instead be added to the corpus of Old Babylonian copies of Early Dynastic lexical texts. In this case, the fragment preserves parts of a list of waterways, best known from the manuscript SF 72 (CDLI P010666) from Fāra (Fig. 2). This text, inscribed on a well-preserved tablet, contains roughly 150 entries. Each entry concludes with the sign MIN, which Manfred Krebernik interpreted as *A_x*—a variant of *A*, “water,” or an abbreviation of *I*₇, “river/canal” (KREBERNIK 1998: 316 n. 761; SCHRAKAMP 2018: 122).

The basis for this interpretation lies in two subsequent entries: the spellings for the Tigris (iv,13: [idig]na *A_x*) and the Euphrates (iv,14: ʾANʾ.KIB.NUN *A_x*) (BLASCHKE 2018: 108–11). It has been proposed that the list was already known in the late Uruk period, since two Uruk III fragments from Uruk preserve corresponding entries (W 20266,80 [ATU 3, pl. 79] and W 20266,81 [ATU 3, pl. 91]; see KREBERNIK 2006; SCHRAKAMP 2018: 122). Nonetheless, aligning these fragments with the Fāra manuscript remains problematic. The following sequence is the most promising:

Uruk III		ED IIIa	
W 20266,81		SF 72	
ii,1'	ʾDUR ₂ x ¹ [A]	ii,5	ʾx u ₃ ¹ [d]ur ₂ <i>A_x</i>
2'	NAR DUR ₂ ŠE ₃ ʾA ¹	6	ʾu ₃ ¹ nar dur ₂ <i>A_x</i>
3'	RAD _a ʾA ¹	7	rad <i>A_x</i>
4'	ḪAL ZATU 751 _a ʾA ¹	8	Ḫal-LAK 545 <i>A_x</i>
5'	ʾTU _b ¹ [A]	9	ʾtu ¹ [<i>A_x</i>]

Somewhat later in the Early Dynastic period, this text is also attested in a small fragment from Mari. Its parallel to SF 72 was recognized by Antoine Cavigneaux, who published it along with several other lexical fragments from this important hub between northern Mesopotamia and Syria (CAVIGNEAUX 2014: 303, 331, Texte 20). By contrast, no manuscript of the text has been identified among the rich corpus of lexical sources from Ebla.

It should be emphasized that the proximity to the Standard Professions List of some of its entries, as suggested by Jon Taylor, is not by chance. The list of waterways draws at several places from lists of human beings. Apart from NAMEŠDA, several entries also draw from the list known as *Officials* (SF 72 v,14–16 || *Officials* 19–21). It should further be noted that the list *Officials* itself duplicates several entries from the Standard Professions List (e.g., *Officials* 22–25 || NAMEŠDA 1, 5, 6, and 9). To name waterways after officials and titles is not unusual; there are plenty of examples also outside the lexical domain in cuneiform sources.

Even though the newly identified manuscript UM 29-16-239 does not significantly enhance our understanding of the list of waterways, it nevertheless demonstrates that this otherwise scarcely attested text was still being copied by literati in the Old Babylonian period. The fragment preserves four columns on the reverse, and the obverse almost certainly contained four columns as well. The preserved entries align roughly with the corresponding section in SF 72, suggesting that the column length was comparable, with approximately eighteen entries per column.

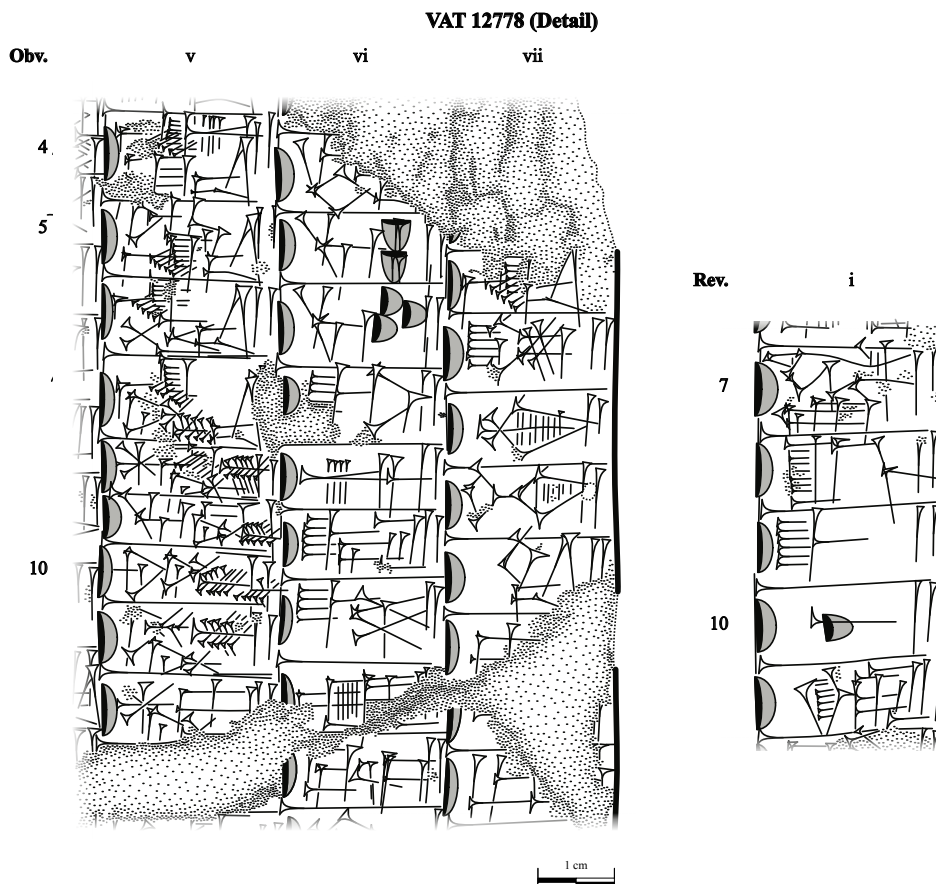


Figure 2: Partial handcopy of SF 72 (drawing by the author)

Noteworthy is the varying classification of the waterways. Some entries (col. r,i) are marked with the classifier I₇, the general classifier for rivers and canals. Although rather damaged, several entries in col. r,iv also appear to employ I₇. By contrast, the entries in col. r,ii and iii use PA₅, “runlet.” At present, it remains uncertain whether this choice of classifier represents an Old Babylonian innovation or reflects an earlier model. For comparison, the Old Akkadian version of the list *Metals* introduces, for the first time, the classifier URUDA, “copper,” before each entry. By analogy, the modification in the list of waterways may likewise have an antecedent in the third millennium.

The following table aligns both SF 72 and the new manuscript:

ED IIIa		Old Babylonian	
SF 72		UM 29-16-293	
v,4	en-nun 'x ¹ du A _x	r i,1'	'i ₇ ¹ [...]
5	sal-ḥub ₂ en du A _x	2'	i ₇ SAL.H[UB ₂ ...]
6	en zubi du A _x	3'	i ₇ 'x ¹ [...]
7	en gu-še du [A _x]	4'	'i ₇ x ¹ [...]
...			
vi,5	muš ₃ -za ₇ A _x	r ii,1'	[...]
6	muš ₃ -kur A _x	2'	p[a ₅ ...]
7	šita:'gal ¹ A _x	3'	pa ₅ [šita]:g[al ²]
8	abgal A _x	4'	pa ₅ ab[gal]
9	kingal A _x	5'	pa ₅ 'kingal ¹
10	tiru A _x	6'	pa ₅ tiru
	—	7'	pa ₅ sugal ₇ :gal
11	'umbisaĝ ¹ :mes [A _x]	8'	'pa ₅ ¹ umbisaĝ mes
12	saĝ:[d]un ₃ A _x	9'	[...]
...			
vii,5	[...]	iii,1'	[pa ₅] 'x-na ¹
6	'en-du ¹ [A _x]	2'	'pa ₅ ¹ en-du
7	gibil A _x	3'	pa ₅ gibil
8	ul ₄ A _x	4'	pa ₅ ĝeš ¹ u ₂ ² ul ₄
9	u ₄ x A _x	5'	gu ₄ -lu-du
10	e ₃ ' A _x ¹	6'	'an-e ₃ ¹
11	gu[r ²] ' A _x ¹	7'	[...] 'x ¹
...			
r i,7	umbin(LAK 289) gul A _x	iv,1'	[i ₇ ²] 'x x ¹
8	eš ₂ -la ₂ ku ₅ A _x	2'	[i ₇ ² e]š ₂ la ₂ ² ku ₃
9	gal A _x	3'	'i ₇ ¹ gal
10	bad A _x	4'	'i ₇ ¹ BAD
11	ki-ŠID ² A _x	5'	[x] 'x ¹

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75) A curious omen text — The small fragment with the accession number NBC 1886 (YPM BC 004859) housed in the Yale Babylonian Collection (measurements: 62 × 54 × 19 mm), probably comes from the reverse of a multi-column tablet. The curvature towards the preserved edge of the fragment is unusually rounded. Most intriguing, however, is the text layout: two columns of text are preserved, but they do not run in the same direction; instead, they are opposed to each other. This unusual format can also be found on MDP 14, 50 (obverse) and 55 (reverse) from Susa, a tablet with dream omens (I would like to thank

Elyze Zomer for referring me to this tablet). The Susa tablet dates to the Middle Babylonian period (CAVIGNEAUX 2020: 90–97). Its text is organized into two columns per side. Regardless of the orientation in which the tablet is held, only the right-hand column appears in the correct direction. The same feature is observable on the fragment published here. The tablet’s profile suggests that very little is missing. Altering the orientation of a text also occurs elsewhere in the Middle Babylonian period, but this feature typically concerns the two sides of a tablet. On one type of school tablet, for instance, the obverse is inscribed in landscape format, while the reverse is inscribed in portrait format (BARTELMUS 2016: 27–28).

As far as is preserved, sections of the text are separated by single horizontal rulings. Additionally, text units are delineated by vertical rulings: the preposition *ina* and the particle *šumma*(BE) clearly appear in separate sub-columns. The vertical division between the two columns is marked by a single ruling only. The content of the text on the fragment appears to derive from two different scholarly works. Three sections of the text contain a sequence of the twelve months of the year, each preceded by the preposition *ina*. One of these sequences is fully preserved in the first column. Immediately before this is the remnant of another sequence ending with month XII. It is noteworthy that the month names are written out in full, which may point to an earlier tradition (I would like to thank Jeanette Fincke for discussing this with me). The spelling of the name of month IX (ITI GAN.GAN.NE) is uncommon. Nevertheless, it already occurs in a few archival documents of Old Babylonian date (see Archibab), in a school exercise listing month names (CDLI P273834), and also at Emar (Emar 6/1, p. 127, Msk 731046, rev. i,15'), which may substantiate a possible Middle Babylonian date.

The final two entries of yet another sequence appear at the top of what is here designated as column ii', though it remains unclear where this sequence began.

After these two month names and a single ruling, a somewhat different text appears: omens concerning doors (*daltu*). Too little is preserved, however, to allow for a clear interpretation. Omens dealing with doors are not attested in the large terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu*. Some door omens, however, occur in the *Diagnostic Handbook* (SA.GIG), Tablet I, 50–51: *šumma dalat bīt amēli* ..., “if the door of the house of a man ...” (George 1991: 144). It is likely that the broken sign following *daltu* in our text is indeed E₂. Another text in which *šumma daltu* occurs in more than two consecutive lines is the fragment 1881,0204.410.A (CDLI P237024; photo on eBL): obv. 5'–6' (followed by a break) and rev. 1–4 all start DIŠ gis IG E₂ LU₂. Otherwise, too little is preserved to allow for any meaningful identification.

It is likely that the tablet contained different extracts, which may point to an educational context. Since the most interesting aspect of this text is its layout, this short edition, accompanied by a handcopy and photo, should suffice for the time being.

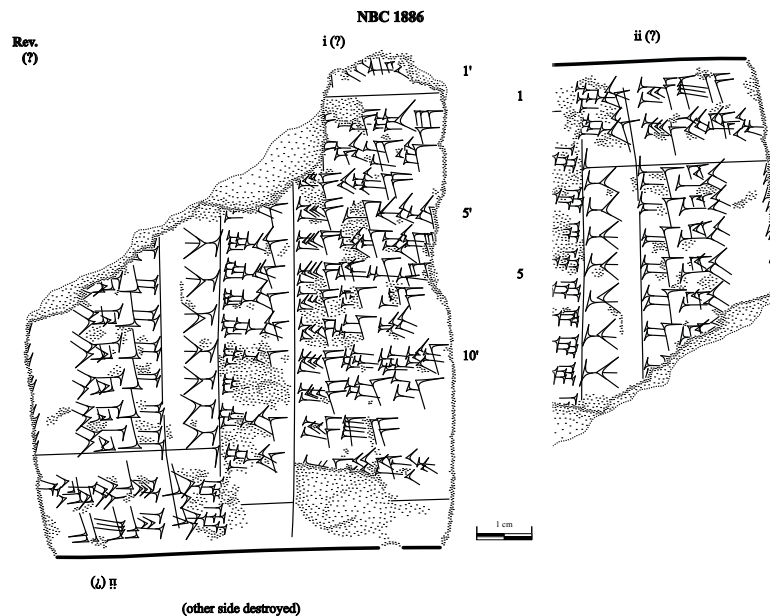


Fig. 1: Handcopy of NBC 1886 (YPM BC 004859)



Fig. 2: Photo of NBC 1886 (YPM BC 004859)

Obverse (?)

i(?), 1'	[i-na IT]I ŠE.KIN.TAR ¹ [...]	[In mo]nth XII [...].
	(single ruling)	
2'	[i-na IT]I BARA ₂ ¹ .ZAG.GAR [...]	[In mo]nth I [...].
3'	[i-na IT]I GU ₄ .SI.SA ₂ [...]	[in mo]nth II [...].
4'	[i-na] ITI ¹ SIG ₄ .A [...]	[In] month III [...].
5'	IT ¹ -na ¹ ITI ŠU ¹ .NUMUN.NA [...]	In month IV [...].
6'	i-na ITI NE.NE.G[AR ...]	In month V [...].
7'	i-na ITI KIN. ^d INNIN [...]	In month VI [...].
8'	i-na ITI DU ₆ ¹ .KU ₃ [...]	In month VII [...].
9'	i-na ITI APIN.DU ₈ .A [...]	In month VIII [...].
10'	IT ¹ -na ¹ ITI GAN.GAN.NE [...]	In month IX [...].
11'	IT ¹ -[na] ITI AB.BA.[E ₃ ...]	In month X [...].
12'	i-na ITI ZIZ ₂ .A [...]	In month XI [...].
13'	i-na ITI ŠE ¹ .KIN.TAR [...]	In month XII [...].
	(single ruling)	
ii(?), 1	i-na ITI ZIZ ₂ .A [...]	In month XI [...].
2	i-na ITI ŠE.KIN.TAR [...]	In month XII [...].
	(single ruling)	
3	BE gešIG E ₂ ² ¹ [...]	If the door of the h[ouse(?) ...].
4	BE gešIG E ₂ ² ¹ [...]	If the door of the h[ouse(?) ...].
5	BE gešIG E ₂ ² ¹ [...]	If the door of the h[ouse(?) ...].
6	BE gešIG E ₂ ² ¹ [...]	If the door of the h[ouse(?) ...].
7	BE gešIG E ₂ ² ¹ [...]	If the door of the h[ouse(?) ...].
8	BE gešI[G ...]	If the do[or ...].
9	BE gešIG ...]	If the d[oor ...].
	(n lines broken)	

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76) A bead for Enlil — In this note is published for the first time the small convex agate bead with the registration number YBC 12593 (YPM BC 026358) (measurements: 38 mm long; 10–14 mm thick). The bead was acquired from the dealer Elias Solomon David on 5 November 1952 by the Babylonian Collection’s curator Ferris Stephens. Inscribed on it is a short four-line Sumerian inscription (see below). The bead’s material, agate, is a banded variety of chalcedony and thus member of the quartz family. It has a hardness ranging from 6.5 to 7 on the Mohs scale. Agate is used quite frequently in this period for beads and cylinder seals.

The cuneiform characters on this bead could have been produced either by wheel-cutting or filing. Vertical and horizontal wedges usually consist of three cuts. Occasionally, the vertical wedges are only indicated by a single cut (e.g., in the sign KU in line 2). The sign IN in the last line starts with a grid of horizontal and vertical cuts, which are not further worked. This simple approach was enough to indicate the stacks of oblique wedges that form the beginning of this sign (Fig. 1). The wheel-cutting technology is increasingly common in the late Old Babylonian period and is henceforth used by seal cutters (SAX and MEEKS 1994; SAX, McNAPP, and MEEKS 1998; SAX, MEEKS, and COLLON 2000a; 2000b), but further material studies of the bead are necessary to confirm it.

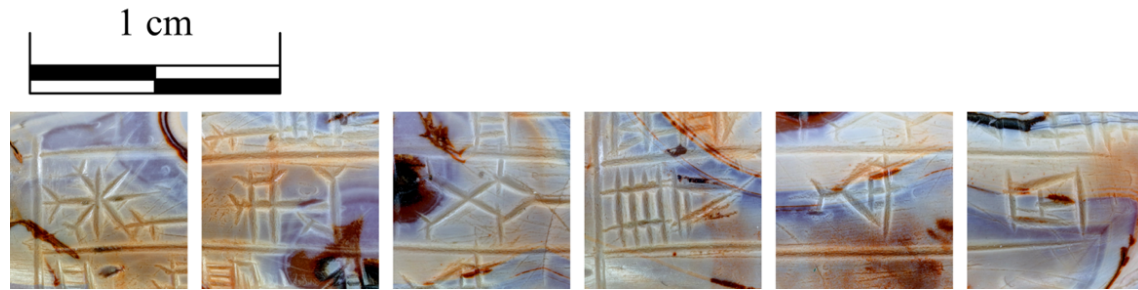


Figure 1: Close-up photos of YBC 12593

The text of the inscription does otherwise pose no problems and does not require any further comments (Fig. 2 and 3).

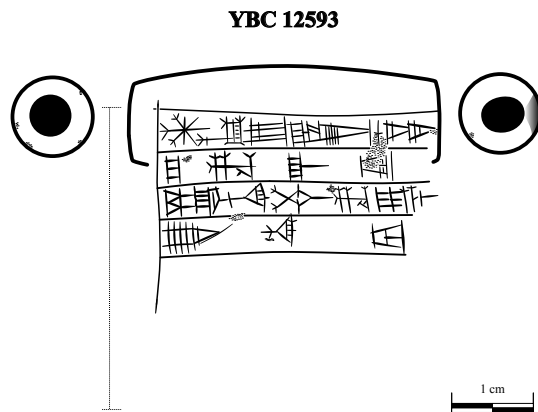


Figure 2: Handcopy of YBC 12593
(Drawing by the author)



Figure 3: Photo of YBC 12593 with digital unwrapping
(Photo by the author)

Edition

1	^d en-lil ₂ lugal-a-ne ₂ -er	For Enlil, his king,
2	ku-ri-gal- ¹ zu ¹	Kurigalzu,
3	dumu bur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš	son of Burna-buriaš,
4	in-na-ba	gave (this bead) as gift.

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77) A New Inscription of Kadašman-Enlil II — The inscription published here is previously unknown (as Grant Frame has kindly informed me). The original is likely lost and is now known only from two impressions made many years ago with red sealing wax. That the impressions survive is due to several fortuitous circumstances.

It appears that the original object was once in the possession of Ira Maurice Price (1856-1939), one of the original faculty members when the University of Chicago was founded in 1892, who was a professor of Semitic languages. I will describe briefly here how the surviving impressions came into my possession.

Ira Price's first wife, Jennie Rhoads, died in 1905. In 1919 he remarried. His second wife, Elizabeth Mellor, born in England in 1873, had spent several years (1895-1898) as a teacher and later principal at the Jesse Lee Home in Unalaska, Alaska, a residential school for indigenous children under the sponsorship of the United States Department of the Interior and supported by the women's missionary societies of the Methodist Church. She remained active in the missionary activities of the church after her return from Alaska in 1898, often giving lectures, at one of which she met Ira Price. At some point in the late 1890s or early 1900s she became acquainted with Judge Woodford McDowell (1818-1904) and his third wife, Anna Chandler (1840-1910), who were also active in Methodist religious circles, and who were childless. They adopted her as an adult. She took their name, and identified herself as Elizabeth McDowell and cared for them in their Washington, D.C., home until their death.¹⁾

After Ira Price died in 1939, Elizabeth remained in Chicago. At the time of the 1950 federal census, she was living at 6140 South Kimbark Avenue, a few blocks from the University of Chicago, and had her sister Ada Bateson living with her. It appears that at her death in 1962, she left the apartment and all its contents to her unmarried niece, Florence Bateson. Florence Bateson, who died in 1985, in turn left the apartment and its contents to the janitor for the apartment complex. Thomas Holland, head of the Oriental Institute publication office, lived in a unit in the same building and informed a couple of friends (including me) that the new owner wanted to sell some of the contents of the apartment. I bought from him an Oriental rug, some silver, souvenir items from the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, and various other objects, including framed British architectural prints. He remarked that there were more photos in the trash barrel on his porch if we wanted them. Holland recognized that among them there were a number of photos and postcards that were souvenirs of a Holy Land tour of Palestine. I saw that there were also dozens of letters in their original envelopes with Alaska postmarks from the 1890s with a return address of what appeared to be an Indian school in Unalaska. I thought that they might be of historical interest so, with the owner's permission, I collected the letters, documents, and other materials and stored them unsorted in a filing cabinet in my Oriental Institute office. A year or so ago, with growing public interest in residential schools for indigenous children where they were "Americanized," given new names, taught English, and such, I decided to look more closely at the materials I had saved some years before.²⁾

My examination of the materials led me to realize that not only were there letters written by Elizabeth Mellor (who had asked the addressees to preserve her letters and return them to her when she left Alaska), but there were remnants of the scholarly papers of Ira Price.³⁾ Besides photos of Price family members, there were academic memos (including one from the first president of the University of Chicago, William Rainey Harper), passenger lists and menus from his voyages to Europe, and other correspondence. In addition to Price's academic papers, the items I collected included Elizabeth's diary for 1922. The materials I recovered thus form a supplement to Price's papers already owned by the University of Chicago.

Among the other odds and ends I recovered from the trash barrel was a small piece of heavy paper (approximately 4 x 9 cm.) cut from an invitation to a reception at the fraternity house of the University of Chicago chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi Club (date of the event not preserved). On the blank side were the two impressions of the object presented here made with red sealing wax. The diameter of the original object is approximately 2.5 cm. The wax impressions, although cracked, still adhere to the paper.



The shape and the inscribed surface suggest that the original was probably a stone disk rather than an eye-stone (for which see CLAYDEN 2009), numerous examples of both of which were from a single find at Nippur.⁴⁾ If our object is indeed a disk, it was surely of lapis lazuli, as apparently all such Kassite period inscribed disks are. CLAYDEN 2011, p. 7, remarks that such objects are possibly all that remains that may be identified as the cultic treasures that once were deposited in shrines and temples at Nippur. As far as I am aware, we do not know how or where such objects were housed, displayed, or used.

Because the object is an ex voto with the script positive, the impression is in reverse, but readily readable. I provide here a photo of one of the impressions, and another with the same photo reversed.

The six-line inscription, in Akkadian, reads as follows:

¹ <i>a-na</i>	To
² <i>^dEn-lil₂</i>	the god Enlil,
³ <i>be-li₃-šu</i>	his lord,
⁴ <i>Kad-daš₂-man-^dEn-lil₂</i>	Kadašman-Enlil,
⁵ <i>DUMU Kad-daš₂-man-Tur₂-gu</i>	son of Kadašman-Turgu,
⁶ <i>i-qi₂-iš</i>	gave (this object).

Especially noteworthy in this inscription is the spelling of the royal names with *dd*, i.e., Kad-daš₂. While there are several occurrences in other texts of the first syllable written Kad,⁵⁾ it is rare to follow it with daš₂. See BRINKMAN 1976, 141. He cites a single occurrence in a Kadašman-Enlil administrative document that was subsequently published by SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2001, No. 415, dated Kadašman-Enlil year 7. However, BRINKMAN 1976, 163-164 also cites several such writings in inscriptions of Kadašman-Turgu.

Among the unprovenanced inscriptions of Kadašman-Enlil is a bead dedicated to the god Ninurta. It was published by Ernst Herzfeld (HERZFELD 1928-1929, 81-82). He states that he saw it in Baghdad in 1913 and that it later became a part of the Hahn collection in Berlin. He describes it as a cylinder of pale lapis lazuli, 62 mm. long with a thickness of 13.5 mm. and having a wide piercing. He states that the script is very small with shallow engraving. He describes it as “arm an Keilen und wie abgekürzt.”

BRINKMAN 1976, 155, refers to a broken reddish-brown stone bead of Kadašman-Turgu (written Ka-<da>-aš-ma-an-Tur₂-[gu] in a private collection in New York, also unprovenanced. Other similar Kassite period beads are known, including one that I published in 1969 (BUCCELLATI and BIGGS 1969, p. 16, No. 57, with a copy on p. 42) where the royal name can be restored as Šagarakti-Šuriaš.⁶⁾ The bead

(ISAC museum number A32727), measuring 1.6 x 1.1 cm., is described in the ISAC catalogue as “fragmentary red, black, and brown stone bead with hole pierced lengthwise through the center.”⁷⁾ On p. 16, n. 6, I pointed out a similar bead of Šagarakti-Šuriaš published by Donald Wiseman (WISEMAN 1953, 149 ND 3498 with a copy on p. 154) as among finds excavated at Nimrud.⁸⁾ I suggested, p. 16, n. 6, that rather than having been taken from Nippur to Calah in ancient times, the bead might have been taken from Nippur to Nimrud by a Sherqati workman in anticipation of a larger bakshish than he would expect at Nippur.⁹⁾ Wiseman (WISEMAN 1970) mentions that something similar had previously been suspected at Nimrud that season and agreed that this is likely the correct explanation rather than Borger’s suggestion (BORGER 1961, 72) that the bead was transferred in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

To judge by the Herzfeld bead, we might expect the inscription on AS 17, No. 57, to follow the pattern *ana DN bēlišu RN₁ DUMU RN₂ iqîš*, with some royal epithets optional. If this pattern applies, Šagarakti-Šuriaš would be the father and the presenter of the bead would be his successor, Kaštiliaš (IV), but as BRINKMAN 1976, 189, points out, there is no contemporary evidence to prove that Kaštiliaš was a son of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. If that was the pattern followed in this case, the broken state of this bead deprives us of contemporary evidence for the presumed paternity of Kaštiliaš (IV). However, the AS 17 bead could also have had a briefer format, *ana DN bēlišu RN iqîš*, in which case Šagarakti-Šuriaš would be the donor, as in the Wiseman bead.

While there is obviously no proof, I suspect that our inscribed object and the Herzfeld and Wiseman Kassite period inscribed beads mentioned here were all found at Nippur and I believe is likely the case with some of the unprovenanced lapis lazuli votive disks as well.

I am not aware of any surviving information on how our object (presumably a lapis lazuli disk) came into Price’s possession.¹⁰⁾ If it remained in the apartment at the death of Florence Bateman, it may have been accidentally discarded or discarded as of no obvious value. Thus the impressions in red sealing wax that I inadvertently recovered from a trash barrel (while intending to preserve a bit of documentation relevant for nineteenth and early twentieth American history) are the only surviving evidence of the existence of this object dedicated to the god Enlil by Kadašman-Enlil II.

The letters (approximately fifty), school programs, correspondence with the sponsoring Methodist organization, and other materials from the Jesse Lee residential school were donated to the Museum of the Aleutians in Unalaska, Alaska. The wax impressions will be donated to the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures in Chicago.

Notes

1. McDowell family archival materials, 1830s to early 1900s, were donated to the Livingston County, Illinois, Historical Society.

2. For this particular school, see Raymond L. Hudson, *Family After All: The Jesse Lee Home, vol. 1, Unalaska, 1889-1925*. Walnut Creek, California, Hardscratch Press, 2007.

3. The Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago Library holds an extensive collection of his papers (35.75 linear feet). See UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY 2009.

4. See especially CLAYDEN 2011. He points out (p. 13-14) that fourteen inscribed lapis lazuli disks were found in the hoard, but that eight disks originally from the hoard are now unaccounted for. I have not seen any suggestion that any of them are in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection in Jena.

5. BRINKMAN 1976, 141 and 164, cites several occurrences written Kad-aš for both Kadašman-Turgu and Kadašman-Enlil. Additional occurrences are found in DEVECCHI 2020, Nos. 102 and 281.

6. I had incorrectly ascribed the fragmentary royal name to Kaštiliaš, but BRINKMAN 1976, 288, corrects this to Šagarakti-Šuriaš, apparently reading [Ša-ga-rak-t]i-[Šur]-ia-aš.

7. I did not recall the shape of the bead, and wanted to check on how it was pierced, but Karen Wilson informs me that the object has been missing for some forty years. She has kindly provided me a copy of the field photo, and I can see that the bead is inscribed horizontally across its length and is pierced in the direction of the writing. In any case, because it was pierced, it was obviously a piece of cultic jewellery intended to be suspended, presumably on the cult image.

8. BORGER 1961, 72, proposes to read Ša-ga-[rak]-ti-Šur-ia-a[š].

9. If indeed from Nippur, it would surely have been a surface find. Workmen who found such objects were typically rewarded with bakshish. At that time the excavation seasons at Nippur and Nimrud were coordinated so that when the season ended at Nippur, the Sherqati workmen went immediately to begin the season at Nimrud.

10. I might add that, like a number of Old Testament scholars of his time, he had studied Assyriology, and in fact owned numerous Assyriological volumes that he bequeathed to the Oriental Institute library. In Box 22, Folder 1, of Price's papers, called "Varia," are articles on seals and inscriptions. I have not had occasion to consult these papers to see if he refers to this object.

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78) A Hittite Shield-Bearer at Kadesh's Name in Egyptian Hieroglyphs — We find in Carsten Peust's *Egyptian Phonology* (1999), pg. 113:

DIN 1953a: 149) – The name of a Hittite shield bearer in the battle of Qadesh is written *grbws*  (Ramesseum, twice) and *qrbws*  (Abu Simbel) (SCHNEIDER 1992: no. N 471). An identification with a Hittite name has not yet been proposed.

This puzzle had the potential of preserving an early attestation of an Indo-European personal name.

Three fragmentary attestations of the Hittite personal name 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺𐎠 /^mKurabu/ are found on Boğazköy-Hattuša tablets KUB 8.79 (+) KBo 50.85, all in partially preserved context. The reconstructed context for these two tablets and three name attestations can be found attached to tablet KUB 8.79 in the edition of Hagenbuchner (1989: 399).

KUB 8.79 (CTH 209) obv. 10 [[adapted from TLHdig](#) Hethitologie Mainz]

vs. 10' $\hat{U}$ -U]L¹ *ku-en-zi nu A-NA*^M*ku-ra-pu*^M*UR?*.SAG[?]-in [

$\bar{U}-U L^1$	ku-en-zi	nu	A-NA ^M ku-ra-pu	^M UR ² .SAG ² -in	...
not NEG	to strike 3SG.PRS	CONNn	Kurabu {D/L.SG, D/L.PL, ALL}	UR.SAG PNm.ACC.SG.C	

KUB 8.79 (CTH 209) obv. 21 [[adapted from TLHdig](#) Hethitologie Mainz]

vs. 21' *ha-at-ra-n*] *u-un UM-MA* ^M*ku-ra-pu-MA am-mu-uk-[ma-wa*

ha-at-ra-n]u-un	UM-MA	^M ku-ra-pu-MA	am-mu-uk-[ma-wa
to inform 1SG.PST	thus ADV	Kurabu-MA {PNm(UNM)}	I {PPROa.1SG.DAT/ACC, PPROa.1SG.NOM}

The fragmentary context of this first cited line in KUB 8.79 does not permit a translation, but the second cited line is interpreted as a quotation: “Thus speaks Kurabu: ‘I/me [...]’.” Hagenbuchner (1989: p. 400)

proposes from the available context that the writer of this letter is reporting to Ḫattuša about a dispute between two Hittite vassals, one of whom claims the other threatens to kill him. She conjectures that these two vassals are Kurabu and Bentešina.

The recent fragmentary join KBo 50.85 (obv.) 9'-10' merely reinforces the argument that these two actors are most probably Kurabu and Bentešina with another attestation of the Kurabu name.

KBo 50.85 (CTH 209) obv. 9'-10' [adapted from TLHdig Hethitologie Mainz]

9' UM-MA ^Mku-ra-[bu-MA

10' 'GIM'-an-wa ^MZ[AG.ŠEŠ-aš

Scholarship on Hittite prosopography in van den Hout (1995: 150) and Klengel (1992: 168) identify this rival official Bentešina as King of Amurru under Ḫattušili III, a vassalship later renewed by Tudḫaliya IV, which confirms that Bentešina was contemporaneous with the battle of Kadesh and living in the region of Syria and Lebanon. Since the letter fragments above show that Kurabu was Bentešina's political rival and contemporary within his kingdom, it is reasonable to assume either that Kurabu fought in the battle of Kadesh on the Hittite side, or more cautiously, that the Egyptians would have reason to think that he did. The match between the Hittite ^mKurabu/ of the letters and the Egyptian epigraphic /Grbws/ is thus secured (see also Houwink ten Cate 2006).

One small problem remains, that of the presence of a final /-s/ in /Grbws/ which is absent from ^mKurabu/. It can be explained as an Egyptian transcription of the Hittite citation form or reference form of any noun. This is a form, always expressed in the IE nominative case, whose ending is not always reflected in the Hittite writing system (see Hoffner-Melchert (2024: 312-13 §16.8)).

This discovery confirms the identity of a Hittite general at Kadesh. This discovery also has implications for knowledge of the phonology of Hittite and Egyptian. For instance, with regard to the velars, the equidistance of Hitt. /k/ from transcribed Egy. /q/ and /g/ is interesting.

Another Hittite charioteer's name transcribed with Hieroglyphics in the same Ramesside inscription, /Trgnns/, can be best identified with the Hittite-Luwian name /Tarḫu-nanis/ "brother of Tarḫunna" from Proto-Indo-European root **terh₂-* per. Kloekhorst (2008: 835). This shortened form of that attested on KBo 32.198 Ro 6: ^mTar-ḫu-na-ŠEŠ-ni-iš/, [Tarhu<n>na-nanis] (Trémouille, Répertoire Onomastique) can be safely posited on the basis of similar shortened Tarḫu-compounds such as Laroche (1966) no. 1279: /Tar-ḫu-zi-ti-da-/ "man of Tarḫunna" and Laroche (1966) no. 1260: ^mTar-ḫu-mi-(im)-ma-/ "favored by Tarḫunna." See especially Laroche (1966: 176) no. 1261 on /Tarḫu-nanis/ as a possible reading of ^mdU-ŠEŠ/. It is interesting that Hitt. /ḫ/, the reflex of the reconstructed PIE laryngeal, is transcribed with Egy. /g/.

Acknowledgements: H. Craig MELCHERT confirmed this proposed association (personal communication). I thank him deeply for his extensive feedback and help in preparing this note.

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79) Reconsidering the Chronology of Idu: The Evidence of BM 122635+ — Idu was incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system most likely during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I (MARV 4 127; PAPPI 2018, 101–102 with bibliography). The Assyrian records from Aššur attesting to *gina’u* tributes to the temple often bear dates that cannot be precisely fixed. However, two governors of Idu are attested: Aššur-abuk-aḥḥē, mentioned in the year of the *limu* Aššur-šallimšunu (MARV 6 22), who was in office in the 15th year of the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši, just before Tiglathpileser I took the throne (FREYDANK 2016, 101); and Aššur-eriš, attested in a text dated to the *limu* Ninurta-aḥa-iddina (MARV 1 25), recognized as serving during the mid-reign of Tiglathpileser I (FREYDANK 2016, 192). The epigraphic finds from Satu Qala attest to a later dynasty of local kings ruling after the end of the phase in which Idu was part of the Middle Assyrian administration and before the reconquest by Adad-nirari II in 893 BCE in the Early Neoassyrian period. The precise moment of transition from provincial administration to dynastic autonomy has long remained uncertain, possibly occurring in the middle of the reign of Tiglathpileser I, when textual evidence indicates that Assyrian control of the Lower Zab was slowly fading. The reading of the toponym *Idu* in BM 122635+ would reframe the chronological framework of this polity within the Assyrian administration. While Llop proposed a possible reading *i-[sa-na]* (LLOP 2015, 259), the size of the sign *i-* combined with the physical space available on the tablet (BM 122635, CDLI, October 24, 2024, <https://cdli.earth/P422417>) strongly favors the restoration of the toponym *Idu*, as already suggested by Postgate (Postgate 1985). This indicates that an Assyrian governor was still active there in the first half of the 11th century, later than previously assumed. Though the reading of *Idu* still remains uncertain, the chronological proposal for text BM 122635+ made by Llop (LLOP 2015, 259–261 with bibliography), which dates the tablet to the reign of Aššur-bēl-kala, postpones the presence of Assyrian administration at the Lower Zab to the beginning of the 11th century BCE, later than the mid-reign of Tiglathpileser I, as previously assumed. Confirming the reading of *Idu* and the dating of the text to the reign of Aššur-bēl-kala, we may assume that Ubasaju was the last governor of Idu (BM 122635+: ’12). The local dynasty of Idu (VAN SOLDT et al. 2013) did not replace Assyrian authority abruptly but rather emerged in a context where imperial infrastructures remained in place. This supports models of Assyrian frontiers as a repertoire of adaptive strategies rather than a rigid sequence of province, vassal, reconquest.

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80) On the Localization of Zaqu — Zaqu is a center documented in cuneiform sources from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (MTT II/2 s.v.; RGTC 7/2 s.v.), typically described as a fortress. The toponym is likely first attested in the latter half of Tiglathpileser I’s reign (limû of Adad-rēša-iši; FREYDANK 2016, 181), appearing only through a *nisbe*. In this context, it is mentioned alongside Adauš, a neighboring region, to indicate the origin of a person transferred to Nineveh (KAM 11, 105: 8’). Later sources refer to Zaqu, along with Idu, as a fortress (*birtu*) of Assyria in the context of Nebuchadnezzar I’s campaign against Assyria (LLOP – GEORGE 2001/2002, 9; 3: 35’, 38’). The toponym reappears under Adad-nirari II, who, while addressing the recovery of territories lost after Tiglathpileser I, claims to have returned Arrapha and Lubdu, “fortresses of Karduniaš,” to Assyria (RIMA 2, A.99.2: 29). In the same text, he similarly reports the reconquest of Idu and Zaqu, explicitly defining them as “fortresses of Assyria” (*birâte Aššur*, RIMA 2, A.99.2: 34).

The identification of Idu with Satu Qala on the Lower Zab suggests a nearby location for Zaqu, possibly on the river's southern bank (PAPPI 2012, 606). Bagg rejects this localization, noting that a Neo-Assyrian edict (SAA 12 72), likely from the reign of Adad-nirari III, might place Zaqu on the northern bank of the Lower Zab, within the province of Arbail (RGTC 7/2, 643). Assuming a geographic association of Zaqu with Idu and the land of Adauš (KAM 11, 105; FREYDANK 2017, 66–67), identified with the Haibat-Sultan-Dagh, a mountainous chain located southeast of modern Koisanjaq/Koya (RGTC 7/3 s.v. with bibliography), its location may be sought in the Koya plain extending southeast of Koisanjaq/Koya along the western slopes of the Haibat-Sultan-Dagh. Recent results from the *Archaeological Survey of Koya Project*, conducted by the Freie Universität Berlin, confirm the presence of numerous Late Bronze and Iron Age sites in this area, contemporary with Satu Qala/Idu (PAPPI 2022, xix–xxi). Among these, the site of Ashti, already registered in the *Atlas of Archaeological Sites of Iraq* as Qalate Harabe (DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF ANTIQUITIES 1979, no. 98) and recorded by the Archaeological Survey of Koya Project as ASK #14, today named Ashti (Pappi 2022, xix–xxi fig. 5), is one of the largest and richest multi-period sites in the region.

Ashti is a 10-hectare site, consisting of a main mound and a lower town. Though today largely covered by a modern village, the surface collections include a substantial quantity of Middle and Neo-Assyrian ceramics, with particularly significant evidence from the Late Middle Assyrian period (PAPPI 2024, 315 fig. 12.9). One of the arguments for placing Zaqu on the northern bank of the Lower Zab is its political association with the district of Arbail. This localization is further supported by the fact that most of the routes from the southern regions passed either through the Raniya Plain or across the fords east of Satu Qala. The combination of ceramic evidence and strategic location, connecting Satu Qala/Idu through the Takultu and Haibat-Sultan-Dagh passes toward the Raniya Plain in the east and the Lower Zab in the south, strongly supports the identification of Ashti as a plausible candidate for ancient Zaqu.

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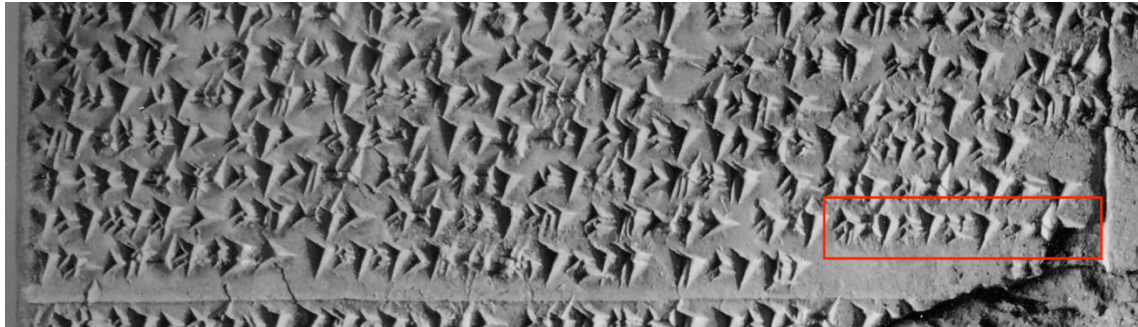
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81) On ^(GI)damalanga- and a Hittite ‘ghost word’ †damalata- — The nature of the poorly attested word ^(GI)damalanga- found in the Hittite texts has hitherto remained obscure. Tischler’s HEG T/D, Vol. 1, p. 70 and HHW, p. 184 briefly state “Nomen. u[nbekannte].B[eutung]”, while Burgin, *Studies in Hittite Economic Administration*, Vol. I, StBoT 70, Wiesbaden 2022, p. 357 proposes that it was “a serving tray or table of some sort.”

Some of the qualities of ^(GI)damalanga- can now be revealed thanks to a new reading of the line KUB 29.4+ i 37 (CTH 481 – Expansion of the cult of the goddess of the night). In his edition of this ritual, Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals*, StBoT 46, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 276 reads the line: 1 ^{GI}tup-pa-aš ma-a-na-aš ŠA AD.KID ma-a-na-aš ŠA ta-ma-la-ta

“1 basket—either of reed or of *tamalata*”. However, a closer look at the photo of the tablet (see Photo) reveals that the end of the line does not include a TA with the lower part of the last vertical broken off, but rather two signs: GA and AŠ.



Excerpt from KUB 29.4 with the word *ta-ma-la-ga-^laš^l* framed in red. Photograph Hethitologie-Archiv B3872.

What both Ehelolf, the copyist of the tablet (KUB 29, p. 7), and the editor of KUB 29.4 took for the head of the last vertical of TA is in fact a horizontal wedge running along the break (thus AŠ). Note that it is also removed from the previous cluster of wedges, while the examples of TA in the text (as well as of ŠA) have the last vertical always hugging the upper *Winkelhaken*. In effect, the reading of the last word can be restored as *ta-ma-la-ga-^laš^l*, clearly a variant of ^(GI)*damalanga-*. As there seems to be no other instance of the *tamalata-* in the Hittite corpus, it can be deemed a ‘ghost word’.

With this new reading, we now count seven attestations of ^(GI)*damalanga-* in the Hittite corpus:

Attestations	CTH	Script	Spelling
Bo 5891	241	NS	-m]a-la-an-ga-aš
KUB 59.53 i 10	473	NS	ta-ma-la-an- ^l ga ^l -aš
KUB 29.4+ i 37	481	NS	ŠA ta-ma-la-ga- ^l aš ^l
KBo 24.67 i 5'	626	MS	d]a-ma-la-an-ga-aš
KBo 39.66+ 7'	626	MS	^{GI} da-ma-la-an-ga-aš
KBo 30.96+ iv 2'	626	NS	-l]a-an-ga-aš
KBo 39.65 9'	626?	NS	ta-ma-la-a[n-

In all better-preserved cases, the word ends in -aš and is associated with another object. The passage of KUB 29.4+ i 37 discussed above clearly demonstrates that it is to be understood as a genitive sg. and that the ^(GI)*damalanga-* was used – along AD.KID “wicker-work” – for creating objects. So far, two containers made of ^(GI)*damalanga-* are attested: ^{GI}Š^l*tuppa-* (“basket, container”, KUB 29.4+ i 37) and ^{GI}/GIŠ^l*wera-* (“basket”, KBo 24.67 i 5': ^{GI}d]a-ma-la-an-ga-aš ^{GI}rú-e^l-ri; KBo 30.96+ iv 2': ^{GI}da-ma-l]a-an-ga-aš ^{GI}Šrú^l-[e-ra-a]š).

The determinative GI associates ^(GI)*damalanga-* with reed. Since it is unlikely that the word is a generic term for “reed”, it should denote a specific kind of reed or a reed-like material used to fabricate objects.

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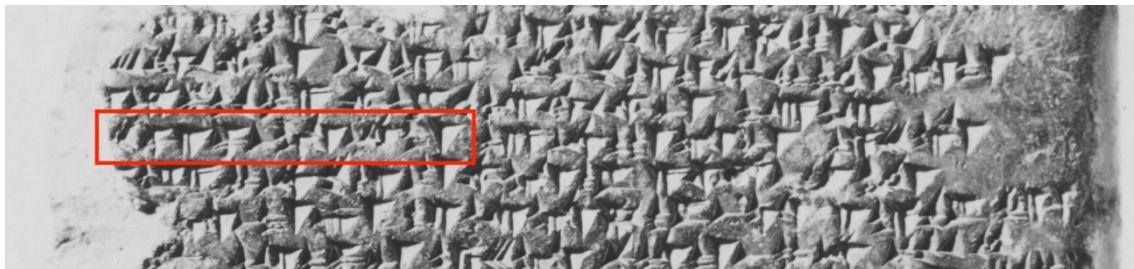
82) A Hittite ‘ghost town’ †Ippaššana — In his Apology, Ḫattušili III recalls the crisis that ensued in the Hittite kingdom when his brother, king Muwatalli II moved the capital to Tarḫuntašša. The kingdom left without its ruler fell prey to the Kaskaans from the north. Numerous subordinate regions revolted, and the enemy began to raid Hittite territories. In one of the passages describing these dark times for the Hittite kingdom, Ḫattušili writes: “[...] the land of Ippaššana, however, was uninhabited, [so the enemy troops] penetrated as far as the land of Šuwadara.” (Apology of Ḫattušili III, col. ii §6 12–13; transl. after VAN DEN

HOUT 2003: 201). The reading “land of Ippaššana” (KUR *ip-pa-aš-ša-na-ma*, KUB 1.6 ii 6') goes back at least to Goetze's first edition of the text (GÖTZE 1925: 14), and has been accepted in all editions since. This toponym is unattested in any other composition, and its only other instance is only partially preserved in a duplicate text KBo 3.6 i 76: *-i]p-p[a-a]š-ša-na-ma*.

However, a closer look at the tablet KUB 1.6 ii 6' reveals that the reading KUR *ip-pa-aš-ša-na-ma* is incorrect. The first sign is clearly not KUR – it significantly differs from other instances of KUR in the same text and it seems to have four, not three *Winkelhaken*, forming a ŠE group. This suggests that this is a partly preserved ZI, which means the toponym should be read *z]i-ip-pa-aš-ša-na* (there is also a toponym Šalipaššana, e.g. KUB 26.43 obv. 21, but the sign traces do not allow for the reading LI). An additional support of this new reading comes from a festival fragment KBo 48.35, whose rev. 1 reads:]^{URU}*z]i-ip-pa-aš-ša-na* KUR ^{URU}*šu-wa-a-[ta-ra]*, thus mentioning the same couple of toponyms that we find in the above cited passage in the Apology. The toponym Ippaššana is thus not attested in the Hittite texts.

KBo 48.35 was identified by Nakamura (2002: 113) as describing the 16th day of the *nuntarriyašha*- festival (CTH 626), during which a “festival of the road to Nerik” in Ḫattuša is celebrated. This is unlikely however: while the text mentions a road or journey (KASKAL) to Nerik, it does not necessarily speak of the said festival. Note that rev. 5 mentions the return trip (EGIR.KASKAL-*NI*), which suggests that somebody actually went to Nerik, unlikely during the *nuntarriyašha*- festival, whose celebrations did not include cities so far from the Hittite capital. This, together with the reference of the toponyms Zippaššana and Šuwadara speaks against the attribution of KBo 48.35 to CTH 626. It is more likely that the fragment belongs either to CTH 679 (Festival of the Journey to Nerik) or to CTH 678 (Festival fragments regarding the cult of Nerik).

The new reading of the toponym in KUB 1.6 causes some geographical confusion, however. Apart from the Apology and KBo 48.35, Zippaššana (written also Zippašna) is attested exclusively in the Annals of Ḫattušili I (CTH 4), in a context which seems to locate it in Syria, in the same general area as Ḫaššuwa and Ḫaḫḫum (see recently COHEN 2017: 296). It is unlikely that the above citation in the Apology would refer to the same region. Much more probable is a northern location of the city somewhere on the road from Ḫattuša to Nerik. It seems therefore reasonable to propose, however unattractive such a solution can be, that there were two different cities called Zippašna/Zippaššana.



Excerpt from KUB 1.6 with the word *z]i-ip-pa-aš-ša-na* framed in red. Photograph Hethitologie-Archiv BoFN00420a.

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83) KBo 71.177, a new piece of the Hittite-Assyrian diplomatic correspondence — In the eighth fascicle of KBo 71, published in March 2025, there is an Akkadian fragment (no. 177; Bo 2024/10) written with signs of Assyrian form. This tablet fragment, measuring 67 × 42 × 30 mm, was discovered on the north-west slope of Büyükkale in Hattuša / Boğazköy. The publisher identifies it as a piece of international diplomatic correspondence (CTH 187), likely belonging to the Hittite-Assyrian file (SCHWEMER 2025: XX). The letter was addressed to a Hittite king by his Assyrian counterpart. Currently, nine Middle Assyrian letters sent to the rulers of Hatti are known (LLOP 2012: 293)¹⁾. KBo 71.177 is expected to be the tenth document in this group.

Obv.1	[um-ma PN ₁ (lugal gal) lugal kur ^d]a[š-šur-ma]
2	[a-na PN ₂ (lugal gal) lugal kur]ha-at-ti šeš-ia qí-bi-ma
3	[a-na ia-ši ... dumu ² -me]š ² -ia érin-meš-ia
4	[... -ní]š/ ...-i]a dan-níš ¹ šul-mu ¹
5	[a-na ku-a-ša ...-]ka ¹ dumu ¹ -meš-ka érin-meš ¹ -ka
6	[... (dan-níš) d]an-níš lu-ú šul-mu
7	[...] la-a i-na ¹ kù ¹ -x ¹ -[...]
8	[...] ap-pu-na [...]
9	[...] pa-an šà ¹ x ¹ [...]
10	[...] x a-na [...]
Rev.1'	[...] u ² -[...]
2'	[...] sig ₅ al-la-ak [(x)]
3'	[...] -na]m ² / ...-z]i ² al-la-ak
4'	[...] vacat
5'	[...] ta i-na bi-ru-ni
6'	[...] x [m]a-a [š]um-ma a-na ¹ šà ¹ kur]ha-[a]t-ti
7'	[...] ti-šu li-il-li-ik
8'	[...] (-)]u lugal kur]ha-at-ti ¹ x ¹
9'	[...] a ¹ -na ag-ru-ut-ti-ia ¹ aq ¹ -bi
U.e.1	[...] x šu x [...]
2	[...] ta]-aš-ni-ti
3	[...] vacat

Obv. (1) [Thus speaks PN₁, (the great king,) the king of the land of] A[ššur.] (2) Say [to PN₂, (the great king,) the king of the land of Hatti, m]y [brother²⁷] / (3) [With me ...] my [sons²], my troops, (4) [...] it is [ver]y-very well! / (5) [With you ...] your [...], your sons, your troops (6) may it be also [very-v]ery well! / (7) [...] not in .. [...] (8) [...] moreover [...] (9) [...] to]wards² the middle ..[...] (10) [...].. to [...] Rev. (1') [...] .. [...] (2') [...] good, I will go [...] (3') [...].. I will go. (4') [...] (empty space) / (5') [...].. between us, (6') [...].. (saying) as follows: “If to the middle of the land of Hatti (7') [...] his [...].. let him go!” (8') [...].. the king of the land Hatti 'said²¹ (9') [...] I said concerning the wages of mine / enmity² against me. U.e. (1) [...] ... [...] (2) [...] of [re]petition (3) [...] (empty space)

Obv. (1) Contrary to the usual Middle Assyrian practice, the name of the sender is placed at the beginning of the letter, before the name of the addressee (cf. CANKIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1996: 55). The same sequence of the elements is found in other letters of the Hittite-Assyrian diplomatic correspondence, both Akkadian and Hittite, and this conforms with the tradition established in the international relations in Syro-Anatolian region and Egypt from the second half of the 14th century B.C. (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004: 41–43).

(2) The addressing formula appears to differ from that of KBo 28.59, a letter of Shalmaneser I addressed either to Hattušili III or to Tudhaliya IV. This is the only Assyrian letter to Hattuša in which the beginning lines were not completely destroyed (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004: 107). In KBo 28.59 the verb *qibīma* is preceded by the title of the Hittite king: lugal kur *ha-at-te*. In KBo 71.177 the last sign before *qibīma* cannot be either TE or TI. The traces resemble the sign IA, which may be part of the epithet *šeš-ia* ‘my brother’. The address ‘my brother’ is attested (KBo 18.24, KUB 23.99, KUB 23.19 (+) VS 28.132) or reconstructed (KBo 18.20, KUB 3.74) in the beginning of five letters written by the Hittite kings to Aššur (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004: 41–42).

(3) Since l. 5 has *dumu-meš* followed by *érin-meš*, the same sequence should be reconstructed here in l. 3. Clearly, the greeting formula differs from that of KBo 28.59 which has no mention of ‘sons’ (*dumu-meš*) (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004, 107). Probably, in this respect, KBo 71.177 is closer to Amarna letters of great kings and the letters of Hittite-Egyptian correspondence from Boğazköy, which feature the so-called ‘extended Amarna greeting formula’, in which the royal relatives are mentioned.

(4) It is questionable whether the last sign belonging to the lacuna can be restored as a simple, not doubled vertical wedge. If it is, however, the case, it should be read as IA and interpreted as part of the final word of a prepositional phrase governed by *ana* ‘to, for’ in which each noun takes a possessive first-person pronominal suffix *-ya* ‘my’: “for my house, my wives, etc.”. Probably, it should be part of [*ù a-na kur-i*]a “[and to] m[y land]”.

If the sign in question ends in a simple vertical wedge, it most likely should be restored as IS = *nīš* and understood as part of [*dan-ni*]š ‘strongly; very’, followed by another instance of the same word: [*dan-ni*]š *dan-nīš*. The doubled use of *danniš* is probably attested in both parts of the greeting formula, in regard both to the sender and the addressee, in RS 34.165, a letter by an Assyrian king — probably Shalmaneser I — found at Ugarit (DIETRICH 2003: 112), as well as in some letters of the Hittite-Egyptian diplomatic correspondence, e.g., KBo 28.17 (EDEL 1994: 48). In the Amarna letters, the sequence of two *danniš* appears exclusively in the second part of the greeting formula, which pertains to the addressee.

(3–6) Given the parallels in letters from Amarna and Boğazköy, one can reconstruct the full version of ll. 3–6 as follows:

3	[<i>a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na é-ia dam-meš-ia dumu-me</i>]š- <i>ia érin-meš-ia</i>
4	[<i>anše-kur-ra-meš-ia giš-gigir-meš-ia ù a-na ša-bi kur-i</i>]a / <i>kur-ia dan-ni</i>]š <i>dan-nīš</i> ¹ <i>šul-mu</i> ¹
5	[<i>a-na ku-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu a-na é-ka a-na dam-meš-</i>]ka ¹ ¹ <i>dumu</i> ¹ - <i>meš-ka érin-meš</i> ¹ -ka
6	[<i>anše-kur-ra-meš-ka giš-gigir-meš-ka ù a-na ša-bi kur-ka (dan-nīš) d</i>]an-nīš <i>lu-ú šul-mu</i>

“[It is well with me. With my house, my wives], my [son]s, my troops, [my horses, my chariots and within my land] it is [ver]y-very well (or: ...and within m[y] [land] it is very well). / [May it be well with you. With you house, with] your [wives], your sons, your troops, [your horses, your chariots and within your land] may it be [(very)-v]ery well”.

A shorter version (without doubled *dan-nīš* and possibly omitting elements like *šulmu* in ll. 3 and 5) is probably preferable. The current reconstruction of l. 3 contains 19 signs. Compare it to l. 6’ of rev. with its 11 signs: it is quite plausible that the original line had eight more signs at the beginning that are broken off.

(7) The sign after the hypothetical KÛ may be either 𒄩 or a sign beginning with a 𒄩-element.

(10) The sign before *ana* may be ZU or IB.

Rev. (5’) *i-na bi-ru-ni* — ‘among, between us’, locative of *bere* ‘among’ plus 1st person plural enclitic pronoun (DE RIDDER 2018: 308–309).

(6’) The first visible sign can be UM, DUB, or a Middle Assyrian form of TA (LABAT 1976: 98, Ass. no. 3; CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1996: 76, TA no. 3), which differs from the variant used in l. 5’ above. Reading TA allows for a tentative reconstruction of the 2nd person masc. sg. pronoun [... *at-*]ta, which may be appropriate in the context of citation. At first glance, reading UM with the intention of arriving at *um-[m]a-a* ‘thus’ is not attractive, since in Middle Assyrian, *umma* is only used at the beginning of letters (DE RIDDER 2018: 531, 533) and there is no noun or pronoun in the further context referring to the speaker. However, the text may exhibit different dialectal features, including *umma* used to introduce direct speech (cf. RS 34.165 obv. 30)².

(7’) Due to the fragment’s damaged state, it is impossible to accurately determine the boundary of direct speech in these lines.

(8’) One can interpret the last two signs as ¹*iq-bi*¹, ‘he said’.

(9’) ***a-na ag-ru-ut-ti-ia*** — *agruṭtu*, a Middle Assyrian form of *agrūtu* ‘hire; wages’ (CAD A₁: 153). Alternatively, it may be understood as *a<-na> na-ak-ru-ut-ti-ia* ‘for my hostility’, *nakrūtu* (CAD N₁: 195), with a sign NA omitted by haplography.

A damaged surface capable of containing three or four lines extends down to the bottom of the tablet.

U.e. (2) *ta-aš-ni-ti* — gen.sg. of *tašnītu* ‘repetition’ (CAD T: 295), word used in designation of months. It is likely that there was a date at the end of the letter. A *līmu*-dating is mentioned in KBo 28.59 rev. 6’.

The fragment lacks sufficient information to establish its precise historical context. If accurately reconstructed, the addressing and greeting formulas suggest a formal equality and brotherhood between the two parties³. However, these elements should not be taken at face value as indicative of the actual state of diplomatic relations between Hatti and Assyria. Notably, the fragment frequently uses the verb *alaku* ‘to go’ (rev. 2’, 3’, 7’). All other Akkadian letters in the Hittite-Assyrian correspondence contain the same total number of occurrences of this term — three (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004: 230). Since the first-person singular form is used in two instances, it most likely refers to the author, the Assyrian king. The direction and nature of his movements cannot be inferred from the context, unless one speculatively restores the text in rev. 3’ something like: [... *a-na ta-ḫa-z*]i *al-la-ak* “I will go for battle”. Additionally, the prepositional phrase “between us” (rev. 5’) points out to a discussion over bilateral relations, and the further context, which mentions the land of Hatti along with the verbal form *lillik* “let him go”, may allude to a diplomatic exchange.

Notes

1. KBo 28.59, KBo 28.60, KBo 28.61(+)+62(+)+64(+)+63, KBo 28.67, KBo 28.73, KUB 3.73, KUB 3.75, KUB 3.77(+)+3.78, KUB 37.114 (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004: 6–7). Of these nine fragments, the authorship of an Assyrian king can be suggested for only four: KBo 28.59, KUB 3.73, KBo 28.61(+)+62(+)+64(+)+63, KUB 37.114 (ibid.). The remaining pieces are two fragmentary to definitely confirm their association with royal correspondence.
2. For the use of *umma* without a following reference to a speaker in Middle Babylonian see DEUTSCHER 2007: 79–82.
3. On the Hittite side, the equal rank of the Assyrian rulers as well as their great king status were recognized during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, as evidenced by KBo 18.24, — a letter he sent to Shalmaneser I (MORA, GIORGIERI 2004: 87–98).

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84) The Luwian ‘Supreme God’ — The Hittite-Luwian cuneiform texts from the archives of Ḫattuša contain two genetically related Luwian lexemes: the noun *zar(r)iya-* and the adjective *zarizza-*. No translations for these terms, illustrated by passages (1) and (2), has been established thus far (MELCHERT 2024: 303). The noun is typically listed among various elements of landscape, while the adjective functions as a divine epithet. For a characteristic occurrence of the nominal form *zariya-*, see example (1) below:

- (1) KBo 29.3+ ii 5–6, CTH 760.2, Luwian ritual incantation, Kuwattalla tradition
x-ta-at-ta a-ar-la-nu-wa-at-ta pār-ra-ia-an-za ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ}-*za* / *x-x-pa-ia-an-za za-ar-ri-ia-an-za* ÍD^{MEŠ}-*an-za* Ú.SAL^{HLA}-*an-za ú-i-da-an-za*
 ‘He/it has relocated them [the miasma] to high mountains, ..., *zarriya-*, rivers, meadows, (and) lakes’.

The interpretation of the fragmentary Luwian passage (2), featuring the lexeme *zarizza-*, requires some additional comments. The adjective *zarizza-*, furnished with a productive suffix *-zza-*, is in the accusative and presumably agrees with the following noun ‘god’. In addition to (2), it also occurs in the tiny fragment KBo 29.29:5 ‘*a-wa-ti za-a-ri-iz-z[an-an ...]*’ ‘[...] the *zarizza-* [god]’, which probably belongs to a parallel passage. The meaning of the 3sg.pst verbal form *warḫa-tta* remains unknown. I assume that the Luwian verb *kunuwa*⁽ⁱ⁾ ‘to pour’ represents a derivative of the PIE root **ǵheu-* ‘to pour’ furnished with the causative suffix *-nuwa-* and thus a cognate of Vedic *juhómi*, Greek *χέω*, and Latin *fundere* with the same lexical meaning. The proposed etymology implies that PIE **ǵh-* lost its palatalization in front of the back vowel *u*. An additional Luwian reflex of the same root is *kuttassar(i)-* ‘orthostate’ (KLOEKHORST 2008: 499), which displays the identical phonetic development. For an alternative interpretation of *kunuwa*⁽ⁱ⁾ as ‘to taste (?)’, which is equally compatible with all the conclusions to follow but requires additional phonological assumptions, see MELCHERT 2024: 117.

- (2) KBo 29.28:3–5, CTH 765, Hittite-Luwian conjuration
a-wa-ti za-ri-iz-za-an ma-aš-š[a-ni-in] / [... n]a-a-wa wa-ar-ḫa-at-ta a-w[a(-) ...] / [... w]a-ar-ša ku-ú-nu-wa-at-[ta]
 ‘[...] the *zarizza-* go[d]. [...] he] did not *warḫa-* [...] h]e poured’ water’.

Both fragments containing the divine epithet *zarizza-* belong to the Hittite-Luwian conjurations (CTH 764–766), which must be treated as a separate genre according to “their function, pantheon, linguistic

features, and formulaic repertoire” (MOUTON, YAKUBOVICH 2021: 46). A distinct feature of this genre consists in mythological narratives embedded into the apotropaic religious performance, which only occur sporadically in the Hittite rituals (for a selection of examples, see GÖRKE 2019). Some of these passages feature a deity whose name is heterographically or semi-heterographically recorded as DINGIR-LUM RA-BU-Ú / *šal-li-in* DING[IR-LAM] ‘Great god’ (KBo 43.223+ obv. i 3’, ii 16’). According to a better-preserved passage, after the Great god was not invited to a divine feast organized by the Storm-god, he waxed wrath, actively set out to destroy the world by means of agitating the sea together with the earth, caused a volcanic eruption, and in addition harmed the patient’s head and body (IVANOV 2025: 31). The lost prescriptive part of the conjuration presumably introduces a remedy against the harm caused by the enraged Great God. The identification of the Great God with the Mesopotamian Nergal is proposed in HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994: 258.

As far as one can judge, the fragmentary context (2) mentioning the *zarizza-* god is well compatible with its attribution to a comparable mythological passage. The reference to pouring (or tasting) water fits the setting of a divine feast, and may even be taken as an offensive activity if water was offered instead of wine. The paragraph to follow appears to mention body parts in the accusative, namely KBo 29.28:6 *lu-pa-al-la-aš-ša* ‘cranium, scalp’ and KBo 29.28:8 *zi-i-da-ni-in* ‘manhood (?)’; these may belong to the patient and may have been harmed by the insulted deity. But the parallel between the divine titles ‘Great god’ and ‘*zarizza-* god’ is more cogent, since there are simply no other divine titles with the structure ADJECTIVE + ‘GOD’ in the corpus of Hittite-Luwian conjurations. One can therefore propose that the terms ‘Great god’ and ‘*zarizza-* god’ constitute the equivalent divine titles (epicleses) in the Hittite and Luwian languages respectively. If this hypothesis holds, the meaning of the Luwian epithet *zarizza-* may either be ‘great’ or belong to the same semantic field. Taking in consideration the related noun designating a landscape feature, one can literally interpret this adjective as ‘supreme’ and assign the meaning ‘summit, top’ to the landscape term *zar(r)iya-* in (1).

This combinatorial interpretation of both terms derives additional support from etymological evidence. The Hittite compound adverb *kitkar* ‘at the head (of), on top’ represents “a noun-based adverbial compound consisting of *kit-* (either suffixless locative or instrumental of *ka-* ‘this’) and **kar* (suffixless locative of **k̑(h₁)-* ‘head’)” (PUHVEL 1997: 201–202). According to KLOEKHORST 2008: 473, the expected laryngeal is *h₂* but more probably, the form under discussion had no final laryngeal at all. The structural parallels for this compound, involving the cognate second element, are supplied by Greek prepositional phrases ἐπὶ ἄνω ‘head down’ and ἀνὰ ἄνω ‘upwards’. One can therefore reconstruct the cognate Luwian noun **zar-* < **k̑(H)-* ‘top’, the base of the Luwian possessive adjective **zari(ya/i)-* ‘superior’, which yields in turn the nominalization *zariya-* ‘summit’ (for the last process, see SASSEVILLE 2014/2015). The Luwian adjective *zarizza-* ‘topmost, supreme’ was derived from the same stem **zar-*, and therefore, the Luwian phrase *zarizza- maššan(i)-* can be translated as ‘Supreme God’. I hasten to add that this phrase need not be taken literally, as an indication of the supremacy of this deity in the Luwian pantheon, but rather represents an honorific title.

Finally, the root **zar-* might be present in the name of the Kizzuwadnean physician Zarpiya, to whom a well-preserved Hittite-Luwian ritual against plague is attributed (CTH 757, PETROPOULOS, BAYUN 2021). Under the proposed analysis, the Luwian personal name *zar-piya-* has the auspicious literal meaning “‘given on top’”, presumably referring to the parents’ wish fulfilled by the gods.

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85) Nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite V — Cette brève communication présente deux nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite, ainsi qu'un nouveau joint entre deux fragments louvites déjà connus.

1. Le fragment KBo 40.301 a fait l'objet d'une publication en autographie en 1997 par Otten & Rüster, qui l'ont classé dans la catégorie CTH 832 (*Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes*). Malgré sa petite taille, il est possible de l'attribuer à la même tablette d'argile que KBo 33.104+ (voir SASSEVILLE 2020), une hypothèse qui a pu être vérifiée au musée des civilisations anatoliennes à Ankara. En opposition avec l'affirmation contenue dans l'autographie de KBo 40.301, il est observé l'absence d'une seconde ligne avant le trait du paragraphe. Une analyse comparative des autres pièces de la tablette KBo 33.104+ révèle que le scribe réserve un espace substantiel entre sa troisième ligne et le trait du paragraphe. Observant la structure du morceau KUB 35.156, qui est relié indirectement à KBo 33.104, il est possible de proposer une restauration du mot *ši-i-ru-ut-ti-i-iš* à la troisième ligne. Le fragment KBo 40.301 translitéré ci-dessous peut donc être attribué à la langue louvite.

col. de droite

1'	[] x [
2'	ḫa-a-ši-[(ou ḫa-a-a[r-)
3'	a- ^r ru ^l -[
4'	^r ši ^l -[i-ru-ut-ti-i-iš

2. Le fragment KBo 43.20 a été attribué à la catégorie des fragments de rituels inclassifiables (CTH 470) lors de sa publication en autographie par Otten & Rüster (2002). En ce qui concerne sa paléographie, il apparaît que l'écriture a été réalisée selon le ductus du hittite moyen, comme en attestent les signes KU₇, AK et SAR. L'analyse des particules =*ti* (réfl.) et =*du* (pron. 2^e ou 3^e sing.) à la ligne 4' permet de conclure à l'absence de langue hittite aux lignes 4'–7', contrairement aux lignes 1'–3'. En effet, le hittite ne possède pas ces particules. Par conséquent, le passage est soit en louvite soit en palaïte. D'autres éléments lexicaux évoqués ci-dessous semblent conforter cette interprétation et nous amener à privilégier l'identification de la langue louvite.

1'	N]INDA. ^r KU ₇ ^l x [
2'	] GA.KIN.A[G
3'	] -zi []
4'	-i]š-ti-du ma-a[l-
5'	] -ša-ni-ia-an-za a-[
6'	š]ar-la-ia ma-[
7'	] x-x [] x [

Le mot acéphale]-*šaniyanza* appartient probablement au mot louvite *maššani(ya)*- « divin », au datif/locatif du pluriel ou au nominatif/accusatif singulier neutre. Si cela est juste, il serait possible de procéder à la restauration de *ma-aš]-ša-ni-ia-an-za*. Dans la ligne 6', on identifie le mot *šarlaya*, qui présente une correspondance exacte avec l'adverbe SUPER-*la-ia* /*sarlaya*/ signifiant « en haut », attesté en louvite hiéroglyphe dans l'inscription de KARKAMIŠ A6, §10.

3. En mai 2025, il a été possible de joindre les fragments KUB 35.101 et KBo 14.114, reconnus dès leur publication comme appartenant à la langue louvite, de façon directe l'un au-dessus de l'autre au musée des civilisations anatoliennes à Ankara. Bien que ce joint ne complète aucune phrase, il confirme l'appartenance des deux fragments à la même tablette. En outre, une autopsie a permis de conclure que cette tablette est vraisemblablement identique à celle qui contient l'incipit de KBo 29.28. Par conséquent, il s'agirait du rituel du ^{LÚ}zipuriya. La collation des fragments KUB 35.101 et KBo 14.114 a permis d'améliorer les translitérations publiées par Otten (1953 : 95) et Starke (1985 : 256f., 408f.). Dans le cadre cette étude, nous nous intéressons spécifiquement au verso de KUB 35.101, qui est donné ici en translitération. Pour ce qui est du recto, il est nécessaire de se référer aux éditions de Otten (1953 : 94) et de Starke (1985 : 408f.).

Vo.?	
1 ^{'14.114}	] x [
2'	] x ḫa-a- ^r aš ¹ -[
3'	] x-at-ta ku-w[a-
4'	^D šu-l]e-en-kat-ti-iš ^r D ¹ [
5'	-u]m-ma-a-i a-aḫ-ḫ[a(-)
6'	-i]a-an-ti ḫar-ra-n[i ² -
7'	^D š]u-le-en-kat-ti-i[š
8'	-z]i ^D IM ^D za-l[i-nu-
9'	] x ḫa-ra-a-aš-ša ú-x [
10'	-t]a ² a-wa-ti ú-l[i ² -
11'	-š]a ² du-ú-wa-at-ta [
12'	du-ú-w[a-at-ta tap-pa-ni- ^r in-za ¹ -p[a-wa-
13'	ma-a]n-na-u-wa-an-ni-in-pa-w[a-
14'	du-ú-wa-a]t ² -ta ^r i ¹ -w[a-
15'	] x [
	<i>1 ligne manquante</i>
1 ^{'35.101}	] mar-r[u-wa-am-mi-in ^(?)
2'	-z]i ta-a-[
3'	-a]t-ta a-w[a-
4'	]ti za-an-t[a
5'	^D šu-le-e]n-kat-ti-iš a-aš-t[a
6'	] a-wa-at-ta zi- ^r i ¹ -l[a
7'	p]í-i-ia-at-ta ḫa-la-a[n-
8'	-š]a ² ḫa-ta-am-ma-an-za [
9'	]x [ḫ]a ² -ar-ša-an-za p[í-i-ia-at-ta ^(?)
10'	-a]g-ga-na- ^r an ¹ -t[i-
11'	(-)] ^r a ¹ -at-t[i-
12'	] x x [

Le contexte de KBo 14.114, 11' jusqu'à KUB 35.101, 1' mentionnant le placement de parties corporelles telles que *tappaninz(a)* 'cheveux' et *mannawannin* 'nez' se compare à celui de KUB 35.07+ III 17'-23' (voir RIEKEN & SASSEVILLE 2019 : 531f.). Dans ce dernier contexte, un pot est utilisé pour représenter la tête d'un individu dans un rituel d'analogie. De même, dans le rituel de Zuwi (KUB 35.148 IV 11'-24'), l'utilisation d'un pot faisant allusion à des yeux, à des langues et à des têtes, suggère un contexte similaire. Jusqu'à présent, le mot louvite *marruwammin* a été comparé au mot *maruwāit* « il a noirci » en dépit de la différence phonémique *-rr-* vs. *-r-* (DCL : 150, EDHIL : 562f., HEG L-M : 151, mais avec plus de prudence CHD L-M : 202). Cependant, l'évidence combinatoire démontrée ici nous force à séparer le lexème louvite *marruwammin* « (une partie du corps) » du verbe *maruwāit*.

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86) El nombre de Piḫirim, rey de Ḫilakku — Weszeli señalaba en 2002 que el nombre de Piḫirim, rey de Ḫilakku, un miembro de una coalición antiasiria derrotada por Salmanasar III en el 858 a. C., tenía significado y origen desconocidos. Posteriormente, señalé (SIMON 2014: 881) que el inicio del nombre Piḫirim es obviamente *piḫa-* «luminosidad, esplendor; poder», un elemento muy común de los nombres lúvicos (sobre su significado, véase MELCHERT 2024: 186; nótese que mucho antes del desciframiento de luvita, TALLQVIST 1914: 181 indicaba correctamente *Pigramis*, un nombre personal licaonio, que, como hoy sabemos, tiene la misma palabra como base), y, por tanto, se trata de un nombre luvita. Pero no pude ofrecer una explicación para la segunda mitad del nombre (cf. SIMON 2018: 129), lo que trataré de hacer aquí.

En base al cambio fonético *-iya-* > *-i-* documentado muy frecuentemente en luvita, la terminación del nombre, *-im*, conduce inmediatamente al sufijo luvita complejo *-iyama-* usado en la formación de nombres de persona (p. ej. luv. *Šuppiluliyama* [SIMON 2018: 122], esta derivación de nombres personales es muy productiva también en cario, una lengua emparentada con el luvita [ADIEGO et al. 2012: 200]). La ausencia de la terminación de nominativo en la forma asiria puede atribuirse sencillamente a su asirianización (un paralelo directo lo ofrece el nombre de *Palalam*, rey de Gurgum [RIMA 3, A.0.104.3, 18], independientemente de los problemas filológicos vinculados a la identificación del nombre luvita subyacente).

En cuanto a la secuencia restante, *°ir°*, la supresión de la vocal radical *-a* de *piḫa-* es regular en el caso de sufijos que empiezan por *-i-*. En otras palabras, Piḫirim está construido sobre uno de los derivados de *piḫa-* usados con frecuencia como base de nombres personales luvitas (véase MELCHERT 2013: 34 para algunos ejemplos).

La identificación del sufijo o de los sufijos depende de la siguiente consonante, pero, desafortunadamente, debido al llamado rotacismo del luvita, la grafía con *-r-* puede referir a varias consonantes subyacentes: /d l n r/. Por lo tanto, las posibilidades son múltiples, especialmente porque *-i-* puede proceder de *-iya-*, como se ha señalado arriba. En el caso de una *-i-* «original», el sufijo podría haber sido *-ili-*, mientras en el caso de una *-i-* derivada de *-iya-*, el sufijo podría haber sido cualquiera de las siguientes combinaciones de sufijos: *-iyara-*, *-iyalla-*, *-iyana-*, *-iyada-* (en estos casos, la *-a-* final se pierde de forma regular debido a la *-i-* de *-iyama-*, como se ha señalado arriba). De estas cinco posibilidades, dos son las más probables: **Piḫili-*, y de este **Piḫili(ya)ma-* (ya que tendría un paralelo directo en *Piyaššili*, documentado como *Pisiri* en neoasiro, SIMON 2018: 127), y **Piḫiyalla-*, y de este **Piḫi(ya)lli(ya)ma-* (ya que ambos sufijos están abundantemente extendidos). Cabe mencionar que **Piḫi(ya)na-* (y de este **Piḫi(ya)ni(ya)ma-*) podría estar documentado como *Piḫina* (HKM 102 Ro. 6), pero el contexto y la forma permiten también interpretarlo como *kaška* (cf. VON SCHULER 1965: 92, SASSEVILLE 2025: 86; aunque el

nombre del asentamiento de Piḫina, Kutupitašša, parece tener un sufijo luvita que podría implicar un entorno lingüístico luvita), y requiere el rotacismo de /n/ que rara vez se documenta.

En resumen, Piḫirim, el nombre de un rey de Ḫilakku, es luvita y está construido en base a uno de los derivados del sustantivo *piḫa-* y el sufijo también luvita *-iyama-*. De estos posibles derivados, y teniendo en cuenta que existen varias posibilidades debido a que la grafía es ambigua, **piḫiyalla-* y **piḫili-* son los más probables. Aunque el significado preciso del nombre depende de la identificación del sufijo, una traducción cercana sería «resplandeciente, poderoso».

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87) Un nouveau texte de Rusa (I) Sardurihi suggère peut être une solution pour la vexata quaestio de la chronologie des rois urartéens entre VIII^e et VII^e siècle¹⁾ — Les dimensions de l'inscription cunéiforme rupestre de Qarajalu, composée de neuf lignes fortement endommagées et largement illisibles, sont les suivantes : 45 cm de haut et 75 cm de large. Je reproduis le texte, largement révisé et complété à partir de l'excellente version photogrammétrique de M. Rokni, à la page 120 de l'article consulté au format PDF :

1. ^Dhal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni EN-si-ni-ni
2. ^mru-sa-a-še ^{md}sar₅-du-ri-hi-ni-še
3. a-li i-e-še i-ni KUR-ni ha-ú-bi
4. LÚ.EN.NAM iš-ti-ni te-ru-ú-bi
5. e-'a É.GAL ši-di-iš-tú-u-bi
6. te-ru-bi ti-ni ^De-li-ip-ri-i
7. [URU.TUR](?) ^{KUR}bi-a-i-na-ú-e uš-ma-še KUR.KÚR^{MEŠ}[?]-i [na-pa[?]]²⁾
8. [-hi-a-i-di(?)] a-lu-še i-ni DUB-te tú-li-e
9. [tú-ri]-ni-ni ^DUTU-še ma-ni [PUTU](?)-ni [pi-i-ni](?)

« Grâce à la protection de Haldi, grâce à celle du Seigneur, Rusa, fils de Sarduri, dit : J'ai conquis ce territoire/pays ; j'y ai installé un gouverneur et construit une forteresse. Je lui ai donné le nom de "Petite cité du dieu Élipri", pour la défense du pays de Biainili, et [pour l'humiliation ?] du pays ennemi. Quiconque détruit cette inscription, que le dieu Soleil le détruise, lui (*eum*) [sous (la lumière du) Soleil](?)³⁾. »

I. 1) EN-si-ni-ni. Il s'agit de la deuxième attestation de cette expression chez Rusa I Sardurihi, à côté de l'inscription rupestre de Tsovinar (CTU A 10-2 ligne 1), sur la côte sud du lac Sevan, en Arménie. Une autre attestation similaire est ^Dhal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni EN-ŠÚ-ni-ni (« avec la protection de Haldi, (celle) de Son Seigneur ») dans le texte singulier d'un certain « prince » nommé Ala⁴⁾, qui se définit fils d'Argišti (II) Rusahi. Le texte est incisé sur une pierre de construction à Joushinqaleh sur le territoire de l'Azerbaïdjan iranien, publié en 2022 par K. Işık⁵⁾.

Joushinqaleh est situé au nord-ouest de Seqendel et au sud de l'Araxes (voir la carte d'Işık fig. 1). Le lien EN-ŠÚ-ni-ni correspond donc à alusi=i=ni=ni, d'où il résulte que le possessif enclitique akkadien -šu « son » est syntaxiquement équivalent au génitif ourartien -i.

Je rapporte ce texte dans son intégralité en annexe car son analogie avec celui de Qarajalu est évidente.

I. 3) Dans ce texte de Qarajalu, comme dans Tsovinar (CTU A 10-2 l. 2), le pronom personnel ergatif *ieše* « je » apparaît également, et tandis qu'ici la conquête d'un territoire qui n'est pas nommé est déclarée, probablement parce qu'il n'avait pas de nom (*ini KUR-ni = ini ebani* « ce pays/cette terre »), dans Tsovinar il s'agit de la conquête et de la soumission, au cours d'une seule campagne militaire, d'une pluralité de régions (*inili ebani=li* « ces régions »), qui sont répertoriées par leur nom, 4 de ce côté, et 19 de l'autre côté du lac (évidemment le lac Sevan).

Commentaire de Qarajalu:

I. 4) Comme dans Tsovinar l. 16, Rusa Sardurihi installe dans ce lieu (*ištini* « ici ») un gouverneur provincial (LÚ.EN.NAM) et (l. 5) construit une forteresse (voir Tsovinar l. 17), à laquelle il attribue le nom d'une divinité.

I. 6) La ligne 18 de Tsovinar nomme la forteresse au dessus de l'inscription ^DIM-i URU « Cité du dieu de l'Orage », tandis qu'ici (à Qarajalu) nous avons un toponyme inédit, ^De-li-ip-ri-i URU ou URU.TUR ? « (Petite ?) Cité du dieu Elipri ». Mais l'espace assez large entre *ri* et *i* indique que *i* est le dernier signe de la ligne. Ce nom divin se trouve dans la longue liste de Meher Kapısı CTU A 3-1 lignes 8//43 et on lui attribue le sacrifice d'un bœuf et de deux moutons. Une seconde attestation en est connue, dans l'orthographe ^De-li-ip-ú-ri-e (dat.) pour laquelle Minua a érigé une stèle à Artsovaberd /Salmanağa (CTU A 5-82 lignes 2//14).

I. 7) Il est difficile de trouver des solutions pour la première lacune de la ligne. Mais je propose [URU.TUR](?) et je cite les étranges attestations de la cinquième colonne de la grande inscription de Rusa II à Ayanis : voir CTU vol. II p. 491, s.v. URU.TUR.

Comme indiqué ailleurs, la traduction littérale de URU.TUR par « petite ville » appliquée à la forteresse de Bastam, l'un des plus grands sites urartéens, est particulièrement contradictoire. Il en va de même pour les autres attestations chez Rusa II. Je ne peux expliquer la signification de ce TUR en tant que logogramme, et une valeur phonétique *pu_x*, que j'ai pu appliquer à deux attestations de la grande inscription templaire de Karmir-blur⁶⁾, ne semble pas appropriée ici.

Concernant le début de la ligne 7, seule une nouvelle et bonne photographie pourra apporter une réponse définitive. Quant aux derniers signes de la ligne 7 et aux premiers de la ligne 8, je ne peux que proposer une intégration du type *na-pa- / hi-a-i-di* avec le mot cassé en deux. Cette division d'un mot en deux est attestée pour la première fois dans l'inscription rupestre d'Argišti (II) Rusahi à Shisheh, CTU A 11-6 lignes 12/13, et est clairement une solution choisie en raison de la longueur du mot et de l'espace limité disponible.

Mais, comme on peut le voir ci-dessus, la nouvelle inscription d'Ala à Joushinqaleh montre le même phénomène (voir en appendice). Même dans ce cas, le problème de l'espace limité était présent, et sa première conséquence peut être vue dans le choix du sumérogramme KUR.KÚR^(MEŠ⁷⁾) au lieu du long ^{KUR}lu-lu-i-na-ú-i. Analyse morphologique : ^{KUR}lulu=i=na=ui napahia=idi « à l'humiliation (-idi) des pays ennemis ». En substance, la formule entière montre la concomitance de deux solutions syntaxiques : *Biai=na=ue ušmaše* ^{KUR}lulu=i=na=ui napahia=idi, « (comme) protection du pays de Biainili (et) à l'humiliation (ou à l'abaissement) du pays (ou des pays) ennemi(s) ».

Ce site de Qarajalu est situé dans la zone du mont Sabalan, et est entouré des inscriptions rupestres de Sarduri II Argištihi (Seqendel CTU A 9-8) et Argišti II Rusahi, telles que Shisheh (CTU A 11-6), Razliq (CTU A 11-4) et Nashteban (CTU A 11-5).

J'imagine que le scribe, le tailleur de pierre – comment le définir ? – après avoir servi Rusa Sardurihi durant la dernière période de son règne et de sa vie, était passé au service de son successeur Argišti II Rusahi ; un indice est l'expression *Haldi=i=ni=ni ušmaši=ni alusi=i=ni=ni* trouvée à Shisheh, une inscription rupestre au N.-N.-O. d'Ahar. J'ajoute également ce qui a été dit plus haut à propos de *na-pa- / hi-a-i-di*, aux lignes 7-8. Malheureusement, l'état de la documentation signifie que mon hypothèse n'est qu'une hypothèse, non encore étayée par des lectures définitives.

Si cette hypothèse s'avérait correcte, la situation topographique, combinée à la continuité probable de l'œuvre du même scribe/professeur, peut-être local, pourrait renforcer le schéma de succession Rusa I Sardurihi → Argišti II Rusahi et rétablir la position de Rusa I, mise à mal par les élucubrations de M. Roaf, sur lesquelles je vais dire quelques mots.

J'ai l'idée que Rusa (I) Sardurihi, vaincu par Sargon lors de la huitième campagne de 714, se retira du scénario du Zagros et chercha de nouvelles terres à l'est. De plus, la voie avait déjà été ouverte par son père et prédécesseur Sarduri (II) Argištihi avec l'inscription rupestre de Seqendel (CTU A 9-8). L'installation d'un gouverneur à cet endroit, sur les pentes nord du mont Sabalan, à l'est de la ville d'Ahar, semble indiquer cette intention.

Mais si Rusa Sardurihi meurt en 713, nous passons immédiatement à Argišti (II) Rusahi, qui est mentionné en 709⁷⁾.

Ainsi, le nouveau personnage Ala est soit contemporain d'Argišti (II) Rusahi, soit vient après et donc avant Rusa (II) Argištihi, exactement là où Fuchs voudrait insérer Rusa fils d'Erimena (v. note 6).

Par conséquent, le personnage Ala devrait être placé dans le Groupe I entre VII et VIII (Tableau 1 p. 145) ou dans son Tableau 2, p. 149 après VII/VIII. Enfin, cet Ala possède désormais un document clair

qui l'identifie, tandis que le « pauvre » Erimena n'a rien ou presque rien (CTU Vol. II p. 136 CT Kb-3 Sceau).

Même si mon intégration est incertaine, et qu'on ne peut pas dire de qui il était le fils, la lecture des signes est néanmoins assurée, donc quelqu'un de ce nom a existé et a rempli la fonction de ^{LÚ}a-šu-li⁸⁾. Et il faut savoir que – jusqu'à preuve du contraire, aussi étrange que cela puisse paraître – il n'existe pas de documents sur argile, donc des tablettes ou des bulles, comme celles de Toprakkale, Karmir-blur et Ayanis avant Rusa (II !) Argištihi.

Il semblerait donc que ce nom Erimena - ^{LÚ}a-šu-li de profession - nous amène directement au 7^{ème} siècle, et il pourrait être le père de Rusa (III) Erimenahi⁹⁾. D'un autre côté, contrairement à M. Roaf, je ne vois pas comment il pourrait être avancé de plusieurs décennies et devenir l'adversaire de Sargon.

Il me semble qu'Ala agit comme un roi, même s'il ne s'attribue pas le titre : il construit une forteresse à laquelle il donne le nom provocateur de « Cité de Haldi », voir le thésaurus dans CTU II p. 309 : ^Dhal-di-e-i URU

CTU A 10-1	6	^D hal-di-e-i URU ^{KUR} bi-a-i-na-ú-e uš-ma-a-še
CTU A 12-4 II	6'	ti-i-ni ^D [hal]-di-e-i URU ^{KUR} zi-ú-qu-ni-i [^m ru-sa-a-še]
CTU A 9-12	1	[i-e-še(?) ^D hal-di-e-i URU ^{GIŠ} ul-di ^{GIŠ} za-ri-[e] [GI]BIL te-ru-b[i]

En substance, nous aurions un lien chronologique non seulement offert par les patronymes, qui sont plus qu'incertains, mais, dans ce cas, présenté par la continuité de la chancellerie, peut-être dans la personne du même « professeur de cunéiforme », comme il faut définir le scribe.

Les patronymes sont limités par leur répétitivité, ce qui n'est pas corroboré par d'autres datations absolues. Cette récurrence des mêmes noms a incité à rechercher de solutions alternatives, que je considère plutôt audacieuses et non prouvées. Je fais notamment référence à « l'école de Munich », menée par mon ami M. Roaf, qui a réalisé une étude longue et détaillée sur le cas de Rusa Erimenahi lors du symposium de 2007 à Munich¹⁰⁾.

L'article très détaillé d'U. Hellwag dans le Symposium München 227-241, qui répertorie aux pages 238-241 pas moins de 92 positions sur l'« Urartus Untergang » s'étalant sur plus d'un siècle, résume la position de l'École de Munich (p. 241), qui remonte à Kroll 1984¹¹⁾ qui privilégie une datation vers le milieu du VII^e siècle. Le « destin » de Rusa Erimenahi est notamment débattu : qui ne serait plus l'un des derniers souverains, mais qui devrait plutôt être daté du VIII^e siècle et reconnu comme l'adversaire de Sargon plutôt que le Rusa (I) Sardurihi « classique »¹²⁾.

Mon contre-argument est que l'adversaire de Sargon doit nécessairement avoir été ce Rusa dont les documents se trouvent dans la région du Zagros sur une route menant à Muşasir (comme déjà à l'époque d'Išpuini), et ce sont les stèles CTU A 10-3, 4, 5 de Rusa Sardurihi, tandis que les textes de Rusa Erimenahi sont liés à la région de Van (Toprakkale), au Keşiş Göl et à la montagne Qilbani CTU A 14-1 et 2), que j'identifie à l'Erek Dağ.

Je ne souhaite pas développer davantage ces deux points fixes et non négociables (comme on dit en matière de foi !). Je constate avec consternation que personne de l'école de Munich n'a pris position sur mon argumentation, p. 129 des actes du Symposium de Munich, qui attribuait l'incomplétude et les erreurs épigraphiques de la stèle CTU A 14-1 Vo l. 27 et suivantes à une « Situation de Crise » plus conforme à la fin du royaume qu'à la période finale encore florissante du VIII^e siècle¹³⁾.

Cette nouvelle inscription rupestre de Rusa Sardurihi à Qarajalu devrait être postérieure à celles de la région de Zagros-Urmia, de Rusa (I) Sardurihi (CTU A 10-3, 4, 5 et 6), liées au conflit avec Sargon II, et évidemment antérieure aux textes d'Argišti (II) Rusahi (CTU A 11), pour lesquels nous avons un synchronisme assyrien, 709¹⁴⁾. Cependant, Qarajalu fut probablement le dernier document de Rusa (I) Sardurihi. La qualité de cette inscription, certes médiocre, sans commune mesure avec celles de la région du Zagros, notamment la splendide épigraphe de Mahmud Abad (CTU A 10-6), produite par une chancellerie stable, pourrait témoigner d'une phase extrême de décadence sous le règne de Rusa I, et être cohérente avec la défaite face à Sargon.

En bref, la région du mont Sabalan, d'abord pénétrée par Sarduri II (Seqendel CTU A 9-8), fut atteinte par son fils et successeur (!) Rusa I, et fut occupée par son fils Argišti II avec l'inclusion, on ne sait

pas exactement quand, d'un autre fils d'Argišti II, jusqu'à présent absolument inconnu (!), nommé Ala (Joushinqaleh). Les textes de Rusa I et celui-ci du « prince » Ala présentent de nombreuses similitudes dans leur formulation et renforcent la succession entre Rusa I Sardurihi (719-713) et Argišti II Rusahi (709).

APPENDICE

Joushinqaleh *CTU A 11A-1 (provisoire)

1. ^Dḫal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni EN-ŠÚ-ni-ni
2. ^ma-la-še ^mar-giš-te-x?¹⁵⁾ ḫi-ni-še a-li
3. i-ni É.GAL ba-du-si-e ši-di-iš-tú-bi
4. ^{KUR}bi-a-i-na-u-e uš-ma-še ^{KUR}KÚR^{MEŠ}-u-i na-
5. -pa-ḫi-a-i-di te-ru-bi ti-[ni] ^Dḫal-di-i URU
6. ^ma-la-še a-[li] a-lu-še i-ni DUB-te
7. pi-[tú-li]-e [a]-lu-še ti-[n]i-ni tú-li-e
8. ma-a-si ti-n[i] [te]-li-e tú-ri-ni-ni
9. ^Dḫal-di-i-[-še] ^D[I]M-[-še] ^D[UT]U-ni-še ^{[DI]NGIR}MEŠ-še
10. ma-a-ni ti-[i-ni ar]-[mu]-[zi] ^DUTU-ni pi-i-ni]

Traduction de Kenan Işık:

Thanks to the protection of his lord Ḫaldi,
Ala son of Argišti says:
I built this fortress in perfection;
to protect Biainili (and) to humiliate enemy
countries. I gave it the name 'City of Ḫaldi.'
Ala says: whoever damages this inscription,
who destroys/eradicates (my) name
(and) sets his name, may him
God Ḫaldi, the weather god, the sun god,
(all) the Gods destroy: him (his) name
(and) offspring under the sun(light).

Ala, à la terminaison ergative en -še, qui se déclare Argište=hi « Argištien » = « fils d'Argišti », était un prince, mais peut-être un roi de courte durée, qui fut roi avant son « célèbre » frère Rusa (II) Argišti=hi, qui nous a laissé tant de textes et d'œuvres architecturales importants. Ici entre donc en scène un nouveau personnage qui a autant de droits qu'Inušpua et Melarṭua, sinon plus, à figurer dans les tableaux de A. Fuchs.¹⁶⁾ Le tableau de Fuchs p. 158 est très révolutionnaire, à commencer par une identification improbable d'Erimena avec Ar(r)ame au milieu du VIII^e siècle. Il aborde ensuite les possibles rois Inušpua et Melarṭua. Inušpua en effet apparaît dans les textes urartéens, et au moins une fois, dans l'inscription rupestre de Tabriz Kapısı (CTU A 4-1), au cas ergatif, ce qui le place naturellement au niveau des souverains, comme troisième après son grand-père Išpuini et son père Minua. C'est probablement aussi le cas du texte CTU A 3-12, qui célèbre la construction d'un temple *susi*, si l'intégration de son nom est correcte, où il est associé à son grand-père et à son père dans les formules de bon augure. Inušpua était



Carte composée par Kenan Işık, août 2025

donc certainement destiné à succéder à Minua, et son grand-père Išpuini l'avait établi à temps, mais le destin a fait que l'héritier de Minua était un autre fils, Argišti (I), dont le long cursus honorum nous est

rapporté par plusieurs de ses textes importants (CTU A 8). Le cas de Melarṭua est différent, car nous ne le connaissons que par une source externe, les services de renseignements assyriens. Il est associé à l'épisode cimmérien, qui, selon Fuchs, doit remonter à 709 av. J.-C.

Il semble que le patronyme Argišti=hi et la datation probable relie Ala d'une certaine façon à Melarṭua ; on a l'impression enfin que nous ayons affaire au Melarṭua de la source assyrienne¹⁷⁾, mais avec un nom différent ! Nous ne savons pas pourquoi.

Notes

1. Je me réfère à l'article "A Newly-Discovered Urartian Rock Inscription in Qarajalu: The First Piece of Evidence about Rusa I's Presence in the East of Urmia Lake, by Maryam Dara, Hossein Naseri Someeh and Mohammadreza Rokni, dans: "Ancient Iranian Studies", Teheran, July 2025, Vol. 4, N° 13, 113-122. Le rocher est situé à l'est de la ville d'Ahar en Azerbaïdjan iranien, sur les pentes du mont Sabalan.

2. Il semble qu'il n'y ait tout simplement pas de place pour le dernier signe. Plus généralement, les illustrations révèlent des irrégularités dans les contours de la niche rocheuse, Et cela concerne particulièrement les dernières lignes.

3. Nous nous attendons précisément à l'expression « (lui) sous (la lumière du) Soleil » (ma-a-ni) ^PUTU-ni pi-i-ni, cf CTU Vol. II, p. 172. Mais les traces visibles me font douter de cette intégration.

4. Dans le cas ergatif ^mAla=še, lignes 2 et 6. Prince, mais peut-être roi pour une courte période, usurpateur (?), avant le « célèbre » frère Rusa (II) Argišti=hi, qui nous a transmis tant de textes importants. Voici un nouveau personnage qui a autant, voire plus, le droit qu'Inuṣpa et Melarṭua d'avoir une place dans les tableaux de Fuchs, *Symposium München*, p. 158 et suiv.

5. K. Işık, An Urartian Inscription by an Unknown Author of the 7th century BCE, "Studia Hethitica, Hurritica et Urartica" Vol. 1, Roma 2022, 213-219. Je lui ai donné le sigle provisoire CTU A 11A-1. Voir en appendice.

6. CTU A 12-2 VIII 1. 2 še-pu_x(TUR)-ia-ar-di-a-ni ; CTU A 12-2 VIII 2 ba-ú-ši-[(na-ni KIN i)]-si-[(i-a-ni mī-i gi-i še)]-pu_x(TUR)-ia-ar-[d]i-a-ni mī-i pu_x(TUR)-hi-a-ni. Même dans les tablettes de Karmir-blur CT Kb-5 Ro 7']-pu/bu_x(TUR)-hi, CT Kb-6 Ro 1 ^mb/pu_x(TUR)-ta-a-še.

7. Voir A. Fuchs dans *Symposium München*, p. 149 Tableau 09/02.

8. Je ne pense pas qu'il soit encore possible de donner une traduction ou même une interprétation de ce titre. Dans CTU Vol. IV p. 152, il y a une liste d'attestations, toujours uniquement sur des sceaux. Ce titre n'apparaît donc que comme titre se référant à des personnes portant un sceau, et les détenteurs du titre ont toujours des noms dynastiques : Rusa fils de Sarduri dans CT Ba-1 et 2 (= Sig. 20-2) ; CT Kb-1 Rusa f. de Sarduri ; CT Kb-2 Rusa f. de Rusa ; CT Kb-3 Erimenah(?) ; CT Kb-4 Rusa f. de Rusa ; CT Kb-7 nom non conservé. La seule comparaison possible est avec le terme sacré a-su-še dans CTU A 3-1, 2//34. Ce titre de ^{LU}a-su-li fait partie des noms de professions et de catégories sociales, la plupart du temps non interprétés, voir CTU V p. 455 suiv.

9. V. Salvini, *Symposium München*, tableau à la p. 133.

10. M. Roaf, "Could Rusa Son of Erimenah Have Been King of Urartu During Sargon's Eighth Campaign?", in *Symposium München*, p. 187-216.

11. St. Kroll, Urartus Untergang in anderer Sicht, *IstMitt* 34, 1984, 151-170.

12. Voir A. Fuchs et ses deux tableaux dans *Symposium München* p. 145 et 149.

13. M. Salvini, Le due stele di Rusa Erimenahi dal Keşiş Göl dans *SMEA* 48, 2006, p. 256.

14. A. Fuchs, *Symposium München*, Tableau 2 à la p. 149.

15. Cela ressemble à une imperfection dans la pierre, pas à un signe. Le scribe a donc laissé un espace vide. Dans l'ensemble, l'exécution est assez médiocre.

16. *Symposium München*, p. 158 sq.

17. K. Deller, *Zagros*, p. 103 sq. (K 635) e SAA V, 114, r. 7. où il est dit qu'il est le fils du roi, probablement du même Argišti II.

Abréviations utilisées

CTU = Mirjo Salvini, *Corpus dei testi urartei* ("Documenta Asiana" VIII), Vol. I-III. Iscrizioni su pietra e roccia, vol. I - I testi; vol. II - Thesaurus; vol. III - Tavole, Roma 2008; Vol. IV. Le iscrizioni su bronzi, argilla e altri supporti. Nuove iscrizioni su pietra. Paleografia generale, Roma 2012; Vol. V. Parte prima - Revisione delle epigrafi e nuovi testi su pietra e roccia (CTU A). Parte seconda - Dizionario urarteo. Parte terza - Schizzo grammaticale della lingua urartea, Éditions de Boccard, Paris 2018.

CTU A = acronyme des textes sur pierre et rocher, suivis d'un numéro qui indique le souverain.

Deller K., Ausgewählte neuassyrische Briefe betreffend Urartu zur Zeit Sargons II, in *Zagros*, p. 97-122.

Symposium München = *Biainili-Urartu. The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12.14 October 2007 / Tagungsbericht des Münchener Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007* (Ed. By S.Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf & P. Zimansky), *Acta Iranica* 51, Peeters, Leuven 2012.

Zagros = P.E. Pecorella – M. Salvini, *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia. Ricerche storiche e archeologiche nell'Azerbaijan Iraniano*, Roma 1984.

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88) On The Logic of Name Substitution in the Assyrian Version of *Enuma Elish* —The “Assyrian version” of *Enuma Elish* is so called because it makes five naming substitutions: It replaces the name of Marduk with that of Aššur (spelled AN.ŠÁR); those of Marduk’s parents, Ea and Damkina, consequently, though less consistently, with those of Anšar’s parents Laḫmu and Laḫamu respectively; that of Anu, Ea’s father and Marduk’s grandfather, once with Laḫmu’s; and Babylon’s with Assur’s (Baltil) throughout (LAMBERT 1997: 77–78). It should be remarked that, because the three manuscripts of the version—two from Assur and one from Nineveh—are all incomplete, it is impossible to know how consistent each name replacement actually was (for a manuscript list, LAMBERT 1997: 177).

As Lambert surmises (1997: 77–78), in what we have, Marduk seems always to be replaced with Aššur/Anšar, as is Babylon with Baltil, yet Ea/Damkina are replaced with Laḫmu/Laḫamu in certain lines (I 78, 83, 84 [KAR 117 obv. 27, rev. 5, rev. 6, respectively]) but not in another (I 60 [KAR 117 obv. 9]). Lambert construes the seeming inconsistency in parental switching as a fault of “this very amateurish revision,” one rendering it, where Tablet I is concerned, “incompletely done” (1997: 78). Yet, when the lines in question are taken in context, it seems not like a sign of amateurish incompleteness but rather of discernment. Whereas I 73, 83, and 84 are all part of the description of Marduk’s birth, and would therefore have caused a lapse in logic should Marduk’s name have been replaced with Anšar’s without also switching those of their respective parents, I 60 describes an action of Ea’s that is unrelated to Marduk, namely Ea’s “seeking out” the murderous designs of Apsû and Mummu (*ea ḫāsis mimmāma iše”â šibqīšun*, “Ea, who knows all, was seeking out their plans.” For an up-to-date edition of *Enuma Elish*, HEINRICH 2021). Replacing Ea’s name with Laḫmu’s in I 60—with the implication that it was Laḫmu, not Ea, who killed Apsû with his incantation in the following passage (I 61–69)—is not actually necessitated by the replacement of Marduk by Anšar. And indeed, the resulting sequence of events, while diverging from the original, is not in itself inconsistent: Ea creates the Apsû out of Apsû’s corpse, as in the original, and then Ea’s grandparents Laḫmu and Laḫamu bear Aššur there. Replacing Ea with Laḫmu in I 60, and thus as the magic-wielding slayer of Apsû and creator of the Apsû itself, may, moreover, have been not only unnecessary but problematic. For it may have implied an additional, and perhaps unintended, theological takeover: the transfer of the domains of magic, wisdom, and water from Ea to Laḫmu.

One may construe as similarly logical a change, in the same passage, from Anu’s name to Laḫmu’s in I 89, a line in whose original version Anu sees his newborn grandson Marduk (*īmuršūma ānu bānû abīšu*, “Anu, the creator of his father, saw him”). Lambert writes, “The replacement of Anu by Laḫmu can be justified in that Anu and Anšar are identified in some traditions, though emphatically not in *Enūma Eliš*” (1997: 78). Yet this change may be accounted for based on different reasoning, having to do not with equations between gods found in “some traditions” but the logic of the story itself. Anu is Anšar’s own son, and would therefore have needed replacing as Anšar/Aššur’s delighting grandfather. That he was replaced with Laḫmu specifically appears at first glance inconsistent, for Laḫmu is the father of Anšar and not, like Anu vis-à-vis Marduk, his grandfather. Yet this can likewise be accounted for in view of the fact that Anšar’s grandfather, and therefore Anu’s technical equivalent in this scenario, would be Apsû—who, on account of being dead and rendered a geographical location at this point, could hardly have served. One may speculate further. In “standard” manuscripts, the phrase *bānû abīšu* in I 89 is sometimes written out phonetically (e.g., *ba-nu-ú a-bi-[šū]* in HEINRICH 2021 Man. AššNA6 rev. 5 and *[b]a-n-ú a-bi-šu* in SipNB2 rev. 1) and sometimes partially logographically (*ba¹-nu-ú AD-š[u]* in KišNB1 obv. 89). In the one manuscript of the Assyrian version testifying to I 90, the line runs *i-mur-šu-ma ḏlāḫ-mu ba-nu-u AD-šū* (KAR 117 [AššNA5] rev. 11). One suspects that perhaps, underlying that spelling, lies a reanalysis of the line’s grammar: from “Anu, the creator of his father (*bānû abīšu*), saw him” into “Laḫmu, the creator (*bānû*), his father (*abūšu* [AD-šū]), saw him.” The original’s use of the literary bound form *bānû*, rather

than *bān*, would have made such a change almost seamless, involving only a switch in case from *abīšu* to *abūšu*.

These assessments, less critical than Lambert's, of the changes made in the Assyrianized version, comport with Eckart Frahm's judgment that "Given the political importance of their endeavor, it seems preferable to assume that the authors of the new text knew quite well what they were doing" (2011: 350–351). They likewise dovetail with Frahm's argument whereby Aššur's identification with his own ancestor Anšar, may, when taking into account Aššur's characterization in other sources as *bānū ramānīšu*, "The creator of himself," be seen as a sign not of amateurishness but of theological sophistication (2011: 351). Interpreted thus, the Assyrianized version of *Enuma Elish* deserves more credit than it has sometimes been given.

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89) Winnowing Down the Syntactical Possibilities of a Key Assertion in the *Marduk Ordeal* —The so-called *Marduk Ordeal* (LIVINGSTONE 1989 no. 34 [*Assur Version*] and no. 35 [*Nineveh Version*]) contains a remarkable statement: *enūma eliš ša dabibūni ina pān bēl ina nisanni izammurūšūni ina muḫḫi ša šabitūni [šū]* (*Assur Version*: 34, *Nineveh Version*: 29). While its general sense seems clear, its syntax is difficult to parse and has been variously construed. Frymer-Kensky translates "Enuma Elish, which is said before Bel in Nisan: he³ sings it because he (Bel) is captive (*or*: before Bel who is captive)" (1983: 135); Livingstone, "Enūma eliš, which is recited and chanted in front of Bēl in Nisan, concerns his imprisonment" (1989: 84); Kämmerer and Metzler, "*Enūma eliš*, das im Angesicht von Bēl vorgetragen ist (i.e.: wird), singen sie *dariüber*³, daß sie ihn ergriffen halten" (2012: 36); and Worthington, "*Enūma eliš*, which is spoken, (and which) in front of Bēl they sing to him in the month of Nisan, is about the fact that he is (*or*: the one who was) captured" (2020: 120).

One issue with the translations of Frymer-Kensky and Kämmerer and Metzler has to do with *izammurūšūni*. That verb can be understood either as ending with a plural ventive or an Assyrian subjunctive. In light of the omnipresence of Assyrian subjunctive forms in the *Marduk Ordeal*—looking at the Assur version, such forms are found in every line from obv. 1 to 68—as well as the presence of such a form (*dabibūni*) earlier in the line, the latter option seems more likely. Yet if *izammurūšūni* is indeed in the subjunctive, the verb should belong with the subordinative clause beginning with *enūma eliš ša*, "*Enuma Elish*, which," rather than begin a new clause one as it would in Frymer-Kensky's "he³ sings it" and Kämmerer and Metzler's "singen sie *dariüber*³."

A second issue—one which, to my knowledge, has not been invoked in discussions of the line—is that translations such as "which is said before Bel in Nisan" and "das im Angesicht von Bēl vorgetragen ist" involve a verb-initial construction beginning with *dabibūni*. In most Akkadian texts, especially literary ones, this would not be a problem. Yet it would be strange for the *Marduk Ordeal*, for every other clause preserved in it is verb final. Such a problem is also found in Livingstone's "recited and chanted in front of Bēl in Nisan." And his translation is likewise contraindicated by the location of *ina nisanni* between *dabibūni* and *izammurūšūni*, which points to *ina nisanni* qualifying one verb and not the other. That being said, one could analyze *enūma eliš ša dabibūni ina pān bēl ina nisanni izammurūšūni* as "Enuma Elish, which is recited before Bēl in Nisan, (and) which they sing (before Bēl in Nisan)," ending up with the same sense as Livingstone's idiomatic "recited and chanted" though still having the problem of the unique clause-initial *dabibūni*. A further, though more minor, problem with Livingstone's translation is that one

would expect “his imprisonment” to be conveyed with the infinitive *šabātīšu* or the verbal noun *šibittīšu*, not the stative *šabitūni*.

Worthington’s syntactical division does not cause any of these problems; adapting it slightly, one could have “Enuma Elish, which is recited, (which) they sing before Bēl in Nisan: [It is] about (the fact) that he was captured.” The meaning may be that the poem is recited, as well as sung, before Bēl in Nisan. Yet it should be said that the translations “which is spoken,” or, as here, “which is recited,” are awkward in possibly implying that *Enuma Elish* was unusual in being recited, while that poem was hardly unique in being spoken out loud. As Worthington notes (2020: 459 n. 459), Lambert (1997: 779) has “Enuma Elish, as it is called, which they chant before Bēl in the month of Nisan, refers to his imprisonment.” This is not awkward in the least, yet one would expect the usual senses of “to speak” (CAD D: 4–7) or “recite” (CAD D: 7) for *dabābu* rather than “call,” for which one would rather have expected *nabû*. The exact meaning of “this rather outrageous assessment” (FRAHM 2011: 353) pronouncement therefore remains unclear.

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90) A matter of life and death. The Akkadian verb *dāku* and Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s war with Mukīn-zēri (731–727 BC) — Some historians of the first millennium (BC, as with all dates henceforth) have translated the Akkadian verb *dāku* (Assyrian: *duāku*) not as ‘to slay, kill’, but rather as ‘to defeat’, as outlined by Fales (2011: 109):

... the verb *duāku/dāku* means “to defeat” (especially with the internal object *diktu* [sic!], as in the passages quoted above [scil. SAA 19, 80]), but also “to kill,” with a certain indifference of use, both in Neo-Assyrian and in Standard Babylonian.

This is at odds with *dāku*’s attestations and etymology (e.g. AHw: 152; CAD D: 35–43; eSAD D: 9–10). Deriving from Semitic $\sqrt{dwk}$ ‘to crush’ (compare $\sqrt{dkk}$, $\sqrt{dkdk}$), its equation with Sumerian GAZ ‘to kill, beat’, and its use in Akkadian (e.g. in law codes) evidence its lethality. The image is of blunt force with terminal consequences—comparable is Proto-Germanic *slahanq* ‘to hit, strike, kill’, from which descend German *schlagen* ‘to strike’, *Schlag* ‘blow, strike’, *Schlacht* ‘battle’, and *erschlagen* ‘to strike down, dead’, and English ‘slay’, ‘slaughter’, and ‘onslaught’ (or even Italian *ammazzare* ‘to kill’, if from *a* + *mazza* ‘mace, club, baton’). Timeless in its simplicity, the symbolism of clubbing another to death is attested in Early Dynastic Egyptian and Mesopotamian ‘smiting scenes’, and the ceremonial maces found in the ancient Near East (e.g. NIEDERREITER 2014; MCMAHON 2021) and today’s Commonwealth (e.g. McDONOUGH 1979) alike. This is *dāku*’s ambit.

Certainly, at the Neo-Assyrian court, there is a *dāku/bulluṭu* dichotomy which can only describe the king’s power over life and death, as in the precept [*šumma šarru*] *iqṭibi mā dūk balliṭ kī pī [šarri ...]* “[Should the king] command “kill!” or “spare!”, then (he will do) as [the king commands ...]” (SAA 12, 83 o. 21’), or a pardoned courtier’s admission *ša duāki anāku lā ša balluṭi anāku* “I was (destined) for slaughter, not sparing” (SAA 16, 36 o. 3’–5’). Moreover, a direct equivalence between *dāku* and West Semitic *qtl* ‘to kill’ appears in the Neo-Assyrian by-name for Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šayḥ Ḥamad, Syria), *Dūr-Adūk-limmu* ‘Fort “I slew a thousand”’—evidently, the element *-Katl-* had been equated with $\sqrt{qtl}$ (TADMOR 1985).

This must be kept in mind when approaching the compound expression *dīkta dāku*, translated as ‘to defeat’ by CAD D: 139–140, for which Fales (2005: 184; 2011: 109) implies uncomplimented *dāku*

functions as its synecdoche. In fact, the semantics of *dīkta dāku* lie not in the abstraction of an undertaking confounded (as in English ‘defeat’, French *défaire* ‘to defeat’ from Medieval Latin *disfacere* ‘to undo’, or Italian *sconfiggere* ‘to defeat’ from Latin *ex + confacere*), but rather concretely in the resultant massacre. It succeeds the battle—e.g. *ittīšunu amdaḥiṣ dīktašunu ma’attu adūk* ‘I fought with them. I inflicted their immense slaughter’ (RIMA 2, 0.99.2: 86–87)—and presages further bloodier expressions such as dyeing the mountains red (RIMA 2, 0.101.1 ii 17–18; 17 ii 54–57). This framing of victory as slaughter reflects this era’s commonplace post-battle massacres (EDMONDS 2025: 35–37), and reinforces the semantic primacy of killing. Suchwise must the ghost called an *eṭemmu ša ina dīkti dīku* in one magico-medical text (AMD 3, 120: A: r. 9; B: 14) have been engendered.

Moreover, Tadmor’s (1958: 132–134) supposed non-lethal attestations of *dāku* can be dismissed. His single manuscript alleging that Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I slew (*adūkšu*) Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē of Babylonia in battle (RIMA 2, 0.87.4: 51) can now be emended to *adūk <dabdā>šu* ‘I inflicted his defeat’ or the like on grounds of a more recently published inscription describing more fully the same engagement: *dabdti (...) lū aškun lū iḥḥisma ana mātišu itūr* ‘I verily inflicted (his army’s) defeat. Verily, he retreated and returned to his land’ (CUSAS 17, 68 r. 46–48). In turn, none of Tadmor’s omina quotations featuring *nakra dāku* exclude a fatal end, and *māta dāku* is found only at Boğazköy and in an inscription of Xerxes, suggesting a calque.

This leaves a final case, the crux of the entire scholarly debate, namely a crucial passage within SAA 19, 80, a dramatic letter from the late 8th-century dossier of tablets discovered at Kalḫu (Nimrūd, Iraq) in Room 4 of Building ZT (MALLOWAN 1953: 33–34). Herein, Aššur-šallimanni, governor of Arrapha, informs Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* of Assyria (for the discovery of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra III* [763–762/758], see FRAHM 2023: 449; EDMONDS 2025: 154–156) that the Chaldean Mukīn-zēri, chief of Bīt-Amukkāni and king of Bābili, and his son Šuma-ukīn have been slain (*dēk*) at a siege (SAA 19, 80 o. 4–r. 6):

UD 26-KÁM *ni-ip-tu-ḥur¹ ina <IGI>¹ tur-ta-ni ni-te-ḥe-zi¹ ṭe-e-mu¹ a¹-ḥa-a-a-iš ni-sa-kan ina šà KÁ.GAL^{meš} ni-iq-ti-ri¹-ib de-ek-tú ni-du-ak^mGIN-NUMUN de-e-ke^mMU-GIN DUMU-šú de-e-ke URU ka-áš¹-du šu-ḥu¹ LUGAL¹ be-lí lu ḥa-di LUGAL be-lí pa-an¹ A-KIN-ni lid-gúl¹ a-du¹ be¹-et¹ A-KIN-ni il-la-kan-ni ḥa-ram^{*}-ma^{*}-ma^{*} LUGAL¹ be¹-[lil] lil¹-li-ka¹ i-su-ri LUGAL be¹-lil¹ i-qab-bi ma-a ina šà KÁ.GAL^{meš} i-du-ku DINGIR^{meš} ša LUGAL be-lí-ia¹ šum-ma 1 KÚŠ 1 LAL ina MURUB⁴ URU la¹ e-ra¹-bu-ni LUGAL¹ be-lí liš-al*

We convened on the 26th. We stood before the *turtānu*. Together we issued the orders. We approached the gates. We inflicted a slaughter. Mukīn-zēri is slain. His son Šuma-ukīn is slain. The city is being taken. The king, milord, can rejoice. The king, milord, should await our messenger, for as long as it might take him to arrive. Only thereafter should the king come. Perhaps the king, milord, will ask: “they were slain at the gates?” By the gods of the king, milord, they made it but a cubit and a span into the city. The king, milord, may enquire.

Controversy over the translation of *dāku* has come not from the circumstances or place of Mukīn-zēri’s death (presumably Sapīya, capital of Bīt-Amukkāni, as suggested by SAA 19, 140; see PONCHIA & LANFRANCHI 2024: 183), but rather the time, as is demonstrated by a review of the sources, beginning with Babylonian Chronicle 1 (ABC 1 i 19–26):

MU 3 GIN-NUMUN *tukul-ti-IBILA-é-šár-ra ana KUR-UR^{ki} ki-i ú-ri-dam é-a-mu-ka-nu iḥ-ta-pi u GIN-NUMUN ik-ta-šad 2 MU^{meš} GIN-NUMUN LUGAL-ut TIN.TIR^{ki} DÜ-uš^m tukul-ti-IBILA-<<AŠ>>-é-šár-ra ina TIN.TIR^{ki} ina AS.TE DÜR-ab*

MU 2 *tukul-ti-IBILA-é-šár-ra ina^{iti} AB NAM^{meš} (vacat) MU^{meš} tukul-ti-IBILA-é-šár-ra LUGAL-ut KUR-UR^{ki} u KUR-AŠ-ŠUR DÜ-uš 2 MU^{meš} ina šà ina KUR-UR^{ki} DÜ-uš*

In the third year of Mukīn-zēri, when Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (IV*) descended to the land of Akkad, he destroyed Bīt-Amukkāni and captured Mukīn-zēri. Mukīn-zēri exercised kingship of Bābili for three years. Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (IV*) ascended the throne at Bābili.

In the second year, Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (IV*) went to his fate in Ṭebētu (X). Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (IV*) exercised kingship of the lands of Akkad and Aššur for <n> years. Two of these years, he exercised (it) in the land of Akkad.

Despite its curiosities—one variant (ABC 1 i 11–16 var. B) elides Mukīn-zēri entirely, and the chief manuscript’s scribe was unsure of the length of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s reign (GRAYSON 1975: 72),

presumably because of the latter's usurpation of Salmānu-ašarēd V* (747–745) a newly identified Assyrian king found in the Ptolemaic Canon (EDMONDS 2025: 158–162)—the statement that Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* assaulted Bīt-Amukkāni in Mukīn-zēri's third regnal year (729), captured him, and seized the Babylonian throne agrees with the Assyrian eponym chronicles (Table 1), and extant Assyrian royal inscriptions.

Table 1. The Assyrian eponym chronicle remarks for the years 731–727

Year	Eponym (name / province)	Eponym chronicle remark	
		SAAS 2, B1: 92'–96'	SAAS 2, B3: 2'–6'
731 (TP IV* 15 th <i>palû</i>)	Nergal-uballiṭ / Arzuḫīna	<i>a-na</i> ^{uru} <i>ša-pi-ia</i>	<i>a-[na GN]</i>
730 (TP IV* 16 th <i>palû</i>)	Bēl-lū-dāri / Tillē	<i>i-na</i> KUR	<i>i-[na KUR]</i>
729 (TP IV* 17 th <i>palû</i>)	Lipḫur-īlu / Ḥabrūru	LUGAL ŠU ^{II} ^d EN DIB- <i>at</i>	LUGAL Š[^U ^{II} ? <i>Bēl iṣbat</i>]
728 (TP IV* 18 th <i>palû</i>)	Dūr-Aššur / Tušḫan	[broken]	LUGAL ŠU ^{II} ^d EN DIB- <i>bat</i> ^{uru} <i>hi?</i> -[<i>x-x(-x)</i>]
727 (TP IV* 19 th <i>palû</i>)	Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlu-ušur / Gūzana	[broken]	<i>a-na</i> ^{ur} ^u (...) <i>Salmān</i> ^u - <i>maš : ina</i> ^{gi} [^š <i>gu.za?</i> (...)]

The eponym chronicles note a first, unsuccessful campaign to Sapīya in 731, also related in Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*'s fragmentary annals (RINAP 1, TP 23–24; 40: 11–16) and a summary from his 17th *palû*, i.e. 729 (RINAP 1, TP 47 o. 23–24):

^mGIN-NUMUN DUMU ^m*a*¹-*muk-ka-a-ni* *ina* ^{uru}*sa-pe-e* URU LUGAL-*tī-šú e-sir-šú di-ik-ta-šú ma-at-tu ina* IGI KÁ.GAL^{meš}-*šú a-duk* ^{giš}KIRI⁶^{meš} ^{giš}*mu-suk-kan-ni ša ṭe-eḫ BĀD-šú a-kis-ma 1-en ul e-ziḫ* ^{giš}GIŠIMMAR^{meš}-*šú ša pi-rik KUR-šú a-duk-ma ú-ḫi-nu-šú áš-muṭ-ma ú-mal-la-a qer-ba-a-ti gi-mir* URU^{meš}-*ni-šú ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI *áš-ru-up*

I confined Mukīn-zēri of Bīt-Amukkāni in Sapīya, in his royal city. I inflicted great slaughter before his gates. I felled the gardens and musukkanni-trees about his fort without sparing one. I killed his date palms on his marches, plucked his dates, and filled the meadows (therewith). I demolished, devastated, and torched all of his cities.

Deforestation aside, Mukīn-zēri had weathered the Assyrian onslaught in Sapīya, and when the following year (730) brought no Assyrian campaign (*ina māti*), he was free to act once more. While the Assyrian eponym chronicle entries for 729 and 728 state *šarru qātī Bēl iṣbat* ‘the (Assyrian) king took the hands of Bēl’, *akītu*-festivals were backdated (BRINKMAN 1968: 241, fn. 1547), meaning that Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* celebrated this in Nisannu (I) of 728 and 727, and thus that Mukīn-zēri had presided over Bābili's *akītu* in Nisannu (I) 729 (heralding his third regnal year), before Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* invaded once more in this year (as related in ABC 1 i 19–21), ‘breaking’ (*iḫtepi*) Bīt-Amukkāni, capturing Mukīn-zēri, and assuming Bābili's kingship. Yet, in the abbreviated précis of the Assyrian monarch's Babylonian doings in his latest summary inscription (RINAP 1, TP 51, also dated to the 17th *palû*, but with Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* certainly named as king of Bābili, whereas this is unclear in RINAP 1, TP 47 o. 1), Bīt-Amukkāni has been assaulted and mass deportations undertaken—compare the reference in the Aššur Ostrakon (KAI 233: 15) and the rise in total deportees from its neighbours from 125,500 (RINAP 1, TP 47 o. 15–22) to 155,000 (RINAP 1, TP 51 12–15)—but Mukīn-zēri had merely been driven to seek refuge in Sapīya. No climactic battle attended Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*'s assumption of Bābili's kingship (RINAP 1, TP 51: 16):

[^{kur}^é-^m*a-muk-ka-a-ni*] [^u¹-*daq-qi-iq-ma* UKKIN UN^{meš}-*šú a-na* KUR-*aš-šur*^{ki} *ú-ra-a* ^mGIN-NUMUN LUGAL-*šu-nu* *ina* ^{uru}*sa-pi-ia* URU-*šú e-sir*¹-[*šú*]

I harrowed the land of Bīt-Amukkāni and brought all of its people to Assyria. I confined Mukīn-zēri, their king, in his city Sapīya.

It is here in 729 that scholarship unanimously situates SAA 19, 80's events (Table 2), challenging *dāku*'s lethality. Translating *dēk* as ‘defeated’, Brinkman (1964: 10; 1968: 238–239, fn. 1529) and Fales (1983: 67; 2005: 184; 2011: 109) have noted not only that Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* is described as capturing (*iktašad*), not killing Mukīn-zēri in 729, but also that an unprovenanced Neo-Babylonian tablet (BRM 1, 22 r. 5–6; FRAHM & OELSNER: 2008) is dated ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ U₄ 26.KÁM MU 4.KÁM ^dAG-GIN-NUMUN LUGAL, i.e. to the fourth year of *Nabû-mukīn-zēri*, who must be a very much alive Mukīn-zēri (UNGNAD 1924-1925: 27), should the date not be postmortem (GLASSNER 2023: 349; note BRM 1, 23?). Their points are unaddressed

by those who correctly translate *dēk* as ‘slain’ but place events in 729 (RADNER 2006: 120–121; LUUKKO 2012: xxiv. 84).

Table 2. Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s conquest of Babylonia according to conventional reconstructions

Date	Event		Source
732	‘Year of three Babylonian kings’, Mukīn-zēri ousts Nabû-šuma-ukīn, is enthroned in Bābili		ABC 1 i 16–18
731 (TP IV* 15 th <i>palū</i>)	TP IV* campaigns to Babylonia and attacks but fails to capture Sapīya.		RINAP 1, TP 23–24; 40: 11–16; 47 o. 15–25; SAAS 2, B1: 92’; B3: 2’
730 (TP IV* 16 th <i>palū</i>)	No Assyrian campaign (<i>ina māti</i>)		SAAS 2, B1: 93’; B3: 3’
729 (TP IV* 17 th <i>palū</i>)	1 st Nisannu (I)	Mukīn-zēri celebrates <i>akītu</i> at Bābili	
	Pre-RINAP 1, 51	TP IV* devastates Bīt-Amukkāni, undertaking mass deportations, and declares himself king of Bābili.	Mukīn-zēri captured (<i>iktašad</i>)?
	26 th of unknown month after RINAP 1, 51	Siege of Sapīya. Mukīn-zēri and his son killed or defeated (<i>dēk</i>)	
728 (TP IV* 18 th <i>palū</i>)	1 st Nisannu (I)	TP IV* celebrates <i>akītu</i> at Bābili	SAAS 2, B1: 95’; B3: 5’
	26 th Simānu (III)	A tablet is dated to the 4 th year of the reign of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, <i>terminus post quem</i> for Mukīn-zēri’s death?	BRM 1, 22
	Unknown date	TP IV* campaigns against ^{uru} ḫ[i-	SAAS 2, B1: 95’; B3: 5’
Post-26 th Simānu (III) 728	Mukīn-zēri dies (if not killed at Sapīya)		
727 (TP IV* 19 th <i>palū</i>)	1 st Nisannu (I)	TP IV* celebrates <i>akītu</i> at Bābili	SAAS 2, B1: 96’; B3: 6’
	Unknown date	TP IV* campaigns to a city (name lost).	SAAS 2, B1: 96’; B3: 6’
	Ṭebētu (X)	Death of TP IV*.	ABC 1 i 24–25; SAAS 2, B3: 7’

In fact, all available sources can be reconciled simply by translating *dēk* correctly (and conclusively) as ‘slain’ and situating Mukīn-zēri’s last stand at Sapīya in SAA 19, 80 after 729 (Table 3). Not only does BRM 1, 22’s dating to Mukīn-zēri’s fourth regnal year (728) support this, but also the Ptolemaic Canon, wherein Mukīn-zēri (as *Chinzēros*) and Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* (as *Pōros*) uniquely share a joint entry of five years: Χίνζηρος καὶ Πώρος ἔτη ε and Χινζήρου καὶ Πώρου (var. Πύρου) ἔτη ε (DEFAUX 2023: 215–216. 219)—an overlap of a few months in 729 hardly justifies this. That Sapīya fell during Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s reign is demonstrated by SAA 19, 140, presenting a window between 26th Simānu (III) 728 and Ṭebētu (X) 727 (discounting BRM 1, 23) for Mukīn-zēri’s ‘appointment’ there. As 728’s eponym chronicle entry bears the traces ^{uru}ḫ[i- (Ḫilmu?), this year is unsuitable, but the name of the city assaulted in 727 is lost—if *Sapīya*, then Mukīn-zēri’s death would fall just months prior to that of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*, explaining the Ptolemaic Canon’s strange joint entry.

Table 3. A new chronology of Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s conquest of Babylonia

Date (BC)	Event		Source
732	‘Year of three Babylonian kings’, Mukīn-zēri ousts Nabû-šuma-ukīn, is enthroned in Bābili		ABC 1 i 16–18
731 (TP IV* 15 th <i>palū</i>)	TP IV* campaigns to Babylonia and attacks but fails to capture Sapīya.		RINAP 1, TP 23–24; 40: 11–16; 47 o. 15–25; SAAS 2, B1: 92’; B3: 2’
730 (TP IV* 16 th <i>palū</i>)	No Assyrian campaign (<i>ina māti</i>)		SAAS 2, B1: 93’; B3: 3’
729 (TP IV* 17 th <i>palū</i>)	1 st Nisannu (I)	Mukīn-zēri celebrates <i>akītu</i> at Bābili	—
	Pre-RINAP 1, TP 51	TP IV* devastates Bīt-Amukkāni, undertaking mass deportations, and declares himself king of Bābili.	ABC 1 i 19–23; 24 r. 19’; KAI SAAS 2, B1: 94’; B3: 4’
	Post-RINAP 1, TP 51	Mukīn-zēri is betrayed and captured (<i>iktašad</i>), but later escapes and ignites a rebellion.	ABC 1 i 19–23; SAA 19, 80; 81; 86; 87; 125; 127; 130; 140; 147 etc.

728 (TP IV* 18 th <i>palû</i>)	1 st Nisannu (I)	TP IV* celebrates <i>akītu</i> at Bābili	SAAS 2, B1: 95'; B3: 5'
	26 th Simānu (III)	A tablet is dated to the 4 th year of the reign of <i>Nabû-mukīn-zēri</i> (= Mukīn-zēri) who retains support.	BRM 1, 22
	Unknown date	TP IV* campaigns against ^{uru} <i>h[i-il-mu (?)]</i>	SAAS 2, B1: 95'; B3: 5'
727 (TP IV* 19 th <i>palû</i>)	1 st Nisannu (I)	TP IV* celebrates <i>akītu</i> at Bābili	SAAS 2, B1: 96'; B3: 6'
	Pre-Ṭebētu (X)	TP IV*'s army campaigns against ^{ur} [^u <i>ša-pi-ia</i>], Mukīn-zēri and son killed (<i>dēk</i>) on 26 th of month (n).	SAA 90, 80; 140; SAAS 2, B1: 96'; B3: 6'
	Ṭebētu (X)	Death of TP IV*.	ABC 1 i 24–25; SAAS 2, B3: 7'

Resituating Mukīn-zēri's insurgency in the ZT 4 dossier during the post-729 period would also better fit the letters' portrait of a struggling Assyrian administration in Babylonia, and provide a reason for this correspondence's discovery at all—Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* (over 60 by then) had become infirm, failing to campaign in 730, and never completing his sprawling Central Palace at Kalḫu (READE & SANDERS 2018), later pilfered by Aššur-aḫa-iddina for orthostats. “They will only open the gates when the king arrives, and they do not believe he will come” (*kīma šarru ittalka abulla ipattiū lā iqippū ša šarru illakūni*) admits the Assyrian officials parleying fruitlessly for their monarch before Bābili in SAA 19, 98 o. 28–30. Conversely, Aššur-šallimanni seeks to delay Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*'s departure for Sapīya in SAA 19, 80 o. 13–18—for the king's own health?

This reconstruction demands Mukīn-zēri's capture in 729 and subsequent escape from Assyrian custody, but he would hardly have been the first Babylonian royal to achieve this (RIMA 3, 0.103.2 iv 1'), and one of his own messengers managed the same (SAA 19, 126 r. 7'–15')—Mukīn-zēri would be only the first of many wily Chaldean kings of Bābili fighting extended, picaresque guerilla wars against Assyrian occupation. In turn, Mukīn-zēri's initial seizure need not have been in battle (none is mentioned in Assyrian sources); like the 7th-century king Šūzubu, who was ‘ratted out’ to Sīn-aḫḫē-erība by one Adad-barakka for his weight in silver (SAA 21, 18 r. 1–9), he might have been betrayed, thus RINAP 1, TP 51: 16's taciturnity.

An unbowed, chaotic Babylonia 731–727 might also resolve an old mystery of Assyrian chronology: the delay of the royal eponymate of Salmānu-ašarēd VI* (727–722) second king of the ‘united monarchy’ until his fourth regnal year (723)—contending in the south with a rebellious Bīt-Adini (KAI 233: 15) and perhaps already Marduk-apla-iddina (soon to be II) of Bīt-Yākīn, he had celebrated the new year at Bābili rather than Aššur in his early years, provoking a resentment at the latter city ultimately exploited by Šarru-ukīn (RINAP 2, 89 r. 30–40). Like the verb *dāku*, the results would be fatal.

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91) On the historicity of the Assyrian royal family in Classical and Byzantine historiography —

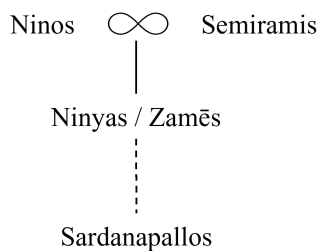


Figure 1. Ninos' family in Classical sources

Assyria's imperial ascent and decline was envisaged by Classical authors as a family drama (Fig. 1). In Diodōros (*Bibliotheca historica* 2.1.1–28.8), Ninos is founder of Assyria and the city *Ninos* (Ninūa, i.e. Naynawā, Iraq), marrying the doughty Semiramis, who bears him, in turn, the slothful Ninyas (later equated with one *Zamēs*). Upon Ninos' death, Semiramis energetically rules Assyria through her son before her own abrupt disappearance (or demise), after which Ninyas leads a cloistered palatial existence, delegating governance to eunuchs. After generations of unaccomplished kings, Assyria finally falls to Medo-Babylonian rebellion in Sardanapallos' scandalous reign.

This narrative belies various confused Greek traditions—consider Hēllanikos' two *Sardanapalloi* (BNJ 4 f63b), Kastōr of Rhodos' bookending of the dynasty with *Ninoi* (BNJ 250 f1a), or Phoinix of Kolophōn ascribing Ninos Sardanapallian vice (GERHARD 1909: 184–185). In turn, traditions of Ninyas' incest with Semiramis might be explained by conflation of the names *Ninos* and *Ninyas*—the latter seems a diminutive of the former. For all these accounts' fancy, comparison with the actual Assyrian royal family from the 9th to 8th centuries BC (Fig. 2) does yield an historical kern.

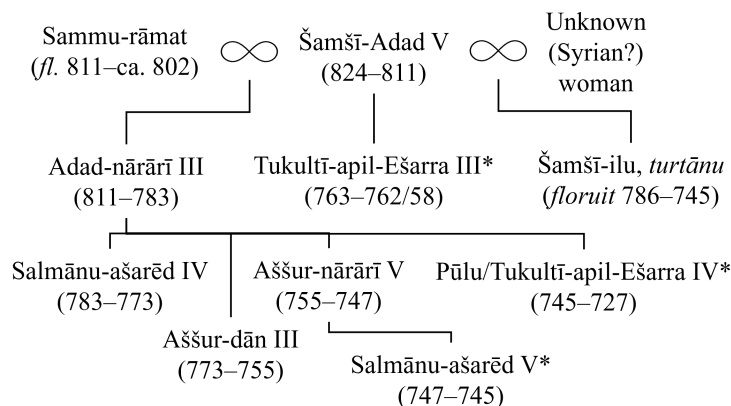


Figure 2. The Assyrian royal family 824–727 (after EDMONDS 2025)

Like Semiramis with Ninyas, Sammu-rāmat ruled during her son Adad-nārārī III's minority (*ina šeḫrīšu*, RIMA 3, 0.104.1: 2), even campaigning alongside him (RIMA 3, 0.104.3). Like Ninyas, Adad-nārārī III's adult reign was sequestered, and dominated by eunuchs, particularly his probable half-brother Šamšī-īlu, who *de facto* ruled Assyria for nigh forty years as field marshal (*turtānu*)—explaining later

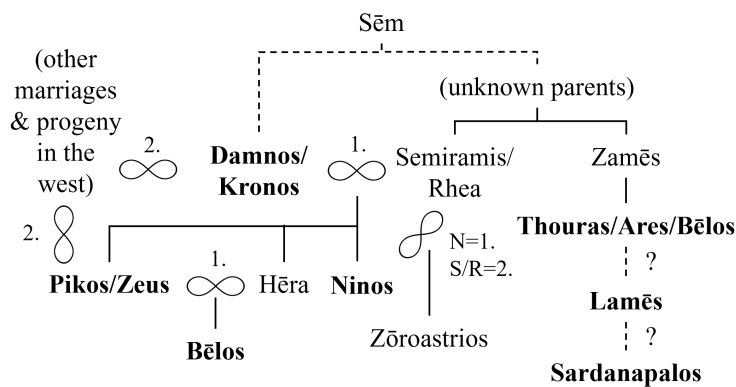


Figure 3. The Assyrian dynasty according to Iōannēs Malalas' Chronographia

(*Historiarum adversum paganos* 1.4.3). Yet, a Ninos/Ninyas-analogy also evokes Adad-nārārī II, a patron of Ninūa and the early Neo-Assyrian state's emic founder (EDMONDS 2025: 117–122). Finally, Sardanapallos conflates the empire's terminal rulers, as seen in his various deaths: Self-immolation (e.g. Ktēsias BNJ 688 f1πα) courtesy of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; death in exile (Kleitarchos BNJ 137 f2) according with that of Aššur-uballit "III" (pace READE 2024; for Aššur-uballit II*, see EDMONDS 2025: 113–119); or murder at a Mede's hands (Douris BNJ 76 f42) ... as befell Aššur-bāni-apli?

The 6th-century AD Syrian Iōannēs Malalas supplies a late and complex Assyrian dynasty in his *Chronographia* (1.8–12), incorporating a 4th-century AD euhemerising equation with Graeco-Roman gods (GARSTAD 2002's 'Picus-Zeus narrative'), but also biblical and other easter genealogies. It presents seven Assyrian kings: **Damnōs/Kronos – Pikos/Zeus – Bēlos – Ninos – Thouras/Ares/Bēlos – Lamēs – Sardanapalos** (Fig. 3).

Malalas has elaborated on an earlier, simpler account preserved in the 8th-century AD *Excerpta latina barbari* (1.6.1), whereby Pikos/Zeus is equated with Ninos, and Semiramis/Rhea (ruling in her own right) corresponds to Hēra. Its list of 39 Assyrian kings (2.1.2–3) begins **Bilus – Ninos/Picus – Semiramis/Rea – Zanīs – Arius – Aranus – Xersēs/Balleus** (...), but lacks Malalas' mysterious Thouras and Lamēs, who thus warrant further investigation (*Chronographia* 1.12; Gk: THURN 2000: 12–13; Engl. after JEFFREYS et al. 1986: 8):

Μετὰ δὲ Νίνων ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων Θούρας ὀνόματι, ὅντινα μετεκάλεσεν ὁ τοῦτου πατὴρ Ζάμης, ὁ τῆς Ῥέας ἀδελφός, εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πλανήτου ἀστέρος Ἀρεα. οὗτος ἐγένετο πικρὸς πολεμιστής, ὅστις ἐπολέμησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτῶα μέρη. ἐπελθὼν Καυκάσῳ τινὶ καὶ αὐτῷ δυνατῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γιγαντογενεὶ καὶ πολεμικώτατῳ, καταχθέντι ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰάφεθ, τοῦ υἱοῦ Νῶε, καὶ πολέμησας τὸν αὐτὸν Καυκάσον ἐνίκησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ ἐκεῖ τελεντήσας κεῖται. ὅττινι Ἀρεὶ ἀνέστησαν πρώτην στήλην οἱ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ ὡς θεὸν προσεκύνουν αὐτόν, ὃν καὶ εἰς νῦν καλοῦσι περισσι τον Βάαλ θεόν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευόμενον Ἀρης πολέμων θεός. τοῦτου μνημονεύει <ῥ> προφητικῇ φωνῇ τοῦ Δανιὴλ καὶ τῶν γ' παίδων, ὅτι ἡναγγάζοντο προσκυνεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν Ἀρεως ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Λάμης καὶ μετὰ Λάμην ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ μέγας, ὅντινα Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης ἐφόνευσεν καὶ ἀφείλατο τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίων. καὶ βασιλεύσας αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς Πέρσας. ἅτινα συνεγράψατο Μεμβρόνιος Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσαις.

After Ninos, one named Thouros reigned over the Assyrians. His father Zamēs, the brother of Rhea, renamed him Ares, after the planet. He became a savage fighting man, who campaigned against the northern regions. He attacked a certain Kaukasos, who was also a strong man of the race of the giants and very warlike; he was descended from the tribe of Iapheth, son of Nōe. Thouras fought Kaukasos, defeated him, and took possession of his land. He came to Thrace where he died and is buried. It was to Ares that the Assyrians erected the first statue, and they worshipped him as a god; to this day, they call him the god Baal in Persian, which means when translated "Ares, the warrior god". The prophetic words of Daniel and the three young men refer to him, saying that they were forced to worship him. After the death of Ares, Lamēs reigned, and after Lamēs the Assyrians were ruled by Sardanapalos the Great, whom Perseus, the son of Danaē, slew and took the empire from the Assyrians. When he had become their ruler, he named them Persians after himself, as Membrōnios (var. Semerōnios) of Babylōn has written for the Persians.

equations of Ninyas with one Zamēs (or Zamesea)—until a prince Pūlu took the throne as Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* in 745 (EDMONDS 2025: 141–162). Ninos, the *pater familias et imperi*, could be equated with Sammu-rāmat's spouse Šamšī-Adad V, whose early life has parallels in the Ninos and Semiramis-romance (EDMONDS 2025: 99), and whose untimely death reminds of that of Ninos according to Paulus Orosius

Malalas’ Ninos marries his own mother Semiramis (echoing Ninyas), and is succeeded by his brother-in-law Zamēs’ son Thouras. Spelt Θούρας, Θούρρας, Θούρος, Θύρας, and Θάρρας in Malalas’ epigones (THURN 2000: 12), Thouras’ identification with Ares rests on assonance with the god’s Homeric epithet θούρος ‘impetuous’ (VAN BEEK 2022: 256–257); Hēraklēs’ giant opponent *Thouros* is also born of this epiclesis (KRUSE 1936). Thouras’ Thracian death plays on Ares-lore, and his assonance with biblical Tīrās (as *Theirēs*, the Thracian progenitor in Flavius Josephus’ *Antiquitates Iudaicae* 1.6.1). Thouras’ foe Kaukasos endures in Georgian chronicles as *K’avk’avsoi* (კავკასი), seventh son of *Targamosi* (თარგამოსი, biblical *Togarmā*) (RAPP 2014).

Table 1. *Pūlu*’s attestations (compare BRINKMAN, 1968: 240–241, fn. 1544)

Language	Writing	Source
Akkadian	^m <i>pu-lu</i>	Babylonian King List A iv 8
Armenian	Փուրնու (<i>Powlos</i>)	Berōssos (BNJ 680 f5a)
Hebrew	<i>pwl</i>	1 Chron. 5:26; 2 Kings 15:19
Greek	Φουλ	4 Kings 15:19
	Φαλνχ, var. Φαλνς	1 Paralipomenon 5:26
	Πώρος, var. Πόρος	Ptolemaic Canon
	Φούλος, vars. Φούλλος, Φύλος	Fl. Josephus, <i>Ant. Iud.</i> 9.9
	Πύλας, var. Πύας	Fl. Josephus, <i>Ant. Iud.</i> 9.
Latin	<i>Phoiulus</i>	Fl. Josephus, <i>Ant. Iud.</i> 9.9
Phoenician	<i>pʿl</i>	İncirli Stele: 1

As Ninos/Ninyas’ successor, Thouras could correspond to Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*, son of Adad-nārārī III (Ninyas) and toppler of Šamšī-ilu (Zamēs). His unstable name *Thouras* resembles Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s by-name *Pūlu*, which might have attained its Byzantine form through further development of its demonstrable spirantisating and rhotising tendencies (Tab. 1). Thouras besting Kaukasos would then echo Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s victories over Sarduri II of Urartu, and his worship as a statue of Baʿal would recall not only Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV*’s unique creation of a golden statue of himself and the gods at Ḥazzat (Ḡazza, Palestine) in 732 (RINAP 1, TP 42: 10’–12’; 48: 16’–17’; 49 r. 13’–15’), but also SAA 20, 49: 12’s curious mention of a “Tukultī-apil-Ešarra’s statue” (NU ^m*tukul-ti-a-é-šár-ra*, note the name’s NA spelling) among those of the gods in the Aššur-temple’s *sanctum sanctorum*.

The identity of Malalas’ next-to-last Assyrian king Lamēs is suggested by Perseus’ defeat of his successor (*Chronographia* 2.13–19), initiating the Persian Empire (GARSTAD 2014). This name bears a neat assonance with the first element of the Neo-Babylonian Empire’s penultimate ruler Lâbâši-Marduk, Berōssos’ (BNJ 680 f9a) *Laborosoardochos* (Λαβοροσοάρχοδος), leaving Nabû-naʿid as Sardanapalos “the Great”. Perhaps Membrōnios/Semerōnios of Babylōn (BNJ 686) is Malalas’ source for Thouras and Lamēs—if a Syriac author, confusion between initial *mīm* and *semkat* could explain his confused Greek name. There is also a suspicious resemblance of both names to those of literary figures from Hellenistic-era romantic literature, i.e. the magician Mambres and queen Semiramis. Regardless, even for garbled Classical accounts, these findings suggest keener historical memory of Assyria than erst thought. Work must begin anew.

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92) Tiglath-Pileser III's Rewarding Loyal Vassals in North Phoenicia and South Levant — The interpretation of the short letter ND 2662, first published by Saggs in CTN V (2001: 153 and pl. 19) and subsequently rendered by Luukko (SAA XIX No. 28), remains a matter of scholarly debate. The letter was sent by Qurdi-Aššur-lamur, the Assyrian governor of the province of Šimirra, to the Assyrian king, i.e., Tiglath-pileser III. The principal point of contention concerns the identification of the city mentioned in line 2. Luukko restored it [URU.Aš-du]-da-a-a, that is, “[The Ashdo]dite (king)”. Aster supported his restoration in two detailed articles (2018; 2021: 325–327). In contrast, Yamada (2008: 302–303) and Na’aman (2018: 43) restored it [URU.Ar-ma]-da-a-a, i.e., “[The Arwa]dite (king).” The dispute essentially relates to geography – whether the letter pertains to events on the Philistine coast or in northern Phoenicia – a determination that bears significantly on its historical interpretation.

The text of lines 3–6 may be rendered as follows:

[The Ashdo]dite/[Arwa]dite (king) has written to me: “The king has placed (the cities) Qadarua, Līdu [and Ḫ]adidu in the treaty (*ina adê issakan*). I have [se]nt [a letter[?]] and appealed to the k[in]g [concerning[?] Ḫ]adidu [.....].”

In his translation, Luukko (2012: 35) suggested that the message of the local king ends in line 4 and that the words in lines 5–6 were stated by Qurdi-Aššur-lamur, the letter’s author. According to this interpretation, the present letter continues a former correspondence whose details are unknown. I propose that lines 5–6 constitute a continuation of the local king’s letter to the Assyrian king, in which he protests that the town of Hadidu did not comply with the stipulations of the treaty. According to this interpretation, the local king sent a letter to his overlord and, simultaneously, applied to his deputy in the region (Qurdi-Aššur-lamur), who reacted to the application by sending his own letter to the king.

Concerning the identity of the local king, I begin by noting the unlikelihood that he was the king of Ashdod. Yamada (2008: 296–297, 309–310) already observed that all Qurdi-Aššur-lamur’s early letters were sent from the coast of Phoenicia, whereas his later letters originated from inland Syria. Luukko (2012: XLVIII) accepted his observation and suggested that “(t)he fact that Qurdi-Aššur-lamur employed two different scribes may indicate that he was governor of two different provinces during his career.” I also supported this interpretation and posited that most of Qurdi-Aššur-lamur’s letters were dispatched from the Phoenician coast (SAA XIX Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25 and 28) in the years 738–730, whereas his later letters (SAA XIX Nos. 29, 30, 31) were dispatched from the region of Damascus. Thus, whereas the restoration “[the Arwa]dite (king)” corresponds well with the early group of letters dispatched from Phoenicia, none of Qurdi-Aššur-lamur’s letters deals with the affairs of Philistia and the adjacent region. Consequently, the restoration “[the Ashdo]dite” appears highly unlikely.

Concerning the three toponyms referred to in the letter, Aster (2018: 281–286; 2021: 326–327) assumed that they are located in the confines of the Kingdom of Ashdod and identified them on the basis of their seeming similarity to those of three biblical place names. He identified Qadarua with biblical Gederoth, which he located at Tel Qatra, in the northern coast of Philistia. He further identified Līdu with biblical Lod and Hadid at Tel Hadid (Arabic Haditha), five kilometres northeast of Lod (see map in ASTER 2021: 324).

Did the Kingdom of Ashdod extend northwards as far as the Lod-Tel Hadid region? The key to the proposed identifications is the city of Gezer, located in the monarchical period on the southwestern border of the Kingdom of Israel. Over the course of his campaigns to the west (734–732 BCE), Tiglath-pileser conquered Gezer, as indicated by one of his reliefs (TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 146; see TADMOR

1994: Fig. 11 Wall IV). When Sargon II established the Assyrian province of Samerīna (720 BCE), Gezer too was annexed and became an Assyrian centre near the southwestern border of the new province.

The town of Lod is located ca. ten kilometres north of Gezer, and Tel Hadid is situated ca. 12 kilometres northeast of it. Hence, it is inconceivable that the two sites, located within the confines of the province of Samerīna, might have belonged at any time to the Philistine kingdom of Ashdod. In fact, Aster contradicts himself in other articles, in which he and his colleagues correctly placed the district of Gezer within the province of Samerīna (ASTER and FAUST 2015: 293–303; ITACH et al. 2023: 135–137).

Moreover, according to the annals of Sennacherib, the district of Joppa was governed at the time of his campaign (701 BCE) by the Kingdom of Ashkelon (GRAYSON and NOVOTNY 2012: 64, line 41; see index on p. 260 s.v., Joppa). Thus, the Ashkelonite district separated the Ashdodite territory from that of the Assyrian province of Samerīna. Scholars dispute the date of the establishment of the Ashkelonite enclave in Joppa and its surrounding district (for details of the debate, see ASTER 2021: 334). I have tentatively suggested that it was founded by Tiglath-pileser III as part of the administrative arrangements he established following his conquest of the Levant (NA'AMAN 2009: 352).

The relevant text for the discussion of Tiglath-pileser's arrangements is badly damaged; hence the uncertainty (TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 63, lines 10–12). The text relates that Rukibtu, son of Mitinti, ascended on his father's throne. While seeking legitimation from his overlord, he applied to Tiglath-pileser, probably paid him a heavy sum of 500 talents of silver, and then "entered his city" (line 12).¹⁾ After the reference to his entrance to the city, the text states, "fifteen cities" and then breaks. I propose the daring hypothesis that these fifteen cities were located near the city of Joppa and that in return for the heavy tribute he paid and his loyalty oath to the Assyrian king, the text related the transfer of the district of Joppa to Rukibtu. The Iron Age IIB fortress unearthed at Rishon le-Ziyyon, a site located mid-way between Joppa and Yavneh-Yam, possibly marked the border established between Ashdod and the Ashkelonite district that surrounds Joppa (for the fortress, see LEVY and PEILSTÖCKER 2008: 2020–2022).

The assumed placing of the of the fifteen towns under the jurisdiction of the king of Ashkelon might be compared to the placing of the three towns of Qadaruā, Līdu and Hadid under the jurisdiction of the king of Arwad (SAA XIX 28).

Moreover, the transfer of towns to some local kings fits well with all that we know of Tiglath-pileser's organization of the non-annexed territories he conquered in the Levant. This includes: (a) the replacement of rebel kings by the Assyrian king's nominees (e.g., Hoshea in Israel and Rukibtu in Ashkelon); (b) the placing of all the other kings under a loyalty oath; (c) the rewarding of loyal rulers by extending their territories (Mattan-Ba'al of Arwad and Rukibtu of Ashkelon); and (d) the nomination of leaders of loyal tribes to supervise areas located on the border of the empire (Idibi'ilu, near the border with Egypt; see TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 112 line 16).²⁾

Notes

1. TADMOR and YAMADA (2011: 63) translated line 12 as, "and I entered his city." However, the text relates that initially, Rukibtu "wandered around"; thus, his entrance to the city is the natural continuity to the 'wandering' episode.

2. Idibi'ilu is a name of a tribe (see Gen 25:13; 1 Chr 1:29) that is presented in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions as a personal name.

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93) A Proposed Restoration for Ashurbanipal E2 (vii.11) — In preparing an essay on Neo-Assyrian rituals mentioning the *lismu*, the author had the opportunity to analyze each occurrence of the verb *lasāmu* in extant first millennium SB texts (Kelley Forthcoming). Among the few uses of this verb in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions is its appearance in the E-class prism(s) of Ashurbanipal (COGAN – TADMOR 1977; MITTO – NOVOTNY 2021). In contrast to the later versions of this episode in Ashurbanipal's annals, the E-class prism(s) include a speech by Gyges of Lydia in which he pledges loyalty to Ashurbanipal in response to a dream sent to him by his god (RINAP 5/1 2 vi.14–vii.15).

Like much of the E-prism(s) material, this speech is in a poor state of preservation and various restorations have been proposed to fill in certain of its gaps. In their pioneering study of this text, Cogan – Tadmor (1977: 72) suggest restoring a pair of lines containing the verb *lasāmu* as follows:

E2 (RINAP 5/1 2) vii.10-11:	[u a-n]a še-er LÚ.KUŔ.MEŠ-šú [kayyān?] a-na-ku la-as-ma-ku	“...and I myself [continuously] run against his enemies...”
	[u an]a šēr nakirīšu [kayyān] anāku lasmāku	

This suggestion was also taken up in the recent study of the same materials by Mitto and Novotny (2021: 156), though the RINAP edition (NOVOTNY – JEFFERS 2018: 51) simply leaves the gap unrestored. The space to be filled, coming at the beginning of a line, contains no more than two to three cuneiform signs. However, Cogan and Tadmor provide no commentary on their choice to fill the lacuna in this way. And, because there are no parallels to this statement in the extant royal inscriptions, the restoration of *kayyān* remains conjectural.

There are, however, texts outside of the corpus of royal inscriptions that provide a parallel to this formulation from which we can restore the E-prism text. Although not common, the verb *lasāmu* occasionally appears in letters published within the State Archives of Assyria series (SAA I 205.o.13,r.8,r.15; 236 o.5'; SAA XV 255.o.3'; 288.o.14,o.15; 350.r.5'; SAA XIX 195.o.8). In several of these instances, the verb is used in a way that parallels the usage in the E-prism(s), expressing service to the king or to his enemies.

<i>lasāmu</i> in Select Assyrian Letters		
SAA I 205.r.7-8	TA LUGAL be-lī-ia lil-su-mu	“let him run with the king my lord”
	issi šarri bēlīya lilsumu	
SAA XIX 195.o.8	ša TA LUGAL EN-ia il-su-mu-u-ni	“who have run with the king my lord”
	ša issi šarri bēlīya ilsumūni	
SAA XVI 135.e.2	[TA] LÚ.KÚŔ i-sa-as-nu-ma	“they run with the enemy”
	[issi] nakri issasnūma	

In each of these instances, the verb *lasāmu* is accompanied by a predicate complement signaled by the use of the preposition *issi* (written logographically as TA). We can then use this to offer a better restoration in Gyges' speech by transposing the expression into Standard Babylonian, supplying TA-šú, to be read as *ittīšu*, in the gap. This yields the expression [u an]a šēr nakirīšu [ittīšu] anāku lasmāku: “And I myself run with him [i.e., serve him on campaign] against his enemies.” The proposed restoration alongside the original reconstruction can be seen below:

Cogan – Tadmor // Mitto – Novotny	Proposed Reconstruction
vii.10 [<i>u a-n</i>]a še-er LÚ.KUŔ.MEŠ-šú	vii.10 [<i>u a-n</i>]a še-er LÚ.KUŔ.MEŠ-šú
vii.11 [<i>kayyān</i> ³] a-na-ku la-as-ma-ku	vii.11 [TA-šú] a-na-ku la-as-ma-ku
[<i>u an</i>]a šēr nakirīšu [<i>kayyān</i>] anāku lasmāku	[<i>u an</i>]a šēr nakirīšu [ittīšu] anāku lasmāku
“...and I myself [continuously] run against his enemies...”	“And I myself run [with him] against his enemies.”

This reading is not only preferable because of its basis in parallel texts, but, as can be seen, also fits neatly in the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

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94) Tracing *nukdu*: An Iranian Loanword for Chickpea in Achaemenid Elamite? — To the best of my knowledge, the term in question appears in two spellings in the Persepolis Fortification Archive from the reign of Darius I. The form *nu-ik-du*¹ in PF 1147:01-02 constitutes the first attestation, which Hallock (1969: 332) normalized as *nukdu* and left untranslated. In his glossary, he describes it as “a commodity, presumably edible” (HALLOCK 1969: 739). No Elamite terminology is at hand.

The same spelling occurs in NN 1109:01: [*nu*]-*ik-du*. In NN 1109, a certain quantity of *nukdu* is given to camels, probably as a supplement to their grazing. In PF 1147, by contrast, 34 liters of *nukdu* are allocated to 34 workers—one liter per person per month over a six-month period in year 23 of Darius’ reign. The supplier in PF 1147 is Pirratamka, who elsewhere is attested as distributing flour and, less frequently, barley. This pattern strengthens the likelihood that *nukdu* was a comparable edible commodity. A similar argument may be made for the supplier in NN 1109 (Bakankama).

A variant of the term also occurs as *nukduš*: *nu-ik-du-iš* (NN 0910:01-02) and *nu-¹ik¹-du-iš* (NN 2126:01-02). In NN 0910, 200 liters of barley together with *nukduš* are allocated to workers. In NN 2126, 225 liters of *nukduš* are distributed to 125 female workers for a period of three months. *EW* plausibly derives *nukduš* from Old Persian, noting that the final -š reflects the Old Persian case marker -š (s.v. *nu-ik-du*) used in Elamite to mark the end of Old Persian loanwords (MAYRHOFER 1973: 118; HENKELMAN 2003: 116). This observation supports the possibility that *nukdu* itself was an Iranian loanword.

In Iranian languages, a plausible cognate exists. New Persian *nuxud* or *naxud*, meaning “chickpea” (*Cicer arietinum*), offers a strong parallel, and is also attested in Middle Persian. Mackenzie (1971: 58) records Middle Persian *naxōd* for *nhwt*, “chickpea.” For its etymology, Bailey (1979: 185) reconstructs Old Iranian **nahuata-* from **nahu-* with suffix *-atta*. Cognates occur in several Iranian languages, including Kurdish and Baluchi (HASSANDOUST 2014: 5040), suggesting a possible original Iranian root. Whether Bailey’s reconstruction is ultimately correct or not, this comparison indicates that the Achaemenid Elamite *nukdu* might represent a loan from an assumed Old Persian form, continued in Middle Persian (*naxōd*) and New Persian (*nuxud*). It remains uncertain whether the personal name Nukudda in NN 2335: 40’–41’ is related to this term. This brief note proposes a possible instance of legumes attested in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. The suggestion is tentative, but it is offered in the hope of stimulating discussion regarding the potential loan mentioned above.

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95) A new join from Late Babylonian Uruk — The tablet SpTU 2, 18 features a one-column layout and includes prophylactic rituals and prayers for warding off evil signs that manifest themselves in the patient’s house. Previously described as a ‘handbook for the incantation priest’,¹⁾ this tablet presents a total of six ritual prescriptions, followed first by the Šamaš prayer *bēlu ša ina šamē šūpū* (‘O Lord, who is resplendent in heaven’) and then by another prayer to the sun god *šurbū gitmālu apil Namrašīt* (‘O most exalted, perfect one, the son of Namrašīt’)—the latter prayer is known as ‘Šamaš 1’.²⁾ The two prayers are respectively designated in their rubrics as a Ki’utu and a Šu’ila, but the tablet also cites the incipits of three additional prayers³⁾ before the colophon. The colophon identifies SpTU 2, 18 as the first division (Akk. *pīrsu*) of a longer collection of texts that deal with evil originating from unfavourable signs and omens. According to the colophon, SpTU 2, 18 belonged to the priest Iqīšā, which allows for a dating of the tablet sometime between 322 and 316 BC (FRAHM 2002: 80–83).

Since its first publication in 1979, SpTU 2, 18 has received considerable scientific attention. A recent edition of the text appeared on the eBL platform⁴⁾ as part of the ongoing effort by the Cuneiform Artefacts from Iraq in Context (CAIC) project to edit and make digitally available around 17.000 cuneiform objects in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. Within this context, work on the Late Babylonian corpus from Uruk is facilitated by photographs of the extant tablets, kindly made available by E. von Weiher. Consulting these photographs has led to the discovery of a join between SpTU 2, 18 and the small fragment SpTU 5, 238. The fragment belongs to the left-hand side of this one-column tablet and restores a total of 26 lines of text to a complete or near-complete state (see Figure 1 below).

Although it was impossible at this stage to reattach physically SpTU 5, 238, we can confidently place this fragment as a direct join to SpTU 2, 18. In terms of their archaeological context, both pieces were discovered during the 29th campaign of the German Archaeological Institute in Uruk (1970–1971), at the second layer of a residential area excavated in grid square Ue XVIII/1.⁵⁾ Once positioned correctly, they provide the accurate line alignment, with a substantially reduced size of breakage that allows for as little as a few millimetres of space between the two pieces. In addition to the matching profile of the break, traces of signs like AŠ in *ina ŠUB-tu₄* (o 9), UR in TEŠ₂.BI (o 12) and AN in DINGIR *ze-nu-u* (o 13) align and continue logically from SpTU 2, 18 to SpTU 5, 238.

Unlike SpTU 2, 18, the fragment SpTU 5, 238 has received scant scholarly attention since its publication in 1998. Its significance as a duplicate of the Šu’ila prayer ‘Šamaš 1’ was already recognised by von Weiher; however, no new editions or in-depth analyses of the text have been undertaken ever since.⁶⁾ What follows is an edition of the newly joined sections of SpTU 2, 18 + SpTU 5, 238, which cover a total of 13 lines on the obverse and another 13 lines on the reverse side of the tablet. On the obverse, these sections correspond to the last four ritual prescriptions and the first two lines of the first Šamaš prayer; on the reverse, all 13 lines belong to the Šu’ila prayer ‘Šamaš 1’. The text is presented here in transliteration and translation.

Edited lines

- | | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| o 8–10 | = | SpTU 2, 18 o 8–10 + SpTU 5, 238 o 1’–3’ (Ritual 3) ⁷⁾ |
| o 11–13 | = | SpTU 2, 18 o 11–13 + SpTU 5, 238 o 4’–6’ (Ritual 4) ⁸⁾ |
| o 14–16 | = | SpTU 2, 18 o 14–16 + SpTU 5, 238 o 7’–9’ (Ritual 5) |
| o 17–18 | = | SpTU 2, 18 o 17–18 + SpTU 5, 238 o 10’–11’ (Ritual 6) |
| o 19–20 | = | SpTU 2, 18 o 19–20 + SpTU 5, 238 o 12’–13’ (Šamaš prayer 1) |
| r 11’–23’ | = | SpTU 2, 18 r 11’–23’ + SpTU 5, 238 r 1’–13’ (Šamaš prayer 2) |

Transliteration

- o 8 *ana* HUL GISKIM.MEŠ *ana* LU₂ NU TE-*e* ^{na₄}*ab₃-aš-mu* ^{na₄}*mu-ša* NA₄ ZU₂.LUM.M[A *ina* G]U GADA
- o 9 *ina* GU₂ GAR-*ma* GISKIM HUL-*ti₃* NU TE-*šu₂* ^{u₂}LAL ^{šim}ŠEŠ ^{u₂}KU₆ ^{ina} ŠUB¹-*tu₄*⁹⁾
- o 10 *ina* I₃ ^{giš}ŠUR.MIN₃ ŠEŠ₂-*su-ma* GISKIM HUL-*ti₃* ^{nu¹}TE-*šu₂*
-
- o 11 *ana* GISKIM HUL *ana* LU₂ *u* E₂-*šu₂* NU TE-*e* SAG.DU *pa-ša₂-na*^{mušen u₂}[(x)] *pa² tu-bal ta-sak₃*
- o 12 *ina* I₃ ^{giš}ŠUR.MIN₃ H₁.H₁ *ina* ITI UD.1.KAM UD.10.KAM UD.20.KAM UD.21.KAM ^{teš₂}BI ŠEŠ₂-*ma*¹⁰⁾
- o 13 *u sip-pi₂* E₂-*šu* TAG.TAG-*ma* GISKIM HUL *ana* LU₂ *u* E₂-*šu₂* NU TE ^{dingir¹}*ze-nu-u* KI-*šu₂* *sal-lum*
-
- o 14 *ana* KI MIN SAḪAR E₂ DINGIR *lu ana* A ID₂ *lu ana* A PU₂ ŠUB-*ma*¹¹⁾ E₂ *t[a]-sal¹-laḫ* NIG₂.NA
- o 15 ^{šim}LI *u* ^{šim}ŠEŠ ZAG *u* GUB₃ *ina* KA₂ E₂ LU₂ GAR-*ma* GISKIM.MEŠ HUL.MEŠ
- o 16 DU₈.ME-*ma*¹²⁾ SIG₅ *ina* E₂ LU₂ GAL₂-*ma* E₂ BI *i-sal-lim*
-
- o 17 *tar-muš*^{u₂}IGI-*lim* ḪAR.ḪAR KUR.KUR ŠURIM ^dGU₄ *ina* SIG₂ ^{munus}AŠ₂.GAR₃ GIŠ₃.NU.ZU GAR ^{ti¹}I₃¹ DU₁₀ SUD
- o 18 *ina* KUN₄ KA₂ LA₂-*t*¹³⁾ *te-te-mir* ^{AL.TIL}¹⁴⁾ *an-nu-u₂* *ša₂* G[IS]KIM HUL-*ti₃*
-
- o 19 EN *ša₂* *ina* AN-*e* *šu-pu-u* *ina* KI-*ti₃* *šu-tu-ru* ^dUTU D[I.K]UD *kib-rat*
- o 20 *kal te-ne₂-še-e-tu₂* *muš-te-šir* KI-*ti₃* DAGAL-*ti₃* ^d[UTU *reme₂*²-*n*]*u-u₂*
- r 11' IGI UG₃.MEŠ *mu-kal-lim* ZALAG₂ ^dUTU *muš-te-šir* ^{lu₂}UŠ₂ *u* TI *b[a]-a-ri*
- r 12' *kal mim-ma šum-šu₂* ^dUTU ZALAG₂ AN-*e* *u* KI-*ti₃* *ša₂-ru-ru* KUR.KUR *b[e-e]l sip-par*
- r 13' *šu-lul e₂-babbar-ra ta-lim* ^dAMAR.UTU *tuk-lat* E^{ki} *ana* *qi₂-b[i-t]i-ka*
- r 14' *u₂-taq-qu-u* DINGIR.ME ^di₂-*gi₃-gi₃* UG₃.MEŠ DAGAL.ME *šal-mat qaq-qad₂* [i]-*dal-lal qur-di-ka*^(KI)¹⁵⁾
- r 15' *kal tap-pa-a tu-šar-ši*¹⁶⁾ *ana* *la i-ša₂-ri ta-nam-din ap-lu ed-[lu]-tu₂*¹ *sik-kur* AN-*e*
- r 16' *tu-pat-tu₂* *ana* *la na-til* GAR-*nu* ZALAG₂ *tup-pi ar-mu* NU BAD-*a* [t]*a-ša₂-as-su*¹⁷⁾
- r 17' *ina* ŠA₃ UDU.NITA₂ SAR-*ar₂* UZU DI.KUD DINGIR.ME *be-lu* ^di₂-[*gi₃-g*]*i₃* ^dUTU
- r 18' EN *ši-mat* KUR *at-ta-ma šim-tu₂* *ši-me a-lak-tu₂* SIG₅-*iq li-ši-r[a]* ^{ti¹}A₂¹.MEŠ-*u₂-a lid-me-eq*
- r 19' MAŠ₂.GE₆-*u₂*-^{ti¹}A MAŠ₂¹.GE₆ *aṭ-ṭul ana* SIG₅-*tu₂* *šuk-nu i-ša₂-riš lul-lik-m[a tap]-pa-a¹ lu-uk-šu-ud*
- r 20' *ina* *u₄-mi-ia lu* SIG₅-*tu₂* *šu-ut-lim-am-ma* INIM.GAR SIG₅ *ina* SILA ^{ti¹}lu¹ [m]*a-gir₂ qa-bu-u-an-nu*
- r 21' *ul-šu u ri-šat lu-bil u₄-mu* ^dNIG₂.ZI *liž-ziz ina* ZAG-*ia₅* ^dmi¹-*ša₂-ri liž-ziz ina* 150-*ia₅*
- r 22' DINGIR «ME» *mu-šal-lim ina* A₂-*ia₅* *lu ka-a-a-an a-a ip-par-ku* MAŠK[IM *šu*]*l₃-mu ina* EGIR-*ia₅*
- r 23' *li-ta-mu-ka* ^dbu-*ne-ne* SUKKAL INIM SIG₅-*tu₂* ^da-*a* *ḫi-ir-tu₂ na-r[am-ta-ka š]i-lim¹ liq-bi-ka*

Translation

o 8–10 For evil from a sign not to approach a man: you place *abašmû*-stone, *mūšu*-stone (and) date stone around his neck on a linen cord, and then the evil sign will not approach him. You anoint him with *ašqulālu*-plant, myrrh (and) anise from an abandoned place using cypress oil, and then the evil sign will not approach him.

o 11–13 For an evil sign not to approach a man and his house: you dry (and) pound the head of a *pašanu*-bird (and) . . . you mix them in cypress oil, you anoint him (with the mixture) for a month on the first, tenth, twentieth, and twenty-first days always at the same time, then you smear it on the door jambs of his house, and the evil sign will not approach the man and his house, the angry god will be at peace with him.

o 14–16 For DITTO, you put dust from the house of a god in either river water or well water, and you sprinkle the house with it, (then) you place censers (filled with) juniper and myrrh at the doorway of the man's house on the right and left side, and the evil signs will be released, and consequently there will be good in the man's house, and that house will be at piece.

o 17–18 You put lupin, 'faces a thousand' plant, thyme, *atā'išu*-plant (and) ox dung in hair from a virgin kid, you sprinkle it with good-quality oil, you bury it under the threshold of the outer door. ^{Finished.} This is for an evil sign.

o 19–20 O Lord, who is resplendent in heaven (and) majestic on earth, O Šamaš, the judge of the world (and) all people, who secures justice for the wide earth, O merciful Šamaš (. . .)

r 11'–23' (. . .) (who brings happiness) to people, revealer of light, who secures justice for the dead and living (and) observes everything! O Šamaš, the light of heaven and earth, brilliance of the lands, lord of Sippar, who gives protection to the Ebabbar, favourite brother of Marduk, trusted in Babylon! The gods, the Igigi, await your command (while) the widespread people, humankind (lit. 'black-headed people'), praise your heroism. You make everyone acquire a friend, provide an heir to the impotent man. You open the locked bolts of heaven, putting light back into (the eyes of) a blind man. You read out loud the covered, unopened tablet. On the innards of a sheep, you write the ominous signs. O judge

of the gods, lord of the Igigi, O Šamaš, you are the lord of fate in the land, so determine (my) fate, make (my) way favourable! Let my signs be in order (and) my dreams be favourable! Turn the dreams I saw into favourable ones! May I prosper and acquire a friend! Let there be good things during my days! Grant me a favourable portent! Let my speech be accepted in the street! May I spend my days in pleasure and rejoicing! May divine truth stand on my right, may divine justice stand on my left! May a safeguarding god stand firmly at my side, may a guardian of well-being not cease to go behind me! May Bunene, the vizier, say good words to you, may Aya, your beloved wife, say to you: 'Be at peace'! (..)

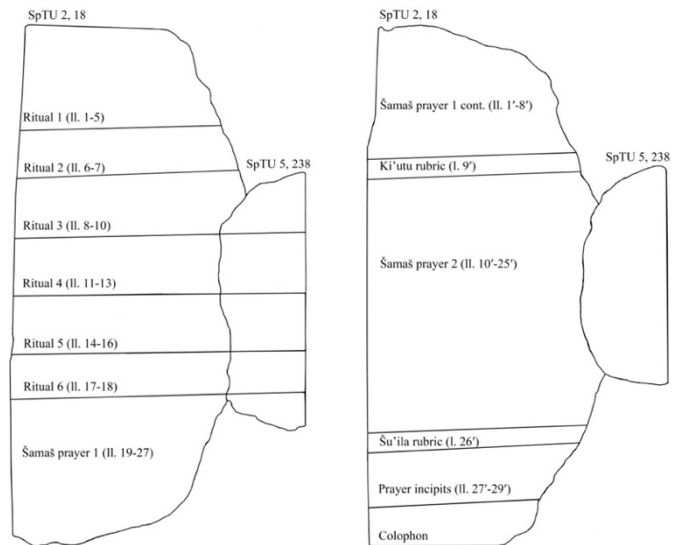


Figure 1: Thematic outline of the one-column tablet SpTU 2, 18 + SpTU 5, 238

Notes

1. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung* (BagF 18), 1994, p. 96.
2. For the ritual-prayer 'Šamaš 1', see Mayer, *Gebetsbeschwörungen* (StPohl SM 5), 1976, p. 503–510; Foster, *Muses*,³ 2005, p. 744–745; Frechette, *Mesopotamian Ritual-prayers* (AOAT 379), 2012, p. 271; and Ambos, *Der König im Gefängnis*, 2013, p. 208–209, ll. 97–132.
3. For the first prayer listed at this point in the text (viz., 'Ea 1a'), see now Abusch & Schwemer, *Anti-Witchcraft Rituals* vol. 2 (AMD 8/2), 2016, p. 332–340.
4. IM.76966, eBL edition (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/IM.76966>), accessed 10.07.2025.
5. The findspot of the pieces is described as 'Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II, Wohnhaus, ob.Fb.' and 'Ue XVIII 1, Schicht II R.C.': see, respectively, von Weiher 1979: 96 n. 6 (SpTU 5, 238) and 102 no. 203 (SpTU 2, 18).
6. See von Weiher in SpTU 5 p. 28 and, more recently, Jean, *Magie néo-assyrienne* (SAAS 17), 2006, p. 163. The only exception appears to be the online republication of the text on the website of the Geography of Knowledge project, prepared by Cunningham: <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/P348825>; accessed 10.07.2025.
7. This ritual prescription also occurs in BM 40071 o 16–18: see Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, p. 499, ll. 16–17.
8. The same prescription is found in LKA 115 r 1'–6': see Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, p. 503, ll. 1'–6'.
9. The form ŠUB-tu₄ at the end of the line may correspond to Akkadian *nadûtu* or the like, designating an abandoned place from where the herbs were collected. For a similar use of the term, see Scurlock, *Ghost-Induced Illnesses* (AMD 3), 2006, p. 283, l. 23'.
10. Akk. *ištēniš tapaššaš-ma*, which is taken here in the temporal sense 'you anoint him at the same time (each day)' (CAD I/J 279; AHW. 400). The idiom is otherwise rare but reoccurs in a somewhat similar context in the ritual text KAR 31 r 22: see Maul, *ZA* 108 (2018), p. 186, l. 32 and passim.
11. Cf. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, p. 266, ll. 11'–12'.
12. Cf. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, p. 350–351, ll. 4–5.
13. For the form LA₂-i corresponding to Akkadian *kamî* 'outer', see von Weiher in SpTU 2, p. 90 and 92, l. 18.
14. The presence of the remark AL.TIL ('finished') is a likely indicator that the text on SpTU 2, 18 + SpTU 5, 238 was pulled together from multiple tablets. Accordingly, the ritual prescriptions in ll. 1–18 and the prayers that follow from l. 19 onward were most likely recorded on two separate tablets. The section with the ritual prescriptions ends with the statement 'this is for an evil sign', possibly added by the scribe of the present tablet to indicate the purpose of the final prescription, keeping in mind that this prescription omits the expected introductory formula.
15. The sign KI must be a scribal error for the masculine singular possessive suffix *-ka*. Note also the singular verb form *idallal*, which occurs here instead of the expected plural form known from parallels, namely, *idallalā* or *idallalū* (Mayer, *Gebetsbeschwörungen*, p. 505, l. 105). One wonders if these erroneous orthographies are due to scribal confusion about the verbal subject (viz., the black-headed people) and object (viz., heroism), the latter relating, in turn, to Šamaš.
16. The parallels include here GURUŠ DILI *tap-pa-a tu-šar-ši* 'you make the lonely young man acquire a friend': see Mayer, *Gebetsbeschwörungen*, p. 505, l. 106.

17. Note that the verbal forms in this line all end in *-u*: *tupattû* instead of *tupatti*, *tašakkanu* instead of *tašakkan*, and *tašassû* instead of *tašassi* (Mayer, *Gebetsbeschwörungen*, p. 505, ll. 108–110). Were these spellings employed for poetic purposes?

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96) Launch of a Website Dedicated to Cuneiform Medicine — I am pleased to announce the launch of a new website entirely dedicated to the study of cuneiform medicine: <https://gula.hypotheses.org/>. Please note that this is a personal and voluntary (non-funded) initiative, and the site is still being updated. It aims to provide accessible resources, updates on ongoing research, and bibliographical tools for scholars and students interested in Mesopotamian medical texts. Suggestions for improvement or additional bibliographical references are most welcome.

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J'ai le plaisir d'annoncer la mise en ligne d'un site entièrement consacré à l'étude de la médecine cunéiforme : <https://gula.hypotheses.org/>. Veuillez noter qu'il s'agit d'une initiative personnelle et bénévole, et encore en cours d'actualisation. Le site propose des ressources accessibles, des informations sur les recherches en cours, ainsi que des outils bibliographiques à l'intention des chercheurs et étudiants intéressés par les textes médicaux mésopotamiens. Toute suggestion d'amélioration ou de complément bibliographique est la bienvenue.

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