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NOTES BRÈVES

1) Das PA₄ im Namen Gilgameš in FD IIIa und Folgerungen — Mit vielem was Luděk Vacín in NABU 2025/98 zum Namen Gilgameš schreibt ist der jetzige Autor durchaus einverstanden. Differenzen ergeben sich aber aufgrund der frühdynastischen Belege. Betreffend ^dĜEŠ.NE.PA₄.GA.MÈŠ (SF 1 Rs. iii 21') schreibt Vacín: „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“. Dagegen sprechen vor allem vier Gründe:

- 1) In den archaischen Texten von Ur und in Fāra wird PA₄ immer getrennt von NE geschrieben.
- 2) Es gibt kein weiteres Zeichen Xšeššig, das PA₄.X bzw. X.PA₄ als Vorgänger hat.
- 3) NE.PA₄ alleine bildet keine Einheit, sondern NE.PA₄.Y(-ga). Wobei Y = UET 2 sign 377, zunehmend an ĜEŠ angeglichen wird. Siehe dazu UET 2 sign list unter Nr. 103b und 377.
- 4) NEšeššig geht auf das Zeichen GIBIL zurück, welches das Bild einer Pflanze ist und nicht mit NE.PA₄ wechselt. Beides kommt auch auf der gleichen Tafel in unterschiedlichen Namen vor. Z. B. NE.PA₄.Y-{UL₄}UL₄-gal / amar-é-gibil UET 92 i 1f. Die Angleichung erfolgt später als Fāra über NE.PA₄ → NExPA₄ → NExKASKAL, NEšeššig. Näheres in NABU 2017/1.

Es finden folgende Transformationen statt:

- a) sign 377 → ĜEŠ (erst teilweise in arch. Ur; ältere Form auch in ELTS 3; 7; 10)
- b) GIBIL → NEšeššig (erst ab FD IIIa Fāra ist der Hauptteil mit NE identisch)
- c) NE.PA₄ → NExPA₄ (teilweise Tell Abū Šalābīh) → NExKASKAL, NEšeššig (FD IIIb).

In FD IIIb Lagaš ist noch ein Unterschied zwischen NEšeššig (< NE.PA₄) und NEšeššig (< GIBIL) zu erkennen. RSP364 hat die Keile im hinteren Teil und wird konsequent im Namen Gilgameš, Pabilsaĝ (^dpa-ĜEŠ.RSP364-saĝ) und pa-RSP364-ga = /pabilga/ „Großvater, väterlicher Onkel“ verwandt, während die Keile bei RSP364 bis, mit Lesung gibil, am mittleren, oberen Teil ansetzen.

Dass /pa₄/ bereits „farazeitlich“ schwinde, begründet Vacín mit dem Keulenkopf VA 3123 (dazu aber ebenda: „Fāra-Zeit?“). Weil die Inschrift ka, ke₄ gebraucht, ist sie nicht älter als FD IIIb und wegen -àm (Umschrift in CDLI P222304) wahrscheinlich sogar sargonisch oder jünger.

Die erwogene Lesung mit /gil/ im Sumerischen ist durchaus möglich (cf. George, The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic 79f.). Es gibt aber eine Hürde: NE = bí, bil ist vermutlich Lautindikator, die Lesung /gil/ ist aber nur für NEšeššig belegt (Civil, CUSAS 12, 9; 13). Hingegen ist bí in Fāra (^dnin-bí-lu-lu SF 1 vi 17) und von da an sumerisch und akkadisch gut belegt, während Belege für NE = /gil/ fehlen. Die Annahme, dass der tatsächliche Vorläufer von NEšeššig in diesem Zusammenhang, nämlich NE.PA₄, in dieser

Kombination ein Lautindikator gil_x sei, würde schon daran scheitern, dass NE.PA₄ nur mit Y belegt ist. Ein Lautindikator muss aber seine Lesung von irgendwoher haben und da die Zeichen sonst nur einzeln vorkommen, können sie auch höchstens jedes für sich Lautindikator sein. Z. B. pa₄-bil, pa₄-* gil_x , wobei pa₄ „Vorfahr, Ältester“ aber wahrscheinlich semantischer Indikator ist, wie munus „Frau“ in MUNUS+NÁM = nin, ereš „Herrin, Königin“. Damit bleibt nur NE als phonetischer Indikator.

Um eine Lesung mit g im Sumerischen zu retten, kann man zwischen zwei Hypothesen wählen. Hypothese 1: NE hatte eine sonst nicht bekannte Lesung /gil/. Aufgrund der Veränderung der Zeichen im Namen Gilgameš und in */pagilga/ ging die Lesung auf NEšēššig über. RSP364 in FD IIIb Lagaš wäre ein Zwischenschritt, was den Unterschied zu RSP364 bis erklären würde. Hypothese 2: Nach /pa/ folgte /gVbil/ oder /^gbil/, was irgendwann ebenso wie beim Wegfall von /pa/ vereinfacht wurde. Da 2 ohne die freie Annahme NE = gil_x auskommt, ist sie weniger problematisch. Eine gewisse Stütze – Beweis wäre zu viel gesagt – erfährt diese Theorie durch ^dgi-bil[-ga-meš?] VAS 2, 1 ii 26, Emesal.

Die Erwägung, ĝeš spräche vielleicht für ursprüngliches /ĝilgameš/ (Vacin a. a. O.) hat keine Grundlage, da ĜEŠ in der Kombination sekundär ist. Das Zeichen Y bildete offenbar den semantischen Kern und übertrug ihn durch graphische Angleichung auf ĜEŠ. PA₄ ist semantischer Indikator und pa, bil, ga sind phonetische Indikatoren.

Ein Wortspiel mit dem Namen findet sich wohl in der humoristisch-märchenhaften (Subtext: „Es war einmal – nehmt das nicht so genau“) Einleitung der Hochzeit des Mardu, SEM 58, 7:

<ad->da-ab-ba ^{ĝeš}eren kù-ga-me-en bíl-ga ^{ĝeš}mes-me-en

„Ich war der Vatersvater der heiligen Zeder, ich war der Vorfahr des Zügelbaums“

Statt „Vorfahr des Zügelbaums“ lässt sich genauso lesen: „Ich war Gilgameš“. Dieses Wortspiel dürfte zu den darum gebauten schnippischen Aussagen in 7f. geführt haben. Auch die ungewöhnliche Bildung eines Ausdrucks für „Großvater“ am Anfang könnte eine Anspielung sein, nämlich auf Adapa.

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2) SF 36: Some additions and corrections — Recently Jan Lisman published the first complete edition of SF 36 (LISMAN 2022–23), one of the few literary texts from Fāra written in ‘normal orthography’ (as opposed to the so-called ‘UD.GAL.NUN orthography’). Nevertheless, due to the archaic, not yet fully developed orthography and the free distribution of signs within the ‘cases’, the interpretation remains in some respects open to further discussion. In this connection, ll. iv 13 – 16 may be mentioned. The edition reads “gu₄ gal gal / erin₂ udu / ib₂ ib₂ du₆ / ab₂ tur” and translates “full-grown bulls, a flock of sheep, on the flanks of the hill (are) young cows”. However, the parallelism between gu₄ gal gal and ab₂ tur makes the reading erin₂ udu “a flock of sheep” somewhat doubtful; alternatively one could read gu₄ gal gal ERIN₂ lu ‘full-grown bulls, being numerous (in yoke) teams’.

On the other hand, a few signs have been misread and should be corrected as follows (the corrections are based on recent collations by M. Krebernik):

i 6: “ušuš(^{uš}ĜANUN) tum₂”. Instead of UŠ read NIM (so already Deimel in LAK, no. 271). The line is possibly to be interpreted as ĝanun nim tum₂ ‘she is making a high granary suitable’.

iii 9: “eden ba dele”. Instead of dele(AŠ) read DU. The sign partially overlaps with the end of EDEN above and with the case boundaries (lower right corner). The line is possibly to be interpreted as eden gub-ba.

iv 1: “šutul₅(LAK665) sur_x(LAK527) gi₄-gi₄”. Instead of šutul₅(LAK665) read ŠID. The sign extends slightly beyond the top edge. ŠID GI₄ GI₄, referring to ERIN₂(LAK527), corresponds perhaps to later KA×ŠID(še₂₅) – ge₄-ge₄ (a sound verb; ATTINGER 2023, 518).

iv 5: “du₆ šennur(LAK278)”. In the later sign KIB two originally different signs have merged. In Fāra, the two signs are still clearly distinct: LAK278 and LAK277. LAK278 is well attested in the early spelling AN.LAK278.NUN for later buranun(UD.KIB.NUN) ‘Euphrates’ (cf. Woods 2007), which is also part of the personal name AN.LAK278.NUN-ur-saĝ. LAK277 is still attested in the name of the late Sargonic ruler šu-dur-ul₃(LAK277), e.g. CUSAS 26, no. 190 obv. 3 (P391703). LAK276 (not attested in Fāra) is a

simplified version of LAK278 (i.e. without *gunû* wedges), which develops into the later standard form looking like GIŠ×GIŠ and similar. For the later sign KIB Proto-Ea 643–644 (MSL 14, p. 57) gives the values ħu-ul (i.e. ħul₃) and še-nu-ur (i.e. šennur). A much longer list of values is found in Ea IV 206–216 (MSL 14, 363): in addition to ħul₃ (ħu-ul) = *lemnu* ‘bad’ and šennur (še-en-nu-ur) = *šallūru* ‘a fruit tree (plum?)’ it comprises, among others, ul₃ (ul) = *ullu ša kalbi* ‘dog collar’ and kib (ki-ib) = *kibbu/kippu* ‘rings, coils and otherwise curved items’ (SAD 3, 83¹). The question of which values are represented by the two early forms, LAK277 and LAK278, can only be decided by their contexts. LAK gives two examples for LAK277. In SF 20 rev. ii 7 (*ED Practical Vocabulary B*) LAK277 appears together with UR₂, which could mean ‘trunk’ and thus point to a plant (šennur?). In SF 13 obv. iv 7 (*ED Word List C* 64, cf. CIVIL 2013, p. 40), LAK277 occurs among terms most likely denoting plants: ĠIR₂*gunû*, LAK277, ĠIŠ, GI, and NUMUN_x(ZI.ZI.A) (for later NUMUN₂). These two attestations seem to speak in favour of LAK277 as the original ŠENNUR (as already suggested by WOODS 2007, 328). In that case LAK278 must represent a value different from šennur and ul₃, i.e. most probably kib. Therefore, SF 36 iv 5 should perhaps be read du₆ kib ‘round hill’. The notion of ‘curved’ may also underly the use of the sign LAK278 in the spelling AN/UD.LAK278.NUN ‘Euphrates’, cf. *Zame Hymns* 15, ll. 59–61 referring to Sippar, whose name is written with a logogram based on the name of that river: šita₃ ħar mul / šita₃ za nunuz ku₃ ereš-diġir la₂-la₂ / kaskal nun bar UD.KIB.NUN^(ki) ‘Watercourses, sparkling rings, watercourses, (necklaces of) shining gems and beads worn by a high priestess, princely roads outside of Sippir(Sippar)’ (KREBERNIK/LISMAN 2020, 56–57).

v 3: “a-ša₃ gu₄-ġeš si si”. The signs are SI GISAL(LAK589) PAD SI A. In Fāra, the word for ‘boat’ (ma₂) is usually written with the simpler sign SI, and the sign group GISAL(LAK589).PAD.SI.A is an early spelling of /addir/ ‘wages, fee’, written A.PA.GISAL.PAD.DIR (= addir) and similar in later texts. The whole line therefore most likely corresponds to later ma₂-addir ‘ferry boat’ (see e.g. ATTINGER 2023, 916).

v 12: “iri ħur-saġ”. Instead of ĤUR read GUR₈(LAK382). Note that most of the examples quoted in LAK, no. 382, refer to the similar sign ZA_x(LAK384) and other signs. It cannot be ruled out that in the present context in fact ZA_x ‘goods, treasure’ (see CIVIL 1983) was intended.

v 13: “kiri₆ li a du₁₁”. The sign A overlaps with KA, so that the two signs may constitute the compound sign NAĠ.

Note

1. SAD: M.P. Streck, J. Wende (eds), 2022, *Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*. LAOS 7,3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

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3) Two Ebla Fragments from the Kress Private Collection — Photographs of two fragments in the Kress Private Collection (Bochum, Germany) were made available online in 2005 via the CDLI database.¹⁾ They were attributed to pre-Sargonic “Ebla (c. 2350–2250 BC), provenance: uncertain”: Kress 017 (P272804, <https://cdli.earth/artifacts/272804>) and Kress 027 (P275191, <https://cdli.earth/artifacts/275191>). Actually, both fragments can be confidently identified as originating from Ebla.

Kress 017

This fragment (Fig. 1) can be directly joined to the chancery text (TM.)75.(G.)4679+ = *ARET XIII 14*, specifically columns VI and VII of the reverse.²⁾ The text *ARET XIII 14* was reconstructed by Pelio Fronzaroli from twenty-three fragments (FRONZAROLI 2003, 152). Only twenty-two fragments, however, were available for publication in 2003, as one fragment had evidently already gone missing (FRONZAROLI 2003, XIV). *Kress 017* should be identified as this lost fragment, improving but not completing the reconstruction of a text that remains fragmentary and difficult to interpret:

Rev. VI:14–21

XIII 14	14	<i>wa</i>
XIII 14	15	DU ₁₁ .GA
XIII 14	16	<i>Iš-ru₁₂-ud</i>
XIII 14	17	ʾ7 ¹ MA.NA KUG:BABBAR
XIII 14	18	<i>wa</i>
XIII 14 + <i>Kress 017</i>	19	I ₃ *.NA.SUM
XIII 14 + <i>Kress 017</i>	20	<i>in</i>
XIII 14 + <i>Kress 017</i>	21	SAG* KUG:BABBAR

[...]

Rev. VI:?³–VII:17

[...]		
XIII 14	1	[...]
XIII 14	2	ŠU.[MU].TA[KA ₄]
XIII 14	3	10-LA ₂ -3 AKTUM ^{tu₂}
XIII 14	4	<i>wa</i>
XIII 14	5	12 GIN ₂ .DILMUN KUG:BABBAR
XIII 14	6	<i>si-in</i>
XIII 14	7	<i>Nab-ra-ra-du^{ki}</i>
XIII 14	8	NIG ₂ .SAM ₂ NA-SE ₁₁
XIII 14	9	<i>wa</i>
XIII 14	10	[ŠU]ʾBA ₄ ¹ .[T]I
XIII 14	11	<i>En-na-Il</i>
XIII 14	12	LU ₂
XIII 14	13	<i>gum₂-ri₂-im</i>
<i>Kress 017</i>	14	<i>Na[b]-[ra]-ra-du^{ki}</i>
<i>Kress 017</i>	15	<i>en-ma</i>
<i>Kress 017</i>	16	<i>Am₆-ma-za</i>
<i>Kress 017</i>	17	<i>Na-gar₃^{ki}</i>

[...]

This join allows for a better understanding of *ARET XIII 14*. The new readings in rev. VI:19 and rev. VI:21 change the verbal from IN.NA.SUM to I₃.NA.SUM and add SAG, thus modifying the sense of the passage³⁾ and requiring a different translation from that proposed by Fronzaroli.⁴⁾

Particularly noteworthy is the newly preserved mention of SAG KUG:BABBAR in rev. VI:21.⁵⁾ This constitutes an independent attestation of the expression outside the so-called E₃-texts—the palace expenditure accounts—confirming that the phrase was in use at Ebla beyond strictly administrative contexts.

The fragment not only further corroborates Fronzaroli’s identification of *En-na-Il* as the son of *A-ma-za* (here written *Am₆-ma-za*) but also provides new evidence that both were alive at the time the text was composed. According to Fronzaroli,⁶⁾ *A-ma-za* was mainly active during the reign of Ebla’s penultimate king, *Ir₃-kab-da-mu*, while *En-na-Il* succeeded his father during the early reign of his son *Yitgar-damu*, in the first phase of the ministry of *Ib-ri₂-um*, and participated in the royal cult, notably during the marriage of *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*.⁷⁾

The toponym *Na-gar₃^{ki}* in reverse VII:17 clearly does not indicate *Am₆-ma-za*’s place of origin, which is known to be Ebla, but rather constitutes the first word of *Am₆-ma-za*’s direct speech, introduced by *en-ma*. Unfortunately, the continuation of the speech is broken off.

Kress 027

The fragment (Fig. 2) reads as follows:

I':1' [n ... ^{tug₂} n] ^rAKTUM^{tug₂} [n] IB₂-[n S]A₆ [GUN₃]
 II':1' [...]-^rx-x¹
 II':2' 1 AKTUM^{tug₂} ȚAŠ
 III':1: [n ... ^{tug₂} n x^{tug₂} n IB₂]-2 SA₆ GUN₃

It does not seem possible to establish a direct join of this second fragment with any of the published Ebla tablets. Despite its small size and the absence of personal names, this fragment clearly belongs to one of the monthly accounts of textiles dating to the reign of Yirkab-damu published by Francesco Pomponio in the volumes *ARET XV/1* (POMPONIO 2008) and *ARET XV/2* (POMPONIO 2013), as suggested by the presence of the spelling IB₂-n SA₆ GUN₃. The use of this spelling (I:1 and III:1')—rather than IB₂-n SA₆ GUN₃^{tug₂} or IB₂-n^{tug₂} SA₆ GUN₃—is characteristic of certain texts from the reign of Yirkab-damu. This convention omits the logogram TUG₂ (“textile”) and exhibits a distinctive placement of the numeral -n: instead of being embedded within the IB₂ sign (IB₂+n), it follows the sign (IB₂-n). Among these texts, *ARET XV 27* and *ARET XV 29* are the strongest candidates, since both contain not only this same feature but also exhibit a similar shape of the IB₂ sign.

This fragment provides further evidence for the uncommon use of ȚAŠ(-ȚAŠ) (II':2'), “in pieces,” applied to textiles (see WAETZOLDT 2001, 72 and CONTI 1997, 29–31). Specifically, “AKTUM^{tug₂} ȚAŠ⁸” should refer to cut-up textile parts used for donkeys (IGI.NITA) called */maṛay-um/ (*maṛrūm*).⁹

Notes

1. I wish to thank Zsombor Földi for kindly drawing my attention to the existence of these two fragments, and Amalia Catagnoti and Marco Bonechi for reading the manuscript and providing valuable comments.

2. According to Fronzaroli (2003, 152), the document can be dated to the early years of Yitgar-damu’s reign; more specifically, he suggests a date close to his wedding, recorded in *ARET XI 2*.

3. For the distinction between IN.NA.SUM and I₃.NA.SUM, see the commentary (FRONZAROLI 2003, 155–156) on paragraph (18) of the same text: “(18) in-na-sum: Questo sumerogramma è impiegato ripetutamente nel testo 9 [*ARET XIII 9*] con valore prescrittivo, «darà, deve dare» (r. III 11 e *passim*), mentre i-na-sum è usato nel racconto di eventi passati. È quindi probabile che, quando gli scribi eblaiti usavano nello stesso testo i due sumerogrammi, intendessero distinguere le forme del presente da quelle del preterito. Questa ipotesi sembra confermata dall’impiego nel testo 3 [*ARET XIII 3*] (per il quale si veda il commento al paragrafo (3), s.v. in-na-sum) e nei testi 6 e 7 [*ARET XIII 6* and 7]”. The verb sum at Ebla and its forms IN.NA.SUM and I₃.NA.SUM have also been discussed by KRECHER 1981, 146, KRECHER 1984, 146, KRECHER 1987, 186; D’AGOSTINO 1990, 23–25, VIGANÒ 1996, 69–92.

4. See the translation “E (le) dovevano dare in [...] d’argento [(...)].” (FRONZAROLI 2003, 150).

5. The expression sag KUG:BABBAR merits further study; see already ARCHI 2005, 81–82 and SALLABERGER 2018, 125–126, who offer differing views on its meaning. It is likely that the silver mentioned in paragraph rev. VI:21 refers to the same quantity cited earlier in paragraph (56) (rev. VI:14–17): wa / DU₁₁.GA / IŠ-ru₁₂-ud / 4[+3] MA.NA KUG:BABBAR”, as according to Fronzaroli (2003, 160), paragraphs (52–59) describe a single episode: the journey of seven men from Nabartu to Qidaš, their capture, and subsequent ransom.

6. On *En-na-Il* and *A-ma-za*, see FRONZAROLI 1992, 168–169, FRONZAROLI 1993, 76, and FRONZAROLI 2003, 14 and 161. *A-ma-za* (wr. *A-ma-za-u₃* in *ARET XI 1* rev. II:18) held the role of LU₂.DINGIR.DINGIR during the final years of Yirkab-damu’s reign, under the ministry of *Ar-ru₁₂*-LUM. In sources from the reign of Yitgar-damu, *En-na-Il* is recorded as LU₂.DINGIR.DINGIR.DINGIR in *ARET III 613* obv.⁷. I':5–6 and *ARET III 858* rev. II:3–4.

7. In *ARET XIII 4* rev. VII:13 *En-na-Il* is described as ša *kumrim* (wr. LU₂ gum₂-ri₂-im), “that of the priest” (cf. Akk. *kumru*; Heb. *kōmār*, HALOT 482; Syr. *kumrā*, LSyr. 332, KOGAN–KREBERNIK 2021, 913, fn. 837, with bibliography). According to Fronzaroli (2003, 161), *kumrim* probably refers to *A-ma-za* (written *Am₆-ma-za* later in the text, rev. VII:16). He interprets this passage as reflecting a period before *En-na-Il* had attained the role of LU₂.DINGIR.DINGIR.DINGIR, and therefore the episode may relate to a time prior to the marriage of IŠ₁₁-ar-da-mu (*En-na-Il* / LU₂.DINGIR.DINGIR, *ARET XI* obv. XIII:11–12). If one accepts this interpretation, of particular interest is the correlation between *kumru* and LU₂.DINGIR.DINGIR.(DINGIR), which warrants further attention.

8. Archi (1999, 46) translates AKTUM^{tug₂} as “tunic” while according to Biga (2010, 155) AKTUM^{tug₂} refers to a piece of cloth that could serve multiple purposes.

9. CONTI 1997, 30. The term appear under the pseudo-logographic spelling *ma-da-lum* (*ARET IV 6* rev. 12:1), dative terminative *ma-da-ri₂*(-iš) (*ARET IV 14* rev. IV:7; *MEE 7 26* obv. VIII:8) and *ma-da-ri₂*-ša, dual form *ma-da-ra* (*ARET IV 12* rev. II:9; *ARET XX 22* obv. VI:5), and *ma-da-la* (*ARET XII 148* obv. IV:7).

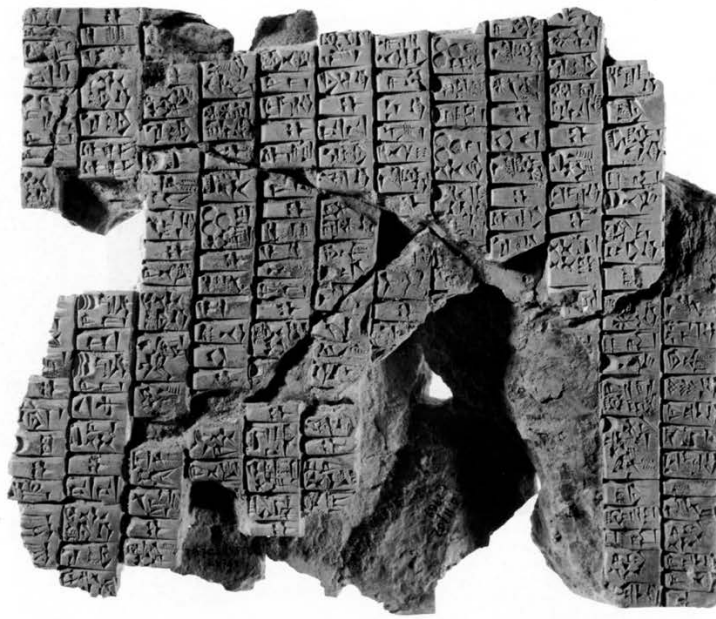


Fig. 1 – Join of TM.75.G.4679+ (black and white, ©MAIS, source: EbDA) with Kress 017 (colored, source: CDLI).



Fig. 2 – Kress 027, source: CDLI.

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4) Due matrimoni alla corte di Ebla —La straordinaria carriera di Ibrum fu determinata prima di tutto dalla sua scelta come "primo ministro", intendendo con questo termine il funzionario della categoria dei lugal-lugal che sembra affiancasse il re di Ebla quale principale responsabile dell'amministrazione,¹⁾ da parte di Irkab-Damu. Questa nomina sarebbe da attribuire principalmente all'appartenenza del funzionario alla famiglia di Dusigu, la madre del principe ereditario Iš'ar-Damu (cf. BIGA 2016: 205) e consentì a Ibrum di scavalcare lugal più anziani e prestigiosi di lui, ancorché egli sia citato eccezionalmente già tra i lugal del periodo precedente il mandato del suo predecessore Arrugum (cf. ARET XIV, 36 r. ii 1) e poi regolarmente tra quelli del periodo di Arrugum (ARET XIV, 40 r. iv 3'; 49/14; 50/16; 51/13). Il secondo colpo di fortuna fu, a pochi mesi dalla sua nomina, la morte dello stesso re, che rese Ibrum la guida del nuovo sovrano, un bambino di tre-quattro anni, e quindi il più potente personaggio di Ebla, a parte forse la ingombrante regina madre Dusigu, che tra l'altro sopravvisse a Ibrum di tre anni (cf. BIGA 2010: 41). Peraltro, Ibrum dimostrò ampiamente di meritare questi doni della sorte, tra l'altro guidando alla vittoria molte spedizioni militari (cf. ARCHI 2014: 22; ARCHI 2021a; BIGA 2010: 45-46), iniziando e finendo con una campagna contro la principale rivale di Ebla, Mari, rispettivamente nel secondo (cf. Pomponio 2013: 75) e nell'ultimo suo anno di mandato (ARCHI 2021a: 211-212). Non fu una sinecura per Ibrum il comando dell'esercito eblaita: secondo la lista di ARCHI 2021: 199 solo durante il 7° anno del mandato di Ibrum, il tempio di Giano, per così dire, rimase sbarrato a Ebla. Un chiaro riconoscimento della grandezza di Ibrum è fornito dalla ricchezza del corredo funebre da grande guerriero, come nota Archi (ARET XXI: 250), di cui fanno parte un carro e i finimenti di un equide igi-nita,²⁾ come dalla lunga serie di doni offerti invano a varie divinità per chiedere la sua guarigione (cf. BIGA 2007-2008: 260). Inoltre, frequenti doni furono

offerti a Ibrium, ormai defunto da qualche tempo, durante più recenti funerali (cf. BIGA 2007-2008: 263-264), privilegio sconosciuto ai suoi predecessori.

Eppure, suo figlio Ibbi-Zikir, che prima lo affiancò, poi gli successe alla guida dell'amministrazione e dell'esercito di Ebla, sembra aver persino superato suo padre, guidando con altrettanto successo numerose spedizioni militari, iniziando con quelle contro Alalah, Agagalīš e Bahunu/Bahunatum nel primo anno del suo mandato e Ilwum e Bagara nel terzo (cf. ARCHI 2010: 28-30; BIGA 2010: 47-51) e affrontando e vincendo in successione Ibal, Mari e Armi durante i suoi ultimi anni (cf. ARCHI 2014: 23-25)³⁾. Inoltre, egli conseguì due sfolgoranti successi diplomatici con il matrimonio di due principesse eblaita rispettivamente con il principe di Nagar e il re di Kiš (cf. POMPONIO 2013: 79). Infine, imitando anche in questo l'esempio paterno, egli assicurò a suo figlio Dubuhu-Ada la successione nella propria carica e se lo affiancò durante le sue ultime imprese militari. Tuttavia, il maggior successo di Ibbi-Zikir e il culmine della sua ascesa è considerato il matrimonio che egli combinò tra la propria figlia Za'aše e il principe ereditario Ir'ak-Damu. Alle nozze deve aver assistito anche la regina di Mari, Paba, al cui corteggio sono assegnati 20 completi di due tessili per la partecipazione al matrimonio di Za'aše in Daraum (ARET VII, 132), dove in occasione della stessa cerimonia, 50 tessili sono dati da Ibbi-zikir a un gruppo non meglio specificato di donne (ARET VII, 117).⁴⁾ Questa serie di successi fu però scontata a non lunga distanza di tempo dalla distruzione di Ebla, che né la lunga sequenza di vittorie militari di Ibbi-Zikir, né il corollario di potenti alleanze riuscirono a scongiurare. Con ogni probabilità Ibbi-Zikir assistè alla distruzione di Ebla: non è possibile, infatti, che un tale personaggio fosse già morto, perchè la sua scomparsa avrebbe lasciato abbondanti testimonianze, tra onoranze funebri e offerte funerarie, nell'ultima documentazione eblaita. Una drammatica immagine della testa del condottiero tante volte vittorioso appesa al carro del suo nemico, il re di Mari Išgi-Mari, è evocata da ARCHI 2021b: 166-167 nel registro inferiore di due sigilli del sovrano. Ma almeno questa onta fu risparmiata al "premier" di Ebla poiché Hidar è l'ultimo re di Mari menzionato nei testi eblaiti e all'ascesa al trono di Išgi-Mari Ibbi-Zikir e il suo re dovevano essere morti da anni (cf. POMPONIO 2025b).

A riguardo di Za'aše, che non divenne mai regina di Ebla contro i progetti di suo padre, vi è una stranezza che non mi sembra sia stata sinora notata: in un breve testo (ARET VII, 96) è registrata l'assegnazione di una quantità di argento (3 o 4 mine), una quarantina di tessili e due orecchini di argento e oro seguiti dal termine *zu-šè-bù*. Dopo una linea non scritta compare il termine *ÉXPAP* seguito dal nome di Za'aše. *ÉXPAP*, da solo o unito alla preposizione *si-in*, segue di norma il nome di una persona a indicarne la cerimonia funebre con il relativo corredo⁵⁾ ovvero indica un'offerta in tessili e manufatti di metallo prezioso a uomini e donne di alto grado, defunti anche da più generazioni, in occasione di un recente funerale: con ogni probabilità questi doni erano forniti al "morto di giornata" perché a sua volta li consegnasse ai morti, spesso imparentati con lui, che lo avrebbero accolto al suo arrivo nell'Oltretomba. La tavoletta è molto simile, per dimensioni e grafia, e abbastanza vicina per numero di inventario (TM.75.G.1802) alle due succitate che si riferiscono alle nozze di Za'aše (TM.75.G.1690 e 1699). Ci sfugge il significato del nome *zu-šè-bù*, che segue direttamente i beni cui si riferisce l' *ÉXPAP*, e che non ricorre altrove nei testi di Ebla, ma non è da escludere che si tratti di un antroponimo. L'interpretazione più semplice sarebbe che qui si faccia riferimento ai funerali di Za'aše, ma ciò implica che la principessa sarebbe morta a breve distanza delle sue nozze. Ora, questa sorte era effettivamente toccata, una quarantina di anni prima, alla *māliktum* di Irkab-Damu, di cui ancora ignoriamo il nome. Ma questa sventurata regina non è più menzionata dopo le sue nozze nei testi eblaiti, con l'eccezione appunto di qualche offerta funeraria (cf. POMPONIO 2025a), mentre Za'aše è citata come vivente molto spesso, ad es. nei registri mensili di assegnazioni di ovini alle divinità del pantheon eblaita oltre che per il consumo del Palazzo (MEE 7, 44; 12, 5, 26, 41, cf. PETTINATO 1979). In questi testi i principali autori di offerte agli dèi insieme all'en e alla *māliktum* (Iš'ar-Damu e Dabur-Damu) sono i due figli della coppia reale, Ir'ak-Damu e Kešdud, e Za'aše, e la sola spiegazione della presenza della figlia di Ibbi-zikir è che il suo matrimonio con Ir'ak-Damu era già stato celebrato. Considerando che due di questi testi (MEE 7, 44; 12, 26) sono datati al medesimo mese (iti ^dAMA-ra) il periodo coperto da questi documenti dovrebbe abbracciare due anni, in accordo con il fatto che essi sono ventidue. I due anni in oggetto sono considerati gli ultimi di Ebla degli Archivi Reali, con i testi degli anni precedenti eliminati via via (cf. ARCHI 2022: 37, 2.4.7). Quindi, Za'aše

visse fino alla distruzione di Ebla. Di contro, Kešdud è menzionata sino al testo TM.75.G.2398 (XII mese), dove è citata la sua uscita da Ebla per raggiungere evidentemente il suo sposo a Kiš, mentre in altri otto testi, da assegnare quindi all'anno seguente, probabilmente l'ultimo di Ebla, la principessa non compare più (cf. ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 28). Anche nei registri di alimenti per il Palazzo di L.2712, editi in ARET IX e in programma per ARET X, Kešdud non compare tra i destinatari e quindi questi testi sarebbero da assegnare all'ultimo anno di Ebla: si noti, tuttavia, che, se nei testi di ARET IX sono citati spesso il padre Ibbi-zikir e lo sposo Ir'ak-Damu, Za'aše non compare mai.

Il matrimonio tra Ir'ak-Damu e Za'aše non è l'unico esempio di un'unione matrimoniale tra la famiglia del re e quella del "primo ministro", anche se in questo secondo caso si tratta di una principessa e non del principe. Il "primo ministro" in questione è Arrugum, che precedette Ibrium in questa carica, pur con un potere di gran lunga inferiore: Arrugum non mietè allori militari e il suo mandato fu molto più breve (poco più di quattro anni contro diciotto).⁶ La principessa (dumu-mi₂-en) andata in sposa è Itimud, appartenente con ogni probabilità alla generazione delle figlie del re precedente, Igriš-Halab, poichè non sembra verosimile che Irkab-Damu morto giovane avesse già più figlie in età da marito. Le nozze di Itimud sono ricordate da due testi del periodo di Arrugum. Il primo (ARET II, 31) registra la ricca dote, in manufatti di oro e argento e una ventina di vesti,⁷ definita "dono" per Itimud, "allorché ella entrò nella casa di Enzi-Malik". Nella seconda parte della tavoletta sono registrate i tessili per dieci donne e sette figlie e nove figli del re (precedente) e una lamina d'oro del peso di una mina per il re, mentre manca la menzione della regina di Irkab-Damu già defunta, e l'ultima assegnazione di due stoffe è per la Casa (é) di Arrugum. Il secondo testo, il MAT ARET XV/1, 29/52 (X mese), registra l'assegnazione di completi di tre tessili di alta qualità per ben nove fratelli di Arrugum "in occasione della cerimonia nuziale (*in u₄ níg-mu-sá*) di Itimud", ed è probabile che alla medesima cerimonia si riferiscano le precedenti tre assegnazioni (ARET XV, 29/49-51), la prima delle quali, con quattro tessili e una cintura di 40 sicli di oro, riguarda Arrugum. Itimud riceve 1 zara₆-TÚG-ú-háb nel medesimo testo (ARET XV/1, 29/18). Queste menzioni di Arrugum e di suoi parenti non sembrano giustificate dalla sua posizione di capo dell'amministrazione eblaita, ma piuttosto da un suo personale coinvolgimento nella cerimonia. Così l'Enzi-Malik, nella cui casa Itimud entra, sarà da identificare con l'Enzi-Malik, definito lú di Arrugum, che riceve una cintura di una mina d'oro in ARET XV/2, 46/52. Il valore di questo dono prova che qui si tratta di un figlio, e non di un subordinato del ministro,⁸ e in realtà, nei testi del periodo di Arrugum non è citato alcun Enzi-Malik di grado più alto di suo figlio. Si noti, infine, che nel MAT XV/2, 59/11-12, l'assegnazione di ben 26 tessili a Itimud è immediatamente seguita da quella di un completo di tre tessili di alta qualità allo stesso Enzi-Malik, definito anche qui lú di Arrugum: il testo è datato al IX mese, il precedente a quello dello svolgimento delle nozze (ARET XV/1, 29). Notiamo, infine, che stranamente sia Itimud, la figlia del re, sia Enzi-Malik, il figlio di Arrugum, non risultano più citati dopo la fine del mandato di Arrugum.⁹

Note

1. Un titolo che potrebbe corrispondere a questa carica sembra essere *badalum*: Abarsal, Harran, Irritum, Sanapzugum e Ursaum appartengono, secondo la definizione di Archi 2015: 171, all'area del *badalum*, cioè alla regione, all'incirca intorno all'attuale confine Turchia-Siria, nella quale il portatore di questo titolo affianca il sovrano, e ai centri succitati sono da aggiungere Gudadanum e Halsum. In qualche caso il *badalum* sembra anche sostituire il re (cf. ARET I: 221), ma ciò può dipendere da qualche situazione particolare, come avviene per il "premier" a Ebla durante i primi anni di Ibrium, allorché il re era giovanissimo. Tuttavia, il titolo di *badalum* non compare mai nell'amministrazione di Ebla.

2. Ancora più ricco fu il corredo funebre della regina madre Dusigu, anche comprendente un carro e i finimenti di due igi-nita, ancorché la lista di questo corredo, che si estende per tre colonne di testo, sia lacunosa (cf. ARCHI 2002, 177-178; BIGA 2007-2008: 261).

3. Il re Iš'ar-Damu aveva ormai raggiunto un'età che gli avrebbe permesso di assumere il comando del suo esercito. Tuttavia, egli sembra essersi limitato ad affiancare Ibrium nella spedizione contro Zahiran (cf. BIGA 2010: 45) e a risiedere (TUŠxTIL) in Halsum dopo la spedizione guidata da Ibbi-zikir (cf. BIGA 2010: 50, nota 33).

4. Daraum, dove si svolsero le nozze, era un piccolo centro nelle vicinanze di Ebla, legato alla famiglia di Ibrium, di Ibbi-Zikir e della regina madre Dusigu. Le sue autorità locali erano gli abba_x (ARET XX, 24/10; MEE X, 3 r. vi 4-6). La regina di Mari Paba avrebbe assistito alle nozze al ritorno da Ebla, dove avrebbe visitato suo marito Hidar, ferito e preso prigioniero dopo la vittoria riportata da Ibbi-Zikir a Terqa durante la sua spedizione contro Mari (cf. ARCHI 2019: 175-176), ma ciò è incompatibile con il fatto che il matrimonio di Ir'ak-Damu e Za'aše fu celebrato prima di tale spedizione avvenuta nell'anno IZ XIV (cf. ARET XX: 163, 179).

5. BIGA 2007-2008: 250 nota che in un testo (ARET XV/1, 2/9), da assegnare al periodo antecedente il mandato di Arrugum, ÉxPAP precede e non segue il nome della persona cui deve riferirsi (*i-gi*). Per altri due esempi in cui ÉxPAP precede il nome del defunto, cf. 1 tessile dam-dingir ÉxPAP *Ti-ri-Da-mu* (ARET XV/2, 48/22); 1 completo di 3 tessili *si-in* ÉxPAP *dumu-nita ar-ru₁₂-šum na-hi^{ki} iš-gi-ba-ir šu-mu-tag_x* (ARET IV, 19/10).

6. Anche enorme è la differenza tra il succitato corredo funebre di Ibrum e quello di Arrugum, che deve consistere in due completi di tre tessili di qualità superiore e una lamina, una cintura e un pugnale amorreo d'oro (cf. ARET XV/2, 47/53). Pure, sembra che già con Arrugum il “primo ministro” si sia fatto strada tra i lugal-lugal occupando il secondo gradino della gerarchia eblaita, sebbene ancora a gran distanza dalla coppia reale: si notino i sacrifici divini offerti da Arrugum alle nozze di Irkab-Damu con la sua *maliktum* (ARET XI, 1/69-72), del tutto identici a quelli di Ibrum per le nozze di Iš'ar-Damu e Tabur-Damu (ARET XI, 2/72-75).

7. Un “dono” per Itimud, con le linee che lo seguono andate perdute, potrebbero parimenti riferirsi alle sue nozze nel frammento di MAT ARET III, 6. Esso è, infatti, costituito dallo stesso numero di *zara₆-tug₂* (6) e di *aktum-tug₂ ti-tug₂* (16) di ARET II, 31. In ARET III, 6 v. iv 1'-3', come in uno dei due testi (ARET XV/1, 29/12) che menzionano le nozze di Itimud, Dusigu, la futura regina madre, è citata al secondo posto tra tre spose secondarie di Irkab-Damu (Enna-Utu, Dusigu e Aba-dadu).

8. In accordo con questa ipotesi si noti che un altro(?) figlio di Arrugum, I-zi-Ma-lik, è definito sia suo *dumu-nita* (ARET XV/2, 44/13), sia, più spesso, suo *lú* (ARET XII, 219 III'; 298 r. III; 309 v. III'; ARET XV/1, 27/138).

9. Due figli di Itimud sono citati in ARET III, 104 v. iii' 2-4, come destinatari di un lotto di 200 *gana₂-kešda₂-ki*, ma questa donna potrebbe non essere da identificare con la principessa: il registro di terreni è da datare al periodo Ibrum 5-8, come dimostra la menzione (r. iii 2'-3') del giudice Ir'am-Dar (cf. ARET XIV: 169-170), e la principessa era andata in sposa al massimo una decina di anni prima. Si tratterebbe, quindi, di un altro esempio di omonimia tra le donne della corte reale di Ebla (cf. ARCHI 2025).

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5) Il re di Kiš aveva ancora un padre — Il MAT TM.75.G.2277, da assegnare, secondo ARCHI - BIGA 2003: 14-16 *et passim*, all'anno della spedizione di Ebla contro Mari (IZ XIV), che avrebbe preceduto di tre anni la distruzione di Ebla, elenca numerose assegnazioni di tessili e di manufatti di metallo prezioso a funzionari di livello alto/medio di Kiš. In particolare, il passo v. ix 4-10 (cf. ARCHI - BIGA 2003: 37) registra l'assegnazione di due completi di tessili di livello superiore al re (en) di Kiš e di due completi di tessili di qualità leggermente inferiore e identici tra di loro rispettivamente a suo padre (a-mu-sù) e a un suo

innominato fratello.¹⁾ In questo passo è indubbia la menzione del padre del re di Kiš e ciò suggerisce che in altri tre testi dello stesso periodo ci si riferisca al medesimo personaggio:

- 1) Il registro di assegnazioni di oro e argento TM.75.G.10091 (cf. ARCHI 1987a: 47-48) comincia con il dono di 25 complessive mine di oro, di due diverse qualità in base al rapporto con l'argento, e di 4 mine e 12 sicli di argento a un personaggio indicato dal nome di *iš-kūn-nu-nu* e con quello di 12 mine di oro, pure delle due diverse qualità, ad A.NE *lugal kiš^{ki}*, che sarà da interpretare come *a-bí* *lugal kiš^{ki}*, "il padre del re di Kiš";
- 2) Il MAT TM.75.G.2643 ha come sua prima assegnazione (r. i 1-7: cf. ARCHI 1987b: 87, 45): 1 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 řb×III-TÚG-SAL 1 *gú-li-lum* šušana 7 kù-gi-I na₄ a-mu-sù en kiš^{ki} *Bíl-Ma-lik Ti-ti-nu šu-mu-tag*. Qui un completo di tre tessili, più un bracciale di pietra e di oro, è dato al padre del re di Kiš con l'uso pleonastico del pronome suffisso -sù unito ad a-mu;
- 3) TM.75.G.10109 registra oggetti il cui nome è perduto, un vaso nì-tur e 30 sicli di oro per il padre del re (a-mu *lugal*) (cf. ARCHI 2015: 179, f). L'autore della consegna è In-Malik, figlio di Ibrum, che in ARET VIII, 540/10, come vedremo, consegna doni ai più alti funzionari di Kiš.

Del fatto che il padre di un re fosse ancora in attività, o almeno in vita, ricevendo beni importanti, allorché il figlio era già sul trono, abbiamo soltanto un'altra testimonianza nella documentazione di Ebla e riguarda lo staterello di Dub, di cui è menzionato il padre dell'en in aggiunta a tredici tra fratelli e figli del sovrano in carica (ARET VIII, 523/5), tutti riceventi un completo di tre tessili, dello stesso tipo di quelli del re per otto di loro e di tipo inferiore per sei. Ma, più in generale, per l'intera storia del VOA, non è frequente che il padre di un re risulti ancora in vita allorché il figlio è divenuto re: due esempi sono quelli del *kingmaker* Kudur-mabuk, padre di Warad-Sîn e di Rîm-Sîn, re di Larsa, e di Šamši-Adad I, padre di Išme-Dagan, re di Ekallatum, e di Yasmah-Addu, re di Mari. Ma entrambi i personaggi dei due esempi erano molto più potenti dei sovrani loro figli, e non è questo il caso dei succitati testi di Ebla. La spiegazione di questo insolito fatto potrebbe essere che il nuovo re di Kiš non era salito al trono per normale successione dinastica, ma in seguito a un colpo di stato, tanto più perché il suo predecessore aveva almeno un figlio (cf. *infra*, ARET VIII, 540/10), e quindi questo re non dové aspettare la morte del padre per occuparne il trono.

Chi era dunque questo re di Kiš? A noi sembra verosimile si tratti di Iškun-Nunu che nel succitato testo TM.75.G.10091 è menzionato al primo posto, immediatamente prima del padre del re di Kiš, e il cui dono in oro e argento sembra essere di gran lunga il più ricco nel testo. Ora, sulla base di un'altra menzione di Iškun-Nunu, nella variante Uškun-Nunu, nel MAT ARET VIII 540/10 è stato proposto che egli sia il figlio del re di Kiš (cf. da ultimo ARCHI 2025: 23). Di contro, il passo in questione dimostra proprio che Uškun-Damu era distinto dal figlio del re di Kiš. Qui, infatti, tre completi di tre tessili di alta qualità e tre lamine di pietra (dib na₄), alla cui decorazione sono destinati rispettivamente 71, 50 e 45 sicli di oro, costituiscono il nì-ba en kiš^{ki} *wa dumu-nita-sù uš-kūn-nu-nu kiš^{ki}*. Sembra evidente che, essendo tre i completi e tre le lamine, i destinatari di questo dono non siano due, cioè "the king of Kiš and his son Uškun-Nunu", ma tre: "il re di Kiš e suo figlio (e) Uškun-Nunu di Kiš". Tra l'altro, se Uškun-Nunu fosse da considerare il figlio del succitato en di Kiš non si capirebbe perché il suo nome sia seguito dal toponimo kiš^{ki}. Quindi, in questo passo Uškun-Nunu è un alto funzionario di Kiš, che forse svolgeva all'incirca la medesima funzione del "primo ministro" di Ebla, posposto al suo re e al figlio di questo. Parimenti in un altro MAT (TM.75.G.11493+11494) Uškun-Nunu, pure caratterizzato come "di Kiš", segue l'en della città, alla pari di lui destinatario di un completo di tre tessili, un manufatto di lapislazzuli e una quantità d'oro (cf. ARCHI 2015: 178, c).

Tale era la situazione durante l'anno della stesura di ARET VIII, 540. Ma nell'anno di TM.75.G.10091, allorché il "dono" di Iškun-Nunu è più del doppio di quello del padre del re di Kiš, questo personaggio sembra salito di grado e niente si oppone al fatto che egli sia diventato l'en di Kiš. Ed è anche verosimile che Dubi-Zuinu, il cui nome è seguito dal toponimo kiš^{ki}, destinatario di un dono di argento, in quantità non più leggibile, e di 20 sicli di oro nella parte finale del succitato TM.75.G.10091, abbia assunto la funzione di I/Uškun-Nunu di "primo ministro", o comunque abbia occupato un'importante carica nella città, mentre nell'ultima voce dello stesso testo doni in oro sono assegnati all'en di Nagar e al suo "primo ministro" Nizi.²⁾

Quindi, secondo la nostra ipotesi, nel periodo della stesura di ARET VIII, 540 I/Uškun-Nunu era un alto funzionario di Kiš e in quello di TM.75.G.10091 egli ne era diventato il re, forse con la collaborazione di suo padre, con il primo testo, ovviamente, da considerare precedente al secondo. A questa

interpretazione potrebbe opporsi il fatto che il gruppo di testi cui appartiene ARET VIII, 540, insieme con gli altri 20 editi in ARET VIII e con il MAT ARET I, 5, ritrovati nella Corte delle Udienze L.2752, dove furono abbandonati durante la presa di Ebla, sono ritenuti appartenere all'ultimo periodo della documentazione di Ebla. Ora, ciò è esatto, ma solo se per ultimo periodo intendiamo il mandato di Ibbi-Zikir, ma questo non implica necessariamente che i testi di ARET VIII siano tutti da datare agli ultimi anni di Ibbi-zikir, come lo è invece senz'altro TM.75.G.10091. Ad es., due testi MAT di ARET VIII (523 e 531) appartengono alla stessa tipologia di ARET I, 1-9, tra cui è anche ARET I, 5 pure rinvenuto in L.2752, da assegnare alla prima parte del mandato di Ibbi-Zikir. e saranno al più tardi da porre in diretta sequenza a loro (cf. BIGA - POMPONIO: 112-114). Ancora, l'unico AAM rinvenuto nella corte L.2752 (ARET VIII, 534) appartiene al dodicesimo dei diciassette anni di Ibbi-zikir. Aggiungiamo che la menzione di Uškun-Nunu in TM.75.G.10091 con il suo nome e non con il titolo di re di Kiš, al contrario del re di Nagar, con cui il primo è qui citato, potrebbe essere attribuita alla sua recentissima ascesa al trono.

Infine, in alcuni testi della fine della documentazione eblaita è citato il matrimonio di Kešdūt, che sembra essere l'unica figlia della coppia reale Iš'ar-Damu - Tabur-Damu. Questo matrimonio sarebbe avvenuto con un appartenente alla famiglia reale di Kiš (cf. ARCHI - BIGA 2003: 27-29), pur se in un solo testo (TM.75.G.2327 obv. ix 13-17; cf. ARCHI 1987b: 138, 10) si fa esplicita menzione di Kiš come luogo di origine del suo sposo, identificato, di norma, con un principe di Kiš e, più precisamente, con il succitato I/Uškun-Nunu, definito, come su visto, "a son of the king of Kiš" (cf. ARCHI 2025: 23). Tuttavia, sulla base del complesso passo in questione (1 dūl-TÚG *Ib-la*^{ki} 1 aktum-TÚG 1 fb-III-sa₆-gùn-TÚG wa 2 gú-li-lum GIŠ-PA za:gìn kù-gi lú nì-ba en lú *I-bí-Zi-kir* ì-na-sum in u₄ nì-mu-sá bur-kak *Keš-du-ut* en KIŠ^{ki} *En-nani-Il* lú *Ša-ù-um* šu-mu-tag_x) il nome di Kešdūt è unito all'en di Kiš nella formula che menziona il matrimonio. Quindi, a sposare la principessa eblaita può essere stato I/Uškun-Nunu, ma da re di Kiš, come su proposto, e non come suo figlio.

Ovviamente, questi sovrani di Kiš citati nella documentazione di Ebla, l'innominato en di ARET VIII, 540/10 e I/Uškun-Nunu, non possono essere identificati con Sargon, che pure nel periodo in questione si era senz'altro già impadronito di Kiš, ma di quella babilonese da cui partirono l'attacco e la conquista accadica di Mari di qualche anno dopo (cf. da ultimo POMPONIO 2025). Né il padre del re di Kiš dei passi succitati, posto sul medesimo piano di un altro suo figlio (TM.75.G.2277), sembra possa essere considerato il padre di Sargon, un *homo novus* per eccellenza, che avrebbe posto il figlio sul trono della città, trasferendo se stesso e la propria capitale ad Accad (cf. ARCHI 2015: 179). In questo periodo Accad aveva ormai inglobato Kiš, non la potenza della seconda, da tempo svanita, passava alla prima.

Note

1. Lo stesso completo di tessili è assegnato nel medesimo MAT a NI-ri-šum (v. v 9), accompagnato da un suo maškim, e a Bu-šu-sum (v. x 24); entrambi definiti "fratello del re di Kiš". I fornitori di carne per le truppe eblaita potevano ricevere o lo stesso completo o, eccezionalmente, uno di qualità inferiore (r. v 22-vi 3; vii 25-viii 3, viii 13-29).

2. Un passaggio dell'AAM TM.75.G.2426 (IZ XIII) r. vi 16-24 (cf. ARCHI - BIGA 2003: 42) permette di conoscere, come destinatari di lamine di 40 sicli d'oro, le altissime cariche di quattro centri (nell'ordine, Kiš, 'Adu, Nagar e Kakmium): quella di Kiš è tenuta da Dubi-Suinu, ma quella di Nagar non da Nizi, più volte citato con il re della città, e quindi considerato il suo "primo ministro" (cf. ARCHI - BIGA 2003: 18), ma da Sa'umu.

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6) On the sign value EŠ (uð_x) in Sargonic Akkadian and on the merger of Proto-Semitic *ð and *z —

It is generally assumed that the two Proto-Semitic (= PS) phonemes *ð (traditional *d) and *z had merged into a single phoneme by the time of Old Babylonian (KOGAN 2011: 55). The Sargonic Akkadian spellings *a-lu-EŠ*¹⁾, *i-lu-EŠ*²⁾, and *li-lu-EŠ*³⁾ – all forms of *√[?]-ḫ-ð ‘to take’ – reveal that the *terminus post quem* for this merger was the reign of Šar-kali-šarrē.⁴⁾

In Sargonic Akkadian texts, the reflex of PS *ð is usually written with Z-signs (e.g. in the form *aḫ-ZA-nim* ‘take for me!’ (*√[?]-ḫ-ð) found in FAOS 19, Di 4 r. 9), as opposed to the reflex of its voiceless counterpart *θ (traditional *t), which is usually written with Š-signs. Since the early Akkadian syllabary did not distinguish between voiced and voiceless consonants (e.g. using the sign DA to render both /da/ and /ta/), the Sargonic Akkadian reflexes of PS *ð and *θ cannot have differed only in voicing. According to the by now widely accepted affricate theory, the Z-signs rendered affricates (KOGAN 2011: 67), so that the Sargonic Akkadian reflex of PS *ð should be reconstructed as an affricate, i.e. /dð/.⁵⁾

In the forms *a-lu-EŠ*, *i-lu-EŠ*, and *li-lu-EŠ*, however, the reflex of PS *ð is not written with the expected Z-sign UZ but with a Š-sign instead.⁶⁾ As already noted by Meyer-Laurin (MEYER-LAURIN 2016: 117), this change in the sign set used to render /dð/ most likely reflects a process of deaffrication /dð/ > [ð] in word-final position. The deaffricated allophone [ð] could no longer be written with Z-signs and was instead written with Š-signs, just like the non-affricated reflex of PS *θ.

It is not immediately apparent why the sign EŠ was used to render the sound sequence /uð/ instead of the sign UŠ, which rendered the sound sequence /uθ/.⁷⁾ Meyer-Laurin suggests that Sumerian /š/ = /θ/⁸⁾ could have been realized as voiceless in word-final position (i.e. [θ]) but as voiced in intervocalic position (i.e. [ð]) (MEYER-LAURIN 2016: 117, n. 183). Since in Sumerian, the sign UŠ rendered the sound sequence /uθ/ (realized as [uθ]), while the sign EŠ rendered the sound sequence /uθu/ (realized as [uðu]), the latter was thus better suited to render the deaffricated allophone [ð] of Sargonic Akkadian /dð/.⁹⁾

The use of the sign EŠ to render the deaffricated allophone [ð] of /dð/ is so far only attested in texts from southern Mesopotamia.¹⁰⁾ Another point of evidence for this process of deaffrication can be found in a royal inscription from Sargon. The exact makeup of the form *u-sa₂-ḫi-su-ni* (*√[?]-ḫ-ð) found in RIME 2, E2.1.1.1 101 is still debated, but it is certain that an enclitic pronoun follows the verbal form /yuša^hidð/. One would expect this form to be written as *u-sa₂-ḫi-ZU-ni*, since a morpheme-final alveolar stop or affricate and a morpheme-initial sibilant usually coalesce into a geminate affricate that is written with Z-signs – compare, for example, the form *a-wa-ZU-nu* ‘their matter’ /hawāt+šunu/ found in CUSAS 27, 58 o. 7. The spelling *u-sa₂-ḫi-SU-ni* shows that the affricate /dð/ deaffricated to [ð] and then coalesced with the following sibilant into a geminate sibilant that was written with S-signs – compare, for example, the form [n]a-[?]a₃-AŠ₂-SU ‘his life’ /naḫāš+šu/ found in FAOS 19, Ad 3 o. 9.

These orthographic phenomena can only be observed for the Sargonic Akkadian reflex of PS *ð; no such changes in spelling are attested for the reflex of PS *z. Thus, the reflexes of PS *ð and *z were likely still distinct in Sargonic Akkadian and should therefore be distinguished in scholarly transcription. This means that not only should the forms *a-lu-EŠ*, *i-lu-EŠ*, and *li-lu-EŠ* given above be transcribed as [?]*aḫuð*, [?]*yīḫuð*, and [?]*līḫuð* instead of [?]*aḫuz*, [?]*yīḫuz*, and [?]*līḫuz*, respectively (with a new sign value EŠ (uð_x)); but also a form such as *aḫ-ZA-nim* should be transcribed as [?]*aḫðānim* instead of [?]*aḫzānim* (with a new sign value ZA (ða_x)). While some may feel that the introduction of ever more sign values is cumbersome and even unnecessary, such practice will help prevent our analysis of Sargonic Akkadian from being distorted by our understanding of later periods of Akkadian, especially Old Babylonian.

Notes

1. Found in MAD 5, 8 o. 12, 13, 15, r. 32.

2. Found in MAD 1, 127 r. 8 and in CUSAS 27, 161 e. 1; 162 o. 3, r. 5, 9; 164 r. 2; 165 r. 3; 166 r. 2.

3. Found in MAD 1, 278 r. 5 and in FAOS 19, Gir 3 r. 9.

4. The texts MAD 1, 127 and 278 are seemingly dated to the reign of Nāram-Sîn in MAD 5: xviii, although the wording is not entirely clear to me. The texts published in CUSAS 27 can be dated with relative certainty towards the end of Šar-kali-šarrē’s reign (CUSAS 27: 4). The text MAD 5, 8 likely dates to his reign as well (MAD 5: xvi-xx). The editors of FAOS 19 assume the same for the text Gir 3 (FAOS 19: 69).

5. The Eblaite reflex of PS *ð was not an affricate, as it was written with Š-signs (KOGAN 2011: 85). Since an unconditional process of deaffrication *dð > ð is much more likely than the reverse process *ð > dð, *ð should be reconstructed as an affricate already in Proto-Semitic, i.e. PS *ð = /dð/.

6. The identity of the Š-sign is still debated. The traditional reading is EŠ (= U.U.U), although the form rather suggests EŠ₅ (= DIŠ.DIŠ.DIŠ); see Fig. 1 below. The origin of the sign value (uð₅) for this sign proposed by Meyer-Laurin favors EŠ.



Fig. 1: *a-ḫu-EŠ / a-ḫu-EŠ₅* (MAD 5, 8 o. 12)
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7. Forms such as *i-ru-UŠ* ‘he cultivated’ (*√ḫ-r-θ) found in CUSAS 27, 78 r. 11 attest that the sign UŠ rendered the sound sequence /uθ/.

8. Note that the Sumerian phoneme rendered by the Š-signs need not have been identical to Sargonic Akkadian /θ/, although this seems likely.

9. For EŠ = /uθu/ see MEYER-LAURIN 2011: 68.

10. The texts stem from Ešnunna (MAD 1, 127; 278), Kiš (MAD 5, 8), Maškan-ili-Akkade / Umm al-Ḥafriyyāt (CUSAS 27, 161; 162; 164; 165; 166), and Girsu (FAOS 19, Gir 3).

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7) Eight Neo-Sumerian Texts in the College of Idaho — The following eight cuneiform texts from the College of Idaho (former name: Albertson College of Idaho), Caldwell, Idaho, USA, are dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III, ca. 2112–2004 BC). Their proveniences are Puzriš-Dagan (Text 5 and Text 8) and Umma (Texts 1–4, Texts 6–8). They were sold and donated by Edgar J. Banks to the College of Idaho in 1920s. A few years ago the collection was sold at what might be described as a campus yard sale. A faculty member purchased them and then donated them to the College of Idaho. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Jan Boles, Archivist, the Robert E. Smylie Archives, and Christine Schutz, Director of the Library of the College of Idaho, for generously granting permission for their publication. Thanks are due also to Manuel Molina (CSIC), Tohru Ozaki (Shizuoka), David I. Owen (Cornell) and Lorenzo Verderame (Rome) for reading the original manuscript and offering numerous suggestions. The work presented here is part of a project supported by the Key Project on Philosophy and Social Sciences of Ministry of Education of China (Grant no. 23JZD040) and the “Lantai Young Scholars Project” of History Research of China (Grant no. 2025LTQN805). Any mistakes or errors, however, are sole responsibility.

1. Letter on reeds. Inventory Number: ACI 01, Provenience: Umma, undated, CDLI no.: P370976.

Obv.

1)	360 sa gi	You may give 360 <i>sa</i> reeds to Urguedinna.
2)	Ur-gu ₂ -edin-na	
3)	he ₂ -na-ab-šum ₂ -mu	

Rev. *blank space*

Seal

i 1)	Šul-gi	Šulgi,
2)	nita kala-ga	strong man,

3)	lugal Uri ₅ / ^{ki} -ma	king of Ur,
4)	lugal an ub-/da limmu ₂ -ba	king of the four quarters:
ii 1)	Ur- ^d Li ₉ -si ₄	Ur-Lisi,
2)	ensi ₂	governor
3)	Umma ^{ki}	of Umma,
4)	arad ₂ -zu	(is) your servant.

2. Messenger text. Inventory Number: ACI 02, Provenience: Umma, Date: -- xi 27, CDLI no.: P370977.

Obv.

1)	5 sila ₃ kaš 5 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	5 <i>sila</i> beer 5 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
2)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
3)	Šu- ^d UTU	(for) Šu-Šamaš,
4)	5 sila ₃ kaš 5 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	5 <i>sila</i> beer 5 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
5)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
6)	^d Lamma-mu	(for) Lammamu,
7)	5 sila ₃ kaš 5 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	5 <i>sila</i> beer 5 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
8)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
9)	Ur-lugal	(for) Ur-lugal,
10)	5 sila ₃ kaš 5 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	5 <i>sila</i> beer 5 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
11)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
12)	A-a-gi-na	(for) Aagina,

Rev.

1)	5 sila ₃ kaš 5 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	5 <i>sila</i> beer 5 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
2)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
3)	^d Šul-gi-iri- ^{<} ĝu ₁₀ ^{>}	(for) Šulgi-irigu,
4)	3 sila ₃ kaš 2 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	3 <i>sila</i> beer 2 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
5)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
6)	Ku-li-sa ₆	(for) Kulisa,
7)	3 sila ₃ kaš 2 sila ₃ ninda 2 sa šum ₂	3 <i>sila</i> beer 2 <i>sila</i> bread 2 <i>sa</i> onions
8)	3 gin ₂ i ₃ 2 gin ₂ naga	3 <i>gin</i> oil 2 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i>
9)	U-bar	(for) Ubar;
10)	0.0.3 1 sila ₃ kaš 0.0.3 1 sila ₃ ninda / 14 sa šum ₂	(total:) 3 <i>ban</i> 1 <i>sila</i> beer 3 <i>ban</i> 1 <i>sila</i> bread 14 <i>sa</i> onions
11)	1/3 sila ₃ 1 gin ₂ i ₃ 14 / gin ₂ naga	1/3 <i>sila</i> 1 <i>gin</i> oil 14 <i>gin</i> herb- <i>naga</i> ;

Left edge

1)	u ₄ 27-kam	the 27th day.
2)	iti Pa ₄ -u ₂ -e	Month: "Pa'u'e."

3. Labors for various purposes. Inventory Number: ACI 03, Provenience: Umma, Date: Amar-Suen 5, CDLI no.: P370978.

Obv.

1)	10 guruš u ₄ 1-še ₃	10 male laborers for 1 day,
2)	kab ₂ -ku ₅ i ₇ Sal ₄ -la ^{ki} -a	binding the mouth of the bank of the settling-reservoir
3)	ka gu ₂ -bi keš ₂ -ra ₂	attached to the <i>Salla</i> canal;
4)	6 guruš u ₄ 1-še ₃	6 male laborers for 1 day,
5)	ĝa ₂ -nun gu ₂ Idigna-ka	trimming reeds in the storehouse of the Tigris bank;

Rev.

1)	gi šid-da	6 male laborers for 1 day, carrying reeds for gardener
2)	6 guruš u ₄ 1-še ₃ gu ₂ i ₇ -da / gi il ₂ -la nu-kiri ₆	to the bank of the river;
3)	ĝiri ₃ A-du-mu	via Adumu,
4)	ugula Ur-{DU}-mes	overseer: Ur-mes,
5)	kišib Lugal-e ₂ -mah-e	under seal of Lugal-emah.
6)	mu En-unu ₆ -gal / ^d Inana ba-huĝ	Year: "Enunugal of Inana was installed."

Seal

1)	Lugal-e ₂ -[mah-e]	Lugal-emah,
2)	dub-sar	scribe,
3)	dumu Lugal-ku ₃ -ga-ni	son of Lugal-kugani.

The reconstruction of this seal impression is based on the texts *AAICAB* 1/2 pl. 091 1935-532, *Akkadica* 134/1 2.8 and *TCNU* 546.

4. Sheep for various individuals. Inventory Number: ACI 04, Provenience: Umma, Date: -- ix, CDLI no.: P370979.

Obv.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1) | 1 udu Ha-ni-mu | 1 sheep for Hanimu, |
| 2) | 1 udu Da-du-mu / nu-banda ₃ gu ₄ | 1 sheep for Dadumu, cattle-captain, |
| 3) | 1 u[du] 1 maš ₂ | 1 sheep, 1 goat |
| 4) | Lu[gal]-a ₂ -zi-da / gu ₄ | for Lugal-azida, <i>gudu</i> -priest, |

Rev.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1) | 1 maš ₂ Lugal-giri ₁₇ -zal gu ₄
<i>blank space</i> | 1 goat for Lugal-girizal, <i>gudu</i> -priest. |
| 2) | iti ^d Li ₉ -si ₄
<i>blank space</i> | Month: "Lisi." |

5. Animals for various purposes. Inventory Number: ACI 05, Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, Date: Šu-Suen 5 x, CDLI no.: P370980.

Obv.

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| i 1) | 1 gu ₄ u ₂ | 1 grass-fed ox, |
| 2) | ġiri ₃ U ₂ -zi-nu-ri | via Uzinuri; |
| 3) | 8 udu | 8 sheep, |
| 4) | 6 sila ₄ | 6 lambs, |
| 5) | 4 maš ₂ | 4 goats, |
| 6) | ġiri ₃ Lu ₂ -sa ₂ -bi ₂ | via Lu-sabi, |
| 7) | kišib Ab-[ba]-kal-la | under seal of Abba-kala. |
| 8) | 10-la ₂ -1 gu ₄ | 9 oxen, |
| 9) | 18 udu | 18 sheep, |
| 10) | 16 maš ₂ | 16 goats, |
| 11) | ki Ba-[ba]-ti-ta | from Babati. |
| 12) | 2+[...] | [...] |
| 13) | [...] | |
| 14) | 2 [...] | |
| 15) | [...] | |
| 16) | [...] | |
| 17) | [...] | |
| ii 1) | 4 ab ₂ | 4 cows, |
| 2) | 3 udu | 3 sheep, |
| 3) | 38 maš ₂ | 38 goats, |
| 4) | ġiri ₃ Ur- ^d En-lil ₂ -la ₂ | via Ur-Enlila; |
| 5) | 60-la ₂ -1 udu | 59 sheep |
| 6) | ġiri ₃ Hi-ir | via Hir; |
| 7) | 16 udu | 16 sheep, |
| 8) | 3 maš ₂ | 3 goats, |
| 9) | ġiri ₃ L[u ₂ -sa ₂]-bi ₂ | via Lu-sabi; |
| 10) | 2 [maš]-da ₃ | 2 gazelles |
| 11) | [ġiri ₃ U ₂]-zi-nu-ri | via Uzinuri; |
| 12) | [kišib Ur-ku ₃]-nun-na | under seal of Ur-kununa. |
| 13) | [iti ezem ^d]Nin-a-zu | Month: "Festival of Ninazu." |
| 14) | [kišib-b]i 1-am ₃ | the sealed tablet involved: 1. |
| 15) | [...] niġa | [...] |
| 16) | [ki Er ₃ -r]a-ba-ni-ta | from Erra-bani, |
| 17) | [kišib-bi 1]-am ₃ | the sealed tablet involved: 1. |
| Rev. | | |
| iii 1) | 3 gu ₄ mu-1 | 3 oxen with one year, |
| 2) | ġiri ₃ Be-li ₂ -a-zu | via Beliazu, |
| 3) | kišib-bi 1-am ₃
<i>blank space</i> | the sealed tablet involved: 1. |
| 4) | šu-niġin ₂ 1 gu ₄ niġa | Total: 1 barley-fed ox, |
| 5) | šu-niġin ₂ 10 gu ₄ | total: 10 oxen, |
| 6) | šu-niġin ₂ 10 ab ₂ | total: 10 cows, |
| 7) | šu-niġin ₂ 3 gu ₄ mu-1 | total: 3 oxen with one year, |
| 8) | šu-niġin ₂ [x]+18 udu | total: 18 (even more) sheep, |

9)	šu-niĝin ₂ [x] sila ₄	total: uncounted lamb(s),
10)	[šu-niĝin ₂ x] maš ₂	total: uncounted goat(s);
11)	ki [Be-li ₂]-a-zu-ta	from Beliazu,
12)	Ur-ku ₃ -nun-na	Ur-kununa
13)	i ₃ -dab ₅	took over,
14)	kišib Ur-ku ₃ -nun-na-/ka-bi	this is the sealed tablet of Ur-kununa.
15)	Be-li ₂ -a-zu	Beliazu
iv 1)	su ₂ -ni bi ₂ -/in-du ₁₁	said that he replaced it (seal),
2)	mu lugal in-/pad ₃	swore by the king's name.
3)	a-ra ₂ 2-kam-ma-aš	For the second time,
4)	kišib Ur-ku ₃ -nun-na-/ka	the sealed tablet of Ur-kununa,
5)	Be-li ₂ -[a]-zu	Beliazu
6)	šu ba-ti	received,
7)	kišib Be-li ₂ -a-zu	and under seal of Beliazu,
8)	ki Ur-ku ₃ -nun-na-ka /{ka} i ₃ -ĝal ₂ -la-ta	from Ur-kununa who had (this tablet), it was
9)	ba-ra-tur	diminished.
10)	tukumbi	If he (=Beliazu) has brought the tablet of Ur-kununa
11)	kišib Ur-ku ₃ -nun-na-/ka	from (the place of) Na-me,
12)	ki Na-me-ta	(then it should) be broken.
13)	im-ma-tum ₂ /de ₆	
14)	[z]i-re-dam	Month: "Great festival."
15)	[iti] ezem mah	Year after: "Šu-Suen, king of Ur, built the Amorite
16)	[mu] us ₂ -sa ^d Šu-/ ^d EN.ZU lugal ŠEŠ./AB ^{ki} -	wall."
	ma-ke ₄ bad ₃ / mar-tu mu-du ₃	

Left edge

1)	kišib Be-li ₂ -a-zu	Under seal of Beliazu.
----	--------------------------------	------------------------

Seal

1)	Be-li ₂ -a-zu	Beliazu,
2)	dub-sar	scribe,
3)	dumu ^d Nanna-kam	son of Nannakam.

obv. i 2: The spelling U₂-zi-nu-ri is only attested in this text, but its variant U₃-zi-nu-ri is exclusively attested in Puzriš-Dagan texts, such as *AUCT* 1 970, *Princeton* 2 141, *TRU* 157.

rev. ii 12: Na-me may be either a personal name or a geographical name attested in Ur III texts.

6. Arrears of labor forces. Inventory Number: ACI 06, Provenience: Umma, Date: Amar-Suen 7, CDLI no.: P370981.

Obv.

1)	la ₂ -ia ₃ 1 Engar-zi	Arrears: 1 Engarzi,
2)	1 Edin-ta	1 Edinta,
3)	1 Ur-zikum-ma	1 Ur-zikuma,
4)	1 Ur- ^{ĝis} gigir dumu Ur-nim	1 Ur-gigir son of Ur-nim,
5)	1 E ₂ -lu ₂ -bi-zu	1 Elubizu,
6)	1 Im-ta-e ₃ -a	1 Imtaea,
7)	1 ^d Šara ₂ -kam dumu Da-ti-/ti-ni	1 Šarakam son of Datitini,

Rev.

1)	la ₂ -ia ₃ -am ₃ ša ₃ bala-a	(they were) arrears of the <i>bala</i> .
2)	kišib ^d Šara ₂ -a-mu	Under seal of Šara-amu.
	<i>blank space</i>	
3)	mu Hu-uh ₂ -nu-ri/ ^{ki} ba-hul	Year: "Huhnuri was destroyed."

Seal

1)	^d Šara ₂ -a-mu	Šara-amu,
2)	dumu ^d Šara ₂ -šeš	son of Šara-šeš.

The seal impression is reconstructed from *PPAC* 4 171.

7. Receipt of garments. Inventory Number: ACI 07, Provenience: Umma, Date: Amar-Suen 7 xii, CDLI no.: P370982.

Obv.

1)	48 tug ₂ uš-bar	48 woven garments,
----	----------------------------	--------------------

2)	3 tug ₂ u ₂	3 u-garments,
3)	ki-la ₂ -bi 3 gu ₂ 1/2 / ma-na	their weight: 3 gu 1/2 mana,
4)	tug ₂ gu ₂ -na iri	(they are) tribute garments (from out)-cities;
Rev.		
1)	ki Lu ₂ -kal-/la-ta	from Lu-kalla,
2)	I ₃ -kal-la šu ba-ti	Ikalla accepted.
3)	iti ^d Dumu-zi	Month: “Dumuzi.”
4)	mu Hu-uh ₂ -nu-/ri ^{ki} ba-hul	Year: “Huhnuri was destroyed.”

8. Transfer of animals. Inventory Number: ACI 09, Provenience: Puzriš-Dagan, Date: Amar-Suen 5 ii 18, CDLI no.: P370983.

Obv.		
1)	2 sila ₄	2 lambs,
2)	1 maš ₂	1 kid,
3)	u ₄ 18-kam	the 18th day,
4)	ki Ab-ba-sa ₆ -/ga-ta	from Abba-saga,
Rev.		
1)	In-ta-e ₃ -a	Intaea
2)	i ₃ -dab ₅ <i>blank space</i>	took over.
3)	iti šeš-da-gu ₇	Month: “Piglet-feast.”
4)	mu En-unu ₆ -/gal ^d Inana ba-huĝ	Year: “Enunugal of Inana was installed.”
Left edge		
1)	3	(Total:) 3.

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8) An example of /r/ devoicing from Sumerian — Berossos spells the name Ziusudra as $\Xi\iota\sigma\upsilon\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$. Based on the cuneiform spellings and the general lack of syllable final /t/ in Sumerian, the name certainly contains the /dr/ cluster. Sumerian /d/ is [t] (JAGERSMA 2010: 36-38; FOXVOG 2016: 18; HAYES 2000: 25), therefore the expected Greek spelling of such a cluster is τρ.

In Ancient Greek, θ is [t^h] that is roughly the same as Sumerian /t/ [t^h]. Indeed, in Hellenistic writings of Sumerian and Akkadian, θ generally represents what is reconstructed as /t/ [t^h] for late Akkadian and Sumerian in that period (LANG 2021:119).

Ancient Greek had a voiceless allophone of /r/, but not after a tenuis stop (ALLEN 1987: 41-45). Therefore, τρ should represent a tenuis stop followed by a prototypical, voiced rhotic. On the other hand, /r/ (as other sonorants) is expected to devoice, at least partially, when it is preceded by an aspirated consonant, because the voice onset time is much greater after an aspirated consonant, then the near zero value after a tenuis consonant, and is expected to overlap with the following segment (ABRAMSON & LISKER 1973). Consistently with this, Classical Greek /r/ is thought to be voiceless after aspirated plosives (ALLEN 1987: 43).

If Sumerian /dr/ sounded like Greek θρ, then $\Xi\iota\sigma\upsilon\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is recorded example of the post obstruent voiceless allophone of /r/. The Greek spelling is certainly motivated by the Greek pronunciation that is ultimately defined by the Sumerian realization of /r/ in the voiceless /dr/ cluster. The fully voiceless Sumerian /dr/ cluster was observed as the also fully voiceless Greek θρ cluster instead of the partially voiced τρ cluster.

Research for further examples of /r/ devoicing in positions other than post-obstruent might reveal important details about the allophonic behaviour of the Sumerian rhotic consonant.

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9) On the possible phonetic value of the Sumerian /ř/ phoneme — Among the Sumerian phonemes whose existence is generally accepted, the phonetic features and phonological position of /ř/ is yet to be determined. As of December 2025, it is mostly assumed to have been roughly IPA [tʰ], phonologically /tʰ/, but this value can be excluded based on the fact that the phoneme merged with /r/ and /d/ respectively and Sumerian had phonemes in the phonological space between [tʰ] and each of these sounds, that would preclude the mergers, also, such a consonant inventory would be oddly asymmetric. Jagersma convincingly argues that /ř/ must have been an affricate (JAGERSMA 2010: 41-43), which means that Sumerian had exactly two affricates: /z/, (phonologically /dʒ/, roughly IPA [tʃ]) and /ř/. It had already been established that Sumerian had exactly two sibilant fricatives: alveolar /s/ and post-alveolar /š/. If /ř/ is reconstructed as a post-alveolar tenuis affricate /dʒ/, rather than the alveolar aspirated affricate /tʰ/, the consonant inventory is more symmetric, and also /dʒ/ has a more plausible path /d/ and possibly even to /r/. This value is roughly IPA [tʃ] or an acoustically similar coronal consonant.

While there seems to be a consensus about the existence of the Sumerian /ř/ phoneme, there are several different opinions about its original phonetic nature. Based on the fact that after this consonant had lost its status as an independent phoneme, it developed into either /d/ or /r/, depending on region (JAGERSMA 2010: 43), some scholars understand it as a /dr/ cluster (THOMSEN 1984: 44, EDZARD 2003: 18), a biarticulated stop consonant or „an ongoing sound change” (FOXVOG 2016: 19), alternatively as some kind of tap or flap sound without further specifications (HAYES 2000: 26). The primary reflex of the Sumerian /ř/ in the Sumerian loanwords of Akkadian is the Akkadian phoneme transcribed as /s/, a retroflex fricative is also considered (FOXVOG 2016: 19). Jagersma argues that according to more recent studies, the Akkadian /s/ is a dental or alveolar affricate instead of a continuant (JAGERSMA 2010: 41-43), and in the same paragraph he concludes that it has to be similar to Sumerian /z/. Since Sumerian loanwords in Akkadian represent the Sumerian phoneme /ř/ with Akkadian /s/, and the Emesal reflex of /ř/ tends to be /z/, /ř/ must be an affricate itself. On the other hand the Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian consistently have Sumerian /z/ in the place of the Akkadian /s/, and never /ř/. This shows that, though both consonants are affricates, they are different phonemes in Sumerian and /z/ is the one that is identical with or at least closer to Akkadian /s/ (JAGERSMA 2010: 43-45). In the same paragraph, he concludes that /ř/ must have been the fortis consonant corresponding to the lenis /z/= /dʒ/ [tʃ], and, since Sumerian fortis stops are aspirated (JAGERSMA 2010: 35-38), he chooses roughly /tʰ/ [tʰ] as the phonetic value of /ř/.

Jagersma is certainly right when he reconstructs /ř/ as an affricate, but his choice of affricate is problematic: its value as [tʰ] would contradict to its later development both into /r/ and /d/. Sumerian /r/ is mostly considered to be a coronal flap or a tap sound, something close to IPA [ɾ] (JAGERSMA 2010: 53, FOXVOG 2016: 20.). Sumerian /d/ is IPA [t] or close (JAGERSMA 2010: 36-38; FOXVOG 2016: 18; HAYES 2000: 25). This means that there are phonemes in the phonological space between the proposed [tʰ] and each of the other two phonemes it has developed into. This makes makes [tʰ] an unsatisfactory choice.

The main problem is not phonetic, but phonological: The merger with /d/ [t] would mean the loss of the entire post-release articulation, both the fricative component and the post-aspiration. Although this is not impossible phonetically, it is phonologically incompatible with what is otherwise thought about the Sumerian consonant system. The aspiration is not purely an articulatory feature of the consonant, but a distinctive phonological feature that consistently divides the Sumerian stops into two classes. If this fortis-lenis opposition (realized phonetically as aspirated-tenuis pairs) exists in the affricates, then not only is it an unnatural leap for /ř/ [tʰ] to switch classes along the fortis-lenis axis simultaneously with another sound change (deaffrication), that is already repositioning the same phoneme along a different axis, but it would also mean jumping over intervening phonemes: If [tʰ] loses its aspiration, it merges with the already existing /z/ [tʃ]. If it gets deaffricated, the result is the already existing /t/ [tʰ]. Instead of this rather odd

development, the deaffricating fortis [tʰ] would be expected to maintain its position along the fortis-lenis axis and simply merge with /t/ [tʰ].

The phonological change into /r/ [r] is even more problematic. Even though the target consonant is not in a fortis-lenis opposition with any other phoneme, and thus the loss of aspiration would not be an immediate issue in this case, no path was ever proposed to explain this development from an affricate to a tap.

A different affricate consonant would fit the data better. The assumption behind [tʰ] is that the affricate phonemes in Sumerian have the same fortis-lenis opposition by aspiration as the stop consonants. Although, it is indeed the case in many languages, it can not be generalized for every language. In case of Sumerian, [tʰ] as the phonetic value of /t/ results in a rather asymmetric system with an extreme overweight on the alveolar side compared to the post-alveolar side: there would be one fricative (/s/) and two different affricates (both /z/ and /t/) in the alveolar class while zero affricates would correspond to the post-alveolar fricative (/ʃ/).

I propose a more symmetric, cross linguistically more typical consonant inventory, with exactly one affricate consonant for each sibilant fricative. Without the attempt to determine the *exact* phonetic qualities, a phonological model, where the alveolar category includes the fricative /s/ and the affricate /z/ (/dʒ/), while the postalveolar category includes the fricative /ʃ/ and the affricate /t/ (/dʒ/), can provide better *possible* values than [tʰ]. These possible values are the articulations that are roughly IPA [tʃ] (where the exact value can be any spectrally similar coronal consonant, ranging from the apical retracted [tʃ̠] to the retroflex [tʃ̡], depending on how Sumerian /ʃ/ was articulated in the period). Such a /t/=/dʒ/ phoneme deaffricates directly to /d/ without problematic intervening phonemes and phonologically questionable leaps.

The Sumerian writing system supports this reconstruction: There is one sound sign that can be identified as a character for some /rV/ syllables, namely, a character to spell *ra*₂ and *re*₆ respectively. This is **DU** (Jagersma 2010: 43). **DU** is also used as the *ša*₄ character. This might be a duality in function similar to how *za*₁ is also *sa*₃.

A weak point of this reconstruction is that the merger with /r/ is still without a solid explanation. One possible solution might be to consider the existence of sonorant devoicing, at least for /r/, in Sumerian, or generally any tendency to allophonically replace the prototypical tap or trill realization of the rhotic with a non-sibilant fricative in certain phonological contexts (similarly to Turkish, English, Czech, Polish, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish, Scottish Gaelic, Tsakonian and other languages) or possibly even with a non-sibilant *affricate* (attested from Japanese and some Dutch dialects). This would not be helpful with a [tʰ] value, because this behaviour of rhotics shows connections with the post-alveolar sibilants, not with the alveolar sibilants. This means that, if /r/ has further, more extreme allophony in a language, including sibilant fricative realizations, then it is usually post-alveolar sibilants ([ʒ] and [ʝ] or similar) and not an alveolar sibilant ([z] and [s] or similar) in the given language¹). Furthermore, these non-sibilant sounds are observed to be similar to [ʒ] and [ʝ] and the spectral analysis of alveolar non-sibilant fricatives show them to be acoustically significantly closer to post-alveolar sibilants than to sibilants of the alveolar position (JONES & MCDUGALL 2009), thus a non sibilant quality of an alveolar fricative results in similar formant values as the retraction into the post-alveolar region. This makes the /t/=/dʒ/ reconstruction at least slightly more natural for even the /t/ > /r/ merger, as it reconstructs /t/ into a class of consonants that cross linguistically has a closer relation to coronal taps and trills than [tʰ] and is also attested to provide allophones of rhotics in various languages. If further studies eventually reveal the existence of a devoiced or otherwise fricative /r/ realizations in Sumerian, then both /t/ > /d/ and /t/ > /r/ can be explained as simple sound changes, the former as a deaffrication, and the latter as a desibilantion.

Conclusion: If what we otherwise think about the Sumerian consonant inventory is a good approximation of the real language, then the Sumerian featured exactly two alveolar sibilants and exactly two post alveolar sibilants, those being the fricative /s/ and /ʃ/ and the affricate /z/ and /t/ respectively. When the status of /t/ as an independent phoneme became unstable, it was deaffricated to /d/ in one step in Nippur, Isin, Ur and Garšana (JAGERSMA 2010: 44), elsewhere the contrast between it and /r/ ceased to exist in a way yet to be explained. In order to find a possible and plausible explanation, further research focusing on the allophony

of Sumerian /r/ is necessary, including evidence that could either support or exclude the contextual devoicing or frication of /r/.

I. LADEFOGED & MADDIESON 1996: 165, 228-230, 233, 236; NOVÁK 2013: 59; LODGE 2009: 46; ŠIMÁČKOVÁ, PODLIPSKÝ & CHLÁDKOVÁ 2012: 226; SCUTT 1913: 251; LAVER 1994: 263; COLLINS & MEES 2003: 177-181, 199; YAVUZ & BALCI 2011: 25; BORSTRØM 1937; OKADA 1999: 118; PETERS 2010: 240.

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10) Vocabula sumerica 7. dun, ES zé(-n²) ‘étirer, allonger (des fils, des rigoles) en lignes parallèles’ ; plier (les genoux pour s’accroupir ou s’agenouiller) — Le verbe dun au sens de ‘ourdir, dresser une trame’ (akk. *šatû*) est bien attesté dans la documentation administrative (WAETZOLDT 1972, 129 sqq.) et dans la littérature, comme dans ce dialogue entre Utu et Inana :

- « Ces fils, qui me les mettra sur le métier ? » (a-ba-a ma-ab-zé-zé)
- « Ma sœur, je te les apporterai déjà posés sur le métier » (nin₉-ġu₁₀ dun-na-bi ga-mu-ra-de₆) (SEFATI 1998, p. 122 ; Dumuzi-Inana A 27–29).

C’est l’opération qui précède tag/tuku₅ ‘tisser’.

Les listes lexicales ajoutent l’équivalence *herû* ‘creuser (un canal)’, ce qui a poussé Attinger (Glossaire, p. 312) à adopter pour le sumérien ce sens, qui semble convenir parfaitement aux passages des inscriptions présargoniques de Lagaš (par exemple *íd gibil mu-na-dun* « il lui ... le nouveau canal » Eanatum 3-4 vi 8-9) ; dans le texte beaucoup plus tardif *Rulers of Lagaš*, on trouve la même combinaison (*íd nu-un-dun-[dun]* « les canaux n’étaient pas ... » l. 22 ; *íd NN mu-un-dun* « il ... le canal NN » *passim*) répétée comme un refrain, rappelant les inscriptions des anciens rois (SOLLBERGER 1967). Cependant, en suivant la tradition des lexicographes akkadiens pour traduire « il creusa », on ne tient pas compte du fait qu’il existe un autre verbe pour ‘creuser’ (ba’al) et que, quand le référent du verbe est non le canal, mais simplement l’eau, comme dans le passage de Enlil A que nous citons plus bas, la traduction ‘creuser’ pose problème. En fait l’équivalence dun = ‘creuser’ est au sens strict un mirage. À mon sens il s’agit bien du même verbe que dun ‘ourdir’, appliqué à la dérivation de canaux secondaires à partir d’un canal principal. Un regard sur la forme archaïque du signe GANA₂ (fig. 1) fait comprendre l’analogie entre les fils parallèles de la chaîne, tendus au prix d’un travail délicat et fastidieux entre les arbres du métier et les canaux d’irrigation tirés parallèlement entre un canal d’alimentation et une rigole de drainage. Pour la forme

élongée des champs, particulièrement à l'époque néo-sumérienne, voir LIVERANI 1990. C'est l'incapacité des lexicographes akkadiens à traduire l'image qui les a amenés à rendre dun par *herû*, qui ne rend qu'une partie (le creusement des rigoles) du champ sémantique du verbe sumérien, qui évoque quant à lui toute l'installation d'un réseau d'irrigation.

L'association entre tissage et irrigation est encore présente dans l'esprit des écrivains du premier millénaire. Dans les inscriptions des rois néo-assyriens, les champs à l'abandon sont « couverts de toiles d'araignée » : Sargon II (dans les prismes de Nimrud vii 65 [Iraq 16, 192]) évoque les champs désertés de la plaine mésopotamienne ; Sennacherib, presque dans les mêmes termes, ceux du nord de l'Iraq : *tāmerātušu ša ina lā māmī namūte šūlukāma šatā qē ettūti* « Leurs plaines irrigables réduites à l'état de désert par manque d'eau sont couvertes de toiles d'araignée » (voir CAD *šatû* B ; nouvelle édition RINAP 3/2, 223, 6 sq. [p. 313]). L'image est un peu étrange pour évoquer la désertification, les toiles d'araignée peuvent être signe d'abandon dans une maison, mais pas au jardin. L'image s'explique parce que là où verdoyaient les rigoles creusées par l'homme, apparaît désormais la structure géométrique du système d'irrigation ; une araignée gigantesque semble avoir tissé son réseau. Les paysages agricoles du nord de l'Iraq évoqués par Sennacherib sont différents des plaines méridionales avec leurs réseaux de canaux parfois encore visibles aujourd'hui dans le désert, mais d'une part il s'agit d'un emprunt littéraire, d'autre part les cultures étagées à flanc de côtes peuvent aussi évoquer une toile d'araignée. La présence d'une toile d'araignée dans les champs ([*šumma ettū*]tu ina eqel ugāri šatāt CT 39, 5, 55) présage la famine.

Pour le vers *íd-da a-eštub ù-ba nu-dun-dun* (Enlil A 115), ATTINGER 2020 traduit « Les eaux en crue du printemps à leur plus haut niveau ne creuseraient pas (leur lit) dans les canaux » (avec la note : littéralement 'les eaux à carpes à leur sommet ne se creuseraient pas dans les canaux'). Je proposerais « (Sans la grande montagne Enlil ...) dans les fleuves, l'eau poissonneuse de la crue ne tisserait pas son réseau », on pourrait dire aussi « ne sillonnerait pas la plaine inondable ».

Dans les inscriptions présargoniques et dans les *Rulers of Lagaš* aussi, rien n'empêche de donner au verbe *dun* un sens plus large que 'creuser', quelque chose comme 'répartir l'eau (dans les canaux)', 'rendre apte à l'irrigation en tirant un réseau de canaux et de rigoles'.

On comprend mieux aussi l'idiome *úr-dun*, pour lequel le Vocabulaire Emesal donne l'équivalent akkadien *napalsuhu*, si on y voit la position agenouillée, assise sur les talons, genoux à terre ou genoux en l'air, en tous cas les jambes complètement repliées autour des genoux serrés, avec une tension semblable à celle du tissu autour de l'ensouple ; c'est la position qu'adoptent les invités de moindre rang au repas royal (LAFONT 1985, 167). On pourrait y voir aussi la position assise en tailleur, où les jambes sont aussi pliées, mais l'analogie serait moins satisfaisante.

Il est possible que le sens 'dépendant, subordonné' dans *lú-DUN-a* (Attinger, Glossaire, p. 312) dérive lui aussi du sens originel que nous avons essayé d'éclairer, un peu comme on dit « homme du rang » (militaire sans grade).



Fig. 1. Le signe GANA₂

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11) A note on *paqādum* and *ašārum* in an Old Assyrian letter — In a letter sent en route from Aššur to Kaneš, a transporter named Šarrum-Adad informs the merchant Aššur-nādā that he is delivering a shipment to him. This shipment, entrusted to Šarrum-Adad by Aššur-nādā's father, Aššur-idī, consists of two talents and ten minas of tin, three black donkeys and some *kutānum*-textiles.¹⁾ Šarrum-Adad does not specify the number of textiles and explains this omission as follows: *ina maḥrīa ula išku<n>²⁾ munūssunu ula īde* “(Aššur-idī) did not put (them) before me, so I do not know their number” (POAT 3, ll. 10–12). According to M.T. Larsen, Aššur-idī and Šarrum-Adad made “a last-minute deal agreed to just before sunrise,” and “in his hurry Assur-idī did not clearly explain to Šarrum-Adad precisely how many textiles were packed in the saddlebags on the donkey's back.”³⁾ Šarrum-Adad promises Aššur-nādā: *ina kārem ašar nerrubu šubātē ašallah-ma apaqqid-ma munūssunu ašapparakkum* “In the (first) colony we enter I shall take out the textiles, ... and write their number to you” (ll. 6–10). We should probably conclude that the bags were sealed and could only legitimately be opened in an Assyrian colony under the supervision of local officials.

The verb *paqādum* in the passage cited above presents difficulties. Larsen translates *apaqqid* as “I shall entrust them,” supposing that Aššur-idī and Šarrum-Adad “had agreed that he [scil. Šarrum-Adad] should take the textiles out of their packing material when he reached an Assyrian colony, entrust them to an agent and write to Assur-nada how many textiles were involved.”⁴⁾ This understanding, however, is unlikely for several reasons. First, when *paqādum* means “to entrust,” the recipient of the action is usually specified (cf. *ipqidam* “he [scil. Aššur-idī] entrusted to me” in l. 6). The bare form *apaqqid* “I shall entrust,” without an expressed indirect object, seems grammatically incomplete. Second, there is no obvious reason for Šarrum-Adad to hand over a portion of the consignment already entrusted to him to an unnamed third party. Moreover, this scenario is contradicted by a letter from Aššur-idī to his sons Aššur-nādā and Aššur-taklāku, which appears to refer to the same shipment (CCT 3, 4).⁵⁾ In that letter, Aššur-idī informs his sons of the exact number of textiles and explicitly states that the goods will be delivered by none other than Šarrum-Adad himself.⁶⁾

More likely, *paqādum* here means “to count”: “I shall take out the textiles, count (them), and write their number to you.” To be sure, this meaning is so far reliably attested for *paqādum* only in late lexical lists.⁷⁾ Yet, even if one prefers the more general and well-established meaning “to inspect,” there can be little doubt that, in the present context, “to inspect” would be practically indistinguishable from “to count.”

This interpretation helps clarify another passage in POAT 3. In the second part of his letter, Šarrum-Adad speaks of seventeen minas of tin given to him by Aššur-idī to cover travel expenses: *umma Aššur-idī-ma 17 MA.NA AN.NA immuttātem šakin aqqātka liqe* “Aššur-idī said (to me): ‘Seventeen minas of tin are placed in the half-packs; take it for your expenses’” (ll. 14–17). He then adds: *a-ša-ar-ma zakūssa ašapparakkum* (ll. 18–19). Larsen interprets the first word in this sentence as the conjunction *ašar*⁸⁾ and translates: “But as I write you the final account...”⁹⁾ However, with Gwaltney and Kouwenberg, we think it more likely that *a-ša-ar* stands for the 1st person singular present of *ašārum* “to muster; check.” Gwaltney renders *ašārum* in l. 18 as “to watch over”;¹⁰⁾ likewise, Kouwenberg understands it as “to take care of.”¹¹⁾ We propose that *ašārum* is used here in the sense of “to check,” thus serving as a near-synonym of *paqādum* “to inspect; count” in l. 9: “I shall check it and send you a detailed account.” Šarrum-Adad probably means that his knowledge of the amount of tin intended for his expenses is based solely on Aššur-idī's words. At the moment of writing, the tin is still in sealed bags, and he is therefore unable to confirm its actual weight. Apparently, he plans to check (*ašārum*) the weight of the tin at the same time as he will count (*paqādum*) the textiles — namely, when the bags are officially opened and their contents verified in an Assyrian colony.

Notes

1. Gwaltney, W.C., *The Pennsylvania Old Assyrian Texts*, HUCA Suppl. 3, Cincinnati, 1983, p. 10, Pa. 3, ll. 3–4. The copy in *HUCA* 39, p. 7, reads 3 GU₂ 10 MA.NA AN.NA and 3 ANŠE^{bi.a}. Seeking to harmonize the figures in this letter with those in CCT 3, 4 (discussed below), Larsen reads 2¹ GU₂ 10 MA.NA AN.NA and 2¹ ANŠE^{bi.a} (Larsen, M.T., *The Aššur-nādā Archive*, PIHANS 96, Leiden, 2002, p. 144). While the first emendation is confirmed by the photograph in CDLI (P361116), the latter is not. Gwaltney (op. cit.) reads 3² GU₂ 10 MA.NA AN.NA and 3 ANŠE^{bi.a}.

2. Following Larsen (op. cit.), we derive this form from the verb *šakānum*, probably used here in the sense of “to pack, to put in a package” (CAD Š/1 124b, mng. 1h–1'). Note, however, that both the copy and the photograph suggest that the sign following IŠ is KU rather than MA as deciphered by Larsen, who emends *iš-ma* to *iš<-ku>-ma*. Since this sign is the final character on the last line of the obverse and is written partly on the edge of the tablet, the

omission of the sign UN (*iš-ku<-un>*) may be due to lack of space. Alternatively, *iš-ku(-)mu-nu-su₂-nu* may represent external sandhi: *iškum(-)munūssunu < iškun munūssunu*.

3. Larsen, M.T., *Ancient Kanesh: A Merchant Colony in Bronze Age Anatolia*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 172.

4. Ibid. In a similar vein, Gwaltney translates “I will entrust (them)” and suggests that “‘the entrustment’ meant in line 9 is an investment of the textiles for profit with an unnamed person” (op. cit., p. 11).

5. See Larsen, *The Aššur-nādā Archive*, pp. 55, 145; idem, *Ancient Kanesh*, pp. 172–173. Admittedly, there are certain discrepancies between the two letters regarding the goods received by Šarrum-Adad. Most notably, Šarrum-Adad speaks of three donkeys, while Aššur-idī (assuming the copy in CCT 3, 4 is correct) mentions only two (cf. note 1 above). Furthermore, Šarrum-Adad is aware only of *kutānum*-textiles, whereas in his letter Aššur-idī also lists other types of textiles (see the following note). Finally, Šarrum-Adad refers to 2/3 mina of silver provided by Aššur-idī for his expenses (POAT 3, ll. 13–14); this silver does not appear in Aššur-idī’s letter.

6. The passage in CCT 3, 4 describing the shipment to be transported by Šarrum-Adad reads as follows: 2 GU₂ 10 MA.NA AN.NA *kunukkū* 2 ANŠE^{bi-a} *šallāmū* 30 TUG₂ *kutānū* 4 TUG₂ *šūrūtum* *ša liwītem kabūtūm* 17 MA.NA AN.NA *aqqātīšu addin* 1 TUG₂ *raqqutum* 1 TUG₂ *ša Tatūr-ālišša* 1 TUG₂ *ša Ilšu-rabi mimma anniem Šarrum-Adad ublakkunūti* “Two talents and ten minas of tin under seal; two black donkeys; thirty *kutānum*-textiles; four heavy *šūrūm*-textiles for wrapping; seventeen minas of tin I gave him for his expenses; one thin textile, one textile from Tatūr-ālišša, and one textile from Ilšu-rabi—all this Šarrum-Adad has brought to you” (ll. 5–13). The use of the preterite *ublakkunūti* indicates that Aššur-idī assumes the shipment has already been delivered. The reading 17 MA.NA AN.NA in l. 9 follows the copy and agrees with the seventeen minas of tin mentioned in Šarrum-Adad’s letter (POAT 3, l. 15). Cf. Larsen, *The Aššur-nādā Archive*, p. 54, where the figure in CCT 3, 4, l. 9 is read as “16*.”

7. See the following lexical entries: *šid du₃ = paqādu ša minūti* (Antagal E ii 31’, see MSL 17, 211); *paqādu = manū ša mīni* (*Malku = šarru* IV 90, see Hrūša, I., *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru: Eine Textedition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, AOAT 50, Münster, 2010, S. 98; cf. also CT 18, 18, K. 4587 ii 3). The meaning “to count” for *paqādum* may be further corroborated by the corresponding meanings of several of its Semitic cognates (see Kogan, L., Krebernik, M. (eds.), *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian*, Vol. 1/1, Boston/Berlin, 2020, p. 179).

8. On *ašar* used as a conjunction in Old Assyrian, see Kouwenberg, N.J.C., *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, HdO 118, Leiden/Boston, 2017, pp. 381–382.

9. Larsen, *The Aššur-nādā Archive*, p. 145.

10. Gwaltney, op. cit., p. 11: “I will watch (over it) and I will send word to you (of) its condition.”

11. Kouwenberg, op. cit., p. 382, fn. 25.

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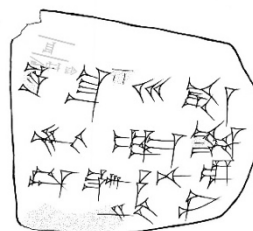
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12) Une nouvelle mention du nom d’année ‘MU BAD₃ GIBIL du-un-nu-um MU.DU₃’ du roi Šū-Amurram du Malgum —

1. Au gré d’une recherche d’images sur internet de « bulles » et d’« étiquettes » pour illustrer un cours, une tablette cunéiforme a attiré mon attention. Les photographies de la face et du revers sont en ligne, en accès libre (URL reproduite ci-dessous). Un commentaire décrit l’objet comme une « bulla » aux dimensions suivantes : 4,9 × 5,5 × 1,7 cm. La localisation actuelle de cette tablette n’est pas précisée. D’après les photographies, il s’agit d’un document administratif et comptable relatif à la gestion d’ovins, modelé sur une corde et scellé par divers sceaux-cylindres. En raison de ses caractéristiques formelles et de son contenu textuel, ce document est comparable à ceux publiés dans MAYR 2012 et NABU 2020/10. D’autres tablettes de ce type ont été éditées, sans qu’aucune photographie ni copie n’en ait été publiée (voir CUSAS 40 et ZA 111). Ce document ne semble pas avoir été repéré par ailleurs.

Ci-dessous la translittération de la nouvelle tablette effectuée d’après les photographies disponibles (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/583113712191538/posts/1228984860937750/>, consulté le 19 février 2026) Dimensions : 4,9 × 5,5 × 1,7 cm.

- f.1. ʾ1 SILA₄¹ UDU 2 SILA₄
2. BA.UŠ₂
3. KI *i-pi₂-iq-nu-nu*
- r.4. ITI ŠU^(x)EŠ.ŠA
5. MU BAD₃ GIBIL
6. *du-un-nu-um*
7. ʾMU¹.DU₃



Ce document, probablement originaire d'Irisağrig est daté, conformément à l'usage des tablettes post-Ur III de ce site, par un nom de mois issu du calendrier d'Ur : ITI ŠU.EŠ.ŠA, mois ix. Le texte s'achève par le nom d'année **'MU BAD₃ GIBIL / du-un-nu-um / MU.DU₃'** qui est déjà attesté par MAYR 2012, n°6 (pour la relecture du nom d'année sur MAYR 2012, n°6 voir *NABU* 2020/10, et la translittération révisée ainsi que les photographies de ce document sont présentées ci-dessous). Ce nom d'année est attribué à Šū-Amurru du Malgum, fils de Nabi-Enlil, dont le règne est vraisemblablement à situer au cours de la première moitié du 20^e siècle av. J.-C.

Sur les photographies disponibles, les empreintes de sceaux-cylindres restent difficilement lisibles. On distingue néanmoins, sur la face, quelques traces de signes qui paraissent correspondre au cartouche du sceau K dans MAYR 2012 (sceau de Warad-Enlil, serviteur de Šū-Amurru). Au revers, les traces situées à proximité du signe ITI pourraient également correspondre à une portion du cartouche du sceau I dans MAYR 2012 (sceau de Sîn-bāni, serviteur de Šū-Amurru), comme on l'observe aussi dans MAYR 2012, n° 6.

Ce nouveau document permet de restituer intégralement le nom du responsable, *i-pi₂-iq-nu-nu*, qui était partiellement conservé dans MAYR 2012, n°6, ainsi que dans *NABU* 2020/10, n°11 (noter que ce dernier est daté par le nom d'année **MU BAD₃ GIBIL / du-nu-um^{ki} / MU.DU₃** variante de **MU BAD₃ GIBIL / du-un-nu-um / MU.DU₃**).

2. Les photographies de MAYR 2012 n°6, transmises par R. H. Mayr, combinées au nouveau document, permettent de proposer certaines améliorations :

MAYR 2012, n°6 [58-06-075] (Archibab 15836), dimension : 4,7 × 4,2 × 1,8 cm

- f.1. 1 'UDU¹
2. 'BA¹.UŠ₂
3. 'KI¹ *i-pi₂-iq-nu^{*}1-[nu^{*}]*
- r. 4. 'ITI ZE₂^{*}.DA.GU₇
5. 'MU BAD₃^{*}1 GIBIL^{*}
6. *du-un-nu-um*
7. MU.DU₃^{*}



(Dimensions et photographies transmises par R. H. Mayr, qu'il en soit vivement remercié)

L'examen de la photographie du revers de MAYR 2012, n°6 montre que le premier signe du nom de mois doit être lu ZE₂ au lieu de ŠEŠ¹. La graphie ITI ZE₂.DA.GU₇ est ailleurs attestée dans au moins deux autres documents (CUSAS 40 1996 et CUSAS 40 2075 ; pour ce dernier : ITI ZE₂^{*}.DA.GU₇ au lieu de ITI AD¹⁹.DA.GU₇). Il s'agit d'une variante de ITI ZAḫ_x(šeš).DA.GU₇, forme usuelle dans les documents post-Ur III d'Irisağrig. Parmi les documents datés des rois d'Ur III, un seul document, HAR 3/2, n°44 (ŠŠ 8) dit provenant de Puzriš-Dagan, atteste la variante ITI ZE₂.DA.GU₇. Pour les variantes orthographiques les plus courantes dans les documents datés des rois d'Ur III, telles que ITI ZAḫ_x(šeš).DA.GU₇, ITI ZAḫ_x(šaḫ₂).DA.GU₇, ITI ZAḫ_x(šaḫ₂).ZE₂.DA.GU₇, on se reportera à Cohen 2015, 92-96.

En conclusion, le nouveau document présenté dans cette note vient étayer l'hypothèse formulée dans *NABU* 2020/10, selon laquelle au moins trois noms d'année de Šū-Amurru se rapportent à la localité de Dunnum, proposition qui ne semble pas avoir été retenue dans ZA 111. Par ordre chronologique, le nom d'année **MU (BAD₃) du-un-nu-um^{ki} (ŠA₃) GU₂ I₇-IDIGNA BA.ḫUL**, commémorant la destruction de Dunnum, est attesté par sept documents datés des mois iv, v, vii et viii (voir ZA 111, 32). L'année suivante, **MU US₂.SA du-un-nu-um^{ki} BA.ḫUL**, n'est connue que par un seul document, daté du mois v (MAYR 2012, n°5). Enfin, le nom d'année célébrant la reconstruction de Dunnum, **MU BAD₃ GIBIL du(-un)-nu^(ki) MU.DU₃**, est attesté par trois documents (MAYR 2012, n° 6-mois iii ; *NABU* 2010/10, n°11-nom de mois perdu et le présent document-mois ix).

Il convient de souligner qu'aucun élément ne permet d'affirmer avec certitude que la reconstruction de Dunnum ait immédiatement suivi l'année **MU US₂.SA du-un-nu-um^{ki} BA.ḫUL**. À ce

jour, au moins deux autres noms d'année sont attribués à Šū-Amurru (voir *NABU* 2020/10 et *ZA* 111, 32), mais il demeure difficile de déterminer avec précision la place des événements que ces deux noms d'année commémorent dans la chronologie de son règne.

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13) *ēš rāmī šuqur* (MAH 16056) — En mémoire de Brigitte Groneberg je reviens aujourd'hui une dernière fois sur la tablette du musée de Genève MAH 16056 (P424004) que j'avais collationnée il y a près de trente ans pour aider Brigitte à préparer son édition de 1999, remplacée aujourd'hui par celle de N. Wasserman (2016, no. 6), sans oublier la traduction partielle donnée par B. Foster (2003, p. 165–166). Même quand je suis resté dans l'incertitude, je donne ma lecture sous forme concise et aussi claire que possible en me limitant aux passages complets. La disposition du premier texte en paragraphes de cinq lignes ne semble pas correspondre à une structure poétique.

Premier texte :

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| i 1 : <i>ēš rāmī šuqur</i> | — « Où est (allé) mon amour ? <<Il est>> si cher ! |
| i 2 : <i>u naši inibšū</i> | — « Est-il (toujours) chargé de ses fruits ? » |
| i 3 : <i>ṣqū²-ul³ ú-ma</i> | — « Fais attention ! Je le jure ! |
| i 4 : <i>kīma hašhūri a[r]-¹ma¹-ni</i> | Comme un abricotier (un pommier <i>armannum</i>) |
| i 5 : <i>mali rišātim mu-¹dam¹-m[i-q]</i> | mon bienfaisant est plein de joies » |

On semble avoir un échange de répliques : la jeune fille parle à un homme, j'imagine un petit frère. À la ligne 4 il faut lire a[r]-¹ma¹-ni, avec Groneberg.

i 6–7 : *rāmī aššēri uštāšia u abī wa-ši* (avec Foster)

« Mon amour a dû sortir au désert, à mon regret (ventif), alors que mon père est sorti » (et que j'aurais été libre de faire entrer mon amoureux !)

i 8–10 : *šḫātīja alammi u sukanninu uštēli*

« Je voulais *essayer d'attraper*² mes délices, mais la colombe s'est envolée » (littéralement a été poussée à s'élever)

L'expression la plus difficile est *šḫātīja alammi* (i 8), qui revient à la deuxième personne *šḫātīja talammi* dans la phrase suivante (i 13). Le verbe *lawû* 'entourer, encercler', qu'on retrouve peut-être à la l. 20, pourrait avoir ici le sens concret de 'faire le tour (de l'arbre, du jardin ?) pour chercher les fruits (les 'rires' que je rends par 'délices', suivant Wasserman)', ou peut-être 'mettre en rond, faire un cercle de, envelopper, emballer' (dans un pli du vêtement ?). Mais tourner autour de quelque chose peut vouloir dire 'tenter de prendre', comme dans *lāmi iššūri* « qui cherche à attraper l'oiseau » (Théodécée 160), qui me semble convenir ici. Ce développement de sens est mieux attesté pour *saḫāru* 'tourner en rond ; chercher'.

i 11–15 : *rāmī ša šēri ḥabbilū* / ¹²*literrūnimma* / ¹³*šḫātīja ta²-la-am-mi* / ¹⁴*u nukarribu* / ¹⁵*liblam*

« Mon amour, les brigands du désert pourraient me le ramener et tu pourrais *essayer d'attraper*² mes délices, mais le jardinier pourrait aussi me (les) apporter ... »

Si *talammī* est bien lu, on a ici encore un dialogue implicite.

i 16-20 : *quppī addi eṭ-la-am-[ma] / ¹⁷u sukannina / ¹⁸luṣbat / ¹⁹ša ṣṭḫātija / ²⁰an-na ù še¹.lu¹⁷ ú-ma al-la-ḡam²-mi²¹ [(...?)]*

« J'ai posé ma cage pour attraper le garçon et la colombe ; on a fait s'envoler celui qui faisait mes délices, oui ! Et je serai attrapé³ (entourée) ... » (??)

Pour la ligne 20, la plus difficile, j'ai essayé de limiter les corrections à l'original : je lis še¹.lu², et non tu comme Groneberg et Wasserman (comparer tu iv 5') ; à la rigueur še¹ba¹⁷ (*epuru* ?), mais le ba ne serait pas très bon. Le tout reste d'autant plus obscur que la fin de la ligne n'est pas claire !

...

Quatrième texte :

iv 6-8 : *[eg]irre šulmīka u dār balāṭika lišrukku Eštar Ammiditana*

« Qu'Ishtar t'accorde des signes présageant pour toi santé et longue vie, Ammiditana ! »

iv 9-11 : *edišma balṭāta / ra'tmtum libši illibbīka / iddamiqtim šūqirši*

« Va vers une nouvelle vie ! » (littéralement 'rénope-toi et tu vivras !'). « Que la bien aimée soit présente en ton cœur ! Honore-la en (en disant, en lui faisant du) bien »

iv 12-14 : *limdā limdā šit'alā / ma-a-šu el¹-šū in-bu¹-ú-ja / u šeḫer rāmī*

— « Apprenez ! Apprenez ! Réfléchissez !

Les jumeaux, mes fruits, sont épanouis, mais mon amour est si petit ! ».

Le thème des seins qui se développent est présent aussi dans la poésie sumérienne : i-da-lam gaba-me ba-gub-gub « voici que nos poitrines se dressent » (Dumuzi-Inana C 39).

Collations

MAH 16056

i 4:

i 20: ú-ma-al-la

i 20:

iv 13:

(cf. l. i 14)

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14) „Wollzupfen der Männer“? - Was bedeutet tappištu? — Stefan Bojowald zieht einen an sich schönen Vergleich zwischen „Wollzupfen der Männer“ *tappišti zikrī* YOS X 26 ii 36 (nicht 26) nach AHw 1321 und einer Wendung in einem frühmittelalterlichen Text, *NABU* 2025/48. Glassner interpretiert hingegen: *ta-ap-pi-iš-ti sé-ek-r[e-tim]* „cardage de la laine pour une fem[me] de harem“ ZA 99, 69; 74. Fraglich ist aber auch *tappištu(m)* „Wollzupfen“, denn von Soden kann sich nur auf die mutmaßliche Etymologie *napāšu(m)* II „(Wolle) auszupfen“ und die völlig unklare Gleichung *túg-kéš-da-dù-a = ša ina tappišti nadû* stützen. Sonst wird *kéš(-d)* nicht für „auszupfen“, sondern für *kašāru* „zusammenfügen“, *ra-kāsu* „zusammenbinden“ gebraucht. Auch die Wiedergabe von *dù* mit *nadû* ist sehr speziell. CAD stellt YOS X 26 ii 36 zu *tappištu* A spillway(?). Etwas wodurch Wasser überlaufen kann.

Die Nominalform *taprīst* bildet nach GAG §561: „Nomina actionis zum D-Stamm, vergegenständlichte Bedeutung nur vereinzelt“. Ableiten kann man das Wort von *napāšu* I D „weit machen“. Wasser, das Überläuft ergießt sich in die Weite. Die Alternative *napāšu* II D ist erst spät und nur lexikalisch belegt. Vor allem aber sind sowohl *tappištu* als auch *napāšu* I D mit Kanälen belegt, während *napāšu* II in G, D und N nichts mit Wasser zu tun hat.

Man kann einwenden, dass *taprīst* auch Ableitungen vom G-Stamm kennt. GAG³ §561* mit den Beispielen *tappīlātum* „Ausgleichszahlung“ (nach SAD *tappiltu*) und *tēnītum* „Ablösung“, denen Gabbay, HES 1, 6 noch *takribtu* „Gebet“ oder besser „Klage- und Bittgesang“ hinzufügt, statt der üblichen

Umschrift *taqribtu*. Der Bezug zum D-Stamm wird durch den Infinitiv des II. Stammes im Arabischen *tafīl* im Semitischen scheinbar verankert. Doch *tafīl* unterscheidet sich von der Bildung des Infinitivs anderer Stämme im Arabischen und von den Infinitiven anderer D-Stämme in semitischen Sprachen. Vergleiche Kouwenberg, *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*, 400-402, wo auch Beispiele für Ableitungen von Gt genannt werden. Kouwenberg weist darauf hin, dass das Paradigma *taprVs* durch die Bildung von Formen mit Infix *t* bei Bildungen zu Gt abgelöst wurde. Warum *taprīs/t* dann häufiger für Bildungen zu D als zu G gebraucht wurde, bedarf noch der Untersuchung.

Jedenfalls trifft die in GAG notierte Regel in vielen Fällen zu und auch bei *tappištu* kommt man damit sehr gut hin. Beachte die assoziative „Logik“ des Omens YOS X 26 ii 35f.: [MAŠ *i-n*]a *i-mi-it-ti* KÁ É.GAL *pi-il-šum ip-lu-uš-ma* ¹*e-le*¹*nu-um uš-t[e-e]b-ri ta-ap-pi-iš-ti sé-ek-r[i]* „Wenn auf der rechten Seite des ‚Palasttores‘ eine ‚Bresche‘ gebrochen ist und sie sich oben fortsetzt: Überlaufen des eingedämmten“. Siehe auch ARM 14, 18, 5-7: *i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma ḥa-bu-ur im-la-a-am aš-šum ta-ap-pi-èš-tim ša ḥa-bu-ur er-re-tam* SUMUN *i-na qa-tim-ma ú-še-še-er* „früher wenn der Habur anschwell habe ich wegen des Überlaufens des Habur selbst den alten Damm in Ordnung gebracht“. Es gibt *tappištu* auch als etwas was man öffnen kann und was auch im Plural vorkommt. Dies dürfte ein Notabfluss (Überlauf) sein, worin man eine „vergegenständlichte Bedeutung“ zum Nomen actionis sehen kann. Bei *túg-kéš-da-dù-a* kann man sich fragen, ob nicht vielleicht ein Fehler für *ḡeš-kéš-da* = *erretu* „(mit Holzgeflecht verstärkter) Uferdamm“ vorliegt. Das Lemma fehlt in CAD. Siehe aber AHW 244, Sjöberg TCS 3, 135; Behrens FAOS 6, 75f. (Stauwehr), RINAP 2, 65, 210 (Frame anders), ARM 14, 12; 14; 18. Außerdem meint *ḡeš-kéš-da* = *tašliltu* „Bedachung“. Wahrscheinlich wurden Querhölzer auf Balken gelegt, mit Zweigen verflochten und mit Lehm abgedichtet. Ähnlich darf man sich solche Geflechte wohl auch an Dämmen denken.

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[NDLR. Pour *tappištum*, voir H. Reculeau, *Florilegium marianum XVI. L'agriculture irriguée au royaume de Mari. Essai d'histoire des techniques*, Mémoires de NABU 21, Paris, 2018, p. 284-286.]

15) Wassermann und Stier und eine Anmerkung zum Raben in Innana und Šukaletuda — Astrid Nunn hat in *NABU* 2019/17 das Fragment eines „Monsters“ en face auf einem Wandgemälde aus Mari als „sechshöckigen Helden“ bzw. „*lahmu*“ gedeutet. Hinter der mit gespreizten Armen abgebildeten Gestalt sind weiße Punkte auf schwarzem Grund zu sehen. Oben ist die Szene von einem Halbbogen eingerahmt, als würde man durch ein Fenster blicken, aber vielleicht wäre Torbogen die bessere Assoziation. Die Punkte erinnern an Sterne. Man blickt hinaus in die Nacht. Nunn und noch entschiedener Natalie May in *NABU* 2019/63 plädieren ebenfalls für Sterne. May identifiziert das Monster mit der von Edith Porada 1987 als Riesen und Sternbild ^{mul}GU.LA = Aquarius identifizierten Gestalt. Ausgehend von Nunn identifiziert May einen schwarzen Stier auf der anderen Seite des Wandgemäldes mit dem Sternbild des Stieres: ^{mul}GU₄(.AN.NA) = Taurus.

In May 2023 geht May noch einmal auf das Wandgemälde ein und auf den Stier auf dem „Erlenmeyer-Siegel“. Auf dem Siegel sind zu sehen: Die Schriftzeichen ¹AN¹.U₄ SIG.AN, dann das Schilfringbündel der Innana, eine Scheibe mit zwei Griffen, was an das Schriftzeichen EZEN „Fest“ erinnert und sodann ein Stier und über ihm drei Sterne. May sieht auch die Sterne als Schriftzeichen und liest sie MUL „Stern“, „Plejaden“ (zu Einzelheiten Keetman 2025, 11f.). Die Plejaden stehen beim Sternbild des Stieres. Anscheinend spielt die Abbildung auf ein Fest der aufgehenden und untergehenden Innana (Venus) und den heliakischen Aufgang des Stieres an.

Es besteht die Gefahr, dass wir Sternbilder etwas anders definieren als im antiken Mesopotamien. Doch wir können auf den Text von MUL.APIN zurückgreifen. CT 33, BM 86378 ii 38f.: ina ITU GU₄ U₄ 1-KAM MUL.MUL IGI.LÁ ina ITU GU₄ U₄ 20-KAM MUL is le-e IGI.LÁ „Monat Ajaru: am 1. Tag werden die Plejaden gesehen. Monat Ajaru: am 20. Tag wird der Kiefer des Stieres gesehen“. Ebd. iii 10: ina ITU ZÍZ U₄ 5-KAM ^{mul}GU.LA AŠ.IKU u ^{mul}lu-lim IGI.MEŠ „Monat Šabātu: am 5 Tag werden der Riese, das Feld und der Hirsch gesehen“. Ajaru ist der zweite Monat des Jahres und Šabātu der 11. Monat. Das älteste Manuskript von MUL.APIN datiert auf 687, die Beobachtungen könnten aber etwas älter sein, aber jünger als Astrolab B (Watson/Horowitz 2011, 3-6). Es ergibt sich in etwa der Zeitraum zwischen

1000 und 750. Das Erlenmeyer-Siegel ist etwa um 3000 anzusetzen. Wegen der Präzession der Ekliptik verschiebt sich die Position der Fixsterne in 2000 Jahren um gut 28 Tage im Sonnenjahr weiter. Einen Einfluss auf die heliakische Sichtung hat auch die Tageslänge. Am mutmaßlichen Beobachtungsort (Babylon 32,5°, Uruk 31,3° Nord) ist der Effekt aber nicht entscheidend. Also fiel der heliakische Aufgang des Stieres etwas vor 3000 in etwa in den Frühlingspunkt. Das mag die Bedeutung dieses Festes erklären. Entsprechend verschiebt sich das Erscheinen des Riesen an den Anfang des 10. Monats, also in den Dezember. Der Riese erscheint dann in der Zeit des einsetzenden Winterregens. Dies erklärt warum der Riese immer wieder mit Wasser abgebildet wird und bis heute der Wassermann/Aquarius geblieben ist.

Auf der Rekonstruktion des Wandgemäldes in Mari ist als erstes Element neben dem nächtlichen Riesen ein überlaufender Aryballos zu sehen. Dies würde gut zum Riesen passen. Doch was dazwischen ist, ist unklar und man mag auch an der Rekonstruktion eines frei schwebenden Gefäßes zweifeln. Der Bildstreifen und der darüber haben oben eine Schlangenlinie, die als Wasser zu deuten ist. Unter dem Bildstreifen besteht die Begrenzung jedoch aus einem Rautenband. D. h. das Wasser ist als oben und mithin als Regenwasser zu denken.

Der Stier schreitet auf Bergen, so wie auch Šamaš auf akkadischen Siegeln aus den Bergen kommt. Also ist der heliakisch aufgehende Stier gemeint. Als Anfang und Ende könnten Riese und Stier die Winterzeit, die zugleich Regenzeit ist, einrahmen und mithin symbolisieren.

Das Erlenmeyer-Siegel und die Verbindung des Riesen mit dem Winterregen setzen genauere Sternbeobachtungen bereits am Ende des 4. Jahrtausends voraus. Auch die Gegenüberstellung eines Festes der aufgehenden Innana als Morgen- und als Abendstern setzt voraus, dass man erkannt hat, dass es sich um den gleichen Stern handelt, was keineswegs trivial ist. Die Verbindung eines Festes mit dem Stier und den Plejaden spricht sehr dafür, dass man die notwendige Korrektur des Mondjahres bereits mit Hilfe von Sternbeobachtungen vornahm. Dazu stand außerdem nur die Wasseruhr zur Verfügung, die aber erst in altbabylonischer Zeit belegt ist (Hunger 1980-83).

In ihrer Analyse von Innana und Šukaletuda (IŠ, Katz 2025) hat Katz wie andere vor ihr keine spezifische Erklärung für den Auftritt des Raben – a-ba-a igi im-mi-in-du_g. Hier soll auf einen Zusammenhang hingewiesen werden, der Teil einer Erklärung sein könnte: MUL.APIN, BM 86378 Vs. ii 45: ina ^{itu}KIN U₄ 15-KAM ^{mul}NUN^{ki} u ^{mul}UGA^{mušen} IGI.BAR „Im Monat Ulūlu, am 15. Tag werden der Stern von Eridu (Canopus) und der Rabe (Corvus) gesehen“. Der Monat Ulūlu, etwa September ist der Monat der Innana und zugleich die Zeit in der Datteln reif werden. Mit Enki tritt in IŠ ein Rabe, der Wasser schöpft und sich um die Dattelpalmen kümmert auf. Innana ist die Hauptperson. Als Sternbild kümmert sich der Rabe um die Wasserschlange, Hydra und ist so bereits in TCL 6 Pl. 25 abgebildet. Ein später Nachklang könnte die Erzählung vom Raben als Wasserbringer und dem Feigenbaum bei Ovid sein (Fasti II 243-66). Zumindest wiederholt sich das Motiv des Raben als Wasserversorger. Der Untergang des Rabensterns fällt dann in etwa in die Zeit, in der man ein Beet bestellt.

Innans Rolle in IŠ hat ohnehin astrale Bezüge: Šukaletuda betrachtet eingehend den Sternenhimmel, Innana zieht am Himmel umher und ihr Verschwinden vom Himmel leitet die wichtigste Episode, nämlich ihre Vergewaltigung ein. Für eine genauere Ausarbeitung Cooley 2008.

Innana tritt mit einem Raben bereits in SF 40 iv 15; 17 auf. In v 1 wird der Abzu erwähnt und Enki vielleicht bereits in der Lücke am Ende von iv. Ein direkter Zusammenhang mit IŠ besteht aber nicht, schon weil Innana nicht die Hauptperson von SF 40 ist und auch andere Vögel vorkommen.

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16) An Alternative Interpretation of ARM 26, 195: 16 (= ARM 33, 59: 16) — Originally published in DOSSIN 1967 (*ARM* 10, 53) and later by DURAND 1988 (*ARM* 26/1) and 2019 (*ARM* 33, 59), this letter contains a short (16 lines) and broken message from Addu-dūri to Zimri-Lim in which the former shares the word of the prophet Iši-aḫū, which he spoke in the temple of the goddess Ḫišamītum. Lines 8-16 contain the message of Iši-aḫū, and lines 8-15 provide the context for the line of interest:¹⁾

ARM 26, 195: 8-15 (=ARM 33, 59:8-15)

Obv.8 [i-n]a wa-ar-ki-ka-ma [a-ka-a]l-ka i-ka-lu 10 [ù k]a-as-ka Rev. [i-š]a-tu-ú 12 [it-t]i-ka la dam-qa-a-tim [ù le]m-né-e-tim 14 [LÚ.MEŠ b]e-el a-wa-ti-ka [uš-te-n]é-šú-ú	Obv.8 [Sin]ce your departure, they have been eating your [foo]d 10 [and] your [dr]ink Rev. [they have] been drinking. 12 Your [adversa]ries [have been spr]eading 14 not good [and evil] things [about] you.
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Durand (1988: 421-422) correctly observes that this letter describes the illicit expenses certain of the kings servants were making in his absence. According to this letter, the prophet claims to have received a message from the goddess in which she complained about the wrongful consumption of goods (lns. 8-11) and wicked rumors that were repeatedly being made about the king (lns. 12-15). To this point and in the main, I agree with Durand (1988: 421), Heimpel (2003: 250), Nissinen (2019: 26-27) and others.

However, it is with respect to the final line of this letter (ln. 16) that I would like to suggest an alternative interpretation.

ARM 26, 195:16 (=ARM 33, 59:16)

16 [a]-na-ku-ma ka-ab-sà-ak-šú-nu-ti.

This is often understood as a “pronouncement of the enemy’s defeat” (CRAGHAN 1974: 52). As a result, it is seen as marking as strong contrast to the prior complaint (lns. 8-15) in which the goddess declares that she will bring judgment on these evildoers. Craghan (1974: 52) lists this line alongside two other texts published in *ARM* 10 in which a deity pronounces the coming defeat of an enemy in support of this interpretation (*ARM* 10, 6:4’-8’; 8:12-18). While there is some variation in scholarly opinion, this interpretation seems to have wide acceptance. But there is a significant problem with this interpretation, as it fails to adequately account for the semantics of the stative (*kabsākšunūti*) in ln. 16.

This construction has been translated as if it expresses an active, generic present situation, “[b]ut I trample them underfoot” (NISSINEN 2019: 27; similarly in DURAND 1988: 421; 2019: 160; HEIMPEL 2003: 250), and it has also been interpreted as a perfect of result: “I alone have trampled them down” (MORAN 1969: 34) or “I have crushed them [my]self” (CRAGHAN 1974: 52).²⁾ However, if the situation expressed were an active, generic present, one would expect the employment of the durative (*iparras*) and not the stative. Similarly, if it were a perfect of result, one would expect the use of the *t*-perfect (*iptaras*), as the stative (*parVs*) is not typically used in OB to express an active perfect of result.³⁾ The stative with transitive verbs typically expresses a passive, resultative situation, but these interpretations take it as active. Yet, if it were an active stative, it would not express a generic present or perfect situation; it would express a present state (“I am-in-the-state-of-having-trampled-them”). But such a reading does not seem to match the context of this letter. Additionally, the other two texts cited by Craghan (1974: 52) use the durative to express the coming (i.e., future) judgments of the gods. As a result, the use of the stative in *ARM* 26, 195:16 strongly suggests that the line does not contain a pronouncement of divine judgment.

I propose interpreting ln. 16 as a continuation of the preceding divine complaint. As such, the construction is taken to express a present, passive, resultative situation that figuratively describes the goddess' perspective of her treatment at the hands of the evil servants of Zimri-Lim: [a]nākū-ma kabsākšunūti, “[e]ven I – I am trampled by them!”⁴) This interpretation requires no semantic gymnastics for the stative and matches the extant context of the letter. Furthermore, divine complaints in the prophetic letters from Mari typically do not contain divine pronouncements of judgment or response of any kind. The gods simply complain (see, e.g., ARM 26, 215:18-21; 219:4'-10'; cf. 198:3'-14').

Notes

1. The text and reconstructions follow DURAND 1988: 421. The only difference between the reconstructions of DURAND 1988: 421 and DURAND 2019: 159 pertains to ln. 11; the latter has [a-wa-t]i-ka in place of [it-t]i-ka. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. A photo of the tablet is available on Archibab: <https://archibab.fr/img/47154M9069.jpg> (accessed 1/30/2026).

2. CAD lists this instance under 4d “to forgive, pardon a sin,” but this is not likely. A contextual interpretation inclines one toward “trample” in the sense of defeating or subjugating enemies (CAD 2b) or in a figurative sense of treating with contempt (CAD 5b).

3. Loesov (2012: 83-143) has identified a few marginal instances in which the stative is used in a construction that expresses a perfect situation.

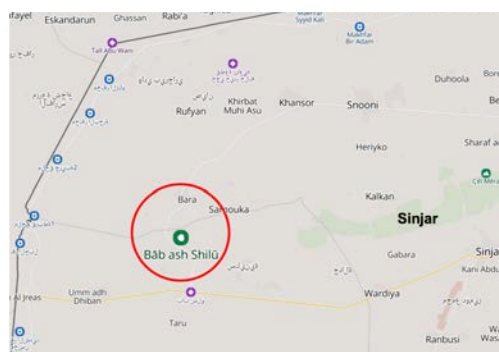
4. The acc. pron. suf. is interpreted adverbially.

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17) En marge de HIGEOMES, 5 : la passe de Kasapa — En 2004, Jean-Marie Durand avait proposé que la route permettant de franchir le Djebel Sindjar qui était contrôlée par la ville de Kasapa, corresponde au « col de Chillouh »¹⁾. Or, dans son livre de 1968, David Oates faisait allusion au « Bara gap »²⁾. J’ai pu comprendre que les deux dénominations renvoyaient à une même réalité. Le col qui sépare le Djebel Djeribe à l’ouest et le Djebel Sindjar à l’est est dénommé en arabe *Bāb aš Šilū* ou *Bāb Šilū* (باب شلو) ; il se situe à une altitude de 808 m et, lorsqu’on vient du nord, on y accède en traversant la localité de Bara. Ses coordonnées sont : 36° 20’ 0° N et 41° 29’ 0° E (voir https://iq.geoview.info/bab_ash_shilu,98231). On trouvera quelques vues des environs de Bara (Bara Khware), ainsi qu’une vidéo de 2019 qui montre très bien le col, à l’adresse : <https://maps.app.goo.gl/AEi7sX5wwu6Dey3J9>.



Notes

Cette note prolonge celles déjà écrites en marge du projet ANR/DFG « HIGEOMES », auquel je tiens à rendre hommage : c'est grâce à HIGEOMES, prolongé par TEXTELSEM, que la partie « Sites » de la base Archibab existe. Dans les faits, ma note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet PCEHM (« Pouvoir et culture écrite en Haute-Mésopotamie au 18^e siècle av. J.-C. »), financé pour 48 mois (2022-2026) par l'ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche) ; voir <https://pcehm.hypotheses.org/>.

1. J.-M. Durand, « Peuplement et sociétés à l'époque amorrite. (I) Les clans bensim'alites », dans C. Nicolle (éd.), *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Compte rendu de la XLVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 10-13 juillet 2000)*, Amurru 3, Paris, 2004, p. 111-198 (p. 134).

2. D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, Londres, 1968, p. 36 (fin de la longue n. 3). Ce livre a été réimprimé en 2005 et numérisé par le British Institute : https://www.bisi.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/northern_iraq.pdf.

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18) En marge de PCEHM, 12 : une nouvelle attestation de Mut-Pānāsi à Chagar Bazar ? — Dans *OBTCB 8* (BM 131695 ; CDLI P432487), liste non datée de livraisons de grain de 10 individus, le nom de la l. 5 avait été lu *Mutu-bana (*mu-tu-ba-na*). Cette lecture avait été mise en doute par J.-M. Durand (1991, p. 92, s.v. Eqlum-bana) et des lectures alternatives proposées. Une collation de cette tablette au British Museum m'a permis de constater qu'il y a un trou, sans doute causé par un outil lors de la découverte de ce document (cf. déjà la copie de LORETZ 1969, pl. II, n° 5). S'il n'est pas possible d'identifier le signe perdu, je me demande s'il ne faut pas lire désormais [m]u-tu-pá(BA)-n[a]-[sī]. Le recours au signe BA pour noter la valeur PA (confusion sourde/sonore) n'est pas inconnu en Haute-Mésopotamie comme le montre l'analyse par D. Charpin de l'akkadien des lettres d'Ilān-šūrā (CHARPIN 1989, p. 33a). Un nouvel exemple de cet usage dans le nord de la Mésopotamie se trouve dans les textes de Tigunānum (sur le Haut-Tigre, sur la rive gauche, aux environs de Bismil, cf. *MTT I/1*, p. 367) comme cela est rappelé dans le compte-rendu de *CUSAS 34* (2017), paru dans la *RA 111* (CHARPIN 2017). D. Charpin (2017, p. 181b) cite notamment l'exemple de la lettre de Ari-šarri à Tunip-Teššub extraite des *Lambert Folios, 7635-36* (*CUSAS 34*, p. 98-99 ; nouvelle interprétation disponible sur Archibab T22232). Nous trouvons cet usage de BA avec la lecture PÁ à la l. 12 (*pá*[BA]-*an* de *pānum*) et à la l. 21 (*pá*[BA]-*ra* de *parūm*) de ce texte.

Sur *OBTCB 8*, si l'outil utilisé a laissé des traces semblables au bas de têtes de clous, il faut noter que cela ne correspond pas à l'emplacement d'un signe cunéiforme, ni à un IM ni à un ZI qui sont tous les deux très différents sur la tablette pour IM voir la ligne 14 et pour ZI voir les lignes 9, 11 et 14. La comparaison avec la ligne 14 permet de voir la différence entre un signe ZI et un signe IM. Ces traces sont sans doute la marque de l'outil utilisé pour dégager la tablette, outil qui a laissé des traces similaires au début de la ligne (cf. photo ci-dessous).

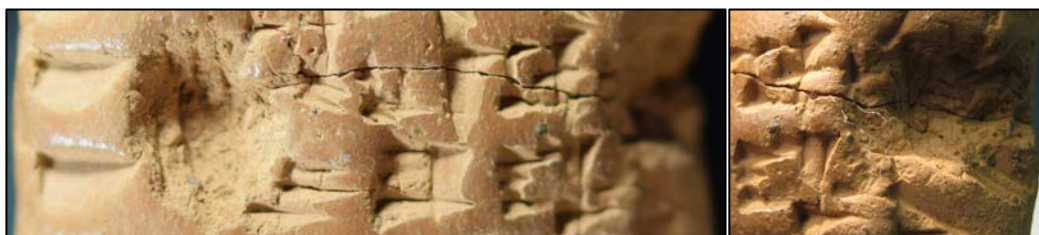


Figure 1. Détail de la face et de la tranche droite de *OBTCB 8* (BM 131695), l. 5 et 6 (Photos : © D. Lacambre)

D'autre part, les traces visibles de ce qui ressemble à un bas de signe avaient été confondues avec une fin de signe IM par l'éditeur d'*OBTCB*. De ce fait, le nom de la ligne suivante (l. 6) est à lire simplement : 'i-lu-ra-^rbi'. Cette orthographe est connue à Mē-Turān (Tell Haddad/Tell Es-Sib) d'après *Edubba 1 9* [IM 121535 ; Archibab T18834 ; CDLI P491240], l. 3 : *i-lu-ra-bi*, tablette datant de l'époque de Narām-Sîn d'Ešnunna.

Mut-Pānāsi (*mu-ut-pa-(a)-na-sī*) est un nom bien attesté dans la documentation de Mari (cf. *ARM 16/1*, p. 157 ; DURAND 1991, p. 90 s.v. Pā-Nasim ; DURAND 2008, p. 701, s.v. Pā-Nasi). Il est notamment mentionné dans **A.3562** (= DURAND 1997, p. 627, Liste C ; Archibab T21629) : col. i, 10' ([DIŠ] *mu-ut-*

pa-a-na-si). J.-M. Durand (1991, p. 90) indiquait : « La graphie constante *pa-a-na-si* pourrait indiquer d'autre part que “pâ” représente un état construit de *pûm*, nom de l’“embouchure”, variante de *pî* (babylonien) ». Il faut sans doute y rattacher les noms propres du type KA-nas/zi, J.-M. Durand proposant de lire KA avec sa valeur PI₄ : on a ainsi Qīš-pī-nasi (*qī-iš-pi₄[KA]-na-si*) ou Tūr-pī-nasi (*tu-ur-pi₄[KA]-na-si*) ; cf. DURAND 2008, p. 649, s.v. KA-naz/si avec les références.

Selon J.-M. Durand (1991, p. 90), ce NP doit faire référence à l’embouchure (*pûm*) d’un hydronyme (Nasum), sans doute un phénomène de résurgence de la Haute-Djéziré occidentale. Pour les attestations du toponyme dans la documentation de Mari, cf. *MTT I/1*, p. 327, s.v. Ša-Panazim (avec la bibliographie antérieure) où il est indiqué : « Les toponymes Panahzu, Panašum, Ša-Panašim, Ša-Panazim et Šatu-Panazim (inédit) doivent probablement renvoyer à une seule et unique localité située à proximité de Heššum [*proche de Šuduhum et du Mont Hasam (= Tektek)*] et Šuda (2) [*la plus orientale des capitales du Zalmaqum*] », c’est-à-dire plutôt dans la partie occidentale de la Haute-Djéziré. Dans ZIEGLER *et al.* 2023, p. 188, § 5.H.3, il est précisé qu’il s’agit sans doute de la région entre le wadi Zerkan et le wadi Jirjib, avec une identification de Panahzu avec « the cluster of hills at Haramiye, which lies between Viransehir and Tell Ailun » (cf. la carte dans ZIEGLER *et al.* 2023, p. 190, fig. 20). Ce site se situerait à une soixantaine de kilomètres à l’Ouest de Chagar Bazar.

Le nom propre présent sur la tablette **OBTCB 8** ferait ainsi référence à un individu qui était peut-être originaire de cette région, Mut-Pānasi voulant dire « L’homme (de la localité) de Pānasi ».

Abréviations : **ARM 16/1** : BIROT, KUPPER & ROUAULT 1979 ; **CUSAS 34** : GEORGE *et al.* 2017 ; **Edubba 1** : MUHAMED 1992 ; **MTT I/1** : ZIEGLER *et al.* 2016 ; **NP** : nom propre ; **OBTCB** : TALON 1997.

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19) SWC 1 5, a Document from Emar — Recently, K. Wagensonner published several cuneiform texts from the National Museum of World Writing Systems in Incheon, South Korea (*Cuneiform texts of the National Museum of World Writing Systems in Incheon, South Korea*, in the series *Scripts and Writing Culture*, vol. 1, 2025). The texts are available with high-quality photographs and detailed, accurate hand-copies, as we have come to expect from the author. Item no. 5 (pp. 110–113, English abstract in p. 189) is a particularly interesting administrative document, which seems to come from Emar, as indicated in the publication. The author provided a tentative reading (p. 114), which can be updated or improved in several points:

Obv. 1	1 4 ¹ ¹ zu-aš-tar-ti DUMU pu- ¹ ut ¹ -[t]i
2	1 4 ¹ DINGIR- ¹ li-AD DUMU ⁴ U-NIR ¹
3	1 4 ¹ ar-te u ² ¹ iš-ta-bu
4	1 4 ¹ im-lik- ⁴ KUR DUMU še-i- ⁴ KUR
5	[1] 4 ¹ ¹ IR- ⁴ KUR DUMU ta-ti ₄
6	[1] 4 ¹ a-bi-la- ¹ lu ¹ DUMU ⁴ KUR-[ZÁ]LAG
7	[1] ¹ 4 ¹ ¹ d30-a-bu LÚ <aš>-šur
Lo.E. 8	[1] ¹ 4 ¹ ¹ IR- ⁴ KUR DUMU ta ¹ (ša)- ¹ ti ₄ ¹
9	[1] 4 ¹ ¹ d30-ta-li DUMU eḫ- ¹ li ¹ -[i]a
Rev. 10	1 4 ¹ ia-di- ⁴ KUR ŠEŠ-šú
11	1 4 ¹ EN- ⁴ LUGAL-ma DUMU ta-e

Seal (facing upper edge)

Seal Seal (facing upper edge)

And the translation:

¹ 1 4	Zū-Aštarti, son of Pūtu.
² 1 4	Ilī-abī, son of Ba ¹ -qarrād.
³ 1 4	Arte and ² Ištabu.
⁴ 1 4	Imlik-Dagān, son of Še ² i-Dagān.
⁵ [1] 4	‘Abdi-Dagān, son of Tatu.
⁶ [1] 4	Abī-lalū, son of Dagān-[na]wārī.
⁷ [1] ¹ 4 ¹	Šaggar-abu, the man of <Aš>-šur. ²
⁸ [1] ¹ 4 ¹	‘Abdi-Dagān, son of Tatu.
⁹ [1] 4	Šaggar-talī ² , son of Eḫli[y]a.
¹⁰ 1 4	Iadi ² -Dagān, his brother.
¹¹ 1 4	Bēl-šarruma, son of Ta ² e.

The following prosopographic observations are based primarily on R. Pruzsinszky, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar*, SCCNH 13, Winona Lake 2003.

L. 1: This spelling for the personal name Pūtu was not attested (only *pu-te*, *pu-tu*, *pu-ú-tu*). The shift *-ut-tV > -ūtu* is well known in Emar, according to S. Seminara, *L'accadico di Emar*, MVS 6, Roma, p. 102–103. For a Hurrian etymology, see Th. Richter, *Vorarbeiten zu einem hurritischen Namenbuch. Erster Teil: Personennamen altbabylonischer Überlieferung vom Mittleren Euphrat und aus dem nördlichen Mesopotamien*, Wiesbaden 2016, p. 492.

L. 2: Could this Ilī-abī be the same Ilī-abī, son of ¹Zazu, attested in TBR 26: 14? (see below, l. 4).

L. 3: Arte/Ardi, with this same spelling, was attested just once in Emar (Emar VI 52: 8). It might correspond to the abbreviated name of Ar-Teššup (see this case in Pruzsinszky, *op. cit.*, p. 241 n. 157, and cf. also p. 230–231, n. 74; Y. Cohen, “Shortened Names in Emar and Elsewhere on the Basis of Cuneiform and Hittite Hieroglyphic Evidence”, in I. Singer, ed., *ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis. Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Tel Aviv 2010, p. 33). The personal name Ištabu is well known—I read the final sign as *bu*, according to the photographs (*li* in the hand-copy). This is the only line that does not fit the schema PN *mār* PN, and I am not able to establish a definitive coherent relationship between Arte/Ardi and Ištabu. Tentatively, it can be said that both of them appear on different lists of weaponry (Emar VI 44: 2, 52: 8).

L. 4: Imlik-Dagān son of Še²i-Dagān is attested in TBR 26: 11 and 21–22 (seal impression), within the dossier of Aryu. In that document, he is one of the individuals prohibited from making a claim concerning a woman enslaved for her husband’s debts.

L. 5: Note that in TBR 26: 13, another of those individuals is ‘Abdi-Dagān, son of a baker (DUMU UDUN-*nī*). It is possible that he is identical with the present ‘Abdi-Dagān s. Tatu. The personal name Tatu was so far only attested in Emar VI 124, with different spellings.

L. 6: The personal name Dagān-[na]wārī was attested twice (RE 46: 8 and 82: 20), in both cases preceded by the feminine marker.

L. 7: Šaggar-abu (well known in Emar) or maybe Sîn-abu (unattested in Emar), since the individual could be an Assyrian, if my emendation is correct. However, note that in Emar the ethnonyms are expressed as adjectives, i.e., LÚ *aš-šu-ru-ú* (see Seminara, *op. cit.*, p. 51). The toponym Aššur is always written *aš-šur* in Emar; see J. A. Belmonte Marín, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.*, RGTC 12/2, Wiesbaden 2001, p. 42.

L. 8: See comments to l. 5.

L. 11: Bēl-Šarruma has been unattested in Emar so far. Note that, unlike what is observed in the seal impressions (see below), the sign EN is easily recognizable.

Most individuals are unknown in Emar: apart from the doubtful identification of the two people mentioned in l. 3, one can recognize Imlik-Dagān son of Še'i-Dagān (l. 4), who might be clearly the same person attested in TBR 26. In any case, the anthroponymy of SWC 1 5 is typical of Emar and the Middle Euphrates region (Ekalte, Azû, etc.) during the Late Bronze Age. Additionally, two Emarite texts exhibit a very similar structure to this new document: Emar VI 64 and 65 (Syro-Hittite style, parallels suggested by F. Di Filippo, personal comm.). In both texts, the following pattern occurs repeatedly:

1 n ¹PN (*mār* PN)

The purpose of such lists is unknown. Both originate from the so-called Temple of Aštarte, where five lists (Emar VI 63–67) were recovered. But, unlike other administrative texts from Emar, none of these two parallels (Emar VI 64, 65) explicitly states its purpose. Given those matches, I suggest that SWC 1 5 may likewise come from this context.

Unlike Emar VI 64 and 65, SWC 1 5 includes at the end several impressions of the same seal, which is read ⁴LUGAL-*ma*, “Šarruma,” according to the hand-copy. However, the photographs appear to show a preceding sign—and after the sign *ma* a vertical wedge might also be visible. Within the corpus of Emar, the possibilities are limited: we know of individuals named Bēl-Šarruma in this very text (therefore, EN), Arip-Šarruma (*a-rip* or SUM), Kili-Šarruma or Tili-Šarruma (*ki-li* or *ti-li*), and Hišmi-Šarruma (*hi-iš-mi*, or even BU). None of these spellings fits the traces with certainty; the question must therefore remain open. In any case, administrative tablets were not usually sealed in Emar (aprox. 15%); in the case of lists of people, they usually bear two seal impressions—the official in charge and the scribe’s (B. Faist, “Scribal Traditions and Administration at Emar,” in L. D’Alfonso, Y. Cohen, and D. Sürenhagen, eds., *The City of Emar among the Late Bronze Age Empires: History, Landscape, and Society*, AOAT 349, Münster, p. 198). SWC 1 5 seems not to be the case.

Another striking feature is the presence of marks between the text and the seal impressions. In the photographs they appear as scratches or perhaps fingernail marks, similar to those commonly found in southern Mesopotamia in various periods (see, e.g., C. Wunsch, “Fingernail Marks on Neo-Babylonian Tablets. Their Placement, Shape, and Captions as Means to Classify and Date Tablets,” *AfO* 54, 2021, p. 159–188). I am not aware of other comparable cases in the texts from Emar—not many photographs of the corpus have been published.

Finally, another similar list is RE 62 (though of Syrian style), whose purpose also remains unclear. It may be noted that l. 1 reads (against the copy; see the comments by G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, HANE/M 2, Padova 1996, p. 82): ¹BÁN SAL KI¹.LÁ ¹še-i-EN DUMU [zu]-¹e¹-ia (on the possible patronymic, see RE 21: 27).

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20) EA 281 *ridiḫu*: Akkadian rather than Egyptian — The term *ridiḫu* in EA 281 has recently been revived by E. Mahlich (2022) as a possible Egyptian (loan)word in Akkadian. A closer philological examination, however, suggests that an Akkadian interpretation is more plausible.

In the fragmentarily preserved letter EA 281, Shuwardata, mayor of the south-Levantine city Gath, addresses the Egyptian king, asking his overlord to send him military assistance. In line 15, J.A. Knudtson

(1915, 850–851) transliterates ^{amélittu}*ri-di-ḫu* and translates “Die -Leute”. The context indicates that these people may have been Egyptians.¹⁾ Even so, E. Ebeling does not list *ridiḫu* among the Egyptian words that he identifies in his index to Knudtzon’s volume. A few years earlier, H. Ranke (1910, 24) had commented that the word *rid(t)ḫu* “scheint nicht babylonisch” and classified it as possibly Egyptian, without offering a preciser etymology.

The standard Akkadian dictionaries offer different suggestions. In the AHw (II, p. 981), published in 1972, *ridiḫu* appears as the entry *rid..* and is linked to the Akkadian word *rīdu(m)*, meaning “(gute) Führung; Verfolgung”. The word is suggested to be a “Stammname”. Notably, the term *ridiḫu* is not even listed in the CDA (*A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 1999). The relevant CAD-volume (R, p. 324), published in 1999, transcribes *rīdiḫu*, identifies it as a noun of unknown meaning, and comments that it is “possibly a gentilic”. The etymology of the word is not discussed. Taken together, the lexicographical evidence does not support an Egyptian etymology.

The translation of EA 281 by W.L. Moran (1992, 322) refrains from translating the word *ridiḫu*, and it is not brought up as an Egyptian word in the index either. By contrast, A.F. Rainey (2015, 1092–1093) translates the word in question as “soldier” in the context of his translating: “May the soldiers guard and may these be taken and may they writhe [befo]re the king, [my] lord.” He transliterates LÚ.MEŠ¹*re-di-’u₅*, obviously following the interpretation of AHw, which focuses on the Akkadian word *rīdu(m)*. In her index to Rainey’s volume, A. Mandell does not bring up *ridiḫu* as an Egyptian word in the Amarna letters but lists it as an Akkadian word under the entry *rēdû* – “soldier” (p. 1294). In their Oracc-based online edition of EA 281, J. Lauinger and T. Yoder follow the interpretation of Rainey in their translating “soldier” (and transliterating ^{lú.meš}*re-di-ḫu*).²⁾

In recent years, an Egyptian etymology of *ridiḫu* has been revived by Mahlich (2022, 250), who argues that it corresponds to the Egyptian word for “Untertaner, Volk”, *rḫyt* (Wb II, pp. 447–448). In order for her to reach this conclusion, she suggests a metathesis of the second and third consonant. She adds that “ungewöhnlich wäre zudem das Entstehen des semitischen *d* für das ägyptische *t*”.³⁾ In his review of the book by Mahlich, G. Vittmann (2025, 325) reacts to precisely these problems, arguing that it is unlikely with a metathesis (especially involving the feminine-ending *t* which tends to disappear) and pointing to Rainey’s edition, which sees the word as expressing the Akkadian participle *rēdû(m)*. The disagreement thus concerns both phonology and historical plausibility.

In sum, there is a good Akkadian equivalent (*rēdû(m)*), the Egyptian equivalent (*rḫyt*) is hard to combine philologically with *ridiḫu*, the latter is not otherwise attested, and the broken text is open for different suggestions, weakening the argument based on context. Moreover, the Egyptian term *rḫyt* denotes “the populace” specifically in its ideological relation to royal authority rather than “people” in a neutral sense (*rmṯ*), making its use in an Akkadian letter from a Levantine ruler historically and discursively unexpected.⁴⁾ Given these considerations, *ridiḫu* in EA 281 is best understood as an Akkadian formation rather than an Egyptian (loan)word.

Notes

1. At least, the context as reconstructed by Knudtzon, who translates (lines 15–17): “Die-Leute wer[den] sc]hützen (od. geschützt werden), und d[i]jese ...”.

2. See <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/aemw/amarna/P271162> (accessed 2025-12-29). Lauinger and Yoder add: “Following Rainey (2015: 1092, see 1093) in taking *re-di-’u₅*(ḫU) > *rēdû*, though note that the resulting translation requires *našāru* to be either intransitive or have its object supplied”.

3. Above all, Mahlich justifies her classification because of the context reconstructed by Knudtzon, which says that the Egyptian king should protect his own people in the Levant, making an equation of *ridiḫu* with *rḫyt* “plausibel”, although she concludes by admitting that such an equation is “unsicher”. Her transliteration ^{LÚ.GIS}*ri-di-ḫu* should be replaced with ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ri-di-ḫu*.

4. The term *rḫyt* is attested as early as in the Pyramid Texts from the third millennium BCE. It is frequently used in connection with titles of various kinds, involving “the king” (*nswt*) and “noblemen” (*iri-p^t*) (Wb II, pp. 415–416). The latter term is not attested in EA 281 (but in EA 289 – a letter from Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem to Egypt). For the term *rmṯ*, see Wb II, pp. 421–424.

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21) The etymology of Akkadian *nitru* revisited — In her study on Egyptian names and words in ancient Near Eastern (non-Egyptian) languages, E. Mahlich (2022, 249) includes the term *nitru* among the Egyptian words that she identifies from Akkadian texts, equating it with Egyptian *ntry*, “natron”, attested already in the Pyramid Texts from the third millennium BCE (Wb II, p. 366).¹⁾ She argues that “während eine Identifizierung des hethitischen *nitri* als ägyptisches Lehnwort in der Forschung bereits thematisiert wurde, blieb das akkadische Äquivalent *nitru* bislang unbeachtet”, and consequently provides no references to earlier research.

In his dissertation on *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluß*, H. Zimmern (1915, 61) comments on the term *nitiru*, which he translates as “Natron”. He traces *nit(i)ru* to Egyptian *ntry* (and gives its forms in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek). Decades later, T.O. Lambdin (1953, 152–153), in his article about Egyptian loanwords in the Old Testament, argues that *ntry*, the Egyptian word for “natron”, was adopted in Semitic languages around 1200 BCE.

Moving on to the standard Akkadian dictionaries, the relevant AHW-volume (II, p. 798), published in 1972, translates *nit(i)ru* as “Natron”, links it to Egyptian *ntry*, and gives its appearances in Hebrew and Aramaic. In the CAD (N II, p. 299), published in 1980, the term in question is translated as “natron”, its attestations are enumerated (all dated to the first millennium BCE and tied to medical texts or contexts),²⁾ and a reference to the study by Zimmern concludes the entry. Finally, the CDA (p. 256) translates *nit(i)ru* with “nitre, sodium”, without addressing etymology.

Turning to the various source publications (that include translations and commentary), R. Labat (1959, 8–9) refers to *nitru* as a “carbonate de soude” (following THOMPSON 1936, 11), without discussing the etymology of the word in RA 53. M. Luukko and G. Van Buylaere (2002, 78) translate “natron” and do not discuss the term further in their SAA-edition.

Accordingly, the entry *nitru* in the study by Mahlich does not take into account earlier discussions of the term, in which its association with Egyptian *ntry* appears to be generally accepted.³⁾ Having said that, her question “ob der Terminus direkt vom Ägyptischen in das Akkadische gelangte oder aber das Hethitische und/oder Hurritische hierbei als Transitsprache fungierten” remains valid, although the available evidence does not allow the direction of transmission to be determined with certainty (as she herself acknowledges).⁴⁾

After all, the finding that a term such as “natron” seems to be of Egyptian etymology is hardly surprising, considering that Egypt was a dominant force in the ancient Near East during the Late Bronze Age, to which many of the Egyptian (loan)words in Akkadian texts are dated (COCHAVI-RAINEY 2011), and considering that Egypt was rich in natron, with Wadi Natrun (ancient *Šht-ḥmšt*, “the salt field”), west of the Nile delta, a case in point.

The case of *nitru* illustrates a broader methodological point, namely that the absence of explicit discussion in recent studies does not necessarily indicate scholarly neglect, particularly where lexicographical consensus already exists.

Notes

1. Her reference “Wb II, S. 338, 14–15” is incorrect. Moreover, the sign *na₄* (expressed at least in SAA 16 82) is not given in her transliteration, and she refers to ABL instead of SAA 16.

2. RA 53 8 : 34; BAM 2 126 : r. 1; 3 222 : 10; SAA 16 82 : r. 9.

3. It may be noted, though, that *ntry* is not identified in the study by H. Ranke (1910) on Egyptianisms in Akkadian texts. Perhaps this is the reason why Mahlich views Akkadian *nīru* as “unbeachtet”.

4. A reference to her claim that *ntry* is a loanword in Hittite would have been helpful. Such as HAYS 2012, 23, n. 43, where *ntry* is explicitly described as an Egyptian loanword in Akkadian (*nīru*) and Hittite (*nīri*).

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22) The god of Tudhaliya IV’s cylinder seal — In her 2006 article, S. Herbordt presented a publication and a thorough analysis of a unique and fascinating piece of Hittite glyptics—the cylinder seal of the king Tudhaliya IV (HERBORDT 2006)¹. A subsequent edition of the seal with further commentary appeared in the 2011 collective volume dedicated to the royal seals from the Nišantepe archive (HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011: 57–60, 100, 192–193 [no. 101], Tf. 40). A clay bulla with the impressions of Tudhaliya’s seal, Bo 91/1980, was uncovered by P. Neve, along with other objects of this type, during the 1990–1991 excavations at Nišantepe in the Upper City of Hattuša/Boğazköy. It is described as a fist-sized piece of clay bearing four incomplete impressions of the cylinder seal. Figure 1 below shows S. Herbordt’s reconstruction of the seal, provided here for convenience.

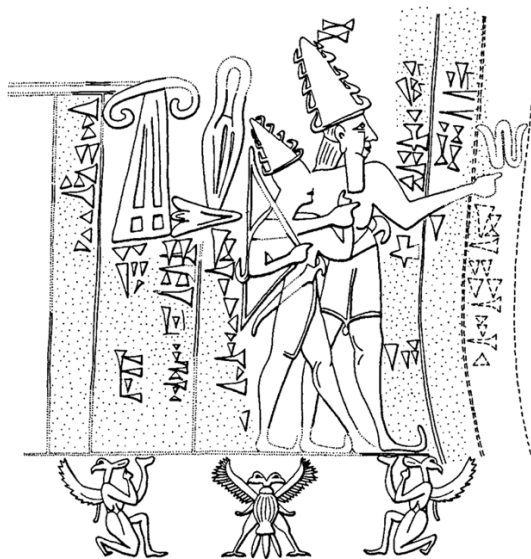


Fig. 1. Tudhaliya IV’s cylinder seal impressed on clay bulla Bo 91/1980, reconstruction by S. Herbordt (after HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011: 59 (d), Tf. 40).

The seal depicts two dextroverse figures of different scale, both wearing horned caps—a characteristic feature of divinity. The larger figure should be identified as a god, while the smaller one, embraced by the god (the so called *Umarmungsszene*), represents King Tudhaliya IV, as is suggested by the seal’s legend. The part of the legend pertaining to the king is placed behind his image and consists of Anatolian hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts. The hieroglyphic text reads MAGNUS.REX IUDEX.la “Great King, Labarna”, while the cuneiform inscription gives the sequence NA₄.KIŠIB ^DUTU-ši ta-ba-ar-[na] LUGAL.[GAL] UR.[SAG] ¹tu-ud-ḫa-[li-ia], “The seal of My Sun, Tabarna, Great King, Hero, Tudhaliya”. The part of the legend describing the god is placed in front of his figure, in the right section of the seal. Its

text is read, with restorations proposed by J. Hazenbos, as [NA₄.KIŠIB ^{DU/DIM}] ^{URU}*Kum-m[a-an-ni]* LUGAL AN-*e* [...], “[The seal of the Storm-god] of the city of Kummanni, the king of heaven [...]” (HERBORDT 2006: 90–91)². With such a reading of both parts of the legend (“The seal of GN, the seal of RN”), the seal could be understood as a joint seal of both god and king paralleled by a seal used to validate the Hittite-Egyptian treaty (ibid.: 91, n. 44). J.D. Hawkins objected to this latter interpretation³ and offered his own restoration of the cuneiform legend, in which the signs in front of the god belong to the end of the text: “^{NA}KIŠIB ^{DU}TU-^{ŠI}, *Ta-ba-ar-[na]*, LUGAL [GAL] UR.[SAG], ^m*Tu-ud-ha-[li-ia]*, [LUGAL KUR *Ha-at-ti*], [perhaps affiliation: DUMU ^m*Hattusili* etc.], [*NA-RA-AM* ^{DU/IM}], ^{URU}*Kum-m[a-an-ni]*, LUGAL AN-*E* x ... x ...” (HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011: 100), i.e. “The seal of My Sun, Tabarna, Great King, Hero, Tudḫaliya, King of Ḫatti, (Son of Ḫattusili [...]), Beloved of the Storm-god of Kummanni, King of Heaven, ...”. However, this uncertainty in the reconstruction of the legend’s exact wording does not affect the soundness of S. Herbordt’s iconographic and historical analysis.

She identifies several unusual features of the seal. First, it is the only known royal Hittite cylinder seal. No other Hittite king besides Tudḫaliya IV is known to have commissioned such an object: the use of cylinder seals aligns with Mesopotamian tradition, whereas Hittite rulers predominantly used stamp seals. Second, several elements in the king’s representation are rare or lack exact parallels in other depictions of the *Umarmungsszene*: a horned tiara, a short kilt, and a bow, in place of the more common round cap, long robe, and *kalmuš* (curled staff) respectively. This likely indicates the Hittite king’s intention to portray himself as a divine being, or at least as a person under direct divine protection. Third, the god in the scene is not a personal deity—Šarruma in the case of Tudḫaliya IV—but the Storm-god of Kummanni, who had no particular connection to this king. This is unexpected and modifies our understanding of the *Umarmungsszene* motif. Finally, the seal was impressed on only a single bulla in the Nişantepe archive, unlike other seals from the site, which are documented by multiple impressions. All these features are crucial for interpreting the historical context of the seal.

S. Herbordt suggests that such an unusual seal must have been created in response to an extraordinary historical event or situation. The bulla was attached to a very important document somehow connected to Ḫatti’s relations with Mesopotamia. This inference is drawn from the seal’s use of Mesopotamian symbolic language (cylinder form), which would have been easily decoded by the Mesopotamian addressee of this document. S. Herbordt argues that this document could have been a Hittite-Assyrian diplomatic treaty. There are probably several indications that Tudḫaliya IV sought to symbolically and propagandistically counter Assyria, for instance, by adopting Mesopotamian royal titles or launching ambitious building projects parallel to those of Assyrian monarchs (HERBORDT 2006: 89; HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011: 60). The cylinder seal can be viewed another element in this pattern.

At the time of S. Herbordt’s 2006 article, no direct evidence for a Hittite-Assyrian diplomatic treaty was available; consequently, it contained no references to specific cuneiform texts (this equally applies to the 2011 edition of the royal seals). However, in 2008 J.L. Miller published a fragmentary Hittite diplomatic letter, KBo 18.28++, which, as he argued, should be attributed to the Hittite-Assyrian royal correspondence (MILLER 2007; 2008; for a new edition of this document incorporating a newly identified join see MILLER forthcoming). Ll. 10’–12’ of the letter contain the following words of a Hittite king addressed to his Assyrian counterpart: “The first treaty tablet that we made in Kummaḫa, put that very [tablet] down before yourself [and] examine [i]t!” This is a clear reference to a treaty concluded between Ḫatti and Assyria. One of the probable candidates for the Hittite author of KBo 18.28++ and thus the signatory of that treaty with Assyria is King Tudḫaliya IV (ALEXANDROV, SIDELTSEV 2009 [2011]: 74; YAMADA 2011: 208). Therefore, following S. Herbordt’s suggestion, it is legitimate to ask whether clay bulla Bo 91/1980 was attached to the Hittite exemplar of that treaty⁴. And if so, we may also address the question of restoring of the cuneiform legend on the seal. As noted by the editor, the presence of the Storm-god of Kummanni on the seal is somewhat unexpected (HERBORDT 2006: 84). S. Herbordt refers to the Bronze Tablet treaty of Tudḫaliya IV with Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša, where this god appears among the divine witnesses—though under the designation “the Storm-god of Kizzuwatni”, which is not exactly the same as on the seal⁵. However, given the evidence from KBo 18.28++, why not to restore the lines pertaining to the god in Bo 91/1980 as [NA₄.KIŠIB / *NA-RA-AM* ^{DU/DIM}] ^{URU}*Kum-m[a(-a)-ḫi]* LUGAL AN-*E* x ... x ...? With a

single exception, all known attestations of the toponym *Kummaḫa* in Hittite texts begin with the sign KUM⁶. Such a reconstruction would imply that, while concluding the treaty with Assyria at Kummaḫa, Tudḫaliya IV—the probable author of KBo 18.28++⁷—ordered to produce a special seal for this occasion and invoked on this seal the divine protection of the local deity, the Storm-god of Kummaḫa. The Storm-god of Kummaḫa is attested in a cult inventory (KUB 38.12 iii 15') which testifies that he was venerated alongside many other deities in the city of Karaḫna, an important cult center in the eastern part of the Hittite kingdom (VAN GESSEL 1998: 803; CAMMAROSANO 2018: 416, 425). Palaeographically, the text is dated to the reign of either Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV (CAMMAROSANO 2018: 416). The city of Kummaḫa also appears in an evocation ritual (KUB 15.34 i 58), where it is mentioned in the same section as Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Alašia, Alzi, as well as other lands and cities, whose gods are invited to come to Ḫatti (i 62) (GARCÍA TRABAZO 2002: 518–521). Though the Storm-god of Kummanni / Kizzuwatni is better attested in the extant Hittite corpus, the corresponding deity of Kummaḫa seems to have been equally part of the circle of well-known gods in Ḫatti. Tudḫaliya IV's choice of this god for the seal validating his treaty with Assyria appears quite natural given the circumstances of its signing: it would be logical for the contracting parties to appeal to the patronage of a deity who held special power in the place where the summit and signing ceremony took place.

Notes

*I thank J.L. Miller for allowing me to use and cite his forthcoming paper on KBo 18.28++. I am also indebted to D. Charpin for reading a draft of this note and providing helpful comments. Naturally, all remaining errors and opinions are mine.

1. See references to previous literature in HERBORDT 2006: 82, n. 1.
2. The sign KUM above the headdress of the god may be part of his name, see HERBORDT 2006: 84.
3. J.D. Hawkins refers to the description of Ḫattušili III's seal in the Egyptian hieroglyphic text of the Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty ("Das Siegel des Seth, des Herrschers des Himmels; das Siegel des Vertrags, den Ḫattušili abgeschlossen hat, der Großfürst von Ḫatti, der Starke, der Sohn des Muršili, des Großfürsten von Ḫatti, des Starke", EDEL 1997: 82–83) and points out that this description does not presume the god and the king shared a seal, but rather indicates that the king sealed the treaty with the god's seal (HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011: 100).
4. According to S. Herbordt, that would be not an official exemplar, but a copy, probably on wooden writing-board (HERBORDT 2006: 91, n. 44).
5. The place name Kummanni is thought to be present on another seal of Tudḫaliya IV (HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011: 195 [no. 103], Tf. 41–43), however, the reconstruction of the text in a respective line looks suspicious: UZU⁷ URU⁷ *Kum-ma- $\ll a^1-na^1 \gg$ -an[-ni]*, "(Tudḫaliya, Great King, King of Ḫatti,) flesh(?) of Kummanni".
6. See for the textual references to Kummaḫa and the question of its location RGTC 6: 220–221; RGTC 6/2: 83; CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM, HESS 2016: 82; HAWKINS, WEEDEN 2017: 290.
7. See the discussion of the historical context of the letter in ALEXANDROV, SIDELTSEV 2009 [2011]; YAMADA 2011; MILLER, forthcom.

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23) Some Notes on Maṣat Letter HKM 52 — In addition to my brief comments on HKM 52 in my review of Hoffner’s volume on the Hittite letters (MILLER 2012: 312), a renewed reading of this letter has revealed a handful of further potential improvements.

(1) In line 9 one should probably translate *arkuwar*, following Alp, as ‘request’, not ‘reply’, with Hoffner. This request is then spelled out in the ensuing paragraph (ll. 10–18). Lines 6–9 can thus be translated ‘My dear brother, your affairs that you¹ keep writing to me about, do I not address them personally in the palace? And (so) I will make a request of you in turn: ...’ (ŠEŠ DU₁₀.GA-IA-mu ku-e tu-el ud-da-a-ar / ḫa-at-re-eš-ke-ši¹(MI) na-at I-NA É.GAL-LÌ / Ú-UL am-mu-uk-pát me-mi-iš-ke-mi / nu-ut-ta EGIR-pa ar-ku-wa-ar iš-ša-aḫ₁-ḫi).

(2a) The signs at the end of 11 are unlikely to be [UR]U²-i, as read by Alp and Hoffner. Perhaps ¹ki²¹-i²¹ would be a better solution, but this is also uncertain. One might also think of ¹šU²-i²¹, but this would be just as difficult, or more so, to accommodate within the translation.

(2b) Alp (1991a: 216f.; 1991b: 55) omits from his drawing, transliteration and translation the elements NU.GÁL ku-it at the end of line 13, written over the edge and onto the rev., now visible on the photos and the 3D scan available in the *Konkordanz* of the Hethitologie Portal Mainz (https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php). For lines 10–16 one could thus translate ‘Now, there in your district there is only one scribal office, and to your detriment other (people) are overburdening this (office). Since there are no *sahḫan* and *luzzi* (obligations) for scribes, why is he performing them there? Now, then, keep (your) eyes on (the situation), so that they do not overburden him’ (tu-ga-kán a-pí-ia ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ia an-da / ŠA^{LÚ}DUB.SAR 1 É-TU₄-pát nu-ut-ták-kán ¹ki²¹-i²¹ / an-da ta-ma-e-eš dam-mi-iš-ki-iš-kán-zi / A-NA^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUB.SAR^{MEŠ} ša-aḫ-ḫa-an lu-uz-zi NU.GÁL ku-it / a-pí-ia-ma-at ku-wa-at iš-ša-i / ki-nu-na-aš-ša-an IGI^{HI.A}-wa ḫar-ak / na-an le-e dam-mi-iš-ḫi-iš-kán-zi). The ‘to your detriment’ is an attempt to translate the dative -tta, lit. ‘to/for/in relation to you’. This seems to be, in essence, a dative of disadvantage, even if it does not fit the patterns recognized thus far for this usage (GrHL², §§16.60–61).

(3) Alp’s rendering of the signs at the end of line 44, on the lower edge, are understandably unclear, as they are rather abraded. He read na-aš-t[a ur-g]i-i-in, translating ‘[Sp]ur(?)’, in which he is followed in essence by Marizza (2009: 73). Hoffner (2009: 195) adopts Alp’s transliteration but abstains from a translation. Based on the 3D scans and photos, the signs can most likely be read ¹kuš²¹DU₁₀.GAN-in₁,¹) otherwise attested with this phonetic complementation only in KBo 25.156, 14’,²) which likewise shows an (early) MH script, and perhaps in KBo 16.28 iii 16’ (¹kuš²¹DU₁₀.GAN-i[n²]). Thus in HKM 52, 42–46, we have ‘(As to) the matter of the horse and chariot that you wrote to me about, I will personally expedite the (matter of the) leather DU₁₀.GAN-bag in the palace’ (ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA^{GIŠ}GIGIR-ia-mu / ku-ūt ut₁-tar ḫa-at-ra-a-eš / na-aš-ta¹kuš²¹DU₁₀.GAN-in₁ / I-NA É.GAL-LÌ am-mu-uk / pa-ra-a ar-īnu-mi). The DU₁₀.GAN-bag is thus seen to be related in some manner with horse and/or chariot, perhaps in its function as a bag containing grain. Why such a matter needed to be addressed in the palace is not immediately evident. Conceivably it might stand *pars pro toto* for issues pertaining to the supply, storage and/or distribution of grain for the chariotry.

Notes

1. I must admit that I initially assumed a phonetic reading, and that it was Oğuz Soysal who pointed me to the logographic interpretation. He also kindly discussed with me the still open questions of the distributions and meanings of (¹kuš²¹DU₁₀.GAN, (¹kuš²¹)kurs_a-, (¹gi/š²¹/kuš²¹)kursi- and ¹kuš²¹laggasdus (emails of 5, 10 and 12 Feb. 2026). Cf. GÜTERBOCK 1989; LODEIRO PICHEL 2024; CHD L-N, 19a; HED K, 270–275; HEG, 654–658.

2. Cf. ¹kuš²¹kur-še-eš in 5’ and ¹kuš²¹kur-šu-uš in 6’.

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24) Hieroglyphic Luwian *turp(i)*- ‘bread’ and Hittite *turuppa*- ‘a sort of bread’ — It is assumed in standard handbooks that Hieroglyphic Luwian *turp(i)*- ‘bread’ and Hittite *turuppa*- ‘a sort of bread’ are cognates (TISCHLER 1994: 463 and BAUER – PAYNE 2021; however, Kloekhorst did not include *turuppa*- in his Hittite etymological dictionary [2008], implying that for unknown reasons he treated it as loanword). Considering their formal and semantic near-identity, this is indeed probable, but the formal difference, i.e. the lack of the second [u] in the Luwian form, is a serious obstacle to this proposal for which no solution has been offered – in fact, the issue has not even been addressed. It will be argued in this short note that there is a fully regular explanation.

Taking these forms at face value, there are two possibilities: either this vowel was ‘lost’ in Luwian (i.e. it was syncopated) or an additional, epenthetic vowel was inserted in Hittite. Depending on the ultimate origin of these words, which is unknown, both processes would have happened during either the ‘development’ from a common proto-form or a borrowing, either from each other or from a common, third source. However, Luwian syncope was restricted to the position after a glide (MELCHERT 1994: 275-276) and Hittite did not have an epenthetic [u] in this position (MELCHERT 1994: 174-175; HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2024: 49-53). In other words, either the cognacy hypothesis or one of the forms is not correct.

The form of the Hittite word is clear. The Luwian word was consistently spelt as *tu/tú+ra/i-p^o* (see the evidence in ACLT s.v.; BAUER – PAYNE 2021; HAWKINS 2024: 571): the reading *turp(i)*-, which is used by all scholars (to the above quoted literature add MERIGGI 1934: 101, 1962: 133; LAROCHE 1960: 95; NEUMANN 1961: 79; ACLT s.v.; PAYNE 2017; HAWKINS 2024: 571), is a completely regular interpretation of this spelling, but only one of the (many) possible regular interpretations. For instance, *turap(i)*- and *turip(i)*- are equally regular and equally possible. These are still not identical to *turuppa*-, but they open the way for a formally regular solution: In recent years, evidence has been accumulated that after the intervocalic so-called ‘flap *r*’ (i.e. as here) the Iron Age Luwian vowels merged into a single vowel, which could have been spelt by any vowel (cf. Blevins *apud* YAKUBOVICH 2008: 14; for the present problem note especially the cases with underlying /u/): *aru* vs. *ala/i* ‘in high measure’, *alalini*- vs. *aruni*- ‘enemy’ (RIEKEN – YAKUBOVICH 2010: 204-205, 213-214), [tarusa] ‘tree’ (nom.-acc. sg. n.) spelt as < tara/i-sà > (IVRIZ 1 §3) and as < tara/i-sa > (NIĞDE 1) (Melchert *apud* RIEKEN – YAKUBOVICH 2010: 217 n. 16), see also *Hil/rika*- → Neo-Assyrian *Hilil/a/ukku* (SIMON 2024). In other words, if Hieroglyphic Luwian *tu/tú+ra/i-p^o* is interpreted as *turalip(i)*-, we obtain a regular cognate of Hittite *turuppa*-.

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25) Tomb Reuse in Mesopotamia According to a New Middle Assyrian Funerary Inscription — Very much in contrast to ancient Egypt, funerary inscriptions from ancient Mesopotamia are rare.¹⁾ It was therefore noteworthy when, some twenty years ago, Daniel Arnaud published a set of closely related funerary texts inscribed on four bricks housed in a private collection (ARNAUD 2007, 44–59). Produced by the brother of the deceased²⁾ on the occasion of the death of one Adad-šumu-lešir son of Šilli-Marduk, they are written in a Middle Assyrian hand reminiscent of texts from Tell Taban and the Kingdom of Ḫana. The texts are dated, respectively, to the first, second, and third day of the month of Kalmartu (III) (Ex. B, C, and D) and the 27th day of Muḫur-ilani (X) (Ex. A) in the eponym year of Aššur-mušešib son of Takliya, which seems to have fallen into the second half of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (r. ca. 1243–1207 BCE). Improved editions of the inscriptions were recently provided by Jacob de Ridder (RIDDER 2024), whose labels for them are used in this note.

Because the texts invoke the deity Šuriḫa, a name that combines the toponym Šuru and the Hurrian pertinentive suffix *-ḫbe*, De Ridder plausibly argues, even though definitive evidence remains elusive, that the tomb that produced the bricks was located in or near the ancient city of Šuru, which is probably to be identified with the modern town of Savur in Turkey’s Tur Abdin region. The tomb owner, Adad-šumu-lešir, is otherwise unknown but must have been a high-ranking Assyrian residing there. Based on its designation as a *k/gimahḫu*, it seems likely that the tomb was a subterranean vault located within a private house (see LUNDSTRÖM 2000), but the bricks themselves, with their well-preserved inscriptions, might have been part of some upper structure (RIDDER 2024, 209).

Not that long ago, I was alerted to the existence of yet another exemplar of this tomb inscription: a brick offered for sale at an auction scheduled for March 2026 on the online site “liveauctioneers” (https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/225125448_middle-assyrian-brick-shaped-tablet-with-funerary-inscription-for-adad-shumu-lesirs-tomb-harwich-essex, accessed February 25, 2026). The description provided on the website briefly mentions the near duplicates of the brick, albeit with an incorrect bibliographical reference (WIDELL 2020), and includes the likewise incorrect claim that the new text – henceforth “Ex. E” – ends with a date formula (allegedly the same as in Ex. D).

As in the case of the other bricks, the provenance of Ex. E is problematic. According to the online description, it was acquired in 1996, kept for a while in a private collection in Switzerland, and later transferred to Harwich, Essex, UK. That the brick was “checked against the Interpol Database of stolen works of art,” as claimed on the website, is of little consequence as it presumably stems from illicit

excavations conducted shortly before it was sold for the first time, which means that no one would have been likely to ever report it as stolen.

Given the small number of Mesopotamian funerary texts, particularly non-royal ones, it seems important to properly document the new brick before it disappears yet again in the bowels of some private collection. But an equally compelling reason for writing this note is my belief that a key passage included in four of the five brick inscriptions has so far been misinterpreted. As this passage holds important clues for a better understanding of northern Mesopotamian funerary practices during the Late Bronze Age, a more detailed analysis of it seems warranted and will be provided below.

The new inscription finds its closest parallel in Ex. D of the four hitherto known texts. The following edition, which is based on the excellent composite photograph of the brick posted on the auction site,³⁾ marks variants from this manuscript in bold.

obv. 1 *gi-ma-ah*^{md} IŠKUR–MU–*le-šir* DUMU ^mšil–^dAMAR.UTU
 2 DUMU ¹**ia-ku**-li-me-er ša a-na gi-ma-*he*
 3 *šu-a-ša a-**hi-i**-ú ù lu ma-am-ma*
 4 *iq-tar-bu-ni <<ša>> ša ŠÀ-ša la-ša-am-ta ú-še-lu-ni*
 5 *ù šu-a-ta i-qa-be-ru-ni ù KÙ.BABBAR ša ŠÀ-ša i-la-pu-tu-ni*
 lo.e. 6 ^dIŠKUR ^dUTU ù ^dU.GUR *hu-ša-**ha** mi-iq-ta*
 7 *ù ša-ga-al-ta i+na É-šu ù A.ŠÀ-šu*
 8 *li-ma*^(text: GIŠ)-li ma-**ak**-ku-ra a-mar gi-ma-*he*
 rev. 9 *šu-a-ša 7-e-šu lu-ma-li*
 10 *a-na ^dšu-ri-**ha** lu-bi-il*
 11 *a-na NUMUN.MEŠ-ma ša ^{md}IŠKUR–MU–le-šir*
 12 *lu pa-**áš-ra** a-na še-lu-e*
 13 *ù lu a-na še-ru-de ù **lu**² la-ša-am-ta*
 u.e. 14 *a-na qa-ba-re*

¹⁻²Tomb of Adad-šumu-lēšir, son of Šilli-Marduk, son of Ayyakku-limmer.⁴⁾

²⁻⁸As for a stranger or anyone else who approaches this tomb and removes a corpse from inside it and buries his own and lays his hands on the silver within it, may Adad, Šamaš, and Nergal fill his house and his field with famine, collapse, and slaughter.⁸⁻¹⁰He shall pay sevenfold for all the (grave) goods from this tomb and bring (the fine) to Šuriḫa.

¹¹⁻¹⁴For the offspring of Adad-šumu-lēšir, however, it is allowed to remove (a body) or to bring (one) down and⁵⁾ bury the (new) corpse (in the tomb).

The text includes numerous erasures and signs written over other, aborted ones.⁶⁾ The last signs in lines 4, 5, and 6 are written onto the right edge of the brick, with line 5 continuing on the other side. Unlike Ex. A–C, but in accordance with Ex. D, the text does not mention the name of the scribe, and unlike all other exemplars it provides no date formula.

The translation offered above for lines 1–10 of the new text is largely identical with the one De Ridder provided for Ex. D. But my interpretation of the clause found in lines 11–14 differs from how both Arnaud and De Ridder understood its counterparts in three of the other four inscriptions and requires discussion.

The clause in question is missing in Ex. A. In Ex. B and C, it is shorter (*ana zar'ē-ma ša Adad-šumu-lēšir pašer*) and follows a curse formula stating that the hands of various deities, including Nergal and Šuriḫa,⁷⁾ are bound to reach anyone (*qāt DNN ikaššassu*) who forces his way into the tomb, takes another body down to it or removes one, or lays his hand on anything inside the tomb. In Ex. D, the clause is largely but not entirely identical with that in the new text: *ana zar'ē-ma ša Adad-šumu-lēšir lū pašer ana šēlu'e ana šēru-de u lašamta ana qabāre*.

Arnaud translates the shorter version of the clause as “à la descendance (même) d'Adad-šumu-lēšir il [scil. the culprit] sera (bel et bien) vendu” and the longer one from Ex. D as “À la descendance même d'Adad-šumu-lēšir il sera bel et bien vendu. Pour remonter et descendre et enterrer un cadavre.” But even though *pašaru* can indeed mean “to sell, to release,” this interpretation is unlikely. A reference to a sale of the grave robber as a slave to the descendants of the owner of the tomb would make little sense; using the stative without a preceding *lū*, as in Ex. B and C, to phrase such a proposition would be odd; and

the statement in Ex. D that begins with *ana šēlu'e*, considered a “sous-titre” by Arnaud, would be strangely decontextualized.

De Ridder translates the shorter version as “He will be undone for the offspring of Adad-šumu-lēšir” and the longer as “For the offspring of Adad-šumu-lēšir he shall be undone for taking out and bring[sic!] down (objects in the tomb) and (for) burying a body (in it).” But this too is unsatisfactory. Apart from syntactical problems, the various meanings of the verb *pašāru* do not include the “undoing” of some culprit.

Pašāru can, however, denote the “undoing” or “neutralizing” of a curse, a meaning prominently attested in the so-called *lipšur* litanies (Reiner 1956), as well as in various legal contexts (see CAD P, 239–40, s. v. *pašāru* 5a–b), including the Middle Assyrian laws, which state in a paragraph on witchcraft: *māmīta ... lā ipaššarakkunu*, “no one will release any of you from the oath (and its concomitant curse) ...” (KAV 1 vii 28; ROTH 1995, 172–73). This meaning works well in the present context. The texts on the bricks, I would like to suggest, state that the curse spelled out in the preceding passage – where it is, notably, primarily directed against a “stranger” (*aḫtu*) – does not apply to the descendants of the deceased. On them – and only on them, as indicated by the enclitic *-ma* (see GAG §173a; RIDDER 2018, 81–88) – it has no effect, and they are free to remove a body from the tomb and take another down and properly “bury” it (*qabāru*) at some point in the future.

To my knowledge, this is the only instance in which a cuneiform funerary inscription explicitly allows such a practice, which, while in reality clearly quite common, ran counter to the idea, more strongly emphasized in Mesopotamian than in Syrian contexts (see NOVÁK 2008), that the tomb of a specific human being should never be violated.⁸⁾ The Neo-Assyrian queens Mullissu-mukannišat-Ninua and Yabâ, for example, declared in their funerary inscriptions that no one without exception should ever remove them (*dekû*) from their respective tomb (*kimalḫū*), that neither a later queen (MUNUS.É.GAL) nor a harem woman (MUNUS.ERIM.MEŠ.É.GAL) and love interest (*narāntu*) of the king should be placed in it, and that it was a crime worthy of a terrifying curse to lay a hand on the valuables (*šukuttu*) deposited with them (LUNDSTRÖM 2001, 219–24). But while the funerary inscriptions of the two queens were – at least in part – composed from the perspective of the deceased, using the first-person singular, those on the Middle Assyrian bricks were written by a brother of the tomb owner, someone more likely to have the collective familial well-being in mind and not only the interests of the individual who had passed away.

Notes

1. See LUNDSTRÖM 2001, esp. 218; FOSTER 2003; RIDDER 2024, 205–08, among others.

2. The scribe identifies himself as “Šilli-ilani, son of Šilli-Marduk (Ex. B: Šilliya), brother of Adad-šumu-lēšir.” Even though Ex. D, unlike Ex. A–C, does not mention him, he probably wrote this inscription too, and the same applies to the new inscription published in this note.

3. The present author has taken screenshots of the photo.

4. In the other exemplars, the last name is written *Ya-a-ku-li-me-er*. De Ridder’s understanding of it as “May the Ayyakku(< Eanna) be radiant,” bolstered by the attestation of the Middle Babylonian name Ekišnugal-limmer, is most likely correct. Since the name of a homonymous Assyrian eponym who served under Eriba-Adad I / Aššur-uballit is alternatively rendered as ¹*Ya-a-ku-li-me-er* and ¹*Ya-ku-ZÁLAG-er*, the name cannot have been West Semitic and be understood as “Il-Mer is reliable (*yakū(n)*).”

5. The translation follows Ex. D, which has *ù* rather than *ù lu*. This seems to make better sense. As indicated in the following note, the way the signs in question are written in the new text shows that the scribe had some trouble with them.

6. In line 13, the preposition *a-na* might have been written over the *lu* and the subsequent *la*, but this is not entirely clear on the photo.

7. In Ex. A, the deities in question are DINGIR KUR ^dU.GUR *ù* ^dš_u-ri-ḫa, Ex. B has DINGIR.MEŠ KUR ^dU.GUR *ù* ^dš_u-ri-ḫa, and Ex. C offers DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* KUR ^dU.GUR *ù* ^dš_u-ri-ḫa (with a line break after DINGIR.MEŠ). Arnaud argues that “DINGIR.(MEŠ *ù*) KUR” stands for the name of the god Dagan (^dKUR), with MEŠ in Ex. B and C and *ù* in Ex. C representing scribal errors. De Ridder likewise thinks that Dagan is invoked and translates, “the hand of the gods (namely) Dagan(?), Nergal, and Šuriḫa.” Assuming that only the *ù* in Ex. C is a mistake, there is, however, another conceivable solution: that the passage begins with an invocation of *il-māti*, “the god of the land” or *il/ilān-māti*, “the gods of the land,” with the former possibly denoting Aššur and the latter the main deities of the Assyrian pantheon. If this is correct, the curse formula would reference a) the Assyrian pantheon as a whole (or rather, in Ex. A, its head), b) Nergal as the patron deity of the dead, and c) Šuriḫa, to add a local dimension

to the mix. Note that a deity called Nēš-il/ilī(/ilān)-māti (^dMU/UR.MAḪ/né-eš/ni-iš–DINGIR/DINGIR.MEŠ–KUR), clearly a deified oath, is attested as a Gatekeeper of the Ešarra Temple in Aššur in several Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian ritual texts (SAA 20, nos. 7 ii 5, 38 i 44, 42 i 27, 43:1, 49:46, 50 rev. ii 4). Alternatively, KUR in the brick inscriptions could represent the netherworld. Dagan’s elimination from the list of deities, if warranted, would have implications for the discussion of the provenience of the bricks.

8. In New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Egypt – that is, during roughly the same period from which our brick inscriptions derive – elite mortuary spaces were often reused and transformed as well, even when funerary texts explicitly forbade such practices. For recent discussions of the Egyptian evidence, which is far more plentiful than the Mesopotamian material, see Lemos 2025 (highlighting that those carrying out such interventions often showed a certain degree of respect for the previous tomb owners), and, for more extensive analysis, KACZANOWICZ 2025 (references courtesy Victoria Almansa-Villatoro).

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26) Remarks on the verso of KAV 21-24 — Using photographs kindly provided by N. Moreno, I could study the fragments of this eponym list as three dimensional objects.

1) Palaeography of DINGIR/AN - In Schroeder’s normalized copy of this eponym list one cannot see that the scribe distinguished two variants of DINGIR/AN. His divine determinatives use the first one, which will be called AN^d. In this variant, what should be the standard crossing horizontal stops when it meets the vertical. In contrast, when a name ends with AN, the sign itself ends with a prominent rising line. The line must be part of the crossing horizontal, though in most cases it seems to start a bit behind the vertical, certainly due to erosion. This variant will be called AN^f, with *f* for ‘final’. In the middle of the names, there is a strong preference to write *ilu* with AN^f and phonetic *an* with AN^d. This is the opposite of what I would have expected and requires confirmation by further texts.

2) Corrections - According to Schroeder’s copy and Ungnad’s transcription¹⁾, four eponym names on KAV 21-24 verso contain errors, in each case a wrong deity name. The case of 861 BC is unique and will be discussed below. In at least two of the other cases the scribe tried to correct the error at a later stage, though his efforts were lost on Schroeder. For 783 BC the scribe wrote a minute ^dMAŠ under the faulty ^dŠID. Schroeder’s copy shows the horizontal of MAŠ, but nothing of the determinative. For 777 BC, two scratched horizontals transform the sign to a hybrid between the faulty UD and the correct PA. Concerning 842 BC, the final wedge of AŠ+ŠUR appears to have been modified by three small verticals, perhaps indicating that the scribe wanted to change the sign to LUGAL before giving up because of the resulting damage. A

definitive edition of the text should also take note of more successful corrections, though some may be difficult to distinguish from erosion.²⁾

3) Joining the fragments - Under the four KAV numbers, Schroeder provided copies of groups of joined fragments. The central group is KAV 21 = VAT 11254+11257 +11259^A+11276. To it, KAV 23 = VAT 11258+11259^B could have been joined immediately, because in column VIII the eponym name ^dIŠKUR-EN-KUR for 738 BC is split across the EN sign, with the first half on VAT 11258 and the second on VAT 11276. This is reflected in Schroeder's name index and was realized graphically by Millard.³⁾ Concerning Millard's placement of VAT 11260^A (KAV 24) L. Jakob-Rost had reservations,⁴⁾ rightly so. This fragment contains text from column IX and broke off from column VIII along a vertical line of personal determinatives. Schroeder recognized that several left tips of the wedge heads of these determinatives still exist on the edge of VAT 11260^A. Along the break, the sequence of determinatives in column VIII is interrupted by a summation line of [20] years for the eponym period of Tukultī-apil-ešarra III. This interruption also shows up in VAT 11260^A, but was missed by Schroeder, who drew a regular line of eight wedge heads instead. The fourth one from the top does not exist on the tablet and the fifth one is out of place and easily identified as the distinctive tip of the first *winkelhaken* of 20 MU. Thus VAT 11260^A must be placed two lines further down than in Millard's reconstruction, close to the lower edge of the tablet.

Under KAV 22, Schroeder copied the group VAT 11255 + VAT 11256, with two different relative positions, namely a correct join of their rectos and an inaccurate quasi-join of their versos. When one turns the joined recto, there is only space for two eponyms for the three years 861-859 BC. The quasi-join takes the two fragments one line further apart, to make space for the full eponym sequence. Schroeder's uncertainty may explain why he copied 24 MU^{mes} as summation line for the eponym period of Aššur-nāšir-apli II. Later Zawadzki looked again and saw that the correct reading is the expected 25 MU^{mes}.⁵⁾ The problems for 861-860 BC are well known,⁶⁾ but for KAV 22 a decision is possible. Indeed, on VAT 11256 one eponym was omitted, but the proof needs a detour. Via VAT 11258 we first fix the position of VAT 11256 relative to VAT 11276. As mentioned above, VAT 11258 is securely placed relative to VAT 11276. To find its placement relative to VAT 11256, note that it contains three personal determinatives in col. VII plus the first wedge of the divine determinative for two of them. By a line count, the three eponyms can be identified as Adad-nērārī III and his two successors Nergal-ilāya and Bēl-dān, for the years 809-807 BC. The eponym for 805 BC was called Aššur-taklāk. The very end of the names for 807 BC and 805 BC, namely AN^f and LAK is preserved on the left margin of VAT 11256. This means that VAT 11256 must be placed two and a half lines further down than in Millard's proposal. This result can be confirmed in a different way. Above the name of king Adad-nērārī III there was the usual horizontal line separating royal eponym periods. Its beginning is preserved on VAT 11258, though Schroeder's copy missed it. For Millard's placement, its end should be visible in a well-preserved area of VAT 11256, where there is an empty space. A downward shift of more than one line solves this problem.

We now have the position of VAT 11256 relative to the KAV 21 group, in particular to VAT 11254. VAT 11255 almost fills the space between VAT 11254 and VAT 11256, which allows a precise line count. In particular one sees that one eponym is missing for the years between the eponyms of 862 BC on VAT 11256 and 845 BC on VAT 11254. This agrees with Schroeder's tentative direct join in KAV 22 and with the presence of only two names for 861-859 BC. Schroeder's copy of the line after the 862 BC eponymate reads AN.MAŠ.x, a haplography of the correct AN^d.MAŠ.MAŠ.x, one of his rare misreadings. Ungnad interpreted the name as a mistake for Aššur-ilāya, the eponym of 861 BC, as given by K 4329 (III R pl. I).⁷⁾ Instead, it agrees either with Nergal-nīrka-da" in, the eponym for 860 BC on K 4329 or with the dubious Nergal-ilāya, given for 861 BC on the Sultantepe list. If x in AN^d.MAŠ.MAŠ.x is an actual wedge head, its high position favours Nergal-nīrka-da" in.

4) Two minor remarks - For Adad-mušammer (788 BC), the initial three horizontals of the final *-mer* are visible, but were missed by Schroeder. Before Marlarme (668 BC) there is a horizontal divider, copied by Schroeder without comment. It certainly denotes the accession of Aššur-bāni-apli.

Notes

1. UNGNAD 1938: 418-423.
2. The following entries merit particular attention. Col. VI: 868-865 BC, 853-852 BC; col. VIII: 745 BC, 721 BC; col. IX: 683 BC, 675 BC.
3. MILLARD 1994: pl. 7.
4. MILLARD 1994: 18.
5. ZAWADZKI 1994: 44.
6. ROAF 1995.
7. UNGNAD 1938: 418-419.

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27) Eponyms on the recto of KAV 21-24 — For some late eponyms of Tukultī-apil-ešarra I in KAV 21 col. III, a consideration of sign forms and space allows new readings.

A) In line III 18 three signs are more likely than four. Because Aššur is always written without divine determinative, the damaged second sign can hardly be anything else but 'I. The obvious restoration is

col. III 18 ^mle- 'i-aš+šur.

The eponym is otherwise unknown.

B) In line III 19 the second preserved sign is TA, not UM, as already stated by Schroeder in the KAV name index. Line III 20 can be reconstructed in analogy to line V 20, which is treated below. One obtains

col. III 20 [2-u/u₂] šakin KUR.

Presumably this means that the eponym]DA-TA-TI named in line III 19 had a second eponymate, because he was appointed governor of the land. The eponym is otherwise unknown.

C) For line III 21, identification with the eponym Aššur-ša'issunu is generally accepted. The sign before -su-nu ends with a vertical. I first assumed that the scribe had analogous variant sign forms for 'I as for AN, but because the latter variants follow clear rules, this explanation makes no sense. I now think that one should read

col. III 21 ^maš+šur-ša- 'i-is-su-nu.

The tip of the long horizontal of 'I seems to be preserved. The available space is adequate. IS does not have the form found elsewhere on the tablet, but this might be due to the condensed writing of the long name.

D) The name of the eponym of the second year of Ašarēd-apil-ekur seems to be -ŠE]Š-GU[R-er.

Because Ungnad did not see the fragments himself, his transcriptions of col. IV and col. V are based on plausible but wrong ideas about the relative placement of KAV 21 and KAV 22. For the early eponyms of Aššur-rabi II, the new placement yields convincing results for lines 26 and 28-30, while line 27 requires further study. We now have in col. IV

^{23 m}aš+šur-GAL^{bi} [MAN]

^{24 m}aš+šur-mu-še-[zib]

^{25 m}it-tab-[ši]

^{26 m}aš+šur-KAR-[a]-[ni¹]

^{27 md}PA-KALAG-an-[LU]GAL[?]

^{28 m}aš+šur-ba[l-l]it

^{29 m}DU-ša[l]-lim

^{30 m}qu-q[u]-u.

Ungnad had assumed that the 33 years of Tukultī-apil-ešarra II correspond to 33 lines of text in col. V. When one turns around the joined verso, one finds only 30 lines. There is a precedent. Aššur-nērārī IV has two lines less than years, because the repeated *ša* EGIR years are enumerated in lines reading 2-*u* 3-[*u/u*₂] and 4-*u* 5-[*u/u*₂]. Schroeder noted that there are similar years under Tukultī-apil-ešarra II,¹⁾ but did not recognize that in several cases *u*₂ is used instead of *u*. He interpreted that sign as ŠID, but on the tablet the lower horizontal is absent. There are exactly three lines that can contain repeated *ša* EGIR years, just right to explain the difference of 33 and 30. One obtains in col. V

⁴ mGIŠKIM-A-E₂-šar₂-ra [MAN]
⁵ m^aš+šur-EN-la-m[ur]
⁶ [š]a EGIR m^aš+šur-EN-l[a-mur]
⁷ 2-^ru₂¹
⁸ [3]-^ru¹
⁹ [4]-^ru₂¹
¹⁰ [5]----^ru₂¹
¹¹ [6]-^ru¹ [7-*u*₂]
¹² [8-*u* 9]-^ru₂¹
¹³]x-a[
¹⁴ [DI.K]UD-^d[MAŠ/UTU]
¹⁵ [^mdu]-du-*u*₂
¹⁶ [ša EGI]R m^{du}-du-*u*
¹⁷ m^dx]-PAB-le-šir₃
¹⁸ m^{HI.G}]A-ke-nu
¹⁹ m^x]-de-ni-IGI
²⁰ [2]-*u*₂ ša₂-kin KUR
²¹ m^x]-qu-
²²⁻²⁵ lost
²⁶ š[a EGIR
²⁷ 2-*u* [3-*u*₂]
²⁸ m^dMAŠ-
²⁹ m^aš+šur-na-
³⁰ mGIŠKIM-A-[E₂-šar-ra MAN]
³¹ m^{SUM}-x[
³² m^{EN-K}[ALAG?
³³ m^dŠEŠ.[GAL-
³⁴ 33 [MU]^{meš}]

Lines 7-10 only contain one *ša* EGIR year each. In addition, the free space in line 10 is taken up by a middle horizontal line, above of which a MU sign is written. There is nothing comparable elsewhere. If the first year of Tukultī-apil-ešarra II is correctly dated to 966 BC and if the solar eclipse of eponym year 127 given by the Mari eponym chronicle is the eclipse of 1833 BC, then the year of line 10 is exactly eponym year 1000.

Note

1. O. SCHROEDER, Ueber die *lîmu*-Liste KAV 21-24, *OLZ* 24, 1921: 19-21 esp. p. 21.

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28) The colophon of KAV 21-24 — The first eponym in col. I of the tablet might have been Tukultī-Ninurta I, but in this case one needs 75 lines each in columns I and II. This is at least five lines longer than in any other column, which seems unrealistic. A start around year 10 of Tukultī-Ninurta I seems more likely. Since there is nothing special about such a year and since the scribe appears to have emphasized year 1000 of the eponym list, it appears plausible that he wrote down the whole list of more than 1300 names on two tablets, of which the first one is lost. In this case the colophon in col. X can be reconstructed along the line proposed by Zawadzki:¹⁾

[ŠU.NIGIN 1 LIM 3 ME]
[2]2 MU.AN.NA^{meš}
[iš]-tu lim-me

[^mš^u-^diš^{tar}]
[DUMU *a-bi-la*]
[*a-di*] *lim-me*
[^maš+š^{ur}]-ŠU-GUR-*ra*
[^{hi}AG]RIG.GAL

The distance between the lines of the colophon is about three to four lines of ordinary text in column IX. The last partially preserved name in col. IX is the one for 659 BC. Calculation of the number of missing names below must be based on comparison with col. VII, the end of which is preserved. There, the name for 777 BC is placed at the height of the entry for 659 BC, followed by two somewhat compressed names. Accordingly, the names for 658 and 657 BC might have been placed at the bottom of col. IX. On the other hand, the line for 659 BC is slanted and what is left of the free space before the lost next line is rather large. Thus it is more likely that the eponym for 657 BC was already placed at the top of column X. Thus column X should have contained 20 lines of eponyms, 7 free lines, 26 lines for the colophon text and 7 free lines at the end, compared to the 60 lines of column IX. This is pleasingly symmetrical and cannot be far from the truth. The eponym names require a column of roughly the same width a columns III-IX, whereas Schroeder postulated a narrower column. Indeed, N. Postgate pointed out to me that Schroeder's placement of the edge of col. X is incompatible with the text of the colophon.

The placement of Aššur-gimillu-tēre would shift from 638 BC to 637 BC, if the total number of years was 1323 instead of 1322, which also is compatible with Schroeder's copy of the fragment VAT 11260^B in KAV 24. Unfortunately, this fragment has not been seen for many decades and may be lost.

The reconstruction of the colophon yields a precise place where it should have broken off from VAT 11258, namely along the line of the personal determinatives of the eponyms from 686-682 BC. The right halves of their wedge heads are preserved on VAT 11258, whereas Schroeder's copy of VAT 11260^B indicates that the remainder was preserved on this fragment. If it turns up again, the whole reconstruction can be checked immediately.

Note

1. S. ZAWADZKI, Das Eponymat des Aššur-gimilli-tirri im Lichte der Berliner Eponymen-Liste C^c, SAAB 8, 1994: 43-54, esp. 51-52.

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29) Adapa's relationship with Enki/Ea — The myth of Adapa and the South Wind has been well studied, but one apparently tiny detail remains elusive. In col. i line 6', Ea creates Adapa as a *rid-du* (IZRAE'EL 2001: 9). What does it mean and what is it doing there? Various suggestions have been made as laid out in IZRE'EL 2001: 12. We may readily concur with him that *šed-du* is not an appropriate reading, but what to do with *rid-du*. Do we side with Speiser and take this as referring to a model to be imitated or, with von Soden and Talon as a follower or perhaps disciple of Ea?

Careful reading of the CAD R volume quickly turns up the obvious solution to the problem, namely *rēdû* mng. 3 (CAD R 246b) which is "ox following the lead ox". In case your reaction is: "What is that supposed to mean?", let me explain. To call an ox a lead ox is a bit of a misnomer, they lead all right but, unless a second ox joins in, nobody else moves. We observed this for ourselves when taking a walk on my family farm and confirmed with our neighbor Daren von Lintel and with Prof. Gibson that we were not imagining things. Adapa is precisely that second ox. He receives Ea's wisdom which is, on the whole, practical wisdom (how to build a boat, make a trap, build a building etc.). Adapa's job is to pass on that wisdom to the rest of mankind.

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30) Who Performed Aleuromancy? — Aleuromancy (flour divination) is one of the most scarcely attested divination forms in Mesopotamia. Since flour was a cheap material, anyone could afford it, and scholars often assume this to be the reason aleuromancy was typically not committed to writing. However, a reference to aleuromancy as proof of the results of extispicy in the Gudea cylinder shows that this kind of divination was not exclusive to the poor. The only tablet of flour omens published so far (NOUGAYROL 1963; discussed in detail by MAUL 2010) is a Late Old Babylonian school tablet, which suggests aleuromancy was “part of a curriculum of a trained professional. However, we have no other evidence for this nor any hint as to which specialist this might have been” (KOCH 2015: 140).

A new piece of evidence comes from a small Late Babylonian tablet BM 36330, published as text 10.18 in CMAwR 2. Although the editors provided an autography (Pl. 84) and a description of its contents, only one section relevant to anti-witchcraft rituals received an edition (rev. 4-6). The tablet includes 10 sections separated by rulings. The first six sections consist of instructions for apotropaic necklaces against various evils. The seventh section (rev. 7 – u.e. 2), edited below, presents a series of flour omens. Incipits of prayers and incantations follow in two sections and a ritual for gaining respect of one’s slaves is inscribed on the left edge. The inclusion of prayer incipits suggests that this tablet as a whole might represent a prescription for a specific case, or even an individual patient, but this remains uncertain - it might as well be a collection of loosely related ritual notes. What this tablet makes clear, however, is that a ritual specialist engaged in the production of apotropaic necklaces - including necklaces protecting against various diseases (hand-of-a-ghost, hand-of-a-god, epilepsy) as well as against the *lilû*-demon, and the seizing-of-the-mouth-witchcraft (*kadabeddû*) - also wrote down and likely performed flour omens. With a high probability, we can identify this specialist as the exorcist (*āšipu*).

This is further supported by line 25 of the *Exorcist’s Manual*: EŠ.BAR MUL.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ u GU₄.MEŠ u MÁŠ.ANŠE.MEŠ INIM.GAR NA₄ZÌ NA.RI DINGIR DÙ.A.BI “Omens from stars, birds, and oxen, and livestock, oracles from stones, flour, incense, (and) god, in their totality.” Since the *Manual* claims to contain established text series, the quoted line 25 should refer to an unidentified text or a text series, possibly a text similar to STT 73, containing short rituals to obtain an oracular decision (I am indebted to Jon Beltz for this reference). Alternatively, this list of omen categories suggests a precursor to *Šumma ālu*, mentioned in the later part of the *Exorcist’s Manual* (line 39), which is possible if we consider the later sections of the *Manual* beginning with its second rubric a later addition (see KOUBKOVÁ forthcoming). We now know that a passage of *Šumma ālu* did contain flour omens (K.4097+ and parallels; accessible at <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/D/2/1/SB/95NZK#4>). Flour omens in *Šumma ālu* are preceded by sections related to light: the flame of a lamp, the flame of a torch, a lamp in a person’s house, and, finally, the setting up of a lamp at a sick man’s bed (DIŠ IZI.GAR ša ina SAG^{lu}GIG kun-nu; K.4097+ rev. 1’-18’), a classic element of healing rituals performed by the exorcist. Moreover, the first section of K.4097+ preserves numerous abbreviated ritual instructions to avert negative omens (*ana NU TE ...*; obv. 1’, 3’, 5’, 9’, 11’, 19’b). After the aleuromantic section, the sequence continues with establishing a man’s purity before entering a temple, which could serve a patient’s reintegration into society after an exorcistic ritual. Flour divination thus seems to have a place in the realm of *āšipūtu*, although, of course, this does not make it necessarily exclusive to the exorcist.

There are at least two attested methods of aleuromancy, to which we add a third one below. Nougayrol’s Old Babylonian tablet describes tossing flour together with an ear of grain on a surface and observing their mutual relation, either once or seven times. The ear of grain stands in for the client so that its being covered by flour is a negative omen. According to a standard divinatory logic, observations are made in two sections, eastern and western, so that omens in the East relate to the client and omens in the West relate to his adversaries (MAUL 2010). In *Šumma ālu*, on the other hand, flour is tossed on water to observe its shapes, movements, and potential coagulation or sinking.

Our new passage from BM 36330 mentions neither an ear of grain, nor water. Flour is poured or strewn (*sarāqu*), not tossed (*nadû*) as in *Šumma ālu*. The movements described are also different: it piles up high (*zaqrāt*) and this pile can either stay intact (*lā unaššar*), collapse completely (*imtaqqut*), fall on one side (*imqut*), or spread out on one side (*iptur*). (Similarly, in lecanomancy, DU₈/paṭārum “sich ablösen; sich ausbreiten” is used synonymously with rapāšum “sich ausdehnen” and raqāqum “dünn sein/werden”;

PETTINATO 1966:156). My own experimentation with all-purpose flour (with the necessary reservation about its different properties from Mesopotamian *maṣḥatu*-flour and our lack of information about the amount of flour used as well as the exact style of pouring) has shown that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to create one large pile of flour on water. Indeed, there is no attempt to pile up flour in the *Šumma ālu* omens. This supports my conclusion that the present passage represents a third, so far unattested, method of flour divination. The pile of flour, heaped up on an unknown surface, represents the client – when it collapses, it is therefore a negative omen. BM 36330 refers to the standard left and right directions (not West and East like Nougayrol’s text) as the *pars hostilis* and *pars familiaris*, respectively. When the pile of flour collapses, or flour spreads out on the right, it is a negative omen; when on the left, it is negative for the client’s adversaries and thus positive for the client.

In contrast to Nougayrol’s text as well as *Šumma ālu*, which refer to simple flour (*ZÌ/qēmu*), the flour in our passage is *maṣḥatu* (*ZÌ.MAD.GÁ*), a type of roasted flour often used as an offering. This same type of flour is mentioned in an often-quoted passage of an incantation prayer to Šamaš, according to which the diviner brings cedar, the widow *maṣḥatu*-flour, the poor woman oil, and the rich man a lamb – in other words, everyone brings an offering according to their means (BUTLER 1998: 274 l. 21–23). Indeed, flour in aleuromancy was not only a tool for asking questions of the gods but also an offering. Although this incantation prayer suggests that flour was only suitable for poor clients, it could also be used to double-check the results of extispicy or dream divination (MAUL 2010; GEORGE – AL-RAWI 1996: 172–175). This small contribution brings together evidence of learned ritual specialists, such as the exorcist (*ašīpu*), taking an interest in aleuromancy and studying it in written form. Although all attested flour omens follow standard divinatory logic, the practice itself – with three different methods in three manuscripts – does not seem to have been standardized at all.

- 7 *šumma*(DIŠ) *i-na šá-a-li maṣḥata*(ZÌ.MAD.GÁ) *ta-as-ru-uq-ma zaq-rat-ma*
If you pour *maṣḥatu*-flour when asking (for an oracle) and it is piled up high and then
- 8 *la ú-na-šár libbašu*(ŠÀ.BI) *tāb*(DÛG.GA)
it does not disintegrate – his heart will be glad.
- 9 DIŠ KI.MIN *imaqqut*(ŠUB.ŠUB-ut) *libbašu*(ŠÀ.BI) *ul*(NU) *tāb*(DÛG.GA) DIŠ KI.MIN *ana imitti*(15) *paṭrat*(DU₈) *ina-zíq*
If ditto (you pour *maṣḥatu*-flour when asking (for an oracle) and it is piled up high and then), it collapses completely – his heart will not be glad. If ditto, it is spread out on the right – he will have worries.
- 10 DIŠ KI.MIN *ana šumēli*(150) *paṭrat*(DU₈) *libbašu*(ŠÀ.BI) *tāb*(DÛG.GA)
If ditto, it is spread out on the left – his heart will be glad.
- l.e. 1 DIŠ KI.MIN *ana imitti*(15) *imqut*(ŠUB-ut) *libbašu*(ŠÀ.BI) *ul*(NU) *tāb*(DÛG.GA)
If ditto, it collapses to the right – his heart will not be glad.
- l.e. 2 DIŠ KI.MIN *ana šumēli*(150) *imqut*(ŠUB-ut) *libbašu*(ŠÀ.BI) *tāb*(DÛG.GA)
If ditto, it collapses to the left – his heart will be glad.

I would like to thank Daniel Schwemer for sharing his edition of this passage with me to compare our readings. All remaining mistakes are mine.

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31) Additions to Schmidtchen, Newly Identified Joins of Šumma ālu Tablet 43 (Equines)-Fragments A.3449+A.3640+AO.6490+/(+)W.20030/116, Kaskal NS 2 — As noted in Schmidtchen, Kaskal NS 2 (2025), 79, introductory footnote, a brief annotation was added to the box containing fragment A.3449+, attributing the identification of its join with AO.6490 to an individual abbreviated as “J. O.”, whose identity could not at that time be determined. It has since become clear that this abbreviation refers to Prof. Joachim Oelsner, who should therefore be credited with establishing the join A.3449 + A.3640 + AO.6490.

Moreover, Joachim Oelsner kindly provided several valuable suggestions and improvements regarding the reading of the colophon, which are presented below.

Transliteration and translation

	Structure according to semantic units	Translation
Mention of persons and affiliations		
r 30–31a	^{im} rDUB ¹ ^{m.d} 60-EN-šú-nu A šá ^m NÍG.SUM.MU- ^d 60 A šá ^{m.d} 60-EN-šú-nu ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ^m É.KUR-za-kir	Tablet of Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, son of Anu-bēlšunu, descendent of Ekur-zakir,
r 31b	^{lú} MAŠ.MAŠ ^d 60 u an-tu ₄	the incantation expert of Anu and Antu,
r 31c	^{lú} ŠEŠ.GAL- ^r iá ¹ šá ^é re-eš	the high priest of the Rēš-temple,
r 31d–32a	^{lú} UMBISAG ^r DIŠ ² U ₄ ^d 60 ¹ [^d EN.LÍL.LÁ]	scribe of Enūma-Anu-[Enlil],
r 32b	[UNU ^{ki}]-ú	[the Uruke]an.
r 32c–33	ŠU ^m URÌ-šú- ^d 60 [A šá ^l PN A šá ^m PN ŠÀ.BA]L.BAL ^m É.KUR-za-kir	Hand of Ušuršu-Anu, [son of ..., son of ..., desc]endant of Ekur-zakir,
r 34a	[^{lú} MAŠ.MAŠ ^d 60 u an-tu ₄]	[the incantation expert of Anu and Antu.]
r 34b	[^{lú} ŠEŠ.GAL(-iá)] šá ^é re-eš	[the high priest] of the Rēš-temple,
r 34c	^{lú} UMBISAG U ₄ ^d 60 ^d EN.LÍL.LÁ	scribe of Enūma-Anu-Enlil
r 35a	[UNU ^{ki}]-ú	[the Urukean.]
Purposes		
r 35b	[...]	[...]
r 35c	[... NU GÁL-e G]IG [?]	[... for absence of illn]ess(?),
r 35d–36a	ana ^é SAG ^é ŠEŠ.GAL [...]	[...] at the Rēš-temple, the Ešgal, (and?) [...]
r 36b	[(u)] kun-nu SUḪUŠ-a-a SAR-ma ú-kin	[and to] strengthen my foundations, he(?) wrote (it) and deposited (it).
Place and date of issue		
r 37a	[...]	[...]
r 37b–38a	[UNU ^{ki} it _x (x x)] ^r U ₄ ¹ 6 ^r kám ¹ MU.AN.NA 1 ME 60+š _u 2 ^r kám ¹ [^l a-lek-sa-an-dar LUGAL]	[Uruk, month ...,] day 6, year 162 [of king Alexander].
Curse formula		
r 38b–39a	[pa-l]iḫ ^d IŠKUR ^d ŠA.LA u EN DINGIR.MEŠ [ina šur-qa/qí NU TÛM-šú]	[Whoever wo]rships Adad, Šala, and the lord of the gods [shall not steal it!]
r 39b	šá TÛM-šú MU ina a-mat ^d 60 u an-tu ₄ NU TUK-ši	Whoever takes it away may have no seed by the command of Anu and Antu!

Comments

r 31c: Cf. BAK 87: 6; the spelling -iá in place of -i is unique and remains without satisfactory explanation.

r 31d–32a: The traces at the beginning of r. 32 have previously gone unnoticed. For DIŠ and UNU^{ki}-ú, see BAK 87: 6, among other parallels.

r 32b: Cf. BAK 87: 6 for the same sequence of titles (see also BAK 88 and parallels). The available space appears to exceed the amount required by the proposed restoration based on comparanda.

r 32c–33: Given that the tablet owner’s name and affiliation are expressed in a quadripartite formulation, the same structure is to be expected for the scribe, in accordance with the practice in Hellenistic Uruk. The PN Ušuršu-Anu is attested several times, though not in the capacity of scribe.

r 34–35a: Cf. BAK 90: 6. The sequence of titles follows the established parallels.

r 35b: The break accommodates approximately 11–12 signs, of which the first three are plausibly restored as UNU^{ki}-ú. If this interpretation is correct, three additional signs ([... NU GÁL-e G]IG[?]) may be posited toward the end of the lacuna, leaving 3–5 signs unaccounted for. On the basis of parallels, the following purpose clauses may be considered: 1. ana a-ḫa-a-zi-šú “for his instruction”; 2. (ana) GÍD.DA U₄.MEŠ-šú “for long duration of his days”; 3. (ana) TIN ZI^l-šú “for the life of his soul”. Of these, the latter best fits the estimated space.

r 35c: The reading “7” proposed by Schmidtchen (Kaskal NS 2, 84) is contextually improbable. As GIG (= *muršu*, “disease”) frequently occurs in comparable colophon sections, the partially ambiguous traces are best interpreted accordingly. An alternative reading KI is difficult to justify.

r 35d–36a: If *ana* is correctly read, an infinitive construction forming part of the purpose statement, followed by an additional term, is expected in the lacuna of l. r. 36. No direct parallel has yet been identified. The asyndetic juxtaposition of temples may suggest that a third sanctuary originally followed in the break at the beginning of l. r. 36, likely introduced by *u* (“and”). Possible candidates are the Eanna temple (though its significance in the Hellenistic period was limited) or one of the Akitu houses (cf. A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, Leipzig 1941, 42–22). Such a conjunction, however, remains unattested.

r 36b: In parallels ending with *ukīn*, the passage typically specifies the placement (cf. *BAK* 87, 91, 93, 106), a feature absent here; see also *BAK* 111. Note *BAK* 92, where the verbal form is inadvertently omitted. Given the similar syntactic structure in *BAK* 111, a deviation in word order appears unlikely.

r. 37a–38a: With the conclusion of the purpose clause in r. 36, r. 37 should introduce the place of issue, followed by the date. The lacuna requires several signs for a toponym and a chronological formula; in addition to the proposed restoration, TIR.AN.NA.KI—rare in colophons—may be considered as well, along with three further signs designating the month.

r 38b–39: Numerous parallels to this and related formulations occur in Late Babylonian colophons.

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32) A ‘Ghost Word’ in SB Gilgamesh XI 149, 152: ‘Returning’ to *i-PI-ra-am-ma* — SB Gilgamesh XI: 149–152 describes the dove and swallow departing from Ūta-napišti’s boat. A difficulty in lines 149 and 152, however, is how to judge between the two extant variants that preserve different verbs – each supported by two witnesses – describing the birds’ behavior after they leave Ūta-napišti. One variant preserves the reading *itūram* (AššNA1c, [*i*]l-lik TU^{mušen} *i-t[u-ram-ma]*; NinNA2a, *il-lik* TU^{mušen} *i-tu-ram-m[a]*). Poetically, this reading is straightforward – it creates synonymous parallelism to describe the return of the dove and swallow (*tāru* // *saḥāru*), which heightens the contrast with the auspicious behavior of the raven/crow in XI: 156 *ikkal išahḫi itarri ul issahra* (“It was eating – bending down and rising up – it did not return to me;” see GEORGE 2003, vol. 2, 889–90; MIGLIO 2024, 266–7).

The other verb attested in witnesses to XI: 149, 152 is *i-pi-ra-am-ma* (NinNA1, *il-lik* TU^{mušen} *i-PI-ra-am-m[a]*; NinNA3b, *il-lik* TU^{mušen} *i-PI-[ra-am-ma]*). George’s 2003 commentary indicates a tentative preference for the form *i-PI-ra-am-ma* based on the text-critical rationale of *lectio difficilior potior*. He cleverly postulated that the form *i-tu-ram-ma* secondarily arose, “apparently by ignoring a wedge, and reading *i-tú-ra-ma*” (GEORGE 2003, vol. 2, 889). At the same time, George left the form *i-PI-ra-am-ma* untranslated and expressed caution about identifying the verbal root behind it (GEORGE 2003, vol. 2, 889).

Attempting to solve the difficulty identified by George’s edition of SB Gilgamesh, subsequent scholars suggested that the form *i-PI-ra-am-ma* should be understood as derived from the verb *ebēru*, “to cross over” (WOLFE and ALDRED 2016). Yet George convincingly rejoined this interpretation of the form, observing that “[t]he value *bì* (*bis*) of the sign PI does not occur in Kuyunjik copies of Gilgamesh, nor in seventh-century spellings of parts of *ebēru* generally...” and he rightly maintained that “...the derivation of the verb spelled *i-pi-ra-am-ma* remains elusive” (GEORGE 2016).

RS 94.2953, which preserves a version of the Flood, perhaps from an early version of the Gilgamesh Epic (MIGLIO 2026), provides an additional witness that helps adjudicate between the variants in SB XI: 149, 152. In RS 94.2953:11–12, the clause *su-ma-ta*^{mušen} *ú-maš-ši-ir il-lik i-tu₃-ra-ma* seems to be a precursor to what appears in SB XI: 148–9 and 151–2 (CAVIGNEAUX 2007; cf. ARNAUD 2007). This clause pushes the reading *itūram* back several centuries and seems to slightly tip the scales in favor of the conclusion that *itūram* should be preferred in SB XI: 149, 152 (e.g., NinNA1; NinNA3b).¹⁾

Thus, the variants in SB XI: 149, 152 likely arose as George ingeniously intuited: a hypothetical form spelled with *tu₂* (UD) likely contributed to confused textual traditions in SB XI: 149, 152, since the distinction between *tu₂* (e.g., *itūram*) and PI (e.g., *i-PI-ra-am-ma*) is a single horizontal wedge (GEORGE 2003, vol. 2, 889). Yet the reading preserved in RS 94.2953:12 suggests that *i-PI-ra-am-ma* developed as the result of orthographic confusion, producing a ‘ghost word,’ and not that *itūram* (AššNA1c, NinNA2a) was an attempt to smooth out the more difficult and original reading. In fact, it seems most likely that this orthographic confusion occurred in manuscripts of the first millennium, since UD was very infrequently used with the value *tu₂* in the second millennium (LAUINGER 2019).²⁾ Moreover, the spellings with TU in SB XI: 149, 152 (AššNA1c; NinNA2a) likely developed to ensure an unequivocal reading of *itūram*, while

a ‘corrupted’ tradition of *i-PI-ra-am-ma* continued to be perpetuated by some scribal hands (known from Nineveh).

The reconstruction offered above explains how the two variants arose for SB Tablet XI: 149, 152. Perhaps it also offers consolation for the frustrations caused by the form *i-PI-ra-am-ma*—it explains *why* the interpretation of this form has proven so “elusive” to scholars. That said, the above explanation does not address what scribes who copied *i-PI-ra-am-ma* might have understood this form to mean (assuming they did understand it). Determining how scribes might have tried to make sense of the copyists’ mumpsimus would require substantially more evidence.

Notes

1. The spelling *i-tu₃-ra-ma* illustrates what Huehnergard long ago noted: that the use of DU for *tu₃* at Ugarit is consistent with the “... indiscriminate use of signs to represent voiced, voiceless, and emphatic stops” that characterized ‘West Peripheral Akkadian’ (HUEHNERGARD 1989, 272, see also pp. 33–35). RS 94.2953 also contains: GI as *qe₃* (*al-qè-ma* [l. 9]) alongside KI as *qi₂* (*qi₂-bi-ti* [l. 7]) and *qe₂* (*li-qe₂-ma* [l. 3]).

2. Lauinger observed that the value *tu₂* for UD is relatively infrequent in Late Bronze Age texts, noting only one instance of UD being used with the value *tu₂* at Ugarit: a lexical list (RS 34.180:7). In fact, most of the instances of UD transcribed as *tu₂* at Ras Shamra are actually typographic mistakes in which DU is copied and should have been transcribed as *tu₃* (e.g., RS 94.2185:22; RS 94.2571:18; RS 94.2416+:32; RS 94.2500+:3’) or are cases where UD can be read otherwise (RS 34.147:4 [see HUEHNERGARD 1997, 214]). The reading of UD as *tu₂* in RS 25.460:18 (ARNAUD 2007, 111) is far from certain.

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33) When did the Urartians celebrate the New Year? — The Urartian cultic texts form a significant part of the stone- and rock-cut royal inscriptions. The content of these texts is mostly understandable, although, it is still difficult to give coherent translation to some passages. These texts generally inform about animal sacrifices for the gods made during religious rituals, but the time and purpose of these rituals again remain mostly unclear. The most significant cultic inscription of this series is the large text engraved within a “gate” – a symbolic door carved on the rocky surface of the cliff near Țușpa, the capital city of the Urartian kingdom, located within the modern city of Van in eastern Türkiye.

The text is known under the name of “Mheri dur” (“Meher kapısı” in Turkish) and represents a long list of sacrifices made for Țaldi, the native god of the Urartian royal house, and other gods of state pantheon. The introductory section of this inscription specifies the time of sacrifices – ^DUTU ITU (var. ^DUTU-ni-ni ITU) – i.e. the “month of the Sun-god” (CTU I, A 3-12, 34). This is the only month-name, which is attested in Urartian inscriptions (for other references, see CTU I, A 5-57, and probably CTU I, A 9-1 Ro₁₀). Several mentions of the “month of the Sun-god” and its probable correspondence with March/April led some scholars to consider it as a first month of the Urartian calendar, which marks the beginning of spring, the beginning of agricultural activities and, generally, the beginning of the New Year (KÖNIG 1955: 54, n. 3; HMAKYAN 1990: 76-77. Cf. BONFANTI 2024: 187 and n. 4). This seems logical, when we

compare the time of the New Year celebrations in other ancient Near Eastern societies, like in Assyria and Babylonia, where the beginning of the New Year corresponded with the northward equinox in the month of Nissanu, the first month of the year according to the standard Mesopotamian calendar (see, e.g., BIDMEAD 2014; DEBOURSE 2022; etc.).

At the same time, the text under discussion clearly points to certain sacrificial rituals that should have performed in accordance with the growing seasons of grapevine:

(27) ^miš-pu-ú-i-ni-še ^mDsar₅-du-ri-ḫi-ni-še ^mmì-nu-ú-a-še ^miš-pu-ú-i-ni-[(ḫi-ni-še)] ^{GIŠ}ul-di-e šú-ḫí te-ru-ni ^Dḫal-di-e ku-ú-e (30) ... a-še ^{GIŠ}ul-di ta-nu-li ^Dḫal-di-e 3 UDU ŠUM 3 UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ} UKKIN^{MEŠ} a-še ^{GIŠ}ul-di me-šú-li (31) ^Dḫal-di-e 3 UDU ŠUM 3 UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ} UKKIN^{MEŠ} GEŠTIN me-ši-i-ú-li-ni mī-i e-ši-me-ši el-mu-š[e (m)a]-a-nu-ú-ni

(27) “Išpuini, son of Sarduri (and) Minua, son of Išpuini, planted a new vineyard for *kuwe* of the god Ḫaldi (30) ... When the vineyard is *tanuli*, three sheep for the god Ḫaldi should be sacrificed, three sheep to all other gods. When the vineyard is *mešuli*, (31) three sheep for the god Ḫaldi should be sacrificed, three sheep to all other gods. (Let) grape (?) be picked (?), *mei ešimeši elmuše manuni* (a poorly understandable sacral formula)” (CTU I, A 3-1₂₇₋₃₁. See also CTU I, A 3-1₈₅₋₉₄).

Another stage of grapevine cultivation is recorded on a stele discovered from the village Ənkuzak (Anguzek, Gusak, now Topuzarpa), to the north-east of Van, near the town of Muradiye:

(24) a-še ^{GIŠ}ul-di t[e]-šú-li-e (25) GU₄ 3 UDU ^Dḫal-di-e (26) ur-pu-ú-li-i-ni

(24) “When the vineyard is *tešule*, (25) one bull (and) three sheep for the god Ḫaldi (26) should be sacrificed” (CTU I, A 5-33₂₄₋₂₆).

There are not accepted meanings for the verbs *tan(u)-*, *meš(u)-*, and *teš(u)-*, and the context-based translations like “to plant”, “to make”, “to establish” (?) for the first term (HMAKYAN 1990: 76; WILHELM 2004: 136; SALVINI, WEGNER 2014: 57, 62; SALVINI 2018: 417), “to ripen”, “to gather (grapes)” (?) for the second (HMAKYAN 1990: 76; SALVINI, WEGNER 2014: 111; SALVINI 2018: 402), and “to collect (fruits)”, “to ripen”, “to harvest” (?), etc. for the last term (KHACHIKYAN 1985: 48, 51 and n. 14; HMAKYAN 1990: 78; WILHELM 2004: 132; SALVINI, WEGNER 2014: 57, 62. Cf. SALVINI 2018: 419) are in any case conditional¹⁾. Hence, the time of religious rituals that should have been performed in connection of growing stages of vineyards remains obscure²⁾.

Whatever it may be, these sacrifices were closely connected with the cult of the god Ḫaldi, and the consume of grapes and wine, libations made in front of the “gates” and steles of Ḫaldi, along with other textual, archaeological, and iconographic evidences (see, e.g., BATMAZ 2013: 72-74) testify the important place of wine, grapes, and viticulture in general in the “Ḫaldi-centred” belief system of the Urartians.

The Urartian scribes mention wine using the Sumerogram GEŠTIN^(MEŠ) (CTU I, A 9-3 VII₁₀; A 11-1 VO₂₃), whereas the attestation of the phonetic variant of the Urartian word for wine is a matter of discussion (GREKYAN 2017: 41-50). Some Urartian inscriptions inform about the use of grapes in rituals as well (Urart. *ḫaluli* “grape”, see SALVINI, WEGNER 2014: 109), as in the inscribed stele of Ənkuzak mentioned above: ([ḫ]a-lu-li áš-ḫu-li-ni e-’a ^Dḫal-di-na-a KÁ[e-’a pu-lu-si-ni-ka-i “grape should be offered both at the gate of Ḫaldi and in front of the stele”) (CTU I, A 5-33₂₇₋₂₉), and one of the texts mentions the expression ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN ḫa-lu-li-e (CTU I, A 12-1 V₉), a probable reference to the wine grape. The text continues with a less-understandable passage, where a certain rite, feast or festival (Urart. *qarmeḫi*) is mentioned in connection with wine or grapes, probably, a rite/festival of wine offered to Ḫaldi at the gate of Ḫaldi:

(V 9) ... qar-me-ḫi (V 10) ¹GEŠTIN¹.NA³) at-ḫi-la-ti-i-ni áš-ḫi-la-ti-ni ^Dḫal-di-e ^Dḫal-di-na-a KÁ

(V 9) ... a rite (V 10) of wine should be hold (?) to be devoted (?) to Ḫaldi at the gate of Ḫaldi” (CTU I, A 12-1 V₉₋₁₀).

The inscribed stele of Ənkuzak mentions another rite or festival honouring the god Ḫaldi and his consort, the goddess Warubani:

(31) ... qar-me-ḫi (32) ^Dḫal-di-e áš-ḫu-li-ni (33) ^Dḫal-di-i-na-a KÁ (34) [q]ar-me-ḫi ^Da-ru-ba-ni (35) [qa]r-me-ḫi ^Dḫal-di-i-e (36) [p]u-ú-lu-si-ni-ka-i

“(31) ... A rite (32) for the god Ḫaldi should be offered (?) (33) at the gate of Ḫaldi, (34) a rite for the goddess Warubani, (35) a rite in front of Ḫaldi’s (36) stele” (CTU I, A 5-33₃₁₋₃₆).

It should be added here that the rites were performed at the time, “when the new wine is pressed (?)” ([a]-še GEŠTIN^{MEŠ} šú-ú-ḫi-e r’a¹-ḫu-li-e. See CTU I, A 5-33₃₀₋₃₁), that is, when the grapes were crushing to release the juice⁴). Here the mention of the “new wine” (GEŠTIN^{MEŠ} *šulḫe*) is very important, as it may refer not to wine, but to grape juice, the must⁵).

In some old languages of the ancient Near East the term “new wine” is also referred to the must, like Ugaritic *mrt*, “new wine, must” (DEL OLMO LETE, SANMARTÍN 2015: 571-572), Egyptian *mrs.w*, “new wine, must” and Hebrew *mērtt*, “fresh unfermented grape juice” (TAKÁCS 2008: 441-444), etc., while the exact meaning of the “new wine” (GEŠTIN GIBIL), e.g., in Hittite texts, is still debatable (cf. GORNY 1996: 154 and n. 24).

As it seems, the text of the inscribed stele of ʔnkuzak refers not only to vintage, but also and specifically to the rites of pressing grapes to extract the juice. During the rite, the first slice of the grape juice was offered to the chief god in the form of libation. A similar practice existed in Assyria with the participation of the king: (V 8) GEŠTIN.MEŠ (9) *aš-hu-ut SAG.MEŠ-te ana aš-šur EN-a* (10) *ú É.KUR.MEŠ KUR-ia a-qi (karānt ašhut qaqqadāte ana aššur bēliya u ekurrāti mātiya aqqi)* “I pressed wine (and) gave the best to Aššur, my lord, and the temples of my land” (GRAYSON 1991: 252 (A.O.101.17: 8b-9)).

As we can see, the rites connected with grapes and wine, along with animal sacrifices took the most important place in rituals that the Urartian kings commemorated in their inscriptions. These texts dated to ca. 820-650 BCE were usually inscribed on stone steles, on the surfaces of the rock-cut “gates”, but especially on the walls of the *susi*-temples, i.e., the main, if we do not want to say – the sole cultic buildings attested archaeologically in Urartu, “houses”, where the god ʔaldi “dwelt” (GREKYAN 2021: 193).

The important role of wine, grapes, and viticulture in the worship of ʔaldi, whom one may even compare with Dionysus (PETROSYAN 2006: 256-284), the god of winemaking, vegetation, and fertility in ancient Greek religion, allows to assume about the beginning time and the first month of the year in Urartian calendar. This can be the ripening season of grapevine, i.e., August/September, as the mention of the “new wine” (GEŠTIN^{MEŠ} *šulḫe*) and the existence of celebratory rituals figuring as “feast of wine” (*qarmehi* GEŠTIN.NA) points to.

Here I can note similar examples, where the beginning of the year was connected with the growth and vintage of grapevines. The New Year in Ugaritic society begins after the southward equinox, in the “month of the new wine” (*yrḫ r’iš yn*). During the celebrations the foaming juice of the newly pressed grapes was offered to Ba’al, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon, a deity of rain, lightning, and fertility (LIPINŠKI 1988: 140-141; SASSON 1994: 403)⁶). The celebrations of the month of the “new wine” (*me-tu-wo ne-wo*) were performed in the Mycenaean world as well (SHERRATT 2004: 203). Here one may remember even the French Revolutionary calendar, where the year begins with the first month called *Vandémiaire*, the month of the grape harvest, as its name points (22-24 September – 21-23 October).

Here I want also to point to an ancient Armenian tradition of offering the first grapes to the gods, a harvest festival that was later transformed into the Church feast of the Assumption of the Holy Mother-of-God. The time of celebrations corresponded to the sixth month of the ancient Armenian calendar, *arac* ‘(the month of) the harvest/harvest time’ (August/September), the time of vintage (MARTIROSYAN 2013: 110, idem *forthcoming*). Currently, the celebrations take place on the nearest Sunday to August 15, when the rite of blessing the grapes in the churches (Arm. *xatōtōrhnek*) or directly in the vineyards in past times is performed – a custom of thanksgiving for good harvest (ODABASHYAN 1978: 23-24. See also HMAYAKYAN, SIMONYAN 2014: 201-202).

To sum up, the rituals/celebrations mentioned above could represent the New Year festivals associated with harvest time in August/September, when the best part of the first grapes was offered to the gods and grape juice was poured out honouring ʔaldi and his consort, the goddess Warubaini as fertility deities. Nevertheless, one question still remains: whether the “month of the Sun-god” mentioned in the Urartian inscriptions is the first month of the year? It is a possibility, but we cannot be sure yet⁷).

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Notes

1. See also BONFANTI 2024: 196-200 for translation and commentaries of this passage, as well as the online edition in eCUT A 05-033 at <http://oracc.org/ecut/Q006931/>.
2. For discussions see, e.g., HMAKYAN 1990: 75-83; HMAKYAN, SIMONYAN 2014: 198-206; TAFFET 1999: 369-381 (with references), etc.
3. ¹GEŠTIN^{-na} in CTU I, A 12-1 V₁₀.
4. For translation cf. SALVINI, WEGNER 2014: 57, 62 and n. 27.
5. Here the probable reference to “new grapes”, as it was translated in eCUT A 05-033₃₀₋₃₁ (<http://oracc.org/ecut/Q006931/>), should be abandoned: we have no example, where the Sumerogram GEŠTIN^(MES) would be used instead of *haluli*, that is – “grape”.
6. See also REEVES 1992: 350-361 and VIDAL 2010: 90 for other parallels of the first-fruit festivals for wine (with references).
7. Here I would point to the eighth month of the ancient Armenian calendar, *areg*, literary “(the month of) the sun(-god)”, corresponding to October/November (Martirosyan, *forthcoming*). This was the period, when in some regions of Armenia the New Year was celebrated (Martirosyan, H., personal communication).

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34) *Qersu* or *bīt-ḫilāni*? *Faida Panels 2 and 10* — Among other 2019 astonishing discoveries of Kurdish-Italian Faida Archaeological Project (KIFAP) at the Assyrian Faida canal there were two partly preserved relief panels marked by the excavators as Panel 2 and Panel 10.¹⁾ They represent gods mounted on their emblematic animals being revered by the Assyrian king. The row of divine images is flanked by two figures of the king performing the adoration with the *ubāna tarāṣu* (stretching the finger) gesture. Panel 2 is badly damaged by erosion and only some fragments of columns and royal figures are still preserved. These details permit to assume that Panel 2 was similar or identical to Panel 10.

The excavators defined the reliefs of Panels 2 and 10 as Type B. In both Type B reliefs, the figures of the king are sufficiently larger than the representations of the deities. They stand on the surfaces, which are lower than those the animals of the gods are walking upon. Substantial columns with massive globular bases crowned with proto-Aeolian capitals are shown behind the royal figures flanking the entire composition (fig.1) and apparently supporting the roof, which is indicated as the top edge of the relief. The columns caused Daniele Morandi Bonacossi and Hasan Ahmed Qasim to suggest that the entire scene is depicted inside the Assyrian portable sanctuary *qersu*.²⁾

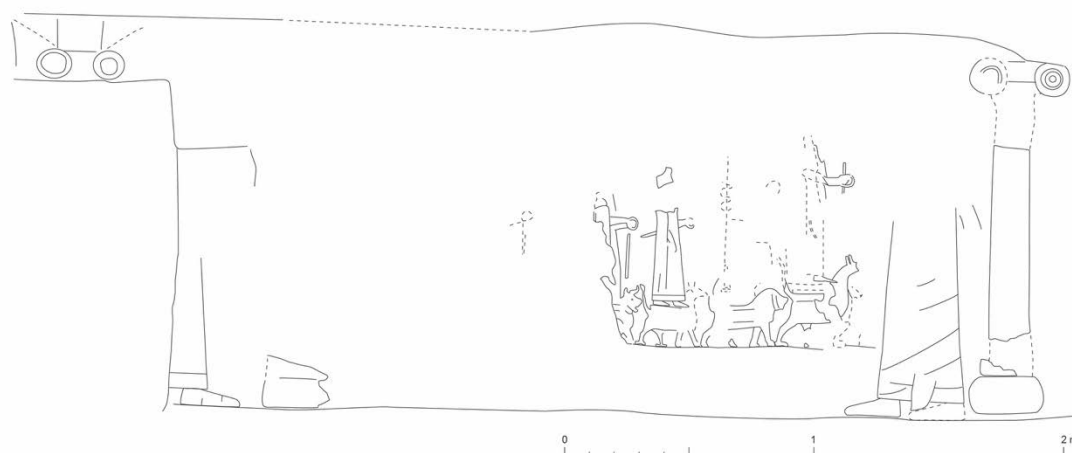


Fig. 1. Faida Relief 10. Drawing by Elisa Giroto. Copyright Daniele Morandi Bonacossi and Hasan Ahmed Qasim. Re-used by the kind permission of the copyright holders

It should be pointed out that first of all the adoration of divine standards is always taking place in front of the *qersu* and not inside it.³⁾ Close association of *qersu* with standards topped with divine symbols is another argument against the suggestion that the structure depicted at Faida is a *qersu*. In my opinion columns on Faida Panel 10 are an indication for a built sanctuary, a “pavilion”,⁴⁾ but a permanent one fitting to accommodate anthropomorphic cultic statues.⁵⁾ Any indication of a baldachin is missing on the Faida relief. But most important is that starting with Tiglath-pileser III royal reliefs represent *qersu* not as a columned structure topped with fabric or leather baldachin, but simply as a tent (BARNETT, FALKNER 1962: pl. 60 and fig. 2).⁶⁾

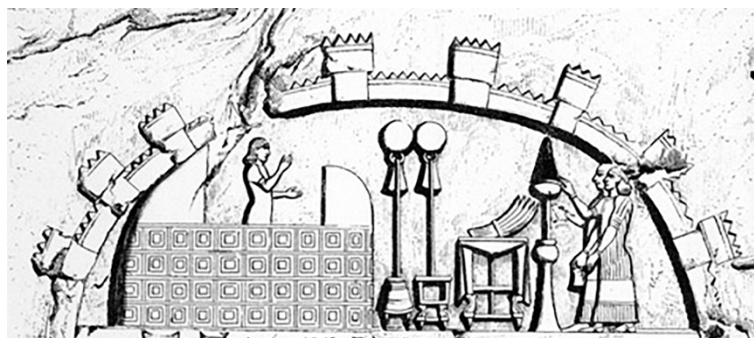


Fig. 2. Sargon's decorated *qersu*-tent. Palace of Sargon II at Dūr-šarru-kēn, room 14. BOTTA, FLANDIN 1849: pl. 146

The change in imagery of *qersus* was apparently purposeful and aimed to distinct them from representations of the new kind of columned structures. After Tiglath-pileser III's military achievements in Syria and with the annexation of Tell Tayinat particularly, a new architectural form becomes fashionable in Assyria.⁷⁾ These are columned porticoes *bīt-ḫilāni*.

They included relatively small structures like the “pavilions” represented on the relief of Sargon from Khorsabad, now housed in the museum of the Chicago ISAW (A11255 and BOTTA, FLANDIN 1849: pl. 114), and on the one on the relief of Ashurbanipal's North palace Room H (fig. 3). These are permanent structures with massive crenelated roof supported by columns. But the huge palatial colonnades of Ashurbanipal's palaces⁸⁾ represented on his reliefs at Nineveh, Room H, Panel 7, and Arbela, Room I, Panel 9 (BM 124938 and AO 19914 respectively) were also designated by the term *bīt-ḫilāni*, which apparently meant a “colonnade.” Sennacherib claims to have built *bīt-ḫilānis* in Niniveh (RINAP 3/1: 81-84 and *passim*) but no such structures were discovered so far in his South-West Palace, although the representation of this palace can be identified with certainty in the upper register of BM 124938, the panel adjusted to that shown on fig. 3.



Fig. 3. Room H, Panel B relief of Ashurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh (BM 124939. © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Finally, the portable *qersus* were indeed tents, like the biblical Tabernacle⁹⁾ and the very Amorite word *qersu* originally stood for wooden beams which served the frame of these portable tent sanctuaries, as well as its biblical cognate *qereš*. As such the columns of the Assyrian *qersus* and their bases were thin and light, easy to care, install and uninstall. Thusly they are depicted on the relief of Ashurnasirpal II (fig. 4) and the bronze bands of the Balawat Gate of Shalmaneser III. The décor of the *qersu*'s wooden support on the relief of Ashurnasirpal II actually imitates the palm tree bark.

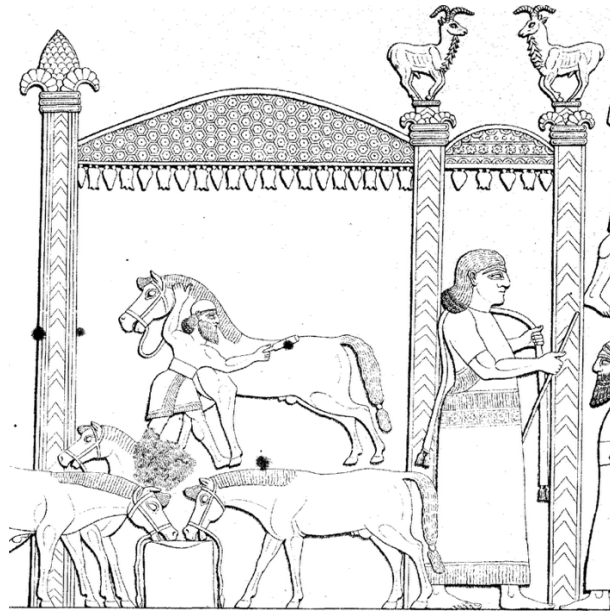


Fig. 4. The *qersu* of Ashurnasirpal II. LAYARD 1853: pl. 30.

The pillars of *qersus* were very light and always are represented thin, while the columns that flank the adoration scene on Faida Panel 10 (fig. 1) are very thick and have heavy bases.¹⁰⁾ The *qersu* pillars are also never shown crowned by proto-Aeolic capitals, because this foreign feature of décor strange to Assyrian architecture was introduced to Assyrian milieu together with Syrian colonnaded *bīt-ḫilāni* porticos.

To sum up, Panels 2 and 10 reliefs at Faida represent not a *qersu*, but a permanent structure of *bīt-ḫilāni* type.¹¹⁾ Julian E. Reade suggested to identify the *bīt-ḫilāni* pavilion represented on Ashurbanipal's relief as standing at the spring of the aqueduct bringing water to Nineveh (fig. 3) with the Shiru Maliktha site.¹²⁾ Shiru Maliktha—a rock relief with the royal image surrounded by a double colonnade is located at the exit of a tunnel feeding the Bandawai canal. It is closely related to Sennacherib's canal system and apparently was the sanctuary built during its construction. This makes the identification of the colonnaded pavilion on Panel 10 with the structure which once stood at Shiru Maliktha and was depicted as a part of Nineveh watering system on fig. 3 relief most plausible. It is yet possible that the columns on Panel 10 at Faida designate some other *bīt-ḫilāni*, for instance the portico in the temple of Ashur at Ashur (SAA 20 49: 15-16)¹³⁾ or the one of the “Palace without a rival,” where the rituals related to the construction of the canals were performed before the divine statues.

Notes

1. MORANDI BONACOSSÌ, QASIM 2022.

2. Ibid.: 69-70. I am most grateful to D. Morandi Bonacossi and H. A. Qasim for letting me reproduce the drawing of Panel 10 here and to J. E. Reade for driving their attention to my article on *qersu*.

3. MAY 2010. In monumental media, gods are usually represented by their symbols and not anthropomorphically, but anthropomorphic depictions of deities rather often appear on seals. Prior to the Faida discoveries, Sennacherib (Maltaï and Bavian) and Esarhaddon (Til-Barsip and one of Sam'al steles) were the only Assyrian kings known to depict gods anthropomorphically. There are also “middle size” anthropomorphic images of gods — two clay reliefs, a glazed brick and a stone relief (ANDRAE 1977: fig. 210, VA 8750, VA Ass. 897 and BM 115694 respectively).

4. Note that D. Morandi Bonacossi and H. A. Qasim (2022: 69) also call the representation on Panel 10 a “pavilion” but apparently do not discern this permanent pavilion from a temporary *qersu*-tent (MAY 2010).

5. The divine statues were apparently brought to the local sanctuary at Shiru Maliktha for the ritual of inauguration of the canal system. Otherwise, the scene represents the adoration of the gods at the city of Ashur or at Nineveh (see above).

6. In fact, all the representations of *qersus* as a baldachin structure supported by wooden pillars are those of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. The term *qersu* is well attested in texts after Sargon II, which is not surprising, because there are very few texts other than royal inscriptions before Sargon (MAY 2015a: 92-94). No representations of *qersus* are found on Sennacherib's reliefs. Divine standards on the “Lachish Room” (Room XXXVI) reliefs are

worshiped just mounted on a chariot (BARNETT et al. 1998: pl. 346-347, 438-439a-b). Ashurbanipal's *qersu* is a vine arbour (MAY 2010: 467-472).

D. Morandi Bonacossi and H. A. Qasim (2022: 61) describe large and deep paired postholes on both sides of the canal. In my opinion these holes were hewn for posts which supported the canal roofing that shaded the canal. Given that some postholes were "removed by carving the reliefs" (ibid.) it is most plausible that this roofing provided shadow for the canal builders, who were richly rewarded by Sennacherib (RINAP 3/2 223: 33-34). The roofing could, however, continuously function also after the canal was finished ensuring waters of piedmont springs run clean and cool until Nineveh or, alternatively, function only during the building of a particular part of the canal providing shade for workers.

7. ALBENDA 1976-1977.

8. Ibid.

9. MAY 2015b.

10. Not only *qersus* involved wooden constructions. Massive wooden columns of the Lebanese cedar are attested in Assyria in the MA text (VAT 16381) as a precious military booty captured by Adad-nārārī I at Naḥur. They were installed by him in the palace at Ashur. Tukultī-Ninurta I reused them first in the sanctuary (*bit papāḫi*) of his New Palace and then in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (WEIDNER 1954-1956). Following the ancient Mesopotamian tradition Shalmaneser III still boasts of bringing cedar beams from Mount Amanus (RIMA 3 A.O.102 passim). Sennacherib describes massive bronze and cedar columns of his "Palace without a Rival" mounted on statues of lions (RINAP 3/1 1:81-84 and passim). Reliefs of Sargon and Sennacherib depict transportation of cedar beams by sea. But with the expansion of the Empire under Tiglath-pileser III and later cedar was not that exotic any more. Obviously Mesopotamian architects knew to construct huge columns of bricks and stone too, starting at least with the time of Gudea.

11. Describing the capitals of the columns on Panel 10 D. Morandi Bonacossi and H. A. Qasim compare them to those of the columns of the pavilions on Sargon's and Ashurbanipal's reliefs (MORANDI BONACOSSO, QASIM 2022: 69). Those of the pavilions are indeed double, but those of Panel 10 are single.

12. READE 2002.

13. Not attested archaeologically.

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All the abbreviations in the present note are in accordance with <https://cdli.earth/abbreviations>.

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35) Qadê est-il Oman dans les inscriptions d'Assurbanipal ? — L'identification géographique du pays de Qadê et de la ville d'Izkê, mentionnés dans les inscriptions royales d'Assurbanipal, est encore aujourd'hui un sujet débattu. Ces deux toponymes apparaissent dans une longue inscription gravée sur des dalles murales du temple Emashmash d'Ishtar/Mullissu à Ninive. C'est une des dernières inscriptions de ce roi, datée vers 638 avant notre ère, où il fait le bilan de ses réalisations architecturales et militaires, en

donnant notamment une liste des peuples conquis et de ceux qui lui ont envoyé des messages de paix et des présents. Parmi ces derniers, « ... Padê, roi du pays de Qadê (KUR.qa-de-e) qui vit dans la ville d'Izkê (URU.iž-ke-e)... [ils m'ont envoyé] leurs messagers montés (avec des messages) de bonne [volonté et de paix], ainsi qu'avec leurs paiements substantiels. Ils ont voyagé sur une distance de 6 mois (6 ITI), sont arrivés devant [moi], se sont enquis du bien-être de ma royale majesté et ont fait appel à ma majesté seigneuriale¹⁾. » Une deuxième inscription contemporaine de la précédente, très lacunaire, mentionne « ... Qadê, qui est sur le rivage [de la mer]²⁾. »

Plusieurs hypothèses de localisation de Qadê ont été proposées dont il faut évaluer la pertinence avant de trancher avec de nouveaux arguments. Certaines d'entre elles sont mentionnées dans les répertoires des toponymes et des anthroponymes (RGTC 7/1, 169 ; PNA 3/1, 965). Examinons d'abord l'identification de Qadê avec Qédar qui repose sur un argument phonétique, d et dr étant interchangeable (EPHA'L 1982, 75-96). Autre argument : dans les inscriptions d'Assarhaddon, Qadê serait associé aux rois arabes comme Uaite³⁾. Cet argument n'est pas valable car, dans ces inscriptions, Qadê n'est pas un roi, mais un pays. Quant à la distance de 6 mois, elle serait fautive car ce serait une amplification rhétorique. Enfin, cette identification avec Qedar ne convient pas car il manque la localisation sur le rivage de la mer.

Les deux autres hypothèses de localisation évoquent une proximité avec les campagnes d'Assurbanipal alors que Qadê et Izkê n'y sont pas mentionnés, en évacuant la distance indiquée⁴⁾. Elles proposent les confins de l'Élam (TADMOR 1994, 170-171 ; RADNER 2005, 42-53 ; RINAP 5.1, 309) ou les confins de Mannea, au nord-ouest de l'Iran (FRAME 1992, 126-128 ; PARPOLA, in PNA 3/1, 965) ; on notera d'ailleurs que Mannea n'est pas au bord de la mer.

Il reste à examiner l'hypothèse de l'identification de Qadê avec Oman (HEIMPEL 1987, 31, 48 ; POTTS 1985a, 75-76 ; 1990, vol. 1, 393-396). En effet, leurs auteurs ont proposé plusieurs arguments en sa faveur, que nous allons compléter. Le premier est phonétique car Izkê semble correspondre à l'oasis d'Izki, ville d'Oman, située dans la région de Dakhiliyah, dans la trouée qui sépare le Hajar occidental et le Hajar oriental, et donne accès d'un côté au golfe d'Oman et de l'autre au désert d'Arabie (POTTS 1990, vol. 1, 123-145). Le site archéologique d'Izki a fait l'objet de fouilles qui ont remonté jusqu'au début de l'Âge du Fer (YULE 2011, 179-203). Dilmun et Oman entretenaient des rapports commerciaux avec l'Assyrie depuis l'époque d'Akkad et d'Ur III. Oman s'appelait alors Magan. Des textes comme les comptes administratifs de Girsu à l'époque d'Ur III, décrivent des bateaux de Magan chargés de cuivre transitant par Dilmun vers la Mésopotamie (PARROT 1948). Ces échanges persistent à l'époque néo-assyrienne. Magan est devenu Qadê à l'époque néo-assyrienne (JOANNÈS 2002, 483-485). Le nom de Qadê se retrouve aussi dans trois inscriptions du roi des Perses Darius I (POTTS 1990, 394-396). Ce nom apparaît également dans un texte de Plinie qui situe la tribu des Cadaei (ou Chadai) sur la côte sud-est de la péninsule arabique, dans la région du golfe Persique/Arabique, près d'Oman. Il les mentionne parmi d'autres tribus côtières ou insulaires⁵⁾. Enfin, le pays de Qadê devient la province de Mazûn dans les textes sassanides (POTTS 1985b, 83-85). Les liens commerciaux entre l'Assyrie et Qadê ajoutent un argument supplémentaire en faveur de l'identification avec Oman, sans que les limites des deux pays coïncident.

En examinant la liste des rois ayant envoyé des messages de paix dans l'inscription d'Assurbanipal, on remarque que le roi Padê de Qadê est mentionné entre deux paragraphes relatifs à deux rois de Dilmun : Hundaru et Shilum⁶⁾. Qadê est donc situé dans le contexte du golfe Persique/Arabique et de son prolongement vers le golfe d'Oman, au bord du rivage de la mer d'après la deuxième inscription d'Assurbanipal.

Comment l'identification de Qadê avec Oman s'accommode-t-elle de la durée du voyage de six mois dans la première inscription d'Assurbanipal ? On remarque d'abord que la durée du voyage n'est indiquée que pour le roi d'Izkê. Elle ne l'est pas pour les autres rois de la liste dont le texte indique seulement qu'ils habitent loin : Cyrus roi de Parsumash et Natnu roi des Nabatéens⁷⁾. La précision sur la durée s'explique par le fait qu'elle était vraiment exceptionnelle. Un autre élément de l'inscription éclaire un aspect de ce voyage : les messagers « montés » (LÚ.rak-bu-šú-nu). Cette indication est sans ambiguïté : il s'agit d'un voyage terrestre, dans le désert d'Arabie, donc par caravane de dromadaires. S'il s'agissait d'une combinaison caravane-bateau, cela aurait été précisé comme pour le voyage du roi Shilum de Dilmun où il est dit : « Ils ont pris la longue route par terre et par mer »⁸⁾. Dans le contexte d'Izkê à Ninive, la

viabilité du trajet par caravane dépendait des conditions du voyage : caravane de dromadaires chargée de présents, traversant le désert d'Arabie et s'arrêtant dans les oasis, entreprenant un long voyage, intégrant jours de repos, arrêts obligatoires pour ravitaillement et difficultés occasionnelles du terrain (CROWN 1974, 244-271).

Peut-on avoir une idée de la route caravanière suivie par la caravane des messagers de Padê ? On notera d'abord que la distance à vol d'oiseau entre Izkê et Ninive est d'environ 2000 km en passant au-dessus du golfe Persique/Arabique. On peut indiquer une route caravanière possible suivie par ces messagers en tenant compte de la fréquence des points d'eau (oasis ou puits), de l'impossibilité de traverser des zones arides inhospitalières comme le Rub al-Khali et des anciennes routes caravanières connues. Il est probable que la caravane des messagers a choisi le trajet le plus court. Par exemple, une route caravanière attestée dans le commerce antique d'Izkê à Ninive passait par Ubar (Shisr à Oman), site archéologique et carrefour des routes de l'encens. L'étape suivante en Arabie saoudite était le Wadi Dawkas, zone de puits et d'oasis. Puis on passait par l'oasis de Najran, plaque-tournante pour le commerce nord-sud. La route atteignait ensuite Tayma, grande oasis, refuge du roi babylonien Nabonide et centre du commerce nabatéen. Les inscriptions de Nabonide mentionnent un service régulier de dromadaires entre Tayma et Babylone⁹). La route passait par l'oasis de Dûmat al-Jandal, autre carrefour de commerce. Elle arrivait ensuite au sud de la Mésopotamie et à Babylone, pour rejoindre enfin Ninive. Les distances sont approximatives, mais le total de ce trajet équivaut à environ 3400 km. Les variantes de cet itinéraire ne changent pas substantiellement cette distance car la caravane des messagers de Padê devait de toute façon faire un important détour par l'ouest. En considérant le temps annoncé de 6 mois, soit 180 jours selon des mois lunaires de 30 jours, la distance parcourue par la caravane serait de 19 km par jour. Cette distance moyenne devient plausible si l'on tient compte des conditions du voyage énumérées ci-dessus, et plus particulièrement sa très longue durée qui nécessitait des arrêts prolongés pour la récupération¹⁰). Sans vouloir surestimer ce résultat, il confirme un trajet très long et écarte l'hypothèse d'un chiffre fantaisiste dicté par la propagande royale, proposée par plusieurs auteurs.

Au total, il semble que la seule hypothèse à retenir, en raison d'indices convergents et de la fragilité des autres hypothèses proposées, est celle de l'identification de Qadê avec Oman, et Izkê correspondrait donc à la ville actuelle d'Izki.

Notes

1. RINAP 5.1, n° 23, ll. 133-135.
2. RINAP 5.1, n° 21, l. 21'.
3. RINAP 4, n° 2, iii, l. 25.
4. RINAP 5.1, 26 et n. 169.
5. Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire naturelle*, Livre VI, § 149.
6. RINAP 5.1, 308, n° 23, ll. 131-136.
7. RINAP 5.1, 307, l. 115 et 308, l. 124.
8. RINAP 5.1, 308, l. 137.
9. GC 1, p. 34-35, n° 294, ll. 1-9.

10. Les évaluations de la distance parcourue par jour divergent beaucoup : voir par exemple ADAMS 2007, 54, et AGUT-LABORDÈRE 2018, 175-195.

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36) Otanes in Old Persian — The name of Otanes, one of the followers of Darius I present at the killing of Gaumata, appears in the Old Persian version of the Bisotun Inscription (DB iv 83) written 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬 𐎭 𐎮 𐎯 𐎰 𐎱 𐎲 𐎳 𐎴 𐎵 𐎶 𐎷 𐎸 𐎹 𐎺 𐎻 𐎼 𐎽 𐎾 𐎿 𐏀 𐏁 𐏂 𐏃 𐏄 𐏅 𐏆 𐏇 𐏈 𐏉 𐏊 𐏋 𐏌 𐏍 𐏎 𐏏 𐏐 𐏑 𐏒 𐏓 𐏔 𐏕 𐏖 𐏗 𐏘 𐏙 𐏚 𐏛 𐏜 𐏝 𐏞 𐏟 𐏠 𐏡 𐏢 𐏣 𐏤 𐏥 𐏦 𐏧 𐏨 𐏩 𐏪 𐏫 𐏬 𐏭 𐏮 𐏯 𐏰 𐏱 𐏲 𐏳 𐏴 𐏵 𐏶 𐏷 𐏸 𐏹 𐏺 𐏻 𐏼 𐏽 𐏾 𐏿 𐐀 𐐁 𐐂 𐐃 𐐄 𐐅 𐐆 𐐇 𐐈 𐐉 𐐊 𐐋 𐐌 𐐍 𐐎 𐐏 𐐐 𐐑 𐐒 𐐓 𐐔 𐐕 𐐖 𐐗 𐐘 𐐙 𐐚 𐐛 𐐜 𐐝 𐐞 𐐟 𐐠 𐐡 𐐢 𐐣 𐐤 𐐥 𐐦 𐐧 𐐨 𐐩 𐐪 𐐫 𐐬 𐐭 𐐮 𐐯 𐐰 𐐱 𐐲 𐐳 𐐴 𐐵 𐐶 𐐷 𐐸 𐐹 𐐺 𐐻 𐐼 𐐽 𐐾 𐐿 𐑀 𐑁 𐑂 𐑃 𐑄 𐑅 𐑆 𐑇 𐑈 𐑉 𐑊 𐑋 𐑌 𐑍 𐑎 𐑏 𐑐 𐑑 𐑒 𐑓 𐑔 𐑕 𐑖 𐑗 𐑘 𐑙 𐑚 𐑛 𐑜 𐑝 𐑞 𐑟 𐑠 𐑡 𐑢 𐑣 𐑤 𐑥 𐑦 𐑧 𐑨 𐑩 𐑪 𐑫 𐑬 𐑭 𐑮 𐑯 𐑰 𐑱 𐑲 𐑳 𐑴 𐑵 𐑶 𐑷 𐑸 𐑹 𐑺 𐑻 𐑼 𐑽 𐑾 𐑿 𐒀 𐒁 𐒂 𐒃 𐒄 𐒅 𐒆 𐒇 𐒈 𐒉 𐒊 𐒋 𐒌 𐒍 𐒎 𐒏 𐒐 𐒑 𐒒 𐒓 𐒔 𐒕 𐒖 𐒗 𐒘 𐒙 𐒚 𐒛 𐒜 𐒝 𐒞 𐒟 𐒠 𐒡 𐒢 𐒣 𐒤 𐒥 𐒦 𐒧 𐒨 𐒩 𐒪 𐒫 𐒬 𐒭 𐒮 𐒯 𐒰 𐒱 𐒲 𐒳 𐒴 𐒵 𐒶 𐒷 𐒸 𐒹 𐒺 𐒻 𐒼 𐒽 𐒾 𐒿 𐓀 𐓁 𐓂 𐓃 𐓄 𐓅 𐓆 𐓇 𐓈 𐓉 𐓊 𐓋 𐓌 𐓍 𐓎 𐓏 𐓐 𐓑 𐓒 𐓓 𐓔 𐓕 𐓖 𐓗 𐓘 𐓙 𐓚 𐓛 𐓜 𐓝 𐓞 𐓟 𐓠 𐓡 𐓢 𐓣 𐓤 𐓥 𐓦 𐓧 𐓨 𐓩 𐓪 𐓫 𐓬 𐓭 𐓮 𐓯 𐓰 𐓱 𐓲 𐓳 𐓴 𐓵 𐓶 𐓷 𐓸 𐓹 𐓺 𐓻 𐓼 𐓽 𐓾 𐓿 𐔀 𐔁 𐔂 𐔃 𐔄 𐔅 𐔆 𐔇 𐔈 𐔉 𐔊 𐔋 𐔌 𐔍 𐔎 𐔏 𐔐 𐔑 𐔒 𐔓 𐔔 𐔕 𐔖 𐔗 𐔘 𐔙 𐔚 𐔛 𐔜 𐔝 𐔞 𐔟 𐔠 𐔡 𐔢 𐔣 𐔤 𐔥 𐔦 𐔧 𐔨 𐔩 𐔪 𐔫 𐔬 𐔭 𐔮 𐔯 𐔰 𐔱 𐔲 𐔳 𐔴 𐔵 𐔶 𐔷 𐔸 𐔹 𐔺 𐔻 𐔼 𐔽 𐔾 𐔿 𐕀 𐕁 𐕂 𐕃 𐕄 𐕅 𐕆 𐕇 𐕈 𐕉 𐕊 𐕋 𐕌 𐕍 𐕎 𐕏 𐕐 𐕑 𐕒 𐕓 𐕔 𐕕 𐕖 𐕗 𐕘 𐕙 𐕚 𐕛 𐕜 𐕝 𐕞 𐕟 𐕠 𐕡 𐕢 𐕣 𐕤 𐕥 𐕦 𐕧 𐕨 𐕩 𐕪 𐕫 𐕬 𐕭 𐕮 𐕯 𐕰 𐕱 𐕲 𐕳 𐕴 𐕵 𐕶 𐕷 𐕸 𐕹 𐕺 𐕻 𐕼 𐕽 𐕾 𐕿 𐖀 𐖁 𐖂 𐖃 𐖄 𐖅 𐖆 𐖇 𐖈 𐖉 𐖊 𐖋 𐖌 𐖍 𐖎 𐖏 𐖐 𐖑 𐖒 𐖓 𐖔 𐖕 𐖖 𐖗 𐖘 𐖙 𐖚 𐖛 𐖜 𐖝 𐖞 𐖟 𐖠 𐖡 𐖢 𐖣 𐖤 𐖥 𐖦 𐖧 𐖨 𐖩 𐖪 𐖫 𐖬 𐖭 𐖮 𐖯 𐖰 𐖱 𐖲 𐖳 𐖴 𐖵 𐖶 𐖷 𐖸 𐖹 𐖺 𐖻 𐖼 𐖽 𐖾 𐖿 𐗀 𐗁 𐗂 𐗃 𐗄 𐗅 𐗆 𐗇 𐗈 𐗉 𐗊 𐗋 𐗌 𐗍 𐗎 𐗏 𐗐 𐗑 𐗒 𐗓 𐗔 𐗕 𐗖 𐗗 𐗘 𐗙 𐗚 𐗛 𐗜 𐗝 𐗞 𐗟 𐗠 𐗡 𐗢 𐗣 𐗤 𐗥 𐗦 𐗧 𐗨 𐗩 𐗪 𐗫 𐗬 𐗭 𐗮 𐗯 𐗰 𐗱 𐗲 𐗳 𐗴 𐗵 𐗶 𐗷 𐗸 𐗹 𐗺 𐗻 𐗼 𐗽 𐗾 𐗿 𐘀 𐘁 𐘂 𐘃 𐘄 𐘅 𐘆 𐘇 𐘈 𐘉 𐘊 𐘋 𐘌 𐘍 𐘎 𐘏 𐘐 𐘑 𐘒 𐘓 𐘔 𐘕 𐘖 𐘗 𐘘 𐘙 𐘚 𐘛 𐘜 𐘝 𐘞 𐘟 𐘠 𐘡 𐘢 𐘣 𐘤 𐘥 𐘦 𐘧 𐘨 𐘩 𐘪 𐘫 𐘬 𐘭 𐘮 𐘯 𐘰 𐘱 𐘲 𐘳 𐘴 𐘵 𐘶 𐘷 𐘸 𐘹 𐘺 𐘻 𐘼 𐘽 𐘾 𐘿 𐙀 𐙁 𐙂 𐙃 𐙄 𐙅 𐙆 𐙇 𐙈 𐙉 𐙊 𐙋 𐙌 𐙍 𐙎 𐙏 𐙐 𐙑 𐙒 𐙓 𐙔 𐙕 𐙖 𐙗 𐙘 𐙙 𐙚 𐙛 𐙜 𐙝 𐙞 𐙟 𐙠 𐙡 𐙢 𐙣 𐙤 𐙥 𐙦 𐙧 𐙨 𐙩 𐙪 𐙫 𐙬 𐙭 𐙮 𐙯 𐙰 𐙱 𐙲 𐙳 𐙴 𐙵 𐙶 𐙷 𐙸 𐙹 𐙺 𐙻 𐙼 𐙽 𐙾 𐙿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 𐚔 𐚕 𐚖 𐚗 𐚘 𐚙 𐚚 𐚛 𐚜 𐚝 𐚞 𐚟 𐚠 𐚡 𐚢 𐚣 𐚤 𐚥 𐚦 𐚧 𐚨 𐚩 𐚪 𐚫 𐚬 𐚭 𐚮 𐚯 𐚰 𐚱 𐚲 𐚳 𐚴 𐚵 𐚶 𐚷 𐚸 𐚹 𐚺 𐚻 𐚼 𐚽 𐚾 𐚿 𐚀 𐚁 𐚂 𐚃 𐚄 𐚅 𐚆 𐚇 𐚈 𐚉 𐚊 𐚋 𐚌 𐚍 𐚎 𐚏 𐚐 𐚑 𐚒 𐚓 $\text{$

The brick was placed to the right of the spear shaft in the row of bricks containing the archer's beard. The right hand end of the brick with the final sign has been restored and marked with a diagonal slash, which is how Dieulafoy indicated which parts of the frieze had been reconstructed in plaster. Dieulafoy placed a brick which could be restored as n-a-m next to the right following the 'Otanès brick', without, however, enough space for a word divider between the two words. Later, Dieulafoy (1913: 15) expressed a slight doubt as to the correctness of his identification 'Le nom de Darius, qui est certain, et celui d'Otanès que l'on croit lire sur les briques'.

A more plausible interpretation than that of Dieulafoy is that the brick originally read \ u t a \ the word *utā* meaning 'and'. It occurs 16 times in DSf, the text that is thought to have been written on the glazed brick panels. The sequence of letters n-a-m occurs 13 times in that inscription including twice as the word *nāma* but referring to geographical locations rather than to a personal name. It is therefore probable that the reconstruction of these two bricks as reading *Utāna nāma* is wrong and that Otanes name was not included on the glazed brick panels.

This possibility may be the reason why later scholars have ignored Dieulafoy's identification (for example, Rudiger SCHMITT 2012a in his entry on Otanes in the *Encyclopedia Iranica*). The only exception is Margaret Root (1979: 76 and n. 98), who drew attention to Dieulafoy's suggestion in her book *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*. She referred to the supposed presence of Otanes' name on a glazed brick from Susa again in her recently published chapter on Statuary and Relief in *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (2021: 1391). She wrote that 'this evidence from Susa combines with the captioned figures of Gobryas and Aspathines on the tomb façade of Darius ... to suggest something truly significant: onlookers were meant to imagine the figures of nobles in Achaemenid relief sculpture (whether they were captioned or not) as representing the idea of a multitude of real men who served the Persian hegemony.' The removal of Otanes' name from the inscription on the glazed brick panel of archers suggests that this is unjustified and that only those individuals who were labelled with their names represented specific individuals.

The name of Otanes in Old Persian script is found on a silver plaque that was offered for sale in an auction at the Hôtel Drouot on 17-18 March 2003. The inscription was translated by Pierre Lecoq (see SOUDAVAR 2010: 126 for Lecoq's translation and 2023: 34 for a transcription and a revised translation). It was mentioned by Abolala Soudavar in a paper given at a conference in the British Museum in 2005 (SOUDAVAR 2010: 126-128). In his review of the publication of the papers given at the conference, Rudiger Schmitt (2012b: 408) asserted that, because of grammatical errors, the plaque is a 'plumpe Fälschung'. Soudavar, who acquired the plaque, offered it to the British Museum, but an analysis of the composition of the metal in 2014 led the British Museum to turn down the offer (SOUDAVAR 2023: 41-43). A subsequent examination commissioned by Soudavar (NORTHOVER 2023: 45-46) stated that 'the state of corrosion defines this plaque as ancient but, as the discussion indicates, more work needs to be done on the epigraphy and art history to define its date and origin more precisely.' Soudavar (2023: 29-44 and 205-207) vigorously attempted to rebut Schmitt's judgement, but his contentious arguments, his controversial interpretations, and his scurrilous, vituperative remarks about other scholars will not convince many readers. The lack of a provenance also casts doubt on the authenticity of the plaque.

In conclusion, the only certain attestation of the name of Otanes in Old Persian script is in the Bisotun Inscription.

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37) Two lesser-known Neo-Babylonian officials in a legal context: *rab zammāri* and *tašlīšu* — The *rab zammāri* (lit. “chief singer”) is well-known from the Neo-Assyrian period, where he was a comparatively high-ranking official, forming part of the palace household (Gross 2020: At the Heart of an Empire (OLA 292), p. 228). However, in Neo-Babylonian times, we only know one by name (Nergal-rēšūa, ZA 103-2 [The Hofkalender], p. 203, a palace official of lower rank, Babylon, Nbk II), apart from a reference to the “house of the *rab zammāri*” (CT 57, 78:4, Sippar, Cyr). In the Leiden Böhl collection (**LB 1779:3**, Babylon, Nbk II; <https://cdli.earth/dl/photo/P543499.jpg>), of which the transcription follows below, we now have a second known one. I thank Riens de Boer and Carolien van Zoest from NINO-Leiden for their kind publishing permission and help, and Cornelia Wunsch for checking and puzzling with me over unclear passages in the text.

1	SAG.KI <i>mu-kin-nu-tu šá 2/3 ma-na</i> K[Û BAB]BAR	Responsibility for the testimony concerning 2/3 minas of s[ilve]r
2	<i>šá^mar-ra-bi A-šú šá^mman-na-a-ki-i-^dAG</i>	that ^m Arrab, son of ^m Mannu-akī-Nabû
3	<i>ina ŠU^{II} ^mZALÁG-^gEN-lu-mur LÚ GAL za-am-ri</i>	from ^m Nūr-Bēl-lūmur, the <i>rab zammāri</i> ,
4	<i>iš-šu-ú u a-na ti-ik-ki šá^mna-din</i>	took/accepted/received, and of which ^m Nādin,
5	<i>A-šú šá^mšá²-ap³l-bu/pu-ú id-du-ú</i>	son of [^m Šap ²]pû was accused,
6	[...] <i>^mna²-din² šá^mar²-ra²-bi²1</i>	[...] t ^m Nādin ² of t ^m Arrab ² 1
7	... [<i>na-šu-ú</i>]	[that PN _x (Nādin ²) assumed (<i>našī</i>)]
	several lines missing	
R.	several lines missing	
1'	LÚ <i>mu-kin-nu</i> ^m MU ² -x-x A-šú šá ^m a-mat ² -x-x-x	Witnesses. ^m Mu..., son of ^m Amā...
2'	<i>^mar²-di²-ia LÚ taš-li-šú² [x] x Û² (or IGI+x) GAL</i>	^m Ardiya, the <i>tašlīšu</i> [...]
3'	^{md} AMAR.UTU-SU A-šú šá ^m x-x-x-ba-a-a	^m Marduk-erība, son of ^m ...baya
4'	<i>u LÚ UMBISAG ^{md}UTU-MU²-...</i>	and the scribe: ^m Šamaš-šumu ² -[...],
5'	<i>A-šú šá^{md}AG-MU-MU TIN.[TIR.KI]</i>	son of ^m Nabû-šumu-iddin. Babylon,
6'	ITI SIG ₄ UD 26 KAM MU 35 KAM	Month Simanu, Day 26, Year 35
7'	^d AG-NÍG.DU-URÛ LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI	Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

Commentary

Seeing the curvature of the remaining tablet, it could well be that half the tablet is missing, with a near-clean horizontal break.

1. The use of the logograms SAG.KI for *pātu* ... *našī* is remarkable, usually the syllabic spelling *pu-ut* is found. For the *pūt mukinnātu* formula, see Holtz 2009: Neo-Babylonian Court Procedure [CM 38], p. 143 § 5.B.

2. A man by the name of Arrab/Mannu-akī-Nabû is also found in Sack 1994 [Cuneiform Documents from the Chaldean and Persian periods], 83:10. Although the place name is broken, the tablet can be attributed to the Eanna archive. This combination of name and patronymic is limited to these two attestations. The witnesses and scribe of the present record are also known from Uruk tablets from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II.

3-4. For *ina qāt* PN ... *nāšū*, see CAD N2 p. 80a, 96b, 97b. The verbal form *iš-šu-ú* in l. 4 is not part of the standard clause *pūt* ... *nāšū*, “to guaranty, assume responsibility” – that *nāšū* follows in the part of the tablet that is broken off.

4-5. *a-na ti-ik-ki id-du-ú*, literally “on the neck (of PN it) was thrown,” is an idiom referring to accusing someone (cf. CAD N1, p. 82 *nadû* 2a 13’ and SANDOWICZ 2012 [Oaths and Curses], AOAT 398, O.131 line 25).

A man by the name of Nādin, son of Šappû, appears as a witness in Spar 1972 (Studies in Neo-Babylonian Economic and Legal Texts, Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Minnesota), no. 13:12 (now KM 89597, spelled *šá-ap-pu-u*, issued at Bābu rabu ša nār kuzbi kālê šarri, 20 <Nbk II>), and in GCCI 2, 76:6 (spelled in the unusual form ^mSIPA=*šaps-pu-ú*, attested at Uruk), in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II and Amēl-Marduk. Male names ending on *-bu/pu-ú* are rare, except for those ending on *-a/AD-bu/pu-ú* (mostly of West-Semitic origin, such as Ahi-abû ŠEŠ-*a/AD-bu-ú* “His father’s brother.” The remaining Neo-Babylonian names where spelling ends on *-bu/pu-ú* are *Abu-ra-bû*, *A-ri-bû*, *Ahula-pû*, *Ba-ru-bû*, *Di-bû*, *Qa-bû*, *Tam-meš-pû*, *Rab-bû*, *Ri-bû*, *Ši-ib-bû*, *Šuq-bû*.

Rev. 1’. Persons with a name beginning with Amā... (not Amat-/Amti-) for male non-slaves are rare. A man by the name of Mušallim, son of Amāt-ili (*a-mat-DINGIR*) is known as a neighbor in a sale of two houses on estates of the Anu temple from this period (BIN 1, 127:9, 15 Nbk II, Uruk).

Rev. 2’. A *tašlišu*, literally “third man,” was initially known as the third man on a chariot. In Neo-Babylonian times, the term also describes a bodyguard for higher officials (KLEBER 2008: Tempel und Palast, AOAT 358, p. 114) and an additional witness at judicial panels (SANDOWICZ and TARASEWICZ 2014: Court of assize at Neo-Babylonian Apšu, RA 108, p. 79, with literature). As for the broken text after *taš-li-šú²*, the following restoration possibilities are known: *tašlišu ša šarri*, *~mār šarri*, *~simmagir*, *~tuššar bīti* (KLEBER 2008, p. 155), *~ekalli*, *~^{URU}...*, *~imitti*, *~šumēli*, *~qīpi*, *~šatammi*, *~LÚ šānī* (CAD T, p. 292). The visible sign remnants seem to exclude the reading as É.GAL.

An official by the name Ardiya could be identical to the witness here (AUWE 5, 98:2, *ĪR-a*, *taš-liš*, Eanna, Uruk, 19 Npl/Nbk²).

Rev. 4-5. A scribe by the name of Šamaš-šumu-ukīn/Nabû-šumu-iddin is known from AUWE 11, 229:r.6 (Eanna, Nbk II) but, again, he is from Uruk.

Rev. 5. Although the sign is shallow, the triangular shape and three heads of TIN seem to be certain, placing the action in Babylon, rather than in Uruk. If the participants are indeed from Uruk, this could be explained by the fact that when the Eanna temple itself was involved in a court case, the case was often heard in Babylon (KLEBER 2008, p. 63).

In general, *pūt mukinnūtu naši* tablets were drafted to allow one of the involved parties to offer testimony in support of his innocence of an accusation. In most cases, the accusations arose in the context of formal hearings, after which a guarantor assumed responsibility for the testimony (HOLTZ 2009, p. 146 ff.). If this is the case here, we could imagine that a group of Urukeans (from the Eanna temple², maybe in the entourage of high officials, hence the bodyguard) travelled to Babylon to hear a court case. It involved a rather substantial amount of silver which a certain Nādin, son of Šappû, was supposed to have taken from Nūr-Bēl-lūmur, the chief singer/court official, after which the accused promised to prove that the real culprit was Arrab, son of Mannu-akī-Nabû. In the missing part of the tablet, we would expect the reasons that Nādin gave why he was innocent, and the penalty in case he failed to provide witnessed testimony.

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38) DigEanna notes 4: Who Owes the Harbor Tax? Late Babylonian Passive Št (*ultu ...šutētuqu*) —

The passive Št stem of *etēqu* is hitherto unattested, as per the dictionaries. However, collation shows such a form to be present in GCCI 1, 237, a promissory note written in 35 Nbk on behalf of the Eanna temple in Uruk, obliging one Ina-tēšī-eṭir, son of Nanaya-ēreš to deliver 6000 reed bundles corresponding to 1 talent and 10 minas of wool. This paper concerns the verbal form used in this legal text to designate the party responsible for paying the harbor fees.

Harbors were important trade centers facilitating large scale movements of goods. In Neo-Babylonian legal documents, especially promissory notes, they are often specified as delivery spots of promised goods.¹⁾ However, harbors were also inherently places with strengthened royal control, as taxation of delivered goods summed up to considerable profit for the palace. While the import fees imposed on merchants in harbors vary in the Neo-Babylonian corpus,²⁾ transport of large amounts of goods must have had a considerable monetary impact on the trading parties. So, it is unsurprising that, in cases of large number of reeds owed to the temple in exchange for wool, the payment of harbor fees must have been contractually outlined beforehand.

The Neo-Babylonian terminology concerning taxation at the harbor overwhelmingly employs the term (*kāra*) *sūtuqu*, literally meaning “to cause to pass”, not only to refer to the literal act of a ship being allowed to enter the harbor, but rather in connection to the individual responsible for taking care of the

costs connected to the boat „passing” into the harbor – such as fees or taxes.³⁾ In the corresponding passive form, here attested for the first time, the ship, or rather its cargo, is the subject.

GCCI 1, 237⁴⁾

Obv 6 *lim gu-zu-ul-lu šá gi^{meš}*
 šám 1 gun 10 *ma-na síg.ħi.a*
 níg.ga^dgašan šá unug^{ki} ù
^d*na-na-a ina muħ-ħi¹ina-sùħ-sur*
 5 *a-šú šá^{1d}na-na-a-kám ina ká-[x]*
gu-zu-ul-lu gi bab-ba-nu-tu
i-nam-din ka-a-ri¹ul-tu¹
 LoE *é.an.na ú-še-tet^{o*}-qa*-šú*
 Rev 8 lines witnesses and scribe
 unug^{ki} iti.du₆
 ud.24.kám mu.35.kám
^dag.níg.du.ùru lugal *é^{ki}*

¹6000 bundles of reed, ²the purchase price of 1 talent and 10 minas of wool, ³the property of the Lady of Uruk and ⁴Nanaya is owed by Ina-tēšī-eṭir, ⁵son of Nanaya-ēreš. In the gate of [DN?] ⁷he will deliver ⁶(said) high-quality bundles of reeds. ⁸(The reed-bundles) will be made to pass through ⁷(customs at) the harbor ⁸by Eanna on his behalf. ⁹⁻¹⁶Witnesses and scribe. Uruk, 7th month ¹⁷24th day, 35th year ¹⁸of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

In lines 7.–8. the spelling *ú-še-tet^{o*}-qa*-šú* stands for *uštēteqaššu*. The sign *tet*(TAK₄), rendered roughly correctly in Dougherty’s copy, was probably written over an erasure; however, the reading could be clearly verified through collation. The sign is used here in a vowel-indifferent variant⁵⁾ of its most frequent LB value, *tad/t*. The use of *ultu* as the marker of agent in passive constructions has previously been noted specifically in the context of the Eanna Archive, it is a calque on Old and Imperial Aramaic passive constructions with *men* (*mn*) indicating the agent (as, e.g. in TAD A4 5:8.–9. *hn ’zd yf’bd mn dyny’*, “if an inquiry be made by the judges”).⁶⁾ Thus, the contract specifically indicates that the harbor taxes are to be paid by the temple.

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Notes

1. On taxation in harbors see WESZELI 2002: 162–180; JURSA 2010: 646–647.
2. WESZELI 2002: 196.
3. WESZELI 2002: 174.
4. Published in SAN NICOLÒ 1960, No. 69.
5. As frequently happens in Late Babylonian orthography, cf. HACKL 2021: 1437.
6. JURSA 1995–1996: 262 n. 11 and HACKL 2021: 1450–1451. For Aramaic, see FOLMER 1995: 380ff.; MURAOKA & PORTEN 1998: 202–203; See also use of preposition *la-* with possessive suffix in similar function discussed in GZELLA 2004: 190; GZELLA 2008: 92–93; the example is PORTEN and YARDENI 1986: 62.

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39) Further Remarks on *anāqāte*, “she-camels” — Until recently I assumed that Edward Hincks had announced his identification of *anāqāte* for the first time in his paper “On Certain Animals Mentioned in Assyrian Inscriptions” (HINCKS 1855: 255-256; see CATHCART 1997: 93-94; 2012: 9-10). However, in the published summary of a lecture on “The Recently Discovered Assyrian Inscriptions, and the Mode of Deciphering Them”, which Hincks gave at a meeting of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society in January 1850, the following passage on Assyrian words for camels is found:

He illustrated the use of determinative prefixes by the names of male and female camels, which he found together. The latter was composed of five phonetic characters, giving the complete name as found in the Chaldee Targum, to which were prefixed two determinative prefixes—the first appropriate to females, the second to beasts. The former was composed of three phonetic characters, giving the word “abba”, before which was the prefix for beasts; and after which was the ideographic sign of the plural number (HINCKS 1850: 3).¹⁾

It is clear from this brief statement, which appeared in *The Northern Whig* (5 February 1850: 3), a Belfast newspaper,²⁾ that Hincks had studied some of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III five years before he presented his 1855 paper to the Royal Irish Academy. The question arises: Where did Hincks see the copies of the inscriptions? The volume containing cuneiform inscriptions discovered by Layard (*ICC*) was not published until 1851. However, an examination of Hincks’s correspondence reveals that in December 1849 his friend John Lee of Hartwell House (64 km north west of London) and Samuel Birch of the British Museum sent Hincks copies of the plates of Layard’s inscriptions in advance of their publication (CATHCART 2007: 315, 320-321).³⁾ Within a matter of weeks, Hincks had read at least some of the inscriptions and was in a position to discuss them in his lecture in Belfast.

Certain details of Hincks’s discussion of *anāqāte* in his 1855 paper merit further comment. With regard to the determinative sign before words for camels, Hincks said it “appears to denote beasts of burden; it is placed before the names of all animals of the horse kind”, and he elaborated this view as follows:

I cannot think of any animal but the ass, which this ideograph can represent. This was the beast of burden first used, and, therefore, likely to have been symbolically represented, and to have had its symbol prefixed to the names of other beasts of burden; and it could scarcely have been omitted from a list of captured animals, which, however, it would have been if this ideograph did not express it. I regard the value of the character as denoting “an ass” nearly certain; but I am uncertain how it was pronounced (HINCKS 1855: 255).

He found that this was the case in the list of animals in two inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, which he had studied in *ICC* 67:4-5 and 68:1-2. The role of Layard’s copies in the preparation of a modern edition of the inscriptions is evident in the commentary and textual notes in RINAP 1 Tiglath-pileser III 15 and 28.⁴⁾ Text 28:2 reads: ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ MUNUS.ANŠE.a-na-qa-a-te a-di ANŠE.ba-ak-ka-ri-ši-na am-[hur], “camels, she-camels, together with their young, I recei[ved] (from them)”. Compare Hincks’s translation: “camels, she camels with their foals, I received” (HINCKS 1855: 256).

As I have pointed out in previous papers, Hincks worked out the meaning of *anāqāte*, “she-camels”, by reference to Aram. *’nqh*, “she-camel”, which he erroneously believed was to be found in the second Targum of Esther 1:2 (HINCKS 1855: 255; see HOMMEL 1879: 148). In fact, the only certain occurrence of the form *’nqh* is in Lamentations Rabbah 49:27, *w’yt qwmynn ’nqh ḥdh*, “there is a female camel before us”. It has been suggested that *’nqh* in this text should, perhaps, be emended to *ynqh*, “she-camel”, which is found in several texts and inscriptions (SOKOLOFF 2017: 42, and reference to TALSHIR 1983). The Targum of Jer. 2:23 has *ynq’ qlyl’* for Heb. *bkrh qlh*, “swift she-camel”; and *ynqt’*, “she-camels”, is found in an Aramaic inscription from Maresha published by Eshel, who refers to two Idumaeans

ostraca which mention *ynqt' zy bmqdh*, “she-camels in Maqqedah” (ESHEL 2010: 45-46, no. 12:3). Eshel prefers the translation “young camels”.

It is generally agreed that Neo-Assyrian *anāqāte* is a loanword from Ar. *nāqah*, “she-camel” (HOMMEL 1879: 147-150; 1885: 662 n. 2; MUSS-ARNOLT 1905: I, 72; AHw 50; RADNER 1997: 312); and there is a long-held view that Aram. *ynq'/'nqh*, “she-camel” is related to Ar. *nāqah* (BUXTORF 1639: col. 147; HOMMEL 1879: 147-148; SOKOLOFF 2017: 42).⁵⁾ LIVINGSTONE 1997 suggested that *anāqāte* was evidence of the earliest attestation of the Arabic definite article *han-* (in this case with *nāqah*), but this proposal has been criticised by SIMA 2000: 126 n. 439. Hämeen-Anttila also dismissed Livingstone’s suggestion. Following the view of scholars like Vycichl (with some reservations), he writes: “the Arabic word cannot be discussed apart from the Semitic root YNQ, ‘to suck’, in the causative ‘to suckle’, and it seems most probable that the word *nāqat-* is derived from **yanāqat-*, with a semantic specialisation from ‘suckling, or suckled (camel)’ to ‘she-camel’” (HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2009: 99; see VYCICHL 1988). These scholars do not mention Hommel’s nineteenth-century suggestion that Ar. *nāqah* could be traced back to a Proto-Semitic root YNQ (HOMMEL 1879: 147-150; see BROCKELMANN 1908: I, 248). Objections to the proposals of Hommel and Vycichl have been raised by Sima, who regards their arguments as “sehr fragwürdig” (SIMA 2000: 126 n. 440). The absence of the root YNQ in Arabic is undoubtedly a difficulty. Although Sima seems to have successfully challenged previous grammatical analyses, there is still some uncertainty. As KOGAN and MILITAREV 2005: 213 have pointed out, Sima has not explained the Arabic plural form *'aynuq* which forms part of Hommel’s argument and is discussed by Brockelmann. HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2009: 100, who lays great store by the absence of the root YNQ in Arabic, thinks *'aynuq* is probably, due to metathesis, from *'anyuq*, and therefore the first consonant of *'aynuq* is not a relic of an original Y. After supporting the case for the connection of Ar. *nāqah* and Akk. *anāqāte* with the root YNQ, which, he claims, is not used in Arabic, Hämeen-Anttila raises the issue of etymology:

From a purely linguistic point of view, though, it is less easy to see why we should seek the etymology of a word, clearly connected with the root YNQ, from a language which lacks the root. Instead we do find in, e.g. Biblical Hebrew, expressions such as *g^emallîm mēnîqôt* (Gen 32:16), which would fit with the etymology of *nāqat-*. It might be worth considering whether Arabs may have got the word from a language which does use the root YNQ, in which case both the Akkadian a-na-qa-a-te and the Arabic *nāqat-* would be loanwords from West Semitic (HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2009: 100).

By West Semitic he means Northwest Semitic. This clarification is important. Tadmor’s note on *anāqāte adi bakkarišîna*, saying that “this phrase, including two West Semitic loanwords, occurs for the first time in Tigl.’s inscriptions and attests to a familiarity with the pastoral nomadic milieu”, may be slightly misleading (TADMOR 1994: 70 n. 5; Ann. 14*:5 = RINAP 1 Tiglath-pileser 15:5). He seems to mean that they are Arabic (Central Semitic) loanwords. It has been suggested that Akk. *bakru*, “foal”, is a loanword from Ar. *bakr*, “young camel” (AHw 97; CDA 36; see already HOMMEL 1885: 662 n. 2).⁶⁾ Hämeen-Anttila does not refer to any Northwest Semitic lexeme with the meaning “she-camel”. His mention of Gen. 32:16, *g^emallîm mēnîqôt*, “milk-camels” may be interesting as an example of the verb YNQ used of “milk-camels”; and we do have Ge’ez *nāqat*, pl. *nāqāt* in the Ethiopic version of Gen. 32:16 (DILLMAN 1865: 646; see HOMMEL 1879: 147-148). He should also have mentioned that in Assyrian inscriptions there is a passage in which it is said that the camel foal (*bakru*), as well as the donkey foal, calf and lamb, sucked seven times at the mothers who suckled them (*mušēniqāte ēniqūma*) (RINAP 5/1 Ashurbanipal 11 ix 65-67; see also RINAP 5/2 Ashurbanipal 194 ii 13-14).⁷⁾ It must be pointed out that Aram. *ynqh*, *ynqt'* and *n'qh*, *n'qt'* are not found in early Aramaic texts, though the verb YNQ, in the haphel form (“to give suck to, to suckle”) is well attested in Old Aramaic. See Sefire, *KAI* (5th ed.) 222: I A 21-23; Tell-Fakhariyah, *KAI* 309: 20; Bukān, *KAI* 320: 6. None of the preceding, however, supports Hämeen-Anttila’s suggestion that Akk. *anāqāte* and Ar. *nāqah* might be loanwords from Northwest Semitic.⁸⁾ The view that Neo-Assyrian *anāqāte* is an Arabic loanword can still be maintained.

Notes

I wish to thank Jamie Novotny and Wilfred Watson for helpful comments and bibliography.

1. Hincks thought that A.AB.BA represented an Assyrian word *abba*. He put forward a futile argument for a cognate in Heb. **hab*, pl. *habbîm*, “elephants”, as in 1 Kings 10:22, *šenhabbîm*, “ivory”, and claimed that *abba* or

habba had a secondary meaning “camel” (HINCKS 1855: 253-256; see CATHCART 2012: 9-10). More interesting is his observation that in different “copies” of the inscriptions of Sargon, in the notice of the tribute “sent to him in his seventh year” by Pir’u, king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of the Arabs, and It’amar the Sabaeen, “*habba* is interchanged with *gammal*” (HINCKS 1855: 253-254). See RINAP 2 Sargon II 1:125, ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ and text no. 7 27, ANŠE.GAM.MAL (*ibilī* and *gammalī* respectively). In a comment on 7 27, Frame notes that “ex. 5 has ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ instead of ANŠE.GAM.MAL” (RINAP 2, p. 141).

2. The account also appeared in *The Literary Gazette*, no. 1725 (9 February 1850), pp. 110-111. It was a feature of nineteenth-century newspapers and literary magazines that they often reported important literary and scientific discoveries. For example, Hincks’s letters announcing his identification of *Yaua mār Ḥumri* as “Jehu son of Omri” on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III and Menahem of Samaria in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III were published in *The Athenaeum* (HINCKS 1851, 1852; see CATHCART 2008: 73-74, 78-79).

3. Rawlinson had already received a copy of the plates from Birch six months earlier. See LARSEN 1996: 367 n. 128.

4. For other attestations of *anāqāte* and *anāqāti* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, see RINAP 1 Tiglath-pileser III 32:12; 35 iii 23; 42:25, 32; 44:14; 47 r. 1, r. 5; 48:27; 49 r. 21. The reading in text 35 iii 23 is ANŠE <a>-na-qa-a-ti, but a note (p. 87) has: “or simply ANŠE.na-qa-a-ti without the prefixed a-”. Note that Tiglath-pileser Annals Series B Fragment 2:16-17 = Tiglath-pileser III 15:4-5; and Annals Series A Fragment 2:16 = Tiglath-pileser 28:2 (see RIAO). There is another attestation of *anāqāte* in a letter from Adda-ḥati, governor of Hamath, to Sargon II (SAA I: text no. 175: 5). LIVINGSTONE 1997: 160 mentions ABL 527 r. 11, na-qa-ti / nāqāti.

5. For a convenient presentation of the Semitic cognates, including Aram. *n’qh, n’qt’*, “she-camel”, see KOGAN and MILITAREV 2005: 212-213. Note that in his Assyrian dictionary Edwin Norris has an entry for *anāqāte* in which he refers to Aram. *nq’*, and Ar. *nwq* (NORRIS 1868: 41).

6. Rare Biblical Hebrew *beker**, cstr. pl. *bikrê*, “young camels” // *g^emallîm* (Isa. 60:6) is probably a loanword from Ar. *bakr*. See also *bikrâh*, “she-camel” (Jer. 2:23). Further details in KOGAN and MILITAREV 2005: 78-79.

7. Note that *anāqāte* was regarded as a derivative of *enēqu*, “to suck” by Muss-Arnolt in his dictionary of Assyrian (1905: I, 72 with earlier bibliography and inclusion of Aram. *ynq’*). This does not fit with his view that *anāqāte* was borrowed from Ar. *nāqah*.

8. For the care that must be taken in proposing Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian, see ABRAHAM and SOKOLOFF 2011.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

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