

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

2025

N° 4 (décembre)

NOTES BRÈVES

97) Bemerkungen zum Namen Gilgameš —

Zur frühdynastischen Quellenlage

Laut einer Weihinschrift wurde Gilgameš spätestens Mitte des 3. Jt. vergöttlicht und zum Sohn der Göttin Ninsu(mu)n aus Uruk erklärt:

Keulenkopf VA 3123 (Fāra-Zeit?, d. h. 2600–2500; aus Uruk?): ^dbil₃(ĜEŠ.BIL₂)-ga-mes → jetzt ^dgil_n-ga-meš₃ zu lesen (s. dazu unten):

Dem vergöttlichten Gilgameš / dem mächtigen König, dem Sohn der Ninsun / hat Ur-Ningirima / der Sohn des Lugal-dugane, der Hirt / diese gefertigte Keule aus „Alabaster“ / für sein Leben / (und) für das Leben seiner Frau (und) ihrer Kinder / geweiht.¹⁾

Dementsprechend erscheint er zugleich(?) in der Götterliste SF 1 aus Fāra (2600–2500)²⁾ und zwar als ^dĜEŠ.NE.PAP.GA.MEŠ₃ → ^dĜEŠ.BIL-pa₄-ga-meš₃ → ^dpa₄-bilga(ĜEŠ)^{bil-ga}-meš₃, welche Lesung auf einer Analyse der verschiedenen präargonischen Schreibvarianten beruht und den Namen Pabilga-meš ergibt (GEORGE 2003, 71–75), der zwar mit Pabil-gal-tuku (präargonischer Ensi von Umma) oder dem Götternamen Pabil-saĝ vergleichbar ist, jedoch den ganzen Ausdruck /pabilga/ mit den Personennamen aus archaischem Ur (2800–2600) teilt: Pabilga (UET 2 74 iii 2’); Pabilga-meš₃-Utu-pa₃-da „Der Pabilga war ein Prinz(?), den Utu berufen hat“ (UET 2 281 ii 5).³⁾ Ähnliche Personennamen sind auch in den späteren Texten aus Fāra belegt: z.B. Pabilga-a₂-nu-kuš₂ (TŠŠ 100 viii 1), Pabilga-Anzu (CT 50 1 i 6).

Zur Bedeutung im Frühdynastikum und zur weiteren Entwicklung

Pa₍₄₎-bil_(2/3)-ga: «ancêtre, grandpère, oncle paternel» (ATTINGER 2023, 1075). Pabilga-meš, etwa „Vorfahr—Junge“, entspricht dem Aufbau anderer präargonischen Personennamen (KEETMAN 2014) und übermittelt die Vorstellung, dass der (Groß-)Vater im Nachkommen, der diesen Namen trägt, weiterlebt. Es ist gut vorstellbar, dass solche Namengebung im Ahnenkult verankert war. Aufgrund der mB Deutung von /bil₂/ = /gil_x/ (s. sogleich) wäre es sinnvoll, auch in den älteren Belegen /pagilga/ zu lesen. Überdies ist es fraglich, ob /pa₄/ in diesem Zusammenhang überhaupt als selbständiges Zeichen auftritt, oder ob es lediglich eine šeššig-Erweiterung zu NE = /bil/ → NE.PAP bzw. NExPAP = /bil₂/ darstellt, was zusammen mit folgendem GA schon in den Texten aus archaischem Ur die Lesung /gilga/ ergäbe.

Auf jeden Fall schwindet /pa₄/ bereits farazeitlich, wie in der Weihinschrift VA 3123 oben. Weiterhin bleibt also ^dĜEŠ.BIL₍₂₎-ga-meš₃, worin /bil₍₂₎/ ein phonophorisches Element darzustellen scheint, welches den letzten Konsonanten des KVK-Zeichens ĜEŠ sowie die Vokalqualität bestimmt bzw.

modifiziert und demnach wird die Lesung /gil/ (ursprünglich wahrscheinlich /ġil/) angedeutet (s. RUBIO 2012, 9) → ^dgil_n-ga-meš₃.

Entscheidend für die Lesung ist schließlich die Glossierung in einer mittelbabylonischen Fassung der lexikalischen Liste Ea 7 (MS 3178 i 42; RUBIO 2012, 7):

gi-il | NE-šeššig

NE-šeššig = bil₂ = gil_x → ^dĜEŠ.gil_x-ga-meš₃ (vgl. AL-RAWI/GEORGE 2019, 132)

Dies ergibt eine „phonetische“ Schreibung des Namens, wobei ĜEŠ plötzlich als einziges (überflüssiges) (Pseudo-)Logogramm auftritt, was allerdings die bereits aB belegte Abkürzung ^dĜEŠ für den ganzen Namen erklären dürfte: das erste Zeichen der Abfolge übernimmt vollkommen den Lautwert der demzufolge ausgelassenen Folgezeichen, jedenfalls zumindest den Lautwert /gil/ als Kürzel für Gilgameš.

Zur Schreibung, Aussprache und Bedeutung im 1. Jt.

George (2003, 87–88) zufolge hat die Schreibweise ĜIŠ-gim₂-maš (= ĜIŠ.GIN₂.MAŠ) ihren Ursprung in alten Traditionen der Rechtschreibung. Nach dem aktuellen Forschungsstand würde ich die folgende Entwicklung vorschlagen (vgl. GEORGE 2003, 81–88):

1) Die ältesten Schreibungen vermitteln /gil/ durch die Zeichenfolge ĜEŠ.BIL₍₂₎ (hier gil_n).

2) In den frühdynastischen Texten aus Girsu schreibt man ĜEŠ.BIL₂.AGA₃.MEŠ₃ statt ĜEŠ.BIL₂.GA.MEŠ₃ von Fāra usw.⁴⁾ AGA₃ = GIN₂.

3) Spätestens in der mB-Zeit wird die Abfolge ĜEŠ.BIL₍₂₎ aufgrund der Gleichung /bil₂/ = /gi-il/ in der lexikalischen Überlieferung zu ĜEŠ.gil_x umgedeutet, d. h. die zweite Hälfte der Zeichenfolge trägt den ganzen Lautwert.

4) Nimmt man an, dass /gil/ im 1. Jt. dagegen durch die erste Hälfte der ursprünglichen Zeichenfolge (d. h. ĜEŠ, hier gil_y) vermittelt wird—was sich in der bereits aB belegten Abkürzung des ganzen Namens ^dĜEŠ widerspiegeln scheint und aus der viel späteren Gleichung in CT 41 43 (s. unten) deutlich hervorgeht—, während die zweite Hälfte BIL₍₂₎ als völlig entbehrlich spurlos schwindet,⁵⁾ ergäbe sich aus der standardmäßigen Schreibweise im 1. Jt. ^dĜIŠ.GIN₂.MAŠ → ^dgil_y-aga₃-maš, was phonetisch nicht zu weit von Gilgameš liegt (/maš/ ist phonetisch für /meš₃/,⁶⁾ vgl. auch die Variante mit /miš/ in den hurritischen Fragmenten: ^dgal-ga-mi-iš).⁷⁾ Zudem muss man bei der Aussprache im Akkadischen mit der Vokalelision rechnen, was zu ^dgil_y-ga-maš führen und der Schreibung in den älteren Texten aus Susa (Anm. 5) entsprechen würde.

Dass die archaisierende bzw. „gelehrte“ Schreibung in der kanonischen Fassung des Epos nicht sofort erkennbar war, zeigt die Gleichung ^dĜIŠ.GIN₂.MAŠ | ^dgi-il-ga-meš¹ im Kommentar zu einer ärztlichen Abhandlung gegen Epilepsie (CT 41 43: o.4). Auffallenderweise befindet sich diese Gleichung unter Glossierungen mancher schwierigen Logogramme. Die standardisierte Schreibung ist insofern (pseudo-)logographisch, als sie eine „archaische“ Schreibweise des Namens (etwa aus frühdynastischem Girsu-Lagaš) nachzubilden versucht.⁸⁾

Diese anscheinend logographische Schreibweise hat zur „Etymologisierung“ durch die modernen Forscher Anlass gegeben. Die wichtigsten Beispiele sind⁹⁾:

- „Zwillingsaxt“ oder „Doppelaxt“ (Labrys): ein Bild unverbrüchlicher Freundschaft zwischen Gilgameš und Enkidu (F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl aufgrund der Bedeutung von AGA₃/TUN₃ „Axt“)
- derjenige, der (mit der Axt) Holz/Bäume schneidet (C. Saporetti aufgrund der Lesung /tun₃ ... bar/ „(Holz) mit einer Axt spalten“ für GIN₂.MAŠ → vermutlich eine Anspielung auf den Heldenzug in den Zedernwald)
- (wer) entsprach dem Baum des Gleichgewichts ([ša] išši šitqulti umaššil[u] → esoterische Deutung von S. Parpola, im Stil eines antiken Kommentators, die Gilgameš dem heiligen Baum oder „Lebensbaum“ gleichstellt)

Solche „Volks“- oder Wunschetymologien projizieren ganz offenbar die Inhalte des jB Epos in eine erwünschte Deutung der standardisierten, pseudologographischen Schreibweise ^dĜIŠ.GIN₂.MAŠ /^dgil_y-(a)ga₍₃₎-maš/ | ^dgi-il-ga-meš, doch die einzige Etymologie, die sich aus den bisher vorhandenen Belegen ausmachen lässt, ist die Bedeutung „Vorfahr—Junge“ des frühdynastischen Personennamens (Pa²-)Gilgameš.

Anmerkungen

1. KREBERNIK 1994. Die Lesung /meš₃/ ersetzt jetzt /mes/ (nach ATTINGER 2023, 85).

2. KREBERNIK 1986, 182. Die Lesung ^dbil₃(ĜEŠ.NE.PAP)-ga-mes gilt aufgrund der Arbeiten von Rubio (2012) und Keetman (2014) als veraltet.

3. Nach der Lesung und Deutung von Keetman (2014, 31 Anm. 8).

4. Für Belege s. RUBIO 2012, 3–4.

5. Unterstützt durch ^dGIŠ-ga-maš in den altbabylonischen Texten aus Susa, “essentially well-written Babylonian texts” (GEORGE 2003, 78 Nr. 9, 82–83). Eigentlich scheinen diese Belege zusammen mit der mB Gleichung /bil₂/ = /gi-il/ zu verdeutlichen, dass bereits (spätestens) ab der aB-Zeit beide Zeichen in der Folge ĜEŠ.BIL₂ selbständig den Lautwert /gil/ vermitteln konnten, im Gegensatz zum fröhdynastischen Gebrauch, der die ganze Zeichenfolge zur Wiedergabe von /gil/ benötigte.

6. GEORGE 2003, 82 mit Anm. 65.

7. GEORGE 2003, 79 Nr. 11.

8. Anders GEORGE 2003, 83: “[...] the sign ĜĪN in the spelling GIŠ-gim-maš is phonetic and the whole is a variant of GIŠ-gim-maš that uses a rare value. It may have arisen as an Old or early Middle Babylonian coinage, but one cannot exclude a connection with the Lagaš orthography.” Beachte jedoch, dass ^dGIŠ-gim-maš mit einer einzigen (spät)altbabylonischen Ausnahme (BM 54716: r.14’) als Schreibweise des Namens bei den Hethitern und Hurritern gilt (GEORGE 2003, 80 Nr. 12). Deswegen stellt sie kaum eine Vorlage für die standardisierte Schreibung in Mesopotamien des 1. Jt. dar. Vielmehr scheint sie einer sekundären Phonetisierung der „Lagaš orthography“ aufgrund Glossierungen in der aB lexikalischen Überlieferung (s. GEORGE 2003, 83 mit Belegen in Anm. 69, vgl. jedoch S. 75–76 daselbst) entsprungen zu sein: AGA₃ = GIN₂ → ^{gi-im}GIN₂ → GIM₍₂₎. Zur Unklarheit hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs der Lautwerte schon in der Ur III und aB sumerischen Überlieferung vgl. ATTINGER 2005, 265: «J’ignore personnellement quand GIN₂ doit être lu aga₃ (comp. aga = agû C) et quand il doit être lu ĝiĝ₄ (= pāšu).»

9. S. die Übersicht bei Nurullin (2012, 213–215) mit weiterer Literatur.

Bibliographie

- AL-RAWI, F.N.H. / GEORGE, A.R., 2019, „Gilgamesh Dreams of Enkidu: An Old Babylonian Tablet of Gilgamesh in the Suleimaniyah Museum“, *RA* 113, S. 131–138.
- ATTINGER, P., 2005, „A propos de AK «faire» (II)“, *ZA* 95, S. 208–275.
- ATTINGER, P., 2023, *Glossaire sumérien-français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens. Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée*, doi:10.5281/zenodo.8369441.
- GEORGE, A.R., 2003, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, Oxford.
- KEETMAN, J., 2014, „Der altsumerische Name /Pa-^GBilga-Mes/ = Gilgameš“, *BiOr* 71, S. 30–40.
- KREBERNIK, M., 1986, „Die Götterlisten aus Fāra“, *ZA* 76, S. 161–204.
- KREBERNIK, M., 1994, „Ein Keulenkopf mit Weihung an Gilgameš im Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin“, *AoF* 21, S. 5–12.
- NURULLIN, R., 2012, „The Name of Gilgameš in the Light of Line 47 of the First Tablet of the Standard Babylonian Gilgameš Epic“, *Babel & Bibel* 6, S. 209–224.
- RUBIO, G., 2012, „Reading Sumerian Names, II: Gilgameš“, *JCS* 64, S. 3–16.

Luděk VACÍN <lvacin@uni-muenster.de>

Universität Münster, Institut für Altorientalistik und Vorderasiatische Archäologie (DEUTSCHLAND)

98) Die Datierung des ältesten Briefes und die Regierungszeit von Enannatum II — Der Sanga der ^dNin-MAR.KI, lú-en-na schreibt an [e]n-e-tar-zi [saĝĝa] ^{1d}nin-[ĝir]-su-[k]a-ra über einen dramatischen Elamitereinfall (AO 4238, P247594). Der Brief wurde zunächst so gelesen, dass en-e-tar-zi mit dem Sanga des Ninĝirsu und späteren Stadtfürsten en-èn-tar-zi identisch ist. So auch BAUER 1998, 474. Dort übersetzt Bauer énsi lagaš^{ki} ti-la-na en-an-na-túm-sipa-zi agrig ti-[la]-n[a] mit „Lebt der Stadtfürst von Lagaš noch? Lebt der Hausverwalter Enannatumsipazid noch?“ Der Hausverwalter Enannatumsipazi(d) ist sonst nur mit Enmetena (AO 4156, P222223) belegt. Bauer nimmt an, dass Enentarzi Vorgänger als Stadtfürst, Enannatum II bei dem Angriff zusammen mit seiner Familie umkam. Dies kann sich nur auf von Bauer a. a. O. nicht diskutierte Indizien stützen: Enentarzi Vater wird nirgends genannt. Daher kann man vermuten, dass er weder ein Sohn noch Bruder des Stadtfürsten war. Enannatum II hat nur eine Inschrift hinterlassen und Enentarzi war bereits unter Enmetena Sanga des Ninĝirsu und hat Enannatum II um 5 Jahre überlebt, weshalb auf eine besonders kurze Regierungszeit von Enannatum II geschlossen wird, was zu der Datierung des Briefes in ein 5. Jahr passt. Auffallend ist auch, dass der Brief nicht an den Ensi gerichtet ist, was man nach dem Inhalt erwarten würde. Der Adressat ist ziemlich sicher der Sanga des Ninĝirsu und zwar weil lú-en-na selbst ein Sanga ist und weil der Sanga die oberste Autorität im Tempelpersonal und sicherlich auch die oberste Autorität im Staat nach dem Herrscher war.

Da Bauer als letzte Bearbeitung auf MICHALOWSKI 1993 verweist, war ihm KIENAST/VOLK 1995, 25-29 ebenso wie Volk apud SELZ 1991, 36f. offenbar entgangen. Volk datiert den Brief auf das 5.

Regierungsjahr Irikagenas (Ukg. L 5). Damit wäre Bauers historische Rekonstruktion hinfällig. Die Datierung auf Irikagena wurde von mehreren Autoren übernommen oder für wahrscheinlich gehalten, z. B. MICHALOWSKI 1993, 11, SALLABERGER/SCHRACKAMP 2015, 70 mit Anm. 139f. FRAYNE 2007, 237; 239 hält sie für möglich, BALKE 2017 bleibt bei der alten Datierung.

Für ihre Datierung nennen KIENAST/VOLK 1995, 29 folgende Gründe: Der Name en-èn-tar-zi werde 75 mal so geschrieben. Die Schreibung en-e-tar-zi sei singular. In dem Brief werden der ur-^dba-bu₁₁ lú-DUN-a und der Aufseher der Schmiede níĝ-lú-nu-túm (K/V: Urbaba, Nig-lunu-DU) erwähnt. Belege für Schmiede mit diesen Namen würden alle in die Jahre Irikagena 4-6 fallen.

Die Schreibung ist ein weiteres Mal belegt: šuku en-e-tar-zi énsi lagaš^{ki}-ka „Versorgungslos des E., des Stadtfürsten von Lagaš“ DP 39 ii 4-iii 2 (cf. BALKE 2017, 151 mit Anm. 371).

Der Name ur-^dba-bu₁₁ ist sehr häufig. BALKE 2017, 406-8 kann ihn mit 24 Berufen nachweisen. Aus dem Brief geht auch nicht eindeutig hervor, dass er ein Schmied ist. Aus beiden Gründen eignet sich der Name nicht für eine Datierung. Ein níĝ-lú(-nu-túm) ist außer als Schmied noch mit 5 weiteren Berufen belegt (BALKE 2017, 310). Dass er als Schmied vor allem in Ukg. L 4-6 auftaucht, könnte damit zusammenhängen, dass wegen des Krieges mit Uruk in dieser Zeit Waffen gebraucht wurden. Enentarzi hat 5 Jahre geherrscht, Lugalanda 6 Jahre. Der Zeitraum zwischen dem Tod des Enannatum II und Ukg. L 6 würde also 18 Jahre betragen. Es könnte also auch die gleiche Person sein und auch eine zufällige Namensgleichheit ist nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich.

KIENAST/VOLK 1995, 26 übersetzen énsi lagaš^{ki} ti-la-na en-an-na-túm-sipa-zi agrig ti-[la]-n[a] mit „Der Stadtfürst von Lagaš bei seinen Lebzeiten, Enannatumsipazi der Hausverwalter bei seinen Lebzeiten“. Man würde eher u₄ ti-la-na erwarten. Und welchen Sinn könnten diese Aussagen in dem Brief haben? MICHALOWSKI 1993, 12: „As long as the ruler of Lagash is alive, as long as Enannatum-sipa-zi, the steward, is alive“. Auch eine etwas befremdliche Aussage und man würde eher eine Konstruktion mit en-na erwarten. Am besten zur Situation passt Bauers Interpretation. 600 Elamiter haben in Lagaš u. a. Gewänder für einen Herrscher – 5 pala(TÚG.NAM.LUGAL) – erbeutet. Daher wohl die Frage nach dem Leben des Stadtfürsten und seines Hausverwalters. Die geringe Hinterlassenschaft aus der Zeit von Enannatum II macht die Annahme eines vorzeitigen Endes plausibel. Gegen die späte Datierung spricht aber vor allem, dass es dann zwei Sanga des Ninĝirsu mit dem gleichen bei keiner weiteren Person nachgewiesenen Namen und der Schreibvariante en-e-tar-zi gegeben hätte.

Der älteste datierbare Brief Mesopotamiens wurde also im 5. Jahr des Enannatum II in Guaba geschrieben. Dann ging die Post wohl möglichst rasch über ca. 45 km nach Ĝirsu, wo die Tafel gefunden wurde. Die Argumente, die für eine kurze Regierung des Enannatum II sprechen, legen es nahe, dass er bei den geschilderten Ereignissen tatsächlich den Tod fand, was aber unbestätigt bleibt.

Bibliographie

- BALKE, T.E., 2017, *Das altsumerische Onomastikon. Namengebung und Prosopografie nach den Quellen aus Lagaš*, dubsar 1, Münster.
- BAUER, J., 1998, Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte, in: Bauer *et al.* (Hg.), *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, OBO 160/1, Freiburg (CH)/Göttingen, 431-588.
- FRAYNE, D.R., 2007, *Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)*, RIME 1, Toronto.
- KIENAST, B./K. VOLK, 1995, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe*, FAOS 19, Stuttgart.
- MICHALOWSKI, P., 1993, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, Atlanta.
- SALLABERGER, W./I. SCHRACKAMP, 2015, *History & Philology*, Arcana 3, Turnhout.
- SELZ, G., 1991, „Elam“ und „Sumer“ – Skizze einer Nachbarschaft nach inschriftlichen Quellen in vorsargonischer Zeit, in: *Mesopotamie et Elam : Actes de la XXXVI^{ème} Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Gand, 10-14 Juillet 1989*, Ghent, 27-43.

Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

99) Der Staat Lagaš vor Ur-Nanše — Lagaš firmiert in der Literatur als „Stadstaat“, umfasst aber drei Hauptorte: Ĝirsu, Lagaš und Niĝin. Lagaš gibt den Namen, Ĝirsu den „Stadtgott“ Ninĝirsu und war der Sitz des Herrschers. Aber die Göttin von Niĝin, Nanše war kaum weniger bedeutend als Ninĝirsu.

SELZ 1995, 297 weist darauf hin, dass Ninĝirsu und Nanše nicht wie man vielleicht vermuten könnte durch Heirat verbunden wurden, sondern als Bruder und Schwester. „Diese Verbindung aber wirkt

etwas künstlich. Allein der Name des Nanše-Heiligtums in Ĝirsu ‚(Haus,) dem Bruder gesetzt‘ bzw. des Ninĝirsu-Heiligtums in NINA [= Niĝin] ‚(Haus,) der Schwester gesetzt‘ klingt wie die Proklamation einer theologischen Absicht“ (SELZ 1995, 297). Selz weist außerdem auf gleichnamige Feste für beide Gottheiten hin. Ur-Nanše, der aufgrund seines Namens und weil sein Familiengott Šulutul zum Kreis der Nanše gehörte, fast sicher aus Niĝin oder dessen Umgebung stammte, habe wahrscheinlich die drei Städte erst zu einem Staat vereint (SELZ 1995, 297f.; 2014-16, 433). Zu erwähnen wäre noch, dass Ur-Nanše die beiden Tempel für Schwester und Bruder tatsächlich gebaut hat. Da aber Ur-Nanše nicht von einer Ausstattung mit Feldern und/oder Vieh für die Tempelwirtschaft berichtet, muss die Frage, ob es sich um Erstbauten handelte, offen bleiben.

Die zahlreichen Inschriften Ur-Nanšes geben keinen Hinweis darauf, dass er das Land geeint, bzw. sein Gebiet erweitert hat. Ur-Nanše nennt sich durchgehend lugal lagaš ‚König von Lagaš‘ und nur auf seiner Stele Ensi von Lagaš (RIME 1.9.1.6a). Das muss nicht als Hinweis auf einen kleineren Machtbereich verstanden werden, da der Titel auch von seinen Nachfolgern, die die Herrschaft über Ĝirsu nicht verloren hatten, häufig gebraucht wird. Eannatum bezeichnet auf der Geierstele seinen Vater Akurgal als lugal lagaš^{ki} (Vs. ii 31) und in einer anderen Inschrift Akurgal und Ur-Nanše als énsi lagaš^{ki} (RIME 1.9.3.5 viii 1-7). Ein auf Ĝirsu bezogener Herrschertitel ist vor Ur-Nanše nicht bezeugt. Der Titel lugal lagaš ist bereits in den Archaischen Texten aus Ur belegt: ([ga]:lú la.†BUR¹.NU₁₁ UET 2, 205B, P005800). Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass hier lugal lediglich einen Grundbesitzer meint. Dies einerseits wegen der Entfernung zu Lagaš und andererseits, weil dann die Erwähnung von weiteren Grundbesitzern zu erwarten wäre. Es gibt auch einen Personennamen lugal-lagaš^{ki} ‚Der König (ist) Lagaš‘, BALKE 2017, 253. Aber auch dieser Name setzt ein Königtum von Lagaš voraus.

Die Erwähnung eines lugal lagaš in Ur sagt wenig über dessen Machtbereich. Ein Herrscher über Lagaš und Ĝirsu wird hingegen auf dem Keulenkopf des Mesilim erwähnt: me-silim lugal kiš é dù ^dnin-ĝír-su ^dnin-ĝír-su mu-gub lugal-ša-ENGUR énsi BUR¹.NU₁₁.L[A!] ‚Mesilim, der König von Kiš, der Tempelbauer des Ninĝirsu hat sie (die Keule) für Ninĝirsu hingestellt. Lugalša’engur (war damals) der Ensi von Lagaš‘, RIME 1.8.1.1. Warum sollte ein Ensi von Lagaš hier erwähnt werden, wenn Lagaš und Ĝirsu noch getrennte politische Einheiten waren? Auch SELZ 1995, 218f. schließt aus dem Mesilim-Text auf einen bereits vor Ur-Nanše existierenden Zusammenschluss von Ĝirsu und Lagaš, schreibt aber im RIA die Vereinigung der drei Städte dann doch Ur-Nanše zu: ‚U. was the first to fuse the three major cities Ĝirsu, Lagaš and Niĝin into one microstate‘ (SELZ 2014-16, 433). SELZ 1995, 218f. weist auch auf die Enĝegal-Tafel (ELTS 20) hin, nach der ein Priester des Ninĝirsu Land in Lagaš kauft. Die Datierung vor Ur-Nanše ist aber unsicher.

In FD IIIa interagierte Šuruppak mit Adab, Lagaš, Nippur, Umma und Uruk (Pomponio in POMPONIO/VISICATO 1994, 10). Ob diese ‚Hexapolis‘ tatsächlich wie normalerweise angenommen einen ‚Städtebund‘ bildete oder ob es sich um Vasallen von Kiš handelte, die teilweise von Šuruppak aus verwaltet wurden, sei dahingestellt. Jedenfalls fehlen Ĝirsu und Niĝin. Insbesondere die Auslassung von Ĝirsu ist auffallend, weil es zwischen Umma und Lagaš liegt.

Weiter ist es seltsam, dass die Stadtgöttin von Lagaš relativ farblos und weit weniger bedeutend als Nanše und Ninĝirsu erscheint. Beim Bestreben, die neue Einheit seines Staates theologisch zu rechtfertigen, hätte Ur-Nanše ausgerechnet den zweitgrößten oder sogar größten Ort übergangen.

Als Stadtgöttin von Lagaš ist Ĝatumdu in der Zame-Hymne eindeutig belegt. Sie wird mit Lagaš vor Nanše und Ninĝirsu genannt, welche für Niĝin und Ĝirsu genannt werden (KREBERNIK/LISMAN 2020, 39, 108-119). Enmetena bezeichnet sie als ‚Mutter von Lagaš‘ (RIME 1.9.5.21). Gudea sagt zu ihr im Gebet: ‚Herrin, du bist die Mutter, die Lagaš gegründet hat!‘ Zyl. A iii 3.

Doch in der Herrschertitulatur spielt sie, wenn man davon absieht, dass sich Enmetena einmal als ‚leibliches Kind der Ĝatumdu‘ bezeichnet (RIME 1.9.5.22, 10), keine Rolle. Mit Ĝatumdu gebildete Namen sind fröhndynastisch nicht belegt, was sich mit dem Umstand, dass sich die meisten Namen auf Personen aus Ĝirsu beziehen, alleine nicht erklären lässt. In Ĝirsu sind in Namen viele Gottheiten belegt, für die in Ĝirsu kein eigener Kult nachzuweisen ist. Kein Monatsfest ist mit ihr verbunden, während dies bei Nanše, Ninĝirsu und Babu jeweils mehrfach der Fall ist (SELZ 1995, 398f. unter itu-...).

Die Theologen machten sich offenbar nie die Mühe, Ĝatumdu mit einem Gott zu verheiraten oder sie mit einem Hofstaat zu versehen. Dagegen war Ĝirsu mit dem Götterpaar Niĝirsu und Babu, Niĝin mit Nanše und Nindar versehen. Ihre erst bei Gudea bezeugte Abstammung von An oder vom reinen Himmel - dumu an kù-ge dú-da „Kind vom reinen Himmel gezeugt“, Zyl. A ii 26 – muss nicht viel bedeuten. Hier ist es angebracht, ein paar Worte über das Verhältnis Gudeas zu Ĝatumdu und über Teile seines theologischen Programms einzuflechten: Ĝatumdu ist ihm Mutter und Vater (Zyl. A iii 6f.) und er nennt sich ur-^dĝá-tùm-du₁₀ „Diener/Kämpfer(?) der Ĝatumdu“ Statue F i 7; ii 10. Eine Ausdrucksweise, die sonst außerhalb von Namen nicht belegt ist. Gudea ist aber auch Sohn seines Familiengottes Niĝešzida (Zyl. B xxiv 7) und er macht ihn wenigstens zum Enkel Ans (Zyl. B xxiii 18), was ebenfalls keine Stütze in anderen Texten hat. Parallel zu Niĝešzida führt Gudea auch Ninsun in Lagaš ein, also eine Gottheit, die wie An mit Uruk verbunden ist (FALKENSTEIN 1966, 108). Für Ĝatumdu und Niĝešzida baut Gudea erstmals einen Tempel in Ĝirsu und stattet sie mit Landwirtschaft aus (Statue F, I, P). Dies alles spricht dafür, dass die Abstammung Ĝatumdus von An, erst von Gudea im Rahmen seiner theologisch-politischen Projekte behauptet wurde.

Auch Selz betont, dass die Stadtgöttin von Lagaš in den frühdynastischen Texten nicht die herausragende Rolle spielt, die man aufgrund ihres Ortes erwarten würde. Er erklärt dies damit, dass sie von Innana mehr und mehr in den Hintergrund gedrängt worden sei (SELZ 1995, 296f.). Doch dass die Stadtgöttin in den Hintergrund gedrängt werden konnte, bedarf selbst der Erklärung. Der Tempel IB-gal der Innana in Lagaš hatte bereits vor Ur-Nanše einen ziemlich großen Vorgängerbau. Diesem ist ein kürzlich bekanntgewordenes Statuettenfragment mit der Nennung von ^dnin-IB-gal zuzuordnen (CORFÙ 2025, KEETMAN 2025; zu IB-gal III auch ASHBY/PITTMAN 2022, 90; 97). Siehe auch den Namen aka-^dinnana-IB „Werk der Innana des IB“ UET 2, 98 iv 1; FD I/II Ur. Also könnte auch der IB-Tempel der Innana in Lagaš bereits in dieser Zeit einen Vorgängerbau gehabt haben. Die geringe Bedeutung der Stadtgöttin passt jedenfalls schlecht zu einer souveränen Stadt Lagaš unmittelbar vor Ur-Nanše.

Wie bereits von seinem Namen abzulesen ist, ist Niĝirsu der Gott von Ĝirsu. Ur-Nanše baute ihm in Lagaš das (ēš-)ba-gára und das é-PA (SELZ 1995, 220). Dass es zwei Heiligtümer sind, spricht dagegen, dass der Kult des Stadtgottes von Ĝirsu in Lagaš neu war.

Dass nur Niĝin erst unter Ur-Nanše zu Ĝirsu und Lagaš hinzukam, wäre eine mögliche Antwort auf die von Selz genannten Argumente. Allerdings liegt Niĝin deutlich näher an Lagaš als Lagaš an Ĝirsu.

Positionsangaben in HUH 2008, 15 Anm. 71 und PEDERSEN 2025 (Google Earth). Unterschiede ergeben sich wohl aufgrund der Größe der Tells. Nach HANSEN 1980-83, 422 ist z. B. Tell Al-Hibā ca. 3600 m lang und 1900 m breit. 3600 m entsprechen knapp 2 Winkelminuten geographischer Breite. Nach NADALI/POLICARO 2022, 15 liegt Tell Zurgul/Niĝin 7 km südöstlich von Tell al-Hibā/Lagaš. Gemeint ist wohl die Entfernung bei jeweils maximaler Ausdehnung, da Positionsangaben sonst einen geringfügig größeren Abstand ergeben. Aus den Positionsangaben bei RGTC 1 (S. 58; 108; 132) errechne ich die Abstände Ĝirsu/Lagaš = 26,9 km, Lagaš/Niĝin = 9,2 km. Also war der Abstand zwischen Lagaš und Ĝirsu ungefähr dreimal so groß ist wie der zwischen Lagaš und Niĝin.

Aus den Positionsangaben bei RGTC 1 (S. 58; 108; 132) errechne ich die Abstände Ĝirsu/Lagaš = 26,9 km, Lagaš/Niĝin = 9,2 km. Also auch nach diesen Angaben und erst recht mit den oben genannten 7 km kann man davon ausgehen, dass der Abstand zwischen Lagaš und Ĝirsu ungefähr dreimal so groß ist wie der zwischen Lagaš und Niĝin.

Für den Tell von Lagaš geben GOODMAN et al. 2022, 126, 500 ha an, AL-HAMDANI 2022, 168 sogar 600 ha (370 ha für Ĝirsu). Für Niĝin werden 66 ha angegeben (NADALI/POLICARO 2022, 15). Für Lagaš liegt ein überarbeiteter Survey vor (GOODMAN et al. 2022), der die Besiedlung des Tells für verschiedene Epochen erfasst. Die Anfänge der Besiedlung reichen mindestens in die Uruk-Zeit zurück. Der Anfang der frühdynastischen Zeit wird in der Studie mit Early Dynastic I bezeichnet (= FD I/II). In dieser Zeit muss Lagaš bereits eine beträchtliche Ausdehnung gehabt haben: „during Early Dynastic I Lagash was an urban center already spread out over a considerable area“ (GOODMAN et al. 2022, 132). Es folgt die Zeitspanne „Early Dynastic III and Akkadian“. Für diesen Abschnitt wird die maximale Ausdehnung von Lagaš angenommen. Für Ur III und Isin-Larsa, wurde eine erheblich kleinere Siedlung festgestellt und angenommen, dass sie vor allem der Aufrechterhaltung der religiösen und bürokratischen

Institutionen diente (GOODMAN et al. 2022, 132-35). Gudea behauptet Ĝatumdu Abstammung von An also zu einer Zeit als sie bereits eine Stadtgöttin ohne wirkliche Stadt war.

Es ist auszuschließen, dass die maximale Ausdehnung erst in der Akkad-Zeit erreicht wurde, denn es gibt bisher nur relativ wenige Funde aus Lagaš für diese Epoche. Teilweise scheinen die Befunde bereits früher abzureißen (HUH 2008, 210). Lugalzagesi richtete in Lagaš Zerstörungen an. Der wichtige IB-gal-Tempel wurde nie wieder aufgebaut, Irikagena nannte sich danach nur noch König von Ĝirsu (BAUER 1998, 478). Damit dürfte ein Niedergang verbunden gewesen sein, der vielleicht bereits vorher eingesetzt hatte.

Ur-Nanše herrschte am Übergang von FD IIIa/b (KEETMAN 2025). Das Maximum der Besiedlung von Lagaš kann durchaus nach Ur-Nanše liegen. Doch wahrscheinlich setzte sich das von der Uruk-Zeit zum Anfang der frühdynastischen Zeit zu beobachtende Wachstum in FD IIIa fort. Daher dürfte Lagaš Niĝin bereits vor Ur-Nanše um ein Vielfaches an Größe übertroffen haben. Siedlungsgeographisch erscheint es daher wenig wahrscheinlich, dass Ĝirsu und Lagaš früher zusammen kamen als Lagaš und das deutlich kleinere und näher liegende Niĝin.

Soweit die frühdynastische Perspektive. Aus vorgeschichtlicher Perspektive fällt auf, dass eine Besiedlung von Niĝin in der Ubaid-Zeit nachgewiesen ist, während sichere Hinweise auf eine so frühe Besiedlung von Lagaš bisher fehlen und für Ĝirsu spärlich sind (VACCA 2022). In der Uruk III Liste Cities tauchen bereits Niĝin und Ĝirsu auf, während Lagaš fehlt und sicher auch nicht in einer Lücke stand, weil auch nicht in der jüngeren Version vertreten (CDLI Q000034, Q000035). Damit wäre es möglich, dass Lagaš als ein von Niĝin dominierter Ort begann und dies trotz eines erheblichen Wachstums auch weiter blieb.

Einer Inschrift des Eannatum vorangestellt ist die bemerkenswerte Aussage: ⁴nanše é-an-na-túm-me bād lagaš^{ki} mu-na-dù KA mu-na¹-kéše „Für Nanše hat Eannatum die Stadtmauer von Lagaš gebaut und ihr (Wachen?) verpflichtet(?)“ RIME 1.9.3.6. Es scheint, dass hier Nanše, nicht Ĝatumdu als die für Lagaš zuständige Göttin angesehen wird. Für den frühen Zusammenschluss von Niĝin und Lagaš könnte außerdem sprechen, dass Ĝatumdu nach allen „großen Nanše-Opferlisten“ in Niĝin ein Opfer erhielt und selbst der Ort lagaš^{ki} in Opferlisten aus Niĝin vorkommt (SELZ 1995, 135; 157f.; 359).

Es zeichnet sich folgendes Szenario ab: Lagaš war ein kleiner aber wachsender, von Niĝin abhängiger Ort. Wahrscheinlich vor den Archiven aus Fāra aber auf jeden Fall vor Ur-Nanše bildeten Niĝin und Ĝirsu einen Staat. Dass dieser nach Lagaš benannt wurde, klingt wie ein Kompromiss. Wenn dem so war, so bezeugt bereits die Erwähnung eines lugal lagaš in den archaischen Texten von Ur den Zusammenschluss. Dass Ur-Nanše den Kult der Nanše besonders gefördert hat, könnte mit der Herkunft seiner Familie aus der Umgegend von Niĝin zusammenhängen oder damit, dass ein Streben nach Unabhängigkeit in Niĝin/Lagaš auch nach längerer Zeit nicht erloschen war, während die Region durch das Wachstum von Lagaš und den Seehafen gū-ab-ba^{ki} an Bedeutung gewann. Generell mag die religiöse Bedeutung der Nanše auch im Alter ihres Kultortes begründet gewesen sein. Die Parallele zu Eridu und Enki drängt sich auf.

Bibliographie

- AL-HAMDANI, A., 2022, The Lagash Plain During the First Sealand Dynasty (1721-1340 BCE), *OREA* 24, 161-82.
ASHBY, D.P./H. PITTMAN, 2022, The Excavations at Tell al-Hiba – Areas A, B, and G, *OREA* 24, 87-114.
BALKE, T. E., 2017, *Das altsumerische Onomastikon. Namengebung und Prosopografie nach den Quellen aus Lagas*, dubsar 1, Münster.
BAUER, J., 1998, Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte, in: Bauer et al. (Hg.), *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, OBO 160/1, Fribourg/Göttingen, 431-588.
CORFÜ, N.A., 2025, An Inscribed Fragment of a Statuette, from the Temple Ibgal, *NABU* 2025/37.
FALKENSTEIN, A., 1966, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš. Einleitung*, AnOr 30, Rom.
GOODMAN, R./S. RENETTE/E. CARTER, 2022, The al-Hibas Survey Revisited, *OREA* 24, 123-44.
HANSEN, D.P., 1980-83, Lagaš. B. Archäologisch, *RIA* 6, 422-30.
HUH, S.K., 2008, *Studien zur Region Lagaš. Von der Ubaid- bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit*, AOAT 345, Münster.
KEETMAN, J., 2025, Zu einer frühdynastischen Statuette und dem Alter des IB-gal der Innana, *NABU* 2025/61.
KREBERNIK, M./J.J.W. LISMAN, 2020, *The Sumerian Zame Hymns from Tell Abū Šalābīḥ. With an Appendix on the Early Dynastic Colophons*, dubsar 12, Münster.
NADALI, D./A. POLCARO, 2022, Excavating the Ancient State of Lagash. The New Evidence from Tell Zurghul/Nigin, *OREA* 24, 15-30.

- PEDERSEN, O., 2025, <https://www.uu.se/en/department/archaeology-ancient-history-and-conservation/research/research-projects/geographic-data-near-east>.
- POMPONIO, F./G. VISICATO, 1994, *Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak*, Napoli.
- SELZ, G., 1995, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš*, OPSNKF 13, Philadelphia.
- 2014-16, Ur-Nanše. A., *RIA* 14, 431-33.
- VACCA, A., 2022, The Ubaid Period at Tell Zurghul. Preliminary Results from Area B Excavations and their Significance in a Regional Perspective, *OREA* 24, 31-50.

Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

100) Minima Eblaitica 32: Depreciation of gold as an inflationary measure in the 3rd Millennium BC — The Central Archive of Ebla covers forty-six years. The earliest documents have to be dated to Irkab-damu, who reigned for eleven (or possibly twelve) years, and institutionalized the office of minister, which was held during Irkab-damu's last five years by Arrukum, who was replaced at his death by Ibrium. Irkab-damu died a few months later, wounded in the battle that saw him victorious on Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, who suffered the same fate (ARCHI 2022).

At least fifteen years earlier Ebla had escaped defeat in the field against the Mari army led by Iblul-il by paying a considerable tribute in gold and silver for more than ten years (ARCHI 2016). This allowed Igriš-Ḫalab (Irkab-damu's predecessor) to attack Abarsal (Tell Chuēra) with his forces intact and annihilate it, as it is evidenced by a treaty imposed to this city (ARET XIII 5). Ruins on the acropolis have to be dated to this period.

Irkab-damu was succeeded by his son Iš'ar-damu, still very young, who reigned for thirty-five years. Ibrium remained in office for eighteen years, until his death, and was succeeded by his son Ibbi-zikir for seventeen full years. In the following year Ebla was defeated and savagely destroyed by Mari.

Silver was the basic medium of exchange; (x) kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ means “x amount of silver: value / price (of something)”. The rate between gold and silver was 1 : 5 already from the very earliest years documented by texts, see ARET XIV 19 § 2 (of the years preceding the mandate of Arrukum): 25 ma-na kù:babbar šu-bal-ak 5 ma-na kù-gi “25 minas of silver: value of / to be exchanged with 5 minas of gold”.

The texts do not explain the origin of the metals that Ebla had at its disposal: they only mention that Kablul (a city situated in the southern range of the Taurus mountains, north Islahiye) had to send 2.5 kg of gold annually during the last years (ARCHI 2024: 34–35, 40).

The standard rate of exchange between silver and gold remained 1 : 5 for forty years. It decreased to 4 : 1 in the year I(bbi).Z(ikir) XI, according to ARET XXII 10, the document concerning the expenditures of the eleventh year. The gifts to Kura, the city-god, maintained the 1 : 5 rate, as that for Armi, the city with which Ebla had recently conducted a military actions (§§ 5, 6). Gold in the 1 : 4 ratio was instead requested for all the other gifts, even for Hadda of Ḫalab, the major god of Northern Syria:

§ 5: 33 gín 3 NI kù:babbar šu-bal-ak 6 2 NI gín kù-gi 2 *gú-li-lum* ^d*Ku-ra* “33½ shekels of gold to be exchanged for 6⅔ shekels of gold for two bracelets for the god Kura; § 6: 25 gín kù:babbar šu-bal-ak 5 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 2 an-zam_x si *Ar-mi*^{ki} en “25 shekels of silver to be exchanged for 5 shekels of silver” to plate two glasses for the city of Armi (from?) the king”; < 5 : 1>.

§ 26: ... 24 gín kù:babbar šu-bal-ak 6 gín kù-gi nu₁₁-za 1 *ar-ra-sù* ... ^d*Ā-da* lú *Ḫa-lab*^{ki} “24 shekels of silver to be exchanged for 6 shekels of gold to plate the handle (of a mace) for Hadda of Ḫalab”; < 4 : 1>.

The exchange rate remained fixed at 1 : 4 for the entire following year: I.Z. XII (ARET XXII 11).¹⁾

In the document for the thirteenth year of Ibbi-zikir (ARET XXII 12) the gold to silver exchange rate remained 1 : 4 in the registrations until § 43 (but not in § 36), and dropped for the later months to 1 : 3 until the end of the document, with the exception of § 119. This last ones concerned “two blocks of 4 minas (3.20 kg) of gold (rate 1 : 4) for a statue for the king (preserved) in the Treasury” 2 lagab an-dùl en al₆-gál é-siki.

The following year (I.Z. XIV), according to ARET XXII 13, the rate was consistently 1 : 3, with the exception of a plate given to minister Ibbi-zikir, on the occasion of his festival, by the king, whose gold was at the rate 1 : 4 (§ 94), and also the gifts given to *Du-bù-ḫu*-^d*Ā-da* (Ibbi-zikir's son) in relation to a military expedition in the region of *Ib-al*₆^{ki}, east of Ḫama (§§ 97, 98), and also a plate for the king of *Ū-ti-gu*^{ki}: a not important city-state (§ 125). These were gifts for privileged recipients.

Only a single minimal fragment for each of the annual documents of the following three years could be identified; they are ARET XXII 14, 15, 16. The tablets were broken and presumably partly removed.

ARET XIV 92 – a document which records the minister’s personal expenses for “seventeen years”, 17 mu, – evidently those in which he had been in office – proves that Ibbi-zikir was head of the Administration for all those years, and then he thought about resigning. We can suppose that he thought to pass the role of minister to his son Tubuḫu-Hadda, who usually accompanied him on military expeditions.

Document ARET XIV 93 was not preserved in the Central Archive, but in a room (L. 2764) which probably constituted the office of the minister, not reachable from the entrance of the Palace (and therefore from the Throne Room). It registers silver and also gold preserved in “bars”, *ni-gi-tum*: competence of Ibbi-zikir (rev. X 6). The final sections in the poorly preserved reverse have (§ IV): 39;30 ma-na kù-gi-4, 17;20 ma-na kù-gi-3, [... 17 mu]. (§ 18: VII 1) 444 ma-na kù-gi-2½. The value of the gold had therefore fallen to 1 : 2½ in relation with silver during the very last years!

This decline in the value of gold can be explained by analyzing the political situation that Ebla had to face. Having defeated Abarsal, Ebla extended its direct dominion from Karkamish until the borders of Emar along the right bank of the Euphrates, while it is uncertain whether the oasis of Ḥoms in the south was included. The only later annexation (by Ibrium) was that of *Ḥu-zu-wa-um*^{ki} (later Ḥaššum), immediately north of today’s Syrian-Turkish border. Ebla chose to exercise supremacy over the other major city-states through alliances sealed by exchanges of gifts and counter-gifts, and in few cases tying them to itself with a marriage policy, as was the case of Emar and Ḥarran. Ebla dominated the northern region of Syria, Nagar the region of the Habur in the north-east; they became allies to counter the power of Mari, on the Middle Euphrates.

The documents show that diplomatic relations could be in some cases rather expensive, and furthermore some cities had to be convinced to accept Ebla’s supremacy, so that its army went to war almost every year, and members of the army were to be rewarded.²⁾ To sustain this situation greater financial availability was needed, and so the quality of gold was devalued by creating an alloy with a greater quantity of copper (perhaps also of silver), however according to precise rules.

This situation literally exploded with the victory achieved by Ibbi-zikir over Mari at Terqa, which ended with the capture of its king: ḤI-dar. ARET XXII 14 (of the year I.Z. XV) registers in § 2’ that someone “brought the news that Mari had offered the oil (of peace)”, [i-]ḡiš *Ma-ri*^{ki} nídba.

Ibbi-zikir perhaps considered the capture of its king an element sufficient to have subdued Mari: the season was advanced and his army needed a break; therefore, he decided to retreat. The following spring he had to move to help Ḥarran, linked (as already mentioned) also by kinship ties to Ebla, which was attacked by Armi (to be identified with Samsat): faithful to Ebla for years!

This following year, however, was devoted to the celebration of the victory over Mari. The document ARET XVII 35 (forthcoming), registers a long list of gifts to members of the royal family and officials of the Palace; in § 4 (for example) one reads: 14 ma-na kù-gi 2½ gù-kak-gíd níḡ-ba-níḡ-ba dum[u-munus-du]mu-munus en “14 minas (6.58 kg) of gold at the rate 1 : 2½ to silver for necklaces: gifts for the king’s daughters”. Another document, ARET XXII 18, lists gifts to the city-states which recognized Ebla’s supremacy; § 9: 12 minas of gold at the rate 1 : 2½ to silver for twelve plates of 1 mina (470 g) for the kings of *Ì-ra-ar*^{ki}, *Ra-à-ag*^{ki}, *Bur-ma-an*^{ki}, *Du-ub*^{ki}, *Ì-mar*^{ki}, *Gàr-mu*^{ki}, *Lum-na-an*^{ki}, *I-bu*₁₆-*bu*^{ki}, *Ur-sá-um*^{ki}, *Û-ti-ig*^{ki}, *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}, *Ir-i-tum*^{ki}; § 10: 4;10 minas of gold at the rate 1 : 2½ to silver for five plates, of 50 shekels (391 g) for the *ba-da-lum* (the second authority) of the cities of *Ḥa-ra-an*^{ki}, *Sa-nap-zu-lum*^{ki}, *Ur-sá-um*^{ki}, to *En-na-ma-lik* of *Ì-ra-ar*^{ki}, and the *ba-da-lum* of *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki}; § 11: 2;40 minas of gold at the rate 1 : 2½ to silver for four plates of 40 shekels (312 g) to *Du-bí-zu-i-nu* of *Kiš*^{ki}, *En-na-ni-il* of *À-du*^{ki}, *Sá-ù-mu* of *Na-gàr*^{ki}, *Ìl-ba-zi-kir* of *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}.³⁾

The Eblaite administration was well aware that the gold at the rate 1 : 2½ to silver was of lower quality: therefore in some very rare cases gold of better quality was provided. When In-malik, a son of the former minister Ibrium, was sent to Kiš to arrange the marriage of Kešdūt (daughter of the king and the queen) with *Iš-kum-nu-nu*, a son of that king, he brought to the prince gifts for 25 minas of gold at the rate 1 : 2.5, but also 4;12 minas of gold at the rate 1 : 4 (ARCHI 1987: 47 = 2015: 134–135).

Notes

1. The discrepancy between the number of the years attributed to Ibbi-zikir and those to the text edition (ARET XXII) derives from the fact that the document for the fourth year is missing. There is evidence that there was an attempt to remove large tablets (evidently supposed to be of major importance) from the burning Central Archive when Ebla was sacked. Twenty-two tablets were found in the “Audience Court”, on large wooden boards, fifteen meters outside the Central Archive, which was located next to the entrance of the Palace. These tablets are ARET I 5, and the twenty-one published in ARET VIII. Three fragments which join the tablet of ARET XXII 12 (of the thirteenth year), that is TM.76.G.534+537+481, were also found on these boards! This explains why the document concerning the expenditures of metals for the fourth year is missing: ARET XXII 4 concerns in fact the year I.Z. V.

E. Sollberger has read in ARET VIII 540 VII 24–VIII 2 (p. 206): en Kiš^{ki} wa dumu-nita-sù Ìr-gum-nu-nu. The photo (plate XXXI) has, instead, clearly: Uš- (instead of Ìr-). This reading is confirmed by the variant Ìš-kum-nu-nu ... lugal Kiš^{ki}, in TM.75.G obv. III 5–IV4 (see ARCHI 1987, p. 47, and the copy at p. 45).

2. For the period of Ibrium, see ARCHI 2021.

3. Similar lists of gifts on this occasion are collected in ARCHI, BIGA 2003: 35–44.

Bibliography

- ARCHI, A., 1987, “Les titres de en et lugal à Ebla et des cadeaux pour le roi de Kish”, *MARI* 5: 37–52.
——— 2015, *Ebla and its Archives. Texts, History, and Society*, SANER 7, Boston/Berlin.
——— 2016, “Ebla and Mari – Years 2381/2380–2369 BC”, in J. Patrier et al. (eds.), *Mille et une empreintes. Un Alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l’honneur du 65^e anniversaire de D. Beyer*, Subartu 36: 1–16.
——— 2021, “The Wars of Ebla at the Time of Minister Ibrium”, *AoF* 48: 189–220.
——— 2022, “*Minima Eblaitica* 26: A Point of History: the Death of King Irkab-damu and the Synchronism between the Death of two Kings of Kakmium”, *N.A.B.U.* 2022/46: 103–104.
——— 2024, “Metals in the Third Millennium BC. The case of Ebla”, *AoF* 51: 15–45.
ARCHI, A., M. G. BIGA, 2003, “A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla”, *JCS* 55: 1–44.
ARCHI, A., G. SPADA, 2026, *Annual Documents of Metal Expenditures (è) from Minister Ibbi-zikir’s Period (Archive L. 2769)*, ARET 22, Wiesbaden.

Alfonso ARCHI <alfonso.archi@gmail.com>
Roma (ITALY)

101) Minima Eblaitica 33: Ebla’s Yearly Balance Sheet – a first in History — The state administration of Ebla was entrusted to a few dozen “lords” lugal (that is: *šarrum*) during the first six years of king Irkab-damu. Officials of second rank, ugula, “overseers”, were at the head of sectors of the Administration and villages. Darmia and Tir emerge by far as contributory capacity. Arrukum (already mentioned in some documents of this period) was placed at the head of the administration in the king’s seventh years, while Tir remained in service for a couple of years. At Arrukum’s death (after five years), Ibrium – who already appeared among the lugal – was appointed as his successor. Both Arrukum and Ibrium (as well as Ibbi-zikir who succeeded his father Ibrium) are never qualified with a title in the documents.

Irkab-damu died some months after haven appointed Ibrium at the head of the Administration, as the result of wounds received in battle against Mari, and was succeeded by Iš’ar-damu, the very young son of Dusigu, one of his second-ranking wives. The queen had died some time before, probably due to complications by childbirth. Ibrium therefore found himself at the head of the state for eighteen years (until his death), consolidating its power also through numerous wars, having at his side Dusigu.

The Central Archive preserved eighteen annual documents of “deliveries”, mu-DU, of silver and gold (in later documents also copper and tin are mentioned), and garments to the Administration, dated to Ibrium, while the preserved annual documents of this typology of Ibbi-zikir are twelve. He was, however, in service for seventeen years according to ARET XIV 92, a document which records the minister’s personal expenses for “seventeen years”, 17 mu: those in which he was in office. This is confirmed by the series of the documents concerning the annual “expenditures”, è. That of the fourth year is missing, while those of the 15th, 16th, and 17th years (ARET XXII 14, 15, 16) are apparently represented only by a minimal fragment each: those which record in their first section the annual delivery of 1 mina (470 g) of silver for the head of the city-god Kura: a rite which inaugurated the New Year. The document concerning the expenditures of the fourth year, very large part of those of the 15th, 16th, and 17th years, as well the annual

mu-DU documents of the 13th–17th years, had perhaps been stolen by officials of the Mari army which conquered Ebla. Another possibility would be that some survivors of Ebla tried to save what could be saved. This is proven by the fact that three fragments (TM.76.G.534+537+481) found in the “Audience Court” on large wooden boards, fifteen meters outside the Central Archive, join the annual document ARET XXII 12 (of the 15th year) found inside the Archive. The tablets on those wooden boards are ARET I 5, and the twenty-one published in ARET VIII.

The document of the expenditures of the first year of minister Ibrium specifies not only the amount of the expenditures, but also that of the silver left in the treasure. This perhaps to mark the transition from the period of Arrukum to that of Ibrium. The “è document” of the seventh year, however, also adds the amount of unspent silver (al₆-gál) to the total of the expenditures, and this also in the documents of the following years (the totals in the documents of the years V and VI are in a gap). In two cases the sum of the silver spent to that remaining in the treasure corresponds to the amount of the income recorded in the mu-DU documents (years XII and XIV).

Ibbi-zikir’s documents instead show a regular correspondence between revenues (mu-DU: that it is the silver at disposal), and expenditures (è) plus unspent silver. Some documents of Ibbi-zikir specify that in general the amount of silver was in “pieces”, ḥaš-ḥaš; in some case however also melted in vessels: *zi-ru*₁₂ of 10 minas (4.70 kg), and dug of 5 minas (2;35 kg).

Ibrium

ARET XIV: mu-DU “delivery, income”

Text	year	minas
55	I	223;50
56	II	315
57	III	478;20
58	IV	790;41
59	V	446;40
59a	VI	114
60	VII	230;24
61	VIII	292;12
62	IX	400
63	X	[]
64	XI	372;32
65	XII	482
66	XIII	429;04
67	XIV	373;04
68	XV	777
69	XVI	833,54 (ḥaš-ḥaš; 300 = 30 <i>zi-ru</i> ₁₂)
70	XVII	714;43
71	XVIII	780;10

ARET XXI: è “expenditures”

Text	year	minas
3	I	156;34 è – 483 al ₆ -gál
5	II	132,50 è
6	III	174;48 è
7	IV	149 è
8	V	[]
9	VI	[]
10	VII	90;26 è w[a X al ₆ -gál]
11	VIII	[]
12	IX	[X è] – 301 al ₆ -gál
13	X	230[+X ² è – X al ₆ -gál]
14	XI	[]
15	XII	232 è 1 mu – 250 ¹ al ₆ -gál /482/
16	XIII	100 [+100]+67 ¹ – 200[+x]
17	XIV	265;04 – 108;40 /373;44/
18	XV	277;46 – 437 /714;46/
19	XVI	374;20 è – 160 al ₆ -gál
20	XVII	[]
21	XVIII	[]

Ibbi-zikir

ARET XIV mu-DU “delivery, income”

Text	year	minas
77	I	1007;20
78	II	1007;48
79	III	875;50 (405;50 170 = 34 dug)
80	IV	927;20 (100 = 30 <i>zi-ru</i> ₁₂ ; 230 = 46 dug; 597;20 ḥaš-ḥaš)
81	V	991;10 ḥaš-ḥaš
82	VI	1080[+x] ḥaš-ḥaš
83	VII	1182 ḥaš-ḥaš
84	VIII	1185;30

ARET XXII è “expenditures”

Text	year	minas
1	I	577 è – 430 al ₆ -gál /1007/
2	II	261;30 è – 746;50 al ₆ -gál /1008;20/
3	III	[x+] 100 ma-na = 10 <i>zi-ru</i> ₁₂ + 230 ma-na = 46 dug <missing tablet>
4	V	677;10 è – 314 al ₆ -gál /991;10//
5	VI	449;20 è + 630 al ₆ -gál /1079;20/
6	VII	[x+]75;52 è + 607 al ₆ -gál
7	VIII	675;40 è + 510 al ₆ -gál /1185;30/

85	IX	1213;25	8	IX	680;10 + 78;20 = 758;30 è + 455 al ₆ -gál /1213;20/
86	X	849 ḥaš-ḥaš	9	X	550 è +300 al ₆ -gál /850/
87	XI	1479 ḥaš-ḥaš	10	XI	370;04 è + 1109 al ₆ -gál /1479;04/
89	12)	1642;36	11	XII	443;40 è + 1200 al ₆ -gál /1643/

Alfonso ARCHI <alfonso.archi@gmail.com>
Roma (ITALY)

102) Y a-t-il un rapport entre le gēšpu des textes d'Ébla et celui des textes hittites ? — Comme on l'a récemment rappelé (PASQUALI 2022, qui peut être consulté pour l'analyse de l'ensemble des contextes concernés), au fil des années, de nombreuses interprétations ont été proposées pour *gú-a-tum* : « force » (CONTI 1990 : 146) ; « crochet » (FRONZAROLI 1993 : 27, 151) ; « récipient ; vase ; gobelet » (POMPONIO 1985 : 246 ; PETTINATO 1992 : 78–79 et 189 ; CONTI 1993 : 100 ; PASQUALI 2005 : 135–136 ; 2008 ; ARCHI 2019 : 67 ; 2021 : 23 et n. 57 ; ARCHI et SPADA 2023 : 32, 343) ; « instrument qui sert à sectionner le cordon ombilical » (BONECHI 2016 : 62–63) ; « collier » (ARCHI 2018 : 47 et 276.). En réalité, un indice important pour la compréhension de ce mot nous est fourni par la glose de la liste lexicale bilingue éblaïte, attestant l'équivalence gēšpu = *gú-a-tum* (VE 521). Le sumérogramme gēšpu, signifie « force », mais aussi « arme » ou « outil », voire une espèce de « grappin » utilisé par les lutteurs, et correspond, dans les textes mésopotamiens, à l'akkadien (*ḥ*)*umāšū* avec la même signification (voir CAD, U/W : 98). En s'appuyant sur ces éléments, Conti (1990 : 146) a cru pouvoir expliquer la graphie *gú-a-tum* à travers la racine sém. occ. **kwh*, « force », connue en hébreu et en araméen (DRS 10, 1189-1190). Toutefois, cette étymologie ne peut pas être retenue, parce que le sens abstrait de « force » s'accommode très mal aux passages administratifs et aux textes du rituel royal, où *gú-a-tum* qualifie de toute évidence un objet en métal. C'est surtout ce passage qui nous le confirme :

[1] *ARET* XII 344 r. IV : 2¹-4⁷ : 10 lá-3 an-dù[I] igi-dub-SÙ šu-SÙ DU-SÙ kù:babbar / 10 lá-3 *gú-a-tum* zabar / ^d*Gú-ša-ra-tum*.

En effet, on y comptabilise l'attribution de sept images cultuelles et d'un nombre égal de *gú-a-tum* en bronze aux ^d*Gú-ša-ra-tum*, les sept déesses préposées aux naissances (PASQUALI 2006). De plus, ce terme est parfois mentionné avec des vases dans les livraisons et les inventaires d'objets d'artisanat en métal plus ou moins précieux ; ce qui précise davantage son appartenance au lexique des *realia*. On verra, par exemple, les passages recueillis ci-dessous :

[2] *ARET* XXI 4 r. X : 6–18 : šušana_x gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / nu₁₁-za¹(KUR) / 20 *gú-a-tum* / 4 ma-na TAR kù:babbar / 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda / 5 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / 1 *mar-pi-ga-tum* / (bijoux et argent) / níg-ba / dingir-dingir-dingir ;

[3] TM.75.G.272 v. II : 5–6 : 2 bur-kak kù-sig₁₇ / 1 *gú-a-tum* kù-sig₁₇ ;

[4] TM.75.G.1291 r. 6–8 : 1 si gu₄ zabar 1 *gú-a-tum* zabar 1 níg-bànda zabar (cité par ARCHI 2019 : 66).

Ces derniers trois extraits sembleraient conforter l'hypothèse que *gú-a-tum* se réfère à un type de conteneur. J'écarterais, en revanche, la possibilité que la graphie puisse désigner des mots et des objets différents selon les contextes. Malgré l'affirmation de Bonechi (2016 : 62) que le *gú-a-tum* des textes « has nothing to do » avec la glose de VE 521, l'équivalence entre gēšpu et *gú-a-tum* suggérée par la liste lexicale est confirmée aussi par un passage administratif :

[5] TM.75.G.2653 r. X : 9–19 : 1 na₄ siki 1 kù-sal kù:babbar gēšpu ^dAMA-ra En-na-ì pa:šeš ^dKU-ra šu-ba₄-ti 1 na₄ siki 1 kù-sal kù:babbar *maš-da-bù* é ^dGa-na-na (cité par ARCHI 2021 : 16).

Ici l'objet est du ressort de la déesse Išhara, exactement comme dans :

[6] *ARET* XX 8 (2) : ^r1¹ na₄ siki / 1 dam / šu-mu-taka₄ / 1 *gú-a-tum* / ^dGÁ×SIG₇-iš / Má-NE^{ki} ;

[7] *MEE* 12 18 r. X : 15 – XI : 4 : 1 *zi-rí* siki / níg-ba / *gú-a-du* / ^dBAD-mí / U₉-*gú-a-á*^{ski,1)}

Si *gú-a-tum* doit vraiment indiquer l'un des outils professionnels des déesses préposées aux naissances, comme le propose Bonechi (2016 : 63 ; pour une critique des hypothèses de Bonechi, voir PASQUALI 2022), alors on pourrait envisager de traduire le terme par « forceps », un mot proche du domaine sémantique

couvert par le sumérogramme géšpu. Pourtant, même cette interprétation semblerait aller à l'encontre du fait que dans :

[8] TM.75.G.1504 r. III : 1-2: 1 *gú-a-tum* / lú^dÀ-da,

le *gú-a-tum* est du ressort du dieu de l'Orage ^dÀ-da et l'offrande d'un outil de travail de sage-femme à une divinité masculine et guerrière s'explique mal. De plus, on ne peut pas ignorer que, comme nous l'avons rappelé ci-dessus, dans les inventaires d'objets d'artisanat le *gú-a-tum* est associé à des vases précieux. Si un vase peut bien être un outil de sage-femmes telles que les déesses ^dGú-ša-ra-tum, il s'avère plus difficile de concilier cette traduction avec les significations connues pour géšpu dans les sources mésopotamiennes. Dans les documents hittites, au contraire, ce sumérogramme est parfois mentionné dans des listes d'objets et dans des rituels (GÜTERBOCK 1983 : 214–215 ; SAVAŞ 2008 : 657–663). Dans un cas GÉŠPU est précédé du déterminatif GIŠ et le texte spécifie qu'il est réalisé en essence de cèdre (*KUB 23.27 I 23*), mais plus souvent il s'agit bien d'un objet en métal précieux : Hattušili I, par exemple, raconte dans son Autobiographie d'avoir offert un GÉŠPU et une image de taureau, tous les deux en argent, au temple du dieu de l'Orage (IMPARATI 1964 : 4–5) ; la même divinité, dans un texte d'époque plus récente, reçoit un GÉŠPU en or (*KBo 21.34 + IBoT I 7 r. II 45–49*). Ce même texte (v. III 42–43) nous apprend aussi que sur le GÉŠPU on pouvait accrocher une étoile en or, probablement en fonction décorative (*nu-uš-ša-an MUL-UD.ZAL.LE GUŠKIN A-NA GÉŠPU* ^D[IM²] *an-da ha-m[a-k]án-zi* ; on rappellera à ce propos qu'à Ébla le *gú-a-tum* dans le compte-rendu de métaux contemporain du rituel royal éblaïte le plus récent, reçoit l'offrande d'un kù-sal en or, voir PASQUALI 2022). Et encore, dans un inventaire d'images cultuelles, un GÉŠPU en argent semble représenter l'emblème divin (*šiuiniyatar*) du dieu Zababa (*KUB 38.1 I 4*), ce qui expliquerait pourquoi cet élément particulier était inclus parmi les objets divinisés (GÜTERBOCK 1983 : 204). Bien que l'identité réelle du géšpu soit caractérisée d'une certaine opacité chez les Hittites aussi, les spécialistes ont désormais tendance à y reconnaître un type de vase. Cette hypothèse repose notamment sur un passage lacunaire de *KUB 10.89 II 2–3 : IŠTU [BI-IB-RI] GÉŠPU (...) akuwanzi*, « du vase en forme de géšpu (...) ils boivent ». Le terme akkadien *bibru* est employé dans les textes hittites pour indiquer les vases en forme d'animaux ou d'autres images fantaisistes (CARRUBA 1968 : 88–97 ; KOEHL 1995 : 63–64). Mais quelle était la forme de ce vase ? Il existe un texte où sont mentionnées les différentes parties du corps du dieu de l'Orage (voir GÜTERBOCK 1992 : 238–239) ; on y trouve GÉŠPU suivi par ŠU.MEŠ, « mains », et ŠU.SI.ĪI.A *humandaš*, « à tous les doigts ». De plus, dans un autre inventaire de produits précieux, on répertorie parmi des vases en métal un GÉŠPU en argent à côté d'une « main » (akk. *rittu*) du même matériau (*KUB 32.129 I 14*). En s'appuyant sur ces données, certains auteurs (GÜTERBOCK 1983 : 214–215 ; GÜTERBOCK et KENDALL 1995 : 55–56 ; KOEHL 1995 : 63 ; SAVAŞ 2008 : 657–663 ; KOEHL 2013 : 241) ont avancé l'hypothèse que GÉŠPU puisse représenter une chose différente de la « main », mais qui lui est associée, c'est-à-dire le « poing ». On a, donc, identifié l'élégant vase d'argent en forme de poing, jadis dans la collection Norbert Schimmel et aujourd'hui abrité dans le musée de Beaux-Arts de Boston, comme un probable exemplaire de l'objet rituel évoqué par les textes hittites à travers le sumérogramme GÉŠPU (GÜTERBOCK et KENDALL 1995 : 45–54). Certes, ce n'est qu'une hypothèse de travail et quand GÉŠPU se réfère à un objet rituel en bois ou métal, il pourrait ne pas dénoter une partie du corps et avoir une signification différente que, à ce stade, nous ignorons. En tout cas, la possibilité d'associer les passages hittites avec les attestations éblaïtes est tentante, vu surtout les nombreux et évidents liens que cet objet énigmatique présente avec le culte. Mais alors quelle est l'étymologie de *gú-a-tum* dans les textes d'Ébla ? La graphie ne peut pas être rapprochée à des termes indiquant le « poing » ou la « main » en sémitique. Comme on l'a déjà proposé (PASQUALI 2022), une possibilité admise par les règles du syllabaire éblaïte est le sém. **kw*t, qui en akkadien et en ougaritique identifie un type de vase en métal (DRS 10 : 1203). Malheureusement nous n'avons aucune information concernant la morphologie de cet objet. S'agissait-il d'un vase caractérisé par des « fancy forms » ?

Note

1. Malgré la remarque de Bonechi (2016 : 61, n. 50, « No photographs or handcopies of the tablet have been published. (...) Before *gú-a-du níg-dug-DU* is expected. To be collated. »), l'exactitude de la transcription proposée par l'éditeur m'a été confirmée par A. Archi, que je tiens à remercier.

Bibliographie

- ARCHI, A., 2018, *Administrative Texts: Allotments of Clothing for the Palace Personnel (Archive L. 2769)*. With the collaboration of Gabriella Spada, ARET XX, Wiesbaden.
- 2019, *Minima Eblaitica 24: níg-gú-DU, níg-dug-DU, GIŠ-dug-DU*, NABU 2019/40.
- ARCHI, A. et SPADA, G., 2023, *Annual Documents of the Metal Expenditure (è) from Minister Ibrium's Period (Archive L. 2769)*, ARET XXI, Wiesbaden.
- BONECHI, M., 2016, *A passive, and therefore Prized, Bride. New Proposals for the Queen's Wedding in the Ebla Royal Rituals*, RA 110 : 57–78.
- CARRUBA, O., 1968, *Rhyta in den hethitischen Texten*, Kadmos 6 : 88–97.
- CONTI, G., 1990, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita*, Florence.
- 1993, *Il sistema grafico eblaita e la legge di Geers*, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica dell'Università di Firenze 4 : 97–114.
- FRONZAROLI, P., 1993, *Testi rituali della regalità*, ARET XI, Rome.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G., 1983, *Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte*, dans R.M. Boehmer et H. Hauptmann (éds), *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, Mainz am Rhein : 203–217.
- 1992, *A New Look at One Ahhiyawa Text*, dans H. Otten et alii (éds), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara : 235–243.
- GÜTERBOCK, H.G. & KENDALL, T., 1995, *A Hittite Silver Vessel in the Form of the Fist*, dans J.B. Carter et S.P. Morris (éds), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin : 45–60.
- IMPARATI, F., 1964, *L'autobiografia di Hattusili I*, Studi Classici e Orientali 13 : 1–36.
- KOEHL, R.B., 1995, *The Silver Stag 'Bibru' from Mycenae*, dans J.B. Carter et S.P. Morris (éds), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin : 61–66.
- 2013, *Bibru et Rhyton: Zoomorphic Vases in the Near East and Aegean*, dans J. Aruz, S.B. Graff et Y. Rasic (éds), *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, New York : 238–247.
- PASQUALI, J., 2005, *Il lessico dell'artigianato nei testi di Ebla*, Florence.
- 2006, *Eblaita ^dgú-ša-ra-tum = ugaritico ktrt*, NABU 2006/64.
- 2008, *Il gú-a-du di ^dBAD-mí U₉-gú-a-áš^{ki} ad Ebla*, NABU 2008/7.
- 2022, *Éblaïte gú-a-tum : un bilan provisoire*, NABU 2022/03.
- POMPONIO, F., 1985, *La terminologia amministrativa eblaita. I: šu-mu-taka_x*, UF 17 : 237–252.
- PETTINATO, G., 1992, *Il rituale per la successione al trono ad Ebla*, Rome.
- SAVAŞ, Ş.Ö., 2008, *The Fist of the Storm God and the 'Rundbau = ^tarnu-structure'*, SMEA 50 : 657–680.

Jacopo PASQUALI <pasquali.jacopo@laposte.net>
19 Rue de la Masse, 84000 Avignon (FRANCE)

103) Sulla cronologia dei re di Ebla e di Mari e dei capi dell'amministrazione eblaita — Il seguente sincronismo del penultimo sovrano di Ebla con i re di Mari può essere ormai considerate stabilito (cf. in particolare ARCHI 2016):

Irkab-Damu	1	Iblul-II	x+1
	2		x+2 (morte della regina Paba)
	3		x+3
	4		x+4
	5-7	Nizi	1-3
	8 (morte della regina madre Kešdut)	Enna-Dagan	1
	9-11		2-4.

L'anno che segue è caratterizzato dalla morte sia di Irkab-Damu, sia di Enna-Dagan.¹⁾ Al re di Ebla successe suo figlio, Iš'ar-Damu, probabilmente un bambino di 3 o 4 anni, figlio non della *māliktum*, morta poco dopo le nozze, ma di una sua sposa secondaria, Dusigu. A Enna-Dagan successe Ikūn-Išar, probabilmente un *homo novus*, perché, a differenza dei suoi predecessori Nizi ed Enna-Dagan e del successore Hidar, non risulta mai citato nei documenti precedenti la sua ascesa al trono. Iš'ar-Damu regnò per 35 anni, e la sua morte coincise con la distruzione di Ebla. Di contro, Ikūn-Išar ebbe un regno brevissimo, a nostro parere limitato a qualche mese: egli è citato soltanto nell'AAM del 1° anno di Iš'ar-Damu (ARET XXI, 3/48) e in un MAT da assegnare all'XI mese dello stesso anno (ARET I, 11/17), e anzi questa menzione potrebbe registrare un'offerta funeraria: 1 gada-túg *kir-na-núm-mah ŠU.GU₄.UR i-ku-šar en ma-rt^{ki}*.²⁾ Dopo di lui salì al trono Hidar, l'ultimo re di Mari a essere citato nella documentazione di Ebla, ma solo nei testi degli ultimi anni di Ibbi-Zikir, e in uno solo con il titolo di re di Mari (cf. ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 5). Teoricamente,

quindi, non sappiamo chi fosse il re di Mari per circa un trentennio e non può essere escluso che tra Ikūn-Išar e Hidar sia da inserire un altro sovrano, il cui nome non ci è giunto. Tuttavia, Hidar compare già nei testi di Nizi, il successore di Iblul-II,³⁾ ed è quindi probabile che egli sia stato l'immediato successore di Ikūn-Išar alla sua prematura fine. Se il re di Ebla Iš'ar-Damu regnò 35 anni, Hidar potrebbe aver regnato lo stesso numero di anni, in accordo con l'ipotesi di D. Charpin che le tavolette dello *Chantier B* di Mari, datate agli anni 18-35, siano da attribuire al suo regno (cf. RIME 1: 339): in ogni caso, egli assistette alla distruzione di Ebla, anzi deve averla causata, sopravvivendo al re di Ebla di un paio di anni. Per quanto riguarda i rapporti di Hidar con il potere prima che egli salisse al trono, si può anche notare che la sua regina, dal nome scritto Ba-ba₄ (ARET VIII, 533/15) e Pa-a-ba₄ (ARET I, 44/1, 32), porta lo stesso nome della regina di Iblul-II, scritto Pa-ba₄ (cf. POMPONIO – BIGA 1989). Questa coincidenza potrebbe essere spiegata con il fatto che la seconda apparteneva alla famiglia della prima.⁴⁾ La pratica di assegnare a una neonata il nome di un'antenata non è insolita alla corte di Ebla, per la quale abbiamo molte più informazioni rispetto a quella di Mari: ad es., la principessa eblaita della generazione più giovane Kešdut cui è dato il nome della regina del bisnonno Igriš-Halab (cf. POMPONIO 2025a, n.1) e Dabur-Damu, un'importante donna della corte eblaita (cf. ARET XV/II: 233, §15), le cui esequie sono citate in un testo di Arrugum e il cui nome è lo stesso della cugina e sposa di Iš'ar-Damu, l'ultimo re di Ebla (cf. BIGA 2016: 204-206).⁵⁾

Una corrispondenza meno precisa vi è tra Irkab-Damu e i funzionari che lo affiancarono al vertice dell'amministrazione di Ebla. Di questi funzionari, che nei testi mu-DU sono di norma autori degli apporti più abbondanti e sono menzionati al primo o all'ultimo posto, ignoriamo il titolo specifico, ammesso che ne avessero uno, salva l'appartenenza, con una dozzina o più di altri alti funzionari, alla categoria dei lugal-lugal. All'alba degli studi eblaiti essi erano indicati con il titolo di "vizir", mentre ora è preferito quello di "minister". Durante il lungo regno di Iš'ar-Damu questi funzionari accrebbero enormemente il loro potere, assumendo con Ibrium la guida dell'esercito, a motivo dell'età dell'en-bambino, e rendendo la propria carica ereditaria. Per questo regno il rapporto cronologico con il sovrano è noto da tempo grazie agli studi di A. Archi e M. G. Biga (cf. ad es. ARCHI – BIGA 2003): Ibrium 1-18 = Iš'ar-Damu 1-18; Ibbi-Zikir 1-17 = Iš'ar-Damu 19-35.

Per il regno di Irkab-Damu, sappiamo che il suo ultimo "primo ministro" fu Arrugum. Egli non aveva rapporti di parentela con i suoi successori Ibrium e Ibbi-Zikir e, a loro differenza, non risulta aver avuto comandi militari, che spettavano al suo re, né riuscì a trasmettere la propria carica al figlio Enzi/Izi-Malik. Il suo mandato fu molto più breve, coprendo cinque anni, che corrispondono agli ultimi anni di Irkab-Damu (8-12). Tuttavia, al periodo di Arrugum è assegnata la prima stesura delle più importanti categorie di testi amministrativi (MATs, AAMs e testi mu-DU): cf. ARCHI 2019: 1-2. Per l'ultimo anno, quello che vide la morte di Irkab-Damu ed Enna-Dagan, l'elenco delle morti eccellenti iniziò proprio con quella di Arrugum che avvenne durante il primo mese, cui sono datati due MATs (ARET XV, 47/53 e 10/70), che registrano rispettivamente le moderatamente ricche offerte funerarie di Arrugum e l'assegnazione di uno zara₆-TUG₂ e di 2 spille d'argento per l'"unzione del capo" di una sua dam.

I predecessori di Arrugum furono Darmia e Tir, ma sui loro mandati abbiamo dati meno precisi. L'entità dei loro apporti, su cui ci si basa soprattutto per stabilire la preminenza di un lugal, non permette di stabilire una successione coerente, nonostante gli sforzi dell'Editore di ARET XIV, perché l'apporto di un anno può essere ripartito tra più testi e forse perché un lugal, pur senza essere il "primo ministro", poteva essere il principale responsabile di un tipo di beni. Tuttavia, un elemento significativo ci sembra fornito dal documento annuale mu-DU di tessili ARET XIV, 38: a nostro parere, il 2 mu che conclude il testo non fa riferimento al 2° anno di Arrugum (cf. ARET XIV: 117), che nel testo non è menzionato, come non lo è Darmia, ma al 2° e ultimo anno del mandato di Tir, che in questo documento ricorre al primo posto e come autore dei maggiori apporti.⁶⁾ Se ciò è esatto,⁷⁾ possiamo porre i due anni del mandato di Tir immediatamente prima dei cinque anni di quello di Arrugum, corrispondenti, come su visto, agli ultimi cinque anni del regno di Irkab-Damu, mentre per i primi cinque anni di Irkab-Damu la carica di capo dell'amministrazione sarebbe stata ricoperta da Darmia/Darmilu. A sostegno di ciò, il colofone dub-gar mu-DU 3 mu del testo mu-DU di metalli e tessili ARET XIV, 47, dove il "primo ministro" deve essere Darmia, con il suo nome da reintegrare nel §16, con più di 20 linee, e non Tir del §1 con 8 linee, si riferisce al 3° anno non del re Irkab-Damu, ma del "primo ministro", appunto Darmia (peraltro i due anni

coincidono), come ritengo avvenga spesso per la formula x mu nei testi mu-DU. Parimenti, il 2 mu del testo di parziali mu-DU di argento ARET XIV, 2 si riferisce al 2° anno del mandato di Darmia (= Irkab-Damu 2). Infine, Darmia deve essere a capo dell'amministrazione eblaita nel testo mu-DU ARET XIV, 4: qui la sua fornitura di giš-gu-kak-gid₂-RU, di gran lunga la più abbondante e registrata al primo posto, seguita da quella di Tir, avviene in occasione dell'offerta alla stele (nīd_{ba} na-rú) di Igrīš-Halab, cioè probabilmente in occasione della morte del predecessore di Irkab-Damu: ciò suggerisce che Darmia era il capo dell'amministrazione sin dall'inizio del regno di Irkab-Damu, scelto probabilmente dal nuovo sovrano. Quindi avremmo il seguente sincronismo:

Irkab-Damu	1-5	Darmia/Darmilu
	6-7	Tir
	8-12 ⁸⁾	Arrugum.

Notiamo, infine, che sia Darmia, sia Tir sembra continuassero a operare nell'amministrazione eblaita durante il mandato del loro immediato successore (cf. per Darmia ARET XIV, 8 e per Tir ARET XIV, 49-52; XV/2: 59). Non conosciamo la situazione dei "primi ministri", ammesso che esistessero già, sotto il padre di Irkab-Damu, Igrīš-Halab, il cui regno non rientra nell'ambito degli "archivi vivi" di Ebla.

Note

1. Ma la coincidenza che entrambi i re siano morti a seguito delle ferite riportate durante la battaglia tra Ebla e Mari presso 'Atidu e Irkab-Damu almeno undici mesi (!) dopo questo scontro non appare più sostenibile (cf. POMPONIO 2025b).

2. Si noti che Iga-Išru, l'autore della consegna della veste per Ikūn-Išar, in un testo di poco precedente (ARET XV/1, 8/57) consegna un'offerta funeraria per il re di Kablul.

3. Cf. ARET VII, 1 v. v 5, vi 1 del 1° anno di Nizi, dove Hidar riceve 3 tessili e un bene andato perduto e ARET VII 16 r. viii 5-7, v. iv 9-v 1, del 3° anno di Nizi con due menzioni di un maškim-e-gi₄ di Hidar: in questi testi Hidar doveva essere già un importante funzionario, anche se di grado inferiore a Enna-Dagan, il futuro re, e anche al sagi Di-Utu, menzionati all'inizio del testo e che ricevono quantità di oro, argento e manufatti vari. Ancora, al 2° anno di Nizi, è da assegnare il registro di *la-ha* di olio TM.03.G.1000 (cf. ARCHI 2014-2015: 74), sette dei quali sono assegnati a Hidar, contro venti a Enna-Dagan. TM.75.G.1233 (cf. ARCHI 1981: 145-154) della medesima categoria di ARET VII, 1 e 16, in cui Hidar è menzionato con un suo maškim e riceve due quantità di argento, è del regno di Enna-Dagan.

4. L'aver sposato una discendente del più prestigioso re di Mari dovrebbe aver aiutato la sua ascesa al trono, anche se tra la scomparsa di Iblul-II, morto senza eredi maschi, e l'inizio del regno di Hidar regnarono tre sovrani, tutti, per fortuna di Hidar, dal breve regno. Del resto, Namhani di Lagaš sembra abbia atteso, per salire sul trono di suo suocero Ur-Bau, il regno di ben cinque sovrani, tra cui, al primo posto, quello di un certo Gudea (cf. POMPONIO 2011: 235-237).

5. Per la coincidenza dei nomi non si possono certo escludere, casi di omonimia: cf. per Tia-Damu ARET XV/I: 424/40 e per le due NETibudu ARCHI 2025 ("However", come direbbe Reggie Fortune).

6. In questo caso, la sostituzione, come secondo giudice a fianco di Enna-II, di Ladad con Ibdur-Išar sarebbe avvenuta nel corso del 2° anno del mandato di Tir (il testo è datato al 9° mese), e non con l'inizio del mandato di Arrugum. Anche il 2 mu che conclude ARET XIV, 7 e 25 (cui furono successivamente aggiunte 4 linee verticali) dovrebbe riferirsi al 2° anno del mandato di Tir, e non al 2° anno del regno di Irkab-Damu, allorché era Darmia il "primo ministro": nel primo testo l'apporto di argento da parte di Tir, menzionato al primo posto, è più del doppio di quello di Darmia, citato al secondo posto, nel secondo testo l'apporto di Tir è di 120 mine di argento, più 2 di oro, su 203 mine del totale, e non c'è quello di Darmia. Un altro mu-DU datato 2 mu è ARET XIV, 19: qui le quantità di argento sono ridotte e quindi relative solo a una parte dell'anno: quelle di Tir e di Arrugum sono di 2 mine, quella di Darmia di 1, e la maggiore è del giudice Enna-II (3 mine), che è ancora affiancato da Ladad.

7. Rafforzerebbe la nostra ipotesi la presenza di 7 linee oblique nello spazio vuoto alla fine del testo, se esse indicassero il 7° anno di Irkab-Damu con la corrispondenza Irkab-Damu 7 = Tir 2. Ad anni del re Irkab-Damu potrebbero riferirsi anche le 4 linee oblique di ARET XIV 20, che menziona Darmia, Tir e Arrugum con la stessa quantità di argento e i giudici Ladad ed Enna-II e le 10 linee oblique del testo mu-DU di argento e oro ARET XIV, 52, del "premierato" di Arrugum. Di contro, in due testi mu-DU di tessili, quantità di argento e manufatti di argento e oro, ARET XIV, 49-50, poiché il maggior apporto viene da Arrugum, citato rispettivamente per ultimo e per primo, al suo 3° anno deve riferirsi il 3 mu che conclude i due testi. Quindi, essi dovrebbero appartenere al 10^{mo} anno di Irkab-Damu, ma nello spazio vuoto di ARET XIV, 49 sono graffiate 6 linee oblique e in quello di ARET XIV, 50 vi sono 6 e 8 linee oblique. Parimenti mi sono incomprensibili le datazioni del testo mu-DU di tessili ARET XIV, 40 (senza Darmia, Tir e Arrugum) con il finale 7 mu e 4 linee oblique. È da aggiungere che, per i testi mu-DU di Ibrum e di Ibbi-Zikir, le linee oblique dello spazio vuoto si riferiscono agli anni non del re, ma del "primo ministro"; più propriamente per Ibrum, ciò vale sino al suo 14^{mo} anno, mentre dal 15^{mo} al 17^{mo} le linee oblique (quattro, tre e due) indicano gli anni a

partire dalla sua fine (quartultimo, terzultimo, penultimo), con ciò ovviamente dimostrando che queste notazioni erano aggiunte almeno alcuni anni dopo la loro stesura, mentre il 18^{mo} anno è definito l'anno della sua morte.

8. Il testo mu-DU di argento ARET XIV, 54, che registra gli apporti dell'ultimo anno di Irkab-Damu, è concluso dal numero 10+1, che qui deve riferirsi agli ultimi 11 anni del re. In questo caso, però, si tratta di un numero (un cerchio e un cuneo verticale), e non di linee oblique, che è scritto non nello spazio anepigrafo, ma nell'ultima linea del testo. Nel computo degli anni di Irkab-Damu, il suo primo parziale anno deve essere stato attribuito al regno del predecessore Igriš-Halab, mentre, per il "premierato" di Ibrium, il primo anno di questo funzionario è già considerato quello in cui egli subentrò ad Arrugum (cf. ARET XIV: 185, 189 *et passim*). Per questa differenziazione valse, a mio parere, non tanto il fatto che Arrugum morì già nel primo mese di quest'anno, ma che per la regalità lo stesso anno non poteva essere assegnato a due diversi sovrani, a differenza della funzione di "primo ministro".

Bibliografia

- ARCHI, A., 1981, I rapporti tra Ebla e Mari, *Studi Eblaiti* 4, 129-166.
 ——— 2014-2015, Primary Production at Ebla (24th Cent. BC), *AAAS* 57-58, 71-81.
 ——— 2016, Ebla and Mari – 2381/2380-2369 BC, in J. Patrier et al. (eds.), *Mille et une empreintes. Un Alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l'honneur du 65^e anniversaire de Dominique Beyer*, Subartu XXXVI, Turnhout, 1-16.
 ——— 2019, Wars at the Time of Irkab-damu, King of Ebla, *StEb* 5, 1-13.
 ——— 2022, Minima Eblaitica 26. A Point of History: The Death of King Irkab-damu and the Synchronism between the Death of two Kings of Mari and two Kings of Kakmum, *NABU* 2022/46.
 ——— 2025, Minima Eblaitica 31. Annual documents and homonymy in personal names, *NABU* 2025/6.
 ARCHI, A. and BIGA, M. G., 2003, A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla, *JCS* 53, 1-44.
 BIGA, M. G., 2016, La regina madre Dusigu e la regina Tabur-Damu. Suocera e nuora alla corte di Ebla (Siria, XXIV secolo a.C.), *Henoch* 38, 198-207.
 POMPONIO, F., 2011, Quello che accadde (forse) dopo la morte di Šar-kali-šarri, in G. Barjamovic *et alii* (eds.), *Akkade is King. A Collection of Papers by Friends and Colleagues Presented to Aage Westenholz on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday 15th of May 2009*. Leiden, 227-243.
 ——— 2025a, Un problema riguardante la regina di Irkab-Damu, *NABU* 2025/104.
 ——— 2025b, Sulla morte di due re di Ebla, *NABU* 2025/105.
 POMPONIO, F. and BIGA, M. G., 1989. Pa₄-ba₄ épouse de Iblul-il, roi de Mari, *NABU* 1989/114.

Francesco POMPONIO <nabium@virgilio.it>

104) Un problema riguardante la regina di Irkab-Damu — La *māliktum* di Irkab-Damu, penultimo re di Ebla, è una evanescente figura che per brevissimo tempo si aggira nella corte eblaita, e di cui ignoriamo tutto (nome,¹⁾ parentela e origine) prima della sua nomina a regina. Le menzioni di questo personaggio in un solo testo sembrano dieci volte più numerose di tutte le altre sue citazioni nella documentazione di Ebla. Il testo in questione (ARET XI, 1) è il più antico dei due rituali definiti "della regalità"²⁾ e riguarda la cerimonia nuziale di Irkab-Damu e di questa sua innominata regina, mentre il più recente (ARET XI, 2) tratta il matrimonio dell'ultimo re di Ebla, Iš'ar-Damu, con la sua cugina prima Tabur-Damu. Di questa donna, di contro, molto conosciamo, a iniziare dal nome dei genitori (il padre Ir'ib-Damu, fratello del re Irkab-Damu, e la madre NĒtibudu) e spesso è menzionata prima della sua ascesa al trono (cf. BIGA 2016: 204). In ARET XI, 1 e 2 ricorrono rispettivamente Arrugum e Ibrium, come autori di offerte (nīdba) di ovini e di una giovenca sia a singole divinità, che sono le stesse per entrambi i funzionari (Kura, Barama, Išr/lu, Utu e Ašdar), sia a gruppi di dèi (dingir-dingir). Poiché le funzioni svolte da Arrugum e Ibrium nei due testi "della regalità" sono identiche e Ibrium era il "premier" all'epoca del matrimonio di Iš'ar-Damu, celebrato durante il 14^{mo} anno del suo mandato (cf. ARET XXI: 188-189), Arrugum deve essere il "primo ministro" all'epoca del matrimonio di Irkab-Damu, come è generalmente riconosciuto (cf. ARET XIV: 12; BIGA 2007-2008: 256; ARCHI 2021: 18), anche se alla presenza di questi funzionari non è dato gran rilievo negli studi sui due rituali.

Il "premierato" di Arrugum comprende cinque anni, anche se soltanto pochi giorni per il quinto anno, considerato che egli morì nel primo mese di quest'ultimo, e coincide con gli ultimi cinque anni di regno di Irkab-Damu, che morì qualche mese dopo Arrugum. Il matrimonio di Irkab-Damu fu celebrato al più tardi nel primo o nel secondo anno del suo ultimo lustro di regno, perché tra le sue nozze con la *māliktum* e la sua morte saranno da collocare l'unione con la sua sposa secondaria Dusigu, che non divenne mai *māliktum*, ma passò direttamente dal titolo di dam-en a quello di ama-gal-en, e la nascita e i primissimi anni del principe ereditario Iš'ar-Damu. Ma se la *māliktum* sposò Irkab-Damu all'inizio del "premierato"

di Arrugum e non risulta menzionata come vivente in nessuno della sessantina di registri mensili di tessili (ARET II, 32; IV, 16-17; XV, 3-59) e in nessuno dei cinque testi mu-DU di Arrugum (ARET XIV, 49-53) e nemmeno nell'unico AAM sinora edito (MEE X, 23) da attribuire a questo "primo ministro". Più precisamente al suo secondo anno, come indica il colofone dub-gar è 2 mu, dobbiamo ricavarne che la sua morte avvenne immediatamente, o quasi, dopo le nozze, e certo non come conseguenza di problemi del parto (cf. ARET XX: 187).³⁾ Ancora, nel frammento di un MAT di Arrugum (ARET XII, 298 r. iv) è citata l'assegnazione di 5 tessili, tra cui uno zara₆-tug₂, e di una spilla *bu-di* per la *ma-lik-tum* ÉxPAP: poiché questa assegnazione segue quella di 8 tessili per en-en ÉxPAP, non si tratta certo dell'offerta funeraria per le esequie della regina, che deve essere stata molto più ricca (cf., a questo riguardo, *infra*, n. 5), ma di un'offerta presentata in memoria della regina, insieme a quella per alcuni innominati re defunti, in rapporto con i funerali di un altro personaggio,⁴⁾ e quindi qualche tempo dopo la morte della donna. Ma *e.g.* nei MAT ARET XX, 25 e TM.75.G.2276 (cf. ARCHI 2002: 176-177), del periodo finale della documentazione eblaita, tra le sei/sette importanti defunte che accoglieranno nel mondo dei morti rispettivamente le principesse Tarib-Damu e Tište-Damu, ricevendo da loro un dono di tessili e *bu-di*, la regina di Irkab-Damu non è citata, a differenza di donne della corte anche appartenenti a una generazione precedente alla sua: ella non aveva avuto figli e il ricordo del suo brevissimo regno sembra essere del tutto svanito.

Ora, prendiamo in considerazione il testo mu-DU di argento e oro ARET XIV, 8, datato nel colofone (§27) al 6° anno, con ogni probabilità in riferimento al regno di Irkab-Damu. Il testo deve appartenere al "premierato" di Tir, il cui apporto è registrato al primo posto e ammonta a quasi 132 mine di argento e a una mina di oro contro quello di Darmia, inserito al terzo posto e di 67 mine e 10 sicli di argento e 5 mine e 50 sicli di oro, mentre non è registrato alcun apporto di Arrugum. Si noti anche la presenza della coppia di giudici Ladad ed Enna-II, invece di Ibdur-Išar ed Enna-II, che ricorre nei testi mu-DU del "premierato" di Arrugum, e anche di parte del 2° anno del "premierato" di Tir (cf. POMPONIO 2025a, n. 6). Ciò concorda perfettamente con la corrispondenza del 6° anno del regno di Irkab-Damu con il 1° anno del "premierato" di Tir (cf. POMPONIO 2025a). ARET XIV, 8/22-23 registrano gli apporti, rispettivamente di 6 mine e 20 sicli e di una mina di argento da parte di un appartenente alla categoria dei lugal-lugal, Gadamu, all'en e alla *māliktum*. Inoltre, il registro di tessili ARET XX, 1, che menziona tre lugal appartenenti al periodo di "premierato" di Darmia e di Tir, e, quindi, alla pari di ARET XIV, 8, sembra precedente al "premierato" di Arrugum, come è suggerito anche dalle caratteristiche arcaiche della spessore e della grafia della tavoletta (cf. ARET XX: 5), registra l'assegnazione di ben 32 zara₆-tug₂ alla *māliktum* (§10), che segue immediatamente quella di un'imponente quantità di argento e oro per centinaia di manufatti, e in aggiunta di 45 tessili, all'en, che è senz'altro Irkab-Damu. Tutti questi doni sembrerebbero essere in relazione alle nozze di Irkab-Damu e della sua *māliktum*.

Infine, vi è il testo MEE II, 48, dove sono registrate una ventina di offerte a divinità, alcune delle quali ricorrono più volte, in particolare Kura, Dagan in varie ipostasi e Ada. Solo in qualche caso sono indicati gli autori di queste offerte, che sono l'en e la *māliktum* (a Rasap di 'Atani), altre due volte la *māliktum* (a Dagan di Ziwadu e a Kura di Šilaha), due principesse, Tirin-Damu e Zar'iq-Damu, e Ir'ib-Damu, fratello del re Irkab-Damu. Il colofone, dopo aver definito il testo "un registro di doni agli dèi", aggiunge quello che dovrebbe essere il periodo durante il quale tutte queste offerte furono presentate: *āš-tù nídba na-rú 7 mu 6 mu 5 mu 4 mu 3 mu 2 mu*. Più interpretazioni sono possibili per questo passo: partendo dal "(l'anno del) l'offerta della/all'a stele", che, come ipotizzato da POMPONIO 2025b, dovrebbe essere la forma abbreviata del nome del settimo e ultimo anno del predecessore di Irkab-Damu, Igriš-Halab, si può procedere per i sette anni verso il passato, cioè verso il regno di Igriš-Halab, o verso il futuro, cioè verso i primi sette anni di Irkab-Damu. In entrambi i casi, gli anni sono elencati come "settultimo, sestultimo, ecc.", come avviene per tre anni (15-17) del "premierato" di Ibrum (cf. ARET XIV, 68-70: quartultimo, terzultimo, penultimo). Nella prima ipotesi, l'en e la *māliktum* autori dei doni votivi sarebbero Igriš-Halab e Kešdut, nella seconda Irkab-Damu e la sua regina. Per la seconda ipotesi, anche se non possiamo precisare a quale dei primi anni di Irkab-Damu siano da assegnare i tre doni della *māliktum*, la sua menzione precede in ogni caso il lustro del "premierato" di Arrugum. La datazione più antica, e che sarebbe da attribuire anche a MEE II, 49, un registro che somma l'impiego dell'argento per "acquisti" e "scambi", oltre che per "doni agli dèi", ci sembra, comunque, preferibile.

Ora, qualunque sia la datazione di MEE II, 48, se il matrimonio di Irkab-Damu fu celebrato durante il “premierato” di Arrugum, come indicato da ARET XI, 1,⁵⁾ come è possibile che sia menzionata una sua regina almeno due anni prima, cioè durante il “premierato” di Tir, come indicato da ARET XIV, 8 e ARET XX, 1?

Note

1. Si è ritenuto che il nome di questa regina fosse Kešdūt (cf. e.g. ARCHI 2015: 167, n. 19; ARCHI 2016: 6-8; ARCHI 2021: 7; ARET XX: 187) o in alternativa che Kešdūt fosse la regina di Igriš-Halab (cf. e.g. ARCHI 1996: 102; ARCHI 2021: 18, n. 43; ARET XIV: 11-12, 38; ARET XXI: 250), e quindi probabilmente la madre di Irkab-Damu. Ma nel testo mu-DU ARET XIV, 5a le prime tre voci registrano l’assegnazione di vari tipi di tessili nell’ordine all’en, a Kešdūt e a Irkab-Damu, in numero di molte centinaia per i primi due e di soli 25 per Irkab-Damu, e la quarta voce registra l’argento, l’oro e il bronzo presenti nel magazzino di Kešdūt: è evidente, quindi, che costei era la regina dell’en e non di Irkab-Damu. Poiché, in menzioni di offerte a importanti donne defunte, Kešdūt precede regolarmente Tarkab-Dulum (cf. ARCHI 1996: 103; ARET XII, 199), e questa donna a sua volta precede i due fratelli Irkab-Damu e Irib-Damu in un registro di tessili (cf. ARET XIV: 38), è inoltre evidente che Kešdūt appartenga a una generazione precedente Irkab-Damu. Infine, il nome di Kešdūt è assegnato a una sua discendente, figlia di Iš’ar-Damu, che andrà sposa al figlio del re di Kiš, e il nome di una sventurata regina come la *mālikum* di Irkab-Damu non avrebbe certo costituito un buon *omen* per la neonata. Di contro, la prima Kešdūt, morta nel primo anno di Enna-Dagan di Mari, e che sarebbe sopravvissuta, quindi, per otto anni al suo sposo Igriš-Halab, fu per un buon numero di anni la donna più influente della corte eblaita, seguita in questa posizione dalla nuova regina madre Dusigu,

2. Per il rapporto nei due rituali tra la regalità e le nozze del sovrano, cf. da ultimo ARCHI 2021: 5-7.

3. Il testo ARET XIV, 48a, che esordisce con un apporto di Arrugum per la cerimonia di purificazione del re, registra anche gli apporti forniti da sette toponimi, con ogni probabilità dai loro rispettivi sovrani, e da un certo Dasimu. Il personaggio, per la cui morte il sovrano è purificato, è indicato per due volte e solo come dumu-nita ÊXPAP. In ARET XIV: 148 si ipotizza che si tratti del bambino il cui parto sarebbe costato la vita alla regina, l’anno prima. Ciò si addice al fatto che il defunto non è indicato con il nome, trattandosi di un neonato, ma presuppone che la *mālikum* sarebbe vissuta dopo le nozze almeno il tempo sufficiente a mettere al mondo un bambino. A noi sembra più verosimile si tratti di un figlio di Irkab-Damu, morto in tenera età, da una dam-en sconosciuta, all’incirca nel medesimo periodo in cui venne alla luce Iš’ar-Damu.

4. Il defunto in questione deve essere Abur-Dašin, citato subito prima (r. iii 21-iv 3), e per il cui ÊXPAP sono offerti 5 aktum-túg e 1 *gu-zi-tum*. Questo personaggio è da identificare con lo šeš-II-eb di ARET XII, 465 II’ ed era un dumu-en di Igriš-Halab (cf. ARET XV, 26 r. viii 19).

5. Poiché è certo che l’anno delle nozze della *mālikum* di Irkab-Damu fu anche quello della sua morte andrebbe considerato per la datazione di queste nozze/esequie anche ARET I, 30, un testo di mu-DU di tessili e di quantità e di manufatti di argento e oro. Qui l’apporto di Manutium (§32) è un dono (*níg-ba*) per l’unzione del capo di Irkab-Damu, eccezionalmente citato con il suo nome e non con il titolo di en (cf. ARCHI 2019: 148, n. 15). Il funerale per il quale si svolge questo rito di purificazione, data la ricchezza del “dono” (4 tessili di alta qualità, 1 cintura variopinta, un completo di cintura-guaina-pugnale ricurvo di argento e oro, due pugnali amorrei d’oro), deve essere quello della sua *mālikum*. Ora, tra i lugal autori di apporti ricorrono sia Arrugum (§2), sia Tir (§6) e il loro apporto è identico (un completo di tre tessili di alta qualità e un completo di cintura-guaina-pugnale ricurvo di argento) e tra i più alti, all’incirca equivalente a quello di Dubišum, che è citato al primo posto (2 tessili di alta qualità e una lamina di oro). Non sembra, quindi, possibile stabilire chi sia, tra Arrugum e Tir, il “primo ministro” per il testo in questione.

Bibliografia

- ARCHI, A., 1996, Les femmes du roi Irkab-Damu, *Amurru* 1, 101-124.
 ——— 2002, Jewels for the Ladies of Ebla, *ZA* 92, 161-199.
 ——— 2015, Toward a Chronology of Early Dynastic Rulers in Mesopotamia”, in W. Sallaberger – I. Schrakamp (eds), *Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean. History & Philology* («ARCANE» 3), Turnhout, 163-179.
 ——— 2016, Ebla and Mari – 2381/2380-2369 BC, in J. Patrier – Ph. Quenet – P. Butterlin (eds.), *Mille et une empreintes. Un Alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l’honneur du 65^e anniversaire de Dominique Beyer, Subartu XXXVI*, Turnhout, 1-16.
 ——— 2019, The Defeat of Mari and the Fall of Ebla (EB IVA). Focusing on the Philological Data, *Or* 88, 141-190.
 ——— 2021, The Royal Wedding at Ebla: Commemorative Rite and the Birth of the Crown Prince, *StEb* 7, 1-32.
 BIGA, M. G., 2016, La regina madre Dusigu e la regina Tabur-Damu. Suocera e nuora alla corte di Ebla (Siria, XXIV secolo a.C.), *Henoch* 38, 198-207.
 ——— 2007-2008, Sepolti tra i vivi. Buried among the Dead, in G. Bartoloni – M. G. Benedettini (eds.), *Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato. Roma, 26-29 aprile 2006, Scienze delle Antichità* 14, 249-275.
 POMPONIO, F., 2025a, Sulla cronologia dei re di Ebla e di Mari e dei capi dell’amministrazione eblaita, *NABU* 2025/103.
 ——— 2025b, Sulla morte di due re di Ebla, *NABU* 2025/105.

Francesco POMPONIO <nabium@virgilio.it>

105) Sulla morte di due re di Ebla — Dei regni dei due ultimi re di Ebla, cui è da attribuire la totalità della documentazione economico-amministrativa dell'Ebla degli Archivi Reali (con rarissime eccezioni, come forse i registri di argento MEE II, 48-49), conosciamo ormai la durata: 12 anni per il regno di Irkab-Damu (cf. POMPONIO 2025a) e 35 per quello del figlio Iš'ar-Damu, la cui morte coincide con la distruzione della città di Ebla (cf. ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 6-7).

Il testo di tessili TM.75.G.1938 che menziona la presenza di lamentatrici presso la tomba di Irkab-Damu (v. xiii 14'-17': 4 KIN siki 4 dam *ra-zi-ma-tum* al₆ ÉxPAP *ir-kab-da-mu*; cf. BIGA 2007-2008: 253-254) fu redatto nel mese della morte del re, ma il nome di questo mese è perduto. Irkab-Damu scomparve nello stesso anno in cui morì, nel primo mese, il suo “primo ministro” Arrugum. ARCHI 2015: 166^{n.17} ipotizza che tra la morte di Arrugum e del suo re passasse meno di un mese, poiché nello stesso MAT (ARET XV, 47) sono citate le offerte funerarie per Arrugum (§53) e per il re (en ÉxPAP: §104), ammontante però solo al completo di 1 *gu-zi-TÚG* e 1 *fb-III-sa₆-gùn*, ovviamente troppo modesta per le esequie reali. Inoltre, poiché nel medesimo testo lo stesso completo di 1 *gu-zi-TÚG* e 1 *fb-III-sa₆-gùn* è offerto a Igriš-Halab (*ig-rí-iš-ha-lab₄* ÉxPAP: §88) defunto da una dozzina di anni, è certo che qui en non sia il sovrano in carica, cioè Irkab-Damu, ma un en da tempo defunto di cui non è indicato il nome e che, alla pari di Igriš-Halab, avrebbe dovuto accogliere nell'Oltretomba un recente morto e da lui ricevere i tessili registrati: questa recluta del mondo dei morti potrebbe essere Arrugum, ma più probabilmente si tratta del principe Sag-Damu, di cui, sempre nel nostro MAT (§103), immediatamente prima dell'en succitato, è registrato il corredo funerario, ammontante a un completo di tre tessili di alta qualità, una lamina e un pugnale amorreo d'oro con una cintura d'argento. Diversamente ARCHI 2022 scrive di diversi mesi che separano la morte di Arrugum e del suo re. Qualunque sia questo intervallo, Irkab-Damu ebbe il tempo di scegliere, e fu un'ottima scelta, il successore di Arrugum, Ibrium.

Delle modalità della morte di Irkab-Damu non sappiamo alcunché, anche se è molto probabile che morì giovane, dopo un regno di dodici anni, cinque/sette anni dopo la morte della sua regina e pochissimi anni dopo la nascita del suo erede. Ora, una sconfitta di Mari è riportata dalla notizia di un MAT del mandato di Arrugum (ARET XV, 18/21: VIII mese) e questa sconfitta è da identificare con quella subita da Mari che dà il nome a un anno (*mu ma-r^{ki} àga-kár àš-ti 'à-ti-id_x^{ki}*) in un breve testo che registra un dono ad Adad di Irkab-Damu (ARET VII, 115). Poiché 'Atid(u), il luogo dove avvenne la battaglia, appartiene al territorio di Ebla (cf. ARCHI 2019: 147), questa vittoria su Mari nel nome di anno di un testo che cita Irkab-Damu non può che essere attribuita a Ebla e, data la succitata menzione in un MAT di Arrugum, deve essere attribuita all'ultimo lustro del regno di Irkab-Damu. Con più precisione ARCHI 2022: 103 la assegna all'anno che precede quello in cui morirono, oltre a Irkab-Damu e Arrugum, anche Enna-Dagan, re di Mari, poiché la morte di entrambi i re è attribuita alle ferite riportate nello scontro ad 'Atid(u), che comunque, nel caso di Irkab-Damu, sarebbe avvenuta a non meno di undici mesi da questa battaglia (cf. ARCHI 2019: 148), sulla base del MAT MEE VII, 23 (VII mese) che ricorda una malattia dell'en: *al₆ tu-ra en* (v. vi 1-3). Tuttavia, questo en infermo non può essere Irkab-Damu perché MEE VII, 23 è da assegnare al mandato di Ibbi-Zikir e, a mia conoscenza, non vi è un'altra motivazione per questa assegnazione della vittoria su Mari al penultimo anno di Irkab-Damu.

Due testi di uscite di metallo prezioso, rispettivamente di argento (ARET XXI, 1) e di oro (MEE X, 4), e un testo mu-DU di argento, altri metalli e tessili (ARET XIV, 54) furono redatti per l'ultimo anno di Irkab-Damu e menzionano la morte del sovrano con la medesima, eccezionale formula: *in ud ir-kab-da-mu si-mi TIL-sù*, “quando per Irkab-Damu fu stabilita la sua fine” (cf. ARET XXI: 6). Non sappiamo se questa formula si riferisca a una particolare morte del re o sia un eufemismo per indicare la fine del sovrano di Ebla.¹ Il numero 10+1 che conclude il testo mu-DU, è stato interpretato da ultimo come “‘eleventh year of Irkab-damu’, or ‘tenth year of Irkab-damu, first year of the minister Ibrium’ ” (cf. ARET XXI: 6). Poiché il regno di Irkab-Damu coprì 12 anni, riteniamo la prima interpretazione quella corretta, considerando che il primo anno di regno di Irkab-Damu, ovviamente parziale, era ancora attribuito al regno di Igriš-Halab.

Quest'ultimo anno di Igriš-Halab (e primo di Irkab-Damu) sembra indicato con la formula *DIŠ mu nídba na-rú i[g-rí-iš]-ha-lab₄* [en *ib-la^{ki}*], “Anno dell'offerta della stele di Igriš-Halab, re di Ebla”, che data una lettera *en-ma* di Irkab-Damu, “re di Ebla”, a un innominato re di Kablul (ARET XIII, 2/4). La stessa formula (in ud nídba na-rú *ig-rí-iš-ha-làb en ib-la^{ki}*), pure in riferimento all'ultimo anno di Igriš-

Halab, menzionato anche nel colofone, ricorre dopo le due prime voci di un testo mu-DU di giš-gu-kak-gíd-RU (ARET XIV, 4/1-2), di cui il “primo ministro” deve essere Darmia e, in forma abbreviata, è impiegata:

1) dopo la prima voce di un testo mu-DU di argento, in cui pure il “primo ministro” potrebbe essere Darmia (ARET XIV, 5/1: *in ud nídba na-rú*);

2) nel colofone di due testi mu-DU di argento e manufatti di metallo (ARET XIV, 9/28 e 12/18: *nídba na-rú*), dove è seguita dalla data 7 mu.² Questi due testi registrano gli apporti del medesimo anno e il primo menziona i funzionari più importanti, che apportano quindi quantità di argento molto più abbondanti e anche quantità di oro. Il “primo ministro” deve essere Darmia, menzionato al primo posto e che dovrebbe consegnare l’apporto più ricco, anche se esso, alla pari di quello di Tir, citato al terzo posto, è parzialmente lacunoso. Il “premierato” di Darmia suggerisce che il finale 7 mu (§28) si riferisca non al settimo anno di Irkab-Damu (cf. ARET XIV: 52), ma al settimo e, data la presenza della formula *nídba na-rú*, ultimo anno di Igriš-Halab.

3) nel colofone di un “registro” di argento impiegato per doni agli dèi, in cui il totale delle quantità di argento è seguito da un elenco di x mu che vanno da 7 a 2 (MEE II, 48 v. viii 2-ix 2: *áš-tù nídba na-rú 7 mu ... 2 mu*; cf. POMPONIO 2025b). Anche in questo testo la “offerta alle stele” dovrebbe riferirsi al settimo/ultimo anno di Igriš-Halab.

Avremmo, quindi, dagli ultimi tre testi l’indicazione della durata, piuttosto breve, del regno del terzultimo re di Ebla. Tutto il suo regno deve essere coinciso con la prima parte di quello di Iblul-II di Mari. La brevità del regno di Igriš-Halab si addice all’ascesa al trono del figlio Irkab-Damu da giovane e anche al fatto che in due testi mu-DU (ARET XIV, 1-2) sono registrate insieme quantità di metallo prezioso accumulate durante il suo regno e durante quello del quintultimo re di Ebla, Kun-Damu. La formula “offerta della stele” potrebbe costituire un altro eufemismo per menzionare la morte di un sovrano di Ebla.

Infine, in un breve registro di uscite di oro, argento e rame a-gar₅-gar₅ una mina di rame ha come destinazione: *ig-rí-iš-ha-lab₄ en eb-la^{ki} na-rú*, “per Igriš-Halab, re di Ebla, per la (sua) stele”, seguita dall’indicazione che “i fabbri fecero la stele” nell’ ‘Anno del viaggio di Tarkab-Dulum a Kakmium’ “ (MEE II, 45). Non sappiamo a che anno si riferisca questo viaggio della principessa di più anziana generazione Tarkab-Dulum a Kakmium, dove sposerà un componente della famiglia reale (cf. ARCHI 1996: 104), a cui partorirà due figlie, come risulterebbe da due MAT di Arrugum (ARET XV, 13/41-43: II mese; ARET XV/27, 85: VI mese) e un figlio (cf. ARET III, 341 r. ii 1’-6’). È possibile che esso sia uno dei primissimi anni del regno di Irkab-Damu e che la modesta quantità di rame registrata fosse impiegata per una riparazione della stele che qualche anno prima aveva commemorata la morte di Igriš-Halab o che si tratti proprio del primo anno di Irkab-Damu e che la costruzione della stele, menzionata nel nome di anno precedente, non fosse ancora terminata.

Note

1. Comunque, in un testo di cancelleria riguardante le imprese di un capo di Ibal durante il periodo della morte di Irkab-Damu, la formula di datazione riguardante la scomparsa di questo re è quella normalmente impiegata per indicare la morte di un individuo: *DIŠ mu TIL en ir-kab-da-mu* (ARET XIII, 13 r. i 4-7). Cf. anche il colofone del testo mu-DU ARET XIV, 55/32: 2 mu TIL en, che è certo Irkab-Damu, e il frammento ARET XII, 1145: [] TIL *ir-kab-da-mu*.

2. Per altre due citazioni della formula in *ud nídba na-rú* cf. ARCHI 1998: 19, cui è da aggiungere la medesima formula attribuita ad Arrugum in ARET XIV, 52/15. Molto più frequente è la formula in *ud húl na-rú*, “in occasione della festa della stele” (cf. *ibid.*, 17-18).

Bibliografia

- ARCHI, A., 1996, Les femmes du roi Irkab-Damu, in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites : dix ans de travaux*, Amurru 1, Paris, 1996 1, 101-124.
- 1998, The stele (narú) in the Ebla documents, in J. Braun *et alii* (eds.), *Written on Clay and Stone. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzyńska on the Occasion of her 80th Birthday*, Warsaw, 15-24.
- 2015, The Chronology of Ebla and Synchronisms with Abarsal, Tuttul, Nagar and Nabada, Mari, Kish, in W. Sallaberger - I. Schrakamp (eds.), *Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean. History & Philology* (ARCANE) 3, Turnhout, 163-179.
- 2019, The Defeat of Mari and the Fall of Ebla (EB IVA). Focusing on the Philological Data, *Or* 88, 141-190.

- 2022, *Minima Eblaitica* 26: A Point of history: the Death of King Irkab-damu, and the Synchronism between the Death of two Kings of Mari and two Kings of Kakmium, *NABU* 2022/46.
- ARCHI, A. and BIGA, M. G., 2003. A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla, *JCS* 53, 1-44.
- BIGA, M. G., 2007-2008, Sepolti tra i vivi. Buried among the Dead, in G. Bartoloni – M. G. Benedettini (eds.), *Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato. Roma, 26-29 aprile 2006*, Scienze delle Antichità 14, 249-275.
- POMPONIO, F., 2025a, Sulla cronologia dei re di Ebla e di Mari e dei capi dell'amministrazione eblaita, *NABU* 2025/103.
- 2025b, Un problema riguardante la regina di Irkab-Damu, *NABU* 2025/104.

Francesco POMPONIO <nabium@virgilio.it>

106) Sargon, Mari e la distruzione di Ebla — Sargon è stato considerato per lungo tempo, in alternativa a Narām-Sîn, colui che distrusse Ebla degli Archivi Reali, ma in un fondamentale articolo (ARCHI – BIGA 2003) questa distruzione è stata per la prima volta attribuita a Mari, che si sarebbe così vendicata dell'attacco subito pochi anni prima, anche se la spedizione eblaita si sarebbe arrestata dopo una vittoria sul campo presso Terqa, senza investire la città nemica. Il motivo del mancato compimento dell'ultima spedizione di Ebla contro Mari sarebbe stato la necessità di intervenire a sostegno dell'alleata Nagar attaccata da Armi (cf. ARET XX: 179) ovvero in soccorso, un po' tardivo, dell'altra sua alleata Harran, attaccata e già sconfitta da Armi (cf. ARCHI 2011: 19). Nel corso di queste vicende il re di Mari Hidar sarebbe stato ferito e fatto prigioniero insieme a un suo figlio, tornando sul trono alla conclusione delle trattative di pace nell'anno seguente l'inizio delle ostilità. La particolareggiata ricostruzione di questa guerra tra Ebla e Mari è basata non su iscrizioni ufficiali, ma solo sulle motivazioni di assegnazioni registrate in alcuni testi amministrativi, l'AAM (*Annual Account of Metals*) di IZ 13 e alcuni MATs (*Monthly Account of Textiles*) di IZ 13-14. Ma una ricostruzione affatto diversa dell'avvenimento è stata presentata da J.-M. DURAND 2012: Ebla sarebbe intervenuta con i suoi alleati, tra cui Nagar e Kiš, per rimettere sul trono il re di Mari, spodestato da uno sconosciuto ribelle e riparato a Ebla con la regina Paba, mentre le città maggiori del suo regno potrebbero aver appoggiato l'usurpatore. Qualche anno dopo ci sarebbe stata la conquista di Mari da parte di Sargon, che avrebbe insediato un nuovo re, forse Išgi-Mari, affiancato dal primo degli *šakkanakku*, *i-de-de-e* (cf. DURAND 2024), che in Mari avrebbero per decenni assicurata la fedeltà ad Accad. Dopo di che *ì-dì-da* avrebbe guidato l'esercito sargonico nell'attacco mortale a Ebla, come narrato da un testo letterario di scuola (DURAND 2012: 122-127).

Ora, noi sappiamo che l'ultimo re di Mari menzionato nei testi di Ebla è Hidar e che a lui deve esser successo Išgi-Mari, l'ultimo re presargonico di Mari. Costui sembra essere stato un re relativamente potente, come suggerisce il titolo di “énsi-gal di Enlil”, che segue quello di “re di Mari” sia su una piccola statua, sia in una delle due impronte del suo sigillo impresse su numerose cretule (RIME 1: 341-343), mentre sul registro inferiore della scena del sigillo è raffigurata una scena di battaglia, con un carro da guerra cui sembrerebbe appesa la testa di un nemico (cf. ARCHI 2021: 166-167), che tuttavia non può essere Iš'ar-Damu o Ibbi-Zikir, la cui fine è da attribuire a Hidar. Pertanto, al regno di Išgi-Mari, cui sono attribuiti otto anni (cf. RIME 1: 341), non sembra convenire la convivenza con uno *šakkanakku* sargonico. E c'è un altro elemento da prendere in considerazione: il venir meno della documentazione di Ebla degli Archivi Reali deve coincidere con la distruzione della città e, quindi, gli ultimi documenti di Ebla sono i testi da assegnare agli anni finali del “premierato” di Ibbi-Zikir, che durò 17 anni, corrispondendo l'ultimo anno al 35^{mo} anno del suo re Iš'ar-Damu. Noi conosciamo molti avvenimenti del “premierato” di Ibbi-Zikir, come di quello del padre Ibrium, sia dai MATs, sia dagli AAMs, soprattutto grazie alle notizie (níg-mul_x) di tali avvenimenti, recate da ufficiali alla corte eblaita e ricompensate con tessili e/o con manufatti di metallo. Questi avvenimenti, per lo più di carattere militare, ma anche politico, religioso e amministrativo, potevano riguardare sia il regno di Ebla, sia altri regni della Siria e, in qualche caso, regioni più remote. Ora, come è possibile che un avvenimento così importante come l'occupazione di Mari da parte delle truppe di Sargon e le operazioni che devono averla preceduta siano passate completamente sotto silenzio? È vero che gli AAMs di IZ 15-17 sono rappresentati complessivamente solo da pochi frammenti (cf. ARCHI 2019a: 145), ma i MATs sono numerosi e integri. L'unica spiegazione possibile sembra essere che, allorché Ebla fu distrutta, l'occupazione di Mari non era ancora avvenuta. Più precisamente possiamo ipotizzare che tra la distruzione di Ebla e l'annessione di Mari allo stato sargonico siano intercorsi gli estremi anni del lungo

regno di Hidar e con ogni probabilità il regno di Išgi-Mari, per un periodo di almeno una decina di anni. Ma poiché Sargon non può esser arrivato, con un raid o con una più lenta spedizione, a distruggere Ebla senza controllare Mari e il suo territorio, la conclusione è che non fu Sargon a distruggere Ebla e che la sua occupazione di Mari fu posteriore alla distruzione di Ebla. Ovviamente, assunto il controllo di Mari, il re di Accad poté senza alcuna difficoltà annetterci anche la regione a ovest, quella che, sino a qualche anno prima, era stata il vasto regno di Ebla, e con essa quanto restava della città degli Archivi Reali, vantandosi di aver ricevuto da Dagan il *mātum alitum* con Ebla dopo Mari e Jarmuti (RIME 2, 28-29, ll. 20-28). Tuttavia, Ebla non è citata tra i nemici più lontani che rendono omaggio a Sargon, come invece lo sono le ancora potenti Mari a ovest ed Elam a est (RIME 2: 12, ll. 86-93; 15, ll. 93-99). Tanto più sarebbe stata rapida l'annessione di Ebla, se il suo territorio apparteneva ormai a Mari.

Un altro elemento deve essere considerato. Sargon in questo periodo, per condurre il suo fortunato attacco alla regione siriana, deve esser stato saldamente in possesso della Babilonia settentrionale.¹⁾ L'occupazione di questa regione fu seguita senz'altro prima dalla decisiva vittoria su Lugal-zagesi di Uruk e dalle successive sulle altre città sumeriche (Ur, Lagaš, Giša) con la conquista di tutto Sumer, e poi dalla spedizione in Siria. Quindi Sargon, con il suo regno di 40 anni, seguendo il dato della Lista Reale di redazione neo-sumerica, deve essere stato padrone della Babilonia settentrionale per un non breve periodo, prima dello scontro con Mari, che deve in parte coincidere con gli ultimi anni del "premierato" di Ibbi-Zikir. E allora perché non troviamo alcuna menzione nei testi eblaiti di Sargon, né dei suoi figli Rimuš e Manišusu e nemmeno di Accad? Una spiegazione può essere che Sargon sia menzionato sotto il titolo di en/lugal di Kiš, che ovviamente era il centro più importante della Babilonia settentrionale, mentre è molto meno probabile che questo titolo, tanto simile a quello portato da Sargon e dai suoi successori (lugal-kiš), sia da assegnare a uno dei suoi figli insediato dal padre come governatore di questa città. Ciò presuppone che la Kiš babilonese sia da identificare con la Kiš menzionata in più di un'ottantina di testi amministrativi eblaiti, a partire dal "premierato" di Ibrium. Ora, l'ultimo e più importante rapporto tra Ebla e questa Kiš fu il matrimonio di Kešdūt, la figlia della coppia reale di Ebla, con un membro della famiglia reale di Kiš. Il matrimonio della principessa eblaita, pur citato spesso, risulta messo in rapporto con Kiš in un unico testo,²⁾ dove si menziona il re di Kiš: *in u₄ ni-mu-sá bur-kak Kéš-du-ut en KIŠ^{ki}* (cf. ARCHI 1987: 138, 10), ma di norma si ritiene che lo sposo sia il figlio del re, probabilmente sulla base dell'età giovanissima di Kešdūt e del parallelo con Nagar, con il matrimonio, avvenuto pochi anni prima, di un'altra principessa eblaita, Tagriš-Damu, con un figlio del suo re (cf. BIGA 1998). Il matrimonio, chiunque fosse lo sposo, avvenne in IZ 16, poco più di un anno prima della distruzione di Ebla. Ma che Sargon dalla Babilonia settentrionale non sia intervenuto in difesa della sua alleata, e patria della propria regina o principessa, sembra altamente inverosimile da parte della città che pochi anni prima aveva ripetutamente fornito di carne le truppe eblaita contro Mari (cf. ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 16). Se, di contro, fosse esatta la ricostruzione di J.-M. Durand, Kiš avrebbe prima appoggiato Ebla e circa quattro anni dopo, e proprio poco dopo il matrimonio di Kešdūt con il re o un principe di Kiš, avrebbe distrutto Ebla. La spiegazione di Durand che esistesse un potere a Kiš distinto da quello di Accad sembra parimenti inverosimile: quale distinzione di poteri vi poteva essere tra Accad e Kiš con Sargon saldamente insediato nella Babilonia settentrionale e che, tra l'altro, decideva la topografia di Kiš (cf. RIME 2: 12, 94-101; 15: 100-108)?

Tuttavia, la Kiš dei testi eblaiti, dove arrivavano da Ebla più di cinquemila bovini e ovini, per non parlare di equidi, maiali e orsi, e un'enorme quantità di orzo (1.153 *gubar*), mentre alcune decine di tartarughe arrivavano da Kiš a Ebla, e con una struttura politico-amministrativa (i "primi ministri" Iškun-Nunu e Dubi-Zuinu, gli *abba_x* e i *maškim*) del tutto simile a quella di una città siriana, dovrebbe essere distinta dalla Kiš babilonese, distante in linea d'aria più di 800 km., e piuttosto da ubicare nelle vicinanze di Nagar (cf. POMPONIO 2013). Questo eliminerebbe le incongruenze su accennate connesse con il matrimonio di Kešdūt e al contempo indicherebbe che i rapporti, almeno quelli di carattere politico-militare, tra Siria e Babilonia settentrionale, erano molto meno stretti di quanto sinora ritenuto: Mari non era abbastanza forte per progetti così ambiziosi, né lo era Kiš, saccheggiata da un qualsiasi Enšakušana di Uruk. Le due regioni, in realtà, sembrano piuttosto separate nel periodo ED IIIb. Tutto cambiò naturalmente con Sargon.

Per tornare all'identità dell'eversore di Ebla, ARCHI 2019a: 183, nel discutere la guerra tra Ebla e Armi in IZ 16, quindi un anno dopo la fine della guerra con Mari e due anni prima della fine di Ebla, non esclude che essa sia da attribuire proprio a un esercito di Armi (Samsat sull'Eufrate anatolico: per la sua ubicazione, cf. ARCHI 2019b: 8-10), che, venendo dal Nord, non doveva superare lo sbarramento di Mari. Non è noto con certezza il risultato di questo conflitto. Considerando la sconfitta (TIL) dell'alleata Utigu, le perdite di Armi e dell'altra sua alleata Abatum, l'insediamento (tuš-LÚ×TIL) di Ruzi-Malik, figlio di Ibbi-Zikir, in Armi (cf. ARCHI 2019a: 181-183), come suo nonno Ibrum lo era stato in Abarsal e suo padre Ibbi-Zikir in Halsum, che suggerirebbe un'occupazione di Armi da parte di Ebla, è molto probabile una vittoria eblaita. Tuttavia, questa potrebbe esser costata cara a Ebla, considerando che il suo ultimo nemico potrebbe aver approfittato non solo di un certo esaurimento delle sue risorse, ma anche del fatto che parte delle truppe potevano essere ancora distratte dal fronte settentrionale. Mari, quindi, è di gran lunga la miglior candidata come vincitrice finale di Ebla. Se Sargon menziona Ebla e Jarmuti tra le sue conquiste, non è certo che per Jarmuti egli si riferisca, come per Ebla, solo al territorio circostante una città distrutta. Ebla e Jarmuti, con il nome di Armānum, sono citate anche in un'iscrizione di Narām-Sîn, ma il fatto che Armānum è citata per prima, solo di essa è ricordato il re catturato e inoltre è precisata accuratamente l'altezza delle varie sezioni delle sue imponenti fortificazioni (RIME 2: 132-135) rende certo che delle due la prima era all'epoca di gran lunga la più potente. Ebla, distrutta da Mari e poi occupata da Sargon, era un'ombra della città resa grande dalle pressoché annuali vittorie di Ibrum e Ibbi-zikir.

Note

1. Non sappiamo quanto tempo sia trascorso tra il saccheggio di Kiš da parte di Enšakušana e la sua annessione da parte di Sargon: anche Accad fu sconfitta dal re di Uruk, come ricorda l'altro suo nome di anno, ma ciò potrebbe aver favorito l'ascesa al potere del *homo novus* Sargon. Il regno di Enšakušana fu piuttosto breve (Marchesi, *ARCANE* 3: 147 scrive di soli due anni certi). Anche per questo è inverosimile che le sconfitte di Kiš negli anni di Ibrum 4, 10-12 (cf. POMPONIO 2013: 72-73) siano da attribuirgli, visto che egli avrebbe passato guerreggiando al nord quattro anni del suo regno, cui dovrebbero essere aggiunti i tre anni dell'assedio a Ġirsu, ipotizzati da Sallaberger – Schrakamp, *ARCANE* 3: 85-86. Ma le sconfitte di Nagar negli anni di Ibrum 3 e 7-8, riferite da funzionari di Mari, così come quelle di Kiš, suggeriscono piuttosto un lungo, continuo conflitto nella medesima regione, la valle del Balih, condotto da Mari.

2. Pure, a sostegno del fatto che il matrimonio riguardò effettivamente un componente della famiglia reale di Kiš, il dono in oggetto (un completo di tre tessuti di alta qualità e due braccialetti di lapislazzuli) sono consegnati (šumu-tag) da Ennani-II "di Ša'um", un ufficiale specializzato in viaggi a Kiš (cf. POMPONIO 2013: 79⁺³⁰).

Bibliografia

- ARCHI, A., 2011, In Search of Armi, *JCS* 63, 5-34.
 ——— 2019a, The Defeat of Mari and the Fall of Ebla (EB IVA). Focusing on the Philological Data, *Or* 88, 141-190.
 ——— 2019b, Wars at the Time of Irkab-Damu, King of Ebla, *Eblaitica* 5, 1-13.
 ——— 2021, Ebla(itologists) and Sumer(ologists): Reasons for a Dialogue, in A. Bramanti et al. (eds.), *Current Research in Early Mesopotamian Studies. Workshop Organized at the 65th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, dubsar 21, Münster, 159-170.
 ARCHI, A. and BIGA, M. G., 2003, A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla, *JCS* 53, 1-44.
 BIGA, M. G. 1998, The Marriage of Eblait Princess Tagriš-Damu with a Son of Nagar's King, in M. Lebeau (ed.), *About Subartu. Studies Devoted to Upper Mesopotamia*, 2 (Subartu IV, 2), Turnhout, 17-22.
 DURAND, J.-M., 2012, Sargon a-t-il détruit la ville de Mari ?, *RA* 106, 117-132.
 ——— 2024, Šakkanakku de Mari, *NABU* 2024/8.
 POMPONIO, F., 2013, Further Considerations on KIŠ in the Ebla Texts, *RA* 107, 71-83.

Francesco POMPONIO <nabium@virgilio.it>

107) Torino 1 14 : un document postdaté provenant de Puzriš-Dagan ? — TCS 217 (CDLI P132003, BDTNS 009421) et Torino 1 14 (CDLI P133839, BDTNS 031898) sont deux documents administratifs provenant de Drehem qui enregistrent des livraisons (mu-ku_x) d'animaux à l'agence centrale du bétail de Puzriš-Dagan, dont deux livraisons distinctes effectuée par l'en d'Inana. Ces deux tablettes sont issues de la même entité administrative, la branche dédiée aux animaux rares et exotiques de l'office des dépenses¹⁾.

Les deux tablettes sont datées du même jour, à savoir SH46/i/23. La première, TCS 217, comporte le nom d'année officiel pour SH46 : mu ki-maš^{ki} u₃ hu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-hul. La seconde, Torino 1 14, présente la formule us₂-sa pour cette même année : mu us₂-sa ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} ba-hul. Pour cette dernière, il aurait pu s'agir

de l'année AS3, mais sous le règne d'Amar-Sin, le formulaire des documents de livraisons (mu-ku_x) comportent toujours la mention d'un administrateur qui prend en charge (i₃-dab₅) la livraison², or ça n'est pas le cas ici, cela plaide pour SH46.

Ces deux documents issus d'une même entité administrative présentent donc deux formules différentes pour noter la date. Jacob Dahl a avancé l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'utilisation de noms d'années us₂-sa temporaires dans l'administration sous Ur III, notamment pour le 1^{er} mois de l'année, indiquait, entre autres, qu'un document avait été établi antérieurement ou ultérieurement à la date inscrite, et pouvait donc être postdaté ou antidaté³. Les deux tablettes présentées ci-dessus semblent étayer cette hypothèse et apportent un éclairage supplémentaire sur l'organisation des livraisons à Puzriš-Dagan.

En effet, il apparaît que Torino 1 14 aurait été rédigé avant l'annonce officielle du nouveau nom d'année et a donc été postdaté⁴. Par ailleurs, ces documents révèlent que deux livraisons distinctes effectuées par une même personne, en l'occurrence l'en d'Inana, pouvaient être enregistrées officiellement le même jour sur des documents rédigés à des moments différents.

Reste à déterminer les raisons du choix de la date d'un tel document. Il pourrait s'agir de la date prévisionnelle de livraison effective du bétail, ou de la date prévisionnelle de sortie des comptes. Une partie des animaux qui entraient et sortaient des comptes de Puzriš-Dagan était destinée à des divinités dans un cadre cultuel, la date de ces offrandes était possiblement connue à l'avance. Comme les livraisons, les transferts et les dépenses étaient traitées administrativement le même jour, ces deux documents ont pu être datés artificiellement du jour de sortie de compte prévue à l'avance⁵.

Notes

1. Les deux textes mentionnent notamment un apport de gazelle (maš-da₃). Pour une description de cet office, voir TSOUPAROPOULOU 2013 § 2.3.2 et 3.2.3.

2. LIU 2017, p. 11 et 154-161.

3. DAHL 2010.

4. Si le nouveau nom d'année n'avait pas encore été diffusé au 27^{ème} jour du premier mois, il est également possible que TCS 217 ait été antidaté.

5. Un document qui enregistre des dépenses (zi-ga) daté de SH46/i/23 n'est malheureusement pas (encore) attesté.

Bibliographie

DAHL, J., 2010, « Naming Ur III Years », dans A. Kleinerman et J. M. Sasson (éds.), *Why Should Someone Who Knows Something Conceal It? Cuneiform Studies in Honor of David I. Owen on His 70th Birthday*, Bethesda, p. 85-93.

LIU, C., 2017, *Organization, Administrative Practices and Written Documentation in Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period (c. 2112-2004 BC). A Case Study of Puzriš-Dagan in the Reign of Amar-Suen*, KEF 3, Münster.

TSOUPAROPOULOU, C., 2013, « A Reconstruction of the Puzriš-Dagan Central Livestock Agency », *CDLJ* 2013: 2.

Sonia MZALI <sonia.mzali@univ-lille.fr>
Université de Lille, UMR 8164-HALMA

108) An Ur III Receipt of Grain from Umma — The tablet published herewith was sold at auction by Bonhams Skinner in Marlborough, Massachusetts on 15 September 2022 (lot 1034).¹⁾ According to a typewritten note included in the lot, the tablet was “[p]resented to the Lunenburg Historical Society by Nichols and Frost, Fitchburg.” The department store Nichols & Frost was in business in Fitchburg, Massachusetts from 1884 to 1956.²⁾

The text records the receipt of barley that was disbursed from the central mill at Umma by the well-known granary official Aradġu. The barley was received by the wife of the Umma textile official Ikalla, and her seal was rolled over both faces of the tablet. The woman's name, Šāt-¹Ea³⁾, and the sealing, which includes traces of a presentation scene, are hitherto unattested in published texts.

Amar-Suen 1 Umma I. 36 × 35 × 10 mm.

obv.	1	0;2.0 še zi ₃ -da lugal e ₂ -kikken-ta	2 bariga of barley for flour in the royal measure, from the mill,
------	---	---	--

		ki ARAD ₂ -ta	from the account of Arad(ĝu),
		dam I ₃ -kal-la	the wife of Ikalla
	5	šu ba-ti	received.
rev.	1	iti še-sag ₁₁ -ku ₅	Month: Harvest (I)
		(space)	
		mu ^d Amar- ^r d ¹ [Suen/ lugal]	Year: Amar-S[uen is king.] (Amar-Suen 1)
seal		Šat- ^{dr} E ₂ [?] -a ² ¹	Šāt- ^r Ea ² ¹ ,
		dumu Lugal-nesaĝ- ^r e ¹	the daughter of Lugal-nesaĝ ^r e ¹ ,
		dam I ₃ -kal-l[a]	the wife of Ikall[a].

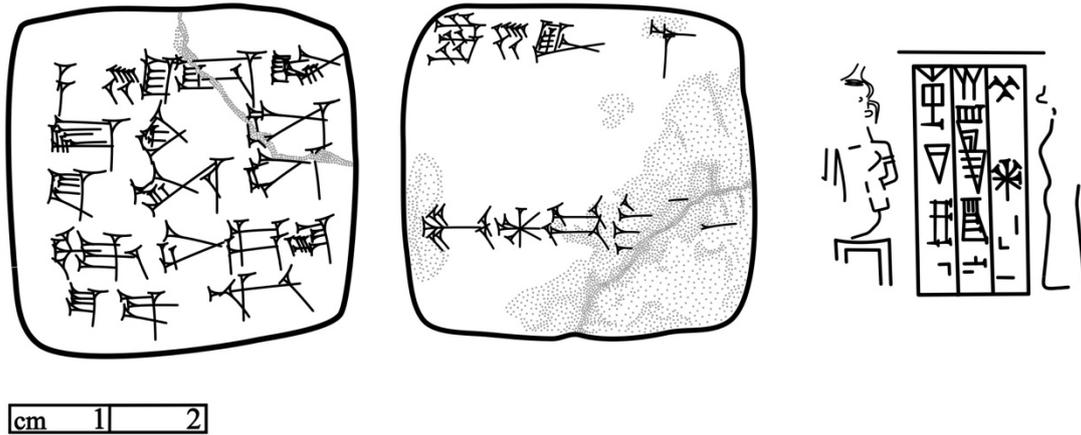


Figure 1. Handcopy of the tablet and sealing (Drawing by the author).



Figure 2. Photos of the tablet (Photos by the author).

Obv. 3: Aradĝu, whose name was often abbreviated to ARAD₂, was a member of the local ruling family and a chief granary official (ka-guru₇) at Umma.³⁾

Obv. 4: Ikalla is almost certainly to be identified with the high-ranking textile official at Umma.⁴⁾ His wife appears thus far only once elsewhere, unnamed, in *AnOr* 1 243, obv. ii 6 (BDTNS 007811, P101234; Šu-Suen 4), listed alongside various officials and their wives as a donor of votive offerings.

Seal 1: The use of the KUR sign for its syllabic value /šat/ is highly unusual in 3rd millennium orthography, for which ša-at is a commonly attested spelling. For example, the name of the Ur III princess Šāt-Eštar is spelled Ša-at-Eš₁₈-tar₂ on her seal.⁵⁾

Notes

1. <https://www.bonhams.com/auction/28113/lot/1034/babylonian-cuneiform-clay-biscuit/>
2. FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2005: 27.
3. For Aradĝu and his role as ka-guru₇ at Umma, see DAHL 2007: 115-121 and JOHNSON 2017.
4. See SPADA & VERDERAME 2013 for a sketch of Ikalla's career.

5. Its sealing can be seen on several tablets from her archive, e.g., *Iraq* 80, 218 1 (BDTNS 193474, P519970; Šu-Suen 5).

Bibliography

DAHL, J., 2007, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma: A Prosopographical Analysis of an Elite Family in Southern Iraq 4000 Years Ago*, PIHANS 108, Leiden.
 FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 2005, *Fitchburg*, Charleston, SC.
 JOHNSON, H., 2017, *Feeding the People: The Social and Economic Role of the Granary in Ur III Umma*, PhD dissertation, University of Liverpool.
 SPADA, G., & VERDERAME, L., 2013, “Ikalla, Scribe of (Wool) Textiles and Linen,” in S. Garfinkle and M. Molina (eds.), *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D. Proceedings of the International Conference on Neo-Sumerian Studies Held in Madrid 22-24 July 2010*, Winona Lake, IN: 425-444.

Sergio TANG <sergio.tang@aya.yale.edu>
 New York, NY (USA)

109) Two Cuneiform Texts and a Cylinder Seal from the University of Memphis¹⁾ — The McWherter Library of the University of Memphis in Tennessee houses two cuneiform texts and a cylinder seal. The first text is an Ur III administrative label from the pisan-dub-ba corpus. The second is a cone bearing a building inscription from the ubiquitous Old Babylonian king of Uruk, Šîn-kāšid. The cylinder seal is of the so-called Mitannian Common Style. All three items were acquired as part of a leaf book set entitled “Pages from the Past.” From 1964 to 1968, a number of these sets were sold by Foliophiles, Inc., a company run by a Washington, D.C., dealer named Alfred W. Stites.²⁾ Each set typically contains 100 to 150 objects and includes a handful of cuneiform tablets and cylinder seals.

No. 1: Ur III label for basket-of-tablets

(Šulgi 48 Umma —) 35 × 35 × 10 mm.

obv.	1	pisan-dub-ba niĝ ₂ -ka ₉ -ak A-ab-ba šabra i ₃ -ĝal ₂	Basket-of-tablets: the balanced accounts of Ayabba, chief household administrator, are here.
rev.	5	mu Ha-ar-šiki/ Ki-maš ^{ki} ba-hul (blank)	Year: Harši (and) Kimaš were destroyed. (Šulgi 48)

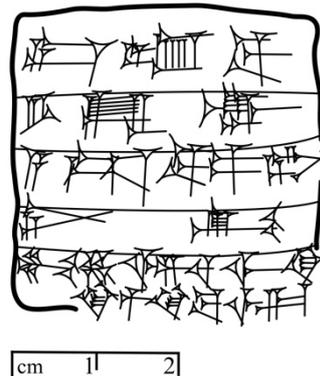


Figure 1. Photo and handcopy of the label (Photo by Michelle Duerr and drawing by the author).

At the end of a fiscal period, Ur III scribes tallied up the transactions of their bureau for a summation of its credits and debits in a “balanced account” (niĝ₂-ka₉-ak). These documents were eventually filed away for long-term storage in a container, called a “basket-of-tablets” (pisan-dub-ba), to which a clay label was attached with a cord to identify its contents.³⁾ As a result, pisan-dub-ba labels have one or two holes on their left edges. This label belongs to the records of Ayabba, who was a chief household administrator at

Umma and was one of the officials charged with providing corvée labor for the Tummal project under Šulgi.⁴⁾

No. 2: Building inscription of Šin-kāšid on clay cone (RIME 4.4.1.4)

33 × 55 mm.

1	^d <i>Šin-ka₃-ši-id</i> nita kala-ga lugal Unu ^{ki} -ga lugal <i>Am-na-nu-um</i>	Šin-kāšid, mighty man, king of Uruk, king of the Amnānum,
5	u ₂ -a E ₂ -an-na u ₄ E ₂ -an-na mu-du ₃ -a e ₂ -gal nam-lugal-la-ka-ni	provider of the Eanna, when he built the Eanna, he built his royal palace.
10	mu-du ₃	

No. 3: Mitannian Common Style cylinder seal

c. 1500–1200 BCE; provenience unknown. 11 × 22 mm; faience.



Figure 2. Photos of the seal and its impression (Photos by Michelle Duerr).

The seal shows a row of six stylized human heads, facing right and wearing characteristic Mitannian round caps and chignons, arranged between a foliate herringbone motif above and a crosshatch pattern set off by double lines below. Single line borders frame the seal at the top and bottom. The seal’s composition places it in SALJE 1990’s Motivgruppe 1.4.⁵⁾ The horizontal vegetal herringbone and crosshatch motifs appear often on Mitannian Common Style seals, and a seal from Beth Shan (PARKER 1949: no. 115) features a row of four human heads below a crosshatch band.⁶⁾

Notes

1. The three items are published with the kind permission of Gerald Chaudron, Head of Special Collections at the University of Memphis Libraries. The editions and cuneiform copy were completed from photographs and measurements taken by Brigitte Billeaudeau, Michelle Duerr, and Charles Griffith. I am grateful to all four of them for their generous assistance. Many thanks also to Agnete Lassen for her helpful suggestions while searching for parallels to the cylinder seal.

2. WICK & PIRONE 2015.

3. TSOUPAROPOULOU 2017: 622-624; STEINKELLER 2003: 37-44.

4. STEINKELLER 2013: 362-369; MOLINA 2013: 134.

5. See SALJE 1990: 37-8, 203 for discussion and comparanda.

6. Another seal from Gezer (PARKER 1949: no. 94) has a similar herringbone motif.

Bibliography

MOLINA, M., 2013, “Court Officials at Umma in Ur III Times.” *ZA* 103: 125-148.

PARKER, B., 1949, “Cylinder Seals from Palestine.” *Iraq* 11: 1-43.

SALJE, B., 1990, *Der “Common Style” der Mitanni-Glyptik und die Glyptik der Levante und Zyperns in der Späten Bronzezeit*, BagF 11, Mainz.

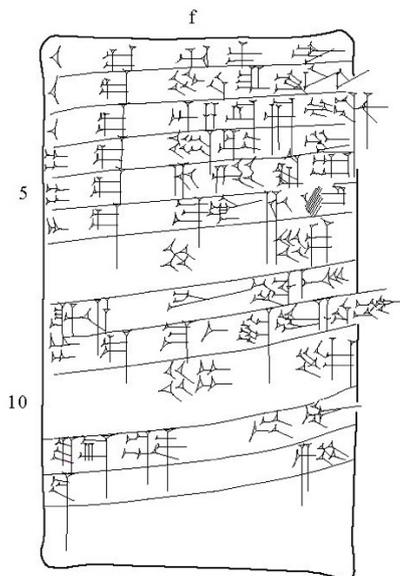
STEINKELLER, P., 2003, “Archival Practices at Babylonia in the Third Millennium,” in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, Oxford: 37-58.

- 2013, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” in S. Garfinkle and M. Molina (eds.), *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D. Proceedings of the International Conference on Neo-Sumerian Studies Held in Madrid 22-24 July 2010*, Winona Lake, IN: 347-424.
- TSOUPAROPOULOU, C., 2017, “‘Counter-Archaeology’: Putting the Ur III Drehem Archives Back in the Ground,” in Y. Heffron, A. Stone, and M. Worthington (eds.), *At the Dawn of History: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J. N. Postgate*, Winona Lake, IN: 611-629.
- WICK, H. & PIRONE, A., 2015, *Pages from the Past: Original leaves from Rare Books and Manuscripts: Manuscript Group 178*, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, <https://libweb1.library.iup.edu/depts/speccol/All%20Finding%20Aids/Finding%20aids/MG%20or%20Col/MG178Word.pdf>.

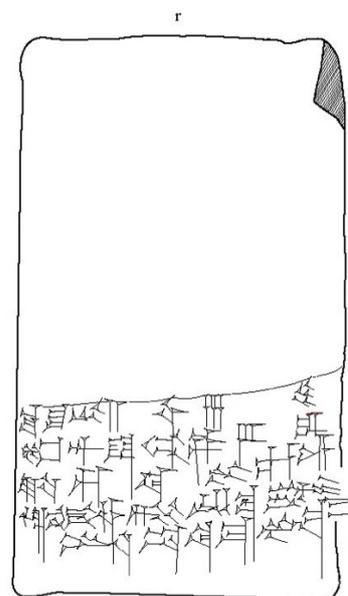
Sergio TANG <sergio.tang@aya.yale.edu>
New York, NY (USA)

110) Une tablette inédite de l’archive de Balmunamhe au Musée d’art et d’histoire (MAH) de Genève — Les tablettes du MAH sont des acquisitions majoritairement faites avant 1951¹⁾. Elles sont de provenance incertaine. Parmi elles, la tablette MAH 15926²⁾ (7,8 x 4,5 x 2,5 cm), datée de la sixième année de Rīm-Sîn, consigne une dépense d’orge de 13’200 litres à six brasseurs.

f 1	10 gur <i>hu-pa-tum</i>	10 gur pour Hupātum
f 2	10 gur <i>pu-uṭ-ra-am-i₃-li₂</i>	10 gur pour Puṭram-iṭi
f 3	10 gur <i>^dza-ba₄-ba₄-mu-ša-lim</i>	10 gur pour Zababa-mušallim
f 4	4 gur <i>li-iq-tum</i>	4 gur pour Liqtum
f 5	4 gur <i>ha-zi-ru-um</i>	4 gur pour Hazīrum
f 6	2 gur <i>ma-a^z-ha-^rru-um¹</i>	2 gur pour Mazharum
f 7	40 še gur	40 gur d’orge
f 8	šu ti-a lu ₂ -šem-me-eš	les brasseurs ont reçu.
f 9	4 gur <i>ma-aš-šar-tum a-na bi-tim</i>	4 gur pour l’usage de la maison ³⁾
f 10	44 še gur	44 gur d’orge
f 11	ša ₃ e ₂ -kišib-ba <i>bi-tim</i>	de l’entrepôt de la maison
f 12	ba-zi	ont été dépensés.
r 1	iti šu-numun-a u ₄ 7-kam /	Quatrième mois, septième jour
r 2	mu e ₂ - ^d para ₁₀ -ul-e-ġar-ra /	Année Rīm-Sîn 6 : il a construit le temple
r 3	ša ₃ adab ^{ki} mu-un-du ₃ -a /	de Parauleġarra à Adab
r 4	u ₃ alan ku ₃ -si ₂₂ ^d sîn-i-din-nam /	et il a façonné la statue d’argent
r 5	lugal larsa ^{ki} -ma mu-dim ₂ -ma	de Sîn-Iddinam roi de Larsa



1 cm



1 cm

Au moins deux éléments, outre la concordance des dates, permettent d'intégrer cette tablette à un groupe de textes rattachés par C. Dyckhoff (1999:36-38) à l'archive de Balmunamhe⁴⁾ : a) les noms personnels, en particulier les trois premiers, et b) la présence de l'E₂.KIŠIB.BA *bītim*⁵⁾.

a) Noms personnels

La séquence de noms personnels Hupātum / Puṭram-ilī / Zababa-mušallim est attestée dans le même ordre dans trois décomptes de distribution de grain publiés dans YOS 5 (YOS 5 189⁶⁾, 190 et 195), ainsi qu'un quatrième (YBC 7750)⁷⁾ transcrit dans la thèse de C. Dyckhoff (1999: II 42), tous datés entre Rīm-Sîn 5 et Rīm-Sîn 10. La tablette MAH 15926 ne donne donc pas de nouvelle information sur leur période d'activité, mais permet de connaître leur métier.

Dans au moins trois de ces documents, les trois individus perçoivent la même quantité d'orge. Dans ce groupe, la tablette YOS 5, 189 détonne : Zababa-mušallim y reçoit le double de ses compagnons. Ce cas particulier n'en est peut-être pas un. Dans ce document, le total ne correspond pas à la somme des montants individuels. R. Middeke-Conlin (2020:103) attribue cette incohérence au système de calcul employé par le scribe. Cependant, en corrigeant les montants versés aux deux premiers membres de la séquence, il est possible de faire concorder le total. Les parallèles argumentent alors en faveur d'une simple erreur du scribe sur les montants.

Le nom de Hupātum est attesté seul un certain nombre de fois dans la même archive⁸⁾, mais il faudrait plus d'éléments pour déterminer s'il s'agit du même individu.

Le nom de Hazīrum est également attesté dans plusieurs textes. Ce nom propre semble avoir été courant. Dans le seul groupe des contrats datés du règne de Rīm-Sîn publié dans YOS 8, on trouve des *Ha-zi-rum* ou *Ha-zi-ru-um* fils de quatre pères différents (FAUST 1941:10). Il est donc difficile de s'appuyer sur ces parallèles pour en savoir plus sur l'individu mentionné dans MAH 15926.

b) L' e₂-kišib-ba *bītim*

À la période paléobabylonienne, les attestations de l'e₂-kišib-ba dans un contexte administratif, pour désigner un lieu physique, sont beaucoup plus rares qu'au troisième millénaire⁹⁾. Dans les documents de l'archive de Balmunamhe, le terme apparaît la plupart du temps suivi d'un complément (e₂ ou *bi-tim*), désignant l'entrepôt d'un bâtiment, d'une personne ou d'une institution¹⁰⁾. Cette séquence, où e₂ ou *bi-tim* termine la ligne et n'est pas précisé ou suivi d'un complément, semble propre à notre archive.

Notes

1. E. Sollberger (1951) a présenté un catalogue succinct des tablettes cunéiforme du MAH. La plupart d'entre elles ont été vendues au musée par Alfred Boissier.

2. Une photo est disponible sur le CDLI (P423903).

3. Suivant C. Dyckhoff (1999:35-37), nous comprenons le *maššartum* de la maison comme la consommation courante.

4. Voir M. Van De Mierop (1987) pour une étude sur cette archive.

5. Probablement aussi la formule *ma-aš-šar-tum ana bi-tim*, pour laquelle le CAD M/1 388 renvoie à un groupe de textes de cette même archive.

6. Consultable sur www.archibab.fr/T11765.

7. Peut-être aussi dans YBC 6729, qui est inédite et dont C. Dyckhoff ne fournit pas de transcription. Il est aussi possible que Hupātum soit absent de cette tablette, ce qui expliquerait pourquoi l'auteur ne mentionne que Puṭram-ilī et Zababa-mušallim.

8. YOS 8, 009 et YOS 5, 199, datés entre Warad-Sîn 10 et Rīm-Sîn 3. Hupātum y est identifié par rapport à son père, au milieu d'une liste d'autres témoins identifiés par leur métier. Les dates permettraient qu'il s'agisse du même individu qui n'aurait pas commencé son activité de brasseur mais il faudrait plus d'éléments.

9. Le CDLI donne pour e₂-kišib₃ : 782 occurrences néo-sumériennes, 37 occurrences de la période d'Isin, 19 occurrences paléobabyloniennes dont 60% de Larsa (incertain) et 20% de Nippur. Archibab et l'ePSD2 livrent ensemble quelques dizaines d'attestations paléobabyloniennes supplémentaires. (Recherche en ligne effectuée le 12.09.2025).

10. Dyckhoff (1999:I 39sq).

Bibliographie

- DYCKHOFF, C., 1999, *Das Haushaltsbuch des Balamunamhe*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Deux volumes.
- FAUST, D. E., 1941, *Contracts from Larsa, dated in the reign of Rîm-Sin*, YOS 8, New York.
- MIDDEKE-CONLIN, R., 2020, *The Making of a Scribe: Errors, Mistakes and Rounding Numbers in the Old Babylonian Kingdom of Larsa*, WSAWM 4, Cham.
- SOLLBERGER, E., 1951, "The Cuneiform Collection in Geneva", *JCS* 5, p. 18-20.
- VAN DE MIEROOP, M., 1987, "The Archive of Balmunamhe", *Afo* 34, p. 1-29.

Lucien SCHWED <lucien.schwed@etu.unige.ch>
Université de Genève (SUISSE)

111) En marge d'Archibab, 43: Abzu — In an unprovenanced Old Babylonian field cultivation assignment text published in hand copy by Stol (1982, no. 42) the name of the witness in l. 17 was transliterated in archibab.fr/T2756 as ^dUTU.ÈŠ*.x.NIR*.GÁL* with the comment "Il existe un Utu-ešabzu-nirgal écrit (d)UTU.ÈŠ.ABZU.NIR.GÁL en UET 5 191 : 35, qui offre un bon parallèle ; il est toutefois impossible de lire ABZU ici." This is indeed unexpected in a documentary text, but the connection can be affirmed by reading the sign in question ("x") as abzu₂("DE₂"), a rare Old Babylonian writing convention attested mainly in pedagogical exercises, including incantations. The existence of this manner of expressing Enki/Ea's underground aquatic abode was first recognized by Cavigneaux (1987, 46-47), who provided some examples together with drawings of selected specimens. The standard pseudo-logogram SU.AB (apsu₁) is attested as far back as Uruk III. The sign, conventionally identified as DE₂, was fluid and sometimes morphed into something that looks like SU + a version of AB with the final vertical changed into two strokes one on top of the other, as in the final element in the A sign. Until now, the writing absu₂ was attested exclusively in pedagogical literary exercises and the apparent exception here can be explained by the complex pseudo-Sumerian name of the high temple functionary of Enki of Eridu in the Ekišnugal complex in Ur (Charpin 2020, 174), as the two texts undoubtedly referred to the same person.

The only other instance of the use of abzu₂ in a Sumerian personal name known to me is in an unprovenanced elementary exercise with an excerpt from the pedagogical personal name list Ur-abba, where Ur-abzu was inscribed with the abzu₂ sign (WILSON 2008, no. 108; see PETERSON 2021, 77). I am unaware of any other example of abzu₂ in documentary texts of any period, but the scribe must have learned this sign in his student years and applied it as a small joke or perhaps as erudite acknowledgement of the learned pseudo-Sumerian name of the high temple official from Ur.

Bibliography

- CAVIGNEAUX, A., 1987, "Notes Sumérologiques," *ASJ* 9, p. 45-66.
- CHARPIN, D., 2020, "Le temple d'Enki-d'Eridu : nouvelle approche du clergé d'Ur," in D. Charpin et al, *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*, Mémoires de N.A.B.U., Antony, p. 155-186.
- PETERSON, J., 2021, "The Sumerian Personal Name List Ur-ab-ba," *OrAnt* 3, p. 37-126.
- STOL, M., 1982, "State and Private Business in the Land of Larsa," *JCS* 34, p. 127-230.
- WILSON, M., 2008, *Education in the Earliest Schools: Cuneiform Manuscripts in the Cotsen Collection*, Los Angeles.

Piotr MICHALOWSKI <piotrm@umich.edu>

112) En marge de PCEHM, 10 : remarques sur la pharmacopée végétale dans la correspondance paléo-babylonienne — Les lettres de Mari documentent plusieurs cas de recherche de plantes médicinales. Les plus connus sont rapportés par la lettre A.4523 (archibab.fr/T26679) qui évoque une plante destinée à traiter des lésions dermatologiques-*ekketum* et prélevée dans le jardin du devin Asqudum (Marti *JMC* 5, 2005) ; ainsi que la désormais célèbre missive A.2216 (archibab.fr/T4246) dans laquelle le Chef des barbiers Dariš-libur informe Zimri-Lim que la plante contre la fièvre prescrite par le médecin de Mardaman est efficace (Finet *AIPHOS* 14, 1954-1957, p. 134-8). Ces deux lettres ne précisent pas le nom des végétaux recherchés. Cependant, pour la seconde, on sait qu'il s'agit d'une espèce poussant dans les montagnes. Plusieurs autres missives qui témoignent des pratiques thérapeutiques paléo-babyloniennes et de leur pharmacopée végétale peuvent être ajoutées à ce dossier.

La première, *ARM* 14 34 (archibab.fr/T8115) rédigée par le gouverneur de Saggaratum, est adressée au roi de Mari. La situation y est en quelque sorte inversée puisque cette fois le nom de la plante est donné, mais on ignore la raison pour laquelle elle était requise. Ce végétal (*h*)*urnû* est rapproché de la menthe par les dictionnaires (CAD U, p. 234). Cependant, cette identification ne paraît pas très bien convenir à la plante d'*ARM* 14 34 puisqu'il semble s'agir davantage d'une plante annuelle que d'une vivace. Comme dans A.2216, c'est une espèce montagnaise qui est recherchée. Nous nous demandons dans quelle mesure cette plante-(*h*)*urnû* ne serait pas celle recommandée en cas de fièvre par la lettre A.2216. Hélas, les deux documents ne sont pas datés précisément. Toutefois, dans l'urgence, il paraît plausible que Zimri-Lim ait mobilisé plusieurs personnes dans diverses régions de son royaume situées à proximité de zones montagneuses afin d'obtenir l'ingrédient au plus vite. L'emplacement de Saggaratum n'est pas formellement identifié. J.-M. Durand suppose que la ville était installée au confluent de Habur et de l'Euphrate (Durand *BBVO* 20 : 48-50, voir aussi archibab.fr/L34). Les reliefs les plus proches seraient alors ceux du Djebel Bišri. Par ailleurs, cette plante (*h*)*urnû* est bien attestée dans les textes thérapeutiques du premier millénaire, notamment contre la fièvre (cf. Bácskay *AOAT* 447, 2018, p. 248-9). Il convient aussi de mentionner la lettre A.3361 (*ARM* 26/2 547, archibab.fr/T7918) dont la compréhension a été récemment révisée par J.-M. Durand dans les *Mélanges Catagnoti*¹). Celle-ci documente également la quête de plantes exogènes à la région Mari, avec la recherche d'un simple contre l'impuissance dans les environs de Karkémiš.

Un autre témoignage intéressant est fourni par la lettre *OBTR* 58 (archibab.fr/T17270) adressée à Iltani par son mari, le devin Haqba-Hammu, et découverte à Qaṭṭara (Langlois *ARCHIBAB* 2, 2017, p. 71-72). Celle-ci évoque la recherche d'une plante nommée *urzīnum*, auprès d'un médecin nommé Tupkiya. Son usage n'est cependant pas précisé par la missive. Cette plante *urzīnum* est peu attestée dans le corpus cunéiforme. Elle est citée dans les inscriptions royales d'Assurnazirpal II parmi les plantes des régions montagneuses sélectionnées pour les jardins royaux de Nimrud (Grayson *RIMA* 3, 1996, A.0.101.30). Les autres occurrences sont dispersées dans les textes lexicaux et thérapeutiques. On peut cependant noter quelques utilisations pratiques du feuillage d'*urzīnum* dans le texte K.67 : 51' pour soigner des plaies à la cheville (<https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.67>) ou encore pour la préparation de suppositoires pour les atteintes rectales (*BAM* VII-22, : ii 8, cf. Geller 2005, 138-139). Le fait que cette plante soit demandée au médecin Tupkiya, associé à ces quelques attestations thérapeutiques, suggère que sa recherche s'inscrivait dans un contexte médical. Par ailleurs, ce texte pourrait constituer un témoignage de la culture de plantes médicinales rares par des savants, comme cela semble être le cas pour le devin Asqudum, ou, à tout le moins, indiquer que les thérapeutes disposaient d'un stock d'ingrédients utiles à leur pratique.

Signalons enfin, la longue lettre *ARM* 26/2 408 (archibab.fr/T7607) dans laquelle Yasim-El s'adresse à Zimri-Lim au sujet d'une expédition militaire et rapporte notamment le partage du butin. Parmi les biens qu'il contient, Yasim-El mentionne des pots de plante *amuzinnum*. F. Joannès, dans son édition, avait noté : « C'est là la première attestation pour Mari de l'herbe *amuzinnum*, employée comme herbe aromatique ». Plus qu'une plante aromatique, il faut certainement y voir une plante médicinale. De fait, l'*amuzinnum* est très rare dans les sources cunéiformes. Elle apparaît principalement dans le corpus thérapeutique. On la retrouve notamment dans les manuels, comme *Šammu šikinšu* (Stadhouders *JMC* 18, 2011, p. 22) et dans le vademecum *BAM* I-1 : iii 32 où elle est prescrite contre les faiblesses musculaires (Attia & Buisson *JMC* 19, 2012). Un usage qui pourrait bien s'inscrire dans les préoccupations des soldats engagés dans des campagnes militaires. Ce contexte médicinal donne donc un éclairage intéressant sur la nature du butin et les besoins concrets des troupes.

Note

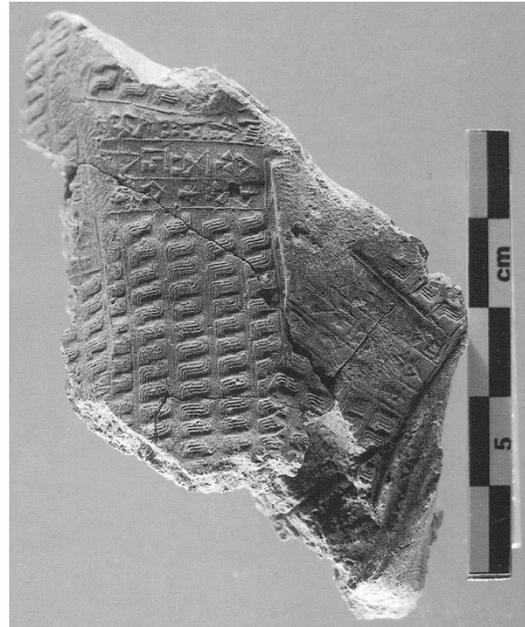
1. Je remercie Michaël Guichard d'avoir porté à ma connaissance cette référence supplémentaire.

Vérène CHALENDAR <verene.chalendar@gmail.com>
CNRS UMR 8210 – ANHIMA, Paris (FRANCE)

113) En marge de PCEHM, 11 : le « sceau d’Išhi-Addu », sceau du roi de Qaṭna ou d’un de ses serviteurs ? — En 2005, dans l’opération H de la mission syro-italienne sur l’acropole du Tell Mishrife, un lot de 74 scellements a été découvert, dans le remplissage d’une tranchée de fondation du palais royal : il s’agit donc de matériel trouvé lors du creusement de cette tranchée et réutilisé pour la combler. Il semble qu’on a affaire dans tous les cas à des scellements de portes. Neuf fragments portaient l’empreinte d’un sceau mentionnant le premier roi de Qaṭna connu, Išhi-Addu, sans qu’il ait été possible de les raccorder de façon à voir si à l’origine on avait affaire à un seul scellement ou à plusieurs ; on s’est alors rendu compte que des fragments de scellements découverts par la mission allemande en 2001 comportaient des empreintes du même sceau, mais dont la légende n’avait pu être reconstituée de façon satisfaisante par Th. Richter en raison de l’état très incomplet des fragments¹⁾. Avec la découverte italienne de 2005, c’était la première fois que le nom d’Išhi-Addu était attesté à Qaṭna même.

Le sceau reconstitué à partir de ces empreintes a été publié par D. Morandi-Bonacossi et J. Eidem dès 2006²⁾. L’iconographie est atypique, avec cinq rangées de guilloches. La légende pose des problèmes de lecture. D’une manière peu claire, aussi bien Th. Richter que J. Eidem ont parlé d’une légende en négatif et du coup proposé de lire les lignes en commençant par le bas. Si je comprends bien, ils considèrent que le lapicide a commis une double erreur en gravant la matrice de ce sceau : il aurait cru qu’il fallait inverser l’ordre des lignes pour que l’inscription soit correcte sur l’empreinte, mais il aurait gravé les signes en positif alors qu’il aurait dû les graver en négatif³⁾.

Scellement MSHOSH 6703.701,
d’après *Akkadica* 127, p. 47 Fig. 5b.



La lecture proposée par J. Eidem était la suivante :

$r_{i\dot{s}}^{h-}hi-^dI\dot{S}KUR$
[LU]GAL *ma-ta-tim*
 $r^dI\dot{S}KUR$ *i-il šum-šu*
« Išhi-Addu,
king of the lands,
Addu is the god of his name ».

Il a lui-même indiqué en note que le lapicide avait en plus commis une erreur grammaticale : on aurait attendu *šumišu* et pas *šumšu*⁴⁾. Une telle erreur serait bien étonnante. J’ajoute que si le concept de « dieu de sa tête » est connu, pour indiquer la divinité personnelle d’un individu, celui de « dieu de son nom » serait un hapax.

J.-M. Durand a proposé une autre interprétation⁵⁾, qui suit l’ordre apparent des lignes :

« Addu — pur est son nom! — / roi des pays / Išhi-Addu (est son serviteur). »

On ignorait jusqu’alors quelle était la divinité principale de Qaṭna : J.-M. Durand en tirait la conclusion qu’il s’agissait du dieu de l’Orage, Addu. Mais la légende, ainsi lue, est – il faut l’avouer – encore plus étrange : on ne connaît pas de sceau où un roi se déclare implicitement serviteur d’un dieu dont le nom figure en tête, suivi par une épithète.

Dans des cas de ce genre, on a intérêt à chercher des solutions simples. J. Sasson a proposé qu’il s’agisse du sceau d’un serviteur de Išhi-Addu⁶⁾. Son argumentation reposait sur le fait qu’on n’attend pas l’empreinte du sceau royal sur une porte. On aurait donc une légende classique : le nom du roi est suivi par

une épithète et le nom du propriétaire du sceau est en troisième ligne. Suivant de près la lecture de J. Eidem, J. Sasson proposait de comprendre la l. 3 ainsi : ^dIŠKUR-*i-il* *šum-šu*. L'ensemble donnerait :

« Išhi-Addu / king of the lands / Addu-il (is) (the servant's) name ».

J. Sasson admettait que la graphie ^dIŠKUR-*i-il* pour noter le nom « Addu-ili » était un hapax. Mais il y a un autre problème : *šumšu* après un nom propre se trouve le plus souvent dans les contrats de vente d'esclave, généralement sous la forme MU.NI.IM. Autrement, on trouve l'indication dans une lettre pour désigner un individu, comme dans ce passage d'une lettre d'Itur-Asdu : (11) *i-na-an-na* 1 LÚ *i-ší-na-bu-ú šum-šu* (12) LÚ *ia-mu-ut-ba-la-i* « à présent, un homme nommé Iši-nabu, yamutbaléen, etc. »⁷⁾. À cet endroit, dans une légende de sceau, on attend cependant l'indication İR-*sú* « son serviteur ».

J'ai réexaminé attentivement les photos publiées. De façon très claire, l'avant-dernier signe ne peut être un *-šum* : dans l'écriture archaïque des lapicides, *šum* est un signe beaucoup plus large, qui ressemble à *-bi-ir*. On a simplement un signe *-am*. Et devant, il ne s'agit pas de *-il-*, mais de *-ra*⁸⁾. Je propose donc de lire ^dIŠKUR *i ra* am* -šu*. Il y a dès lors deux façons d'interpréter cette séquence :

– on peut d'abord la comprendre comme signifiant « Le dieu Addu l'aime ». La légende serait donc à comprendre comme celle du sceau du roi Išhi-Addu :

^riš^l-*hi*-^dIŠKUR / [LU]GAL *ma-ta-tim* / ^rdⁱIŠKUR-*i-ra*-am*-šu*.
« Išhi-Addu, roi des pays ; le dieu Addu l'aime ».

Mais la forme conjuguée *irâmšu* étonne. En effet, les légendes des sceaux des rois d'Alep connus ont tous la même structure, qui est la suivante : NP₁ / DUMU NP₂ / LUGAL *Yamhad(um)* / *narâm Addu*. C'est notamment le cas du sceau de Abban⁹⁾ :

« Abban, fils de Hammu-rabi, roi du Yamhadum, bien aimé du dieu Addu. »

– On pense alors à une deuxième solution. Lorsqu'on a sur un sceau le nom d'un roi suivi par une épithète, la troisième ligne est celle d'un serviteur de ce roi, propriétaire du sceau. Son nom est généralement suivi par la mention « son serviteur », mais pas toujours : cette mention est parfois implicite. C'est le cas à Mari du sceau de Sammetar :

zi-im-ri-li-im / LUGAL KAL.GA / *sa-am-mé-tar* / DUMU *la-i-im*
« Zimri-Lim, roi fort ; Sammetar, fils de La'um (est son serviteur) » (archibab.fr/S42)

Il faudrait alors comprendre :

^riš^l-*hi*-^dIŠKUR / [LU]GAL *ma-ta-tim* / ^rdⁱIŠKUR-*i-ra*-am*-šu*.
« Išhi-Addu, roi des pays ; Addu-iramšu (est son serviteur) ».

Même si le nom Addu-iramšu n'est pas encore attesté, il s'inscrit bien dans ce qu'on connaît de l'onomastique aulique, où les pronoms renvoient au roi et pas au porteur du nom : « Addu l'aime », signifierait « Addu aime le roi ».

Le bilan est donc le suivant :

– les deux solutions comportent une étrangeté : l'épithète « roi des pays » n'est pas encore connue pour un roi de l'époque paléo-babylonienne¹⁰⁾. À partir de là, il faut encore admettre une bizarrerie supplémentaire dans les deux cas :

– la phrase « Addu l'aime », s'il s'agit bien du sceau du roi ;
– un nouveau nom propre, s'il s'agit du sceau d'un serviteur d'Išhi-Addu, qui se serait appelé Addu-iramšu.

Peut-on trancher ? Trois arguments peuvent être pris en compte. D'abord, l'iconographie. En 2016, A. Otto avait commencé son article des *Mélanges Beyer*¹¹⁾ consacré au motif des guilloches en présentant le sceau de Qatna. Son raisonnement était : si un sceau royal a un tel motif, c'est que ce motif est central. Il me semble qu'il vaut mieux dire : il est très étrange, vu ce qu'on sait par ailleurs de l'iconographie des sceaux royaux de cette époque, que ce sceau orné simplement de cinq rangées de guilloches ait pu être un sceau royal. En outre, je serais comme J. Sasson étonné que le sceau du roi ait été utilisé pour sceller une porte : on possède à Mari des dizaines d'empreintes du sceau de Zimri-Lim, mais aucune qui soit de façon assurée sur un scellement de porte¹²⁾. Enfin, il n'est pas vraisemblable que le lapicide chargé de graver le sceau du roi ait commis une erreur dans l'inscription de la légende, en

intervertissant l'ordre des lignes¹³). Toutes ces raisons me conduisent donc à conclure qu'il s'agit plutôt du sceau d'un serviteur d'Išhi-Addu nommé Addu-iramšu. Le sceau du roi lui-même reste à découvrir.

Notes

1. Th. Richter, « Bericht über 2001 in Qatna gemachte Inschriftenfunde », *MDOG* 134, 2002, p. 247-255.
2. D. Morandi-Bonacossi & J. Eidem, « A Royal Seal of Ishhi Addu, King of Qatna », *Akkadica* 127, 2006, p. 41-58.
3. J'observe qu'aussi bien les copies que les photos publiées montrent les signes des empreintes en positif.
4. En outre, on sait que le texte à graver était fourni au lapicide sous forme d'un modèle (voir D. Charpin, « Chroniques bibliographiques 20. Pour une diplomatique des documents paléo-babyloniens », *RA* 111, 2017, p. 155-178, spéc. p. 173). L'erreur ne serait donc pas à imputer au lapicide, mais au scribe qui a écrit le modèle.
5. J.-M. Durand, « Le dieu majeur de Qatna », *NABU* 2006/87.
6. J. M. Sasson, « On the "Išhi-Addu" Seal from Qatna with Comments on Qatna Personnel in the OB Period », dans Ş. Dönmez (éd.), *Veysel Donbaz'a Sunulan Yazılar. DUB.SAR É.DUB.BAA. Studies Presented in Honour of Veysel Donbaz*, Istanbul, 2010, p. 243-250.
7. A.2939 :11-12 (archibab.fr/T4278).
8. Le début du *-ra* se voit très clairement sur l'empreinte MSH01Gi0266 (*MDOG* 138, 2006, p. 73 Abb. 11).
9. D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell-Atchana/Alalakh*, AOAT 27, Neukirchen, 1975, p. 6 n° 3. Voir aussi Yarim-Lim II (n° 5), Niqmepuh (n° 6), Irkabtum (n° 8) et Yarim-Lim III (n° 10).
10. J. Sasson, *Mél. Donbaz*, p. 244 et n. 3.
11. A. Otto, « Much more than just a Decorative Element: The Guilloche as Symbol of Fertility », dans J. Patrier, P. Quenet & P. Butterlin (éd.), *Mille et une empreintes. Un Alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l'honneur du 65^e anniversaire de Dominique Beyer*, Subartu 36, Turnhout, 2016, p. 379-393.
12. D. Beyer a juste eu un doute pour M.54 (*MARI* 4, 1985, p. 378).
13. Pour la gravure de l'iconographie et celle de la légende du sceau, décrites par deux verbes différents, voir D. Charpin, « Un sceau gravé et inscrit sur commande d'après une lettre inédite des archives royales de Mari », dans J. Patrier, P. Quenet & P. Butterlin (éd.), *Mille et une empreintes. Un Alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l'honneur du 65^e anniversaire de Dominique Beyer*, Subartu 36, Turnhout, 2016, p. 87-97 (p. 91).

Dominique CHARPIN <dominique.charpin@college-de-france.fr>
Collège de France, Paris (FRANCE)

114) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 44 : les mentions de l'é-tûr-kalam-ma dans les noms d'années des rois de Babylone — Dans leur récent livre consacré aux *Divine Love Lyrics*, R. Da Riva et N. Wasserman consacrent un passage au temple Eturkalama¹⁾ :

« The temple is mentioned in the year names of kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon (1886–1587 BCE).³⁴ Repairs and renovations are mentioned in Apil-Sin 13, namely that the work took place in his 12th regnal year (1811 BCE). His grandson Hammurapi mentions works in the Eturkalamma for Anu, Ištar, and Nanāya in his 34th year name, so the renovations were carried out in Hammurapi 33 (1752 BCE).³⁵ The final OB mention of the Eturkalamma in a year name is in Samsu-iluna 8, hence the works took place in Samsu-iluna 7 (1735 BCE).³⁶ After being a major cult center for Ištar and probably other gods since the Old Babylonian period, there is then a thousand-year information gap. »

La note 36 renvoie à « Sigrist-Damerow 2001 ». En réalité, après Samsu-iluna 8, le nom de l'Eturkalama est attesté dans deux autres noms d'années, sous Ammi-ditana et Ammi-šaduqa :

– Ammi-ditana 28 : il s'agit d'une formule qu'on trouve dans JCSSS 2 62 (un texte publié en 2010²⁾ ; archibab.fr/T20131). En combinant le nom d'année cité dans le texte (l. 6-10) et celui qui figure à la fin (l. 27-31), on aboutit à la formule : MU *am-mi-di-ta-na* LUGAL.E / ^{urudu}ALAN.NA.NI MÁŠ.DA.RIA ù ^{urudu}ALAN.NA.NI ŠU AN.DU₈.A É.MAH.A É.TÛR.KALAM.MA.TA IN.NE.EN.SU₈.TA. Cette formule est d'autant plus bienvenue qu'elle permet de rectifier la restitution du nom d'année telle qu'elle avait été opérée par Johns et reprise par Ungnad (« Datenlisten », *RIA* 2, 1938, p. 188), soit É.NAM.TILA.ŠË IN.NE.EN.KU₄.RE. M. Horsnell avait déjà mis en garde à ce sujet (*The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, vol. 2, Hamilton, 1999, p. 308 n. 135).

– Ammi-šaduqa 12 : Sigrist-Damerow 2001 renvoient également au *RIA* 2 (1938). Mais depuis sont parus les livres de R. Pientka (*Die spätaltbabylonische Zeit: Abiešuh bis Samsuditana. Quellen, Jahresdaten*,

Geschichte, Imgula 2, Münster, 1998, p. 119-112) et de M. Horsnell (*The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, vol. 2, Hamilton, 1999, p. 340)...

Je terminerai en avouant un certain dépit : la présente note aurait été inutile si les auteurs avaient songé à consulter la base de données Archibab³). Nous faisons tant d'efforts pour développer cet outil au bénéfice de la communauté assyriologique : il est regrettable que d'aussi estimables collègues ne songent même pas à l'utiliser quand ils doivent consulter des noms d'années paléo-babyloniens...

Notes

1. R. Da Riva & N. Wasserman, *Gods in Love. A Critical Edition and Analysis of the 'Divine Love Lyrics'*, CM 57, Leyde/Boston, 2025, p. 39.

2. Voir le commentaire de S. F. C. Richardson, *Texts from the Late Old Babylonian Period*, Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 2, Boston, 2010, p. 42 et note 98.

3. Respectivement archibab.fr/N125 et archibab.fr/N146.

Dominique CHARPIN <dominique.charpin@college-de-france.fr>

115) Goring the Land in *Erra and Naram-Sin* — The titular god and king of *Erra and Naram-Sin* (edition LAMBERT 1973, 357–363; WESTENHOLZ 1997, 189–201; and SEAL no. 1539)—a poetic composition known from one Old Babylonian tablet (BM 120003)—go to war together:

33. <i>ilum erra u naram-sîn</i>	33. Erra the god and Naram-Sin
34. <i>puhriš illikū rū'ušu u šū</i>	34. Went together—his (Naram-Sin's) companion and he,
35. <i>ta-at-ta-ak-pi-iš mātam qabalšu</i>	35. <i>ta-at-ta-ak-pi-iš</i> the land (acc.) his battle (nom./acc.),
36. <i>ittanallak ištāšu qurādum erra</i>	36. Warrior Erra went everywhere with him.

Lambert translates l. 35 as “His battle overwhelmed(?) the land,” and comments with reference to *ta-at-ta-ak-pi-iš* (1973, 363): “. . . the syntax of the line is clear, but the root of the verb is not. It could be read *tattakpiš* (~*iš*), but the meaning of *kapāšu* ‘curl’ is not particularly appropriate and it would not be expected to take an accusative object.” Against von Soden’s emendation to *ta-la!-ta-ak* (AHw Ntrg. 1571), Lambert argues (1982, 185): “the correction . . . to *ta-la!-ta-ak* creates a perfectly acceptable form, but the line is then beyond comprehension (the rest reads: *pi-iš ma-ta-am qá-ba-al-šu*). Also a comparison of the other examples of the signs AD and LA on this tablet by no means requires the reading of *la* in 35. Thus a verb *ta-at-ta-ag/k/q-pi-iš* must be read, whatever its problems.” Westenholtz, following Lambert, translates l. 35 as “His battle overwhelmed(?) the land,” and comments (1997, 197), “von Soden reads the beginning of the line as *ta-la!-ta-ak* and takes it from the verb *latāku* ‘to test, try out, check’, which is grammatically correct but does not add much sense to the line, as Lambert points out . . . for then the element *PI-iš* would stand alone. However, von Soden (AHw Ntrg[.] 1583) has the lemma *p/wišmatum*.”

A reanalysis of *ta-at-ta-ak-pi-iš* may be offered. The Ebla text MEE 4, 544 contains the entry á.du₇.du₇ = *da-da-ga-bu-um*, whose Akkadian is taken by Krebernik (1996, 238) and Rubio (2003, 181), among others, to represent either the Gt *tattakpum*, in a *taptar(a)s* pattern, or Gtn *tattakkapum* (*taptarras*)—both *nomina actionis* derived from *nakāpu*, “to gore” (on Ebla verbal nouns with *-t-* prefixes and infixes, KREBERNIK 1984 and MÜLLER 1987). Analyzing *ta-at-ta-ak-pi-iš* as *tattakpum* + *iš* would be grammatically coherent as well as thematically apt, as shown by the fact that *nakāpu* is functionally synonymous with Lambert’s context-derived “overwhelmed.” It would also have OB parallels. As STRECK 2012, following KOUWENBERG 2010, 397, shows by reference to *tartāmū*, “mutual love,” attested in the *Ištar Hymn of Ammiditana* (l. 17, edition POHL 2022 no. 3.7) and the *Ištar and Dumuzi Lament* (l. 15⁷, edition SEAL no. 1820), a *taptars* Gt *nomen actionis* pattern likewise existed in Mesopotamian Akkadian. Analyzing *tattakpiš* as derived from *tattakpu* would yield the second piece of evidence for this. Note also the *saḫāru* Gtn *taptarras* form *tattashuru*, “continuous reversal,” in *Ishtar Louvre* i 15, 52 (edition Pohl 2022 no. 3.8, with the form commented on in STRECK and WASSERMAN 2018, 28).

One might object that, being in the Gt, *tattakpum* would produce a reciprocal sense incongruent with the line. Yet *nakāpu* Gt is attested—as implicit already in its CAD sub-entry (N I, 157–58), but as far as I know not explicitly noted in the literature—without a reciprocal sense:

1) *atta tattakkipma kīma lē'im tušabraqšu*, “You will charge (lit. gore), overwhelming him like a bull” (*OB Gilgamesh Nippur* 1. 5, edition GEORGE 2022b). George translates, “You will lock horns and batter him like a bull,” yet the subject *atta* and the parallelism with *tušabraqšu* contraindicate a reciprocal sense for *tattakkipma*.

2) *tarbu'tašu ittakkip šamê*, “the dust cloud it (a bull) made was thrusting into the sky” (*OB Gilgamesh Ḫarmal*₁ 1. 5b, edition GEORGE 2022a). George, whose translation is followed here, comments (2003, 250): “I assume the verb is *nakāpum* V/2 separative.”

3) *ana itkup zāmānī dā'īš ayyābīya*, “To gore my adversary, trample my foes” (RINAP 5/2 no. 207 rev. 61). Cf. CAD's “to gore the evildoers, trample my enemies” (N I, 157).

Erra and Naram-Sin ll. 33–36 would then be normalized and translated as follows:

33. <i>ilum erra u naram-sîn</i>	33. Erra the god and Naram-Sin
34. <i>puḫriš illikū rū'ušu u šū</i>	34. Went together—his (Naram-Sin's) companion and he—
35. <i>tattakpiš mātam qabalšu</i>	35. That his warfare gore the land,
36. <i>ittanallak ištāšu qurādum erra</i>	36. Warrior Erra went everywhere with him.

It befits the “highly evolved Old Babylonian hymno-epic poetic style” (WESTENHOLZ 1997, 191) of *Erra and Naram-Sin* to employ *tattakpiš mātam qabalšu* for *qabalšu mātam ana itkupim*.

Bibliography

- GEORGE, A. R., 2022a, “Poem of Gilgameš Chapter Old Babylonian Ḫarmal₁,” *electronic Babylonian Library*. <https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/1/4>.
- 2022b, “Poem of Gilgameš Chapter Old Babylonian Nippur,” *electronic Babylonian Library*. <https://doi.org/10.5282/eb/1/1/4>.
- KOUWENBERG, N. J. C., 2010, *The Akkadian verb and its Semitic background*, LANE 2, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- KREBERNIK, M., 1984, “Verbalnomina mit prä- und infigiertem *t* im Eblaitischen,” *Studi Eblaiti* 7, 191–211.
- 1996, “The Linguistic Classification of Eblaite: Methods, Problems, and Results,” in: J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*, Winona Lake, 233–49.
- LAMBERT, W. G., 1973, “Studies in Nergal,” *BiOr* 30, 355–63.
- 1982, Review of W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, *JSS* 27, 281–86.
- POHL, A., 2022, *Die akkadischen Hymnen der altbabylonischen Zeit: Grammatik, Stilistik, Editionen*, LAoS 13, Leipzig.
- MÜLLER, H.-P., 1987, “Eblaitische Konjugation in Personennamen und Kontexten: Beobachtungen zu Morphologie und Pragmatik,” in: L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975–1985: Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 9–11 ottobre 1985)*, Napoli, 101–22.
- RUBIO, G., 2003, “Falling Trees and Forking Tongues: On the Place of Akkadian and Eblaite within Semitic,” in: L. Kogan (ed.), *Studia Semitica: Festschrift for A. Militarev*, Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute 3. Moscow, 152–89.
- STRECK, M., 2012, “*tartāmū* ‘mutual love’, the noun pattern *taPtaRS* in Akkadian and the classification of Eblaite,” in: C. Mittermayer and S. Ecklin (ed.), *Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger. *mu-ni u₄ ul-li₂-a-aš ḡa₂-ḡa₂-de₃**, OBO 256, Fribourg / Göttingen, 353–57.
- STRECK, M. and WASSERMAN, N., 2018, “The Man is Like a Woman, the Woman is Like a Young Man: A New Edition of *Ishtar-Louvre*,” *OrNS* 87/1, 1–38.
- WESTENHOLZ, J. G., 1997, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade: The Texts*, MC 7, Winona Lake.

Eli TADMOR <eli@tadmor.us>
New Haven (USA)

116) Hurrian *negri/nigri* ‘guardian’ — One of the fragments of the Song of Release that is well preserved in both Hurrian and Hittite concerns the descent of the Storm-god to the netherworld. Upon completing his journey, Tessob is greeted and entertained by the goddess Allani. The Hurrian sentence (1) introduces the goddess together with her title or epithet, while its Hittite translation (2) reflects the syncretism of Allani with the Sun-goddess of the Earth, a member of the state pantheon of Hattusa. The same Hurrian phrase featuring Allani is independently attested at the very beginning of the Song of Release as KBo 32.11:3 *ni-ik-ri e-še-ne-e-bi a-al-la-a-[ni]*. In this instance, its Hittite counterpart is unfortunately lost.

- (1) KBo 32.13+ obv. 12a–13a
 el-a fağrož-a tānd-i-b
 feast-ESS good-ESS arrange-ANTIP-b
 negri eže-ne-ve ^DĀllāni
 n.ABS earth-RELAT.SG-GEN Allani.ABS
 ‘Allani, the *n.* of the earth, arranged a goodly feast’
- (2) KBo 32.13+ obv. 12b–13b
 nu šanezzin EZEN₄-an iēt
 CONN special.ACC.SG.C feast.ACC.SG make.3SG.PST
 taknāš ḫattalwaš taknāš ^DUTU-uš
 earth.GEN ḫ.?
 earth.GEN earth.GEN Sun-deity.NOM.SG
 ‘The Sun-goddess of the Earth, (at) the ḫ. of the earth, made a special feast’

In the context cited above, the Hittite counterpart of Hurrian *negri* is *ḫattalwaš*. Scholars agree that this form either belongs to the paradigm of Hitt. *ḫattalu-* ‘door-bolt’ or is genetically related to this noun, but its grammatical interpretation causes controversy. According to the principal edition of the Song of Release, *ḫattalwaš* is to be interpreted as dat.pl. ‘at the door-bolts’ (NEU 1996: 253). The same grammatical interpretation underlies the translation of the relevant passage in HOFFNER 1998: 73 and is accepted in HW₂ (H), 491 and HED (N), 109. There is, however, a current consensus that the Hurrian noun *negri* (spelled *ne-ek-ri*) stands in the absolutive case, and therefore the phrase ‘*negri* of the earth’ is placed in apposition to Allani (see, e.g., the annotation of the Hurrian clause in FISCHER 2018, 69). Therefore, the dative plural interpretation of Hitt. *ḫattalwaš* implies a lack of congruence between the Hurrian clause and its Hittite translation. An alternative hypothesis assigns the nominative case to *ḫattalwaš*, with the implication that the thematic noun *ḫattalwa-* represents a secondary derivative of *ḫattalu-* with the same meaning ‘door-bolt’. This hypothesis is clearly reflected in the translations of Allani’s title as ‘door-bolt of the earth’ (DE MARTINO 2019, 149; BACHVAROVA 2017, 304). While it avoids syntactic discrepancy between the two versions, this comes at the cost of postulating an ad hoc Hittite lemma: no evidence for *ḫattalwa-* ‘door-bolt’ appears to be attested elsewhere in the Hittite corpus.

A new solution to this old problem consists in interpreting *ḫattalwaš* as a free-standing genitive “one of the door-bolt”, derived in a regular fashion from *ḫattalu-* ‘door-bolt’ (A. Kassian informs me that he has independently arrived at the same conclusion). The use of Hittite genitives without overt head nouns with reference to the habitual possessors of objects (or occupations, states etc.) is summarized in HOFFNER and MELCHERT 2024, § 16.46. The literal expression “one of the door-bolt” is to be understood as ‘guardian’, just as KBo 17.1+ i 37’ *šāwataraš* “one of the horn” is to be understood as ‘horn-player’. The role of Allani as guardian of the netherworld was acknowledged in Hittitology regardless of how one interpreted the phrase *taknāš ḫattalwaš* (see most recently GARCÍA TRABAZO 2024, 36). Although ‘door-bolt of the earth’ represents a possible metaphoric epithet for a netherworld deity, the functional designation ‘guardian of the earth’ is more straightforward.

The real test of the new solution is, however, its compatibility with the interpretation of Hurrian *negri/nigri* in other contexts. This lexeme had been identified before the discovery of the Hurro-Hittite bilinguals, although its meaning was obscure at the time (LAROCHE 1980, 183). It is now appropriate to revisit the relevant attestations. The absolutive form *ne-ek-ri* occurs five times in the same Hurrian text IBoT 2.51+, classified as CTH 776.1 (TRÉMOUILLE 2005, 222). The general topic of the text is the celebration of river-deities and the Storm-god (TRÉMOUILLE 1998, 204–205). In two of the attestations (i 7’ ^DÍD¹-ia pu-ra-an-ti ne-ek-ri, i 16’ ÍD-ia ma-ra-aš-ša-a[n-t]a ne-ek-ri), the noun *negri* follows the river names Euphrates and Halys (Kızılırmak) in the same absolutive case and is presumably used as their epithet (see TRÉMOUILLE 2005, 1 for the context). In the remaining three attestations, the immediate context before *ne-ek-ri* is lost, its use as river epithet remains the default hypothesis. It is not obvious why one would wish to refer to a river, deified or not, as a ‘door-bolt’, while the epithet ‘guardian, protector’ would be quite natural on the assumption that river deities were regarded as species of tutelary deities. One can consult

MCMAHON 1991, 189–209 for the Hittite texts celebrating the Tutelary Deity of the River together with a variety of deified rivers.

The same interpretation can be reinforced with the help of the Hurrian personal names *Nigir-Anu* “The guardian is the Sky-god” and *Nigir-šarri* “The guardian is the (divine) king”, both attested in the Mari archive (cf. RICHTER 2016, 210), as well as *Paba-Nigri* “The (divine) mountain is the guardian” and *Nigri-Teššob* “The guardian is the Storm-god” both attested in the texts from Hattusa (cf. DE MARTINO 2011, 69; 83). The name *Nigri-Teššob* is also attested in Nuzi, where *Nigriya* probably reflects its hypocoristic shortening (GELB, PURVES, and MACRAE 1943, 106). The auspicious sentential names combining a theonym with an epithet ‘guardian’ would fit in well with what we know about Hurrian onomastics (see GIORGIERI 2001, 283–284) and may even imply an act of assigning a personal deity to the new-born child. In contrast, a door-bolt would represent a rather unusual onomastic element, even though Richter (2010, 508) tentatively interprets *Nikri-Tešup* as “Teššup is (like) a door-bolt”. See further RICHTER 2012: 273, where the onomastic element *nigiri* (sic!) obtains the agentive interpretation “*derjenige der verriegelt*”, which comes closer to the solution advocated in the present paper.

The formal structure of Hurr. *negri/nigri* deserves a brief digression. Since there is no established verbal root from which this noun can be derived (RICHTER 2012, 272–273), one can only discuss whether the meanings proposed for this noun fit in with its phonotactic pattern. Some Hurrian nouns in *-ri* denote concrete objects or substances, e.g., *ağri* ‘incense’, *tabri* ‘chair’, and therefore potentially yield support to the interpretation of *negri/nigri* as ‘door-bolt’. At the same time, the Hurrian nouns *ewri* ‘king’ and *kumri* ‘(type of) priest’ refer to humans and denote social roles, which would strengthen the interpretation of *negri/nigri* as ‘guardian’. It stands to reason that the morphological considerations cannot play a crucial role in determining the meaning of the word under discussion. As for the variant *nigir-* attested in the Mari documents, this allomorph may have been generalized from the position before another morpheme that belongs to the same phonetic word and begins with a consonant (cf. RICHTER 2016: 469).

A possible nominal derivative of Hurr. *negri/nigri* is also worth being mentioned. The Glossenkeil word KUB 10.91 iii 14 *:ni-ik-ra-ni-in* denotes some sort of underlay or pad made of wool on which a wine vessel is placed in the context of a Hittite festival text (ELICKER 2016, 65–66). If Hitt. *nikrani-* reflects a suffixed derivative of Hurr. *negri*, as is maintained in HED (N), 109, it was probably borrowed into Hittite via Luwian, since most forms furnished with gloss-wedges in Hittite texts are of Luwian origin. Given that the function of the item under discussion is loosely protective, this potential derivative does not contradict the translation of *negri/nigri* as ‘guardian’ or ‘protector’, although the context does not, of course, force such an interpretation of the base word.

Summing up, the use of Hurr. *negri/nigri* in the Song of Release and elsewhere agrees well with the interpretation of Hitt. *ḫattalwaš* as the free-standing genitive “one of the door-bolt”. This Hittite translation of the Hurrian noun, its occurrences in the monolingual text KBo 10.91, and the onomastic data provide a three-pronged argument for the revised translation of *negri/nigri* as ‘guardian’. In contrast, the analysis of the morphological structure and lexical derivative of the Hurrian noun adds little to the contextual evidence.

Acknowledgements

This short paper is published under the auspices of the project *Tive: Studies in the Hurrian Language and Texts* (YA 472/4-1), which is funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. I am grateful for the feedback from Sebastian Fischer (Würzburg), but the final decisions are my own, and so is the responsibility for possible shortcomings.

References

- BACHVAROVA, M. R., 2017, “The Hurro-Hittite Song of Release (Destruction of the City of Ebla)”, in López-Ruiz, C. (ed.), *Gods, Heroes, and Monsters: A Sourcebook of Greek, Roman, and Near Eastern myths* (2nd ed.), Oxford, p. 301–310.
- ELICKER, J., 2016, “KUB 10.91 (CTH 669)”, in Marquart, H. et al. (eds): *Anatolica et Indogermanica. Studia Linguistica in honorem Johannis Tischler septuagenarii dedicata*, IBS 155, Innsbruck, p. 63–73.
- FISCHER, S., 2018, *Raumrelationen. Die Lokalkasus im Hurritischen*, BSAW 48, Berlin.
- GARCÍA TRABAZO, J.V., 2024, “Hittite Divinities of the Underworld and the Night Goddess of Šamuḫa: An interpretation from their hybrid cosmological background”, in Vernet, M. et al. (eds), *Gods and Languages in Ancient Anatolia*, BMO 25, Barcelona, p. 33–53.

- GELB, I. J., PURVES, P. M., MACRAE A. A., 1943, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP 57, Chicago.
 GIORGIERI, M., 2001, “L’onomastica hurrita”, *La parola del passato* 55, p. 278–295.
 HOFFNER, H., 1998, *Hittite Myths*, WAW 2, Atlanta.
 HOFFNER, H., MELCHERT, H. C., 2024, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*, 2nd ed., Winona Lake, IN.
 LAROCHE, E., 1980, *Glossaire de la langue hurrite*, Paris.
 DE MARTINO, S., 2011, *Hurrian Personal Names in the Kingdom of Ḫatti*, Eothen 18, Florence.
 ——— 2019, “The Hurrian Song of Release and the Fall of Ebla”, *StEb* 5, p. 123–155.
 MCMAHON, G., 1991, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*, AS 25, Chicago.
 NEU, E., 1996, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I: Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Ḫattuša*, StBoT 32, Wiesbaden.
 RICHTER, Th., 2010, „Ein Ḫurriter wird geboren ... und benannt“, in Becker, J et al., *Kulturlandschaft Syrien – Zentrum und Peripherie*, AOAT 370, Münster, p. 503–528.
 ——— 2012, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Wiesbaden.
 ——— 2016, *Vorarbeiten zu einem hurritischen Namenbuch. Erster Teil*, Wiesbaden.
 TRÉMOUILLE, M.-C., 1998, Quelques observations sur KBo 23.27+ et ses relations avec CTH 776, in *Studi e Testi II*, Eothen 10, Florence, p. 193–211.
 ——— 2005, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, ChS I/8, Rome.

Ilya YAKUBOVICH <yakubovi@staff.uni-marburg.de>
 University of Marburg (GERMANY)

117) The “Star Catalogue” in Astrolabe B (VAT 9416) Revisited — In the context of a course taught in summer 2025, students at the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie (LMU Munich) have prepared an eBL edition of the Middle Assyrian tablet VAT 9416 (KAV 218), the so-called Astrolabe B (edited and discussed by WEIDNER 1915, CASABURI 2003 and HOROWITZ 2014). The edition and new digital photographs of VAT 9416 by Olaf M. Teßmer (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum) are available at <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/VAT.9416>.

The work on the text resulted in four observations, presented below, that have implications for the identification of Mesopotamian constellations. The advancement in the text reconstruction is mainly the result of collating the excavation photos of the tablet (Ass. Ph. 564-565): already E. Weidner (1952/53, 210 no. 75) noted that the excavation photos show parts of the tablet that have since deteriorated. On the obverse, the photo Ass. Ph. 564 shows parts of the lower edge, depicted here in Fig. 1, that had disappeared by the time O. Schroeder prepared the copy published as KAV 218. The same photo also shows the upper right corner of the obverse still completely intact. Unfortunately, that part remains virtually illegible due to bad lighting.

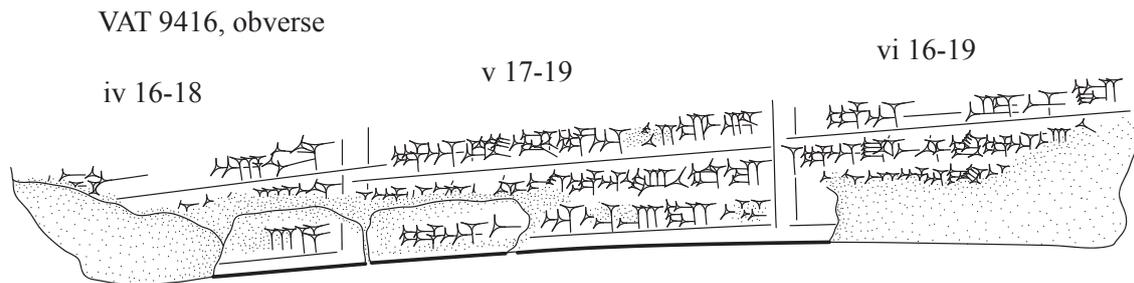


Fig. 1: Collation drawing by A. Häntinen, based on Ass. Ph. 564 and modern photographs.

(NB: In this collation drawing, the position of the two fragments in columns iv and v has been moved to the right so that the vertical lines between the columns are aligned. In Ass. Ph. 564, both fragments are positioned more to the left.)

1) The Star on the Right Side of Ištar: VAT 9416 iv 17-18 (A. Häntinen)

The entries in VAT 9416 iv 14-16 and iv 17-18 (Obv. i 14-16 and i 17-18 in HOROWITZ 2014) describe the constellations ‘Bow’, identified as the Elamite Ištar, and ‘Kidney’, identified as Ea. The traces visible in iv 17 do not agree with the readings [*kakkabu šá arki--šū*] *izzazu*^m (WEIDNER 1915, 77) or [𒀭 MUL š]a ^ri¹-[na ZI IM.Ù]LU^rlu¹ GUB (CASABURI 2003, 48; HOROWITZ 2014, 37). A better match is:

iv 17. [DIŠ MUL ša i+n]a Z[AG dIN]NIN rGUB¹
 iv 18. [mulBIR d]r¹-a

¶ [The star that] stands [on the] ri[ght side of Ištar: [‘Kidney’], Ea.

This reading is supported by the following section, in which the constellation/god of the preceding entry, the god Ea = ‘Kidney’, is given as the point of reference in locating the constellations Ninmah and ‘Wild Dog’ as well as the planet Mars (see HOROWITZ 2014, 103). Therefore, while the parallel texts (see CASABURI 2003, 48 and HOROWITZ 2014, 103) use the constellation ‘Yoke’ to locate ‘Kidney’, VAT 9416 presents a variant tradition that refers to Ištar = ‘Bow’. Combining this information, we can conclude that ‘Kidney’ should be located on the right side of the ‘Bow’, south of the ‘Yoke’.

2) *The Star of the Bitter Wind: VAT 9416 v 15-17 (A. Setälä)*

The traces in VAT 9416 v 17 (Obv. ii 17 in HOROWITZ 2014) do not match the proposed ^{mul}SIM.MAH^{mul}r^{na}?-a²-ar¹ “‘The Swallow’, *The River*’-star” (HOROWITZ 2014, 38). We propose that the second part of the line is a description of the ‘Swallow’ as “the star of the bitter wind” (*kakkab šār marri*), not another name for it:

v 15. DIŠ MUL ša DAL.BA.AN ^{mul}ŠU.GI
 v 16. ^da-nim GUB-zu
 v 17. ^{mul}SIM.MAH¹MUL¹IM¹mar-ri¹

The star that stands between the ‘Old Man’ (Perseus) and Anu: the ‘Swallow’, the star of the bitter wind.

“Bitter wind” is also mentioned in solar eclipse omens (see CAD M/1 287 which cites ACh Šamaš 9, 36) and the omen entry about the rise of a bitter wind is found complete in K.9225 rev i 5:

DIŠ U₄ 28.KAM^v URU LUGAL u UN.MEŠ-šu SILIM.MEŠ ina IGI MU IM mar-ru ZI-ma BURU₁₄ TUR-er

¶ (If a solar eclipse takes place on) the 28th day (of Tebētu): the city, the king and his people will be well; at the beginning of the year a biting wind will rise and diminish the crop.

Both this omen and the star Šinūnūtu are connected to winter: the eclipse omen is for the month Tebētu (December-January) and the star Šinūnūtu is assigned to the month Šabātu (January-February) in VAT 9416 (vii 11 and viii 21). It seems plausible that the “bitter wind” is a biting wind that blows during the winter months. It should be noted that, in winter, outbreaks of freezing arctic air can lead to temperatures lower than -5° C in the Middle East (SCARPELLI 2024, 9).

3) *The Lone Star, Lataraq: VAT 9416 v 18-19 (O. Lewenstein)*

The entry in VAT 9416 v 18-19 (Obv. ii 18-19 in HOROWITZ 2014) describes the star associated with the deity Lataraq. The two-line entry was damaged already when the excavation photo was taken, and in current condition, only traces of v 18 are preserved. Based on the parallels HS 1897 and BM 55502, as well as MUL.APIN I ii 3-4, Horowitz (2014, 104; 114) reconstructs v 19 as ^{mul}UR.GU.LA^dla-ta-ra-ak “‘The Lion’, Lataraq”. This suggestion can now be revised based on Ass. Ph. 564:

v 18. DIŠ MUL ša IGI-er¹ ^{mul}MUŠ GUB-zu
 v 19. MUL DILI^dla-ta¹-ra¹-aq¹

The star that stands in front of the ‘Serpent’: the lone star, Lataraq.

Attempting to find a suitable star, we set out looking for a prominent star in front of the constellation ‘Serpent’ (Hydra). We would like to propose the star Procyon (α Canis Minoris), which is among the brightest stars in the northern celestial hemisphere. In MUL.APIN I ii 3, Lataraq is one of the gods associated with the ‘twin stars which stand opposite the True Shepherd of Anu’ (see HUNGER/STEELE 2019, 39). Canis Minor is situated between Hydra (‘Serpent’) and Orion (‘True Shepherd of Anu’) and it has a core of two bright stars (Procyon and Gomeisa). Therefore, it seems possible that the ‘Twin Stars’ in MUL.APIN I ii 3 should be identified with Canis Minor, as once proposed by A. Schott (see ŠL IV/2, no. 267).

4) *The Star in the Strap of the ‘Wagon’: VAT 9416 vi 11-12 (B. Mak)*

Going back to E. Weidner’s edition (1915, 79), VAT 9416 vi 12 (Obv. iii 12 in HOROWITZ 2014) has been understood to refer to a red star at the frontside of the ‘Yoke’ (*ina pūt nīri*). In addition, an emendation

<MUL> SA₅ “the red <star>” has been proposed (HOROWITZ 2014, 39). There are, however, issues with these readings: 1) as a part of genitive chain, one would expect the spelling *ni-ri* instead of *ni-ru*; 2) the rest of the text uses *IGI-et* (*mehret*) to mean “in front of; opposite”, e.g. iii 4; 3) we must ask if there are solutions to avoid the emendation. To solve these issues, we propose to read:

vi 11. DIŠ MUL ša i+na tu-ri-ša GUB-zi[u]
vi 12. SA₅ i-na-bu-ut ni-ru^{d+e}[n-lil]

The star that stands in its strap; (it) is red (and) shines: the ‘Yoke’, Enlil.

Following this reading, the star introduced in vi 11 is not a star separate from *nīru*, the ‘Yoke’, but is the ‘Yoke’ itself.

Bibliography

- CASABURI, M. C., 2003, Tre stelle per ciascun(-mese). L’Astrolabio B: edizione filologica, *AION Suppl.* 93, Napoli.
HOROWITZ, W., 2014, *The Three Stars Each: The Astrolabes and Related Texts*, AfO Bh. 33, Wien.
HUNGER, H./STEELE, J., 2019, *The Babylonian Astronomical Compendium MUL.APIN, Scientific Writings from the Ancient and Medieval World*, London/New York.
SCARPELLI, T., 2024, *Das Wetter in der mesopotamischen Kulturgeschichte des II. und I. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, LAOS 18, Wiesbaden.
WEIDNER, E., 1915, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie I. Der babylonische Fixsternhimmel*, AB 23/1, Leipzig.
WEIDNER, E., 1952/53, Die Bibliothek Tiglatpileasers I., *AfO* 16, p. 197-215.

Aino HÄTINEN <aino.haetinen@lmu.de>, Or LEWENSTEIN <Or.Lewenstein@campus.lmu.de>,
Brian MAK <B.Mak@campus.lmu.de>, Albert SETÄLÄ <A.Setaelae@campus.lmu.de>
Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, LMU München, Munich (GERMANY)

118) Biryawaza of Damascus, the City of Mušihuna and the Land of Api — Discussions about the role and residence site of Biryawaza, the author of letters EA 194–197, were held since the early research into the Amarna letters. Some scholars regarded him as an Egyptian commissioner, whereas others considered him to be a Canaanite ruler.¹⁾ Whereas Hachmann (1970: 75) dismissed the suggestion that Damascus was Biryawaza’s capital, other scholars claimed that he was the king of Damascus and that his administrative authority covered the vast area of north Transjordan and south Syria, including the garrison city of Kumidi (NA’AMAN 1988: 179–187; LIVERANI 1998: 250–253). The petrographic analysis of three of Biryawaza’s letters (EA 194, 196, 197), which indicates that all of them were inscribed in the Damascus area (GOREN, FINKELSTEIN and NA’AMAN 2004: 171–172), seems to have settled the debate and demonstrated that Biryawaza was indeed the King of Damascus. Recently, however, the debate resumed as some scholars raised a new hypothesis; i.e., that Biryawaza was the king of Mušihuna, a city located in the land of ‘Amqi (the southern district of the Beqa’ of Lebanon).

The point of departure of the new hypothesis is the claim that Shuttarna, King of Mušihuna, the author of letters EA 182–184, is the same as Shuttarna, father of Biryawaza, who is mentioned in one of Biryawaza’s letters (EA 194:9).²⁾ In fact, this claim dates back over a century and was suggested by Knudtzon in his edition of the Amarna letters (1915: 57). In his words: “Namiawaza [=Biryawaza], von dem Nr. 194–197 herrühren, ist Sohn eines Šutarna (194,9), der mit dem Absender der Briefe Nr. 182–184, dem Šutarna von Mušihuna, identisch sein wird, da dessen Briefe nach Schrift, Ton und zum Teil sogar Form Nr. 174–176 ähnlich sind.” His claim was also supported by Weber (1915: 1280) in his commentary on the Amarna letters.

In one of his lectures, Edmond Gordon raised the possibility that letter EA 180, whose upper part is broken and whose author is unknown, might be the second part of letter EA 183, written by Shuttarna of Mušihuna (mentioned in MORAN 1992: 263 n. 1). In his edition of the Amarna letters, Rainey (2015: 862–863) took this suggestion one step further and published a combined text of letters EA 183 and EA 180. On the basis of the assumed combination of the two tablets, Vita (2006: 3–5) suggested that the unnamed son of Shuttarna, who according to letter EA 180:4–9 was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Egyptian court, is no other than Biryawaza, the author of letters EA 194–197. He then proposed the conjecture that the latter ascended the throne of Mušihuna after the death of Shuttarna, his father. Lauinger and Yoder

recently accepted this bold suggestion in their new edition of all the Syro-Levantine Amarna letters (2025: 319–325).

Did letters EA 180 and 183 originally belong to a single tablet? A close examination of the two tablets indicates that this hypothesis is unlikely. The most remarkable feature of EA 180 is the systematic repetition of the triad “my lord, my god, my sun god” every time that the ideogram LUGAL (“king”; i.e., the Pharaoh) is mentioned (ten times). These three titles, which bind the references to the Pharaoh, appear frequently in the opening formulae of various Amarna letters. Yet other than letter EA 180, the systematic repetition of this triad is known only from EA 179, a letter sent by the king of Ṭubihu (six times). In contrast, in the three letters of Shuttarna, King of Mušihuna (EA 182–184), the statement, “the king, my lord, my god, my sun god” interchanges with the shorter statement, “the king, my lord.” This comparison indicates that letter EA 180 was written, along with letter EA 179, by the king of Ṭubihu, and not by the king of Mušihuna. Hence, the identity of the unnamed son of Shuttarna, referred to in letter 180, is irrelevant for the discussion of Biryawaza’s place of residence.³⁾

As for Biryawaza, his letters indicate that beside his status as King of Damascus, he also held an important role in the framework of the Egyptian administration of north Canaan. In this capacity, he supervised the land of Api, whose territorial scope merits detailed discussion. As letter EA 197 is the longest and most detailed among Biryawaza’s four letters (EA 194–197), I examine it as a key text for the clarification of Biryawaza’s role in the Egyptian administration and for elucidating the extent of the land of Api.

Biryawaza’s involvement in the affairs of the Bashan and northeastern Jordan Valley is related in the first part of letter EA 197 (lines 1–19). The upper part of the letter is broken, and the letter opens with citation of the words that an unknown ruler applied to Biryawaza (lines 1–5). This passage is partly broken, and I suggest restoring it as follows:

... [and he sa]id to me (*a[na ia-ši-ia]*)⁴⁾, your servant, in the town of A[duru/raru: “Take] his horses and his chariots [and give them] to the ‘Apiru, and do not g[ive them] to the king, my lord.”

The accusation of the deliverance of chariots (lines 2–5, 10–12) or a city (Shaddu; lines 29–31) to the ‘Apiru rather than to the Egyptian authorities is repeated three times in letter EA 197. These accusations are a rhetorical device that Biryawaza applied to blame his enemies for being traitors who operate against the Egyptian interests in Canaan. The three accused rulers are: (a) the unnamed ruler mentioned in lines 1–5; (b) Biridashwa, King of Ashtartu; and (c) Arzawiya, King of Ruhizi.⁵⁾ The towns of the first two rulers are located south of Biryawaza’s kingdom and that of the third (Arzawiya) is found to the north of it.

Who might have addressed the above-cited words to Biryawaza? With all due caution, I suggest attributing this quote to the King of Pihilu, a close ally of the King of Ashtartu, as indicated by letter EA 256.⁶⁾ Details of the deed that the King of Pihilu⁷⁾ has done are unknown; yet, according to Biryawaza’s letter, in reaction to his deed, Biridashwa, King of Ashtartu, incited the town of Yeno’am against Biryawaza and shut the city’s gate behind him (lines 7–9). Yeno’am is identified at Tell esh-Shihab, a site located on the Yarmuk River, where a stele of Seti I was discovered (for its identification, see NA’AMAN 1977; WIMMER 2002:5–7).⁷⁾ The reference to the town of Yeno’am, as well as the references to the kings of Ashtartu, Bušruna and Halunnu (lines 10, 13–14), all located in the Bashan and northeastern Jordan Valley, clearly indicate that Biryawaza’s administrative authority encompassed vast regions to the south of the city of Damascus.

Biryawaza’s supervision of the garrison city of Kumidi, located in the land of ‘Amqi, is explicitly mentioned in letter EA 197:38–39. Moreover, according to a letter written by Akizzi, King of Qatna (EA 53:28–34), Biryawaza possessed a palace in the land of ‘Amqi, which was plundered in the course of the invasion of Etakkama, King of Qidshu, to this region. Biryawaza himself also seems to have related the plundering of his ‘Amqi’s palace in one of his letters (EA 196:26–33).

In the Amarna period (ca. 1358–1325 BCE), the frontier between the spheres of influence of Egypt and Hatti – that is, between the land of Tahshe (the northern district of the Beqa’ of Lebanon and the area around Qidshu) and the land of ‘Amqi (the southern district of the Beqa’) – was marked by the watershed between the Orontes and Liṭani rivers.⁸⁾ This political disposition explains the words that Biryawaza attributed to the kings of Bušruna and Halunnu (EA 197:17–19): “Come! Let us kill Biryawaza and we

will not let him go to [the land of Ta]hshe.” Biryawaza accused the two kings of an effort to obstruct the Egyptian plans to conduct a campaign against Qidshu – one in which Biryawaza would play an important role (cf. EA 195).

Several texts indicate that the northern frontier of the land of Api touched the southern border of the land of Tahshe.⁹ Thus, the pair of Tahshe and Api are mentioned side-by-side in two letters. (a) In letter EA 189, Etakkama blames Biryawaza (EA 189 rev. 9–12) that he delivered the cities of the king in the lands of Tahshe and Api to the ‘Apiru; and (b) Biryawaza mentions jointly “the kings of [the land of Tahshe (sic!)] and the land of Api” (EA 197:41–42). Moreover, Akizzi, King of Qatna, repeatedly complains that Etakkama of Qidshu and his allies attacked and even conquered districts of the land of Api (EA 53:28, 37, 57, 59, 62).

Several scholars (see, e.g., HACHMANN 1970: 84–87; PITARD 1987: 61–63; KLENGEL 1970: 96–99; HELCK 1971: 271) have discussed the scope of the land of Api/Upi. I suggest that in the Late Bronze Age, the land of Api/Upi encompassed the entire area under the supervision of the King of Damascus, i.e., from the regions of Bashan and Hauran in the south to the northern border of the land of ‘Amqi in the north. This is not the place to examine in detail the various references to Api/Up. However, generally speaking, the above-suggested outline fits well all of the Late Bronze documentary evidence. Moreover, it fits well the picture that emerged from the examination of the *longue durée*.

As is well known, the political-geographical designation Api/Upi disappeared from the cuneiform literature in the late second millennium BCE. But scholars did not notice that the place of this designation – as a designation for the region that surrounds Damascus – was taken in the cuneiform literature in the first millennium BCE by the designation Ša-imērišu (for references, see BAGG 2007: 238–239). The territorial scope of Ša-imērišu in the first millennium roughly overlaps with that of Api/Upi in the second millennium. Furthermore, in both periods, Damascus was the name of the city (with few exceptions), whereas Api/Upi and later Ša-imērišu were the names of the territory that surrounded it (cf. references in BELMONTE MARÍN 2001: 64; BAGG 2007: 60–62).

With this observation in mind, the restoration of the text of EA 197:21 should be reconsidered. Knudtson (1915: 726) restored it, [ʾa-bi ù] ʾdi-maš-qa, and other scholars (e.g., RAINEY 2015: 902; LAUINGER and YODER 2025: 325) restored [KUR apí] in the beginning of line 21. These scholars translated lines 19–21, “But I got away from their [control] and took a stand in [the land of Api and] Damascus.” Yet, whereas Biryawaza’s standing at the end of his travel in Damascus makes sense in the context of the letter, the reference to the land of Api in this context is odd, as Biryawaza did not leave it in the course of his travel southward. In this light, I suggest restoring the beginning of line 20 [URU-ia ù], and translate lines 20–21, “and took a stand in [my city, in] Damascus.” In this passage, Biryawaza reports to the Pharaoh that he returned safely from his travel and stands strongly in his capital city.

In sum, Damascus was Biryawaza’s capital city as indicated by the literary study of the Amarna letters and the petrographic examination of Biryawaza’s tablets. Letters EA 179 and 180 were written by the King of Ṭubihu. And the land of Api encompassed the vast region that Biryawaza supervised in his role as the local deputy of Egypt in the northeastern districts of Canaan.

Notes

1. For the history of research, see HACHMANN 1970: 75; NA’AMAN 1988: 179–180.
2. In contrast to this claim, Moran (1992: 384 s.v. Šut(t)arna) and Liverani (1998: 461 s.v. Shuttarna) considered the king mentioned in EA 182–184 and in EA 194 to be two different rulers.
3. For a detailed discussion of the Mušihuna’s letters (EA 182–184), see VITA 2005.
4. For this rendering, see EA 197 lines 6, 37.
5. For the location of Ruhizi, see RAINEY 1979; GOREN, FINKELSTEIN and NA’AMAN 2004: 100.
6. For letter EA 256, see recently LAUINGER and YODER 2025: 396–398, with earlier literature.
7. For a recent discussion of the stele of Seti I discovered at Tell esh-Shihab, see WIMMER 2008.
8. For the claim that the watershed between the Orontes and Liṭani rivers marked the border in the Beqa’ Valley between its northern and southern districts, see NA’AMAN 2022.
9. For a historical survey, see recently NA’AMAN 2022: 40–41, with earlier literature.

Bibliography

- BAGG, A.M., 2007, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil 1: Die Levante* (RGTC 7/1), Wiesbaden.
- BELMONTE MARÍN, J.A., 2001, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. V. Chr.* (RGTC 7/12/2), Wiesbaden.
- GOREN, Y., FINKELSTEIN, I. and NA'AMAN, N., 2004, *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Monograph Series of the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology 23), Tel Aviv.
- HACHMANN, R., 1970, Kāmid el-Lōz – Kumidi, in D.O. Edzard, R. Hachmann, P. Maiberger and G. Mansfeld (eds.), *Kamid el-Loz – Kumidi* (SBA 7), Bonn: 63–94.
- HELCK, W., 1971, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (2nd revised ed.), Wiesbaden.
- KLENGEL, H., 1970, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. Teil 3 – Historische Geographie und allgemeine Darstellung*, Berlin.
- KNUDTZON, J.A., 1915, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen, Vol. I–II* (VaB 2), Leipzig.
- LIVERANI, M., 1998, *Le lettere di el-Amarna, Vol. I–II* (Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 2/3), Brescia.
- LAUNGER, J. and YODER, T.R., 2025, *The Amarna Letters. The Syro-Levantine Correspondence*, Columbia, GA.
- MORAN, W.L., 1992, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore and London.
- NA'AMAN, N., 1977, Yeno'am, *Tel Aviv* 4: 168–177.
- 1988, Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kāmid el-Lōz 'Apiru Letters, *UF* 20: 179–193.
- 2022, The District of Šubat/Šupitu in the longue durée Perspective, *SAAB* 29: 39–52.
- PITARD, W.T., 1987, *Ancient Damascus. A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E.*, Winona Lake.
- RAINEY, A.F., 1979, Toponymic Problems (cont.). Rāḫiṣum = Rôḡiṣu? *Tel Aviv* 6: 158–162.
- 2015, *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on collations of all extant tablets, vol. 1–2* (HdO 10), Leiden and Boston.
- VITA, J.-P., 2005, The town of Mušihuna and the cities of the 'Beqa' Alliance' in the Amarna Letters, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 22: 1–7.
- 2006, Reyes de Damasco en la época de El-Amarna, *ISIMU* 7: 1–5.
- WEBER, O., 1915, *Anmerkungen*, in J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen II* (VaB 2), Leipzig: 1009–1357.
- WIMMER, S.J., 2002, A New Stela of Ramesses II in Jordan in the context of Egyptian Royal Stelae in the Levant, in *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Paris: 1–13.
- 2008, Von Nubien bis Syrien: zur ramessidischen Stele von Tell eš-Šihâb, in F. Adrom, K and A. Schlüter (eds.), *Altägyptische Weltansichten. Akten des Symposiums zur historischen Topographie und Toponymie Ägyptens vom 12.–14. Mai 2006 in München* (AAT 68), Wiesbaden: 190–196.

Nadav NA'AMAN <nnaaman@tauex.tau.ac.il>
Tel Aviv University (ISRAEL)

119) More possibly Egyptian words in EA 14 — The Akkadian text EA 14, which conveys a list of gifts sent from Echnaton, king of Egypt, to Burnaburiash II, king of Babylonia, contains a number of Egyptian words. One expression of this circumstance is that there are many words left untranslated in the translations made by Moran (1992, 27–34) and Rainey (2015, 112–127). Most of these untranslated words are identified as Egyptian terms in the articles by Lambdin (1953) and Edel (1988; 1989) about Egyptianisms in EA 14. However, there are 15 untranslated words that are not brought up in the said articles, nor in the books about Egyptian linguistic elements in non-Egyptian texts written by Muchiki (1999), Cochavi-Rainey (2011), and Mahlich (2022).¹ Four of these 15 untranslated words are attested solely in text EA 14 and are not etymologically classified in AHw and CAD. This note discusses these four words, suggesting that these may be Egyptian.

The word *kitini* (¹ki¹-¹ti¹-¹ni¹) is attested once in EA 14 (ii 6). It appears in the context of the sentence “1 tube for eye-paint, with *kibbu*-ornaments of polished gold, (*called*) *kitini*”.² Neither AHw nor CAD seem to bring up the term *kitini*, presumably because Knudtzon (1915, 110), in his edition of the text, does not include this reading, giving only *ša ḫurāši maš-ši - -*, commenting that “Was folgt, scheint kleiner geschrieben zu sein als das Vorhergehende.” The Egyptian origin of EA 14 (along with the fact that numerous words in EA 14 have been identified as Egyptian) and the position of *kitini* in the sentence imply that *kitini* may be of Egyptian etymology. Question is, what Egyptian word would *kitini* reflect? Focusing on the consonants of *kitini* and looking at how Egyptian consonants are represented in cuneiform (RANKE

1910, 85–93), the root *k-t/t/d/d-n* can be distinguished. However, no Egyptian word with such root, suitable for the present context, can be found in Wb or DLE. Based on this finding, there are three options: *kitini* is not an Egyptian word, it is Egyptian but unattested elsewhere, or it is an attested Egyptian word that incorporates one or more of the Egyptian semi-vowels (*β, i, y, ς, w*).³⁾

The word *kurumānu* (*ku-ru-ma-nu*) is attested once in EA 14 (iv 7). It appears in the context of the sentence “44 containers of oil, decorated with apples, pomegranates, dates, (and) *kurumānu*, of stained ivory”. AHW (I, 513) suggests that *kurumānu* is “ein Gefäß” and does not provide an etymology. CAD (K, 573) proposes that *kurumānu* is “a fruit” and classifies it etymologically as a “foreign word”. The Egyptian origin of EA 14 (along with the fact that numerous words in EA 14 have been identified as Egyptian) and the fact that *kurumānu* is of unclear etymology in the standard Akkadian dictionaries imply that *kurumānu* may be Egyptian. Question is, what Egyptian word would *kurumānu* reflect? Focusing on the consonants of *kurumānu* and looking at how Egyptian consonants are represented in cuneiform (RANKE 1910, 85–93), the root *k-r-m-n* can be distinguished. However, no Egyptian word with such root, suitable for the present context, can be found in Wb or DLE. Based on this finding, there are three options: *kurumānu* is not an Egyptian word, it is Egyptian but unattested elsewhere, or it is an attested Egyptian word that incorporates one or more of the Egyptian semi-vowels (*β, i, y, ς, w*).⁴⁾

The word *šahpu* (*ša-ah-pu*) is attested once in EA 14 (ii 22). It appears in the context of the sentence “1 throne, overlaid with gold and *šahpu*”. AHW (III, 1132) suggests that *šahpu* is “eine Metallegierung” (used as “Überzug”) and classifies it etymologically as of “unbekannter Herkunft”. CAD (Š I, 100) proposes that *šahpu* is a “substance used to overlay or decorate” and likewise does not provide an etymology. The Egyptian origin of EA 14 (along with the fact that numerous words in EA 14 have been identified as Egyptian) and the fact that *šahpu* is of unclear etymology in the standard Akkadian dictionaries imply that *šahpu* may be Egyptian. Question is, what Egyptian word would *šahpu* reflect? Focusing on the consonants of *šahpu* and looking at how Egyptian consonants are represented in cuneiform (RANKE 1910, 85–93), the root *s/š/t-h/h/h-p/f* can be distinguished. However, no Egyptian word with such root, suitable for the present context, can be found in Wb or DLE. Based on this finding, there are three options: *šahpu* is not an Egyptian word, it is Egyptian but unattested elsewhere, or it is an attested Egyptian word that harbours one or more of the Egyptian semi-vowels (*β, i, y, ς, w*).⁵⁾

The word *ullû* (*ul-lu-u*) is attested twice in EA 14 (iii 31, 33). It appears in the context of the sentences “6½ half *ullu*-cloths(?), of linen cloth, for their length(wise strips?), *tabarru*-red, *paqa* (quality). The total of the linen cloth: 1092, and 6½ *lu*-cloths(?)”. Notably, it is linked to the term *paqa*, which has been identified as Egyptian (LAMB DIN 1953, 367). AHW (III, 1410) suggests that *ullû* is “ein Gewand” and classifies it etymologically as of “unbekannter Herkunft”. CAD (U/W, 84) proposes that *ullû* is “a textile or garment” and does not provide an etymology.⁶⁾ The Egyptian origin of EA 14 (along with the fact that numerous words in EA 14 have been identified as Egyptian), the fact that *ullû* is of unclear etymology in the standard Akkadian dictionaries, and the circumstance that it is tied to another word identified as Egyptian imply that also *ullû* may be Egyptian. Question is, what Egyptian word would *ullû* reflect? Focusing on the consonants of *ullû* and looking at how Egyptian consonants are represented in cuneiform (RANKE 1910, 85–93), a base composed of the semi-vowel *w* and the consonant *r* (forming *w-r-(r-)w*) can be presumed. However, no Egyptian word with such a base, suitable for the present context, can be found in Wb or DLE. Concluding from this finding, there are three options: *ullû* is not an Egyptian word, it is Egyptian but unattested elsewhere, or it is an attested Egyptian word that incorporates one or more of the remaining Egyptian semi-vowels (*β, i, y, ς*).⁷⁾

Notes

1. These untranslated words are *dušû, ḫuttu, idru, išqillatu, kibbu, kitinu, kukkubu, kurumānu, šipparātu, šahpu, šuššūgu, tabarru, tallu, tunzu, ullû*.

2. The translations given in this note are drawn from MORAN 1992, 27–34.

3. Judging by the overview provided by Ranke (1910, 86–89) on these semi-vowels, Egyptian aleph (*β*) and ayin (*ς*) signify Akkadian *a, el, u*, and aleph, Egyptian *i* and *y* mainly express Akkadian *y* and aleph, while Egyptian *w* mainly conveys Akkadian *u* and *w*. Proceeding from these findings, the initial *i* in *kitini* may stand for Egyptian *i, y*, aleph, or ayin. I was unable to find a suitable word in Wb or DLE, on the basis of this premise.

In sum, there is a range of options with regard to the etymology of *šippar(r)ātu*. It may (as suggested by CAD) not be an Egyptian word at all (1), it is Egyptian and corresponds to *dprt* A or B (2), it is a foreign (Semitic?) word that was brought into the Egyptian language (3), it is an otherwise unattested Egyptian word (4), or it is an attested Egyptian word that incorporates one or more of the Egyptian semi-vowels (*β, i, y, ʿ, w*) in a way that it is hard to identify it in Wb or DLE (5).

Notes

1. Translations from MORAN 1992, 29, 31; transliterations from RAINEY 2015, 116, 118.
2. Mandell comments regarding *šippar(r)ātu*: “cosmetics (ointment?); *bīt š*. an ointment container (Am. < Eg.)”, which I interpret (based on the available information) as her claiming that *šippar(r)ātu* is an Egyptian word. In the glossary context, it is more likely that her “Eg.” points to etymology than to provenance. Tellingly, another word (*mišu*) is described as “troops, expeditionary force; (Am < Eg. *mšʿ*)” (MANDELL 2015, 1289).
3. As noted by Ranke (1910, 90, 93) regarding *d* and *f* respectively, “der alte Lautwert von *d* scheint dem semitischen *š* nahegestanden zu haben”, and (concerning *f*) “stets durch *p* wiedergegeben.”
4. Sign N33 represents a “grain of sand, pellet, or like”, and it classifies words referring to “black eye-paint, kohl; medicaments, incense, etc.”, among other kinds of things (GARDINER 1994, 490).
5. In his concise dictionary, Hannig (2006, 1080) classifies both of the words with the root *dprt* as “ext. – fremdsprachlich”, supposedly because of the partly syllabic writing of the two words.

Bibliography

- COHAVI-RAINEY, Z., 2011, *The Akkadian Dialect of Egyptian Scribes in the 14th and 13th Centuries BCE*, Münster.
 DLE = L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, I–II*, Providence, 2002–2004.
 EDEL, E., 1988, “Weitere Beiträge zum Verständnis der Geschenklisten des Amarnabriefes Nr. 14,” in *Documentum Asiae Minoris antiquae*, eds. E. Neu and C. Rüster, Wiesbaden, 99–114.
 EDEL, E., 1989, “Ägyptische Glossen in den Geschenklisten des Amarnabriefes Nr. 14,” *SAK* 16, 27–33.
 GARDINER, A., 1994, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.), Oxford.
 HANNIG, R. 2006, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch–Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz.
 LAMBDIN, T.O., 1953, “Egyptian Words in Tell El Amarna Letter No. 14,” *Or* 22, 362–369.
 MAHLICH, E., 2022, *Ägyptische Wörter und Namen in altorientalischen Sprachen*, Münster.
 MANDELL, A. 2015. “Glossary,” in *The El-Amarna Correspondence, II*, by A.L. Rainey, Leiden and Boston, 1269–1313.
 MORAN, W.L., 1992, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore.
 MUCHIKI, Y., 1999, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic*, Atlanta.
 RAINEY, A.F., 2015, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, Leiden and Boston.
 RANKE, H., 1910, *Keilschriftliches Material zur Altägyptischen Vokalisation*, Berlin.
 Wb = A. ERMAN and H. GRAPOW, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, I–V*, Berlin, 1926–61.

Mattias KARLSSON <mattias.karlsson.uu@gmail.com>

121) An eponym from the time of Aššur-reša-iši I — Little survives of the eponym name in VAT 13798,¹⁾ but Freydanck dated the tablet to Aššur-reša-iši I (Ari) and hoped for an identification of the eponym once the candidates were known.²⁾ This may serve as a test for my work on the Ari eponyms.³⁾ The sign after the personal determinative starts with an upper horizontal that leads to the head of a vertical wedge. In the 12th century there is a single eponym name that fits, namely *tak₂-lak-ana-Aššur*. As far as I can see, the second sign of the name may have been LAK, but a collation would be helpful. There were two eponyms with the name Taklak-ana-Aššur, one in the third decade of Tp and an earlier one that I have dated to the years 10-17 of Ari.

Freydanck’s independent date for VAT 13798 is based on two arguments. On one hand, as discussed by Weidner,⁴⁾ the text belongs to a set of four with divination omens, written by Šamaš-zeraiddina, son of Šamaš-šumu-lešir. Two were written in the first two years of Tiglath-pileser I (Tp), one in the eponymate of Bere in the later years of Ari. On the other hand, VAT 13798 contains a double date, with an offset between the Babylonian and Assyrian months that differs by two months from the one in the years 2-4 of Tiglath-pileser I (Tp) and by three months from that in the years 5-7 of Tp (to be written Tp 5-7). Given offsets repeat after 32 tropical years, or equivalently after 33 lunar years of exactly 12 lunar months. On average, a given offset stays the same for about $33/12 = 2.75$ lunar years. Thus VAT 13798 should date

to one of the years Ari 15-17. This agrees with my date for the earlier Taklak-ana-Aššur and confirms the reading.

In the reign of Ari the eponymate of Bere was followed by two further years named after Bere, plus at least the eponymate of Ninurta-nadin-apli. There is not enough space for all these eponymates after year 15, so that Taklak-ana-Aššur must be placed after Bere and his two successor eponyms. Placing it with respect to Ninurta-nadin-apli is more difficult. MARV 6 85 relates the eponymate of Ninurta-nadin-apli to the earlier one of Bere, but the fragmentary lines 32-38 indicate that the tablet dealt with four to six sequential eponyms. If Ninurta-nadin-apli's eponymate occurred three years after Bere, Taklak-ana-Aššur came later, but for four or five years, a place in an intervening year is possible. On the other hand, Ninurta-nadin-apli's eponymate under Ari can be related to the year Tp 2. The text MARV 7 22 links either the eponymate or the provinces of the grand vizier Ninurta-nadin-apli to deliveries in Tp 2 and does not help much, but a more precise placement may be possible due to a partially preserved distance number in MARV 8 50, line r.8. It explicitly links the eponymate of Ninurta-nadin-apli to the year Tp 2. Freydank read this number as 4+,⁵⁾ whereas Gauthier argued for 3.⁶⁾ According to the photo cdlI P283478, it is quite possible that the leftmost of the four wedge heads in Freydank's hand copy just corresponds to some damage of the tablet, but Freydank's transcription is correct in any case. If one compares the numbers 3,2,8,4 in lines 1,2,2,4 of MARV 8 50 to the distance number in line 8, one sees that the wedge heads of the latter are too small and too closely spaced to admit a reading of 3, whereas they are indistinguishable from those in the first row of the numbers 8, 4 in lines 2, 4. They must form the first row of a number with two rows of wedges. Just where the second row is expected, the cdlI photograph appears to show remnants of one or two wedge heads. One would need a higher resolution in 3D to be certain, but Freydank's reading of 4+ is confirmed, with a preference for 4 or 5. If 4 is correct, Ninurta-nadin-apli has to be placed at Ari 17 and Taklak-ana-Aššur a year or two before him, but otherwise the opposite order is possible. A decision needs more data.

More importantly, VAT 13798 shows that a purely lunar year was in existence before the reign of Tp. It motivates a new look at the Middle Assyrian calendar in the subsequent note.

Notes

1. WEIDNER 1952-53:pl. 13, cdlI photograph P282417.
2. FREYDANK 1991:86.
3. NAHM 2024.
4. WEIDNER 1952-53:202, 210.
5. FREYDANK 2016:83, 165
6. GAUTHIER 2016:497-499.

Bibliography

- FREYDANK, H., 1991, *Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, SGKAO 21, Berlin.
——— 2016, *Assyrische Jahresbeamte des 12. Jh. v. Chr.*, AOAT 429, Münster.
GAUTHIER, P. E., 2016, List of M4 Texts and Editions in Portrait Format, online in academia.edu, appended to:
Managing Risk for the Gods: The Middle Assyrian gināu Agency. PhD diss., University of Chicago.
NAHM, W., 2024, The eponyms of Aššur-reš-iši, *NABU* 2024/114.
WEIDNER, E., 1952-53, Die Bibliothek Tiglatpileser I, *AfO* 16, 197-215.

Werner NAHM <wnahm@stp.dias.ie>

122) The Middle Assyrian calendar — In discussions of Mesopotamian calendars, month always means natural lunar month. The Middle Assyrian month names will be referred to by Roman numbers, with Šippu as month I and Hibur as month XII. It is generally accepted that eponyms took office in month I and that under Tiglath-pileser I (Tp) the Middle Assyrian month names were used for a lunar eponym year of exactly 12 months, about 354 days. The Old Assyrian calendar had similar month names, but it was lunisolar, with a close link to the seasons. To determine the time of change from lunisolar to lunar years, we use the following arguments.

– In Dur Katlimmu, the census of animals and the distribution of the harvested grain happened in specific Assyrian months, with limited fluctuations. Because agricultural events are tied to sun and season, this is incompatible with a lunar calendar and requires a lunisolar year with occasional intercalary months.

– The only intercalation method for which there is any kind of evidence is the insertion of a second Hibur (month XIIb) that was linked to the following year in some way. So far the only evidence for it was archive M6 from the time of Aššur-dān I (Ad),¹⁾ but there is a second plausible case, namely VAT 16380 from the second year of Tukulti-Ninurta I (TN),²⁾ to be written TN 2. VAT 16380 refers to days from months XII, I, II and III in sequence. The two dates from month XII are called *ša erib[ti]*, interpreted by Freydanck as 'of the incoming (year)', well suited to designate dates in XIIb. Thus the evidence from archive M6 is strengthened, and the most plausible range for the transition from lunisolar to lunar years is late Ad or sometime in the reign of Aššur-reša-iši I (Ari).

– In the neo-Assyrian period, Assyrian month names had largely gone out of use, but there was a firm tradition about an Assyrian lunisolar year with the Babylonian Nisan (first month) corresponding to the Assyrian Kalmartu (month III).³⁾ In the time of Ad, an explicit coincidence of Nisan and Kalmartu appears in the colophon of the lexical text VAT 8875.⁴⁾ Most likely, the latter text was written before the archive M6 and it cannot be much later. Thus the neo-Assyrian tradition appears to reflect the relation between the Assyrian and Babylonian lunisolar calendars before the temporary use of a lunar year under Ari and Tp.

It seems safe to assume that the name of the current Assyrian month did not change at the time of the calendar transition. This implies that the lunar reckoning started with a lunar year in which Kalmartu coincided with Nisan, as in Tp 22. The same match occurred 33 lunar years earlier, in Ari 7, which is the best candidate for the transition. Moving back another 34 lunar years would lead to Ad 19, which in view of archive M6 appears to be too early for a lunar calendar. Michael Liebig pointed out to me that the switch from a lunisolar to a lunar calendar made no economic sense, but can be understood as a statement of opposition to Babylonia. This fits with the years when Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur had fled to Babylonia and tried to regain the Assyrian throne with Babylonian military support.⁵⁾ It also may explain why it took a decade and a change of reign before the Assyrian lunar dates could be supplemented with the more practical Babylonian lunisolar ones.

My proposal can and must be tested by checking the position of agricultural events in the tropical year. For the Babylonian year one can assume that Nisan was placed close to the spring equinox, as in the Old Babylonian and the neo-Babylonian periods. According to V R 43, the Assyrian lunisolar year should have started about two months earlier, in early to mid winter. This is about the time of the start of the Old Assyrian year, but with a shift of the month names by half a year. The shift might be due to a period of sloppy intercalations, followed by a calendar reform that reinforced some old customs. Sloppy intercalations would make a test of the calendar quite difficult. But starting from year 27 of Salmānu-ašarēd I (Sa 27), the use of a well-organized calendar is evident, because the census of the herds and the grain distribution were fixed to day 20 of Hibur (XII 20). This custom persisted at least until the late reign of TN, when the data become insufficient. For the year TN 18, Bloch found a seasonal location of the Assyrian months by studying the harvesting and treatment of flax.⁶⁾ According to his analysis, the Assyrian month I of TN 18 started in Julian mid February.⁷⁾ This fits well with the correspondence between month III and Nisan. For the barley cultivated at Dur Katlimmu, the dates only work if it was summer barley. This is unexpected, but may be indicated anyhow by the strange fact that the stored barley at Dur Katlimmu was mixed with much wild barley.⁸⁾ Wild barley grows best as a summer crop.

For Sa 5-27, there is a slow drift of the census of the herds and the grain distribution from month IX to month XII. In most years, those two events happened at the same time. A few deviations will be discussed later, but the basic pattern remains clear. In the years Sa 5 to Sa 13 the agricultural events are documented between VIII 28 and X 5 (BATSH 9 10, 13, 14, 16, 40-42, 46, 67, 69; BATSH 18 2, 3, 6, 10, 12). For four of the subsequent six years there is no documentation, but in Sa 15-16 the events happened in the middle of month X (BATSH 9 1, 37, 63, 94; BATSH 10, 83; BATSH 18 23, 24). For the years Sa 20-26 the events took place in XI 8 to XII 8 (BATSH 9 2, 6, 38, 39; BATSH 18 18, 19, 25-27). This may also be true for BATSH 9 4, with date XI 2+. For a seasonally fixed event a lunisolar variation of just one

month is the smallest possible one, and the distribution of the dates is easily explained by well-placed XIIb months added to Sa 20 and Sa 23. Thus the period Sa 20-26 can be understood as a forerunner of the strict regulations following Sa 27.

Between Sa 5 and Sa 27, a well-regulated lunisolar calendar should have had eight intercalary months. One might explain the slow drift from month IX to month XII by the omission of three of them. Sloppy intercalations before the reign of TN are certainly conceivable, but a few dates in Sa 8, 11, 12 and 23 suggest a different interpretation of the drift. In Sa 8 and Sa 11 personnel census and grain distribution happened at the expected time (BATSH 9 69; BATSH 18 6, 12), but exceptionally the animal census was delayed, once by one month and once even by two, to XII 7 for Sa 8 (BATSH 9 44) and to XI 6 for Sa 11 (BATSH 9 17). In the year Sa 12, census and grain distribution both happened in XI 8 and the following days, a month later than expected (BATSH 9 18, 47, 70, 71, 87). In Sa 23 the date of the animal census was XII 8 (BATSH 9 38), but the grain distribution occurred on XII 20 (BATSH 9 60), the date that would become canonical two years later. Thus another explanation of the slow drift might be that in some cases the envisaged standard dates turned out to be too early for external reasons and that after some hesitation the administration settled on a later standard date that could be maintained in every year.

More evidence comes from another seasonal event with an approximately fixed position in the Assyrian year, namely the delivery of wool at Tell Ali. Of the eleven documented cases, seven happened between VI 13 and VII 10, thus in a span of 28 days. No drift of the dates is visible. In detail, the sequence is Sa 9 VI 23 (Ali 23), Sa 11 VII 10 (Ali 13), TN 3 VI 21 (Ali 17,18), TN 4 VI 13 (Ali 12), TN 6 VII 4 (Ali 15), TN 8 VI 24 (Ali 21), TN 16 VI 14 (Ali 24). These wool deliveries obviously followed the plucking or shearing of the sheep before the heat of summer set in. Of the remaining four deliveries, one happened after a previous delivery in the same year (TN 6 XI 4 (Ali 16)). The others cluster in the earlier reign of Sa (Sa 7 XI 10 (Ali 20), Sa 12 IX 24 (Ali 14), Sa 13 VIII 26 (Ali 19)). The pattern suggests the availability of a well-regulated lunisolar intercalation for at least 38 years, but considerable freedom for improvisation before TN took over. A reliable conclusion needs more investigations of the way the lunisolar year was handled, but in any case the data from this period are incompatible with the use of a lunar year of 354 days.

Notes

1. CANKIK-KIRSCHBAUM and JOHNSON 2011-2012:126-127.
2. FREYDANK 1991:55-56.
3. EHELOLF and LANDSBERGER 1920:218, BLOCH 2021:38-39. See also VAT 10157 = KAV 79 r.9 and the start of the Assyrian New Year ceremonies two months before Nisan.
4. WEIDNER 1935-1936:28 n. 214, BLOCH 2010.
5. M. Liebig, private communication.
6. BLOCH 2012:27-29.
7. BLOCH 2012:45.
8. ZEIST 2008: 134-141.

Bibliography

- BLOCH, Y., 2010, The Period of Activity of the Scribal Family of the Sons of Ninurta-uballissu in Aššur, *NABU* 2010/36.
- 2012, Middle Assyrian Lunar Calendar and Chronology, in *Living the Lunar Calendar*, J. Ben-Dov, W. Horowitz and J.M. Steele eds., Oxford, 19-61.
- 2021, Babylonian Months in Ugarit, Māri-on-the-Ḥabūr, and Assyria in the Thirteenth–Eleventh Centuries BCE, in *Ve-'Ed Ya'aleh*, FS E.L. Greenstein, P. Machinist *et al.* eds., Vol. 1, Atlanta, 27-45.
- CANKIK-KIRSCHBAUM, E. and JOHNSON, J.C., 2011-2012, Middle Assyrian Calendrics, *SAAB* 19, 87-152.
- EHELOLF, H. and LANDSBERGER, B. 1920, Der altassyrische Kalender, *ZDMG* 74:216-219.
- FREYDANK, H., 1991, *Beiträge zur mittellassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, SGKAO 21, Berlin.
- WEIDNER, E., 1935-1936, Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs, *Afo* 10, 1-52.
- ZEIST, W. van, 2008, Comments on Plant Cultivation at Two Sites of the Khabur, North-Eastern Syria, *BATSH* 8, 133-148.

Werner NAHM <wnahm@stp.dias.ie>

123) Zum luwischen Namen auf dem DELAPORTE-Siegel — Die untere Seite des DELAPORTE-Siegels zeigt einen mit luwischen Hieroglyphen geschriebenen Namen, den der Herausgeber als *u(?)na(?)sa(?)* gelesen und als ‚of Unas(?)‘ übersetzt hat (HAWKINS 2000: 578 [hier auch zur Frage ob es sich um einen Gen. Sg. oder um eine Stammform handelt], die gleiche Lesung befindet sich auch in der neuen, verbesserten Edition der eisenzeitlichen Inschriften [HAWKINS 2024: 293]; die obere Seite zeigt zwei Götternamen, Kubaba und den der Sonnengottheit). Die Publikation von Hawkins enthält eine klare Aufnahme, und da es keine Lesungsprobleme gibt, dürfen die Fragezeichen der Lesung eigentlich weggelassen werden. Nichtsdestotrotz wäre diese Lesung noch überzeugender, wenn sie zu einem belegten Namen führen würde – bis heute wurde allerdings kein anderer Beleg dieses Namens gefunden (cf. HAWKINS 2024: 664).

In diesem kleinen Beitrag möchte ich zeigen, dass es luwische Namen gibt, mit denen *Unas* identisch sein kann. Von zentraler Bedeutung dabei ist der überall belegte luwische Lautwandel *wa > u*, aus dem folgt, dass *Unas* die regelmäßige Nebenform eines Namens **Wanas* sein kann, der tatsächlich belegt ist.

Der erste mögliche Beleg befindet sich in der KARABURUN-Inschrift, deren Schreiber *Wanas* hieß (§14). Diese Interpretation des als *wali-na-sa* geschriebenen Namens wird allgemein angenommen (z.B. LAROCHE 1966: 204; HAWKINS 2024: 266; ACLT s.v.), und, falls korrekt, bietet sie eine passende Entsprechung für *Unas*. Allerdings machte POETTO 2014: 292 zu Recht darauf aufmerksam, dass diese Schreibung auch die Lesung *Winas* erlaubt, die regelmäßig auch aus **Wiyanas* stammen kann, das ihm zufolge auf dem luwischen Wort für ‚Rebe‘ beruhen könnte. Das Problem mit dieser Interpretation besteht darin, dass das luwische Wort für ‚Rebe‘ *wiyani(ya)-* lautet (BAUER 2021), dementsprechend zeigt es in den hier relevanten Kasusformen, d. h. sowohl im Nom. als auch im Gen. Sg., ein *-i-* in der zweiten Silbe, das sich mit dem *-a-* der Schreibung nicht vereinbaren lässt. Das Interpretationsproblem schließt allerdings die Möglichkeit der alternativen Lesung natürlich noch nicht aus. Hier muss man auch darauf hinweisen, dass auch der Lautwandel *(-)wi > u* im Luwischen belegt ist (SIMON 2016 und jetzt ausführlich Simon 2024: 436-437), weshalb *Unas* auch *Winas* entsprechen kann. Ein Name **Winas* lässt sich allerdings nicht weiter analysieren.

Der zweite mögliche Beleg ist der kontextuell gesicherte Frauenname *Wanas*, der auf dem luwischen Wort für ‚Frau‘ beruht und auf mehreren Siegeln ebenfalls belegt ist (VAA 15211 [*wali-na*] und BoHa 14.130 [**70-na*], POETTO 2014: 291-292 mit Lit.). Frauen als Siegelinhaber sind natürlich gut belegt, und dementsprechend bietet dieser Fall eine noch passendere Entsprechung zu *Unas*.

Welche Entsprechung auch immer zutrifft (wobei die Entsprechungen sogar identisch sein können, s. schon POETTO 2014: 292), steht der Name *Unas* auf dem DELAPORTE-Siegel nicht isoliert da und ist eindeutig luwisch.

Danksagung : Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die Agencia Estatal de Investigación des spanischen Staates finanzierten Ramón y Cajal-Forschungsstipendiums (RYC2022-036225-I) zustande gekommen.

Bibliographie

- ACLT = YAKUBOVICH, I., 2007-2009, *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts*. <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus>
- BAUER, A. H., 2021, „Hieroglyphic Luwian /wiyani(ya)-/, wali-ia-ni- ‚vine““, in O. Hackstein et al. (Hg.), *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*, München – Marburg. <https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=1759>
- HAWKINS, J. D., 2000, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Berlin – New York.
- 2024, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions III. Inscriptions of the Hittite Empire and New Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Berlin – Boston.
- LAROCHE, E., 1966, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris.
- POETTO, M., 2014, „Dall’appellativo all’idionimo nella glittografia luwio-geroglifica. Il caso di ‚Donna““, in H. C. Melchert et al. (Hg.), *Munus amicitiae. Norbert Oettinger a collegis et amicis dicatum*, Ann Arbor – New York, p. 289-295.
- SIMON, Zs., 2016, „Hinweise auf einen luwischen Lautwandel“, *N.A.B.U.* 2016/21, p. 40-42.
- 2024, „Two notes on the Neo-Hittite name Sahwi“, *Or* 93, p. 435-440.

Zsolt SIMON <zsltsimon@gmail.com>
IPOA, Universitat de Barcelona (SPANIEN)

124) Quotations in the Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar — The *Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar*, published by W.G. Lambert in *AfO* 50 (pp. 21–27),¹⁾ describes the characteristics of the goddess Ishtar and links them to some of her local or astral manifestations, as well as to the names of other goddesses such as Ninlil of Ħursagkalama (l. 3. 4) or Ereškigal (l. 20). The Akkadian text is preserved in its entirety on a Late Achae-menid tablet from Borsippa (BM 65454+), and in partial form on a Neo-Assyrian fragment (K 19512).²⁾ As noted by Lambert, the text quotes several lines from god-lists (CT 25, 10 // CT 25, 15) and the bilingual Ishtar hymn *LKA* 23.³⁾ However, a closer look reveals that there are further quotations from three additional hymns that praise goddesses, e.g., *Egi maḥ ušuni ira* (known as the bilingual ‘Exaltation of Ishtar’),⁴⁾ the *Syncretistic Hymn to Gula* (eBL L.III.12),⁵⁾ and the *Great Hymn of Ištar* (‘Ištar 2’; eBL L.III.9).⁶⁾

<i>Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar</i>	<i>Egi maḥ ušuni ira</i>
22: uluḥ šarrūti iṣṣi ez[^a k]ak lā pīdi ana idīša u[šfī]b – ša balṭī ⁷⁾ ...	III 43: uluḥ šarrūti iṣṣi ezza kak lā pīdi ana idīša ušfīb
24: elletu ^d Ištar ina birīšunu ina rabbāti irmi – ^d Tašmētu	I 13': elletu ^d Ištar ina b[irīšunu ina rabbāti irmi]
25: [kišā]d māti rapašti kīma šēri kubsī-ma [ana šēpīki liknuš] – ^d Ištar Akkade	IV 5: [kišā]d māti rapašti kīma šēri kubsī-ma [ana šēpīki liknuš] ⁷⁾
<i>Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar</i>	<i>LKA</i> 23
26: ayyu ilu ina idi mešḥerūtīšu zitti athê sebet iḥmum	1. S. 8': [ay]yu ilu ina idi mešḥerūt[īš]u zi[t]ti athê sebet iḥmum]
<i>Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar</i>	<i>Great Hymn of Ištar</i>
28: petē idīki <š>be'ê šūti – ^d Ištar Uruk	26: [petē idīki šu]be'ê šūti
29: pīt purīdīki pān iltāni – ^d Ištar Akkade	27: [pīt purīdīki] pān iltāni
<i>Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar</i>	<i>Syncretistic Hymn of Gula</i>
30: ^d Uduḡsiga bānāt kakkī nādīnat ^d šēd dumqi [...]	36: ^d Uduḡsiga bānāt kakkī nādīnat ^d šēd dumqi
31: ^d Lamasig[^a šāpikat erše]ti mušatlimat ^d [amassi dum]qi [...]	37: ^d Lamasiga šāpikat eršeti mušatlimat ^d lamassi dumqi

Interestingly, the quotations in the *Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar* are arranged in clusters, as is evident from their lines chronological count: l. 22–25 refer to *Egi maḥ ušuni ira*, l. 26 refers to *LKA* 23, l. 28–29 refer to the Great Hymn of Ištar, and l. 30–31 to the *Syncretistic Hymn of Gula*. It is highly possible that *LKA* 23 belongs to *Egi maḥ ušuni ira*, so l. 22–26 can be recognized as one cluster.⁸⁾ This suggests that when composing the text, the author gradually reviewed various hymns dedicated to Ištar or related goddesses, subsequently integrating important lines into a composite text and linking them to different divine names. Furthermore, this observation indicates that all the compositions cited in the *Syncretistic Hymn of Ishtar* predate the Neo-Assyrian manuscript K 19512.

Notes

1. See now the eBL-edition by Z. Földi (eBL L.III.8).
2. Identified by MITTO 2019.
3. LAMBERT 2003, 25.
4. The following line counting follows the new Edition by MÜLLER in prep.
5. For an edition and study of this text see BENNETT 2021.
6. For an edition and study of this text see ROZZI 2024; for the relationship between ‘Ishtar 2’ and the *Syncretistic Ishtar-Hymn* see ROZZI 2024, 172 and 223–224.
7. VS 24, 37, obv. 10 // BM 43570, obv. 6'.
8. See MÜLLER in prep.

Bibliography

- BENNETT, E.A., 2021, *The Meaning of Sacred Names and Babylonian Scholarship. The Gula Hymn and Other Works*, Münster.
- LAMBERT, W.G., 2003, A Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar, *AfO* 50, 21–27.
- MITTO, T., 2019, A New Fragment of the Syncretistic Hymn to Ištar, *Kaskal* 16, 90–91.
- MÜLLER, F., in prep., *Innanas/Ištars Erhöhung im mythischen Epos Egi maḥ ušuni ira: Edition, Textanalyse, Mythenrekonstruktion*, PhD. University of Goettingen.
- ROZZI, G., 2024, *The Akkadian Great Hymns and Prayers A Critical Edition of the Nabû and Ištar Prayers and a Study of the Corpus*, Venice.

Felix MÜLLER <felix.mueller@uni-goettingen.de>

125) Redating the Middle Assyrian archive from Giricano — The cuneiform archive of Aḫuni son of Kidin-Sîn, excavated in Giricano (ancient Dunnu-ša-Uzibi) on the northern (left) bank of the Upper Tigris in the province of Diyarbakr (RADNER 2004), consists of fifteen legal tablets found together in a covered clay pot identified as Middle Assyrian III, or mA III, following the ceramic terminology of PFÄLZNER 1995. Eleven of the tablets are dated to the *līmu* III-iddina. This same eponym also occurs on the Broken Obelisk (BM 118898; RIMA 2, A.0.89.7 iii 20; BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982, no. 131), found in a ditch in Nineveh together with a stone female torso inscribed for Aššur-bēl-kala (BM 124963; RIMA 2, A.0.89.10). Two archival documents in the M 7 Archive from Aššur (MARV 1, 42; 2, 28) are also dated to this eponym. The M 7 archive, consisting of some 420 largely archival tablets, dates from the reign of Shalmaneser I through Aššur-bēl-kala (PEDERSÉN 1998, 85–86). The consensus of opinion of both modern art-historians (summarized by BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982, 178) and philologists (e.g., GRAYSON 1991, 100; FREYDANK 2016, 189, s.v.) ascribes the Broken Obelisk to Aššur-bēl-kala rather than to his father, Tiglath-pileser I, as had some earlier scholars, but also others more recently (e.g., SHIBATA 2022; MAHIEU 2018). The use throughout the Giricano archive of Babylonian month names, first introduced into Assyria during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, establishes the *terminus post quem* for the archive. Whether the Broken Obelisk was composed late in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I or in the reign of Aššur-bēl-kala does not substantially alter the arguments below.

The archive’s editor (RADNER 2004, 136–38) summarized that the language of these texts, although written in a Middle Assyrian ductus (pp. 55–61), shows clear Neo-Assyrian characteristics in grammar and lexicon (pp. 53–54). Further, whereas the format of these tablets accords with Middle Assyrian norms, the use in Giricano of cuneiform-captioned finger-nail impressions, otherwise unknown in Middle Assyrian texts—rather than cylinder or stamp seal impressions—is widely attested in Neo-Assyrian documents (pp. 66–67). Radner concluded that “it is clear that the transition from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian did not appear abruptly around 1000 BC; the language had already changed substantially before that date” (p. 137).

Whereas the conventional chronology leaves many, many decades for this process to play out, this is not so in a Peter James *et al.*, *Centuries of Darkness* (= *CoD*)-like¹⁾ ultra-short chronological environment wherein the reign of Tiglath-pileser I is *c.* 994!–956! BCE rather than the conventional *c.* *1113–*1075 BCE, and of Aššur-bēl-kala, *c.* 953!–936! BCE rather than *c.* *1072–*1055 BCE (WALLENFELS 2025).²⁾ Specifically, it is postulated (see Fig. 1) that the over-throw of Aššur-bēl-kala’s son Erība-Adad II by his brother Šamši-Adad IV coming up from Karduniash in *c.* 934! BCE led to the transfer of real power to Aššur-dan II, himself not a descendent of Ilī-iḫaddâ as was Eriba-Adad II, but rather of Aššur-naširpal “A” son of Tukulti-Ninurta I (see WALLENFELS 2025, esp. 65–67 and Fig. 2), also known from the *Stelenreihen* (ANDRAE 1913, no. 10).³⁾ The Assyrian King List (AKL) only mentions Ilī-iḫaddâ as Ninurta-apil-Ekur’s father, but notably (and no doubt defensively) adds that he was a descendant of Erība-Adad I, some six generations prior! It would appear then that two streams of scribal traditions of ductus, phonology, vocabulary and sealing practices, “Middle Assyrian” and “Neo-Assyrian”, must have coexisted for some period wherein the Giricano archive provides us with a snap-shot, so to speak, of the “shift” in process.

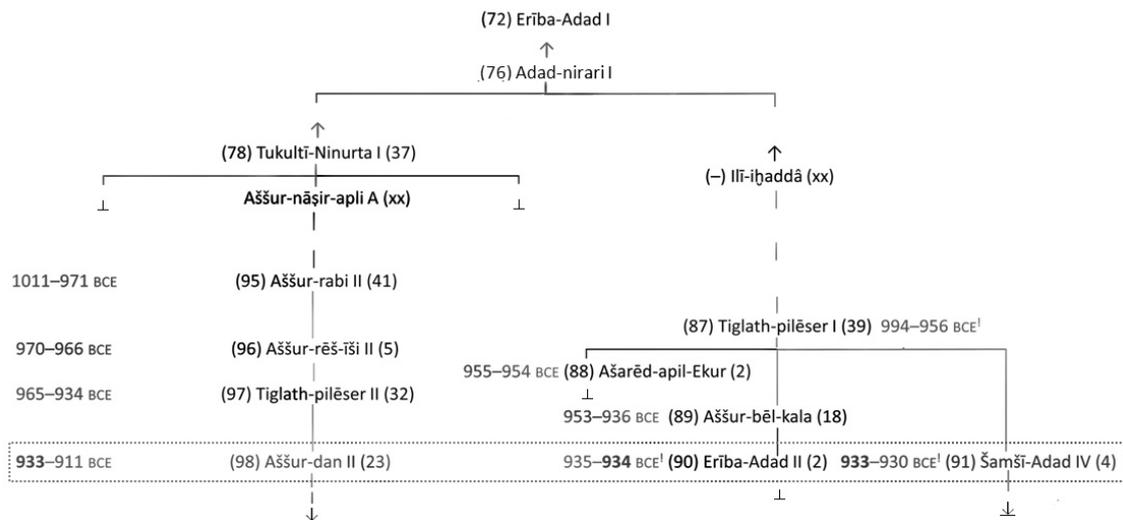


Fig. 1. A detail of the genealogy of the descendents of Adad-nirari I at the time of the events of c. 934!–933! BCE in a *CoD*-like chronology (after WALLENFELS 2025, 67, Fig. 2).

Confirmation of two parallel Assyrian royal lines is found in a letter recopied by a Neo-Assyrian scribe where, both Ilī-iḥaddā and one Aššur-nirari III, a grandson of Tukulti-Ninurta I, are addressed as “the kings of Assyria” by their Babylonian contemporary Adad-šuma-ušur (K. 1109+K. 3045), himself ruling since the ouster of Tukulti-Ninurta I from Babylonia/Karduniaš. In other words, Kingship per se was returning to the descendants of the line going directly back to Adad-nirari I after whom the two lines originally diverged. At that time, one of his sons, Shalmaneser I, took the throne in Aššur as king of Assyria, while another son, Ibašši-ilī, took the title of viceroy, *sukkallu rabiu*, and of king of Ḫani-rabbat (reading with VALÉRIO 2011), residing in Dūr-Katlimmu on the lower Ḫabur (SZUCHMAN 2007). Ilī-iḥaddā was of this latter line.

The Giricano tablets themselves suggest primary scribal training in Middle Assyrian traditions.⁴⁾ Nonetheless there must have been substantial exposure to what will become known as Neo-Assyrian traditions from users, likely geographically closer than Aššur, itself in southernmost Assyria, of a vernacular and script evolving independently presumably as a result of being isolated from official circles for the many decades following Tukulti-Ninurta I’s murder. Although the archive is rightly recognized as being of a transitional period, the imminent “official” transition itself from later Middle Assyrian scribal practices to early Neo-Assyrian practices was, contra Radner, almost certainly abrupt. This is particularly true from the point of view of the palace itself, where, during the change in administration within what could have been a single year, the older traditional Middle Assyrian scribal circles in Aššur must have been replaced *en masse* by the incoming scribes of Aššur-dan II bringing with them their newer traditions emanating from wherever he and of his immediate “royal” ancestors originally resided, perhaps in the north in Nineveh or somewhere in western Assyria. Three of those ancestors, Aššur-dan II’s father Tiglath-pilēser II, grandfather Aššur-rēš-iši II, and great-grandfather Aššur-rabi II were later added to AKL contributing significantly to its inflation (FURLONG 2010, 16–19); the balance of that inflation is due to the later inclusion of the now-rump line of Šamši-Adad IV through Aššur-nirari IV. It would appear, then, that out on the northern periphery on the Upper Tigris, Giricano, a late “Middle Assyrian” site, was nonetheless already directly exposed to the contemporary early “Neo-Assyrian” practices emanating from Aššur-dan II’s original family residence just a few years prior to the “official” shift to the “new” script and sealing practices and “later” dialect about to be brought into use by the new authorities in Assyria.

Finally, note that in the light of the *CoD*’s proposed approximately 120 year reduction in the late Middle Assyrian chronology, Porter (2025) has convincingly identified so-called mA III pottery—such as the pot containing the Giricano tablets—as, in fact, continuing from what is now the mid-10th! century well into the early Neo-Assyrian period, certainly through the historical mid-9th century BCE, a period to which, in the conventional chronology, no pottery can otherwise be ascribed (pp. 26–27).⁵⁾ The Giricano

archive appears to be, therefore, datable to early in the latter half of the 10th! century BCE, almost exactly on the cusp of the transition from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian philological hallmarks, and, coincidentally or not, near the nadir of the “3.2 ka BP climate event” (mega-draught) and its attendant afflictions (cf. KANIEWSKI *et al.* 2015).

Notes

1. See JAMES *et al.* 1991; VAN DER VEEN *et al.* 2025. Please note the convention here of marking conventional dates with a preposed asterisk (e.g., *c.* *1200 BCE) and *CoD*-like dates with a following exclamation point (e.g., *c.* 950! BCE).

2. In a *CoD*-like chronology, Ramesses II’s regnal dates are *c.* 1031!–965! BCE, thus overlapping with Tiglath-pileser I for some three decades. Ramesses II would thus be the logical candidate for the unnamed Egyptian king sending gifts to Assyria per the Broken Obelisk (iv 30); cf., conventionally, e.g., Ramesses XI (FRAHM 2009, 31). (On the ordering of the last Ramesside kings and their redating to the early 9th c. BCE, see THUIS 2005.) Such royal gifts might have been to his aging contemporary or to a recently installed Aššur-bēl-kala. Contrast MAHIEU 2025, who takes a completely numerical approach to reduce the Middle Assyrian chronology by an excessively large 169 years. A fuller view of the impact of an expanded *CoD*-like chronology on Assyria’s neighbors across West Asia is taken up at length and in detail among the essays in *Assyria and the West* (VAN DER VEEN *et al.* 2025).

3. And not Aššur-naširpal I son of Šamši-Adad IV of the now-displaced-line. The confusion, deliberate or otherwise, of the earlier Aššur-naširpal “A” with the later Aššur-naširpal “I” (“II” in the older literature) permitted a Neo-Assyrian scribe to “harmonize” his sources to suggest a single continuous royal Assyrian line. Note further that by Tukulti-Ninurta II’s son taking the throne name of Aššur-naširpal (II) he would appear to have been confirming and legitimizing his own direct descent from Tukulti-Ninurta I.

4. On the earlier northern expansion of Middle Assyria into the Upper Tigris region, see BARTL 2012.

5. For the related demonstrable overlap of late Kassite and early Neo-Assyrian pottery during phases NA0–NA1 at Tell Massaikh (ancient Kar–Aššur-naširpal) on the Middle Euphrates, conventionally dated *c.* *13th–*12th c., but redated to *c.* m.11th!–m.10th! c. BCE in *CoD*, see CALINI 2024.

References

- ANDRAE, W., 1913, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, WVDOG 24, Leipzig.
- BARTL, P. V., 2012, “Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe: Two Middle Bronze Age Sites in the Upper Tigris Region”, in N. Laneri *et al.* (eds.), *Looking North: The Socioeconomic Dynamics of Northern Mesopotamian and Anatolian Regions during the Late Third and Early Second Millennium BC*. Studien zur Urbanisierung Nordmesopotamiens, Serie D, Supplementa 1, Wiesbaden, 175–91.
- BÖRKER-KLÄHN, J., 1982, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*, Bagh. Forsch. 4, Mainz am Rhein.
- CALINI, I., 2024, *Tell Massaikh/Kar-Assurnasirpal: Horizons céramiques dans les cultures de la vallée du Moyen Euphrate à l’Âge du Fer I–III*, Études Mésopotamiennes - Mesopotamian Studies 4, Oxford.
- FRAHM, E., 2009, *Historische und historisch-literarische Texte*, KAL 3, WVDOG 121, Wiesbaden.
- FREYDANK, H., 1976, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* (= MARV 1), VS 19, Berlin.
- 1982, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte II* (= MARV 2), VS 21, Berlin.
- 2016, *Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, SGKAO 21, Berlin.
- FURLONG, P., 2010, *Aspects of Ancient Near Eastern Chronology (c. 1600–700 BC)*, Gorgias Dissertations. Near Eastern Studies 46, Piscataway.
- GRAYSON, A. K., 1991, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*, RIMA 2, Toronto.
- JAMES, P., in collaboration with I. J. Thorpe *et al.* 1991. *Centuries of Darkness: A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology* (= *CoD*), London.
- KANIEWSKI, D., GUIOT, J., & E. VAN CAMPO, 2015, “Drought and societal collapse 3200 years ago in the Eastern Mediterranean: a review”, *WIREs Clim Change* 6, 369–82.
- MAHIEU, B., 2018, “The Old and Middle Assyrian Calendars, and the Adoption of the Babylonian Calendar by Tiglath-pileser I (attested in the *Doppeldatierungen* and in the Broken Obelisk)”, *SAAB* 24, 63–95.
- 2025, “Two Parallel Lines of Kings during the Late Middle and Early Neo-Assyrian Periods”, in van der Veen *et al.*, 2025, 81–106.
- PEDERSÉN, O., 1998, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East, 1500–300 B.C.*, Bethesda.
- PFÄLZNER, P., 1995, *Mittanische und mittelassyrische Keramik: eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse*, BATSH 3/1 – Text, Berlin.
- PORTER, R. M., 2025, “Assyrian and Mitannian Pottery Styles: From Assur to the Euphrates and Beyond”, in van der Veen *et al.* (eds.), 2025, 23–28.
- RADNER, K., 2004, *Das Mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi*, Ausgrabungen in Giricano 1, Subartu 14, Turnhout.

- SHIBATA, D., 2022, “The Assyrian King of the Broken Obelisk, the Date of the Archive from Giricano, and the Timing of the Assyrian Calendar Reform”, *JCS* 74, 109–29.
- SZUCHMAN, J. J., 2007, “Prelude to Empire: Middle Assyrian Hanigalbat and the Rise of the Aramaeans”, PhD Diss. University of California, Los Angeles.
- THIJS, A., 2005, “In Search of King Herihor and the Penultimate Ruler of the 20th Dynasty”, *ZA* 132, 73–91.
- VALÉRIO, M., 2011, “Hani-Rabbat as the Semitic name of Mitanni”, *Journal of Language Relationship* (Вопросы языкового родства) 6, 173–83.
- VAN DER VEEN, P., WALLENFELS, R. & P. JAMES (eds.), 2025, *Assyria and the West: A Fresh Look at the Unshakeable Pillars of Late Bronze and Iron Age Chronology in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, Bicester.
- WALLENFELS, R., 2025, “Middle Assyrian History and Culture and Dark Age Assyrian Chronology”, in van der Veen *et al.* (eds.), 2025, 63–79.

Ronald WALLENFELS <rw35@nyu.edu>
New York University (USA)

126) First tribute of Tyre and foundation of Carthage in 870 BCE — According to the annals of Aššurnasirpal II, Ahuni, the son (*sic*) of Bīt-Adini, was required to pay tribute and was subsequently defeated in several military campaigns dated between the eponyms Dagan-bēla-ušur (878 BCE) and Šamaš-nūrī (867 BCE) (GRAYSON 1991: 212-219), likely around 870 BCE (YOUNGER 2016: 262, 320). By cross-referencing the annals of Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, it can be inferred that the 4th campaign of Shalmaneser III should be dated to his co-regency. This chronological reconstruction presents a paradox because the king (REX) of Masuwari (Bīt-Adini) was Hamiyata (HAWKINS 2012: 224-248), whose reign is dated to around 880-867 BCE, with the beginning of Hapatila’s reign around 910 BCE (BRYCE 2012: 117-121). By cross-referencing the annals of Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, it can be concluded that the 4th campaign of Shalmaneser III should be dated to 867 BCE, during his co-regency, and, consequently, his first campaign took place in 870 BCE.

Bīt-Adini (Masuwari)	reign	Assyria (at Nineveh)	reign	Co-regent (at Kalhu)	reign
Hapatila	910-900	Adad-nīrārī II	912-		
Ariyahina	900-890		-891		
Hamiyata’s father	890-880	Tukultī-Ninurta II	891-884		
Hamiyata	880-	Aššurnasirpal II	884-		
(Ahuni)	-867			Shalmaneser (III)	871-
Hamiyata’s son	867-		-859		-859
	-856	Shalmaneser III	859-		
Ariyahina’s son	856-853				
(Til Barsip)			-824	Aššur-danin-pal	846-821

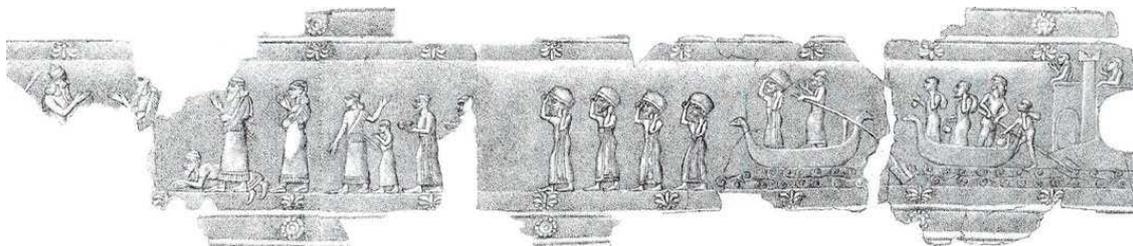
The primary purpose of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, as with those of other Assyrian kings, was not to provide a factual historical record but rather to legitimize their wars and plunder through propaganda (LAATO 1995: 198-226). For instance, the Kurkh Monolith records that during his campaign in 856 BCE, Shalmaneser III departed and marched to Til-Barsip, a city he renamed Kar-Shalmaneser. Upon entering the city of Pitru, which he had recaptured, he renamed it Ana-Aššur-utêr-asbat and restored it to Assyrian control. The justification for this act was that the city had been seized by the Arameans (Syrians) during the reign of Aššur-rabi II (1013-972). The propagandistic nature of such actions is evident (BLOCK 2008: 223-256), where looting is framed as a voluntary tribute offered in exchange for protection. To rationalize their conquests in the West, Assyrian kings employed a consistent strategy: first establishing a protectorate by forming alliances or extracting tribute from those who resisted; then converting kingdoms into vassal states; and finally annexing these territories into the Assyrian empire. For instance, the seven tributary kings from "the land of Hatti," who paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 856 BCE, were transformed into vassal kings after the Battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE. Consequently, Shalmaneser III incorporated into his reign both the victories and tributes received during his period of co-regency, from 870 BCE to 859 BCE, which modified the synchronisms with the kings of Tyre and Israel.

Aššurnasirpal II demanded heavy tribute from Tyre in 870 BCE. King Pygmalion (877-830) complied, but according to Justinus, after deciding to empty the treasure of Milqart’s temple, the high priest

Zakarbaal, who was the husband of Elissa (Pygmalion's sister), refused to comply. Pygmalion responded by having him killed. Following her husband's death, Elissa fled into exile with opponents of submission to Aššurnasirpal II, carrying with her a significant portion of the temple's wealth and subsequently founding Carthage. Given this context, it is unlikely that Shalmaneser III, as co-regent in 870 BCE, could have received tribute from Tyre (GERTOUX 2023: 53-54,71-81).

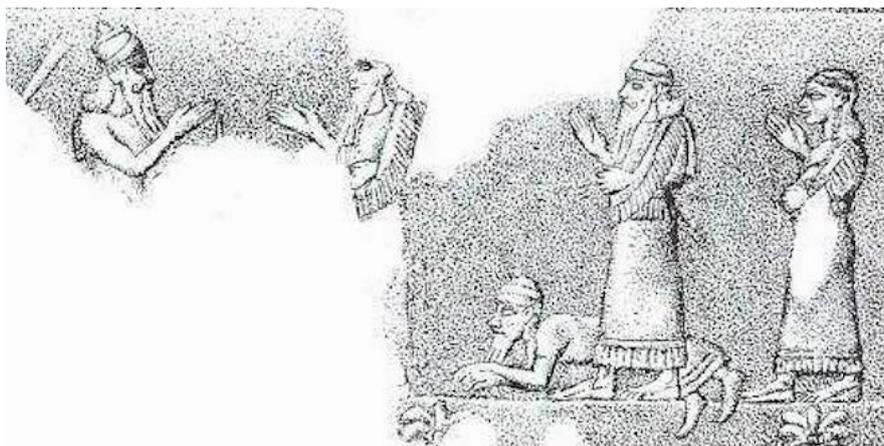
The first register on the Black Obelisk presents, in the conventional Assyrian style, the king wearing his tiara (on the left) followed closely by his commander-in-chief, who is armed with a sword (*turtānu*), and his co-regent, of the same size, positioned on the right, also preceded by the chief officer holding a command stick (*rab ša-rēšē*). This scene mirrors Shalmaneser's victory over Ahuni in 870 BCE (BRYCE 2012: 211) when Shalmaneser became co-regent of Aššurnasirpal. In Assyrian depictions, the first register represents King Aššurnasirpal (on the left), accompanied by his commander-in-chief (Aššur-iddin), receiving the submission (on the right) of a defeated king, "Sua of Gilzanu," who had been vanquished by the co-regent Shalmaneser, accompanied by his chief officer. As Aššur-iddin (883-858) had never visited this remote region and was primarily familiar with the Levantine kingdoms he had fought, he depicted the defeated king (Ahuni) wearing the same attire as the head of the procession, with a humped bonnet on his head (identical to that worn by the king's other servants) when he paid tribute to Aššurnasirpal in 870 BCE. This scene appears on the fourth and fifth metal bands (L4, L5) of a Balawat gate commissioned by Aššurnasirpal II (CURTIS, TALLIS 2008: 53, 65, 164-167). These two metal bands lack inscriptions, but the ships depicted are Phoenician, and the fortified island on the far left is identifiable as Tyre (Ezk 26:4; 27:3-4). A similar scene is featured on the first band of another gate from Balawat (ancient Imgur-Enlil) commissioned by Shalmaneser III (FALES 2017: 211-212,226), with an inscription in the upper register stating: "The tribute of the ships of the men of Tyre and Sidon I received" (KING 1915: 23, pl. XIII-XIV). The king on the far left (below) with his Assyrian tiara is Aššurnasirpal II and the fortified city on an island on the far right, from which Phoenician ships sail, can only be Tyre. The numerous bearers probably carrying gold, silver and ivory (R4) as well as those delivering exotic objects or animals (L4/L5), illustrate the wealth of this tribute paid by the king of Tyre.

MM ASH II R4



The campaign against the king of Tyre and Sidon is paradoxical. Although the tribute paid by the king is described in detail on the central bands of the Balawat gates—highlighting its significance in the middle of his reign—there is no mention of this event in Aššurnasirpal's annals. According to his records, Aššurnasirpal (884-859) campaigned seven times in the first six years of his reign (884-878), with four additional campaigns between 878 and 866 BCE (LAMBERT 1974: 103-109). The tribute from the king of Tyre and Sidon (in 870 BCE) is not dated by an eponym, despite its importance. We know that Aššurnasirpal dedicated 15 years (878-863 BCE) to transforming Kalhu into the capital, yet there is no information regarding the final seven years of his reign (865-859 BCE) (JOANNÈS 2001: 437-440). The tribute paid to Aššurnasirpal in 870 BCE, during the first campaign of his co-regent Shalmaneser (III), corresponds to the 7th year of Pygmalion's reign (877-830). This event, which contributed to the foundation of Carthage, occurred 143 years after the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 1013 BCE (= 870 + 143), which began in the 4th year of Solomon's reign (1017-977) as well as the 12th year of Hiram I's reign (1025-991), according to the chronological data of Menander of Ephesus, a Greek historian (c. 200 BCE), which was transmitted by Flavius Josephus (Against Apion I:106-127; Jewish Antiquities VIII:141-149, 316-324).

The king depicted on the left (below), wearing the Assyrian tiara, is Aššurnasirpal II, while the fortified city on the island (on the far right) from which the Phoenician ships set sail can only be Tyre (CURTIS, TALLIS 2008: 181). This scene, representing the tribute paid by the king of Tyre in 870 BCE, was crafted according to Assyrian conventions (GERTOUX 2023: 78-79). Shalmaneser III, co-regent of Aššurnasirpal II, is shown presenting the tribute as the representative of the king of Tyre, thus wearing Phoenician attire. Aššurnasirpal II is shown facing a high-ranking Tyrian dignitary (Baal-manzer), just in front of the king of Tyre, Pygmalion (wearing a bonnet), who is in turn positioned before the queen, Elissa. In fact, this heavy tribute was not paid because Queen Elissa refused it and left with the temple treasury to found Carthage, so the Assyrian kings plundered the city, presenting it as tribute.



Aššurnasirpal II

Shalmaneser (III)

Baal-manzer Pygmalion

Elissa

Bibliography

- BLOCK, D. I., 2008, *Israel: Ancient Kingdom or Late Invention?*, Nashville.
- BRYCE, T. R., 2012, *The World of The Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History*, Oxford.
- CURTIS, J. E., TALLIS, N. (Eds), 2008, *The Balawat Gates of Ashurnasirpal II*, The British Museum Press.
- FALES, F. M., 2017, Phoenicia in the Neo-Assyrian Period: An Updated Overview, *SAAB XXIII*, 211-212,226.
- GERTOUX, G., 2023, Assyrian and biblical chronologies are they reliable ?, *HAL Open Science* <https://hal.science/hal-03207471v4>.
- GRAYSON, A. K., 1991, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC)*, *RIMA Vol 2*, 212-219.
- HAWKINS, J. D., 2012, *Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Berlin.
- JOANNÈS, F., 2001, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne*, Paris, 437-440.
- KING, L. W., 1915, *Bronze reliefs from the gate of Shalmaneser king of Assyria*, London.
- LAATO, A., 1995, Assyrian Propaganda and the Falsification of History in the Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, *VT* 45, 198-226.
- LAMBERT, W. G., 1974, The Reigns of Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III: An Interpretation, *Iraq* 36:1/2, 103-109.
- YOUNGER Jr., K. L., 2016, *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Polities*, Atlanta.

Gérard GERTOUX <gertoux.gerard@orange.fr>

127) Mount Rūa and the Land of Amate in Assyrian Inscriptions — In the final parts of two inscriptions, Nos. 41 and 47 of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BC), the Assyrian king, which describe his campaign against ancient Media in 737 BC, the key phrase “Mount Rūa, as far as the Salt Desert” is used before any further details (see TADMOR & YAMADA 2011 Nos.41 9’; 47 obv. 32). It seems that in this phrase two very prominent geographical landmarks in Media have been used, namely “Mount Rūa” and “the Salt Desert”, to designate a vast territory conquered by the Assyrians in the heart of Media. The key point about this phrase is that its eastern limit is marked by the Salt Desert, which is a well-known geographical landmark that many scholars identify with the central desert of Iran (for example see READE 1978: 141; VALLAT 1987; LANFRANCHI 1990, 136; MEDVEDSKAYA 1992, 78; RADNER 2003: 58–61; BAGG 2020: 154; FUCHS 2023: 679). Therefore, in order to identify the western limit of the mentioned phrase marked by

Mount Rūa as the first clue, we can be sure that it was located somewhere between the eastern border of Assyria and the western border of the Salt Desert (the central desert of Iran).

In addition to the two mentioned inscriptions, the badly damaged inscription no. 16 of Tiglath-Pileser III provides additional and important information about Mount Rūa. It mentions a person named Yabittarru and the subsequent escape of some people with unknown identities to the land Amate, a district opposite Mount Rūa (see TADMOR & YAMADA 2011 no.16 3-7a). As the second clue, given the west-east direction of the Assyrians' campaign route toward central Iran, it is clear that the land Amate was located east of Mount Rūa.

The third clue comes from the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser no. 35 33', where an illegible toponym is reconstructed by Tadmor and Yamada as Amate, based on the name of its ruler Yaubitir. In this inscription, which is dedicated to the tribute of horses, the cities and regions are grouped in such a way that it seems they are adjacent or very close to each other. Accordingly, it seems that Amate, along with well-known toponyms such as Qarkinšera and Sadbat, were all located in the same area. The results of a recent study conducted on the basis of an examination of the route of Sargon II's sixth campaign, as described in the Najafabad stele, indicate that the two toponyms Qarkinšera (Qarkasia in the Sargon inscription no. 117: 69) and Sadbat (probably Sagbat in other Assyrian inscriptions, likely modern-day Asadabad) were most likely located on the western slopes of the Alvand Mountain (REZAEI et al. 2023). Therefore, the importance of inscription number 35 of Tiglath-Pileser III is that it indicates that Mount Rūa and the land of Amate correspond to the current Alvand Mountain range and its eastern slope.

The fourth clue comes from a comparison of the phonetics of the ancient and modern names. Accordingly, the author believes that the name of the modern Alvand mountain most probably comes from the name of the ancient Mount Rūa. The Alvand mountain, a significant natural feature located between the current cities of Hamedan, Asadabad, and Tuyserkān, was referred to as Orontes/Oroandes in Greek and Roman sources from the 4th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. (ALIBAIGI & REZAEI 2017: 267). This name is recorded in the geographical texts of the early and middle centuries of the Islamic era (9th to 13th centuries AD) mainly as "Arvand" (cf. IBN AL-FAQIH 1995: 473-462; QAZWINI 1960: 342; AL-HAMAWI 1995: Vol. 5, 415; AL-BAGHDADI 1991: Vol. 3, 1162) and thereafter, with slight changes, as "Alvand" to this day. Accordingly, the author believes that the first part of Orontes/Oroandes (i.e. Oroa) and Arvand/Alvand (i.e. Arva/Alva) resulted from later changes in the name "Rūa". Considering the possibility of an easy conversion of the letter "R" to "L", as well as "T" to "D", such a conversion from older forms of "Rūa", "Orontes" and "Arvand" to the newer form Alvand is to be expected. The second part of the name Orontes/Oroandes (i.e. -ntes/-andes) in Greek sources, as well as Arvand/Alvand (i.e. -vand) in Islamic sources, is most likely a suffix, a similar case of which can be seen in the toponym Nahavand' located in the same region. It is thought that the ancient Iranian form of this suffix was "vanta", which was used to form an adjective from a noun (AHADIAN 2010: 166). Therefore, it can be considered almost certain that the ancient Mount "Rūa" in the Assyrian inscriptions corresponds to the present-day Alvand Mountain in Hamadan.¹⁾ This correspondence suggests that the land of Amate, which according to the Assyrian texts was located opposite Mount Rūa (in the author's opinion, on its eastern side), most likely corresponds to present-day Hamadan on the eastern slope of Mount Alvand.

It is clear that the written form of Amate in Assyrian texts is somewhat different from the Old Persian Ha^mgmatāna, Elamite (Agmadana), and Akkadian (Agamatanu) forms of the name in the Bishtun inscription, as well as from its Greek form (Ecbatana) in classical sources (see KENT 1950: 212). In fact, the Akkadian, Elamite, and Greek forms of the name all seem to be derived from Hagmatāna, its Old Persian or Median form, while Amate, the Assyrian form of the name in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, was not derived from the aforementioned form but rather closely resembles "Ahmetā" in biblical Hebrew of Ezra 6:2 (see DE PLANHOL 2018).

Note

1. It should be noted that previous researchers Herzfeld (1947: 648) and Azkaei (2013: 115, 119) have located Mount Rūa respectively between Isfahan and Qom, and at the copper deposits located around the modern city of Kashan.

Bibliography

- AHADIAN, M. M., 2010, “An Etymological Investigation of Two Toponyms in the Province of Hamadan”, *Pazhuhesh-haye zaban va adabiyyat-e Farsi* 15: 159-174 (in Persian).
- AL-BAGHDADI, S.A., 1991, *Marāsid al-iṭtilā‘ ‘alā asmā’ al-amkinat wa-l-biqā’*, A.M., Al-Bajawi (ed.), Beirut, Dar al-jil (in Arabic).
- AL-HAMAWI, Y., 1995, *Muʿjam al-buldan*. 5 vols. Dar Sadir (in Arabic).
- ALIBAIGI, S., REZAEI, I. and S.I. BEHESHTI n.d. 2017, “Najafabad, Sargon II’s stele and Urattus: The Geological and Archaeological Evidence”, *ZA* 107 (2): 261-273, <https://doi.org/10.1515/za-2017-0102>
- AZKAEI, P., 2013, *Dargazin ta Kashan*, Second Edition, Kashan (in Persian).
- BAGG, A.M., 2020, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit Teil 3: Babylonien, Urartu und die östlichen Gebiete*, RGTC 7/3 (BTAVO, Reihe B 7/7/3), Wiesbaden.
- DE PLANHOL, X., 2018, “Hamadān iii. Historical Geography”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/6, pp. 605-607; updated version <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hamadan-iii> (accessed on 17 January 2024).
- FUCHS, A., 2023, “The Medes and the Kingdom of Mannea”, in K. Radner et al. (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East 4: The Age of Assyria*, New York, pp. 674-768.
- HERZFELD, E., 1947, *Zoroaster and his world*, vol. I, Princeton.
- IBN AL-FAQIH, 1995, *Al-Buldan*, ed. Yusuf al-Hadi, Beirut: Alam Alkotob (in Arabic).
- KENT, R.G., 1950, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, New Haven: Conn.
- LANFRANCHI, G.B., 1990, *I Cimmeri: Emergenza delle élites militari iraniche nel Vicino Oriente (VIII-VII sec a.c.)*. HANE/S 2. Padova.
- MEDVEDSKAYA, I.N., 1992, “The Question of the Identification of 8th-7th Century Median Sites and the Formation of the Iranian Architectural Tradition”, *AMI* 25, 73-79.
- QAZWINI, Z.I.M., 1960, *Athār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-bād*. Beirut: Dar Sadr (in Arabic).
- RADNER, K., 2003, “A Median Sanctuary of Bit-Ištar”, in Lanfranchi et al. (eds.), *Continuity of Empire (?), Assyria, Media Persia*, History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs- V., pp. 119-130, Padova.
- READE, J.E., 1978, “Shorter Notices Kassites and Assyrians in Iran”, *Iran* XVI: 137-184.
- REZAEI, I., ALIBAIGI, S., and J. MACGINNIS, 2023, “Reconstruction of the route of Sargon II’s sixth campaign of 716 BC in the Central Zagros, Iran”, *RA* 117, 127-151.
- TADMOR, H. and Sh. YAMADA, 2011, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. RINAP 1. Winona Lake.
- VALLAT, F., 1987, “Les Expéditions orientales des rois assyriens”, *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 122, 60-62.

Iraj REZAEI <iraj.rezaie@gmail.com>

PhD in archaeology, independent scholar, Kermanshah (IRAN)

128) The List of Lucky Days in the Neo-Assyrian period (1): Corrections and additions — The *List of Lucky Days* (abbreviated as *LLD*), which enumerates only the favourable calendar days for each month of the year, is the most minimalistic hemerological composition. The most recent edition was published by Livingstone (2013, CUSAS 25, 85–98). This composition shows significant variability; however, this feature is overrepresented in Livingstone’s edition due to the misidentification of months in VAT 10480 (manuscript J in his edition). There was confusion regarding the intercalary months, resulting in the erroneous interchange of Nisannu (I) and its intercalary month (I₂), as well as Elūlu (VI) and its intercalary month (VI₂). In addition, Livingstone skipped the broken line rev. 11 for Araḫsamnu (VIII), and read the following line as the entry for that month. Consequently, the subsequent months were shifted forward by one month. As for ND 5497/9 (manuscript M), Livingstone (2013, 98) was uncertain about the attribution of entries for three months, whether to VI₂, VII, VIII, or VII–IX. Compared with other manuscripts, it is certain that they belong to the first option. Apart from the issues with month identifications, transcription contains reading errors, as Marti (2014, RA 108) points out as a general problem with his edition. Labat (1957, MIO 5, 313) published a further manuscript from Assur VAT 12946, but it was not utilised by Livingstone.

Since two more manuscripts from Kullaniya were discovered after his edition (T 1920+1920a; T 1701+1923), it may be worth presenting the corrected tables of favorable days for each month of the year together with data from VAT 12946 and Kullaniya manuscripts.

By the Neo-Assyrian period, 13 manuscripts of the *LLD* are known¹⁾, of which two tablets, VAT 9663 and T 1701+, contain distinct versions. Additionally, the auspicious days can be reconstructed from the excerpt tablet of the *Babylonian Almanac* from Ḫuzirina STT 2 301, which contains only entries for

favourable days. As the following tablets show, the dates of excerpted entries on this tablet essentially correspond to those listed in the *LLD*, even if its entries do not necessarily deal with day evaluation.

List of manuscripts:

Assur	Livingstone 2013	Copies and further editions
Ass1a : VAT 9663, iv 1'–24'	= manuscript F	KAR 177; JEOL 6, 115–122 (translation)
Ass1b : VAT 9663, v 4–38	= manuscript G	
Ass2 : VAT 9591, obv.	= manuscript H	MIO 5, 313, pl. XIV (copy)
Ass3 : VAT 9987	= manuscript I	MIO 5, 314, pl. XIII (copy)
Ass4 : VAT 10480, rev. 1'–15'	= manuscript J	MIO 5, 314–315, pl. XII (copy)
Ass5 : VAT 12946		MIO 5, 313, pl. VIII (copy)
Kalḫu		
Kal1 : IM 67595 (ND 5491), vi 1'–11'	= manuscript K	CTN 4, 56; Sumer 17, 66
Kal2 : ND 5431, 5'–8'	= manuscript L	CTN 4, 53
Kal3 : ND 5497/9, 6'–17'	= manuscript M	CTN 4, 57
Kal4 : IM 67589 (ND 5402)	= manuscript N	CTN 4, 55
Kal5 ²⁾ : K 98+MS 2226, rev. i 1–12	= manuscript O	ZA 2, 334–335 (copy of K 98); CUSAS 32, no. 76; CCP 3.8.1.A
Kullaniya		
Kul1 : T 1920+1920a, 2'–15'		JCS 68, 246–247
Kul2a : T 1701+1923, rev. 15–33		JCS 68, 235–241
Kul2b : T 1701+1923, rev. 34–36		
Unknown provenience		
Un : MS 2781 ³⁾	= manuscript p	CUSAS 32, no. 75 ⁴⁾
Ḫuzirina (excerpt of the <i>Babylonian Almanac</i>)		
Huz* : SU 1951, 19, i 1–v 9'		STT 2 301; CUSAS 25, 11–72, manuscript Huz ⁵⁾

The following tables present the favourable days in the *LLD*. The “half-day” (*mišil ūmi*) is noted with ½. Signs that are partly damaged are set in italics. The missing parts of the text are presented with [] to clarify that the absence of dates is not due to their classification as unfavourable days.⁶⁾ K 98 was collated with the original in the British Museum. Other manuscripts were collated based on photos, with the exception of IM 67589 and SU 1951, 19, which were collated based on the copies.

Notes

1. Livingstone also used a Middle Babylonian tablet of the *Babylonian Almanac* IM 63388 (manuscript a), excerpting entries for good days. However, this tablet is not the *LLD* manuscript; not all dates are present in the later *LLD* manuscripts, which may represent an older or local tradition.

2. The fragment K 98 was found in Nineveh, but the whole tablet is likely written in Kalḫu and was transported there secondarily (KIKUCHI 2024, dupsar 32, 255–256).

3. George (2016, CUSAS 32, 54) assumed it might be from the late 2nd millennium BC.

4. Lauinger (2016, JCS 68, 240) reads rev. 19 for the month XI as 10 SA₉, but the photo shows 11. If this new reading is correct, the 11th day has been recorded twice, which requires correction. A similar erroneous repetition of the same day is also observed in rev. 36 on the same tablet.

5. In the tables of favourable days, the missing dates are supplemented with certainty due to parallels to other manuscripts of the *Babylonian Almanac*. Livingstone’s reading of the following lines should be corrected. STT 2 301, i 6: [UD 1]4.KÁM in É *ma-gir*; i 9: [UD 2]2.KÁM UD.SA₉.ĀM ŠE.GE; iii 13': DIŠ <ina> ⁱⁱⁱAPIN UD 2.KÁM DINGIR [...]. Regarding line i 9 for the 22nd I, Livingstone (2013, 15) emended the date to 23. However, the same day qualification for this day is attested in the *LLD* manuscript Ass1b (VAT 9663), so the emendation was unnecessary. He also skipped the entry for the 19th VII (ibid., 45) in iii 5': UD 19.KÁM <i>-zi-im-tú x [...].

6. Lines that were either completely lost or too damaged were excluded from the tables. As for VAT 12946, the text of col. i' is completely lost. In col. iii', three days 20+x, 1, and 2 at the end of one month and the beginning of the following month have been preserved, but the month’s name has been lost. These could be assigned to the months XI–XII due to the parallel sequence of days, but this is speculative. In VAT 10480, rev. 7' and 11' for the months VI and IX, only the positive qualification ŠE at the end of the line was preserved. Favourable days are highlighted in red, and days classified as half-day favourable in orange. Partially damaged days for which the day association is uncertain are not marked.

Month	Manuscript	Day												
I	Ass1b v.4-5	1	4½	6½	9	10	11	14	15	16	22½	23½	20+x	26
	Ass3 1							14	16					
	Kal2 5'		4½	6½	8									
	Kal3 6'	I	4½	6½	9	10 x	11		15	16				30
	Kal5 r.11	I	4½	6½	8	10	11	14	16			23½		
	Kul1 2'										20			
	Kul2a r.15ff.													26
	Kul2b r.34	2	4½	6	9	10	11	10+x				23½		
	Un 1	1	4½	6½			11		14	16		22½		
	Huz* i.1-9	1	4½	6½			[10] [11]		14	16	20	22½		
II	Ass1b v.6-8	2	6	8	10	10	12	18	15	16	22	24	25	28
	Ass2 i.1'-10'								18	16	22	24	25	28
	Ass3 2				1	10	12	12	15	16	22	24	24	28
	Ass4 r.3'								15	16				28
	Kal2 6'	2	6	8	10	10	12	12	15	16		23	24	25
	Kal3 8'	2	6	7	10	10	12	12	15	16		23	24	25
	Kal5 r.12	2	6	8	10	10	12	12	15	16	18	20	24	26
	Kul1 4'								16	18	20	22	24	26
	Kul2a r.15ff.										212	24	26	28
	Un 2	2	6	8	10	10	12	12	15	16	20	22	24	28
III	Huz* i.10-24	2	5	8	10	10	12	12	15	16	20	22	24	28
	Ass1b v.9-11	1	3	5	9	9	12	13	16	16	22	24	26	28
	Ass3 3					11	12	13	15	16	22	24	24	27
	Ass4 r.4'								15	16				29
	Kal2 7'	3	5	9	9	11	12	12	14	16	22	24	25	26
	Kal3 9'-10'	3	4	6	9	10	11	[12] 13	14	16	18	19	24	26
	Kal5 r.13	3	5	9	9	11	12	13	15	16	22	24	24	27
	Kul1 5'							13	15	16	22	24	24	27
	Kul2a r.15ff.										22	24	25	28
	Un 3	3	4	5	9	9	x+2	15	16	21	22	24	25	27
IV	Huz* i.25-31	3	5	9	9	[11]	[12] [13]							29
	Ass1a iv.1'													[x]
	Ass1b v.12-14	1	3	6	9	11	12	13	17	19	21	22	23	26
	Ass3 4						11/12	13	14	15	21	22	26	27
	Ass4 r.5'													x 29
	Kal2 8'	3		6/7	x									
	Kal3 11'-12'	1	2	6	10	11	12	[13] [14]	16½	17	20	21	24	25
	Kal5 r.14	3		7		11	13	17	19	21	22	26	27	28
	Kul1 6'						13	17	19	21	22	26	27	28
	Kul2a r.15ff.							17	19	21	22	23	26	27
Un 4	1	3	6/7				17	19	21	22	26	27	28	
Huz* ii.1-15		x	7		11	12	13	17	19	21	22	26	27	

129) The List of Lucky Days in the Neo-Assyrian period (2): Remarks on variations — The revised tables of the favourable days in the *List of Lucky Days* (abbreviated as *LLD*) in the Neo-Assyrian period (no. 129 of this volume) reveal greater consistency as a single composition than the previous edition, which includes later manuscripts (LIVINGSTONE 2013, CUSAS 25, 85–98). Still, a considerable degree of variability in the details remains among individual manuscripts. Most manuscripts include several dates exclusively appearing in a single manuscript. The variations are too diverse to be attributed to several specific “recensions.” Also, the presence of a particular date in a single manuscript does not necessarily imply its uniqueness to that manuscript. This phenomenon could be the result of a chance finding or a break in other manuscripts in the corresponding part. In fact, except for K 98+, all other manuscripts are partially broken. For instance, entries for the early days of the intercalary Nisanu (I₂) have only been preserved in ND 5497/9. Treating these dates as deviations may be misleading.

The variations can be observed between manuscripts, even those originating from the same site. This suggests that these differences cannot be attributed solely to local traditions. Such deviation is particularly evident among Kullaniya manuscripts. The collection tablet T 1701+ contains two versions of the *LLD*. The first version is presented in a tabular format covering twelve regular months (rev. 15–33 = Kul2a), followed by another version in running text for the three months (I, VI, XII₂ in rev. 34–36 = Kul2b). The differences between these versions go beyond format and the inclusion of an intercalary month, encompassing discrepancies in their evaluations of some days, such as those in the sixth month (2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 11th VI), confirming them as distinct versions. No explanation or rubric is given for each list, so it is unclear where they originate. Furthermore, both versions on T 1701+ contain evaluations that are different from those found on the other hemerological tablet from Kullaniya T 1920+, at least over 19 days, despite being discovered from the same temple building (Lauinger 2016, JCS 68).

Another example of a collection tablet that includes distinct versions of the *LLD* is VAT 9663 from Assur (Ass1a/b). In this tablet, each version is followed by rubrics, according to which these respectively represent the Babylonian and Assyrian versions:

VAT 9663, iv 25'–32': UD.ME DÙG.GA.MEŠ KA 7 ¹tup¹[-pa-a]-¹ni¹ GABA.RI ZIMBAR^{ki} NIBRU^{ki} KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} UD.UNUG^{ki} ÚRIM^{ki} UNUG^{ki} u eri-du¹⁰^{ki} um-ma-a-ni ú-na-as-si-lu-ma ú-na-as-si-qu-ma a-na ^mna-zi-múru-¹taš¹ LUGAL ŠÚ SUM-nu “‘Good days’ (= *LLD*) according to the wording of seven ta[blet]s, the originals from Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Larsa, Ur, Uruk, and Eridu. Scholars excerpted, selected, and gave to the Nazimaruttaš, the king of the universe.” (For this rubric, see also HEEBEL 2011, *Sieben Tafeln aus sieben Städten*, Topoi 1)

VAT 9663, v 39: UD.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ GABA.RI KUR aš+šur^{ki} “‘Good days’ (= *LLD*) according to the original from the land of Assur (i. e. Assyria)”.

This collection tablet also includes Babylonian and Assyrian versions of the *Tašrītu Hemerology*, so the combination of different local traditions was intentionally made in this case (KIKUCHI 2024, dupsar 32, 111–112). A similar aspiration to amalgamate the multiple traditions could also be seen in selecting the base texts for the hemerological compilations (KIKUCHI 2024, 123).

Another potential explanation for the deviations is a scribal error during the copying process, given the numerical nature of the text and the visual similarity of close numbers. For instance, the 7th II appears only in ND 5497/9, whereas the other manuscripts list the 8th II instead. Apart from the 7th day, all available *LLD* manuscripts before the break in ND 5497/9 contain the same favourable days, namely 2nd, 6th, 10th, 12th, and 15th II. One can therefore assume that the scribe of ND 5497/9 confused 7 and 8. This type of one-day fluctuation can also be found among the manuscripts of the *Babylonian Almanac* (KIKUCHI 2024, 158–161).

In summary, the corrections and temporal restrictions provide a more coherent picture of the *List of Lucky Days* in the Neo-Assyrian period. However, a considerable degree of variability is exhibited by the individual manuscripts, which cannot be attributed to a single factor. The rubrics of VAT 9663 indicate the role of local traditions, yet the coexistence of distinct versions in Kullaniya suggests that variations are not necessarily linked to a specific location. Scribal errors could be considered a potential factor, but such errors are difficult to identify. The incomplete state of preservation of the manuscripts hinders further

analysis. The discovery of further manuscripts would provide a more precise pattern of day distribution if such existed.

Saki KIKUCHI <s.kikuchi@lrz.uni-muenchen.de>

130) Towards a New Reading of a Lexical Entry in Iraq 6 °30 (Kiš 30) — In his seminal work, *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexicon (MSL) V*, Benno Landsberger collected and juxtaposed all available, extant manuscripts of the great lexical series Ur.ra₅ = *hubullu* (hereafter, *Urra*). Copies of *Urra* compared in *MSL 5* included those discovered at Nippur, Ugarit, Emar, Hattuša, Kiš, and Sultantepe/Huzirina. This note examines a lexical entry from the DI(.KU₅) cluster of *Urra 2* preserved in the tablet Kiš 30 (first published in VAN DER MEER 1939).¹⁾ Triangulating extant manuscripts of *Urra 2* with a small fragment of the lexical series LÚ = *ša* and orthographic features in Kiš 30 enables us to decipher a new reading of line 21 in Kiš 30.

Landsberger (*MSL 5*, p. 51-52) provided the following synopsis of the DI(.KU₅) cluster in *Urra 2* (Note: the vertical lines to the right of each abbreviated manuscript indicates which lexical entries are preserved therein).

U	S ₁	Kiš ₂₉	Kiš ₃₀	V ₁			
|	|	|	|	|	17. DI	<i>di-i-nu</i>	judgement, legal decision
|	|	|	|	|	18. DI-KU ₅	<i>da-a-a-nu</i>	judge
|	|	|	|	|	19. DI-KU ₅ -GAL	<i>ŠU-lum</i>	senior judge
|	|	|	|	|	20. DI-KU ₅ -GAL	<i>šap-šu</i>	“
|	|	|	|	|	21. DI-KU ₅ -GAL	<i>šá-pi-ru</i>	“
|	|	|	|	|	22. DI-KU ₅ -URU	<i>da-a-a-nu a-lu</i>	judge of the city
|	|	|	|	|	23. DI-KU ₅ -LUGAL	“ <i>šar-ri</i>	“ “ “ king
|	|	|	|	|	24. DI-KU ₅ -E-NE-NE	“ <i>šú-nu</i>	their judge

Here I would like to focus on the entry DI.KU₅.GAL = *šá-pi-ru*. Landsberger’s synopsis and analysis obfuscate the manuscript evidence, as Kiš 30 does not preserve the *-ru-* sign for this entry. Nor does Kiš 30 preserve the *-lu-* sign in the following line. Interestingly, Landsberger did not comment on these discrepancies in his critical notes section (as he did for other variations among manuscripts). Without restorations, Kiš 30 reads as follows:

18.	[	x	x	x	x	]-nu
19.	[	x	x	x	x	]-lum
20.	[	x	x	x	x	]-šu
21.	[	x	x	x	x	]-ri
22.	[	x	x	x	x	]-li

Figure 1: Line Drawing of Kiš 30 (VAN DER MEER 1939, p. 159)



But, if such is the case, what would this lexical entry be? To my knowledge, no one has proposed a restoration of this line in Kiš 30. Unfortunately, Kiš 29 *Urra 2* does not preserve any of the entries past DI.KU₅.GAL = *šap-šu*.²⁾ Based on a comparison with other extant versions of the DI.KU₅ cluster in *Urra 2*, the missing line could be DI.KU₅.LUGAL = *šar-ri*. This reading is improbable, however. Before the entry DI.KU₅.GAL = *šar-ri* is the entry DI.KU₅.URU = *da-a-a-nu a-lu* in all extant versions of *Urra 2*. Only the late Neo-Babylonian tablet BM 56488 preserves the relevant line. But, even here, BM 56488 does not contain the *-ri-* sign. Rather, BM 56488:23 reads DI.KU₅.GAL = *šá-pi-ru*. The tablet AfO 28, plate 12, corroborates the lexical entry in BM 56488 even though the last sign is broken (*šá-pi-[ru]*).

Since BM 56488 and AfO 28, pl. 12, both preserve the reading *šá-pi-...*, the most probable restoration of Kiš 30:21 is [DI.KU₅.GAL = *šá-pi-*]-ri.⁴⁾ Although this restoration presents a grammatical incongruity, external and internal evidence can offer support. First, is the spelling of the lexical entry

UGULA = *šāpiru* preserved in a small fragment of the lexical series LÚ = *ša* (SpTU 3, 117 [WEIHER 1988]). Dated to the 4th century BCE, the fragment reads as follows:³⁾

12. [UGULA] = ¹ak¹-lu
13. [UGULA] = [šá]-pi-ri
14. [UGULA] = [ḫa]-za-an-nu
15. [UGULA] = ¹da¹-a-a-nu

Figure 2: Line Drawing of SpTU 3, 117
(WEIHER 1988; <https://cdli.earth/artifacts/27449>)



In LÚ = *ša*, the Akkadian entry is customarily spelled *šá-pi-ru* (e.g., CT 19, pl. 34, Sm 0293; *MSL 12*, 92 Q). The spelling preserved in SpTU 3, 117, corroborates the unique spelling of *šá-pi-ri* in Kiš 30. Further support for this unique spelling can be found within Kiš 30 itself—namely, its spelling of the Akkadian entry for *ālu*. Unlike BM 56488, which reads [DI.KU₅.URU] = *da-a-a-nu a-lu*, Kiš 30:22 reads [DI.KU₅.URU = *da-a-a-nu a*]-li. Whereas *ālu* in BM 56488 is in the nominative case, it is in the oblique (genitive-dative) case in Kiš 30. Technically, the grammar of Kiš 30 is more accurate since the noun *ālu* is functioning as a genitive, which would require the oblique case. Just as Kiš 30 deviates from the conventional spelling of the entry DI.KU₅.URU = *da-a-a-nu a-lu*, so Kiš 30 deviates from the conventional spelling of the entry DI.KU₅.GAL = *šá-pi-ru*, thus increasing the plausibility of my proposed reading.

Originally, *Urra 2* contained two entries for DI.KU₅.GAL. Only in the first millennium copies do we find three entries. Until now, only the late Neo-Babylonian tablet BM 56488 preserved the third entry DI.KU₅.GAL = *šá-pi-ru*, leaving open the question of when this third entry was added. The restoration [šá-pi]-ri (hitherto masked by Landsberger’s comparative analysis) is significant as it would confirm that this third entry had been incorporated by at least the early first millennium BCE in Northern Babylonia (Kiš). Moreover, this restoration would reflect a unique spelling of the entry DI.KU₅.GAL = *šāpiru* with respect to its conventional spelling. This invites further discussion of scribal practices in the transmission of lexical lists. Grammatically speaking, the oblique case in the entry *šá-pi-ri* does not make sense. Is this unique spelling simply a scribal mistake? Or, considering that one of the goals of scribal education was to reproduce lexical lists from memory (SCHEUCHER 2012, p. 54, 333), does this spelling in Kiš 30 reflect what David Carr calls a “memory variant” (CARR 2010)? Or was this a scribe’s attempt to create grammatical consistency with the entries *a-li* and *šar-ri*?⁵⁾ Examination of other such variant spellings in lexical series across time could shed further light on these questions.

Notes

1. Extant versions of the DI(.KU₅) cluster in *Urra 2* consist of the following manuscripts: Ni 3179, CBS 6990, CBS 4595, RS 2.23 + 3.360, RS 1.58, RS 2.18, Msk 74191a, Kiš 29, Kiš 30, BM 56488, *AfO* 28, pl. 12.

2. Middle Babylonian versions of *Urra 2* (e.g., Msk 74191a) read DI.KU₅.GAL = *ša-pí-tu*, which was later misunderstood as *šap-šu*. For an explanation of this scribal phenomenon see CHIKE 2025, p. 505-506.

3. Versions of LÚ = *ša* preserved in *MSL 12* (CIVIL 1969) confirm both the restoration of UGULA in the Sumerian column and the restoration of *šá* in the Akkadian column.

4. Moreover, whenever *šāpiru* is written in cuneiform sources, the first two signs are customarily -šá- and -pi- (e.g., HS 467:14’; YBC 3602:14; YOS 3 62:14; CT 56 358:4).

5. To be sure, only BM 56488 preserves the reading *šar-ri*. The sign after -šar- is broken in *AfO* 28, pl. 12. *Urra 2* from Emar (Msk 74191a) uses the Sumerogram LUGAL instead of the signs *šar-ri*.

Bibliography

- CARR, D., 2010, “Torah on the Heart: Literary Jewish Textuality Within Its Ancient Near Eastern Context”, *Oral Tradition* 25, p. 17-40.
- CHIKE, J. C., 2025, “The Emergence of DI.KUD.GAL in Ur.ra₅ = *ḫubullu 2*: Textual Development and Cultural History”, *JAOS* 145, p. 499-513.
- CIVIL, M., 1969, *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexicon XII: The Series lú = ša and Related Texts*, Rome.
- GURNEY, O. R., 1981, “The Sultantepe Tablets: Addenda and Corrigenda”, *AfO* 28, p. 92-112.
- LANDSBERGER, B., 1957, *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexicon V: The Series Ḫar-ra = ḫubullu Tablets I-IV*, Rome.

- MEISSNER, B., 1892, “Studie zur Serie ana ittišu”, *ZA* 7, p. 16-32.
SCHEUCHER, T. S., 2012, “The Transmissional and Functional Context of the Lexical Lists from Ḫattuša and from the Contemporaneous Traditions in Late-Bronze-Age Syria”, Ph.D. Dissertation, Universiteit Leiden.
VAN DER MEER, P. E., 1939, “Tablets of the Harra-hubullu series in the Ashmolean Museum”, *Iraq* 6, p. 144-179.
WEIHER, E. von, 1988, *Spätbabylonische Texte Aus Uruk. Teil III*. ADFU 12. Berlin.

Julian CHIKE <julian_chike@baylor.edu>
Baylor University, Waco, TX (USA)

131) On the Recently Published Neo-Assyrian Cuneiform Text from Jerusalem — A small fragment of a cuneiform tablet (B3109) discovered in excavations in Jerusalem in 2024 has recently been published in Hebrew (ZILBERSTEIN et al 2025) and has received widespread media attention. The authors have argued in the publication and associated media interviews that the tablet (bearing five lines of extant text) represents a fragment of the inscribed edge of a bulla, which once sealed a letter written on papyrus or parchment and was inscribed with a written summary of its contents. They have interpreted the inscription as recording a complaint by the king of Assyria about the king of Judah being late or delinquent in paying tribute, along with a new payment date and the title of an official sent to deliver the message. While the authors acknowledge the recipient could have been Hezekiah, Manasseh, or Josiah, they speculate that the text could have been linked to Hezekiah’s refusal to pay tribute at the beginning of his 705-701 BC rebellion against Sennacherib (ZILBERSTEIN et al 2025, 197-209; see also interviews in MARGULIES 2025; STEINMEYER 2025; TERCATIN 2025).

Tablet B3109 was discovered through wet-sifting fill dirt from controlled excavations near the Western Wall. The construction of certain walls during the late Roman period mixed Iron Age II material with later Second Temple period material, and so the precise dating of the tablet cannot be determined by stratigraphy (ZILBERSTEIN et al, 2025, 204-05). The extant date formula in ln. 3’ does not contain any trace of an eponym or regnal year. The claim that the text is from a Neo-Assyrian royal letter relies on the authors’ translation of line 1’, [*ša k[ar-mu-u-n[i]*] as the modern Hebrew verb עוכב, “to delay.”

While the fragment is certainly of Neo-Assyrian date, it is not from a bulla nor is it a letter from the Assyrian king to the king of Judah. While “to delay” is one possible meaning of the verb *karāmu* (CAD K p. 200-201), the phrase *ša karmūni ušallam* is a well-attested if uncommon phrase used to indicate joint responsibility for repayment of a loan. The phrase appears exclusively in Neo-Assyrian private loan documents, most commonly in silver loans from Aššur (FALES & JAKOB-ROST 1991, no. 64 l.e. 1-2; AHMAD 1996, no. 17:10), Nineveh (SAA 14, 163: 11e-13e), Kalhu (CTN 3 41 r. 11; PARKER 1952, 44, ND 2334 ln. 23), and Marqasu (modern Kahramanmaraş; GÜNBATTI et al 2020, no. 24 b.e. 8-9). The phrase also appears in a slave sale document from Nineveh (SAA 14, 161 r. 14) as well as a barley loan from Marqasu (GÜNBATTI et al 2020, no. 26 r. 10-11).

As is often the case in legal texts, the legal meaning of this phrase diverges significantly from its original semantic sense. Translation of the phrase is not straightforward, and many translations given in the publications listed above are not adequate. Crucially, the phrase is only used in cases where multiple debtors are taking out a loan together. The best solution was proposed by Carlo Zaccagnini, who argued by way of analogy to similar phrases in loan documents from other periods that the phrase should be translated “whoever is taken/seized/at hand [in a literal and physical sense] (by the creditor) should pay in full” (1994, 42), meaning that either debtor could be required to repay the whole amount in full when called on by the creditor.

Furthermore, the curved shape of B3109 suggests the surviving lines of text come from the end of a tablet. The fragment is very thin, and features a smooth reverse marked by some uneven striations which run parallel to the writing on the obverse (ZILBERSTEIN et al 2025, fig. 2). All of these features are consistent with an envelope rather than a bulla. Several examples given above were written on envelopes, and in each the phrase *ša karmūni ušallam* appears at the end of the reverse where the envelope has a pronounced curve (CTN 3 41 r. 11-13; SAA 14 163 r. 10-13e; cf. CDLI). With these factors considered, I offer a new transliteration and translation of B3109 based on the photographs and hand copy published in ZILBERSTEIN et al 2025, fig. 1:

1' [... ša k]ar-mu-u-n[i ...]	1'-2' [whoever] is at hand will pay [the silver] to them.
2' [KUG.UD?] a-na ŠĀ-šū-nu [ú-šal-lam]	
3' [... I]TI.NE UD.1.K[AM ...]	3' [M]onth of Ab, 1 st Day [...]
4' [IG]I ¹ ap-pa-a ¹ [...]	4' [Witn]ess: Appayya [...]
5' [IG]I ¹ ú-se ¹ -[a ...]	5' [Witness] Hose[a ...]

Commentary

2'. KUG.UD for *kaspu* is speculative. While most surviving texts with a *ša karmīni ušallam* formula are silver loans, there is no reason to exclude another type of loan such as grain.

3'. This is consistent with other loan documents in which the legal phrase *ša karmīni ušallam* is immediately followed by a date formula. See CTN 3 41 r. 12-13; AHMAD 1996, no. 17:10-12; GÜNBATTI et al 2020, no. 26 r. 10-13.

4'. ZILBERSTEIN et al (2025, 196) read this line [LÚ.mu-ki]l-ap-pa-a-M[EŠ], *mukīl appāte*, “chariot driver.” This writing for *mukīl appāte* is not attested elsewhere, although orthography varies and it is certainly not impossible (PNAE 4-1 p. 59-64). However, the broken sign at the beginning of the line is not consistent with *kil* but it should be read as a ligature of IGI with the determinative for a male personal name, as is common in Neo-Assyrian witness lists. The name must therefore be read phonetically. The final sign of the line is most likely a second *a*-sign rather than M[EŠ]. No horizontal wedge is visible in the published photographs (ZILBERSTEIN et al 2025, fig. 1; see also the photos in City of DAVID 2025). The names Appā and Apayya are attested elsewhere in Neo-Assyrian documents, see PNAE 1-1 p. 112, 120.

5'. Only the upper portions of two signs are visible. ZILBERSTEIN et al (2025, 196) read this line as *ú-m[a-aš-šir]*, a D-stem present of *wašāru*, “to release.” However, given the personal name on line 4' we would expect another witness name. The first sign has three vertical wedges followed by two horizontal wedges and can be confidently reconstructed as *ú*. The second sign has two horizontal wedges with the lower wedge shorter than the upper, followed by a vertical wedge, and could be either *ma* or *si/se*. Going with the latter reading gives the Hebrew personal name Hosea, usually written *ú-si-a* or *ú-si-a'* in Neo-Assyrian documents (the writing *a-ú-se-a'* is attested only in royal inscriptions when writing the name of the last king of the northern kingdom of Israel). See PNAE 1-1 p. 238; PNAE 3-2 p. 1421.

In conclusion, the tablet B3109 is certainly a fragmentary private legal document rather than a bulla or letter. It has no connection to the kings of Assyria and cannot be used as evidence for official communication between Assyria and Judah. However, the presence of a Neo-Assyrian loan document in Iron Age II Jerusalem with at least one Hebrew name present on the witness list is a major find in its own right and constitutes important new evidence for economic relationships between the Neo-Assyrian empire and the kingdom of Judah.

References

- AHMAD, A. Y., 1996, “The Archive of Aššur-mātu-taqin found in the New Town of Aššur and Dated Mainly by Post-Canonical Eponyms,” *Al-Rāfidān*, Vol. 17, p. 207-288.
- CDLI = ADD 0087 & 0088 artifact entry, *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*, available at: <https://cdli.earth/P335039> (Accessed: 25 Oct. 2025).
- CAD K = *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 8 K, 1971.
- City of David, 2025, “An Assyrian inscription from the First Temple period was discovered,” 22 Oct. 2025, available at: <https://cityofdauid.org/en/assyrian-inscription/> (Accessed: 25 Oct. 2025).
- CTN 3 = DALLEY, S. M. & POSTGATE, J. N., 1984, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, London.
- FALES, F. M. & JAKOB-ROST, L., 1991, “Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur: Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part 1,” *SAAB* 5 (1-2), p. 3-157.
- GÜNBATTI, C., ÇEÇEN, S., GÖKÇEK, L. G. & AKYÜZ, F., 2020, *Kahramanmaraş'ta Bulunmuş Yeni Asurca Tabletler*, Ankara.
- MARGULIES, J., 2025, “Rare Assyrian inscription unearthed near Temple Mount reveals communication with the King of Judah,” *Jerusalem Post* 22 Oct. 2025, available at: <https://www.jpost.com/archaeology/article-871313> (Accessed: 25 Oct. 2025).
- PARKER, B., 1954, “The Nimrud Tablets, 1952 - Business Documents,” *Iraq* 16 (1), p. 29-58.
- PNAE = RADNER, K. & BAKER, H., 1998-2017, *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 4 Vols, Helsinki.
- SAA 14 = MATTILA, R., 2002, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part II: Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun*, Helsinki.
- STEINMEYER, N., 2025, “An Assyrian Letter to the King of Judah,” *Bible History Daily* 24 Oct. 2025, available at: <https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/ancient-israel/assyrian-letter-to-king-of-judah/> (Accessed: 25 Oct. 2025).
- TERCATIN, R., 2025, “Biblical tax notice: 1st-ever Assyrian inscription found near Jerusalem’s Temple Mount,” *Times of Israel* 22 Oct. 2025, available at: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/biblical-tax-notice-1st-ever-assyrian-inscription-found-near-jerusalem-temple-mount/> (Accessed: 25 Oct. 2025).
- ZACCAGNINI, C., 1994, “Joint Responsibility in Barley Loans of the Neo-Assyrian Period,” *SAAB* 8 (1), p. 21-42.

ZILBERSTEIN, A., ZILBERG, P., VUKASAVOVIĆ, F. & COHEN-WEINBERGER, A., 2025, "שבר כתובת בכתב יתדות": חדושים בארכיאלוגיה של ירושלים וסביבותיה: קובץ מחקרים 18, מהתקופה הניאוראשוּרית מירושלים, "חדושים בארכיאלוגיה של ירושלים וסביבותיה: קובץ מחקרים 18", p. 195-211.

Christopher W. JONES <cjones@uu.edu>
Department of History, Union University (USA)

132) DigEanna notes 1: Princess Bau-asītu presents a gift to Eanna — Three daughters of Nebuchadnezzar II are currently known, of whom Kaššāya is best attested. Five documents, dating between the 15th and 39th years of his reign, record her gifts to Eanna (BEAULIEU 1998; cf. COUSIN 2023: 183–85).¹⁾ Kaššāya’s two sisters, Innin-ēṭirat and Bau-asītu, have been identified so far in single texts. Innin-ēṭirat occurs in a record of manumission of her slave drafted in Babylon in the 41st year of Nebuchadnezzar (MACGINNIS 1993), and Bau-asītu in a land-sale contract from Uruk from his 23rd year, in which she is named as an owner of a house plot neighboring the land under sale (YBC 7415 = BEAULIEU 1998: 175–79).

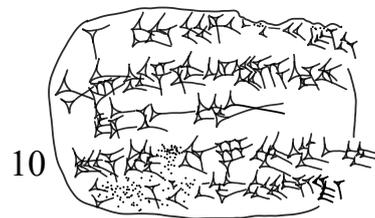
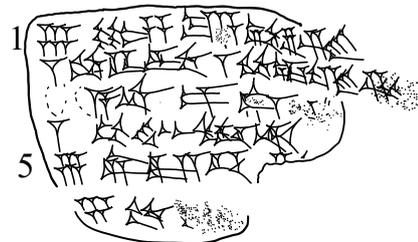
The administrative note published below provides another attestation of the princess Bau-asītu.

BM 117457

(1929-5-9, 279)

3.18 x 3.49

Obv.	1.	6 in-ša-ba-a-ta kù.gi
	2.	1 ^{na} 1tuk-pi-tú 1 ^{na} 1sag-gil-mu[d]
	3.	a-na ^{gis} pisan (erasure)
	4.	1 bi-i'-il-ti
	5.	6 ni-ip-hu 'kù ¹ .g[i]
L.e.	6.	5 ^{na} 1x ¹ [...]
Rev.	7.	1 ^{na} 1muš.š'gír ¹ man- ^f di-tú ¹
	8.	pab er-bi šá ^{id} ká-a-si-tú
	9.	dumu.sal lugal
	10.	i ^{ti} ne u ⁴ .7 ^{kám} mu.1 ^{kám}
	12.	'lú-dšú ¹ lugal tin.tir ^{ki}



Six gold rings, one kidney-shaped bead, one *saggilmud*-stone: for the jewelry box. One *bi'iltu*-vessel, six g[old] disks, five [...]stones, one *muššaru*-stone with a mounting. Total of the gift (*erbu*) of Bau-asītu, the king’s daughter.

Month Abu, seventh day, first year of Amīl-Marduk, king of Babylon (August 2nd, 561 BCE).

BM 117457 postdates by 21 years the land-sale contract that mentions the princess Bau-asītu as a house owner in Uruk (YBC 7415). Despite this gap, it is highly likely that both women were identical. Otherwise, one would have to allow that Nebuchadnezzar had both a daughter and a granddaughter bearing the same rare name.²⁾ This identification carries an important implication. If correct, the title *mārat šarri* would not have referred exclusively to the daughters of a reigning king, as assumed by P.-A. Beaulieu (1998: 173 n. 4) based on the evidence then available. Rather, it may also have been employed by the daughters of deceased rulers. It cannot be excluded that the case of Nebuchadnezzar’s daughters was exceptional, however, given both his long reign and the extended period during which they held the title *mārat šarri*.

In BM 117457, Bau-asītu presents an unnamed deity of Eanna with jewelry, (semi-)precious stones, ornaments, and what was likely a luxurious vessel. The beneficiary was undoubtedly a goddess, since the beads and stones listed in BM 117457 are otherwise associated in the Eanna archive with female deities (BEAULIEU 2003: 13–14). The princess’s donation is referred to as *erbu* (lit. “income”), as are most of the gifts of her—presumably older—sister Kaššāya; only one text calls Kaššāya’s gift an *ēšrū* (tithe).³⁾ In addition to jewels, Kaššāya offered to Eanna wine, barley, precious blue wool, and vast tracts of land.

BM 117457 shares similarities with a much earlier record of Kaššāya’s donation, PTS 3238 = BEAULIEU 1998: 183–84 (NbkII15.IV.15), which is also listed in the *Sammeltafel OIP 122 120* (ii 1’–13’). Both lists end with a caption pab *erbi ša FN mārat šarri* (“Total of the gift (*erbu*) of FN, the king’s daughter”), and include valuables intended for the divine *pišannu*-bag. While Kaššāya’s donation was

distinctly more generous, both sisters offered their goddess(es) similar objects. Their *erbu* include rings (*inšabtu*), kidney-shaped beams (*tukpītu*), *saggilmud*-stones, and *muššaru*-stones. Only two types of objects that appear in BM 117457 are absent from other lists. One is the *bi'iltu*, a vessel used for storing oil and butter (eSAD B 34, accessed on 4.10.2015). The material from which *bi'iltu* was made is unknown, but the fact that its base was occasionally mounted in silver (e.g., in YOS 19 210) suggests that it was a sumptuous object. The other is *niphu*, probably sequins in the shape of disks or flames. While missing in similar Babylonian records, a Neo-Assyrian text mentions that such objects were applied to Urartian divine garments (CAD N2 245–46).

Popova and Quillien (2021: 158) argue that the Neo-Babylonian *pišannu* was “a large wooden box decorated with precious metals (silver and perhaps gold chains and precious stones). Inside or covering the box, there were textiles decorated with coloured embroidery and trimmings.”⁴⁾ The box served to store the jewelry and precious garments of goddesses (on one occasion, of a god). In Neo-Babylonian archival texts, the word *pišannu* is commonly spelled syllabically (POPOVA and QUILLIEN 2021: 153). The present text adds to two documents from Uruk where the ideographic writing ^{gis}pisan occurs (FLP 1564: 1 = BEAULIEU 2003: 241 and YOS 19 244: 3; see POPOVA and QUILLIEN 2021: 153), to which BM 117506 may also be added.⁵⁾ Furthermore, in PTS 2193, *pišannu* is spelled ^{gada}pisan.⁶⁾

It is unclear in what circumstances and on what occasion Bau-asītu presented her gift to Eanna. Since all the donations of the royal sisters come from a brief period of three months (Dū'uzu, Abu, and Ulūlu), it cannot be excluded that their pious acts simply took place during their visits to or periods of residence in Uruk. On the other hand, festivals and cultic holidays were occasions during which devotees presented goddesses with gifts intended to enhance the splendor of their divine statues. A certain Širū, wife of Marduk-ētir, presented an *erbu* of a *hullānu*-garment specifically “for the clothing ceremony (*ana lubušti*) on the 15th day,” which was to take place six days later (IAC 250, ZADOK 2017/2018: 348, dated on Nbp21.IV.9).⁷⁾ Kaššāya's gift of jewelry on the 15th of Dū'uzu of Nebuchadnezzar II's 15th year (PTS 3238 and OIP 122 120) may have also coincided with a clothing ceremony, on either the 15th or 17th of Dū'uzu. Bau-asītu's gift on the seventh of Abu is more difficult to contextualize, as the Uruk cultic calendar for that month is poorly known. The *lubuštu* ceremonies in Abu took place on the first day of the month. It is noteworthy, however, that one of Kaššāya's *erbu* of wine (NCBT 208 = BEAULIEU 1998: 190–91) is also dated in Abu.

Given that Kaššāya and Bau-asītu are only found in documents from Uruk, and Innin-ētirat bears a name typical of this city, Beaulieu (1998: 200–1) considered the possibility that Nebuchadnezzar's family originated from Uruk, where the daughters may have resided. He further proposed that Nebuchadnezzar's sons, who are attested in texts from northern Babylonia at the end of the reign, may have been born of a second marriage. These two groups of royal children may have been in conflict, which culminated in the coup during which Neriglissar, husband of one of Nebuchadnezzar's daughters, deposed Amēl-Marduk. BM 117457 provides further evidence of close ties between Nabuchadnezzar's daughters and Uruk, while also indicating that the potential conflict among his children did not affect the position of royal daughters in the first year of Amēl-Marduk.

Acknowledgments

This note was written in the framework of the Weave-UNISONO project “Dig Eanna: A Digitalization of the Eanna Archive” (no. 2023/05/Y/HS3/00149) funded by the National Science Centre, Poland. I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM 117457 and to Louise Quillien for her bibliographic support and discussion.

Notes

1. A sixth document, YBC 3449 from the fifth year of Nebuchadnezzar, published by Beaulieu (1998: 197–98), mentions the land of an unnamed *mārat šarri*, who may also have been Kaššāya.
2. Beaulieu (1998: 174–75) interprets the name as “Ba'u is a/the physician.” Other bearers of this name appear in BM 31120 (Bertin 3069) and TCL 9 141.
3. According to Beaulieu (1998: 182) and Jursa (1998: 88), the former term is wider. On the *erbu* of kings, members of the royal family, and high officials, see also KLEBER 2008: 264–66 and eadem in JURSA 2010: 543–47.
4. See previously BEAULIEU 1998: 185–86 and ZAWADZKI 2008, passim.

5. BM 117506 (Nbn16.XI.3): ¹14 *in-šab-ta* kù.gi ²*er-bi* ʿx¹ (empty space) *ina* ^{siš}pisan “Fourteen golden rings, the gift (*erbu*) of <PN or FN>, in the jewelry box.”

6. PTS 2193 (not dated) (<https://cdli.earth/artifacts/470287/reader/214451>, accessed on 4.10.2025) is an envelope with three lines of inscription: ¹ ½ gín kù.gi har.meš *in-šab-tú* [...] ²ù *mi-da-ru* ʿx¹ [...] ha ru ³*er-bi* šá ^{gadu}pisan šá ʿx¹ [...] ʿx¹ “1.5 shekels of gold (in the form of) rings and (ear)ri[ngs ...] and *midaru*, the gift (*erbu*) of the jewelry box [...]”

7. For the dates of the *lubuštu*-ceremonies in Uruk, see BEAULIEU 2003: 36–38 and PAYNE 2007: 90 and 126.

Bibliography

- BEAULIEU, P.-A., 1998, “Ba’u-asītu and Kaššaya, Daughters of Nebuchadnezzar II,” *OrNS* 67, p. 173–201.
- BEAULIEU, P.-A., 2003, *The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period*, CM 23, Leiden – Boston.
- COUSIN, L., 2023, “Femmes et royauté au VI^e siècle av. J.-C. : vie de cour, relais et incarnation du pouvoir royal à Babylone et en Babylonie,” in: Ph. Clancier and J. Monerie (eds.), *L’empreinte des empires au Proche-Orient ancien. Volume d’hommage offert à Francis Joannès*, Études Mésopotamiennes 3, Oxford, p. 177–91.
- JURSA, M., 1998, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, AOAT 254, Münster.
- JURSA, M., 2010, *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC: Economic Geography, Economic Mentalities, Agriculture, the Use of Money and the Problem of Economic Growth*, AOAT 377, Münster.
- KLEBER, K., 2008, *Tempel und Palast. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk*, AOAT 358, Münster.
- MACGINNIS, J., 1993, “The Manumission of a Royal Slave,” *ASJ* 15, p. 99–106.
- PAYNE, E. E., 2007, *The Craftsmen of the Neo-Babylonian Period: A Study of the Textile and Metal Workers of the Eanna Temple*, PhD dissertation, Yale University.
- POPOVA, O. and L. QUILLIEN, 2021, “Fabrication and Ritual Use of the *pišannu*-Jewellery Box in Babylonian Temples during the First Millennium BC,” *Mesopotamia* 56, p. 151–61.
- ZADOK, R., 2017/2018, “Additions to the Prosopography of the Eanna Archive,” *Isimu* 20/21, p. 345–83.
- ZAWADZKI, S., 2006, *Garments of the Gods: Studies on the Textile Industry and the Pantheon of Sippar according to the Texts from the Ebabbar Archive*, vol. 1, OBO 218, Fribourg – Göttingen.

Małgorzata SANDOWICZ <m.e.sandowicz@uw.edu.pl>
University of Warsaw (POLAND)

133) DigEanna notes 2: *nargu*, another term for “axe” — The AHW and CAD list only two attestations of the noun *nargu*, both referring to objects made of cedar. The first is found in an Old Assyrian letter TCL 19 61: 26, whose sender asks to be sent *na-ar-ga-am ša tiārim* “a *nargu* of white cedar.” The other, much later occurrence appears in the *Ušburruda-Ritual before Jupiter* from the library of Assurbanipal (K.2785+), published by Abusch and Schwemer (2016, Text 7.21). The ritual prescribes the preparation of two reed torches, into which two *nargāt erēni* “*nargu* of cedar” were inserted (l. 22’). Strings of wool were then attached to the torches, and the two *nargu* were sprinkled with oil (l. 24’). Given the time gap between TCL 19 61 and K.2785+, it cannot be excluded that these two occurrences should be treated separately.

The dictionaries render the term *nargu* differently. CAD N1 352 proposes the translation “peg,” followed by Abusch and Schwemer (2016: 91) in their edition of the *Ušburruda Ritual*. In contrast, AHW 747 opts for “cedar cone” (“Zedernzapfen”), a translation likely motivated by the association of *nargu* with *tiāru* and *erēnu*. However, at the same time, AHW links *nargu* with Aramaic *nārgā* “axe” (“Beil”).

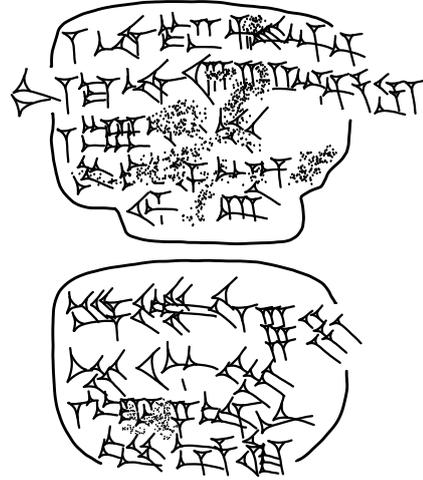
The same word probably also underlies two first-millennium personal names, the Assyrian Nargî and the Babylonian Nargia. While commonly derived from the Aramaic *nārgā* “axe” (TALLQVIST 1905: 160, BAKER and PARPOLA 2000: 931, Prosobab), Nargia is occasionally linked to the “(cedar) cone” (COUSIN and WATAI 2018: 247). The suggestion to treat such names as hypocoristics of Nergal-names (e.g., SZUBIN and PORTEN 1992: 81 and PORTEN 2016: 4 n. 6 in reference to Nargî) is less convincing, as it would involve the change /e/ > /a/ in the first syllable and the loss of the final /l/, a development unlikely in view of the otherwise consistent appearance of the name Nergal as *nrgl* in Aramaic dockets from Babylonia (STRECK 2017: 191). Additionally, the social contexts in which these names are found suggest a West Semitic background for many of their bearers. Several individuals named Nargî interacted with West Semites (see BAKER and PARPOLA 2000: 931), and a notable number of bearers of the name Nargia

had West Semitic patronyms (TALLQVIST 1905: 160, add Nargia/Issar-labanu in YOS 7 96: 17, Nargia/Il-gabrī in YOS 7 97: 3, Nargia/Hananāya in DHORME 1928 no. 11: 2 and 12: 2).

An administrative note from the Eanna archive supports the link between *nargu* and the Aramaic *nārgā*.

BM 117529 (1925-5-9, 351) 3.18 x 2.22

- | | | |
|------|----|---|
| | 1. | 1 <i>na-ra-gi</i> an.bar |
| | 2. | pab 1 ma.na 13 gín an.bar <i>gam-ru</i> |
| | 3. | ^{md} nà- ^r numun-mu ^l |
| | 4. | ^r lúsimug ¹ an.bar |
| L.e. | 5. | <i>igi-ir</i> |
| Rev. | 6. | ^{it} sig ₄ u ₄ .8 ^{kám} |
| | 7. | mu.12 ^l kám |
| | 8. | ^{md} r ^l nà ^l -níg.du-pab |
| | 9. | lugal e.ki |



One iron *nargu*-axe, weighing a total of 1 mina and 13 shekels of iron, was received from the blacksmith Nabû-zēru-iddin.

Month Simānu, 8th day, 12th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (June 28th, 593).

The fact that the *nargu* delivered by Nabû-zēru-iddin was made of iron supports its interpretation as an axe. Its weight (c. 358 grams) corresponds to that of a medium-sized axe or adze. Comparable axe weights are attested in the Eanna archive: an iron *qulmû*-axe (YOS 24 134) and an iron *pāšu*-axe (YOS 24 79 and 83) are both recorded at 1 mina 25 shekels.

No specific characteristics of *nargu* are hitherto available, so it remains unclear in what respects it differed from other objects interpreted as axes (e.g., *qulmû*, *pāšu*, *haššinnu*, *ulmu*, *quddu*). The *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (<https://cal.huc.edu/>, accessed on 7.10.2025) cites Hatran, Syriac, Jewish Babylonian, Mandaic, and Literary Aramaic sources, in which *nārgā* (or: *nāreg*) served to cut trees, including date palms, where the meaning “axe” seems appropriate. But it also lists an entry in which *nārgā* was employed for digging, in which case the translation “mattock” fits better. The use of an axe—rather than a pole—in the *Ušburruda* ritual does not present a difficulty. Gold and copper *pāšu*-axes (CAD P 268) and bronze and wooden *qulmû*-axes (CAD Q 300) were occasionally employed in rituals.

The individual who manufactured the *nargu* for Eanna was the well-known temple blacksmith and oblate, Nabû-zēru-iddin/Rāš-ili. He is attested in over 80 texts written between the first year of Nabopolassar and the 14th year of Nebuchadnezzar (PAYNE 2007: 317–21). His son Mušēzib-Bēl (PAYNE 2007: 314–15) and grandson Erībšu (PAYNE 2017: 303) continued in his footsteps in Eanna’s blacksmiths’ workshop, supplying the temple with iron parts and tools, including *pāšu*-axes (YOS 24 79, 83) and *qulmû*-axes (YOS 24 101).

Acknowledgments

This note was written in the framework of the Weave-UNISONO project “Dig Eanna: A Digitalization of the Eanna Archive” (no. 2023/05/Y/HS3/00149) funded by the National Science Centre, Poland. I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM 117529.

Bibliography

- ABUSCH, Tz., and D. SCHWEMER (with the contribution of M. Luukko and G. Van Buylaere), 2016, *Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals*, vol. 2, AMD 8/2, Leiden – Boston.
- BAKER, H. D., and S. PARPOLA, 2000, “Nargī,” in: H. D. Baker (ed.), *PNA 2/I*, Helsinki, p. 931.
- COUSIN, L., and Y. WATAI, 2018, “Onomastics and Gender Identity in First-Millennium BCE Babylonia,” in: St. L. Budin et al. (eds), *Gender and methodology in the ancient Near East. Approaches from Assyriology and beyond*, Barcelona, p. 243–55.
- DHORME, P. 1928, “Les tablettes babyloniennes de Neirab,” *RA* 25, p. 53–82.
- PAYNE, E. E., 2007, *The Craftsmen of the Neo-Babylonian Period: A Study of the Textile and Metal Workers of the Eanna Temple*, PhD dissertation, Yale University.

- PORTEN, B. (in consultation with R. Zadok and L. Pearce), 2016, “Akkadian Names in Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt,” *BASOR* 375, p. 1–12.
- STRECK, M. P., 2017, “Late Babylonian in Aramaic Epigraphs on Cuneiform Tablets,” in: A. Berlejung, A. M. Maier, and A. Schüle (eds.), *Wandering Arameans: Arameans Outside Syria. Textual and Archaeological Perspectives*, LAOS 5, Wiesbaden, p. 169–94.
- SZUBIN, H. Z., and B. PORTEN, 1992, “An Aramaic Joint Venture Agreement: A New Interpretation of the Bauer-Meissner Papyrus,” *BASOR* 288, p. 67–84.
- TALLQVIST, K. L., 1905, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Šamašsumukîn bis Xerxes*, Helsinki.

Małgorzata SANDOWICZ <m.e.sandowicz@uw.edu.pl>

134) DigEanna notes 3: The staff (*ḥaṭṭu*) as a Branding Tool — In two Neo-Babylonian texts from Eanna, staffs or sticks (Akk. *ḥaṭṭu*) appear in context with cattle marks. One of these texts is a small administrative note, which records that the temple receives 1 ma.na '8' gín an.bar 3 'ḥa¹-at-ṭa-a-ta šá šī-in-du šá áb.gu^{bi.a} from Nabû-zēru-iddin (YOS 24, 80), which the editors (LEVAVI & PAYNE 2024) interpret as “1 mina 8 shekels of iron (in the form of) three iron rods of the cattle branding iron”. Each of these rods has thus a weight of almost 22.67 shekels (ca. 189 g). This is comparable to the weight of four star-shaped branding irons (*kakkabtu parzilli*), which the same smith delivered on another occasion (SPAR 1972, no. 5). They had a total weight of 2 minas of iron, thus 30 shekels (ca. 250 g) each. Despite their fitting weight, the iron *ḥaṭṭātu* mentioned in YOS 24, 80 could have hardly been elements of Eanna’s star-shaped branding irons. Sumerian and Egyptian branding tools are single metal pieces comprising both flat parts for the impression and rods (MS 3032 in the Schøyen Collection, EGGBRECHT 1975, for pictures see e.g. KAREV 2022). If handles or extensions were attached to them, they would have been of organic material to avoid touching heated-up metal. Branding irons from Eanna have not been found so far, but the production method of these tools was most likely tried and tested in the wider surrounding and did not change in the course of time. I would therefore suggest that the iron *ḥaṭṭātu* mentioned in YOS 24, 80 are not components of Eanna’s star-shaped “cattle branding iron” but separate tools similar in size and weight, which were used “for cattle marks” (*šá šī-in-du šá áb.gu^{bi.a}*). This interpretation would also explain why the term *šindu*, which could mean both “mark”, and “branding iron” is spelled in YOS 24, 80 without the determinative an.bar (*parzillu*) that usually accompanies branding tools in Neo-Babylonian texts.

The follow-up question, what sort of brand marks the iron rods produced on cattle of Eanna, may be answered by looking at the second attestation for *ḥaṭṭu* in context with cattle marks. An unpublished protocol from Achaemenid Eanna records that Nabû-balāssu-iqbi/Kiṣir-Nabû has to account for having an adult cow, “whose star-shaped brand mark is crossed out with a stick” (BM 114648 3-4: *šá i-na^{gis} ḥaṭ-ṭu kak-kab-t[u₄] pu-ur-ru-ka-[tu₄]*). The spelling ^{gis}*ḥaṭṭu* that occurs again later in this text (BM 114648 6-7: ^{l6}*Sipa-ú-a šá i-na^{gis} ḥaṭ-ṭu kak-kab-tu₄ ú-par-ri-ki* “my shepherd, who crossed out the star symbol with a stick”) could indicate that instead of a red-hot iron a heated wooden stick was used to apply a new brand mark on top of the former one, so that the star mark of this cow was crossed out. The result of such a makeshift marking process in default of an iron tool would look sloppy, and may have eventually led to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi being accused of cattle theft. He managed to avoid the thirtyfold punishment usually imposed on thieves of temple property by swearing that his shepherd committed the act, and that this shepherd died without bequeathing any possessions to him. Thus, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi got away with a single replacement of the cow.

Both star-shaped branding irons and iron staffs intended for cattle marks were certainly kept safe by Eanna. Only authorized people were allowed to use them to produce proper brand marks. By crossing out star-shaped marks with the help of iron staffs, the temple’s ownership marks would be clearly invalidated, allowing Eanna to sell cattle off occasionally. This way, new owners would be visibly protected against accusations of cattle theft.

Acknowledgements

This note was written in the framework of the Weave-UNISONO project “Dig Eanna: A Digitalization of the Eanna Archive” (no. 2023/05/Y/HS3/00149) funded by the National Science Centre, Poland. Many thanks to Małgorzata Sandowicz for discussing the draft with me!

Bibliography

- EGGEBRECHT, A., 1975, “Brandstempel”, in W. Helck & E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, Wiesbaden, p. 850-852.
- KAREV, E., 2022 “‘Mark them with my mark’: Human Branding in Egypt”, *JEA* 108 p. 191-203.
- LEVAVI, Y. & E. PAYNE, 2024, *Late Babylonian Administrative and Legal Texts, Concerning Craftsmen, from the Eanna Archive*, YOS 24, New Haven.
- SPAR, I., 1972, *Studies in Neo-Babylonian Economic and Legal Texts*, PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Julia GIESSLER <j.giessler@uw.edu.pl >
University of Warsaw (POLAND)

135) The End of Cuneiform Writing in Uruk, Late Babylonian Astronomy, and the “Phoenix Cycle” — Until some ten years ago, Assyriologists were in agreement that the latest securely datable cuneiform texts were all written in Babylon. The last known non-astronomical clay tablet, a Babylon manuscript of Tintir V, is dated to February/March 22 BCE (JIMÉNEZ & MITTO 2024), after which only astronomical texts are attested, with the latest, an Astronomical Almanac likewise from Babylon, ascribed on astronomical grounds to the year 74/75 AD (SACHS 1976). But in 2014, Herrmann Hunger and Teije de Jong shattered the consensus by claiming that W22340a, a poorly preserved Astronomical Almanac from Uruk, excavated in 1969 near the surface in area Ue XVIII and first published in 1976 (SpTU 1, 99), was written even later than its counterparts from Babylon, in the year 79/80 AD. Although the authors acknowledged that not all the astronomical information included in the text is easily compatible with the proposed dating, the latter is now widely accepted and has made its way into general introductions to the ancient Near East (STRECK 2023, 21). The latest extant cuneiform text, it would hence seem, comes from the very city where cuneiform had been invented some three and a half millennia earlier.

A recent article by Victor Gysembergh (2023) claims to offer additional support for this scenario.¹⁾ Gysembergh posits that the Uruk text TU 11 (edition: BRACK-BERNSSEN & HUNGER 2002), which provides rules related to astrological, astronomical, and meteorological predictions, was written “at any time during the second half of the 1st century CE, or even during the 2nd or 3rd century.”

The colophon of TU 11 mentions the owner and the scribe of the tablet (see below) but includes no date, which means that Gysembergh has to rely for his dating on indirect clues. He finds his key evidence in a passage in rev. 27–28 that mentions the cyclical reappearances after specific numbers of years of various astronomical, meteorological, and terrestrial phenomena. After references to future manifestations of a comet (*šallumû*), rain (*zunnu*), floods (*mīlu*), and an earthquake (*rību*), the text notes, “in 654 years – broken” (*ina 6 me 54 MU.MEŠ ḫe-pī*), a statement followed by a horizontal ruling. As “no explanation has been put forward of this number in the context of Mesopotamian astral sciences,” Gysembergh argues for a non-astronomical background of the mysterious 654-year cycle, whose nature remains elusive in the text because the tablet from which the scribe had copied the line had been damaged.

Looking at Greco-Roman literature, Gysembergh observes that the Byzantine *Suda* and the works of George Syncellus, Pliny the Elder, and Tacitus all talk about a reappearance of the famous mythical Phoenix bird during the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius (r. 41–54 AD). Reborn 654 years after its previous advent, as some of the accounts claim, the Phoenix had allegedly been sent to Rome in 47 AD, on the occasion of the city’s 800th anniversary. Gysembergh’s argument is that this event gave rise to a widespread belief in a 654-year Phoenix cycle that eventually also reached Mesopotamia – and is reflected in TU 11, which accordingly, Gysembergh concludes, cannot have been written prior to 47 AD. Since the original exemplar from which it was copied had already been damaged by the wear and tear of time, TU 11 might in fact, Gysembergh posits, postdate the mid-first century AD by “decades (if not centuries!).” Another Uruk tablet, TU 31, an unusual list of reciprocals written by the brother of the scribe of TU 11, would have to be equally late.

If Gysembergh’s bold suggestions are correct, a major revision of the history of cuneiform writing and scholarship during the Late Babylonian period would be in order.²⁾ But there is reason to be skeptical, especially when taking a closer look at the colophon of TU 11 – which identifies as the owner of the tablet “Nidinti-Anu, son of Ina-qibit-Anu, descendant of Ḫunzû, exorcist of Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk” and as its scribe “Anu-uballit, his [i.e., Nidinti-Anu’s] son.”³⁾

Brack-Bernsen and Hunger (2002, 6) had dated TU 11 to the late third century BCE because they thought that its scribe, Anu-uballit son of Nidinti-Anu, was identical with the homonymous scribe of the tablets TU 16 (celestial divination) and BRM 4, 12 (extispicy), which were copied in Uruk, according to their colophons, in 215 and 214 BCE, respectively.⁴⁾ Gysembergh, however, considers this impossible. According to him, the Anu-uballit of TU 11 had a different grandfather – and thus might have lived long after the Seleucid period.

To decide between these two opposing views, a closer look at the colophons is needed. The information TU 16 (rev. 54–55) and BRM 4, 12 (rev. 35–36) provide about their respective owner and scribe, the same individuals in the case of both tablets, is as follows:

Tablet of Nidinti-Anu, son of Anu-belšunu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, exorcist of Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk.
Hand of Anu-uballit, son of Nidinti-Anu, descendant of Hunzû, exorcist of Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk.⁵⁾

Gysembergh claims that “in the colophon of TU 16, the scribe is referred to as Anu-uballit, son of Nidinti-Ani and grandson of Anu-bēlšunu (not Ina-qibīt-Ani), descendant of Hunzû; in the colophon of BRM 4, 12, the scribe is referred to as Anu-uballit, son of Nidinti-Ani and grandson of Anu-bēlšunu (not Ina-qibīt-Ani), descendant of Ekur-zākir (not Hunzû).” But as the translation above demonstrates, this is simply not accurate: Gysembergh conflates the genealogies given in TU 16 and BRM 4, 12 for the scribe of the two tablets on the one hand, and for their owner on the other. The truth is what had already been established by Brack-Bernsen and Hunger: the scribe of both tablets is by all reasonable standards the same Anu-uballit, son of Nidinti-Anu, descendant of Hunzû, who also wrote TU 11; but while he copied TU 11 for his father – Nidinti-Anu from the Hunzû family – he wrote TU 16 and BRM 4, 12 for a different Nidinti-Anu, a member of the Ekurzakir clan.⁶⁾

What all this means is that TU 11 must be dated to the late third century BCE, like the other two tablets, and not to the first, second, or third century AD.⁷⁾ Other features of TU 11 corroborate such a chronological setting. The sign forms used by the scribe, the horizontal rulings dividing the text into individual paragraphs, and the tablet manufacture in general are reminiscent of many other scholarly tablets from Seleucid Uruk; and as in TU 16 and BRM 4, 12, the scribe sought divine support for his work by writing “By the command of Anu and Antu, may it succeed” (*ina amāt Anu u Antu lišlim*) on the upper edge of the tablet. It seems extremely unlikely that tablets so similar could have been written by individuals bearing the same name but living some 300 years apart from one another.

This brings us back to the Astronomical Almanac from Uruk ascribed by Hunger and de Jong to 79/80 AD, now very much an apparent chronological outlier again. The present writer cannot claim the expertise required to critically assess the newly proposed dating from an astronomical point of view; but John Steele, whose scholarly credentials are not compromised by such deficiencies, has already expressed some doubt about it, noting that “not all of the astronomical data contained on the tablet agree with this date” and adding that it “would put the tablet around three hundred years later than any other dated tablet found at the site [i.e., in area Ue XVIII]” (2019, 154–55). Also noteworthy is that the only other Astronomical Almanacs from Uruk, W 20030/109 and MLC 2195 – which are duplicates of each other – are from 165/164 BCE (HUNGER 2014, nos. 159 and 160) and that the latest dated tablet known from the city, a legal document, was written in 108 BCE (KESSLER 1984), preceding 79/80 AD by nearly two centuries.

All things considered, then, the evidence for a survival of cuneiform writing on clay tablets in Uruk well into the common era remains weak. It may be best, at least for the time being, to stick to the traditional view that the Astronomical Almanac from Babylon written in 74/75 AD is the latest securely datable cuneiform text.

Notes

1. I was kindly alerted to this article by Alessia Pilloni while working on an essay on “The Disappearance of Cuneiform Writing in Assyria and Babylonia: A Comparative Approach,” now published (in Korean and English) in H. Kim and G. Kim (ed.), *문자와 문자문화 1 (Scripts and Writing Culture, Volume 1)*, Incheon (Korea), 2025, 136–65. The present note covers some of the same ground as that essay, but since the latter is unlikely to attract the attention of the wider Assyriological community, it seemed to make sense to offer my thoughts on the matter at stake also in this more accessible place.

2. For the history of the gradual disappearance of cuneiform writing in Babylonia, see BROWN 2008 and ALSTOLA et al. 2023.

3. Rev. 38: IM ¹NÍG.SUM.MU-^d60 A šá ¹Ina-qí-bit-^d60 A ¹Hun-zu-ú ¹⁶MAŠ.MAŠ ^d60 u An-tu₄ UNUG^{ki}-u qàt ¹⁶60-TIN-ⁱt A-šú.

4. See also OSSENDRIJVER 2011, with additional texts featuring Anu-uballit listed in “Tabelle 2.”

5. IM ¹NÍG.SUM.MU-^d60 A/DUMU ša₂ ¹⁶60-EN-šú-nu ¹⁶ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ¹é-kur-za-kir ¹⁶MAŠ.MAŠ ^d60 u an-tu₄ UNUG^{ki}-ú/0(?) ŠU^{II} ¹⁶60-TIN-ⁱt A/DUMU šá ¹NÍG.SUM.MU-^d60 A ¹h^un-zu-ú ¹⁶MAŠ.MAŠ ^d60 u an-tu₄ UNUG/TIN.AN.NA^{ki}-ú.

6. Considering the limited repertoire of personal names used in Hellenistic Uruk, absolute certainty regarding the identity of the scribe of TU 11 – whose grandfather, Ina-qibit-Anu, is not mentioned in the colophons of TU 16 and BRM 4, 12 – remains elusive, but the case seems compelling enough.

7. In light of this revised dating, a connection between the 654-year cycle mentioned in the passage discussed above and the Phoenix bird seems unlikely. Instead, another possibility should be considered. As reported by Gysembergh, an unpublished tablet from Babylon, BM 36665+37056+37074, includes a near duplicate of the passage, complete with comet, rain, floods, and earthquake, which ends slightly differently, with: *ina* 10,†48(or: 58) MU.MEŠ¹ *ana* 1-en GUR šá 'x' [...]. In other words: the time span given here for the cycle under discussion is not 654 but 648 or 658 years, and it cannot currently be established which of these three numbers, if any, is actually correct (note that 648, perhaps a coincidence, can be divided by 72 and 36, the numbers of years previously mentioned in the text in connection with the comet). Be that as it may, what BM 36665+ seems to say is that after the time span in question, things “return to themselves” or “become one” (*ana ištēn itâr/iturrū*). It is not entirely clear what this means – but could it not indicate that the comet, the rain, the floods, and the earthquake mentioned in TU 11, rev. 27–28 and the parallel passage in 36665+ were expected to appear again, all together, in the same year in the remote future in some kind of end-of-days cataclysm (cf. Revelation 4:5, 6:12–13, 8:5,10, 11:19, 16:18–21)? For historians of religion, apocalypticism, and eschatology, such a projection might be of some interest.

Bibliography

- ALSTOLA, T., et al. 2023. “Sources at the End of the Cuneiform Era,” *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 11.2: 5–29.
- BRACK-BERNSSEN, L., and H. HUNGER. 2002. “TU 11: A Collection of Rules for the Prediction of Lunar Phases and Month Lengths,” *SCIAMVS* 3: 3–90.
- BROWN, D. 2008. “Increasingly Redundant: The Growing Obsolescence of the Cuneiform Script in Babylonia from 539 BC.” Pp. 73–101 in *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literary Communication* (ed. J. Baines et al.). Sheffield.
- GYSEMBERGH, V. 2023. “Babylonian Astral Sciences and Mathematics in Uruk After 47 CE,” *WZKM* 113: 69–82. Electronic version: <https://hal.science/hal-04324194>.
- HUNGER, H. 2014. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia. Volume VII: Almanacs and Normal Star Almanacs*. Vienna.
- HUNGER, H., and T. DE JONG. 2014. “Almanac W22340a From Uruk: The Latest Datable Cuneiform Tablet,” *ZA* 104: 182–194.
- JIMÉNEZ, E., and T. MITTO. 2024. “The Latest Dated Non-astronomical Tablet,” *N.A.B.U.* 2024/47.
- KESSLER, K. 1984. “Eine arsakidenzeitliche Urkunde aus Warka (W 18568),” *BaM* 15: 273–81.
- OSSENDRIJVER, M. 2011. “Exzellente Netzwerke: die Astronomen von Uruk.” Pp. 229–37 in *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* (ed. G. J. Selz and K. Wagensonner). Vienna.
- SACHS, A. 1976. “The Latest Datable Cuneiform Texts.” Pp. 379–98 in *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (ed. B. Eichler et al.). Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- STEELE, J. 2019. “Astronomical Activity in the ‘House of the *āšīpus*’ in Uruk.” Pp. 147–70 in *Scholars and Scholarship in Late Babylonian Uruk* (ed. C. Proust and J. Steele). Cham.
- STRECK, M. 2023. *Altorientalistik. Einführung*. Baden-Baden.

Eckart FRAHM <eckart.frahm@yale.edu>

Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University (USA)

136) Sinnaces, Sîn-ahhê, and Sîn-ahhê-erība — Several years ago, I wrote a brief contribution about 1st/2nd c. AD classical references (by Josephus, Tacitus, and Plutarch) to a number of Armenian nobles and Parthian governors who bore the name “Sinnaces” (RICHARDSON 2017). I suggested that the name derived from an abbreviated form of Sîn-ahhê-erība, relying on the attested penchant of Late Antique and medieval Armenian nobility for adopting Assyrian royal names, as well as parallel instances of those royal names as they were written in reception contexts, in abbreviated, corrupted, or hypocoristic forms. What I overlooked is that a more direct explanation exists: the abbreviated form Sîn-ahhê for Sennacherib is already attested in Neo-Assyrian sources, including for the king himself (see BAKER 2002: 1113, s.v. “Sîn-ahhê” and “Sîn-

ahhē-erība,” esp. Nassouhi [1927] 19 no. IX: 1, as ^{md}30-PAB.MEŠ, omitting the final *-eri-ba* or *-SU*). Thus, whereas I originally anticipated that the abbreviation occurred in some convoluted post-Assyrian linguistic environment (i.e., as a Parthian, Armenian, or Syriac corruption of an Assyrian name, subsequently brought into Greek), the onomastic form already substantially existed in Neo-Assyrian times. This simplifies an account of how the Assyrian name “Sîn-ahhē” might have become “Sinnaces” in Greek and Armenian contexts, increasing the likelihood that Partho-Amerian nobles indeed meant to refer to the Assyrian king Sennacherib in adopting it.

Bibliography

BAKER, H., 2002, *PNA 3/I: P-S* (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project).

RICHARDSON, S., 2017, “A Note on the Name ‘Sinnaces’ and Armenian Claims on an Assyrian Royal Background,” *Anabasis* 8: 123–127.

Seth RICHARDSON <seth1@uchicago.edu>
University of Chicago (USA)

NOTE PARA-ASSYRIOLOGIQUE

137) Elif Shafak, *Les Fleuves du ciel* — La traduction française du roman de Elif Shafak, *There are Rivers in the Sky*, qui raconte parmi d’autres de manière (très) romancée l’aventure du déchiffrement du cunéiforme est parue dans l’été 2025 chez Flammarion.

N.A.B.U.

Abonnement pour un an/*Subscription for one year*: FRANCE 43,00 €
NOUVEAU TARIF ! / *NEW FEES!* AUTRES PAYS/*OTHER COUNTRIES* 68,00 €

– Par carte de crédit (et Paypal) sur la boutique en ligne de la SEPOA

By credit card (and Paypal) through our online store

http://sepoa.fr/?product_cat=revue-nabu

– Par virement postal à l’ordre de/*To Giro Account: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien*,

39, avenue d’Alembert, 92160 ANTONY. IBAN: FR 23 2004 1000 0114 69184V02 032 BIC: PSSTFRPPPAR

– Par chèque postal ou bancaire en **Euros COMPENSABLE EN FRANCE** à l’ordre de/*By Bank check in Euros PAYABLE IN FRANCE and made out to: Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien.*

Les manuscrits (WORD & PDF) pour publication sont à envoyer à l’adresse suivante :

Manuscripts (WORD & PDF) to be published should be sent to the following address:

nabu@sepoa.fr

Pour tout ce qui concerne les affaires administratives, les abonnements et les réclamations,
adresser un courrier à l’adresse électronique suivante : contact@sepoa.fr

Directeur honoraire : Jean-Marie DURAND

Rédactrice en chef : Nele ZIEGLER

Secrétariat d’édition : Antoine JACQUET

Secrétariat : Charlotte FERNANDES

N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l’Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association (Loi de 1901) sans but lucratif

ISSN n° 0989-5671. Dépôt légal : Paris, 02-2026. Reproduction par photocopie

Directeur de la publication : D. Charpin