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NOTES BRÈVES

88) A Sceptre Head with an Inscription of Nanne — This article discusses a small inscribed stone object from an old German collection (1990s). In the future, the object will be housed at the Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Switzerland.

The object is made of beige, speckled stone and measures H 6.2 cm, W 6.5 cm (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Sceptre head of King Nanne (Source: author).

Two symmetrically arranged lions are lying on the upper side, whose heads look diagonally. The muzzles of the lion heads are very short and the ears are abstract. The mane is rendered in irregular lines. Below is a framed, three-line inscription. A hole in the bottom side is intended to accommodate a handle. As the object has only an unpierced hole, it might not be a mace head; these are often pierced and undecorated (e.g., Louvre AO 7734, AO 14095, AO 32189: ED period). Because the royal inscription contains no dedication, the object is more probably a sceptre head. A double lion-headed sceptre is a common attribute and symbol in Neo-Sumerian art for a deity (Black & Green 2008, 169, s.v. "standards, staves and sceptres of the gods"). A much later sceptre head of Sargon II (721–705 BC), made of bronze with four

lion heads, is kept in the Louvre (AO 21368). The sceptre (sum. ĝidri) is an insignia of a ruler (KRECHER 1976–1980, 113) and unalterable regalia for intronization (RENGER 1976–1980, 129). Though much later (6th c. BC), the sceptre in the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin is a rare item of a sceptre physically preserved (VA Bab 1625; KLENGEL-BRANDT 1992, 130, Nr. 68). In Fig. 2, our sceptre is combined with the Berlin example to show how it might originally have looked.



Fig. 2: Proposed reconstruction of the sceptre of King Nanne (Source: author).

The so-called Mesilim mace head of the ED IIIb period is closely comparable to our sceptre head, though it is larger (H 19, W 16 cm) and features a dedication within its inscription. Six lions bite each other, forming a frieze around the perimeter. This stylistic parallel makes an Early Dynastic period (ED III) date probable for our object (Louvre AO 2349; FRAYNE 1998, 69-70, E1.8.1.1; STROMMENGER & HIRMER 1962, 63, no. 43). Inscribed mace heads with lions and dedications are housed in the Louvre (AO 235: ED IIIb, AO 133 B: Gudea, SB 2745: Ur III, Šulgi).

Additionally, a small calcite lion sculpture of the ED IIIb period at the Louvre (AO 3281), displays similar rendering, particularly on the mane. The British Museum also holds several relevant to our piece: a brown limestone mace head of the ED III period (92681) is decorated with three lions carved in relief (two facing each other, with a third lying along the top). A gypsum lion head finial of the ED III period (91879) is sculptured similarly to our lion heads. From both a stylistic and iconographic perspective, our sceptre head fits securely within the ED III period.

The Inscription (Fig. 3)

1. NA NE	Nanne
2. LUGAL	King of
3. AN NINDA$_2$×HI UR	X

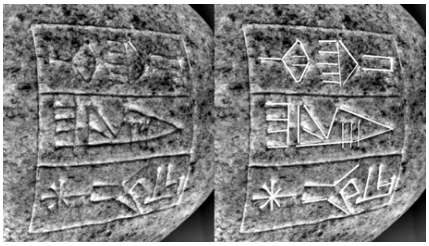


Fig. 3: The inscription on the sceptre head of King Nanne (Source: author).

The signs correspond to classical Sumerian sign forms (BORD & MUGNAIONI 2002, Nr. 29, Nr. 81, Nr. 96, Nr. 112, Nr. 251; LABAT & MALBRAN-LABAT 1995, Nr. 13, Nr. 70, Nr. 151, Nr. 172, Nr. 575).

The King's Name: According to textual witnesses from the Sumerian King List, only one king named Nanne existed in the ED period, reigning for approximately 40 years in the "post-diluvian" period (GABRIEL 2020, 95, 247, 259; https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.2.1.1&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=t211.p9#t211.p9; CDLI P479895). However, his name is consistently written as "na-ne$_2$" or "na-an-ne$_2$" (GABRIEL 2020, 95, 97, 113, 401) where "ne$_2$" can alternatively be read as "ni". In our inscription, the sign is written as NE (LABAT & MALBRAN-LABAT 1995, 110–111, Nr. 172). Because our artifact is an original royal inscription where the name is clearly spelt "na-ne", in other secondary texts relating to Nanne, the sign NI should be read "ne$_2$" rather than "ni".

Frayne (1998, 6, 12) mentions Nanne twice:

1. "The four episodes of the Tummal Chronicle relevant to ED history are: (a) EN.ME-barage-si (of Kiš) and his son Aka, (b) Mes-Ane-pada (of Ur) and his son Mes-kiağ-nuna, (c) Bilgameš (= Gilgameš) (of Uruk) and his son Ur-lugal, and (d) Nanne (of Ur?) and his son Mes-kiaĝ-Nanna. Entry (d) would appear to be a simple variant of entry (b), although this is not entirely certain." (https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.2.1.1; https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgibin/etcsl.cgi? text=t.2.1.3&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=t213.p4#t213.p4)

2. "If we can believe the evidence of a later proverb, King Nanne – possibly a reference to King A-Ane-pada of Ur – mounted an unsuccessful campaign against the eastern city of Simurrum."

The only other potential contender for our inscription is Na-nu-um (Var. Na-ni), one of four pretenders to the crown after the death of Šarkali-šarri of Akkade (EDZARD 1998, 162; GABRIEL 2020, 97). The probability that our sceptre head belonged to this individual is very slim, as he was neither a significant figure nor a recognised king.

The ETCSL devotes 10 paragraphs to "Nanni" (https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi). One refers to the Sumerian King List, one to the history of Tummal, and one to a jeweller named Nanniya; the remainder are proverbs. Tummal (Tum-ma-al^{ki} or Tum-al^{ki}) was an ancient Near Eastern cult site of the goddess Ninlil, currently

unlocated but known to be near Nippur and Drehem. L. 17-18 of this text read as follows: "Na-an-ne$_2$ kiri$_6$-mah e$_2$ ^{d}Enlil$_2$, la$_2$ in-du$_3$", "^{d}Mes-ki-aĝ$_2$ ^{d}Nanna (ŠEŠ.KI) dumu Na-an-ne$_2$-ke$_4$" (Oelsner 2003, 216-217), "Nanni built the Lofty Garden in Enlil's temple (at Tummal). Meš-ki-aĝ-Nanna, son of Nanni, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal."
(https://etcsl.orinst. ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.1.3&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=c213.17#c213.17).

Nanne is also frequently discussed by Gabriel (2020, 113, 401: na-ne$_2$), mostly as king of Ur, but also of Kiš (363, 365). Gabriel notes that Nanne was the first king of the Ur II hegemony, but in one text associates him with Kiš I (387, 546). No inscription of Nanne himself has been known hitherto; our inscription provides physical proof that King Nanne historically existed.

The Toponym: The first sign of l. 3 is AN and the final sign is UR. In Edzard et al. (1977, 14-16), there are no geographical names listed for the pre-Sargonic and Sargonid period beginning with AN and ending with UR (Edzard et al. 1977, 14-16). According to Gabriel (2020, 363, 365), Nanne was king of Ur or Kiš. Edzard et al. (1977, 218-223) list occurrences for the city of Ur under "Uri(m)" and note the Ur III royal title "lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma", but do not record "AN NINDA$_2$×HI UR".

According to Labat & Malbran-Labat, (1995, 299, s.v. "Ur [ville]"), the city of Ur is written as URI$_2$ or URIM$_2$. The CDLI contains 53 texts spanning the ED III to Ur III periods that feature "uri$_2^{ki}$" (with RIME 1.09.03.09 counted once), explicitly indicating the city of Ur through the toponymic determinative KI. The other option for Nanne's realm is Kiš (Gabriel 2020, 363, 365, 387, 546), which is written with the signs KIŠ and GU$_2$-DU$_3$-A (Labat & Malbran-Labat 1995, 298, s.v. "Kiš [ville]"). In the CDLI, Kiš is primarily written as "kiš^{ki}" or simply "kiš". The string "AN NINDA$_2$×HI UR" is unattested for Ur or Kiš.

The AN sign in l. 3 could be interpreted as the divine determinative DINGIR. However, cities were not deified (Edzard et al. 1977, Frayne 1998, xlv–lvi; Labat & Malbran-Labat 1996, 297-299; Liverani 2011–2013). Conversely, on an administrative tablet from the ED IIIa period, the reverse (col. ii, l. 6) reads "^{d}nibru^{ki}" written ("1(asz@c@90) {d}nibru{ki}"; CDLI P011084), as well as on an ED IIIb administrative tablet, obverse col. v, l. 7 (CDLI P322828; Notizia & Viscato 2016, 243, Nr. 289). On a third tablet from the ED IIIb period, the signs DINGIR and KI are only partially readable (Notizia & Viscato 2016, 239, Nr. 283). Steible & Yildiz (2015, 93, Nr. 106) read the relevant line of the ED IIIa tablet (CDLI P011084) as "1N$_8$ (LAK 20) ^{d}EN.LIL$_2^{ki}$" instead of "1(asz@c@90) {d}nibru{ki}" (CDLI P011084).

The toponym "Nibru" refers to Nippur (Labat & Malbran-Labat 1995, 299, s.v. "Nippur [ville]"). Furthermore, the city of Enlil is Nippur, the religious centre of Sumer (Frayne & Stuckey 2021, 94-96). Therefore, ^{d}Enlil followed by the toponymic determinative KI denotes Nippur.

The CDLI contains instances of "^{d}nibru^{ki}" from the Old Akkadian (1), Ur III (8), and Old Babylonian (5) periods (P368475, P100236, P115488, P117614, P117617, P128426, P201988, P227179, P362152, P223269, P236226, P255673, P469515, P481159). The palaeography of these texts reveals that the toponym is written as "^{d}EN-LIL$_2^{KI}$". For example, an Ur III period text may be cited (CDLI P100236). Although Archi & Pomponio (1995, 138, Nr. 577). offer the transliteration "nibru^{ki}" for the obverse l. 7, the associated line-art plate clearly reads "^{d}EN-LIL$_2^{KI}$".

As early as the Uruk III period, the sign ENLIL was equated with NIBRU (Green & Nissen 1987, 199, ZATU 142). Writing this toponym as "^{d}nibru^{ki}" demonstrates that the city of Nippur—indicated by the determinative KI—could be expressed through its city god Enlil, the chief deity of Sumer (Frayne & Stuckey 2021, 94-96; Liverani 2011–2013, 58). Liverani identifies Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar as cities that might have been conceptualised as "holy" (2011–2013, 58). In sum, the first sign of our l. 3 can be interpreted as either AN or DINGIR.

The middle sign of L. 3 is NINDA$_2$×HI (Deimel 1922: LAK 114; Green & Nissen 1987: ZATU 407; Mercer 1918, 11; Deimel 1947, 68, No. 369). Amongst these authors, only Mercer offers a phonetic value, "ušu", which is now obsolete. Borger (2003, 105) does not have an entry for NINDA$_2$×HI. There appears to be no definitive reading for this sign today or historically (Bauer 1993, 163; Borger 2003; Deimel 1928–1933), and it is rarely documented. In the CDLI database, the character occurs only 14 times across 11 texts (P002236, P002384, P002406, P004470, P005988, P010566, P010650, P218312, P222183, P325158, P499153). Five of these texts date to the Uruk III period, two to the ED I-II, two to ED IIIa, one to ED IIIb, and one to Ebla.

The sign of the Uruk III administrative text CDLI P325178 of the Uruk III exhibits a shape identical to the one on our sceptre head (Monaco 2007, 34, 221, 331, no. 160). The text is labelled "account of cereal products (liquid), rations". However, because l. 1 (which contains NINDA$_2$×HI) begins with a quantity, it cannot be a toponym. The ED IIIa lexical text CDLI P010566 lists various deities; l. 19 of column 3 on the obverse reads "^{d}nin-| NINDA$_2$×HI |#". While numerous divine names begin with "nin" (Frayne & Stuckey 2021, 235–281), without a phonetic reading for NINDA$_2$×HI, the deity intended in CDLI P010566 must remain unknown.

The administrative cylinder CDLI P222183 features the line "zi-zu he$_2$-mi-| NINDA$_2$×HI |#" in col. 9, l. 13, which is ordinarily translated as "may your life be(?)!". Lisman (2016–2017, 2017, 158), editing this text (the so-called Barton Cylinder), translates this line as "zi-zu ḫe$_2$-mi-aĝ$_2$ (LAK 114) = "May you measure out your breath of life". He asserts that LAK 114 (= NINDA$_2$×HI) is a precursor to the later sign "aĝ$_2$" (2016–2017, 168). If we accept this reading, Nanne's realm would be read as AN.AĜ$_2$.UR = "Anaĝur". This could be a toponym, but is currently unknown in the contemporary literature (Edzard et al. 1977) or the Sumerian King List (Gabriel 2020). According to Wagensonner

(2016, 277, 492), $NINDA_2$×HI occurs six times without a phonetic value. He notes two entries with the sign, one of which is found untranslated in Eblaite text CDLI P218312. Attinger (2023), Cohen (2023), and Sallaberger (2020) have no entries for $NINDA_2$×HI, which may mean that the sign fell out of use after the ED period. Only the aforementioned ED texts (CDLI P005988, P010566, P010650, P222183, P499153) still employ $NINDA_2$×HI. Since the Sumerian King List associates Nanne with either Ur or Kiš, one of these cities may be intended by l. 3 (AN $NINDA_2$×HI UR) but this is improbable.

It appears that only Nippur could be written with a heading DINGIR (i.e., "^{d}nibru^{ki}", as discussed above). Assigning the phonetic value NIP to the as yet unknown reading of $NINDA_2$×HI may be a plausible option. Presently, neither LABAT & MALBRAN-LABAT (1996), BORD & MUGNAIONI (2002), DEIMEL (1947, 31*), nor GREEN & NISSEN (1987, ZATU) have an entry for NIP. Hypothetically, however, one could read the toponym "AN $NINDA_2$×HI UR" as "^{d}nip-ur" for Nippur.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Nanne has not been conclusively linked to a particular city, with Ur and Kiš only tentatively proposed thus far. Furthermore, Nippur is omitted from Gabriel's 2020 edition of the Sumerian King List (93-313, 359-437). As the seat of Enlil, the supreme god of Sumer, a hegemony centred on Nippur is historically probable. But as the primary centre of Mesopotamian religion (FRAYNE & STUCKEY 2021, 94-96), it was perhaps not competing for secular hegemony. L. 3 may therefore represent the earliest known instance of writing Nippur phonetically while retaining the DINGIR of "^{d}EN-LIL_2^{KI}".

In the ED period, Nippur is ordinarily written as "nibru^{ki}". The CDLI records 22 texts featuring "nibru^{ki}" and only three featuring "^{d}nibru^{ki}". Similarly, Sippar—which Liverani (2011–2013, 58) also characterises as "holy"—is occasionally written with a leading DINGIR: "^{d}zimbir^{ki}" (FRAYNE 1993, 197; CDLI P462059, P212952, P216154, P216735). Further support for Nippur comes from two parallel Old Babylonian proverbs, both of which state that Nanne constructed a city wall at Nippur (KONSTANTOPOULOS 2017, 158, fn. 16): "Nanne held his old age in high esteem. He built Enlil's temple, but did not complete it. He built a wall around Nippur, but… He build the Eanna, but after it had fallen into neglect, he carried it away. He captured Simurrum, but did not [destroy its wall]. He never saw mighty kingship (nam-lugal kala-ga). Thus, Nanne was carried away to the Netherworld with a depressed heart" (https://etcsl.orinst.ox. ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.6.1.03&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=t6103.p32#t6103.p32 = https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.6.1.03&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=c6103.A.3.31.66#c6103.A.3.31.66 and https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.6.1.11&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc&lineid=t6111.p8#t6111.p8).-

An analogous inscription published by Goetze (1961, 108, Fig. 2 left) reads "En-na-il LUGAL KIŠI" = "Ennail king of Kiš" (STROMMENGER 1972–1975, 346). Dated between the reigns of Mesilim and Ur I (GOETZE 1961, 108), this confirms that the formatting (without KI) on our sceptre head was prevalent during the ED period.

Facit

The following reading is proposed for the inscription on the sceptre head:

1. Na-ne	Nanne
2. lugal	King of
3. ^{d}Nip-ur	Nippur

Our sceptre head offers physical evidence of the historical existence of a king named Nanne, bearing the first known inscription from his reign. Palaeographic and stylistic traits place the object in the first half of the third millennium BC—most likely within the ED III period—, aligning with the Sumerian King List. This original royal inscription suggests that Nanne was king of Nippur, rendering hitherto tentative associations more probable. He reached a good age, reigned for several decades, constructed a wall around Nippur, built the Lofty Garden in Enlil's temple at Tummal, and mounted a not entirely successful campaign against the eastern city of Simurrum. His son could have been Meš-kiaĝ-Nanna. The historical chronicle of Tummal records the following chronological sequence: En-me-barag-e-si (LEICK 103, s.v. "Mebaragesi", ca. 2700 BC) – Meš-Ane-pada (LEICK 1999 106, s.v. "Mesanepada", Ur I) – Gilgameš – Nanne – Ur-Namma (172, s.v. "Urnammu", ca. 2113–2096 BC).

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89) Notes on the "Dragon Mother" and the "Grape-Vine Mother" — Based on a discussion by D. O. Edzard in 1961, M. Krebernik (2003) understood the divine name ^{d}ama-ušumgal(-an-na) as a bahuvrīhi compound, that is, a headless possessive compound. Following A. Falkenstein, Krebernik stresses that the name follows a well-known pattern of early personal names—here attested as personal name ama-ušumgal (KREBERNIK 2003: 155)—without explicitly mentioning their common feature: the missing head of such constructions, whether they refer to a child or a deity.[1)] However, the bahuvrīhi hypothesis raises further questions: Is the divine name ^{d}ama-ušumgal a genuine autonym,[2)] or is it instead a description involving an external, unnamed deity and thus comparable to deified epithets?

The votive inscriptions En. I 26 1:1–2 // Ent. 26 1:1–2 are addressed to ^{d}lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû* (often transcribed as URUxKAR$_2$ and now uru$_{11}$)^{ki} ^{d}ama-ušum-gal-an-na. The second divine name is usually understood as an explication of the first, an epithet of the god L. However, even though a separate Zame hymn (no. 68) is dedicated to ^{d}ama-ušum-gal, the "Dragon Mother" (KREBERNIK & LISMAN 2020: 76–77), we suspect that in the aforementioned votive inscriptions both elements form a single divine name. Its meaning would be: "Lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû*, having/with a Heavenly Dragon Mother," i.e., "having a powerful heavenly mother".[3)]

This interpretation may be compared with ^{d}dumu-zid-$^{(d)}$ama-ušumgal-an-na(-k) (Victory of Utuhe̓gal, l. 30; Inana and Bilulu, l. 93) and with the variant ^{d}dumu-zid-^{d}ušumgal-an-na(-k) (Enki and the

World Order, l. 366), where Dumuzid himself has acquired the power (ušumgal) originally attributed to his mother. Having inherited this feature, Dumuzid was also called ^{d}ušumgal, a divinized epithet related to other divine *nomina propria* (KREBERNIK RlA 2015: 509–510).[4)]

We note that the reading of URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû* has not yet been confirmed. It is the name of a sanctuary—with a temple administrator (saĝĝa)—and of a place, and it shows a /b/-Auslaut (RTC 59 3:5: URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû*^{ki}-ba, "in ON"). However, a reading ^{d}lugal-saĝub$_x$/-murub$_x$ (=URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû*) is likewise only a conjecture. What we know of this deity accords with the younger tradition, according to which the deity was a "Dumuzi figure."

For the Early Dynastic periods, the assumption that ^{d}ama-ušumgal refers to "Dumuzi" was rejected by Krebernik (2003), a position repeated in Krebernik & Lisman (2020: 153). In fact, Selz (1995: 114–166) had already proposed that ^{d}dumu-zi(d) in Early Dynastic sources is a shortened form of the undoubtedly female deity ^{d}dumu-zi-abzu, belonging to the divine circle of Nanše. Less certain is the gender of another deity named ^{d}dumu-zi-gú-en-na(-k), "Dumuzid of the assembly/throne room." In accordance with the sources discussed by Krebernik (2003), and partly revisited by Selz (2014), this suggests that Dumuzi(d) in the early sources is less a specific *nomen proprium* referring to a single deity than a divinized appellative: "the True Child," which may refer to several distinct deities.

The image of ^{d}lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû*, as reconstructed from Early Dynastic sources (SELZ 1995: 168–169), does indeed correspond to the most important aspects of Dumuzid as attested in later tradition. It should further be noted that in Old Sumerian Lagash, around the tenth month of the year—also called itu-ezem-èš-è, "the month in which (the god) leaves the sanctuary"—bathing rituals were performed for the god ^{d}lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû* as well as for ^{d}lugal-uru/iri-bar(a-k), the "King of the Suburb," and for the city god ^{d}nin-ĝir$_2$-su. ^{d}lugal-uru/iri-šag$_4$-ga and ^{d}lugal-uru/iri-bar(-ra) appear to be role-based names for Ninurta(/Ninĝirsu). The second name is evidently a designation for the state god when he left his sanctuary to bathe—a role linking him to a Dumuzid-like function and to ancestor worship.

In this regard, VS 27, 85, dated to the year Ukg. L 3, is noteworthy. The text lists animal sacrifices for groups of deceased nobles on the occasion of the festivals of two deities: rev. 5:3–6: udu gu$_7$-a / ezem-^{d}lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû*^{ki}-ka / ezem-^{d}lugal-iri-bar-ka / teš$_2$-teš$_2$-a e-ĝar, "Animal consumption for the festival of Lugal-GANA$_2$-*tenû* and the festival of Lugal-iri-bara he put together." The names, and their order, of the recipients during both festivals are nearly identical. The notable exception is that, in Festival A, the offerings on the second day begin with a sheep for Lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû* and a goat for ^{d}a-da-na (= Etana?), whereas in Festival B ^{d}lugal-iri-bar is named as the first recipient on the second day. The four-day Festival B adds, at the beginning of the final day, an offering of a goat to ^{d}bil$_3$-aga$_3$-mes (= Gilgameš). Most notably, none of these recipients belongs to the ancestral groups. This may indicate that all these deities were perceived as liminal figures—certainly an essential characteristic of the later Dumuzid. Incidentally, the striking parallels between the demigod-like mythical rulers Etana and Gilgamesh are fully consistent with the findings of the later literary tradition.

Apart from this obvious parallel, however, nothing more specific can currently be determined about the relationship between Lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû* and Lugal-iribara(.k)—in particular, whether Lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû* may also have been a specific incarnation of the state god in his Dumuzi(d)-like role.

The deity ^{d}ama-ĝeštin(-an-na.k) shows the same formation as ^{d}ama-ušumgal(-an-na.k). It is therefore highly likely, although not entirely proven, that this name too is a bahuvrīhi construction: "having a (heavenly) Grape-Vine Mother," that is, "having a (heavenly) Sweet Mother".[5)] In Early Dynastic texts from Lagash, she is frequently mentioned in connection with Lugal-URUxGANA$_2$-*tenû*. This is consistent with the fact that, under her later name ^{d}geštin-ana(.k), she is regarded as the sister of Dumuzid. Here, too, the attribute "vine," originally associated with her mother, is transferred to the deity herself: she is "the heavenly Sweet one." She has an anthropomorphic statue and a temple in Saĝub, situated in the region of the city of Lagash.

The enigmatic mother of Dumuzid and Geštinana(.k) is ^{d}ze$_2$-er-tur // ^{d}dur$_7$-du // ama-^{d}dumu-zi-ke$_4$,[6)] whom later lexical evidence connects with the logogram U$_8$, "the ewe." ^{d}U$_8$ may refer to as many as four different "theonyms" (KREBERNIK RlA 14: 254). Indeed, Krebernik (2003: 161–162; RlA 15: 254)

remained sceptical about identifying the mother of Dumuzid and Geštinana, and we likewise believe that her identity remains unclear. We merely note the writing ama : u_8, "mother ewe," in lists of ovines (RTC 39; CUSAS 11, 30). A well-attested reading of U_8 is $ganam_4$ = *immertu*, likewise designating an "ewe." The goddess ^{d}nin-^{gan}$ganam_4$ (CAVIGNEAUX & KREBERNIK RlA 9: 360: "Herrin Mutterschaf") raises the question of whether the situation is not parallel to $sumun_2$, "wild cow," as in the personal name $sumun_2$-ama-ĝu$_{10}$ (see SELZ 1995: 275; cf. ^{d}$sumun_2$-zid), where the deified "wild cow" probably connects with ^{d}nin-$sumun_2$(-a.k), "the Lady belonging to the Wild Cows."

The "Vocabulario di Ebla," which in l. 1076–1089 compiles terms for vegetables, kinship relationships / terms of descent, as well as terms related to rule. They appear to outline the basic concepts found in the later tradition concerning Dumuzid. L. 1084, dumu-zi // *šu-um*, was discussed by Krebernik (2003: 153), who favoured a connection between *šu-um* and Akkadian *šuwa'u*, *šu'û*, "Herr König," in contrast to Pomponio & Xella (1997: 503–505), who related it to an "élément théophore bien connu et très répandu," meaning "name" and possibly designating "postérité."[7)] If so, dumu-zi need not necessarily be understood as a *nomen proprium*;[8)] it may have originated in semi-abstract uses of "name" > "heir, successor," comparable to theonyms such as ^{d}gu-la or ^{d}mah (see SELZ 2014). Whether, and to what extent, *šu-um* is related to the theophoric element *šm*, common in West Semitic languages, as Singletary recently suggested (2025: 82, with nn. 118–119; see also 145), will not be discussed here.

Summary: Building on Manfred Krebernik's bahuvrīhi hypothesis, we have attempted to trace the origins of the major mythological deities Dumuzi(d) and Geštinana(k) in the third millennium, thereby shedding light on their early history. Their origin as bahuvrīhi compounds suggests an early focus on their mother and shifts the "Dumuzi(d) theme" to what is presumably a proto-urban level of religious thought. The late (Seleucid) spelling of a king's name ^{m}en-me-ušumgal-an-na (BagM Beih. 02, 089 o 5, SELZ 1995, 22, and KREBERNIK 2003, 157 (citing Wilcke)) likely refers to a secondary interpretation of a name whose original derivation is no longer productive or even known.

Notes

1. We suggest that the wanted distinction between persons and deities stands behind the supplement ana.k "of heaven" > "celestial", functionally comparable to pre-poned kug "shining" or AN, as in written forms like AN-^{d}MAR.TU.

2. The deity is the prominent figure in the ED Zame hymn no. 68, KREBERNIK & LISMANN 76-77).

3. "Dragon-Mother" follows a wide-spread metonymic pattern and designates the "mother" as powerful; see further ĝeštin "grape-vine" > "sweet"(or the like)", alim "Bison" > "massive" (Akk.*kabtu*). and further examples.

4. This name of the bearded protagonist (in front of the woman ^{d}$Šara_2$-igi-zi-abzu on the Ušumgal Stele is (probably) a "Kurzname") (WILCKE 2020: 720). We note here that Wilcke relates the imagery of the stele to the "sumerische Mythologeme über die Göttin Inana und ihren (menschlichen) Gemahl Dumuzi" (p. 724); he further discusses the person (in the upper register, behind Ušumgal) named Ak kingal ‚Ak(ka), Leiter der Ratsversammlung" and remarks: „Der Name ist wohl identisch mit dem von Gilgameš's Gegner, König Ag-ga (= Ak-ka_3) von Kiš" (p. 723)(, without mentioning SELZ 2003 who suggested that this person is indeed this (semi-)historic figure).

5. The widely attested metonymic use of substantives to describe adjectival notions is little researched in Sumerian, but well-known in many languages; cp. her e.g. the metonymic use of "sugar" > "the sweet one" as well as in derived compounds in English.

6. The Emesal God-list tablet I MSL 4, 8 rev 78 = K 00171 + K 02112 r 9'.

7. The semantic development "name" > "heir" (cautiously mentioned by CATAGNOTI MisEb 1 (1988: 188-189)) is in Ebla paralleled by the theophoric *Zikir*, compare POMPONIO & XELLA 520-522 who state: "Zikir n'est donc pas un véritable théonyme, mais la personification d'une valeur éthique dans la lignée ideologiques fondée sur la parenté et les liens du sang". In fact, this an outstanding feature of the West Semitic religious tradition (with its earliest attestation at Ebla); cp. SINGELTARY 2025: 80f.-83.

8. SINGLETARY 2025: 84 considers the possibility that "*šum* may be an epithet for Dumuzi."

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90) The two sons of Ninĝirsu and Baba: reconsidering the names and functions of Šul-šaga(na) and Ig-alim(a) — Names, particularly divine names, have prompted a wide range of interpretations in modern scholarship and in the "philology" of the Ancient Near East. In this context, five types of naming conventions can be distinguished:

(A) ^{d}nin-gal	(B) ^{d}en-lil$_2$/lil$_x$(=E$_2$)	(C) ^{d}nin-sumun$_2$-a(.k)	(D) ^{d}lugal-igi-huš	(E) ^{d}šu-mah
'Great Lady"	'Lord Breeze/Wind"	'Lady of the Wild Cows"	'Master (having/ with) Red Eyes"	'(Having) Enormous Hands'

Type (A) presents no problem: it ultimately connects with adjectives used as nouns, such as ^{d}gu-la, "the Very Great One."[1] Types (B), (C), and (D) are more complicated, particularly because genitive forms are not readily identifiable in the texts. The genitive marker a(-k) is attested only in specific phonetic environments. Type (B) follows an appositional pattern: the name Enlil[2] means something like "Breezy Lord" or "Airy Lord," with líl specifying the deity.[3] Type (C), Ninsumuna(.k), is a genitive possessive construction and should be translated as "Mistress belonging to the Wild Cows." This translation, incidentally, does not indicate whether the "Mistress" is an anthropomorphic or a theriomorphic figure. In type (D), Lugaligihuš, the word lugal, "master," is followed by the possessive adjective igi-huš, describing the deity as the "Red-eyed" or "Angry Master." Finally, type (E), Šumah, is an exocentric possessive construction, a *bahuvrīhi*, whose referent is omitted or understood elliptically: "(the one) with Enormous Hands." This was originally an epithet of several deities (KREBERNIK RlA 13, 290).

Having discussed these naming patterns, we now turn to two divine names that may initially appear parallel but are, in fact, not: **^{d}šul-šag$_4$-(-ga-na)(-.k)** (FALKENSTEIN AnOr 30, 111-112; SELZ 1995:277-279) **^{d}ig-alim(a-,k)**, (FALKENSTEIN AnOr 30, 76-77; SELZ 1995, 144-146). Attested as siblings from the Fara period onward, they are regarded in Lagash as the divine sons of the state god Ninĝirsu and his consort Baba. Both names are genitive compounds:

Šul-šaga(na)(.k) is usually translated as "Youth of His Heart" (cp. KREBERNIK RlA 13, 286), which Falkenstein (AnOr 30, 111-12) modifies as "Youth after His Own heart" ("Jüngling nach seinem Sinn"). The possessive pronoun "his" certainly refers to his father Ninĝirsu: However, given the well-attested meanings of šag$_4$—"heart" *and* "centre"—the name could also mean "Youth Belonging to His Centre." This interpretation may refer to the god's position within his father's temple, perhaps in the innermost part of the sanctuary, its "Holy of Holies."[4] Indeed, votive inscriptions repeatedly mention rulers being summoned by a deity to the centre or heart (of a temple) as part of an investiture ceremony).[5] The hypothesis that šag$_4$ in the divine name also has primarily spatial connotations is supported by the description of the god's duties: according to Gudea Cylinder B 7:24–7:11, Šul-šagana.k served as a kind of chamberlain, responsible for his lord's (ritual) household affairs.[6]

The name of his (younger) brother **Ig-alim-a(.k)** is usually rendered as "bison-door(leaf)" FALKENSTEIN AnOr 30, 76: "Wisentstier-Tür". Its meaning—"door (leaf) of" or "belonging to the bison"—is somewhat enigmatic, since the genitive compound allows several interpretations of the possessor's role.[7] According to Gudea,[8] the god was responsible for the liminal space between the outer and inner parts of the sanctuary. He is described as the "Great Door" (ig-gal) and the "Pole at the Processional Street" (dim-

ĝir$_2$-nun-na). These appear to be emblematic representations of his role as a divine (armed) policeman, or "chief of police" (galla-gal). The ruler Gudea dedicated several mace heads to him.[9)] Votive inscriptions recording Gudea's construction of their "temples" (Gudea 16 and 73) confirm that Igalim(a) and Šulšaga(na) were regarded as anthroform, although a statue is currently attested only for $^{(d)}$šul-ša$_3$(-ga) (Urn. 51 [RIME 1.9.1.6b], 6:9–10; 25 [RIME 1.9.1.11], 2:5–6; 26 [RIME 1.9.1.9], 2:3–4). Consequently, Igalima cannot be regarded merely as a deified object. Its name is best understood as an exocentric compound meaning "the one who possesses, or is stationed at, the Bison Door"—a double-possessive construction. As in similar cases, this naming pattern may have led to "objects" being used metonymically for deities to express abstract theological concepts. A comparable example is the "crown" in the English tradition, which represents governmental power or authority and is individualised and personified by a particular king or queen. Such "deified" objects could therefore behave in human-like ways and display the capacity for conscious action.

These considerations lead to two conclusions. First, the names of Ninĝirsu's two sons are connected with and reflect religious practices shaped by topography about which little other information survives (cp. SELZ 2016). Second, they deepen our understanding of how and why objects in ancient Mesopotamia were apparently deified and, in particular, why they could be regarded as conscious agents who receive offerings and bestow blessings. Such objects could – at least occasionally – serve as references to particular divine beings. This distinction between identifying names and indexical possessive names also illustrates the role of metonymy in ancient Mesopotamian texts.

In summary, this analysis offers a new perspective on deification, a subject widely discussed in studies of the Ancient Near East (see Selz RlA 14, 545–548) and beyond.

Notes

1. This writing is not attested before the end of the third millennium and is based on an etymological-phonetic speculation. The earlier form is ^{d}gu$_2$-la$_2$ (KRAUS JCS 3 [1951], 64; PETTERSON 2009: 59), which probably had a different meaning: "the Embracing" ≈ "the Merciful/Compassionate (goddess)," an apt name for a goddess of healing. Note also that ^{d}mah may likewise be a misinterpretation and should probably be read as diĝir-mah, "the Superior God(dess)," as syllabically written texts indicate.

2. For theses writings see Krebernik RlA 9, 452-453, who states that /lil/ in the DN Enlíl is a variant of the sign E$_2$ whereas his consort ^{d}nin-lil$_2$ is in ED written ^{d}nin-KID. Whatever the explanation for this may be, we propose – following Steinkeller (as quoted in KREBERNIK RlA 9, 453) – to see in the reading /lil/ for KID the origin of the phonetic value /lil/. Hence ^{d}en-lil$_x$(=É) can be considered as an etymographic commenting form, indicating that Enlil fulfilled the function of a household's head; cp. further SELZ 2025, 158.

3. We are aware of the numerous palaeographic problems associated with writing the deity's name (and that of its city, Nippur). These problems have been discussed repeatedly since JACOBSEN 1989 and surveyed extensively in WANG 2011. We set aside here the difficulties involved in interpreting /lil/ as "wind," as MICHALOWSKI 1998 rightly emphasises; see also WANG 2011, 14–19.

4. In a direct speech Ninĝirsu blamed the ruler of Umma to have entered é-šag$_4$-ní-ĝá "my own innermost room" (En. I 29 10:1-2; differently FRAYNE RIME 1.9.4.2, p. 172).

5. That šag$_4$ refers to a locality is clear from the context in Ean. 60 2:11 and Ent. 35 3:1-4; cp. already SELZ 1995: 189 fn. 870.

6. See Edzard's (RIME 3/1.1.7. translation of Cyl. B 6: 24 – 7:11: "That he (Šul-šaga) might keep the House clean, let hands always be washed, have clean hands serve water to the lord, that he might pour beer into bowls, wine into jars, that in (Eninnu's) brewery, the 'house(with) the clean arms,' emmer beer might bubble like the waters (of) Papsir, that unblemished oxen and goats and grain-fed sheep, fresh bread, and milk of hinds be available day and night, that the noble one, Enlil's beloved son, the warrior Ninĝirsu, might arise from sleep … - // he (Gudea) brings along with himself (and introduces) to Ninĝirsu the lord of the most careful hand-washing, the first-born son of Eninnu, Šul-šaga."

7. Perhaps designating the strength of a specific armoured door?

8. Gud. Cyl B 6:11-23 in Edzard's translation has: "That he (Ig-alim) might guide the hand of the righteous one and force the evil-doer's neck into a neck stock, that he might keep the House safe, keep it in harmony, that he might give instructions to his city (and) the sanctuaries of Girsu, that he might establish a throne of firm promise, hand over a sceptre for long days, that he might make the shepherd called by Ningirsu lift high the head as if it wore a blue crown, that he might appoint to (their) offices in the courtyard of Eninnu the "skin-clad," the "linen-clad," and the "covered head" - he (Gudea) brings along with himself (and introduces) to the lord Ningirsu the Great Door, the Pole of Girnun, the chief bailiff of Girsu, his beloved son Ig-alim."

9. Gudea 20 (RIME 3/1..1.7.17), Gudea 21 (RIME 3/1.1.7.93), and Gudea 22 (RIME 3/1.1.7.98), dedicated by Gudea's wife Ninalla.

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91) Weiteres zu SF 36 — In *N.A.B.U.* 2026/2 hatten Krebernik/Lisman einige Korrekturen und ergänzende Bemerkungen zu Lismans (2025) Bearbeitung von SF 36 publiziert. Im folgenden Faszikel erschien dazu ein Kommentar (KEETMAN 2026), der unseren Beitrag als LISMAN 2026 zitiert (tatsächlich ging er auf meine Anregung zurück und wurde von beiden Autoren gemeinsam verfasst) und einige der korrigierten Lesungen in Frage stellt. Im Folgenden möchte ich diese auf Kollation beruhenden Lesungen bestätigen und einige ergänzende Überlegungen zu SF 36 mitteilen.

1. NIM in SF 36 i 6 (Abb. 1) und anderswo. Die Identifikation des zweiten Zeichens als NIM ist nicht bloß „wahrscheinlicher als ḪÚB", wie Keetman schreibt. Das Zeichen ist sicher kein ḪÚB, sondern eindeutig NIM, als das es bereits DEIMEL 1922 unter LAK 271 identifizierte.



Abb.1: NIM in SF 36 i 6 (Photo und Zeichnung: M. Krebernik).

Allerdings ist die hier vorliegende Form des Zeichens (unten in Abb. 3 NIM_{B1} genannt) auffällig. Soweit ich sehe, kommt sie in Fāra sonst nur noch einmal vor, nämlich im (ersten) Kolophon von SF 13, einem Manuskript der auf die Uruk-Zeit zurückgehenden *Word List C* (früher auch *Tribute*), an die sich der Beginn der Liste *Plants* anschließt. Im Kolophon von SF 59, einem Manuskript der ebenfalls auf die Uruk-Zeit zurückgehenden Liste *Officials* (oder *Word List E*), wird derselbe Schreibername mit der gewöhnlichen Form (unten in Abb. 3 NIM_{A1}) geschrieben.

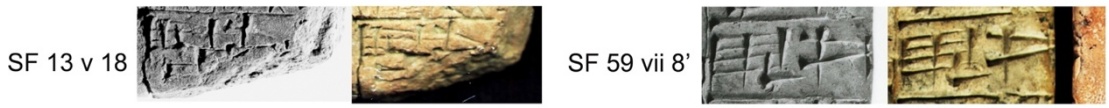


Abb.2: Schreibername NIM in den Kolophonen von SF 13 und SF 59 (Photos: CDLI, P010583 bzw. P010650).

In allen weiteren mir bekannten Belegen aus Fāra[1)] hat das Zeichen die Form NIM_{A1} oder eine verkürzte Variante NIM_{A2}, bei welcher der abschließende Senkrechte fehlt. Auch in den ungefähr kontemporären Texten aus Abū Ṣalābīḫ findet sich nur diese Form.

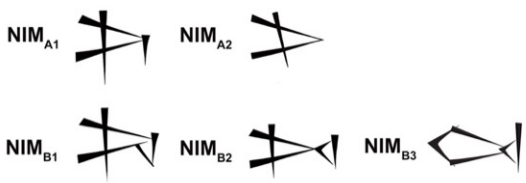


Abb. 3: NIM in spät-frühdynastischen und jüngeren Texten (Zeichnung: M. Krebernik)

Die Form NIM_A ist auch in den meisten Textcorpora der präsargonischen Zeit üblich[2]. Nur in den präsargonischen Texten aus den beiden zusammengehörigen Orten Umma und Zabalam[3] ist die Form NIM_{B1} gebräuchlich. Sie ist außerdem in einem präsargonischen Text aus Uruk bezeugt[4]. Zudem findet sie sich in der Weihinschrift des mit Umma und Uruk verbundenen Herrschers Lugalzagesi auf seinen in Nippur gefundenen Kultgefäßen[5]. Diese Form setzt sich in altakkadischer Zeit allgemein durch und bildet die Grundlage für die weitere paläographische Entwicklung (NIM_{B2}, NIM_{B3} etc.)[6].

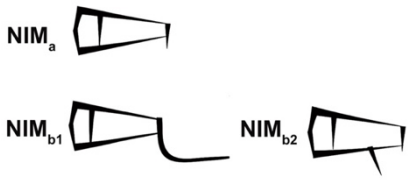
Für die Formen des mit NIM verwandten Zeichens TÙM (Abb. 4) scheint eine analoge Verteilung zu gelten. Es ist am häufigsten in dem Theonym ^{d}ĝá-tùm-dùg belegt. In der großen Götterliste aus Fāra ist es mit einer NIM_{A2} entsprechenden Form geschrieben, doch gibt es auch einen Beleg für die NIM_{B1} entsprechende Form, nämlich in dem lexikalischen Text SF 69, von dem unten (5.) noch einmal die Rede sein wird.

Abb. 4: Formen von TÙM in SF 1 und SF 69 (Photos: CDLI, P010566 bzw. P010662)



Verschiedene Formen weisen bereits die Uruk-zeitlichen Vorläufer von NIM auf. Wie später lassen sich zwei Haupttypen unterscheiden, die in neueren, auf ZATU und ATU 3 beruhenden Texteditionen mit NIM_a bzw. NIM_b transliteriert werden[7]. Die verschiedenen Formen scheinen (mindestens) zwei verschiedene Grapheme zu repräsentieren.

Abb. 5: Uruk-zeitliche Vorläufer von NIM (Zeichnung: M. Krebernik)



NIM_a in *Standard Professions List* (*Lú A*) 23 (GAL.NIM_a) wird in jüngeren Textzeugen durch das ähnliche Zeichen NI ersetzt (GAL.NI = santana „Obergärtner“)[8]. Ansonsten dürfte es sich aber in der frühdynastischen Form NIM_A fortsetzen.

NIM_{b1} und NIM_{b2} kommen in mehreren Texten gemeinsam vor: MS 2509 (P006077)[9] ii 3.a (NIM_{b2}) und iii 2 (NIM_{b1}); MS 4549 (P006338) i 4 (NIM_{b2}) und ii 5 (NIM_{b1}); MSVO 4, 58 (P005460) i b.1 (NIM_{b2}) und ii b.2 (NIM_{b1}); MRAH O.4995 (P005573) i 5.b.4 (NIM_{b1}), ii 1.b.10 (NIM_{b2}), ii 1.b.12 (NIM_{b2}), Rs. ii 1 (NIM_{b2}). Im Subskript von MS 2551 (P006195) scheinen SIG.RAD und NIM_{b2}.RAD miteinander zu kontrastieren, so dass sich die Zeichen mit sumerisch sig „unten“ bzw. nim „oben“ verbinden lassen. Paläographisch scheint sich $NIM_{b1/2}$ in der frühdynastischen Form NIM_B fortzusetzen.

2. Zu DU in SF 36 iii 9. Lismans (2025) ursprüngliche Lesung dele (AŠ) trifft sicher nicht zu, aber auch Keetmans (2026) Vorschlag LÁ scheint mit sehr fraglich. Ich möchte daher an der in KREBERNIK/LISMAN 2026 vorgeschlagenen Lesung DU festhalten. Das Zeichen deckt sich teilweise mit den Begrenzungslinien des Faches und mit dem Ende des darüberstehenden Zeichens EDIN (Abb. 6). Der untere, leicht geschwungene Keil hebt sich in seiner Stärke von der unteren Begrenzungslinie ab. Ein noch klareres Indiz ist der schräg nach oben weisende Keil, der typisch für das Zeichen DU in jener Zeit ist. Dieser nach oben weisende Keil überlagert den letzten Keil des darüber stehenden EDIN, der bei diesem Zeichen regulär nach links unten weist (das Ende von EDIN sieht wie KI aus), was in dem Beispiel aus WF 7 ii 7 deutlich sichtbar ist. Etwas problematisch bleibt der abschließende Senkrechte, der im Zusammenfall mit dem Kolumnentrenner kaum zu erkennen ist.

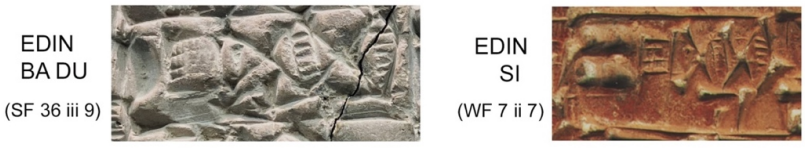


Abb. 6: EDIN von DU überlappt und isoliert (Photos: M. Krebernik; CDLI, P010964)

3. ŠID in SF 36 iv 1. Keetman (2026) sieht in dem oberste Zeichen „ein aus Platzmangel eng geschriebenes SIG_4“. Das Zeichen steht zwar teilweise auf dem oberen Tafelrand, es ist aber am Original eindeutig als ŠID zu erkennen (Abb. 7).



Abb. 7: SF 36 iv 1
(Photo und Zeichnung: M. Krebernik)

4. LAK527 in SF 36 iv 1 und anderswo. KEETMAN 2026 kritisiert Lismans (2025) Annahme, das in dieser Zeile und weiter unten (iv 14) erscheinende Zeichen LAK527 sei die ältere Form von LAK280 = ERIM (LISMAN 2025, p. 13) mit dem Argument, dass LAK280 „bereits in Fāra und davor belegt“ sei. Das ist allerdings nicht zwingend, denn wie im Falle von NIM können verschiedene Formen eines Zeichens, auch ältere und jüngere, in einem Textcorpus und sogar im selben Text koexistieren. In der Tat sind seit der Uruk-Zeit offene Formen (wie LAK280) und eine geschlossene Form (LAK527) bezeugt. Beispielsweise hat ERIM in SF 12 (P010581; Textzeuge der *Archaic Word List C*, früher *Tribute* genannt) v 15 eine formal ähnliche archaische Entsprechung (Abb. 8), die in ATU 3, 118, Z. 74, als BIR_{3c} transliteriert ist; CIVIL 2013, p. 20, versteht die Zeile [80 nach seiner Zählung] als „the plow, yoke/team“.

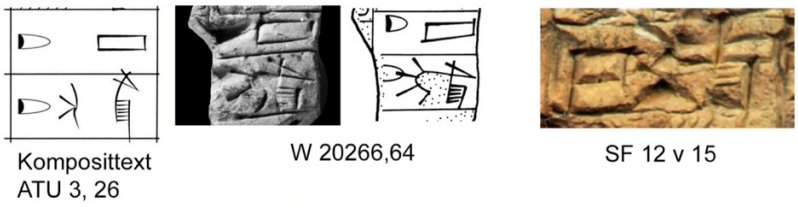


Abb. 8: Uruk-Vorläufer zu LAK280 (ERIM) in SF 12 v 15 (Photos: CDLI, P000310 bzw. P12653).

Lismans Lesung der geschlossenen Form LAK527 = ZATU143 stimmt zur Lesung „ERIM, $ERIN_2$“ in ZATU. Die offene Form ist dort unter Nr. 55 verzeichnet und wird „BIR_3“ genannt – eine Lesung des sumerischen Wortes für „Joch“, „Gespann“, die Steinkeller 1990 zu sur_x korrigierte.

Während die offene Form bis in die Ur III-Zeit weiterlebt und dann mit UD kontaminiert wird, scheint die geschlossene Form schon in der Fāra-Zeit zu verschwinden bzw. durch die offene Form ersetzt zu werden. Für die offene Form kenne ich aus Fāra 9 Belege aus 7 Texten verschiedener Gattungen[10]. Dagegen sind mir für LAK527 nur die beiden Belege in SF 36 sowie einer in dem lexikalischen Text SF 59 (P010650) ii 2 bekannt. Interessanterweise stimmen 5 von 8 Schreibernamen in den Kolophonen dieser beiden Tafeln überein (s.u. Abb. 10). Diese Belegsituation könnte bedeuten, dass LAK527 in Fāra einen Archaismus darstellt bzw. dass das Zeichen dort bereits auf dem Weg war, durch LAK280 ersetzt zu werden. Ein mögliches Indiz für Äquivalenz beider Zeichenformen ist die Kollokation von LAK527 bzw. ERIM mit LU in SF 36 iv 14 bzw. NTSŠ 82 viii 5. Diachron bestätigt wird die Entwicklung LAK527 > LAK280 durch die Duplikate zu SF 59 (Textzeuge von *Officials* oder *Archaic Word List E*) ii 2 = Z. 19 der Edition in MEE 3, p. 180): die Textzeugen aus Uruk (W 19771,h = P000182) und Fāra haben LAK527, der etwas jüngere aus Ebla hingegen LAK280:



Abb. 9: LAK527 in SF 59 ii 2 mit Entsprechungen in Uruk und Ebla (Photos: CDLI, P000182 und P010650; MEE 3)

Die Geschichte der Zeichen LAK280 (ERIM) und LAK527 und insbesondere die Bedeutung/Lesung von LAK527 in SF 36 bedürfen jedoch noch weiterer Klärung. Mit LAK527 ŠID gi_4-gi_4 in iv 1 sind wohl „lärmende Truppen (erim)“ gemeint, vgl. u_4-gin_7 ŠID bí-in-gi_4 „brüllte wie ein Sturm“ (Ibbi-Sîn, RIME 3/2.1.5.2: 14).

5. Zum Sitz im Leben von SF 36. Auf die Frage nach dem Sitz Leben von SF 36 gehen die bisherigen Publikationen nicht näher ein. Hier eine Zusammenstellung diesbezüglich relevanter Informationen und Merkmale:

a) Die heute im Vorderasiatischen Museum unter der Inventarnummer VAT 9076 aufbewahrte Tafel trägt keine Fundnummer, das Inventarbuch vermerkt „2256“. Der entsprechende Eintrag im Grabungsbuch lautet: „<gebr. Tabl.> gross gut schwarz“, es handelt sich also um eine große, gute, schwarze, gebrannte Tablette (Tafel). Diese Beschreibung stimmt mit SF 36 überein, wenngleich im jetzigen, gereinigten Zustand nur einige Stellen schwarz verfärbt sind, vgl. das Photo in CDLI (P010618). Funddatum ist der 6.2.1903. Die Fundstelle ist nach den vorausgehenden Einträgen zu ergänzen als „bei XVh“. SF 36 stammt also wie die meisten lokalisierbaren lexikalischen und literarischen Texte aus dem Bereich des „Tafelhauses“[11)].

b) Die Tafel enthält einen allgemein als „literarisch“ angesehenen Text[12)] mit Fokus auf die Stadtgöttin Sud sowie einen Kolophon mit 8 Schreibernamen.

c) Bislang sind keine Duplikate des Textes bekannt.

d) Der Text ist in Normalorthographie notiert und nicht, wie die meisten Texte narrativ-mythologischen Inhalts, in „UD.GAL.NUN-Orthographie“[13)].

e) Der Text enthält – je nach Interpretation einiger Stellen – keine oder fast keine finiten Verbalformen.

f) SF 36 ist durch die im Kolophon genannten Schreiber (Abb. 11) mit 21 anderen Fāra-Texten vernetzt, davon sind 14 lexikalischen Inhalts (fett), der Rest literarisch: ***SF 12*** (1 Schreiber), ***SF 20*** (1), SF 26+ (2), ***SF 29*** (2), ***SF 33*** (5), SF 37 (2), SF 39 (2), ***SF 42*** (4), SF 55 (4), ***SF 58*** (1)**,** ***SF 59*** (5), SF 60 (2), ***SF 63*** (2), ***SF 64*** (3), ***SF 69*** (6), SF 73 (2), ***SF 74*** (1), ***SF 75*** (3), ***SF 77*** (1)**,** TSŠ 46 (1), TSŠ 80 (1), ***TSŠ 712+*** (1).

1	UMBISAG men_x(ĜÁ×EN)-ud-gíd	***SF 69***; ***SF 77***
2	UMBISAG ĝessu-šè	***SF 69***
3	dub mu-sar	SF 37; SF 39; SF 39; SF 55; ***SF 69***; TSŠ 46; TSŠ 80; ***TSŠ 712+***
4	UMBISAG ur-^{d}ASAR	***SF 20***; ***SF 69***; ***SF 77***; TSŠ 973
5	UMBISAG saĝ-diĝir-$tuku_x$(ḪÚB)	SF 26+; ***SF 29***; ***SF 33***; ***SF 42***; SF 55; ***SF 58***; ***SF 59***; ***SF 63***; ***SF 64***; ***SF 69***; ***SF 75***
6	UMBISAG amar-NÁM	***SF 20***; SF 26+; ***SF 29***; ***SF 33***; ***SF 42***; SF 55; ***SF 59***; SF 60; ***SF 63***; ***SF 64***; ***SF 69***; SF 73; ***SF 74***; ***SF 75***
7	UMBISAG KA-ga	***SF 12***; ***SF 33***; ***SF 42***; ***SF 59***; SF 60; ***SF 64***; ***SF 69***; SF 73
8	[UM]BISAG AŠ-ur-saĝ	***SF 33***; SF 37; ***SF 42***; ***SF 59***; ***SF 69***; ***SF 75***
9	UMBISAG e_2-gal-PAD.MÙŠ-bi	***SF 33***; SF 55; ***SF 59***

Abb. 11: Kolophon von SF 36 und Beziehungen zu anderen Fāra-Texten (fett: lexikalische Texte).

g) Der Kolophon von SF 36 ist nahezu identisch mit dem Kolophon von SF 69 (Abb. 12). SF 69 ist eine Zeichen- und Wortliste, die typologisch Proto-Ea ähnelt: die Liste besteht aus Abschnitten, die jeweils einem Zeichen und dessen Kombinationen gewidmet sind, wobei hinter den häufigen Wiederholungen verschiedene Lesungen oder Interpretationen stehen dürften, die mündlich erklärt wurden.

Zwischen SF 36 und SF 69 besteht auch eine paläographische Verbindung, denn beide weisen dieselbe Sonderform von NIM bzw. TÙM auf. Eine typologisch identische Liste ist SF 7 (ohne Kolophon). Beide Tafeln stammen wie SF 36 aus dem Bereich des „Tafelhauses“. SF 7 beginnt mit Enlil, es folgen weitere Götternamen, darunter Sud. Zwischen SF 69 (der Text ist leider nur teilweise erhalten), SF 7 und SF 36 gibt es aber auch andere lexikalische Berührungspunkte, auf die hier nicht näher eingegangen werden kann.

Vorläufiges Fazit: Der Text von SF 36 diente möglicherweise nicht kultischen, sondern didaktischen Zwecken. Seine intertextuellen Beziehungen, insbesondere zu den Zeichen- und Wortlisten aus Fāra, müssen noch näher untersucht werden.



SF 36

SF 69

UMBISAG men_x-ud-gíd	UMBISAG men_x-ud-gíd
UMBISAG ĝessu-šè	UMBISAG ĝessu-šè
dub mu-sar	dub mu-sar
UMBISAG ur-^{d}asar	UMBISAG ur-^{d}asar
UMBISAG saĝ-diĝir-$tuku_x$	UMBISAG saĝ-diĝir-$tuku_x$
UMBISAG amar-NÁM	UMBISAG KA-ga
UMBISAG KA-ga	UMBISAG amar-NÁM
UMBISAG AŠ-ur-saĝ	UMBISAG AŠ-ur-saĝ
UMBISAG é-gal-niĝdaba$_x$-bi	

Abb. 11: Die Kolophone von SF 36 und SF 69 (Photos: CDLI, P010618; P010662)

Anmerkungen

1. Wirtschaftstexte: WF 149 (P011107) Rs. ii 8; TSŠ 135 i 2 (P010763; NIM_{A2}). Lexikalisch: SF 47 (P010632) Rs. ii 3; SF 59 (P010650) vii 8'; SF 64 (P010655) iv 7. Literarisch: SF 18 (P010591) vi 13; SF 60 (P010488) iii 15, vi 12; NTSŠ 82 (P010488) ix 12.

2. Geprüft wurden anhand von CDLI die photographisch dokumentierten Texte dieser Periode aus Adab, Girsu, Isin, Kiš, Nippur. Für Girsu siehe auch ROSENGARTEN 1967, 72 Nr. 390 (dort nur NIMA1/2). In den Texten aus Mari und Beydar ist NIM nicht belegt, in Ebla nur lexikalisch, und zwar in der Liste *Animals B* (MEE 3, 18-25), wo an allen Stellen und in allen Textzeugen ebenfalls NIM_{A1} steht.

3. Zusätzlich zu den Photos in Publikationen bzw. CDLI konnte ich dankenswerter Weise Photos von A. Bramanti benutzen.

4. W 17917 ii 5; Publikation: GREEN 1982, 167-170 und 182; Photo: CDLI, P217667.

5. Vgl. die Kompositkopie von Hilprecht, BE 1/2, pl. 38-42 (Nr. 87) und die Photos der das Zeichen enthaltenden Fragmente in CDLI, P264674 und P264951.

6. Vgl. SCHNEIDER 1935, 46, Nr. 398; MITTERMAYER 2006, 140 Nr. 355; LABAT 1976, 194f., Nr. 433.

7. Das in MSVO 1, 146 (P005213) i 8.a als „NIM_{b3}", transliterierte Zeichen ist ZATU225, das auch als GIŠ+LÁ und GIŠ+ŠÚ transliteriert wird.

8. Vgl. die Partitur der Zeile in ATU 3, 73, wo die archaischen Textzeugen aus Ur mit "NIb" wiedergegeben sind. Die einfachere Form ohne abschließenden Keil findet sich aber schon in Uruk-zeitlichen Textzeugen, z.B. CUSAS 21, 37 i' 4' (P411611). Frühdynastische Textzeugen (GAL.NI): SF 33 (P010613) ii 7 // 75 ii 1 // 76 iii 7 // IAS 2 ii 4.

9. CDLI transliteriert in iii 2 NIM_a, doch das Photo zeigt deutlich NIM_{b1}.

10. Wirtschaftstexte: WF 23 (P010980) Rs. iii 1; TSŠ 732 (P010891) ii 5; RTC 15 (P010555) Rs. ii 3. Lexikalisch: SF 12 (P010581) v 15 // SF 13 (P010583) iv 20. Literarisch: SF 39 (P010622) Rs. i 8; 10; 13; NTSŠ 82 (P010488) viii 5; 10.

11. Zur Analyse des Fundkomplexes s. MARTIN 1988, 86-91.

12. Z.B. BIGGS 1974, 37: „Literary. UD.GAL.NUN text, perhaps in praise of ^{d}Sùd (see col. vii ll. 9-10). The possible cultic significance of this text was pointed out by Deimel, *Fara* II 24*".

13. Zu diesem allographischen System und zum Textkorpus s. ZAND 2009.

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92) Braucht es ein „Proto-Euphratisch" zur Erklärung der sumerischen Keilschrift? — In *NABU* 2026/45 nimmt E. Gehlken eine Idee von R. Englund auf wonach die Lesung bi für KAŠ und die Schreibung von sumerisch ĝìri „Fuß" mit einem Zeichen, das von der Abbildung eines Equiden abgeleitet ist, statt mit dem Zeichen DU, das einen Fuß darstelle, wohl nur mit Worten aus einer nichtsumerischen Sprache zu erklären wären. Der jetzige Autor hat dem bereits widersprochen (KEETMAN 2020a 346f. dort auch zu ĝuruš). Die konventionelle Lesung bi (im Sumerischen und Reichsakkadischen bé in Opposition zu bí(NE)) kann vom Verbum bez (KEETMAN 2020b, statt biz) abgeleitet werden, das wohl das Geräusch von fallenden Tropfen ebenso wie das Verb „tropfen" selbst bezeichnet (PSD B 161f. ATTINGER 2021, 211). Das Wort ĝìri kann auch mit „Weg, Route" wiedergegeben werden. Diese Bedeutung könnte in den Wirtschaftstexten eher vorliegen, als die Bezeichnung eines Körperteiles, was die Zeichenwahl erklären würde. Das Zeichen DU ist nicht das Bild eines einfachen Fußes, sondern das Bild eines Fußes mit Schienbein und hervorgehobener Wade.

Die Erklärung mit Hilfe einer anderen Sprache ist also keineswegs alternativlos. Letztlich lässt sich nicht sicher sagen, wie die Lesungen entstanden sind. Aber Englund stützt sich ganz wesentlich darauf, dass eine alternative Erklärung zur Hypothese einer unbekannten Sprache nicht vorhanden sei.

Es gibt im frühdynastischen sumerischen Syllabar Lesungen deren Herkunft mit Hilfe des zu großen Teilen erst aus jüngeren Quellen bekannten sumerischen Wortschatzes nicht unmittelbar zu erklären ist. Nicht einfach, aber möglich ist die Herleitung bei folgenden Lesungen: **ab**: Es liegt wohl èš(AB) „Heiligtum" zugrunde und ^{su}ÈŠ = abzu (Cities 33, 60), wovon ab für ÈŠ abgeleitet ist (cf. ĝír-su Cities 59). Die Lesung zu ist später durch graphische Differenzierung von su abgeleitet. Eine andere Möglichkeit ab abzuleiten ist über UNUG = Uruk, ^{kul}UNUG, vereinfacht ^{kul}AB = kul'aba und davon aba und ab. **ḫa** vielleicht von ku_6 „Fisch". Beachte den Wechsel von ḫa-mu- und ḫu-mu-. Der Vokal von ku_6 könnte also zwischen /a/ und /u/ gelegen haben. Siehe ferner ku-ú, ku-ú-a als Aussprache von KU_6 = *nūnu* „Fisch", MSL 14, 359, 111f. **ḫe/ḫi**: Bedeutung „mischen", zu verbinden mit šár „Kreis" und der kreisenden Bewegung beim Mischen. **ḫu**: mušen „Vogel", ḫu als Ruf von Vögeln. **ma**: dem Bild nach etwas, was man aufhängt, vielleicht ein Gewicht an einer Wage. Dazu Gewichtseinheit ma-na, nach SOMMERFELD 2006,

63f. kein semitisches Lehnwort. Enthält sumerisch na „Stein“ entweder als phonetisches Hilfszeichen oder als Teil einer Zusammensetzung mit ma. **nu**: von nu „spinnen“. Gezeigt wird etwas, was um etwas anderes herumgeschlungen wird.

Ungeklärt ist **ša**. Allerdings ist ša zwar frühdynastisch belegt (KREBERNIK OBO 160/1, 296), aber nicht in sumerischen Worten oder Morphemen. Für /ša/ wird frühdynastisch im Sumerischen $ša_4$(DU) verwendet: ì-tuš-$ša_4$-a VS 27, 72 vii 1; $ša_4$-ba-dab_5 OIP 14, 55 rechts ii 2f. InstrŠ Adab passim. Die Lesung $ša_4$ gehört zu einem sumerischen Verbum mit der ungefähren Bedeutung „bringen“ (Attinger, Glossaire 964), was zu einem Fuß mit Beinansatz gut passt. Noch früher behalf man sich mit šà(-g) „Herz“. Siehe Cities 52 BU.ŠÀ vermutlich das sargonische *ša-ab-bu-nu-um*^{ki} (KREBERNIK 2007, 43 mit Anm. 23). Hingegen wird ŠA mit der Lesung na_5 in UGN-Texten und auch im semitischen Namen *en-*na_5*-il* gebraucht (KREBERNIK 1998, 301). Diese Lesung geht auf na_5 = *pitnu* „Kasten, Box“ zurück und ist also sumerisch. Für **ḫé**, **ta** wüsste der Autor keinen spezifischen Erklärungsansatz.

Für den Nachweis, dass bei der Ausbildung des frühdynastischen sumerischen Syllabars auf Worte aus einer postulierten unbekannten Sprache zurückgegriffen wurde, bräuchte es mehr Fälle, denn es ist grundsätzlich damit zu rechnen, dass Veränderungen eingetreten sind, die eine Ableitung aufgrund späterer Quellen unmöglich machen. Z. B. könnten ḫé und ta auch von den Namen von Gefäßen abgeleitet sein, die später nicht mehr in Gebrauch waren oder anders benannt wurden. Entsprechendes gilt, falls sich der Laut auf etwas bezog, das in oder an diesen Gefäßen vorhanden war.

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei auch auf weitere ungeklärte Lesungen verwiesen, die ab FD IIIa ausschließlich in semitischen Worten verwendet werden wie lik (UR). Siehe WESTENHOLZ 2020, 701-705.

GEHLKEN 2026 argumentiert auch damit, dass Sumerer in Uruk IV/III ein Morphem wie ḫé- hätten schreiben können, es aber nicht getan haben und schließt daraus „The fact that this did not happen suggests, that Sumerian was not written at that time.“

Die archaischen Texte von Ur (ATU) wurden sicherlich auf Sumerisch geschrieben, aber es dauerte dann noch rund 800 Jahre bis man alle grammatischen Elemente auch schrieb. Ur-Nanše schrieb lange nach den ATU „er baute für ihn“ meist mu-dù, seine Nachfolger mu-na-dù und wohl erst nach dem Ende von Ur III wurde mu-un-na-an-dù geschrieben. Dabei hätte man schon zur Zeit der ATU durchaus über die Zeichen zur Schreibung von na und an verfügt, setzte sie aber nicht, bzw. nicht überall ein. Offenbar kam man lange Zeit mit einem Schriftsystem zurecht, das nicht den vollen Umfang der Grammatik abbildete, so wie man im heutigen Arabischen damit zurecht kommt, dass Vokale meist nicht geschrieben werden. Ebenso kam man bis ans Ende der Keilschrift mit der enormen Vieldeutigkeit der Keilschriftzeichen zurecht.

Was Uruk III betrifft, so wurden essentielle Informationen sicher auch durch die komplizierte Aufteilung der Tafeln übermittelt. Schrift war auch etwas für sehr spezielle Aufgaben. Erst indem immer mehr Aufgaben für das Schreiben entdeckt wurden, inklusive des Schreibens von Texten in einer anderen Sprache, entwickelte sich die Schrift. Sich ein entwickeltes Schriftsystem gleich am Anfang zu denken, ist anachronistisch und geprägt von unserer modernen Erfahrung mit dem Schreiben.

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93) Still about two Ebla fragments from the Kress private collection — In *NABU* 2026/3, Fiammetta Gori published two Ebla fragments from the Kress private collection. By telling the story of the photographs of the two fragments she concludes: “Actually both fragments can be confidently identified as originating from Ebla”.

I congratulate with Fiammetta Gori very much for her attribution of the two fragments to Ebla and for the recognition of the joint of one of them with the text ARET XIII 14. Her attribution of the fragments to Ebla is confirmed by a distinguished Assyriologist. As a matter of fact, I consider it is necessary to remember that the recognition of the two fragments belonging to the Ebla texts took place several years ago, as early as 2005, by a great and unforgettable German Assyriologist, Joachim Krecher, with whom I had a dense correspondence for years until his death and who always provided me with valuable advice.

Obviously, Fiammetta Gori could have not known the matter, because Krecher sent me his transcription of the two pieces privately. In fact, as can be acknowledged from the documents attached here, Joachim Krecher identified the two fragments as belonging to Ebla’s texts, copied them and sent them to me, telling me I could use them any way I wanted. Below I therefore provide the documents sent to me by Joachim Krecher.

Joachim Krecher,26-06-2005 22:47 +0200,Sonderdrucke **2**

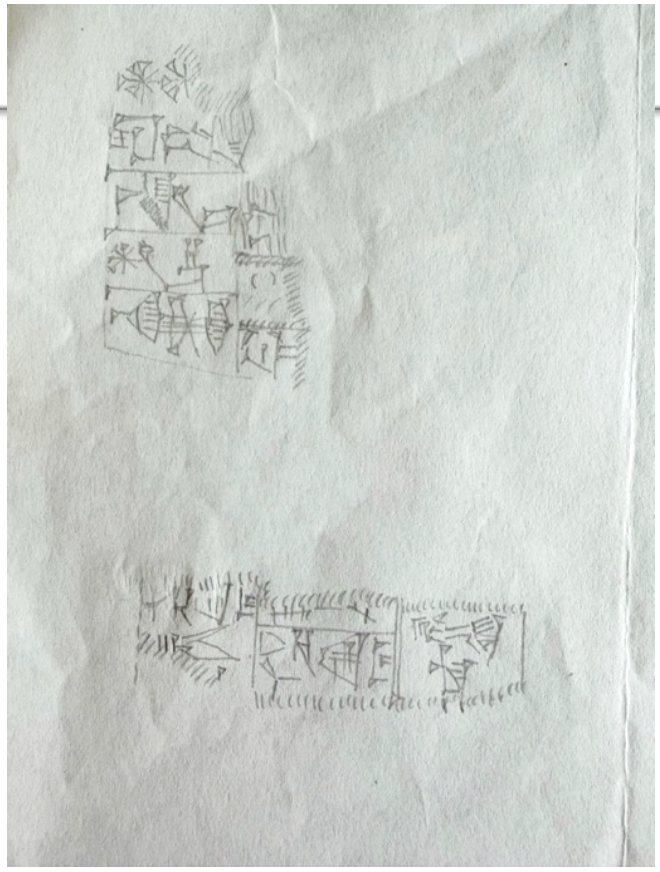
zusaetzliches Argument liefern koennte, werde ich mich bei Ihnen melden.

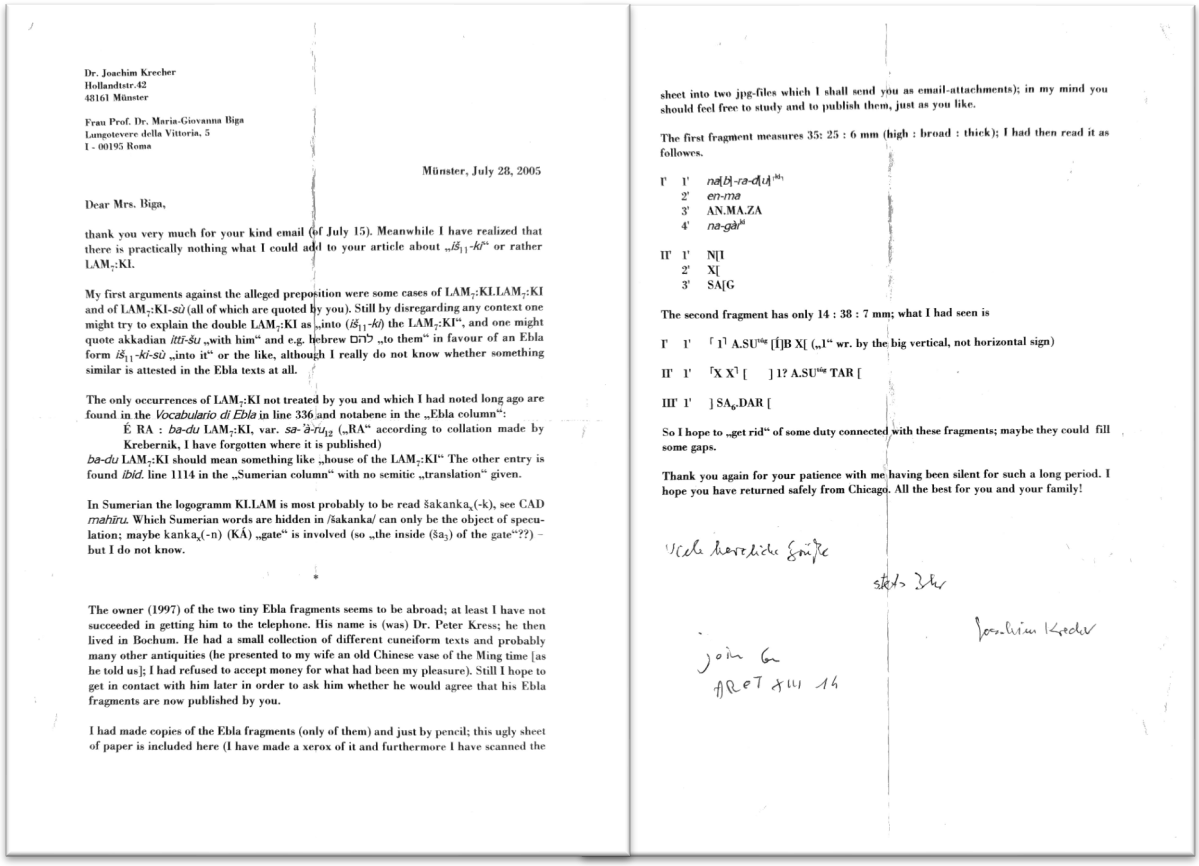
Vor sieben Jahren hat ein Antikensammler mir Keilschrifttexte vorgelegt, unter denen sich auch zwei winzige Fragmente von - wie ich denke - Ebla-Tafeln befinden. Ich werde Ihnen das schicken (auch wenn Sie es nicht glauben koennen: schon damals dachte ich, das sollte sofort nach Rom zu Vanna Biga gehen, und dann kam der Sieg der Traegheit . . .). In den kommenden Tagen bin ich mit meiner Frau bei Ihrer Mutter in Dresden und sehe zum ersten Mal die wieder aufgebaute Frauenkirche; vielleicht habe Sie von diesem Abenteuer gehoert. Aber danach werde ich versuchen, meine Traegheit zu besiegen.

Noch einmal vielen Dank fuer Ihre Grosszuegigkeit! Ich wuensche Ihnen und Ihrer Familie alles Gute und gruesse Sie ganz herzlich aus dem fernen Muenster.

Stets Ihr

Joachim Krecher





Dr. Joachim Krecher
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48161 Münster

Frau Prof. Dr. Maria-Giovanna Biga
Lungotevere della Vittoria, 5
I - 00195 Roma

Münster, July 28, 2005

Dear Mrs. Biga,

thank you very much for your kind email (of July 15). Meanwhile I have realized that there is practically nothing what I could add to your article about „$iš_{11}$-*ki*“ or rather LAM_7:KI.

My first arguments against the alleged preposition were some cases of LAM_7:KI.LAM_7:KI and of LAM_7:KI-*sù* (all of which are quoted by you). Still by disregarding any context one might try to explain the double LAM_7:KI as „into ($iš_{11}$-*ki*) the LAM_7:KI“, and one might quote akkadian *ittī-šu* „with him“ and e.g. hebrew להם „to them“ in favour of an Ebla form $iš_{11}$-*ki-sù* „into it“ or the like, although I really do not know whether something similar is attested in the Ebla texts at all.

The only occurrences of LAM_7:KI not treated by you and which I had noted long ago are found in the *Vocabulario di Ebla* in line 336 and notabene in the „Ebla column“:

É RA : *ba-du* LAM_7:KI, var. *sa-ʾà-ru*$_{12}$ („RA“ according to collation made by Krebernik, I have forgotten where it is published)

ba-du LAM_7:KI should mean something like „house of the LAM_7:KI“ The other entry is found *ibid.* line 1114 in the „Sumerian column“ with no semitic „translation“ given.

In Sumerian the logogramm KI.LAM is most probably to be read šakanka$_x$(-k), see CAD *mahīru*. Which Sumerian words are hidden in /šakanka/ can only be the object of speculation; maybe kanka$_x$(-n) (KÁ) „gate“ is involved (so „the inside (šà$_3$) of the gate“??) – but I do not know.

The owner (1997) of the two tiny Ebla fragments seems to be abroad; at least I have not succeeded in getting him to the telephone. His name is (was) Dr. Peter Kress; he then lived in Bochum. He had a small collection of different cuneiform texts and probably many other antiquities (he presented to my wife an old Chinese vase of the Ming time [as he told us]; I had refused to accept money for what had been my pleasure). Still I hope to get in contact with him later in order to ask him whether he would agree that his Ebla fragments are now published by you.

I had made copies of the Ebla fragments (only of them) and just by pencil; this ugly sheet of paper is included here (I have made a xerox of it and furthermore I have scanned the sheet into two jpg-files which I shall send you as email-attachments); in my mind you should feel free to study and to publish them, just as you like.

The first fragment measures 35: 25 : 6 mm (high : broad : thick); I had then read it as followes.

I' 1' *na*[*b*]-*ra*-*d*[*u*]^{ki}
2' *en-ma*
3' AN.MA.ZA
4' *na-gàl*^{ki}

II' 1' N[I
2' X[
3' SA[G

The second fragment has only 14 : 38 : 7 mm; what I had seen is

I' 1' ⌜ ⌝ A.SU^{ma} [Ì]B X[(„I“ wr. by the big vertical, not horizontal sign)

II' 1' ⌜X X⌝ [ ] 1? A.SU^{ma} TAR [

III' 1'] SA_6.DAR [

So I hope to „get rid“ of some duty connected with these fragments; maybe they could fill some gaps.

Thank you again for your patience with me having been silent for such a long period. I hope you have returned safely from Chicago. All the best for you and your family!

Viele herzliche Grüße

stets Ihr

Joachim Krecher

Join Ca

ARET XIII 14

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94) A-t-il vraiment existé un personnage prénommé Rēʾī-šadu à la disposition de la reine éblaïte ? — L'un des problèmes majeurs qui ont affecté les études éblaïtes au début de leur histoire a été le risque encouru par les spécialistes de confondre les termes du lexique avec des anthroponymes. Malheureusement, nous devons constater avec regret que cette tendance se poursuit encore aujourd'hui, en créant, par exemple, davantage de confusion dans le déjà complexe dossier concernant les fils du dernier couple de souverains de la ville. On se réfère, en particulier, à un passage, qui provient d'un compte-rendu annuel de métaux encore inédit datant de la période du mandat du ministre Ibbi-Zikir (à paraître prochainement dans *ARET* XXII 11), et à la graphie sémitique *rí-ì-ša-du* qui y est contenue ; il s'agit de l'extrait suivant :

[1] TM.75.G.2507 v. XVIII:33-42: 1/2 kù:babbar / 1 *rí-ì-ša-du* / 1 dumu-nita / *ma-lik-tum* / šušana$_x$-4 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 6 gín DILMUN kù-sig$_{17}$ / 1 *gú-zu-ra-tum* / *ma-lik-tum* / lú tu-da (cité par BIGA 1996 : 62).

Ici, à l'évidence, la reine qui vient d'accoucher (lú tu-da) et son nouveau-né (dumu-nita) reçoivent des bijoux en métaux précieux pour célébrer l'heureux événement. Ce bébé royal, selon la reconstitution chronologique établie par Archi (2022 : 26, n. 73), aurait été enfanté quelques années après la naissance du premier-né, généralement identifié avec le prince Irʾag-dāmu, mais, en tant que second enfant de sexe masculin des monarques d'Ébla, il ne fut pas soumis à l'importante cérémonie du *maš-da-bù*, réservée au seul prince héritier de la lignée dynastique (PASQUALI 2024). Or, très récemment, malgré le fait que *rí-ì-ša-du* soit précédé du chiffre 1, ce qui indique bel et bien qu'il s'agit d'un terme se référant à un objet, on a cru pouvoir interpréter cette graphie comme le nom d'un « subordonné » de la reine, voire Rēʾī-šadu, sous prétexte que « the insignifiant amount of silver and the vertical wedge which precedes both the personal name and the term dumu-nita *ma-lik-tum* rather suggests that this Rēʾī-šadu was a subordinate, not a son of the queen » (POMPONIO 2026). Au-delà du fait que la sortie d'une modeste quantité d'argent est pleinement justifiée en vue de la réalisation d'un petit bijou destiné à un enfant qui venait juste de naître, à ma connaissance à Ébla le chiffre 1 n'est jamais placé devant un anthroponyme afin d'évoquer le rang inférieur

d'un individu et il n'existe à ce jour aucun indice significatif qui nous autorise à introduire cette règle alambiquée. Les formules dumu-nita en et dumu-nita *ma-lik-tum* dans les documents éblaïtes identifient toujours sans aucune exception les fils du roi et de la reine et non leurs « subordonnés ». L'hypothèse, donc, est bien loin de pouvoir être retenue.

D'ailleurs, comme je l'ai proposé lors d'un précédent travail (PASQUALI 2025), il faut plutôt expliquer le rare terme *rí-ì-ša-du* par l'accadien *rēštum*, « partie supérieure » (CAD, R, 272), et le comparer avec la graphie *rí-iš-da* présente dans :

[2] TM.75.G.2622 r. XVI:29 : 2 *rí-iš-da* al_6*-la-nu* (cité par ARCHI 2003 : 30, n. 13, qui propose la même étymologie que nous, mais avec une interprétation tout à fait différente : « two fruits of the oak »),

faisant référence dans ce cas à la cupule en or d'un pendentif en forme de gland (al_6*-la-nu*), dont la graine était réalisée, comme d'habitude à Ébla, en pierre dure. Dans le compte-rendu d'où le passage **[1]** est tiré, on n'y évoque explicitement que la partie en or du joyau, étant donné que le but principal de ce type de textes était celui de comptabiliser les sorties de métaux précieux.

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95) Warum der Name Elam nicht die Erfindung sumerischer Schreiber ist — Seit den Tagen des Eannatums von Lagaš, bzw. des vermutlich noch etwas früher anzusetzenden Enna'il (*ḫinna'il*) König von Kiš[1)] wird Elam NIM$^{(ki)}$ = elam geschrieben.[2)] Das Wort steht von Anfang an immer wieder neben Bezeichnungen für Staaten wie Umma, Mari, Ebla, Baraḫšum, z. B. elam^{ki} ù ba-ra-aḫ-šúm (Sargon). Von Sargon und Rīmuš werden auch Herrscher von Elam mit dem Titel LUGAL „König" namentlich genannt. Bemerkenswert ist u. a. ein Siegel aus Susa mit dem Titel énsi elam^{ki} „Statthalter von Elam".[3)] Das Wort kann also eine politische Einheit bezeichnen, die zumindest zeitweise unter einem Herrscher stand. Die geographische Ausdehnung geht aus den Quellen nicht deutlich hervor und mag sich mit der Zeit auch geändert haben. Daneben erscheint der Gebrauch *pars pro toto* im Zusammenhang mit Leuten, die aus dem östlichen Bergländern stammen möglich.

Die Schreibung mit einem Zeichen, das im Sumerischen auch nim „hoch"[4)] gelesen werden kann und der Anklang an akkadisch *elûm* „hoch" hat zu einer mal als Vermutung (DAMMEROW/ENGLUND 1989, 1 Anm. 1), mal als Gewissheit (POTTS 1999, 2-5) vorgebrachten Ableitung von diesem akkadischen Adjektiv geführt. Ohne die akkadische Ableitung nochmals definitiv zu behaupten aber auch ohne sie abzulehnen schreibt Potts 2016, 1-3 zu Elam: „a name given to the uplands east of Mesopotamia by Sumerian scribes who were simply referring to it, in logical way, as 'highland'". Abgesehen von dem geographischen, bzw. politischen Begriff elam gibt es dieses Wort aber im Sumerischen nicht. Es liegt also eine Verwechslung zwischen Wort und Zeichen vor, es sei denn man greift wieder auf das Akkadische zurück.

Zwischenzeitlich ging QUINTANA 1996 sogar so weit, auch die elamische Bezeichnung für das Land Elam, *halhatamti* von älteren Formen von *elûm* ableiten zu wollen. Dem hat VALLAT 1996 widersprochen. Er weist darauf hin, dass vielmehr ^{hal}hatamti oder hal hatamti „Land Hatamti" zu lesen sei und bestreitet darüber hinaus Quintanas Argumente bezüglich einer möglichen Lautentwicklung. Vallat hält es dann für wahrscheinlicher, dass die akkadische Bezeichnung *elamtu* von *ha(l)tamti* abgeleitet ist als umgekehrt. STOLPER 2004, 60 sieht diese Richtung der Entlehnung als gesichert an. Vallat verweist ferner, wie auch Quintana und Potts auf HINZ 1964, 18, der eine Etymologie von *hal* „Land" und *tampt* „(gnädiger)

Herr“ also etwa „Land des Herren“ erwägt, aber ausdrücklich betont, dass das nicht sicher sei. Auch ein Zusammenhang mit a-dam-dun$^{(ki)}$ oder dieses als Wiedergabe von *ha(l)tamti* wurde diskutiert.[5)]

Vielleicht könnte man es mit den Ausführungen von Vallat bewenden lassen, doch wie POTTS 2016 zeigt, wird die Behauptung elam hieße so etwas wie „Hochland“ im Sumerischen weiter vertreten und auch eine Etymologie mit *elûm* „hoch“ steht weiter im Raum. MICHALOWSKI 2008, 121 meint „it may be preferable to refrain from translating elam [in sum. Texten, jk] as Elam before Old Babylonnian times”. Es handele sich um “a general term denoting the highlands”. Auf die sargonischen Belege geht Michalowski nicht ein und auf Eannatum nur am Rande. Einen Vorschlag zur Herkunft des Wortes macht Michalowski nicht.

Die ältere Aussprache des Adjektivs wäre als *ʿalūtum*, Feminin *ʿalū(a)tum* anzusetzen. Ein Übergang ʿa > /e/ so früh kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Siehe den in Lagaš zwei, drei Generationen nach Eannatum gut belegten Namen ì-lí-be$_6$-lí „mein Gott ist mein Herr“ (BALKE 2017, 196f.) < *ilī-baʿlī*. Trotzdem bereitet schon die Lautform Schwierigkeiten. Außerdem geht die akkadische Bezeichnung *elamtum* nicht von *elûm* aus. Zu erwarten wäre *elītum* und dieses Wort hat im Akkadischen u. a. die Bedeutung „Hochland“. Umgekehrt könnte das sumerische Wort elam versehen mit der Endung des Feminin *elamtum* ergeben haben. Allerdings haben die meisten Ländernamen im Akkadischen keine weibliche Endung. Eine Ausnahme ist Šubartu(m), bei Eannatum subur^{ki} (zahlreiche Varianten, MICHEL 2011-13).

Eine Ableitung von *elûm* führt also zu der wenig wahrscheinlichen Situation, dass sumerische Schreiber für ein angrenzendes Land oder Gebiet ein Wort gebrauchten, das weder von dort kam, noch aus ihrer eigenen Sprache, sondern aus dem Akkadischen, obwohl im Akkadischen der Name für Elam mit Sicherheit nicht auf *elûm* zurückgeht. Folglich ist *elûm* als Quelle auszuschließen. Auch die Bedeutung „hohes Land“ ist sowohl im Sumerischen als im Akkadischen auszuschließen, weil hierfür ausschließlich andere Wörter gebraucht werden. Schon Eannatum gebraucht den Ausdruck elam ḫur-saĝ u$_6$-ga „Elam, das hohe Gebirge“ (u. a. RIME1.9.3.5 iii 13; SELZ 1991, 35). Dies stützt zwar die Assoziation „hoch“, doch elam steht nirgends als ein allgemeines Wort für „Hochland“, was sich auch daran zeigt, dass es später durchweg mit Ortsdeterminativ geschrieben wird, während ḫur-saĝ „Gebirge, Hochland“ immer ohne Determinativ geschrieben wird. Eine Ableitung des sumerischen und des akkadischen Namens von *ha(l)tamti* ist unter den bisher erwogenen Theorien am wahrscheinlichsten. Jedenfalls ist es ein Eigenname.

Anmerkungen

1. Seine Inschriften haben archaische Züge. Er wird aber auf einer unpublizierten Statue aus Umma erwähnt, die stilistisch klar nach FD IIIb einzuordnen sein soll (MARCHESI/MARCHETTI 2011, 180). Auf der Geierstelle findet sich eine Anspielung, wonach Umma in seiner Politik gegenüber Lagaš von Kiš beeinflusst wird (KEETMAN 2012) und später kämpft Eannatum auch gegen Kiš. Enna-il *könnte* sein Gegner oder der Vorgänger seines Gegners gewesen sein. Enna-il nennt seinen Vater ája-$^{an\text{-}[z]u_5}$MI^{mušen}, aufgrund dieser deutlich älteren Schreibweise ist dieser wahrscheinlich nicht identisch mit einem mutmaßlichen König ája-^{an}anzú(IM.DUGUD)^{mušen} auf einem Siegel aus dem Königsfriedhof von Ur (RIME1.13.1). Damit gäbe es wohl auch zwei Herrscher mit dem Namen Aja-Anzu, so wie es Enannatum I und II gab. Dementsprechend sollte man auch die Möglichkeit Enna-il I und II nicht ausschließen.

2. Für diese Lesung zuletzt MICHALOWSKI 2008, 109.

3. RGTC 1, 42-46; KIENAST/SOMMERFELD 1994, 94-96; SELZ 1991. Indirekt erwähnt wohl schon Eannatum einen Herrscher von Elam, allerdings ohne Titel: NIM kur-ra-na bí-gi$_4$ „den Elamiter trieb er in sein Land zurück“, parallel zu lugal akšak^{ki} kur-ra-na bí-gi$_4$ „den König von Akšak trieb er in sein Land zurück“ RIME1.9.3.5 vi 8 u. 10f. Weniger wahrscheinlich, dass „der Elamiter“ stellvertretend für alle Elamiter steht.

4. Zur Lesung nim CAD Š II 16a oben, *šaqû* „hoch“ neben *elû* „hoch“ (dazu CAD E 110b). Außerdem unorthographische Schreibung ni-in ATTINGER 2021, 806 (Instructions of Ur-Ninurta, Tell Harmal).

5. RGTC 2, 5; MICHALOWSKI 2008, 115 Anm. 19 mit Lit. Michalowski zitiert VALLAT 1996 mit der Lesung „Halamti“ fehlerhaft. Vallat bleibt bei Haltamti. Im Elamischen sind Hatamti und Haltamti belegt.

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96) More discussion about /i/- in the Sumerian prefix-chain and nu-ù- "not yet" in Ur III — In *NABU* 2023/58 the author suggested that the alleged prefix /i/- only exists as sole prefix like al- and that /i/ in other cases should be considered as an auxiliary vowel in front of two consonants. See also *NABU* 2023/88. But some open questions still remain.

There are good reasons for assuming an auxiliary vowel /i/:

– It is not attested in front of the prefixes from the CV-Type: mu-, ba-, bí-.
– It appears before the ventive but not with the ventive-morpheme mu-.
– In all other positions we can analyse /i/ + CCV except /i/-root and exceptions mentioned below.
– This /i/ is functionally void (Attinger 1993, 267; Edzard 2003a, 109).
– This /i/ isn't written in the imperative (Attinger 1993, 299; Keetman 2023a).

But there are some reasons for doubt on the morphological level.

1) With intransitive verbs and in *marû* the /i/ can be used without CCV: ì-ĝen "he/she went".
2) If the root begins with a vowel the form may be /i/ + n/b/m + V(…). For example /i/ + n + a_5, written ì-na "he/she made" (for rare cases of ì-na instead of more common in-na, in-a_5 STEINKELLER 2003, 276).
3) There are writings ì-im-, ì-in- etc. (compare WILCKE 1988).
4) In Texts from Ur III nu-ù- is often written where without nu- /i/ would start the prefixes, but the author was unable to find a sure example for *nu-ù-mu- while nu-mu- is abundantly attested.

In (1) we may assume that the /i/- isn't an auxiliary vowel but has the function to mark a finite verbform. This is not necessary if other verbal prefixes are used. (2) may be nearly the same case since n, b, m are not clear markers for a finite verb. They are three different consonants melting with the vowel of the root. Instead /i/- is used to signal a finite verb as it is used before roots beginning with a consonant.

An auxiliary vowel can be a normal short vowel from the repertoire of the involved language. Compare Smyrna > İzmir. Writings ì-im-, ì-in- etc. are open for interpretation. Since especially in older texts the writing ì- can stand for /im/-, /in/-, /ib/-, the following iC may have been seen as a clarification. Cf. optional ĝar^{ar} etc.

Because of its frequent use an auxiliary vowel may be seen like any other vowel especially in a language with a morphological structure overwhelmingly built out of syllables instead of phonemes. This may be the answer for the problem posed by (4) but there are reasons to doubt, that nu-ù- has anything to do with /i/-.

The prefixes which share the same place with nu- don't show a similar tendency for adding a vowel in cases where we may expect /i/. These are a-, ba-ra--, ga-, ḫé-, ši-, ù- and in-ga-. For a- and ù- the reason could be to avoid a writing a-a-, ù-ù-. For ḫé-e- there is an example in Sulge D 161: ḫé-e-túmu-dè. But compare unexplained writing ga-mu-ù-ta-x just two lines after it. There are some writings ba-ra-a- but all may be explained by an element for first or second person singular or locative-terminative. Similar explications are possible for nu-ù- in many cases but not in all. For example not for nu-ù-ta- which the author could find in 8 texts from Ur III. This looks like a vindication für nu-ù- < nu-/i/-, but if we complete the statistic for the ventive this looks very unlikely. A search in Ur III transcriptions from the CDLI revealed:

nu-mu-	129	nu-um-	82
nu-ù-mu-	0	nu-ù-um-	3

In two of the three cases in which nu-ù-um- is written (MVN 3, 125 Rs. 3; RA 73, 26, 2 Rs. 2) it follows tukum-bé "if". The statistic shows that mu- instead of /i/ + m is not the reason for using nu- instead of nu-ù-. Neither the quantitative relation between nu-um- and nu-ù-um- nor the affinity with tukum-bé could be explained with /i/.

We suggest nu- and prospective ù- with the meaning "not yet". This nuance is hard to prove, but there are some cases which point in this direction. For example nu-ù-na-zi zi-zi-dam "it isn`t yet withdrawn for him, (but) it should be withdrawn" BE 3/1, 64 rv. 2f. níĝ-ka$_9$ nu-ù-ĝar "the calculation isn`t yet done" BBVO 11, 299 rv. 1; mu ur-^{d}ba-bu$_{11}$-da kišeb nu-ù-da-ĝál-la<-šè> kišeb ur-šár-ùr-ra íb-ra "because the seal of Ur-Babu wasn't yet available for him, the seal of Ur-Šar'ur was used" LB 360 rv. 2-4; [na]m-dam-šè-àm [d]a-ga-na nu-ù-nú-a "that she has not yet lain in his bedroom as a wife" NG 22, 11. The use of nu- and nu-ù- often changes in the same text without an explanation like scarcity of place, locative-terminative, 1th or 2nd person, unexplained plene writings.

In the badly damaged text NBC 11108 (VAN DIJK 1976) nu-ù- makes good sense (1-3):

> ra-an [e]n-né an mu-ra-zalag-ge$^{?}$ ki mu-x-[m]i kur-šè igi mu-[ĝál?]
> bùru a nu-bala níĝ nu-ĝar ki daĝal-[la] [a]b-sín$^{!}$(ḪU) nu-a$_5$
> ra-išib maḫ ^{d}en-ra-líl-lá nu-ù-ĝál [š]u-luḫ kù-ge nu-ra-ù-ma-ni-du$_7$
>
> An the lord was illuminating the sky, the Earth … (and) looked at the Netherworld.
> No water was drawn by the holes, no goods were produced, no furrows were made upon the wide earth.
> Enlil's great purification-priest did not yet exist, the sacred purification rites were not yet performed.

We can assume an increase of expectation from "not" to "not yet" and the same on the bad preserved reverse: The natural world with nu- "not" and the world of the cult and the gods with nu-ù- "not yet": ki-du ú-šem-ma ní nu-mu-gíd-gíd-e "at the watercourses smelling vegetation didn't grow long by itself" rv. 1; diĝir an-ra-na diĝir ki-a nu-ù-ra-su$_8$-su$_8$-[g]e-éš "the gods of heaven and the gods of the netherworld were not yet standing for their duties" rv. 5.

A classic argument against an analysis as nu- + ù- may be that they belong to the same slot. But the positions of the slots are empirically derived from the positions of the affixes not the other way round. There is no functional reason why ù- and nu- should be incompatible. If we accept that the so called "frustrative" nu-uš- can be derived as nu- combined with an element of unknown origin (EDZARD 2003a, 121f. with lit. and 126; CIVIL 2000, 40: presumably < *nu-šè, meaning something like "why not?"; since nu-šè isn't attested it may be from nu + ši-), this would be a parallel for an element between the slots of nu- and in-ga-. There are other forms which may defy the strict order of the slots: in-ga-na-mu-, nam-ga-, ù-ul- (ATTINGER 1993, 297; 296) which we don't discuss here.

But perhaps the problem is the modern arrangement of the slots. To the best of my knowledge a combination of ù- and in-ga- is attested only once in Sulge B 302 (un-ga-ti "when he is still alive") where (i)n-ga- looks back and ù- looks forward in an unusual combination, and in NBGT (MSL 4, 137), where the text is using just all possible vowels. With the exception of ba-ra- other prefixes of the first slot can be combined with in-ga- (EDZARD 2003a, 124-26; iri- Nungal 62; an-ga- Keš-Hymne 54f. AbṢ. WILCKE 2006, 230; Sulge C 41; D 14). Therefore ù- and in-ga- may share one slot. Their function is somehow similar, since both connect verbs.

The Akkadian particles used to express "not yet" *lāma*, *adīni* are used to describe Sumerian nu-da- not nu-ù-. But this may come from -da- indicating ability. For this usage see GRAGG 1973, 53-55; THOMSEN 1984, 226; JAGERSMA 2010, 453 but sceptical BALKE 2006, 115f. A sentence "he wasn't able to come" isn't far from "he has not yet come". Both have another perspective than "he didn't come".

There is one case where nu-ù- is used with *marû* in a text from Gudea. Normally ù- is used with *ḫamṭu*. This may be easily explained by the function of ù-: "A precedes". This may mean: "A has preceded" or "A precedes (whenever A happens)". But what about "A is preceding (just now)" and "A will precede"? We may expect that in these cases *marû* could be used and therefore nu-ù- with *marû* may mean for example "it hasn't happen up to now" strengthening the very moment "now". This hypothesis fits at least the context from Gudea: u$_4$ ul-lí-a-ta nuĝun i-a-ta énsi lagaš^{ki} é-ninnu ^{d}nin-ĝír-su lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ ù-na-dù-a lú níĝ-du$_7$-e pa

è-a-àm enim-enim-né lú nu-ù-kúr-e di ku_5-a-na šu nu-bala-e "since these old days, since (the days) when the seeds (for the first time) sprouted, if a ruler of Lagash had built the Eninnu for Ninĝirsu my lord (and) he was one who made all things right then up to now nobody has changed his words, his judgements will not be altered" Gudea Statue B viii 27-38. Gudea is saying: "it was the custom since ever up to now and therefore it should remain the custom".

We may summaries: nu-ù- cannot be derived from nu- + /i/-. A purely graphic variation is very unlikely. A combination nu- and prospective ù-, with the meaning "verb A precedes (verb B)" (EDZARD 2003a, 122) would mean "verb A didn't take place, but should precede" = "A not yet happened" and there are contexts were the use of nu-ù- instead of simple nu- can be easily explained by this meaning.

In the theory of Jagersma /i/- was "a kind of perfective marker" and /a/- "a kind of imperfective marker" in a time for which no written records exist or the writing was not sufficient developed for a relevant investigation. Then /a/- and /i/- were dropped before CV. "The second change was the rise of the perfective and imperfective inflection" (JAGERSMA 2010, 548).

We may ask if the second development may have been the first. But there are other problems with this theory. The prospective (and polite imperative) ù- remains in front of CV-. This may be explained by the fact that ù- was still functional while /i/- lost its function. But /a/- still expressed stative meaning (JAGERSMA 2010, 549). The second problem is that /a/- had a second form al- in front of the root. EDZARD 2003b explains this by the assumption that /l/ was dropped before CCV-. If this is true the assumed old imperfective marker would have had the form al- before CV- = aCCV- and should have remained according the assumption of Jagersma. But the behaviour of /a/-, al- is difficult to understand.

The theory has no specific explanation for the expansion of /i/- to the imperfective. We may end up with the same result that the reason why /i/- is used before CCV- is that an auxiliary vowel is needed and that in the case of ì-du the ì- is used as a marker for the finite form: ì-du "he is going, he will go" and du "the one who is going, the one who will be going". Cf. u_4-da iri-šè ì-du-un "when I shall go to the city" Lugalbanda II 287; en-e kíĝ-gi_4-a kur-šè du-úr ĝidru šu-na mu-un-na-ĝá-ĝá "the lord gives the sceptre to the messenger who will be going to the mountains" ELA 433f. If the theory of Jagersma is right, the Proto-Sumerian imperfective marker was transformed into a finite verb marker and an auxiliary vowel without any other function.

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97) Sumerian /ř/: Inventory Geometry and Historical Merger, A response to Kormos — Kormos (2026b, 19–21) rejects Jagersma's aspirated [t͡sʰ] reconstruction of Sumerian /ř/ in favour of a nonaspirated coronal affricate, approximately [t͡ʃ], partly because the later /d/ reflex would otherwise have to lose both affrication and aspiration despite the presence of /z/=[t͡s] and /t/=[tʰ]. His objection identifies a genuine comparative burden for [t͡sʰ]. It does not, however, follow from the inventory alone that the changing consonant had to merge first with one of those neighbouring categories. The distinction matters because a historical preference and a categorical exclusion require different arguments.

Inventory geometry does not determine the transition rule. Kormos's reasoning is compelling under a particular kind of history: deaspiration is completed while affrication is retained, or deaffrication is completed while aspiration is retained, with immediate merger into the coincident category. Under those assumptions [t͡sʰ] is indeed drawn toward /z/ or /t/ before it reaches /d/. But the inventory does not itself supply those transition assumptions. A coordinated reduction of the cues supporting frication and aspiration can in principle preserve category identity until a later merger with /d/. Conversely, a sequential reduction can yield an earlier /z/ merger. These two histories can begin with the same four-category inventory. What differs is the admissible path and the rule by which changing tokens are categorized.

This is only a non-entailment point. It does not show that coordinated cue reduction occurred in Sumerian, that it was common, or that it was as natural as Kormos's proposed nonaspirated history. A reconstruction of [t͡sʰ] must still explain how the contrast survived and why the relevant cues changed together rather than collapsing into an existing category. The point is not that coordinated reduction occurred, but that excluding it requires a restriction on admissible sound changes that is additional to the inventory itself. The narrower conclusion is that an inventory diagram constrains the possible history but does not, without a transition and categorization theory, make one intermediate merger obligatory.

Chronology imposes a second constraint. Jagersma places contextual voicing of /z/ in the same broad period as voicing of /b, d, g/, while noting that the conditioning is not verified as identical throughout (JAGERSMA 2010, 38; 42). One may therefore not remove /z/=[t͡s] from the competing inventory by substituting a later [d͡z]-like realization while silently retaining an earlier [t]-like realization of /d/. Nor must /z/ and /d/ be assumed to change simultaneously. The requirement is simply that competitor and destination be justified in the same regional, chronological, and environmental scenario; a mixed scenario is possible if it is independently supported.

The rhotic branch and the Greek spelling. The companion note adduces Greek *Ξισουθρος*. Kormos explicitly adopts the premise that Classical Greek /r/ was voiceless after aspirated plosives and argues that Greek *θρ*, rather than expected *τρ*, reflects a fully voiceless Sumerian /dr/ cluster (KORMOS 2026a, 18–19). This is relevant Sumerian-related evidence, but on Kormos's own Greek-phonology premise its two apparent properties are not independent. Once an adapter selects Greek *θ*, the Greek pattern he invokes itself supplies the environment in which following /r/ is expected to devoice. The sequence *θρ* therefore cannot by itself show both that the source stop required Greek *θ* and, independently, that the source rhotic was already voiceless. The evidential burden shifts to why *θ*, rather than *τ*, was selected in the transmission of the name and whether comparison with other names constrains that choice.

Even if source-rhotic devoicing is accepted, manner remains open. A voiceless rhotic after an obstruent need not be the fricative or affricated rhotic realization required by a particular merger account, and a late post-obstruent allophone cannot simply be projected backward to the much earlier regional /r/ merger. Kormos's evidence therefore motivates a search for Sumerian rhotic allophony but does not by itself recover the earlier recipient realization.

What the orthography can and cannot add. Kormos also invokes DU's use for *ša*$_4$ alongside its /řV/ readings (KORMOS 2026b, 20). Jagersma's examples show that CV spellings of this kind are attested from the Old Sumerian period onward: in the nominalizer /ʔa/, the initial glottal stop is analyzed as assimilating to a preceding consonant, yielding spellings such as ša$_4$ after /š/, sa after /s/, and řá after reconstructed /ř/, although after /š/ and /ḫ/ the plain spelling with a remains more common (JAGERSMA 2010, 586–587). This makes a purely late sign-list association inadequate. It does not establish when the readings were first recruited, whether phonetic similarity motivated that recruitment, or whether the motivating relationship

remained unchanged. The shared-sign argument can therefore carry comparative weight without uniquely identifying place of articulation.

Conclusion. Kormos identifies real reasons to prefer a specified nonaspirated reconstruction under specified historical assumptions. What does not follow is categorical exclusion from inventory geometry alone. The /d/ argument needs a theory of transition and merger, the chronology must reconstruct competitors and destinations in the same scenario, and the /r/ argument needs evidence for the relevant recipient manner rather than devoicing alone. Conversely, the early DU readings remain potentially informative evidence of phonetic proximity, but their comparative weight depends on the history and morphological conditioning of the readings. The choice between reconstructions is therefore comparative and historical; the inventory by itself does not decide it.

Generative AI disclosure. Generative AI was used for literature searching, drafting, and revision. The author reviewed the claims and references for accuracy and accepts responsibility for the final text.

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98) NBC 6712 and NBC 9943 — The latest Nippur tablet of the Ur III documentation has been published in a note of the present review (TANG 2021). The text, part of the Yale Collection (NBC 6712), is the record of a regular delivery (sá-du$_{11}$) of barley, although its destination is considered to be no longer legible. The barley is received by Išar-Padan, whose seal is impressed on the reverse of the tablet, and is supplied by Erra-baštī. It is dated the first month of the Nippur calendar, in the year name Ibbi-Suen 16* (formula mu-ús-sa of Ibbi-Sin 15*, which would not be attested on any other tablet), while the day is not indicated. However, in fact, there is another Nippur tablet dated the same month and with the same year formula, and it, too, belongs to the Yale collection (NBC 9943). A transliteration of it may be found in BDTNS 077753. This text also records the receipt of a regular delivery of barley, received by Išar-Padan, whose seal is impressed on the reverse of the tablet,[1)] and supplied by Erra-baštī. The recipient of the barley is a group of Mardu (sá-du$_{11}$ mar-dú-ne-šè) and, in my opinion, this is also what happens in NBC 6712, with the sign which follows sá-du$_{11}$ which should certainly be read as MAR (ma[r-dú-ne]-šè). Therefore, the only difference between the two tablets is the disparity in the quantities of barley: 2 gur and 1 bariga in NBC 6712, according to the editor, and 2 gur and 2 bariga in NBC 9943, on the basis of the photo of BDNTS.[2)] However, regarding the amount of barley in the first tablet, K. Wagensonner, the Associate Research Scholar and lecturer at Yale, was kind enough to inform me that "NBC 6712 has 1.1.0 še gur (there is a slight shadow in the center of the horizontal wedge, likely either some damage or it is a manganese spot on the surface of the tablet). So, NBC 6712 records exactly half of the amount of barley recorded in NBC 9943". Therefore, we may assume that a group of Mardu received a daily amount of 360 sìla of barley over a few days of the same month of the same year. The amount must be for two days for NBC 9943 and for one day for NBC 6712. Now, if we assume an allocation of 6 sìla per day for each member of the group, we can infer that the Mardu contingent consisted of 60 individuals, a perfect number for a military unit: see e.g. the title of the junior officer ugula-géš-da, "comander of sixty men", mentioned in more than a hundred Ur III texts (see LAFONT 2009: 14).

As for the date, while it is not entirely certain that the formula of the two tablets refers to the 16th year of Ibbi-Suen, it is indisputed that the year in question is to be inserted between Ibbi-Suen 8 and 18 (see MOLINA 2021: 279). This means that, in any case, NBC 6712 and 9943 are the two last tablets from Nippur dated with a year name of Ibbi-Suen. However, given that Nippur remained under Ur's control no later than the early months of IS 8, before being conquered by Išbi-Erra, the king of Isin, we must acknowledge that some time after Nippur's conquest by Isin, Ur managed to regain control of Isin, its former holy city, even for a very brief period. Now, it is an interesting coincidence that the two texts

proveding proof of this brief return of Nippur to Ur record a payment in barley to a group of Mardu. We can therefore surmise that these Mardu were among those responsible for this reconquest.

It is well known that some people denoted as Mardu performed a military function, in particular that of bodyguards for elites, at the court of Ur (MICHALOWSKI 2011: 107-109), even if in no other Ur III text are the Mardu recipients of a regular delivery. However, we may mention two more direct connections with this presence of Mardu in Nippur, which had already been occupied by Išbi-Erra's troops. In Ibbi-Suen's "royal letter" of Ibbi-Suen to Puzur-Numušda (MICHALOWSKI 2011: 464, ll.32-34) reference is made to the king of Ur's utopian plans regarding the benefits of his alliance with the Mardu: they were to come from the highlands to help Ibbi-Sin, defeating the Elamites and capturing Išbi-Erra. Returning to reality, even if covered by the veil of propaganda, in the formula of his 17^{th*} year Ibbi-Suen boasts that "The Mardu, the powerful south wind who from the remote past have not known the city (uru), submitted to Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur" and Išbi-Erra in the formula of his 8th year retells the destruction of the centre(s) (uru) of Mardu (SIGRIST 1980: 13). Aside from the interesting contradiction regarding the Mardu's relationships with the uru settlements in the two year names, I propose linking the two events: Išbi-Erra drove the Mardu settlements out of his kingdom, forcing them to take refuge to the south in the adjacent territory still held by Ur. Ibbi-Sin, unable to block this intrusion, portrayed it for propaganda purposes as an act of submission to Ur. Now, we do not know the exact correlation between the chronologies. However, based on the transfer of Nippur from Ur to Isin during Ibbi-Sin's 8th year, we consider the equivalence Išbi-Erra 1 = Ibbi-Sin 9 the most plausible. Thus, there appears to be a direct sequence between the two events mentioned above, with the king of Isin's victory over the Mardu (Išbi-Erra 8) directly preceding their settlement in the kingdom of Ur (Ibbi-Sin 17 = Išbi-Erra 9). In the same year, the newcomers Mardu may have collaborated with Ibbi-Sin to reoccupy Nippur for a month or slightly longer.

Notes

1. In both the tablets the name of the owner of the seal is followed only by his patronymic, only the first sign (É) of which is legible. The same seal legend is impressed on a third tablet of Nippur, a list of personal names, but with its date missing (BUCCELLATI – BIGGS 1969, nr. 26). It is likely that this tablet also belongs to the period of the ephemeral reoccupation of Nippur by Ibbi-Sin. This event could be the first example of the rapid, at times frenetic, shift of the control over Nippur among Isin, Larsa, and exceptionally Babylon, typical of the history of Babylonia during the first two centuries of the second millennium BCE (see POMPONIO 2014: 490-491).

2. More precisely, in NBC 6712, the verb šu-ba$_4$-ti is written in l. 5 of the obverse, but in NBC 9943 it has been moved to the first line of the reverse. In respect of the the resemblance between the two tablets, evidently written by the same hand, it is worth mentioning that their dimensions are very similar: 44x44x17 (NBC 6712) and 43x40x16 (NBC 9943).

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99) Old Assyrian pedagogical exercises; new additions 1 — In a recent article we put together all the currently available Old Assyrian student exercise tablets from the cities of Assur and Kanesh, with the full anticipation that more would soon be made available (MICHEL and MICHALOWSKI 2026). This prediction was realized sooner than one could have expected and in this note we offer some comments on two new tablets that should be added to our catalog.

1. Ö. Kahya and K. Toptaş (2026) published a lentil-shaped tablet with a list of 19 lines of names for aromatic plants. This text, Kt 88/k 580 (which becomes Kanesh 9 (level II) in the catalogue of MICHEL & MICHALOWSKI 2026), belongs to the large archive of Aššur-rē'ī and his son Pilah-Ištar discovered at Kültepe during 1987 and 1988, unearthed in a house supposedly excavated in the squares S-T/12-13 (note that the house 60 of HERTEL 2014: 47 does not correspond to these squares). However, according to Tarık Öğreten (personal communication), the best option would be a partly reconstructed house located on squares LX-LXI/129 (ÖĞRETEN 2024, 199-200, bloc 15, house 9). The archive comprises in total 1169 documents, including 438 discovered in 1987 (Kt 87/k 248 to Kt 87/k 688) and 731 unearthed in 1988 (Kt 88/k 1 to Kt 88/k 731). The latter were published in KT 7a and KT 7b, with some other tablets discovered nearby (numbered between Kt 88/k 754 and Kt 88/k 969; BAYRAM and KUZUOĞLU 2014: 35-38; BAYRAM, KUZUOĞLU and KAHYA 2024: 39).

If we consider the inventory numbers of the tablets, it is impossible to attribute this list of plants to either Aššur-rē'ī or his son Pilah-Ištar. Nevertheless, according to the editors of the archive, given that it appears Aššur-rē'ī's wife and children lived in Assur whilst he was trading in Anatolia, we may surmise that this tablet belongs to Pilah-Ištar and his family, and that it may have been written by one of the children, or possibly even by one of the adults as an assignment during domestic educational activities. Pilah-Ištar had two wives with Anatolian names – Tatana, daughter of Agiya and an Anatolian woman, and Walawala – and children with each of them. These children were no doubt bilingual from a very young age, learning an indigenous language from their mother and to speak, to read and perhaps write the Old Assyrian dialect from their father (or possibly from their mother as well). Thus, this text dates most probably during the time Pilah-Ištar was active in Anatolia, i.e., between ca. 1885 and 1857 (BAYRAM, KUZUOĞLU and KAHYA 2024: 39).

As things stand, this list is unique in its shape and contents. Unlike other Old Assyrian lentils, which were much thinner and inscribed on one side only, on this one the text covers obverse, lower edge, and reverse. The listed nouns are all names of aromatics, but without the pertinent determinative; such words are otherwise attested at Kanesh in two practical vocabularies written on rectangular tablets dated to the eighteenth century that include other classes of words such as metals and stones as well as metrological entries, in each case marked with relevant determinatives (MICHEL and MICHALOWSKI 2026: 224-227, 233-234, tablets Kanesh 4 and Kanesh 8 respectively). One of these includes several of the same words as on the lentil. This confirms that the practical vocabularies were probably either exam-like texts or more advanced exercises comprising various modular sections that were learned separately but also illustrates once again the limited chance nature of the recovered student exercises, few of which were preserved in the private houses as keepsakes or simply swept up in debris or business achieves.

Unlike the Kültepe level Ib practical vocabularies on which words are mainly written with logograms and determinatives, in this level II lentil, plants are written syllabically in Akkadian. One entry is particularly striking, *la$_2$-a-a-ar* in l. 3, which corresponds to $^{\text{šem}}$*la$_2$-a-a-ar* in Kanesh 8, 8' and $^{\text{šem}}$⌜*la$_2$-a*⌝-[*a-ar*] in Kanesh 4, 8. As the authors point out, this apparently corresponds to the Old Babylonian Larsa *li-wi-ir* (MIDDEKE-CONLIN 2014: 42, time of Rim-Sin I; see already EBELING 1948: 138; LEEMANS 1960: 151-52); otherwise, it was nativized as *lijāru* or more often as *tijāru*, if these were indeed the same word. This is undoubtedly a loan word but its rarity and the fact that it was written with no Akkadian case ending suggests that it was a rare quotation from a different language that had yet to be nativized in either dialect. The Kanesh and Larsa occurrences aside, it was never otherwise cited without a case ending. Is it possible that the zero-case citations are indicative of a common lexicographical tradition? Furthermore, most the other entries in the list were written in the accusative case and not the nominative, that is in the standard Akkadian citation form. Could this be a case of interference from another language? Indeed, the marked accusative case can be used as a citation form in marked-accusative type 2 languages such as certain varieties of Cushitic and Saharan languages (KÖNIG 2007: 254).

2. R. Akdoğan, T. Ünlü, and M. Weeden (2022) published a curious object, a five-sided clay prism with a perforated handle on top that contains the first half of the elementary exercise *Syllable Alphabet A* (S^{a}). This exercise was in use throughout Mesopotamia and beyond, for example in Susa, in Old Babylonian times—although not generally at Nippur—and became ubiquitous in Middle Babylonian times and later

versions (VELDHUIS 2004: 177–178). The prism, which was confiscated and has no provenience, is housed in the Adana Museum.

Akdoğan, Ünlü, and Weeden (2022) carefully discussed various possible places of origin of the object and although the paleographic dating of such exercises, written by beginners, is difficult they stressed that it was written in Babylonian cuneiform. Moreover, they observed (p. 2), "in terms of distance, possibly the closest (Late) Old Babylonian school text of similar if not identical format is the one containing a bilingual Proto-Aa exercise that was found on a cylinder at Ḥammām at-Turkumān, 80 km north of ar-Raqqa. It is also not entirely clear if this object was produced at the site or brought to it from a northern Babylonian site." This site was most likely ancient Zalpah (ZIEGLER and LANGLOIS 2017: 420–21). That poorly preserved prism was published by the late W. van Soldt (1995: 279–86, 289–92) who observed that the top, which only came to light during conservation after the hand copy had been made, had three damaged lines (p. 285). A photograph of the relevant area kindly made available to P.M. by the late D. J. W. Meijer only confirms the bad state of preservation of the superscript, which was clearly marked in top of the first side of the prism: DIŠ ^{d}x[...], DIŠ ^{d}x[…], DIŠ ^{d}ḫa-^{r}ia$_3$^{1}. The names of the deities in the first two lines cannot be identified, but one supposes that Nisaba and either Enki/Ea or Nabium were involved. The use of such a paratext strongly suggests that the object indeed originated somewhere to the south of where it was found, in northern Babylonia or the Diyala region. Akyüz (2026: 94), however, now insists that the prism was written in Kültepe because it was confiscated together with two tablets originating there, but such circumstantial evidence ignores the paleographic, historical, and philological arguments presented by Akdoğan, Ünlü, and Weeden (2022) that make its ascription to Kültepe, and even to Old Assyrian times, highly speculative at best.

3. More secure is the news reported by Akyüz (2026: 94) that he had identified a two-column fragmentary tablet of S^{a} among the more than 2100 tablets discovered at Kültepe in 1962 in the house of the family of the prominent businessman Uṣur-ša-Ištar (Kt n/k 2105 which, when published, will become Kanesh 10 [level II] in the Michel & Michalowski [2026] catalog). In this archive, archaeologists found another exercise tablet (Kanesh 3), which combined many computation exercises and a short word list. Uṣur-ša-Ištar was in contact with the king of Assur. His sister, Akatiya, was linked to the royal family, and several exercise tablets were also found in her house in Assur; she died around 1880 BCE (MICHEL & MICHALOWSKI, Assur 1-10). The unpublished syllabary S^{a} and the tablet Kanesh 3 represent two atypical level II exercises evidencing the care given to education by this wealthy family. The discovery of this two-column tablet is moreover important for two reasons: it is the first identified Old Assyrian pedagogical exercise that corresponds to one used elsewhere, and because it would be one of the earliest exemplars of S^{a}. According to Veldhuis (2006: 196), there is one Ur III tablet with the composition (MVN 6, 4), but it was published only in hand copy, and no collation or photograph is available to confirm such a dating. However, Tanret and De Graef (2010: 230–231) have demonstrated that seven if not more lentils from Susa with extracts from S^{a} come from an archaeological level that should be "dated to the final phase of the Simaškean period, *ca*. 1920 and 1850 BCE," roughly overlapping with Kültepe level II.

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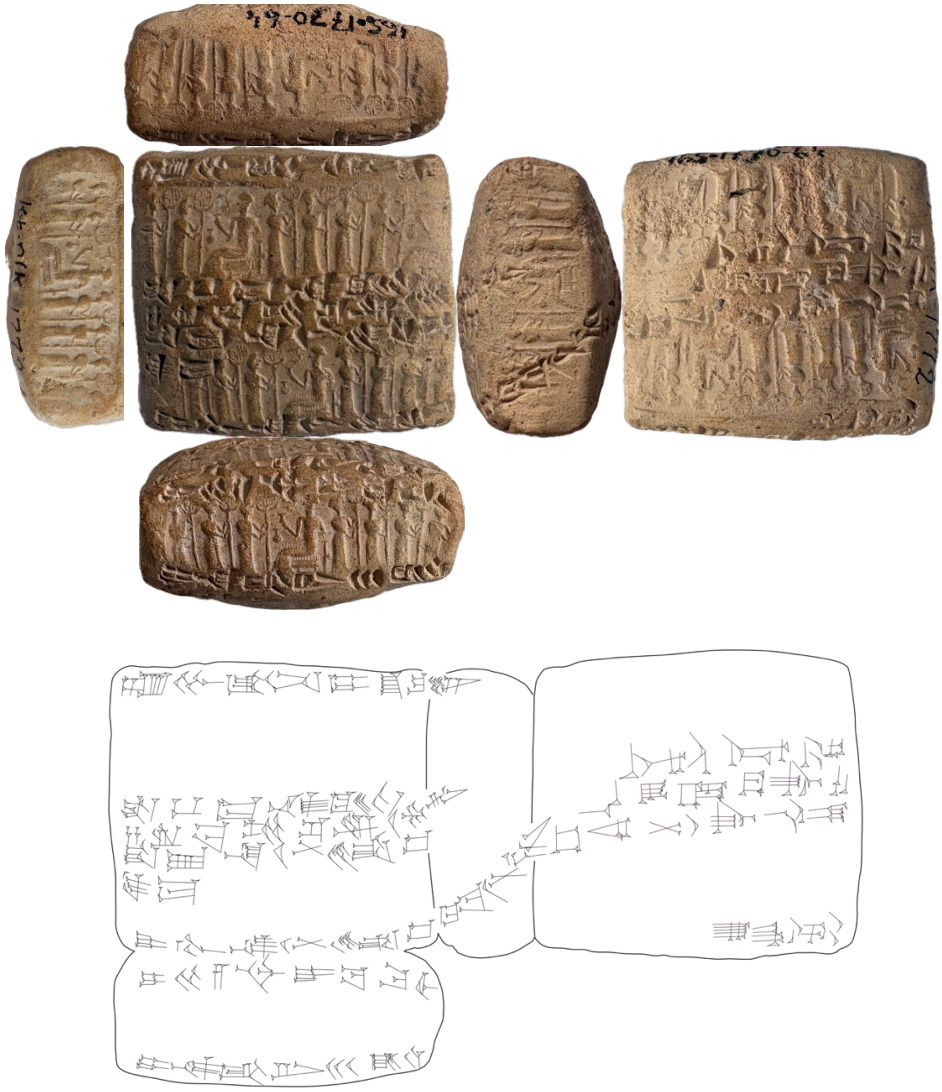
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100) Inattention du scribe ou question de style ? L'ajout astucieux du statut d'une femme sur une enveloppe paléo-assyrienne[1)] — L'enveloppe intacte paléo-assyrienne Kt n/k 1772, translittérée et traduite par BAYRAM et ÇEÇEN (1996 : 615-616) et, plus récemment, par MICHEL (2009 : 157 ; 2020 : n.105), appartient à l'une des plus importantes archives découvertes à Kültepe. Découverte en 1962 par T. Özgüç, l'archive du marchand Uṣur-ša-Ištar comprenait 2158 tablettes et enveloppes (VEENHOF 2022 : 185).

La translittération de l'enveloppe reproduite ci-dessous nous révèle qu'une esclave de la maison de Naplis a été vendue à Kura, à Kaneš, au prix de 20 sicles d'argent. L'argent a été reçu par Iddin-Aššur, fils de Pappalum, au nom de la fille *gubabtum* de Naplis. Nous supposons donc qu'il était responsable de la remise de cette somme à la *gubabtum* à Aššur. Aucune réclamation ne devait désormais être faite concernant cette vente :

f. 1. KIŠIB *Bu-ka$_3$-nim* DUMU *Šu-Sú-en$_6$*
(sceau de Bukānum)[2)]
2. *ša* 1/3 *ma-na* KU$_3$.BABBAR
3. *ṣa-ru-pa$_2$-am ši$_2$-im* GEME$_2^{tim}$
4. *ša* E$_2$ *Na-ap$_2$-li-is*
5. *ki-ma*
(sceau de Bukānum)
6. DUMU.MUNUS *Na-ap$_2$-li-is* ***gu$_5$-ba-ab$_2$-tim***
t.i. 7. *I-di$_2$-A-šur$_3$* DUMU *Pa$_2$-pa$_2$-lim*
(sceau de Bukānum)
8. *i-na Ka$_3$-ni-iš$_3$* KU$_3$.BABBAR
r. 9. *il$_5$-qe$_2$-u$_2$*
(sceau de Bukānum)
10. DUMU.MUNUS *Na-ap$_2$-li$_2$*-is*
11. *a-na Ku-ra u$_2$-la$_2$*
12. *ta-tu$_3$-ar*
(sceau de Bukānum)
t.s. (sceau de Bukānum)*
l.d. (sceau de Bukānum)
l.g. (sceau de Bukānum)

Bien que la copie de la tablette réalisée par BAYRAM et ÇEÇEN (1996 : 633) indique que le terme *gu$_5$-ba-ab$_2$-tim* (ligne 6) a été écrit en diagonale sur la tranche droite, un des aspects les plus intéressants de la matérialité de ce document n'a pas été mis en évidence : l'écriture diagonale du terme *gubabtum* relie directement la ligne 6 sur la face à la ligne 10 au revers, qui contiennent toutes les deux la même information, DUMU.MUNUS *Na-ap$_2$-li-is* (figures 1 et 2), seule mention connue de cette femme dans la documentation paléo-assyrienne.



Enveloppe Kt n/k 1772, ©Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi. Photo et copie : Anita Fattori, collationnée en août 2026.

La façon dont le terme *gu*$_5$*-ba-ab*$_2$*-tim* a été écrit indique qu'il s'applique aux deux lignes à la fois, nous montrant que la fille de Naplis était une femme religieuse-*gubabtum*. Pourquoi le scribe a-t-il choisi cette manière peu conventionnelle d'insérer les signes cunéiformes ? D'abord, le scribe a imprimé huit fois le sceau de Bukānum sur l'enveloppe, puis il a imprimé les signes cunéiformes. Il a fait tout son possible pour préserver intactes les empreintes des sceaux, mais l'espace semble insuffisant : plutôt que de continuer sur le côté droit, *kīma* est écrit sur une nouvelle ligne (l.6) ; le choix de préserver l'empreinte du côté droit se répète à la ligne 12, où il écrit le verbe *tatūar* au lieu d'utiliser l'espace à la fin de la ligne précédente.

Le scribe a donc visiblement prêté une grande attention aux sceaux, spécialement à l'empreinte sur le côté droit de l'enveloppe, où il a uniquement inséré le terme *gubabtim*. Deux hypothèses pourraient être proposées : soit il s'agit d'un choix de style, afin de mettre en évidence le titre de la fille de Naplis ; soit le scribe a oublié d'insérer l'information et a dû trouver une solution pour remédier à ce problème.

L'insertion de ce terme semble être la dernière modification apportée au document par le scribe, ce qui nous indique qu'il a dû trouver une solution créative pour corriger son oubli. Le lien établi entre le titre, en préservant au maximum le sceau, et les deux mentions de la fille de Naplis souligne l'importance de la présence du titre *gubabtum* dans ce contrat. Les femmes *gubabtum* occupaient une place prestigieuse dans la société paléo-assyrienne et participaient au partage de l'héritage paternel. Lorsqu'une esclave de la maison de Naplis est vendue, probablement après la mort du marchand, la mention du statut de religieuse de la vendeuse au sein de cette société peut prévenir de futures contestations concernant le droit de propriété

sur l'esclave et, par conséquent, sur l'argent issu de sa vente.[3)] Peut-être que la future publication des documents de cette archive, ainsi que la possibilité de lire la tablette de cette enveloppe avec l'aide d'un scanner tomographique, nous aidera à mieux comprendre le choix de ce scribe et la place des filles religieuses dans cette société.[4)]

Notes

1. Je remercie le Kültür ve Turizm Bakanligi, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlügü et Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi de l'opportunité de conduire mes recherches au sein du musée pendant le mois d'août 2026. Je tiens tout particulièrement à remercier le directeur du musée, M. Yusuf Kıraç, ainsi que le vice-directeur, M. Umut Alagöz, de m'avoir accueillie au sein de cette prestigieuse institution. Je remercie également Cécile Michel pour la relecture de cette note.

2. Le sceau de style paléo-assyrien appartenant à Bukānum a été publié par Nimet Özgüç (2006 : 145, CS 462).

3. Par exemple, la fille *gubabtum* d'Elamma, Ummī-Išhara, a hérité d'une serve après la mort de son père. L'esclave vivait avec son frère à Kaneš et sa vente était interdite (KT 8 : n. 176 et n. 178).

4. À propos de l'utilisation du scanner tomographique comme solution non invasive pour l'analyse des tablettes conservées dans leur enveloppe, cf. MICHEL *et al*. 2026.

5. Les opinions, hypothèses, conclusions ou recommandations exprimées dans cet article appartiennent à son autrice et ne reflètent pas nécessairement le point de vue de la FAPESP.

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101) VS 2:2 (VAT 617): Additions and Improved Readings — Fully or partially phonetic Emesal liturgies are notoriously difficult to understand (though to what extent varies from text to text), VS 2:2 being no exception. The last major edition of this text, an Inanna-Dumuzi lament from the Old Babylonian period, was done by Cohen (COHEN 1981: 73-84, 108-109, 121-124); it is in need of certain improvements. The same text is treated in summary by Fritz (FRITZ 2003: 112-13). The only other edition of which we are aware is a recent one by Obel (P342810), to which we contributed the following ideas that are important for understanding this liturgy:

i 25: … ba-an-su-ru-ne-eš-a; Cohen does not attempt to identify the verb stem behind this unusual phonetic writing. It seems best to understand -su- as an aberrant phonetic writing of -du-, since both are alveolar consonants and -su- might, then, reflect how the phoneme du in this phonetic environment was thought to be pronounced at the time. Such alveolar consonantal interchange in the Emesal corpus is rare, but note in general the variation between Adab and Usab and between Nisaba and Nidaba (JACOBSEN 1967: 100). If this analysis is correct, then the verb stem must be durun, hence "they who sit/sat down there". As nothing is preserved of i 25 except the verb form, it is impossible to be certain of this interpretation, but the evidence is nonetheless strong. Emendation of the verb chain to ba-an-su-<<ru>>-ne-eš ("they entered") should not be considered, since RU is written in i 27 and i 28 (presumably).

i 26, 29: Based on our proposed reading of i 25, the following should be added after ba-an: <(su-ru-ne-eš-a)>, which the scribe omitted apparently for reasons of economy.

ii 19: […] an-na KA pa BU-ra-mu …; this line is difficult, but we tentatively suggest, based on a loosely similar line in a lament to Sud (TCL 15:1, o 18: … ĝidru an-sud; see METCALF 2025: 36-49), to read […] an-na-ka ĝidru su_{13}-ra-mu …, "in the … of heaven, my long-lasting scepter …". A reading bur_2-ra ("torn out" or "removed") is

theoretically admissible, but not so in practice for lack of sense. We are not convinced that [^{d}utu] is present in the break (COHEN 1981: 77), because he seems first to be introduced in ii 22.

ii 20: Having carefully studied the beginning of this line in a clear photograph of the tablet generously provided to us by Niek Veldhuis and Paul Delnero, we propose to read [ĝi$_6$]-par$_3$, which makes excellent sense in the context (kug ^{d}inanna immediately follows it, Inanna, of course, being closely connected to the *ĝipar*).

r i 15: unug^{ki} RA igi-ni-še$_3$ should perhaps be interpreted as unug^{ki} ra(ḫ$_2$) igi-ni-še$_3$, with ra(ḫ$_2$) used as a perfective participle, "Uruk struck before his eyes" or, alternatively, "Uruk flooded before his eyes". A lexical equivalence raḫ$_2$ = *raḫāṣu* ("to flood") is attested (BM 122629: r$^{?}$ ii 55'), but from Middle Assyrian Nineveh, so such evidence must be employed with caution regarding the word's meaning in Old Babylonian times. Although uncertain, raḫ$_2$ = *raḫāṣu(m)* may well be an abbreviation for a … raḫ$_2$, "to flood" (Veldhuis, personal communication).

r ii 22-23': The sign sequence an-zu-ta should be parsed an ("sky") + zu (2nd sg. poss. pron.) + ta (abl.-instr.), meaning approximately "over your sky", since an-zu for anzu(d) follows it and there is no reason for Anzu's name to be written twice in either line. Taking uru-mu (r ii 22') and ĝir$_2$-su^{ki} (r ii 23') as vocatives and ĝi$_6$-ga and babbar-ra as writings of ĝi$_6$-ga(m$_3$) and babbar-ra(m$_3$), respectively, we translate "my city, over your sky is the black Anzu bird, / Ĝirsu, over your sky is the white Anzu bird". The reference is obscure, although it surely pertains, at least partly, to Ninurta's (Ninĝirsu's) legendary defeat of Anzu. Additionally, mention of the "white Anzu bird" may recall Ninĝirsu's temple e$_2$-ninnu-^{an}anzu^{mušen}-babbar$_2$-ra, which was restored most famously by Gudea (see, e.g., OIP 14 33 (brick), ii 2 and Gudea A, VII, 2; GEORGE 1993: 134, #897).

r ii 38'-39': The first sign of r ii 38' (me gu$_2$ im-me uru$_2$ AD […]), ME (which does not occur in r ii 39'; it was likely deemed unnecessary since the first person singular pronominal subject was presumably judged to be apparent), should be taken as the Emesal form (though usually me-e) of Emegir ĝe$_{26}$, gu$_2$ as gu$_2$-(a), and im-me as the first singular imperfective of dug$_4$, hence "I (probably Inanna) speak (i.e., cry out) on the (river)bank …". Reverse ii 40'-41' (uru$_2$-mu gu$_2$-gu$_2$-bi mu-ni-ˈibˈ-[ḫa-lam-a]) alludes to Dumuzi's disappearance from the riverbank, so Inanna desperately calling out for him in the same place is contextually apposite. This notwithstanding, it is equally possible that gu$_2$ is a non-standard writing of gu$_3$ in the very common phrasal verb gu$_3$ … dug$_4$, "to speak, shout", hence "I cry out (for him?)".

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102) En marge du projet KIŠIB, 1 : ZADIM et BUR.GUL, deux métiers complémentaires mais coexistant à l'époque paléo-babylonienne — Dans une étude récente fort bien documentée, A. Goddeeris a repris de manière très complète le dossier de ce qu'on appelle traditionnellement les « sceaux burgul »[1)]. Dans la première partie, elle a essayé de comprendre ce qui fait la différence entre deux métiers qui semblent proches, désignés respectivement comme bur-gul et zadim. Elle indique (p. 668) :

« We can conclude that burgul and zadim are synonyms with a different temporal—and during the late third millennium, archival—distribution, and that during the Old Babylonian period, burgul is the main term used to denote a stoneworker, an artisan who cuts and engraves vessels, statues, figurines, and seals. »

Une telle conclusion pose cependant problème, puisque l'auteure a noté elle-même (p. 667 et n. 9 [p. 677]) qu'un texte littéraire paléo-babylonien (eršemma) mentionne les deux métiers côte à côte (PBS 10/2 15 = https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/CBS.475). J'ajoute que ce texte est connu par un manuscrit de Tell Haddad (H 0002), édité dans le ePSD-2, qui offre des variantes[2)] :

bur-gul-la bur ba-an-gul-la-ŋu$_{10}$
ˈzadimˈ-e za-gin$_3$ ˈdim$_2$ˈ-ma-ˈaˈ-[ŋu$_{10}$]

« My (house) where stone cutters hacked at stone bowls,
[My] (house) where stone carvers carved lapis »

La base ARCHIBAB lui a également permis de citer deux textes où cooexistent zadim et bur-gul :

– un contrat de partage d'héritage de Tell Harmal (archibab.fr/T2919) où l'on voit témoins à la suite l'un de l'autre (l. 20-21) un bur-gul et un ugula zadim (le texte est daté d'Ibal-pi-El II ; noter la présence d'un sceau d'un serviteur de Samsi-Addu) ;

– un document administratifs (daté de Samsu-iluna) dans lequel sont cités à la suite un zadim et deux bur-gul (CUSAS 15 57 ; cf. archibab.fr/T18212, où j'avais signalé en 2013 l'intérêt du passage) ; il est bien regrettable que le texte soit si mal conservé.

On doit également rappeler que dans le Code de Hammu-rabi, au § 274, on trouve cités l'un après l'autre un bur-gul et un zadim. Les derniers traducteurs ont rendu l'idéogramme ZADIM par l'akkadien *sasinnum* et traduit « Bow maker » ou « Bogenmacher », généralement avec un point d'interrogation[3)] : il faut manifestement revenir à la compréhension de Driver & Miles, où ZADIM est traduit par « jeweller »[4)].

Il faut donc déterminer exactement ce qui faisait la spécificité des deux métiers de zadim (*zadimmum*) et de bur-gul (*purkullum*), qui ont bel et bien coexisté à l'époque paléo-babylonienne : la convergence entre un texte littéraire, le Code de Hammu-rabi et des documents d'archives ne saurait être due au hasard. Il est possible que le zadim (*zadimmum*)[5)] ait avant tout travaillé des pierres (semi)-précieuses[6)], alors que le bur-gul (*purkullum*) taillait des pierres moins coûteuses pour en faire des vases et parfois des sceaux. Il est évident que pour la fabrication de sceaux gravés *ad hoc* à l'occasion d'un contrat, on n'avait pas recours à des pierres précieuses : comme l'a rappelé A. Goddeeris (p. 670 et n. 23 [p. 677], les « sceaux bur-gul » qui ont été retrouvés lors des fouilles sont des sceaux-cylindres en argile cuite[7)] ou dans des pierres tendres comme la chlorite ou le gypse. C'est parce que la gravure d'un sceau-cylindre dans ces matières était relativement simple que le bur-gul était souvent témoin dans les contrats, même si sa présence n'était pas systématique, comme l'a bien souligné A. Goddeeris (p. 675-676) : en cas de contestation, il pouvait attester avoir été le fabricant du sceau qui avait servi à sceller le document, voire même produire ce sceau, si c'était bien lui qui le conservait après la transaction comme le suggère l'auteure (p. 674).

Notes

Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre de la collaboration du projet ARCHIBAB avec le projet KIŠIB dirigé par A. Otto et E. Roßberger (voir https://project.kishib.org/).

1. A. Goddeeris, « Cutting Seals and Standing by: The Administrative Role of the Burgul During the Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2004-1595 BCE) », dans S. J. Scott & O. Topçuoğlu (éd.), *The Routledge Companion to Seals and Seal Studies in Antiquity. New Approaches to Mediterranean and West Asian Visual Culture*, Londres, 2025, p. 665-684. Les observations qui suivent se limitent à l'époque paléo-babylonienne.

2. https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/sux?xis=sux.r01df4a.p.s005&ref=P355702.76, avec l'indication : « transliteration by A. Cavigneaux; translation and lemmatization by Niek Veldhuis, with the assistance of Rachel Webberman ». Les 2 lignes sont KXVIII.26 et 27.

3. A. Goddeeris a retenu l'interprétation par « bowmaker » (p. 669) et ajouté (n. 19, p. 677) : « *Sasinnum*, written with the logogram zadim. Although it could be interpreted as *purkullum* as well, the translation bowmaker is generally accepted. ». Elle a ici oublié la lecture *zadimmum*. M. Roth dans *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, WAW 6, Atlanta, 1995, p. 131 a lu [*idī*] *sasinnim*(?) et traduit « the hire of a bow maker », mais la note 47 (p. 142) indique « Or *zadimmu*, "lapidary." » Voir en dernier lieu J. Oelsner, *Der Kodex Ḫammu-rāpi. Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung*, dubsar 4, Münster, 2022, p. 329 et n. 5 (avec bibliographie antérieure).

4. G. R. Driver & J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws Volume II Transliterated Text Translation Philological Notes Glossary*, Oxford, 1955, p. 94-95. Noter que p. 381a, aucun équivalent akkadien à ZADIM n'était donné.

5. Pour compléter cette note, j'ajouterai que certaines attestations de ZADIM ou *sasinnum* en OB sont incertaines, à oublier ou au contraire à conserver :

– le CAD S, p. 191a, a cité « […] PN *sa-sí-ni-im* IM 49305: 28 (OB let., courtesy H. Al-Adhami) ». Le texte a désormais été publié comme PIHANS 131 40 (archibab.fr/T25366) ; R. de Boer a lu *ú-ṣí-ni-im* et traduit « Naram-Ea has gone out to you », sans signaler la différence de lecture avec la citation du CAD ; comme me le signale I. Arkhipov, la forme est grammaticalement problématique ;

– les deux réf. OB avec la notation ZADIM données par le CAD S (p. 191b) sont CT 8 3a : 38 (douteux) et YOS 8 134 : 29 (assez sûr d'après la photo) ;

– la lecture de ZADIM après le témoin de OECT 13 122 : 8 est incertaine ;

– La lecture ZADIM pour (LÚ) GÍR dans ARM 23 82 : 1 et 4 (archibab.fr/T17666) est douteuse (il n'existe malheureusement ni copie ni photo). I. Arkhipov m'indique : « LÚ.GÍR se retrouve aussi dans ARM 14 61 : 6' et ARM 23 427 passim. Le signe est bien GÍR. En plus, il n'y a aucun raison prosopographique d'identifier les LÚ.GÍR avec les *sasinnu*. Il semble s'agir de personnel militaire » (courriel du 24/09/2026).

En revanche, les archives de Mari offrent quelques exemples phonétiques de *sasinnum* où le contexte montre bien qu'il s'agit de fabricants d'arcs : ARM 23 184 : 5 [archibab.fr/T17880), ARM 23 402 : 3 (archibab.fr/T18567) et M.10760 : 8 (archibab.fr/T3937).

6. Pour travail du zadim à Ur à l'époque d'Ur III, voir W. Sallaberger, « Ur III-Zeit », dans W. Sallaberger & A. Westenholz, *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, Fribourg & Göttingen, 1999, p. 278 no 3 (à propos de UET 3 1498).

7. Comme les deux sceaux-cylindres découverts à Nippur en 1962/63 et 1964/65. A. Goddeeris a signalé (p. 670 et n. 23 [p. 677]) 8 NT 17 = IM 66887 (G. Buccellati & R. D. Biggs, *Cuneiform Texts from Nippur. The Eighth and Ninth Seasons*, AS 17, Chicago, 1969, p. 7 no 13 ; copie p. 29), mais elle a oublié 9 N 155 = IM 71220 (AS 17, p. 15 no 53 ; copie p. 53). Supprimer en revanche les réf. aux nos 15 et 42 dans W. Meinhold, « Siegelschneider », RlA 12/56, Berlin/New York, 2010, p. 477-479 (478b).

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103) En marge du projet KIŠIB, 2 : désignation, usage et origine des « sceaux burgul » — Je voudrais revenir sur la désignation antique des sceaux que la littérature assyriologique qualifie à la suite de A. Poebel de « sceaux burgul », expression que A. Goddeeris, dans son étude récente[1)] , conserve avec raison faute de mieux. J'avais proposé qu'ils aient été désignés par l'expression KIŠIB.MU.SAR.RA « sceau où le nom (seulement) est inscrit », qu'on ne rencontre qu'à Ur ; A. Goddeeris a cru que YOS 5 149 était un contre-exemple, car elle tenait ce texte pour écrit à Larsa ; il s'agit en fait également d'un texte d'Ur[2)]. En revanche, l'expression *kunuk šumim* désigne en principe un sceau-cylindre traditionnel : c'est prouvé dans AUCT 4 10, où l'expression KIŠIB MU.NI ÍB.RA renvoie à un sceau de type NP DUMU NP_2 ÌR ND (comme je l'ai noté dans archibab.fr/T20934). ARCHIBAB permet de rassembler les passages où figure en akkadien l'expression *kunuk šumiya/ka*. Dans certains cas, on ne peut savoir à quel type de sceau on a affaire : par ex. AbB 6 155 : 6' et 13' ou AbB 14 153 : 11''. Mais dans ARM 10 95 : 7', quand la princesse Šimatum demande à Zimri-Lim l'envoi d'un « sceau en lapis à mon nom » (^{na_4}KIŠIB ZA.GÌN *ša šu-mi-ia*), il ne s'agit évidemment pas d'un « sceau burgul », mais d'un sceau habituel (en pierre de luxe !) avec légende complète. La situation est identique en ARM 13 144, où il est question d'une « lettre (dont l'enveloppe est) scellée par le sceau au nom d'Ibal-Addu » (l. 19-20 : *ṭup-pí ku-nu-uk šu-mi* / *ša i-ba-al-*^{d}IŠKUR ; voir archibab.fr/T8187). Il en va de même dans les certificats de perte de sceau AUCT 5 47 (archibab.fr/T23125) et BM 97468 (archibab.fr/T24623).

Parmi les situations particulières, on relève le cas de BIN 7 71. Ce texte d'Isin datant de Damiq-ilišu est le partage de l'héritage de Warad-Irra entre ses cinq enfants. Sans doute parce qu'il aurait été difficile de graver six noms sur un même sceau-cylindre, le lapicide a préféré fabriquer cinq sceaux différents, avec à chaque fois le nom d'un des fils suivi par le nom du père (voir la photo sur https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/NBC.5341).

A. Goddeeris a eu parfaitement raison de souligner que les sceaux burgul n'étaient pas fabriqués au cas où un individu ne possédait pas de sceau, ou n'avait pas son sceau avec lui (p. 672) ; dans ce genre de situation, on empruntait le sceau personnel de quelqu'un d'autre, de nombreux exemples ayant été étudiés par J. Patrier[3)]. Il y a néanmoins des cas troublants, comme à Isin le texte YOS 14 328, qui date du roi Sin-magir (voir archibab.fr/T9349). Il enregistre le partage d'une prébende de *pâšišum* du temple de Damu entre les quatre fils de Adallal. Or deux d'entre eux scellent avec un sceau burgul (YOS 14 seal 138 et 141, entre la fin de la liste des témoins et la date), tandis que deux utilisent leur sceau personnel (YOS 14 seal 139 et 140, sur la tranche latérale). Ces derniers se reconnaissent à l'existence d'une dévotion (respectivement au roi Sin-magir et au dieu Bel-ṣarbi) et aussi à leur écriture beaucoup plus fine (voir la photo sur https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/NBC.6451).

Dans son étude, A. Goddeeris montre des exemples de réutilisation de sceaux burgul (p. 673). À l'inverse, Isin documente un cas où l'on a deux sceaux burgul différents pour deux contrats avec le même vendeur (BIN 7 64 [archibab.fr/T4151] et AO 11147 [archibab.fr/T4122]), rédigés à six mois d'écart en l'an 14 de Damiq-ilišu : le sceau du premier texte est écrit sur trois lignes au lieu de deux pour le second.

A. Goddeeris semble considérer que l'usage de sceaux burgul date seulement du début de la période paléo-babylonienne (p. 676). En réalité, il remonte à l'époque d'Ur III[4)]. C'est ce que montre déjà un contrat de vente rédigé à Ešnunna et comportant le sceau burgul du vendeur, FAOS 17 76

(archibab.fr/T24185) : cette tablette date de l'an 1 de Nur-ahum, contemporain des dernières années d'Ibbi-Sin à Ur. Or il existe de nombreux contrats de vente d'Ur III où le sceau du vendeur ne comporte que deux lignes (nom suivi du patronyme) : FAOS 17 19, 23, 25, 33, 34, 36a, 36b, 37, 43, 48, 49, 52, 54, 55, 69, 70, 72, 73, 76, 95, 99, 107, 114, 116, 117, 122, 125, S.1 (sans compter les sceaux où figure, généralement en troisième ligne, un titre). Malgré l'absence de remarques par certains éditeurs de ces textes, on a affaire à des sceaux burgul, comme l'avait d'ailleurs déjà indiqué P. Steinkeller[5]. Il est donc logique que ce soit dans les régions où l'héritage d'Ur III a longtemps persisté (Ur, Isin, Nippur etc.) que l'on trouve encore à l'époque paléo-babylonienne le recours à des sceaux burgul : ce sont les régions où prévalait la coutume d'Isin, qui diffère de celle de Larsa : elle avait des effets aussi bien sur le droit que sur la diplomatique. De la même manière qu'on avait recours à Ur aux sceaux burgul, la coutume successorale y suivait celle d'Isin (part supplémentaire de 10 % pour l'aîné) et pas celle de Larsa (part double pour l'aîné)[6]. C'est avec l'abandon du Sud dans le courant du règne de Samsu-iluna que le recours aux sceaux burgul disparut : les textes paléo-babyloniens tardifs de Dur-Abi-ešuh se conforment pleinement à la diplomatique de tradition babylonienne[7].

Notes

Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre de la collaboration du projet ARCHIBAB avec le projet KIŠIB dirigé par A. Otto et E. Roßberger (voir https://project.kishib.org/). Je remercie M. Molina qui m'a confirmé l'existence de sceaux burgul à l'époque d'Ur III et a accepté de rédiger une note à ce sujet, qui suit celle-ci.

1. A. Goddeeris, « Cutting Seals and Standing by: The Administrative Role of the Burgul During the Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2004-1595 BCE) », dans S. J. Scott & O. Topçuoğlu (éd.*), The Routledge Companion to Seals and Seal Studies in Antiquity. New Approaches to Mediterranean and West Asian Visual Culture*, Londres, 2025, p. 665-684. (p. 669-670 et 676).

2. Voir HEO 12, 1980, p. 58. On oubliera donc la conclusion de A. G. p. 670 : « Thus, the expression "kišib mu-sar-ra-ni" may have two different meanings, depending on the city where it is used. In cities where burgul seals are used, it refers to a burgul-seal, and in cities where burgul-seals are not used, it refers to a seal with a legend ». Le cas de YOS 5 149 a été étudié dans D. Charpin, « Le temple d'Enki-d'Eridu : nouvelle approche du clergé d'Ur », *Archibab 4*, Mémoires de *NABU* 22, Paris, 2020, p. 155-186 (p. 156-158 ; réédition du texte dans archibab.fr/T11740). J'observe aujourd'hui que le sceau dont la légende est ^{d}IŠKUR / ^{r}*ù* ^{d1}[*ša-la*] semble comporter de l'iconographie (TL, 3^{e} empreinte) : il s'agit donc d'un sceau avec légende religieuse et iconographie comme il en existe de nombreux exemples. Peut-être les empreintes du sceau burgul au nom du vendeur (Sin-eriš) figuraient-elles sur la face de la tablette, qui a presque complètement disparu.

3. J. Patrier, « Entrusting One's Seal in the Ancient Near East in the First Half of the 2nd millennium BC », *Ash-Sharq* 1, 2017, p. 40-47.

4. Les spécialistes des textes ainsi que des sceaux et scellements de l'époque d'Ur III ne l'ont pas tous admis. Voir par ex. C. Tsouparopoulou, *The Ur III Seals Impressed on Documents from Puzriš-Dagan (Drehem)*, HSAO 16, Heidelberg, 2015, qui a indiqué : « During the Ur III period, we do not seem to have hem or garment impressions, nor burgul ad hoc seals ».

5. P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period*, FAOS 17, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 113 et n. 352. Mais dans trois des textes cités, on voit des traces d'iconographie, comme me le signale M. Molina, qui a bien voulu rédiger la note qui suit, où l'on trouvera plus de détails sur les « sceaux burgul » à l'époque d'Ur III.

D. Owen n'a donné aucune indication sur la présence de sceaux burgul dans NATN p. 3-4.

Noter que A. Hattori parle de sceaux « carved with only a legend » mais sans employer le terme de « burgul seal » (A. Hattori, « Seal Practices in Ur III Nippur », dans W. W. Hallo & I. J. Winter (éd.), *Seals and Seal Impressions. Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Part II Yale University*, Bethesda, 2001, p. 71-99, p. 78 n. 33). Noter en particulier p. 87 : « The seals tend to be less valuable in terms of quality of carving and have decidedly short seal inscriptions, averaging two to three lines, which usually provide the sealer's name and his patronym (and the father's occupation) and less frequently the sealer's occupation or overlord ». Il aurait fallu ajouter que pour tous(?) ces sceaux, il n'y a pas d'iconographie : et l'on retrouve exactement (à part les mentions de métier ou de dévotion) ce que les paléo-babylonisants définissent comme un « sceau burgul » ! J'observe encore que le texte de prêt NATN 134 (copie et photos dans BDTNS 025011) comporte clairement un sceau burgul au nom du débiteur (détails sur la façon de sceller la tablette dans A. Hattori, CRRAI 45/2, p. 82-83 Fig. 3 à 6).

6. Voir déjà D. Charpin, HEO 12, 1980, p. 17 § 3.

7.Voir K. Van Lerberghe, CUSAS 8, 2009, p. 6b et D. Charpin, « Un clergé en exil : le transfert des dieux de Nippur à Dur-Abi-ešuh », dans : U. Gabbay & J.-J. Pérennès (éd.), *Des polythéismes aux monothéismes. Mélanges d'assyriologie offerts à Marcel Sigrist*, Études Bibliques. Nouvelle Série 82, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2020, p. 149-187 (p. 179-180).

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104) En marge du projet KIŠIB, 3 : Burgul-Seals in the Ur III period* — The designation "burgul-seals" for the Ur III period may appear somewhat problematic, since stone-cutters or seal engravers of that period were not designated by the term bur-gul, or at least are not so identified in the extant documentation, notwithstanding the relative abundance of the available evidence.[1)] The term is nevertheless retained here for the sake of convenience, although its application is not without difficulties even for the Old Babylonian period, as has recently been emphasized by Goddeeris (2026) and further discussed by Charpin in the preceding note.

For the purposes of the present note, I follow the standard characterization of a burgul-seal according to which, unlike the so-called "personal seal," it was produced specifically for a particular transaction and served to confer legal validity upon a document. Given the circumstances of their manufacture, such seals were typically crudely engraved on soft stone, carried no iconographic motifs, and bore only a brief inscription consisting of the owner's personal name and patronymic and, more rarely, an occupational designation. The documents on which burgul-seals were expected to be impressed were primarily contracts, such as loan agreements and sale documents, but also other records in which a party assumed an obligation.

Building on the preceding D. Charpin's discussion, the present note offers a brief and necessarily selective survey of the evidence for this type of seal in the Ur III period and explores how widespread its use may have been by the end of the third millennium.

The absence of archaeologically identified burgul-seals from the Ur III period, together with the lack of attestations of the profession bur-gul in the Ur III corpus and, consequently, the absence of contract witnesses bearing that professional designation, has probably refrained scholars from addressing this category of seal in Ur III sources. However, references to burgul-seals in Ur III documents have occasionally been made, for example by Steinkeller (1989: 113), Fischer (1997: 140), Heimpel (2009: 75),[2)] and Mayr (2005: 41). Hattori (2002: 55 n. 161), although not referring to them explicitly, listed 61 seals in the Nippur corpus that display no iconography in their impressions, either because the seals themselves bore only inscriptions or because they were intentionally rolled to show the inscription alone. More recently, in a thorough and systematic study of the seal impressions from Ur undertaken by Fischer (Vischer 2024), she identified four burgul-seals (*Ad-hoc-Siegel*) within a corpus of 179 seal impressions (Kat. Nr. 165, 169-171).

Although it is not always possible to determine from the preserved impression whether a cylinder seal was genuinely devoid of iconography or whether the iconographic scene simply was not rolled onto the tablet, the following examples, mostly drawn from the corpus of loan and sale documents, exhibit the formal characteristics typically associated with burgul (or ad hoc) seals:[3)]

Sale Documents

– Girsu: Sale Documents no. 125 (BDTNS 031635).

– Umma: BDTNS 190145.

– Nippur: TMH NF 1/2 51 (BDTNS 009991).

– Aradĝu archive (Nippur province): JCS SS 5 28 (BDTNS 193955), JCS SS 5 28 31 (BDTNS 193958), JCS SS 5 28 45 (BDTNS 193972), JCS SS 5 28 144 (BDTNS 194071), JCS SS 5 28 145 (BDTNS 194072).

– Adab: MVN 3 268 (BDTNS 018211), Nisaba 32 213 (BDTNS 190060), RA 117, p. 27 (BDTNS 190423).

– Eṣidum archive (Adab province): CRRAI 61, p. 218 no. 9 (BDTNS 198880), SANER 36, p. 314 no. 1 (BDTNS 213411), SANER 36, p. 316 no. 2 (BDTNS 213412).

– SI.A-a archive (Irisagrig province): ZA 93, p. 174 no. 6 (BDTNS 077550).

– Uncertain provenance: BDTNS 209283, BDTNS 059334, Sale Documents no. 119 (BDTNS 031633).

Loan Documents

– Ur: UET 3 34 (BDTNS 010339, Kat. 165), UET 3 38 (BDTNS 010343, Kat. 169), UET 3 714 (BDTNS 011019, Kat. 170), Nisaba 5/1 221 U. 30177 (BDTNS 071298, Kat. 171).

– Umma: BDTNS 074560 (SITU 274A), BDTNS 173423, SAT 3 1307 (BDTNS 049490, SITU 632), YOS 4 12 (BDTNS 005055, SITU 779), YOS 4 20 (BDTNS 005063, SITU 44), YOS 4 22 (BDTNS 005065, SITU 964), YOS 4

48 (BDTNS 005091, SITU 194), YOS 4 55 (BDTNS 005098, SITU 53), YOS 4 239 (BDTNS 005281, SITU 118), TCL 2 5573 (BDTNS 002323).

– Nippur: BE 3/1 26 (BDTNS 001695, SI#476), NATN 135 (BDTNS 025012, SI#100), NATN 163 (BDTNS 025040, SI#121, SI#122), NATN 164 (BDTNS 025041, SI#123, SI#124), NATN 246 (BDTNS 025123, SI#581), NATN 308 (BDTNS 025183, SI#174), NATN 310 (BDTNS 025185, SI#175), NATN 319 (BDTNS 025194, SI#179), NATN 431 (BDTNS 025305, SI#247), NATN 432 (BDTNS 025306, SI#248), NATN 572 (BDTNS 025446, SI#378).

– SI.A-a archive (Irisagrig province): CUSAS 22, no. 28 (BDTNS 022024), Studies Pomponio, p. 184 no. 2 (BDTNS 077552), ZA 93, p. 177 no. 8 (BDTNS 062691), ZA 93, p. 180 no. 11 (BDTNS 158263), ZA 93, p. 181 no. 12 (BDTNS 074691).

Other legal agreements and fragmentary texts

– Nippur: BE 3/1 5 (BDTNS 001675, SI#491), BE 3/1 10 (BDTNS 001680, SI#478), NATN 98 (BDTNS 024975, SI#78), NATN 169 (BDTNS 025046, SI#128), NATN 209 (BDTNS 025086, SI#572, SI#573, SI#574, SI#575, SI#576), NATN, p. 57 N 0796 (BDTNS 166853, SI#466).

This preliminary survey focused on loan and sale contracts,[4)] and consequently most of the seals examined belonged to sellers and debtors, while guarantors and witnesses are represented less frequently. The seals display features typically associated with Old Babylonian burgul-seals and occur on document types characteristic of their use. Nevertheless, their identification as burgul-seals must remain tentative. At present, it cannot be established with certainty whether these cylinder seals were produced specifically for the transactions on which they were impressed, nor is it possible to associate their engraving with a seal-cutter among the witnesses listed in the documents. Likewise, no evidence has yet been found for burgul-seals identifying more than one individual. Such cases may, however, have been obscured by the practice of recording the different legends of a cylinder seal separately on the tablet (GODDEERIS 2026: 671), as may be illustrated by the five seal impressions on NATN 209 (= BDTNS 025086).

The texts listed above are dated from Amar-Suen 7 (BDTNS 190145, Umma) to Ibbi-Suen 6 (UET 3 38 = BDTNS 010343, Ur). The earliest attestation, however, could potentially be pushed back, since ten texts bear ambiguous year names. A comprehensive study of this category of seals during the Ur III period would allow the beginning of their use to be established more precisely and would help determine whether their potential adoption was connected to a particular administrative reform. At present, most of the known attestations are associated with private contractual activity, with the evidence being especially abundant in central Babylonia, though not restricted to that area.

Acknowledgement and notes

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1. The sole attestation of the term bur-gul presently known to me from the Ur III corpus occurs in a very doubtful line of the seal legend on UTI 3 1804 (BDTNS 036399). Attestations of this professional designation in pre-Ur III administrative texts are likewise rare. For the evidence currently available, see ePSD2 s.v. bur-gul (o0025376), to which CUSAS 35 475 may be added for the ED IIIa period, as well as the Old Akkadian texts CUSAS 27 193, IM 204142 (unpublished), MAD 1 239, MDP 14, p. 103 no. 71, OSP 2 11, and Tell al-Wilayah 4 13. During the third millennium, the designation zadim ("stone-cutter") was generally preferred. For discussion, see MARZAHN 1997: 34–35, GODDEERIS 2026: 666–668, and CHARPIN in the preceding *NABU* notes.

2. CUSAS 3 447, 452, 456, 457, 458, 498, 499, 500, 530. These tablets bear the seals of five different overseers and carry iconographic motifs, so they should not be classed as proper burgul-seals.

3. SI numbers cited for texts from Nippur correspond to Hattori's catalogue (2002: 226–375); Kat. numbers cited for texts from Ur correspond to Vischer's catalogue (2024: 2–179); and SITU numbers cited for texts from Umma correspond to Mayr's catalogue (2005: 149–454).

4. The use of seals displaying the characteristics of burgul-seals in the Ur III period may not have been confined to loan and sale documents. Receipts were occasionally sealed with cylinder seals of this type, as exemplified by NATN 144 (BDTNS 025021, SI#106, Nippur) and Nisaba 34 495 (BDTNS 202054, SITU 1028B, Umma).

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105) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 47 : une graphie rare du NPf Erištum[1] **—** Le sumérogramme gal.zu correspond, parmi d'autres choses, à l'akkadien *eršum*, fém. *erištum* « intelligent » (*CAD* E 313). Comme l'a bien vu S. D. Simmons (*YOS* 14, p. 55), le sumérogramme apparaît dans le NPf Erišti-Addu, écrit gal.zu-*ti*-^{d}iškur dans *YOS* 14 285 : 6. C'est-à-dire, le scribe l'a utilisé, sans doute de manière ludique, pour le mot homonyme *erištum* « désir » (cf. dans ce sens D. Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten*, p. 384 n. 3060).

Il se trouve que le cas n'est pas isolé. Le NPf fréquent Erištum[2] pouvait s'écrire gal.zu-*tum*. Un exemple est fourni par *TLB* 1 26 : 3 (normalisé « Galzutum » par W. F. Leemans, *SLB* 1/2, p. 40, sans commentaire). Un cas plus intéressant est représenté par *Santag* 9, 237, le contrat de mariage entre Iddin-Ištar et gal.zu-*tum* fille de Ipiq-[…]. A. Goddeeris (*ibid*., p. 240) a lu gal.zu-*tum* (ll. 1, 6, 8, 13) comme Sugallītum, sans commentaire, mais sans doute ayant analysé le logogramme comme une métathèse pour zu.gal. En même temps, le contrat comporte un scellement, dont la légende a été lue par l'éditrice comme « *E-ri-iš*-GI[ ] / dumu dam/el-bi x [ ] ». Or il s'agit en réalité du sceau de la mariée : *e-ri-iš-tum** / dumu.munus* *i*-pí-i*[*q*-…][3].

Enfin, le NP gal.zu-*lu-lu* dans *YOS* 14 166 : 16 et IM 214616 : 7 (A. Al-Hussainy *et al*., *JA* 310, p. 163–164) est sans doute à lire Erišti-Lulu.

Notes

1. Cette note est le produit d'un projet, entamé en juin 2026, de mise en ordre, standardisation et correction des noms propres répertoriés dans la base de données ARCHIBAB.

2. Traditionnellement compris comme « Désir » (J.J. Stamm, *Akkadische Namengebung*, p. 248), ce qui est confirmé par les graphies comme kám-*tum* et nin-*tum* (voir CAD E 298). Cependant, une remotivation occasionnelle en « Intelligente » est possible. Cf. le NPm Eršum, compris comme « Intelligent » dans CAD E 314, dont l'usage est d'ailleurs limité à l'époque sargonique.

3. Le deuxième scellement se lit sans grande difficulté comme *i*-din*-$iš_8$-tár* plutôt que « DUMU.MUNUS-$iš_8$-tár ».

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106) Humbaba in Failaka — A small fired clay plaque was added to the collections of the National Museum of Kuwait in the second half of the 20th century under inventory number KM00053 (Fig. 1). This piece was brought to our attention during the preparation of the "Catalogue of Terracotta Figurines from the National Museum of Kuwait" (ACHOUCHE and BERGÈS forthcoming), commissioned by the museum and within the French-Kuwaiti Archaeological Mission in Failaka. As it is not a figurine, it does not feature in the catalogue and is therefore published here as a previously unpublished find.



Fig. 1 Unpublished plaque bearing the face of Humbaba, unearthed at Failaka

In its centre is a monstrous head in slight relief, identified by the excavators as being most likely a depiction of Humbaba (= Huwawa). According to the catalog entry created when it was added to the museum's collections, the artefact comes from Tell F6 in the southwest of Failaka Island and was excavated in 1962 by the Danish expedition led at the time by Poul Kjærum. Tell F6 was excavated from 1958 to 1963, but the building from which the plaque originated was not uncovered until 1960 (KJAERUM and HØJLUND 2013, 7, fig. 131). The latter was initially described as a "palace" (KJAERUM 1986, 79), before this interpretation was revised in light of the floor plan and architectural style. It is more likely a building used for manufacturing and storage, occupied from *ca*. 2200 to 1600 (HØJLUND and ABU-LABAN 2016, 12, 15, 254, 260; KJAERUM and HØJLUND 2013).

The plaque, which is in good condition, measures 2.8 cm wide, 3.4 cm high, and 1.3 cm thick, while the face itself measures 1.3 cm wide, 1.8 cm high, and 0.5 cm thick. It was cast in relief using a univalve mould and is made of well-refined clay with a few white inclusions. The edges of the plaque are slightly chipped, while the face appears to have been flattened between molding and firing. Since plaque KM00053 is an unicum and no anthropomorphic molds have been discovered on F6, it is not possible to determine whether it was produced locally or abroad. However, the uniqueness of this object within the corpus of Bronze Age artefacts on the island of Failaka suggests that it was imported. This possibility is supported by parallels found in modern-day Iraq.

Indeed, this head is likely to be that of Humbaba, the giant guardian of the Forest of Cedars, who was slain by the duo of Gilgameš and Enkidu. This motif is well attested in Mesopotamia[1)] (Fig. 2), primarily in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC[2)] (Early Babylonian Period) (BARRELET 1968, 207). This figure with a monstrous face is often depicted in combat scenes with Gilgameš (e.g., AO 12475, AO 22579) or as a complete giant[3)] (e.g., AO 9034). In three dimensions, the motif appears in architecture (e.g., at Tell al-Rimah) or in the form of amulets (e.g., BM 116788). Small plaques such as KM00053 are also well attested, for example at the site of Ur, but the head generally occupies a larger space and the relief is deeper. An example likely excavated at Ešnunna is the closest parallel to the Failaka plaque (AO 12460).

The exact purpose of small plaque-like representations such as KM00053 is unknown, but since the back is flat, it is assumed that they were positioned against a surface. However, the absence of a hole for fixing them in place raises questions. The face itself differs from typical depictions of Humbaba. The face may be marked by convolutions, the mouth more grimacing, or the teeth more visible to emphasize the terrifying nature of this character (HOWARD-CARTER 1982, 69). In the case of KM00053, the appearance is less detailed and the expression more serene. However, we still see the usual bun crowning his forehead (identified as a crest) which can be compared to that in three-dimensional depictions where it is more pronounced (e.g., BM 127443), and the beard curling outward in two strands beneath the face.



Fig. 2 Comparisons. Artefacts bearing depictions of Humbaba
[top left: Larsa, bottom left: Ur, centre: Iraq, right: Ešnunna (?)]

In conclusion, the most obvious parallels date to the early 2nd millennium BC and come from southern Mesopotamia. Bronze Age settlements at Failaka have already yielded evidence of a Mesopotamian presence (CALVET 1989; KJAERUM and HØJLUND 2013), and the discovery of this clay relief is therefore not entirely surprising. However, since it is a unique find, it is difficult to formulate broader theories about its origin or exact function.

Acknowledgements and notes

The work on these clay artefacts was made possible thanks to the museum team, particularly Dr. Mohammad Benredha (former Director of the Department of Antiquities and Museums) and Hadeel Al Shammari (former Head of the Conservation Department Service).

1. For an overview of Humbaba's iconography, see the volume edited by H. Steymans (STEYMANS 2010).

2. A relief depicting Humbaba's face was unearthed at Ur, in a stratum that may date to an earlier period (Akkad), but the excavators themselves acknowledge that the stratigraphy may have been disturbed at that location (WOOLLEY and MALLOWAN 1976, 180).

3. F. Wiggermann believes that the addition of the body must have been a later development and that Humbaba was originally depicted only as a head or mask (WIGGERMANN 1992, 150).

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107) Toward a Historical Interpretation of the Silver Bowl of Ankara — Due to the lack of a clear historical context, the Ankara Silver Bowl has remained a controversial object since its first publication by Hawkins (1997) and its subsequent re-edition (2005).

The principal point of debate concerns its dating, which ranges from Tudḫaliya I — identified by Hawkins with the Labarna Tudḫaliya of the bowl's first inscription and celebrated as conqueror of Tarwiza,

itself identified with the Tarwiša mentioned among the conquests of the famous king in Aššuwa — to Tudḫaliya IV, the position adopted in the present paper with additional evidence, and even to a hypothetical post-imperial Tudḫaliya V, as proposed by Simon (2009).

Another important issue has received comparatively less attention beneath the apparently straightforward translation proposed by Hawkins, although several essential questions typical of a dedicatory inscription remain unresolved.

Inscription 1:

(1) za/i-wa/i-ti CAELUM-pi *a-sa-ma-i(a) REGIO.HATTI VIR2
(*273)i(a)-sa5-za/i-tá REX maza/i-kar-hu-ha REX PRAE-na
(2) tara/i-wa/i-za/i-wa/i(REGIO) REL+ra/i MONS.[tu] IUDEX!+la
hu-la/i-i(a)-tá
(3) *a-wa/i-na *a-pa-ti-i(a) ANNUS-i(a) i(a)-za/i-tà

(1) This bowl Asmaya himself, man of the land Hatti, donated in front of the King Mazi-Karhuha (2–3) when [Tu]dhaliyas the Labarna smote Tarwiza, in that year he made it.

Inscription 2:

za/i CAELUM-pi SCRIBA 2 pi?-t[i?]-x[. . .] *414

This tipas-bowl. . . , the “second rank” scribe Penti[?]-. . .

Before proposing any historical identification, however, one fundamental question deserves attention: the recipient of the donation itself, who appears to remain unmentioned. One may compare another dedicatory inscription in which the recipient is explicit, such as KASTAMONU:

“A good man, the *254 Taprammi, dedicated this bowl to the[?] Scribe-God.” — Hawkins (1993).

This is a natural problem, which cannot be treated separately from the question of the ritual meaning of making a donation in front of someone, or something.

Was King Maza-Karhuha, before whom the bowl was placed, necessarily still alive? CAELUM-pi bowls of this type, Luw. *tipas*, Hitt. *tapiššana*, which may plausibly be equated with the classical Greek depas (pace Oreshko 2018)[1)], commonly appear in mortuary banquet scenes throughout Middle Bronze - to - Iron Age Anatolia and the Levant, where the seated deceased is represented holding a hemispheric drinking vessel. In this context, the offering of a tipas/depas “in front of” King Maza-Karhuha may perhaps be understood as a funerary offering deposited before the commemorative monument or funerary stela of the deceased king. As a matter of fact, the very hieroglyph *27, LIBARE, signifying *sarlata,* “sacrifice,” shows an arm holding a hemispherical tipas type bowl.

Such an interpretation would also help explain the absence of any indication concerning the identity of his kingdom, since within a funerary context further specification may have been unnecessary. Durnford (2010), moreover, had already suggested a burial origin for the bowl on the basis of its surface damage.

Any interpretation of the inscription must therefore focus primarily on the two indispensable persons named within it — donor and recipient — namely Asmaya and Mazi-Karhuha.

This naturally shifts the discussion somewhat away from the precise historical identification of the king, who may already have been dead for some time, and may also explain Asmaya’s insistence on identifying himself as a Hittite rather than as a subject of Mazi-Karhuha. Even the involvement of a “second-rank” scribe — a position otherwise unattested outside the Hittite court itself — tends to separate Mazi-Karhuha from the circle directly responsible for the production of the bowl.

– As a matter of fact, all the relevant names appear to be attested during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, a period to which the renewed emphasis on the Labarna titulature itself also seems to belong. A particularly important chronological indication is provided by the spelling of the title LABARNA (L277) used for Tudḫaliya on the silver bowl (Simon 2009: 253). As Hawkins himself observed (1995: 107), the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign L277 appears to have been adopted as the standard writing for Labarna only during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV.

– Another interesting prosopographic argument concerns the identity of the “second-rank” scribe, whose name was tentatively read by Hawkins as Penti?-X and provisionally restored as pi-ti-SARRUMA. According to Malbran-Labat and Lackenbacher (2005), a Pindi-Šarruma / Penti-Šarruma succeeded Taki-Šarruma as chief scribe,

most probably during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II. The same individual is abundantly attested on the sealings excavated at Niṣantepe in 1990–91. It is therefore possible that during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV he still occupied a subordinate position within the royal scribal administration, namely that of the "second scribe" who commemorated himself on the silver bowl.

– A third prosopographic clue is provided by the name of the donor himself, Asamaya the Hittite. A similar name is attested in the 13th-century archives of Emar (PRUZSINSZKY 2003: 249; MORA 2007; GIORGIERI and DE MARTINO 2008), where Aš-miya is interpreted as deriving from the Hurrian name ažm.

– A fourth prosopographic clue is provided by the name of King Maza-Karhuha himself, which may plausibly be connected with the "Maziya the king" attested in an Emar letter published by Cohen (2015). The name appears there as a hypocoristic form belonging either to a short-lived king of Emar during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV (COHEN 2015), or alternatively to an equally short-lived king of Karkemiš of the same period (COHEN and D'ALFONSO 2021).

One is therefore ultimately left with the question of the identity of the Tarwiza mentioned on the Silver Bowl, where two possibilities must be weighed against one another.

Concerning Tarwiza, the suffix -izza places it among Luwian derivations from geographical designations such as towns or regions. It is therefore difficult to derive it from the name of a mere military group such as the TAR-WI ?/WU ?/PI ?/YU ? troops attested in the Late Bronze Age archives of Emar (MORA 2007: 519). At Emar, Tarwu lacks a geographical determinative, leaving unclear whether it denotes the troops' origin or a particular class of soldiers. If it represented a place-name, one would rather expect either the derived designation Tarwiza, "those belonging to Tarwu," or a geographical determinative to make that affiliation explicit.

The proposed equivalence between Tarwu at Emar and Tarwiza is therefore poorly supported. Tarwiza instead points to an existing Luwian base such as preserved in Mycenaean to-ro-ja already geographical in meaning and expanded by the Luwian suffix -izza. On this interpretation, the successive Luwian suffixes underlie the later Greek territorial designation Troizen, denoting the region dominated by Troy—a territorial meaning corresponding to the REGIO determinative on the bowl.

The problematic relationship between Wiluša and Tarwiša, together with the extensive scholarly discussion surrounding it, is well known and need not be repeated here. The question whether Tarwiša may be identified with Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a has likewise received differing answers. Hawkins accepted it as the most likely cuneiform correspondence to the country name in the Luwian inscription the form KUR URU ta-ru-(ú)-i-sa, but this proposal was criticized by Simon, who regarded Hawkins's explanation of -ša and -za as interchangeable suffixes as somewhat ad hoc, especially if both forms referred to the same city during the same period.

However, if one considers that the last cuneiform attestation of the name is separated from the Hieroglyphic Luwian form by nearly two centuries, and that Tarwiša may even represent a Hittite adaptation of a local Tarwiza, and not necessarily the genuine Luwian name, the discrepancy loses much of its force. One would then merely be dealing with the gradual development of the name within the Hittite scribal tradition over an extended period, something that can hardly be excluded.

Nor would the apparent disappearance of the name Tarwiša from later Hittite records necessarily preclude its survival in other political traditions. In this context one may note the similarity with the "Trš.w" (Tur[u]ša, Turiša, perhaps also Taruiša) of Merenptah's Sea Peoples list, roughly contemporary with the reign of Tudḫaliya IV. Several of the peoples listed there can with considerable probability be identified as Anatolian neighbors of Tarwiša and Wiluša.

Compared with the interpretation based on the TAR-WI ?/WU ?/PI ?/YU ? troops, the Tarwiša explanation further possesses the advantage of corresponding to an actual western campaign of Tudḫaliya IV, alluded to in the Milawata Letter. Reacting to the flight of the Hittite-supported ruler Walmu, Tudḫaliya requests that his correspondent return Walmu to him, so that he may restore him by force to Wiluša. One reads in the Manapa-Tarhunta Letter (the relative chronology of the two texts is reversed) §3: "*[Kassu] came (here) and brought the troops of Hatti. [And when] they went back to attack Wilusa, [I was] ill*."

Notes

1. The identification of the Greek *depas amphikypellon* was made more difficult by Schliemann´s absurd identification of tankards found in the EB II layer at Troy as representing the Homeric drinking-vessel. Like all conclusions of Schliemann, including the "treasure of Priamos," all such identifications are tainted by his chronological

errors. In reality the only illustration of a *depas amphikypellon* as a two-handled hemispherical, thus, *tipas* type of drinking cup is offered by the famous Pithekoussai cup (ca. 750 BCE), bearing the inscription "*I am Nestor's cup, good to drink from. Whoever drinks this cup empty, straightaway the desire of beautiful-crowned Aphrodite will seize him*." Obviously, its owner had here Nestor's *depas amphikypellon* in mind. Should Homer have had any specific Mycenean elite drinking vessel form in mind in his description of Nestor's cup, this must equally have been a hemispherical cup with two side handles of the sort attested as a Mycenean elite drinking bowl (di-pa), however with the notable difference of sitting additionally on a high stem (VENTRIS and CHADWICK 1973: 326-327). A remarkable detail concerns the regular additional mention of the number of handles of di-pa at Pylos (idem. 336, Ta 641), thus recalling the way Homer described Nestor's *depas*. The illustration of this very kind of high-stemmed hemispherical drinking bowls in banqueting scene frescoes at Pylos, or on the Campstool fresco at Knossos (EVANS 1935, 389-390, figs. 324, 325) contrasts with Near-Eastern and Anatolian banquet imagery, restricted to simpler hemispherical drinking bowls.

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108) An Anatolian Hieroglyphic Seal Impression of the Erimtan Museum — The corpus of Anatolian glyptic art has recently been enriched by new interesting specimens, thanks to the new material from the Erimtan Museum — opened in 2015 in Ankara — provided to Y.H. Erbil and A. Mouton for the 2026 publication. One of these objects, bearing an Anatolian Hieroglyphic legend dating to the 13th century BC, is a seal impression (3×2 cm) on a clay bulla of undetermined provenance.

Regardless of the proper reading of the masculine Personal Name as *Kumma*(*ya*)-*ZITI*^{ZI} (M *182*a-*325*[.1]-*387*[.1] / L *322-312*.2-*376*.2; the last sign is most faint), fairly-well attested[1)], the title on the left (see fig. 1) — which Erbil–Mouton suppose "could be AURIGA (*289)" (p. 332) / "potentially AURIGA" (p. 357) — turns out to depict an infrequent glyph, a beer container with drinking straws sticking out of it, already recognized on an impression from Boğazköy (fig. 2).[2)]

Alparslan's invitation (2021: 32) — "Da das von uns besprochene Zeichen bisher nur auf zwei Siegelabdrücken belegt ist, muß unsere Annahme durch weitere Funde bestätigt werden" — finds here a gratifying confirmation. We are dealing with a male beer maker/seller, albeit Hittite documents attest that this activity was performed by women as well (ALPARSLAN 2021: 32), as is also demonstrated by the Boğazköy sealing itself[3)] through the idionym (ALPARSLAN 2021: 30-31) *Kwi*/*an*(*n*)*a* (M *160-36*[.2] / L *329-35*), derived from the Hittite word for 'woman'.

In closing, a previously unnoticed — though trivial — graphic element peeps out: a handle attached to the middle right side of the jug (cf. M *338*$^{?}$ / L *345*(2)$^{?}$ [URCEUS$_2$]) of the Erimtan Museum

impression. Possibly a corresponding one was specularly positioned at the left; however, the poor remains are too blurred to ensure it, if there ever really was another one.





Fig. 1 – Source: Erbil-Mouton 2026, p. 351 Figs. 2a-2b



Fig. 2 – Source: Alparslan 2021, p. 31 Fig. 34a

Notes

1. Cf., e.g., Dinçol–Dinçol 2008: 38b no. 141 with fnn. 317-318.

2. Alparslan 2021: 31f. with figs. 33f. ("ein noch unbekanntes Zeichen […], daß wir hier vorerst als 'Bierkrug' bezeichnen möchten", p. 32, with links to that [earthenware] jar [cf. M *330*[.1]$^{?}$ / L *337*$^{?}$ (PITHOS$_2$)] and also to its shape in fnn. 60-62) and cross-reference to an unpublished (unshown) parallel from Kaman-Kalehöyük, as well as to Boehmer 1983: Farbtafel C, Pll. XXIX, XXXII and XXXV, no. 97 (all) = Müller-Karpe 2005: 180 and fig. 10; add Weisgerber 2005, passim, and in particular p. 163b with fig. 10. — For 'beer container' note Sumer. ^{DUG}MUD$_4$ (Rüster-Neu 1989: 195 no. 207 and Tischler 2016/III: 530 with Akkad. *ḫubūru*); on ^{DUG}KA.GAG cf. del Monte 1995: 219ff. and Ünal 2005: 169a; 'drinking straw' is ^{GI}*ummiya-* in Hittite (Ünal 2005: 169a; Tischler 2010: 44 and 2016/II: 398); for Sumer. A.DA.GUR, Akkad. *šulpu* cf. Rüster–Neu 1989: 274 sub no. 364 and p. 114 ad no. 46, Tischler 2016/III: 629. — "The drinking of a fluid [scil. beer] from a tube was obviously necessary to consume a liquid that was full of sediment and not filtered beforehand" (Bagherpour Kashani 2005: 217; see also p. 218).

3. Despite Weeden's doubts (2026: 500).

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109) Corrections or Later Revisions? Reassessing the Erasures in the Colophons of Ḫanikuili — One of the principal advantages of clay as a writing medium was that its surface could be erased and rewritten repeatedly (CAMMAROSANO 2025, 19–21). Hittite tablets preserve numerous examples of the erasures of individual signs, groups of signs, and even entire lines. Although these corrections have never been systematically collected and analysed, the surviving evidence clearly indicates that scribes regularly smoothed the clay in order to correct wrongly written signs or sequences of signs, or to remedy mistakes in the distribution of the text at the end of a line or paragraph.

During my examination of Hittite tablets at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, I observed several methods of correcting texts. In some cases, the scribe appears to have erased the surface with a bare finger; in others, with a damp piece of cloth, occasionally leaving faint impressions of the fabric's warp threads on the clay. In still other cases, the clay seems to have been smoothed with the rounded end of the stylus (CAMMAROSANO 2014, 53–90), producing a more even surface before the signs were re-inscribed. These corrections were not always entirely successful. Deeply impressed wedge heads could remain visible beneath the smoothed surface, sometimes affecting the shape and legibility of the new signs (TAYLOR 2025, 130).

Recent work by Michele Cammarosano and his team drew my attention to the fact that the erasure of signs was not necessarily performed as part of the copying process itself but could instead represent a later intervention on an already completed tablet (CAMMAROSANO 2025, 19). Although we are accustomed to assuming that such corrections were made while the tablet was being written, they may instead represent later interventions carried out once the tablet had been completed, either during the drying process or after it had dried. Not only did scribes have methods of keeping the clay moist for several days, but even after drying, unfired tablets could readily be re-moistened, either in their entirety or only in selected areas, allowing individual signs or short passages to be erased and rewritten with little difficulty[1)]. This technical possibility invites us to reconsider certain cases in which repeated erasures have traditionally been understood as ordinary scribal corrections. One such case is attested in three colophons of the scribe Ḫanikuili, who was active during the thirteenth century BCE, under the reigns of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV (GORDIN 2015, 180–181). Although he was descended from a family of scribes whose members had served in earlier generations, and despite the fact that his colophons do not explicitly associate him with any particular scribal circle, my previous study of his text corpus and his family members has led me to conclude that Ḫanikuili most likely belonged to the scribal team of the court official Anuwanza (TORRI 2011; TORRI 2015, 581–583). As is well known, Ḫanikuili copied KBo 6.4, the manuscript of the first series of Hittite Laws (CTH 291), commonly referred to as the *Parallel Text* (CARRUBA et al. 1965, 1–18). The left edge of the tablet preserves part of an unusual colophon (WAAL 2015, 154, Colophon Type V), recording the scribe's name together with an exceptionally long genealogy extending back several generations[2)]. More recently, Pallavidini has argued that the absence of both the sign ŠU ("Hand") preceding the scribe's name and the verb *IŠṬUR* ("he wrote") at the end of the inscription suggests that the passage should be understood not as the colophon of a copyist, but rather as an authorship statement, or even as a kind of *ante litteram* signature (PALLAVIDINI 2025/2, 74–76). One aspect that escaped Pallavidini's attention is that this colophon closes with a long erasure located under the last inscribed name of his ancestor (l.e. 4), ^{m}*Ḫa-ni-ku*-DINGIR-*LIM* GAL NA.GA[D][3)]. The erasure is accurately reproduced in B. Hrozný's hand copy in KBo 6 (1921, Nr. 4), whereas Waal merely marked it with a question mark (2015, 259). As depicted by Hrozný, the erased area clearly served to delete more than one sign. On its left side, a small remnant is still visible, probably a wedge head or the rest of a horizontal wedge that was not completely erased. On the right side, traces of a horizontal sign—probably sign ṬUR or SAR (as part of *IŠ-ṬUR* or IN.SAR)—can still be observed. These are not represented in Hrozný's hand copy, although a few sketchy traces are indicated (Fig. 1b). The erased area is narrow and deeply incised, suggesting that the scribe used the tip of his stylus (Fig. 1a), drawing it across the pre-existing signs in a single stroke to obliterate them.



Fig. 1a: KBo 6.4 (hethiter.net/: fotarch B1095b)

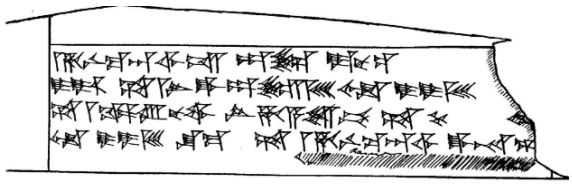


Fig. 1b: KBo 6.4 Handcopy

To our current knowledge, Ḫanikuili is also identified as the copyist of three other tablets: KBo 12.105+, a version of the Maštigga ritual; VBoT 24, a *Sammeltafel* containing two rituals for the deities KAL, attributed to the practitioner Anniwiyanni; and KBo 10.34, preserving the enthronement ritual of Tudḫaliya III, son of King Arnuwanda (GORDIN 2015, 180). Remarkably, as I pointed out several years ago (TORRI 2011, 139 with nn. 18–19), two of these manuscripts, VBoT 24 (Fig. 2) and KBo 10.34 (Fig. 3), exhibit a similar erasure in the final part of the scribal signature. In KBo 10.34 IV 17' just before the obliterated line the remains of a sign PA are clearly visible (Fig. 3), prompting me to propose that Ḫanikuili was deleting his affiliation to a supervisor's circle (*PĀNI* PN; TORRI 2011, 138-139). In VBoT 24 IV 39, several heads of vertical wedges are still visible and are consistent with the reading *P*[*A-N*]*I* ˹^{m}*A*˺-*n*[*u-wa-an-z*]*a* [*IŠ-ṬU*]*R*$^{?}$ (Fig. 2). The recurrence of this feature in different manuscripts copied by the same scribe suggests that it was not an isolated accident but rather reflects a recurrent scribal practice that deserves closer examination[4)].



Fig. 2: VBoT 24[5)]



Fig. 3: KBo 10.34 (hethiter.net/: fotarch B0255)

In 2011, I proposed that, in KBo 10.34, Ḫanikuili had initially begun to write the sign PA but then decided to erase it before completing the colophon (TORRI 2011, 139). Gordin subsequently reached the same conclusion, interpreting the erasure as the removal of the name of the supervising scribe (GORDIN 2015, 118–119 and 181)[6)]. Whereas the sign PA can be identified with reasonable confidence in the colophon of KBo 10.34, the traces preserved in the other two colophons likewise point in the same direction, suggesting that Ḫanikuili had originally written *PĀNI* Anuwanza before subsequently deciding to erase it. Nevertheless, the recurrence of the same pattern of erasure in three different colophons is unlikely to be accidental. Judging from the unusually detailed genealogy preserved in the colophon of KBo 6.4, Ḫanikuili appears to have possessed a particularly strong awareness of his scribal identity and family tradition. It is therefore difficult to believe that he repeatedly made the same mistake whenever he copied a tablet. A different explanation therefore deserves consideration. At some point, Ḫanikuili may instead have decided to revise tablets that he had already copied. We cannot, of course, determine how much time elapsed between the preparation of the manuscripts in which this phenomenon occurs. Yet it is entirely conceivable that, after completing all these tablets, he returned to them and erased the final line of each colophon. This scenario provides a more convincing explanation for the recurring pattern of erasures[7)].

Although we cannot identify what prompted Ḫanikuili (or anybody else) to make these changes, no technical obstacle prevented such an intervention. Even after drying, unfired clay tablets could be locally re-moistened, allowing a limited area of the surface to be smoothed and erased with the edge of the stylus, a piece of cloth, or even a finger (MICHEL 2025, 183–185). Whether he acted in response to changing scribal practice, institutional requirements, or some other circumstance remains impossible to determine. Recent advances in our understanding of the physical properties of clay tablets nevertheless offer a new perspective on these repeated erasures. In this light, they are more plausibly interpreted as deliberate interventions carried out after the tablets had been completed than as routine corrections made during the act of writing.

Notes

*I thank Michele Cammarosano for his valuable suggestions and advises (https://tabularasa.hypotheses.org/).

1. See TAYLOR 2025, 129–133 and MICHEL 2025, 161–190.

2. About the position of this part of the colophon on the left edge of the tablet see Torri – Warbinek forthcoming: the remaining part of the colophon, with the title and the state of completeness of the tablet, may have been present in the lost section of the fourth column.

3. Interestingly this tablet preserves in the intercolumnium of obv. and rev. oval-shaped impressions (WAAL 2015, 48) whose function is not known.

4. But note that the used technique of deletion is not the same in the two other colophons.

5. The photo of VBoT 24 was kindly provided to me in 2011 by Ulla Casten, then Associate Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, a photo is now available in *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* (hethiter.net/: fotarch BF01687). A high-resolution colour photograph is available on the Electronic Babylonian Library website (https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/NBC.2506), photograph by Klaus Wagensonner (Yale University).

6. This was his proposal also in 2011: see his personal communication quoted in TORRI 2011, n. 19.

7. Other scenarios are, of course, equally possible. The interventions may, for instance, have been made by the supervising scribe rather than by Ḫanikuili himself.

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110) À propos des traités et des frontières hittites : quelques remarques sur une publication récente — En 2025, A. Matessi a publié, dans la série SANER, une version révisée et augmentée de sa thèse de doctorat intitulée « Frontiers, Territories and the Making of Hittite Political Landscapes » (MATESSI 2025). Cet ouvrage aborde la formation et la transformation des paysages politiques de l'Empire hittite en Anatolie centre-méridionale, à travers une approche multidisciplinaire intégrant des sources textuelles (principalement cunéiformes) et des données archéologiques. L'accent est mis sur trois entités géographiques : Tarḫuntašša, le Pays Inférieur et la ville portuaire d'Ura. L'ouvrage se distingue par l'attention qu'il porte aux aspects tant historiques que géographiques et archéologiques, offrant une vision complexe et actualisée des mécanismes de l'« impérialisme » hittite. Comme il ne s'agit pas ici de proposer une critique exhaustive de cet ouvrage, laquelle exigerait une analyse approfondie des nombreux thèmes

complexes qu'il aborde, je me limiterai à quelques remarques essentielles portant sur certaines des principales thèses scientifiques défendues par l'auteur. Ces observations s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'une critique constructive de la démarche méthodologique adoptée dans l'ouvrage et sont susceptibles d'apporter une aide immédiate au lecteur de cette publication récente. L'objectif reste de partager rapidement certaines informations scientifiques avec les spécialistes du domaine. Je n'analyserai donc que les éléments d'étude relevant strictement de ma compétence, à savoir les sources épigraphiques hittites, en laissant de côté ceux relevant davantage de la compétence d'A. Matessi, à savoir les témoignages archéologiques.

L'approche micro-historique de l'ouvrage, grâce à une perspective « régionale », permet de saisir à la fois les spécificités locales et les processus impériaux plus larges, en fournissant de nouveaux outils d'interprétation pour comprendre la complexité des contextes politiques de l'Anatolie au II^e^ millénaire avant J.-C. Une perspective théorique actualisée est adoptée, qui dépasse les modèles statiques « centre–périphérie » et considère la territorialité comme un phénomène fluide et dynamique. Cet ouvrage souligne à juste titre que les dynamiques frontalières ont joué un rôle crucial dans la formation de l'empire et dans sa crise. Le chapitre 2 (MATESSI 2025 : 40–104) aborde notamment l'une des principales « *Questiones Hethiticae* », à savoir l'identification et la localisation du pays de Tarḫuntašša grâce à l'analyse des données épigraphiques.

Lors d'un récent échange de courriels avec M. Massa, l'un des archéologues les plus experts en géographie de l'Anatolie centre-méridionale et en ce qui concerne la localisation du pays de Tarḫuntašša (courriels des 16 et 17 février 2025), j'ai tenté de lui résumer les points critiques relatifs à la topographie des frontières du royaume de Tarḫuntašša, sur la base de la documentation épigraphique hittite actuelle et pertinente. Une grande partie de ces considérations est reprise ici à l'intention des spécialistes du sujet. Matessi, comme la plupart des hittitologues, fonde son analyse des sources épigraphiques essentiellement sur ce qu'on appelle le « dossier Tarḫuntašša », désormais répertorié sous la référence CTH 106 sur https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/ et disponible en translittération sur le *Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis* (hethiter.net/: TLHdig – *Beta Version 0.3* (2025-11-01)). Le CTH 106 comprend trois textes : ABoT 1.57 (qualifié par Matessi d'« édit royal » de Ḫattušili III, suivant ainsi une littérature secondaire bien établie), UT (traité pour Ulmi-Teššub de Tarḫuntašša, KBo 4.10+) et BT (« Bronze Tablet » (Tablette de Bronze) Bo 86/299, traité entre le roi hittite Tudḫaliya IV et Kuruntiya, roi de Tarḫuntašša). La question centrale est la datation de l'UT et de l'ABoT 1.57 : faut-il les attribuer à Ḫattušili III (ca. 1267–1240 avant J.-C.) ou à son fils et successeur, Tutḫaliya IV (ca. 1240–1210 avant J.-C.) ? Et Ulmi-Teššub et Kuruntiya sont-ils une seule et même personne ? Matessi, adoptant la position majoritaire, soutient que l'UT doit être attribué à Ḫattušili III, sur la base : (a) de la séquence chronologique des descriptions de frontières citées dans le BT, où l'UT coïncide avec la deuxième version de Ḫattušili III ; (b) de l'emploi de la première personne dans la révision des frontières, incompatible avec Tudḫaliya IV ; (c) la présence dans l'UT des divinités tutélaires de Ḫattušili III (Ištar de Šamuḫa et Ištar de Lawazantiya) et l'absence de dieux Šarruma ; (d) la présence de Tašmi-Šarruma/Tudḫaliya IV (?) en tant que témoin humain dans l'UT. Il en résulte la séquence suivante (MATESSI 2025 : 57) : 1^er^ traité de Ḫattušili III pour Kuruntiya (perdu) → ABoT 1.57 → UT (2^e^ traité de Ḫattušili III pour Ulmi-Teššub/Kuruntiya (?) de Tarḫuntašša) → BT (traité entre Tudḫaliya IV et Kuruntiya).

On peut supposer, avec un certain degré de certitude, que les collections de tablettes provenant de Boğazkale/Ḫattuša ne nous ont pas livré des textes originaux de diplomatie internationale — en particulier des traités, des édits et des verdicts — mais des brouillons ou, tout au plus, des copies conformes sur argile sans empreintes de sceaux (cf. VAN DEN HOUT 2005 : 286–287 ; VAN DEN HOUT 2007 : 340–341), à l'exception de la célèbre Tablette de Bronze qui représente le traité officiel gravé sur un matériau noble et dont il ne manque que les *cretulae* des témoins, qui ont dû être enlevés intentionnellement.

Une reconstruction historique prudente et responsable, à travers ce que Matessi qualifie d'enquête « philologique » (MATESSI 2025 : 39 : « The first three philological chapters serve as the foundation for Chapter 5, dedicated to the overall examination of the textual evidence in a broader context »), doit précisément découler de la réélaboration d'une étude philologique rigoureuse. Même si l'absence de documents officiels de la diplomatie internationale hittite peut favoriser une justification « à la carte » — *materia parata utimur et ex iis quae adsunt operamur* — pour des évaluations philologiques approximatives, il est

important de souligner que la reconstruction minutieuse d'un dossier documentaire doit tenir compte de la matérialité même des documents et de leur fonctionnalité (ou agentivité documentaire). Pour cette raison, je trouve difficile de proposer, dans un ouvrage monographique, une stratigraphie des traités internationaux se rapportant à un même dossier présumé, en s'appuyant sur des documents officiels et des documents provisoires, tels que des brouillons préparatoires aux traités. De plus, une étude qualifiée de philologique devrait de préférence s'appuyer sur l'autopsie des documents épigraphiques (c.-à-d. la collation des tablettes cunéiformes au musée), ou tout au moins s'appuyer en permanence sur des outils numériques appropriés, tels que l'archive photographique du *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* (S. Košak, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus) *s.v.* CTH 106.I.1, 106.II.1, 106 II.2). Bien que Matessi semble faire référence à cette approche dans plusieurs notes de bas de page accompagnées d'exemples précis, la méthodologie de la recherche philologique est utilisée de manière ponctuelle, et non de façon rigoureuse et systématique, pour l'analyse de tous les passages cunéiformes étudiés.

Il est donc fortement déconseillé de tenter d'établir une chronologie des traités (MATESSI 2025 : §2.3.1) sur la base du dossier dont nous disposons aujourd'hui, comme le montre, d'ailleurs, le fait que les documents conservés qui ont été examinés indiquent l'existence de documents diplomatiques antérieurs régissant les relations de subordination du souverain de Tarḫuntašša au roi hittite.[1)] Par ailleurs, l'identification entre Olmi-Tēššob (« (mon) arme est le dieu de l'orage (?) » ; dans la transmission hittite : Ulmi-Teššub) et Kuruntiya de Tarḫuntašša — comme si le premier était peut-être le nom de naissance hourrite et le second le nom de trône louvite de la même personne ; une thèse intrigante mais dépassée, qui semble être réfutée par la sigillographie ; cf. MATESSI 2025 : 56 — ne peut être une « necessary implication » (*sic* MATESSI 2025 : 55). Cette hypothèse d'identification ne peut être écartée, mais elle mériterait d'être mieux argumentée et, si possible, étayée par des éléments plus probants, dont nous ne disposons pas pour l'instant (cf. SCHWEMER 1999 : 194). Toutefois, au paragraphe 7' de l'UT concernant les dérogations aux obligations militaires et religieuses, la parenthèse introduite par l'adverbe de temps *kinun* (« maintenant »), la présence du nom de Kuruntiya et le changement apparent de personne du référent (de la troisième personne du singulier à la deuxième personne du singulier) démontrent, à mon avis, que KBo 4.10+ (UT) est un brouillon (peut-être final) du traité que le roi des Hittites (vraisemblablement Ḫattušili III) avait fait inscrire sur une tablette de fer (AN.BAR-*aš tuppi*) pour Olmi-Tēššob (KBo 4.10+ Vo. 22 = UT §15').[2)] Ce paragraphe, contenant une erreur de scribe manifeste avec le changement de référent, a notoirement été inséré dans UT à partir d'un document qui est *verbatim* le §7' de UT, avec la prémisse suivante (§6') :

> « Ces tablettes du lien avaient déjà été rédigées et doivent être déposées à Arinna devant la déesse soleil d'Arinna. Quant à l'obligation relative à son armée, elle n'était pas rédigée sur ces tablettes, et Sa Majesté a par la suite rédigé pour lui une tablette de l'obligation relative à l'armée en ces termes ».

Ce qui, dans KBo 4.10+ Ro. 38'–39' est défini comme *ŠA* KARAŠ *išḫiul* (« lien de l'armée ») est précisément ABoT 1.57 (cf. VAN DEN HOUT 1989 : 100), comme on peut déduire à partir du document même (ABoT 1.57 Ro. 13', 14', 20', Vo. 30', 33'). Les concessions accordées à Ulmi-Teššub, consignées dans l'ABoT 1.57, figurent également dans la « Tablette de Bronze » (§§22, 24 ; cf. MATESSI 2025 : 54 ; 80–84).

Je me limiterai donc à quelques observations particulières concernant ABoT 1.57, pour laquelle nous ne disposons pas encore d'une édition critique. Pour préparer mon édition, je me suis bien sûr basé sur les photos en haute définition de la tablette, actuellement conservée au Musée des civilisations d'Anatolie à Ankara (*Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi*) et répertoriée sous la cote AnAr 9132.[3)] AnAr 9132 est également une tablette à une seule colonne, de couleur rouge-brun, de forme légèrement ovale, mesurant 12 x 8,5 cm et 3,4 cm à son point le plus épais. Les marges supérieure-gauche, centrale-droite et inférieure de la face sont fortement endommagées, de sorte que la ligne la mieux conservée (Recto 21') comporte environ 13 signes cunéiformes. Le revers ne conserve que sept lignes. La graphie est de style hittite récent (deuxième moitié du XIVe – XIIIe siècle av. J.-C.), même s'il n'est pas possible de proposer ici une analyse paléographique détaillée, notamment en raison de la controverse bien connue parmi les philologues hittitologues concernant la réévaluation de la graphie toujours attribuée à cette tablette par le *Konkordanz*, dénommée IIIc (ou spätjunghethitisch/Late New Script), pour laquelle je renvoie à WEEDEN 2020 : 327–328. À l'examen, l'écriture n'est pas uniforme et tend vers le haut, de forme dextrogyre, surtout dans la partie inférieure de la face. De plus, certains indices graphiques et morphosyntaxiques laissent penser que

le texte a été transcrit sous la dictée ; les signes étant inscrits de dimensions différentes sur les mêmes lignes (*e.g.*, Ro. 13'–14' : Fig. 1). Certains caractères semblent en outre avoir été surécrits par le scribe (*e.g.*, Ro. 21'–22' : Fig. 2). Matessi (2025 : 51, n. 115), reprenant une ancienne thèse de H. Otten, citée à juste titre par Beckman (1989–1990 : 291, n. 14), semble admettre que le document ABoT 1.57 est un document officiel et non un brouillon, car selon Otten (1988 : 6), le revers de la tablette présente des traces d'une empreinte de sceau. Je ne suis pas certain qu'il y ait eu une empreinte de sceau au revers de AnAr 9132. Si empreinte il y avait, le sceau n'a pas été imprimé en profondeur (VAN DEN HOUT 1995 : 10, n. 24). D'après l'examen direct, le revers semble avoir été préparé pour recevoir une empreinte de sceau, mais aucune trace n'y figure, à l'exception d'une abrasion de 3,1 cm presque sphérique qui a peut-être conduit Otten à penser qu'il s'agissait d'une empreinte de sceau perdue (Fig. 3).[4)] D'après les exemples des actes royaux de donation foncière, je ne connais toutefois aucun cas où l'écriture de la face se serait étendue à l'intérieur de l'édicule préservé pour accueillir l'empreinte d'un sceau à moule. Le seul cas apparent de « débordement » léger que je connaisse est le LSU 22, Ro. (Bo 90/722 : cf. RÜSTER & WILHELM 2012 : Tableaux LII et LVIII). Dans ABoT 1.57 Ro., on observe clairement plusieurs traces de signes cunéiformes à l'intérieur de l'encadré réservé au cachet. Il existe bien sûr plusieurs exemples de tablettes hittites provenant de Ḫattuša sur lesquelles le sceau a été apposé sur la tablette d'argile encore fraîche, avant son inscription, sans qu'elle ait été découpée (cf. BALZA 2012 : 104–107, fig. 1–7). Pour autant que je m'en souvienne, seuls les textes juridiques et administratifs syro-hittites provenant d'Emar (Tell Meskene), presque toujours émis par le roi de Kargamiš, sont souvent scellés au revers de la tablette (cf. BALZA 2009 : 75–80). Il existe également un cas exceptionnel provenant de Ḫattuša (KUB 25.32) concernant des prescriptions cultuelles relatives aux fêtes de Karaḫna (CTH 681.1) où une empreinte moulée a été apposé avec le sceau de Tabrami (période de Tudḫaliya IV) au centre de l'*intercolumnium* du revers, comme pour imiter le cachet d'argile ou de cire sur le registre d'un diptyque en bois (voir la photo dans VAN DEN HOUT 2020 : 251–253, fig. 12.2). Le double encadrement au revers et la présence, à l'intérieur de la plus étroite, de quelques signes cunéiformes gravés sans logique apparente (Fig. 4) m'amènent à penser que ABoT 1.57 est ce que Beckman (1996 : 102) définit comme « l'ébauche d'un précurseur » de UT, §6' — selon la numérotation de son livre ; *i.e.*, §7' — et BT, §22. Cependant, il existe au moins un cas qui confirme indirectement que ces documents diplomatiques, que nous appelons « traités hittites » (c.-à-d. tablettes du lien), ont pu être scellés au revers. Selon la description égyptienne de la tablette d'argent relative au traité paritaire entre Ḫattušili III et Ramsès II, elle était revêtue des sceaux divins des deux parties sur chacune de ses faces.[5)]



Fig. 1 – AnAr 9132 (ABoT 1.57)
Détail de caractères de tailles différentes dans Ro.13'–14'



Fig. 2 – AnAr 9132 (ABoT 1.57)
Détail des traces de récriture dans Ro. 21'–22'



Fig. 3 – Revers d'AnAr 9132 (ABoT 1.57) présentant des traces d'encadrement



Fig. 4 – Revers d'AnAr 9132 (ABoT 1.57) avec un gros plan sur quelques signes cunéiformes gravés autour de la surface abrasée au centre

Les dispositions unilatérales de l'autorité royale hittite en terre étrangère, comme à Ougarit, que nous appelons par le terme étique « édits royaux », mais que les Hittites désignaient toujours par le même terme, *išḫiul-* (« lien » ; cf. VIGO 2025 : 91–95), étaient scellées au Recto. On peut citer comme exemple l'édit de Šuppiluliuma Ier à l'intention de Niqmaddu II d'Ougarit (CTH 47 : PRU IV : 40–44 ; BECKMAN 1996 : 166, n° 28A), qui porte le sceau du roi hittite (Ugaritica V : 654, fig. 24), ainsi que ses duplicatas B (RS 17.300 : PRU IV, pl. XXXVII, 8), C (RS 17.330 : PRU IV, pl. XLIII), D (RS 17.347 : PRU IV, pl. LIII) et F (RS 17.373 : MORA 1987 : VIII 5.3) ; tous présentent des traces de sceaux érodés mais clairement identifiables.[6)] Le CTH 46, qui, tout comme le CTH 47, peut être considéré comme un édit royal hittite destiné au souverain d'Ougarit (cf. DEVECCHI 2012), est qualifié par Šuppiluliuma I^er^ de « tablette du lien » (Vo. 16' : *tuppi ša rikilti*), d'un lien d'amitié (Vo. 14' : *rikilta šalama*), dont les dispositions sont scellées (Vo. 10' : *iknukšunūti*). Il n'existe pas d'explication univoque de la raison pour laquelle tous les documents juridiques de la diplomatie hittite retrouvés à Ougarit sont scellés, contrairement à ceux provenant de Ḫattuša, mais je ne sous-estimerai pas le fait que les premiers aient presque certainement été rédigés à Kargamiš (cf. BALZA 2008 : 403, avec une bibliographie antérieure à la note 65). Les textes RS 17.338+ et RS 17.353+ (CTH 66.A–B), exemplaires du traité de subordination du roi d'Ougarit Niqmepa au roi hittite Muršili II, semblent constituer une exception, leurs manuscrits fragmentaires ne comportant aucune empreinte de sceau. Toutefois, selon plusieurs chercheurs, certaines caractéristiques orthographiques et linguistiques indiquent une origine syrienne (cf. DEVECCHI 2015 : 194, n. 3). Le texte conservé pourrait donc être une copie d'archive, à l'instar de celles « pour Ougarit » retrouvées à Ḫattuša (cf. BALZA 2008 : 405), même si je n'en suis pas certain. Le fait que les tablettes hittites à caractère juridique destinées aux subordonnés syriens devaient être scellées est attesté par KBo 50.77+ (CTH 63.A), où il est précisé que la présente tablette relative au litige juridique n'est pas scellée car Sa Majesté ou ses représentants sont absents, mais qu'elle sera ratifiée (*sic* scellée) dès qu'ils seront disponibles (iv 2'–13'). Cf. KBo 1.8+ (CTH 92) Ro. 24–25, où est précisée la nécessité de sceller les tablettes du lien pour Bentešina d'Amurru, et KBo 1.6 (CTH 75.A) i 2–5, où Muwatalli II rédige, en l'officialisant par le sceau, une nouvelle « tablette du lien » (*ṭuppa ša rikilti*) que Muršili II avait fait établir pour Talmi-Šarruma d'Alep et que celui-ci avait perdue.

Depuis Ḫattuša, il existe toutefois au moins trois cas de tablettes cunéiformes hittites sur argile scellées qui semblent revêtir un caractère juridique et diplomatique, bien qu'elles ne conservent que ce qui semble être un prologue ou une note historique (CTH 85.3 = KBo 14.45; CTH 212.13 = 230/f ; CTH 96 = 544/f. Cf. BALZA 2012 : 87–89). Il convient de noter que le CTH 96 — le fragment le mieux conservé des trois — est une certification officielle de Kuruntiya de Tarḫuntašša — une sorte de reçu légal déposé auprès du souverain hittite émetteur — attestant qu'il a reçu de Ḫattušili III et de son épouse les tablettes du traité confirmant son accession au trône.[7)] Tenter d'établir une chronologie des traités en se fondant sur une modification présumée de la section relative aux frontières du royaume de Tarḫuntašša, entre UT (ébauche d'un traité) et BT (traité officiel), est donc une entreprise risquée et scientifiquement contestable — cela vaut aussi bien pour les travaux de Matessi que pour les tentatives antérieures, par exemple celles de van den Hout (1989) — d'autant plus si l'on fonde une recherche qualifiée de philologique principalement sur la littérature secondaire.

Après ces remarques d'ordre méthodologique sur l'ouvrage de Matessi (2025), je terminerai par une remarque plus technique d'ordre philologique. L'ouvrage d'A. Matessi dont il est question ici, qui aborde des thèmes hittitologiques importants, s'intitule en effet « Frontiers, Territories and the Making of Hittite Political Landscapes ». L'auteur tente de retracer les frontières du pays de Tarḫuntašša en s'appuyant principalement sur les documents que j'ai cités plus haut (UT Ro. 16'–32' ; BT i 18–67 ; BT i 68–90 ; UT 33'–37' ; BT ii 4–20 ; BT iii 43–56 : MATESSI 2025 : 176). La partie la plus intéressante porte sur les frontières du royaume de Tarḫuntašša, près du pays de la rivière Ḫulaya, telles qu'elles sont évoquées dans ces deux documents. Le chapitre 5 de Matessi 2025, à la fois intéressant et bien structuré, donne lieu à quelques réflexions sur sa brillante approche topologique de l'étude de la territorialité et sur la possibilité de l'appliquer à une comparaison philologique rigoureuse. D'après la relecture des passages

relatifs aux frontières dans le BT (MATESSI 2025 : 179), le texte a été conçu pour réunir la « cartographie » des segments radiaux (*IŠTU/-az*) et des segments périmétriques (*IŠTU* ZAG/ZAG-*za*).

Au paragraphe 5.2.3 (MATESSI 2025 : 195–202), Alvise Matessi aborde la question complexe des relations entre le pays de la rivière Ḫulaya et le royaume de Tarḫuntašša, car : « Tarḫuntašša (T) is never mentioned as a political entity in the boundary descriptions, which are consistently concerned only with the Land of the Ḫulaya River (HL). » (MATESSI 2025 : 197). Matessi procède par élimination systématique en examinant quatre hypothèses topologiques. **1. Séparation nette (HL ≠ T) ** — Exclue, parce que BT ii 4, dans la version parallèle à UT Ro. 33', insère une référence à HL comme glose du « district frontalier de T » (ZAG KUR $^{URU\,D}$10-*ašša*), ce qui implique un chevauchement. De plus, BT §9 répertorie des entités situées « à la fois » « au milieu de T » « et » dans HL, ce qui est incompatible avec une séparation totale. **2. Identité (HL = T) ** — Exclue, parce que les descriptions de frontières ne mentionnent que HL, jamais T comme entité politique distincte, et la référence de BT ii 4 relie HL à la frontière de T, et non à sa totalité. **3. Intersection partielle ** — Exclue, car les traités ne fournissent jamais de définition autonome des frontières de T en dehors de HL, ce qui serait nécessaire en cas d'intersection. **4. Inclusion (hypothèse retenue) ** — Reste la seule possibilité. La question est celle de la direction : HL ⊂ T ou T ⊂ HL ? Matessi argumente que HL est incluse dans T, et non l'inverse (MATESSI 2025 : 63, 197–198) : 1. BT ii 4 (« le district frontalier de T — c'est la terre du rivière Ḫulaya » (voir *ultra*)) indique HL comme le noyau territorial de T, et non comme une entité extérieure. 2. BT ii 62–63 (« quiconque se trouve au milieu de HL : tout appartient au domaine de Kuruntiya, roi de T ») confirme que T transcende HL. 3. BT, §9 (Bo 86/299 i 68–90) et BT, §23 (Bo 86/299 iii 47–52) documentent des propriétés de la couronne de T situées en dehors de HL — en Pitašša, en Kizzuwatna, et même au cœur du pays de Ḫattuša — qui fonctionnent comme des « enclaves externes ». Le concept clé est celui de « territorialité composite » : HL est le *Kerngebiet* délimité par des frontières (ZAG/*a*/*irḫa*-), fixées par le verbe *dai*-, tandis que T désigne l'entité géopolitique globale qui comprend à la fois HL et les enclaves dispersées, cédées par le verbe *pai*-/*pi*- (SUM ; *NADĀNU* : « donner/accorder »). La distinction verbale est marquée et significative : les frontières se « fixent », les enclaves se « donnent » (cf. BT iv 21–22). La double territorialité reflète historiquement la juxtaposition entre le nouveau domaine territorial accordé par Ḫattušili III et Tudḫaliya IV et le patrimoine institutionnel préexistant — peut-être remontant au règne de Muwatalli II — des institutions religieuses de Tarḫuntašša. Si la ville de Tarḫuntašša doit être recherchée à l'intérieur de HL, elle doit se trouver dans le Pays Inférieur, le long de l'alluvion du Çarşamba (= rivière Ḫulaya), et non dans la vallée du Göksu, comme l'ont proposé d'autres. Bien que ces implications scientifiques puissent être légitimes, je tiens à préciser certains points. M. Weeden et son maître D. Hawkins ont démontré de manière convaincante, en s'appuyant sur BT, §11 (Bo 86/299 ii 4–20), que le pays de la rivière Ḫulaya et celui de Tarḫuntašša ne sont pas contigus et que le premier constitue la frontière du second (HAWKINS & WEEDEN 2021 : 385), rejoignant ainsi les hypothèses 1 et 4 de Matessi. Je propose ci-après quelques observations à ce sujet. J'interprète Bo 86/299 ii 4–5 comme une proposition relative non restrictive reportée après son référent : ZAG KUR ^{URU} ^{D}10-*tašša=ya kuiš* KUR ^{ÍD}*Ḫūlayaš n=ašta* ^{LÚ}MÁŠ.GAL *anda lē paizzi* : « Le territoire du rivière Ḫulaya, qui est la frontière du pays de la ville de Tarḫuntašša, qu'aucun berger ne s'y rende ! ».[8] Cette phrase indique clairement que le pays de la rivière Ḫulaya constitue la frontière du royaume de Tarḫuntašša et qu'il s'en distingue donc. De même, Bo 86/299 i 84–86, démontre, à mon avis, contrairement à ce qu'affirme Otten (1988 : 46), que ces deux entités sont, à tout le moins, géographiquement distinctes.[9] Cette interprétation semble confirmée par les lignes suivantes du même §11 du BT (Bo 86/299 ii 5–8) : « Et si (*mānn=a*) on s'approche depuis le pays de la rivière Ḫulaya jusqu'au grand rocher salé (*i.e.*, gisement de sel gemme destiné à l'élevage estival : *šalli lāpani :waniya*), les droits sur le gisement de sel gemme ne doivent en aucun cas (=*kan*) lui (*nu=šši*) être retirés (*lē danzi*)! Celui-ci (=*at*) avait été donné (*piyan* (*ēšta*)) au roi du pays de la ville de Tarḫuntašša ! » (cf. UT, §5' (KBo 4.10+ Ro. 33'–35') qui précise que le donateur était le père de Tudḫaliya IV). Les frontières mentionnées dans l'UT et le BT sont énumérés selon la perspective des intérêts géopolitiques du roi des Hittites et de son territoire (KUR ^{URU}*ḪATTI*) ; c'est pourquoi le royaume de la ville de Tarḫuntašša n'est jamais mentionné lorsqu'il s'agit des frontières méridionales des Hittites. Le pays de la rivière Ḫulaya était sous la juridiction administrative hittite à l'époque du roi Telipinu (dernier quart du XVIe siècle av. J.-C. : KBo 3.1+ iii 33') où il est indiqué comme

emplacement d'un entrepôt hittite (É ^{NA_4}KIŠIB) ; c'est pourquoi il est nécessaire de préciser dans BT ii 62–63 qu'à l'époque des accords entre Tudḫaliya IV et Kuruntiya de Tarḫuntašša, le pays de la rivière Ḫulaya n'était plus une « buffering zone » comme elle l'était peut-être avant le règne de Ḫattušili III, mais tout ce qui s'y trouvait appartenait au roi de Tarḫuntašša.[10)] Cela expliquerait enfin la nécessité d'insérer l'incise pour décrire HL comme la frontière méridionale (hittite) à l'intérieur du territoire de la ville de Tarḫuntašša. Mon interprétation de ce passage et ses implications semblent être confirmées par un autre passage de BT (§7) : Bo 86/299 i 39–42 : « À partir des localités de Wantazaruwa et de Kunzinaša, le mont Arlanta et le village d'Alanā constituent sa frontière. Cependant (*nu=kan*), Alanā appartient au pays de la rivière Ḫūlaya. Et (*=ma*), en particulier (*=kan*), l'eau qui se trouve au-dessus (*šer*) du (*INA*) mont Arlanta, celle-ci précisément (*n=at=kan*) est partagée (*aššan takšan*) entre le pays de la rivière Ḫūlaya et le pays des Hittites (*ANA* KUR ^{ÍD}*Ḫūlaya Ù ANA* KUR ^{URU}*ḪATTI*) ». L'identification du gisement de sel gemme avec le Meke Tuzlası et du mont Arlanta avec le Karacadağ voisin, proposée à nouveau dans Hawkins & Weeden 2021 : 385–386, avec une bibliographie antérieure dans les notes, renforcerait ma thèse selon laquelle le territoire de la rivière Ḫulaya en question jouxte celui des Hittites et ne se trouve pas au cœur du royaume de Tarḫuntašša, mais que son roi en a l'usufruit grâce aux accords contraignants conclus par Ḫattušili III et son fils.[11)]

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1. KBo 4.10+ Ro. 22'–23' : *IŠTU* $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Kuwaliyatta=ma=šši* ⌜*ḫan*⌝*tezziyaš ANA ṬUPPA*$^{ḪI.A}$ ^{URU}*Šuttašnaš* ZAG-*aš ēšta*: « En outre, à partir du mont Kuwaliyata, sur les tablettes précédentes, la localité de Sutašna marquait sa frontière ». Le datif pluriel *ḫantezziyaš* montre qu'avec *ṬUPPA*$^{ḪI.A}$, il ne s'agit pas d'une énallage, mais de plusieurs accords antérieurs à l'UT. Pour la forme *ṬUPPA*$^{ḪI.A}$, je renvoie à Mora & Giorgieri 2004 : 208. La même formule revient dans la « Tablette de Bronze » (i 16–17, 23, 35–36, 90 ; ii 12, 59, 84) où il est précisé qu'il s'agit de traités (*RIKILTI*) préparés par le père de Tudḫaliya IV (*ŠA ABI=YA*).

2. KBo 4.10+ Ro. 41'–42' : *kinun=ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL*=ya* ^{mD}LAMMA-*an INA* ^{D}U-*ta*[*šša*] LUGAL-*un iēr nu=za ŠA* DINGIR-*LIM šaḫḫana IŠTU* ⌜KUR⌝-*TI=ŠÚ* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL*=ya kī išḫiul iēr* : « Mais le roi et la reine ont ensuite couronné Kurunta à Tarḫunta[ššа]. Il n'était pas en mesure de s'acquitter des obligations envers la divinité depuis son pays, et le roi et la reine t'ont fait ce lien ». Il s'agit toutefois d'un brouillon d'un texte officiel, avec tout ce que cela implique quant à la fiabilité du contenu. Van den Hout (1995 : 9, n. 16), qui en a assuré l'édition pour la série *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (n° 38), n'exclut pas que le format en une seule colonne de KBo 4.10+ corresponde à un brouillon (*sic Kladde*) de scribe, c'est-à-dire à une version préliminaire. L'existence d'exemplaires conformes de textes officiels hittites remises aux parties est précisément attestée par la « Tablette de Bronze », Bo 86/299 iv 44–45, où il est dit : « ces tablettes ont été rédigées en sept exemplaires scellés… » : *kī=ma TUPPA*$^{ḪI.A}$ DUB 7^{KAM} *iyan n=at IŠTU* ^{NA_4}KIŠIB ^{D}UTU ^{URU}*Arinna Ù IŠTU* ^{NA_4}KIŠIB ^{D}10 ^{URU}*ḪATTI šiyān*. Il est toutefois évident que celles-ci n'étaient pas semblables à la KBo 4.10+, qui n'est pas scellée et n'a été retrouvée dans aucune niche de temple, contrairement à ce que l'on dit des sept exemplaires mentionnés.

3. Je remercie le directeur du Musée des civilisations anatoliennes d'Ankara, Monsieur Yusuf Kıraç, ainsi que la conservatrice, Madame Mine Çifçi.

4. Il convient de noter que l'encadrement semble également présent non seulement au Recto des actes royaux de donation foncière (*Landschenkungsurkunden*), mais aussi sur le côté inférieur, lorsqu'ils sont conservés, où se trouvait l'orifice destiné au cordage des *cretulae* portant les empreintes des sceaux des témoins. Cf. Güterbock 1997 : 130, fig. 7 ; Herbordt 2005 : 27, fig. 8.

5. Cf. Edel 1997 : 82–83. Alors que sur la face de la tablette aurait représenté le dieu de l'orage en train d'étreindre le souverain hittite, le revers devait comporter l'empreinte du sceau de la déesse-soleil d'Arinna, elle-même représentée en train d'étreindre la reine hittite Pudu-Ḫeba. Dans ce cas, selon moi, l'iconographie des sceaux était gravée dans l'argent, à l'instar des « empreintes » sur la plaque de bronze élamite (pré-achéménide) PT 6 297 (du dernier quart du VIIe siècle av. J.-C. à la première moitié du VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C. ?) provenant de Persépolis (Schmidt 1957 : 64–65, avec la pl. 27). Güterbock (1997 : 130) n'exclut toutefois pas un moulage en cire sur la plaque d'argent.

6. L'édition parallèle en ougaritique (CTH 47.b = RS 11.772+780+782+802) n'est pas scellée. Cf. Virolleaud 1940 : 260–262. Le sceau royal hittite apposé sur les documents syriens pouvait également figurer sur le bord des tablettes cunéiformes, comme le montre le verdict de Ḫattušili III et de Pudu-Ḫeba, RS 17.229 (CTH 215). Cf. PRU IV : 106, avec la photo dans Ugaritica III : 16, fig. 21.

7. Selon la reconstitution raisonnable de Beckman (1989–1990 : 291), que je suis, avec la proposition de reconstituer deux formes verbales au troisième singulier du prétérit, même si les bienfaiteurs sont le couple royal hittite, en vertu du I du signe IA visible en Ro. 12' sur le côté droit de la tablette : 544/f, Ro. 11'–12' : *nu=mu INA* KUR ^{URU} ⌜^{D}10-*aš*⌝*ša* ([LUGAL-*iznani tittanut*]) ⌜*nu*⌝*=mu TUPPA*⌜$^{ḪI.A}$⌝ [*RIKILTI*] ⌜*i*$^{?}$⌝*y*[*at*$^{?}$]. Entre le signe ḪI.A brisé et le signe

IA, clairement visible à moitié, il y a de la place pour les signes RI, KIL et TI. L'orthographe avec KIL, par rapport à KI-IL, est attestée dans d'autres traités conservés à Ḫattuša, notamment dans ceux rédigés en akkadien pour de petits rois syriens. Les édits d'Ougarit, promulgués par le roi hittite, mais probablement rédigés à Kargamiš, privilégient en revanche KÍL, ou, au plus, KÍ-IL.

8. Le pronom *kuiš* figurait déjà dans KBo 4.10+ Ro. 33', ce qui signifie que la phrase de l'UT a été interprétée comme suit : « Quelle frontière du pays de Tarḫuntašša [est/y a] … ». Dans la version de BT, il a été jugé nécessaire de préciser qu'il s'agissait de la frontière située près du territoire de la rivière Ḫulaya, c'est-à-dire celle qui intéressait Tudḫaliya, car elle jouxtait directement le pays des Hittites, comme l'avait déjà proposé à juste titre Hawkins (1995 : 50). De plus, la phrase principale de ce même passage dans l'UT mentionne ŠÀ KUR-*TI*, qui est omise dans le BT en raison de l'insertion de la phrase parenthétique. En effet, je pense qu'il est sous-entendu que même un pauvre berger ne peut pas entrer dans le pays de la ville de Tarḫuntašša depuis le pays de la ville de la rivière Ḫulaya (KBo 4.10+ Ro. 33' : *IŠTU* KUR URU ^{ÍD}*Ḫulaya*). Il convient de noter que la particule *-ašta* marque un passage net de frontière d'un espace à l'autre (cf. GrHL^{2} : 485, §26.89). La parenthétique ne peut difficilement être construite avec le génitif de Ḫulaya, tout simplement parce qu'il n'est attesté ni dans le BT ni ailleurs. Cf. A. Kryszeń, hethiter.net/ : HiTop (28/04/2023) *s.v.* Dans KBo 3.1+ iii 33', *Ḫulayaš* ne marque pas le génitif.

9. Bo 86/299 i 84–87 (BT, §9) : « Quelles que soient les troupes-*šarikuwa*, les artisans et les hommes soumis au service TUKUL GÍD.DA qui se trouvent dans le pays de Tarḫuntašša et dans le pays de la Ḫūlaya : mon père leur a donné ces localités avec la terre nue ; il ne les leur a pas données avec leurs habitants ». J'ai laissé les termes « troupes-*šarikuwa* » et « TUKUL GÍD.DA » sans traduction, car ils doivent faire l'objet d'une discussion plus approfondie dans un autre cadre.

10. Le fait que le territoire du rivière Ḫulaya ait été autrefois administré par les Hittites peut également être déduit indirectement d'autres témoignages. Dans UT, §7' (KBo 4.10+ Ro. 42'–43'), on peut lire : ANŠE KUR.RA KARAŠ=*wa=šši kuit INA* ^{URU}*ḪATTI ŠA* KUR ^{ÍD}*Ḫulaya* ^{É}*duppaš ḫarzi n=at=ši=ya=at* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI arḫa peššiyat* : « Sa Majesté lui a accordé l'exemption des chevaux et de l'infanterie du bâtiment des paniers du pays de la rivière Ḫulaya (c.-à-d. une sorte de θησαυρός grec *i.e.*, de l'administration du pays de la rivière Ḫulaya) qui se trouve à Ḫattuša ». Cf. le parallèle dans ABoT 1.57 Ro. 13'–16' et la même structure dans Bo 86/299 iii 32–34. Les stèles votives d'Emirgazi (https://www.hittitemonuments.com/emirgazi/) pour un centre cultuel dédié au dieu-cerf de la campagne avec une inscription dédicatoire en hiéroglyphe louvite de Tudḫaliya IV et la mention du mont Šarpa (^{MONS}MENSA/Arisama Dağ ?) et du « mont hache » (^{MONS}ASCIA), peut-être le Karacadağ (cf. HAWKINS 2024 : 18), situés donc en territoire hittite, en direction de la frontière avec la terre du rivière Ḫulaya, prendraient alors une signification précise (cf. MATESSI 2025 : 281). Je n'exclurais même pas que les §§13–23 de l'EMİRGAZİ 1 (HAWKINS 2024 : 20–21) concernent l'accès des troupeaux aux pâturages du mont Arlanta. Concernant la fonction des inscriptions et leur lien avec les stèles dédicatoires dans un espace cultuel mentionné dans les inscriptions, cf. MICHEL 2015 : 20–22 ; HAWKINS 2019 : 114–115 ; MICHEL 2020 : 141–142 ; HAWKINS 2024 : 17. Concernant la proposition de Patrick Michel d'identifier le hiéroglyphe louvite *hwasatti-* avec le mot hittite *ḫuwaši-* (stèle votive/enclos sacré ?), cf. https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/dictionary.php?lemma=2157 et le mot louvite potentiel *ḫwašiwanti-* dans KBo 62.5 : 25.

De même, l'inscription hiéroglyphique d'Hatip (https://www.hittitemonuments.com/hatip/) par Kuruntiya, qui se pare du titre de Grand Roi, revêtirait une signification idéologique et politique précise, « s'ouvrant » sur la frontière nord-ouest du territoire de la rivière Ḫulaya, vers le mont Ḫawa, mais loin des frontières avec le pays des Hittites et à proximité immédiate de la frontière avec le pays d'Ušša. En ce qui concerne l'inscription de Hatip, voir à présent le point de vue de Matessi (2025 : 129, 283). Cf. les intéressantes données archéologiques du Bronze final à la périphérie sud de l'Obruk Yaylası, dans MATESSI 2025 : 279.

11. Je ne vois aucune raison de soutenir que HL constituait le district intérieur de T, comme le fait Matessi (2025 : 198), en particulier sur la base de Bo 86/299 ii 62–63.

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111) About the suffix *-n* of Hurrian Theonyms in the Emar God List — Avec cette contribution, je souhaite réagir à la suggestion avancée par V. Ivanov dans *NABU* (2026/66). La contribution d'Ivanov comprend deux parties principales. Dans la première, Ivanov propose que le suffixe *-n* qui apparaît à la fin de quelques théonymes hourrites, dans Salvini (2015:51–55), est le même morphème que le pronom enclitique *-nna* (long) ou *-n* (court) 'P3sg Absolutif'. Ivanov se réfère ici à Wilhelm (2004:108). Un exemple parmi d'autres serait hourrite ^{d}Aya-n 'c'est Ea' (SALVINI 2015:51 7') d'après la traduction d'Ivanov (hourrite ^{d}Aya-n = he (is) Ea). Dans la deuxième partie, Ivanov consacre aussi du temps à la voyelle *-u-n* par exemple dans ^{d}*Gilgamiš-u-n* (SALVINI 2015:53 17').

De façon générale, il est intéressant de relire les exemples et la discussion dans Speiser (1941:167–75). En particulier, dans la phrase très courte : *adi-nin taše-n itt-uš-ta* (Mit. I 90) 'et ainsi le (*-n*) cadeau (*taše-*) est allé', le suffixe ne peut pas être autre chose que l'article défini singulier *-ni*. La forme courte *-n* est sans doute d'autant plus régulière que le mot suivant commence par *i-*: *taše-ni itt-uš-ta* > *taše-n itt-uš-ta*. On peut aussi souligner que Mit. I 90 montre aussi que l'article défini singulier *-ni* peut tout à fait être suffixé à un nom au cas Absolutif, ici sujet d'un verbe de mouvement.

L'idée proposée par Ivanov se heurte à un certain nombre de problèmes, même si Wilhelm (2019:199) l'a proposée avant lui : *Ehli-Tenu-n* [mit Pron. 3. Ps. Sg. *-n*]. En premier lieu, il ne semble pas que le pronom enclitique *-nna* (long) or *-n* (court) 'P3sg Absolutif' puisse être suffixé à des formes nominales. En pratique, *-nna* ressemble trop à l'article défini pluriel *-(n)na* et *-n* ressemble trop à la conjonction *-an* 'et'. Le risque de confusion est trop grand. Ce pronom enclitique *-nna* (long) ou *-n* (court) est suffixé à des formes verbales où il a valeur d'anaphorique 'le, la (sg)' en tandem avec *-l(la)* 'les (pl)'. Typiquement *un-iya-n(na)* 'il l'apporte' et *un-iya-l(la)* 'il les apporte'. Une question ouverte est de trouver

des références où le pronom enclitique *-nna* (long) or *-n* (court) serait suffixé à d'autres formes que verbales. Dans tous les cas, le pronom enclitique *-nna* (long) ou *-n* (court), à valeur d'anaphorique 'le, la (sg)', ne peut pas être *co-referential* [sic] ou *function as a linker* [sic], comme le prétend Ivanov. C'est un complet non sequitur grammatical.

Ensuite, il faut souligner que *-n* dans ^{d}Aya-n = 'c'est Ea' ne peut en aucun cas être un pronom enclitique à valeur d'anaphorique 'le, la (sg)'. En fait ce que propose Ivanov – involontairement, semble-t-il – est un nouveau morphème : une espèce de copule 'être'. Cette idée n'est pas nouvelle et Diakonov avait proposé il y a plus de 70 ans d'analyser *endan* dans le Lion d'Urkeš : *end-an* avec l'arrière-pensée de comparer *-an* 'être' avec sumérien *-am*, afin d'établir une connection génétique entre ces deux langues, hélas sur la base d'un morphème frauduleux côté hourrite.

En conclusion, l'idée proposée par Ivanov, et avant lui par Wilhelm, n'est pas acceptable.

En fait, une explication simple existe : *-n* est une forme courte de l'article défini sg *-ni*. Voir ci-dessus Mit. I 90. Cela permet de comprendre que *-n* puisse être suffixé à des formes nominales, contrairement à l'enclitique *-n(na)*, qui a un tropisme verbal. En outre on peut noter qu'aucun des items au pluriel dans Salvini (2015:51–55) n'est suffixé par *-n*, ce qui va dans le sens de l'association avec le singulier.

Il faut ajouter qu'en règle générale les théonymes hourrites ne prennent pas l'article défini alors que les théonymes d'origine étrangère le prennent. Cette règle a cependant des exceptions : *Kumarbi-ni* mais *Ea-šarri*. A noter aussi dans Speiser (1941:175) les formes : al-la-a-e-en *Allae-n(i)*, Ša-ú-úš-a-an *Šauš(k)a-n(i)* et ^{d}Iš-ha-ra-an *Išhara-n(i)*.

Globalement, cela conforte l'idée que *-n* est une forme courte de l'article défini sg *-ni* : ainsi hourrite ^{d}Aya-n = 'le$^{!}$ Ea', et non pas ^{d}Aya-n = 'c'est$^{\Delta}$ Ea'. Comme l'indique Wilhelm (2004:108), une question en suspens est de comprendre les circonstances d'emploi des formes brèves et longues, mais ce point est subsidiaire.

Une autre preuve est la série de formes suivante :

1. *-Tenu* dans *Ehli-Tenu* (Kp 1.11 lignes 1', 9', 14', 40') dans Wilhelm (2019).

2. *-Tenu-n* dans *Ehli-Tenu-n* (Kp 1.11 15') dans Wilhelm (2019).

3. *-Ten-ni* dans *Adal*$^{!}$*-Ten-ni* (NPN 1943:264b), NPN semble hésiter sur la validité de la lecture *-te*, mais cela paraît tout à fait acceptable.

Incidemment, cette série avec finale *-u* et article *-n(i)* semble indiquer que Tenu est en fait un dieu d'origine sémitique.

Ivanov consacre aussi du temps à la voyelle *-u-n* par exemple dans ^{d}*Gilgamiš-u-n* (SALVINI 2015:53 17'). Ce point est secondaire : voir par exemple ^{d}*Galgamiš-u-l* (KBo VI 33). Cette voyelle *-u-* est sans doute la marque de nominatif akkadien, conservée en l'état dans la forme hourrite. Clairement ^{d}*Gilgamiš-u-n* doit se segmenter ^{d}*Gilgamišu-n(i)* et ^{d}*Galgamiš-u-l* est ^{d}*Galgamišu-l(la)*. Ici *-u-* n'a rien à voir avec *-ura*, *-uda*, *-unna*, qui sont eux des suffixes natifs du hourrite. Mais avec une base en *-a* : ^{d}Aya-n = ^{d}Aya-n(i) sans *-u-*.

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112) Der Formant -te- in hurritischen Nomina — Aus einer Datenbank hurritischer Termini und Morpheme, die ich seit 1995 in Vorbereitung habe (nämlich Oliva, *Hurritische morpho-lexikalische Wörterlisten*), kann man feststellen, dass ein nominaler Formant -te- im Hurritischen vorliegt, der an Nominalwurzeln angefügt wird und dessen Funktion aber leider noch unklar ist. Ein bestimmender Charakter könnte

man ihm vorübergehend zuschreiben. Ein Zusammenhang zwischen diesem Formanten und den Suffixen -t- und -ti ist nicht auszuschließen (dazu Oliva, 56. RAI Barcelona, 2013, 492). Er wäre also teilweise mit -t, -ti und -di in Wegner *Hurritisch* 2007 59, 89 identifizierbar.

Besonders klar erscheint -te- in hurritischen Nomina, bei denen nach Wurzel + -te- das Pluralsuffix -na folgt, wahrscheinlich auch bei Abstrakta. Im Folgenden wird die mir bekannte Liste der in -te=na auslautenden hurr. Pluralnomina zusammengestellt:

> tarī=**te**=na=n (Mittanni-Brief III, 30), talim=**te**=na (MB III, 120, 121), TÚG šina=**te**=na=še=na „von zweiter Qualität" (Alal. *Al.T.* 362:7; Laroche *GLH* 234), TÚG šina=**te**=na=šu „von zweiter Qualität" (Alal. *Al.T.* 416:2) AHw 1241; Laroche *ibid*., TÚG šigla=**te**=na (Alal. *Al.T.* 362:6), TÚG tiše=**tte**=na (Alal. *Al.T.* 362:8), šin**te**=na (Bo KBo XX 129+II 13) Laroche *GLH* 235 dazu?, šina=**tte**=na (ChS I/1 11 Vs 14), eḫli=pa=**te**=na=ma (ChS I/1 41 Rs IV 31), kūta=**te**=na (ChS I/1 5 Vs II 54); kišḫi=**te**=n (ChS I/1 3 Vs 44)?, talam=**ti**=na (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 38), talam=**ti**=na=aš=a (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 22), talam=**ti**=na=(a)š=a (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 27), šešim=**te**=na (Nuzi, AASOR XVI 82:1) Laroche *GLH* 228, so analysierbar?: vgl. šešimtu- als Ledergegenstand bei Richter *BGH* 398, ti$^{?}$lām=**ti**=na (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 29), anaḫi=**ti**=na=š (ChS I/2 11 Rk 13'), il=**te**=na (ChS I/3-1 1 Vs II 11), šuwan=**te**=n (ChS I/3-1 32 4'), šūwan=**te**=n (ChS I/3-1 31 Rk 9'), dun=ūgiar=i=**te**=⌊na⌋ (ChS I/5 47 Rs III 13), kalla=**te**=na (ChS I/5 99 4'), imman=**te**=na (Bo KUB XLVII 8 III 4), [amm]at=**te**=na=ma šarra DINGIR.MEŠ=na ḫawūr[... (KpT 1.14:17') Wilhelm *Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris* 1 (2019) 200, 202, ḫinnat=**te**=n[a … (KpT 1.14 Rs. 18') Wilhelm *ibid*. 201, < šigga=**te**=na (Richter QS 3: Qatna TT12:31); marda=**te**=na (Qatna TT16:5; QatnaTT18:25). Unklar ist ein -te- in papa=**t**(e)=ni- und papa=**t**(e)=enni aus Alalach VII (*Al.T.* *⌊120:10,13; Dietrich-Loretz UF 37, 2005, 287) „ein Holzgegenstand" — ob hurritisch s. Richter *BGH* 297 —, was genauer als „Kopf-Fessel" zu übersetzen ist und teoretisch nichts zu tun hätte mit papa=**te** und papa=**te**=na aus Qatna (TT13:25;TT18:21), der als Gefäß-Typ gedeutet ist.

Unklar ist auch utēna in Nuzi (dazu Justel, Or. 88 274ff.).

-te- scheint auch haplographisch in LÚ marda=**t**=uḫule (Alal. *Al.T.* 136:41; 227:6) belegt zu sein (Laroche *GLH* 168); Wegner *Hurritisch* 2007 58, 266 bietet hierzu keine vereinzelte Segmentierung, s. Richter *BGH* 246, sowie in marda=**d**=uḫulla (QatnaTT14:22).

Interessant ist an dieser Stelle andere Nominalbildungen im Plural zu erwähnen, die wahrscheinlich denselben -te- behalten, und die entweder ein Subjekt oder Objekt im Absolutiv durch -te=l und -te=lla aufzeigen:

> ārta=**te**=l (ChS I/1 52 Vs 6,12), gāti=mma=šša=**te**=l (ChS I/1 41 Vs II 16)?, kiprita=**te**=l (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 12,13)?, lugga=**te**=l (ChS I/1 41 Vs II 9), šatti=**te**=l (ChS I/1 5 Vs II 50; 41 Vs II 29), mūš=i=pā=**te**=l (ChS I/1 43 Rs III 29'), tipa=**te**=**tē**=lla (ChS I/1 52 Vs 21) fehlerhafte bzw. emphatische Form?, šūpa=**tie**=l (ChS I/1 41 Vs I 39).

Problematisch ist, falls richtig analysiert, dass bei anderen Nominalbildungen im Plural wie z.B. šubi=ni=**tie**=l (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 17), mūr=ri=ni=pā=**te**=l (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 18), šeḫelli=ni=**tie**=l (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 17), šeḫelli=bi=na=(a)š=a=**tie**=lla (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 20) oder dāli=bi=na=**te**=lla (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 15), folgt -te- den Artikeln -ne und -na vor dem enklitischen Personalpronomen des Plurals -l und -lla, was morphologisch eine Besonderheit darstellt, nämlich: -**te**=ne/a gegen -ne/a=**te**=lla.

Im Anschluss daran, und nochmals, falls richtig analysiert, wären alip=**te**=i=aš=a=ne=l (ChS I/1 43 Vs II 30'; 46 Vs II 8') und pūr=an=a=**te**=ni=pa (ChS I/1 9 Vs II 47; 10 Vs II 14), -**te**=ne-Formen, während beispielsweise enā=**te** (ChS I/1 41 Rs III 26) bzw. e(n)=nā=**te** eine -na=**te** Form wäre. Daraus ergibt sich natürlich die Frage, ob es sich um denselben Formanten -te- handelt.

Außer Pluralnomina, erscheint -te(-) in Singularnomina, bei denen sich ebenfalls eine Auffassung entzieht; als nominaler Formant nach der Wurzel scheint -te(-) trennbar; eine volle Kongruenz ist in der folgenden Versuchslist selbstverständlich unsicher:

> wukugar=i kirē=**tte** (Neu SCCNH 5, 46 (?)), šin=am=**ti** (EA 60:25) „duplicité" (Laroche *GLH* 233 (folgt Goetze)?, alip=**ti** (ChS I/1 65 Rs III$^{?}$ 5'), nochmals alip=**te**=i=aš=a=ne=l (ChS I/1 43 Vs II 30'; 46 Vs II 8'), eli=**ti** (ChS I/1 41 Vs II 25)?, enā=**te** (ChS I/1 41 Rs III 26) bzw. e(n)=nā=**te**, pūr=ān=a=**ti** (ChS I/1 9 Vs II 46; 10 Vs II 13), pūr=an=a=**te**=ni=pa (ChS I/1 9 Vs II 47; 10 Vs II 14), wūri=pa=**te** (ChS I/1 41 Vs I 38) dazu?, šalam=**t**=aš=a (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 25)?, taḫam=**di**=b (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 38), taḫam=**te**=p (ChS I/1 42 Vs I 37), talam=**ti**=p (ChS I/1 42 Rs IV 7''), šīa=**ti** (ChS I/1 5 Rs III 5), nāpa=**ti** (ChS I/1 41 Rs III 54)?, nirḫi=la=**ti** (ChS I/1 49 Vs II 12)?, šīga=**ti**=ša (ChS I/1 41 Vs II 52), šiga=**te**-x[... (ChS I/1 4 Rs 3'), šebi=**te** (Ug. RS hurr. 5, 8), šām=al=**te** (Bo KUB XLVII 44, 11 = ChS I/5 136 11').

Schließlich sind im Ergativ Singular noch folgende Belege zu nennen, die zwar nur mit dem Terminus anaḫi- bisher bezeugt sind (vgl. oben anaḫi=**ti**=na=š):

> anaḫi=**te**=nie=š (ChS I/2 27 Vs II 13; 28 7'; 29 3'; 30 4'; 31 Rs IV 11'), anaḫi=**te**=ne=š (ChS I/2 40 Vs I 28), anāḫi=**te**=ne=š (ChS I/2 43 Vs 17', 27'; 60 2'), anāḫi=**te**=nie=š (ChS I/2 1 Vs II 55, Rs III 44, Rs IV 4,37; 4 13'; 5 Rk 15'; 31 Vs I 1'; 32 Vs I? 17'; 33 Rs IV 9; 35 Vs II? 9'; 36 Rk 8'; 37 Rk 13'), anāḫi=**tē**=nie=š (ChS I/2 1 Vs I 35).

Der Formant -te- ist vom assimilierten Genitivssuffix -te(-) unter der wenig bekannten Regel -t+v- = -tt- zu unterscheiden (vgl. Wegner Fs. Wilhelm 2010 405: Ḫebat=te < *Ḫebat-ve „der Ḫebat"), das wahrscheinlich nur vor Konsonantstämmen (bei Götter-, Orts- und Personennamen) als solches bisher bezeugt ist, sowie beispielsweise bei ^{d}maḫit=**tē**=na (Bo KUB XLV III 8, Laroche GLH 165), den oben genannten wukugar=i kirē=t=**te** (Neu SCCNH 5, 46), TÚG tiše=t=**te**=na (Alal. *Al.T*. 362:8) und bei šina=t=**te**=na (ChS I/1 11 Vs 14) der Fall sein kann.

-te- erscheint ebenfalls in bestimmten akkadisierten Konstruktionen wie marda**t**u/ marda**d**u im Nominativ (QatnaTT12:13; s. *QS* 3 193; Streck *et al*. SAD 4, 50, mit aB Belege aus Mari), *qa-du* < mar-da-***ti***-*šu* im Genitiv (QatnaTT12:20) und šešim**t**u (s. oben), die nicht als akkadisch zu betrachten sind.

Umgekehrt ist der Fall bei dem Terminus kaššapte- „Magie" (Laroche *GLH* 138; „Hexe, Behexung(?)", Richter *BGH* 191), der als Lehnwort aus akk. *kašaptu* aufgefasst wird und dementsprechend keinen hurritischen Formanten -te- enthält, obwohl zwar hurritisch ausgedrückt: kaššapti (ChS I/2 79 Vs I 13'), kaššappat (ChS I/5 2 Rs 69'), kaššapa[t]ie=l (ChS I/5 2 Vs 38'), kaššapāti=l (ChS I/5 40 Rs 41',42',47',49'), gaššapt=am (ChS I/5 46 Rs IV 5'; 48 Rs III 8'), kaššapt=am (ChS I/5 47 Vs II 6',7'; 48 Rs III 8'), gaššapte (ChS I/5 42 17'; 45 9'; 59 Vs II? 9'), kaššapte (ChS I/5 1 Vs 8', 11'), [kašš]apte=⌊na⌋ (ChS I/5 143 Rs? 1), gaššapte=nē=a (ChS I/5 41 Rs 18), k]aššapte=nē=i[=a … (ChS I/5 82 5'), [k]āššaptē=[n]ē=i=a (ChS I/5 80 Rs IV 5'), ⌈k⌋aššap⌊te=n⌋e=lla (ChS I/5 81 5'), ka⌊š⌋šapte=ne=š (ChS I/5 80 Vs I 17'), ⌈kāšša⌋[apte-… (ChS I/5 75 Rs III 8').

Nach den genannten variierenden Stellungen des Formanten -te- in hurritischen Nomina scheint es klar, dass noch weitere Untersuchungen nötig sind.

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113) The Translation of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* V 118 — In A. Hätinen's recent (and excellent) edition of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (2022; https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/L/2/2/SB/I), published on the "electronic Babylonian Library" (eBL) website and translated by B. Foster, Tablet V, l. 118 reads:

> [*ṭūb štri*] *u ḫūd libbi liba'i ūmišam*
> [Good health] and joy of heart may he look out for every day.

The eBL's score for V 118 is as follows:

AššNA3	rev. 14′.	[o o o o o (o o)] ⌜u_3?⌝ *ḫu-ud lib*$_3$*-bi li-ba-'i* [o o o]
BabLB1	rev. ii′ 20′.	[o o o o o o o o o o (o o) *li-ba*]-⌜'*i*⌝ u_4*-mi-šam*
BabLB2	rev. 12′.	[o o o o o o o o o o (o o) *l*]*i-ba-'i* u_4*-mi-šam*

The textual evidence for *Ludlul* V 118, unfortunately, has not changed in over a decade, despite the many discoveries and joins being made almost daily(!) in Munich at the eBL and related projects. Leaving aside the issue of the line's restoration, the eBL score is basically the same as in Oshima's edition (2014: 112–113 [composite text and translation], 438 [score]) and in my own personal, unpublished score that lies behind my translation used in my monograph, completed in mid-2022 (LENZI 2023: 94 [normalization and translation only]).[1)] The point at issue is not the readings; rather, it is the understanding of the verb, clearly written *li-ba-'* in two manuscripts. Oshima and I derive the verb from *bâ'u*, "to walk along."[2)] The note placed alongside *Ludlul* V 118 in the eBL edition, although mentioning the "walk along" translation, states that the verb is derived from *bu''û*, "to look for." (The "clickable" lemmatization of the word indicates the same.) In this brief note, I suggest that phrases related to "walking" and "guiding" in Akkadian prayers support deriving the verb from *bâ'u*.

In Enlil 1a, l. 25 the supplicant petitions the high god, saying, *lamassi qabê šemê u magāri ūmišam littallak ittīya*, "May the protective spirit of ordering, hearing, and accepting walk along with me daily" (see my eBL edition: https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/Mag/2/7/SB/1a). The role of the protective spirit here is to accompany the supplicant, to walk with him through the community to ensure the effectiveness of his speech, that is, to ensure he is recognized as a respected authority in his community. The supplicant is not doing the walking, of course, as in *Ludlul* V 118; but we do have a walking verb in this line (*alāku*) and the adverb *ūmišam*, similar to the "walk along" translation of *Ludlul* V 118.

In Ishtar 2, l. 26, part of that prayer's opening praise, the supplicant describes the goddess in this manner: *tapallasī habla u šagša tušteššerī uddakam*, "You look upon the wronged and afflicted, *whom* you lead aright every day" (see my eBL edition: https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/Mag/2/13/SB/2). Again, the supplicant is not walking here; rather, he states how the goddess leads, that is, directs the walking of unfortunate, mistreated people. This example again shows a verb of motion (Š of *ešēru*) and a "daily" adverb, in this case *uddakam*.

In Ishtar 1, l. 38, the supplicant petitions the goddess as follows: *ina ṭūb šīri u ḫūd libbi itarrînni ūmišam*, "Guide me every day in a sound body and gladness of heart" (see my eBL edition: https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/Mag/2/13/SB/1). The same idea with slightly different wording occurs in Kaksisa 1, l. 16: [*ina ḫūd*] *libbi u ṭūb kabatti itar*[*r*]*ânni ūmišam*, "Gui[d]e me every day [in gladness] of heart and in a good mood" (see ABUSCH / SCHWEMER 2016: 309–312). Although again in both cases the supplicant himself is not walking, he requests direction via another verb of motion (*arû*) on a daily basis (*ūmišam*) and wishes to be accompanied by (*ina*) the same or similar favorable conditions related to his well-being as are restored in eBL's translation of *Ludlul* V 118.

In light of these last couple of examples from the prayers, I think eBL's restoration at the head of the line is nearly correct. Both Oshima and I note a similar restoration, but neither of us adopts it wholeheartedly. Oshima notes an alternative possibility (2014: 112, 438; see also OSHIMA / ANTHONIOZ 2023: 156), and I do not commit to a restoration (2023: 183). We both, however, are convinced that the line should begin with the preposition *ina*, heading an adverbial prepositional phrase describing the protagonist's manner of walking. That preposition is the one word that I think is missing from eBL's otherwise compelling restoration.

Two other examples argue for the "walk along" translation of *Ludlul* V 118; in both lines the supplicant is the one doing the walking. In Ishtar 2, l. 84, already cited as relevant to *Ludlul* V 118 by Oshima (2014: 341), the supplicant petitions the goddess, saying, *šutēširī kibsī namriš etelliš itti balṭūti lubāʾ sūqa*, "Guide my path aright. May I walk about the street cheerfully (lit., brightly), proudly among the living!" (see my eBL edition: https://www.ebl.lmu.de/corpus/Mag/2/13/SB/2). Here the supplicant, speaking in first-person, as is typical in the prayers, wishes to walk about (*bâʾu*) the street (i.e., in public) in good spirits and in a manner that indicates his high-standing among his peers (*etelliš*, "like a lord"). Compare the description of the opposite situation in *Ludlul* I 77, *ša etelliš attallaku ḫalāla almad*, "I, who walked about (*alāku*) as a lord, learned to slink," and I 80, *sūqa abâʾa-ma turruṣā ubānātu*, "*When* I walked through (*bâʾu*) the street, fingers *of derision* were pointed *at me*." Note also the change for the better in the protagonist's walking after his healing in the broken context of Tablet IV, l. c+16 (in eBL's line numbering): [*kunuš-k*]*adru ina pišerti abāʾ*, "I walked along *the street called* [Kunush-k]adru a free man."

The other relevant example of the supplicant walking is found in two variations in Marduk 5, l. 80 (see ABUSCH / SCHWEMER 2016: 237, 242, 246). One version of the line reads: *ina pīka dannatī linessû etelliš* [*l*]*ibāʾ qibi balāṭa*, "At your speaking, may they remove my hardship. Order good health *for me, saying*, 'let him walk along *the street* proudly.'" The supplicant requests that the deity give him good health so he may walk about in his community with high regard, that is, like a lord (*etelliš*). A variant has the verb in the first-person and uses a different adverbial modifier; it reads, *ina pīka danna lubāʾ qibi balāṭa*, "At your speaking, may I walk along *the street* in strength. Order good health *for me*!"[3] (The implications of such phrases for ancient Mesopotamian understandings of shame and disability are in need of examination.)

The few examples presented here as evidence are representative and indicative, not exhaustive. They reflect a common notion in Akkadian incantation-prayers, namely, that the supplicant wants to live life, conceptualized metaphorically via verbs of walking/motion (*alāku*, *bâʾu*, *ešēru*, and *arû*), in peace,

health, and happiness with divine guidance and protection. This desire is fused strongly to a wish for a good social reputation (also very prominent in *Ludlul*; see Lenzi, forthcoming), which is why the setting for some of these walking phrases is explicitly in the street, that is, in public. In light of these phrases, I suggest *Ludlul* V 118 be restored and translated as follows:

> [*ina ṭūb šīri*] *u ḫūd libbi libāʾ ūmišam*
> May he walk along *the street* every day [in a sound body] and gladness of heart.

Clearly, no one attestation of the cited phrases clinches the argument for this "walk along" translation of *Ludlul* V 118. Rather, it is the imagery, captured variously by the phrases and taken as a whole, that is decisive, adding yet another bit of evidence for the pervasive influence of the incantation-prayer tradition upon the poem (see Lenzi 2023: 300–341).

Notes

1. See already Lenzi / Annus 2011: 197 for the two Babylonian witnesses.

2. See also Lenzi / Annus 2010: 30, 44; Lenzi / Annus 2011: 198; Oshima / Anthonioz 2023: 157.

3. Abusch / Schwemer 2016: 242 translate the first part of the line "may I go past the strong one (*danna*)." I think Foster's idea to take *danna* adverbially gives the best sense. He translates "may I progress proudly" (2005: 685, l. 64).

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114) "Living Yesterday" in *Ludlul* II 39 — In the second tablet of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (ed. Hätinen 2022 [trans. Benjamin Foster]), the suffering Šubši-mešrê-šakkan declares as follows *de profundis*:

> II 39 *ša ina am*-KUR *ibluṭu imūt ud-di-iš*[1] (var. *ú-di-iš*)
> II 40 *surriš uštādir zamar uḫtabbar*
>
> II 39 He who lived in *am*-KUR died *uddiš*,
> II 40 For a moment one is downcast, in an instant full of cheer.

II 39 has been analyzed in two ways. The first—opted for by Lambert 1960: 40, and later by e.g., CAD A/2: 79 s.v. *amšat* and Hätinen 2022—is to read *am*-KUR as *am-šat* while translating "yesterday"; take *ud-di-iš*/*ú-di-iš* to derive from *uddu*/*ūdu* (a loan from Sum. ud, "day"),[2] and to be an adverb meaning "today"; and understand the line to mean "He who was alive yesterday died today." The second—proposed by von Soden 1990: 123 and later followed by Foster 2005: 399, Oshima 2014: 89, and Lenzi 2023: 73 (discussion p. 122 ad II 39)—is to read *am*-KUR as *am-mat*, "forearm" while taking it to metaphorically refer to "strength" or similar; analyze *ud-di-iš*/*ú-di-iš* as deriving from *ūdu* (var. *uddû*, *uddu*, *udû*, *uṭṭû*), "trouble, difficulty" (CAD U/W: 25–26); and understand the line to mean something like "He who lived by might died in distress"—e.g., "Wer (eben noch) kraftvoll lebte, starb in Bedrängnis" (von Soden 1990: 123); "He who lived by (his) brawn died in confinement" (Foster 2005: 399).

Having for its theme the transience of human life, a universal topic of thought and song, "He who was alive yesterday died today" has intuitive appeal. It also draws support from parallelism, since II 40 likewise concerns the speed with which human life changes (there, the transformation is from discontented paralysis to boisterous activity), and also utilizes two adverbs referring to time (*surriš* and *zamar*). Yet this translation runs into a problem: for "yesterday," one would expect not *amšat* but *amšāli* (CAD A/2: 79). (As is relevant below, Akkadian has yet another word for "yesterday," *timāli*.) Lambert does not comment on this difficulty. CAD A/2: 79 s.v. *amšat* (cited in HÄTINEN 2022 [comment ad II 39] as support for translating *amšat* as "yesterday") comments: "The word probably represents a scribal error." Yet there is good reason to agree with Lenzi (2023: 122 ad II 39) in judging this explanation "unlikely": all three manuscripts attesting to this part of the line—two from Kouyunjik (K.2518 + DT.358 obv. 39; K.3972 + K.9973 + DT.151 obv. 39) and one from Sultantepe (STT 1 no. 33 obv. 39)—have *am*-KUR.

The three manuscripts' unanimous spelling also argues against *ša ina am-mat*(*i*) *ibluṭu imūt uddiš*, "He who lived by might died in distress." The sign sequence MI UR ŠÁ, found two lines earlier in *Ludlul* (II 37, MI UR ŠÁ *an-za-nun-ze i-ḫa-ak-ki-im man-nu*) and attested to by the very same Kouyunjik manuscripts (K.2518 + DT.358 obv. 37; K.3972 + K.9973 + DT.151 obv. 37), was long read as *mi-lik šá*, with II 37 then being rendered as *mi-lik ša anzanunzê iḫakkim mannu* and translated along the lines of "Who can fathom the reasoning of the gods of the depths?" (e.g., "Who understands the plans of the underworld gods" [LAMBERT 1960: 40]; "Who can grasp the intentions of the gods of the depths" [FOSTER 2005: 399]). Yet as JIMÉNEZ 2019 shows, the signs should rather be read *mi-lik-šá*, and the line understood as "Her (the goddess') intention—the depths—who can fathom it? (*milikša anzanunzê iḫakkim mannu*)."[3)] As part of his reasoning, Jiménez points out that "Grammatically, the writing *mi-lik* for the accusative of the status rectus in two different Kuyunjik manuscripts […] would be highly irregular" (2019: 80). The very same logic can be marshalled against reading *am-mat* as denoting the genitive status rectus *ammati* despite *am-mat* appearing in two different Kouyunjik manuscripts (with a third, Sultantepe manuscript now invoked for good measure).

Drawing on comparative Semitics, a third way to analyze *Ludlul* II 39 may be suggested. The word *amšāli*, derived from Proto-Akkadian **ʾamš*(*iy*), is cognate with Arabic *ʾams*/*ʾamsi* ("yesterday") and Hebrew *ʾemeš* ("last night") (RUBIN 2024: 672, 674; see also STRECK 2016: 11 n. 5). All four derive from Proto-Semitic **ʾamsi*, which—Rubin hypothesizes (2024: 672) based on e.g., Akk. *mūšu* "night", Ge'ez *məsēt* "evening", and Arabic *masāʾ* "evening"—"probably meant specifically 'last night'; 'yesterday evening.'" In light of these Semitic cognates, the ending *-āli* in *amšāli* appears anomalous, and should, as Kogan and Krebernik observe (2021: 399) and Rubin likewise argues (2024: 674 n. 16), be explained as influence from *timāli*, likewise meaning "yesterday." (As Kogan and Krebernik also observe [2021: 399], "Both **timāl-* […] and **ʔamš*(*iy*)- […] are well attested in WS […] and must have coexisted in proto-Akkadian.")

On the basis of this Semitic-linguistic situation, it may be proposed that *amšat* (or perhaps *amšāt*) derives from Proto-Akkadian **ʾamš*(*iy*), "yesterday," yet, unlike *amšāli*, does not end with a *timāli*-influenced *-āli*; and that *ina amšat* is an otherwise unattested adverbial phrase meaning "yesterday." As a point of clarification, it is also possible that, in keeping with the hypothesized meaning of Proto-Semitic **ʾamsi*, and the confirmed meaning of Hebrew *ʾemeš*, *ina amšat* may rather mean "(in) the evening before" or "(in) the night before"; yet because Proto-Akkadian **ʾamš*(*iy*) probably means, and Akkadian *amšāli* as well as Arabic *ʾams*/*ʾamsi* certainly mean, "yesterday," that meaning is supposed for *ina amšat* as well.

Two formal analyses of *ina amšat* may be suggested, each having as its starting point a different analysis of *amšat*. These were suggested to me by Michael Streck and Shlomo Izre'el respectively, and are given here with gratitude to both:

1) *amšat* is an adverb meaning "yesterday," and affixed with an ending *-at*—perhaps a shortened form of the common adverbial ending *-atta*(*m*)/*atti* (on *-atta*[*m*]/*atti*, utilized for instance in *timāliattam*, likewise meaning "yesterday" [OB lexical, CAD T: 417], GAG § 113 l). Understanding *amšat* in this way, *ina amšat* would be equivalent to Neo-Assyrian *ina timāli* and its by-form *ittimāli* (**in-timāli*) (CAD T: 416–417 s.v. *timāli* d), and a parallel to adverbs found throughout Akkadian and beginning with *in-* (e.g., *immati* [**in-mati*], "when," CAD M/1: 408 s.v. *mati* 2).[4)]

2) *amšat* is the *status absolutus* of a feminine noun *amšatu* (or perhaps *amšātu*), "the day before." The use of *ina amšat* to mean "(in) the day before," readily translated in the context of *Ludlul* II 39 as "yesterday," would then constitute another example of an Akkadian adverbial phrase employing a preposition followed by a noun in the *status*

absolutus (GAG § 62 h)—cf. *ištu dār*, "up to this point (lit. 'since forever')" and *ana dār*, "forever" (CAD D: 107–108 s.v. *dār* 2'–3'); *ištu ūm ṣât*, "from primordial days" (RIME 4 E4.6.8.2: 34); and *ana imen*, "to the right" (ARM 5 no. 65: 35). It would also be a formal parallel to Hebrew *lammoḥŏrāt* (*Jonah* 4:7, 1 *Chronicles* 29:21) and *mimmoḥŏrāt* (e.g., *Exodus* 18:13), both meaning "the day after"—for these employ a nominal, feminine *-t*-affixed form of the adverb *māḥār* ("tomorrow"), and begin with the prepositions *la* ("to") and *mi* ("from") respectively.

Whichever of these two analyses is to be opted for, *Ludlul* II 39 may be read *ša ina amšat ibluṭu imūt uddiš*, and translated "He who was alive yesterday died today"—exactly as in the first aforementioned way to analyze the line—yet now with the understanding that *ina am-šat* is no scribal error giving rise to faulty Akkadian, but perfectly good Akkadian richly paralleled in the Semitic language family.

Notes

1. LAMBERT 1960: 40, CAD U/W: 19, and HÄTINEN 2022 all read *ud-de-eš*. Yet, following their analysis of *ud-de-eš* as derived from *uddu* (from Sum. ud, "day") and affixed with a locative-terminative adverbial ending, there would be no reason not to utilize the standard form of that ending, namely *iš*, and then read *ud-di-iš*. And indeed, Hätinen reads the variant *ú*-DI-IŠ as *ú-di-iš* (for *ūdiš*) rather than *ú-de-eš*.

2. An adverb *uddiš*/*ūdiš*, "today" would be without known parallel, yet *uddam*, likewise derived from Sum. ud and meaning "today," is attested in OB texts (CAD U/W: 19).

3. Jiménez translates "Her counsel—the abyss—who fathoms it" (2019: 81), yet the implied equivalence between *milikša* (*Ludlul* II 37) and both *ṭēm ilī*, "plan of the gods" in the line immediately previous (*Ludlul* II 36) and *alakti ili*, "way(s) of the god" in that immediately following (*Ludlul* II 38) indicates that *milikša* refers not to the goddess' "counsel" but her "intentions" (as in HÄTINEN 2022) or the like.

4. For a list of Neo-Assyrian adverbs beginning with *ina* or *in-*, along with attestations, HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2000: 58–59; on Neo-Assyrian adverbs, LEONHARDT 2024: 299–311 and *passim*, with temporal adverbs discussed on pp. 300–303. On Akkadian adverbs beginning with *in-*, GAG § 113 m.

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115) A Bibliographical Corrigendum to a Recent Discussion of *Emar* 256 (E6 256) — In a recent paper (TADMOR 2026), I discussed the adoption text *Emar 256* (copy ARNAUD 1985: 69; no photo available; edition ARNAUD 1986: 251–253). In the text, a man named Addu reports that his son, Ḫulāyu, is no longer his son; that Ḫulāyu died; and that Ḫulāyu's three children were cast out into the square, and then lifted therefrom by a man by the name of Abī-kapī. As part of my discussion (TADMOR 2026: 209–212), I wrote as follows (TADMOR 2026: 210, with citations adapted to house style):

What events, concrete and symbolic, underlie this text, and in what order did they occur? Carlo Zaccagnini [1995: 102–103], Nicoletta Bellotto [2009: 147–148], and Maurizio Viano [2023: 210], agree in proposing the following sequence: Addu (here, the grandfather) disowned his son, Ḫulāyu. Ḫulāyu then died, and his children were cast into the street. A man named Abī-kapī rescued the children from the street, and took them into his household. He then adopted them, with *Emar* 256 being produced to ratify the adoption and outline its stipulations […]. Yet an

anonymous peer reviewer, in bringing this text to my attention, outlined a different sequence: "A grandfather declares that his deceased son is no longer his son and his grandchildren have been abandoned in the square." According to the reviewer's interpretation, the grandfather's disavowal of his son's paternity did not occur in the past, but is rather proclaimed as part of the drafting of *Emar* 256, and the text's talk of the grandchildren's abandonment is likewise not an account of former occurrences but […] symbolic language denoting the grandparent's giving up of his rights to them before handing them over for adoption by Abī-kapī.

Diverging both from the position of Zaccagnini, Bellotto, and Viano and from that of the anonymous reviewer, I then argued that in *Emar* 256 Addu renounces his paternity over the already deceased Ḫulāyu, thereby shoring up Abī-kapī's adoption of the three children—who were, *contra* the anonymous reviewer, actually cast out upon their father's death and subsequently taken in by Abī-kapī (TADMOR 2026: 210–211).

However, as I found out after the article's publication, the interpretation advanced by the anonymous reviewer—namely that, contrary to *communis opinio*, the text's talk of the children's abandonment in the street and subsequent rescue reflects not actual events but purely symbolic actions signifying Addu's renouncing of his grandchildren and their transferal to Abī-kapī—had already been put forward by D. Justel in his discussion of *Emar* 256 (2018: 35–37). Justel's position is followed, with proper citation, by Jacobsen in her recent discussion of maternal infant abandonment in the ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible (2026: 23 n. 14).

As a refinement of TADMOR 2026, it may be proposed that Addu's renouncing his paternity over Ḫulāyu occurred after the latter's death, and that Addu's talk of the children being "cast out" into the street and "lifted" therefrom by Abī-kapī may, as Justel puts forward, have been symbolic rather than actual—yet that this "casting out" and "lifting" did not occur simultaneously with the composition of *Emar* 256, but rather in the past (as in Zaccagnini, Bellotto, and Viano), and were only legitimized by Addu post hoc.

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116) Kassites or Kushites? — The toponym or ethnonym *Ka*(*š*)*ši*/*u* in the Amarna correspondence has been a source of confusion.[1)] Does it refer to the (land of the) Kassites or Kushites? The latter interpretation is clearly valid at this point in time. As noted by D.O. Edzard (1970, 58–59) with regard to the Amarna correspondence, "die Gleichung Kaši = Kuš (=Nubien) ist heute *communis opinio*". He also notes that "das nichtbabylonische *ka-ši*/*ka-a-ša* wird nie mit /šš/ geschrieben". Attestations with only one sibilant must be identified (in terms of Kassites or Kushites) by the textual context.

Proceeding from the conclusion by Edzard, the attestations with double sibilants should be understood as referring to the (land of the) Kassites. These are EA 76:15 (^{kur}*Ka-aš-še*) and EA 104:20 (^{kur}*Ka-aš-ši*). Other attestations can be understood as referring to the (land of the) Kassites based on textual context. In EA 116:71, the king of ^{kur}*Ka-ši* are spoken of along with the kings of Mitanni and Hatti. Although A.F. Rainey (2015, 617) suggests that "Cush" is referred to, this is unlikely due to the textual context, as recognized already by W.L. Moran (1992, 192, 390), who identifies "Kaššu". The same textual context probably (there are lacunae) appears in EA 129:75. This time Rainey (2015, 671) speaks of "the king of the land of the Cassites", while Moran (1992, 211, n. 26) reitirates his identification.

The rest of the attestations of *Ka*(*š*)*ši*/*u* in the Amarna correspondence should point to Kush and Kushites. EA 49(:20) is a letter from Ugarit to Egypt. The palace personnel from ^{kur}*Ka-ši* likely refer to Kushites, especially since an Egyptian is mentioned and the letter comes from Egyptian-influenced Ugarit, a context in which reference to Kush – rather than the more distant Kassite sphere – is to be expected (MORAN 1992, 120, 390; RAINEY 2015, 381).[2)] EA 127(:[22], 36) is a letter from Byblos to Egypt. Troops

coming from ^{kur}*Ka-ši/ša* likely refer to Kushites, especially since an Egyptian is mentioned and the letter comes from Egyptian-influenced Byblos (MORAN 1992, 390; RAINEY 2015, 661, 663).[3] EA 131(:13) is another letter from Byblos to Egypt. Soldiers referred to as coming from $^{kur.meš}$*Ka-ši* likely refer to Kushites, especially since Egyptians are mentioned and the letter comes from Egyptian-influenced Byblos (MORAN 1992, 390; RAINEY 2015, 679). EA 133(:17) is yet another letter from Byblos to Egypt. Although the text is fragmentary, *Ka-*[*ši*] appears to be equated with *Meluḫḫa*, making the reference to Kushite soldiers certain (MORAN 1992, 214, 390; RAINEY 2015, 687).

Finally, there are EA 287 and 288, which are letters from Jerusalem to Egypt. The land or soldiers called ^{kur}*Ka-šú/ši* (EA 287:72, 74), $^{lú.meš}$*Ka-ši-i'* (EA 287:33) and ^{kur}*Ka-áš*$^{!}$(PA)-*šú*^{ki} (EA 288:36) likely point to Kush and Kushites, especially considering the close relations between Egypt and southern Canaan at this time and that an Egyptian appears in EA 287 (MORAN 1992, 390; RAINEY 2015, 1113, 1115, 1119). Moreover, the Egyptian king is viewed as responsible in some way for these people in EA 287. This fits the context, with Egypt dominating Kush at this time. Both Moran (1992, 332, n. 8) and Rainey (2015, 1118) appear to regard the form ^{kur}*Ka-áš*$^{!}$(PA)-*šú*^{ki} as a scribal error.[4] Moran (1992, 331–332, n. 9) translates "the strong hand (arm) of the king took the land of Naḫrima and the land of *Kasi*", and comments that this statement speaks of "conquests far to the north and far to the south".

In sum, *Ka*(*š*)*ši/u* in the Amarna correspondence refers to the (land of the) Kassites in EA 76, 104, 116, and [129], and the (land of the) Kushites in EA 49, 127, 131, 133, 287, and 288. This distribution not only resolves a longstanding ambiguity in the interpretation of the term, but also underscores the importance of contextual and orthographic criteria in distinguishing between superficially similar toponyms and ethnonyms in Late Bronze Age textual sources.

Notes

1. A prime example in this regard is the entry "*Kašu* u.ä." in the study by E. Mahlich (2022, 209) on Egyptian names and words in non-Egyptian languages. Mahlich cites RGTC 5, pp. 163–164 and RGTC 12/2, pp. 159–160, with the former reference actually not focused on the Amarna correspondence but on *Kaššû*, (land of the) Kassites, and with the latter reference centred both on *Kaššû* ((land of the) Kassites) and *Kašu* (Kush). In her confusing the two toponyms, she claims that also EA 76, 104, and 116 contain references to Kush (the discussion in this research note should make clear that this claim is untenable). She also includes an attestation (^{lú}*Ka-aš-ši-i*) from Old Babylonian Alalakh, which hardly can point to Kush.

2. For the close interaction between Ugarit and Egypt, see ESSBACH 2021.

3. For the close interaction between Byblos and Egypt, see MONTET 1928.

4. Moran transliterates KUR ka-<<*pa*>>-*si*, referring to an earlier reading by Rainey, and suggests that the scribe intended to write *ka-a-si*.

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117) Emesal in Kassite Exercise — Soon after arriving at UC Berkeley in January 2002, I identified HMA 9-2992 (P248477; unknown provenance) as a Kassite-period school text. The text is kept in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology of UC Berkeley and belongs to the group of approximately 1,000 cuneiform tablets collected by Henry Lutz in the early twentieth century.

HMA 9-2992 immediately piqued my interest, because just a few years earlier I had published an article on such exercises (VELDHUIS 2000). The Hearst tablet has the characteristic cross-wise inscription, with two lines in landscape orientation on the obverse, (followed by a ruling and blank space) and nine lines on the reverse in portrait. The reverse holds an extract from the list of reeds (Ura 8; VELDHUIS 2014: 251), but the obverse, though clearly in Emesal, remained a mystery to me. Alexa Bartelmus in her study

of Kassite-period Sumerian, discussed the tablet but did not have more luck in deciphering its obverse (BARTELMUS 2016: 483).

Almost a quarter century later I realized the text corresponds to lines a+17f. of the first millennium Ritual Eršemma Dilmun^{ki} niŋin-na 2 to Enlil (no. 70 in GABBAY 2015). The obverse of HMA 9-2992 (collated September 2026) may now be read as follows:

1. aŋ$_2$-gu$_7$ na-gu$_7$-e [ud zal-z]al-e
2. dam tur-ra-ke$_4$ dam-[ŋ]u$_{10}$ m[u-be$_2$]

Going through [the day] one should not eat food.
She of the young spouse [is saying] "My spouse!"

(see http://oracc.org/obel/P248477)

Versions of these lines appear in several Old Babylonian and first millennium liturgies, collected by GABBAY 2015 in Synopsis X (pp. 331-341; the lines in question on pp. 338-339).

The Old Babylonian and first millennium parallels, where preserved, all have nu-gu$_7$-e, which seems better than the prohibitive form used in HMA 9-2992. The damaged space in l. 2 is much too small for reconstructing m[u-ni-ib-be$_2$], as in the parallels. All that is left after the second DAM are traces of the lower obliques of two MU signs. Reading m[u-be$_2$] seems possible, although no trace of the BE$_2$ is visible at all.

The reverse of HMA 9-2992 reads (see MSL 7 9-10 l. 29-41 with the update in MSL 9, 174):

1. gi suh$_3$-suh$_3$	*na-a-a-al-tum*
2. šag$_4$-sur	*šam-mu ša* GI
3. henbur	*hab-bu-ru*
4. henbur	*u-di-it-tum*
5. sun	*ha-ba-ṣil-la-tum*
6. a[n$^?$-za-ha-a]n	MIN
7. [an]-˹za-kam-ma˺	MIN
8. lillan(LUGAL)	*zi-ir-rum*
9. ˹saŋ˺	MIN
10. ˹mul˺	MIN

L. 7 was accidentally skipped in my discussion in VELDHUIS 2014: 251. L. 2 has the variant šag$_4$-sur vs. šag$_4$-tur$_3$ (in CBS 10587, MSL 7, 4 source K and BM 47752, MSL 9, 173 source M). L. 6 and 7 are hardly legible, but the traces that remain confirm the readings found in other sources. HMA 9-2992 does not repeat the GI determinative, a common feature in Middle Babylonian Ura, both in Babylonia and in the periphery.

Emesal laments on Kassite exercise tablets are rare - a few examples have been found at Nippur in the second post-WWII campaign (see, for instance, the eBL edition of the bilingual 2N-T344 = IM 57954 by E. Jiménez in https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/IM.57954). Such short extracts are of little help in textual reconstruction, but they show how rich and diverse the Sumerian tradition still was in the second half of the second millennium. HMA 9-2992 provides another rare link between the Old Babylonian corpus of Emesal laments, and its first millennium counterpart (see GABBAY 2014: 146-148).

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118) Cuneiform law, palaeography of TI and early Middle Assyrian eponyms — What we know about the order of the Middle Assyrian eponyms before the accession of Shalmaneser I is very limited, though more than 100 names are documented. First, texts written after the accession of Enlil-nirari can be singled out by prosopography and archive structure. This leaves about 65 earlier eponyms. With few exceptions,

they come from the reigns of Eriba-Adad I (**EA**) and Aššur-uballiṭ (**Aub**). Thus for the 27+36 years of EA and Aub most of the eponyms are known by name.

For a more precise statement, one would like to single out all eponyms before EA. This is not yet possible, though there is some progress. Part I of EMA was supposed to treat that period, but while the placement of the eponyms of the sections I,1 and I,3 is well supported, the entire section I,2 should be shifted to EA/Aub. For the three prosopographically connected tablets KAJ 22, 50 and 162 this possibility was mooted in EMA itself and later decisively confirmed by Freydank's identification of the KAJ 22 eponym Bel-qarrad with the eponym of KAJ 11.[1)] For KAJ 172 a generation count yields an analogous result.[2)] Conversely, Da"ānija (in EMA II,4) may have to be placed before EA, as shown below.

For the eponyms in sections I,2+II,1-6 of EMA, prosopography, the count of generations and the occasional mention of a ruler allow a rough partial sorting and in some cases an assignment to EA or Aub. On this basis, Freydank has shown that the palaeographic variants of the TI sign have chronological significance.[3)] He distinguished an older form, here denoted by TI^1 and a younger form TI^2. This observation was confirmed and refined by Homan,[4)] with one major modification. The oldest texts show more variations than the later ones. KAJ 177, the oldest one with a secure date, has a TI sign with an extra wedge, but there are also a few early occurences of a standard TI^2, as in KAJ 7, 39, 132, 167 and MARV 1 41. Apparently the use of TI^2 became common again after it had been abandoned for about a generation.

In this note it will be argued that Koschaker's discussion of loan securities,[5)] supported by the palaeographic analysis by Freydank and Homan, allows a clean separation of 36 eponyms, with 15 before and 21 after Ili-eriš, son of Bel-naṣir. The latter eponymate has to be placed in the last decade of the reign of EA. Koschaker saw that the security for Middle Assyrian loans appears in two sharply distinguished forms, namely either as personal liability (*šalmu u kēnu*), usually coupled with personal assets as security (*kātu*), or in the form of pledges (*šapartu)*.[6)] Koschaker noted that the former goes back to Old Assyrian customs, whereas pledges persisted until the end of the empire. For him as a specialist in law this development was fundamental, also because of close parallels in other ancient cultures. But he could not even attempt to date it.

The personal forms of security are documented in KAJ 32, 34, 37-47, 50, 69, 71, 85, 87, MARV 1 19 and VAT 8873. The corresponding eponyms are

Adad-dammeq	Da''ānija
Adad-mušēzib	EN.TI-nāṣir (Ebih-nāṣir) < A'īlija
Aššur-āmiri < Anu-šar-ilāni	Ili-eriš < Bel-nāṣir, month 2
Aššur-kēna-uṣur < Aššur-qarrād	Iqi[š-…
Aššur-muštēpiš	$ŠU.GID_2.DA$
Bēl-ašarēd	Ṭāb-Aššur
Bēl-mušallim < Urad-Šerūa	Ṭāb-Ištar
Bēl-mušēzib	x]-x-na.

All of these texts use TI^1, with the exception of three very early ones, namely KAJ 132 and MARV 1 41 (both eponym Ṭāb-Aššur) from the reign of Aššur-rīm-nišēšu and KAJ 39 (eponym Da''ānija) from the first generation of family A. Ṭāb-Ištar also is a well-known early eponym, presumably before EA.

All or most of the other eponyms should come from the time of EA. Indeed, there are multiple prosopographic connections between the texts, for example *via* Bēl-qarrād < Urad-Kube, who is attested under EA. The only text on the list for which a date under Aub has been confidently asserted is MARV 1 19, based on the existence of an eponym Adad-mušēzib < Šūzub-Marduk in the later years of Aub. But the regular occurence of a patronym for the latter Adad-mušēzib appears to serve as a distinction from a former homonym. Archaeologically, the attestations of Adad-mušēzib < Šūzub-Marduk come from Assur 14449, whereas MARV 1 19 is from Assur 15147. The texts from Assur 14449 use TI^2, with the possible exception of the eroded KAJ 58, whereas MARV 1 19 uses TI^1. Thus MARV 1 19 is an apparent exception that confirms the rule.

Pledges occur in Assur 3/1 3, KAJ 11, 13, 14, 16-22, 25, 27-29, 31, 36, 53, 58. 60, 61, 63, 65-67, 70, 96, 142, 150, 162, 163, 165, KAM 10 13, KAV 211 and MARV 2 31. These tablets yield the following list of eponyms.

A''akku-limmer	Bēl-qarrād < Erib-ilī
Adad-mušēzib < Šūzub-Marduk	Ellil-d''eq
Adad-nāṣir	Ellil-mudammeq < Asānu
Adad-tišmar < Mudammeq-[...	Ibašši-ilī < Nīruabī
Aššur-aha-iddina	Ilī-eriš < Bēl-nāṣir, month 9
Aššur-iddin SUKKAL	Išme-Aššur < Erīb-Aššur
Aššur-le'i < Ibašši-ilī < Šūzub-[...]	Kidin-Kūbe < Bēr-nadin-ahhē
Aššur-[mušabši] < Adad-[ban-kala] ?	Nabu-dēna-ide
Aššur-mušēzib < Kidin-Ellil	Remanni-Ištar < Tuttaja
Aššur-mutakkil<Aššur-da''ān	Ṣinā < Aššur-iddin
Aššur-šuma-uṣur < Adad-mušēzib	Šamaš-kidinnu < Adad-da''eq.

About half of these texts have a certain or very likely placement under Aub, but KAJ 20 (eponym Aššur-le'i) and probably KAJ 14 (eponym Aššur-mušēzib) belong to EA. A few other texts might belong to EA, too, but this remains very uncertain.

In these texts, TI^2 is twice as common as TI^1. If KAJ 14 was written under EA, the change from TI^1 to TI^2 started already in the last years of this ruler. In KAJ 60 and KAJ 65 from the years covered by the eponym list fragment KUB 4 93, both scribes still used TI^1, in contrast to many other texts from the same period. In one case the gradual change can be followed in some detail. In KAJ 53 and KAJ 96 from the eponymate of Išme-Aššur the scribe Iddin-Bēl < Ēriš-ilī wrote a clear TI^1. In KAJ 12 from the time of KUB 4 93 his sign had changed in the direction of TI^2, but remained somewhat ambiguous.

In any case, there is a clear contrast between the overlapping ranges of TI^1 and TI^2 on one hand and the neat temporal separation between personal liability and pledges in the loan tablets. Thus it seems likely that the city assembly of Aššur decided to adopt a new standard for loan securities during the eponymate of Ilī-eriš < Bēl-nāṣir, sometime between month 2 and month 9. When one applies the ratio 13:21 of attestations of the two different forms of loan securities under EA/Aub to the 27+36 years of the two rulers, it becomes very likely that the eponymate of Ilī-eriš occurred during the last decade of EA.

Notes

1. Freydank 2003: 245.
2. Nahm 2023.
3. Freydank 1988: 75-78.
4. Homan 2019: 130-133.
5. Koschaker 1928: 92-131.
6. Koschaker 1928: 124-125.

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119) Eponyms and a palace steward under Ninurta-apil-ekur — One of the important officials of the Middle Assyrian state was the head of the royal workshops and the associated magazines, here referred to as palace steward. For the office holder Apliya his title was AGRIG GAL, but for earlier ones it just was AGRIG, as for the many local stewards. Nevertheless, in general the palace steward is easy to distinguish

from local stewards by the explicit mention of relations to palace or king. In the eponymate of king Ninurta-apil-ekur the palace steward was Šamaš-aha-iddina, see the text Ass.2001.D-2276, where his name is written ^{d}UTU-ŠEŠ-SUM-na. He also is documented in the eponymate of Adad-balti-niše (Ass.2001. D-2036), with the writing ^{d}UTU-A-PAP. A man with the name ^{d}UTU-A-PAP also occurs in KAM 11 80 from the eponymate of Uzibu. He carries no title, but we shall see below that he must be identified with the acting palace steward. Later in the reign, the palace steward was Saggiu, most likely already in his own eponymate, as was the case for the palace stewards Uṣur-namkur-šarre, Adad-riba and Adad-uma"i. This implies that the eponymate of Uzibu came before the one of Saggiu. Together with what was known before, this yields the most probable eponym sequence

Ninurta-apil-ekur —> Lab'u —> Ibašši-ili —> Adad-balti-niše – –> Aššur-šumu-lešir —> Uzibu – –> Aššur-zera-iddina – –> Saggiu —> Pišqiya —> Salmanu-zera-iqiša —> Liptanu,

followed by the next royal eponymate. The unplaced eponyms Ber-naṣir and Marduk-šumu-lešir both have to be inserted at one of the broken arrows.

KAM 11 80 documents the distribution of 40 *šaššūgu* tree trunks. The largest portion of seven trunks goes to the house(?) of Šamaš-aha-iddina. It remains to be shown that the latter was the acting palace steward. This cannot be assumed without discussion, indeed the expression "the house of PN" sometimes refers to the descendants of a deceased official.

First, the use of the wood must be considered. Since five of the trunks go to the bowyers, it is clear that the wood must be durable and able to withstand heavy strains. At least ten trunks are intended for *šernu*, a major but unidentified part of carts and chariots. Most officials only receive one trunk, with specified use. Thus the wood must have been precious and difficult to get. It may have become available as tribute, and the government clearly wanted to control its use. The seven trunks for Šamaš-aha-iddina are the only ones for which no use is specified. This fact and their high number imply that the trunks remained in reserve for later official use. The "house of Šamaš-aha-iddina" must have been the place for their storage and it is likely that this man was expected to be involved with their later use. An identification with the head of the royal workshops is very likely. It becomes certain because of one other entry in the list. L. 7-8 of KAM 11 80 state that three *šaššūgu* trunks are intended for the *šernu* of the threshing sledges operated by Aššur-šuma-iddina the son of Appayūtu. According to KAM 11 61, the same Aššur-šuma-iddina son of Appayūtu received palace grain for the drawing oxen of his threshing sledges from ^{d}UTU-A-PAP AGRIG. The tcma transcription of the latter's name must be amended to Šamaš-aha-iddina. Unfortunately, the date of KAM 11 61 is lost.

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120) Dance or Game? A Re-examination of the Motif Depicted on a Cylinder Seal from the Surkh Dum-i Luri Sanctuary, Luristan - Iran — During the 1938 excavations conducted by Erich F. Schmidt at the Surkh Dum-i Luri sanctuary, situated on the eastern margin of the Kuhdasht plain in Luristan - western Iran (38s 751808.29 m E, 3710509.12 m N), a substantial cache of 287 cylinder and stamp seals was recovered alongside a significant assemblage of bronze artefacts commonly referred to as the Luristan bronzes. Among the cylinder seals, one specimen registered under number 1282 (ISACM A25231, C157) has been provisionally dated to approximately 1000 BCE (Schmidt *et al*., 1989: 423), while another attribution places it within the broader chronological horizon of 800–650 BCE (ALIZADEH 2026: 96). Made from faience, this seal depicts two male figures standing face to face. Each man grasps one of his own feet from behind with one hand, while extending the other hand toward his opponent. The surrounding field is adorned with subsidiary motifs, including a monkey, a bird, a boar, and a cross-shaped symbol.



Figure 1. The Cylinder Seal of the Surkh Dum-i Luri Sanctuary
(ALIZADEH 2026: 96, Fig. 56)
(Image Courtesy of Dr. Abbas Alizadeh)



Figure 2. An image from game of Qulān
(https://roostasport.ir/n/20359)

The excavators (SCHMIDT *et al*. 1989: 423, Pl. 236, no. 74) and subsequently certain scholars (ALIZADEH 2026: 95–96, Fig. 56) have interpreted this scene as a representation of dance. A strikingly comparable tableau appears among the incised decorative registers of the bronze bowl recovered from the Neo-Elamite tomb at Arjan. On the Arjan bowl, two figures are likewise depicted in an identical posture: each seizes his own foot from behind with one hand while interlocking the other hand with that of his counterpart. This imagery has been variably described by researchers as an athletic contest, a performance by acrobats or dancers, or a scene of competitive display (MAJIDZADEH 1992: 136; SARRAF 1990). Others have characterised it as either a ritual dance or a trial of strength (MIRZAEI 2007: 50). Moreover, the same motif on the Arjan bowl has been referred to as the "foot-clutch dance," which has been interpreted as a contest or game of balance (ALVAREZ-MON 2004: 218–219, Fig. 5; 2010: 144). Comparable scenes are also attested on several Old Babylonian cylinder seals, which similarly depict two individuals engaged in a posture suggestive of competitive play (see ALVAREZ-MON 2004: 218–219, Fig. 5; 2010: 144).

To date, few analogous scenes have been recovered from the archaeological record that might contribute to a more precise understanding of the nature and significance of this iconographic theme. Nevertheless, a substantial body of ethnoarchaeological evidence indicates that this posture corresponds to the core visual representation of a traditional two-person local game known as "Qulān", which continues to be actively practised among rural communities in the western Iranian provinces of Ilam, Luristan, and Kermanshah (PAPZAN *et al*. 2016; POURMOHAMMADI *et al*. 2019; HOSSEINI 2021: 238-240; MOSTAFAEI 2014: 105-108). Although fundamentally a game, *Qulān* simultaneously functions as a test of physical strength and balance between two contestants. In this game, each participant grasps one of his own feet from behind, maintaining his stance on the supporting leg, while endeavoring with his free hand to destabilize and unbalance his opponent. Victory is achieved by the player who succeeds in preserving his equilibrium for the longest duration.

In light of the antiquity of such local games and their enduring continuity in the material culture of the region, it appears plausible that the scene engraved on the cylinder seal from Surkh Dum-i Lori represents a depiction of the Qulān game. This interpretation is further reinforced by the remarkable persistence of this motif over a span of approximately three millennia, attesting to its sustained cultural resonance in the popular traditions of western Iran.

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121) Exit the West Semitic tribe Aḫenna — In Cole's edition of the early Neo-Babylonian letters from the so-called "Governor's Archive" from Nippur (OIP 114), the West Semitic tribe Aḫenna appears in letter OIP 114 69 = IM 77178 (12 N 201). In ll. 9-10 of this letter, which concern a certain Šulāya, Cole reads:

> *ul a-šib* lú *a-ḫe-en-na* / *a-na* kur *tam-tim il-tap-ra-šú*
> "He is not here. The Aḫennian sent him to the Sealand."

As Zadok's (LAOS 3, 311) overview of the onomastics of the West Semitic tribes in Babylonia shows, the tribal name Aḫenna in OIP 114 69 = IM 77178 (12 N 201) is a *hapax*. In his review of Cole's edition, van Driel (BiOr 55, 338) proposed that instead of "the Aḫennian", the *šandabakku* of Nippur (^{lú}gú.en.na) appears as the person who sent Šulāya to the Sealand. While preparing a new, digital edition of the letter for the project "Cuneiform Artefact of Iraq in Context", I was able to assess van Driel's suggestion by collating photographs of the cast kept in ISAC, Chicago, generously made available by S. Paulus and her staff. The collation shows that van Driel's suggestion is correct and ll. 9-10 read as follows (see Fig. 1):

> *ul a-šib* ^{lú}gú*.en.na / *a-na* kur *tam-tì il-tap-ra-šú*
> "He is not present. The *šandabakku* has sent him to the Sealand."
> (see the online edition https://www.ebl.lmu.de/library/IM.77178)

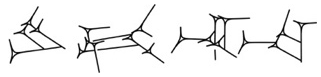


Fig. 1: Collation drawing of IM 77178 (12 N 201), obv. 9 by the author.

Thus, the West Semitic tribal name Aḫenna does not exist.

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122) The length of Marduk-zākir-šumi I's reign revealed in a Neo-Babylonian letter to Šarru-ukīn — Excavated at Naynawā, Iraq, the fragmentary tablet K 4740 + K 5559 + K 14644, published by Dietrich (2003: 26–27) as SAA 17, 23 (copy: DIETRICH 1979, no. 66; prior editions: WINCKLER 1898: 24–26; VERA CHAMAZA 2002: 280–282), has received scant attention hitherto (e.g. PIRNGRUBER 2018: 129–130; ZAIA 2023: 440–441) despite this letter's valuable insight into a key historical event.

Composed prior to 710 (BC, as with all dates hereafter), the letter's author—probably Bēl-iqīša, a learned Babylonian (PIRNGRUBER 2018: 128–131)—obsequiously petitions Šarru-ukīn of Assyria (722–705) to invade Babylonia and assume its kingship. Šarru-ukīn's predecessors Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* (745–727) and Salmānu-ašarēd VI* (727–722; for their renumbering, see EDMONDS & FRAHM 2026) had held kingship of both their own kingdom of Assyria and Babylonia for some eight years (729–722), but this had ended with the latter's untimely death in late 722. The attendant chaos had permitted the Chaldean Marduk-apla-iddina II to accede to the throne of Bābili (Bābil, Iraq) on the new year of Nisannu (I) 721 before the new Assyrian king Šarru-ukīn could react. Although an inconclusive battle at Dēru (Tall al-ʿAqar, Iraq) in 720 had stymied any Assyrian reconquest of Babylonia, Šarru-ukīn's ambitions evidently endured. Conscious of the challenges faced by his predecessors, the king's magnates were less enthused by intervention, a point addressed by SAA 17, 23's author (o. 21'–r. 1):

> [*a-ki*]-*i niš*$^{?}$-*mu*$^{?}$-*ú* ^{lú}GAL^{meš} *šá* LUGAL *a-na* LUGAL *be-lí-ía* [*i*]-^{r}*qab*^{1}-*bu-ú um-ma a-na* TIN.TIR^{ki} [0] *la il-lak* [0] $^{m\,r}$giš^{1}TUKUL-*ti*^{1}-IBILA-*é-šár-ra* [*ù* ^{m}SILIM-*ma-nu*-SAG].KAL *šá il-li-ku* [x x x x x] *liš*$^{?}$-*ši* [x x x x *a-na*] ^{r}*mi*^{1}-*ni-i*
>
> We hear that the king's magnates say to the king milord that he should not march to Bābili. Tukultī-apil-Ešarra (IV*) [and Salmānu-aša]rēd (VI*) who went […]. May he take […]. Why […]?

Certainly, Babylonian kingship brought neither Tukultī-apil-Ešarra IV* nor Salmānu-ašarēd VI* fortune. The former's accession to Bābili's throne in 729 was sullied by a guerilla war with the previous king, Nabû-mukīn-zēri which only concluded shortly before his death in 727, while the latter's shuttling between his

two kingdoms may well have precipitated his downfall (EDMONDS 2025a). In response to such arguments, Bēl-iqīša seeks to tempt Šarru-ukīn with divine approbation (r. 1–8):

> *ki-i tal-la-ku* [*a-na* LUGAL *šá šit*]-ʳ*tu*ˡ-*ti i-šu-ú* [*šá* EN$^{?}$] É.SAG.ÍL TIN.TIR^{ki} *šá šá-lam* [TIN.TIR$^{?}$]$^{ki?}$ *ip-pu-šú ki-di-nu i-kàṣ-ṣa-ru* [*ù it*]-*ti* DUMU^{meš} TIN.TIR^{ki} *ú-šal-la-mu* [*ù* NÍG].GA ʳÉ.SAGˡ.ÍL *u* É.ZI.DA [*i-kàṣ*]-*ṣa-ru* ^{d}EN *u* [^{d}]ʳAGˡ DU-*mu ár-ku-ti* [*ṭu-bi* UZU]^{meš} *ṭu-bi* ŠÀ-*bi i-šar-ra-ku*
>
> Came you [as a king] disposing of (the divine) [left]overs [of the lord of$^{?}$] Esaggil and Bābili, pursuant of [Bābili's] well-being, securing a pact of (tax) protection, and concluding it with Bābili's denizens, and [conso]lidating the property of Esaggil and Ezida, then Bēl and Nabû would grant you long days, [good health], and sound humour.

He follows this remark with an enigmatic reference to two other individuals (r. 9–11):

> r. 9. [*ù* ^{md}DN]-ʳIBILAˡ-SUM-*na* LUGAL *u* ^{m}*za-ki-ru* DUMU-*šú*
> r. 10. [1-*en* N MU.AN.NA]^{meš} *ù šá-nu-ú* 36 MU.AN.NA$^{<meš?>}$
> r. 11. [x x x x x (x)] ʳTINˡ.TIR^{ki} *i*-[x x (x)]
>
> r. 9. [And DN]-apla-iddina the king and Zākiru his son
> r. 10. [the first for N year]s and the second for 36 year<s>
> r. 11. […] Bābili [(*presumably verb in 3.pl.*)]

It has generally been thought that [^{md}DN]-ʳibilaˡ-sum-*na* lugal refers to Marduk-apla-iddina II (DIETRICH 1967: 68; 2003: 26; VERA CHAMAZA 2002: 282). Having proffered a divine carrot, the author's rhetorical tactic would now be to flourish the worldly stick of the Chaldean's present reign in Bābili as a "Gegensatz zu der geordneten und erwünschten Herrschaft" (DIETRICH 1967: 68). Yet, this theory's own sticking-point is Zākiru, necessarily the king's son (BRINKMAN 1964: 34; DIETRICH 2003: 26; GROß 2011), as the next line lacks space for filiation (*contra* DIETRICH 1967: 68; VERA CHAMAZA 2002: 282).

At least five sons (perhaps six) of Marduk-apla-iddina II are presently known, some of whom featured prominently in the era's events (BAKER 2001a: 710). That Zākiru would have escaped mention seems unlikely, particularly considering his 36 years spent in connection with Bābili. Perhaps conscious of the advanced age which Marduk-apla-iddina II would need to have an adult son pursuing politics in Bābili as early as 746, Dietrich's translation supposes instead that this refers to the time which Zākiru "lived" there (which could have begun in childhood). Yet, it seems improbable that Zākiru would have spent the 24 years prior to his father's enthronement in Bābili residing there, rather than among his family in Bīt-Yākīn, particularly as Marduk-apla-iddina (II) was already king of the Sealand (*Māt Tâmti*) by 731. Even were Zākiru a hostage for decades in Bābili, this would hardly explain how SAA 17, 23's author knew this, or deemed it relevant to his argumentation. An alternative exists.

Consider the late 9th-century Babylonian king Marduk-zākir-šumi I, son of Nabû-apla-iddina, the length of whose reign has remained unclear hitherto. That he acceded to the throne in 851 following his father's death is evident from a remark in an inscription of Salmānu-ašarēd III (RIMA 3, 0.102.16: 44–47). In turn, Marduk-zākir-šumi I's latest known attestation is in a treaty concluded in 824 (EDMONDS 2025: 136–139) with Šamšī-Adad (V) of Assyria while the latter was still a mere prince (SAA 2, 1). This yields a minimum reign of 27 years. Nonetheless, the earliest mention of his successor Marduk-balāssu-iqbi is in mid-Simānu (III) 815, when Šamšī-Adad V initiated a sudden, aggressive war against him (EDMONDS 2025: 265). Marduk-zākir-šumi I's accession in 851 and his death's *terminus ante quem* in 815 are thus separated by 36 years. Might Zākiru son of king [DN]-apla-iddina be Marduk-zākir-šumi I son of Nabû-apla-iddina, and the 36 years refer to the total length of his reign?

The use of an abbreviation or hypocorism *Zākiru* for this king would hardly be unparalleled; notable royal examples include *Nādinu* (Νάβιος) for Nabû-nādin-zēri (BAKER 2001c), *Mukīn-zēri* (Χίνζηρος) for Nabû-mukīn-zēri (BAKER 2001b), *Šuma-ukīn* for Nabû-šuma-ukīn II (BRINKMAN 1968: 235), *Šūzubu* for both Nergal-ušēzib and Mušēzib-Marduk (BAKER 2011a), and *Usātu* for Marduk-zākir-šumi I's own brother Marduk-bēl-usati (BAKER 2011b). Moreover, placing Marduk-zākir-šumi I's decease in early 815 (thus in his 36th regnal year), furnishes a logic to subsequent events: Marduk-zākir-šumi I's death had nullified the Assyro-Babylonian treaty, and Šamšī-Adad V made use of it to surprise attack his former ally.

While a reign of 36 years for Marduk-zākir-šumi I appears prodigal, Babylonian King List A accords his 10th-century antecedent Nabû-mukīn-apli just such an incumbency of 36 years. Indeed, Marduk-zākir-šumi I's own father Nabû-apla-iddina reigned for between 32 and 34 years, depending on the reading of a *kudurru*'s indistinct numeral (BRINKMAN 2007: 31). As Tukultī-Ninurta II's Babylonian campaign of early 885 (34 years earlier) was oddly kingless, the death of Nabû-apla-iddina's predecessor and his own accession must have occurred precisely then (EDMONDS 2025b: 257). SAA 17, 23 r. 9–11 reads thusly:

> [(*ù*?) ^{md}*Nabû*]-˹IBILA˺-SUM-*na* LUGAL *u* ^{m}*za-ki-ru* DUMU-*šú* [1-*en* 33/34 MU.AN.NA]^{meš} *ù šá-nu-ú* 36 MU.AN.NA$^{<meš?>}$ [x (x) *šarrūt*] ˹TIN˺.TIR^{ki} *i*-[*pu-šu* (x)]
>
> [(And?) Nabû]-apla-iddina the king and Zākiru his son r[uled (with longevity?) as kings of] Bābili, [the first for 33/34 year]s and the second for 36 year<s>.

Rather than castigation, this is a substantiation of the author of SAA 17, 23's point—to Bābili's observant king comes long life, as in the case of two venerable 9th-century Babylonian kings. This interpretation is bolstered by broken references to past kings (lugal^{meš} *maḫ-ru-ti*) and tax exemption (*ki-di-nu-ti*) in r. 14–15, and one final, cryptic number-crunch (r. 16–17):

> r. 16. ^{d}EN *u* ^{d}AG 30 MU.AN.˹NA˺[^{meš} x x x x (x)]
> r. 17. 40 MU.AN.NA^{meš} *kiš-šú*-[*tu* x x x x x (x)]

The context must be precative, with Bēl and Nabû bestowing 40 years of *kiššūtu* and 30 years of something else upon the king. In omen literature (certainly familiar to SAA 17, 23's mantically minded author), *kiššūtu* denotes something akin to universal dominion (*viz*. CAD K: 462), a trait befitting the Assyrian emperor. Certainly, in other wheedling missals from Bēl-iqīša & co. (SAA 17, 22; 27–29; 34), Šarru-ukīn is cosmocratically addressed as *šar kiššati*, so as to hail him as presumptive king of Babylonia without broaching Marduk-apla-iddina II's ongoing, decade-long rule. This suggests the following reconstruction:

> ^{d}EN *u* ^{d}AG 30 MU.AN.˹NA˺[^{meš} *šarrūt Bābili* (*u*)] 40 MU.AN.NA^{meš} *kiš-šú*-[*tu ana šarri* (*bēlīya*) *liddinū*/*lišrukū*]
>
> May Bēl and Nabû bestow/grant 30 years of kingship of Bābili and 40 of supremacy to (milord) the king!

As Šarru-ukīn will have been in his early 50's at this letter's time of writing, 30 years of ruling Bābili would have been an ample tenure. While Šarru-ukīn had lost some 10 years of Babylonian kingship to Marduk-apla-iddina II, he had nonetheless enjoyed his imperial *kiššūtu* throughout, and thus 30 future years of joint kingship of Assyria and Babylonia would yield a total of 40 years of *kiššūtu*. As Nabû-apla-iddina and Marduk-zākir-šumi I can now be demonstrated to have ruled a total of 69 or 70 years (i.e. 33/34 + 36), Šarru-ukīn's 70 cumulative years of hybrid kingship (i.e. 30 of Bābili + 40 of *kiššūtu*) would have equalled or surpassed them. For a king enamoured of numerology (e.g. ROAF 2023; KEETMAN 2024), this may have appealed.

Regardless of the letter (which by the above logic would have been sent in 711, after 10 years of *kiššūtu*), Šarru-ukīn did seize Bābili's throne in 710, but longevity evaded him. Like his predecessor Salmānu-ašarēd VI*, Šarru-ukīn failed to outlive his fifth regnal year as king of Bābili, dying in Tabāl (southeast Anatolia) in 705. The curse of Babylonian kingship had struck another Assyrian! His son Sîn-aḫḫē-erība's refusal of this poisoned chalice (KLEBER 2026: 7–9) hardly surprises.

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123) The "Azekah Inscription" Reconsidered — In the 'standard' edition of the royal Assyrian inscriptions, the "Azekah inscription" was included within the inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (GRAYSON and NOVOTNY 2014: 350–352 [No 1015]). However, the two scholars explicitly stated that "based on the phrases used and the content, this text should be assigned to either Sargon II or Sennacherib. While there has been much discussion of this point … the text cannot be attributed with certainty until more evidence is available." In this light they reviewed the scholarship attributing the inscription to either Sargon II or Sennacherib, provided a full bibliography and edition of the text, and deliberately left the question of authorship unresolved.

Although the archaeological evidence recovered at Tel Azekah has the potential to resolve the dating debate, Grayson and Novotny did not take this evidence into account. The site of Azekah (Tell Zakariyah) was excavated by Bliss and Macalister in 1899–1900, and the two archaeologists subsequently published a detailed report of the results of their excavations (BLISS and MACALISTER 1902; cf. NAPCHAN, GADOT and LIPSCHITS 2015). Among the finds unearthed in the excavations are 13 *lmlk* stamped jar handles and three "private" stamped jar handles. Comparable stamped jar handles occur in the destruction layers of many other sites located in the Shephelah and attributed by all archaeologists to Sennacherib's 701 BCE campaign against the Kingdom of Judah.

In 2012, Lipschits resumed the excavations of Tel Azekah, and his excavations at the site have continued uninterruptedly since then. His excavations established that the site was inhabited continuously from the mid–ninth century until the late eighth century BCE, when the site was destroyed and deserted for many decades (LIPSCHITS, GADOT and OEMING 2017: 13–16). Among the many archaeological reports published so far on the results of the Tel Azekah excavations, two are particularly relevant to the present discussion. (1) A summary of the contribution of the stamped jar handles for the history of Judah under the Assyrian rule (LIPSCHITS 2018). (2) A discussion of all the stamped jar handles discovered so far on the site (Lipschits 2023). As the extensive literature written on the stamped jar handles is vast, I will briefly present only the evidence that is relevant for the dating of Tel Azekah's destruction in the late eighth century BCE.

Stamped jar handles first appeared in Judah in the late eighth century BCE. The earliest stamps included three elements: a four-winged scarab, the denotation of possession (*lmlk* = "belonging to the king") and a place name (either Hebron, Socoh, Ziph or *mmšt*). Later, still in the course of the late eighth century, a second stamp type depicting a two-winged disk impressed on jar handles was introduced, and it appeared side by side with the four-winged symbol. As the marked jar handles with the denotation "of the king" first appear in the last third of the eighth century BCE, scholars have generally associated them with the obligation of paying tribute to the Assyrian empire. The marked jars, distributed by the state, were used to collect agricultural products, mainly wine and olive oil, and the jars that included the agricultural products were later sold, so that the payments were collected by the state and paid to the imperial authorities

(LIPSCHITS 2018: 344–345, with earlier literature). Whether this administrative system was introduced during the later years of Ahaz or the early reign of Hezekiah remains uncertain (see LIPSCHITS 2023: 479).

Another set of stamps impressed on jar handles, each bearing a personal name and patronymic arranged in two lines, was also introduced in the late eighth century. Most of the jar handles with private stamps were discovered in the Shephelah, within the destruction layers of Sennacherib's 701 BCE campaign, and only a few were unearthed in later strata. Hence the suggestion that the "private" stamps were produced in the course of Hezekiah's revolt against Assyria and dated to the time of the rebellion (ca. 704–701 BCE) (LIPSCHITS, SERGI and KOCH 2011: 11–12; LIPSCHITS 2023: 488–500). Yet, even if the "private" stamps were impressed earlier than the outbreak of the rebellion, their frequent appearance in the destruction layers of the Assyria 701 BCE indicate their late date of production, shortly before the outbreak of Judah's revolt in 704 BCE.

An examination of the data presented in the tablets that Lipschits presented (2023: 491, 493) shows a large number of stamped handles discovered at Tel Azekah in comparison to other Judahite sites in the Shephelah (with the exception of Lachish, which was the main storage jar collection centre of the system). This assemblage included 24 early *lmlk* jar handles, both of the four-winged and two-winged scarab, the latter clearly dated shortly before the outbreak of the revolt in 704 BCE. Moreover, six private stamp handles were unearthed in the excavations, five of which have parallels in private stamps discovered in other Shephelah sites whose destruction is dated to 701 BCE (LIPSCHITS 2023: 487).

The archaeological evidence strongly indicates that Tel Azekah was destroyed in the course of Sennacherib's 701 BCE campaign, together with the many other Judahite cities located in the Shephelah. They thus resolve the long-debated question of authorship of the "Azekah inscription." Since Tel Azekah was destroyed during Sennacherib's campaign of 701 BCE, the inscription must be attributed to Sennacherib and interpreted as describing episodes from his 701 BCE campaign against Judah.

In light of this conclusion, we may safely restore at the beginning of l. 11: [URU*.am-qa-ru-na* UR]U LUGAL-*ti ša KUR.pi-liš-ta-a-a* ("[The city of Ekron, a] royal [ci]ty of the land Philistia"). According to the account of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah, Ekron was the only Philistine city that joined Hezekiah in his rebellion and was subsequently conquered, and its leaders were severely punished (GRAYSON and NOVOTNY 2012: 65 l. 46–48). But whereas in the annals, the account of Ekron's conquest and punishment is related briefly and in restrained language, by contrast, the Azekah inscription presents the conquest of Ekron in a much more elaborate and rhetorical vivid manner.

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124) On Maritime Connectivity in the Oath of Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre — The oath between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre (SAA 2 5-PARPOLA and WATANABE 1988:24-27) has generally been discussed within the framework of Neo-Assyrian imperial domination over Phoenicia. Previous research

has primarily focused on political submission, tributary obligations, and diplomatic relations between Assyria and the Phoenician cities[1]. In particular, NA'AMAN 1994:3-8 emphasized the relationship between the oath and the system of Assyrian coastal provinces along Phoenicia, arguing that ports such as Akko and Dor were incorporated into Assyrian provincial administration rather than remaining under Tyrian control. More recently, TUSHINGHAM 2024:216-223 has highlighted mechanisms of imperial surveillance and monitoring within Esarhaddon's *adê*-system, arguing that Neo-Assyrian imperial power depended heavily upon the control of movement, information, and loyalty across imperial space. At the same time, SCHMITT 2024 has argued that Assyrian intervention reshaped the balance of power between Sidon and Tyre and contributed to the reorganization of Levantine commercial networks. While these studies have significantly advanced our understanding of Neo-Assyrian imperial governance and Phoenician political geography, comparatively little attention has been paid to the maritime clauses of the oath themselves as evidence for the regulation of mobility, exchange, and maritime connectivity in the eastern Mediterranean.

The present note offers a rereading of SAA 2 5, particularly the clauses concerning ships and maritime movement, and argues that they provide evidence for Neo-Assyrian attempts not merely to supervise coastal provinces, but to regulate maritime circulation itself along the Levantine coast. In this respect, the maritime clauses should not simply be understood as an extension of territorial administration. Rather, a close reconsideration of SAA 2 5 reveals an imperial attempt to intervene directly in networks of mobility, exchange, and communication linking Phoenician ports to wider Mediterranean routes. The oath may therefore be interpreted not only as a political document of subordination, but also as evidence for the regulation of maritime connectivity.

Particularly important are the passages in col. iii of the oath text. L. iii 15′–21′ refer to ships belonging to Baal or to the people of Tyre and stipulate Assyrian authority over shipwrecks occurring along the coast of Philistia or within Assyrian territory. The clauses repeatedly employ the term GIŠ.MÁ/*eleppu*("ship")[2] and refer to *am-mar šá ina* ŠÀ GIŠ.MÁ / *ammar ša ina libbi eleppi* ("everything that is inside the ship"). This formulation indicates that not only ships themselves but also the goods transported within them fell under Assyrian concern and supervision. The passage therefore suggests that maritime circulation, particularly the movement of valuable cargoes, had become a matter of direct imperial interest. Neo-Assyrian authority thus extended beyond territorial administration into the regulation of maritime mobility itself.

Equally significant are the clauses in iii 22′–30′, which enumerate coastal locations including Akko, Dor, Philistia, and Byblos. The text further refers to Tyrian maritime movement within territories granted by Esarhaddon to Baal. As NA'AMAN 1994:6 already observed, the inclusion of Akko and Dor strongly suggests that these ports belonged to Assyrian-administered coastal provinces rather than directly to Tyre. Yet the significance of these clauses extends beyond provincial geography alone. The sequence of coastal locations may reflect a chain of maritime nodes through which imperial power sought to structure and channel movement along the Levantine seaboard. The oath therefore reveals not only provincial administration, but also the emergence of an interconnected network of coastal maritime nodes along the Levantine coast.

Such evidence also provides an important framework for reconsidering Phoenician expansion toward the central and western Mediterranean during the seventh century BCE. Although the oath itself does not directly refer to western settlements, Assyrian regulation of Levantine maritime mobility may paradoxically have contributed to the consolidation of wider Phoenician commercial networks. Imperial supervision over ports, routes, and maritime circulation may have encouraged the integration of eastern and western Mediterranean exchange systems.

These developments may also provide an important context for understanding Phoenician expansion toward the central and western Mediterranean, a question that should be further examined from the perspective of Phoenician and Punic history. Evidence for such wider Phoenician maritime networks is provided by both epigraphic and archaeological sources from the central and western Mediterranean.

A secure epigraphic attestation of the Phoenicians' westward expansion is provided by the Nora Inscription, discovered on the southern coast of Sardinia in 1773. On the basis of its palaeographic features, the inscription is dated to the late ninth or early eighth century BCE and is generally regarded as the earliest

Phoenician inscription discovered in the western Mediterranean. As LIPIŃSKI 2004:234-237 has suggested, although the interpretation of the inscription remains the subject of scholarly debate, the concluding lines contain a reference to the god Pumay, who was worshipped on Cyprus, indicating that ships from the eastern Mediterranean passed through the vicinity of Sardinia before continuing farther west.

Recent archaeological research indicates that Phoenician activity on the Iberian Peninsula had already begun by the tenth century BCE. According to GONZÁLES DE CANALES et al. 2009:6, excavations at Huelva in southwestern Spain have yielded large quantities of Phoenician pottery together with locally produced pottery from archaeological contexts belonging to the so-called "pre-colonial phase" (ca. 900–770 BCE). In addition, smaller quantities of Greek, Cypriot, Sardinian, and Italian pottery have been recovered. From this period through the eighth century BCE, Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean accelerated, resulting in the establishment of numerous settlements throughout the region. As reflected in Ezekiel 27, an extensive commercial network extending from northern Mesopotamia through the Arabian Peninsula and Asia Minor, across the Aegean, and as far as Tarshish (Tartessos) in the far western Mediterranean appears to have been in place by at least the middle of the eighth century BCE.

At the same time, the relationship between Assyria and Phoenicia during this period was not one in which Assyria directly conquered the Phoenician city-states and suppressed their economic activities. Rather, Assyria appears to have pursued an indirect form of domination, preserving and exploiting the Phoenicians' capacity for long-distance trade while appropriating a portion of its profits in the form of tribute and booty. Through Phoenician commercial networks, Assyria was thus able to establish indirect connections with the distant western Mediterranean without engaging in overseas expeditions itself. In other words, as noted by AUBET 2008:249-250, Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean had already begun before Assyrian pressure intensified.

However, the provisions of SAA 2 5 suggest that Assyrian rule over the Phoenician coast took on a character different from that of earlier periods. The oath indicates a growing Assyrian interest in supervising the maritime networks through which Phoenician commercial activity operated. As Assyria intensified its territorial reorganization and strengthened its tributary and vassal relationships from the late eighth to the seventh century BCE, the trade routes and commercial networks established by the Phoenicians across the Mediterranean are considered to have played an important role in complementing and reinforcing the Assyrian imperial system economically.

The oath may therefore be interpreted not only as a political document of subordination, but also as evidence for Neo-Assyrian attempts to regulate maritime connectivity. By focusing on the maritime clauses as evidence for the regulation of connectivity, the present note seeks to move beyond interpretations centered exclusively on territorial administration and instead situate Neo-Assyrian imperialism within the wider history of Mediterranean mobility, infrastructure, and exchange. More broadly, this rereading of SAA 2 5 also contributes to recent discussions concerning the historical formation of Mediterranean connectivity. As ROLLINGER 2022:1321 has argued, the Mediterranean should not be regarded as a naturally unified space, but rather as a historically constructed sphere shaped by imperial intervention, mobility, and exchange. From this perspective, the maritime clauses of SAA 2 5 may therefore be understood as evidence that Neo-Assyrian imperial administration sought to supervise aspects of maritime movement along the Levantine coast. Although the text does not demonstrate direct control over the Mediterranean as a whole, it indicates that Assyrian imperial power participated in the historical structuring of eastern Mediterranean connectivity, a process that ultimately contributed to the wider integration of Mediterranean exchange networks.

Notes

1. The situation of Phoenicia in Neo-Assyria is systematically summarized in FALES 2017.
2. See CAD E, 90–95, s.v. *elippu*; for Phoenician maritime activities and ships, see GÜNEL 2026

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125) *kāmû šar Meluḫḫi*: a mythologising epithet for Esarhaddon's victory over Taharqa — Among the geographical titles that Esarhaddon adopted after the conquest of Lower Egypt in 671 BCE, the shorter Egyptian title *šar Muṣur* ("king of Egypt") is consistently accompanied by the epithet *kāmû šar Meluḫ/Meluḫḫi*, "who captured (bound, defeated) the king of Meluḫḫa (i.e. the Kushite ruler Taharqa)", inside a small group of short palace texts called 'Kalḫu D' (RINAP 4 84: 5; 85: 6; 86: 2–3). Significantly, Egypt was the only conquered territory which, like Babylonia, required the expansion of the basic titulary with a new geographical title. Therefore, the conquest in 671 of the Nile Delta and of the ancient royal centre at Memphis probably confronted the Assyrian royal scribes with a problem comparable to the one first posed by the conquest of Babylonia and its royal centre Babylon in 729. If the participle '*kāmû*' is translated in its general meaning as "the defeater", the epithet functions simply as a record of Taharqa's defeat. The present note argues, however, that both the verb '*kamû*' and the toponym 'Meluḫḫa' carry mythological resonance, and that the epithet may deliberately mythologise a victory whose narrative record, tellingly, never asserts that the Kushite king was in fact captured.

The narrative texts conceal Taharqa's fate. The longer accounts of the campaign avoid stating that Taharqa was taken. The Nahr el-Kalb rock inscription (RINAP 4 103: 7-29) describes the triumphal entry into Memphis, the plundering of the palace, and the deportation of members of the royal family — including the crown prince — together with the seizure of the gods, but nothing indicates any mention of the king's capture in its long but fragmentarily preserved description of spoils. The Zincirli stele (RINAP 4 98: 41–46) reports the siege and burning of Memphis and likewise the deportation of the royal family — the crown prince even appears kneeling in the relief — yet Taharqa is absent from both the captives and the deportees. Of the Kushite king himself the text states only that "day after day I inflicted heavy defeats upon him" (*ūmēšamma diktašu mādîš adūk*) and that he was wounded five times by arrow-shots (98: 39–41), before declaring that "I uprooted the root of Kush from Egypt" (*šuruš Kusi ultu Muṣur assuḫma*, 98: 45–46). These formulations are designed to assert the end of Kushite rule in Lower Egypt — which corresponds to historical fact — while passing over Taharqa's actual escape, to which Ashurbanipal's inscriptions later refer unambiguously when they record his reconquest of Lower Egypt (e.g. RINAP 5/1 11: i 52-61).

The šar Muṣur title and the Memphite throne. The companion title *šar Muṣur* carries its own implication. The removal of Taharqa from Memphis is presented as entitling the Assyrian king to occupy the throne there: the Nahr el-Kalb rock inscription notes that, after entering Memphis "in joy and rejoicing" (*ina ḫidâti u rīšāti*), the king seated himself contentedly upon the gilded royal throne (RINAP 4 103: 7–8). That throne can only have been part of the spoils, for no Assyrian king is known ever to have set foot on Egyptian soil, and a genuine ceremonial enthronement and coronation in Memphis was therefore impossible. However, the "*ina ḫidâti u rīšāti*" formula recurs in ceremonial contexts in Esarhaddon's corpus of royal inscriptions (e.g. RINAP 4 1: vi 41) and a similar formula can be found in his correspondence (*ulṣu ḫidâti u rīšāti*, SAA 18 94: o 5–6), while Sargon II had likewise used comparable formulas ending with "*ḫadîš erēbu*" for his joyful entry into Babylon before occupying the throne in that city (RINAP 2 1: 374; 7: 141; 103: iv 3). As far as can be told, Esarhaddon in fact left the throne at Memphis vacant after 671,

order being maintained in the city until 667 solely by the Assyrian garrison. Read in this light, the *šar Muṣur — kāmû šar Meluḫ/Meluḫḫi* sequence asserts that with the defeat of Taharqa his rule had definitively ceased in Lower Egypt and that Esarhaddon had permanently acquired the right to the vacated Memphite throne.

The semantic range of *kamû*. The verb '*kamû*' can denote capture, defeat, or physical binding alike (CAD K, *kamû* A, meanings 1–2, pp. 128–130). From the brief titulary contexts in which it appears, no single sense can be isolated, and it is precisely this latitude that, I would suggest, the scribe exploited. That the verb could carry the strong sense of physical elimination or removal is shown by its use elsewhere in Esarhaddon's corpus for Šamaš-ibni, the Chaldean chief of Bīt-Dakkuri (RINAP 4 1: iii 63; 2: ii 36; 77: 23; 78: 21); that this involved the leader's removal is confirmed by the later return of his remains from Assyria to his tribe under Aššur-eṭel-ilāni (RIMB 2 B.6.35.5:1–3).

The mythological register of the verb and the toponym. '*kamû*' is also a standard verb for the neutralisation of cosmic adversaries. For example, in Enūma eliš it is used with particular frequency for the binding of Apsû, Mummu, Qingu, and Tiāmat, predominantly in the sense of physical capture preceding their killing (LAMBERT 2013, Tablet I 69, 73; IV 103, 120, 123, 127–128; VI 31, 125; VII 27, 132); the same verb denotes Marduk's defeat of Enmešarra (ibid, p. 292, o ii 28 and 31). The prologue of the Standard Babylonian Anzû epic uses it for Ninurta's binding of the Stone Mountains, alluding to the Sumerian *Lugal-e* (HALLO–MORAN 1979, JCS 31, p. 71, Tablet I 10), and Sennacherib applies it to Anšar's definitive defeat of Tiāmat (RINAP 3/2 160: o 14). In the expository texts adduced by Lambert (ibid, pp. 208–209), binding (*kamû*) constitutes the largest single category among the modes of neutralising enemies, alongside decapitation, burning, and consignment to the Netherworld.

The geographical name 'Meluḫḫa' reinforces this register. In the Sargonid period 'Meluḫḫa' designates the Kushite kingdom or at least its core territories of Kush south of the Nile Delta, but it is also an archaic, legendary toponym for a frontier of the inhabited world (cf. TADMOR 2011, pp. 95–97). A fragmentary tablet from Nineveh, the so-called 'Fragment F' (RINAP 4 34) cultivates precisely the impression that the king reached Meluḫḫa: it has the king set out from the Levantine coastline (o 12'-17') toward Meluḫḫa (o 15') across a desert region (likely on the Sinai Peninsula) described at mythologising length (r 1-8). After the Migdol–Memphis stretch (r 12-13), the account of the march gradually breaks off (r 14-19), so that the point at which the real itinerary passes into a fictitious description of 'Meluḫḫa' itself cannot be fixed. A distinctly literary description of the Egyptian campaign in a Ninevite prism fragment (RINAP 4 8: ii' 1'-15') has Ninurta's mythical weapons Šarur and Šargaz marching at the king's side (ii' 13') through what is plausibly the same desert tract toward the Kushite-held Nile Delta. The Egyptian campaign was thus susceptible to being narrated as a crossing of a liminal landscape on the edge of the world and a victory in the regions beyond it (cf. also BARUCHI-UNNA 2008).

Interpretation. Read against this background, *kāmû šar Meluḫḫi* is unlikely to be a neutral statement of Taharqa's capture — which the narrative texts decline to claim — and is better understood as a deliberately ambiguous, mythologically weighted formulation. The choice of '*kamû*' with its cosmic-binding associations, together with the legendary name 'Meluḫḫa', likely recasts the defeat of the Kushite king as a victory of the order achieved by Ninurta or Marduk over their primordial enemies. The scribal choice of 'Meluḫḫa' in this epithet sequence is noteworthy because the contemporary political entity could equally have been designated as Kusu; selecting 'Meluḫḫa' therefore appears marked rather than neutral. The mythologisation is intelligible in context: unlike the desert kingdom of Bazu or the highland of Patušarri, where Esarhaddon met weaker resistance and claimed success at the first attempt, Egypt was the territory of a rival empire that had inflicted a serious defeat on the Assyrian army on the first campaign of 674. The titulary, by elevating the encounter to a mythological plane, magnifies the significance of a victory that was both hard-won and, with respect to Taharqa's person, incomplete.

The *šar Muṣur — kāmû šar Meluḫḫi* sequence, accordingly, asserts two things at once on different registers: factually, that Kushite rule in Lower Egypt had ended and that the Memphite throne had passed to the Assyrian king; and mythologically, that the Assyrian king had bound a cosmic adversary at the edge of the world.

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126) On the geographic knowledge of Assyrian historiographers — The study of Assyrian royal inscriptions has traditionally focused on their ideological and historical dimensions, with particular attention paid to the question of truth versus fiction. While this issue remains debated, one feature of these inscriptions lends itself more readily to such an assessment, namely geographic lists that contain a great number and proportion of securely identified toponyms.

One such list appears in an inscription of Ashurbanipal (RINAP 5/1, no. 11, i 90–109), where 21 Egyptian toponyms are enumerated in the context of the king's account of his reconquest of Egypt. Many of these toponyms were identified soon after the text was published, notably by G. Steindorff (1890) and H. Ranke (1910). Both observed that the list appears to follow a roughly geographic pattern, beginning in the Delta and proceeding southwards along the Nile Valley, ending with Thebes. The question, then, is how rigid this geographic pattern is.[1)]

The list opens with a series of toponyms in and around the Delta, beginning with *Mempi* (Memphis), and ending with *Piḫattiḫurunpiki* (Trenuthis) or *Pišapdi'a*, which the relevant RGTC-volume by Bagg (2017, 481) is unable to locate conclusively. Despite the overall southward progression noted above, no clear internal ordering can be observed within the Delta section: sites from different parts of the region are intermingled without apparent geographic logic. However, this lack of internal order does not obscure the broader structure, as toponyms in and around the Delta consistently precede those from the Nile Valley.

One feature within this overarching geographic structure is the placement of Necho, king of Memphis and Sais (*Sai*), and Sharru-lu-dari, king of *Ṣi'nu* (Pelusium), at the head of the list. This likely reflects the political prominence of these rulers and indicates that hierarchical considerations could add to the broader geographic ordering of the Delta toponyms. Reflecting the hierarchical and thematic grouping of the Delta toponyms, Memphis, which was situated at the head of the Delta, is not placed at the end of the first section of the list, but at its beginning.[2)]

The list concludes with five toponyms that Bagg identifies as situated in the Nile Valley. The first of these is *Paḫnuti*, a site not conclusively identified by Bagg (2017, 473) but placed in the northernmost part of the region. It is followed by four further cities, namely *Šijāutu* (Asyut), *Ḫimuni* (Hermopolis), *Tajani* (Thinis?), and *Nī'* (Thebes). This sequence is generally understood as reflecting a north-south progression, with Thebes representing the southernmost parts of Egypt.

However, this sequence has its flaws, as Asyut is listed before Hermopolis, even though the latter was situated further north. This may be explained in two ways: either the Assyrian historiographer applied the same principle of grouping toponyms as in the Delta section, or the sequence reflects an error. Although the latter explanation can not be excluded, it would be unexpected since there is no obvious error elsewhere. Also, and with regard to the notion of grouping toponyms regionally, the Assyrians were aware of the distinction between Upper (the Nile Valley) and Lower (the Delta) Egypt, as revealed in several of Esarhaddon's inscriptions (RINAP 4, nos. 20, 42, 60, 68, 69, 83, 95, 98, 103, 112). For example, Esarhaddon portrays himself as "king of the kings of (Lower) Egypt (*Muṣur*), Upper Egypt (*Paturisu*), (and) Kush". The "correct" conclusion with Thebes as the last Egyptian site mentioned mirrors the primary position of Memphis in the list. Ashurbanipal's list thus forms a conceptual cycle, starting and ending with the two most important cities in Egyptian history.[3)]

In sum, the list of Egyptian toponyms in Ashurbanipal's inscription reflects considerable geographic knowledge, but not one organized according to a strict cartographic logic. Instead, its structure combines geographic progression with political and thematic principles. Such lists are therefore better understood not as neutral representations of space, but as deliberately structured narratives. Apparent inconsistencies may reflect historiographical choices rather than imperfect knowledge.

Notes

1. The following remarks draw on the identifications proposed by A.M. Bagg (2017) (= RGTC 7/2–1–2).

2. A further complication is that *Ḫininši*, listed among the Delta toponyms, has been identified by some scholars as Heracleopolis magna (see e.g. RANKE 1910, 29), a city in the Nile Valley, whereas Bagg (2017, 231), among others (see e.g. ONASCH 1994, 52), identifies it as Heracleopolis parva in the Delta. Although there is an obvious risk of circular reasoning, the textual context renders the latter interpretation more likely.

3. Additionally, *Tajani* has been identified with Aswan (FECHT 1958, 114–116), south of Thebes, although this identification is generally rejected (see e.g. ONASCH 1994, 56–57). If correct, however, such a placement would further disrupt the expected north-south progression of the list.

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127) An Aramaic inscription from Tell Abraq (Umm al Quwain, UAE) — During the 2022 excavation campaign at the site of Tell Abraq (Umm al Quwain, UAE), an open-air altar associated with a small shrine was brought to light by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Umm al Quwain (IAMUQ). Among the finds scattered around these newly discovered remains was an inscribed stone. Above a rather simple dentil moulding at its base, the stone bears traces of at least three lines of text, which is the subject of this note (for further information on the archaeological context and chronology, see Degli Esposti 2026 and Degli Esposti, in the press). I am very grateful to Dr Michele Degli Esposti (Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw; Director of the IAMUQ) for providing me with a full range of high-resolution photographs of the inscription and for allowing me to publish a provisional reading of its text (Fig. no. 1). Before turning to the analysis of this inscription, I would like to remind the reader that the reluctance of epigraphists to publish inscriptions they cannot read is understandable. Nevertheless, since a difficult inscription is most readily deciphered when made available to the widest possible circle of specialists, withholding such texts ultimately hinders rather than serves scholarship (cf. Fuller–Bivar 1996, 30).



Fig. no. 1 Inscribed stone from Tell Abraq (Find 721): *in situ* (A), post-excavation (B), views obtained through Reflectance Transformation Imaging (C, D). Courtesy Dr Michele Degli Esposti (PAN, IAMUQ).

Having compared the letters clearly discernible on the surface of the stone with the inventories of Aramaic scripts from the same region, i.e. the Persian Gulf, southern Mesopotamia, and eastern Arabia (cf. Healey–Bin Seray 1999–2000), I have concluded that, to the best of my knowledge, this short text can be read as an Elymaean Aramaic inscription. Elymaean Aramaic script – itself part of the «Southern Mesopotamian branch» of Aramaic script (Naveh 1982, 133-137) – had hitherto been documented only by a handful of inscriptions and coin legends dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. Fortunately, a group of silver vessels bearing Elymaean Aramaic inscriptions has recently been published, significantly improving our knowledge of this script and of the Aramaic variety for which it was used (Klugkist 1982, 146-152; Sims-Williams–Morgenstern–Abudraham 2026, 29-39).

Transliteration and translation[1)]

(1) *ṣ(lmʾ)* (2) *zy* (3) *ʾp(kl)*[ʾ] […] «Statue of the priest [...]»

As far as palaeography is concerned, the letter *ʾ* almost certainly occurs as the first sign of l. 3. Judging from the photographs at our disposal, it matches Abudraham's description of the same sign in the Elymaean Aramaic inscriptions on silverware (Sims-Williams–Morgenstern–Abudraham 2026, 30). Similarly, the two-letter group *zy* closely resembles the corresponding one on the Elymaean Aramaic silver vessel no. A1, «which represents the relative particle *zy* as two separate letters (*z*+*y*)» (Sims-Williams–Morgenstern–Abudraham 2026, 38), even though the *z* is rendered here as a mere vertical stroke. Like the preceding letters, the letter *p* recalls both the forms of the sign in the Tang-i Sarwak rock reliefs and those more recently identified on the aforementioned silver vessels (Henning 1951–1952; Klugkist 1982, 148-149; Sims-Williams–Morgenstern–Abudraham 2026, 36). Lastly, although this letter remains sparsely attested in the Elymaean Aramaic corpus, traces of a *ṣ* might be detected at the beginning of l. 1, with a rather angular tail.

The sequence that I tentatively read on the stone from Tell Abraq («Statue of the priest [...]») may well belong to a longer inscription, and further fragments may yet be unearthed. Be that as it may, similar sequences are found in Hatran Aramaic, where, for instance, «the statue of *Nṣrw* [...], the High Priest» (*ṣlmʾ dy nṣrw [...] ʾpklʾ rbʾ*) is referred to (Inscription no. H 361: l. 1, Beyer 1998, 96), or in Palmyrenean Aramaic, where, for instance, a man named *Bʿly*, the son of *Yrḥbwl*, «priest of *ʿzyzw*» (*ʾpklʾ dy ʿzyzw*) is mentioned (Inscription no. PAT 0320: l. 2; Hillers–Cussini 1996; Healey 2009, 210). The word *ʾpklʾ* is a well-known Akkadian loanword (*apkallu*, itself from Sumerian ABGAL) that occurs in other Semitic languages of pre-Islamic Arabia, including Nabataean Aramaic and Sabaic (Maraqten 2000).

Notes

1. Legenda: [...] = three or more missing letters; [x] = restored reading; (x) = uncertain reading; *xxx* = graphemic reading. Personal names are not vocalised, owing to the uncertainty surrounding their possible vocalisation; see the analogous choice made by Marcato (2018, 14).

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128) BCTHP Update 1. BCHP 5: Antiochus the Crown Prince and the temples of Sin — In May 2025 the long awaited new edition (with commentary) of the Babylonian Chronicles and the historical sections of the Astronomical Diaries appeared in the series Writings from the Ancient World (WAW). The edition also includes the Babylon and Uruk King Lists and the Antiochus Cylinder from Borsippa. Introductory chapters and an extensive Appendix containing names and topics complete the book (BCTHP).

No book is without errors and scholarship does not pause after the publication of a book. Accordingly, it is our intention to publish on occasion updates that refer to and include research done by others and by ourselves. This is the first contribution and one with major consequences.

We were set on the track of this update thanks to a publication by J. Monerie (2023, p. 362), that we did not see before the publication of our book. He suggested a new interpretation of chronicle BCHP 5, working from the version published on livius.org, which was included in BCTHP without many changes. He also observed, as we did in BCTHP, that a parallel diary was published by H. Hunger in ADART 4 (BM 37546, p. 342); we reedited this diary in BCTHP as Diary -297. The chronicle and the diary describe how a crown prince, probably Antiochus, son of Seleucus I, visited two temples of Sîn in Babylon, and made offerings in these temples.

J. Monerie observed that our edition does not adequately render what was actually going on during that visit. He demonstrated that we have to distinguish, firstly, between two types of offerings, the regular offerings (*ginû*) and the offerings for a special occasion (*nindabû*), and, secondly, between the donation of the sacrificial animals and the actual performance of the offering rituals. We agree with this point of view.

Monerie did not attempt a full new edition of the relevant texts. On 5 June 2026 the authors of this article decided to make an attempt – independently – and we both came to the same reconstruction, apart from a few details. We also discovered that Diary -297 is not only a parallel text of BCHP 5, but that the two texts are identical. Thanks to the close comparison of both texts we were able to improve on a few doubtful readings which we had in our earlier edition.

The fact that these two records are identical is a further proof of the close relationship between diaries and chronicles. It remains to decide whether chronicles concerning a brief period, like BCHP 5, were composed as a dataset to be inserted in a diary for a longer period, or are proof that chroniclers used diaries as a source for the chronicles. In any case, it seems clear that the same persons were responsible for both genres. It also now appears that the two documents BCHP 5 and Diary -297 contain important new information regarding rituals on behalf of the king and offerings "in the Greek fashion" within the Babylonian temples.

BCHP 5

8: [ITU GU_4 U_4 5.K]AM DUMU LUGAL *šá* É UŠ-*tu*$_4$ *ina qí-bi šá* 1-*en* ^{lú}DUMU E[^{ki}]
9: [(*n* GU_4 *u*) *n* UDU.NÍTA$^{(meš)}$ *ana*] *gi-nu-ú šá* 30 É.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *u* 30 EN.TE.[NA]
10: [*u ana né*$^{?}$]-ʳ*pe*$^{?}$ˀ-[*šú ana* LUGAL SU]M DUMU LUGAL *ina* É ^{d}30 É.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *u* ʳÉˀ [^{d}30 EN.TE.NA]
11: [DÙ-*uš* DUM]U LUGAL MU-ʳ*tì*ˀ *uš-kin-nu* DUMU LUGAL 1-*en* UDU.NÍTA *ana nin-*[*da-bu-ú šá* GIM]
12: [^{giš}ḪUR KUR *e-man*]-*nu ina* É ^{d}30 É.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *u* É ^{d}30 EN.T[E.NA SUM (NIDBA DÙ-*uš*)]
13: [ITU BI DUMU LUGAL T]A E^{ki} *ana* ^{uru}É-*gu-ra-*ʾ È

Translation: (8) [Month II (= 8 May – 6 June 298 BCE), da]y [5] (12 May), the crown prince at the instruction of a certain Babylon[ian] (9) [gav]e[10] [(*n* bull(s) and) *n* sheep for] the regular offerings (*ginû*) for Sîn of Egišnugal and Sîn of Enit[enna] (10) [and for] ʳthe ritualˀ [on behalf of the king]. The son of the king [performed (it)[11]] in the temple of Sîn of Egišnugal and the temple [of Sîn of Enitenna]. (11) [The] aforementioned [so]n of the king prostrated himself. The son of the king [gave[?12]] one sheep for a foo[d offering (*nindabû*) in] (12) [the Gree]k [fashion] in the temple of Sîn of Egišnugal and the temple of Sîn of En[itenna. (He performed the offering)]. (13) [That month, the son of the king] departed [fr]om Babylon to Bīt-Gurā.

Diary -297

4': … ITU BI U_4 5 DUMU LUGAL *šá* É U[Š-*tu*$_4$ *ina qí-bi šá* 1-*en* ^{lú}DUMU E^{ki} (*n* GU_4 *u*) *n* UDU.NÍTA$^{(meš)}$]
5': [*ana gi-nu-ú šá* 30 É.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL] ⌜*u*⌝ 30 EN.TE.NA ⌜*u*$^{?}$⌝ *ana né-pe-šú ana* LUGAL S[UM DUMU LUGAL *ina* É ^{d}30 É.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *u* É ^{d}30 EN.TE.NA]
6': [DÙ-*uš* DUMU LUGAL MU-*tì uš-kin-nu* DUMU LUGA]L 1-*en* UDU *ana nin-da-bu-ú šá* GIM ⌜GIŠ.ḪUR⌝ [KUR *e-man-nu ina* É ^{d}30 É.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL *u* É ^{d}30 EN.TE.NA SUM (NIDBA DÙ-*uš*)]
7': [ITU BI DUMU LUGAL TA E^{ki} *ana* ^{uru}É-*gu-r*]*a-a* È

Translation: (4') … That month, day 5 (12 May), the crown prin[ce at the instruction of a certain Babylonian gav]e [(n bull(s) and) n sheep] (5') [for the regular offerings (*ginû*) for Sîn of Egišnugal] ⌜and⌝ Sîn of Enitenna ⌜and$^{?}$⌝ for the ritual on behalf of the king. [The son of the king performed (it) 6' in the temple of Sîn of Egišnugal and the temple of Sîn of Enitenna]. (6') [The aforementioned son of the king prostrated himself. The son of the kin]g [gave$^{?}$] one sheep for a food offering (*nindabû*) in the [Greek] ⌜fashion⌝ [in the temple of Sîn of Egišnugal and the temple of Sîn of Enitenna. (He performed the offering)]. (7') [That month, the son of the king] departed [from Babylon to Bīt-Gur]ā.
Notes:
BCHP 5:4 (not re-edited here). This line was erased in antiquity.
BCHP 5: 12/Diary -297: 6'. We have restored *e-man-nu*, "Greek", with the unusual *e*-spelling that is attested on the reverse of BCHP 5 (r2'; also BCHP 7: r5' and BCHP 8: r2). This spelling also better fits the spacing. However, it is possible that the more typical spelling *ia-man-nu* was used; chronicles sometimes show variation in the rendering of the same word across different entries (potentially because the entries were copied from different sources).

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129) BCTHP Update 2. Addenda et Corrigenda* —

BCHP 1. Chronicle concerning Darius III and Alexander. In our edition I failed to incorporate a study dedicated to this chronicle by Rahim Shayegan (2005). In this he made a few interesting suggestions.

First of all, Shayegan made a reference to a newly discovered Aramaic document from Bactria, now published by Naveh and Shaked (2012) as text no. C1, p. 174–185, dated to Kislev of Year 1 of King Artaxerxes, which must refer to Artaxerxes V = Bessus (December 330 BC). The text concerns "provisions in Maithanaka for Bayasa (= Bessus) when he passed from Bactra to Varnu." This document is therefore contemporary with the events described in BCHP 1:3'ff. This leads Shayegan to interpret the geographical name KUR *ú*$^{?}$*-zu-ia-a-nu* as Varnu. In so doing he suggests a new reading: "The sign *zu* in *ú-zu-ia-a-nu* may without much difficulty be interpreted as the sign for *rí* or *ré* (SHAYEGAN 2005, p. 172)." I am sorry to say that this is impossible. The sign in question is URU, which has the very exceptional reading *rí* or *ré*. This sign always has a middle horizontal wedge that clearly protrudes to the left, while in *zu* the middle wedge is always shorter than the upper and lower horizontal wedges. See for URU in the same line: URU *šá* KUR *gu-ti-i*, "a city of the land of Gutium". As *Uzuianu* is initially called KUR ("land") the toponym might refer to the region around the Oxus river, known as *Oxiana*, where Alexander the Great founded Alexandria Oxiana.

In l. 8' the murder of a certain Kidinu (^{I}*ki-di-nu* – alternatively ^{I}*ki-ṭi-nu*) is mentioned. We do not know who he was. Shayegan (2005, p. 174) suggests Katánēs, a rebel in Bactria and an accomplice of Bessus, who died on the battlefield against the troops of Craterus in 327 (Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* 4.22.1-2; Curtius 8.5.2). The change from *a* to *i* remains puzzling, however. If Shayegan's interpretation is correct, it would corroborate the interpretation of *i*]*s*$^{?}$*-pi-ta-nu* as Spitamenes, another accomplice of Bessus, as suggested by Shayegan (2005, p. 174+n. 78) and myself (BCTHP p. 17, 24–5). Of the sign *is*$^{?}$ one upright wedge is fully preserved (hence the alternative possibility that this is a Personenkeil) and before it there is one fully preserved lower horizontal wedge and another half preserved wedge on top of it, which

make the reading *is* viable. The identification with Spitamenes remains problematic in view of the proposed chronology in BCTHP (which may be wrong of course).

Diary -132B:r21–r23 concerning the deposition of Philinos. In October 133 BCE Philinos, general of Babylonia in charge of the four generals, was removed from office and replaced by Theodosios. The diary as presented in BCTHP runs as follows.

r21: ITU BI *al-te-e um-ma* ^{I}*pi-li-nu-us-su* ^{lú}GAL ÉRIN-*ni* KUR URI^{ki} *šá ana muḫ-ḫi* 4 ^{lú}GAL ÉRIN-*ni*
r22: *šá ina* ITU BAR *a-na* URU^{meš} *šá* KUR *ma-da-a-a ana* IGI ^{I}*ba-a-ga-a-a-šá-a* ^{lú}ŠEŠ LUGAL GIN-*ma al-t*[*e-e*]
r23: *um-ma* TA ^{lú}GAL ÉRIN^{meš} KUR URI$^{ki.meš}$ *ba-tu-qa-*<*ta*>

r21: That month I heard as follows: "Philinos, the general of Babylonia who is in charge of the four generals,
r22: who in Month I had gone to the province of Media, to Bagayasha, the brother of the king, hea[rd]$^{!}$
r23: as follows: 'from the position of general of Babylonia you are removed.'"

The overall meaning is quite clear and was already suggested by Hunger in ADART 3, p. 220. The appointment of Theodosios is mentioned in the following sentence. The problem is the verb: *ba-tu-qa-*<*ta*>. Hunger read MA TU QA without a suggestion as to how to interpret it, and I proposed reading *ba* instead of MA and considered it to be a stative of *batāqu*, "to stop". Michael Jursa alerted me to the fact that the sign MA / *ba* on this tablet in fact has four horizontal wedges (there is a fourth small head of a wedge at the bottom of the sign) and suggested reading *šu-tu-qa* and interpreting the form as a stative of the Š-stem of *etēqu*, "to transfer, to hand over", in the meaning "to transfer from office". The final vowel, *-a*, can be disregarded, as final (short) vowels were not pronounced in Late Babylonian texts. Other unusual endings with *-a* in the Diaries include: *ina šur-qa* (instead of *ina šur-qí*) in Diary -240:6', Diary -168A:r16' and UD BM 42013:3'; 1-*en* ^{lú}*šar-ra-qa* (nominative) in UD BM 35025:r1; ^{lú}*šar-ra-qa*^{meš} in Diary -168A:r16'-17'; *ú-qa* instead of *ú-qu* in Diary -234A:13, -149B:r10'; … *su-*]*un*$^{?}$*-qa*$^{?}$ where a nominative is expected in Diary -137A:r7'; *ana* UGU *bit-qa* in Diary -118A:r18'; *ana ṣa-bat bat-qa* (references on p. 764). Unfortunately, in the parallel expression in Diary -119C:12′ the verb is lost.

TA ^{lú}GAL ÉRIN^{meš} KUR URI$^{ki.meš}$. The plural marker ^{meš} after URI^{ki} is puzzling and might demand a plural translation, e.g. "from the (board of) generals he is withdrawn", but this orthography occurs elsewhere, esp. in Diary -178C:r18', where it definitely refers to one general. See also -152:r14' (no context), -141H:6' and 7' and UD BM 35653:10'.

Another problem to be noticed is the seemingly redundant *-ma* after GIN. It may mark the transition from the subordinate clause to the main clause as in *ub-lam-ma* in the Antiochus Cylinder I:8 (BCTHP p. 991 and comments p. 998) and/or might signal an anacoluthic break in the sentence (see below).

Finally we have to take notice of the form *al-t*[*e-e*] in l. r22, which should actually be *il-t*[*e-e*] if my translation is right. Michael Jursa suggested that the scribe, in an anacoluthic sentence, wanted to state that he himself had heard that Philinos was removed from office, so that the sentence would read as follows:

"That month I heard as follows: 'Philinos, the general of Babylonia who is in charge of the four generals, who in Month I had gone to the province of Media, to Bagayasha, the brother of the king,' - (with respect to him) I hea[rd] as follows: 'From (the position of) general of Babylonia *he has been removed*.'"

Nothing is in fact quite satisfactory, but the overall meaning of the sentence seems clear.

Diary -79 concerning the accession of Orodes I. On p. 841 I referred to the dating formula in a report on a lunar eclipse, LBAT 1445 = ADART 5, no. 25:2 where Orodes' throne name was given as ^{I}*ar-šá-kam* LUGIAL LUGAL^{meš}, "Arsaces, King of Kings." However, as Farhad Assar alerted me, Mitsuma (2025) convincingly showed that the LUGAL^{meš}, which should have been written partly on the right edge, is actually not there. So the title of the king is simply "king". The following brackets should be added in l. 1: MU 1.ME.1-*šu*-8.[KAM] ⌜*šá*⌝ *ši-i*.

Appendix, s.v. "Offerings in the Greek fashion" (p. 1063–4). Part of offering in the Greek fashion was the consumption of sacrificial meat on the spot after the sacrifices had taken place, which was contrary to Babylonian custom. Note that the apostle Paul (on different grounds) also rejects the consumption of sacrificial meat (1 Corinthians 8). Note also that "his wife Laodice" in this Appendix entry refers to the wife of Antiochus II. See also BCTHP Update 1.

Appendix s.v. "Substitute (*ša ušēpiš kūmi*)" (p. 1081–2). In this lemma, among other "substitutes", the substitute shatammu is discussed. His role may be compared with the "next ranking priest" (*khn hmšnh*) or perhaps "deputy high priest" in 2 Kings 23:4, 25:18 and Jeremiah 52:24.

*I thank Kathryn Stevens and Michael Jursa for their suggestions and Kathryn for her correction of my English. They are not responsible for the final result.

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130) The Term for "Milk" in PF 417: An Iranian Loanword? — Persepolis Fortification tablet PF 417, published by Hallock (1969), opens with the following expression: "60 ^{aš}*mar-ri-iš zir/sir/šir$_8$-na* UDU.NITA$_2^{meš}$-*na*". It is well established in Achaemenid Elamite studies that the term *marriš* denotes a standardized liquid measure (HALLOCK 1969: 726; HINZ and KOCH 1987: 886), typically used for commodities such as wine (^{giš}GEŠTIN^{meš}) and beer (KAŠ^{meš}). As Hallock's transliteration indicates, the liquid commodity is written with the sign ŠUD, for which various scholars have proposed the readings *zir*, *šir*$_8$ (HALLOCK 1969: 85; STEVE 1992: 106–109, n. 173; TAVERNIER 2007: 74, 392, 476), and also *sir* (HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1091). Hallock (1969: 165, 775) and HINZ and KOCH (1987: 1091) identify *zir/sir/šir*$_8$*-na* as "milk"; this identification is contextually sound, since milk is the primary consumable liquid derived from sheep (UDU.NITA$_2^{meš}$). While a secondary dairy product remains a possibility, "milk" is the more plausible translation.

From a grammatical perspective, the suffix *-na* attached to UDU.NITA$_2^{meš}$ is clearly the genitive suffix (see STOLPER 2004: 87; TAVERNIER 2018: 428), signifying "of sheep". However, the morphological status of the *-na* following *zir/sir/šir*$_8$ warrants closer examination. While liquid commodities following the *marriš* measure in PF texts often appear in the absolute form without the genitive suffix (cf. PF 41, 43, 46-50, 255, 353, 374), this is by no means an absolute rule. Parallel constructions in tablets such as PF 51, 260, 816, and 1805 demonstrate that the genitive suffix can indeed be attached to the commodity itself.

Consequently, it is highly probable that the lexeme denoting "milk" in this context is to be read as *zir/sir/šir*, and that *zir/sir/šir*$_8$*-na* functions as a genitive construction meaning "of milk". Under this interpretation, the phrase "60 ^{aš}*mar-ri-iš zir/sir/šir*$_8$-***na*** UDU.NITA$_2^{meš}$-***na***" could be translated literally as: "60 *marriš*[-measures] **of** the milk **of** sheep".

If the sign is to be read here as /šir/, the term may plausibly be related to the Indo-Iranian words for "milk", such as New Persian *šīr*, Middle Persian *šīr*, Sanskrit *kṣīrá*, Ossetian *æxsir*, and Yidgha *xšīra* (MAYRHOFER 1992: 433; LUBOTSKY 2001; HASANDUST 2014: 1935–1936). Based on these cognates, some scholars have reconstructed the Old Iranian form for "milk" as **xšīra* (HASANDUST 2014: 1935–1936), and the Proto-Indo-Iranian form as **kšīra* (LUBOTSKY 2001: 304, 311). It is worth noting that Lubotsky (2001: 311) regards this Indo-Iranian term itself as a loanword from a substrate language.

Moreover, it is well documented, including in late Neo-Elamite texts, that initial Iranian xšV- is often rendered in Elamite orthography as šV- (TAVERNIER 2011: 229–233). It is also possible that **xšīra* had already developed into *šīr* by the time this text was written. On the basis of the currently available evidence, one may therefore propose that Achaemenid Elamite *šir* "milk" most likely represents the Iranian word *šīr* < **xšīra*.

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131) In Search of the Land of Gold in the Heart of Distant Medes — In the final segments of the inscriptions RINAP 1, 41 9' and RINAP 1, 47 32 of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 BC), which detail his campaign to the heart of the ancient land of Media, the toponym 'Land of Gold' is mentioned alongside the Salt Desert, the land of Ušqaqāna, and the land of Šikrakki. The present note seeks to propose the most plausible candidate for the location of the Land of Gold by drawing on all available evidence. An important feature of the two inscriptions under discussion is that they employ the identical phrase 'from Mount Rūa to the Salt Desert' to define the area penetrated by the Assyrian army into the heart of the land of Media in the course of a chain of campaigns. According to the results of recent research, 'Mount Rūa' refers to the modern Alvand mountain range (Arvand/Orontes in early Islamic and Greek sources respectively), situated west of the present-day city of Hamadan (Hagmatāna in Achaemenid texts, Ecbatana in Greek sources) (REZAEI 2025a: 311–313). Although there is very firm evidence that the Hamadan region was called 'Amate' in the Assyrian inscriptions (*ibid.*), the fact that this name is left unmentioned in the two inscriptions under discussion clearly indicates that the Assyrians most probably did not march to their targets via the pass of Asadabad and the plain of modern Hamadan, but rather took the southern route around the Alvand range. The proof of this claim is the mention, in the inscriptions in question, of important Median toponyms of known position, such as Niššāya, Urimzan/Urenzan, and Uppuria/Uparia, which, according to new research, all lay south of the Alvand range and correspond respectively to modern Nahavand, Avarzaman, and Borujerd (see REZAEI, ALIBAIGI and MACGINNIS 2023; REZAEI 2025b: 25–34).

In view of the inscriptions under discussion, the target region was the area around the Salt Desert (Bīt-ṭābti in Assyrian texts), which, as most scholars believe (e.g., READE 1978: 141; VALLAT 1987; LANFRANCHI 1990: 136; MEDVEDSKAYA 1992: 78; RADNER 2003: 58–61; DANDAMAYEV and MEDVEDSKAYA 2006; BAGG 2020: 154; FUCHS 2023: 679), corresponds to the Central Desert of Iran, locally known as Dašt-i Kavīr, Kavīr-i Namak, and Dašt-i Lūt. Nevertheless, as the Assyrian text emphasises, what is meant is not the entire vast Central Desert, but only that part lying within the bounds of the two desert lands of Ušqaqāna and Šikrakki. Previously, R. Ghirshman (1951: 80), followed by other researchers such as M. Malekzadeh and R. Naseri (NASERI and MALEKZADEH 2019: 37), identified Šikrakki with Tepe Sialk in modern Kashan.

Certainly one of the main reasons for the Assyrian expeditions towards the central regions of Iran was the existence of various valuable mines in these areas, including the tin-copper-gold mine of Deh-Hossein in Shazand County (Markazi Province), the lead and silver mine of Nakhlak in the town of Anarak (Nain County, Isfahan Province), the cobalt mine of Qamsar near Kashan, and the Komjan mine at Natanz. Evidence for the use of each of these mines in the ancient period has been identified and confirmed on the basis of archaeological studies (see NEZAFATI, MOMENZADEH and AHMADI 2017: 93). According to Alibaigi and Rezaei (2018: 24), the famous mountain Bikni of the Assyrian inscriptions corresponds to the modern Karkas mountains near Kashan, a mountain whose lapis-lazuli mines are also noted in the Islamic sources. Taken together, this evidence shows that the northern part of Isfahan Province, and in particular

the area of modern Kashan County, by virtue of its various important mines, figured potentially among the objectives of the Assyrians in their campaigns to the land of ancient Media.

Undoubtedly the most important of these mines throughout history are the valuable gold deposits located around the village of Muteh in the central part of Iran, about 100 kilometres west of Kashan (WERTIME 1968: 329). At present, Muteh is the only active gold mine in Iran and at the same time its largest gold resource (ASADI HARONI and LAVAFAN 2007; ALIYARI, RASTAD and MOHAJJEL 2012), consisting of two main ore deposits (the Chah Khatoon and Senjedeh open pits) and several smaller occurrences (ABDOLLAHI, KARIMPOUR and KHERADMAND 2009). Moreover, on the basis of the available evidence, gold appears to be the primary ancient ore mineral in this area (ibid.: 1086), and the numerous old vertical surface diggings found in the region are attributed to gold mining during the Sasanian and Islamic periods (3rd–11th centuries) (WERTIME 1968; MORITZ, GHAZBAN and SINGER 2006). Given these mines, the discovery of gold objects from ancient sites of this region, such as Tepe Sialk from the proto-Elamite phase (3100–2600 BC) (see ROSS and ALLAN 2001), can hardly be considered unexpected.

Whereas some scholars believe that the gold tribute received by Tiglath-pileser III from the Median provinces was perhaps procured from the gold sources of Zanjan (see MOOREY 1994: 220; FORBES 1950: 150; ROSS and ALLAN 2001), in view of the evidence of this study — including the Assyrians' own indication that the Land of Gold lay adjacent to the Central Desert of Iran, and the existence of the Muteh gold mines with their well-attested ancient history — it seems that the said mine was the principal, or at least one of the most important sources of gold supply for the Medes of antiquity. Accordingly, in the author's view, and on the basis of the historical evidence, the Muteh district, on the road from Kashan, is a highly plausible candidate for the designation 'Land of Gold' in the Neo-Assyrian period (Fig. 1).

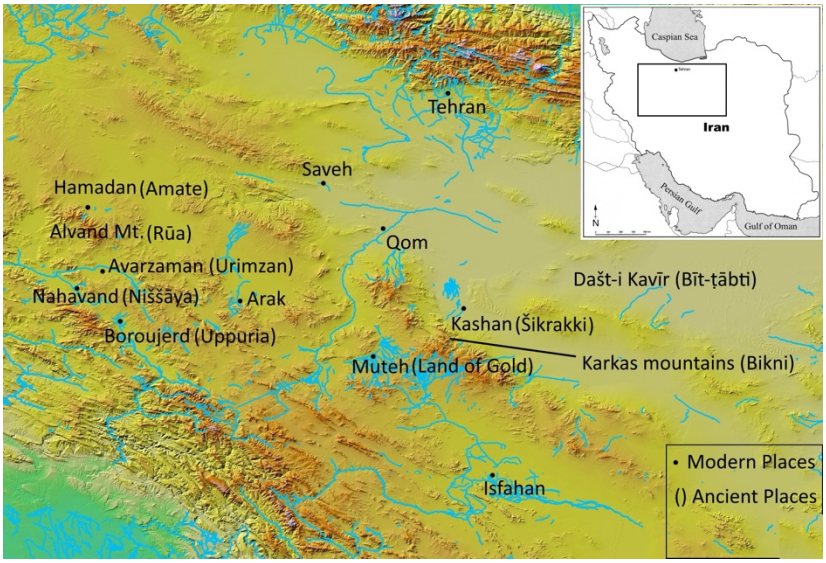


Fig. 1: Suggested location for the Land of Gold of the Assyrian texts and the other ancient toponyms mentioned in the note (Base map courtesy of Hamzeh Ghobadizadeh).

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132) Gilgāmeš among the Amazons? A potential intimation of Achaemenid-era elite literary taste on a Greek rhyton — From Achaemenid Susa (Šūš, Iran), hails a striking clutch of sherds (Louvre SB 4138, 4143, & 4154; cf. 4145, 4151), attributed to the early 5th-century BC Athenian painter Sōtadēs (BOTHMER 1957: 194–195; BEAZLEY 1963: 765, no. 19; 768, nos. 30–31; 773). They depict an Amazonomachy (Fig. 1), wherein the warrioresses sport Persian raiment (IMMERWAHR 2008: no. 6723).

This last detail is telling. Active between approximately 470 and 450 BC, Sōtadēs' Athenian workshop is distinctive for producing various unusual ceramics imitating Persian metal drinking vessels such as rhyta or phialai. Found as far afield as Cyprus, Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia (HOFFMANN 1997: 2) within elite Achaemenid contexts both sacred and profane (HERMANY 2004), their unusual compositions—thoroughly jarring to Greek sensibilities—indicate their explicit manufacture for a Persian market (COLBURN 2026). For example, a remarkable rhyton (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 21.2286) discovered in Meroē's early 4th-century BC Tomb Beg. S 24 (near al-Bağrāwīya, Sudan) is modelled with a horseback Amazon, and its cup adorned with scenes of Persians defeating Greeks (Fig. 2). Another fragmentary vessel (Louvre CA 3825), perhaps from Memphis (Manf, Egypt) and dated to 460–450 BC, is shaped like a camel complete with driver and African attendant; again, the cup sports Greeks overwhelmed by Persians. In the wake of the Persian Wars, such ceramics may have capitalised on enmity towards Greece among Achaemenid imperial elites.



Figure 1. Sherds SB 4138, 4143, & 4154 © GrandPalaisRmn (musée du Louvre) / Gabriel de Carvalho / Stéphane Maréchalle / Hervé Lewandowski (juxtaposed, background removed, not to scale)

Should these Susian fragments belong together (see already POTTIER 1902), with SB 4138 and 4151 forming part of the base, and the rest portions of the cup, then an analogous vessel is likely, with the form of a rider (Persian or Amazon) astride a black horse (between the legs of which an Amazonomachy is depicted against a white background); on the cup, red-figure Persianate Amazons would logically be befalling Greek warriors.



Figure 2. Sōtadēs' Amazonomorphic red-figure rhyton (ca. 440 BC) discovered in Meroē, Sudan. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 21.2286. Photo: © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Intriguingly, two of the sherds bear text: a very faded ΟΙΓΜΕ (*Oigme*) between a running Amazon and a horse's tail on SB 4143, and a better preserved ΓΥΓΑΜΙΣ (*Gygamis*) on SB 4154 (Fig. 3). The latter falls next to a (naked?) right arm brandishing a wicked *machaira*, to which belong the top of a head and what might be a large shield (an *aspis*?) in a left arm (BOTHMER 1957: 195; HOLT 1975: 98–99); at this presumed Greek rushes a charmingly realised (dismounting?) Amazon.



Figure 3. Sherd SB 4154 © GrandPalaisRmn (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski (background removed)

The scene recalls others in which a Greek footsoldier fends off one or more Amazon rideresses (BOTHMER 1957: 81–82; 194–195), most tellingly an example depicted on Vienna 3715 (= M 346; see EICHLER 1951: 37–38; p1. 45, 4) from Nola, Italy, in which the martial groundling is in the same pose (see Fig. 4). Thus, although the (admittedly burly, probably naked) arm is inconclusive in of itself, the beleaguered fencer must be male—compare the slender, sleeved, and lightly armed Amazons. Yet, as a crest is lacking (BOTHMER 1957: 195) and the fold of an eastern soft cap is just visible, this opponent of the Amazons is not Greek. Provided that his name is correctly spelt—Beazley *apud* Rostozeff (1941: 86) initially read *ΑΥΛΑΜΙΣ—and refers to the adjacent warrior rather than the more distant Amazon, then who might this *Gygamis* be?

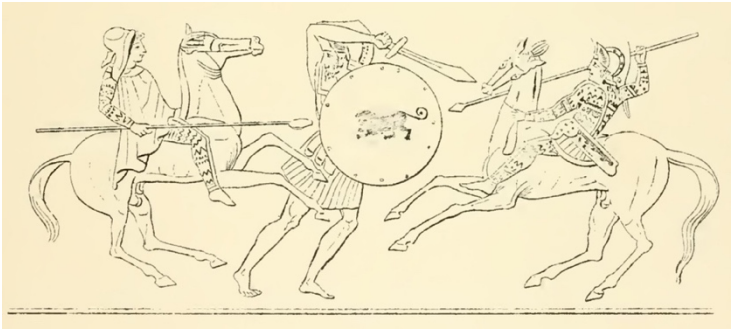


Figure 4. Warrior with a *machaira* and *aspis* battling two mounted Amazons (Conforti ca. 1900: pl. 133)

Prevalent has been the assertion that *Gygamis* is a spurious, intentionally foreign-sounding name (perhaps akin to *Oigme* in presumably the rhyton's other scene). Reminded of *Lygdamis*, *Semiramis*, or the Skythian-like hunter *Toxamis* of the François Vase's famous Kalydōnian Boar hunting scene (see BEAZLEY 1956: 76, no. 1), von Bothmer (1957: 195) concluded that "the painter may have known the destination of the vase and put on oriental-sounding names".

Suggesting that many 'nonsense' words and names (particularly of Amazons) within Greek vase-scenes might have genuine Caucasian origins, Mayor et al. (2014: 477) have instead proposed that *Gygamis* possesses an etymology in Circassian "/ɣ°ə-ɣə-(mis)/, metal-abstract.suffix-(mis)" meaning "someone associated with metal" (MAYOR et al. 2014: 477). Yet, this spirited suggestion hardly convinces—not the least as it presupposes a hybrid name, and that this refers to the Amazon, rather than the warrior warding her off (despite ample, unused space by her head). The necessary "Iranian suffix" *-mis* is justified by way of the aforementioned (male) *Toxamis*, yet this name harbours its own riddles. *Toxamis* appears on the François Vase in Skythoid dress alongside two similarly dressed colleagues *Kimerios* (the Cimmerian?) and *Euthymachos*, perhaps as eastern helpers of the huntress Atalantē (BARRINGER 2004); his comrades' names scarcely inspire authenticity, nor do analogously dubbed fictional Skythians such as *Toxis* or Loukianos' amicable *Toxaris* (MAYOR et al. 2014: 456) considering the appositeness of Greek τοξ- "bow" for Skythians (SCHMITT 2003: 22–24). Regardless, the name *Gygamis* is adjacent to the male *machaira*-wielder, not the assaulting Amazons; if the latter are associated with a Caucasian onomasticon, then it would be strange if their opponent's name bore such provenance. In light of the find-spot and what is known of Sōtadēs' eastern clientele, the present author should thus like to suggest an alternate etymology for *Gygamis* on the strength of assonance: *Gilgāmeš*.

Recently, the present author (EDMONDS 2026) concluded that Gilgāmeš' presently attested literary diffusion beyond cuneiform (Tab. 1) was not primarily inspired by the Standard Babylonian epic, but rather more modest parallel traditions.

Among these eclectic attestations quite bereft of an epic reference-point, Gilgāmeš' appearance as a 5th-century BC *Gygamis* battling Amazons is hardly an utter implausibility. Here, recourse to modern scholarship's association of Gilgāmeš with those two great Amazon-fighters Hērakles (e.g. CURRIE 2024) and Achilleus (e.g. CLARKE 2019) is extraneous: Colburn (2026) has convincingly postulated a 'feedback loop'-model for Sōtadēs' ceramic exotica, whereby the atelier incrementally adjusted its designs through seaborne merchants' input without understanding this distant market's underlying culture. Thusly, Sōtadēs and his artisans need only have learnt second-hand that a literary hero with a Gilgāmeš-like name was

popular among Persian elites, and thus appended the name *Gygamis* to an Amazonomachy scene on an eastwards-destined rhyton. Naturally, this must presently remain but hypothesis.

Source	Place of composition	Date of composition	Gilgāmeš attestation
'Book of Giants'	(Eastern?) Jewish community	3rd century–161 BC	*glgmys/š*
Flavius Josephus *Antiquae Judaicae*	Rome	AD 94	*Golgomēs*
Iamblichos *Babyloniaca*	Syria?	2nd century AD	*Garmos*
Claudius Aelianus *De natura animalium*	Rome	Early 3rd century AD	*Gilgamos*
Babylonian Talmûḏ	Southern Mesopotamia	3rd–6th century AD	*gwlmyš*
Bār Kōnay *Ktāḇā d-ʾeskôlyôn*	Northern Mesopotamia	8th–9th century AD	*gmygmws*, *gmygws/gmngws*, and *gnmgws/glmgws*
Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb ar-Raḥma*	Egypt	15th century AD	*ǧlǧmw/ys*

Table 1. Likely extra-cuneiform Gilgāmeš-attestations (EDMONDS 2026: 12, Tab. 1)

If so, then this would be the earliest extra-cuneiform attestation of Gilgāmeš yet. Moreover, it would suggest that Gilgāmeš-tales in whatever guise enjoyed popularity in the Achaemenid Empire's elite circles, and that rudimentary knowledge thereof reached as far afield as Periclean Athens. As such, this would better contour the western limits of the Persian Empire's literary influence in the Herodotean age; but half-understood, Sōtadēs' Gygamis would have resembled Gilgāmeš only in name.

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133) The Royal Cities of the King of Elam (I): Dīn-Sunki — Nearly a century has elapsed since F. Hommel (1926: 296, 438 fn. 8, 463 fn. 7, 474 fn. 1), in his pioneering *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten*

Orients, discussed the Elamite royal city of Dīn-Sunki and tentatively identified Akkadian Dūr-Šarri with the same city. Subsequent treatments (UNGER 1938: 228; KÖNIG 1938: 249; EBELING 1938: 249; PARPOLA 1970: 13, 105, 112; NASHEF 1982a: 83, 99; HINZ and KOCH 1987: 326-327; VALLAT 1993: 57; BAGG 2020: 22, 178-179, 195) have remained largely within the limits of the available documentation. Consequently, despite its prominent place among the royal cities of Elam, the attestations of Dīn-Sunki and its variant forms have never been assembled, reviewed, and discussed in a dedicated study.

The purpose of the present note is therefore not to propose a new identification of Dīn-Sunki. Rather, it seeks to collect and reassess all currently known attestations of the city and its variant forms in both Elamite and non-Elamite sources. As will be argued below, alongside Dīn-Sunki in the Elamite sources and the Akkadian forms Dīn-Šarri and Dūn-Šarri, the attestations of Dūr-Šarri (URU.BÀD-LUGAL) and Āl-Šarri (URU.*a-lum*-LUGAL) may likewise be understood as referring to the same Elamite city. Although Hommel (1926) already regarded Dīn-/Dūn-/Dūr-Šarri as a single toponym and Zadok (1985: 46 no. 55) tentatively equated Dūr-Šarri with Āl-Šarri, the evidence for these identifications has not previously been assembled and evaluated as a whole.

It should nevertheless be noted at the outset that Dūr-Šarri is also attested in the Nuzi and Mari corpora. These attestations, however, do not appear to refer to the Elamite royal city under discussion. In the Mari texts, the name occurs as Dūr-Šarrim (BÀD-LUGAL.KI) (EDZARD et al. 1977: 33; GRONEBERG 1980: 35; ZIEGLER 2002: 238, 242-243). In JEN 717, Dūr-Šarri appears as a personal name, being identified as the father of Warad-ili-šu (ÌR-DINGIR-*šu* DUMU BÀD.LUGAL) (MAIDMAN 1994: 157-159).

In the current state of the evidence, Dīn-Sunki and its variant forms are attested sixteen times: three times in Neo-Elamite sources and thirteen times in non-Elamite texts dating from the Middle Babylonian to the late Neo-Assyrian period.[1)]

no.	**date[1]**	**date[2]**	**text**	**transliteration**	**transcription**
1	Middle Babylonian	Nebuchadnezzar I	NKU I 3	URU.*di-in*-LUGAL	Dīn-Šarri
2	Middle Babylonian	Nebuchadnezzar I	NKU I 3	URU.*di-in*-LUGAL	Dīn-Šarri
3	Middle Babylonian	*kudurru* of Nazi Maruttaš	NM 2	URU.BÀD-LUGAL	Dūr-Šarri
4	Neo-Elamite	Šutruk-Nahhunte II	EKI 74	^{AŠ}*di-in*-EŠŠANA	Dīn-Sunki
5	Neo-Elamite	Šutruk-Nahhunte II	EKI 74	^{AŠ}*di-in*-EŠŠANA	Dīn-Sunki
6	Neo-Elamite	Acropole archive	S 253	^{AŠ}*di-in*-[EŠŠANA]	Dīn-[Sunki]
7	Neo-Assyrian	Sennacherib	Baltimore Inscr.	URU.*a-lum*-LUGAL	Āl-Šarri
8	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Prism F	URU.*du-un*-LUGAL	Dūn-Šarri
9	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Prism F	URU.*di-in*-LUGAL	Dīn-Šarri
10	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Copy of Prism F	URU.*di-in*-LUGAL	Dīn-Šarri
11	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Rassam Prism	URU.*du-un*-LUGAL	Dūn-Šarri
12	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Rassam Prism	URU.*di-in*-LUGAL	Dīn-Šarri
13	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Rassam Prism	URU.bàd-LUGAL	Dūr-Šarri
14	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	Epigraph from North Palace	URU.*di-*⌜*in*¹-[LUGAL]	Dīn-Šarri
15	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	SAA 21 64	[L]Ú.*di-in-šar-a-a*	Dīnšarreans
16	Neo-Assyrian	Ashurbanipal	SAA 21 117	URU.*a-lu*-L[UGAL]	Āl-Š[arri]

Table 1: The Elamite city Dīn-Sunki in various sources.

Commentary on the List in Table 1

Nos. 1–2) The city Dīn-Šarri is attested in the Middle Elamite period when Nebuchadnezzar I attacked Elam and plundered the city during the reign of Hutelutuš-Inšušinak (r. c. 1120–c. 1110 BCE) (PAULUS 2014: 511 Vs.3, 512 Vs.18). A boundary stone, *kudurru*, recording the donation of plots of land from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, reports that the statue of the deity Eriya was once erected in the city Dīn-Šarri. The statue was probably moved to this city during the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte I or his son Kutir-Nahhunte, who brought countless spoils from Mesopotamian cities and stored them in the *hiyan* of the Acropole Susa and other cities throughout the Elamite kingdom. It mentions that the two priests of this deity previously resided in the city of Dīn-Šarri. Later, Šamāya and his father Šamû'a, descendants of Nūru-līšir, had fled from this city to Babylonia and later joined Nebuchadnezzar I on his campaign

against Elam, from which the Babylonian conqueror retrieved the statue of Eriya and erected it in the city of Huṣṣu (PAULUS 2014: 160, 511–512).

No. 3) The *kudurru* of Nazi-Maruttaš, the Kassite king of Babylon (r. 1323–1298 BCE), was found in Susa by Morgan. It says "900 *sūtu* „Saatfläche," Flur der Stadt Dūr-Šarri, Ufer des Ṭaban" (PAULUS 2014: 327 I32–34).[2)] The identification of the ancient river Ṭaban with a location somewhere in the lower Diyāla may make us hesitant to include Dūr-Šarri in the *kudurru* of Nazi-Maruttaš in our list (NASHEF 1982a: 99; 1982b: 117–139). What makes us cautious about following this interpretation, however, is that the text nevertheless places Dūr-Šarri within the province of Dūr-Papsukkal. This may be helpful for its geographical location. Later, in the time of Šamši-Adad V, Chronicle 21 mentions Dēr, which was not far from the land of Rāši, together with Dūr-Papsukkal, apparently associating the two places closely rather than treating them as geographically far distant (GRAYSON 1975: 168).

Nos. 4–5) Dīn-Sunki is attested twice in the stele of Šutruru (EKI 74), although both passages remain difficult to interpret. In the first instance, the city appears in the passage 10 URU *mu-ru-un* ^{AŠ}*di-in*-EŠŠANA (KÖNIG 1965: 153, EKI 74 II: 22–23). In the second, it occurs in association with a personal name: ^{DIŠ}*pír-mal-mi* ^{AŠ}*di-in*-EŠŠANA, followed by the allocation of animals (GUD^{MEŠ}) by the priest Šutruru (KÖNIG 1965: 153, EKI 74 II: 24–25).[3)]

No. 6) Dīn-Sunki is probably mentioned in one of the Acropole texts from Susa (S 253) (HINZ and KOCH 1987: 326; cf. SCHEIL 1907: nos. 253). S 253 is broken, and only the first part of the name is preserved (^{AŠ}*di-in*-[EŠŠANA]) at the tablet's end. Kutur, son of *Ap-pa*(?), and forty arrow-shafts (^{GIŠ}GI^{MEŠ}) are also mentioned in S 253. It has also been suggested that this toponym is attested in S 254 (HINZ and KOCH 1987: 326). In his edition of the text, Scheil read the end of the letter as ^{AŠ}*di*-[...] (SCHEIL 1907: no. 254). I do not include this passage among the attestations of the Elamite royal city Dīn-Sunki, since other toponyms beginning with /*di*/ are known from the Acropole archive, e.g. ^{AŠ}*ti-gi-me-ma* in S 083 rev. 8 (SCHEIL 1907: no. 083). The proposed restoration by Hinz and Koch (1987: 326) therefore remains uncertain.

No. 7) The Baltimore Inscription probably attests the same Elamite royal city as Āl-Šarri (URU.*a-lum*-LUGAL). It appears among the cities listed as conquered by Sennacherib during his campaign against the Neo-Elamite king Kutir-Nahhunte: "… Ālum-Šarri, […], the walled fortress of the land Rā[ši], and the small(er) cities in [their] environs, [which were without number], the cities Hamānu (and) Nadītu, as far as the pa[ss] of the land Bīt-Bunakki" (GRAYSON and NOVOTNY 2014: 331). In the Baltimore Inscription, a fortress named Dūru is mentioned before Āl-Šarri. On this basis, Nashef (1982a: 99), in his discussion of the Dūr-Šarri attested in the *kudurru* of Nazi-Maruttaš (no. 3), suggested that this Dūru may represent a shortened form of the same toponym. He further argued that, since the Ṭaban River in the *kudurru* of Nazi-Maruttaš appears to bear no topographical relationship to Dēr, the Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian Dūru should be distinguished. His argument overlooks Āl-Šarri, which occurs in the same passage and is therefore directly relevant to the discussion.

Nos. 8–9) Dīn-Sunki is attested twice in Prism F of Ashurbanipal. The first attestation (URU.*du-un*-LUGAL) occurs in the account of Ashurbanipal's fifth campaign against Huban-haltaš III. Huban-haltaš III abandoned his royal city Madaktu and fled to the mountains, while Ashurbanipal reinstated Tammarītu as king of Elam. In the ensuing list of Elamite cities, Dūn-Šarri is mentioned before Dūr-Undāsi, Bubilu, Samunu, and Bīt-Bunakki (NOVOTNY and JEFFERS 2018: 199 iv 8). The second attestation (URU.*di-in*-LUGAL) occurs in the account of Ashurbanipal's sixth campaign against Huban-haltaš III. Here, the city appears in the same geographical context and is listed together with Dūr-Undāsi, Nadītu, Bīt-Bunakki, Madaktu, Haltameš, Sumuntunaš, Pidilma, Bubilu, and Kabinak (NOVOTNY and JEFFERS 2018: 200 iv 37).

No. 10) Dīn-Šarri (URU.*di-in*-LUGAL) is attested in a text that preserves a copy of Prism F, where it appears among a list of conquered cities (JEFFERS and NOVOTNY 2023: 69 v 4).

Nos. 11–13) This city is attested three times in the Rassam Cylinder (Prism A). The campaigns designated as the seventh and eighth campaigns against Elam in Prism A appear to be identical to the fifth and sixth campaigns in Prism F. At the very least, the geographical context in which the city is mentioned is identical in both texts. The fifth campaign in Prism F and the seventh campaign in Prism A write the toponym as uru.*du-un*-LUGAL (NOVOTNY and JEFFERS 2018: 247 v 53), whereas the sixth campaign in Prism F and the eighth campaign in Prism A employ the spelling URU.*di-in*-LUGAL (NOVOTNY and JEFFERS 2018: 248 v 85). Later, at the end of the section dealing with the Elamite campaigns, Prism A probably refers to the city as Dūr-Šarri (URU.BÀD-LUGAL), in the same geographical context in which Dīn-Šarri and Dūn-Šarri were previously attested: "(As for) the people, the survivors of the cities Bīt-Imbî, Kuzurtēin, Dūr-Šarri, Masūtu, Bubê, Bīt-Unzāya, Bīt-Arrabi, Ibrat, Dimtu-ša-Tapapa, Akbarina, Gurukirra, Dunnu-Šamaš, Ḫamānu, Kaniṣu, Aranziaše, Naqidāte, Dimtu-ša-Simame, Bīt-Qatatti, Ša-kisāya, Subaḫê, (and) Tīl-Ḫumba(n) ..." (NOVOTNY and JEFFERS 2018: 253 vii 59).

No. 14) A five-line epigraph in the lower register of a slab relief reports that Ashurbanipal conquered the Elamite city of Dīn-Šarri and carried off its chariots, wagon horses, and mules to Nineveh as booty (BARNETT 1976: pl. LXVII [Room VI/T1]; NOVOTNY and JEFFERS 2018: 334, 1–5).

No. 15) In a letter to Tammarītu, probably to be identified with the former king of Elam who fled to Assyria after the insurrection of his servant Indabibi, Ashurbanipal congratulates him on his successful campaign against the Dīnšarreans ([L]Ú.*di-in-šar-a-a*): "[…] I also heard that the gods have assisted you to defeat the Dīnšarreans in my name, and I rejoiced" (PARPOLA 2018: no. 64, rev. 1–5).

No. 16) In a fragmentary text concerning the corpse of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, Āl-Šarri (URU.*a-lu*-L[UGAL]) is mentioned together with Hidalu, Sam'una, Bīt-Kisīia, Kišadihubu, and Susa (PARPOLA 2018: no. 117).

With one exception (no. 15), the second element of the toponym is invariably written logographically as eššana in Elamite and lugal in Akkadian. In Elamite texts, the toponym is always preceded by aš, the determinative for locality, whereas Akkadian sources consistently employ uru. In one instance, however, it is preceded by lú (no. 15) to refer to the people of Dīn-Šarri (i.e., Dīnšarreans). The first element of this Elamite city exhibits variation. The Elamite spelling appears consistently as *di-in*, for which no secure explanation is currently available. Since the first element is written *di-in* ten times in both Elamite and Akkadian sources, Dīn-Sunki/Šarri may have represented the standard written form of the name. As noted above, in the Akkadian sources, the first element of this toponym is most commonly written *di-in* (seven attestations), while the spelling *du-un* occurs only twice. In two cases, it is written as uru.bàd (*dūr-*) (nos. 3 and 13), while in two others it appears as *a-lu* (*āl*) (nos. 7 and 16). If Dīn-Sunki is accepted as the original form of this Elamite royal city, the Akkadian forms Dīn-Šarri and Dūn-Šarri can be understood as Akkadian adaptations of that original name. The fact that URU.*du-un*-LUGAL appears only under Ashurbanipal is very suggestive of a scribal convention (Prism F and Prism A) (cf. ZADOK 1981: 56 fn. 92). Still, Dūr-Šarri and Āl-Šarri in Akkadian sources require further consideration.

It may be possible to interpret the URU.BÀD-LUGAL (Dūr-Šarri) in some sources as a specifically Mesopotamian semantic rendering of the Elamite toponym Dīn-Sunki, influenced by the Akkadian word *dūru* ("fortification wall" and, by extension, "fortress"). The relationship between *dūr* and the more frequently attested *di-in* and *du-un* remains difficult to explain. There is no internal Akkadian linguistic development that would account for a change from *dīn* or *dūn* to *dūr*. In Akkadian usage, *dūru* refers primarily to a fortification wall but frequently functions as a *pars pro toto* for a fortified settlement, and is commonly employed in the formation of toponyms. In cuneiform texts, it is regularly written with the logogram BÀD, which may be further specified as $BÀD.NA_4$ ("stone fortification wall") or URU.BÀD ("city wall"). Whether *dīn*/*dūn* carried a comparable meaning in Elamite remains uncertain.[4)]

The evidence may therefore suggest that Akkadian sources employed two strategies for rendering the Elamite toponym Dīn-Sunki. In the first, scribes preserved the first part and replaced the second element (EŠŠANA/*sunki*) with lugal, producing the forms URU.*di-in*-LUGAL (Dīn-Šarri) and URU.*du-un*-LUGAL (Dūn-Šarri), which represent a partially phonetic rendering of the original toponym. In the second, scribes did not attempt to reproduce the original form, but instead rendered the city in native Akkadian terms as URU.BÀD-LUGAL (Dūr-Šarri) and URU.*a-lu*-LUGAL (Āl-Šarri). If Akkadian sources indeed referred to this Elamite city as URU.BÀD-LUGAL, the designation may have reflected its strategic position and defensive character as an important fortified centre within the Elamite kingdom: the city is frequently attested in association with the strategic city of Bīt-Imbî and with the land of Rāši. The Baltimore Inscription calls Āl-Šarri one of the "walled fortresses" of the land of Rāši. Under this interpretation, the occurrences of Āl-Šarri in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal are readily explained, since *āl* simply replaces *dūr* with another Akkadian term meaning "city." The substitution of Dūr-Šarri by Āl-Šarri is therefore more readily explained as a variation in Akkadian rendering than as evidence for two distinct places. Another observation that supports the identification of the URU.BÀD-LUGAL (Dūr-Šarri) of Prism A with the URU.*a-lum*-LUGAL (Āl-Šarri) of the Baltimore Inscription is that both texts place these cities within a remarkably similar geographical setting. In particular, they share at least ten toponyms in common, namely Bīt-Imbî, Kuzurtēin, Masūtu, Bubê, Bīt-Unzāya, Bīt-Arrabi, Ibrat, Akbarina, Dunnu-Šamaš, and Hamānu.

To sum up, the evidence may point to two types of rendering: a partially phonetic rendering, represented by Dīn-Šarri and Dūn-Šarri, and fully Akkadian descriptive forms, represented by Dūr-Šarri and Āl-Šarri. This interpretation is supported by their occurrence in broadly similar geographical contexts and alongside the same group of Elamite cities, including the land of Rāši, Hamānu, Bīt-Arrabi, Bīt-Imbî, Bubê, and Bīt-Bunakki. At the same time, the possibility that two distinct toponyms are involved, namely Āl-Šarri/Dūr-Šarri on the one hand and Dīn-Sunki/Dīn-Šarri/Dūn-Šarri on the other, cannot be entirely excluded.[5)]

Acknowledgements and Notes

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1. Dīn-Šarri has been tentatively identified with Tappeh Senǧar, located near Čoḡā Pahn West and Tappeh Deh-e Now (DE MECQUENEM and MICHALON 1953: 12).

2. A possible attestation of Dīn-Šarri occurs in the undated and fragmentary text U15 (PAULUS 2014: 789 I17).

3. For murun, see TAVERNIER 2007: 276–277 ("estates").

4. For URU.BÀD (*dūr*), see RADNER 1997: 277.

5. Parpola (1970: 13, 112) appears to have regarded Āl-Šarri and Dūr-Šarri as distinct from Dīn-Šarri and Dūn-Šarri, associating the former with the land of Rāši and Masūtu.

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134) Two Versions of Medieval Armenian Historiography of the Fall of Assyria — The Assyrian-Babylonian conflict, which began in the last quarter of the 7th century BCE, quickly turned into a struggle between Assyrian and anti-Assyrian coalitions, encompassing the entire Ancient Near East, from the

Armenian Highlands to Egypt and from the Eastern Mediterranean Basin to the Iranian Plateau. And, in 610-607 BCE, the Babylonian army appeared in the border areas of the Armenian Highlands. The Babylonian "Chronicles" (GRAYSON 1975: n° 3-4; GLASSNER 2004: n° 22-23), which are supplemented by the works of Ancient (Greco-Roman) and Medieval Armenian historians, continue to be important for covering the military-political history of this period. It is from these sources that we form an idea of both the course and scope of military operations, and the states and peoples involved in them. And if in the case of the first we see the Egyptian-Assyrian grouping against the Babylonian-Median grouping as the conflicting parties, then in the case of the second we also see the Jews, the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean basin (HERODOTUS, II.159; JOSEPHUS, X, 5), the Scythians (DIODORUS SICULUS, II, 43), the Armenians (MOSES KHORENATS'I, I. 21), and others among the participants in the conflict.

Those early medieval and Medieval Armenian historians who have addressed the history of the prehistoric period in their works have also addressed the fall of Assyria and the participation of Armenians in that process. Moreover, for Armenian chroniclers, the emergence of the Armenian Kingdom is directly related to the process of the fall of Assyria itself.

Thus, Movsēs Khorenats'i records that "*Paroyr, son of Skayordi*" ("*son of a Scythian*", or "*son of Giant*"), who became the head of the Armenian forces, together with the Median troops, actively participated in the struggle against Assyria and soon received a crown from the king of Media, «Varbakēs»-Cyaxares (625-585 BCE), in return for his willingness to act:

> «Յինքն և զքաջն մեր նախարար յանգուցանէ զՊարոյր, թագաւորութեան շուք և ձև նմա խոստանալով … և այսպէս զթագաւորութիւնն ի Սարդանապալայ յինքն առնել՝ տիրէ Ասորեստանի և Նինուէի: Բայց վերակացու զայլս թողլով Ասորեստանի՝ փոխէ զթագաւորութիվնն ի Մարս» (MOVSĒS KHORENATS'I, I.21)
>
> "He attracted to himself our valiant Prince Paroyr, promising him the splendor and title of royalty … Thus he seized the kingdom for himself from Sardanapalos and ruled over Assyria and Nineveh. Leaving others as governors for Assyria, he transferred the royal capital to Media" (MOSES KHORENATS'I, I.21).

It should also be noted that another medieval Armenian historian, Thomas Artsruni, does not recognize Paroyr Haykazid as the first king: "*Varbakes the Mede destroyed the empire of the Assyrians; he exempted Paroyr Haykazn from paying taxes, honoured him with the authority of king, gave him many troops in support, and re-established the kingdom of Armenia*" (THOMAS ARTSRUNI, I.4).

In other words, a state does not emerge as such, but, as Movsēs Khorenats'i mentions, is recognized, or restored according to Thomas Artsruni.

Another interesting fact here is that Movsēs Khorenats'i emphasizes that this story also has other versions: "*If this is narrated by others allegorically, do not be surprised*" (MOSES KHORENATS'I, I. 21).

Thus, Movsēs Khorenats'i himself records that he had a variety of sources at his disposal, many of which he cites. However, it appears that Movsēs Khorenats'i approached his sources critically, and even more so, separated from them what he considered more truthful. In particular, the story of the destruction of Assyria was known to him in several versions. It can be assumed that he had at his disposal sources in which the story of the destruction of Assyria was viewed from the perspective of Babylonia. At least, the following statement of Movsēs Khorenats'i testifies in this favor:

> «Քանզի և որք ի հօրէն Նաբուգոդոնոսորայ գործք, գրեցան յիւրեանց յիշողութեանցն …» (MOVSĒS KHORENATS'I, I.21)
>
> "*For the deeds of the father of Nebuchadnezzar were written down by the supervisors of their annals…*" (MOSES KHORENATS'I, I.21).

Here, the conclusion is more than unequivocal: between the two sources at his disposal, Movsēs Khorenats'i gave preference to the "*Median*" version, reserving the role of the destroyer of Assyria and the crowning of the first Armenian king not for Nabopolassar (626-606 BCE) or Nebuchadnezzar II (605-561 BCE), but for "*Varbakēs*"-Cyaxares. However, it is also obvious that Movsēs Khorenats'i also had the "*Babylonian*" version at his disposal.

The next Medieval Armenian historian who touched upon the above-mentioned topic is Sebeos. Unlike Movsēs Khorenats'i, Sebeos connects the history of Armenia of that period with Babylonia.

Moreover, in Sebeos, instead of Paroyr, P'aṙnawaz (SEBEOS, 51 [I.30]) appears, who is attested only as Paroyr's grandson in Movsēs Khorenats'i's list of Armenian patriarchs.

Referring to the events of the period, Sebeos notes:

> «Այս Փառնաւազ հնազանդեալ Նաբուգոդոնոսորայ արքայի ի Բաբելոն: Եւ ապա յայնմհետէ Բաբելացւոց և Մարաց թագաւորքն տիրեցին մինչև ցԱղեքսանդր Մակեդոնացի…»
>
> "This P'aṙnawaz submitted to the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar. From then on, the kings of Media and Babylon ruled (Armenia) until Alexander the Great "(Sebeos: 51 (I.30).

After the above, Sebeos introduces the descendants of P'aṙnawaz, also locating the borders of their dominion, which coincide with the southwestern regions of the Armenian Highlands - the provinces of Ałjnik' (Arzan - HEWSEN 1992: 157-159) and Cop'k' (Sophēnē - HEWSEN 1992: 153-155) of Greater Armenia (SEBEOS, 51 [I.25-30]).

In fact, according to Sebeos, the domains of P'aṙnawaz, subject to the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II, correspond to the territories north of Izalla and Bit-Ḫanūniya (TSAKANYAN 2020: 204-205). In this case, Sebeos's mention harmonizes with the data of the cuneiform source not only in spatial, but also in chronological terms: as mentioned above, the Babylonian troops fought in the Armenian Highlands under the leadership of the future king of Babylonia, the heir to the throne, Nebuchadnezzar.

Thus, it is obvious that starting from Movsēs Khorenats'i, the story of the fall of Assyria was of key importance for Armenian historians, and the emergence of the Armenian state in the 7th century BCE is directly related to that event. It is also obvious that Khorenats'i, among the numerous sources at his disposal, had two versions of the fall of Assyria: "*Median*" and "*Babylonian*". However, most likely, under the influence of the *Hellenistic school*, he gave preference to the first, "*Median*", version. For medieval Armenian historians, except Sebeos, Movsēs Khorenats'i's story served as the main source. As for Sebeos' story, the basis was either the unknown "*Babylonian*" source mentioned by Movsēs Khorenats'i and not reached us, or another source.

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135) Hincks, Oppert and Ménant and the Nabonidus Cylinder BM 91124, col. ii 51–55 — J. Oppert described the damaged clay cylinder, BM 91124 (1 R 69), as "un des monuments les plus curieux de l'antiquité asiatique", and he published one of the earliest translations of its text (OPPERT 1863: 272–275).[1)] He translates col. ii 51–55 as follows:

> Je commandai à mon armée la recherche de cette pierre angulaire, et trois périodes d'années après les fouilles qu'avaient entreprises Nabuchonoser, roi de Babylone. Et ils l'explorèrent, avant et après (pendant longtemps), et j'ai cherché et je n'ai pas trouvé (p. 274).

Twelve years later J. Ménant published his translation of the cylinder (MÉNANT 1875: 255–258). His version of col. ii 51-55 is:

> Avec la constance d'un roi,[2] j'ai guidé mon armée à la recherché de ce Timin, trois soixantes d'années (180 ans) avant les recherches qui avaient été entreprises par Nabu-kudur-ussur, roi de Bab-Ilu. Je l'ai exploré en avant, en arrière, j'ai cherché et n'ai pas trouvé (p. 255).

The Akkadian text reads:[3]

> [51]LÚ.ERIM.ḪI.A-*ia ma-du-tum*
> [52]*ú-ma-'e-er-ma a-na bu-'i-i te-me-en-na*
> [53]*šu-a-ti* 3.TA MU.MEŠ *ina ḫi-iṭ-ṭa-tum šá* [md]AG.NÍG.GUB-ÙRU
> [54]LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI *aḫ-ṭu-uṭ-ṭa-ma im-nu šu-me-lu pa-ni u ár-ku*
> [55]*ú-ba-'i-i-ma la ak-šu-ud*

It can be translated: "I instructed my numerous workmen to search for those foundations.[4] For three years, I excavated the pits of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and I looked for (the foundations) on the right and the left, before and behind, but I did not reach them". Inexplicably, in the two French versions above there is no translation of *imnu šumēlu*, which occurs immediately before *pāni u arku* in l. 54. However, in his list of "additions et changements", Oppert writes: "Lisez l. 13, au commencement: 'à droite, à gauche, par davant, par derrière'. Cette correction est due à M. Hincks" (OPPERT 1863: 361). He does not say where he has found this correction, but he had almost certainly received a copy of E. Hincks's article, "On the Polyphony of the Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneiform Writing", in which this passage from the Nabonidus cylinder is presented in cuneiform with a transcription and philological commentary (HINCKS 1863: 106–110 + plate 2).[5] Obviously Ménant had not seen Oppert's list of additions and changes, and he had missed the study and translation in Hincks's article.

Hincks's transcription and translation of col. ii 51–55 (HINCKS 1863: 106) are as follows:[6]

> [51]*ummaniya ma'dutum*
> [52]*uma'irma ana bu'i ti'minna*
> [53]*šu'ati* 3 (TA) … *aš ḫiṭṭatum ša Nabukudurriyuṣur*
> [54]*šar Babili aḫṭuṭva imnu šumilu pani u arku*
> [55]*uba'ima la akšud*
>
> I sent for many of my army to seek that floor. For three years I dug in the diggings of Nebukudruzur, king of Babylon, and I sought (it) on the right and the left, before and behind, but I did not obtain (it).

Although Hincks is right in relating the Akkadian verb *bu''û* to Aramaic and Hebrew *b'y/h* and Arabic *baġā*, "to seek, look for", he presents no evidence to support the inclusion of ' in his transcriptions of the Akkadian forms. See l. 52, *bu'i* for *bu''î* and l. 55, *uba'ima* for *uba''ima*. In any case, the lost Semitic consonant is **ġ*, not **'*.

Oppert's "pierre angulaire" and Ménant's "Timin" for *temmenna*, "foundation(s)" illustrate the problem early scholars had in working out the meaning. Hincks suggests that, "from the use of this word in a number of passages where it occurs, it must signify the level surface, generally paved with flat stones, on which the Assyrians built their palaces" (HINCKS 1863: 107).

On the sign MU (l. 54) Hincks writes: "The word for 'years' consists of a character having the phonetic value mu, followed by the plural sign. I take it, of course, for a Chaldean [= Sumerian] word so sounded; and it would be read by the equivalent Assyrian word" (HINCKS 1863: 108). The Akkadian plural forms *šanātu*, *šanāti* were as yet unknown to him. With regard to his reading *aš* for *ina*, I have noted elsewhere that in the epigraph of Ashurbanipal on the battle of Tīl Tūba relief, l. 5, he read *ina tukulti* in 1854, but *aš tukulti* in 1862–1863 (CATHCART 2023: 55).

These lines can be compared with a passage which is not extant in the text of this cylinder, but is found in other exemplars; see RINBE 2, Nabonidus 27 i 67–71:

> [67]*ú-ma-'e-er-an-ni ia-a-ši na-aḫ-lap-tu$_4$ ziq-qur-rat*
> [68]*e-li-tú ap-pa-liš-ma ú-šad-kam-ma* UN.MEŠ *ma-du-tum*
> [69]*lí-mi-tu$_4$* É *ziq-qur-rat šu-a-tum* 15 2.30
> [70]*pa-ni ù* EGIR *aḫ-ṭu-uṭ-ma é-babbar-ra*
> [71]*a-di si-ḫir-ti-šú a-mur-ma*
>
> I discovered the upper facing of the ziqqurat and (then) I had many people mustered. I dug up the environs of that ziqqurat, on the right (and) left [*imittu šumēla*], before and behind (it), and I (eventually) found (the original) Ebabbar, as far as its perimeter.

See also RINBE 2, Nabonidus 24 i 31–32, *im-nu u šu-me-lu pa-ni u ár-ku ša pa-pa-ḫu u lìb-bi* DU_6.MEŠ *ḫi-iṭ-ṭa-ṭú aṭ-ṭu-uṭ-ma*, "I dug pits to the right and left, in front of and behind the cella, as well as inside the throne platforms". In a section on merismus, Schäudig (2001: 180–182) refers to the pairs of opposites *imnu u šumēlu* and *pānu u arku* in these texts. Hincks was familiar with *ina imniya* and *ina šumēliya*, which he had found in an Udug-ḫul incantation (HINCKS 1856: 18; see CATHCART 2020: 288 and reference there to tablet 3: 68–69 in GELLER 2016: 105; note also tablets 3: 109–110, 175–176, 181; 8: 33–34; and 10: 75–76). The pair *imnu* / *šumēlu* has a counterpart in Heb. *yāmîn* / *śĕmō'l*, which must have been familiar to Oppert. Surprisingly, the Hebrew pair did not help him to recognize the Akkadian one.[7)] Overall, Hincks offered a commendable translation of this short passage in the Nabonidus cylinder. Ménant, on the other hand, went badly astray.

Notes

1. See the references to OPPERT 1863 and MÉNANT 1875 in the bibliographies in BEZOLD 1889: 333, and WEIERHÄUSER and NOVOTNY, RINBE 2, 2020: 134.

2. "Avec la constance d'un roi" is a misinterpretation of the words at the end of the previous line. See also Oppert: "en partie par mon bonheur, en partie par ma constance, digne d'un roi".

3. Cf. RINBE 2, 27 ii 57–61 (exemplar 2).

4. Perhaps *é-ul-maš* should be inserted after *te-me-en-na* in l. 54: "the foundations of that Eulmaš". See SCHAUDIG 2001: 456.

5. Hincks included two other Akkadian texts in the 1863 article: (1) The epigraph from the battle of Tīl-Tūba relief (RINAP 5/1, Ashurbanipal 26 and RINAP 5/2, Ashurbanipal 164 10'; see CATHCART 2023); and (2) Taylor Prism, iii 77–iv 3 (RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 22 iv 6–14). See HINCKS 1863: 88–96 + pl. 1; 96–106 + pl. 2. He had previously published a translation of Taylor Prism, ii 34-iii 41 (RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 22 ii 37–iii 49) (HINCKS 1861); and an unconvincing article on the Nabonidus cylinder BM 91125 (K 1689) (HINCKS 1862; see the text and translation in SCHAUDIG 2001: 350–353, no. 2.2).

6. I have slightly modified Hincks's transcription to make it readable.

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136) Notes sur l'histoire de l'assyriologie, 1 : la succession d'Oppert (suite) — J'ai entamé en 2019 un projet sur l'histoire de l'assyriologie qui a donné lieu à de nombreuses publications, un colloque et une exposition[1)]. Je souhaite le prolonger par des notes au fur et à mesure que je découvre de nouveaux éléments.

J'ai déjà décrit en détail la succession d'Oppert qui eut lieu à la fin de l'année 1905. V. Scheil avait été mis en tête, aussi bien par les professeurs du Collège de France que par les membres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, mais ce fut Ch. Fossey, placé en deuxième place sur la liste du Collège, qui fut nommé[2)]. J'ai découvert récemment un petit article supplémentaire sur cette question, qui me semble significatif de la virulence de la presse de l'époque à ce sujet. Il est paru dans le *Le Mercure musical*, 2e

année, N° 1, p. 146 (rubrique « Échos » signée par le pseudonyme de « Pan »). Le numéro est daté du 1er Janvier 1906[3] :

> « L'autre joue, ou de la musique à l'assyriologie. — Pour remplacer (combien avantageusement) le vénérable Oppert, le Collège de France présentait le P. Scheil, savant de premier ordre, connu et respecté de toute l'Europe pour son érudition immense et la sûreté d'un goût que nulle tiare n'induisit jamais en divagation. Après son nom, on avait inscrit celui d'un nommé Fossey, jeune agrégé de grammaire qui se fit assyriologue pour mettre sa médiocrité à l'abri de toute comparaison fâcheuse. La présentation en seconde ligne était jusqu'à ces derniers temps une pure formalité, le ministre ratifiant toujours les préférences de la compagnie.
>
> Mais les politiciens d'aujourd'hui ne l'entendent pas ainsi, et après une vigoureuse campagne de l'assyriologue Clemenceau, le nommé Fossey fut choisi, pour la raison qu'il n'appartient à aucune congrégation, sinon à celle des sots, chaque jour plus puissante. C'est là une grossière insulte à la science, et aux professeurs qui l'enseignent en cette illustre maison. Sont-ils bien à plaindre ? Non certes, et le soufflet reçu n'est que la suite et le châtiment de leur faiblesse. Pourquoi se sont-ils laissé imposer certain cours libre de musique, dont ils ne voulaient pas, et qui est un scandale ? »

L'affaire à laquelle la fin de la notice fait allusion est la création au Collège de France en 1904 d'un cours complémentaire d'« Histoire de la Musique », financé par un don de 30 000 francs de Louis Mors, un riche amateur de musique. C'est le musicologue Jules Combarieu qui fut choisi pour cet enseignement, avec l'aide du ministre qu'il remercia dans sa leçon inaugurale[4]. Selon l'auteur de ce bref article du *Mercure musical*, en acceptant cette intervention ministérielle, telle une gifle, en 1904, les professeurs du Collège auraient préparé la suivante, dont Scheil fut la victime.

Notes

1. Pour le détail, voir https://proclac.cnrs.fr/projets/projets-mesopo/histoire-de-lassyriologie-en-france/.

2. Voir D. Charpin, « L'élection du P. Scheil au Collège de France en 1905 », dans A. Azzoni, A. Kleinerman, D. A. Knight & D. I. Owen (éd.), *From Mari to Jerusalem and Back: Assyriological and Biblical Studies in Honor of Jack Murad Sasson*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2020, p. 26-68 (cf. https://college-de-france.hal.science/hal-03627001v1). Version abrégée mais complétée dans D. Charpin, *En quête de Ninive. Des savants français à la découverte de la Mésopotamie (1842-1975)*, Docet omnia 8, Paris, 2022, chapitre 6, p. 179-211 (https://books.openedition.org/lesbelleslettres/28893).

3. Voir http://www.archive.org/details/simrevuemusicale190621pari.

4. Cf. R. Campos, « Philologie et sociologie de la musique au début du xxe siècle. Pierre Aubry et Jules Combarieu », *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, 14, 2006, p. 19-47, spéc. p. 28 et n. 52 (téléchargeable à l'adresse https://shs.cairn.info/revue-histoire-des-sciences-humaines-2006-1-page-19?lang=fr). Le ministre en question était Jules Chaumié, qui fut chargé du ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts du 7 juin 1902 au 18 janvier 1905 dans le gouvernement d'Émile Combes. Jules Combarieu avait été son chef de cabinet en 1902, avant de devenir inspecteur de l'Académie de Paris en 1903. Lui-même signa son livre *La musique. Ses lois, son évolution*, Paris, 1907 comme « chargé de cours d'Histoire de la Musique au Collège de France » ; il assura cet enseignement jusqu'en 1910. Son statut explique son absence de la liste officielle des professeurs du Collège de France (https://www.college-de-france.fr/media/en-college/UPL50600_LISTE_DES_PROFESSEURS.pdf).

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137) Notes sur l'histoire de l'assyriologie, 2 : l'imprimerie française et orientale de Chalon-sur-Saône — Comme je l'avais indiqué à l'occasion du centième numéro de la *Revue d'assyriologie*[1], la *RA* fut imprimée de 1923 à 1937 à Chalon-sur-Saône par l'« imprimerie française et orientale », dont le gérant était Émile Bertrand. Je viens de trouver sur le site de la bibliothèque municipale de Chalon-sur-Saône deux notices intéressantes sur cette imprimerie, que je recopie ci-dessous[2] :

Jules Dejussieu (1803-1882)

> « Homme du livre, l'imprimeur chalonnais Jules Dejussieu sera bibliothécaire à plusieurs reprises entre 1823 et 1830, avant d'hériter en 1834 de l'atelier paternel. Il souhaite alors donner un nouvel essor à l'établissement Dejussieu. Il fait la rencontre de François Chabas* qui désire voir imprimer ses travaux égyptologiques à Chalon-sur-Saône, et pressent l'importance que ces impressions spéciales pourraient apporter à son atelier. Dès 1855, il produit des ouvrages qui font sensation malgré les difficultés techniques à surmonter : les premières impressions sont faites avec des caractères hiéroglyphiques gravés sur bois par Chabas. Plus tard, ce dernier, devant le refus de l'Imprimerie nationale à lui fournir des caractères, fait l'acquisition d'une collection de Berlin à l'origine de l'important fonds de caractères hiéroglyphiques de l'imprimerie Dejussieu. L'atelier est repris par Louis Marceau*, qui crée l'Imprimerie française et orientale :

> elle pouvait imprimer du copte, de l'hébreu, de l'assyrien, du syriaque, du persan, de l'arabe et surtout des hiéroglyphes, permettant ainsi aux savants français de se passer de l'étranger pour pouvoir publier leurs travaux. Cette particularité de l'atelier se poursuivra avec Emile Bertrand*, avant que le fonds de l'imprimerie ne soit racheté par l'imprimerie Protat de Mâcon qui en publiera le catalogue. Une partie de ces caractères est aujourd'hui conservée à la bibliothèque municipale de Mâcon, et l'autre au Musée de l'Imprimerie et de la communication graphique de Lyon. »

Louis Marceau (1851-1929)

> « Il reprend l'imprimerie chalonnaise de Jules Dejussieu à partir de 1881 et procède à un grand développement de l'imprimerie.
> En 1888, il crée l'Imprimerie française et orientale, qui offre aux savants français l'avantage de pouvoir se passer de l'étranger pour l'impression de leurs œuvres. L'atelier pouvait en effet imprimer du copte, de l'hébreu, de l'assyrien, du syriaque, du persan, de l'arabe, et surtout des hiéroglyphes. Il publie essentiellement des ouvrages sur l'histoire du Moyen Âge, la philologie, la linguistique, l'archéologie, la numismatique, l'égyptologie, l'assyriologie, etc.
> Une faiblesse de la vue lui fait céder l'imprimerie à Emile Bertrand en 1898.
> Il fut également juge au tribunal de commerce, président de l'association Amicale de la presse chalonnaise, correspondant à l'Echo de Paris et au Petit Journal, secrétaire général du syndicat des Intérêts chalonnais, membre de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Chalon-sur-Saône pour qui il imprimera les Mémoires, et membre de la Fédération des Maîtres Imprimeurs. »

Le dernier numéro de la *RA* imprimé à Chalon-sur-Saône fut le fascicule 2 du volume XXXIV (p. 92 : achevé d'imprimé du 12 mai 1937). L'impression des deux numéros suivants fut assurée par Protat frères à Mâcon ((vol. XXXIV/3 et XXXIV/4), avant qu'elle soit transférée à l'imprimerie des Presses Universitaires de France à Vendôme, à partir du vol. XXXV/1 (p. 80 : 1er octobre 1938).

L'imprimerie de Chalon-sur-Saône fabriqua également pendant longtemps les volumes de la série des MDP (l'indication figure à partir du volume III, 1901) : c'est en 1939 (MDP XXXVIII) que l'impression fut faite pour la première fois à Vendôme, encore pour le compte d'E. Leroux. À partir du tome XXXIX, en 1943, l'éditeur devint les PUF, Leroux étant une des quatre maisons qui s'étaient fondues au sein des Presses Universitaires de France.

Les liens entre le P. Scheil et É. Bertrand étaient donc doublement étroits, puisque le dominicain le faisait travailler pour la *RA* et pour les MDP. C'est sans doute ce qui explique que l'imprimerie française et orientale ait également imprimé divers livres du P. Scheil, comme *Le prisme S d'Assarhaddon roi d'Assyrie 681-668*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 208, Paris, 1914, pour le compte de la Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion ; ou encore les *Epigrammata et Carmina. Nova Editio*, Chalon-sur-Saone, 1934. Notons pour finir que c'est « Émile Berrand, imprimeur-éditeur » qui publia en 1937 le livre du P. Scheil intitulé *Au service de Clio*. Il s'agissait apparemment du chant du cygne. L'enquête sera poursuivie, notamment auprès des institutions qui conservent encore les fontes cunéiformes utilisées pour ces publications.

Notes

Cette note s'inscrit dans le cadre de mon projet sur l'histoire de l'assyriologie, pour lequel voir https://proclac.cnrs.fr/projets/projets-mesopo/histoire-de-lassyriologie-en-france/.

1. D. Charpin, « À l'occasion du centième volume : éléments pour une histoire de la *Revue d'Assyriologie* », *RA* 100, 2006, p. 5-12 (p. 6-7).

2. Source: https://patrimoine.bm-chalon.fr/comprendre-patrimoine/personnages-locaux. Malheureusement, la notice « Emile Bertrand » se contente de renvoyer à celle de Jules Dejussieu. La notice de IdRef sur Émile Bertrand (https://www.idref.fr/280740387) donne comme dates 1844-1913, mais ce sont celles de la Librairie Émile Bertrand, pas celles de l'individu sur lequel je n'ai jusqu'à présent trouvé aucune information.

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138) History of the UC Berkeley Cuneiform Collection — The following brief article describes what can be recovered of the history of the collection of cuneiform artefacts at the Hearst Museum of Anthropology of UC Berkeley. It was published on the cdli web site initially at the URL http://cdli.ucla.edu:591/cdli/ucb/ hma_intro.html and later at http://cdli.ucla.edu/collections/hearst/hearst_

intro.html. These pages are no longer available on the CDLI site (https://cdli.earth), but can still be found, in original layout and color scheme, on the Wayback Machine of the Internet Archive (https://web.archive.org/). The following text was extracted from the snapshot produced October 30, 2004, the earliest version I could find (https:// web.archive.org/web/20041030111033/http://cdli.ucla.edu:591/cdli/ucb/hma_intro.html). Note that the Department of Near Eastern Studies (or NES) is now called the Department of Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures (MELC; https://melc.berkeley.edu/).

Cuneiform Tablets in the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UC Berkeley
By Niek Veldhuis

The collection of cuneiform tablets housed in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UC Berkeley, contains a little over 1,000 texts from nearly all periods of cuneiform. The oldest texts are royal inscriptions by Entemena (Daniel Foxvog, "Royal Inscriptions at Berkeley," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 72 [1978] 41). The latest phase is represented by administrative texts from Uruk. Henry F. Lutz, Professor at the Department of Semitic Languages (now the Department of Near Eastern Studies) at Berkeley from 1921-1958, acquired most of these tablets and published a considerable number of them in the series *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* (*UCP*).

Several tablets arrived at the museum as single items or in small lots of two to five. An example of a smaller acquisition is the batch of five tablets that was sold to the Department of Latin at UC Berkeley by Edgar Banks, famous for the trading of cuneiform tablets in the US in the early 20th century (numbers 9-139 to 9-143; the Ur III pieces in this lot were published by Foxvog ["Ur III Economic Texts at Berkeley," *Acta Sumerologica* 18 [1996] 47-92.]). However, the great majority of tablets and other ancient Mesopotamian artifacts (1001 individual objects) were accessioned under one single number (649). According to museum records, they were acquired by Lutz in 1930 through a donation by Alfred Kohlberg of Bronxville, New York and arrived in Berkeley in May and June of 1930. Acquisition number 649 includes all the Ur III tablets published by Lutz in *UCP* 9/2. The background of the Kohlberg-funded collection demonstrates the efforts of Lutz to compete with established East Coast cuneiform collections.



¶ *Professor Henry F. Lutz, Egyptologist and Assyriologist, offers to collect Babylonian material for the University.*

In the academic year 1929-1930, Lutz held the annual American professorship of archaeology at the American School of Archaeology in Baghdad. Several articles in the *California Monthly*, the journal of the UC Berkeley Alumni Association, report about his plans and activities aimed at establishing a representative collection of Mesopotamian artifacts for the University of California. In November of 1928, the *California Monthly* ran a three-page article on Lutz's prospective stay in Baghdad. A number of shorter notes in later issues of the journal report a gift, first of $1,000 (December 1928, 20) later $5,000 from an "anonymous donor," an alumnus of the class of 1908 (September 1929, 29). This anonymous donor is no doubt identical with Alfred Kohlberg, listed as donor in the acquisition records, who studied in Berkeley with the class of 1908 and had become a wealthy textiles merchant in the New York area, where he was secretary of the local chapter of the Alumni Association (*California Monthly* December 1929, 54). Kohlberg is better known for his role in the McCarthy era anti-communist movement, in particular in the so-called China lobby that targeted as communists those employees of the State Department who had failed to fully support the Chinese Nationalist movement (a biography of Kohlberg by one of his admirers appeared shortly after his death:

J.C. Keeley, *The China Lobby Man; the Story of Alfred Kohlberg*. New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House 1969).

While Lutz was in Baghdad, he was offered (or so he claims) the chance to purchase Nuzi tablets from the Harvard expedition at that site. He realized that his funds were not sufficient, so he tried again to interest alumni in his cause. Various appeals in the alumni journal for more contributions demonstrate that the effort was seen in the light of an attempt by the University of California to attain a status in its Assyriological faculties equal to that of the great East Coast universities, in particular Penn, Yale, and Harvard.

> *Harvard, for example, on hearing of our $5,000, promptly set about raising $30,000 on the assumption that they should be able to do at least six times as well as a so-called western cow-college. (California Monthly September 1929, 30)*
> *It will be unfortunate if the University of California has to bow her head to eastern institutions in this field through lack of funds to take advantage of the opportunity offered her. Professor Lutz estimates that it will take at least $3,000 additional to make the collection that California should have.* (*California Monthly*, December 1929, 36)

Acquisition number 649 is recorded in its entirety as a donation by Kohlberg, so it is unlikely that Lutz succeeded in his attempt to interest other contributors. In a separate article in the December 1929 issue, Lutz reports from Baghdad, saying that he had sent a shipment of Mesopotamian antiquities to Bombay, whence it was to be forwarded to Berkeley.

Immediately upon his return to Berkeley, Lutz started publishing select tablets from the collection he had acquired in Baghdad. In 1930, he published a short article on a legal text (*UCP* 9/6), briefly explaining how he had obtained the tablet:

> *The following text is taken from a tablet (ucbC 756) which comes from the site of Tell Seba'. This mound is situated in the Nahrawân region, beyond the Diyâlâ river, which territory contains the tells of Bismaya, Asmar (Ašnunnak), Tshuma, Khafadjy, Ašjaly, and Adjrab. No exhaustive survey of this region has as yet been made by the Government Survey Office in Baghdad. The writer was fortunate in acquiring a goodly number of cuneiform tablets and other archaeological objects from each of the above-mentioned sites.* (*UCP* 9/6, 379).

The museum collection has groups of texts that are indeed said to come from Ishchali (*UCP* 10/1) and Khafaje (D. Foxvog, "Texts and Fragments 101-106," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 28 [1976] 101-106), no doubt identical with the tablets referred to in this quote from Lutz. A similar remark is found in the publication of two apotropaic figurines, simply saying that they had recently been purchased in Baghdad (*UCP* 9/7, 383).

The impression that accession no. 649 is basically identical with the shipment sent to Bombay in December 1929 is, however, plainly wrong, since Lutz started publishing tablets from this lot several years before he left for Baghdad. The Neo-Babylonian Uruk tablets (*UCP* 9/1), the Ur III texts (*UCP* 9/2) and the Old Babylonian letters (*UCP* 9/4), all included in this acquisition number, were published in 1927, 1928, and 1929 respectively. The question is whether and how well we can still distinguish between the pre-1929 tablets and the Baghdad purchases, and what is known about the pre-1929 acquisitions.

Some indirect light is thrown on this point by the November 1928 article in the *California Monthly*. In discussing Lutz's work, the article refers to two Old Babylonian letters, as follows:

> *Among other more rare records of Babylonia which Professor Lutz has managed to acquire by careful use of the small fund allowed him by the University, from Arab collectors, through American importers, are two letters written by King Sin-Mubalit, father of the great King Hammurabi who ruled about 2000 B.C.* (*California Monthly*, November 1928, 13)

These two letters are no doubt identical to those published by Lutz in 1929 as *UCP* 9/4 29 and 30. In the same article, Lutz's forthcoming publication of Ur III tablets in *UCP* 9/2 is briefly referred to, but, in this case, the question of the actual whereabouts and ownership of the tablets is passed over in silence.

In his publications in *UCP*, Lutz used two distinct numbering systems. Official museum numbers all start with 9-, the number for the Asiatic collection. This system is used in *UCP* 9/3 (1928), the publication of a Murašu document that was presented to the Museum of Anthropology by Phoebe A. Hearst. Here Lutz remarks that the museum possesses "a small number" of cuneiform tablets (p. 269), clearly not

counting the Neo-Babylonian and Ur III tablets he had published in *UCP* 9/1 and 9/2. For these tablets, he used ucbC numbers, a system that was never recognized by the museum. In his publication of Old Babylonian letters (*UCP* 9/4; 1929), the tablets, all with ucbC numbers, are said to be owned by the Department of Semitic Languages (p. 279).

Today all tablets are referred to by an official 9- number. The old numbers, however, may be of some help in reconstructing the history of the collection. The Uruk tablets carry ucbC numbers 100-195; 201-202 (*UCP* 9/1/1); and 350-409 (*UCP* 9/1/2). The Ur III tablets are numbered 410-508 (*UCP* 9/2/1) and 601-724. The Old Babylonian letters continue with 725-754. All these texts were in Lutz's hands before 1929, and were presumably owned by the Department. Nothing is known about the background of ucbC 755, the Old Babylonian libanomancy (smoke omen) tablet (*UCP* 9/5). ucbC 756 (*UCP* 9/6), is the text from Tell Seba' (Diyala) that Lutz bought in Baghdad. The Ishchali documents (*UCP* 10/1; 1931), which also belong with the Baghdad purchases, number ucbC 757-866. It is likely, therefore, that all ucbC numbers 756 (or 755) and higher are from the lot purchased by Lutz while he was in Iraq. For unknown reasons, Lutz occasionally used ucbC numbers 1200 and higher. These include the apotropaic figurines (ucbC 1200 and 1201; *UCP* 9/7) and a tablet from Nuzi (ucbC 1285; *UCP* 9/11). The figurines are known to belong to the Baghdad lot, while the Nuzi text may well have been bought from the Harvard excavation, which was underway when Lutz was in Baghdad. The ucbC 1200-numbers, therefore, most likely also come from the Baghdad period.

The ownership of the tablets probably remained rather vague for a long period of time. The tablets that Lutz published before 1929 were, by that time, in the possession not of the museum, but rather of the Department of Semitic Languages. No records were found that document the transfer to the museum of ownership of this group, which may well have been larger than the group of tablets published. The tablets purchased in Baghdad were meant for the museum, but they were not all immediately stored and catalogued there. In a letter to Lutz dated 1943, E.W. Gifford, curator of the Museum of Anthropology, inquires about the whereabouts of certain tablets published by Lutz: the Uruk tablets (*UCP* 9/1); the Old Babylonian letters (*UCP* 9/4); the Old Babylonian divination text (*UCP* 9/5); the Ishchali texts (*UCP* 10/1) and a Sin-Kašid text (*UCP* 10/2). Gifford could not find these tablets in the museum, and they had not yet been officially catalogued. As it turned out, all these tablets, including pre-1929 exemplars as well as objects bought in Iraq, were still in Lutz's office 13 years after the date of their official acquisition by the museum.

As we have stated, Kohlberg is mentioned as the sole donor in the records of accession no. 649. Whether, in fact, this is accurate for the pre-1929 tablets remains unclear. The November 1928 *California Monthly* article mentions "small funds" from the University that enabled Lutz to buy some tablets; it is unlikely that these funds sufficed for all the tablets published in *UCP* 9/1, 9/2 and 9/4. Lutz had worked at Yale and the University of Pennsylvania before he accepted the position at Berkeley. During that period, he may have developed contacts with the dealers who supplied the universities on the East Coast; his contact with Kohlberg may also date from this time.

The HMA tablets and CDLI

The initiative to publish, beginning with the Ur III-period tablets, the Hearst collection on the CDLI web site was taken by Niek Veldhuis, Professor of Assyriology in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at UC Berkeley. The project was funded by a Junior Faculty Research Grant of the UC Berkeley Committee on Research (2002) and by a generous grant from the Center for Information Technology Research in the Interest of Society (CITRIS). The tablets were scanned and collated by John Carnahan, research assistant at NES, while Victoria Bradshaw, collections manager of the Hearst Museum, arranged all practical matters in the museum. We have coordinated our work on images, catalogue, and transliteration with R. K. Englund and M. Fitzgerald of the CDLI office at UCLA.

Documentation used

No. 649 accession records at the P.A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology
University of California at Berkeley; Department of Anthropology archives: Lutz
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139) Myths Are Not Texts. Or Are They? —

1. Myths vs. mythic texts. Major methodological approaches to myth concentrate on the analysis of mythic *texts*: They focus on (1) significant or meaningful structures of texts and text elements like mythic names with their "bundles" of significant elements (called "mythemes": LÉVI-STRAUSS 1955); (2) on the narrative "functions" of certain text elements defined as essential on the basis of a particular subgroup of Russian fairy tales, i.e. texts (PROPP 1968), later extended to literary texts in general (BARTHES 1988); (3) on motifs – a broad term covering rather different entities – found in mythic texts (see, e.g., WOLPERS 2002). All of them rest on a prior selection of what may be significant and therefore worth including in the analysis (for discussion see C. ZGOLL 2026b, with further literature). Such studies have contributed immensely to our understanding of the textual concretisations of myths. A theory and method that analyses myths *as myths*, however, must take into account a basic characteristic long recognised outside Ancient Near Eastern Studies (see, e.g., HONKO 1984, 49f.; GRAF 1985, 8; WODIANKA 2006, 2f.; MORFORD/LENARDON/SHAM 2011, 3; DALFEN 2014, 355): a myth is not a text, but a *narrative material* (*Erzählstoff*), of which texts are only *one* form of concretisation. Myths as narrative materials are "sequences of changes that can be expressed in language and manifest in different media" (C. ZGOLL 2026a): texts, images, dances, films, and so forth.

Within Ancient Near Eastern Studies this distinction has rarely received attention – for exceptions see HECKER 1974, 1f.; DIAKONOFF 1995, 125 n. 1; LAMBERT 1995, 1825f.; implicitly also GEORGE 2016, 8; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2026 – and in the absence of a method for treating myths as transmedial phenomena the study of myth has largely coincided with the study of texts (or of images). Yet the failure to distinguish myth from text generates recurrent conceptual errors, as a recent discussion illustrates, where no distinction is drawn between texts and myths (KATZ 2025, 20); see the following footnotes for individual points.

2. Analysing myths as myths. In response to this challenge, several research groups have in recent years developed a new discipline: hylistics (*Erzählstoffwissenschaft*). It has only superficial affinities with the text-based theories mentioned above. Hylistics proceeds from a text (or another medium containing a myth) and reconstructs, on this basis, the narrative materials contained within it. It thus shifts the focus from texts to narrative materials in order to analyse myths as myths. Its aims are terminological precision (cf. the problems of rather vague terms such as "motif" and "event"), objectivity through the inclusion of *all* information carried by the concrete manifestation (cf. the problems of evaluating what to include as *functional* or *significant*; on the benefits of hylistics' "holistic" approach to narrative materials, see also KOTZÉ 2025, 36f.), and transparency of presentation. Originating in the study of ancient cultures (C. ZGOLL 2019; 2020; GABRIEL et al. 2021; A. ZGOLL/CUPERLY/CÖSTER-GILBERT 2023), it can be extended to narrative materials from any cultural background, and has been applied to materials ranging from the oldest Sumerian myths to Southern African Folktales (PANNACH 2024) and contemporary Caucasian narratives (MARCHESINI 2023). Hylistics is currently expanding rapidly; for continuously updated information see the *Living Library of Hylistics*.

The basic unit of a narrative material is the hyleme: the minimal unit expressing a state or an action, the term being formed by analogy with "morpheme" or "phoneme", the minimal units of meaning and of sound in language.[1)] Hyleme analysis converts all information carried by a concrete medium – a name (A. ZGOLL/C. ZGOLL 2020, 755–760), an epithet (CECCARELLI 2021 and CECCARELLI/STRECK, www.edsde.de), a longer text, an image – into hylemes in a standardised form. These are then arranged in their logically reconstructable chronological order, while sequence analysis and stratification analysis serve to distinguish different myths and myth versions.[2)] Further information (implicit hylemes) may be supplied,

provided that it can, or better: must, be logically inferred. The method is thus maximally transparent and reproducible: nothing is excluded or added on the basis of subjective preference.[3)] It can be used not only for myths, but for all other narrative materials as well (C. ZGOLL 2019, 205–231), such as legends and folktales (PANNACH 2024), narratives in wisdom literature (FECHNER 2024, 40–64), love songs (KOTZÉ 2025), or modern prose (MARCHESINI 2023).

The differences and relations between texts and myths may be summarised as follows:

TEXTS		**MYTHS**
can concretise one or more versions of one or more myths, or parts thereof	Relation Text vs. Myth	exist in different versions, realisable in different media: text (epic, lamentation, letter, but also a name or an epithet, etc.), image, dance, ritual act, film, etc.
the original text may be recoverable	Original	"the original" myth is usually not reconstructable (exceptions are myths created by one defined person at a given time, see C. ZGOLL 2019, 262–265); reconstructable are myth versions and the strata of a version
editorial philology, hermeneutics, structuralism, narratology, close reading, reception theory, etc.	Methods	hylistics: hyleme analysis, stratification analysis, sequence analysis, comparative analysis, hylistic-narratological analysis (overview: hylistics.uni-goettingen.de/methodology)
word / line / sentence / section / text / text group	Units	hyleme element / hyleme / hyleme sequence / myth variant / myth / mythic pattern / narrative material
angalta ("From the great heaven", modern title "Innana's Descent"), a Sumerian text on several Old Babylonian tablets, containing several myths	Example	INNANA GAINS RITUALS OF THE NETHERWORLD, a myth preserved in different versions in several texts, e.g. in Sumerian angalta, Sumerian innin me galgala ("Innana and Šukaleduda"), Akkadian ana KURNUGI ("Ištar's Descent"), as well as in several names and rituals (see A. ZGOLL/C. ZGOLL 2020)

The "original" myth, accordingly, is not what hylistics reconstructs. Instead, hylistics reconstructs myths, myth versions and the strata within such a version.[4)] The comparative work of hylistics is therefore a comparison of myth versions, not of texts and not of "literary units"; it is, accordingly, not "intertextual", but "interhylistic". The comparison of text and myth is the task of *hylistic narratology*.[5)]

3. Conclusion. Hylistics thus achieves what long seemed unattainable: verifiable, reproducible results about narrative content, arrived at without prior selection. Hylistics predetermines nothing, brings prior speculation about narrative materials (*Stoffe*) under methodological control, and discards nothing by prejudgement.

A philologically excellent edition of a text is the basis of any text-based study of myth; likewise, a methodologically sound analysis of myth is necessary to reconstruct myths from mythic texts – their content, and thereby the meaning of the texts themselves. A better understanding of a text's meaning in turn enables a better philological analysis. Hylistics therefore also constitutes philological groundwork in its own right: textual philology and the hylistic study of narrative materials belong together, each strengthened by the other.

Notes

1. See C. ZGOLL 2019, 112. KATZ 2025, 20 glosses "hyleme" – following Wikipedia, but citing it incorrectly (see her nn. 20 and 21) – as the "smallest unit of a text" and as a "literary unit". Both renderings misconstrue the concept: a hyleme is not a unit *of a text* and not a "literary" entity at all, but the smallest unit of a narrative material, i.e. of a transmedially manifested *Erzählstoff* (see C. ZGOLL 2019, 112, and 2026a or PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2026, 35 ("narrative units that provide the *Stoff* of the story").

2. Contrary to KATZ 2025, 20 with n. 22, A. ZGOLL 2020, 113f. does not claim that the text *innin me galgala* (*Innana and Šukaleduda*) is an abbreviated version of the text *angalta* (*Innana's Descent to the Netherworld*). Zgoll deduces (1) that the text *innin me galgala* contains several narrative materials (op. cit. 114); (2) that one of these is an abbreviated version of the myth INNANA GAINS INSTRUMENTS OF POWER FROM THE NETHERWORLD; and (3) that this myth is also treated in the text *angalta*, there in the form of a longer version. For the character of these "instruments of power" see now A. ZGOLL 2025.

3. The assumption in KATZ 2025, 20 that hyleme analysis proceeds selectively is unfounded; see most recently KOTZÉ 2025, 36 or A. ZGOLL/C. ZGOLL 2026a, ch. 2.1.2.

4. See, e.g., C. ZGOLL 2026c. Contrary to KATZ 2025, 20, reconstructing "the original myth" has neither been the aim of A. ZGOLL 2020 nor has it ever been the aim of hylistics (see C. ZGOLL 2019, 57–61, differently from, e.g., WITZEL 2012). On the contrary: hylistics is *not* about constructing a polished "master version" or "original version" – owing to the incompleteness of the primary sources and to the possibility of oral traditions – but about reconstructing the various *versions* and *strata* of narrative materials contained in the sources available to us. A. ZGOLL 2020 is not about *textual* comparison, but about *myth* comparison.

5. Pace PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2026, 35: the comparison is one between *myth versions* – neither between texts (hence not "intertextual") nor between individual hylemes. Note, however, that *intertextuality* is, in fact, a sub-category of *interhylisticity*; see A. ZGOLL/CUPERLY/CÖSTER-GILBERT 2023, 289f. and 306–308; C. ZGOLL 2019, 270–285.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

140) Arabische Übersetzungen von Briefen aus den Palastarchiven von Mari — Farouk ISMAIL, Professor an der Universität Aleppo, der mehrere Jahre als aktives Mitglied der DFG Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe 2615 *Rethinking – Governance in the Ancient Near East* an der Freien Universität Berlin (FU) tätig war, hat eine Reihe von Bänden mit wissenschaftlich fundierten, arabischen Übersetzungen der altbabylonischen Korrespondenz aus den Palastarchiven von Mari (Tell Hariri) herausgegeben.

– 2025: *Die Korrespondenz Samsi-Addus* (مراسلات سَمْسي-أَدّو /شَمْشي-أَدَد)
– 2026: *Die Korrespondenz der Frauen im Königreich Mari* (مراسلات النّساء في مملكة ماري)
– 2026: *Die Musik in Mari* (الموسيقا في مدينة ماري)
– 2026: *Stilästhetik in der Korrespondenz des Königreichs Mari* (جماليات الأسلوب في مراسلات مملكة ماري)
– 2026: *Machtzentren in der Syrischen Jazira* (مراكز الحكم في الجزيرة السورية خلال القرن 18 ق.م – نصوص ودراسة)

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Nele ZIEGLER <nele.ziegler@college-de-france.fr>
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141) Jubilé de Dominique Charpin : 50 ans de métier en Assyriologie ! — C'est le 1er octobre 1976, il y a tout juste cinquante ans, qu'a commencé la carrière universitaire de Dominique Charpin, le Directeur de notre publication. La rédaction de *NABU* veut saisir l'occasion extraordinaire de ce jubilé pour lui adresser ses félicitations les plus chaleureuses et pour le remercier pour son dévouement sans faille à notre discipline depuis 50 ans déjà !

Après qu'il eut obtenu l'agrégation d'histoire en 1976, la carrière de Dominique commença en tant qu'assistant aux côtés du regretté Paul Garelli qui était alors professeur à l'université Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne. Ce qui singularisait la France par rapport au reste de l'Europe était le fait qu'à la Sorbonne ce furent des historiens, spécialistes de la Mésopotamie, qui enseignaient l'Assyriologie au sein d'une faculté

d'histoire. Leurs étudiants débutaient en histoire générale et se spécialisaient en histoire ancienne au cours de leurs études. Or, histoire, philologie, épigraphie se complètent !

En ce qui concerne D. Charpin, c'est le travail sur des sources de première main, leur collation, édition, les approches prosopographiques, historiques mais aussi l'expérience d'épigraphiste sur le terrain archéologique qui sont à la base de la qualité unanimement reconnue de ses travaux. Sa thèse de doctorat était consacrée aux archives de Tell Sifr et fut publiée en 1980 sous le titre *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne : étude des documents de « Tell Sifr »* dans la série HEO 12, Genève/Paris chez l'éditeur Droz. En 1984, il soutint une thèse d'État (diplôme désormais remplacé par l'*Habilitation à diriger des recherches*) qui parut en 1986 sous le titre *Le Clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi* chez le même éditeur en tant que volume HEO 22.

En 1988, après trois années passées au CNRS, D. Charpin fut élu à la succession de P. Garelli sur la chaire de professeur d'histoire ancienne à l'université Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne. À cette charge s'ajouta, à partir de 1994, celle de Directeur d'études cumulant à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques). Il restera dans ces deux institutions jusqu'en 2005.

Quand on regarde le bilan des publications de D. Charpin durant les quasiment trente premières années remplies de lourdes charges d'enseignement, on est admiratif : sept livres signés de son nom sont parus jusqu'à 2005. À côté des sus-mentionnés, ce sont :

– D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de Strasbourg conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire*, tome I, Paris, 1981,
– D. Charpin, F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher & B. Lafont, *Archives épistolaires de Mari* I/2, ARM 26/2, Paris, 1988,
– D. Charpin & N. Ziegler, *Florilegium marianum* V. *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: essai d'histoire politique*, Mémoires de *NABU* 6, Paris, 2003,
– mais aussi la monographie D. Charpin, *Hammurabi de Babylone*, Paris, 2003, traduite en plusieurs langues
– et le monumental OBO 160/4, une sorte de « bible » pour nombre de paléo-babylonisants : D. Charpin, D. O. Edzard & M. Stol, *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit*, (= P. Attinger, W. Sallaberger & M. Wäfler [éd.], Annäherungen 4), OBO 160/4, Fribourg/Göttingen, 2004. D. Charpin est l'auteur de la première partie, « Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595) », p. 25-480.

Ces ouvrages s'accompagnaient d'un intense travail éditorial, comme la coédition des Mélanges en l'honneur de Paul Garelli (1991), les actes CRRAI XXXVIII (1992), les volumes 3, 4 et 7 des Mémoires de *NABU* (1994, 1997, 2002) ainsi qu'Amurru 2 (2001), sans parler du nombre impressionnant d'articles ou chapitres d'ouvrages dont on trouve la liste dans la bibliographie, au début du volume d'hommage édité par G. Chambon, M. Guichard & A.-I. Langlois, *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin*, PIPOAC 3, Louvain/Paris/Bristol, 2019, p. VII-XLI (spécialement p. VIII-XXI concernant la période 1976-2005).

En octobre 2005, la carrière de D. Charpin prit un nouveau tournant lorsqu'il devint Directeur d'études non cumulant à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques), bénéficiant désormais d'une charge d'enseignement moins lourde. Cela lui permit de se consacrer encore davantage à la recherche. Le 1er janvier 2014, D. Charpin devint professeur titulaire au Collège de France et occupa dès lors la chaire intitulée « Civilisation mésopotamienne ». Il y succéda à son collègue et ami – notre Directeur honoraire ! – Jean-Marie Durand.

Ces dernières décennies, D. Charpin obtint le financement de plusieurs projets par l'*Agence Nationale de la Recherche* française qui lui permirent la création d'un outil extraordinaire : la base de données relationnelle Archibab. D. Charpin, bien accompagné dans cette tâche par Antoine Jacquet (notre Secrétaire d'édition !) s'est consacré à cet outil à plein temps. Avant de se lancer dans la création de la base de données, D. Charpin avait constaté qu'il était devenu quasiment impossible de maîtriser seul ce vaste corpus de textes d'archives paléo-babyloniens et qu'il fallait faire un effort collectif de mise en ordre de la vaste bibliographie d'éditions de textes et d'études de corpus. Il fallait donner au plus grand nombre accès aux sources sous forme de documents transcrits et lemmatisés. Dans Archibab, chaque édition de texte est accompagnée d'un jeu de métadonnées (lieu de découverte et de rédaction, date, genre textuel, bibliographie etc.), parfois d'une traduction et de commentaires. Cela place les études de la première moitié du IIe millénaire sur des bases solides. Depuis le début de cette année le catalogue des textes d'archives paléo-babyloniens entièrement publiés est complet. Aujourd'hui ce sont 36 060 fiches ! Ce n'est pas tout :

depuis plusieurs années déjà, toutes les lettres paléo-babyloniennes transcrites, traduites et lemmatisées sont accessibles en ligne – aucune étude sérieuse ne doit désormais reposer sur les seules lettres des AbB ! En plus, une grande partie des documents économiques, juridiques, administratifs est désormais accessible avec translittérations parfois améliorées et un accès au vocabulaire, aux noms propres ou toponymes. C'est avec une grande générosité que D. Charpin dirige le projet Archibab… Il est d'autant plus désolé quand il découvre que des collègues ne se saisissent pas des richesses mises à leur disposition après tant d'années d'efforts collectifs !

Si le projet Archibab est le travail qui tient le plus à cœur à Dominique, ce n'est pas la seule entreprise collective – D. Charpin aime travailler en équipe autour d'une problématique ou d'un corpus commun. C'est avec enthousiasme qu'il accompagne J.-M. Durand dans la grande aventure que continue à représenter l'édition des textes de Mari, ou qu'il mena les travaux épigraphiques de terrain à Ur ou Larsa.

La devise du Collège de France est *docet omnia*. Chaque cours est un travail de recherche inédit de haut niveau. Les cours sont filmés et mis en ligne sur le site du Collège de France (https://www.college-de-france.fr/fr/chaire/dominique-charpin-civilisation-mesopotamienne-chaire-statutaire/events). Plusieurs ont abouti à la publication d'ouvrages, comme celui sur la *Vie méconnue des temples mésopotamiens*, *« Tu es de mon sang ». Les alliances dans le Proche-Orient ancien* ou, en dernier lieu, *En Quête de Ninive. Des savants français à la découverte de la Mésopotamie (1842-1975)*, tous parus dans la collection *Docet omnia* et édités par Le Collège de France & Les Belles Lettres en 2017, 2019 et 2023 et accessibles en ligne.

Le travail éditorial ne s'arrête pas là. D. Charpin est Directeur de la *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* à l'histoire de laquelle il a consacré une étude « À l'occasion du centième volume : éléments pour une histoire de la Revue d'assyriologie », *RA* 100, 2006, p. 5-12. Nous n'oublierons pas de rappeler qu'il est le président et directeur des publications de la SEPOA (Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien), qui édite les Mémoires de *NABU*, comprenant les études sur Mari regroupées dans la série *Florilegium marianum*, les volumes de la série *Archibab* et les deux volumes de la série *Recherches en Haute-Mésopotamie*. La SEPOA édite également des ouvrages de consultation concernant la géographie historique du II^{e} millénaire (MTT) et … *last but not least* : la revue *NABU* ! Nous avons consacré le fascicule *NABU* 2022-4 à cette aventure. Désormais, presque 4200 notes et davantage de pages ont été éditées ! Dominique a l'habitude de lire la dernière version avant impression – cette fois-ci il aura la surprise de découvrir la note *NABU* 2026/141 en guise d'hommage pour 50 années de service bien remplies.

Merci patron ! Continue encore de longues années à faire bénéficier l'assyriologie de ton talent !

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