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NOTES BRÈVES

43) Bestattung und Nichtbestattung auf der Geierstele — Die Geierstele verdankt ihren heutigen Namen der Abbildung von Geiern, die ganz oben, im Kulminationspunkt der Stele, Leichenteile wegtragen. Weiter unten wird aber die Bestattung von zahlreichen Toten gezeigt. Die nackten Leiber liegen auf einem Haufen und werden mit Erde bedeckt. Daneben wird eine Libation ausgeführt, ein gefesselt Rind und 6 weitere Tiere liegen als Opfergaben bereit. Der Gegensatz von Leichen, die den Geiern überlassen werden und pietätvoller Bestattung hat schon früh zu der Annahme geführt, dass unten die gefallenen Lagašiten beerdigt werden (z. B. Falkner 1957-71).

Die aufgestapelten Leichen, die mit Erde bedeckt werden, erinnern an den auch von Eannatum nach Kampfschilderungen gebrauchten Ausdruck SAĤAR.DU₆.TAG₄, wörtlich „Erde, Hügel, zurücklassen“ verbunden mit dem Verbum dub „aufhäufen“ (BEHRENS/STEIBLE 1983, 83). Ein solcher Tumulus ist auch auf einer sargonischen Landkarte als Kreis abgebildet (RTC 156, P216932, dazu SELZ/NIEDERMAYER 2015, 401).

Selz plädiert für folgende Lösung: Die beiden unteren Register beziehen sich auf einen ersten Krieg gegen Umma. Zur Bestattungsszene meint Selz „those buried in the *tumuli* are most likely E’anatum’s own men“. Sodann fährt Selz aber fort: „On the other hand the *tumuli* mentioned in the inscriptions seem to favor, though not without doubt, an interpretation that they are burial mounds for killed enemies“ (SELZ/NIEDERMAYER 2015, 402).

Die Interpretation als Abbildung zweier Kriege gegen Umma ist überzeugend und der Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Stele. Für die Trennung der auch von Selz als Begräbnishügel von Feinden verstandenen SAĤAR.DU₆.TAG₄ in den Inschriften von dem abgebildeten Begräbnishügel auf der Geierstele fehlt aber ein stichhaltiges Argument. In der Begräbnisszene liegen die Toten so hoch, dass man eine Leiter braucht um sie mit Erde zu bedecken. In der Inschrift erwähnt Eannatum sogar 20 SAĤAR.DU₆.TAG₄, die er aufgehäuft hat (Vs. xi 14f.). Würde man eigene Verluste so drastisch darstellen?

Im Text ist auch ausdrücklich davon die Rede, dass die Leichen der Ummäer hoch aufragen werden: addá řšár¹-bé ul₄-hé bé-lá „seine unzähligen Leichen werden an das Firmament reichen“ Vs. vii 21f. (cf. KEETMAN 2019). Dabei kann sich -bé „seine/ihre“ (Sachklasse) nur auf Umma oder kollektiv auf die Ummäer beziehen.

Monumente errichtet man nicht, um auch Niederlagen abzubilden, auch nicht die des eigenen Vaters. Wenn man nicht umhin kommt, Niederlagen einzuräumen, dann doch eher indem man die Freveltaten der Feinde zeigt. So tut es zumindest verbal Irikagena (Eri’enimgena, SCHRAKAMP 2015, 304-310) in seiner Klage (RIME1.9.9.5). Mit Hinblick auf die erwähnten SAĤAR.DU₆.TAG₄ bringt es Bauer

1998, 564 auf den Punkt: „Welcher Feldherr würde sich schon der eigenen Verluste rühmen?“ Dies ist zwar für die Texte gemeint, lässt sich aber genauso auf die bildliche Darstellung beziehen.

Im untersten Register ist noch der Stoß mit einer langen Lanze nach rechts zu sehen, also von der Seite von der oben zweimal Eannatums Armee kommt. Dies bildet eine Parallele zu der Lanze mit der Eannatum im dritten Register nach rechts stößt. Ein Akt, der oben die Teilnahme des Herrschers von Lagaš an einem siegreichen Kampf zeigt, sollte unten sicher die gleiche Botschaft vermitteln. Die zeremonielle Beerdigung und die von Geiern weggetragenen Leichenteile bilden einen so augenscheinlichen Kontrast, dass man davon ausgehen kann, dass er Teil des Konzepts der Stele war. Wenn der Lanzenstoß, von unten gerechnet, das erste und dritte Register verband, so der Umgang mit den Toten, das zweite und vierte Register. Fasst man also die Register als Wiederholung A, B und A', B' auf, so ergibt sich auch eine Entsprechung zur Zweiteilung der Vorderseite. Dabei kommen die Lagašiten immer weiter nach rechts voran. Im fast völlig verlorenen untersten Register ist dies nicht sicher zu zeigen, aber immerhin kann man sagen, dass Eannatum immer mehr ins Kampfgeschehen kommt: Der Lanzenstoß rückt vom Rand zur Mitte, dann schreitet Eannatum seiner Phalanx sogar zu Fuß voran. In der Inschrift hebt Eannatum seinen direkten Anteil am Kampf durch die Erwähnung einer Verwundung hervor (Vs. ix 2-4). Die drei Kampfszenen lassen also eine Steigerung von unten nach oben erkennen.

Wer nicht ordentlich bestattet wurde musste als unruhiger und gefährlicher Geist umherirren oder litt in der Unterwelt einen Mangel. So wird in einer altbabyl. Beschwörung ein Dämon unter anderem wie folgt angerufen: *lú eden-na 'ba-ug⁵-ga hē-me-en 'lú' eden-na 'saḫar nu-du¹ hē-me-e[n]* „Seist du jemand, der in der Steppe gestorben ist! Seist du jemand, der in der Steppe nicht mit Erde bedeckt wurde!“ (FUH 316f., GELLER 1985, 36-39). Kommt so jemand doch in die Unterwelt, geht es ihm dort besonders schlecht. Siehe Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt 287-91 (GADOTTI 2014, 160). Die Darstellung zweier Kriege gegen den gleichen Feind verlangt nach einer Steigerung des Sieges bzw. einer strengeren Bestrafung des Feindes und auch die Komposition der Stele ist auf Steigerung aus. Die Verweigerung der Bestattung dürfte also die furchtbare Strafe für die Ummäer gewesen sein und Eannatum bildete das ganz oben auf seiner Stele ab.

Das grausige Bild mit den Geiern überrascht uns nicht, der pietätvolle Umgang mit den getöteten Feinden davor aber sehr wohl. Doch das folgt einerseits dem Bemühen, einen möglichst großen Kontrast zu erzeugen, andererseits ist Eannatum „ein Mann des gerechten Wortes“ (*lú enim si-sá-kam*, Vs. x 13). Er handelt im Einklang mit der göttlichen Ordnung und beerdigt selbst die Feinde noch nach Sitte und Brauch. Umso frevelhafter erscheint ihr neuer Angriff, der mit der dann verdienten schrecklichen Strafe endet.

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44) Zur Lesung einiger Zeichen in SF 36 — In *NABU* 2026/1 teilt Jan Lisman Korrekturen und Ergänzungen zu seiner Bearbeitung von SF 36 (LISMAN 2025) mit, wobei er sich auf Kollationen von Krebernig beruft. Zuvor hatte der jetzige Autor bereits über Zweifel an der Identität einiger Zeichen mit Lisman korrespondiert.

Unter P010618 findet man zwei gute Fotos und eine Kopie (Krebernik). Eine Besprechung der Übersetzung würde rasch den Rahmen sprengen.

I 6: UŠ verbessert in NIM auch mit Hinweis auf Deimel unter LAK 271. Nach der Kopie hatte ich zunächst HÚB vorgeschlagen. Doch nach den Fotos ist der senkrechte Keil vorne unsicher, während ein zusätzlicher horizontaler Keil an der Spitze wie bei UŠ ausgeschlossen ist. Obwohl man Deimels Kopie in LAK anzweifeln kann, ist NIM wahrscheinlicher als HÚB.

III 9: Lisman verbessert dele (AŠ) in DU. In LISMAN 2025, 12 wurde die Lesung lá in KEETMAN 2022 mit dem Argument bestritten, der senkrechte Keil sei nur eine Beschädigung. Nach Widerspruch in persönlicher Mitteilung akzeptiert Lisman anscheinend den senkrechten Keil (er ist schwer zu sehen). DU entsteht nur, wenn man drei Linien von KI (Teil von EDEN) und von den Begrenzungen des Kästchens LÁ hinzufügt. Eigene Keile von DU sind nicht erkennbar. Der horizontale Keil von lá bricht nach Berührung mit KI nicht ab. Man vergleiche DU in iii 6. Obwohl ebenfalls in die untere Ecke gedrängt sind eigene Linien von DU zu erkennen.



iii 9: lá



iii 6 du

IV 1: Lisman gibt die Lesung šutul₅ auf und liest ŠID. Das Zeichen ist ein aus Platzmangel eng geschriebenes SIG₄. Das läuft jedoch auf die gleiche Interpretation als Verbum šeg₁₂ gi₄-gi₄ „schreien, kreischen, zwitschern etc.“ hinaus. Das Zeichen davor LAK 527 in iv 1 und iv 14 hält Lisman „for the older form of LAK 280 = ERIM/erin₂“ (LISMAN 2025, 13). LAK 280 ohne den senkrechten Keil von LAK 527 ist aber bereits in Fāra und davor belegt. Z. B. MSVO 3, 24 i 3; UET 2, 318; NTSŠ 82, viii 5; 16; SF 39 ix 8; 10 passim. Daher kann LAK 527 nicht der graphische Vorläufer von LAK 280 sein. LAK 527 kann zwar in den kombinierten Zeichen SIG₅, „ERÍN.X“ (MITTERMAYER 2005, 82-85) durch LAK 280 ersetzt werden, doch diese Entwicklung ist auf diese kombinierten Zeichen beschränkt. Möglich aber keineswegs sicher wäre, dass LAK 527 in LAK 280 aufgegangen ist (cf. VOLK 2020, 679f. und beachte dort die unterschiedlichen Zeichenformen). Gegen die Identifikation von LAK 527 mit ERÉN spricht sich auch Steinkeller 2013, 137 mit Anm. 10f. aus und sieht das Zeichen als graphische Variante von URI an. Dies ergibt aber zumindest mit der Bedeutung als Toponym oder Herkunftsbezeichnung in SF 36 keinen Sinn.

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45) A suggestion by R.K. Englund reinterpreted* — The *definition* of the (written) Sumerian precativ modal indicator ‘h_é’ in the ED I-II period suggests that scribes endeavoured to adapt the traditional methods of transcribing speech into writing to the requirements of their own language (which, it follows, differed from that used previously). The system of the Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases was self-contained: everything (including names) that needed to be written (in administrative texts) could be written.

The first syllabic spellings appear in the ED I-II period (cf. ATFU, p. 12f.). The traditional rule, according to which a sign corresponds to a single word (in a few cases to several: U₄), had lost its validity; from then on, a sign – regardless of its meaning – could also be used as a syllable (phonetically); see, for example, ‘āš-gàr’ (ATFU, p. 9). An exact correspondence was not required (cf. the well-known example TI /ti/ [arrow] and TI /tìl/ [to live]). It is not immediately clear what prompted this innovation (transition from a logographic script to a mixed logographic-syllabic script). One might think (not only) of the rebus spellings mentioned. Englund had suggested that the phonetic value ‘bi’ of the sign KAŠ in Sumerian might be traced back to the pronunciation of the word for “beer” in an “unknown language” spoken alongside or prior to Sumerian in Mesopotamia (OBO 160/1, p. 80; cf. Gehlken, E., 2021, *Considerations on the Proto-*

Euphratic Language, Jüchen, p. 38 [“unknown language” is, by definition, replaced here by “Proto-Euphratic” (PE)]. If one takes up this idea, one would have gained in addition a syllable for many signs, the pronunciation of which no longer made sense in Sumerian. It then seemed natural to transfer the pronunciation of monosyllabic Sumerian words to such syllables (e.g. ‘da’ for the comitative), though this may also have been the starting point. In the case of GÌR (an animal head) for “foot” in Sumerian (OBO 160/1, p. 80)¹⁾, the pronunciation of a PE sign would have been transferred to a homophone Sumerian word. Nevertheless, it is not immediately clear why syllables were introduced.

It is reasonable to assume, however, that there was a need to reform the writing system in such a way as to provide all the necessary means for writing their own language, thus enabling the writer to express his thoughts without any ambiguity²⁾. This can be clearly illustrated by the precative modal indicator ‘hé’ mentioned at the beginning. The (Sumerian) PN HÉ-ak (ATFU, p. 12) could only have been written as AK during the Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases. However, ‘Ak’ also exists as a name in its own right; furthermore, it could be a short form of Ak-^dDN (ATFU, p. 166). To avoid such ambiguities, ‘hé’ was “defined” by Sumerian scribes during the ED I–II period. The spelling GAN×HI for ‘hé’ instead of GAN indicates two things: firstly, the repertoire of signs in the Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases did not include a word (or a “syllable”) for /he/ (/he/ was simply not required), secondly, the sign GAN was to be pronounced “similar to” HI. The pronunciation of the sign GAN in PE may have begun with /he.../ (or similar) (for lengthening/shortening, see ‘ti’, ‘til’ above).

Englund’s idea, outlined above, that the Sumerians adopted elements of another language is convincing, but it should be modified to reflect the fact that this “lost language” (OBO 160/1, p. 80) was written (and not merely spoken) during the Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases. If the Sumerians had needed an element ‘hé’ during the time of those writing phases, they could have defined it (cf. the many “abstract” signs of unknown reading at the end of the ZATU sign list); ‘hé’ could – much like a determinative – have been used to assign the PN HÉ-ak to a specific class of personal names (that of precative names). The fact that this did not happen suggests that Sumerian was not yet being written at that time.

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2024/1. – ED: Early Dynastic; PE: Proto-Euphratic; PN: personal name.

1. The sign GÌR definitely does not mean “foot” in the Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases (foot = DU; cf. W 9656,h (CDLI: ~h1) [Lú A, *Vorläufer*], rev. ii1 and ~5: GÌR and PA GÌR, respectively; ~2: GÌR.gunû(?); cf. in relation to this MSVO 1, text 1: an official “PA GÌR.gunû”); this clearly shows that a language other than Sumerian was being written during these writing phases.

2. Spellings such as ‘áš-gàr’ (see above), which were not necessary, would then represent a “playful” approach to the new concept, whilst readings such as ‘bi’ for KAŠ would be a welcome addition.

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46) The precocious princes of Ebla — The only children of the last royal couple of Ebla known from the State Archives, Iš’ar-Damu and Dabur-Damu, are thought to be Il/r’ak-Damu,¹⁾ heir to the throne, who was probably named after a stepbrother of his, died as child shortly before,²⁾ and the princess Kešdut, who bore the name of the long-lived queen of her great-grandfather Igriš-Halab (see POMPONIO 2025b: 171, fn. 1). The prince, who never became king, was born in the year of the AAM (Annual Account of Metal) TM.75.G.10074 (BIGA 1996: 50; ARCHI 2021: 24-25) of the (full) year Ibbi-zikir 6. To the same year are to be assigned many MATs (Monthly Account of Textiles): ARET I, 15 and IV, 7 (month ii), ARET IV, 6 and TM.75.G.1382 (iii), ARET IV, 8 and 18 (iv), ARET IV, 25 and TM.75.G.1381 (v) and 5 (xii), as well as the mu-DU text ARET XIV, 106 which should record the delivery of amounts of gold and silver by the “prime minister” Ibbi-zikir to the newborn, intended for various manufactured goods, including a chariot and with the addition of 20 *bu-di* for his mother. These texts mention the midwife, the wet nurses, and a cow for the new born; various gifts and distributions to the queen and gifts to her visitors; a great number of decorative objects in gold and silver, the special clothing *maštapu* and a bow for Ir’ak-Damu; religious ceremonies, including the ritual “when the son of the queen (went into) the steppe” and the dedication of statues by the king to twelve deities in connection with the royal birth; and lastly two(!) ama-gal of the

queen (BIGA – POMPONIO 1993: 108-117; BIGA 1996: 50-54; ARCHI 2025: 24-26). It is to be expected that an event as important as the birth of royal couple's first son would be so well attested in the Ebla documentation, furthermore commemorated in a year name in the record of textiles ARET I, 40. That this first child birth was born to the queen a good ten years after her wedding in the 14th year of Ibrum, seems less normal, but the long wait is appropriate for the extraordinary number of offerings and ceremonies that accompanied the happy event.

Stranger than this is the child's precocity on the basis of the AAMs TM.76.G.2622 (ARCHI 2021: 26), TM.75.G.2428 (MEE XII, 35), TM.75.G.2508 (MEE XII, 37), and TM.75.G. 2429 (MEE XII, 36), to be assigned to the (full) years Ibbi-zikir 7-10, therefore to a period Il'r'ak-Damu was only 1-4 years old . As a matter of fact, this child turns out to have offered, together with the queen, 1 mina and 6 shekels of gold for two earrings and a bracelet to Ibbi-zikir and various decorative objects of gold or silver to Adad, Adad of Halab, 'Adabal of Lubalu/Luban, Aštapi and his spouse Baradu-madu, Rasap and his Adamma, Rasap of 'Atani, Rasap of Dunib, Rasap of Ši'amū, and Utu of SA.ZA_x^{ki}. Of course, in these texts his royal parents must have acted on behalf of Il'r'ak-Damu, but it is nonetheless noteworthy that a child of such a tender age would be putatively rendering gifts to the "first minister" engaged in a military expedition, in this instance against Zabū, and to such a high number of deities.

To the little prince's precocity must, it seems, be added chronic poor health. In three of the above-mentioned AAMs the identical passage occurs:

1 ma-na kù:bar₆ nì-sa₁₀ 1 gír-mar-tu (kù-sig₁₇*) en áš-tù 1 gír-mar-tu-sù sikil d'à-da al₆ tu-ra il-'à-ak-da-mu (MEE XII, 35/44b, 36/93*, 37/61a*).

This records the purchase of a golden Amorite dagger to replace the same object the king had offered in a purification ceremony of Adad for the healing of his son. An identical ceremony is recorded in the AAM of Ibbi-zikir 1 at regard of the illness of another prince, Aja-dulum (MEE X, 20 rev. xii 18-28). Moreover, in another passage of MEE XII, 37/30b a similar rite entails the disposition of an amount of silver to make two pairs of objects (giš-DU and ti-gi-na) to be given to Il'ak-Damu, who had offered the same objects during a purification ceremony of Aštapi: here no illness is mentioned, but the participation of Il'ak-Damu to this ritual suggests that he was the beneficiary of the purification rite.³⁾

Il'r'ak-Damu's precocity culminates in his marriage to Za'aše, a daughter of Ibbi-zikir. This wedding was celebrated in the year Ibbi-zikir 12 or 13, following ARET XX: 163, 179, but a few years later, Ibbi-zikir 16, following ARCHI 2021: 27, that is, either before or after the expedition of Ibbi-zikir against Mari, when the groom had six/seven or ten years, respectively. In any case, since the above-mentioned registers of allotments of sheep for offerings to the gods are to be dated to the last two (full) years of Ibbi-zikir 16-17 (ARCHI 2022: 37, 2.4.7), and in these texts Za'aše regularly occurs among those rendering the divine offerings, together with the king, the queen, and Ir'ak-Damu, it is sure that this marriage took place before the year Ibbi-zikir 16. Furthermore, in two texts of the small room L.2712 (see ARCHI 2025: 32-33), which record rations of grains, malt-bread. and oil for the allocations of the Palace, including the members of the royal family, five or six "wives" (? dam) of Ir'ak-Damu (ARET IX, 37/7 and 50/4) are mentioned, in addition to Za'aše, evidently the first wife and the queen-to-be, and two other "wives" of Ir'ak-Damu occur in the MAT ARET IV, 3/16 and 19. Besides, some MATs mention more than two dozens commissioners (ARET I, 5/72; ARET III, 943 r.² iv; ARET VIII, 524/35; 525/9; 527/28 and 32; 529/2; 533/4, 9, and 11, ARET XII, 809 obv. iv; ARET XX, 22/14; MEE 7, 23 r. vii 9-viii 1), three or four ugula-sur_x-bar-an (ARET VII, 73; VIII, 521/33, 541/45), six harpists (ARET XX, 15/48), an ointment worker (ARET IV, 14/11), two equids-igi-nita (ARET XX, 222/15), and a household (é) (ARET XX, 15/20), all of Il'r'ak-Damu and the news that he has joined the brotherhood of the šeš-2-eb, making a fixed pair with Rušī-Malik, a brother-in-law of his (ARET VIII, 540/46; XX, 17/26). In mu-DU texts the prince receives 4 textiles from the king and a high officer of Mari (ARET XIV, 85/37-38) and a dozen linen textiles of Dulu on occasion of the expedition to Sidau (ARET XIV, 87/32),⁴⁾ led by Ibbi-zikir and ending with the capture of the town (ARET XIV: 41). Among the precious metal artifacts intended for Il'ak-Damu in the mu-DU texts, there is a chariot with attached harness and 22,5 minas of gold and 30 shekels of silver are recorded for the three chariots of the king, the queen and the prince, respectively (ARET XIV, 92/16). Last, in a chancellery document a keeper of a flour magazine belonging to Ir'ak-Damu is mentioned (ARET

XVI, 10/12). Therefore, the prince had at his disposal all these persons and goods while he was at most eleven years old. But a year later, at the destruction of Ebla, he lost everything, perhaps along with his life.

With respect to precocity, Kešdūt was, it seems, at least her brother's equal. Unlike her brother's Kešdūt's birth year is not known with certainty. In fact, we have only two mentions of a second childbirth of the queen: in the AAM TM.75.G.2507, where a *guzuratum*, perhaps a kind of "necklace clasp" (ARCHI 2002: 191-192), of gold was given to her on the occasion of having given birth (lú tu-da *ma-lik-tum*) and in the MAT TM.75.G.1896, where a zara₆-TUG is assigned to an officer of 'Ašū on the occasion of the queen's having given birth (*in u₄ tu-da ma-lik-tum*), preceded by the assignment of a textile to the midwife of the queen's daughter (BIGA 1996: 62). The two texts were written in the same year because of the mention of the same rich gifts to the household of Nagaum on occasion of the wedding of the princess Ridu (BIGA 1996: 62-63), and so refer to the same childbirth.⁵

Now, it appears beyond doubt strange that the queen having given birth would occasion so few mentions, as it is noted bitterly by BIGA 1996: 62: "Vu les faibles festivités pour ce deuxième accouchement, il est plus probable qu'il s'agisse d'une fille". Since the AAM TM.75.G.2507 is to be assigned to the 11th (full) year of Ibbi-zikir, this year should be Kešdūt's birth year. In support of this dating is the consideration that the princess does not turn out to be mentioned, to the best of my knowledge, in any published AAM, nor in any other text datable with some certainty before the year in question. Nevertheless, a point against assigning the birth mentioned in TM.75.G.2507 to Kešdūt may be that, immediately before of the gift of the *guzuratum* to the queen "who had given birth", ½ shekel of silver is given to Rē'ī-šadu, defined as *dumu-nita maliktum* (BIGA 1996: 62). Therefore, he could have been the child born by the queen and his death immediately after the birth would explain the absence of ceremonies and gifts connected with this birth, as well as the lack of other mentions of a third son of the queen. But the insignificant amount of silver and the vertical wedge which precedes both the personal name and the term *dumu-nita maliktum* rather suggest that this Rē'ī-šadu was a subordinate, not a son of the queen.

The most important event of Kešdūt's life was her marriage to a member of the royal family of Kiš, probably Iškun-Nunu, considered alternatively a prince (ARCHI 2025: 23) or the new king of the city (POMPONIO 2026), but this "case of identity" is not relevant to our topic and neither does the location of Kiš of the Eblaite texts. However, before continuing with Kešdūt, it is appropriate to insert an excursus. It has been stated for a quarter of century and is now unanimously accepted that the reign of the last king of Ebla, Iš'ar-Damu, lasted 35 years, divided into two periods of equal length, the mandates of the "premiers" Ibrum (18 years) and his son Ibbi-zikir (17 years). But since we have an annual account of the latter, which records the deliveries of gold and silver from his "treasure", za_x, during his tenure of 17 years (the mu-DU text ARET XIV, 92; see also the fragmentary ARET XIV, 93), it seems most probable that this document was drawn up when the year Ibbi-zikir 17 had ended. The following one may be considered the 18th of Ibbi-zikir, and in this case ARET XIV, 92 would be the last of a series of summaries filled out at the end of each year and destroyed when the next register was drawn up. Otherwise, following ARET XIV: 449-450, Ibbi-zikir would have resigned his office, which would have been transferred to his son Dubuhu-Ada, at the end of his 17th year and consequently all his deliveries of precious metal to the central administration would have been registered. In any case, it seems to be excluded that the end of Ibbi-zikir's tenure and the subsequent drawing-up of this text were caused by his death, which would have left an impressive number of testimonies in the Ebla documentation, or that Ibbi-zikir's death and the drafting of ARET XIV, 92 were followed immediately by the destruction of Ebla, indeed an unlikely coincidence.

Therefore, the administration of Ebla must have continued to function at least for some time after the end of Ibbi-zikir 17, whoever the "premier" was. And if an administration works, it inevitably produces documents. But which were these texts, the last ones of the State Archives? Probably some MATs found over the two burnt boards in the "Audience Court" and published in ARET VIII, but certainly not all the tablets of ARET VIII (see POMPONIO 2026), and some of the above-mentioned tablets of L.2712, which record victuals. Among these last texts there must have been the also above-mentioned monthly registers of sheep. Of these 22 texts (see ARCHI 2025: 33) only four have been published so far: MEE VII, 44; XII, 5, 26, 41 (see also PETTINATO 1979), two of them of the same month (ii), and therefore referring to two subsequent years. To them have to be added TM.75.G.2398, dated to the XII month, which mentions

Kešdūt's departure (è) from Ebla (obv. ii 27-79), surely for her marriage at Kiš, and another eight, in which Kešdūt, who was present in the four published texts together with her parents, brother and sister-in-law, no longer occurs, since her residence was no longer at Ebla (see ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 28). Thus, the overall period covered by these texts must include three (not full) years and is definitely to be assigned to the last phase of the city's life.

If this reconstruction is correct, and TM.75.G.2398 mentions Kešdūt's journey for her wedding, the ceremony happened in the last month of the penultimate year of Ebla. Thus, if the year of birth of Kešdūt is Ibbi-zikir 11, at the end of Ibbi-zikir 17 a six-year-old girl would have gone on a journey of about 850 km. as the crow flies to reach her groom in the Babylonian Kiš, or on a shorter trip, but not by much, for the valley of Balih, where we believe Kiš of the Eblaite texts was located. Thus the question arises: if it is indeed possible that Iš'ar-Damu and Ibbi-zikir considered it desirable, even necessary that a marriage reinforced the alliance of Ebla and its meat supplier Kiš against Mari, was there no more eligible bride for the court of Kiš among the king of Ebla's women than a six-years girl?

In conclusion, it seems that there are only two alternatives, both presenting difficulties. If Kešdūt was born in Ibbi-zikir 11, this event, differently from his brother Ir'ak-Damu's birth recorded in a high number of tablets, was mentioned in only two insignificant passages, and, remarkably, she was the princess married to the king of Kiš at the age of six years. If she was born an unspecified number of years earlier, she was married at an age more suitable to a bride, but mentions both of her birth and of her first years are entirely absent in the Ebla texts, moreover for a period (Ibrium 15 – Ibbi-zikir 10) during which administrative documents are abundant. If there were another explanation, which at the moment escapes me, for the data and the lack of data above discussed, it could call in question the detailed reconstruction, now considered certain, of the events of the last reign of Ebla, including their dating. And this would mean that the game is afoot, to quote a very famous phrase from the Canon.

Notes

1. The PN Il'r'ak-Damu, born exclusively by a child and a boy of the royal family, in the spelling *il-'à-ak-da-mu* occurs in the AAMs from Ibbi-zikir 4 (TM.75.G.10201) to 11 (TM.75.G.2507), while in the following AAM (ARET VIII, 534/25) appears for the first time the spelling *ir-'à-ak-da-mu*. This occurs also in two groups of texts to be assigned to the last years of Ibbi-zikir's mandate, which we'll return to below: the monthly registers of deliveries of sheep and those of victuals for the Palace, in the latter one with the exceptional variant *ir-ak-da-mu*. The presence of these two spellings is more difficult to establish in the MATs, due to the high number of these texts and the difficulty of dating many of them, but the impression is that the spelling Ir'ak-Damu becomes clearly prevalent, although not exclusive, in the texts of the last years of Ebla. See e.g. the tablets published in ARET VIII, in addition to the two above-mentioned registers of deliveries of sheep and victuals. The spelling Il'r'ak-Damu never occurs in these three groups of late texts. On the contrary, it always occurs in the mu-DU texts, including one of the last year of Ibbi-zikir (ARET XIV, 92/16). The etymology of the personal name and also the root from which it derives are not clear: see ARET XVI: 82, 12.

2. This child by the name of Il'r'ak-Damu is mentioned only in the AAM of the (full) year Ibbi-zikir 4 (TM.75.G.10021), while a nurse of his occurs in a MAT of Ibrium (TM.75.G.10085: ARCHI 2021: 24, 26). However, it seems strange that the long-awaited prince was given the name of a recently deceased child of the same family, evidently of no good omen.

3. This apparently bizarre refund of objects offered to the gods would deserve a special study. This administrative practice is to be compared to the chains of transfers of decorative objects of the same kind, but of increasingly lower value, from one functionary to another as sign of advancement and succession in office and also between members of the royal family (POMPONIO 1998: 33-40).

4. The deliveries of linen textiles from the city of Dulu, or more precisely by its king and its highest officer Arra-tilu/dulum (BIGA – STEINKELLER 2021: 32-33), are frequent in the mu-DU texts. In the texts of the two years immediately preceding ARET VIII, 87 (ARET XIV, 85/43-44 e 86/31) some dozens of these textiles are delivered in occasion of the military expedition against Ibal. The reason why in our text 13 textiles are delivered to a child of four years for a military campaign escapes me, since the fact that the above-mentioned ni-kaš₄ to Ibal occurs in reference to two distinct, and subsequent years (Ibbi-zikir 9-10) seems to exclude the meaning of a mere dating. Among the linen textiles received by Il'r'ak-Damu there are two of the very valuable type *kir-na-nu*, which, as proposed by BIGA – STEINKELLER 2021: 32, may have been used as a burial shroud. As matter of fact, a gada-tūg *kir-na-nūm-mah* was the gift of Ebla on the occasion of the premature death of the king of Mari Ikūn-Išar (see POMPONIO 2025a). But, of course, a funerary use, indeed not particularly suitable to a child, wasn't the only one for this linen textile.

5. In another MAT, TM.75.G.1917, there are the mentions both of a wet-nurse of the queen's daughter and of Kešdūt, defined as the queen's daughter (ARCHI – BIGA 2003: 26).

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47) Quelques remarques sur l'image de ^dKU-ra selon les textes d'Ébla : armes comme *status symbol* ? — Sur la base des données épigraphiques éblaïtes, Archi (2013 : 215) a, à juste titre, affirmé que « never receiving gifts of weapons, Kura was a local deity of prosperity, not a warrior god ». Toutefois, cette interprétation a été remise en cause par Sallaberger (2018 : 132-134 ; pour une critique générale de l'analyse de Sallaberger à ce sujet, voir PASQUALI 2024 : 9-10, n. 33), en raison, entre autres, de deux passages administratifs, où la statue de culte du dieu reçoit une hache (GIŠ-šilig). Il s'agit des passages suivants :

- [1] *ARET* XII 309 v. IV' : 7-10 : 1 GIŠ-šilig 1 íb-III gùn / ^dKU-ra / 1 kù-sal kù:babbar / ^dBa-ra-ma ;
 [2] *ARET* XV 44 v. VI : 6-11 : 2 zara₆-TÚG 1 GIŠ-šilig 1 kù-sal 1 gíd-TÚG / níg-ba / ^dKU-ra / níg-ba / ^dBa-ra-ma / 'A₃-ti-NÍ^{ki}.
 Maintenant, grâce à la récente publication des comptes-rendus des sorties de métaux de la période du mandat du ministre Ibrium, on peut ajouter quelques autres passages à ce maigre dossier :
 [3] *ARET* XXI 2 (13) : 10 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 2 gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / maš-maš / 1 GIŠ-šilig₅ / wa / 1 kù-sal / níg-ba / *Ib-rí-um* / ^dKU-ra / *in ud* / ne:sag-sù ;
 [4] *ARET* XXI 7 (67) : 2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu / 3 gín DILMUN 3 NI kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 2 NI gín DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ / 1 kù-sal / níg-ba / ^dKU-ra ;
 [5] *ARET* XXI 10 (17) : 10 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / nu₁₁-za / 1 GIŠ-šilig₅ / níg-ba / ^dKU-ra / *Ib-rí-um* / *in-na-sum* / *in ud* / ne:sag-sù ;
 [6] *ARET* XXI 10 (49) : 5 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / maš-maš / 1 [GIŠ]-šilig₅¹ / wa / nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu / níg-ba / ^dKU-ra / lú / 'A₃-ti-NÍ^{ki} ;
 [7] *ARET* XXI 10 (92) : 10 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / nu₁₁-za 1 gír mar-tu / 1 kù-sal / níg-ba / ^dKU-ra / *Ib-rí-um* / *in-na-sum* / *in ud* / ne:sag-sù ;
 [8] *ARET* XXI 11 (8) : 2-1/2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / [š]u-bal-ak / [1/2 gín] [DILMUN k]ù-[si]g₁₇ / 1 kù-sal / 2 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / nu₁₁-za [1 g]ír mar-tu¹ / níg-ba¹ / ^dKU-ra / *Ib-rí-um* / [i]n¹ ud¹ / ne:sag-sù.

Comme on peut le voir, même avec l'ajout de ces nouveaux contextes, la quantité des attestations demeure en tout cas assez modeste par rapport au nombre important des citations d'offrande à la statue de ^dKU-ra désormais connues et qui n'incluent jamais la livraison d'armes. De plus, il s'agit souvent de passages parallèles répartis sur un court intervalle de temps, se référant presque exclusivement à des dons de la part du ministre lors de la fête du ne:sag, qui ne semble pas du tout avoir de liens avec des actions de type militaire. A ce stade, nous ne sommes donc pas à même de déterminer pourquoi dans cette occasion spécifique l'image de ^dKU-ra, de façon tout à fait inhabituelle, devait être parfois décorée avec des armes aussi, notamment avec une hache (GIŠ-šilig₅ ; l'analogie avec les extraits [1-2] déconseille la lecture GIŠ-banšur adoptée par l'éditeur) et/ou un poignard (gír mar-tu). Ce qui nous apparaît évident est qu'à partir de

ces contextes nous ne pouvons pas tirer des conclusions rigoureuses sur le caractère martial du dieu, comme en revanche Sallaberger (2018 : 132-134) le voudrait. Nous pouvons au contraire expliquer cette rare présence d'armes, spécialement celle des poignards, dans la parure de ^dKU-*ra* comme un élément distinctif du statut social de celui qui détient le pouvoir, d'un membre important de l'élite, sans que cela ait forcément un rapport avec la guerre et la sphère militaire. Tel est le cas, par exemple, des quatre figurines en argile de dignitaires munis de poignards, retrouvées dans les fouilles du Palais Royal G et étudiées brillamment, il y a peu de temps, par Nadali (2024 : 301-310), qui justement exclut pour elles toute référence à des images de soldats. Selon cet auteur, en effet, « the presence of the dagger is a significant and distinctive element of the social position and role, so the male characters should thus be the “portrayal” of the overseers of Ebla » (NADALI 2024 : 308). Les poignards dont ces statuettes sont équipées seraient la représentation figurée des *gír mar-tu* souvent cités dans les textes administratifs éblaïtes et offerts à ^dKU-*ra* dans les passages que nous avons recueillis ci-dessus. Il s'agirait surtout d'armes de parade, jamais utilisées vraiment dans le cadre d'une guerre. Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le souligner (PASQUALI 2010 : 176), à Ebla, la tenue des hommes de haut rang est d'habitude composée d'un ceinturon (*íb-lá*) muni d'un poignard (*gír*) décoré en métal précieux : ces objets étaient bien des éléments de distinction sociale pour les hommes. Ainsi, en Etrurie, à partir des premières représentations de la période villanovienne, le port d'un ceinturon et d'une bandoulière conférait au personnage un statut spécial (CAMPOREALE 1991 : 61).

Le rôle de détenteur du pouvoir social et politique s'adapte bien au dieu de la lignée royale ^dKU-*ra*, garant du lien existant entre les souverains vivants d'Ébla et leurs ancêtres héroïsés ; ce qui semble le rapprocher du dieu ougaritique *Rapi'u*, qui dans KTU 1.108 est le guide des *rp'um* et porte le titre de *mlk 'lm*, le « roi de l'éternité » (LEWIS 2014 : 69). Malheureusement, la signification du théonyme ^dKU-*ra* nous échappe encore. L'interprétation de la graphie comme *tūrum*, « taureau », proposée par Pomponio et Xella (1997 : 247), semble désormais écartée par la plupart des spécialistes. Et pourtant elle évoquerait la possibilité tentante de voir dans ce dieu l'ancêtre royal par excellence, héroïsé et métamorphosé en taureau androcéphale, tel que nous le voyons, adoré par les cynocéphales, sur l'une des deux faces du talisman en os provenant de la Tombe du Seigneur des Capridés de la Ébla paléo-syrienne (pour cet objet, voir POLCARO 2015 : 179-204 ; NADALI 2021 : 200-201).

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48) Éblaïte ne-di lú KA-ma lú e, « danseur au singe en laisse »* — Récemment Archi (2022) a établi de façon définitive la signification du mot sumérien KA-ma dans les textes éblaïtes, grâce à une section de la liste bilingue qui n'est pas conservée dans le texte jusqu'à présent connu et où le terme KA-ma est traduit par la graphie sémitique *bù-gú-^lú^l-um*, akk. *pagû*, « singe ». Cette interprétation résout aussi la question du rapport, évoqué dans certains passages administratifs, entre le KA-ma, les « nains » (ba-za) et les « danseurs » (ne-di) : ces personnages accomplissaient leur tâche à l'aide d'un singe lors des célébrations religieuses auprès de la cour royale éblaïte. En Mésopotamie pendant le III^e millénaire av. J.-C. on trouve les premières références aux singes dans les documents figurés de la période du dynastique archaïque, tandis que les premières mentions dans les textes remontent à l'époque d'Ur III. Les singes étaient appréciés pour leur caractère ludique en particulier pendant les spectacles musicaux ainsi que comme animaux de compagnie (PRUZSINSZKY 2016 : 23). Plusieurs extraits des textes d'« apports » (mu-DU), nous apprennent que les singes pouvaient arriver à Ébla comme dons de la part de DULu et Dugurasu, une ville cette dernière située dans le nord-ouest de l'Iran (ARCHI 2022 avec bibliographie). D'après Such-Gutiérrez (2022 : 419-430 ; voir aussi CAUBET 2016 : 39), en effet, il faut identifier ces singes présents à l'époque en Mésopotamie principalement avec le Macaque rhésus ou Macaque mulatta, originaire du nord de l'Inde ou de l'Asie centrale et occidentale, bien que – admet-il – d'autres variétés de singes de la sous-région indienne pouvaient bien être connues.

Maintenant reste à déterminer la signification de la formule lú e, qui précède ou suit l'indication lú KA-ma en connexion avec Zikir-aba, l'un des danseurs ne-di de la cour royale, évidemment spécialisé dans des performances qui demandaient la présence d'un singe (voir les passages recueillis par CATAGNOTI 1989 : 168). Selon Catagnoti (1989 : 180), le sumérien e « *potrebbe contestualmente fare riferimento ad un particolare tipo di calzatura* ». Mais, dans ce cas, on ne comprend pas le rapport de cet objet avec le singe. De plus, le sumérogramme e est attesté ailleurs dans les documents administratifs éblaïtes, surtout dans certaines listes d'objets d'artisanat en bois, comme des meubles, et en cuir (voir ARCHI 2005 : 11, n. 5), et le sens de « soulier » s'adapte mal à ces contextes. Une possibilité qui me paraît envisageable est, en revanche, de le rapprocher du terme ^(kuš)e et de sa variante plus tardive ^(kuš)e₆, indiquant des « courroies en cuir ». En effet, comme Civil (2003 : 51) le souligne bien : « The word e in ED texts is a rather general term for pieces or strips of leather with different forms and uses ». Dans les contextes éblaïtes qui nous intéressent, donc, le mot peut faire référence à la laisse utilisée par le jongleur pour maîtriser son animal durant leurs spectacles ludiques. L'emploi du singe en laisse lors des jeux funéraires est bien connu encore dans les fresques de certaines tombes étrusques (en général sur le singe en Étrurie, voir REBUFFAT-EMMANUEL 1967 : 633-644).

Pour conclure, je voudrais attirer l'attention sur la présence dans l'inventaire TM.75.G.1432 (cité par ARCHI 1986 : 193) de 11 GIŠ-ná GIŠ-taškarin nu e, « 11 lits en buis sans courroie(s) en cuir ». Cette remarque nous laisse imaginer que normalement cet accessoire devait être typique des lits. Dans l'*Odyssée* XXIII 201, Ulysse se vante d'avoir ajouté au lit conjugal, construit de ses propres mains, une « courroie violet éclatant en cuir » (ἰμάντα βοῶς φοίνικι φαινόν ; pour cet objet du lit d'Ulysse, voir WEBB 2018 : 73).

Note : Je tiens à remercier J.-M. Durand et G. Marchesi pour l'échange habituel de points de vue.

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49) Rešef, una nuova etimologia — M.M. Münnich si è occupato dell'etimologia del teonimo *Rešef* (reso così secondo la vocalizzazione ebraica) alle pagine 8-9 della sua importante monografia *The God Resheph in the Ancient Near East*, Tübingen, 2013. In essa Münnich cita le letture di DAHOOD 1958, 85; ALBRIGHT 1968, 79; GESE, HÖFNER & RUDOLPH 1970, 141–142; ROBERTS 1972, 48; MULDER 1993, 685; STRECK 2008, 252; XELLA 1999, 701; METTINGER 2001, 85; FREY-ANTHES 2007, 110. Dopo aver definito come prive di fondamento e come pure speculazioni filologiche le proposte secondo cui il teonimo in questione deriverebbe dalle radici semitiche **srp*, **šrb* o addirittura **rsp*, l'eminente studioso polacco ha ritenuto che sia più probabile connettere *Rešef* con il verbo accadico *raš/sābum* “schiacciare, distruggere, tirar via” e con l'aggettivo *rašbu(m)* “terrificante, orribile”. Tale etimologia collimerebbe con l'immagine che ci siamo fatti di *Rešef* come di una divinità collerica e minacciosa: dio della pestilenza. Tuttavia – ha giustamente osservato Münnich – ogni divinità dell'Antico Vicino Oriente può essere descritta allo stesso modo: sia benevola e conciliante, sia spietata e vendicativa. Stupisce comunque che una divinità qualificata essenzialmente come terrificante e orribile, causa di pestilenze e di rovinose epidemie, fosse così popolare e benvoluta nel mondo semitico come già testimoniano nel III mill. a.C. i testi di Ebla.

Un probabile etimo per il teonimo *Rešef* è emerso recentemente grazie alla rilettura dell'iscrizione aramaica H 106a (per la quale si veda Beyer, K., *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien*, Göttingen, 1998, p. 53), incisa sulla facciata del “Tempio del Sole” di Hatra. Si tratta della radice aramaica **ršf* (o **ršp*), che in siriano, nel verbo *ršaf, neršof*, è portatrice del significato di “strisciare a terra come un serpente, un verme o un insetto”. Il sostantivo che ne deriva, *raššāfā*, significa “rettile” (v. Payne Smith, J., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford, 1967 (1903), pp. 549-550). È interessante notare come la corrispondente radice araba **rsf* (*rasafa, yarsufu/yarsifu*) sia ugualmente connessa con un modo di procedere sul terreno, ma, nel caso specifico, in riferimento ai movimenti impacciati del cammello a cui sono state legate due gambe per impedirne la fuga (v. Traini, R., *Vocabolario Arabo – Italiano*, I, Roma 1966, Istituto per l'Oriente, p. 445).

L'iscrizione hatrena H 106a, di cui sopra, è composta di 2 segmenti: GRGN e ?B-ŠP?, di cui il primo, GRGN “Gorgone”, si riferisce al grande bassorilievo che le sta alla destra. Tale bassorilievo raffigura un'ampia faccia maschile, dai lineamenti distesi e benevoli e con due grandi occhi aperti. Sorprende il fatto che la barba sul suo mento e attorno alle guance sia formata da ampie foglie di acanto. Si tratta in effetti di un antico esempio di raffigurazione che gli iconografi definiscono *Blattmaske*, ossia “maschera vegetale”, un ornamento in cui il volto di un essere umano emerge dall'intrico più o meno denso di fogliame. Sennonché dalla chioma della maschera in questione, dal lato che si è preservato per intero, emergono le spire di un serpente. Questa constatazione potrebbe aiutare a integrare la terza lettera mancante del secondo segmento dell'iscrizione, ?B//ŠP?, lettera oggi non più leggibile, ma che ha lasciato uno spazio tra le lettere B e Š. Sia la maschera del bassorilievo sia la relativa iscrizione H 106a sono attualmente oggetto di studio da parte dell'archeologo Dr. Enrico Fioletta dell'Università di Torino, che qui ringrazio per avermi coinvolto nella ricerca.

Finora sono state avanzate le più disparate interpretazioni per questo secondo segmento. Esse comunque hanno in comune il fatto di tradurre le lettere iniziali ?B come “padre o patrono di...”. Ipotizzando però la presenza della lettera R nella lacuna tra ?B e ŠP? otterremmo l'iscrizione GRGN ?B_RŠP? *gorgon ab raššāpē* “Gorgone, patrono dei rettili”. Si avrebbe così un preciso riferimento ai serpenti cresciuti tra i capelli del pacifico Gorgone. A presidio del più importante tempio della città è stata dunque posta una figura mitologica tutt'altro che terrificante, a differenza delle sue tre orribili sorelle, le Gorgoni.

A questo punto sorge spontaneo di interpretare, grazie alla radice **ršf* “strisciare”, anche il teonimo *Rešef* riconoscendolo come “il (dio) Rettile” o “il (dio) Serpente”. È universalmente nota l'ambivalenza funzionale della figura del serpente, che ancora oggi, con il caduceo, compare nelle insegne

delle nostre farmacie segnalando tanto il veleno quanto il suo antidoto, tanto la malattia quanto la sua auspicata guarigione. Il serpente offre infatti un'immagine prototipica, depositata nel subconscio, che nel corso dei millenni ha accompagnato molte società umane, sicché non dobbiamo stupirci che le siano state riconosciute anche proprietà divine. Ecco allora il dio *Rešef* "il Serpente"!

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50) Is the rite of opening the mouth mentioned in Gudea's texts? (the case of Statue R) — In the Ur III period the ceremony was called only *ka-du₈-ha* "opening the mouth". However, in the texts of the 1st millennium BC. its full name was recorded as *KA.LUH.U₃.DA KA.DUH.U₃.DA* "On washing the lips, on opening the mouth", Akkadian *mīs pīt pīt pīt (ilī)* "ablution of lips, opening of the mouth (gods)" (WALKER, DICK 2001: 8–20). The rite was associated with the manufacture of a new statue of the deity and consisted of three stages: 1) crafting a statue of god in the workshop and its separation from the artisans; 2) the conservation of the statue on the banks of the river and incantations to the entrance of the deity in the statue; 3) introducing a statue to the temple and its "socialization" among the statues of other gods.

Separate formulas and elements of this rite are known from incantations dating back to the Old Sumerian time (CUNNINGHAM 1997: 75, 163). As shown by C.B.F. Walker and M. Dick, who published the texts of the rite, its most important action was an ablution of the mouth of the statue, for which water was specially consecrated. Importantly, not only the statues of gods, but also people deserved such an ablution: for this purpose, *ki-a-na₈* "the Place of giving water to drink" existed in the Sumerian temples – in other words, a place of commemoration of the dead, where food and drink offerings were brought.

For the first time, we learn about the location of the statue at commemoration sites from the economic text of the 3rd year of Lugalanda (ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE 1912: Tabl. 53: II 10, IX 11–14); however, the rites are not mentioned there. We know about them only from the inscriptions on Gudea's statues and cylinders. The inscription on the statue basically says that it will stand in the "place of giving water to drink". Furthermore, in the text of the cylinder there is an episode when the ruler turns the mouths of statues of creatures killed by the god Ningirsu in the battle with the Asag to the "place of watering" thereby ensuring their commemoration (St. B VII: 55; Cyl. A XXVI: 15–16; EDZARD 1997: 36, 85).

The question thus arises whether the rite of opening of the mouth is explicitly designated in the inscriptions of Gudea. Until now, E. Sollberger, H. Steible and G. J. Selz gave a bold answer to this question: in the 4th line of the IV column of the statue of R Gudea, a combination of signs *ka.du₈* can be read as "opening the mouth", from which it follows that this statue of the ruler passed the rite otherwise characteristic of the statues of the gods. In this case, the mention of the name of the rite on the statue R could be considered the earliest for the entire corpus of cuneiform texts. But this reading, however, needs to be tested, which makes it necessary to study in detail the Sumerian monument itself with all its inscriptions.

In the late 1930s, R. Pfeiffer acquired from an unidentified person for the Harvard Semitic Museum (now Harvard Museum of the Ancient Near East, HMANE) a diorite figurine 185 mm high (110 mm on sides, 50 mm in front), subsequently conditionally called "Gudea R". The object depicts a person dressed in a skirt, with his hands crossed on his chest in a sedentary pose; the head and part of the right hand with the forearm were not preserved. On the left side of the body and on the back, as well as on the back of the seat, there are inscriptions containing the name of Gudea, ruler of the II Lagash dynasty (circa 2143–2123 BC). The presence of the name of Gudea, allows to conclude that the figurine depicts him.

The first photos of the monument were published in the book by A. Parrot (PARROT 1948: 171, pl. XVII). The first edition of the transliteration of inscriptions on the statue accompanied by quality photos from three angles (left, front and right) was given by E. Sollberger (SOLLBERGER 1956: 11–13). Subsequently, the analysis and translations of the inscriptions on the statue were published by Steible and D. O. Edzard (STEIBLE 1991: I 240–243, II 79–84; EDZARD 1997: 59–60), while P. Steinkeller made a collation of fragments for the Edzard's edition. A transliteration of the inscriptions on this statue is available in the CDLI database. However, modern photographs of all inscriptions on the statue have not yet been published. At my request, new photographs were made by HMANE employees, Dr. Andrew Richard

Pottorf and Dr. Adam Jonatan Aia, who kindly sent me photos for the present study of the texts. They also reported that the museum inventory number of the HSM 8826 figurine was changed on HMANE.1936.5.1. On the basis of these high-quality color images, it is now possible to give a new translation and commentary of the statue R Gudea.

(Inscription on the back)

¹¹Gudea, ²ensi ³of Lagaš, ⁴righteous shepherd, faithful to the orders ⁵(of the god) Ningirsu, ⁶a man who performs ⁷the rites of the gods. ⁸When (the temple of) Eninnu ⁹(for the god) Ningirsu ¹¹he built — ²for Namhani, the chief singer, ³(the house) of Munusgilsa, ⁴(so that for) silver, bronze, ⁵baskets of earth ⁶and for all the other property ⁷no one would enter his house, ⁸“Return to the Mother” he [gave]. ⁹In this year, six burs of new land on the field of Egab ¹⁰he assigned to him.

(Inscription on the back of the seat)

^{IV3}In Emunusgilsa ⁴DU₁₁.GABA mu-[na]-ni-DU ⁵The statue of this ⁶“Gudea gave me (?)” — ⁷is its name.

Comments

I 1-3) The inscription on the reverse indicates the person the figurine depicts. The text does not begin with the name of god to whom it is dedicated (as in most cases in the body of inscriptions on Gudea’s statues), but with the name of the ruler himself. There is no initial formula.

I 4-5) KA (inim) gi-na-^dNin-ġir₂-su-ka-ke₄ I understand “Ningirsu’s true word” as “faithful to the commands (of the god) Ningirsu.” The inscription on Gudea’s Statue E says: ^{ġis}dur₂-ġar Lagaš^{ki}-ka suhuš-bi gi-na-da Gu₃-de₂-a ensi₂ Lagaš^{ki}-ka ġidru inim gi-na šu-na ġal₂-la-da “To strengthen the foundation of the throne of Lagash, to place in the hand of Gudea, the ensi of Lagash, the scepter of the true word...”. Kai Lämmerhirt gives Akkadian equivalents from the syllabaries: “garant”, “the one who guarantees”, inim-gi-na = *a-wa-tu[m ki-it-tum]* “verlässliches Wort” (LÄMMERHIRT 2010: 104).

I 6-7) The noun biluda, apparently derived from Akkadian *bēlūtum* “power”, first appears in the Urukagina cone inscriptions: bi₃-lu₃-da ud-bi-ta e-me-am₆ “the former order was such” (Ukg. IV 7: 26–28; BEHRENS, STEIBLE 1983: 275–276). We find it the next time in the text of Statue E: bi₃-lu₃-da ^dBa-U₂ nin-a-na-še₃ en₃ im-ma-ši-tar “he treated the rites of Bau, his mistress, with reverence” (Gudea E II: 5–8). Later this word will become Akkadian *pilludū* and will be used to denote “ritual” (CAD P: 377–378).

I 8– II 1, 9) A dating formula for this year of Gudea’s reign is known: mu e₂-^dNin-ġir₂-su-ka ba-du₃-a “the year (when) the temple (for) Ningirsu was built” (RTC 221; MAIocchi, VISICATO 2020: no. 16, 4957). The information that the priest’s privileges were granted precisely in that year, immediately after the temple’s completion, allows us to date the monument to the 10th year of Gudea (<https://cdli-gh.github.io/year-names/HTML/T4K2.htm>), i.e., circa 2133 BCE, according to the middle chronology.

II 2) Nam-ha-ni gala-mah “chief singer Namkhani” is a name that appears three more times in the CDLI corpus: (1) chief singer Namkhani receives linen clothing in Girsu (II Dynasty of Lagash) (ITT 4, 07291); (2) chief singer Namkhani lives in Drehem (47th year of Shulgi’s reign) (PDT 1, 0423); (3) a personal seal: “Lugal-melam, son of Namkhani, chief singer of Ur” (Amar-Sin) (S000220). In the first case, one might assume that the Namkhani who lived in Girsu during the reign of Gudea is identical with the same Namkhani whose privileges are described on the statuette. In other cases, we are most likely talking about his namesakes homonymous bearing the same title, since Gudea’s time is more than half a century distant from the end of Shulgi’s reign.

IV 4) Written DU₁₁.GABA mu-[na]-ni-DU. Sollberger and Steible read DU₁₁.GABA as ka-du₈ (“die Mundöffnung”), and transcribed the entire line as ka-du₈ mu-[na]-ni-gub (SOLLBERGER 1956: 12; STEIBLE 1991: 242). Based on this reading, Selz developed the idea of transferring the rite of opening the mouth, which arose under Gudea, to the opening of the mouths of Gudea’s statues during the Third Dynasty of Ur (SELZ 1997: 177, 200, fn. 202). The reading by Steible and Selz was established in the CDLI as generally accepted with the translation: “a (statue’s) Mouth Opening (ritual) he set up for him”.

However, Edzard understood the line differently, reading it literally as du₁₁-gaba, and translated it: “on the appropriate (day)” (EDZARD 1997: 60), but he did not explain his translation. The latest electronic database of Sumerian royal inscriptions (ETCSRI) agrees with Edzard’s translation: “He set it up for her in the E-munus-gisa on the appointed day”. Sumerian prefix of dative case 3 Sg -na- “to him/to her” is used either in relation to Gudea (as CDLI believes), or in attitude of the goddess Ninmarki (as the translator of ETCSRI believes). So, clarification is still impossible. If translated “to him”, we are talking about the construction of a statue in honor of Gudea, who granted the priest of privileges. If translated “to her”, we admit that the statue was dedicated to the Ninmarki temple.

If we read du₁₁-gaba literally, we get “word-breast,” which is absurd. To understand Edzard’s logic, one must search through all the places in his book where the translation “the appropriate day” is given. There are three such places, and the second is column IX of Statue E, which reads: u₄ du₁₁-(SAG)-gaba i₃-du₃ “On the appropriate day I set to work” (EDZARD 1997: 46). Here again, the meaning of the word gaba “breast” is unclear, although the phrase “word day” itself is already more clear. The third example fully clarifies the picture: it is not a statue of Gudea himself, but a

short inscription by Ninalla, his wife, who dedicated a female statue to an unknown goddess for the sake of her own and his husband's life (Gudea: 99; EDZARD 1997: 180). Literally, passage is translated as follows: alan-ba / nin-ĝu₁₀ gu₃ ma-de₂ / u₄ du₁₁-ga-ba (< u₄-dug₄-a-bi-a) i₃-du₃ / mu-bi "At this statue 'My Lady! You called me - (and) on the appointed day I erected (it)' – that is her name".

Two more facts may serve as additional arguments in favor of this interpretation: in the second word of the Sumerian name of the rite (ka-duh), the ending can be ka-du₈-ha, but not ka-du₈; all researchers who have read this text unanimously agree that the verb gub "to stand" was not used in connection with the rites. Since the spelling in Gudea's inscriptions is irregular, it can be assumed that the DU sign, read as gub, could mean du₃ "to erect." In this case, we understand: (u₄)-du₁₁-ga-ba mu-na-ni-du₃ "On the appointed day, he erected it for him there."

IV6) Based on the logic of the text and the amount of available space in the line, the verb form ma-[ba?] "gave me (?)" is reconstructed tentatively. The meaning here should be either: "Gudea gave me all this" or "Gudea freed me."

According to Steible's chronology of all known Gudea statues, they fall into two large groups: early and late. The early group includes statues M, N, and O, which are not made of diorite and bear dedicatory formulas. The late group includes diorite statues: among these, statues A–K bear dedicatory formulas, whereas statues Q and I do not (STEIBLE 1994: 103). Steible does not support the idea that statue (essentially a figurine) R depicts Gudea. He believes that the statuette depicts not Gudea seated, but Namkhani — the supreme singer who received privileges from the ruler. This hypothesis, however, appears unlikely: no inscribed sculptural images of priests from the XXII century BCE, who did not have the status of rulers, have survived. Applying Steible's chronology to statuette R, one can assume that if not the image itself, then at least the inscription, which duplicates the vocabulary of the large Statue E, belongs to the first subgroup of the second group.

In essence, the statuette depicting Gudea functions a letter of protection for Namkhani. Judging by its small size, it was intended to stand in Emunusgilsa, the temple of the goddess Ninmarki, as an adorant and pray for the preservation of the status that the ruler Gudea bestowed upon his chief singer. In creating the statuette, the carver used not only the textual clichés of Urukagina's inscriptions but also the vocabulary of Gudea's own Statue E. The former is crucial, as the religious and legal categories present in the Urukagina cone texts are found nowhere else in the entire corpus of Gudea's texts, except those in the text of Statue E.

Apparently, the texts of statues E and R are interrelated. It is possible that they were both created at the same time by the same artist, who may have relied the work by ear: for example, in one case he wrote u₄-du₁₁-ga-ba as du₁₁-gaba, and in the other (having confused the sign) as u₄-SAG-gaba; similarly, in one case he wrote du₃, and in the other, du.

Thus, a rereading of line IV.4 leads to the final conclusion that the term for the rite of opening the mouth is absent from the entire corpus of Gudea's texts. On the one hand, we have yet to come across a single example in which the verb gub "to stand" is used in the context of the rite — and we regard this as a philological argument in favor of this conclusion. On the other hand, Gudea did not have the status of a god during his lifetime, so the rite of washing and opening the mouths of his statues was not prescribed — we consider this an additional, historical argument. Gudea was recognized as a god only after his death, and reliable information about the rite of washing the mouths of his statues has reached us no earlier than the Ur III period.

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51) The message and messenger between Irisağrig and Elam in Ur III period — For decades, the archives of Ġirsu and Umma dominated the understanding of messenger texts. However, the publication of new texts of Irisağrig have opened a new avenue of research. While texts from other regions generally mention only the names and provisions of messengers, some texts from Irisağrig also include information regarding the messengers' points of departure and destinations, as well as the specific purpose of their travel. A notable feature of the administration of the Irisağrig roadhouse is the meticulous recording of the assignments and professional titles of travelers or local officials. This unique feature may explain the unusual physical format of its messenger texts, which can contain up to 50 lines in single-column tablets and over 100 lines in double-column tablets. The documents concerning travelers' provisions presented astonishingly generous and comprehensive details of the missions, suggesting that every traveler had to explain the purpose of their visit before receiving their allocation.

Irisağrig occupied a distinct role in the administration of southern Mesopotamia. This prominence was largely due to its highly strategic geographical location in the Tigris area, combined with its close ties to the royal family. Because of this unique positioning, Irisağrig functioned as a crucial hub for high-ranking officials, members of the royal family, and “royal messengers” (lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal). Most notably, it served as a vital transit point for those traveling to and from eastern cities such as Dēr, Diniktu, and various locations within Elam. To facilitate the movement of these messengers and their messages, Irisağrig maintained specialized infrastructure. Curiously, the standard term for “guesthouse” (e₂-kas₄), which is common in other Ur III regions, does not appear in the textual records from Irisağrig. Instead, the term “royal roadhouse” (e₂-kaskal lugal) is frequently used and likely served the same function (OWEN 2013, 130). The roadhouse itself, while essential, operated on a relatively modest scale and was integrated into a broader departmental structure within a large provincial complex. It relied on personnel from other institutions, retaining only essential staff like equestrians, grooms, barbers, and spice millers to maintain basic operations.

While the majority of provisions listed in the Irisağrig messenger texts pertained to officials engaged in local agricultural and administrative tasks (OWEN 2013, 129), a significant and highly important subset of the travelers were engaged in long-distance diplomatic missions. The communication network between the Ur III kings and Elam relied heavily on these human conduits. Textual evidence indicates that groups of Elamites traveled from their homeland to “the place where the king is” on a monthly basis. These journeys were not merely casual travels; they were fundamentally tied to state administration and diplomacy. Specific texts mention these Elamites “when they brought the tablet of the grand vizier from city to city” (u₄ dub sukkal-mah iri^{ki}-ta iri^{ki}-še₃ mu-de₆-ša-a). This strongly suggests that these individuals were explicitly tasked with conveying official tablets to maintain vital correspondence between the Ur III administration and Elamite territories.

To ensure the timely delivery of letters and commands from the grand vizier, people originating from various Elamite cities had to execute complex round trips between their homeland and the Ur III territory, traveling either separately or as a conjoint group. In this intricate web of ancient communication, the city of Irisağrig played a pivotal role in managing relations with the Elamites, with its roadhouse serving as a primary reception place. For officials departing for Dēr, Kimaš, and other eastern destinations, the guesthouse in Irisağrig represented the final stop on their journey before they embarked on the last leg of their travels into Elam.

The administration of Irisağrig ensured that messengers and Elamite envoys were well-provisioned for their travels. The provisions provided by the roadhouse were notably distinctive in type and generous in quantity, presenting a surprising contrast to other provinces. During their stay, travelers were provided with a diet consisting of roast meat, soup, fish, beer, and bread (BRUNKE 2013). When

managing Elamite travelers, the roadhouse employed a specific administrative procedure. Much like in other provinces, Elamites could not obtain their provisions directly from the guesthouse; instead, they received them “via” (ġiri₃) a specific royal messenger whose name was recorded on the document. The exact number of Elamites traveling was never recorded in the documents. However, texts show that provisions for Elamites—such as those from Sigrāš—could be substantial, with one record noting 30 liters of beer and 30 liters of bread issued to a group in IS 2/ii (Nisaba 15/2: 708).

Crucially, the archives distinguish between provisions consumed locally and those meant to sustain the messengers on the road to Elam. Entries are frequently marked with “in the city” (ša₃ iri^{ki}) and “for the journey” (kaskal-še₃). In one notable instance, individuals from four different Elamite cities traveling together to “the place where the king is” received provisions simultaneously for both “in the city” and “for the journey” (CUSAS 40/2: 33). Interestingly, the foods designated “for the journey” were identical to the standard provisions issued by the Irišagrīg guesthouse, a practice that contrasts sharply with the customs of other provinces (SALLABERGER 1999, 297).

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52) Trois attestations de jours de repos à Umma sous la III^e dynastie d’Ur — Dans le système de comptabilité du travail à l’époque d’Ur III, les jours de travail (u₄ 1-še₃) et les jours de repos (u₄-du₈-a) sont généralement enregistrés séparément. Les textes mentionnant les jours de repos des travailleuses (geme₂) proviennent pour la plupart de la province d’Umma. Les études de R. K. Englund sur Erlangen 1, STA 2, TCL 5, 5668, TCL 5, 5669 et TCL 5, 5670 (ENGLUND 1991), ainsi que l’analyse de T. Maeda consacrée à TCL 5, 5670 (MAEDA 2001), ont montré que le rapport entre jours de travail et jours de repos dans le travail féminin était généralement de 6 pour 1.

Trois autres tablettes provenant de la province d’Umma permettent de confirmer cette observation. Dans Nisaba 11, 29 (CDLI P202353) et SET 274 (CDLI P129684), le rapport entre jours de travail et jours de repos est exactement de 6:1, tandis que les chiffres attestés dans TCNU 685 (CDLI P218075) s’en rapprochent étroitement.

Nisaba 11, 29 (AL-RAWI & VERDERAME 2006)

obv. i. 17	šunigin 3.8.24 geme ₂ u ₄ 1-še ₃	total des jours de travail : 11304
obv. ii. 3	0.31.24 a ₂ u ₄ -du ₈ -a geme ₂	jours de repos : 1884

SET 274 (JONES & SNYDER 1961)

rev. iii 3	0.50.0 geme ₂ u ₄ 1-še ₃	jours de travail : 3000
rev. iii 9-10	a ₂ u ₄ -du ₈ -a-bi 0.8.20	jours de repos : 500

TCNU 685 (ARCHI et al. 1995)

obv. i 4	[a ₂]-bi u ₄ 9.59.0	jours de travail : 35940
obv. i 18	a ₂ -bi u ₄ 0.5.30	jours de travail : 330
obv. ii 2	a ₂ -bi u ₄ 1.47.30	jours de travail : 6450
obv. ii 6	a ₂ -bi 0.30.0 la ₂ 1	jours de travail : 1800-1=1799 (total: 44519)
obv. ii 16-17	2.3.40 geme ₂ u ₄ 1-še ₃ a ₂ u ₄ -du ₈ -a	jours de repos : 7420

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53) Concerning NISABA 15, 1072 (an Akkadian letter from the Ur III period) — At present, only a limited number of letters from the Ur III period that are partially or entirely written in Akkadian are known. Among these is NISABA 15, 1072, a text composed entirely in Akkadian. The original edition provides only a transliteration. The BDTNS website offers a revised transliteration, with several proposed sign readings (highlighted in bold in the following table, while preserving the editorial conventions specific to each edition), as well as a photograph produced using the ammonium chloride technique (BDTNS 167446). The CDLI website, for its part, reproduces the transliteration of the edition and provides an additional photograph of the text (P329674).

Nisaba 15, 1072 ; date : -/-/- ; not sealed ; provenance : probably Āl-Šarrākī / Irisağrig	
- in Nisaba 15	- on BDTNS (BDTNS 167446, consulted May 26, 2026)
1. a-na šilli- ^d adad	1. a-na MI- ^d IŠKUR
2. qí-bí-ma	2. qí ₂ - bi -ma
3. u ₄ 5 ta-aš-pu-ra- ~ni-na-ak	3. u ₄ 5 ta-aš-pu-ra-/ni-na-ak
4. i-ti-a	4. i-ti-a
5. [a-l]a-kà-am	5. [a-l]a-ka ₃ -am
6. iq-bi-am	6. iq-bi-am
rev.	r.
7. ù la-ni-li	7. u ₃ la-ni-li- bi
8. ð[b ³]-šu-ma-a ~ a-la-kà-na-ak	8. [x-m]a ² -šu-ma-a- ti / a-la-ka ₃ -na-ak
9. la ta-ma-da-ad	9. la ta-ma-da-ad
10. si-pí-ir-kà	10. si-pi-ir-ka ₃
11. li-il-li-ku- ~ma	11. li-il ₂ -li- šu -ma
12. li-li-[x ²]	12. li-li-[x]-ma
13. u ₂ -la a-ma-da-/ad	lo.ed. 13. u ₂ -la a-ma-da-/ad
side	le.ed.
14. lu-ti-de ₄	14. lu-ti-de ₄

A reexamination of the photographs available on the CDLI and BDTNS websites allows several improved sign readings to be proposed, thereby providing a more accurate understanding of the text. A hand copy of the tablet is presented at the end of this note.

This document, probably originating from Irisağrig, does not mention the sender; only the recipient, Šilli-Adad, is named. This personal name remains only sparsely attested in the documentation currently known from Irisağrig. In addition to NISABA 15, 277 (ŠS 04-06-19) and NISABA 15, 843 (IS 02-09-29), in which a Šilli-Adad, described as a royal messenger (lu₂-kin-gi₄-a lugal), receives foodstuffs. A Šilli-Adad, possibly the same individual, also appears in CUSAS 40, 1623, where he is described as ra₂-gaba "rider/messenger" and receives a sheep.

The subject of the letter NISABA 15, 1072 is not explicitly stated. However, because of the use of the verb *madādum*, it is possible that the text concerns the measuring of commodities, perhaps cereals.

Transliteration:

f.

1. a-na MI-^dIM

Tentative normalization:

ana Šilli-Adad

2.	<i>qi₂-bi-ma</i>	<i>qibī-ma</i>
3.	U ₄ 5(diš) <i>ta-aš-pu-ra-ni-na-me₃¹</i>	<i>ḥamšat ūmī tašpurannina-me</i>
4.	<i>i-ti-a</i>	<i>ittīya</i>
5.	<i>[a]-l¹la¹-ka₃-am</i>	<i>allakam</i>
6.	<i>iq-bi-am</i>	<i>iqbi'-am</i>
r.		
7.	<i>u₃ la i₃-li-l¹ka₃¹<-am></i>	<i>u ula illika(m)</i>
8.	<i>l¹um¹-ma šu-ma a-di₃ /a-la-ka₃-na-me₃¹</i>	<i>umma šū-ma adi allakanna-me</i>
9.	<i>la ta-ma-da-ad</i>	<i>lā tamaddad</i>
10.	<i>ši₂-pi₂-ir-ka₃</i>	<i>šipirka</i>
11.	<i>li-il-li-šu-ma</i>	<i>lellišu-ma</i>
12.	<i>li-li-[kam]</i>	<i>lillikam</i>
13.	<i>u₂-la a-ma-da-/ad</i>	<i>ula amaddad</i>
tr. gauche		
14.	<i>lu ti-de₄</i>	<i>lū tīde</i>

Translation

Speak to Šilli-Adad: “Five days have passed since you wrote to me; I am coming” he told me, however he did not come. Thus he said/added: “Until I come, do not measure!” May your message prompt him to move so that he may come. I will not measure (without him). You should know (this)!

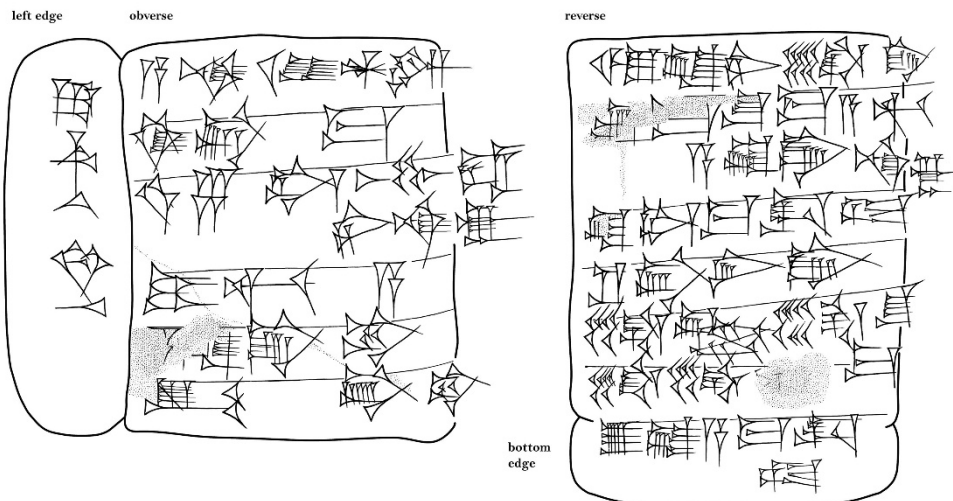
Remarks

- In lines 3 and 8, both verbal forms appear in the subjunctive, marked here by *-na*, which is placed after the ventive *-am/-nim* (for the subjunctive in *-(u)na*, see now WENDE 2022, 201-203). In both instances, the subjunctive is followed by the sign AK. Since the passage represents reported speech, it is conceivable that AK should instead be read ME₆ or perhaps ME₃¹ (a sign graphically close to AK), thus rendering the direct speech particle *-me*. The use of the sign AK to write ME₃ “battle” is attested at least from the Old Babylonian period onward.

- In line 7, the first two signs, *u₃ la*, probably represent *u ula*, namely a coordinating conjunction followed by the negative adverb, thus illustrating a phenomenon of liaison between the two elements. The final expected sign in this line, *-am* was probably omitted (*i₃-li-l¹ka₃¹<-am>*), for lack of space; nevertheless, the sign *ka₃*, written on the edge of the tablet, is aligned with the sign *-am* in line 6.

- In line 8, the first sign is most likely a partially broken UM sign, and the reading *um-ma šu-ma* appears to introduce direct speech.

Handcopy



L.C.I.

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NISABA 15 = OWEN, D., 2013, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saḡrig / Āl-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period. Volume I: Commentary and Indexes. Volume II: Catalogue and Texts*, Nisaba 15. Bethesda, Maryland.

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54) The First Syllable Alphabet A from Kültepe (SAK 1) — A school tablet in the form of a five-sided prism containing Syllable Alphabet A (inv. no. 14429), published in recent years (AKDOĞAN/ÜNLÜ/WEEDEN 2022) and allegedly originating from Osmaniye–Toprakkale in the Adana province of south-central Turkey and now held in the Adana Archaeological Museum, is particularly interesting in terms of both its form and its rumoured findspot (fig. 1). As noted in that study, although transliterations of this type of text are generally not published, the object was nevertheless discussed in some detail because of these distinctive features (p. 3) The authors examine the alleged findspot of the object, its typology, and its palaeographic features in detail under the subheadings *Format and Dimensions of the Text-Carrier*, *The Text*, *Notes on Script*, *Interpretation of the Object*, and *Implications of the Rumoured Find-spot*, and they offer an extensive discussion of what it would mean if the tablet had indeed been found at Toprakkale. At the end of the article, authors state:

“... For the moment, however, we are left with some very tantalising fragments of evidence, which it would be rash to use as the basis of any historical reconstruction, however tempting it may be to view this object as in some way connected with the presence of Babylonians on the other side of the Amanus in the 19th century BC.”

The authors were justified in their cautious approach to the provenance of the tablet. At this point, however, the first and most important issue that seems to have been overlooked concerns when the tablet entered the museum and together with which objects, since the museum records show that it entered the collection only on 1 February 2002, as part of a small group of three tablets.

The Adana Archaeological Museum is among the first ten museums established after the founding of the Republic of Türkiye, having opened in 1924, and among its earliest holdings are Kültepe tablets transferred from the Erkek Öğretmen Okulu. These tablets derive from illicit excavations carried out before the start of official excavations at Kültepe, and among them tablets belonging to Pušu-kēn and his family are particularly noteworthy. While working on the The Adana Archaeological Museum, it became clear that the corpus comprises more than the approximately 25 tablets previously known (ÖZKAN 2017). In December 2025, after the museum provided photographs and inventory information, and I was able to determine that the school tablet inv. no. 14429 was confiscated by the museum on the same day as two other Kültepe tablets.



Fig. 1: Photograph of 14429 from Adana Archeological Museum. Courtesy of Adana Archaeological Museum

Rumours concerning the findspots of tablets are in some cases unreliable, since Turkish museums encounter greater difficulties in processing tablets that do not originate from their own regions, and antiquities traffickers often prefer to conceal the true provenance of objects unless they are donations. According to the inventory register, on 01.02.2002, two additional Kültepe tablets were confiscated by the museum together with the school tablet. For this reason, there can be no doubt that the Syllable Alphabet A school tablet derives from Kültepe, and there is no objection to assuming that the prism shares the same provenance history as the two tablets confiscated on the same date. The individuals attested in the letter inv. no. 14427, one of the tablets confiscated on that occasion, are merchants well known from Kültepe. It should be emphasized that this is not the only example of the Syllable Alphabet A originating from Kültepe. In 2025, while working on the archive of Uşur-ša-Ištar and his family, the largest archive discovered at Kültepe, I encountered a fragmentary two-column tablet of the Syllable Alphabet A (Kt n/k 2105 = SAK 2). On the reverse, column II, the best-preserved signs allow the reading of lines 35–41 of the Standard Syllable Alphabet.

The number of school tablets and documents related to scribal education from Assur and Kültepe dating to the Old Assyrian period is around twenty (MICHEL 2020). As also emphasized by Dercksen (2021: 209), among the school tablets from Kültepe, “exercises in stylus handling and exercises in writing contracts were however not found.” No syllabic exercises belonging to the earliest stage of scribal education, referred to as Syllable Alphabet A, were previously known from Kültepe. The five-sided prism school tablet inv. no. 14429 from the The Adana Archaeological Museum represents the first published example of this type.

Another important issue concerns how such tablets could have become dispersed among museums while official excavations were still in progress. Considering the size and complexity of the *kārum* area, this situation is not entirely unexpected. From the earliest phases of the official excavations, a considerable number of documents appear to have been distributed among various museums in Turkey, in some cases as a result of illicit removal from Kültepe. The earliest example dates to the first years of excavation at Kültepe. Six tablets acquired by the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara in 1951 and said to originate from Alişar Höyük were later identified as belonging to the Buzutaya archive, uncovered in the 1950s (EROL/DELİOĞLU 2020). It is recorded that six Kültepe tablets were purchased by the Bursa Archaeological Museum in 1958 (DONBAZ/HORASANLI 1976: 175). Three Kültepe tablets in the Muhtar Kent Collection are reported to have entered that private collection in the 1950s and 1960s (ŞAHİN 2018: 5). Although the publication of the tablets does not specify when they entered the collection, there are five published tablets of Kültepe origin in the Erimtan Collection (YILMAZ 2012) and one unpublished. Similarly, two Kültepe-origin tablets were purchased by the Güray Museum (Nevşehir) in 2014 and 2016 (KUZUOĞLU 2017), while four Kültepe-origin tablets entered the Kayseri Museum in 2018 through purchase and donation. (TOPTAŞ/YAVAŞ/ALBAYRAK 2019).

Even today, tablets are known to be uncovered accidentally in the field, sometimes even during pre-excavation cleaning activities. Although it is unknown when and how the tablets acquired by the Adana Museum in 2002 left Kültepe, this situation is not surprising. What is striking, however, is that among these tablets is a school tablet with such a distinctive and unusual form.

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55) Notes on the Old Assyrian incantation against the evil eye — The beginning of the Old Assyrian evil-eye incantation published by G. Barjamovic and M.T. Larsen¹⁾ remains imperfectly understood. Below are the first six lines of this text as interpreted by the editors:

¹ *e-nu-mi₃ : e-nu-um : e-nu-um* ² *a-lu-ši₂-tum :*
ki-ša : bi-ru-um ³ *la-am-nu-um :*
ki-ša : ši₂-tum ⁴ *a-bi-ik-tum :*
ti₂-ru-um
⁵ *bēṭ(E₂) a-wi-lem : ka₃-nu-nam* ⁶ *pa₂-ḫu-ra-am : tu₃-sa₃-pi₂-iḫ*
“Oh, eye, eye! *alušitu*-eye!
Truly – a malicious *birru*-disease!
Truly – carried away sleep!
Trembling!
She dispersed the ingathered fireplace of the man’s house.”

To begin with “carried away sleep” (*ši₂-tum a-bi-ik-tum*), it should be noted that the motif of disturbed sleep is otherwise unknown in Akkadian incantations against the evil eye.²⁾ Since this Old Assyrian text has numerous parallels with other evil-eye incantations, one is justified in seeking an interpretation that better fits the established tradition. A clue to a new understanding of *ši₂-tum a-bi-ik-tum* is provided by metaphorical depictions of the evil eye as a net or snare in several Old Babylonian incantations: ‘ša¹-aš-ka-lum sa₃-ḫi-ip-tum ḫu-ḫa-ru-um sa₃-ḫi-iš₃-tum “A net that swoops down, a trap that claps shut”,³⁾ ṭnum(IGI) bu-ur ša-aš-ka-al-lum ‘ḫu¹-ḫa-ru-um¹ mu-sa-aḫ-ḫi-iš₃-tum “The eye is a pitfall; it is a net, a trap that claps shut”,⁴⁾ i-nu-um le-em-ne₂-et ‘i-nu-um¹ al-lu-ḫa-ap-pa-at “The eye is evil, the eye is a net.”⁵⁾ In light of these passages, we propose reading *ši₂-tum* as *šetum* “net” and interpreting *a-bi-ik-tum* as the participle of *abākum* B “to turn over, to upset” rather than the verbal adjective of *abākum* A “to lead away.” We thus understand *šetum abiktum* as “a net that swoops down,” assuming that *abākum* B here serves as a synonym of *saḫāpum* “to overwhelm; to turn over” in the text published by W. Farber.

The hapax legomenon *a-lu-ši₂-tum* may be compared with *alluḫappum* “net,” used to describe the evil eye in CUSAS 32, 31d. It is possible that the Old Assyrian scribe, unable to accurately recall this Sumerian loanword, inadvertently coined the hybrid *allušetum* by combining the first two syllables of *alluḫappum* with *šetum* “net.”

The word written as *bi-ru-um* is connected by Barjamovic and Larsen with *birratum* “a filmy condition of the eye” (CAD B 259b). N. Wasserman and E. Zomer prefer the reading *bīrum* “divination,” assuming that this lexeme is uniquely used here in the sense of “vision.”⁶⁾ Both interpretations are highly speculative. We offer a further hypothesis, admittedly no less tentative: if *bu-ur* in the incantation edited by Cavigneaux and al-Rawi is correctly understood as the stative of *būrum* “well; pit, pitfall,”⁷⁾ this may suggest that *bi-ru-um* (*bīrum*) is a previously unattested variant of *būrum*. The *i*-vocalism of this form would then find a correspondence in the West Semitic reflexes of the same root.⁸⁾

The interpretation proposed for *ki-ša* is not entirely convincing. Barjamovic and Larsen understand this word as the adverb *kīša* and translate it as “truly.” However, recent scholarship has pointed out that the evidence for this meaning of *kīša* is rather scant.⁹⁾ As defined by N.J.C. Kouwenberg, in letters it normally “denotes an ironic or even sarcastic affirmation in reaction to a statement or an act of the interlocutor.”¹⁰⁾ Clearly, such a meaning does not fit the context of the present incantation. Furthermore, in both Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian, the adverb usually appears in the form *kīšama* rather than *kīša*.¹¹⁾ It is therefore not surprising that Kouwenberg, in his *Grammar of Old Assyrian*, is reluctant to accept the editors’ interpretation.¹²⁾ Nevertheless, for lack of a better solution, we provisionally adopt their reading, albeit with some adjustments. If, as argued above, *bi-ru-um* and *ši₂-tum a-bi-ik-tum* metaphorically depict

the evil eye, then *kīša* must introduce a comparison. At first glance, *ki-ša* might be taken as the conjunction *kī(ma) ša* “as if,” followed by a nominal clause: “(The evil eye acts) as if it were an evil *pitfall*, as if it were a net that swoops down.” However, this interpretation would require the subjunctive marker *-ni*.¹³⁾ We are thus likely dealing with an adverb rather than a conjunction. Assuming that *kīša(ma)* could carry different meanings in letters and literary texts¹⁴⁾ and following E. Cohen’s suggestion that this adverb arose through the grammaticalization of *kī(ma) ša* “as if” and shares with it “a similar functional range,”¹⁵⁾ we suppose that, in this Old Assyrian incantation, the connection between the two is still readily apparent. This brings us to the following translation: “(The evil eye) is, as it were, an evil *pitfall*, a net that swoops down.”

Finally, let us turn to *ti₂-ru-um*. Barjamovic and Larsen tentatively derive it from *tarārum* “to tremble.” Within this interpretation, however, the word appears somewhat superfluous. It cannot easily be connected to the preceding text without disrupting the neat parallelism of the couplet *ki-ša bi-ru-um la-am-nu-um* || *ki-ša ši₂-tum a-bi-ik-tum*. Accordingly, they treat *ti₂-ru-um* as a single-word verse, which is highly unusual in Akkadian poetry. It should be noted that, as read by Barjamovic and Larsen, the fragment under discussion contains another disjointed element: *bēt awīlem* “man’s house.” This phrase is syntactically isolated and seems to be interpreted by the editors as a *casus pendens*, though this difficulty is smoothed over in their translation. We propose to unite *ti₂-ru-um* and *bēt awīlem* into a single poetic line by emending the former to *te₂-ru-um-<ma>*: *tērum-ma bēt awīlem* “After entering the man’s house, (it scattered the gathered hearth).” This interpretation is not without difficulties, but they are not crucial. First, the emended form *te₂-ru-um-<ma>* indicates consonant gemination, which is generally not expressed in Old Assyrian. However, geminate spellings of *-mm-* are sporadically attested.¹⁶⁾ Second, the verb *erābum* “to enter” is normally construed with *ana*, but its use with the accusative of goal is not entirely unknown.¹⁷⁾ Indeed, our passage finds a close parallel in an archaizing legal formula that likewise exhibits a clause-initial verb: *errab-ma bēt tamkārem ana bitqātem kaspam alaqqēšum* “After entering the house of a merchant, I will borrow (silver) at his expense for the amount outstanding” (transl. Kouwenberg).¹⁸⁾

Notes

1. Barjamovic, G., Larsen, M.T., An Old Assyrian Incantation against the Evil Eye, *AoF* 35 (2008), pp. 144–155; see also Wasserman, N., Zomer, E., *Akkadian Magic Literature. Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian Incantations: Corpus – Context – Praxis*, LAOS 12, Wiesbaden, 2022, pp. 366–368.

2. On the corpus of Akkadian evil-eye incantations, see Geller, M., Paranoia, the Evil Eye, and the Face of Evil, in W. Sallaberger, K. Volk, A. Zgoll (eds.), *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 115–134; idem, Akkadian Evil Eye Incantations from Assur, *ZA* 94 (2004), pp. 52–58; George, A.R., *Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 32, Bethesda, 2016, pp. 93–97; Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., pp. 366–382.

3. Farber, W., Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur, *ZA* 71, p. 62, obv., ll. 2’–3’; Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., p. 381.

4. Cavigneaux, A., Al-Rawi, F.N.H., Charms de Sippar et de Nippur, in H. Gasche et al. (eds.), *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes à Léon de Meyer*, MHEO 2, Leuven, 1994, p. 86, ll. 1–2; Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., p. 379.

5. George, op. cit., p. 96, No. 31d, col. iii, ll. 22–23; Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., p. 377.

6. “Truly, bad *vision*” (Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., p. 367; their italics).

7. For this interpretation, see Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, op. cit., p. 86, ad l. 1; but cf. Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., p. 380, with earlier literature. For another instance of the predicative state of a noun used in parallel with the *status rectus* in an Akkadian incantation, cf. *si-ku-ur a-wa-tum di-nu-um du-ru¹-um* “The word is the bolt, the judgment is the wall” (Guichard, M., De Larsa à Mari (II): nouvelles incantations paléo-babyloniennes, *Semitica* 62 (2020), p. 10, ll. 19–20; Cavigneaux, A., Scorpions insaisissables, *JMC* 37 (2021), p. 1; Wasserman, Zomer, op. cit., p. 257). For *būrum* in the sense of “pitfall,” see SB Gilg. I 130//157.

8. E.g. Arb. *biʔr-*, see further Kogan, L., Krebernik, M. (eds.), *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian*, Vol. 1/1, Boston/Berlin, 2020, pp. 93–94.

9. Cohen, E., Syntactic Marginalia in Old Babylonian, *JAOS* 126 (2006), pp. 561–562; Kouwenberg, N.J.C., Review of Wasserman, N., *Most Probably: Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian*, LANE 3, Winona Lake, 2012, *Babel und Bibel* 7 (2013), pp. 342–343; Arkhipov, I., Epistemic Modality and Related Issues in Old Babylonian, *AfO* 53 (2015), p. 60. Cf. Wasserman, *Most Probably*..., pp. 146–148.

10. Kouwenberg, op. cit., p. 342.

11. Cohen, op. cit., p. 562; Arkhipov, op. cit.; Kouwenberg, N.J.C., *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, HdO 118, Leiden/Boston, 2017, p. 406. The form *kīša* is securely attested in AbB 1, 122:10; EA 7:69; Malku VIII 114. The word written *ki-ša-am* in the Old Assyrian passages cited by Barjamovic and Larsen (op. cit., pp. 147–148) is unrelated (see Streck, M.P., Wende, J., *Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*, vol. 3: G, K, Q, Wiesbaden, 2022, pp. 87–88, *kīsu*, mng. 4, with further literature).

12. Kouwenberg, *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, p. 406, fn. 37. Kouwenberg suggests that KI in this sign sequence “may rather be the logogram for *īšte* ‘with’ or even for ‘place,’” but does not translate the lines in question.

13. Cf. *kīma ša kuwā²ātunni-ma* “(Speak these words to them) as if they were your own” (b/k 95:20, cited after Kouwenberg, op. cit., p. 510).

14. Cf. the different uses of the quotative particle *-mi*, as described in Wasserman, op. cit., pp. 182–198.

15. Cohen, op. cit., p. 562; see also idem, Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian, *JAOS* 134 (2014), p. 131; Wasserman, op. cit., pp. 141–143. Cf., however, the critical remarks in Kouwenberg, *Babel und Bibel* 7, pp. 343–344.

16. In addition to the examples adduced by Kouwenberg in *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*, p. 28 (*umma*, *amma*, *umum*), a further two dozen instances—most involving the particle *-ma*—can be gleaned from his grammar, e.g. *ku-a-u₂-um-ma* (AKT 3, 81:10); *a-u₂-um-ma* (c/k 48:12); *um-šu-um-ma* (AKT 6A, 120:31); *pa₂-ni-um-ma* (BIN 4, 48:27); *ki-a-am-ma* (TPAK 1, 6:6); *e-ra-ba-am-ma* (AKT 3, 84:33); *ši₂-im-ma* (TC 3, 90:42).

17. Kouwenberg, op. cit., p. 233.

18. Ibid., pp. 699–700 with fn. 28.

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56) From the eBL Lab: A Fragment of a King List from Old Babylonian Ur and the Cross-Linguistic Variation of a Name of a King of the First Dynasty of Kiš — The tiny surface fragment U 33271, a photo and edition of which are available via the online corpus of the Electronic Babylonian Library (www.ebl.lmu.de/library/U.33271, accessed 7/7/26)¹⁾ belonged to a multicolumn source, more likely a tablet than a prism, that was incised in a minimal Old Babylonian hand. It preserves what is clearly part of king list with a familiar formulation utilizing the verb AK in conjunction with year totals while eschewing patronymics. It may be best to provisionally consider it to not directly pertain to the Sumerian King List.

1') 'x' 'x' 'x' 'x' 'mu' 4[0/5[0 ² (+x) i ₃]-ak	... ruled 40/50(+...?) years ²⁾
2') [t]i-gi ₄ mu 300 i ₃ -ak	Tigi ruled 300 years
3') [e]n-me-nun-na mu <DIŠ>-U-IA ₂ i ₃ -ak	Enmenuna reigned for 900/605 ³⁾ years
4') [...] 'x' lugal [...]	[x]+5(+) kings
5') [(...) mu ...] 3/180 i ₃ -[ak]	Ruled (...) +3/180 ²⁾ years

This fragment preserves kings from the first Kišite dynasty, the first postdiluvian dynasty according to the Sumerian King List. The section is only partially preserved in the Ur III version of the text.²⁾ It preserves a contiguous enumeration of a king that I cannot decisively read,³⁾ the Sumerian name *Ti-gi₄*, a likely variant of *Ti-iz-qar*, and En-me-nun-na to apparently conclude the enumeration of the dynasty. As such, the order of the kings contrasts the order presented in SKL, where En-me-nun-na precedes *Ti-iz-qar* (and, similarly, USKL ii1f., although *Ti-iz-qar*/*Ti-gi₄* is not specifically included). The version of the dynasty given on this fragment also does not appear to conclude with Enmebaragesi and his son Agga unless lines 4'-5' reflect some kind of subtotal within the dynasty, like the mu bala RN-kam summary of the specific bloodline of Enme(n)nuna that occurs in BT 14+ (KLEIN 1991, 125, KLEIN 2008, 81). The seemingly straightforward and very small number 15 given for the length of Enme(n)nuna's reign would be quite aberrational if taken at face value and is most likely corrupt. Perhaps it reflects a careless omission of an initial vertical which would furnish the more suitably fantastic numbers 900 or 605, the latter of which would be in the ballpark of other reign lengths attributed to this king. Unfortunately, the two currently known exemplars of SKL from Old Babylonian Ur (UET 6, 504 and UET 6, 505) are very fragmentary, so there is no way to ascertain if the divergence of U 33271 were reflected elsewhere in local tradition.

U 33271 gives an entirely different Sumerian name for the king named *Ti-iz-qar*, “... is exalted”⁴⁾ in Sumerian King List 78, as preserved in the prism Ash 1923-444 (OECT 11 pl. I-V) aii30, the poorly preserved CBS 19797 (PBS 5, 5) i19 (JACOBSEN 1939, 82, GLASSNER 2005, 120-121, 150) and CBS 13981(+), as furnished by the join of the top left corner piece N 6512 (PETERSON 2011, 105). The highly worn instance of the royal name in BT 14+ ii 6 (KLEIN 2008, 81) was read by Klein as *Ti-iz-kar₃*[?], but from

his photo and handcopy a reading Ti-gi₄ looks like the probable reading. The rough resemblance of the graphemic sequence GIŠ GAR₃ to the GI₄ sign, particularly when encountered in more minimal writings without an imposition of space between signs, was probably a contributing factor to the variance, with one being mistaken for the other at some point in textual transmission.

The name Ti-gi₄ reflects what is likely an archaizing syllabic spelling of the lexeme /tigi/, which has recently been argued by MICHALOWSKI 2019a to primarily reflect a term for a musician that was further applied as a label to a type of cultic song rather than the long-held assumption that it was a type of instrument. It seems quite possible that the name was intended to allude to the king's background as a musician, given the numerous parenthetical remarks about the diverse previous occupations of kings elsewhere within the list.⁵⁾

The spelling ti-gi₄ is found in the Gudea Cylinders (Gudea Cylinder B x9 and xviii22, see GABBAY 2014, 102, MICHALOWSKI 2019a, 459, 470), which is closely mirrored by the syllabic spelling ti-gi that is attested in the Old Babylonian period (CAVIGNEAUX 2021, 151, ATTINGER 2023, 1356).⁶⁾ An anthroponym Ti-gi₄ is known from Ur III Irisağrig (CUSAS 40/2, 1185 r5), as well as the anthroponym Ti-gi₄-ĝu₁₀ that is attested in a patronymic in a seal from Ur III Umma (UTI 3, 1836 seal 2, UTI 6, 3640 seal 2, MVN 16, 1286 seal 2). Further evidence of this version of the royal name seems to occur in the Neo-Babylonian fragment BM 48284 (www.ebl.lmu.de/library/BM.48284, accessed 7/7/26), as developed by Enrique Jiménez and Tonio Mitto, which may pertain to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Babylonian Royal Chronicle/Dynastic Chronicle.⁷⁾ It contains part of a passage listing the kings of the first dynasty of Kiš, some of which are either reinterpreted or corrupted. Among them in line 5' is a king that is spelled *Ti-ik-ki*, thus reflecting some lasting appreciation of the phonetic character of the Sumerian variant Ti-gi₄, if not necessarily an awareness of the pertinence of the contemporarily attested Akkadian loan *ti(g)gû*.

The variance between the Ti-gi₄ of U 33271 and BT 14+ and *Ti-iz-qar* is further echoed by entries 19-21 of the anthroponym list ⁴Inana-teš₂, which was a very elementary text in the recovered scribal curriculum at Old Babylonian Nippur. This is a tripartite section which originally consisted of Ti-gi₄/*Ti-iz-qar*/*Ti-iz-qar*-⁴Da-gan. It is one of a number of cross-linguistic Sumerian/Akkadian progressions that occur within this anthroponym list and its companion list, whose incipit is perhaps to be restored from a parallel as Ba-a-gu-ĝu₁₀. Several manuscripts contain the spelling *Ti-iz-gi₄*, but this was presumably a misguided correction attempting to harmonize the entry with the other two entries in the tripartite sections that apparently gained traction at some level beyond a mere one-off error.⁸⁾ The fact that these two entries corresponding to variants of this Kišite king's name were advanced together here in this curricular context is unlikely to be an unrelated coincidence. The entries may have been curated by the compiler of the anthroponym list in order to highlight a poignant example of confusion between a paleographically similar Sumerian and Akkadian name for didactic purposes. These entries and other entries that potentially pertained to kings⁹⁾ are one example of the numerous historical or legendary figures from local Nippur and greater Mesopotamia that occur in these two lists. The musician designation tigi could also be understood to have had a thematic connection to ⁴Inana-teš₂ 7''-9'', which builds out of the occupation (and anthroponym¹⁰⁾ ulu₃-di, “wailer” (Ulu₃-di, Ulu₃-di-ĝu₁₀, Ulu₃-di-gal).

It is also possible that the opposite was the case and the variance in SKL and other lists arose under the influence from the anthroponym list instead, with the engrained association of Ti-gi₄ and *Ti-iz-qar* within an early elementary text of the Nippur curriculum giving rise to an inadvertent variant.

Notes

1. Treated here with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.
2. STEINKELLER 2003, 269-270, 274. The Kiš I section of the Tall Leilan exemplar is also badly broken in the pertinent location (VINCENTE 1995, 240).
3. The reading [e]n²-[da]ra₃²¹-[an]²¹-[na]²¹ is suggested in the eBL version, described as very uncertain.
4. This is a *status absolutus* of the intensive Gt verbal adjective PitRāS(t) of *zaqāru(m)* “to point,” with metathesis under influence of the sibilant (see STRECK 2022, 208, 341). It is presumably an abbreviation of the anthroponym configuration *Tizqār*-DN (JACOBSEN 1939: 83).
5. See, for example, the discussion of MARCHESI 2010, 233.
6. For the evolution of orthographies of the lexeme /tigi/, see MICHALOWSKI 2019b, 468-471.

7. To be matched with the inclusion of the first dynasty of Kiš in K 8532+ ii1'- 5', see GRAYSON 1975, 141, GLASSNER 2005, 130-131, as well as the eBL version www.ebl.lmu.de/library/K.8532.

8. Of the sources that preserved this line that are currently known to me, five clearly have *Ti-iz-gi₄*, sixteen clearly have the entry *Ti-gi₄*, and numerous additional manuscripts are too poorly preserved to be certain which variant occurs. Thus, the distribution suggests that the preponderant entry was *Ti-gi₄*.

9. Most unequivocally, the tripartite section consisting of Ur I kings (Mes-ki-a₂-^dNanna, Mes-ki-a₂-nun-na, Mes-an-ne₂-pa₃-da) that occurs in Ba-a-gu-¹⁰gu₁₀. Another reference to a king of the first Kišite dynasty may be reflected in the *Ar-wi-um/Ar-mu-u₂-um* of Inana-teš₂ 4'.

10. Attested at ED IIIA Šuruppak, Sargonic Adab, and broadly in Ur III. For considerations about the role of the Sumerian King List in the scribal curriculum, see MICHALOWSKI 1983: 238-239, GABRIEL 2018, MICHALOWSKI 2019b, 13-21, and MICHALOWSKI 2023, 169.

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57) En marge d'Archibab 45 : 14 nouvelles étiquettes pour le dossier « Animal Tags » — Depuis la note *NABU* 2020/88, il est possible d'ajouter 14 nouvelles étiquettes au dossier « Animal Tags », ce qui porte le nombre total de pièces à 279. Ces nouvelles pièces ont été repérées sur CDLI, soit grâce aux photographies disponibles, soit par la translittération proposée. La forme de ces étiquettes, modelées sur une cordelette dont une extrémité est plutôt arrondie, combinée à quelques lignes suivant un même formulaire, permet une mise en série de ces pièces, même si l'on peut observer de légères variantes dans la forme des étiquettes et les données inscrites. Ces étiquettes reconnaissables au premier coup d'œil participaient à la gestion d'ovins et de caprins confiée à des NA.GAD, des éleveurs de petit bétail. Les éléments inscrits sur ces étiquettes suivent le schéma suivant : l'étiquette débute toujours par la mention d'un animal (ovin ou caprin), qui peut être suivi d'un qualificatif, puis vient le terme NA.GAD, suivi d'un nom propre qui doit être celui du NA.GAD. Entre la mention du type d'ovin et l'expression NA.GAD, on

trouve parfois l'expression *ni-is-qum*, qui fait référence à la qualité de la toison. Enfin, dans de rares cas, notamment celles relatives aux NA.GAD *Aḥa(m)-nūta* et *Rībam-ilr*, se trouvent des informations complémentaires : le document se termine par l'expression U₄.BA.UŠ₂.A, le plus souvent suivie de GIRI₃ NP.

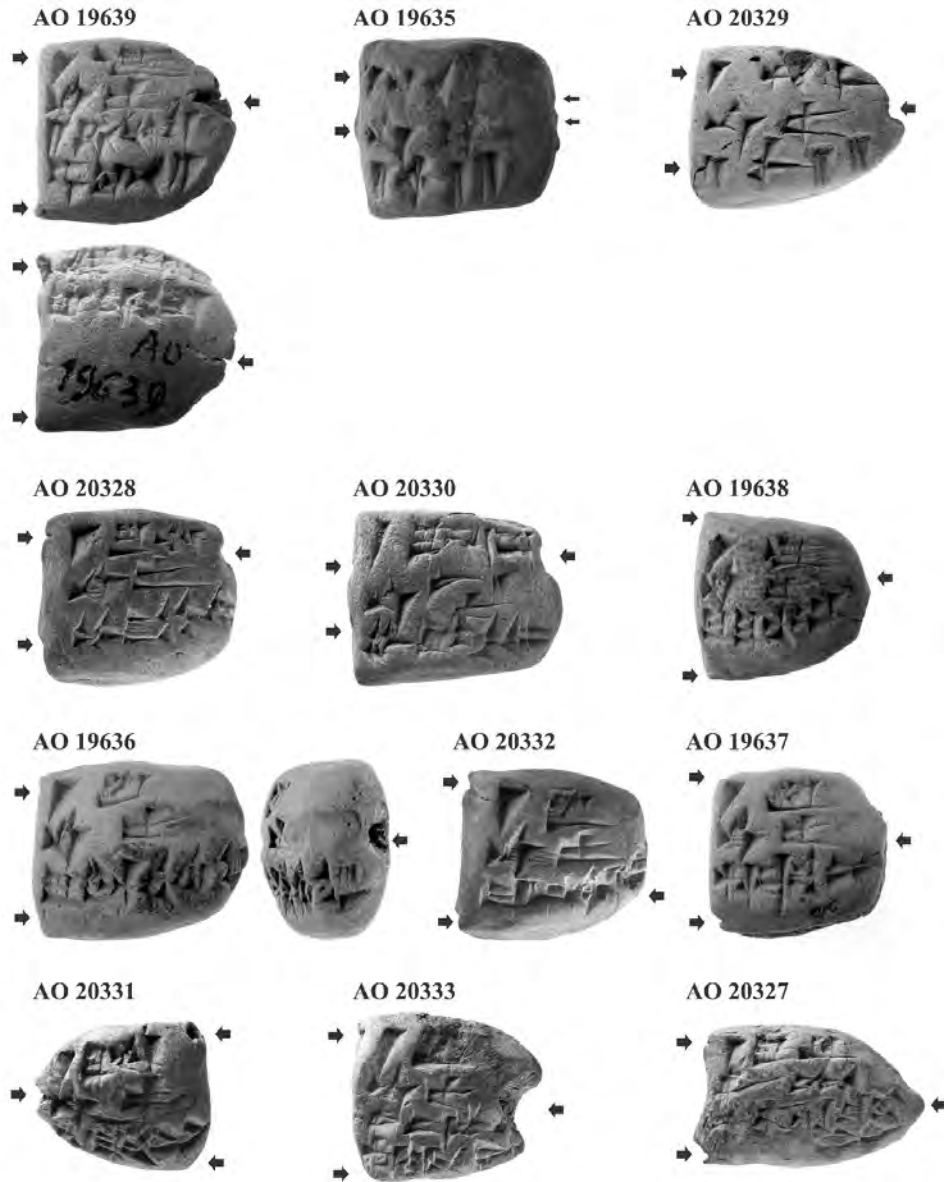
Table de correspondance des numéros d'inventaire de musée suivis du P-number de CDLI :

BM 97907 = P527839	AO 19638 = P493506	AO 20330 = P493659
LB 2717 = P544184	AO 19639 = P493507	AO 20331 = P493660
AO 19635 = P493503	AO 20327 = P493656	AO 20332 = P493661
AO 19636 = P493504	AO 20328 = P493657	AO 20333 = P493662
AO 19637 = P493505	AO 20329 = P493658	

Contrairement aux 12 étiquettes conservées au musée du Louvre*, les deux étiquettes BM 97907 et LB 2717 n'ont pas été consultées. La translittération de l'étiquette LB 2717 (conservée dans la collection De Liagre Böhl) repose sur la photographie disponible sur CDLI (P544184). En l'absence de photographie pour l'étiquette BM 97907, nous proposons une translittération aménagée à partir de celle qui figure sur CDLI (P527839).

BM 97907 (pas de photographie sur CDLI -P527839) f. 1 U ₈ NA.GAD <i>ri-ba-am-i₃-li₂</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>		LB 2717 (photographie sur CDLI - P544184) f. 1 UDU UR ₄ <i>ni-<is>qum</i> NA.GAD <i>ri-ba-am-i₃-li₂</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>
AO 19639 (3,5 × 3,4 × 1,7 cm) f. 1 UZ ₃ NA.GAD <i>a-ḥa-nu-ta</i> U ₄ .BA.UŠ ₂ .A r. GIRI ₃ KA-um-/ša-gi ₄ -iš	AO 19635 (3,6 × 3,1 × 1,6 cm) f. 1 MAŠ ₂ .GAL NA.GAD <i>a-wi-a-a</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 20329 (4,3 × 3,2 × 1,6 cm) f. 1 MAŠ ₂ .GAL NA.GAD <i>a-wi-a-a</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>
AO 20328 (3,0 × 2,7 × 1,5 cm) f. 1 UDU.NITA ₂ NA.GAD <i>bu-qa₂-qu₃-um</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 20330 (3,6 × 2,9 × 1,6 cm) f. 1 UDU.NITA ₂ GIŠ ₃ /DU ₃ .A NA.GAD <i>bu-qa₂-qu₃-um</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 19638 (3,4 × 3,0 × 1,8 cm) f. 1 UZ ₃ NA.GAD <i>ku-ku-nu-num</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>
AO 19636 (3,3 × 3,1 × 1,7 cm) f. 1 U ₈ NA.GAD <i>lu-da-aḥ-te-el</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 20332 (3,4 × 3,1 × 1,7 cm) f. 1 U ₈ NA.GAD <i>ma-an-na-ḥu-um</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 19637 (3,5 × 3,1 × 1,7 cm) f. 1 U ₈ NA.GAD <i>ri-ba-am-i₃-li₂</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>
AO 20331 (3,1 × 2,6 × 0,9 cm) f. 1 UDU.NITA ₂ NA.GAD <i>ri-ba-am-i₃-li₂</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 20333 (3,3 × 2,9 × 1,6 cm) 1'U ₈ ¹ NA.GAD <i>ni-is-qum</i> <i>ri-ba-am-i₃-li₂</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>	AO 20327 (4,0 × 2,5 × 1,7 cm) f. 1 UDU UR ₄ <i>ni-<is>qum</i> NA.GAD <i>ri-ba-am-i₃-li₂</i> <i>revers anépigraphie</i>

Étiquettes ‘Animal Tags’ conservées au musée du Louvre (*les flèches noires pointent les orifices laissés par la cordelette*).



Photographies L.C.I avec autorisation du musée du Louvre

Parmi ces nouvelles pièces, l'étiquette **AO 19636** mentionne l'anthroponyme **lu-da-aḥ-te-el**, qui constitue une variante orthographique de **lu₂-da-aḥ-te/ti-el**, bien attesté dans le lot des ‘Animal Tags’. La permutation du signe LU avec LU₂ suggère une notation phonétique de l'ensemble du nom propre. Par conséquent, la proposition d'analyse de LU₂-da-aḥ-te-el présentée dans *NABU* 2020/88 doit être abandonnée. Les graphies **LU₂-da-aḥ-te-el** / **LU₂-da-aḥ'-ti-el** déjà attestées, auxquelles s'ajoute désormais **lu-da-aḥ-te-el**, doivent être comprises comme des notations partiellement ou entièrement phonétiques du nom propre sumérien **lu₂-da-ḥe₂-til** « puisse-t-il vivre avec le patron/le noble », avec un phénomène de voyelle syncopée. À titre de comparaison, on peut rapprocher cet anthroponyme de ^den-lil₂-da-ḥe₂-til₃, attesté sous une forme orthographique dans quelques documents (LIH 25=AbB 2 25, CDLI P275100, Archibab 112 ; TCL 7 21=AbB 4 21, CDLI P386014, Archibab 270 ; OECT 15 20, CDLI P347363, Archibab 20445). En dehors du corpus des ‘Animal Tags’, on signalera également l'orthographe phonétique **lu-da-aḥ-te-il₃**, attestée dans un document du temps d'Apil-Sîn de Babylone et provenant de Marad (AL-HUSSAYNI & FAHAD 2012, texte 1 = Archibab 22830).

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58) Iahdun-Lim's Cone 21-25: not civil engineering but social welfare — One passage in the cone inscription of Iahdun-Lim has puzzled Assyriologists ever since it was first published by Thureau-Dangin in RA 33 (1936) 49-54. After recounting his defeat of the Haneans (*ab-bu-ú ha-na*) and his annexation of “their land” the text states:

(1) ²¹ *hi-ip-pí* ²² *ša GÚ ÍD.BURANUN.NA* ²³ *as-sú-uh-ma* ²⁴ *ma-ti šu-ub-tam* ²⁵ *ne-eh-tam ú-še-šib*

Literally, this clearly means, as rendered by Frayne in RIME 4: 603, “I removed the ... of the banks of the Euphrates and made my land dwell in peace”.

No doubt because the text continues “I opened canals and did away with the drawing of water in my land” other translators have tended to assume that the ... (*hi-ip-pí*) refers to some kind of civil engineering project. Thus CAD H 1879 s.v. *hibbu* (*hippu*) “Probably some type of irrigation apparatus which the king replaced by canals”, or “water conduits” (J. Laessøe, JCS 7.22). Differently “Dickicht” (AHw 344 s.v. *hibbum*). A connection with a verb *apāpum* as advocated by W. Heimpel, NABU 1998.63 seems unlikely.

There is a solution which sits better with the following phrase describing the peace he has brought to the people. There are two keys to what Iahdun-Lim really meant: one is that “The Banks of the Euphrates”, while it could of course literally mean the sides of the river, was also a well established geopolitical concept, referring to the population strung out along the course of the river approximately where it flows through modern Syria. Plentiful mentions of the “troops of the Euphrates banks” (*šāb ah/kišād* [*GÚ*] *Purattim*) from the Mari texts are listed in RGTC 3.303-4, and without troops, simply “the Euphrates banks” can refer to the population, as for example in ARMT 14: 84 rev. 12' *GÚ.UD.KIB.NUN.NA uštansir* “the Euphrates banks are alerted”.

The other clue can be elicited from Sollberger & Kupper, IRSA:244-5, where the phrase is translated “j'effaçai les blessures des rives de l'Euphrate”. Their associated note compares, surely correctly, two passages from Mari letters:

(2) *a-la-ni an-nu-tim ša la-wa-a-[ku lu-uš]-ba-at / ip-pa-am ša pa-ni-ia lu-ús-su-[uh]* (A.1289.8 cited here from the copy and transliteration of Charpin, *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs* (FS Garelli), 148-149)

and:

(3) *be-lí-m[a]¹ hi-ip-pa-am ša pa-ni-ka i-na-sà-ah* (A.422.23-24; [selon Kupper ARMT 14.11: 23-4, but not in my copy]).

Kupper's translation of the first passage (2) reads “(pour) que je puisse effacer la blessure de ma face”, with the remark that “il s'agit dans ces deux passages de soulèvements à reprimer”. Charpin's translation of this reads: “⁷ Ainsi, je pourrai m'emparer de ces villes que j'assiège ⁸ et déporter les *forces hostiles* qui sont au devant de moi” signifying by the italic font that he is unsure of the meaning of *ip-pa-am*. Likewise Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari* (I) (LAPO 16) 434: “pour que je puisse m'emparer de ses villes que j'assiège et arracher les *forces hostiles* qui sont au-devant de moi”. These two passages (2 and 3) are also cited in ARMT 10, p. 252 in Dossin/Finet's commentary on ARMT 10 No.1. That letter, addressed to Iasmah-Addu himself from Gabi'atum, has the lines:

(4) ^d *da-gan hi-ip-pa-[ka] / a-nu-mi-am [l]i-s[ú'-uh]* ARMT 10.1.7-8.

This is rendered by Dossin/Finet “Que Dagan [enlève] cette [tienne] blessure”. In LAPO 18.421-2 to which Nele Ziegler has very kindly referred me, J.-M. Durand indicates that on collation the sign after *hi-ip* is in

fact not *pa* but *ša*, and if this is correct, we have two similar phrases: *hippam ša pānī nasāhum* and *hīp libbim nasāhum*. A passage where *libbim* is beyond doubt is cited Durand *ibid.*:

(5) A.577.9'-11': *ammīnim kaiantam hi-pī li-ib-bi-i[m] bēlī ištānapparam* "pourquoi mon Seigneur ne m'écrit-il que des sujets tristes ?". This same phrase is met in 1st millennium texts, meaning according to CAD H 196 "panic, anxiety", or "Verstörung" (AHw 347b s.v. *hīpu(m)* 6 b).

Durand (in LAPO 17.199 e) refers to the "Note brève" of M. Anbar in RA 75.187 citing two lines from a letter of Zimri-Lim to Hammurapi (ARM 2.67 rev. 12'-13'):

(6) ¹² *ša-bu-um šu-ú ki-ma 30 li-im ša-bi-im hi-ip-p[a-am ša pa-ni-ka]* ¹³ *na-sa-ha-am i-le-i* [

If we can accept Anbar's restoration (and it looks as though there should be enough space at the end of the line), this adds a fifth example. He refrained from offering a translation, but "Those troops will be able to eradicate [your anxiety] as if (they were) 30,000 troops" is a very reasonable statement in the context of the letter. It is true that (1) Dossin gave the *hi* a question mark, (2) we cannot be sure of restoring *pānī-ka* – could Zimri-Lim have said *pānī-ni* ["our anxiety"] ?, and (3) could he rather have written *hi-ip-p[a-am ša libbi-ka]* as might be suggested by Durand's collation of passage (4) above?

All told it seems certain that *hippam ša pānī ... nasāhum* means "to eradicate the lines of anxiety on" someone's "face". The Iahdun-Lim passage omits the "face" but must surely be understood in the same way, celebrating the relief he gave the Euphrates riverains from their troubles. It is troublesome that in passage (2) we have only *ip-pa-am*, but perhaps our scribe (or his Ešnunnaean master) knew the expression but was unaware of a derivation from *hepûm*. Not surprisingly while paraphrasing these phrases Durand more than once comes close to the real meaning: "mettre fin aux problèmes" (LAPO 17: 599; 18: 574) or "puisse Dagan terminer ce chagrin que tu as" (MARI 4.433).

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59) En marge d'Archibab 46 : un mémorandum oublié — Le genre des mémorandums a été établi comme catégorie de textes des archives de Mari en 1983 dans le tome 23 des *ARM* ; les documents de ce genre, qui ont pour caractéristique de consister en une succession de phrases commençant par *aššum*, ont été publiés et commentés par F. Joannès¹⁾, qui en a donné une série supplémentaire dans les *Mélanges Birot*²⁾, tandis que Ph. Abrahami montrait peu après que le genre était aussi attesté dans les archives de Tell Rimah³⁾. Cela semblait donc une nouveauté propre à la Haute Mésopotamie.

En réalité, le P. Scheil avait publié dès 1915 un texte de ce genre, originaire de Mésopotamie du sud, et il en avait parfaitement compris la nature : « Le petit texte suivant provient, nous dit-on, d'Uruk. (...) On trouve là comme une variété nouvelle du genre épistolaire : série d'*agendas* ou de commissions adressées à un correspondant, avec emploi de *l'infinitif de narration* » (V. Scheil, « Notules XI. Commissions », *RA* 12, 1915, p. 194-195). Scheil avait très bien vu la nature de ce texte, qui est resté curieusement sans parallèle pendant sept décennies (voir sa réédition dans *archibab.fr/T38816*).

Le CAD avait vu l'intérêt de ce document pour la lexicographie, en raison de la présence de mots assez rares : il y est question d'étain qui doit servir à la fabrication d'une hache-*kalmakrum* (l. 10-11 ; cf. A/2 128b, K 86a et N/1 100a) ; d'un récipient-*guggurum* scellé (l. 20 ; cf. G 123a) ; d'un habit-*lubartum* placé dans un coffre de voyage (l. 22-23 ; cf. L 228b). Il avait qualifié le document de « OB let. » (K 86a), ce qui n'est pas vraiment le cas ; mais il a mieux décrit la situation dans le volume M/1 34, qualifiant le texte de « let. memorandum » (en 1977, donc avant la parution des textes de Mari du même genre)⁴⁾.

L'affaire ne s'arrête pas là. Il se trouve en effet que le texte de Scheil contient le nom très rare *a-li-gi-mil* (l. 7, avec la graphie *a-li-* et non *a-lí-*). Or on trouve *a-li-gi-mil* comme expéditeur de la lettre CUSAS 43 25, dans laquelle cet individu dit à son correspondant Šilli-Šamaš : « Depuis que tu es venu à Adab », soit la ville dont le nom figure à la fin du texte de Scheil. Une telle rencontre ne saurait être due au hasard ; du coup, il n'y a plus de raison pour tenir CUSAS 43 25 pour une lettre scolaire, comme l'avait proposé A. George en raison de son aspect un peu fruste, qui est dû avant tout à sa mauvaise conservation⁵⁾.

Notes

1. F. Joannès, « 1. Les mémorandums », ARM 23, Paris, 1984, p. 87-105.
2. F. Joannès, « Nouveaux mémorandums », dans J.-M. Durand et J.-R. Kupper (éd.), *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris, 1985, p. 97-113 ; ajouter F. Joannès, « Un nouveau mémorandum de Mari », NABU 1987/29.
3. Ph. Abrahams, « Memorandums à Tell al-Rimah », NABU 1988/37.
4. R. Borger avait défini le texte comme « Altbabyl. Briefnotiz o. ä. » (HKL 1, p. 449).
5. A. George, « Old Babylonian School Letters », dans A. R. George & G. Spada, *Old Babylonian Texts in the Schøyen Collection, Part Two. School Letters, Model Contracts, and Related Texts*, CUSAS 43, University Park, 2019, p. 37 : « This inelegant tablet is partly erased and inscribed on one side only in a clumsy Larsa script. The letter opens with a greeting formula and a variation on the “meeting” clause, *ištu ūmim ša ana GN tallikam* ».

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60) The Dates of OECT XVI Letters: Some Prosopographic Possibilities — The recent volume *Letters from Old Babylonian Kiš* by Klaus Wagonsonner and J. Nicholas Reid (OECT) XVI is a marvel: it has beautiful copies, clear and dependable transliterations, and a smorgasbord of illuminating notes to the texts. That the corpus does not lend itself easily to historical analysis in terms of hard datation is no fault of the authors: not only are the letters themselves of course undated, but they seem aggravatingly resistant to dating by prosopography, which is usually a somewhat more illuminating method for OB letters. To a great degree, we are restricted to the very rough datings which are permitted by linguistic features or the style of the script.¹⁾ However, a few additional prosopographic connections may allow for more localization in time.

The most certain and significant of these has to do with the Nidnat-Sîn appearing in the long letter no. 57 and twice styled as PN *ša sila₄^{bi.a}*. This may be, as the editors note (p. 116), the same Nidnat-Sîn who appears in AbB 2 153,²⁾ but that letter is one among several attestations of the onomastic form which cannot be located in time and which may or may not be the same man.³⁾ But there can be little doubt that the man in no. 57 is the same person as Nidnat-Sîn *mušaddin sila₄^{bi.a}* of AbB 2 64, where he appears as a tax-collecting agent tasked by the Crown with the gathering of lambs to stock its herds. Although AbB 2 64 is not dated, it is datable by its sender: Abi-ešuḫ, King of Babylon. This in turn connects it with another letter sent to the same Nidnat-Sîn (though without title), AbB 2 69, also from Abi-ešuḫ.

The balance of attestations of the onomastic form Nidnat-Sîn fall squarely on the 18th- rather than the 17th-century side of Abi-ešuḫ's reign: of nine distinct and datable Nidnat-Sîns, six are known from pre-Abi-ešuḫ texts and only three post-Abi-ešuḫ, and those only to the earliest years of Ammiditana.⁴⁾ It is somewhat noteworthy, then, that the onomastic form Gimil-Marduk, another name mentioned in letter no. 57, is so emphatically *Late* Old Babylonian (see the note to no. 41, below). Of the fifteen distinct and datable Gimil-Marduks named in Els Woestenburg's names list, thirteen are known from post-Abi-ešuḫ documents,⁵⁾ and only two from the reigns of Ḫammurabi/Samsuiluna. The names Nidnat-Sîn and Gimil-Marduk in OECT XVI 57 converge, as it were, at something of an onomastic watershed. It is interesting to reflect that the Ae-era Gimil-Marduk of OECT XVI 57 bore not an exceedingly common name (as it was later to become), but what was, for its day, seemingly quite an unusual name, perhaps especially, given its Babylonian-loyalist overtones, at Kiš.

Whatever the span of Nidnat-Sîn's career, it does seem to anchor the letters of this Gimil-Marduk in the quarter-century reign of Abi-ešuḫ, 1711–1684 BC and perhaps somewhat earlier, but probably not later. What knock-on effects this dating may have downstream for other letters in the archive is a matter I leave to the capable hands of Reid and Wagonsonner.

I conclude with a small list of other possible prosopographic links to OECT XVI letters which may further help in that direction:

No. 1 and *passim*: Cf. the Etel-pî-Marduk called *šāpir* Kiš^{ki} in VS 7 98 (Aš 14), a text which also mentions a Sabītum (cf. no 167: 3, both *sa₃-bi-tum*). The title *šāpirum* would of course fit the broad range of authorities attested for the Etel-pî-Marduk of OECT XVI, who, in more than fifty letters, is given a title only once (no. 5: 4, as *ugula e₂*).

No. 35: 11: This Warad-Nabium *dumu.e₂.dub.ba.a* may be the same as a witness in unpublished BM 97468: 15 (Aš 9).

No. 41: 7: The *Ilšu-bani ensi₂* here could, if further collation confirms, be the same as the *Ilšu-ibnišū ensi₂* attested at Kiš in YOS 13 42: 2 (Ad 23). This would tend to support the authors' conjecture that the Gimil-Marduk mentioned is the same as the Late OB judge (p. 96).

No. 62: 15: It is possible that the broken ^m[x-x-x]-*nam ra₂.gaba ša e₂.duru₅-^d[x-x]* is the same as *Sîn-aham-iddinam lu₂.ra₂.gaba* of VS 7 133 (Aš 17, Dilbat), listed among the *eren₂* of Iškün-Ištar (l. 17).⁶⁾

No. 84: 16–17: The unusual name *Sâmi (sa-a-mi)* *ugula mar.tu* may be the same as *sa-mu-um* *ugula mar.tu* appearing in CUSAS 29 141: 5 (Ae/Ad).

No. 166: 3: *Rapaš-šilli-Ea* *ugula lukur^dutu* is very well-known from many texts dating to late-Ha/early-Si. *Amat-Šamaš d. Nabi-Šamaš* (l. 8) is attested in fragmentary CT 47 79: 4* (probably early Si).

No. 179: 5: Men named *Ili-iqīšam* and titled *ugula mar.tu* are attested in three other texts: TLOB 1 44 (Aš 18): 3 as [*ugula m*]ar.tu *eren₂ ḥa-na^{ki}.ḥi.a*; another in MHET II 4 554: 9, seal* (as s. *Awīl-ilī*) (also Aš 18); a third, as s. *Me-tillabi(?)* in VS 22 11:14 (Ad 1). I see no prosopographic or topical links between the four texts, so this may just be the coincidence of a not-uncommon name and title.

No. 181: 5: *Sîn-aḥam-iddinam s. Nūr-Šamaš sipa⁷* may be the same as the *sipa* attested in BE 6/1 99: 1 (Aš 12). Note also perhaps the father, *Nūr-Šamaš sipa*, in TCL 1 221 (Ad/Aš) and VS 29 15 (Aš 19); and/or *Nūr-Šamaš nāqīdum* of Iltani's herding archive, e.g., JCS 2 6 (Ae 20) and TCL 1 177 (Ad --), noting the unnamed *dumu.munus luḡal* who is the sender of the present text (l. 3).

No. 201: 3': *Sîn-iqīšam PA.PA* may be the same as in YOS 13 41: 6 (Sd 2, Kiš) and/or MHET II 6 916: 19 (Aš 18); possibly also CUSAS 29 37: 14' (Ad). Note also the very unusual (for Kiš) PN *Awīl-Šamaš*, noting the witness *Awīl-Šamaš dumu.e₂.dub.ba.a* in MLC 2656: 53 (Aš 3; see WILCKE 1982: 430), a sale of land in Ḥabbuz, a toponym which appears much in the OECT XVI archive.

Notes

1. See OECT XVI for brief statements about the historical setting of the texts (p. 3, mostly to the effect that there are few clues as to the date of the letters) and pp. 12–13 on scribal hands and paleography. Only a few letters permit some speculation on their dating as such (see, e.g., pp. 96, 111, and 142).

2. Assuming that my conjecture is correct about the identity of the *Nidnat-Sîn* in letter no. 57 and AbB 2 64, the *Nidnat-Sîn* of letter no. 114 may also be that same *Abi-ešuḡ-era* person or he may be (as the editors guess) the well-known Ḥammurabi-era Babylonian general of the Mari letters (see p. 192)—but he cannot be both.

3. AbB 1 132; 3 77; 4 150; 6 6; 7 110; 12 16. Only one mention of a *Nidnat-Sîn* seems to show up within the possible career horizon of the *Abi-ešuḡ-era* man: AbB 7 59, which also mentions *Bēlessunu d. Kiššatum*, known from several late-Ḥammurabi texts. An attestation which may be excluded is the *Nidnat-Sîn* of AbB 10 192, which also mentions *Duššuptum d. Marduk-lamassašu*, known from one text dated Ḥa 1 (TCL 1 77: 7); this seems too early to connect to someone active in the time of *Abi-ešuḡ*. AbB 10 192 does, however, discuss lambs (*silā₄ uz₃^{bi.a}*) and mentions a *Marduk-lamassašu* (as does AbB 7 59), so there are hints in both directions.

4. Six *Nidnat-Sîns* appearing in *Els Woestenburg's* names list are known from Ḥammurabi/Samsuiluna-dated documents; only three *Nidnat-Sîns* come from post-*Abi-ešuḡ* contexts, viz., from the earliest years of Ammiditana-dated texts: a son of *Ipqu-Šala* (YOS 13 496 [Ad 1]), a *gudu₄ zu.ab* priest (e.g. BDHP 50 [Ad 6]), and (not from *Woestenburg's* list), a son of *Sîn-ašarēd* (unpublished CULC 446 [Ad 3]).

5. I could easily list two dozen more unique *Gimil-Marduks* of post-*Abi-ešuḡ* texts, but the exact numbers are hardly the point, only the later popularity of the name.

6. I read after *eren₂.meš*: *iš-ku¹-un¹-uḡun*; RGTC 3 114 gives *iš-ku-īl²-la^{ki}* (for *Iškilla*); the toponym needs collation.

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61) A new source of the OB Nippur Phrasebook (ki-ulutin-bi-še₃) — Ni 3439 (ISET 2, 55) is a type I tablet containing *Gilgamesh and Huwawa A* 128–134 in obv. col. i'.¹⁾ In their editions, Edzard (1990: 175

NiEE) and Delnero (2006: 2396 N₁₈) noted that obv. col. ii' does not belong to *Gilgamesh and Huwawa A* and ventured that the column in the reverse may contain lexical material. The lines in obv. col. ii' can now be confidently identified as the OB Nippur Phrasebook (see VELDHUIS 2014: 188, 329 n. 789), corresponding to NA Tablet II 309-313, not attested in the OB version until now:²⁾

Ni 3439 obv. col. ii

- 1'. 'igi-ne-ne¹ [du₈]
- 2'. a-ša₃ 'u₃¹ [ku₃-babbar]
- 3'. igi-'ne¹-[ne du₈]
- 4'. ^gis¹⁸kiri₆ 'u₃¹ [ku₃-babbar]
- 5'. igi-'ne¹-[ne du₈]
- 6'. arad₂ 'u₃¹ [ku₃-babbar]
- 7'. igi-'ne¹-[ne du₈]
- 8'. 'geme₂ u₃¹ [ku₃-babbar]

Ni 3439 is to be added to the Nippur sources edited by Roth (1979: 291-301), now on DCCLT, and to the unprovenanced source edited by George and Spada (2019: 147-153). While the material in Ni 3439's reverse cannot be securely identified, it may also contain legal phrases, judging from 'e₂¹ du₃-a, a common phrase in model contracts (see SPADA 2011; GEORGE & SPADA 2019), in what appears to be rev. col. ii 2'. This phrase is also attested in OB Nippur Kagal 135 and, most relevantly, in CBS 6990 obv. ii 7, one of the two known Nippur copies of the OB Sippar Phrasebook (see CRISOSTOMO 2023: 33).³⁾ Finally, note that Ni 3439 is one of the few type I tablets that contain material from more than one composition (see VELDHUIS 1997: 31 n. 90).

Notes

1. Line numbering follows DELNERO 2006. In Edzard's edition, these are lines 135-141.
2. I thank Nick Veldhuis and Søren Krömer, who is preparing a new edition of the OB Nippur Phrasebook as part of his dissertation at the University of Hamburg, for confirming the identification of the lines.
3. The other Nippur copy of the OB Sippar Phrasebook is HS 1702.

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62) Die indo-arischen Sprachreste aus Šapinuwa/Ortaköy* — Die Entdeckung der gut 4500 Text(fragment)e aus Ortaköy – Šapinuwa in den hethitischen Texten – eröffnet neue Forschungsdimensionen in der Hethitologie. Die Texte sind nun sowohl über die Webseite <<https://sapinuwatablets.org>> als auch in der Monographie SÜEL 2025 zugänglich. Angesichts der Menge des Textmaterials wird die philologische Bearbeitung sicherlich noch jahrzehntelang andauern; der vorliegende Beitrag konzentriert sich nur auf einen kleinen Ausschnitt, nämlich auf die Perspektive der indo-arischen Sprachreste in diesen Texten.

Lexikalisches

Erfreulich ist der erste Beleg des wohlbekannten indo-arischen Wortes *mariyanni* im hethitischen Schrifttum. Or. 90/1677 Rs. 27' lautet:

[...] ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*ma-ri-ya-an-ni-ya-aš-ša I-NA KUR* ^{URU}*Iš-me-[ri-ga ...]*
 „[...] auch *mariyanni*^(pl.) nach Išme[riga ...]“

In diesem 30 zeiligen, allerdings stark beschädigten Brief lassen sich einige Ortsnamen erkennen: Alalaḫ (Vs. 8'), Ḫūšūra (Vs. 9'), Alimna (Vs. 10', Rs. 24'), Išmeriga (u.Rd. 13', Rs. 27') und vor allem Kizzuwatna (u.Rd. 14', Rs. 26'). Aufgrund von Wörtern wie ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA} (Vs. 9'), *MADGALTI* (Rs. 25', falls nicht [BĒL] *MADGALTI* zu ergänzen ist) und o.g. *mariyanni* handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um einen militärischen Kontext, auch wenn sich dem Text nichts Näheres über den historischen Hintergrund entnehmen lässt.

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass dies überhaupt der erste bisher bekannte Beleg für die vieldiskutierte Bezeichnung *mariyanni* im Kontext der hethitischen Überlieferung darstellt, ist dies von einiger Bedeutung, auch wenn der Hintergrund sich nicht weiter erschließt.

Onomastisches

Im (nach eigener vorläufiger Zählung) über 250 Belege umfassenden onomastischen Material gibt es einen nicht zu übersehenden Anteil von Personennamen, die indo-arisch anmuten:

Kutpatti < *gut-* „anschirrend, gehend“ (√GAM „gehen, anschirren“) + *-pāti-* „Herr“

Ku-ut-pa-a-at-ti-iš Or. 06/1 21

Vgl. strukturell vedisch *gṛhapati-*, *prajāpati-*, *bṛhaspati-* (vgl. MAYRHOFER 2003: 115, 125, 128).

Kutratta < *gut-* „anschirrend, gehend“ (s.o.) + *-ratha-* „Wagen“

Ku-ut-ra-at-ta Or. 90/1305 Rs. 3'

Ku-ut-ra-at-ta-aš Or. 90/1305 Rs. 10'

[Ku-ut-]ra-at-ta Or. 90/1305 Rs. 2'

Vgl. *Abiratta* < *abhí-ratha-*, *Tušratta* < *tveṣa-ratha-* in Mesopotamien (vgl. GENTILE 2019: 155, 158).

Paršani < *pr̥śnī-* „bunt, scheckig“

Pār-ša-ni-i Or. 90/428+ Vs. 11'; Or. 90/1177 2', 3'

Pār-ša-ni-i-in Or. 90/428+ u.Rd. 20'

Vgl. den auch im Vedischen so belegten Personennamen *pr̥śnī-* (vgl. MAYRHOFER 2003: 61).

*Pāntiya*¹⁾ < *pānt-* (√PĀ) „schützend“

Pa-a-an-ti-ya-aš Or. 90/1305 Rs. 20'

Pārašdui < *pāra-* „fern, äußerst“ + **stuvi-* „gepriesen, gelobt“ (√STAV „preisen, loben“)

Pa-a-ra-aš-du-i(-wa-kán) Or. 02/5 Vs.² 7

†Pa²¹-a-ra-aš-du¹(šu)-i(-ya-kán) Or. 02/5 Vs.² 5

? [Pa-a-ra-aš-du]-i-ya-aš(-ma-an-na-aš) Or. 02/5 Rs.² 7'

Vgl. strukturell ved. *upaṣṭút-* „angerufen; Anruf“ < *úpa-* „(Partikel)“ + *ṣtut-* (√STAV „preisen, loben“) (vgl. SCARLATA 1999: 638f., MAYRHOFER 2003: 55).

Dāišrapu- < *tisr-* „drei“ (in *ṽrddhi*-Ableitung) + *bhū-* „Welt, Erde“²⁾

Da-[a-iš]-ra-pu-uš(-ša) Or. 90/570 Rs. 25

Da-a-iš-ra-[pu-uš] Or. 90/570 Rs. 31

Vgl. RV 7.87.5b *tisró bhūmīr* „drei Erden“ (vgl. MIYAKAWA 2003: 63).

Takša < *dákṣa-* „tüchtig“

Ták-ša Or. 90/1757 Vs. 2

Vgl. den auch im Vedischen so belegten Personennamen *dákṣa-* (vgl. MAYRHOFER 2003: 119).

Duwiša- < *tuvi-* „stark, reichlich“ + *sā-* „gewinnend, erlangend“ (√SANⁱ „gewinnen, erlangen“)

Du-ú-i-ša-aš(-wa LÜ^{URU}Ḫu-ur-na) Or. 90/1488 u.Rd. 14'

Vgl. strukturell ved. *suṣā-* < *su-* „gut“ + *sā-* „erlangend“.

Duwišatti < *tuvi*- „stark, reichlich“ + *sāti*- (√SANⁱ „gewinnen, erlangen“, s.o.)

Du-ú-i-ša-at-ti Or. 90/1700 Vs. 2

Vgl. die indo-arischen Namen aus Mesopotamien mit *-šatti*- (vgl. SCARLATA 1999: 584, GENTILE 2019: 145f., 157).

Von den oben genannten Namen ist *Takša*- auch in einer Korrespondenz aus Mašat-Höyük/Tapikka belegt (HBM 24 Vs. 11 ^mTák-ša-aš, vgl. Alp 1991: 95, 160f., HOFFNER 2009: 137); es könnte sich durchaus um dieselbe Person handeln, berücksichtigt man die geographische Nähe zu Šapinuwa und den zeitlichen Hintergrund mit einer Datierung in die mittelhethitische Zeit. Zudem ist die Beleglage innerhalb der Personennamen aus dem hethitischen Reich überschaubar in diesem Fall.

Diese Häufung von Namen mit einer indo-arischen Herkunft, die man als sehr auffällig bezeichnen kann, sprechen für einen nennenswerten Anteil entsprechender Namenträger, was nicht mit vermeintlichen „ethnischen“ Indo-Ariern gleichzusetzen ist. Im hethitischen Reich dieser Epoche weist bekanntlich ein starker hurritischer Einfluss auf. Eine eingehende prosopographische Untersuchung muss hier angesichts der noch am Anfang stehenden Editionsarbeit der hethitischen Überlieferung aus Ortaköy/Šapinuwa unterbleiben; dennoch zeigt das Material, welche überraschenden Befunde das Material gerade auch zur Erhellung der Geschichte der Frühzeit des Mittani-Reiches bieten kann.

Anmerkungen

* Diese Miszelle entstand im Rahmen des durch die DFG geförderten Projekts „Rethinking Oriental Despotism – Strategies of Governance and Modes of Participation in the Ancient Near East“ (KFG 2615). Für Verbesserungen und alternative Deutungsvorschläge der indo-arischen Personennamen danke ich Herrn Prof. Martin Kümmel (Universität Jena). Für alle unterlaufenen Fehler bin ich selbst verantwortlich.

1. Den gleichlautenden Namen ^mPa-an-ti-y[a-aš] (KUB 15.12 Rs. IV 9') hat Laroche (1966: 135) seinerzeit als Hurritisch angenommen, weil er auch in Nuzi belegt ist. Nach dem gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand der hurritischen Sprache ist dieser Ansatz schwierig.

2. In ähnlicher Weise ist vielleicht der in Mašat-Höyük belegte Name [^mT]atrappui- (HBM 94 Vs. 2' [^mT]a-at-ra-ap-pu-i, vgl. Alp 1991: 160f.) folgendermaßen zu analysieren: Tatrappui < *tatra* „da, dort“ + *bhū*- „Welt, Erde“ (vgl. DEBRUNNER – WACKERNAGEL 1929/30: 485–488 §239, wo die etymologisch gleichlautende Form *tatra-bhavant*- „jenseits befindlicher“ als Höherstehender erklärt wird).

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63) The Hittite *hapax katterezzi*- ‘lower’: A Luwian-influenced Neologism — Working, together with Professor Elisabeth Rieken, on Hittite nominal formation and suffix ordering (AMMAZZINI & RIEKEN forthcoming), among the suffixes that were considered, there was also the quite rare *-(e)zzi(ya)*-, an adjectival suffix found in only five words, albeit very common ones. At least since LOHMANN 1933, the suffix is considered of Indo-European origin, deriving from **-tyo-*, and it has Indo-Iranian (Skt. *ápatya*- ‘offspring’), Greek (ὀπίσ(σ)ω ‘backwards’, πρόσ(σ)ω ‘forward’, μέτᾱσσαι ‘lambs born later’, ἐπῶσαι ‘daughters born later’), Baltic (Lith. *apačià*, Latv. *apakša* ‘bottom’) and Germanic (Goth. *niþjis* ‘relative’, matching Skt. *nītya*- ‘one’s own’) comparanda; even the anaptyctic vowel **-e-* is matched in some formations (see EDHIL: 264–265). The suffix was inherited also by Luwic, where, unlike Hittite, it

remained moderately productive, regardless of the meaning conveyed by it (YAKUBOVICH 2013 thought of it as a superlative, but it is perhaps more prudent to define it as ‘individualizing’ in a broader sense, with RIEKEN 2026): it surfaces as *-zza-* in Cuneiform (examples include *dūwazza-* ‘fruitful, fertile (?)’, *urazza-* ‘greatest one, chief’, *wašḥazza-* ‘the wašḥa-one’, *zārizza-* ‘?’) and Hieroglyphic Luwian (*/san(n)awizza(i)-* ‘/’, *sa-na-wali-za-* ‘(very) good’, */urazza-*, *MAGNUS+ra/i-za-* ‘chief, patron’) and as *-zze/i-* in Lycian (*hrzze/i-* ‘upper’, *wasaza-* ‘(title)’ and several substantives). When it comes to the position occupied by the suffix, as shown by the investigations of RIEKEN 2026 and AMMAZZINI & RIEKEN forthcoming, in Hittite and (Cuneiform) Luwian it occupies different positions: in Hittite it can follow only the very rare *-era-* (< PIE **-ero-*; see below), but can be followed by some closing suffixes, first of all *-atar*; in Cuneiform Luwian, however, in its four occurrences collected by Rieken (the words cited above, where there are only two suffixes, *-zza-* being the second one), it is always the last suffix, behaving *de facto* as ‘closing’.

The suffix *-(e)zzi(ya)-* in Hittite is found in five words, namely *appezzi(ya)-* ‘backmost’, *ḫantezzi(ya)-* ‘first’, *katterezzi-* ‘lower’, *šanezzi-* ‘first-class’ and *šarāzzi(ya)-* ‘upper’, respectively derivatives of *appa*, *ḫant-*, *kattera-*, *šani-* and *šarā*. *Katterezzi-* stands out from the other words for three reasons:

1. While the other words are very common in Hittite texts, *katterezzi-* is for now a *hapax legomenon*, occurring in KBo 24.71, 11’ (CTH 500.81, NS; it is now in join with KBo 27.124 and KBo 33.139) near *šarāzzi(ya)-*, in a context which favours its interpretation as a recent analogy-based creation:

ša-ra-a-az-zi wa-wa-ar-ki-mi kat-te-re[-ez-zi] ták-ku-i da-ga-a-an-zi[i-pí]
‘at the upper and lower grease-joint [viz. of the door], to the Dark-Earth’

Unfortunately, the word is partly broken, but this reading, already proposed by HAAS & WEGNER 1988: 348, can still be defended, as inspection of the available photos confirms (accessible here: <https://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw2.php?n=2076/c&x=eb574cf7f4cde3a98bb3137c0fc51a1>; the sign <zi> is severely damaged, yet it is still recognizable): the different interpretation as *kat-te-ri*[(*-*) DINGIR]^{MES} offered by BOYSAN-DIETRICH 1987: 128-9 and based on Otten’s autography is less secure and alternative restorations like the one provided by CHD Š:248 require atypical word order. On the other hand, the translation is severely invalidated by the obscure term ^{GIS}*wawarkima-*: see on the matter OTTEN 1952: 235, BOYSAN-DIETRICH: *ibid.*, OETTINGER 2001: 465-7 and EDHIL: 990-2, who, in my opinion quite reasonably, challenges all the previous translations (‘Türangel’, ‘Drehzapfen’, ‘Drehpfanne’, basically English ‘pivot, hinge pin’) proposing ‘pivot hinge, butt hinge’ (‘object in which the door-axle is fixed and turns’); in any case, in one of the following paragraphs, 2’/19’, a door is mentioned. Here the translation given by HED K:133 is provided, which is similar to the one supplied by HAAS & WEGNER 1988: *ibid.* (with the plausible integration of the verb *da-a-i* at the end of the damaged line): ‘dem [ob]jeren (und) unteren Drehzapfen (der Tür), für die Unterwelt (i.e. the personified Dark Earth), [legt er hin]’. All the translations (see also COTTICELLI KURRAS 2000’s and HEG T: 108’s ones), including those who read *katteri*, refer the adjective to the preceding ^{GIS}*wawarkima-*, which is also defined by the adjective *šarāzzi(ya)-*. What is particularly noteworthy is not so much the fact that a noun is qualified by two adjectives with opposite meanings (which also happens with other architectural terms, such as ^{GIS}*kattaluzzi-* ‘threshold’, which in KBo 4.2 I 30, 35 and 43 is qualified by both *kattera-* and *šarāzzi(ya)-*; moreover, if the word refers to a pivot – and maybe also to a hinge –, a reference to an upper and/or a lower one is to some extent expected: see SALONEN 1961: 69 for Sumerian and Akkadian data specifically), but rather this unexpected *ordo verborum* adjective - noun - adjective; for this reason, I would not rule out *a priori* the possibility that *katterezzi* refers, together with the following *takkui*, to the noun *tagānzepa-*, in an enrichment of the expression ‘dark earth’ (after all, the underworld deities and the Netherworld itself are often described precisely by *kattera-*, and the cognate adverb *kattanda*, as well as adverbially used *kattera-* itself, in various instances accompany the expression *dankuwai takni/taganzipi*: see OETTINGER 1989/90). All this, however, is merely a tentative suggestion.

2. While in the other words *-(e)zzi(ya)-* is the first suffix (it can be followed by *-atar* in a couple of further derivatives, namely *ḫantezziyātar* and *šarāzziyatar*, not to mention some verbal derivatives in *-aḫḫ-*ⁱ and *-ēšš-*^{zi}), in *katterezzi-* it follows another suffix, the unique *-era-*, which is of IE origin but, along

with several scarcely productive suffixes, probably was not perceived as a suffix anymore by Hittite native speakers: thus, we wind up with the unusual situation where an old, maybe opaque and scarcely productive suffix *-(e)zzi(ya)-* follows an old, surely opaque and unique suffix *-(era)-*. This is interesting and contradicts what observed by AMMAZZINI & RIEKEN forthcoming, according to who unproductive or scarcely productive suffix of IE origin tend to occupy the “top” position, i.e. the closest position to the lexical root.

3. Lastly, unlike the other words, in *katterezzi-* there is no difference whatsoever in meaning from the base word *kattera-* “lower”: see HED K:133.

From these data and considerations, we can not only infer that the lexeme *katterezzi* is a recent analogical creation (a *Reimbildung* on the preceding *šarāzzi(ya)-*, as was correctly pointed out already by COTTICELLI KURRAS 2000: 35, to my knowledge the first scholar to say something on the origin of this curious form), but we can also suspect that it is a neologism strongly influenced by the Luwian language, where the suffix in question remained (and will continue to be) at least partly productive. The tablet KBo 24.71 is New Hittite (precisely the period during which Luwian influence on Hittite was very intensive and the extent of bilingualism grew significantly) and was included by the editors in CTH 500, which consists of festive and incantation rituals (sometimes dating back to the Middle Hittite period) from Kizzuwatna, an area of Southern Anatolia where Luwian and Hurrian were the most prominent languages. As regards foreign words and loanwords in the CTH 500 texts, many of which, including this one, contain sections in Hurrian, these are usually thought to be terms of Hurrian origin (which the first editors already grouped together in a glossary: see the first part of the second volume of HAAS & WEGNER 1988), but a survey of the eDiAna lemmata shows that several Luwian words (or words which are originally Hurrian but were borrowed into Hittite via Luwian) are attested in the same group of texts: I counted at least 19 examples, plus five words of uncertain origin (almost certainly not Indo-European), whose Luwian origin cannot, however, be entirely ruled out. Unfortunately, none of these words occurs in KBo 24.71, but in the very same line where we read *šarāzzi(ya)-* and *katterezzi-* we can see the adjective *dakkui* (dative-locative) ‘dark, obscure’, which, according to EDHIL: 829 and DCL: 257, might be the CLuw. counterpart of Hitt. *dankui-/dankuwai-* ‘id.’ (which could betray the Luwian origin of the scribe who prepared the text, an unsurprising fact in New Hittite): that being the case, the context providing the sole attestation of *katterezzi-* would already contain a Luwian word.

I conclude that the probability that Hitt. *katterezzi-* is a Luwian-influenced creation is very high. Nevertheless, the word cannot be considered either a Luwianism or a Hittite-Luwian hybrid (whose existence, in late Hittite, is certain: see Rieken 2023), since the root and morphemes shown by *katterezzi-* are genuinely Hittite, the Luwian cognate of Hitt. *katta* being *zanta*.

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64) Sarku – ein lokaler Berggott in Karkamiš — Der Gottesname Sarku ((DEUS)*sa₅+ra/i-ku*) kommt bisher in zwei hieroglyphen-luwischen (= hluw.) Inschriften aus Karkamiš vor (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §18d; KARKAMIŠ A29f, frag. 2, Z. 2). Eine Interpretation dieses Gottes ist bisher nicht überzeugend gelungen. Mustafa Kalaç (1965, 419) hat darin vorsichtig den Namen einer Stiergottheit erwogen, Maciej Popko (1995, 167) hingegen sprach vom „mysterious Sarku“. In seiner maßgeblichen Edition der hluw. Inschriften des 1. Jahrtausends hat J. David Hawkins die beiden Inschriften aus Karkamiš bearbeitet und eine Entsprechung zwischen Sarku und Sarhunta ((DEUS)*sa₅+ra/i-hu-tà-sa*) in der Inschrift ÇİFTLİK § 6 vermutet (HAWKINS 2000, 107, 219, 450; vgl. auch die gemeinsame Verbuchung beider Gottesnamen im Glossar in HAWKINS 2024, 633). Aus dem Vergleich der Götternamen in ÇİFTLİK § 6 mit den Namen in §§ 8-10 ergibt sich dabei eine Entsprechung zwischen Sarhunta und Ea (HAWKINS 2000, 450; vgl. HUTTER-BRAUNSAAR 2015, 216). Jüngst haben Zsolt Simon und Tatiana Frühwirth die Verbindung zwischen Sarhunta und Ea sorgfältig diskutiert: Sarhunta ist ein Epitheton Eas, das eine strafende Komponente Eas ausdrückt (SIMON/FRÜHWIRTH 2025, 213f.) und dessen Wortbasis mit dem luwischen Wort *šarhuntalli-* „räuberisch; kriminell“ (SIMON/FRÜHWIRTH 2025, 212; MELCHERT 2024, 204) zusammengehören kann. Die Verbindung zwischen Sarhunta und Sarku – und damit implizit eine Interpretation Sarkus als Ea-Gestalt oder Beiname Eas – ist jedoch nicht haltbar und gegen eine Verbindung beider Gottesnamen spricht auch der lautliche Unterschied zwischen dem laryngalen /h/ und dem velaren /k/ (vgl. für Details SIMON/FRÜHWIRTH 2025, 211).

Die Interpretation des Gottes Sarku muss daher von den beiden Belegen in Karkamiš ausgehen, die den Gott in einem sehr ähnlichen Opferkontext zeigen, wobei man aus dem Kontext und den Opfergaben eine Deutung des Gottes ableiten kann. Auf einer (runden) Altarbasis, wahrscheinlich aus dem frühen 8. Jahrhundert v.u.Z., befindet sich die fragmentarische Inschrift KARKAMIŠ A29f; lediglich die etwas besser erhaltene Zeile 2 ergibt einen einigermaßen zusammenhängenden Text (HAWKINS 2000, 218):

Zum Ort [soll man] (sie) hinlegen Und ich legte für ihn hin: ein Rind und zwei Schafe für Sarku.

Ob im ursprünglichen Text noch weitere Gottheiten aufgezählt wurden, ist nicht mehr erkennbar. Aussagekräftiger für die Interpretation des Gottes ist KARKAMIŠ A11b+c (HAWKINS 2000, 103f.; 2024, 193f.). Dies ist eine Bauinschrift des Herrschers Katuwa aus dem späten 10. oder frühen 9. Jahrhundert, in der er seinen militärischen Erfolg den drei Gottheiten Tarhunt, Karhuha und Kubaba zuschreibt (§§ 7-12). Darüber hinaus erwähnt er die Errichtung eines *haristani*-Raumes für den königlichen Ahnenkult (§ 15; vgl. HUTTER 2015, 82f.), von wo aus eine Kultprozession für Karhuha und Kubaba beobachtet werden kann (§§ 16f.). Schließlich werden folgende Opfer genannt (§ 18; HUTTER 2021, 309, übersetzt nach HAWKINS 2000, 103):

Als Opfer (*asharimi-*) gibt man ihnen dies: für die Götter jährlich Brotopfer (ANNUS-*sa-li-za-sa* („PANIS“))*tú+ra/i-pi-sa*); für Karhuha ein Rind und ein Schaf; für Kubaba ein Rind und ein Schaf; für Sarku ein Schaf und ein („478“) *ku-tú-pi-li*; für die männlichen Gottheiten ein Schaf; für die weiblichen Gottheiten ein Schaf.

Danach schließen sich verschiedenen Fluchformeln an, die durch das Eingreifen der folgenden Gottheiten gegen einen Übeltäter wirksam werden sollen (§ 25; übersetzt nach HAWKINS 2000, 104):

Gegen ihn sollen der himmlische Tarhunt, Karhuha und Kubaba, und der Wettergott des Berges Arputa, und die Gottheiten des Flusslandes des Sakura-Flusses einen Prozess führen.

Die Namen der Gottheiten bei den Opfern bzw. in der Fluchformel sind unterschiedlich. Dass Tarhunt in der Fluchformel und gemeinsam mit Karhuha und Kubaba auch in § 9 genannt ist, spiegelt das „Stadt“-Pantheon von Karkamiš wider, wobei der Wettergott (Tarhunt) in der späten hethitischen Großreichszeit durch die politische Einflussnahme der Hethiter auf die nordsyrische Stadt dem ursprünglich an der Spitze von Karkamiš stehenden göttlichen Paar Karhuha und Kubaba vorangestellt wurde (HUTTER 2021, 212f.); diese Rangordnung bleibt im ersten Jahrtausend bestehen und erklärt daher die Erwähnung des Wettergottes in der Inschrift. Anlass für die Fluchformeln sind Vergehen gegen „diese Götter“ (§ 19), die zuvor in § 18 als Empfänger der Opfer genannt sind; genauso beziehen sich die Flüche auf ein negatives Vorgehen gegen den *haristani*-Kultraum (vgl. § 20 mit § 15), und allgemein gegen die Bautätigkeit (vgl. §§ 23f.). Dadurch sind die Flüche eng mit den vorher beschriebenen Aktivitäten des

Herrschers verknüpft, so dass man die Gottheiten in der Aufzählung der Opfer mit den Gottheiten – abgesehen von Tarhunt – in den Flügen eng aufeinander beziehen sollte. Daraus ergibt sich eine funktionale Entsprechung zwischen Sarku und dem Wettergott des Berges Arputa.

Aufschlussreich für die Deutung Sarkus ist auch das als (“478”) *ku-tú-pi-li*- bezeichnete Opfertier. Dieses Hapax dürfte aufgrund des Vergleichs mit “OVIS”-*ru-pi-* /*kurupi-* in BULGARMADEN § 11 eine besondere Schafart oder ein kleineres oder jüngerer Schaf bezeichnen, wenn durch die Reihenfolge der Nennung der Opfertiere in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c § 18 eine Abstufung des Wertes ausgedrückt wird (vgl. HAWKINS 2000, 107). Die Rolle des Opfertieres in BULGARMADEN §§ 10-12 wird folgendermaßen beschrieben (siehe HAWKINS 2000, 523; HAWKINS 2024, 282):

Wer immer sich zum Bürgermeister für den göttlichen Berg Muti macht, soll für die Götter des (Herrschers) Tarhunaza Jahr für Jahr ein *kurupi*-Schaf opfern; und die Götter des Berges Muti werden gut zu ihm kommen.

Hinsichtlich des lautlichen Unterschieds kann man m.E. wegen der älteren Form *kutupili*- mit einem Rhotazismus im erst in der jüngeren Inschrift BULGARMADEN vorkommenden *kurupi*- rechnen; Annick Payne und Anna Bauer (2022) sehen in *kutupili*- hingegen eine „hyperkorrekte“ Schreibung gegenüber der von ihnen als ursprünglich angenommenen Form *kurupi*-. Auch wenn die präzise zoologische Bestimmung des Opfertieres offenbleibt, ermöglicht die Verwendung dieses Opfertieres in den Inschriften KARKAMIŠ A11b+c und BULGARMADEN eine inhaltliche Bestimmung des Göttertyps, den Sarku repräsentiert. In BULGARMADEN sind die Götter des Herrschers Tarhunaza Empfänger des Opfers, die entsprechend §§ 11-12 als Götter des vergöttlichten Berges Muti identifiziert werden können. Da sowohl Sarku als auch die Berggottheiten des Muti dasselbe Tier als Opfer erhalten, kann man daraus ableiten, dass Sarku ein Berggott ist, wobei Berggottheiten in der Religionsgeschichte Anatoliens eng mit Wettergottheiten vergesellschaftet sind (vgl. z.B. HAAS 1994, 461f.; HUTTER 2021, 162f.). Dies zeigt auch die vorhin genannte typologische Entsprechung zwischen Sarku und dem Wettergott des Berges Arputa in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c.

Etymologisch ist der Gottesname Sarku mit dem (im Hethitischen bereits im 2. Jahrtausend belegten) Adjektiv *šarku*- „erhaben; mächtig“ zu verbinden, das als Beiwort des Sonnengottes, von verschiedenen Wettergöttern, des (ursprünglichen) südostanatolischen Berggottes Šarruma sowie von Telipinu bzw. Kumarbi vorkommt (vgl. HUTTER-BRAUNSAAR 2015, 217). Erwähnenswert sind folgende Stellen: Die auf ein akkadisches Vorbild zurückgehende Adad-Hymne bezeichnet den Wettergott (des Himmels) als den mächtigsten Gott (KBo 3.21 iii 8: ^DİŠKUR-*aš šar-ku-uš*). Muwattalli nennt in seinem Gebet an die Götterversammlung den „Wettergott des Blitzes“ einen mächtigen Helden (KUB 6.45 iii 58), und spricht in i 50 von ^D10 ^{URU}KÜ.BABBAR-*TI šar-ku-uš* AMAR-*uš*, d.h. entweder vom Wettergott von Hatti als mächtigem Stierkalb oder vom Wettergott von Hatti und dem mächtigen Stierkalb; bei letzterer Deutung lässt sich das Stierkalb als Berggott Šarruma interpretieren, der im hurritisch-südostanatolischen Milieu eng mit dem Wettergott Teššub verbunden ist (vgl. SINGER 1996, 55, 184; HUTTER 2021, 162). Erwähnenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch der großreichszeitliche Siegelabdruck Tarsus 42d (LAROCHÉ 1958, 256-258; vgl. GELB 1956, 250f. sowie Foto und Umzeichnung in GOLDMAN 1956, Tf. 403, 407). Der Abdruck zeigt einen Gott, der einen Stier an einem langen Strick hält, wobei der Gott durch die Hieroglyphe TONITRUS über einem Arm als Wettergott identifiziert ist. Links davon ist von oben nach unten der hl.w. Text BOS *sa₅+ra/i-ku* „mächtiges Rind“ geschrieben, wobei – ähnlich wie in KUB 6.45 i 50 – es schwierig zu entscheiden ist, ob damit ein Epitheton des dargestellten Wettergottes gemeint ist oder ob vom Wettergott und dem mächtigen Rind die Rede ist; auch hier ließe sich bei letzterer Interpretation wiederum an Šarruma als Berggott in Verbindung mit dem Wettergott denken. Diese hethitischen Beispiele sind Indizien (wenn auch kein unumstößlicher Beweis) dafür, dass Sarku als lokaler süd(ost)anatolischer Berggott interpretiert werden kann, wobei die Abgrenzung gegenüber einer Wettergottgestalt weniger starr als vielmehr fließend war.

Obwohl der Gottesname Sarku nur in den beiden hl.w. Belegstellen vorkommt, könnte der Name noch in späterer Zeit belegt sein. Alexandru Avram (2016, 72-74) hat einige – deutlich jüngere – Inschriften zusammengestellt, die einen (Ζεύς) Σουγιάστειος nennen (vgl. für weitere Belege und Varianten OBRADOR-CURSACH 2020, 350f.; NEUMANN 1988, 14 interpretiert diese Namensformen anders). Zeitlich steht eine phrygische Weiheinschrift auf einer Silberschale den hl.w. Texten am nächsten: „Inas (weicht

dies) dem Surgastos“ (Dd-102: *inas surgastoy*; BRIXHE/LEJEUNE 1984: 272; OBRADOR-CURSACH 2020, 518; vgl. AVRAM 2016, 74). Genauso kann man den lydischen Namen *Srkastuś* auf einer Marmorstele aus Sardes und die adjektivische Ableitung *Srkastuliś* auf einem Säulenfragment aus Sardes nennen. Roberto Gusmani (1980-81; siehe ferner OBRADOR-CURSACH 2020, 147) verbindet den lydischen Namen mit dem hethitischen Wort *šarku* und sagt hinsichtlich des Ζεύς Συργάστειος, dass diese Epiklese des Zeus ein sprachliches Element enthält, das anatolischen Gottheiten, die auf Berggipfeln wohnen, zugeordnet werden kann.

Wenn die Basis dieser Namen und Epiklesen aus griechischen, lydischen und phrygischen Inschriften mit dem in Karkamiš bezeugten Gott Sarku zu verbinden ist, so können diese Bezeichnungen ein weiteres Indiz für die Interpretation von Sarku als Berggott gelten. Als ein solcher Gott zeigt er eine typologische Nähe zum Wettergott, wobei die Abgrenzung zwischen beiden Göttern fließend zu sein scheint, wie die Parallele zwischen Sarku und dem Wettergott des Berges Arputa in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c vermuten lässt.

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65) The Assyrian king Ber-nadin-ahhe — The private Middle Assyrian texts KAJ 8, KAJ 174 and KAM 10.4 refer to Ber-nadin-ahhe as Assyrian king and a son of the king Aššur-nerari II. His eponymy is documented in KAJ 174, Erm 15637, Assur 3/1 no. 2 and VAT 15503 = Ass 9840. His absence from the Assyrian king lists has been a riddle. There was no *damnatio memoriae*, indeed KAJ 8 documents his title together with three generations of descendants. His son Šuzub-Marduk occurs as eponym in KAM 10.4. Moreover, in spite of some epigraphic uncertainties, it seems that another son Ibašši-ili (EMA 31) was

named as eponym and king's son in KAJ 82 and TR 3030 (EMA 79). The eponym Ellil-qarrad, son of Ibašši-ili may have been the king's grandson (EMA 34).

To solve the riddle, one must look at the timeframe. As expected, Ber-nadin-ahhe is linked to the generation before Eriba-Adad I. In KAJ 64, Ibašši-ili son of Ber-nadin-ahhe is creditor and Aššur-bel-kala from the time of Eriba-Adad I is eponym. In KAJ 8 a grandson of king Ber-nadin-ahhe is a witness, while the eponym is a son of Eriba-Adad I. In TR 3030 from the time of Assur-uballiṭ, a commoner Ber-nadin-ahhe appears, who must have been born before the accession of the homonymous king. Finally, KAJ 174 shares the scribe with KAJ 132, a text from the reign of Aššur-rim-nišešu (EMA 31-32). The debtor in KAJ 132 is Adad-bani son of Bullija, whose brother and neighbour Puju is debtor in Assur 3/1 no. 2. Thus, prosopographically Ber-nadin-ahhe fits in the interval between Aššur-rim-nišešu and Eriba-Adad I. Between those two kings, the king lists place the ten years of Aššur-nadin-ahhe II. In contrast to his three predecessors and all of his Middle Assyrian successors, there is no Middle Assyrian documentation of a king of this position and name. But the Ber-nadin-ahhe documentation looks just like what one would expect for Aššur-nadin-ahhe II. Judging from the recovered economic texts, he was a minor but not insignificant ruler, at a time when the agricultural and commercial upswing of the country gained momentum. Thus it seems evident that the name of the second Aššur-nadin-ahhe in the Assyrian King List is just an erroneous deformation of Ber-nadin-ahhe, perhaps because the god Ber had no longer a sufficiently high standing in the Neo-Assyrian period. The king is called son of Aššur-rim-nišešu, but the Assyrian King List has several parentage mistakes, like for Aššur-rim-nišešu himself.

Solving the riddle helps in another context. We now know for sure that the reference to Aššur-nadin-ahhe in the Assyrian correspondence with Egypt concerns Aššur-nadin-ahhe I. He was the unique king of that name, and his numbering has become superfluous.

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66) A Note on Hurrian Theonyms in the Emar God List — The list of divine names from Tell Meskene-Emar (a variation of the so-called Weidner List) is divided into columns, which contain names of the Mesopotamian deities to the left and those of their Hurrian analogues to the right (LAROCHE 1989: 11; SALVINI 2015: 54). As was previously stated by E. Laroche, sometimes divine names in the Hurrian column feature the attachment of the element *-n* to their counterparts in the Sumeru-Akkadian column, e.g., ^DAa or ^DEa = ^DAyan, ^DBunene = ^DWunninuwan, ^DTašmiš = ^DTašmišun, ^DGilgameš = ^DGilgamišun, ^DU.GUR = ^DUkurun (LAROCHE 1989: 12). It is easy to see that the names ending in a consonant in the Sumeru-Akkadian column also show a vowel *-u-* in front of *-n* in the Hurrian column. Other Hurrian theonyms from the Emar god list featuring the element *-n* are ^Dwi-re-en-gi-ru-un (= ^Dnin.si4.an.na; = u4.uk; = u4.uk.uru.ki), ^Dka-az-pu-un (= [^Dgaz.b]a.a.a), ^Dkap-pu-ta-an (= [^Dkab.ta]), ^Dni-iš-za-ba-an (= [^Dnisaba]), ^De-še-er-tu4-un (= [^Daš-ra-tum]); the reconstructions in the brackets are reliable because of parallelism of the Emar god list with god lists from Ugarit (cf. NOUGAYROL 1968: 212–224). A new join to the Emar god list also contains a tentative equivalence ^Dma-[ma] = [^Dma²-ma²]-a-an (SIMONS 2017: 84). One should take into account that the god list from Ugarit bearing names of Sumeru-Akkadian, Hurrian and Ugaritic deities also features *-n* added to Hurrian divine names (cf. ^Da.a = *e-ia-an*, ^Dka.ni.sur.ra = *ka-ni-šu-ra-an*; NOUGAYROL 1968: 247–249). The enigmatic element *-(u)n* in Hurrian theonyms was never explained (RICHTER 2016: 549, n. 843).

I would like to put forward a hypothesis that the suffix *-n* represents the Hurrian third person singular personal clitic pronoun (see, for example, WILHELM 2004: 108). This explanation does not require additional formal comments in those cases where the stem ends in a vowel, e.g., ^DAya=*n* ‘He (is) Ea’ or ^DWunninuwa=*n* ‘He (is) Wunninuwa’. But if a stem ends in a consonant, one needs to explain *-u-*, which is inserted between the stem and the possessive pronoun.

In my opinion, this *-u-* in cuneiform transmission reflects the Hurrian epenthetic vowel /o/ (for which see already BUSH 1964: 125, 136, 142, 333, 353). Thus, *-o-* functions as a connecting vowel in the plural form of equative II suffix (normally *-nna*) in the plural forms in *(-na)-až-onna*, and the singular variant *-onna* when following a consonant. For example, the form *e-ep-ri-na-a-šu-u-un-na* (CTH 789, KBo 32.20 obv. i 2', 14') can be analyzed as *ever+ni-na-až-onna* (king-RELAT.PL-EQU2) ‘like the kings’. Moreover, the forms ^DIŠKUR-pu-na-a-at and ^Dḫé-pát-un-na-a-at (CTH 780, KUB 45.21 rev. 12, 14) can

be analyzed as *Teššob-onna=d* (Tessob-EQU2=1SG.ABS) and as *Hebad-onna=d* (Hebad-EQU2=1SG.ABS) respectively, where the clitics mark the clause subject. The same epenthesis of *-o-* is attested in plural form of comitative suffix *-o/ura*, e.g., Hurrian *man-ž-o/ura* ‘with them’ (WILHELM 2004: 109). The epenthetic vowel *-o/-u-* appears also when the directive suffix *-da* following consonant, for example, in the Mittani Letter *pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫi-wu-ú-ta = paššitḫe-v-uda* (envoy-2SG.POSS-DIR) ‘to your envoy’ (EA 24 i 53) and in Ugarit *ku-šu-ḫu-da = Kuzuh-oda* (Moon.god-DIR) ‘to the Moon-god’ (BUSH 1964: 136), as well as in Hattuša (CTH 789, KBo 32.17 rev. 14a’): *ti-wi-wu-ḫ-tap = tiwe-v-uda=m* (word-2POSS.SG-DIR=CON) ‘and to your word’ etc.

Thus, the analysis of Hurrian theonyms from the Emar god list preserved above should be as follows: ^D*Tašmiš-o=n* (Tašmiš-EPNTH=3SG.ABS), ^D*Gilgamiš-o=n* (Gilgamesh-EPNTH=3SG.ABS), ^D*Ukur-o=n* (Ugor-EPNTH=3SG.ABS). If so, the corresponding entries of the divine list could be translated as ‘Ea (in Akkadian) = He (is) Ea (in Hurrian)’, ‘Gilgamesh (in Akkadian) = He (is) Gilgamesh (in Hurrian)’ etc. Some of the relevant deities, like the god of wisdom Ea or the divinized hero Gilgamesh, were borrowed by the Hurrians from Mesopotamia, while other gods like Tašmiš (ARCHI 2013: 10) or Ugor (RICHTER 2001: 568–569) were originally Hurrian. All the cases above are united by the fact that the relevant divine names were borrowed in either direction, as opposed to being syncretized with their equivalents from the other culture.

The exception to this rule consists of the equations [^Dnin.si₄.an.na] = ^D*wi-re-en-gi-ru-un*, [^Du₄.u]g = ^D*pí-re-en-gi-ru-un*, and [^Du₄.ug.ur]u^{KI} = ^D*wi-re-en-gi-ru-un ar-ta-ma-an-zi* (SALVINI 2015: 53–54; BECKMAN 1999: 27). As one can see, there is not only a lack of congruence between the left and right columns, but also an association of two different logograms with the same Hurrian theonym. Although attempts were made to explain the association of Pirinkir with ^Dnin.si₄.an.na ‘a red lady of heaven’ / ‘Venus’ (BECKMAN 2014: 3), the other two matches, linking this deity with Mesopotamian mythical monster are still cryptic (LITKE 1998: 208). The lack of sources does not allow us to make a final conclusion on the origin of these equations, but there is no reason to doubt that the compiler of the Emar god list believed that Pirinkir was a blend of several Mesopotamian deities.

The Hurrian corpus contains other examples of two co-referential nouns, where a clitic personal pronoun is attached to one of them and functions as a linker. Thus, in the *itkalzi*-ritual (CTH 777) the members of royal family are designated as *a-aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni¹ta-aš-me-šar-ri-in = āšḫožikkonni Tažmi-šarri=n* and *a-aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni^{MUNUS}ta-du-ḫé-pa-an = āšḫožikkonni Tado-Ḫeba=n* ‘ritual patron PN’. In the so-called *šarrena*-ritual (CTH 775.D.1, KUB 27.38) the god Šarruma is referred as ^D*te-eš-šu-ub-bi ḫu-u-bi-ti^Dšar-ru-um-ma-an = Teššob-ve ḫōbidi Šarrumma=n* ‘Šarruma, the calf of Teššob’. The opposite word order is also attested in the Hurrian corpus: for example, in KUB 27.38 one of the deified rulers is designated as ¹*a-ú-ta-lu-ma-an šar-ri = Audaluma=n šarri* ‘king Audaluma’, while one of the characters of the Song of Release (CTH 789) is referred to as ¹*pur-ra-an a-až-zi-i-ri = Purra=n assīri* ‘the prisoner Purra’.

An additional example of Hurrian clitic personal pronouns linking theonyms can be found in the Akkadian treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I and the Mittanian king Šattiwaza (CTH 51, KBo 1.1+ rev. 55’–56’), where Indo-Aryan paired deities Mitra and Varuna are mentioned among the gods of Mittani: ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* / ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il₅*. The matching Vedic construction *mitrāvárūṇau* features a compound consisting of two dual forms, the type called dual dvandva in KIPARSKY 2010. The repeated use of the dual for the single divine beings reflects a close association between the deities Mitra and Varuna.

Although there is no consensus on the analysis of the final element *-ššil* featuring these theonyms (KITAZUMI 2024: 15), it seems most probable that ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* / ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il₅* features the repeated use of the Hurrian clitic pronoun *=l*, which likewise underscores the inalienable connection between the two deities of Indo-Aryan origin. The present mainstream view interprets the puzzling suffix *-šši-*, which appears exclusively in this passage, as a reflex of the Hurrian numeral *šini* ‘two’, implying the shortening **šini=lla > šil* ‘they two’ (COTTICELLI-KURRAS, PISANIELLO 2023: 339 with ref.). This is presumably a calque of the Indo-Aryan dual dvandva, which could only be accomplished in a bilingual environment. If Indo-Aryan was no longer spoken in the Near East at the time of the Šattiwaza

treaty, as most scholars believe, the element *-šši-* must have become opaque at this point. This implies the analysis *mitrašši=l urunašši=l* (Mitra=3PL.ABS Varuna=3PL.ABS) ‘they (are) Mitra, they (are) Varuna’, which provides a further parallel to the construction ‘he (is) X-deity’ in the Emar god list.

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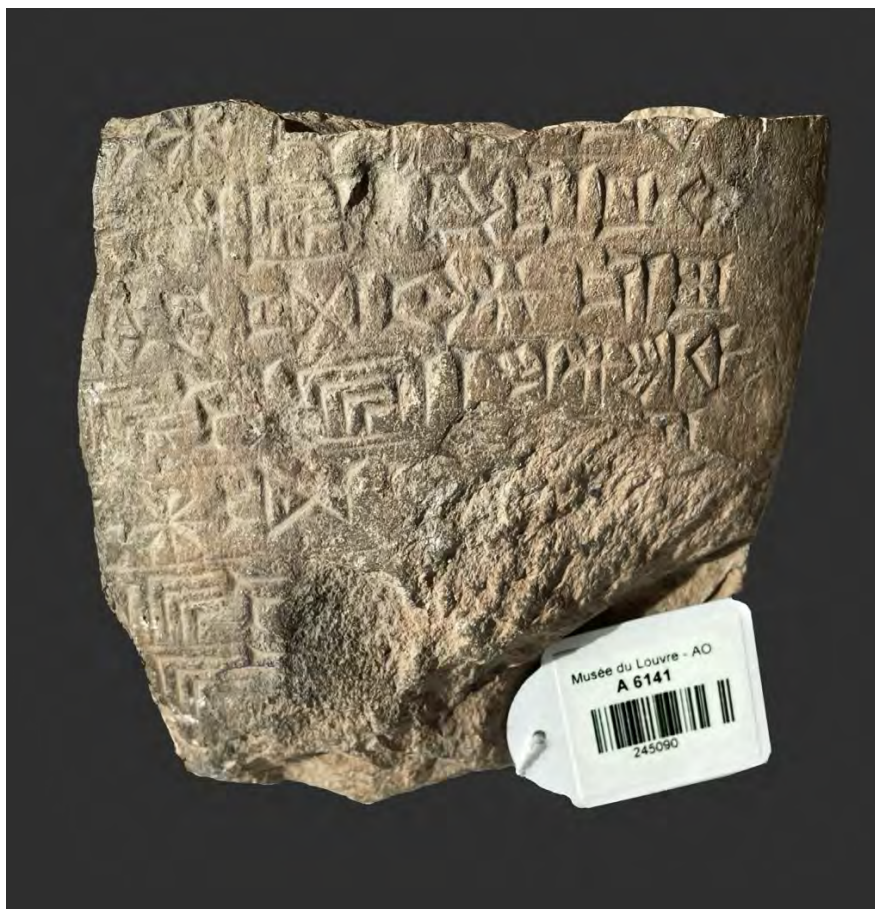
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67) Fragment d’un kudurru babylonien provenant de Suse (A 6141) — Dans le cadre d’un projet d’édition des inscriptions de Šutruk-Nahhunte dirigé par W. Henkelman pour le Centre Sarikhani des Études Élamites (avec le soutien de la Fondation Sarikhani), R. Bois, W. Henkelman, M. Krebernik et M. Spruyt ont étudié des objets provenant de Suse conservés au Louvre en mars 2026. Parmi les objets demandés figurait un fragment de pierre (A 6141) portant une inscription ; le catalogue du Louvre le décrit comme suivant : « Dénomination : stèle (fragment). Lieu de découverte : Suse. Matériau : calcaire. Technique : incisé ; sculpté. Hauteur : 12,5 cm. Largeur : 14,2 cm. Profondeur : 21 cm. Poids : 6,16 kg. » Ce fragment, qui ne conserve que le reste d’une inscription en langue akkadienne, est publié ici avec l’aimable permission d’Ariane Thomas (Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre) :

1’	[SAG.K]I ‘AN.TA’ IM.SI.SÁ’	Face supérieure au nord
2’	[ÚS.S]A.‘DU’ É []h̄a-ra-lu-na	adjacent à la maison de Haraluna.
3’	[SAG].KI KI.TA IM.U ₁₈ .LU	Face inférieure au sud
4’	[ÚS].SA.‘DU’ É []lam ² -gi-DIŠ-ŠI	adjacent à la maison de NP.
5’	[UŠ] AN.TA [IM.KUR].‘RA’	[Côté large] supérieur à l’est
6’	[US].SA.D[U ...]	adjacent à [...]
7’	[US ²].‘SA’.D[U ² ...]	(et) adjacent à [...]



Ce passage correspond à la description de l'emplacement d'un terrain dans le formulaire des inscriptions babyloniennes sur *kudurru*. On peut reconnaître ou compléter les termes pertinents SAG.KI AN.TA « face supérieure », SAG.KI KI.TA « face inférieure », UŠ AN.TA « côté large supérieur » ainsi que ÚS.SA.DU « adjacent à ». Il s'agit donc d'un fragment de *kudurru* babylonien vraisemblablement capturé par Šutruk-Nahhunte, dont plusieurs ont été mis au jour à Suse : Nazi-Maruttaš 2 (PAULUS 2014, 325-334 [Sb 21]) ; Šagarakti-Šuriaš 1 (o.c. 353-356 [AS 1335 + Sb 6430]) ; Kaštiliaš IV 1 (o.c. 357-359) ; Kaštiliaš IV 2 (o.c. 360-363 [Sb 30]) ; Adad-šuma-ušur 1 (o.c. 366-368 [Sb 29]) ; Meli-Šipak 1 (o.c. 369-389 [Sb 22]) ; Meli-Šipak 3 (o.c. 390-415 [Sb 23]) ; Meli-Šipak 5 (o.c. 416-420 [AS 6373]) ; Meli-Šipak 7 (o.c. 425-429 [Sb 32]) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 1 (o.c. 430-440 [Sb 26]) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 6 (o.c. 465-470) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 4 (o.c. 455-459) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 5 (o.c. 460-464) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 6 (o.c. 465-470) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 8 (o.c. 477-479) ; Sb 28 (o.c. 762-765, U 6) ; Sb 34 (o.c. 777-779, U 10) ; Sb 769 (o.c. 760-761, U 5) ; Sb 3226 (o.c. 769-770, U 8) ; Sb 3229 (o.c. 774-776, U 9) ; Sb 6426/8560 (o.c. 780-781, U 11) ; Sb 6432 (+) 791 (o.c. 766-768, U 7) ; Teheran — (o.c. 782-783, U 12). L'appartenance du fragment Sb 14, qui porte des inscriptions en akkadien et en élamite (de Šutruk-Nahhunte : KÖNIG 1965, EKI 23), à la catégorie des *kudurrus* est controversée ; cf. PAULUS 2014, 421-422.

Des descriptions de terrain utilisant ladite terminologie sont attestées pour la période antérieure aux invasions des Élamites sous Šutruk-Nahhunte et Kutir-Nahhunte dans les *kudurrus* suivants : Kurigalzu I 1 (PAULUS 2014, 305-307) ; Kurigalzu I 2 (o.c. 308-313) ; Nazi-Maruttaš 1 (o.c. 318-324) ; Kudur-Enlil I 1 (o.c. 340-348) ; Kudur-Enlil-RU 1 (o.c. 349-352) ; Adad-šuma-ušur 1 (o.c. 366-368) ; Meli-Šipak 1 (o.c. 369-383) ; Meli-Šipak 2 (o.c. 384-389) ; Meli-Šipak 4 (o.c. 402-415) ; Meli-Šipak 5 (416-420) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 1 (o.c. 430-440) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 2 (o.c. 441-448) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 3 (449-454) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 4 (o.c. 455-459) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 6 (o.c. 465-470) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 7 (o.c. 471-476) ; Marduk-apla-iddina I 8 (o.c. 477-479).

L'inscription ne fournit guère de critères de datation plus précis. Il y a deux signes qui présentent des formes quelque peu caractéristiques. Le premier est DU (ll. 2', 4', 6', 7'), dont le premier clou inférieur

est détaché et forme un angle avec le deuxième clou. Ce phénomène semble se développer au fil du temps sur les *kudurru* médio-babyloniens. Les exemples les plus frappants se trouvent sur un *kudurru* de Marduk-nādin-aḥḫē, qui a régné environ un demi-siècle après Šutruk-Nahhunte : BM 90840 = KING 1912 (BBST) 5 = PAULUS 2014, MNA 3, cf. par exemple GUB.BA dans ii passim (BBST, plates XLVI, XLVII). Le deuxième signe est LAM, s'il est correctement identifié (l. 4'). Le signe présente ici une forme relativement simple, alors qu'il prend généralement une forme plus allongée et ornée de petits clous verticaux au milieu dans les *kudurru* médio-babyloniens, au moins jusqu'à Nabuchodonosor I^{er} (par exemple HINKE 1911, 16 iv 12 ; cf. ibd. 47, liste de signes no. 148). Ces détails pourraient indiquer une datation relativement tardive du *kudurru*, peu avant que les raids de Šutruk-Nahhunte l'emportent à Suse.

l. 2' : ^mḫa-ra-lu-na est clairement lisible. Je ne trouve cependant aucune autre attestation de ce nom. Se pourrait-il que ḫa-ra-^lal^l-la-je-e (NASHEF 1982, 119, citant VS 19, 12: 8) soit un adjectif d'appartenance dérivé de ce nom ?

l. 4' : La lecture de ce nom de personne pose problème. Le deuxième DIŠ ne peut pas être le déterminatif d'un deuxième nom de personne, qui ne comporterait qu'un seul signe (^mŠI). Dans les textes médio-babyloniens de Nippur, DIŠ est attesté comme logogramme pour *ana* et comme syllabogramme avec les valeurs *dāš* (*ka-dāš-man*), *diš* (*li-diš*) et *tāš* (*ma-ru-tāš*), cf. HÖLSCHER 1996, 283. Le syllabogramme apparaît aussi dans *ḫul-te-lu-diš*, une forme ou déformation (sum. ḫul « mauvais ») babylonienne du nom du roi élamite Huteluduš-Inšušinak dans un *kudurru* de Nabuchodonosor I^{er} (PAULUS 2014, 505, NKU I 2, i 41). DIŠ est attesté comme logogramme dans le nom ^mUŠ-DIŠ-^dAMAR.^lUTU^l (*Emid-ana-Marduk*) sur le fragment de *kudurru* Sb 3226 (PAULUS 2014, 769, U 8). Je ne trouve toutefois aucune autre attestation du nom ^mlam^l-gi-DIŠ-ši/lim.

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68) A Kassite Weight — Published here is a stone weight housed in the Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library at Yale University. The weight, registered as Streeter CIII A17 belongs to the former collection of Dr. Edward C. Streeter (1874–1947), whose collection of weights and measures comprises at least 3,000 objects (see <https://isasc.org/Streeter/index.htm>; accessed May 2026). It is the only weight in the collection that bears a cuneiform inscription. Carved on its surface is a short three-line inscription. Based on its content and paleography, the inscription dates to the Kassite period. The stone has an oblong ovoid shape, with the bottom side of the weight (i.e., the face opposite the inscribed surface) flattened. It measures 54.3 mm in width, 18.6 mm in height (13.8 mm at the edges), and 22.1 mm in thickness (14.7 mm at the edges) (Figs. 1 and 6).

The stone weight is well-preserved. There is slight surface abrasion and some more additional chipping towards the edges and on the bottom face. In its current state, the piece weighs 37.19 g. In its complete state, it may have weighed between 40 and 50 g.

According to the inscription, the stone weighs 5 units of a particular measurement. The sign itself, however, is slightly problematic. A reading of GIN₂ for “shekel” makes most sense. Given the assumed original weight of the stone, one unit should correspond to 8–10 g. This value comes very close to 8.33 g, or one shekel. It is also worthwhile to consider other inscribed stone weights, two of which are kept in the Yale Babylonian Collection: The completely preserved weight YBC 2173 bears the short inscription 5 ^lGIN₂^l (Fig. 2, left). The stone weighs 40.58 g, thus resulting in 8.12 g per shekel. This weight could be contemporary with the Kassite weight in the Medical Library and can thus serve as a worthwhile comparison. Another weight (NBC 2567), probably of Old Babylonian date, records 2/3 GIN₂ and weighs 5.35 g, which results in 8.03 g per shekel (Fig. 2, right).



Fig. 1: The stone weight Streeter CIIIA17 (photograph by the author)



Fig. 2: The stone weights YBC 2173 (left) and NBC 2567 (right)
(photographs by the author)

While the reading GIN₂ cannot be rejected outright, another possible identification is the sign KISAL, which is known to have served as a unit of measurement. This sign is somewhat closer in shape to the form of the sign carved on the stone weight. In a historical inscription from Assur dealing with the dedication of a silver vessel, dating into the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta II, the KISAL measure is mentioned several times (KAL 3, 22). In his discussion of the text, Eckart Frahm refers to an unlocated stone weight that is inscribed with 5 KISAL (written with the sign DAG) and weighs 48 g, thus corresponding to 9.6 g per KISAL (see commentary to line 7 of the text).

KISAL, sometimes also read SILA_x, occurs as a unit of measurement quite frequently in first-millennium scientific and medical texts (MLADENOV 2025 422). Neo-Assyrian texts from Ashurbanipal's library clearly differentiate the signs GIN₂ and KISAL when used as units of measurements. The latter is identical to I₃.GIŠ. One line from the kidney disease text BAM 7, 2b (CDLI P382655) will suffice: (i,27) AL.US₂.SA BURU₅ *ina* A ^{giš}NU.UR₂.MA NAG 10 KISAL A GAZI^{sar} 10 GIN₂ I₃.GIŠ BARA₂.GA 2/3 SILA₃ KAŠ HI.HI (...), “(the patient) drinks locust-sauce in pomegranate-juice. Mix 10 *sila*-measures of *kašû*-juice, 10 shekels of pressed oil, two-thirds sila of beer.” Given the identical paleographic appearance of the signs KISAL and I₃.GIŠ, Markham Geller emends the text to 10 <SILA₃> I₃.GIŠ (GELLER 2005: 44) (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: BAM 7, 2b obv. i,27 (Neo-Assyrian)

Compare also a stone weight in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which belonged to the palace of Nabû-šumu-līšir (RIMB 6.10.2001). Its first line reads 1/3 GIN₂ GI.NA, “one-third of a shekel, the correct (weight)” (Fig. 4). Its weight of 164.3 g, however, shows that one-third of a mina is meant, which results in 8.2 g per shekel.



Fig. 4: The sign GIN₂ on RIMB 6.10.2001

There are instances on clay tablets where the upper horizontal wedge of the sign GIN₂ starts earlier. Compare the Kassite metrological survey text HS 194A, which contains both the signs KISAL and GIN₂ (Fig. 5). Thus, it appears likely that the sign on the stone weight should also be read as GIN₂.

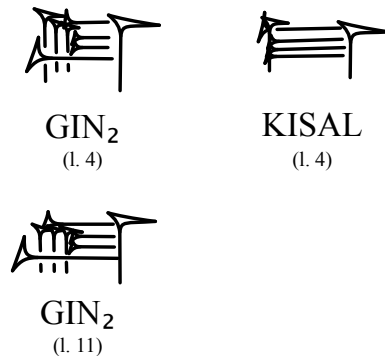


Fig. 5: The signs GIN₂ and KISAL in the Middle Babylonian tablet HS 194A (based on a photograph published at <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/HS.194.A>)

Edition

1	5 GIN ₂ ¹ ša SILIM.MA-URU ₄ -AN	5 shekel(!) of <i>Salīma</i> (?)- <i>ēriš-ili</i> ,
2	^{lu₂} SAG	the <i>ša rēši</i> -official of
3	<i>ka-šak-ti-šu-gab</i>	Kašakti-Šugab.

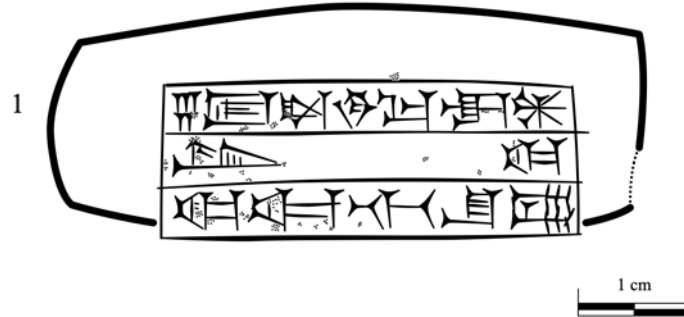


Fig. 6: The stone weight Streeter CIIIA17 (drawing by the author)

The remainder of the text is clear except for the personal name in the first line, consisting of four signs. The first two signs are DI and MA, which probably need to be read here as SILIM.MA. These signs are followed by APIN and AN. In personal names, APIN is often read URU₄, for the root *erēšu*, “to request or demand.” Is the name to be understood as *Salīma-ēriš-ili*? This would be a rather unusual name; compare names such as Gula-balāta-ēriš (written ^d*gu-la*-TIL.A-URU₄-iš; see HÖLSCHER 1996: 78) or Ēriš-Ea (written URU₄-^d*e₂*-a; see HÖLSCHER 1996: 74).

According to the inscription (Fig. 6), the individual named in the first line is referred to as a *ša rēši*-official (^{lu₂}SAG) of Kašakti-Šugab. This Kašakti-Šugab, bearing a Kassite name, also occurs on a fragmentary weight found in Susa (MDP 14, 34), where his father’s name is given as Aḫu-bānī. This identification is corroborated by a *kudurru* from the reign of Nazi-maruttaš (r. 1307–1282 BCE), according to which the king granted Kašakti-Šugab a tract of land (PAULUS 2014: 328, NM 2 col. ii,30–31).

Very recently, another weight was published, which dates slightly later, to the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (r. 1245–1233 BCE). It bears the following inscription: (1) 1 GUN GI.NA ša ^mGAL-ša-^dIŠKUR (2) ^{lu₂}SAG *ša-ga-rak-ti-šu-ri-ia-aš* (3) ¹DUMU *ku¹-dur-^dEN.LIL₂* LUGAL ŠAR₂, “One talent, correct (weight), of Rabā-ša-Adad, the *ša rēši*-official of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, son of Kudur-Enlil, king of the world” (BRINKMAN 2024: 133). In contrast to this weight, the weight in the Medical Library belonged to an attendant of a non-royal person, probably a high official. For the different versions of the title *ša rēši* in this period, see BRINKMAN et al. 2024: 134.

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69) The Woman Tiamat, or A Primordial Case of MI₂ — In Alasdair Livingstone’s edition (1989: no. 37 obv. 18’), the Assyrian cultic commentary CT 15: 43–44 says as follows:

LUGAL *ša ḫa-ri-ú ina li-is-ni i-BAD-tu-u* ^dAMAR.UTU *šá ina ú-ša-ri-šú MÍ.ti-amat* ¹ik¹-[mu-ú]

Livingstone translated, “The king, who opens the vat in the race, is Marduk, who [defeat]ed Tiamat with his penis.” Livingstone, followed by COOPER 2016: 115 and HELLE 2020: 63, took MI₂ as a determinative and translated simply “Tiamat.” Yet Tiamat’s name is not otherwise attested preceded by MI₂, which indicates that its inclusion is semantically meaningful and likely serves to highlight Tiamat’s femaleness. MI₂ *ti-amat* would then mean either “the female Tiamat” (^{munus}*tiāmtu*) or “the woman Tiamat” (*sinništu tiāmtu*). Highlighting Tiamat’s femaleness would cohere both with the commentary’s illuminating interpretation of *Enūma eliš* and with the text of *Enūma eliš* itself, which likewise declares in reference to Tiamat (II 92, 116, 144): *emūqā sinništi lā dunnunā ul mala ša zikri*, “A woman’s force may be very great, but it cannot match a man’s.”¹⁾ One suspects that MI₂ *ti-amat* is read *sinništu tiāmtu* and alludes to that very line.

Notes

1. For an edition of *Enūma eliš*, HEINRICH 2021; on misogyny in *Enūma eliš*, SONIK 2009; FOSTER 2012: 20–23; COOPER 2016; and HELLE 2020.

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70) Zum Exil Marduks in Assyrien – von Tukultī-Ninurta I. bis Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur — Frühere Überlegungen zur Assyrischen Königsliste, der Babylonischen Königsliste A und der Chronik P (siehe LIEBIG 2011 und 2020) sollen hiermit ergänzt werden.

Zunächst eine Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Ergebnisse:

Jahr des Eponyms/līmu Etel-pi-Aššur (Tukultī-Ninurta I., Regierungsjahr 13 / 8. Jahr Kaštiliaš IV.): Tukultī-Ninurta besiegt Kaštiliaš von Babylon und beendet dessen Regierung.
In Babylon tritt Enlil-nādin-šumi die Königsherrschaft an.

> Eponymenjahr des Ušur-namkūr-šarri (Tukultī-Ninurta 14) / 1. Jahr des Enlil-nādin-šumi:
Der Elamiterkönig Kiden-Ḫutran stürzt Enlil-nādin-šumi vom Thron.
Kadašman-Ḫarbe II. wird neuer König von Babylon.¹⁾

> Eponymenjahr des Aššur-bēl-ilāni (Tukultī-Ninurta 15):
Tukultī-Ninurta erobert Babylon²⁾, stürzt König Kadašman-Ḫarbe und entführt die Mardukstatue nach Assyrien.
Dabei Konfrontation mit Elam, der Schutzmacht des Kadašman-Ḫarbe. Die Assyrier nehmen elamitische Soldaten gefangen und deportieren sie nach Obermesopotamien.

> Eponymenjahr des Enlil-nādin-apli:
Elamitische Kriegsgefangene befinden sich bereits in Ḫarbe (Tell Chuera).
Gesandtschaften aus Ḫatti und Kanaan weilen im Frühling in Assyrien.

Wenn Tukultī -Ninurta I. Babylon in seinem 15. Regierungsjahr (*līmu* Aššur-bēl-ilāni) eroberte, bleiben 96 Jahre bis zum Regierungsende seines fünften Nachfolgers Aššur-dān I.³⁾ Das passt zur teilweise zerstörten Jahresangabe über den Aufenthalt Marduks in Assyrien, gemäß Chronik P, (Kol. iv, Z. 12, siehe GRAYSON 1975, S. 176), „[x]6 Jahre bis zu (Ninurta)-tukultī-Aššur“. Diese Angabe wäre zu „96“ zu ergänzen. Demnach hätte Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur die Mardukstatue noch im Todesjahr seines Vaters Aššur-dān den Babyloniern zurückgegeben.

Zwar enden die [9]6 Jahre der Chronik P mit dem letzten Regierungsjahr des Aššur-dān I. und Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur steht in der Assyrischen Königsliste (AKL) nach Aššur-dān I. und regierte „*tuppu/tuppišu*“. Doch das schließt nicht aus, dass Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur stattdessen während der Herrschaft seines Vaters mehrere Jahre als Regent fungierte (FREYDANK 2016, S. 33 und 46, FREYDANK/PRECHER 2018, S. 238-240).⁴⁾

Bei Annahme einer Regentschaft kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass, ebenso wie der Verfasser der AKL, der Autor der Chronik P deren Zeitraum und das Jahr der Rückgabe der Mardukstatue durch Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur nicht kannte. Der Verfasser der AKL listete den Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur deswegen nach Aššur-dān. Dementsprechend zählte der Autor der Chronik P die Jahre von Marduks Exil bis zum Regierungsende des Aššur-dān, in Summe 96 Jahre.

Gemäß AKL kam es zwischen Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur und seinem Bruder Mutakkil-Nusku zum Machtkampf und Letzterer soll ebenfalls *tuppišu* geherrscht haben. Davon berichtet der sogenannte „Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur-Brief“ (siehe LLOP/GEORGE 2001/2002). Je nachdem, wie man die Regierungszeiten Ninurta-tukultī-Aššurs und Mutakkil-Nuskus interpretiert, ereignete sich der Bruderkrieg unmittelbar nach dem Tod ihres Vaters Aššur-dān oder in der letzten Phase seiner Regierung.

Anmerkungen

1. Zu den Regierungslängen von Enlil-nādin-šumi und Kadašman-Ḫarbe II., siehe LIEBIG 2011, S. 22 f.
2. Siehe auch BLOCH 2023, insbesondere S. 13f. und 19.
3. Tukultī -Ninurta I. (Regierungsjahre 16 bis 37, zusammen 22 Jahre) > Aššur-nādin-apli (4 Jahre) > Aššur-nērārī III. (6 Jahre) > Enlil-kudurrī-ušur (5 Jahre) > Ninurta-apil-Ekur (13 Jahre) > Aššur-dān I. (46 Jahre).
Zur Regierungslänge Aššur-dāns I., siehe BLOCH 2012, S. 328-33 und NAHM 2024.
4. Es gibt verschiedene Ansichten über die Bedeutung „*tuppu/tuppišu*“. In der AKL könnte der Zeitraum eines Jahres gemeint sein oder der Zeitraum vom Tod eines Königs bis zum Jahresende, d.h. der chronologisch vernachlässigbare Rest des letzten Regierungsjahres des Verstorbenen.

Helmut Freydank versteht darunter eine unbestimmte Wirkungszeit, parallel zu den Königsjahren, die ebenfalls chronologisch vernachlässigbar ist. (FREYDANK/PRECHER 2018, S. 240). FREYDANK 2018: „Sie wissen, dass ich schon einmal in den AoF angesetzt hatte, *tuppu* zu erklären, wenn auch unzutreffend und dabei nur insofern nicht falsch, als das Wort in der AKL chronologisch nicht ins Gewicht fällt. Das tut es m. E. deshalb nicht, weil es das profane "Geschäftsjahr" von 12 Monaten a 30 Tage = 360 Tage bezeichnet und damit nicht das für den Kult und die Königsideologie relevante, vollgültige siderische Jahr mit seiner Legitimation für den Herrscher, das die Königsjahre zählt. Demzufolge sehe ich kein Problem darin, dass ein Ninurta-tukul-Aššur, der nie König genannt wird und nicht einmal als Eponym bezeugt, aber wenigstens ein Sohn des Königs ist, die Königsherrschaft zwar übernommen hat, jedoch nur im "Geschäftsjahr" gewissermaßen stellvertretend. Er übt sie eben nicht im "Königsjahr" aus, das ohnehin weiter für Aššur-dān gezählt worden ist. Für eine Zählung von "Geschäftsjahren" bestand hingegen keinerlei Notwendigkeit, und wenn die AKL NtA genannt hat, dann als den, der in den "12 Monaten" des Königsjahres, also in dessen *tuppu*, entsprechend gewirkt hat und, wie man folgern muss, sogar wiederholt, so dass man, historisch gesehen, für ihn nach seinen Erwähnungen in mutmaßlich herrscherlichen Funktionen aus verschiedenen Eponymen durchaus eine "Wirkungszeit" annehmen kann.“

Folgende Eponymen können dem Wirkungszeitraum des Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur zugeschrieben werden: Adad-mušašši, Pišqija, Sohn des Kaššu, Ḫanbakar, Aššur-šēzibanni, Sohn des Ḫanbakar, Aššur-šēzibanni, Sohn des Pa'uzur und Sin-šēja, wahrscheinlich auch Samnuša-ašarēd und Taḫulu, siehe FREYDANK 2016, S. 41f.

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71) Is *i-pi-ra-am-ma* a „Ghost Word“ in Gilgamesh XI 149; 152? — In *NABU* 2026/32 Miglio explains *i-pi-ra-am-ma* in Gilgamesh XI 149; 152 as mere confusion from *itūramma* written with *tú* (U₄) which is rarely used inside words (CAD has no attestation with *tāru*). It seems unlikely that a very common verb which fits the context was misread into something without any parallel, a “ghost word” which made no sense to the scribes and that this senseless word remained in two otherwise correct texts from Assurbanipal's library. It may be *pāru* “to look for, search for” as argued in *NABU* 2017/80. According to Streck, AOAT 303, 78 *pāru* Gt is in reality a perfect G and therefore the meaning “to check, inspect, scrutinize” should be added to G.

For vowel *ī* instead of *ā* compare prt. *ipād/ipīd* of *pādu* “to fetter, take captive” and *ināl/inīl* of *nālu/niālu* “to lay down”, probably from a root *n'l* (NJC Kouwenberg, The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background, Winona Lake 2010, 476 n. 100) and *i-bi-iš-šú* (AHw 1547) of *bāšu* “to be ashamed, come to shame”. The tendency *ā* → *ī* may be due to a desire to strengthen the opposition preterite *ibāš* contra imperfective *ibāš*. The verb *nālu/niālu* may exhibit an impact of this change on other forms of the verb. Compare the other way round the strengthening of the imperfective: *la ta-ba-ja-āš* “don't be ashamed!” ORA 7, 208, 32', SB.

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72) Gilgamesh XI.119: not “That day” but “Homo sapiens” — Surveying the devastation caused by the flood, Belet-ili of the sweet voice lamented: *u₄-mu ul-lu-ú a-na ū-ī-ī-ū lu-ú i-tur-ma* (GEORGE 2003: 710, l. 119; after text J₁ Pl. 120; tablets C and T₂ give no variants).

The translation there reads “Indeed the past has truly turned to clay”, with a footnote: Lit. “that day” (2003: 711). In GEORGE 2020: 89 the same sentiment is conveyed: “The olden times have truly turned to clay”. In this he is broadly in agreement with all previous translations, in taking the first signs as the Akkadian *ūmu ullû*, though how these words are understood does differ from one translator to another. A sample:

N. Sandars, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (1960): 107 “Alas the days of old are turned to dust”.

W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1963): “Wäre doch jener Tag zu Lehm geworden” (footnote D<ass>. h<eisst>. Wäre er doch nie gewesen).

M.G. Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (1989): 101 “The olden days have alas turned to clay, ...”

R.J. Tournay & A. Shaffer, *L'Epopée de Gilgamesh* (1994):232 “Ce jour-là, fallait-il qu'il se transforme en argile ...?”

S.M. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia; Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and others*. Revised edition (2000): 113 “Has that time really returned to clay ...?”

S. Franke, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (2024):136 “Wäre doch jener Tag zu Lehm geworden” [as in VON SODEN 1963]

The differences between the different interpretations reflect a shared unease about the unfamiliar concept of time turning to clay – both in Akkadian and in our modern languages – and the precise relevance of any such statement in the context. The unease can be easily dispelled by referring back to the mythology of the creation of humanity, as laid out in *Enki and Ninmah*. There (ll. 83-91 after ETCSL) the name is first mentioned in l. 88, then a few lines later we have:

95 ⁴nin-maḫ-e u₄-mu-ul igi [du₈-a-ni-ta e-ne]-še₃ ba-e ba-e-gi₄

96 u₄-mu-ul mu-na-te en₃ mu-na-tar-re dug₄-ga nu-zu-e

“Ninmah looked at Umul and turned to him. She went nearer to Umul and asked him questions but he could not speak.”

The poem continues to describe Umul’s incapacities. Jacobsen, *The harps that once ...* (1987): 162-5 renders his name Ud-mu’ul (and offers the interpretation “the-day-was-far-off”). Instead, the decisive insight was supplied by Anne Draffkorn Kilmer in her contribution to the Kramer Anniversary Volume entitled “Speculations on Umul, the First Baby” (B.L. Eichler et al. (eds.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform studies in honor of Samuel Noah Kramer* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag), 265-70). As she wrote there “It was and is clear, to the present writer at least, that Umul is not, as generally accepted previously, a failure of an old man, but is simply a new-born baby with the normal lack of physical abilities”. In the light of this she suggested that “his name means ‘My day (of death) is far (off)’, attesting to his extreme youth as well as to his expected longevity.” Whether or not this is the precise meaning of the name, it is at least clear that the name is given to the first normally engendered human being, perhaps, as assumed by Kilmer, a boy, though the gender is not specified in the poem.

All difficulties of interpretation are resolved, if we recognize that *u₄-mu-ul-lu-ú* should be taken together as the Akkadian incarnation of *u₄-mu-ul*, so that Belet-ili is deploring that “humankind” has returned to clay – which is of course the substance from which it was created (by Ninmah, *Enki and Ninmah*, l. 79). When Belet-ili is tasked with creating humanity in Atrahasis she requests that Enki should give her clay “and I will create (it)” (or “do (the job)”) - *tiṭṭam liddinam-ma anāku lūpuš* (Lambert & Millard, *Atrahasis* I.203). The listener will readily understand that having herself formed Homo sapiens from clay, she is distressed to see the species reverting to its original unenlivened substance.

The intriguing question which remains, is when this line entered the official text of the Gilgamesh epic. All three manuscripts in which it features are in Neo-Assyrian script from the Nineveh libraries. It is therefore arguable that this lament of Belet-ili was inserted into the text after the Old Babylonian period. However, there are bilingual Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the *Enki and Ninmah* text from the Nineveh library, so that scribes could have had knowledge of Umul as a designation of humankind from either an Old Babylonian or later version of the Sumerian poem, or a later Akkadian translation. Admittedly, we do not have the Akkadian text of any Sumerian lines containing the name *u₄-mu-ul*, but there is no reason to think that the complete bilingual version excluded them, so it seems equally possible that either the Akkadian *u₄-mu-ul-lu-ú* was present already in an Old Babylonian flood narrative, or it was introduced later into Tablet XI of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh.

Finally, it may be worth asking ourselves whether the Akkadian scribes recognized the MU in *u₄-mu-ul-lu-ú* as the Sumerian 1st person suffix (*gu₁₀*), or thought of it as the second part of the Akkadian word *ūmu*; and it is curious that in the creation of humanity in Old Babylonian Atrahasis humankind is referred to with a different Sumerian loan as *lu-ul-la-a* (I.195) (on which cf. Lambert’s comments, *Atrahasis* p. 152). My thanks to Nele Ziegler for directing me to M. Ceccarelli, *Enki und Ninmah* where the late versions are fully presented. Since the revised interpretation suggested here implies that *u₄-mu-ul-lu-ú* (and so also *u₄-mu-ul*) refer to “humanity” in general, Kilmer’s view that the text describes the creation of an incipient, but normal, human being – not merely “the first baby” but “the first human” must surely be reinforced.

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73) Does Phoenician SRMKDNŠ contain the theonym Sarruma? — ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025 published a Phoenician inscription on a storage jar fragment (KNH-1320) dated to the third quarter of the 8th c. BC (for the details see ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 222-226 [archaeological dating], 226-229 [palaeographic dating]) from Kinet Höyük, 30 km north of İskenderun (Dörtyol, Hatay, Türkiye). The inscription reads LSRMKDNŠ and the authors convincingly segment it as L-SRMKDNŠ ‘(belonging) to SRMKDNŠ’, i.e. with SRMKDNŠ as a name. They reject an unpublished analysis of A. Lemaire, who identified the name as a Luwian theophoric compound name (‘Sarmakaddanis’) with the divine name Sarruma as its first member and a derivative of Luwian ‘*ḫant-* ‘front, first’ (the correct Luwian form is *ḫanti(ya)-*) as its second. Although they accept that the inscription contains the theonym Sarruma (‘without

ambiguity’, ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 229),¹⁾ for the second member, ‘KDNŠ’, they propose an epithet of this deity, based on an allegedly local mountain name *Kuddunni. Therefore, they interpret the text as an offering inscription: ‘To Sarruma of Kuddunni’ (ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 229-231).

This interpretation faces two serious problems. First, the oronym. What is in fact attested, is the mountain name Kurkuddunni in the (*h*)*išuw*a-festival and the authors claim that ‘[t]he Kinet version had at some point lost its prefix, the ideogram KUR’ and Kuddunni is thus an ‘abbreviated’ form (ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 231). That is, setting aside the inadequate terminology of the authors, they read the mountain name as ^{KUR}Kuddunni or KUR Kuddunni: However, first, while double determinatives (i.e. with ^{HUR.SAG} and KUR) are indeed attested with mountain names, they appear in reversed order in Hittite literacy, such as KUR ^{HUR.SAG}Zippašla (see the attestations in HiTop s.v.), while Merzifon 2 Rs. 6’ has ^{HUR.SAG}Kurkud’du-. Second, Kurkuddunni is unlikely to be read as ^{KUR}Kuddunni or KUR Kuddunni, since it appears in the Hurrian phrase *pappenna kurkuddunni* as well (for the attestations see HiToP s.v.), the parallels of which (e.g. the very mountain list of the (*h*)*išuw*a-festival) do not have the determinative / word KUR. In other words, the mountain’s name was probably Kurkuddunni, and in this case, KDNŠ cannot be explained from the oronym Kurkuddunni, unless one wants to assume an egregiously *ad hoc* loss of the first syllable, *kur*-.

Independently from the issues with °KDNŠ, the second, key problem of the proposal is phonological. The authors did not address why the two identical sibilants, that in the initial position and that in the final position, are transcribed differently in Phoenician, i.e. by letters referring to two different sounds (they merged centuries later, cf. FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG – AMADASI GUZZO 1999: 25, KRAHMALKOV 2001: 23-24, 25-26). The transcription of Luwian [s] was <š> in Phoenician (see, e.g., the rendering of Luwian names ending in <s> by <š> in the Cebelireis Dağı inscription, cf. in general MOSCA – RUSSELL 1987 and FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG – AMADASI GUZZO 1999: 27), for the simple reason that the phonetic value of Phoenician <š> was [s], while Phoenician <S> was different (presumably a voiceless affricate, see, e.g., HACKETT 2004: 369, BRIQUEL CHATONNET – HAWLEY 2020: 307-308). In other words, °KDNŠ indeed reflects a word ending with (or containing) [s], but SRM° does not and cannot reflect at the same time a word starting with [s]. This implies that SRM° cannot be identical to the deity Sarruma and must reflect a word starting with a consonant which is compatible with the rendering by a (presumably) voiceless affricate (it must be noted at this juncture that RIEKEN 2010 argued for the existence of a second Luwian sibilant, which, if existed, appeared under different phonological conditions than those in Sarruma).

Therefore, the identification of the name SRMKDNŠ is currently unknown and requires further investigations. Here I can point out only some important circumstances: While it is possible that we are dealing with a Luwian name, other local languages cannot *a priori* be excluded. Since SRMKDNŠ does not contain Sarruma, we do not in fact know how to segment it. If one insists on a Luwian name and a segmentation SRM-KDNŠ, one can refer to the Luwian onomastic element **zarma*- of unknown meaning (attested at least in Iazarmas, possibly also in Trokozarmas and Rōnzarmas, see the discussion in SIMON 2020: 193, and cf. ADIEGO 2019: 153 with refs. on alleged Hieroglyphic Luwian cases), which is formally fitting as it starts with a voiceless affricate. However, to accept this analysis, a Luwian explanation of the alleged second member, °KDNŠ would be necessary.

Finally, it is worth pointing out the implications regarding Neo-Hittite religions. The authors’ reading would imply the presence of Sarruma’s cult in this area and period (as they also elaborate it, ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 231, 236), but as we could see, this is not the case and one cannot claim with the authors that ‘[f]eatures of the Kizzuwatnean religion were thus maintained by Hiyawa’s Muksas dynasty’ (ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 231). Moreover, as it stands, we still lack assured evidence for the cult of Sarruma in Hiyawa: local Neo-Hittite period inscriptions do not mention him (cf. HAWKINS 2024: 633) and the names that allegedly contain Sarruma have either Sarma- (Sandasarme), which is not compatible (as per above, SIMON 2020), or Aramaic SRM-, which is ambiguous (Greek Sarmapias probably does not exist, see ADIEGO 2019: 150-152, *contra* ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 229-230, who did not address this issue).

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1. Despite the attested syllabic spelling as Sarruma, the authors assume a pronunciation Sarma assuming that Sarruma became Sarma, since they believe that the toponym 'Urhi-sarmas' (MAGNUS+*ra/i-hi-sa₅+ra/i-ma-sa*) and Cilician names starting with Sarma- / SRM- are derived from Sarruma (ADALI – LEHMANN – GATES 2025: 229-230). However, as was pointed out already in SIMON 2020, this is not formally possible according to our current knowledge, and the authors did not provide any explanation for the formal difference; cf. also below.

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74) Rāmānda: Rāmānd or Rāman? An Alternative Proposal in Western Media — Rāmānda was an important ancient district in the land of Old Media mentioned in the Najafabad stele of Sargon II (722–705 BCE), king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Because of the importance of this place for reconstructing the route of the Assyrian campaigns in the heart of Media, a number of scholars have attempted to determine its historical location. Although Zadok's proposal, which identifies the Rāmānda of the Assyrian texts with modern Rāmānd near Qazvin in central Iran, has thus far received the widest acceptance (see ZADOK 2000: 9; 2002: 116; BAGG 2020: 481; FIROUZI and NOVOTNY 2023: 23), other identifications were also proposed, including Žiyā'ābād in the Qazvin region and Godin Tepe near Kangavar (see FUCHS 2007: 51; TOUROVETS 2015: 27). In a recent study, Rezaei, Alibaigi, and MacGinnis, based on an analysis of the Najafabad stele describing Sargon II's campaign in Media in 716 BCE, suggested that Rāmānda should be located in the district of Rāvānd, on the eastern slopes of the Garin mountain range near the source of the Gamasiab River, between present-day Nahavand and Borujerd (REZAEI *et al.* 2023: 137). The present note draws attention to an additional clue in the geographical literature of the early Islamic period that may further support this identification, or at least point to a location in the same general region, south of modern Hamadan and north of Borujerd.

A considerable number of early and medieval Islamic geographers—including Ibn Hawqal (1938, II: 358), al-Istakhri (2004: 116), al-Maqdisi (1982, I: 73), the anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (2002: 151), Yaqut al-Hamawi (1995, III: 17), al-Baghdadi (1992, II: 597), and al-Idrisi (1989, II: 675)—mention a town or small city called Rāman, belonging to the district of Hamadan in the region of al-Jibāl (ancient Media), and located between the cities of Hamadan and Borujerd (Wurūgird). Two observations may support the possibility that the Rāmānda of the Assyrian texts and the Rāman of the Islamic geographical sources ultimately refer to the same historical place:

– First, the close similarity between the names Rāmānda and Rāman is noteworthy from the perspective of phonological development. In many ancient Iranian toponyms, the final consonant cluster –nd tends to be simplified over time, with the final consonant being lost, particularly when names undergo phonetic change through oral transmission or interlingual contact. Within such a framework, the development of Rāmānda into Rāman is linguistically plausible and may reflect the natural phonetic evolution of an ancient toponym over time.

– Second, the location of Rāman in the Islamic sources, between Hamadan and Borujerd, broadly corresponds to the location proposed by Rezaei et al. for Rāmānda in the region south of Nahavand and north of Borujerd.

In the geographical treatise *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* (10th century), Rāman is mentioned among the towns of the region of al-Jibāl (i.e. Mountains, Zagros region) after Borujerd. It is described as “a small town with a small population but abundant crops and fruits, situated at the foot of a mountain” (ANONYMOUS 2002: 151). According to Ibn Hawqal (1938, II: 360), “from Hamadan to Rāman is seven farsakh, and from Rāman to Wurūgird (Borujerd) eleven farsakh, and Borujerd is larger than Rāman.” Al-Istakhri likewise records the distance between Hamadan and Rāman as seven farsakh, but the distance between Rāman and Borujerd appears as eleven farsakh in one manuscript of his work and as fourteen farsakh in another (ISTAKHRI 2004: 116; 1927: 196). On this basis, the total distance between Hamadan and Borujerd in the extant versions is given as either eighteen farsakh (ca. 100 km) or twenty-one farsakh (ca. 115 km), both of which could correspond to different routes connecting the two cities, such as those passing through Tuyserkan or Malayer.

It is also possible that references by Islamic geographers to Rūdhāwar before mentioning Rāman (see IBN HAWQAL 1938, II: 361; ISTAKHRI 1927: 197) reflect the route Hamadan–Tuyserkan–Nahavand–Borujerd. A traveler following this road could leave Hamadan through the modern Darreh-ye Shahrestaneh valley, reach Rūdhāwar (modern Rudāvar) near Tuyserkan, and then proceed via Nahavand and Rāman toward Borujerd. However, the position of Rāman in the Islamic sources corresponds precisely to the location proposed by Rezaei et al. for Rāmānda in the district of Rāvand, south of Nahavand, only on the assumption that Ibn Hawqal and al-Istakhri inadvertently reversed the distances from Rāman to Hamadan and Borujerd. In that case, the figure of seven farsakh would refer to the distance from Rāman to Borujerd, while the figures of eleven or fourteen farsakh would refer to the distance from Rāman to Hamadan.

It should be noted that discrepancies or errors in recording geographical distances in the region of al-Jibāl are not uncommon in Islamic geographical texts, particularly in the case of smaller and less well-known settlements. For example, Ibn Rusta gives the distance between Dukkān and Kermanshah as six farsakh, whereas Qudama records the same distance as seven farsakh. Likewise, Ibn Rusta reports the distance between Dukkān and Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ (Kangavar) as seven farsakh, while Qudama gives nine farsakh (IBN RUSTA 1892: 166; QUDAMA 1981: 93). Such inconsistencies sometimes appear even within different passages of the same work. In one manuscript of Ibn Khordadbeh’s *al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, for instance, the distance between Dukkān and Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ is given as seven farsakh in one place and nine farsakh elsewhere (Ibn Khordadbeh 1992: 21, 198). Another example from the same region concerns the distance between Mādhārān and Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ (Kangavar), which is given as seven farsakh by Ibn Hawqal (1938: 359) and in one version of al-Istakhri (2004: 115), but appears as four farsakh in another manuscript of al-Istakhri (1927: 195). In light of such discrepancies in the transmission of geographical distances, the possibility of an error in the reported distances for Rāman cannot be excluded.

According to the historical and geographical sources, Rāman appears to have been a small and relatively minor town during the early and middle Islamic periods. Its subsequent disappearance from later geographical works may reflect its decline or destruction. Notably, the name Rāman does not appear in later geographical compilations such as Hamdallah Mustawfi’s *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (written in 1339), despite the author’s detailed description of the regions of Hamadan, Nahavand, and Borujerd (MUSTAWFI 1957). In conclusion, and in support of the route proposed by Rezaei et al. for Sargon II’s sixth campaign, it may be suggested that the Rāmānda of the Assyrian texts should perhaps be identified not with Rāmānd near Qazvin but rather with the Rāman mentioned in the Islamic geographical sources along the road between Hamadan and Borujerd. Although the precise location of Rāman cannot be determined with certainty due

to discrepancies among the surviving geographical manuscripts, the sources consistently place it on the route between these two cities.

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75) One Good Assyrian? A Collation of the Simbar-Šipak Inscription — The famous inscription of Simbar-Šipak that records the making of a throne to Enlil at Nippur (GOETZE 1965; BRINKMAN 1991; FRAME 1995, B.3.1.1) describes in ll. 9–19 the fate of Enlil's property, plundered during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (ll. 9–13):

"The throne of Enlil in Ekurigal, which Nebuchadnezzar, a former king, had made, in the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, the Aramean and Sutean enemy –foes of Ekur and Nippur, destroyers of Duranki, who trampled (*uṣaḥbit*) the cultic rites of Sippar, the ancient city, seat of the great judge of the gods– plundered (it), and ruined all temples (in) the lands of Sumer and Akkad."

The interpretation of *ú-šaḥ-bit* follows A. Cavigneaux (2017, 14–17: "fit feuler"; but note that a reading *ú-šaḥ-rib*¹ is not impossible). The text continues (l. 14):

bu-ša-a níg.ga^d +en-líl šá a-ra-mu it-ba-lu-ma i-ki-mu su-bar-ti

"The property and treasure of Enlil, which the Aramaean had carried off and the Subarian (i.e. Assyrian) took away"

Brinkman (1968, 152f. fn. 922) interpreted the line as a sequence of events: the Aramaeans carried off the property and a Subarian subsequently took it from them. However, the clear chiasmic structure suggests rather that Aramaean and Subarian stand in parallelism, designating not successive agents but co-perpetrators.

The inscription continues to say that, “by the command of Enlil, Marduk, and Utulu” (i.e. Ninurta; ll. 18–19):

bu-šá-a ní.ga^d en-líl aš-šur^{ki}-ú i-du-ú-ma ú-še-ri-ib qé-reb bal-til^[ki] | ul-tu qé-reb bal-til^[ki] a-na dur-an-ki i-tu-ru áš-ru-uš-š[ú-un]

“The property and treasure of Enlil, which the Assyrian had *i-du-ú-ma* and brought into Baltil (i.e. Aššur), returned from Baltil to Duranki (i.e. Nippur).”

The difficult verb *i-du-ú-ma* was understood by Goetze (1965, 122) as “the Assyrian brought judiciously to the midst of Bal(a)til” (*ibid.* 129: “wittingly”), by Frame (1995, 73), following Brinkman (1968, 152f. fn. 922), as “an Assyrian recognized the goods (and) property of the god Enlil and brought (them) into Baltil (Aššur).” From there, the treasure “returned” (*itār(ū)*, intransitive) to its rightful place, Nippur.

The resulting interpretation, that the Assyrians charitably recovered Enlil’s stolen property and returned it to Nippur, has caused some perplexity. Goetze (1965, 134f.) wondered “Who was this ‘Assyrian’? And furthermore: what is the motive behind the astonishing change in Assyrian policy toward Babylonia?” Brinkman, building among others on this passage, reconstructed a period of friendly Assyro-Babylonian relations around the reign of Simbar-Šipak (BRINKMAN 1968, 152f.).

Examination of the photograph of SMUI-1913.14.1729 (CDLI: P421580), and of the splendid RTI captures kindly made available by Travis Stansel (Assistant Registrar, Spurlock Museum of World Cultures), shows, however, that the sign read by Goetze as DU is in fact KIM. The correct reading of l. 18 is:

bu-šá-a ní.ga^d en-líl aš-šur^{ki}-ú i-kim-ú-ma ú-še-ri-ib qé-reb bal-til^[ki]*

“the goods and property of Enlil, (which) the Assyrian had taken away and brought into Baltil”

The verb is *ekēmu*, “to seize, take away,” the same verb used in l. 14. The morphographic spelling in *i-kim*-ú-ma* occurs also in l. 13: *iš-lul-ú-ma*.

The property eventually returned to Nippur (l. 19), but the inscription credits this only to the gods’ magnanimity, not to any Assyrian’s.

Note in addition the following collations: **27**: *li-iš-ruk*-š[ú*]* (or *li-iš-šin-š[ú]* < *lišštmšu?*); **32**: not erased but damaged, clear ^{lú*}umbisag* ^{é*}l.[a]n*. [na] (the same reconstruction should therefore be adopted in l. 31). A revised edition is available on the eBL platform (SMUI-1913.14.1729).

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76) Collations to TMH 12 (“Gulkišar Epic” and “Games Text”) — The splendid photographs of the tablets published in TMH 12 available on the eBL platform, made by Zs. J. Földi, enable the following improved readings:

TMH 12, no. 1: HS.1885+ (Gulkišar Epic) o 11: read *at-mi-šu-um-ma a-la-aq-qá-ta pur-šu*-mi*, “I shall defeat their hatchlings (like) old people!” (the last word is taken as a predicative complement, with BSOAS 84, 142). The line is therefore irrelevant for the identification of the animal *burmāmu*, and the entry should be removed from the dictionaries: AHw. 140a; Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1976), 193; CAD B 330b; RIA 13, 50a; and TMH 12, 33. — o 12: read *ul-te-mé-ed-ma el*-šu-nu a-bu-ba*, “I shall bring over them the flood.”

TMH 12, no. 4: HS.1893 (Games Text) o 6: *il-li-lum šu-ši-nak* ù ni-ši-lu-ú* (the sign was formerly read as ŠEN in AoF 18, 10 and TMH 12, 51). The identification of the sequence *il-li-lum šu-ši-nak** with

Enlil and (In)šušinak seems inescapable. If correct, it would mean that the text contains items other than games. The incipit (“my city is Babylon, the pure mountain of obsidian”), strange for a text written in Nippur, and the abundance of hapax legomena, suggests that the text contains dialectal forms.

New editions of the texts are available on the eBL platform, where more reading proposals can be found.

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77) A Fanciful Etymology of the Name of Nippur — The ‘Hymnus auf Ninurta als Helfer in der Not’ (W.R. Mayer, OrNS 61, 17–57; new edition by T. Mitto on the eBL Corpus as L III.10) contains, as one of its last lines (48 Mayer = 53 Mitto):

uru-ka nibru^{ki} šá ug-ga-tuk in-né-ep-šú

Mayer translated the line as:

“Deine Stadt Nippur, die in deinem Zorn gebaut worden ist”

and noted (OrNS 61, 44): “Daß Ninurta die Stadt Nippur ,in seinem Zorn‘ gemacht (= gebaut) habe, ist eine mythologische Anspielung, die ich vorerst nicht einordnen kann.” In fact, the line represents a perfect, if fanciful, etymology of the city’s Sumerian name:

šá = nì, uggatu = fb, epěšu = rú

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78) A new reading in the “Edict of Belshazzar” — This text, dating to the Neo-Babylonian period, was first published in handcopy as YOS 6, 103 by Raymond Dougherty in 1920. The well-preserved tablet in landscape format (measuring 55 × 75 × 24 mm), housed in the Yale Babylonian Collection and registered as YBC 7534 (YPM BC 021600), contains what is often referred to as the “Edict of Belshazzar” (see now also <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/YBC.7534>). The text, originally part of the temple archive of the Eanna in Uruk, represents a model text dealing with the general parameters for the lease of temple land, its costs, remunerations, etc. The text was edited by Denise Cocquerillat (1968: 37 and 108). A newer edition was presented by Govert van Driel (1987/1988). In her discussion of Urukian agriculture, Bojana Janković provides a partial translation of the text (2013: 38 and 70–71). The text has often been cited and discussed.

It starts with the following statement (lines 1–3): “The arable land of Bēl, which in Month I of Year 7 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Bēl-šarru-ušur (Belshazzar), the crown prince, allocated to the head rent farmers” (¹ ŠE.NUMUN ša₂ ^dEN ša₂ ina ⁱⁱⁱBARA₂ MU.7.KAM₂ ^dAG-NI₂.TUKU ² LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} ^{md}EN-LUGAL-URI₃ DUMU LUGAL ³ ina a-mat LUGAL a-na ^{lu₂}GAL^{meš} GIŠ.BAN₂^{meš} u₂-za-a’-i-žu). After this, in lines 4–7, follows a section on date orchards, their expected yield (40 kor per 1 kor area), and the expenses (5 kor for the remuneration of the gardeners, etc.).

This note presents a new reading of the beginning of line 8 of the text, which emerged during collation of the tablet. The beginning of this line was read [ana] ^{ki¹}-i₃-ri, “as payment for the services” (VAN DRIEL 2002: 168). Lines 8–11 were understood as follows: “As payment and remuneration of the governor, [the scribes], the measurers, and the gatekeepers, [per] kor (dates) 11 ½ liters as their payment [and their remuneration] will be held back at the silo” (see JURSA 2004: 102).

Collation resolves the redundancy in this statement. The beginning of line 8 actually reads ^{e-lat¹} gim-ri, “in addition to the gimru-costs” (Fig. 2). The term *gimru*, usually denoting transport costs and taxes, occurs again next to *kurummatu* in lines 17–18 (¹⁷ a-na gi-mir ¹⁸ ŠUKU^{hi.a-meš}). In this text, *gimru* may have a more general meaning, namely that of costs or expenses. It appears that Janković already hinted in this direction: “[For] the costs and the rations ...” (2013: 70). The word *gimru* is certainly preceded by the preposition *elat*, “in addition to, apart from,” and not *ana*. Taken together, lines 8–11 of the text now read:

8 ^{e-lat¹} gim*-ri u₃ ŠUKU^{hi.a-meš} ša₂ ^{lu₂}EN.NAM
9 ^{lu₂}UMBISAG^{meš} ^{lu₂}man-di-di^{meš} u₃ ^{lu₂}I₃.DU^{meš}
10 [ina 1.0.0] ¹GUR¹ 1(BAN₂) 5 ½ SILA₃ ki-i₃-ri-šu₂-nu
11 [u ŠUKU-šu₂-nu] ^{a¹}-na ka-lak-ku ka-lu-u₂

In addition to the costs and remuneration of the governor,
[the scribes], the measurers, and the gatekeepers,
[per one] *kor* (dates), 11 ½ liters – (for) their wages
[and their remuneration] – are held back at the silo.

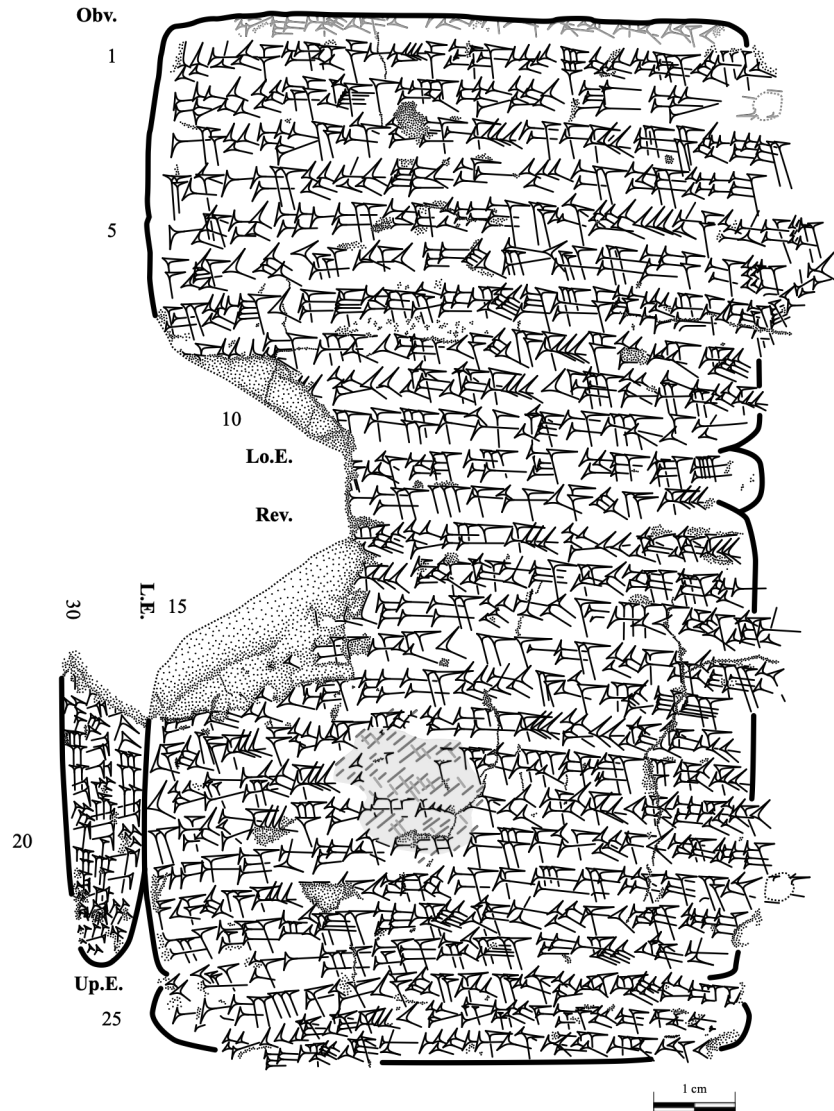


Fig. 1: Handcopy of YBC 7534 (drawing by the author)



Fig. 2: Closeup of the beginning of line 8

On the reverse, roughly in the center of the tablet, Dougherty included a damaged area in his handcopy. In fact, what we find here is a well-preserved textile imprint with clear remains of the fabric texture (Fig. 3). Unfortunately, this imprint caused some of the inscription to be obliterated. However, more of the signs are visible than is indicated in the previous handcopy. The verb in line 19, read ¹na¹-[din] (COCQUERILLAT 1968: 108 reads na-[ad-nu]), cannot be corroborated, even though this reading makes sense in the context: “(The revenue of) five kor land are granted for the transport costs, the remuneration of the governor, the scribes, the measurers, and the gatekeepers.” Is a reading ¹SUM¹. [NA(?)]-¹a¹ possible? Also in the next line, ¹u₂ENGAR^{meš} is still visible.



Fig. 3: Detail of the textile imprint and partially obliterated inscription on the tablet's reverse

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79) DigEanna Notes 5: More on the Kanisurra Gate quarter and a previously unknown governor of Uruk — The tablet 01.IS.49, housed at the Glencairn Museum (Pennsylvania, USA) and transliterated and translated below, is available as photographs on the CDLI website (P499199).¹⁾ This land purchase contract improves our knowledge of the sociotopography of Uruk and its municipal administration in the Neo-Babylonian period. The document is portrait-oriented and pillow-shaped with groups of fingernail impressions present on all preserved sides. The lower part of the tablet is broken off. In addition to the museum siglum, there is a modern notation on the left edge (“Nebuched[(nezzar)] 17”), similar to, for example, BIN 1 159).

01.IS.49

Obv. 1. *ṭup-pi* A.ŠA₃ *kiš-šub-ba-a* KIⁿ KA₂.GAL
 2. *ka-ni-sur-ra šá qé-reb* UNUG^{ki}

Obv. 1-2. Tablet (concerning) a fallow field (located in) the Kanisurra Gate quarter which is inside Uruk.

3. 60+20 *ina* 1 KUŠ₃ UŠ AN.TA ^{im}KUR.RA
 4. DA E₂ ^{md}+AG-MU-GAR^{un} A-šú šá ^mši-rik-tu₄
 5. 60+20 *ina* 1 KUŠ₃ UŠ KI.TA ^{im}MAR.DA
 6. DA E₂ ^{md}+EN-ŠEŠ^{meš}-MU A-šú šá ^{md}+EN-šī-man^{an}-ni
 7. 20 *ina* 1 KUŠ₃ SAG.KI AN.TA ^{im}U₁₈.LU

3-4. 80 cubits the east-facing upper long side, adjacent to the house plot of Nabû-šumu-iškun/Širiktu;
 5-6. 80 cubits the west-facing lower long side, adjacent to the house plot of Bēl-ahhē-iddin/Bēl-šimānni;

8. DA ^{m.d}+AG-GIN-IBILA A-šú šá ^{m.d}+AG-MU-DU₃
 9. 20 ina 1 KUŠ₃ SAG.KI KI.TA ^{im}SI.SA₂
 10. DA SILA rap-šú mu-taq DINGIR u LUGAL
 11. ki-i 3 MA.NA 10 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR
 KU₃.PAD.DU
 12. ^{m.d}U.GUR-MU-DU₃ A-šú šá ^{m.d}+EN-PAP A ^mŠEŠ-
 'u-ú-tu
 13. it-ti ^mGI-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá ^m.^d+AG¹-MU
 14. A ^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dMAŠ KILAM im-bé-e-ma
 15. i-šam ŠAM₂ A.ŠA₃-šú gam-ru-tu

16. PAB 3 MA.NA 10 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR
 'KU₃¹.PAD.DU a-di
 17. 3 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR šá ki-i pi a-tar SUM^{nu}
 18. ^mGI-^dAMAR.U[TU A-šú šá ^{m.d}+AG]-MU A
^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dMAŠ
 19. ŠAM₂ 'E₂-šú¹ [ki-i KU₃.BABBAR TIL^{ti}]
 20. [ina] 'ŠU_{II} ^{m.d}[U.GUR-MU-DU₃ A-šú šá ^{m.d}+EN-
 PAP A ^mŠEŠ-'u-ú-tu]
 [...]

Rev. 1'. 'x¹ [...]

2'. 'x x¹ [x x šá E₁₁-ma ina] 'UGU¹

3'. E₂ <MU>MEŠ 'i¹-[dab-bu-bu ú-šad]-ba-bu

4'. in-nu-ú <ú>-paq-¹qa-ru ù ^{lu₂}pi-qí-ra-nu

5'. ú-šar-šú-ú um-ma E₂ MU.MEŠ

6'. ul na-din-ma u ka-sap ul ma-hir

7'. i-qab-bu ka-sap im-hu-ru

8'. a-di 12^{la.am₃} i-ta-nap-pal

9'. ina ka-nak ^{im}DUB MU.MEŠ ina GUB^{zu}

10'. šá ^{m.d}+EN-GI ^{lu₂}GAR.UŠ₄ UNUG^{ki}

11'. ší-i-bi ^{m.d}+EN-NIGIN^{ir} A-šú šá ^mDU₃-tú-šú A
^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dMAŠ

12'. ^mIR₃-a A-šú šá ^{m.d}na-na-a-DU₃^{us} A ^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dMAŠ

13'. ^map-la-a A-šú šá ^mšu-la-a A ^{m.mu}SIG₅-^dIM

14'. ^{m.d}+EN-šú-nu A-šú šá ^mBA^{šá-a} A ^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dMAŠ

15'. u ^{lu₂}UMBISAG šá-^{ir} ^{im}DUB ^{m.d}+EN-PAP A-šú šá
^{m.d}+AG-NUMUN-GIN

16'. A ^mUBARA-^dŠU₂ UNUG^{ki} iti APIN U₄ 25^{kam₂}

17'. MU 8^{kam₂} ^{m.d}+AG-NIG₂.DU-URU₃ LUGAL
 TIN.TIR^{ki}

18'. šu-pur ^mGI-^dAMAR.UTU ki-ma

19'. ^{im}KIŠIB-šú tu-ud-da-a-ta

7-8. 20 cubits the south-facing upper front, adjacent to
 (the property of) Nabû-mukîn-apli/Nabû-šumu-ibni;

9-10. 20 cubits the north-facing lower front, adjacent to
 the wide street, the thoroughfare of god and king.

11-15. Nergal-šumu-ibni/Bēl-nāšir//Ahu-yā'utu named
 3 minas 10 shekels of ingot silver as the purchase price
 with Mušallim-Marduk / Nabû-iddin // Šangû-Ninurta,
 and purchased (it) for the full price of his field.

16-20. Mušallim-Mar[duk/Nabû]-iddin//Šangû-Ninurta
 [received] a total of 3 minas 10 shekels of ingot silver
 from [Nergal-šumu-ibni / Bēl-nāšir // Ahu-yā'utu],
 including (or: plus) 3 shekels of silver that have been
 given as an additional payment, the price of the house
 plot, [as full payment.]

[...]

Rev. 2'-8'. [... comes up and] regarding <th>is house
 plot li[tigates, causes someone to liti]gate, changes (the
 contract), claims, (or) causes someone to claim saying:
 "This house plot has not been given; the silver has not
 been paid," 12 times he will compensate the silver he
 received.

9'-10'. At the issue of this tablet:

In the presence of Bēl-ušallim, the governor of Uruk;

11'-14'. The elders: Bēl-upahhir/Bānitušu//Šangû-
 Ninurta;

Ardia/Nanāya-īpuš//Šangû-Ninurta;

Aplāya/Šulāya//Mudammiq-Adad;

Bēlšunu/Iqīšāya//Šangû-Ninurta;

15'-16a'. And the scribe, the writer of the tablet, (was)
 Bēl-nāšir/Nabû-zēru-ukīn//Kidīn-Marduk.

16b'-17'. Uruk, the month of Arahsamna, the 25th day,
 the eighth year of Nabû-kudurri-ušur (II), the king of
 Babylon.

18'-19'. The fingernail (impressions) of Mušallim-
 Marduk, instead of his seal, are marked (on the tablet).

Comments

16-17) Since the declared price and the amount of silver paid are the same, it remains unclear whether the additional payment introduced with *adi* was included in the sum or added to it (FRAME 2013: 24-26).

11') Other documents from Uruk with this introductory clause are AnOr 9 13, YBC 16199, and SpTU 5 291.

15') For the title *ṭupšarru šāṭir ṭuppi*, see WUNSCH 2021: 163.

The text records the purchase of a fallow field (*eqel kišubbî*) for the considerable sum of three minas and 10 (or 13) shekels of ingot silver, concluded on NbkII 8.VIII.25. The plot measured 80 × 20 cubits (ca. 400 m²), and bordered the main street and three private properties (two house plots and one agricultural plot). At 0,483 or 0,475 shekel/m², this is the most expensive wasteland known to have been sold in this city during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE (SADOWICZ, WUNSCH and ZAWADZKI 2023: 216).

The seller did not receive the full payment at once. The unpublished receipt PTS 2129 (NbkII 9.VIII.25) demonstrates that exactly one year after 01.IS.49 was written, Bēl-īpuš/Bēl-uballit(//Rab-banê), a prebendary gardener, paid half of the amount of silver in connection with the transaction above.²⁾ The

text only gives a brief reference to the purchase of the fallow field, called there a house plot (*bītu*), and no information on why and to whom the payment was made.

The plot being sold in 01.IS.49 was located in the Kanisurra Gate quarter.³⁾ As far as we know, there were no other major landmarks apart from the eponymous gate, the city walls and the processional street. Outside the city walls, a royal road led from the Kanisurra Gate across agricultural lands irrigated by the Bānītu Canal. This hydronym was also closely associated with the Šamaš Gate that led to Larsa, which was most likely located in the eastern part of Uruk (JANKOVIĆ 2013: 353). Because of the connection to the same canal, the Kanissura Gate could also have been placed there.

Other known real estate deeds concerning the Kanisurra Gate quarter together with tablet 01.IS.49 published here suggest that this was a sparsely urbanized area. No house in good condition was sold there, but rather one ruined house (*bītu abtu*; BM 113255), two fallow fields (*eqel kišubbî*; YOS 17 2, 01.IS.49) and two unbuilt plots (*bīt kišubbî*; TBER pl. 72, YBC 7432). The only text known so far that concerns a built-up plot is an unpublished debt note YBC 3767 (see below).⁴⁾ Importantly, our perception of the topography of the Kanisurra Gate quarter is heavily influenced by the nature of this small group of contracts, which mostly derive from a single archival group belonging to the Rīm-Anu family (see below).

The tablet 01.IS.49 adds new information about local landowners and their social networks. Both the buyer, Nergal-šumu-ibni/Bēl-nāšir//Ahu-yā'ūtu, and the seller, Mušallim-Marduk/Nabû-iddin//Šangû-Ninurta, are not attested in any other land transaction. Three of the four witnesses, unusually introduced as 'elders' (*šībū*), bear the family name Šangû-Ninurta, suggesting that they approved the transaction rather than merely attested to it. The neighbours' family names were not given. This does not necessarily indicate that they did not belong to the upper strata of Urukean society, as did the other people mentioned in the document.

One of the neighbours, Nabû-šumu-iškun/Širiktu, is identified as a member of the Naggāru family in the debt note YBC 3767 (NbkII 11.X.22) from the Rīm-Anu archive.⁵⁾ He appears there as a debtor to Ištar-šumu-ēreš/Nabû-ahhē-šullim//Rīm-Anu, to whom he pledges his house as security. According to the plot description, the house was inhabited by (f)Šu-ṛx¹-ti/Šarēdu, his mother, and was located along the main street, which suggests that it may have been the same land as in 01.IS.49.⁶⁾

Between the composition of the tablet published here and PTS 2129, the owner of one of the bordering plots of the fallow field changed. In the latter document, one year later, Bēl-zēru-līšir/Ardia appears as a new neighbour alongside Nabû-šumu-iškun/Širiktu. Since only two neighbours are listed, they were likely those along the long sides of the field and bordering the street. The property of Bēl-ahhē-iddin/Bēl-šimānni may therefore have changed hands. There is no information about the fate of the plot owned by the third original neighbour, Nabû-mukīn-apli/Nabû-šumu-ibni.

Several arguments support assigning tablet 01.IS.49 to the archive of Rīm-Anu, a well-known family engaged in private property management (JURSA 2005: 145). Firstly, the outstanding debt of Nabû-šumu-iškun/Širiktu//Naggāru may have led to the acquisition of his plot by the creditor. The adjacent plot from 01.IS.49 would then represent the next property considered worth acquiring by the Rīm-Anu family. Secondly, three of four previously known land purchase contracts concerning the Kanisurra Gate quarter may be attributed to this archive (BM 113255, YOS 17 2, TBER pl. 72). Outside the city, not far from the Kanisurra Gate were the agricultural plots of Rīm-Anu located by the Bānītu Canal (BIN 2 131, BM 114547, Davidson 22). It is therefore plausible that the family acquired properties in close proximity to each other. Lastly, the format of the document also supports this attribution and further suggests that it may be a later copy. The pillow-shaped format of the tablet in question is uncommon among real estate deeds from Uruk, where the convex-reverse format predominates. The former is attested mostly, though not exclusively, in the Rīm-Anu archive.

Property documents were typically archived for extended periods of time, which often necessitated the production of copies in order to preserve their contents. The lack of the interpolation 'broken' (*hepi*) suggests that 01.IS.49 was not produced because of damage to the original. Rather, it may have been copied upon the transfer of ownership, when legal documentation passed from one archive to another. The shared external features, despite the lack of a direct connection to the archive, would be only explained by a

function of 01.IS.49 as a retro-act to an unpreserved purchase contract of the same plot which probably involved the Rīm-Anu family.

The purchase recorded in tablet 01.IS.49 took place in the presence (*ina ušuzzi*) of the previously unattested governor (*šakin tēmi*) of Uruk, Bēl-ušallim. The participation of the highest municipal authority in such a transaction substantially increased its legal validity. The use of the *ina ušuzzi* clause during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II—and in the sixth century through the early Achaemenid period—is rare in comparison with the preceding century (VON DASSOW 1999: 12-16). Among real estate deeds from Uruk dating to his reign, the only other attestations known to me occur in AnOr 8 2 (NbkII 2) and YBC 7429 (NbkII ca. 14-17).

The date of 01.IS.49 helps to fill a gap in the sequence of governorship tenures under Nebuchadnezzar II. The tenure of Bēl-ušallim can be situated between those of Šamaš-zēru-iqīša/Marduk-šarrāni//Gimil-Nanāya (NbkII 2-4) and Bēl-šumu-iškun/Bēl-iddin//Kurī (NbkII 13.I.12; YOS 17 357) (KLEBER 2008: 38; LEVAVI 2018: 96). Thus, the maximum period of Bēl-ušallim's tenure could extend from the fourth year until the beginning of the 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar II's reign. The attestation of the deputy (*šanū*) governor of Uruk, Ahu-ittabši/Rēmūtu, on NbkII 11.VIII.17 (YOS 17 336//YOS 17 338) may indicate the governor's absence from the city or even a vacancy in the office, thereby lowering the latest possible end date to the middle of the 11th year.

Additional information on the governor Bēl-ušallim is provided by the unpublished tablet NBC 5037.⁷⁾ This unusual letter mentions the receipt by Bēl-ušallim of the temple butcher prebends (*tābihūtu*) and the otherwise unattested *sarrarātu* prebends before the Lady of Uruk, Nanāya and Ušur-amāssu. His name there was followed by a short patronymic or family name, now unpreserved. The tablet published here allows this otherwise undated letter to be assigned to the period discussed above.

Finally, another Bēl-ušallim served as the overseer (*qīpu*) of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar from the 18th year of Nabopolassar's reign. His last attestation there is insecurely dated to the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar II, while the last secure reference dates to his fifth year (DA RIVA 2003: 57). The office of overseer was generally held by royal appointees from outside the local community, in contrast to the governorship, which was typically entrusted to members of the local elite. A good example of migration between institutions in different cities, although later and involving different offices, is represented by Ina-Esagila-lilbur/Nabū-šumu-ukīn//Ša-nāšišu, who held the positions of *šangū* of Sippar (DarI 1-22) and governor of Babylon (DarI 22-24) (BONGENAAR 1997: 471). It is probably a mere, though nonetheless striking, coincidence that one Bēl-ušallim disappears from the Sippar documentation, only for a namesake to emerge in a similarly high-ranking position in Uruk at roughly the same time.

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Notes

1. <https://cdli.earth/artifacts/499199> (accessed on 15.06.2026).
2. <https://cdli.earth/artifacts/470225> (accessed on 15.06.2026). The identification of Bēl-īpuš/Bēl-uballit//Rab-banē is based on YBC 7432 and AnOr 8 23. His brother, Nabū-erība/Bēl-uballit//Rab-banē; based on YOS 17 32), is present among the witnesses. Two of them are also attested in the same role in 01.IS.49.
3. For places in Uruk named after the goddess Kanisurra, see BEAULIEU 2003: 319.
4. <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/YBC.3767> (accessed on 15.06.2026).
5. I identify Multēšīru/Marduk-šumu-ušur//Naggāru from YOS 17 2 with his namesake from TBER pl. 72, which allows me to reconstruct the broken passage in the second tablet as the Kanisurra Gate quarter. It is further reassured by the presence of the same landowner, Bēl-ahhē-erība/Balāssu, a known chief of flocks (*rab būli*), in BM 113255 and TBER pl. 72.
6. The rendering of this name is troublesome. It may be (f)Šupaltu(?) (*šu-^fpal^l-ti*) or (f)Šumuttu(?) (*šu-^fmut^l-ti*).

7. <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/NBC.5037> (accessed on 15.06.2026). The text is briefly discussed in BEAULIEU 2003. Michael Jursa is currently preparing its edition in the *Spätbabylonische Briefe* series.

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80) DigEanna Notes 6: The ghost word *simānu* “a profession” — Both dictionaries have an entry *simānu* or *simannu*, “ein Handwerker” (AHw. 1044b), “a profession” (CAD S, 271b), spelled ^{lú}*si-ma/man-nu*. Both cite the same attestations, TCL 9, 138: 8. 23 and YOS 6, 192: 20. The CAD refers to JCS 4, 191 note 12, where Oppenheim argues that the word should be connected to *isimmānu*, *simannû* “equipment” (vel *sim.*) and understood as “repairer”, based on the attestation in YOS 6, 192, where harps (*sammû*) are given for repairs (*ana batqi*) to the *bīt* ^{lú}*si-man-nu*.

In the context of the preparation of the DigEanna entries (<https://nabucco.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/digeanna/>) for the two Eanna tablets cited, we noticed through collation of photographs of the originals that the word is inexistant and should be removed from the dictionaries: in both texts, we find *ummānu* “specialist; skilled craftsman”. The *bīt* ^{lú}*um*-man-nu* in YOS 6, 192 is the “craftsmen’s workshop” that is also attested in YOS 6, 229: 55 and YOS 24, 40: 6. The former text mentions that establishment’s doorman (*atû*, line 55); the latter, as YOS 6, 192, speaks of precious objects that are in the *bīt ummānī* for repairs. It is possible that the same institution as the *bīt dulli* and the occasionally mentioned *bīt kutimmī* is meant (see PAYNE 2007: 57).

The relevant lines in the letter TCL 9, 138 read as follows (note that the tablet has suffered substantial since being copied for TCL 9; signs present in the copy but missing on the tablet are placed in round brackets):

- 5 [a-na ugu] *hi-tu šá a-na en-ia aḫ-tu-^ru¹**
 [š]i-pir-ti šá ma-le-e lib-ba-a-ti
 [u] (*bé-e²*)-e-šū* pa-ni en iš-pu-ra
 (a-na) ugu ^{lú}*um*-ma-nu šá 1-šú 2-šú en iš-pu-ra*
 (¹)amar.utu-pab il-ta-par um-ma 3* ^{lú}*um*-ma-nu*
 10 (šū)-u²-zi-iz ù ^{lú}*mu báḫar*
 u ^{lú}*en.nun ká man-na ina ugu dul-li-šú*
 ^ršū¹-u²-zi-iz ù 1-en a-na ^d+en i-din

“[Regarding] the transgression I (supposedly) committed against my lord, (my) lord sent me a letter full of anger and malcontent. Regarding the specialists (my) lord wrote about once or twice, Marduk-nāšir writes as follows: ‘appoint three specialists: whether a baker, a potter and a doorman, appoint them all to their proper job – and give one to Bēl.’”

The dictionaries read the supposed *simānu* (^{lú}*si-ma-nu*) also in line 23 of the letter. Here, the collation yields ^{lú}*šak*-nu*. The context is as follows:

... *a-na ugu*
ḫi-ṭa-a-tú šá en iš-pu-ra ^d*utu u* ^d*amar.utu en*^{meš} : *nam*^{meš}
ki-i ul-tu 10 *mu.an.na*^{meš} *a-g[a]-a*
20 *ul-tu ugu šá a-na en-ia a-mu-ru*
a-ki-i šá lú ma-aš-šar-tú šá ad-šú u é ad-šú
i-na-ša-ru en.nun-ta-ku la aš-šu-ru
LoE ^{lú}*šak*-nu šá ak-lu-ú um-ma* ^r*mi(?)*-nu*-ú** *šá**¹
^r*li-pu-šu* ^d*utu ki-i* ...

“Regarding the transgressions that my lord wrote about to me, by Šamaš and Marduk, the lords of fates, I surely served you these ten years, ever since I attached myself to my lord, just as a man looks out for his father and his father’s estate. Regarding the overseer whom I held back with the words: ‘What is it that he should do?’ – by Šamaš, ...”

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81) On the Reading DINGIR.MEŠ šá DINGIR.MEŠ in the Elugalgalgasisa Cylinder / Cylinder II, 1 / Inscription 17 of Nabonidus, from Ur — Numerous double-column clay cylinders discovered at Ur preserve an inscription of Nabonidus in Neo-Babylonian Akkadian recording the restoration of the ziggurat of the moon god Sîn, the Elugalgalgasisa (“House of the King Who Makes the Council Flourish”). All known copies state that Nabonidus rebuilt the ziggurat in accordance with the ancient plan established by Ur-Namma (2112–2095 BCE) and his son Šulgi (2094–2047 BCE). One of the main problems posed by this inscription is the large number of copies and the considerable variation in the arrangement of the text among them, which complicates the reconstruction of an “original” version. For instance, the distribution of columns i–ii in BM 91125 i 3–5, 7–13 corresponds to that of BM 91126, whereas IM 63999 differs markedly: in the latter copy, column i ends at the point corresponding to BM 91126 i 24a. In order to mitigate these divergences, the reference edition generally adopted is that of Schaudig (2001), which is regarded as the most neutral version. Nevertheless, since the lineation of BM 91125 diverges significantly from that of most other exemplars, the sequence of BM 91126 is also taken as a basis. The same approach is followed in the most recent edition, that of Weiershäuser and Novotny (2020) in *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire II* (RINBE), devoted to the inscriptions of Amel-Marduk, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus. According to this latter edition, the relevant passage of the Elugalgalgasisa Cylinder would present the following transcription:

I 23. *ba-ta-aq-šú aš-bat-ma a-na* ^d30 EN DINGIR.MEŠ
I 24. *šá AN-e u KI-tim* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* DINGIR.MEŠ
I 25. *a-ši-ib AN-e GAL.MEŠ EN É-GIŠ-NU*₁₁-GAL
I 26. *šá qé-reb úri.KI EN-ia*
II 1. *uš-ši-iš-ma*
II 2. *e-pu-uš*
II 3. ^d30 *be-lí* DINGIR.MEŠ
II 4. LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *šá AN-e ù KI-tim*
II 5. DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* DINGIR.MEŠ
II 6. *a-ši-ib AN-e GAL.MEŠ*
II 7. *a-na É šu-a-ti*

In the Akkadian text, Sîn is accompanied by formulae commonly applied to him and to other gods—such as “lord of the gods” (EN DINGIR.MEŠ) and “king of the gods” (LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ)—whereas other

expressions are more complex and appear to be repeated in both columns (col. i 23–24 / col. ii 4–5): ^d30 EN DINGIR.MEŠ šá AN-e u KI-tim LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šá DINGIR.MEŠ. The difficulty in translating this sequence, which substantially alters the meaning of the passage, is due largely to the state of the textual dossier. As noted above, the abundance of versions necessitates composite reconstructions, and it is likely that CBS 15617 was used for these lines, a manuscript that indeed preserves in col. ii 8 the sequence “DINGIR šá DINGIR.MEŠ ù ^d15.MEŠ”. However, although CBS 15617 preserves more lines and previously unattested passages than other copies, its damaged state likewise requires recourse to additional exemplars for reconstruction, and it therefore shares the same uncertainties that affect the rest of the manuscript tradition.

Most scholars, including Weiershäuser and Novotny, translate the formula as: “O Šîn, lord of the gods, king of the gods of heaven and earth, god (*sic*) of the gods.” This reading implies that Nabonidus would be attributing to Šîn a transcendent authority above the rest of the pantheon. If correct, such a formulation would represent a significant conceptual shift within Mesopotamian theology. In cultic tradition, epithets such as “king of the gods” or “lord of the gods” do not express universal supremacy, but rather a patronal and local one: within a given sanctuary or city, a deity occupies the supreme position without calling into question the autonomy of other gods. Thus, Marduk could be “king of the gods” in Babylon, Šamaš in Sippar, or Inanna in Agade, without establishing an absolute hierarchical order. By contrast, the epithet “god of gods” transcends this local logic and suggests a cosmic hierarchy: it does not merely express ritual sovereignty, but implies the possibility that the gods themselves recognize another deity as superior. Such a formulation presupposes that the nature of the gods is finite and susceptible to subordination, marking a profound departure from the traditional polytheistic model. In other words, the expression would not merely emphasize Šîn’s cultic supremacy in Ur, but would project his authority over the entire pantheon, introducing an exceptional theological dimension into Nabonidus’ discourse.

For all these reasons, the currently proposed reading presents several difficulties. First, the methodological problems deriving from the state of the textual dossier and from the composite reconstruction of the transcription persist, and these in turn generate grammatical and translational inconsistencies. In particular, DINGIR.MEŠ is morphologically plural, and if the text had intended to express “god of gods,” the expected formulation would be DINGIR šá DINGIR.MEŠ. On this basis, the translation most consistent with both the sense of the passage and the Nabonidus corpus as a whole would be: “Šîn, lord of the gods, of the gods of heaven and of the gods of the earth, king of the gods.” This reading fits fully within the Mesopotamian polytheistic framework of celestial deities (*Anunnakū*) and terrestrial deities (*Igigū*)—see, however, in this regard the remarks on *Anunnakū* and *Igigū* made by Black & Green (2004). It highlights Šîn within his cultic sphere without implying absolute supremacy or a cosmic hierarchy, and it also avoids the grammatical and conceptual inconsistency entailed by translating the passage as “god(s) of gods,” an expression that is difficult to reconcile with traditional theological discourse. Moreover, had Nabonidus intended to elevate Šîn to the status of “god of all gods,” such a profound theological shift would be expected to appear in other texts—more than twenty—in which the king refers to the lunar deity. The Elugalgalgasisa Cylinder, however, is the only witness in which this alleged epithet occurs, and it coincides precisely with the exemplar that presents the greatest number of textual and methodological problems. This circumstance further reinforces the need for caution and favors an interpretation that respects both grammatical correctness and the internal coherence of the corpus.

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82) Translating Terms in Astral Science — Our updated and fully digital dictionary of Mesopotamian names for stars and constellations (Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0)¹⁾ is deeply rooted in both science and humanities, as cultural astronomy connects ancient terms to modern star catalogues and nomenclature. Following in the footsteps of the philosophers of the Vienna Circle (e.g. Otto Neurath, Rudolf Carnap) of the 1930s, the editors seek to establish a common language of different branches of astronomy. Given the background of this global project, we have been discussing the translations of some standard terms with some implications relevant to Assyriology.

This encyclopaedia is available under the URL <https://ase.exopla.net>, a subdomain of the domain of the IAU-Working Group on Star Names (<https://exopla.net>)²⁾.

Issues with Standard Translations

Generic term: MUL = *kakkabu*

The generic term “MUL” is usually translated as “star”, frequently followed by a statement that it actually refers to all sorts of celestial objects: not only stars but also planets, sun, moon, and constellations. In the PhD dissertation (HOFFMANN 2017) written in German, Hoffmann systematically used the term “Gestirn”. This German language term actually has the same range as MUL, *kakkabu* - “Gestirn” can also be used for planets, constellations and geometrical groupings (conjunction or planet-horizon configurations), and even the Sun (one star), which may go beyond the range of MUL, *kakkabu*. The English language, in contrast, does not offer such a term. In English, “asterism” comes closest, but it is typically used for individual stars, star groups, and patterns of stars in the sky like constellations, but not for the Sun, Moon, and planets. The classical (Greek) term “asterismos” literally means “constellation”, where constellation designates a star pattern. In Chinese historical astronomy, the concepts of structuring the uranography evolved in different forms than in Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean. Hence, Sinology even uses the term “single star-asterism” for names of bright stars and their adjacent (dark) areas or areas with faint stars. The boundaries between “single star-asterism” and “star name” are, of course, fluid, but the existence of this concept (although in another philological realm) makes the term “asterism” a more appropriate translation of Sumerian-Akkadian MUL = *kakkabu* than “star,” which typically implies a bright dot in the sky. Thus, the alternative translation “asterism” best fits the needs of “Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0.” This term can now be applied to individual stars, groups of stars including constellations (e.g. Ursa Major), parts of constellations (e.g. the Big Dipper in Ursa Major) and super-constellations (two or more constellations which form a complex picture in the sky, e.g. Ophiuchus+Serpens in modern astronomy), or the Mesopotamian Raven (^{mUL}UGA in text sources) pecking at the tail of ^{mUL}MUŠ in the micro-zodiac drawings published in (BEAULIEU et al. 2018: 99 with discussion on pp. 52-53, and earlier WEIDNER 1967 and THUREAU-DANGIN 1922).

Discussion of Selected Asterisms Names

^{mUL}GU₄.ALIM = Buffalo: frequently translated “Bison”, which is zoologically incorrect. Bison are native only to the Americas. The Eurasian equivalent is the buffalo.

^{mUL}EN.TE.NA.BAR.GUZ: We now follow the current consensus reading EN.TE.NA.BAR.GUZ for what was formerly read ^{mUL}EN.TE.NA.BAR.ḪUM (see recently HOFFMANN and KREBERNIK 2023, also BEAULIEU et al. 2018, 54).

MUL.MUL = “The Star Cluster” for the Pleiades: The Sumerian name is simply a plural of MUL, hence MUL.MUL is typically translated as ‘The Stars,’ which seems to imply stars in general rather than the discrete group of stars that form the Pleiades, which is seen as an Akkadian *zappu*, ‘bristle, mane,’ and/or a family of siblings in Ancient Near Eastern thought. Hence, we prefer to use the deliberate plural name ‘The Star Cluster’ as a multitude of stars in a (singular) proper name in “Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0.”

^{mul}SIPA.ZI.AN.NA = “The Faithful Shepherd of Anu”: This star name is usually translated “True Shepherd of Anu” (or Heaven) but the English term “true” is ambiguous (as well as the German term “Wahrer Himmelshirte” in old translations): “true” is typically taken to be the opposite of “false” as in classical logic, which is certainly not meant here. There is no “False Shepherd ...”. The intended meaning of the Sumerian “ZI” in this asterism name is closer to the sense of “faithful”. Therefore, we rather translate “Faithful Shepherd,” which also echoes the nuance of God as a faithful shepherd of mankind in the Old and New Testament, an idea which goes back in writing in Ancient Mesopotamia at the very least to the ca. 2400 BCE Vase Inscription of Lugalzagesi³⁾.

^{mul}UD.KA.DU₈.A Reading and Depiction of ^{mul}UD.KA.DU₈.A.⁽⁴⁾ CAD N2 234-235 gives *nimru* as the Akkadian equivalent of UD.KA.DU₈.HA as both the name of an animal (‘panther’) and that of the constellation MUL UD.KA.DU₈.HA. AHw 420 and CDA 141 disagree, favoring a loan-word into Akkadian *kaduhū* based on a syllabic writing, ^{mul}ka₄-ad-du-uh₃-hu in the Boghazkoi Prayer to the Gods of the Night KUB 4 47: 76 (MAYER 2018: 265-274, see previously e.g. BPO 2: 2). The star list VR 46, 1:43 (and duplicates) on the other hand, gives an Akkadian explanation of the Sumerian name, u₄-mu na-ri, ‘raging storm, storm-demon’ (recently: John Wee, JNES 75 (2016) 161-65 with n. xviii on p. 166).

Notes

1. See NABU 2026/83 below.
2. See also <https://iau.org/WG280/WG280/Home.aspx>.
3. This will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming PhD of Euin Chuong Kim, HU Jerusalem.
4. Possible readings include a full rendering of all consonants *udkaduhha* as well as shorter renderings.

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83) Announcing Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0 — The authors herein announce a new, digital version of the Encyclopaedia of Mesopotamian star names, following Gössmann (1950) and Kurtik (2007) and making their work accessible online. For political reasons, this genre-specific dictionary is embedded in the All Skies Encyclopaedia (ASE), a venture of the International Astronomical Union (IAU).

The core team and co-founders currently working on “Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0” are Dr. Susanne M. Hoffmann (FU Berlin) as PI of the project with full editorial responsibility, with Professor Wayne Horowitz (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Emeritus) as Senior Consultant. Professor Hermann Hunger (The University of Vienna, Emeritus) has also joined us as Senior Consultant.

The content of the encyclopedia is based on the book “The Star Heaven of Ancient Mesopotamia” by Professor Gennady Kurtik of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for the History of Science and Technology. The book was published in Russian in 2007, but Prof. Kurtik continued working on it. He merged his updated material with an ongoing project in Jerusalem per agreement made at the 2018

Conference “Regensburg Workshop on Mesopotamian Astral Science” under the auspices of the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies on the Givat Ram campus of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Soon after, our group member Euin Choung Kim¹⁾ translated it into English.

The encyclopaedia is available at the URL [https://ase.exopla.net/index.php/Mesopotamian_\(All_Terms\)](https://ase.exopla.net/index.php/Mesopotamian_(All_Terms)).

The project evolved

In fall 2019, Horowitz’s research team began work on the “Babylonian Star Heaven”, funded by the Israel Science Foundation (ISF) with Kurtik as collaborator. Hoffmann joined in January 2021, in the second phase of this project, “Babylonian Star Heaven, now mapped,” as Co-PI responsible for the Task Area “Identifications”²⁾. After Kurtik passed away in 2023, his family graciously forwarded his manuscript and notes to the project team.

From 2024 onwards, Hoffmann, in collaboration with Prof. Hunger, secured her own funding from the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) for the tandem project “Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0”. To set up a home for the online encyclopedia, Hoffmann used her role as an IAU officer, namely Chair of the Working Group on Star Names, to embed the study of Mesopotamian Star Names in a larger (global) venture, the All Skies Encyclopaedia (ASE), which she runs as PI. It is an initiative for global collaboration in cultural astronomy, intellectually supported worldwide due to its IAU affiliation. This way, we can set up not just one server but a server infrastructure that distributes data storage across multiple continents (for security reasons) with systematic backup and recovery. In other words, the political/ social/ administrative activity of naming stars provides us with the necessary infrastructure that Assyriologists (and astronomers) otherwise wouldn’t be able to maintain on their own.

Technical Setup

The technical setup consists of a website whose table of contents organises information by culture: we provide a list of the 88 modern constellations (areas defined by DELPORTE 1930), a list of Arabic names of stars and constellations: *Planetarium Arabicum*, a list of Chinese names: *Planetarium Sinicum*, a list of Indian names: *Planetarium Indicum*, etc. All these dictionaries are being built after the Mesopotamian model: *Planetarium Babylonicum* (GÖSSMANN 1950, KURTIK 2007). These lists of terms are hyperlinked to pages per term, where all terms are explained etymologically and culturally; in particular, identifications are given in the form of text and celestial maps, and original images of the divine entities, animals, or historical architectures are presented.

As of 2026, the All Skies Encyclopaedia is hosted in Berlin, Germany, and thus complies with European standards for privacy policy and data legacy. Two data mirrors on other continents are being set up at partner universities for security reasons. The software and data are stored in separate containers on the server, which again increases security. The DOI is 10.5281/zenodo.20927722, with additional automatic new version-IDs scheduled for the solstices and equinoxes.

Authorship is indicated automatically at the top of each page, and each page is individually citable. The order of authors in the automatic sequence depends on the number of contributions (in bits and bytes) to guarantee an honest attribution of labour and not random honour by family name, alphabet or seniority.

Author accounts can only be created by the core team, but will be granted to all serious scholars who wish to contribute.

The Role of the IAU: This “All Skies Encyclopaedia” was created because of the needs within some nomenclature groups in the International Astronomical Union and the wishes within the Stellarium³⁾ team to provide educators (school teachers, planetarians, museum staff, amateur astronomers) with more detailed and curated information. These needs were collated at a scientific meeting in Jena, Germany, in November 2023, with selected participants of the Stellarium team and the IAU Working Group on Star Names⁴⁾ to ensure a focused discussion and planning. By serving many stakeholders globally, we aim to keep it vivid and persistent.

The IAU is the global organisation that defines standards (units of measure, nomenclature rules, names, physical definitions, etc.) in astronomy. Founded in 1919, it was later recognised by the United Nations. In the 1920s, it defined the boundaries of modern constellations (DELPORTE 1930).

Invitation to Use

We are still in the process of editing, regularizing technical details such as citation issues, and selecting illustrations of Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0 and the ASE. Please feel free to make use of our data as is, bearing in mind that you are using unfinished and incomplete version which often undergoes changes on a daily basis.

We invite comments and suggestions to improve the Encyclopedia to be made to the authors of this NABU note. However, we remind the readers that the Encyclopedia is still a work-in-progress and ask that we be forgiven for the many remaining inconsistencies and unchecked/yet to be updated references still present in “Planetarium Babylonicum 2.0” in its present form.

Notes

1. He is now writing a PhD thesis in Assyriology on Vase Inscription of Lugalzagesi. Originally from South Korea, Kim spend many years of his childhood in Uzbekistan due to his father’s job, and is, thus, fluent in both English and Russian.
2. Documentation of the method on the example of the MUL.APIN constellation in Stellarium in Gullberg, J., Hoffmann, S.M. and Gullberg, S.R. (2022). More publications on this topic will follow.
3. The free desktop planetarium software “Stellarium” was invented by computer scientist/software developer Fabien Chéreau in 2000 (cf. ZOTTI et al. 2020). He and other team members attended the scientific meeting in Jena in 2023 where the ASE was initiated; Hoffmann is part of the team.
4. Hoffmann et al. (2025), Annual Report of WGSN for 2023, <https://exopla.net/> and on the IAU website <https://iau.org/WG280/WG280/Home.aspx>.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

84) Exposition au Musée du Louvre — Une exposition intitulée *L'Eau primordiale. Leçons de Mésopotamie* se tient jusqu'au 15 mars 2027 dans l'Aile Richelieu du Musée du Louvre, notamment dans la Salle 230 (fermée le mercredi) et suivant un parcours également dans d'autres salles. Un catalogue de 240 pages édité sous la direction d'A. Thomas, B. Couturaud et G. Nicolet accompagne l'événement.

NOTE PARA-ASSYRIOLOGIQUE

85) Hôtel Baron — La rédaction de *NABU* souhaite attirer l'attention sur un livre récent, à mi-chemin entre roman et documentaire : Taline Ter Minassian, *Hôtel Baron*, Bibliomonde, Paris, 2025. Ce roman évoque la situation récente en Syrie, d'Alep à Qameshliye en passant par Der ez-Zor et Hassake, les fouilles de tell Brak, et bien d'autres choses encore... On peut retrouver une présentation du livre sur le site de l'éditeur : <https://www.bibliomonde.fr/nouveautes/18-novembre-parution-d-un-roman-geopolitique-hotel-baron-taline-ter-minassian> (avec de nombreux documents supplémentaires accessibles en ligne, et des liens vers des articles de presse ou émissions de radio).

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