

SOMMARIO

Shapinuwa, the Hurrians, Hurrian and Hittite Rituals

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CARLO CORTI, <i>From Mt. Hazzi to Šapinuwa. Cultural Traditions in Motion in the First Half of the 14th Century BC</i>	p.	3
STEFANO DE MARTINO, <i>The Composition and Transmission of the itkalzi Ritual</i>	»	21
SEBASTIAN FISCHER, <i>Erste Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung der hurritischen Emar-Texte</i>	»	31
DANIEL SCHWEMER, <i>Rites of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM Festival in Ḫattuša</i>	»	55
AYGÜL SÜEL, <i>Workshops Found at Tepelerarası Area of Ortaköy-Šapinuwa</i>	»	65
GERNOT WILHELM, <i>Synchronic Variety and Diachronic Change in Hurrian</i>	»	75

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ALI AL-IBADI, <i>The Scheme of Kassite Housing</i>	»	87
CLAUDIA POSANI, <i>Some Reflections about the Links between Rhetoric and Iconography in the inscriptions of Yariris</i>	»	103
LUDOVICO PORTUESE, <i>Concealed Paternalism of the Assyrian king: which Audience?</i>	»	111
SILVIA DI CRISTINA - VALENTINA GALLERANI - GIUSEPPE LEPORE, <i>Europos on the Euphrates: Continuities and Discontinuities at an Oriental Classical City</i>	»	129
FILIBERTO CHIABRANDO - CARLO LIPPOLIS - VITO MESSINA - SARAH SCIACCA, <i>Topography and settlement of al-Mada'in. New observations</i>	»	151
ROBERTO PARAPETTI, <i>The lost Mirjaniya Madrasa of Baghdad: Reconstructions and Additional Notes</i>	»	173

Notiziario Bibliografico

JAN-WAALKE MEYER (Hrsg.), <i>Kulturen am Rande Mesopotamiens. Von West-Kleinasien bis zum Kaspischen Meer. Katalog der Sammlung der Abteilung »Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Vorderen Orients« an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main</i> (Jacopo Bruno)	»	212
A. SCHACHNER (ed.), <i>Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in der Westlichen Oberstadt von Ḫattuša II</i> (Stefano de Martino)	»	214
SARA PIZZIMENTI, <i>Simboli e associazioni astrali nella glittica mesopotamica del Bronzo Tardo</i> (Eleonora Quirico).....	»	216
LUIGI TURRI, <i>“Vieni, lascia che ti dica di altre città”. Ambiente naturale, umano e politico della Valle dell’Oronte nella tarda età del Bronzo</i> (Eleonora Quirico).....	»	217
ANDREA SQUITIERI, <i>Stone Vessels in the Near East during the Iron Age and the Persian Period (c. 1200-330 BCE)</i> (Eleonora Quirico).....	»	219
ALESSANDRA LOMBARDI, <i>South Arabian Funerary Stelae from the British Museum Collection</i> (Eleonora Quirico).....	»	221
SCHLUNDE. J. M. - RUBIN, B. B. (eds.), <i>Arsacids, Romans and Local Elites. Cross-Cultural Interactions of the Parthian Empire</i> (Vito Messina).....	»	222

CARLO CORTI*

FROM MT. HAZZI TO ŠAPINUWA.
CULTURAL TRADITIONS IN MOTION IN THE FIRST HALF
OF THE 14th CENTURY BC¹

ABSTRACT

This article describes the content of one of the (late) Middle-Hittite tablets which make up the “Festival for Mount Hazzi”, a celebration previously known mostly by its name. A careful reconstruction of this composition reveals that many elements of Hurrian tradition from North-western Syria were conveyed to Anatolia primarily through the newly founded capital Šapinuwa, during the first half of the fourteenth century BC.

Thanks to this manuscript, and other recently published texts, it is now possible to show that the Hittite King Tuthaliya II/III began conquering North-western Syrian territories including Kizzuwatna, Mukiš (with its capital Alalah) and, probably, Aleppo, well before what had been previously assumed. The cultural and religious traditions of these territories deeply influenced this king. Evidence includes references to two hypostasis of Tešub together with the god Šarraššiya, to the mythological compositions of “Teššub’s Cycle” as well as to the parade of the weapons of the deities, which strongly recall the scene depicted in Chamber A of Yazılıkaya.

KEYWORDS

Hittite festivals; Hurro-Hittite mythology; Šapinuwa; Tuthaliya II/III; Mt. Hazzi; Mukiš; Aleppine tradition.

The text-group CTH 785, labeled as “Ritual for Mt. Hazzi”, is well known and often examined in ancient Near Eastern studies. Composed mainly in the Hittite language, this text-group reflects a strong Hurrian and North-west Syrian background and attained fame thanks to its mention of the “Song of Kingship” and the “Song of the Sea” with an allusion to the fight of the Sea with the Stormgod. Despite the importance of this composition, its actual state of preservation is really bad and it is not possible to understand the sequence of the events and the content.

In fact, according to the last version of the Konkordanz, actually this text-group is composed by only 8 fragments, duplicates included.² All of them are dated to the Imperial period except for KBo 8.86, that it is labeled as Middle-Hittite with an interrogative mark.³

KBo 8.86	785 1.A	Bk. C	mh.?
KBo 8.88	785 1.B	Bk. D	jh.
DBH 46/2.148	785 1.C	...	jh.
KUB 44.7	785 2.A	...	jh.
KUB 42.2	785 2.B	Bkaya	jh.
KBo 61.316	785 2.C	T.I	k.A.
KBo 23.71	785	Bk. A	jh.
Bo 6030	785	...	jh.

The Celebration for Mount Hazzi

The most interesting fragment for our purposes is just the first on the list which – together with its duplicate KBo 8.88 – contains *in nuce* many important elements common to the entire composition, which I will attempt to explain in this article. The recent research I carried out on KBo 8.86 allowed me to improve it with new additions and restorations, compared to the already published editions;⁴ for this reason a new transliteration with translation is presented:⁵

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¹ I would like to thank Stefano de Martino for inviting me to take part in this conference dedicated to Šapinuwa and the Hurrians, as well as for his warm welcome. I am grateful to Mark Weeden for comments and for reading the manuscript (improving my English). I am indebted to Fabio Bastici for his suggestions and for discussing with me grammatical and syntactic issues related to several passages in Hurrian language.

² S. KOŠAK, hethiter.net/: hetkonk v. 1.97 (last access 19.11.2017). From now S. KOŠAK, Konk.

³ For the fragments from 4 to 6 there is no label in the Konkordanz. Due to the fact that they are duplicates I provisionally file them under the label CTH 785 2.

All the texts of CTH 785 discussed in this paper, except for KBo 42.2, Bo 4415 and Bo 6030, have been checked by me on the original fragments housed at the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, Ankara. I would like to thank İsmet Aykut and Mine Çifçi for their kind help and support during my stay at the Museum. I am also indebted to Gerfrid G. W. Müller who kindly made me available the photo of KBo 42.2 (Bo 95/116).

⁴ Previous editions in HAAS and WILHELM 1974, 260-263 and HAAS 1998, 170-172.

⁵ In bold script my proposals.

1 A obv. I

- 1 [(ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma) (tar-na-an-zi) na-at-kán]
 2 [ša-ni-iz-zi (ḥa-aš-ši-i la-a-ḥ)u-w]a-an- zi []
 3 [(a-pí-e-da-ni A-NA^D)U 1 wa-a]k-šur Ì.DÙG.GA []
 4 [(a-pí-e-da-ni-ya A-N)]A^DU 1 wa-ak-šur Ì.DÙG.GA da-a[(n-zi)]
 5 [(nam-ma-aš-š)a-at] ša-ni-iz-zi ḥa-aš-ši-i iš-ḥu-wa-a-i[]
 6 [(LÚ^{MEŠ} NAR š)]ar-ra-aš-ši-ia-aš SÌR SÌR-RU nu ma-aḥ-ḥ[a-a)]n
 7 [(GUNNI^{ME})^š kat-ta e-eš-ša-an-ta-ri nu EGIR-an-da ḥa-a[(n-te-e)]z-zī
 8 [(A-NA)]^DU ke-el-di-ya ki-iš-ša-an ši-pa-an-da-an-[z]i
-
- 9 [(1SIL)]A₄ 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UP-NI A-NA^DU ki-bi-iš-ši-ya 7 MUŠEN 2 [(SIL)A₄]
 10 [1 AMA]R-ya 4 NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HIA} ŠĀ.BA 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA ŠĀ¹ ½ SA_x-A-TI
 11 [(3 NINDA)].GUR₄.RA ŠĀ 1 UP-NI da-a-ḥa-ši-ya du-ru-ši-ya pu-nu-ḥ[u-un-ši-y]a
 12 kam-mi-ir-ši-ya iz-zu-ur-ši-ya ku-zu-ur-ši-ya el-[mi-y]a
 13 pâr-ni-ya a-a-ri-ya mu-ud-ri-ya da-a-ri-ya []
 14 du-pur-pu-ri-ya nu ke-e MUŠEN^{HIA} SILA₄^{HIA} 1 AMAR-y[a]
 15 šu-up-pa-a-eš Ū-UL-aš ku-iš-ki e-ez-za-zi 1 SILA₄ 1 NĪ[NDA.GUR₄.RA UP-NI A-NA]
 16 [ḥu-u]z-zī⁶ ki-bi-ni^DU-ub-bi ḥa-nu-ma-aš-ši uš-t[a-aš-ši]
 17 [e-e]p-ri-eš-ši kam-mi-ir-ši šar-ra-aš-ši ma-a-li na-an-[ki]
 18 [1 SIL]A₄ 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UP-NI A-NA^{GIS}TUKUL^{MEŠ} na-an-ki-ni-bi
 19 [i-y]a²-ar-ši^DU-ub-bi^DU-ub-wi-na ša-a-úr-ra
 20 [pâr-mi-i]š pâr-mi-i[š(-)⁷]x(-)⁷pâr-mi-iš
-
- 21 [] [NIN]DA.GUR₄.RA ŠĀ 1 SA_x-A-TI []
 22 [du-wa-ar-š]i-ya(?) ú-ra-m[a-al-zi-ya(?)⁷
 23 []x 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA []

Rev. IV

- x+1 [1⁷]r^{NINDA}mu¹-l[a²-ti-in
 2' GEŠTIN-ya š[i-pa-an -ti]

- 3' [DUB.x^{KAM} Ū-UL QA-TI
 4' []^HUR.SAG Ḥa-az-zi-ya

Translation

Obv. I

- 1 When they put /let [down(?)...]
 2 they pour [fragrant things] onto the brazier
 3 They take 1 (liquid) measure of perfumed oil for this [Storm]god
 4 and 1 (liquid) measure of perfumed oil for that Stormgod.
 5 Then he/she scatters fragrant things onto the brazier.⁸
 6 The singers sing the song of kingship and when
 7 the braziers subside, then they libate in this way first behind(?)
 8 to the Stormgod of the well-being.
-
- 9 1 lamb 1 thick bread of a handful to the Throne/Seat of Tešub;⁹ 7 birds, 2 lam[bs]
 10 and [1 cal]f, 4 thick breads, among which, 1 thick bread of half measure []
 11 3 thick breads of one handful (each) to daḥaši, to duruši, to punuh[unši]
 12 to kammirši, to izzurši, to kuzurši, to (the) o[at]h,
 13 to (the) purity(?), to aari, to mudri, to daari, []
 14 to dupurpuri; and these pure birds, lambs and one calf
 15 nobody eat. 1 lamb, 1 [thick] br[e]ad of a handful to (the)
 16 [ḥu]zzi kibini of Tešub: fertility(?), hero[ism],
 17 [lor]dship, kammirši, kingship, maali, bellige[rency(?).]
 18 [1 lam]b, 1 thick bread of a handful to the implements of (the concept of) the Battle
 19 [iy]arši of Tešub, weapons of Tešub.
 20 [Pur]e! Pure! [.]. Pure! (?)¹⁰
-
- 21 [] []thick bread of one measure[
 22 []to[du-warš]i, [to] uram[alzi
 23 [].. 1 thick bread []

STEFANO DE MARTINO*
THE COMPOSITION AND TRANSMISSION
OF THE *ITKALZI* RITUAL

ABSTRACT

This essay deals with the transmission of the *itkalzi* ritual, its original recension and the derived “fill in the blanks” editions. We assume that said ritual was performed for the first time, when Tuthaliya II married Tadu-Ḫeba, with the aim of assuring the well being of the royal couple and the fertility of the queen.

KEYWORDS

itkalzi-ritual; Hurrian; Ancient Anatolia; Šapinuwa.

1. Introduction

The project devoted to the publication of the Hurrian texts found at Ortaköy/Šapinuwa has given rise to a new impulse also in the research study of the *itkalzi* ritual. The archives at Building A in Šapinuwa preserved many tablets and fragments belonging to this ritual and some of them duplicate texts found in Ḫattuša and already published by V. Haas in the first volume of the Hurrian Corpus.¹

V. Haas argued that there were two recensions of this ritual, namely a 22 tablet recension, which was quoted in the colophon of texts ChS I/1 7 and 8, but was not surely documented in any Boğazköy document, and a ten tablet version. According to V. Haas, tablets ChS I/1 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 belonged to the latter version, and ChS I/1 9 was the tenth and last tablet of said recension, as stated in the colophon.²

The discovery of a tablet at Ortaköy, whose colophon labels it as the eleventh tablet of the *itkalzi*, confirmed that a recension longer than the ten tablet edition actually existed.³

Upon re-examination of all the *itkalzi* tablets, striking is the division into two different groups:

1) some tablets explicitly mention Tuthaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba as the ritual patrons; the incantations and also those portions of text describing the performed ritual actions and offerings are in Hurrian.

2) Other tablets contain long descriptive portions in Hittite, whereas only the incantations are in Hurrian. All the texts of this second group do not refer to Tuthaliya II/Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba, but to an anonymous ritual patron.⁴

2. The Recensions of the *itkalzi* Ritual

A cross-analysis of the best preserved tablets and colophons of the *itkalzi* supports the assumption that there were other recensions aside from the two editions recognized by V. Haas.⁵

Two aspects are common to all the colophons of this ritual: a) the lack of the name of the scribe who wrote the tablet; b) the sequence number of the tablet and the information whether or not the series is complete.⁶ As for the two aforementioned elements, the preserved colophons of the *itkalzi* do not follow a standard pattern, but among them, however, a few differences can be recognized.

2.1) The 22 Tablet Recension: the Ritual performed for Tašmi-Šarri and Tadu-Ḫeba.

Since the 22 tablet recension is the longest, it is presumably the original and most complete edition of the *itkalzi*. If we acknowledge this assumption, the 22 tablet recension should be the Hurrian text that records the ritual performed for King Tašmi-Šarri and Queen Tadu-Ḫeba.

The 11th tablet, which was found at Ortaköy and, clearly, does not belong to the 10 tablet recension, supports this assumption, in that it is written in Hurrian and refers to the aforementioned king and queen as the ritual patrons.⁷

If we consider these two aspects as markers of the original 22 tablet recension, one might identify other tablets as belonging to the same recension, namely, the 3rd tablet (Or 90/1494 and its duplicates), ChS I/1 20, ChS I/1 6 and the 11th tablet, although the sequence of the tablets that is presented here remains hypothetical.⁸

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¹ HAAS 1984.

² *Ibidem*, 2-3.

³ See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

⁴ See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 15-17; DE MARTINO 2016.

⁵ See HAAS 1984.

⁶ See WAAL 2015, 525-528; the colophon of KUB 32 19 (ChS I/1 41), which W. Waal includes in her overview of the *itkalzi* colophons, in my opinion does not belong to this ritual, see also CAMPBELL 2016, 341 n. 17.

⁷ See DE MARTINO, MURAT, SÜEL 2013.

⁸ See DE MARTINO 2016.

The 3rd Tablet⁹

Manuscripts	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
Or 90/1494 +	preserved	Ortaköy Bd. A	MS
ABoT 37 + = ChS I/1 19	not preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS
KBo 20 124 = ChS I/1 23	not preserved	Bog. Bk r/16	NS
KBo 14 136 = ChS I/1 21 + KBo 43 60 = ChS I/1 8 242	not preserved	Bog. Bk area of Bd. A	MS
KBo 27 102 = ChS I/1 25	not preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon:

Or 90/1494

iv

28' DUB 3^{KAM} Ú-UL QA-TI ŠA SISKUR.SISKUR
it-kal-zi-ya-aš]

29' a-iš [š]u-up-pí-ya[-aḥ-ḥu-wa-aš A-NA ^{PUTU}Š^r
-at-kán]

30' KAxU-az pa-ra-a [I-NA ^{URU}Zi-it-ḥa-ra]

31' I-N[A] BURU₁₄ a-₁[ni-ya-u-en]

The 3rd tablet, which is written in Hurrian, contains a long incantation aimed at purifying Tadu-Ḥeba's body. The Queen is explicitly mentioned as the ritual patron. King Tuḥaliya/Tašmi-Šarri's name does not occur in this tablet, but we cannot exclude that it might have been present in the lost portions of the text. The ritualist, who declaimed said incantations, spoke of Tadu-Ḥeba using the 3rd person singular. The preserved portions of the third tablet contain only incantations, and there are no descriptions of any actions performed.¹⁰

Diagnostic signs recognizable in the manuscripts Or 90/1494 +, ChS I/1 19, ChS I/1 21 + and ChS I/1 25 show MH forms, whereas only ChS I/1 23 can be dated to the 13th century BC.¹¹ Hence, the latter clearly belongs to a more recent set of tablets.

There are very few differences that can be recognized among the five manuscripts:

a) Only the most recent manuscript, KBo 20 124 + (= ChS I/1 23) shows the name of Queen Tadu-Ḥeba, spelled as Dadu-Ḥeba.¹² The same spelling of this queen's name also occurs in the so-called Offering Lists,¹³ whereas, to my knowledge, it is not found in any other text or fragment of the *itkal-zi* ritual. This might mean that the 13th century scribe who wrote the tablet ChS I/1 23 ignored that the Hurrian obstruent /T/ was voiceless in a word-initial position.

b) Text ABoT 37 +¹⁴ documents the expression *za-ap-ku-u-šu*, whereas KBo 14 136 + I 7' has the form *za-ap-k]u-lu-u-ša* (*sapk=ol=o=š(še)=a*). The latter, presumably, is the right one (< a verbal root *sapk* + *ol* + the derivational suffix *šše* + the essive suffix); this passage is fragmentary and a full comprehension of this part of the text is unfortunately not possible.¹⁵

c) Manuscript ABoT 37 + diverges in another passage too; the verbal form *šeg=al=o=l=ae=ž* occurs in KBo 20 124 + I 14', whereas ABoT 37 + preserves the expression *šeg=al=o=l=ae=ž=nnā*.¹⁶ Said verbal expression does not appear with the enclitic pronoun *-nnā* in any other analogous sentences of the text, where it usually occurs with two other verbs, namely, *kažl=o=ež/kažl=o=ae=ž*, *eg(i)=o=šš(e)=o=l=ež/eg(i)=o=šš(e)=o=l=ae=ž*.¹⁷

ChS I/1 20¹⁸

Manuscript	Colophon	Find Spot	Script
KUB 32 24 + KUB 23 40 (+) KBo 20 133 = ChS I/1 20	not preserved	Bog. Bk. Bd. A	MS

The colophon of this fragmentary tablet written in Hurrian is not preserved; despite this, the discovery of the third tablet among the Hurrian texts found at Ortaköy supports the assumption that text ChS I/1 20 and the third tablet, as well, are part of the same recension of the *itkalzi* ritual. As a matter of fact, ChS I/1 20 contains an incantation aimed at purifying Tuḥaliya's body, which is almost identical to the one recorded in the third tablet. The same sentences and words occur in the incantations documented in both of the aforementioned texts. The third tablet and ChS I/1 20 can be considered twin texts, with the only difference that the third tablet refers to the queen, whereas ChS I/1 20 refers to the king.¹⁹

⁹ See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015.

¹⁰ See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, 9-12.

¹² See DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 89.

¹³ See CARRUBA 2008, 140.

¹⁴ Text A1 I 9', DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 38.

¹⁵ See DE MARTINO – SÜEL 2015, 38.

¹⁶ Text A 1 + 2 I 41'/I 2', DE MARTINO, SÜEL 2015, 44.

¹⁷ See CAMPBELL 2015a, 192-193 for these verbal forms.

¹⁸ See DE MARTINO 2016.

¹⁹ See DE MARTINO 2016.

SEBASTIAN FISCHER*
ERSTE ERGEBNISSE EINER UNTERSUCHUNG
DER HURRITISCHEN EMAR-TEXTE

ABSTRACT

The paper presents some initial results of an ongoing study of the Hurrian texts from Emar which might also be of interest beyond the scope of Hurritological studies. In particular, it will examine the syllabaries used and re-evaluate Salvini's proposed division of the texts in two groups. While the Hurrian omens generally show the same structural features known from Akkadian omens, some characteristics specific to the Hurrian texts emerge. These include a sentence which seems to bridge the protasis and the apodosis, a blessing formula written at the end of four tablets, and some schematic features.

KEYWORDS

Hurrian language; oracles; Emar.

Die folgenden Ausführungen stellen einige der ersten Ergebnisse und Ideen dar, zu denen ich bei der Vorbereitung einer Bearbeitung der von Mirjo Salvini herausgegebenen hurritischen Emar-Texte¹ gelangte und die bis zum Abschluss dieser Bearbeitung natürlich nur als vorläufig anzusehen sind.²

I. Das Korpus

Bei den hurritischen Emar-Texten handelt es sich um Keilschrifttafeln, die in den Jahren 1973 und 1974 zu Tage traten. 1973 wurden gerade einmal sieben Tafeln bzw. Fragmente gefunden. Der Ansatz von sieben Tafeln bzw. Fragmenten für das Jahr 1973 folgt dem Vorschlag Salvini's, in MSK 73.1034 und MSK 73.1049+ sowie wahrscheinlich auch in MSK 73.1069 und MSK 73.1072 jeweils indirekte Joins zu sehen.³ Für MSK 73.1034 und MSK 73.1049+ kann der indirekte Join bestätigt werden und für MSK 73.1069 und MSK 73.1072 scheint dies aufgrund einiger übereinstimmender Merkmale (beide Tafeln haben Paragrafenstriche, benutzen KI.MIN MIN und zeigen eine schwach erkennbare, vertikal verlaufende Linie auf Höhe des MIN) ebenfalls sehr wahrscheinlich zu sein. Dass die weiteren fünf kleinen Fragmente ebenfalls angeschlossen werden könnten, ist nicht auszuschließen.⁴ Es ist durchaus möglich, dass es sich bei den Textfunden von 1973 vielleicht nur um drei oder vier Tafeln handelt.⁵ Die genaue Zahl der Tafeln, die 1974 gefunden wurden, lässt sich auf-

grund möglicher (indirekter) Textzusammenschlüsse schwer bestimmen. Nach momentanem Stand sind es ungefähr 100 bis 110 Tafeln bzw. Fragmente.⁶ Abgesehen von einer Version der sog. Weidner Götterliste und einer Opferliste, handelt es sich vor allem um Sammlungen von Omina.⁷ Ein Kolophon ist in MSK

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¹ Abkürzungen in den Glossierungen: ABS – Absolutiv; ANTIP – Antipassiv; CON – Konnektivum; DAT – Dativ; DIR – Direktiv; EPNTH – Derivationsvokal/Bindevokal; ERG – Ergativ; ESS – Essiv; FUT – Futur; GEN – Genitiv; INS – Instrumental; INTR – Intransitiv; MOD – unklares Modalmorphem; MOD_i – bei Modalformen vorkommendes Morphem vor dem Modalmorphem; MOD_o – bei Modalformen vorkommendes Morphem vor dem Modalmorphem; NMLZ – Nominalisierung; OPT – Optativ; PL – Plural; POSS – Possessivsuffix; POT – Potentialis; PRON – selbständiges Personalpronomen; RC – Wurzerweiterung; RECIPI – Reziprok; RELAT – Relativ; RES – Resultativ; SG – Singular; TR – Transitiv.

SALVINI 2015, IDEM 2015a. Eine Rezension liegt mit DE MARTINO 2016 vor. Zuvor war nur wenig über diese Texte bekannt (siehe LAROCHE 1980a, IDEM 1982, 53 und 59-60). Einige Wörter fanden Eingang in Emmanuel Laroche's *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (LAROCHE 1980).

² Die hurritischen Emar-Texte waren das Thema meines Vortrags im Rahmen des Workshops *Šapinuwa and the Hurrians* (Turin, 3. Juli 2017). Für die Einladung möchte ich mich herzlich bei Prof. Dr. Stefano de Martino bedanken. Der Vortrag widmete sich einer möglichst breit angelegten Präsentation dieser Ergebnisse, von denen an dieser Stelle ein paar Punkte herausgegriffen und eingehender erläutert werden, die auch für diejenigen, die sich nicht unmittelbar mit dem Hurritischen befassen, von Interesse sein könnten.

³ SALVINI 2015, 15.

⁴ Vielleicht ist MSK 73.1084v mit MSK 73.1034(+) zu verbinden, wie in SALVINI 2015, 268 vorgeschlagen. Eine Zugehörigkeit zu MSK 73.1069 und MSK 73.1072 ist meines Erachtens ebenso möglich.

⁵ MSK 73.1078b zeigt ebenfalls eine vertikale Linie auf Höhe des MIN-Zeichens (sowie die Schreibung KI.MIN MIN), allerdings scheint mir das Fragment nach dem Foto (SALVINI 2015, 268) nicht zu MSK 73.1069 und MSK 73.1072 zu passen. Eine vertikale Linie nahe des linken Randes ist auch bei MSK 73.1034(+) zu erkennen (nur auf der Vorderseite).

⁶ Siehe für eine Übersicht SALVINI 2015, 15-18. Als Joins konnte ich bisher schon MSK 74.192a + MSK 74.238A und MSK 74.198A (offenbar identisch mit MSK 74.200C) + MSK 74.101A identifizieren. Es ist sicherlich noch mit weiteren (indirekten) Joins zu rechnen.

⁷ Zu einem neuen Join für die Götterliste siehe SIMONS 2017. Im Gegensatz zu der Zuschreibung in SALVINI 2015, 27 möchte ich in MSK 74.299A+B keinen *texte d'ornithomancie* sehen, sondern vielmehr eine Opferliste, siehe dazu Punkt IV. Als lexikalische Liste wird in SALVINI 2015, 16-17 das kleine, bereits in

73.1034(+) teilweise erhalten.⁸ Zudem scheinen noch im kleinen Fragment MSK 73.1084x die Reste eines Kolophons vorzuliegen, da wie bei MSK 73.1034(+) hier ebenfalls ein doppelter Paragraphenstrich mit anschließendem Freiraum (etwa zwei Tafelzeilen entsprechend) vorliegt. Das Fehlen weiterer Kolophone bei den Tafelfunden von 1974 ist wohl nicht allein dem Erhaltungszustand der Tafeln zuzuschreiben, da auch jene Tafeln, die entsprechend erhalten sind, keinen Kolophon zeigen.

Aufgrund des oftmals fragmentarischen Zustands lässt sich häufig nicht sagen, worum es sich bei dem jeweiligen Beobachtungsgegenstand handelt. Da bestimmte Termini auftauchen, die Merkmale einer Leber sind, ist diese Omengattung gesichert.⁹ In MSK 73.1034(+) Rs. 14, 18 wird wohl auch die Lunge (*turže*) und in MSK 73.1034(+) Rs. 19, 20, 21 sowie MSK 73.1069 Rs. 1, 4 das Herz (*tižni*) genannt.¹⁰ Von den aus hethitischen Leberschautexten bekannten hurritischen Begriffen sind die folgenden in Emar belegt (in Klammern die in der Hethitologie übliche Wiedergabe): *nibažuri* (*nipašuri*), *šindige*(?) (*šintaḫi*), *tanani*, *sul(ul)gi/e* (*zul(ul)ki*), *adamdi/ adamdige* (*adamtaḫi*), *ḫada'i/e* (*ḫataḫi*), *ḫeriḡe* (*ḫiriḫi*), *ḫiradugari* (*ḫirindugarri*), *kiriḡe* (*kiriḫi*), *tudami* (*tutametta*), *tudi* (*tuti*), *urni(u)rni* (*urnirni*), *urgile* (*urki*), sowie die Positionsangaben *paḡi/e* (,Kopf' = oben) und *adani* (,Schemel' = unten).¹¹ Darüber hinaus werden Beobachtungen am Vogelkopf (SAG MUŠEN) bzw. Vogelkörper (MUŠEN), vielleicht auch der Innereien, vorgenommen.¹² Unter den wenigen bekannten akkadischen Omina, die den Vogelkörper betreffen, scheint mir insbesondere der altbabylonische Text MAH 15987 interessant zu sein, der ebenso wie MSK 74.306a Beobachtungen am Vogelkopf beschreibt. In MAH 15987 spielen rote Punkte eine wichtige Rolle.¹³ Die genauere Auswertung und Zuordnung der einzelnen Texte erfolgt an anderer Stelle.

II. Die Fundsituation der Texte

Im Einleitungsteil von Salvini's Publikation findet sich der Vermerk, dass die Tafeln, die 1973 gefunden wurden, aus dem *carré* 35 stammen und jene des Jahres 1974 aus dem *maison du devin* (,Tempel' M₁).¹⁴ Salvini weist dabei auf charakteristische Unterschiede zwischen diesen beiden Fundgruppen hin, die die Paläographie, den Duktus und die Farbe und Qualität des Tons betreffen. Er führt dies auf zwei unterschiedlichen Schreiberschulen bzw., bezogen auf die Tafeln von 1973, auf ein kleines spezielles Archiv innerhalb der hurritischen divinatorischen Texte von Emar zurück.¹⁵ Zudem treten signifikante Unterschiede im Syllabar dieser Texte auf.¹⁶ Mit Hilfe der Untersuchung von Matthew Rutz, dem die jetzt publizierten hurritischen Texte noch nicht zugäng-

lich waren, ist zu vermuten, dass die Tafelfunde von 1973 sehr wahrscheinlich aus dem gleichen Bereich des ,Tempels' M₁ (Locus 1) stammen wie jene von 1974, auch wenn die genaue Lokalisierung nicht mehr möglich ist.¹⁷ Daher gibt es keinen Grund, zwei gänz-

ARNAUD 1985, 213 editierte Fragment MSK 74.81c bezeichnet. Zu MSK 74.164j findet sich die Bemerkung (SALVINI 2015, 23): „Non retrouvé au musée d'Alep. Laroche attribue la texte à la liste AN monolingue.“

⁸ SALVINI 2015, 59 bzw. 2015a, 282 liest den Kolophon akkadisch: [] 'an-ni' t/tup-pi 'bi-ra'[-a]t x x. Bei 'an-ni' tup-pi ist die für akkadische Texte bekannte Verwendung des Zeichens PI für /pi/ auffallend, während für das Hurritische dieses Zeichen als WA benutzt wird. Allerdings ist 'an-ni' tup-pi schwer mit der zu erwartenden üblichen Wortstellung und Kasusverwendung im Akkadischen zu vereinbaren. Das hurritische Demonstrativpronomen *anni* würde besser passen (,diese Tafel'). Die Lesung 'bi-ra' ist denkbar, von einem AD wäre am Foto (SALVINI 2015, 263) nach einer großen Lücke nur noch der Kopf des senkrechten Keils zu erkennen.

⁹ Siehe generell zu hurritischen Termini der Leberschau DE MARTINO 1992, 10-11 und 143-159, SCHUOL 1994, HAAS 2008, 59 Anm. 227 und 60.

¹⁰ Ob die Belege von *tiža* ,Herz' (ohne ,individualisierendes' -ni) in MSK 73.1034(+) Rs. 5 und MSK 73.1049+: 9' ebenfalls das Herz als Gegenstand der Beobachtung nennen, bleibt vorerst unklar.

¹¹ Möglicherweise sind noch *tali* (*talim/talin*), *tulli*, *ḫari* (*pal-si*; das Wort wird auch in den Apodosen in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung benutzt), *kešḫi* (drei Belege, davon einer wohl eindeutig in der Bedeutung ,Thron' in einer Apodosis) und *keldi* (*kelti*; schwierig zu bestimmen, da höchstwahrscheinlich auch im eigentlichen Sinne ,Wohl' in Apodosen belegt; häufige Schreibung *ki-ma* vielleicht Abkürzung für *keldi=ma*, vielleicht auch MSK 74.159 C+ r. Kol. 4' *ki-ba-ma pa-ḫi-da x[keldi-va=ma paḡi(-i)-da Wohl-DAT=CON Kopf(-3POSS.SG')-DIR* ,dem *keldi* aber zum Kopf', d. h. ,oben am *keldi*', zur Möglichkeit, dass eine Konstruktion mit relationalem Nomen/Postposition vorliegt, siehe FISCHER 2018, Kapitel 9) als Omentermini belegt. Zu *ḫelippašše* (*ḫilipšiman?*) und *šurie* siehe unten Punkt V.

¹² Vogelkopf: MSK 74.306a, MSK 74.127A; Vogel: MSK 74.158A+. Die in SALVINI 2015, 130 noch genannten Texte MSK 74.201A und MSK 74.218A möchte ich vorerst hier nicht zuordnen, da die Bedeutung des dort lediglich zweimal bzw. einmal vorkommenden MUŠEN unklar ist. MSK 74.299A+B gehört nicht zu den (Vogel-)Omentexten, siehe dazu Punkt IV.

¹³ Der Text wurde in NOUGAYROL 1967, 23-25 bearbeitet. Vgl. auch die Übersetzung in PIENKA-HINZ 2008, 28-29. Allgemein zur Inspektion von Opfervögeln siehe MAUL 2003-2005, 82-83 und 2013, 131-153.

¹⁴ SALVINI 2015, 13. Zur eigentlichen Funktion des Gebäudes, bei dem es sich wohl nicht um einen Tempel handelt, siehe die Diskussion in RUTZ 2013, 303-308.

¹⁵ SALVINI 2015, 13, 43.

¹⁶ SALVINI 2015, 43-47. In einigen Punkten werden meine Beobachtungen von denen Salvini's abweichen.

¹⁷ RUTZ 2013, 113. Die Nummern 73.1000-1095, zu denen auch die hurritischen Textfunde des Jahres 1973 zählen, wurden ursprünglich mit R. Nummern versehen, die aus dem ersten Abschnitt des nachher als ,Tempel M₁' bezeichneten Gebäudes stammen und später mit neuen Nummern inventarisiert wurden. Nach Rutz stammen sie möglicherweise aus dem Bereich M I NW-SW. M I SW erstreckt sich über den Durchgang von Locus 1 zu Locus 3. Zu dem Bereich, aus dem die ursprünglichen R. Nummern stammen könnten, schreibt Rutz: „For example,

DANIEL SCHWEMER*
RITES OF THE AN.DAḪ.ŠUM FESTIVAL IN ḪATTUŠA

ABSTRACT

The contribution offers an edition of the Hittite festival fragment 1234/z. The tablet represents a ‚day tablet‘ of the Empire period spring festival (AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival). Due to its fragmentary state it cannot be assigned to a specific day with certainty. The rites described on the tablet took place in Ḫattuša after the return of the king from Arinna and may belong to the event called the ‚great assembly‘.

KEYWORDS

Hittite spring festival; Arinna; Hittite religion.

1. 1234/z: *findspot and physical characteristics*

The fragment 1234/z was found in 1967 among rubble in the area of the eastern storage rooms of the Great Temple at Ḫattuša (room 10). It preserves parts of the obverse and reverse of a large library tablet of a Hittite festival text. The tablet is inscribed in the later form of Hittite cuneiform (NS) and thus likely to have been written in the 13th century BC. On the

284/q	findspot: Büyükkale y/7, probably from building K; KBo 46.135a; CTH 626
285/q	findspot: Büyükkale y/7, probably from building K; KBo 14.32 and KBo 46.135b; CTH 626
286/q	findspot: Büyükkale y/7, probably from building K; KBo 46.135c; CTH 626
173/r	findspot: Büyükkale y/7, probably from building K; KBo 14.34; CTH 670
176/r	findspot: Büyükkale y/7, probably from building K; KBo 14.24; CTH 628
1041/z	findspot: Great Temple, area of storage room 6; KBo 59.166; CTH 470
Bo 69/62	findspot: Great Temple, area of storage room 10; CTH 650; KBo 22.208

None of these texts necessarily originally belonged to the same tablet as 1234/z. The *Konkordanz* (version 1.96; last accessed 9 vi 2017) lists 1041/z and Bo 69/62 as possible indirect joins to 1234/z.¹ However, as pointed out by Groddek (2014: 123), 1041/z is probably a fragment of a magic ritual (cf. *ḫa-at-te-eš-ni* in line 6'). Bo 69/62 is a festival fragment (CTH 650), but its content neither particularly suggests nor entirely rules out an original affiliation with 1234/z.

Indirect joins between 1234/z and any of the five fragments found near building K on Büyükkale may appear unlikely because of the very different find context, but in view of a possible secondary displacement of fragments across the site of Ḫattuša, they too deserve a closer examination. The fragment 176/r has been assigned to the *ḫišuwa*-festival; the mention of

obverse, several paragraphs of col. i and a few lines of col. ii are still extant. The reverse preserves more than twenty very fragmentary lines of the final column of the tablet. It is not entirely excluded that the original tablet had three rather than two columns on each side; if so, an even greater proportion of the original text would have been lost.

In the blaze that destroyed the building the tablet was torn apart and smashed to pieces. The surviving fragment stands out by its chalk-white colour, a comparatively light weight, and soft texture. Especially on the reverse the writing surface has deteriorated considerably due to secondary deposition. The cuneiform signs appear washed-out and blunt, often they have become indistinct and undecipherable. Only a few fragments of this type have been found at Ḫattuša. The *Konkordanz* records the following fragments with the same or a similar description of their general appearance (‘‘weisser Ton’’, ‘‘weisser kalkiger Ton’’, ‘‘weisser, weicher gebrannter Ton’’, ‘‘weissgelber, weicher gebrannter Ton’’, ‘‘schmutzig-gelblichweisser, weicher gebrannter Ton’’):

Lelluri, the wife of the storm-god of Manuziya, in line 2' and of *šeḫelliyaš widār* ‘‘purification water’’ in line 7' certainly justify this identification and firmly remove the fragment from 1234/z. The fragment 173/r comes from a three-column tablet inscribed with an as yet unidentified festival text. In rev. iv, proceedings in the bath house (É.DU₁₀.ÚS.[SA, rev. iv 8') involving the king and queen are described; apparently the couple is fitted out with some golden item ‘‘in royal fashion’’ (LUGAL-iz-na-aš i-w[a-ar, rev. iv 5'). The extant lines in obv. iii deal with drinking rites and bread offerings.

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¹ In the notes the tentative nature of these joins is clearly stated: ‘‘Joinvorschlag J. L. Miller (15.8.2008)’’.

A direct join to 1234/z is excluded, and the contents of the two fragments neither includes any passages that rule out or specifically recommend the hypothesis that the two fragments come from the same tablet.

The three small fragments 284/q, 285/q, and 286/q were presented as part of the same tablet in KBo 46 (135a–c; ed. Groddek 2015: 106–8). Nakamura (2002: 213, 243–44) considered 285/q a duplicate of KUB 25.12 rev. v 10'–15', even though ^rGUB^r-aš in rev. iii 2 deviates from corresponding ^rTUŠ-aš in KUB 25.12 rev. v 12'.² According to its colophon, KUB 25.12 is the fifth (and not final) tablet of a series of tablets concerned with the sixth day of the *nuntarriyašha*-festival (CTH 626), which is devoted to rites in the capital culminating at the end of the day in a great assembly held in the royal quarters (*halentuwa*). The fragment 284/q has no exact duplicate. In lines 6'–9', it contains a passage concerned with a libation by a GUDU₁₂-priest. This passage has parallels in festival texts that are currently assigned to the cult of Arinna (CTH 666): IBoT 4.171, ed. Groddek 2007: 130–31; KBo 58.105, ed. Groddek 2012: 69; Bo 4366 rev., ed. Popko 2009: 106. The same scene also occurs in other festival fragments such as KBo 42.24 rev. 5'–7' (CTH 670). The latter fragment also sheds some light on how lines 2'–5' of 284/q should be reconstructed approximately, as it contains in rev. 2'–4' a parallel scene in which a table servant purifies (*anda šuppiyahzi*) a *kaluḫat*-, a leather libation vessel. The use of a *kaluḫat*- is again reminiscent of the cult of Arinna (Popko 2009: 86), but does, on its own, not

rule out the attribution of 284/q (+) 285/q (+) 286/q to CTH 626, not least because the sixth day of the *nuntarriyašha*-festival began at Arinna from where the king set out to the capital.

If the attribution of 284/q (+) 285/q (+) 286/q to the *nuntarriyašha*-festival is correct, the fragments cannot have come from the same tablet as 1234/z, which, as will be discussed in more detail in sections 2. and 3., is concerned with rites of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. It should be noted, however, that this attribution is not entirely certain and that, furthermore, the rites of the sixth day of the *nuntarriyašha*-festival may have some similarity to the rites set out in 1234/z, since both – CTH 626 certainly, 1234/z very possibly – describe the proceedings of a great assembly held in the royal quarters at Ḫattuša.

2. The colophon of 1234/z

The significance of 1234/z derives from the fact that the left edge preserves a fragmentary, three-line colophon that assigns the text to the rites of the spring festival. Unfortunately, the exact name of the specific festival whose rites 1234/c records are lost in a lacuna at the beginning of the colophon's final line. I propose to reconstruct the text as follows; it should be noted, however, that the indication of the space available in the break at the beginning of the lines rests only on the reconstruction of the wording in the first two lines.

- l. e. 1 [ma-a-an ḫa-m]e-eš-^rḫi^r AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}-aš ^rme-ḫur^r
 2 [nu LUGAL-uš^{URU}]^rPÚ^r-na-za^r ^rURU^rKU^r.BABBAR-ši ú-ez-zi
 3 [x x x x-š]^a^rEZEN⁴-aš ^ra^r-pi-ia ki-i-ša
 1 [When], in spring, it is the season of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM-plant,
 2 [the king] comes from Arinna to Ḫattuša,
 3 and the festival of[...] takes place there.

The wording of the colophon, with the use of the phrase AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}-aš *mēḫur* “season of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM-plant” is without parallel in the spring festival colophons, which generally rather employ the phrase EZEN⁴ AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} “festival of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM-plant”

(see Waal 2015: 402–5, 408–23). Nevertheless, the present subscript should be compared to the small fragment 173/s (KBo 45.31). There, only the colophon is preserved:³

- rev. 1' DUB [n.KAM (ú-UL) QA-TI(?)]
 2' [m]a-a-an LUGAL-uš ḫa-me-[eš-ḫi x x x x x]
 3' [u]^{RU}a-ri-in-na-za^{URU}KU^r.[BABBAR-ši ú-ez-zi]
 4' [t]a^rḫa-li-in-tu-u-wa-[aš šal-li a-še-eš-šar]
 5' [ḫa]l-zi-ia-ri
 1' [...]th tablet; [(not) complete].
 2' When the king [in] spr[ing ...]
 3' [comes] from Arinna to Ḫatt[uša],
 4'–5' [the great assembly] is convened in the royal quarters.

² NAKAMURA (loc. cit.) tentatively also edits IBoT 2.89 as a duplicate of this passage, but the significant differences to the text in KUB 25.12 render this unlikely.

³ The colophon was edited by WAAL (2015: 404); the presentation above follows that edition with modifications in lines 1', 2' and 4'.

AYGÜL SÜEL¹
WORKSHOPS FOUND AT TEPELERARASI AREA
OF ORTAKÖY-ŞAPINUWA

ABSTRACT

The results of the most recent archaeological excavation conducted at Ortaköy/Şapinuwa in the area of Tepelerarası and Ağılönü. The existence of workshops in these regions supports the assumption that these materials were not only produced for this city but were also sent to a vast geographic area ruled by the Hittites. In this article, the focus will be on workshops that were excavated in the 'G' region of Tepelerarası. These excavations began in 2014 and are still in continuing.

KEYWORDS

Ortaköy/Şapinuwa; Tepelerarası; Ağılönü; Workshops.

Şapinuwa, located in Ortaköy-Çorum was one of the capital cities of the Hittite State. The archaeological studies at Şapinuwa are currently focused in Tepelerarası and Ağılönü areas² (Fig. 1).

The Ağılönü area, situated North of the city, is considered a sacred area of Şapinuwa. According to recent studies, the sacrificing pits found in this area are continuing towards the south of the area. There are excavated buildings, belonging to the Hittite period, surrounding the sacrificing pits. The stone paved mass of Ağılönü, a unique structure in Hittite architecture, is located behind the sacrificing pits towards the north³ (Fig. 3).

Tepelerarası, a location central to the city, is the area where all of the excavated monumental buildings of Şapinuwa are found (Fig. 4). In this article, the focus will be on workshops that were excavated in the 'G' region of Tepelerarası. These excavations began in 2014, and are still in continuing (Fig. 5).

At Tepelerarası, studies were conducted in the 'G' region, North of building 'D' and East of building 'B', during the 2001 and 2002 seasons. Clay texture was found in the six trenches that were excavated during this period. These excavations were terminated, accepting these clay findings as the main soil.

This same area in the 'G' region was studied again during the 2013 archaeological study period. Geophysical studies and geomagnetic, geo-radar, ERT (Electrical Resistivity Tomography), SRT (Seismic Refraction Tomography) and MASW (Multichannel Surface Wave Analysis) techniques were applied to

this area to increase the amount of information about the main soil.

On the eastern edge of this region, in the light of the 2013 geophysical work, the 2014 excavation season began with the opening of four new trenches, north to south, 10x10 meters each. Another reason for the selection of this area was to re-evaluate the data obtained from the survey findings in 2000. Survey findings in 2000 showed tablet pieces on the soil that needed further study to understand their origins.

Inside the southern trenches, a thick clay layer was encountered under the agricultural land. In the northern trenches, a small clay stream began to be picked up lightly, and shortly after the first findings were discovered.

The first findings were pieces of broken pots and other objects that were interpreted as moulds and melting pots. Both mentioned materials were made from clay and were similar in terms of material and craftsmanship to the mould group unearthed during the excavations of building 'C' in previous years.⁴ The pot pieces were naturally baked with heat effect and the moulds were made from a specially prepared clay based dough which is very well refined.

In the continuation of the work, the area on the west of the line, in the middle of the 4th trench, southwest of the trench, there are four air bellows on the floor, three of which are closer to each other (Fig. 6).

The air bellow on the north is the largest in size. The brim of the air bellow is facing southeast direction. Handmade blowpipes with perforated holes were found in the centre of the roughly rounded body around the brim. The other two air bellows are facing west and south. The blow holes of these two air bellows are facing each other. There is also a blowpipe on the brim of the southwest facing air bellow.

The air bellows have interesting features. They are flat-bottomed, wide and low in stance. The skin is stretched to the brim. The most important features of them are the round protrusions extending 10-15 cm outwards.

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² SÜEL, A., 2008, 457-474; SÜEL, A., 2009, 193-205.

³ SÜEL, A., 2015, 101-112; SÜEL, M., 2015, 113-122.

⁴ SÜEL, M., 2008, 475-484.



Fig. 1 - Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Hittite City.

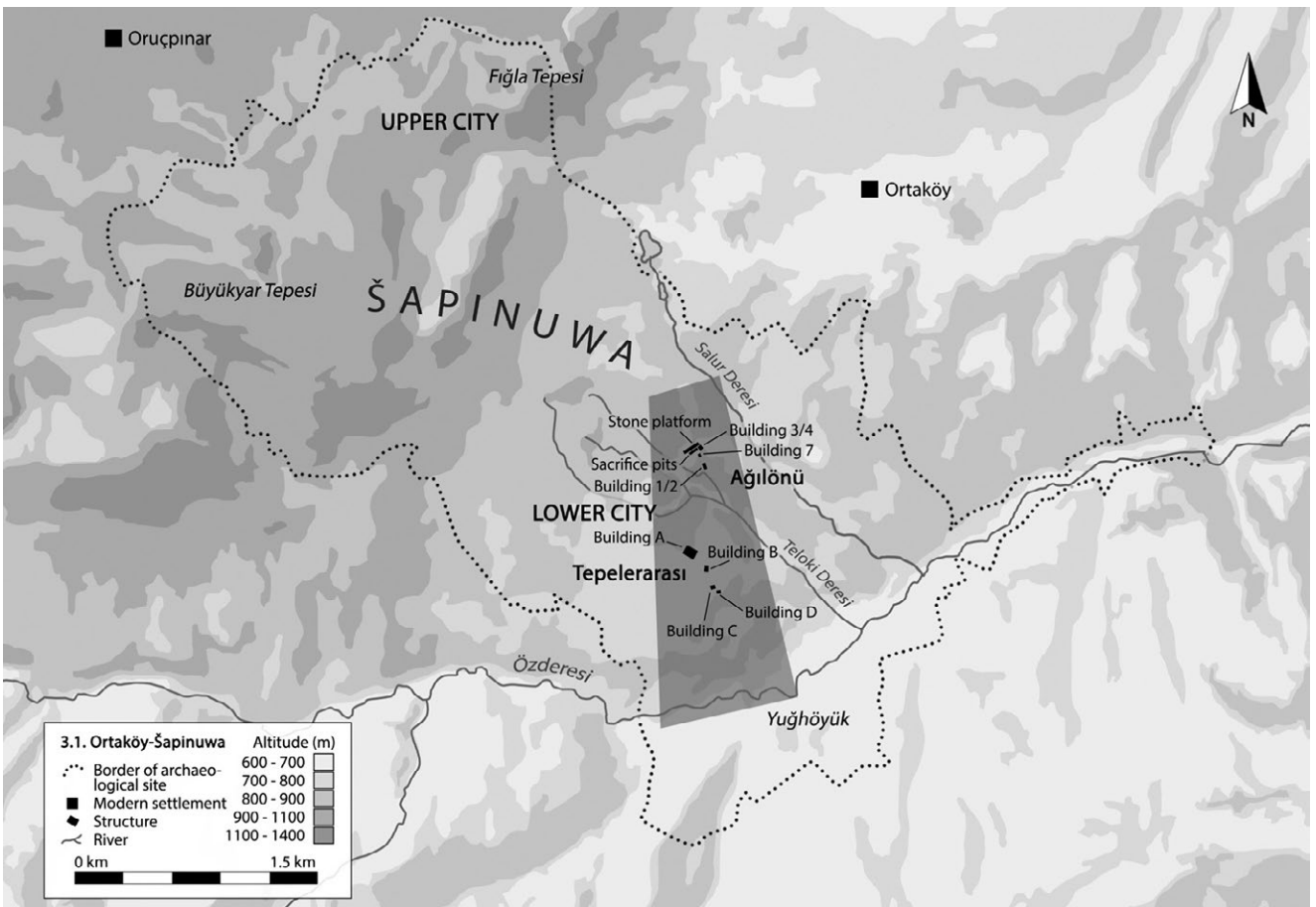


Fig. 2 - Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Hittite City Map.

GERNOT WILHELM*

SYNCHRONIC VARIETY
AND DIACHRONIC CHANGE IN HURRIAN

ABSTRACT

The Hurrian language is attested in texts that cover a period of about one millennium and come from several places in the vast geographical area between the Mediterranean in the west and the Zagros Mountains in the east. From this, it follows that synchronic variety and diachronic change can be expected. The essay gives an outline of the history of research on this problem and describes some examples including hitherto overlooked evidence.

KEYWORDS

Hurrian language; historical linguistics.

It is commonplace that languages over long periods of time are subject to change on various levels, be it phonemic, prosodic, morphemic, syntactic or semantic. It is an equally trivial fact that a language spoken in an extensive space displays areal differences called dialects. In order to identify diachronic change one needs sufficient documentation of speech from more than one point of time within a longer period, preferably from one and the same area. In order to detect dialectal variety one needs synchronic variants of identical words (isoglosses) and phrases from different regions.

In the case of Hurrian these preconditions of a serious answer to the questions of diachronic change and dialectal variety can hardly be met.

Although the language was spoken in a large space for a long time, we have only comparably few written texts. The texts from individual cities or regions (Urkeš, Mari, Mittani, Qatna, Emar, Šamuḫa) usually come from a short period of time, so they cannot give any indication of a language development. The Hurrian texts from Ḫattuša and Šapinuwa mainly represent “literature of tradition”. Here, the time when the actual tablets available to us were written can be roughly dated by palaeography and, in some cases, by historical data, but time and place of the original wording of the texts remain unclear. In addition to that, the scripts used for recording Hurrian texts (syllabic cuneiform, alphabetic cuneiform) were not invented in order to write Hurrian, though they were more or less adjusted to Hurrian. Our knowledge of the vocabulary of the Hurrian language is still quite limited. Hurrian personal names are abundantly attested from the late third millennium to the end of the Late Bronze age; they offer valuable linguistic

information, but it is not clear how old a name might be and to which extent a name was coined ad hoc.

The obstacles to the attempt to identify diachronic change and dialects in the Hurrian linguistic area have often been addressed even in recent research literature.¹ In the following survey of the research literature, selected explicit references to synchronic variety and diachronic change will be traced, laying no claim, however, to completeness. In the second part I will discuss some Hurrian words which have not yet received sufficient attention and which are relevant to the topic of this paper.

I. *Outline of the Research History*

As long as the Mittani Letter was the only comprehensive testimony of the Hurrian language, the question of synchronic variety and diachronic change did not occur. This changed in the 1920ies and 1930ies, when Hurrian texts from Boğazköy² and

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¹ DIAKONOFF 1971, 23: “Neither the Hurrian nor the Urartian language can be divided for the time being into linguistic historical stages. Only the ... Urkiš inscription differs greatly in language from the rest. ... Although almost every text group seems to belong to a different dialect, however, the peculiarities, so far as can be determined, are insignificant.”; HAZENBOS 2006, 136: “There are still few studies available on temporal and local dialects and language variants. A common, rough classification is that between the Old Hurrian and the Mittani-Hurrian.” WEGNER 2007, 33: “Like every language, Hurrian must have distinguished between numerous local and temporal varieties, but these are hardly tangible on the basis of corresponding textual material.” (All my translations) WILHELM 2004, 97: “Despite its vast geographical distribution and its attested history of about a millennium, Hurrian is remarkably homogeneous. The two main dialects are that of the Mittani Letter and the dialect (or presumably a group of closely related dialects) called *Old Hurrian*.” Similarly GIORGIERI 2000, 179.

² As early as 1915, B. Hrozný (HROZNÝ 1915, 44) speculated on a dialectal relationship between the Hurrian language of texts from Boğazköy and the language of the Mittani Letter “... vielleicht nur dialektisch verschiedene Sprache ...”, similarly FORRER 1922, 225 (“... nur mundartlich ... verschieden.”). UNGNAD 1924, 133 with fn. 5, however, based on his study of the Hurrian Gilgameš fragments found at Boğazköy, did not see substantial differences (“Zurzeit sehe ich überhaupt noch keine «wesentlichen» Unterschiede.”) The basis for such an opinion, however, was only narrow. Only the publication of a considerable quantity of Hurrian texts by BRANDENSTEIN 1934 changed this situation.

Mari,³ Hurro-Akkadian texts from Nuzi⁴ and the so-called “Sumerian-Hurrian Vocabulary” from Ugarit⁵ were published.

In 1930, E. A. Speiser used the term “eastern group”⁶ for the Hurrian words and names in Akkadian texts of Nuzi, and referred to *evri* “king” in the Mittani Letter and its equivalent *ervri* in Nuzi. He also pointed to the alternation of *egli* and *elgi* in names of Nuzi as a second example of this metathesis, in this case in the same group of texts.⁷ In 1936, he explicitly stated: “The wide distribution of Hurrian over the length and breadth of the Near East led of necessity to the development and crystallization of dialectal differences. These differences are particularly noticeable in the field of phonology”.⁸ For the first time, Speiser coined the terms “East Hurrian” and “West Hurrian”.

The excavations at Ugarit yielded tablets and fragments of tablets with Hurrian texts in alphabetic cuneiform from the first campaign 1929 onwards. These texts were particularly helpful for Hurrian phonology, because they contained signs for consonants which the syllabic cuneiform script did not represent (*ḡ* [voiced allophone of *h*] and *ḡ* [voiced allophone of *ḡ*]). J. Friedrich and C.-G. von Brandenstein were able to define most of the distribution rules for consonantal allophones.⁹ These rules were later confirmed and specified by P. M. Purves, who detected them in Hurrian names written by first generation scribes at Nuzi and scribes of the Middle Babylonian period in Nippur.¹⁰

The “Sumerian-Hurrian vocabulary” excavated at Ugarit in 1930 differs in many respects from the “standard language”. In his *editio princeps*, F. Thureau-Dangin compared the language of the “vocabulary” with the language of the Mittani Letter and characterized both as different, but related.¹¹ As common features he cites some words (*tiža/tižni* “heart”; *tin-/tan-* “to make”, *avari* “field”) and suffixes (i.a. *-ne/i*, *-na*, *-ḡe/hḡe*, *-ve*, *-e*; *-ož=a*). A suffix without a parallel in the Mittani Letter according to the same author is the nominal suffix *-di* which corresponds to the Sumerian possessive suffix 3rd ps. sg.¹²

J. Friedrich in 1939 called such deviant characteristics “*dialektische Besonderheiten*” (“dialectal peculiarities”).¹³ Speiser made a similar statement in his grammar of 1941: “Dialectal peculiarities seem to be present”.¹⁴ In the same context, Friedrich referred to more differences between groups of Hurrian texts. Thus he contrasted the Mittani Letter with religious texts from Boğazköy that according to his opinion were more “archaic”.¹⁵ Similarly, Speiser stated: “Quite likely, the religious texts from Mâri and Bogh. reflect earlier grammatical conditions than does the secular Mitanni Letter”.¹⁶ As a conspicuous difference Friedrich recorded the frequent occurrence of the connective particles *-an* and *-mān* in the Mittani Letter and their rare use in the Hurrian texts from

Boğazköy.¹⁷ Speiser as well noted this difference as “dialectal specialization”.¹⁸

The inadequate level of grammatical and semantic comprehension of Hurrian has led occasionally to assumptions of diachronic changes, which have not stood the test of time. Speiser, e. g., interpreted the rare use of the pronoun of the 3rd Ps. Sg. *-n* in the texts from Boğazköy and Mari as opposed to its frequent use in the Mittani Letter as a diachronic development that went along with a “specialization of a pronominal element into a predicative particle”.¹⁹ This, however, is based on an error that only three decades later was clarified by W. Farber:²⁰ *-n* (and its long form *-nna*) is always the pronoun of the 3rd Ps. Sg. In an ergative sentence, it refers to the object, in a non-ergative sentence to the subject.

The publication of the inscription of Tiš-adal of Urkeš²¹ in 1948 shifted the oldest testimony of Hur-

³ THUREAU-DANGIN 1939.

⁴ Disregarding earlier publications of some tablets from Nuzi and Kirkuk, the first publication of about 1,000 tablets by GADD 1926, CHIERA 1927, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1934a, 1934b, PFEIFFER 1932 and PFEIFFER, SPEISER 1936 laid the ground for comprehensive studies.

⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1931, 234-266, N° 8, Planches L-LII (= RS 2.[023]+3.360). The text is a forerunner of HJAR-ra=*hubullu* Tablet II with a Hurrian translation of the Sumerian column.

⁶ SPEISER 1930, S. 139.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 145 n. 90, with reference to GADD 1926: 77 ad 244.

⁸ SPEISER in PFEIFFER, SPEISER 1936, 141; similarly SPEISER 1941, 9: “dialectal peculiarities” are “inevitable corollary of the length of period and size of area affected”.

⁹ FRIEDRICH 1935, 130f., BRANDENSTEIN 1937, 574f.

¹⁰ PURVES 1940, 172-185.

¹¹ THUREAU-DANGIN 1931, 264.

¹² *Ibidem*, 260; SPEISER 1941, 104, 114; LAROCHE 1960, 198 (misinterpretation as postposition *edie*; see S-H Hh II, col. ii 27-28: šà-bi [absolute; “its inner part”] = II[=*tižni*]-*di*; šà-bi-šè [terminative, “into its inner part”] = II-*di-e*; hence *-di* is not the case marker); BUSH 1964, 337, n. 98, follows Laroche; DIKONOFF 1971, 110, fn. 120 (misinterpretation as a variant of the directive suffix *-t/da*); KHAČIKYAN 1975, 22, 25, 28, 35, 38.

¹³ FRIEDRICH 1939, 51, 53.

¹⁴ SPEISER 1941, 7.

¹⁵ FRIEDRICH 1939, 14, 21. Friedrich assumed that the reason for the difference of the language of the Mittani Letter compared to Boğazköy Hurrian was its closeness to a colloquial style. The complicated syntax, however, and the parallelism between the Hurrian Mitanni letter and the Akkadian letters of Tušratta rather indicate an elaborate diplomatic than a colloquial style.

¹⁶ SPEISER 1941, 175.

¹⁷ FRIEDRICH 1939, 21f.

¹⁸ SPEISER 1941, 179.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 175: “Quite likely, the religious texts from Mâri and Bogh. reflect earlier grammatical conditions than does the secular Mitanni letter. If this is true, the assumed specialization of a pronominal element into a predicative particle was a comparably late development.”

²⁰ FARBER 1971.

²¹ PARROT, NOUGAYROL 1948; for an updated edition see WILHELM 1998.

ALI AL-IBADI*

THE SCHEME OF KASSITE HOUSING

ABSTRACT

The article is a general presentation of research on residential architecture of the Kassite period. I began with the approach of understanding the Kassites as foreign people in relation to Babylonia to verify whether they present new ethnographic traits, and if such could (if existent) affect the style of dwelling construction. For a wider understanding of the Kassite's residential architecture, I compared their building techniques with those of the Hurrian, middle-Assyrian and middle-Elamite periods. The summary presents a new division of Kassite houses into two types (with a central courtyard and linear houses) as per their location on the Babylonian map and a discussion that takes into account older analyses.

KEYWORDS

Kassite period; dwelling architecture; household; Kassite houses; linear house; house with central courtyard.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to present a shortened description of the housing in Babylonia in the Kassite period and to add new remarks in the subject matter. For this purpose, it was necessary to reach for ethnographic and archaeological sources in order to reconstruct "Kassite" households and scenarios of living in given houses.

Furthermore, the aim of this paper is to verify the extent to which the Kassites, who have always been described as foreign people in the Babylonian area, adapted to local practices and residential traditions. First, with the use of written sources, I will present a brief description of the social organization, that dominated in the Kassite period and I will further present selected examples of households.

In the next part of the article, I will discuss all stances regarding the archaeological remains of residential architecture from the Kassite period, which present the state in which they were discovered, and methods, which were adapted for exploration and influenced further ethno-archaeological research. Within the same section, I will present the most important building methods and the extent to which they are similar in older and younger periods.

Plans of the discovered Kassite houses will also be discussed. Furthermore, an attempt was made to

create a model house plan through the examination of the most important rooms in residential premises. I will also analyze the factors that have influenced the development of functionality in Kassite residential houses, as well as the rooms' internal layout.

To check the degree of similarity and the likelihood of cultural diffusion, it was necessary to verify the appearance of residential architecture in areas close to Babylonia. To this end, there is a comparison with Middle-Assyrian residential, Middle-Elamite, and Hurrian architecture from Nuzi.

Residential plans familiar to us will be compared with palace and public constructions from the same period, and with older periods to present the similarities they share. The article ends with illustrative material presenting all discovered Kassite houses.

Social organization

The Kassites were gradually arriving to the Mesopotamian stage until they were able to reign over Babylonia for more than five centuries.¹ Despite the long years of the Kassite reign, there is still little knowledge about the functioning of Kassite tribal structures. The evidence of ethnic groups associated with the Kassites derives from written Old-Babylonian sources.² In the beginning, they cooperated with the Babylonian population as part of their military.³ It can be concluded from historical evidence, that initially, the Kassites led a semi-nomadic life in rural areas or outside of cities, but nevertheless they attempted to integrate with the Babylonian community.⁴ Old-Babylonian sources also give us information about "Kassite houses" (*bitatum*). "House" is a word defined by the Akkadian term: bit + name of the whole group's ancestor, e.g., Bit-Karziabku, Bit-Tunamissah, etc. "House" did not only mean affiliation to a particular clan, but also a group of people related to each other in a male line, and a close family. A "House" also connected larger families, or clans

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¹ For more details about Kassite History, see KOPPEN 2017; BRINKMAN 1980, IDEM 1982, IDEM 1984, IDEM 2017.

² For details, see VAN LERBERGHE 1995; SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2004.

³ KOPPEN 2017, 45.

⁴ BUCCELLATI 1988, 58-59; KROPPEL 2017, *passim*.

and relatives. It was therefore the definition of a clan or a certain patriarchal tribal structure. Each “House” had a leader, i.e., the “Lord of the House” (akkad. *bēl bīti*). Sometimes, it was the actual title of the territory’s governor, who was the chief administrator of agricultural areas and could convene male elders.⁵

In the second half of the second millennium BC, all Kassite tribes adopted a settled way of life. They took possession over one or more villages and agricultural areas, and adapted them to the needs of their community. This way, they created an efficiently managed social organism. This could in particular be achieved through the equality policy practiced by the Kassite kings, which allowed them to obtain the acceptance of the Babylonian community.

At that time, tribal ownership of the land was extremely important. The *kudurru* texts show, that apart from the general ownership of private property, there also existed the phenomenon of the property of a tribal community or tribe.⁶

Apart from the Kassites, who co-operated with the Babylonian community in the Old-Babylonian period, there also existed certain Kassite tribal groups whose significance was quite high. They inhabited the region located on the east side of the Tigris all the way to the mountain foothills on the Iranian border. Unfortunately, our knowledge of this area comes down to several names. There is no information about these groups’ relationships with the royal court. There are no premises to assume that they were willing to obey the Kassite ruler or that they were a free tribe, which was in line with nomadic traditions.⁷

The Kassite household – selected aspects

From the information available about Kassite households, we know that these people differed in wealth, which brings us to the conclusion that there existed differences in social status. Sources indicate that affluent households always or at least often prevailed over arable fields, loans, sales of various objects (especially agricultural) and other services.⁸ We also have knowledge about the existence of poor households, the residents of which had no property. In most cases, they made a living by working for someone. They were often forced to sell one of their family / household members as they had no material possession.⁹ It seems to me that the domination of poor households is due to the small number of excavated houses and poor preservation of the buildings’ quality.

The size of living space in Kassite houses leads us to believe that affluent households in this period focused mainly around the largest cities, namely Babylon, Ur, and Nippur. This gives a strong premise to establish a continuation of the Old-Babylonian household convention, especially when it comes to maintaining the patriarchal family tradition.¹⁰ It is

worth mentioning that our main guideline in the area of affluent households are family archives. We can also turn to examining the quality and size of the built houses, and grave furnishings, such as jewelry.

Archaeological material from Tell Kesaran and Tell Zubeidi indicates a lower degree of social status for two reasons:

1. A smaller residential area.
2. Presence of objects indicating the conduct of economic activity (like a ceramic stove) within the house.¹¹

According to Tenney’s research, the Kassites from Nippur had three major households according to the following division:

1. “Simple family” household - consisting of a nuclear family - 76%.
2. “Extended family” household - consisting of a nuclear family living with other family members - 17%.
3. “Multiple family” household – consisting of more than one nuclear family - 7%.

These observations were made after the examination of 121 Kassite households, which Tenney defines as members of the same family, related by kinship or recognized by the registering party (ex. scribe), which share the same house.¹²

To analyze the religious, social, and economic aspects of the Kassites and their influence on the Babylonian community and housing, we need to examine their distinctive features that distinguish them from the indigenous community. Apart from the fact, that there is a small number of residential houses remaining from the Kassite period, which in fact originate from the 12th and 14th centuries BC, the methods that have been adapted to reveal these houses were inadequate. These facts negatively impact the examination of Kassite households, as it results in the loss of archaeological material (artifacts or objects).¹³ Nevertheless, if we look at the layout of the Kassite period housing, we can observe a distinct continuation of the traditional construction, that has already been used in the Old-Babylonian period. There are some alterations present, that are not in fact of their

⁵ For more examples, see KING 1912, 7-18.

⁶ See SASMANNSHAUSEN 2001; PAULUS 2017.

⁷ More details – FUCHS 2017; SASMANNSHAUSEN 2001; SOMMERFELD 1995.

⁸ See ZETTLER 1993.

⁹ GURNEY 1983, 74-84.

¹⁰ See KING 1912.

¹¹ “The site would seem to have an industrial centre at the time, possibly serving the nearby Yelkhi, which was residential” (CLAYDEN 1989, 120).

¹² TENNEY 2011, 137-138; 2017.

¹³ More details – MALKO 2014, 67-95.

CLAUDIA POSANI*

SOME REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE LINKS BETWEEN RHETORIC AND ICONOGRAPHY IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF YARIRIS

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this article is to produce an integrative reading of the epigraphic and iconographic sources concerning the figure of the Karkemiš regent Yariris.

The focus of the text analysis consists of examining figures of speech, particularly those which are linked with the visual-imaginative component, in the attempt to identify possible relationships between rhetoric choices and iconographic aspects of the support on which inscriptions are carved.

The results of this study contribute to highlight some socio-cultural aspects related to the concept of education and to the expectations that the audience must have had towards the role of the future king's master.

KEYWORDS

Karkemiš; Yariris; metaphor; childhood; protection; education; master; knowledge.

Introduction

This article offers an analysis of the epigraphic and iconographic sources relating to the figure of the regent Yariris: with a view to achieving an in-depth understanding of the sources in their entirety, the aim of the proposed analysis is not to focus solely on the text, but to produce a reading as integrative as possible of the written text and iconographic aspects of the support on which it is positioned.

In particular, the aspects of the text that are most rhetorically relevant will be examined, with a particular focus on the figures of speech linked to the visual-imaginative component, in the belief that these indicate the marked desire to place special emphasis on certain passages of the text. Where possible, I will then attempt to identify a possible relationship between the figures of speech present in the texts and iconographic elements appearing on the support itself, or in its immediate vicinity, within the same original artistic-archaeological context, as part of a comprehensive study that shall consider the iconographic device as a language form.

For transliterations and translations it has always been referenced to HAWKINS J.D., *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. I: *Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Berlin/New York 2000.

KARKAMIŠ A6 and A7

The inscription KARKAMIŠ A6 is carved in relief on a corner orthostat slab of basalt,¹ excellently preserved, found *in situ* as part of the *Royal Buttress* and dating back to around the end of the 9th century or beginning of the 8th century BC.

It is an inscription of the regent Yariris, celebrating the dedication of a structure described as (“MENSA. SOLIUM”) *asa-* “seat” for young prince Kamanis.

For a certain period, following the death of Astiruwas, Yariris, presumably a high-ranking dignitary in the house of Astiruwas, exercised his sovereignty over Karkemiš in place of the legitimate heir to the throne, Kamanis, who was still too young to reign. The regent did not belong to the royal family and most probably was a eunuch.²

The inscription is positioned within an orthostatic cycle that satisfies a precise, coherent figurative program:³ the large inscribed slab at the northern corner of the complex is positioned in the centre of the observer's line of vision, and its central nature is emphasised by the converging movement of the figures depicted on the reliefs surrounding it (a procession of dignitaries⁴ carrying ceremonial weapons on the northern side, the figures of Yariris and Kamanis, the

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¹ HAWKINS 2000, plates 31-33.

² See *infra*, note 4.

³ See the detailed analysis carried out by A. Gilibert of the reliefs of the *Royal Buttress* (which in turn fitted into the most ancient reliefs of the *Processional Way*, including in terms of figurative coherence): GILIBERT 2011, 47-49.

⁴ Probably eunuchs: for an interpretation of them in this sense, based on § 30 of inscription KARKAMIŠ A6, see HAWKINS 2000, 128 § 30; for further linguistic details, see HAWKINS 2002, in particular 229-233, in which the author offers a detailed analysis of the occurrences of the Luwian word *wasinasi-* and its variant *usinasi-* in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and concludes that, judging from the contexts in which they are used, it can be considered very likely that people designated in this way were eunuchs. For a discussion of iconographic aspects, see DENEL 2007, 195: supporting an interpretation by Reade (READE 1972, 91, 108), the author believes that the beardless figures symbolise eunuchs, in accordance with the Assyrian model. Even Yariris is shown without a beard, and therefore most probably came from the same class. It is also believed that Yariris promoted the eunuch class during his period of power over Karkemiš, in order to validate his prestige even more: DENEL 2007, 196.

prince's brothers and the son⁵ of Yariris himself on the façade side).

The inscription of Yariris is very rich in rhetoric. Rhetorical exaggeration appears as early as in the titles, in which the regent describes himself as “the Prince(?) far reputed from the West and the East”,⁶ and continues in the description of his fame: on account of his “justice”, the regent's name is said to have *passed* to heaven, thanks to Tarhunzas and to the Sun-God, and it is said to have *passed* abroad too, thanks to the gods (§§ 2-3). Using correlative conjunctions (*zin... zi(n)-pa-... zi(n)-pa-*),⁷ §§ 4-6 then go on to mention five countries and peoples whose inhabitants would have heard Yariris' name: Egypt, Babylon(?), and also the Musa, the Muska and the Sura. The Musa have been identified as the Lydians, and the Muska as the Phrygians, while the last form is still open to debate;⁸ Starke⁹ offers a slightly different interpretation, interpreting the last three forms as adverbial accusatives expressing the respective languages of the aforesaid peoples. The clause closing this section remains unclear, though the interpretation offered by Starke seems to fit the context: “I caused (my) subjects to make it (-*ata*, *i.e.* my name) agreeable to every king”.

The next section of the inscription contains the dedication to Kamanis of the building defined (“MENSA.SOLIUM”) *asa-*.¹⁰ This section is deeply characterised by the desire to emphasise the young age of the heir to the throne placed under the regency of Yariris (INFANS-*ni-* “child” is used three times to describe Kamanis¹¹). Moreover, it establishes precise references to the system of images accompanying the text, which is particularly relevant to this research.

§ 13 informs that with him (Kamanis), Yariris made (had a portrayal made of) his *brothers*. §§ 14-17 are then dedicated to describing the portrayals of the prince's brothers:

- § 14 ll.4-5 *a-wa/i |REL|-i-zi |(*314)ka-tú-na-sa*
 § 15 l.5 *|i-zi-i-sa-ta+ra/i-wa/i-ma-za |zi-la*
*|(*314)ka-tú-ni-zi |(MANUS)i-sà-*
tara/i-i (“PONERE”)tú-wa/i-há
 § 16 l.5 *REL-zi-pa-wa/i-ma-za-’ |(“LIGNUM”)*
tara/i-pu-na-sá
 § 17 l.5 *|i-zi-i-sa-ta+ra/i-wa/i-ma-za |zi-*
la |(“LIGNUM”)tara/i-pu-na-zi-i
|(MANUS)i-sà-tara/i-i “PONERE”-
wa/i-ha-’ ||

(For them) who (are) of KATUNI-, with honour to them thereupon I put KATUNI's in (their) hand(s), and for them who (are) of TARPUNA-, with honour to them thereupon I put TARPUNA's in (their) hand(s).

Accompanying the inscription are three master-

fully placed slabs with images of Yariris and Kamanis (the regent is depicted in the act of protecting and presenting the young heir to the throne, characterised by the royal sword and sceptre, at the temple), of the prince's brothers (slab with two registers) and of a child which has been interpreted as Yariris' own son.¹² The prince's brothers, provided with epigraphs stating their names,¹³ are depicted in various stages of growth: in the upper register, the youngest, naked, is depicted in his attempts to learn to walk,¹⁴ and three young boys with short hair in specific dress are shown strutting along with (toys?)¹⁵ in their hands; in the lower register, two children wearing the same dress and with short hair are facing each other, playing, while two slightly older boys, with longer hair and a simple tunic, are depicted frontally, sitting around what appears to be some kind of card-table.

The inscription then appears to explicitly cite the toys held by the young princes; in turn, the depictions reflect upon childhood and the theme of growth, with a degree of attention rarely found in Neo-Hittite figurative heritage.

The inscription pays particular attention to the theme of the brothers of the future king, too: after a short sentence that is difficult to interpret, in relation to Kamanis' *status* as infant, it continues with reference to divine protection for the growth of the young boys:

⁵ See *infra*, note 19.

⁶ On the use of “East and West” in the sense of “everywhere”, see SIMON 2011, 234-235.

⁷ See *infra*, KARKAMIŠ A15b, with note 28.

⁸ In the *Corpus*, Hawkins favours a hieroglyphic designation of Urartu: HAWKINS 2000, 126 § 6; in a recent article, Simon reassesses the entire matter of the evidence of the land of Sura in the hieroglyphic sources, concluding that it represents Tabal, in the region of Cappadocia, in the inscriptions KARKAMIŠ A6 and KARKAMIŠ A4b. As such, § 6 of the inscription KARKAMIŠ A6 would include the list of the main Anatolian regions: see SIMON 2012, particularly 176.

⁹ STARKE 1990, 352 and note 1242; STARKE 1997, 382-383.

¹⁰ Of which the *Royal Buttress* formed a part: HAWKINS 2000, 124; the use of the verb *tama-* “to build” enables scholars to identify the dedicated object as an architectural construction, but unfortunately the character of the constructions built behind the façade of the *Royal Buttress* remains unknown: HAWKINS 2000, 126 § 8.

¹¹ In §§ 8, 12, 18.

¹² See A. Gilbert's attentive interpretation of the hierarchical aspects of the composition as a whole: GILBERT 2011, 48-49; for the interpretation of the figure of the child, see *infra*, note 19.

¹³ See the discussion, below, of the inscription KARKAMIŠ A7.

¹⁴ Or at least this is how the image has traditionally been interpreted; this interpretation actually does not seem very likely, as no child learns to walk clutching a stick (there is a bird perched on top of the stick).

¹⁵ Or symbols of the positions for which they were destined: PAYNE 2012, 84 note 112.

LUDOVICO PORTUESE*

CONCEALED PATERNALISM
OF THE ASSYRIAN KING: WHICH AUDIENCE?¹

ABSTRACT

Among the different roles in which the Assyrian king is depicted, the most unusual is the king as ‘shepherd’, shown holding a long staff. This image, which throughout the Assyrian royal inscriptions can be read as the metaphor of the shepherd who cares for his flock, is most frequently represented in peaceful scenes. However, very few academic studies have focused on this specific and unusual image. This paper fills part of this gap by analysing the king as shepherd depicted on the figurative programmes of the Neo-Assyrian kings, from Assurnasirpal II up to Sargon II. The paper will 1) examine the subtleties within such image, 2) scrutinise the related architectural context(s) and 3) present a ‘reconstruction’ of the steps by which the viewer would have approached, perceived and ‘consumed’ the images, the aim being to outline the identity of the expected audience.

KEYWORDS

Neo-Assyrian bas-reliefs; shepherd king; long staff; audience.

It is commonly assumed that violence and intimidation were hallmarks of the Neo-Assyrian kings. In fact, most of the figurative programmes include vivid images of Assyrian rulers slaughtering their enemies, brutally punishing rebels and bravely hunting wild beasts. The prominent figure of the king is often depicted in varied roles featuring power, cruelty, courage, magnificence, and piousness. By contrast, it seems that vestiges of benevolent sovereign personalities as well as motifs of paternalistic attitudes are more neglected. Accordingly, the scholarship on the Neo-Assyrian rulers has largely focused on a series of standard preconceptions and precepts of propaganda concerning the idea of a violent and frightening intimidation policy.² However, there are also clues suggesting that there was more to the Assyrian kings than hitherto suspected. In fact, though in few instances, the figurative programmes show an unusual motif embodied by the Assyrian king, showing him as both paternalistic and benevolent: the king as ‘shepherd’ depicted holding a long staff.

The metaphor of the shepherd who peacefully grazes his flock is a very old and widespread motif in Mesopotamian tradition, and highlights the role of the king in maintaining order and protecting his subjects,

similar to the duty of the shepherd to protect his flock.³ The king is responsible before the gods for the welfare of mankind, just as the shepherd is responsible for the flock before his own master.⁴ Such metaphorical hyperbole of the king is attested in both Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and figurative programmes. Nonetheless, if the royal inscriptions have been the subject of a number of academic studies,⁵ very few have focused on this specific and unusual image and, where they have, authors have barely recognised this role or at most made only a passing reference to it.⁶ Therefore, carrying out a cursory analysis of such a royal portrait in the figurative programmes of the Neo-Assyrian kings, from Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) up to Sargon II (721-705 BC), this paper aims to 1) examine the peculiarities within such image, 2) scrutinise the related architectural context(s) and 3) present the identity of the expected audience who benefited from such a paternalistic image.

Written sources

The Assyrian royal inscriptions depict the ideal king as one who brings prosperity to his subjects, sustains peace and security, and provides abundance

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¹ This contribution was presented at the 10th ICAANE held in Vienna (25-29 April 2016), within section 7 “Images in Contexts: Agency, Audiences & Perception”.

² See, for instance, OLMSTEAD 1923, 81; ROUX 1964, 285-286, 288-294; FRANKFORT 1969, 85, 87-88; HALLO, SIMPSON 1971, 125; VON SODEN 1989, 72; BERSANI, DUTOIT 1985; COLLINS 2014, 619-644. PORTER 2003, 180-191, by reviewing some of the earlier scholars’ works above-mentioned, reappraises the frightening intimidation policy of Assurnasirpal II, excessively emphasised by historians, art historians and archaeologists, and reassesses the Assurnasirpal’s propaganda as a “nicely calculated alternation of intimidation and friendly persuasion”.

³ SEUX 1967, 25-26; SEIBERT 1969; HARMANŞAH 2013, 384-385.

⁴ ODED 1992, 115.

⁵ SEUX 1967, 25-26; IDEM 1980-83, 140-173; SEIBERT 1969; MAGEN 1986, 20-24; ODED 1992, 113-116; WESTENHOLZ 2004, 292-296; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2015, 210-217; KARLSSON 2016, 181-187.

⁶ MAGEN 1986, 113 (Tabelle 30); PORTUESE 2014, 9-20; KARLSSON 2016, 184-185.



Fig. 1 - Kalḫu, Northwest Palace, room S: Assurnasirpal II, slab S-3 (after BUDGE 1914, pl. 29).

to Assyria as well as to the empire in a global dimension. Accordingly, the propagandistic Assyrian literature made popular the idea that the duty of the king is to uphold order, to pacify the land and to foster security.⁷ Thus, to protect mankind and guarantee tranquillity and peace, the gods appointed the Assyrian king as the shepherd of the material world, and written sources mirror such a task by highlighting the role of the king as shepherd in pastoral epithets. Assurnasirpal II, who was notorious for his blood-curdling cruelty, is called “marvellous shepherd”.⁸ Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) is called to be the “faithful shepherd” of Assyria.⁹ Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) is designated by the gods to shepherd the people of his land.¹⁰ Sargon II is the “rightful shepherd”.¹¹ Sennacherib (704-681 BC) claims to be the shepherd of mankind and leader of all people.¹² Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) is the “true shepherd”.¹³ Eventually, Assurbanipal (668-631 BC) asserts that he shepherds “the subjects of the god Enlil”.¹⁴

The shepherding role is occasionally associated to the words *ḥaṭṭu*, that is sceptre, and *šibirru*, designating a staff.¹⁵ Scholars suggest an identification

of *šibirru* with the long staff held by the king on the Assyrian bas-reliefs.¹⁶ In fact, though inscriptions are sometimes inconsistent in describing the role of the long staff as having positive or negative qualities, in a number of Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts the long staff acquires positive qualities. Shalmaneser I (1263-1234 BC) states: “When Aššur, the lord, faithfully chose me to worship him, gave me the sceptre, weapon, and staff to (rule) properly the blackheaded people”.¹⁷ Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233-1197 BC) proclaims that the god Aššur “gave me the sceptre for my office of shepherd, (presented) me in addition the staff for my office of herdsman”,¹⁸ and describes himself as “the one who shepherded his land in green pastures with his beneficial staff”.¹⁹ Assurnasirpal II asserts: “When the gods [...] named me for the shepherdship of Assyria, granted to my dominion the weapon, the sceptre, the crown, and the staff”.²⁰ Likewise, Shalmaneser III says: “Aššur, the great lord, called [my name for shepherdship of] the people, [...] (and) placed in my hands the sword, sceptre, (and) staff appropriate for (rule over) the people”.²¹ Nonetheless, few occurrences found in later texts stress on the bellicose aspect of the staff: “[...] [he (Aššur) put in my hand] a merciless [ro]d to fell ene[mies]” declares the king Sennacherib.²² In a similar vein, Esarhaddon says: “he (Aššur) [...] made my hands carry a terrible staff to strike the enemy”.²³

⁷ ODED 1992, 104.

⁸ GRAYSON 1991, 275 (A.O.101.23: 2-3).

⁹ IDEM 1996, 7 (A.O.102.1: 5).

¹⁰ TADMOR, YAMADA 2011, 83 (35: i27).

¹¹ LUCKENBILL 1926, 70 (§133); SAGGS 1975, 14 (line 13).

¹² GRAYSON, NOVOTNY 2014, 57 (43: 2).

¹³ LEICHTY 2011, 99 (44: 3).

¹⁴ NOVOTNY, VAN BUYLAERE (7: i89'; preliminary unpublished edition). See also CAMPBELL THOMPSON 1931, 33, line 11.

¹⁵ CAD/H, 153-155 (*ḥaṭṭu*); CAD/Š, 377-379 (*šibirru*).

¹⁶ HROUDA 1965, 105; PARPOLA 1983, 101; MAGEN 1986, 113 (Tabelle 30); AMBOS, KRAUSKOPF 2010, 129-130, 145 note 19; KARLSSON 2016, 80, 184; MATTHIAE 2016, 618-619. In particular, Magen identifies a king represented as a shepherd in two images, namely holding a *šibirru*-staff and holding a *šerretu* lead-rope. WESTENHOLZ 2004, 298-302, by contrast, believes that the *šibirru*-staff was a crook, although there is no clear evidence for this. A further staff depicted in statues of Assyrian kings is the curved staff, a crook, called *gamlu* in Akkadian. This is, however, a cultic tool used by ritual experts, kings, and gods in ritual context, which does not imply a pastoral role and did not belong to the regalia which the king wielded in order to rule his people (AMBOS, KRAUSKOPF 2010, 127-132; KARLSSON 2016, 373, fig. 19).

¹⁷ GRAYSON 1987, 183 (A.O.77.1: 22-26).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 234 (A.O.78.1: i21-25).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 271 (A.O.78.23: 5-7).

²⁰ IDEM 1991, 308 (A.O.101.40: 10b-12a).

²¹ IDEM 1996, 28 (A.O.102.5: i6b-ii1).

²² GRAYSON, NOVOTNY 2014, 336 (231: 5-6).

²³ LEICHTY 2011, 185 (98: r.32-33).

SILVIA DI CRISTINA* - VALENTINA GALLERANI* - GIUSEPPE LEPORE*
EUROPOS ON THE EUPHRATES: CONTINUITIES
AND DISCONTINUITIES AT AN ORIENTAL CLASSICAL CITY

ABSTRACT

Classical and Late Antique literary sources mention the Seleucid colony called Europos, which we are now able to identify as the descendant of Karkemish on the right bank of the Euphrates river, at the modern Turkish-Syrian border. In the light of the past British Museum excavations, the relative archival records and the new data collected within the Turco-Italian Joint Expedition, we are now able to outline some general aspects of the settlement from the 3rd century BC to the 10th century AD, while the pottery studies contributed to the more specific definition of the chronology. We obtain a picture of Europos as a long-lasting, monumental and prosperous settlement during the Classical period. The urban plan mostly retraces the one of the Iron Age and has its main features in the acropolis, the squared agora, a colonnaded street and an orthogonal grid of streets in connection with the city gates.

KEYWORDS

Europos; Karkemish; Middle Euphrates; Turkey; British Museum Excavations; Turco-Italian Expedition; urban plan; Hellenistic; Roman; Byzantine; pottery.

Introduction: from Karkemish to Europos

Karkemish is the city mentioned in the Bible (Jer 46:2) as the seat in 605 BC of a great battle between the Babylonians of Nebuchadnezzar II and the allied Assyrian and Egyptian armies that were defeated there. But before this defining moment, in the Bronze Age, Karkemish has been one of the major cities in the Hittite Empire since its conquering by Suppiluliuma I and later, in the earlier Iron Age, a powerful independent kingdom. After the city fell in 717 BC in the hands of Sargon II of Assyria, he reshaped the city. But it is when the history of Karkemish ends, that the one of Europos begins. The site continued in fact to be occupied in the Achaemenid period, until it was re-funded as Europos in 300 BC by his diadocus Seleucus I Nicator, becoming one of the frontier posts set along the Euphrates River to control the border and the trade routes crossing it (Fig. 1). As Europos, the city continued to live under the Roman and Byzantine empires; it became a modest settlement and stone quarry in the first centuries of the Islamic Age and was probably abandoned around the 10th century AD.

The site lay on the western bank of the Euphrates in south-eastern Turkey, right at the border with Syria and it is actually bisected by the border, with two thirds of its almost 100 hectares (the acropolis tell and the so-called Inner Town) resting in Turkish territory and the remaining (the Outer Town) falling into Syria (Fig. 2).

1. Europos in the ancient sources (GL)

Until the end of 19th century the existence of both Karkemish and Europos was known by scholars, but neither had been identified on the ground, nor the fact that the two centers were actually the same had been acknowledged. Classical sources¹ referring to Europos span from the 1st to the 7th century AD and are mainly itinerary or geographic texts, the contents of which helped to place the city in Northern Syria, but none of which appeared clear enough to undoubtedly identify it with the imposing set of ruins scattered on and around the tell North of the settlement of Syrian Jarablus (the Turkish municipality of Karkamış was established only in 1961).

Appian's Syrian section of Roman History (App. Syr. 57) recalls the many colonies founded by Seleucus I in his dominions: sixteen of which were called Antioch after his father, others were named after himself, his mother, his wives, his victories and Alexander and to the others he gave Greek or Macedonian names. At this point Appian lists examples of the latter placed in "Syria and among the barbarous regions of upper Asia" and the eighth name is one Ὠρωπός. This is one of the forms that the toponym takes in written texts² and

* Department of History and Cultures, Alma Mater Studiorum - University of Bologna. he authors gratefully acknowledge the permission by Jonathan Tubb, Keeper of the Middle East Department at the British Museum, to quote and reproduce (by Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum) from their archival holdings of the early Karkemish excavations, which have been filed and searched by Nicolò Marchetti, assisted on occasion by Silvia Di Cristina. The Turco-Italian Archaeological Expedition at Karkemish is a joint project by the Universities of Bologna, Istanbul and Gaziatep and it is directed by Nicolò Marchetti.

¹ For a review of pre-Classical sources mentioning Karkemish, see ARCHI *et alii* 1993, 237-239 and the contributions by M. G. Biga, G. Marchesi, S. de Martino and M. Zecchi in MARCHETTI 2014b.

² Some scholars, however, do not accept the equivalence Europos-Oropos. See a summary of the matter in COHEN 2006, 185-187.



Fig. 2 - 2016 Topographic plan of Karkemish with, in light blue, the excavation areas mentioned in the text and the main features of Europos, the Classical city.

the testimony of Appian is mainly important for the precise attribution of the foundation (re-foundation, in this case) to Seleucus I Nicator, which grants us a date range between 300 BC (the traditional date for the foundation of the cities of the Tetrapolis)³ and the death of the ruler in 281 BC. It is not, on the other hand, a great help in the location of the city, because the historian do not seem to follow an itinerary order in the mention of the cities.

Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.*, V.87) mentions the regions, ethnicities and cities of Syria, especially the ones of the right bank of the Euphrates proceeding downstream. Europos, Latinized as *Eurōpus*, comes after the twin cities of Seleucia on the Euphrates (er-

roneously called Antioch) i.e. Zeugma and Apameia on the opposite bank. But the passage of Pliny is considered here obscure and probably corrupted:⁴ “at in syria oppida europum, thapsacum quondam, nunc amphipolis” and created also hypothesis about the identity of Europos and Thapsacum, still unlocated.

Lucian, native of the near Samosata, mentions Εὐρώπος in three passages of his *How to Write History* as the place of a victory of Lucio Vero in his

³ SARTRE 2001, 118 and 124-126.

⁴ JONES 1971, 244.

No.	P. No.	Con	Class	Fir	Incl: Tp, Dim and Fr	F Col	S T	Comparanda
1	KH.16.P.299/14	area B	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	10YR 8/4	Black slip	Zeugma: KENRIK 2013, 8-9, Pl. I: 1-11. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 159 - 173, Pls. 64-65. Jebel Khalid: JACKSON, TIDMARSH 2011, 12 - 17, Fig. 11: type 1.
2	KH.12.P.529/8	area G	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	7.5YR 7/4	Orange-brownish slip inside	Zeugma: KENRIK 2013, 8-9, Pl. I: 1-11. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 159 - 173, Pls. 64-65. Jebel Khalid: JACKSON, TIDMARSH 2011, 12 - 17, Fig. 11: type 1.
3	KH.13.P.454/5	area D	SW	H	M; <0.5-1mm; 3-10%	10YR 8/3	Burnished inside	Zeugma: KENRIK 2013, 8-9, Pl. I: 1-11. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 159 - 173, Pls. 64-65. Jebel Khalid: JACKSON, TIDMARSH 2011, 12 - 17, Fig. 11: type 1.
4	KH.13.P.455/6	area D	SW	H	M; <0.5-1mm; 3-10%	10YR 7/3	Burnished inside; Brown paint	Zeugma: KENRIK 2013, 8-9, Pl. I: 1-11. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 159 - 173, Pls. 64-65. Jebel Khalid: JACKSON, TIDMARSH 2011, 12 - 17, Fig. 11: type 1.
5	KH.12.P.536/20	area G	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	7.5YR 7/3	-	Zeugma: KENRIK 2013, 9, Pl. 2: 19; Fig. 14: 5. Jebel Khalid: JACKSON, TIDMARSH 2011, 181; Fig. 48: type 28.
6	KH.12.P.124/5	area A	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	7.5YR 6/4	Black slip	Palestinian Pottery: LAPP 1961, 220, <i>SS III</i> , Fig. 43: 7, 353. 2A.
7	KH.12.P.123/15	area A	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	5YR 7/6	Red slip	HAYES 1985, 23, Pl. III: 10, 12. Hama: PAPANICOLAU CHRISTENSEN, FRIIS JOHANSEN 1971, Fig. 45: 17.7. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, Pl. 81: ESA 63.
8	KH.12.P.124/1	area A	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	5YR 7/6	Red slip	HAYES 1985, 16, Pl. II: 9-10. Hama: PAPANICOLAU CHRISTENSEN, FRIIS JOHANSEN 1971, Fig. 27: 1.30. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 182, Pls. 76-77: ESA 11-13.
9	KH.12.P.536/51	area G	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	7.5YR 7/4	-	BONIFAY 2004, 78-79, catalogue no. 43.
10	KH.12.P.536/52	area G	SW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	5YR 7/3	-	Jebel Khalid: CLARKE 2002, 181, Pl. 33, Fig. 8. Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 115, Pl. 42: LA 15-21.
11	KH.12.P.536/48	area G	KW	L	M; <0,5mm; <3-10%	2.5YR 6/2	-	Gindaros: KRAMER 2004, 223, Pls. 102-103: KG 1-8.
12	KH.12.P.536/50	area G	PW	H	M; <0,5mm; <3%	5YR 7/6	White slip inside	

Fig. 13 - Table. Hellenistic pottery.

ropos-Doura,³⁸ Tell Dor;³⁹ Hama;⁴⁰ Zenobia-Halabia.⁴¹ Furthermore, other helpful publications have been “The Palestinian Ceramic Chronology”,⁴² A. Vokaer’s works for the Brittle Ware and the very important “Survey of the Land of Carchemish Project”.⁴³ The main classical period attested at Europos is represented by the Hellenistic occupation, which stretches from the settlement of the city, at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, up to the Roman advent during the second half of the 1st century BC. All the excavation areas have yielded useful quantities of sherds to enable the identification of the primary imported and local typologies.

Few contexts are very well preserved, such as floors associated with walls inside buildings (i.e. Area G, phases 5-4) or with structures (i.e. Area D),⁴⁴ while the major part of them are disturbed with the pottery coming mainly from pits.

Simple Ware represents the highest percentage of the total material, but some interesting sherds of Kitchen Ware and Preservation Ware have also been

found. The total amount of the common Wares can be split between the local productions, which present many comparisons in the nearest sites along the Euphrates, and the imports from the West. Fine Wares generally show an high firing and fabrics are almost clear, buff colored and just a few small sized (<0,5 mm; 3% frequency) mineral inclusions have been identified. Among the surface treatments there are the white and the brownish slips for the Table Ware and the black and the red slips for imports. The hallmarks

³⁸ ALABE 2012.

³⁹ GUZ ZILBERSTEIN 1995.

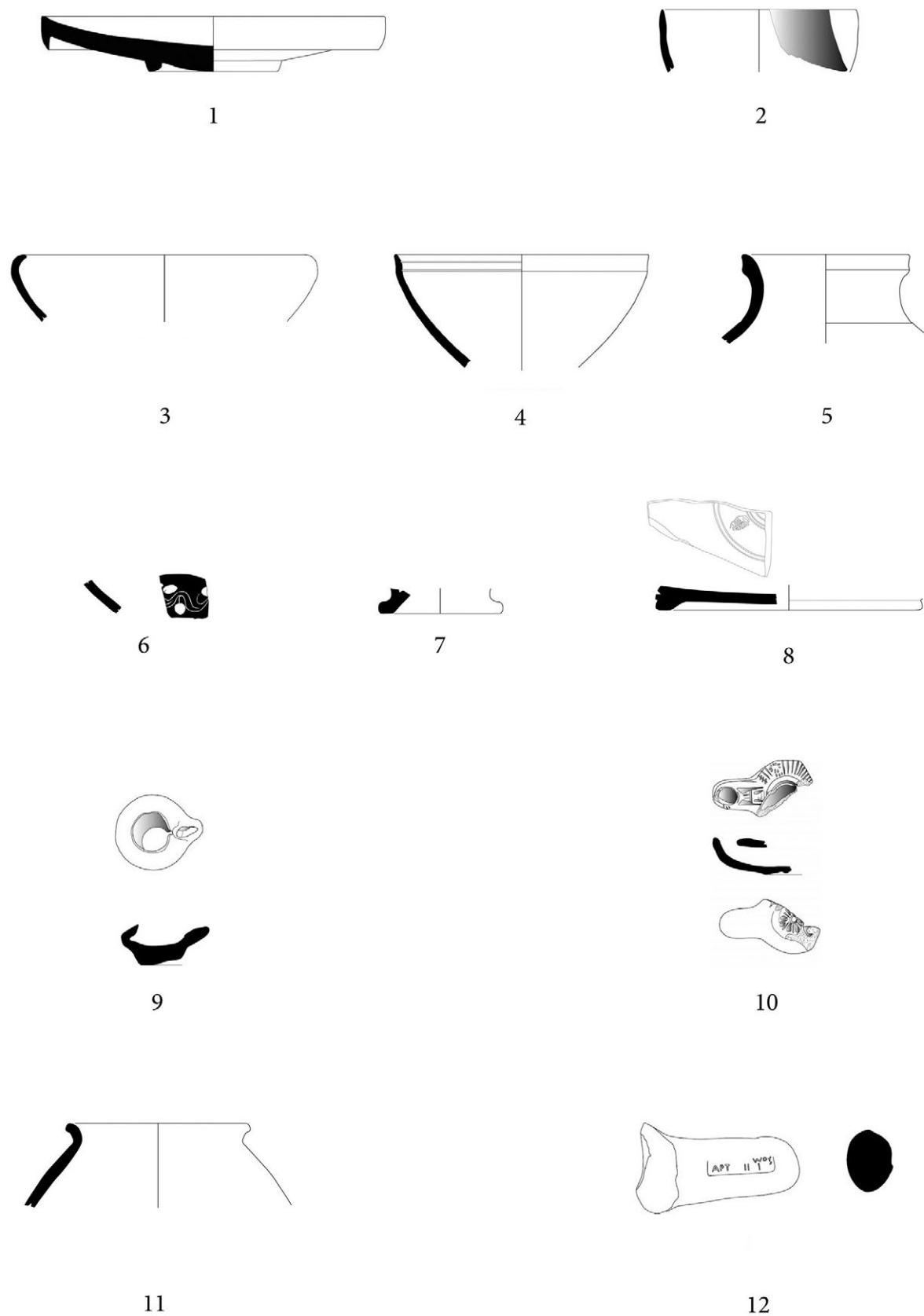
⁴⁰ PAPANICOLAU CHRISTENSEN, FRIIS JOHANSEN 1971.

⁴¹ VELA 2015.

⁴² LAPP 1961.

⁴³ NEWSON 2014. My sincere thanks to Michael Campeggi for the linguistic review.

⁴⁴ In Area G remains consist of two small portion of a wall corner connected with its floor; while in Area D archaeologists uncovered a portion of a floor still *in situ*.



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Fig. 14 - Hellenistic pottery (Scale 1:4).

FILIBERTO CHIABRANDO^a - CARLO LIPPOLIS^b - VITO MESSINA^{b*} - SARAH SCIACCA^b
TOPOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT OF AL-MADA'IN.
NEW OBSERVATIONS

ABSTRACT

This paper presents some results of a study on the topography and settlement of the area of Al-Mada'in, in central Mesopotamia, one of the largest and most important complexes of ancient settlements in the world. Research was conducted following a multi-temporal approach in which photo-interpretation of remote-sensing data is interpolated with the analysis of previous information of different nature (published and unpublished), collected during on-site surveys and excavations. Settlement models, connectivity and hypotheses on the location of ancient mega-sites are particularly addressed. Further studies on the area will considerably advance our knowledge of environmental planning, impact assessment, land use and settlement of Central Mesopotamia in the centuries preceding the Muslim conquest.

KEYWORDS

Al-Mada'in; settlement models; remote sensing; GIS.

Introduction

The area extending less than 30 km south of Baghdad, known as Al-Mada'in – 'the cities' in Arabic –, is one of the most important and extensive urbanized districts of the ancient world of which interfaced archaeological complexes can be still recognized on the ground (Fig. 1). At least since the end of the 4th century BC, when Seleucia on the Tigris was founded, it was a pivotal administrative, economic and cultural centre of the three great political entities alternating from the death of Alexander the Great to the Muslim conquest: the Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian empires. The area was probably likewise important before the foundation of Seleucia, even if the name of only one city is known in historical records up to now, that of Babylonian Upi (or Opis).

The royal capitals founded there – after Seleucia, Ctesiphon and Veh Ardashir, just to mention the most reputed –, were the counterparts to Rome and Constantinople, and, during the centuries, a number of other major towns were built in the same area (up to seven, according to Arab sources), even if most of them have not been yet located on the ground. Further to the Muslim conquest, these cities lost their importance and declined in size, but their population

dropped sharply only after the foundation of Baghdad early in the second half of the 8th century AD.

The ancient cities of Al-Mada'in, many of which can be actually defined as mega-sites in modern terms, shrank to villages gradually, having been progressively abandoned one after the other, and submerged by the repeated floods of the river Tigris: this flows in sweeping meanders from north to south and receives several natural and artificial watercourses (still in use or exhausted), the most important of which was the Nahar Malkha, the 'Royal Canal' that joined it to the Euphrates. Despite the abandonment of the ancient cities, Muslim geographers continued to describe the most famous sights of the area for centuries, thus echoing its importance down to modern times.¹

The study of the landscape and topography of the area will considerably advance our knowledge of environmental planning and policy, connectivity, impact assessment, land use and settlement of Central Mesopotamia in the centuries preceding the Muslim conquest.

The aim of this paper is to present new observations on these topics on the basis of still unpublished data and satellite imagery analysis conducted with a multi-temporal approach.²

History of research

Further to the first explorations,³ modern research on the Al-Mada'in area started in the first decades

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¹ For instance, the 'White Palace' (Qasr al-Abyad) of the Sasanian Kings of Kings, and the vault ascribed to Khusrav Anushirwan (Taq-e Kisra), which is considered today one of the major Sasanian achievements in architecture and one of the most famous monuments in Iraq (on this matter and, in general, Arab sources see for all AL-ALI 1968-69).

² This study was accomplished within the framework of the PRIN 2015 20154X49JT – SH6 research project "Archaeological Landscapes of Ancient Iraq between Prehistory and the Islamic period (ALAI): Formation, Transformation, Protection and Management," funded by the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities, and Research.

³ In the first half of the 19th century Claudius James Rich could recognize that this was the area where Ctesiphon was founded (RICH 1836, 404-405), but not be able to identify the sites of which the ruins he saw.

by the American (UMich, KMA, TM and CM) and German-American expeditions (DOG, IK and MetM) were also taken into account. A complete research on old remote sensing data and archive images (Corona 1968-1969), digital elevation models (Aster and SRTM¹⁵), was hence performed for completing information. Finally two very high resolution satellite images were acquired in order to use them as reference in the developed system.¹⁶

Basing on the data available, an accurate and bibliographic interpretation of the area was performed. The interpolation of topographical, surveyed, remote sensing, and archaeological data allow an observer to verify the reliability of the traces recognized during the analysis and confirmed by other researchers in order to propose the following classification:

- features and archaeological anomalies identified by photo-interpretation, surveyed on the ground, and attested by excavation can be considered sure (degree 3);
- features and archaeological anomalies identified by photo-interpretation and surveyed on the ground can be considered very probable (degree 2);
- features and archaeological anomalies surveyed on the ground can be considered probable (degree 1);
- features and archaeological anomalies identified only by photo-interpretation remain undetermined until they can be interfaced with, and confirmed by, further information (degree 0).

Sources for analysis

After the data acquisition, information was harmonized in GIS software for obtaining a complete cartographic geo-database. As reference map a Quickbird orthophoto was used. In order to obtain the employed cartographic products first of all the Pansharpened¹⁷ image was realized, then, using the Rational Polynomial Coefficients approach (RPCs), the orthophoto process was performed. This model uses ratios of cubic polynomials to express the transformation from ground surface coordinates (Latitude, Longitude, elevation) to image coordinates (line, column) for the particular input image. The coefficients for the rational polynomial model are supplied in an auxiliary file with each RPC image kit. Using this approach, the use of a DEM (Digital Elevation Model) is also necessary for rectifying the image and obtaining an orthophoto of the area. In the study area the Aster DEM was employed.

Starting from those data, all employed information for the multi-temporal analysis was processed using as reference the Quickbird orthophoto by means of traditional rubbersheeting procedures, implemented in the employed GIS.¹⁸

The achieved results supply a complete and up-

dated cartographic documentation of the area that was accurately analysed for the evolution hypothesis reported in the next section.

The cartographic products implemented in the GIS are:

- Bachmann's maps (1928-29);
- Fiey's map (1967);
- Oppenheimer's map (1983);
- Gullini's map (1966);
- map of Seleucia on the Tigris (1963-64) in the archives of the CRAFT;
- RAF aerial images (1936) in the archives of the CRAFT;
- Corona scene (08/16/1968);
- Quickbird scene (10/02/2005);
- WorldView 2 (WW2) scene (2009-12).

Identified archaeological sites and anomalies

On the basis of the realized GIS, a multi-temporal enhanced map of Al-Mada'in was created and is here reproduced (Plan 1); a list of archaeological sites and anomalies, detected by the cross-analysis of different types of records, is presented thereafter that offers updated information on the Al-Mada'in area. Each entry, further to a progressive number, makes available synthetic data: Lat-Lon coordinates and extension of a detected site are expressed in the first line; a brief description of the anomaly follows, which indicates the main features of the site recognized and any previous information with relevant bibliography on excavation reports, if any (very well-known sites, like Seleucia or Veh Ardashir, are identified by their names only); in the third line, the reliability of the detected anomaly is ranged from 0 to 3.

Site 1

44°25'45.637"E 33°7'20.348"N (area 37000.6 m²)
Corona scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits are irregular. A canal of modern date cuts the mound lengthwise.
Reliability: 0.

Site 2

44°25'49.376"E 33°7'51.515"N (area 8459 m²)
Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding ter-

¹⁵ Shuttle Radar Topography Mission.

¹⁶ Namely, one archive's 2005 Quickbird image and two World-View 2 images.

¹⁷ A pansharpened image is a colored high-resolution image derived from the merging of a panchromatic high-resolution and lower resolution multispectral image.

¹⁸ ArcMap ESRI.

rain. Limits appear well defined, as particularly revealed by the Quickbird scene.

Reliability: 0

Site 3

44°26'8.334"E 33°7'18.556"N (area 9128 m²)

Corona scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits cannot be well defined by satellite imagery.

Reliability: 0

Site 4

44°26'31.502"E 33°7'46.589"N (area 12819 m²).

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear clear to the West.

Reliability: 0

Site 5

44°26'25.001"E 33°7'51.459"N (area 9563 m²)

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits cannot be well defined by satellite imagery. A small canal cuts the site.

Reliability: 0

Site 6

44°26'21.478"E 33°8'11.019"N (area 11046 m²)

Corona scene reveals differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined.

Reliability: 0

Site 7

44°26'44.574"E 33°7'52.006"N (area 7595 m²)

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined.

Reliability: 0

Site 8

44°28'8.146"E 33°8'10.198"N (area 5417 m²)

Quickbird scene reveals differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined. The mound diverts a canal of modern date.

Reliability: 0

Site 9

44°27'58.065"E 33°7'6.362"N (area 4827 m²)

Corona scene reveals differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits are irregular and cannot be well defined. No longer visible in the Quickbird scene, captured at a later date. The area has been built in the meantime.

Reliability: 0

Site 10

44°28'3.728"E 33°6'58.439"N (area 41888m²)

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal few differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined. In the Corona scene the north part seems bordered by a canal that doesn't cross the mound. In the Quickbird scene, captured at a later date, the south limit is bordered by a modern road.

Reliability: 0

Site 11

44°26'46.699"E 33°6'33.689"N (area 2994m²)

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined. In the Quickbird scene, captured at a later date, the site is bordered by a modern road and there is indication of vegetation growth.

Reliability: 0

Site 12

44°28'0.933"E 33°5'40.401"N (area 2394m²)

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined. In the Corona scene two smaller anomalies can be seen that can be probably interpreted as small mounds belonging to a single agglomerate, probably also including Site 13.

Reliability: 0

Site 13

44°28'7.506"E 33°5'33.555"N (area 8503m²)

Corona and Quickbird scenes reveal differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain. Limits appear well defined. Traces of agricultural activities can be seen clearly.

Reliability: 0

Site 14

44°29'21.516"E 33°7'11.924"N (area 3804m²)

Differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain can be seen only in the Corona scene. Limits cannot be clearly defined, however. Anomalies at Sites 14, 15 and 16 could be interpreted as the result of the changing watercourse of an ancient canal.

Reliability: 0

Site 15

44°29'33.348"E 33°7'13.862"N (area 14221m²)

Reliability: 0

Site 16

44°29'57.102"E 33°7'5.229"N (area 11498m²)

Anomalies in this point were also detected by Bachmann's ground survey

Reliability: 2



Fig. 2 - Comparison between Corona (left) and Quickbird (right) scenes of the area of Seleucia on the Tigris.



Fig. 3 - Comparison between Corona (left) and Quickbird (right) scenes of the areas of Al-Ma'arid, Salman Pak and Umm al-Za'atir.

Site 17

44°30'7.375"E 33°6'21.316"N (area 15970 m²)

Corona scene reveals differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain, but limits cannot be clearly defined. The mound is close to Seleucia on the Tigris and was detected by Bachmann's ground survey.

Reliability: 2

Site 18

44°30'8.163"E 33°5'52.273"N (area 6334m²)

Corona scene reveals differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain, but limits cannot be clearly defined.

The mound is close to Seleucia on the Tigris and Site 17, and was detected by Bachmann's ground survey.

Reliability: 2

Site 19

44°30'18.876"E 33°6'14.963"N (area 7028m²)

Corona scene reveals differences in surface chromatic nuances from the surrounding terrain, but limits cannot be clearly defined. The mound is close to Seleucia on the Tigris and Sites 17 and 18, and was detected by Bachmann's ground survey.

Reliability: 2

ROBERTO PARAPETTI*

THE LOST MIRJANIYA MADRASA OF BAGHDAD: RECONSTRUCTIONS AND ADDITIONAL NOTES

ABSTRACT

The reconstruction of the Mirjaniya madrasa prayer hall inside the Iraq Museum of Baghdad is one of the most important actions among those that the Italian government has carried out in the last fifteen years for the museographic restoration of the artistic and cultural heritage of Iraq - of the splendid architectures in particular - severely damaged and partly lost in April 2003, thanks to the contribution of scientific competence and knowledge of CRAFT and Monumenta Orientalia operating in that country for almost fifty years.

KEYWORDS

Madrasa; musalla; waqf; muqarnas; girih.

In 2011, Monumenta Orientalia submitted to the competent Iraqi authorities and to the Direction General for Political Affairs (DGAP) of the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MAE) a new project for the reconstruction, inside the Iraq Museum, of the *musalla* (prayer hall) of the lost madrasa al-Mirjaniya, one of the colleges of greatest interest of medieval Baghdad. The project, which was welcomed, represented an effort to continue the renovation of the National Archaeological Museum of Iraq.¹

The project was inspired by the errors in the reassembly of some fragments of the 14th-century *musalla*'s decorative brickwork apparatus that were removed from the monument prior to its demolition, in 1946, to be displayed in the museum. A new, more accurate arrangement of the fragments in a new structure was envisaged based on the available documentation. Once it was connected directly to the museum adjacent Islamic Gallery, the secondary north court proved to be the most suitable place to put the reconstructed *musalla* room.

A metal structure, with the size and shape of the interior of the lost original *musalla*, was built. The façade of the new room was intending to give the visitor entering through the new opening in the Islamic hall the impression to be standing inside the courtyard of the old madrasa and about to enter the prayer room. A replica of the colonnaded portico added in the 19th century to the *musalla* courtyard side was then constructed to create a transition zone between the current Islamic hall and the new room. The two doors on both sides of the façade, while not functional to the *musalla*, originally gave access to the upper

floor and defined the 21 m width of the courtyard; now they give access to new rooms for displaying further pertinent fragmentary brickworks and inscriptions discovered in the museum storage areas. The interior surfaces are made of mesh panelling finished in plaster. The fragments of brickwork decoration have now been replaced in their correct position. The outside part, facing on the secondary service courtyard, is thus simply made of plain surfaces with no architectural design (Figs. 81-107).

The Mirjaniya Madrasa 1946-2016

Until 1946, that is until its almost total demolition (only the entrance portal with the minaret was spared), the then Jami' al-Mirjan, the ancient madrasa al-Mirjaniyah², was known as one of Medieval Baghdad few monuments of historical and artistic importance which are still substantially intact in the present day.³ (Additional Note 1)

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¹ Since the fateful month of April 2003, the Italian government has been engaged in works for the 'reconstruction' of the Iraq Museum by MiBAC, MAE, and private bodies. The new project discussed here, managed by Monumenta Orientalia (2012-2016), is the latest such effort. Between 2004 and 2012, the Centre of Archaeological Research and Excavations of Turin (CRAFT) had already redesigned and rebuilt the following sections of the museum: Large Assyrian Gallery, Medium Assyrian Gallery, Islamic Gallery, and Central Courtyard (see in LIPPOLIS, DE MARTINO, PARAPETTI, CAPRI 2016).

² Its designation as Jami' (mosque) rather than madrasa dates to the 18th century, when, under Ottoman rule on the entire Mesopotamia, the madrasa lost its autonomy and was subsumed into a mosque.

³ The earliest mention of the al-Mirjaniya madrasa in Europe was by Carsten Niebuhr in his volume published in 1774-1778. A summary map and comments on the relevant inscriptions was included (NIEBUHR 1774-1778). The research expedition in which Niebuhr participated, under the auspices of the Danish crown, took place between 1767 and 1771. The volume was later published in French (1780) and English (1792). The discovery of the madrasa was later reported by other illustrious orientalist travellers during the 19th century who associate another important building, known then as Khan Orthman, now Khan Mirjan, (BUCKINGHAM 1827, 183; MIGNAN 1829, 98; JONES 1857, 314). The first two decades of the 20th century brought news and more detailed documents of both monuments. Louis Massignon provides the precise location of the many inscriptions and precious

Lively debates in the decades before that had examined the question of whether to save the building or demolish it because of its extremely precarious condition and the high cost of any consolidation work. All attempts to save the building were futile and, in the end, it was demolished. Actually, the demolition was intended to remove the obstacle that the urban madrasa constituted between two sections of the main commercial artery, the present Rashid Street, in the heart of Baghdad eastern sector. The building stood inconveniently across a bend in the road, effectively bisecting it (Fig. 32). Too late, in September 1945, K. A. C. Creswell, one of the leading experts on Islamic architecture of the day, was invited by the government to visit the Mirjaniyah and express his opinion. Creswell reported: "The *musalla* of the Mirjaniya ... is an outstanding monument of Muslim architecture, not only for its splendid ornaments ... but also on account of the fact that it is the only example surviving in Iraq of this early type of triple-arched, laterally developed and domed, hall of prayer".⁴ (Additional Note 2).

On March 26, 1946, during the regency of Arshad al-Omari, the Amanat al-Asima (the Municipality of Baghdad) the demolition started. It had been decided on January 20 of that year, in a meeting coordinated by the distinguished British archaeologist Seton Lloyd in the role of British Advisor of Antiquity, and with the technical managers most directly involved, engineers from the Amanat al-Asima and the Awqaf (Ministry of Religious Affairs). The minutes were forwarded to the Director General of Antiquities, Naji al-Asil, so that he might follow up the process.⁵ (Additional Note 3)

While the demolition was under way (Figs. 57-59), the DGA was finally able to appreciate the full architectural importance of the monument. The rich decorative and epigraphic apparatus of the walls was rediscovered in full beneath the 18th-19th century plaster. Next, the architecture of the complex ground floor and first floor was surveyed, as well as the internal fronts and the façade on the courtyard of the madrasa prayer hall, the *musalla* (Figs. 27-56). A brief report by Seton Lloyd himself and the study of the monument by Nasir al-Naqshbandi, inspector archaeologist, were also promptly published.⁶ A more exhaustive study on the madrasa and Khan Mirjan was not published until in 1982, by Tariq Jawad al-Janabi.⁷ (Additional Note 4)

The first work on the planned recovery of the monument, which mainly included the reconstruction "as it was and where it was"⁸ just of the *musalla*, which had become Jami' Mirjan, continued until the mid-1950s. The function and the spaces of the madrasa-college disappeared. The area was delimited and redesigned incorporating the surviving portal and only the new mosque. However, the peculiar institutional spaces of the madrasa and the tomb of the founder

were not reconstructed. The tomb was considered devoid of epigraphical or artistic value. Finally, the plan to join lengthwise two sections of Shara' al-Jedid, the New Street (now Rashid Street), already interrupted by the madrasa, was carried out. Many of the already detached original inscriptions and decorative panels were placed inside the new mosque, Jami' Mirjan, similar but not identical to the original *musalla* design. The tripartite hall with a wider main central dome was built with three identical bays covered by domes of similar size, but on a lower impost. A new entrance to the complex was opened at the street level, on the southwest side, served by a stairway down to the ancient floor about 2 metres below (Figs. 60-73). A further main part of the removed decorative panels was preserved and displayed in the present Iraq Museum (which reopened in 1966), (Figs. 74-80). Until the early 1970s, a few variations on the first project were carried out. In the 1960s, a new building was added behind the new mosque, likely the imam's house, and the extrados of the central dome was redesigned, raised, and reshaped with the forms of the lost domed tomb of Mirjan. The last restoration works of the entrance portal decorations were carried out by the DGA in 1972-73.

At present, the urban context, despite the events of the last decades, is only superficially changed. The Jami' Mirjan is still managed exclusively by the 'Awqaf; the DGA no longer protects it; the Shorja market life continues despite the pedestrianization of that stretch of Shara' Rashid, and all goods are carried with carts or on human/animal back as they were a hundred years ago (Fig. 69).

photographs of the *musalla* (MASSIGNON 1912, 1-31, Pl. IV-XI) (Figs. 1-9). Soon after, Ernst Herzfeld published new maps of Baghdad and provided sketches of two of the madrasa façades on the inner courtyard and some photos (HERZFELD, SARRE 1911-20, II, 181-196; III, Taff. IX, X, XII, XLVIII, LI) (Figs. 10-16).

⁴ Creswell's report is contained in: LLOYD 1946, 12. Creswell's mission to Baghdad (at that time he was Professor of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University of Cairo) was very short. He stayed at the Regent Palace Hotel near the Madrasa with a cost to the Iraqi government of about 150 ID of that time.

⁵ These are among the documents dated between 1936 and 1972 of the File No. 11/40 JAMI' MIRJAN preserved in the archives of the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA, SBAH today, State Board of Antiquities and Heritage).

⁶ LLOYD 1946, 10-13; AL-NAQSHABANDI 1946, 33-54.

⁷ AL-JANABI 1982, 111-146, pl. 94-146, figs. 26-35. Printed publication by the Ministry of Culture & Information, Republic of Iraq, of the PhD thesis presented at the University of Edinburgh in 1975.

⁸ The slogan is originated by the extraordinary event of the sudden collapse of the bell tower of S. Marc in Venice in 1902.



Figs. 22-23 - Baghdad, the New Street, coffeehouses, 1910-20s.

Figs. 24-26 - Baghdad, the New Street, Movie Theatres, 1930-40s.

Figs. 27-28 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the gateway after demolition of part of al-Gazal market arcades, 1920s.

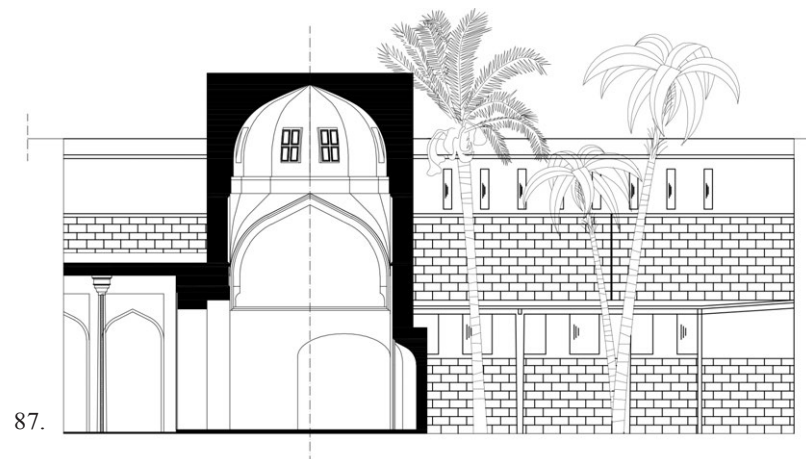
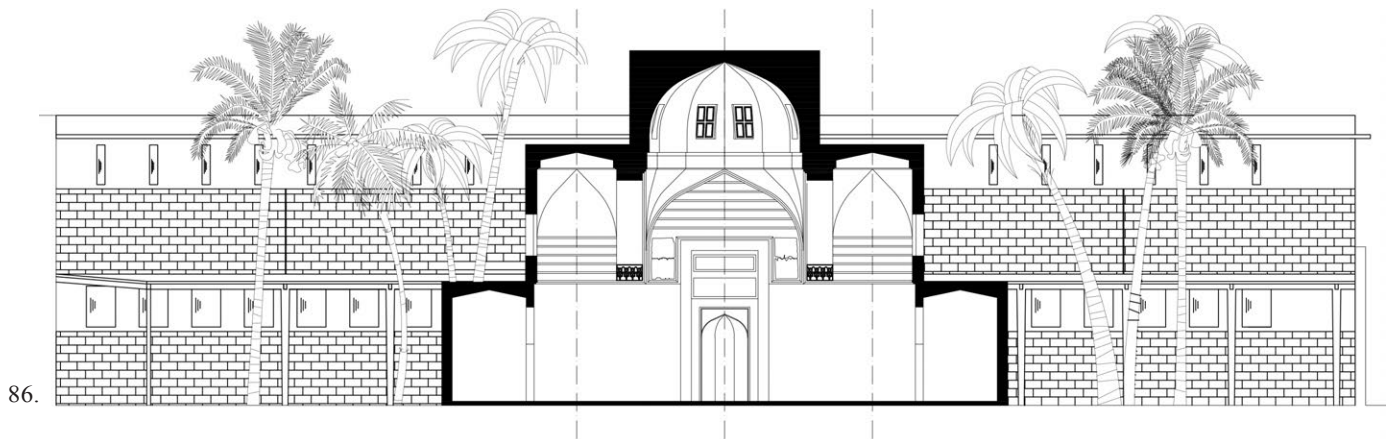
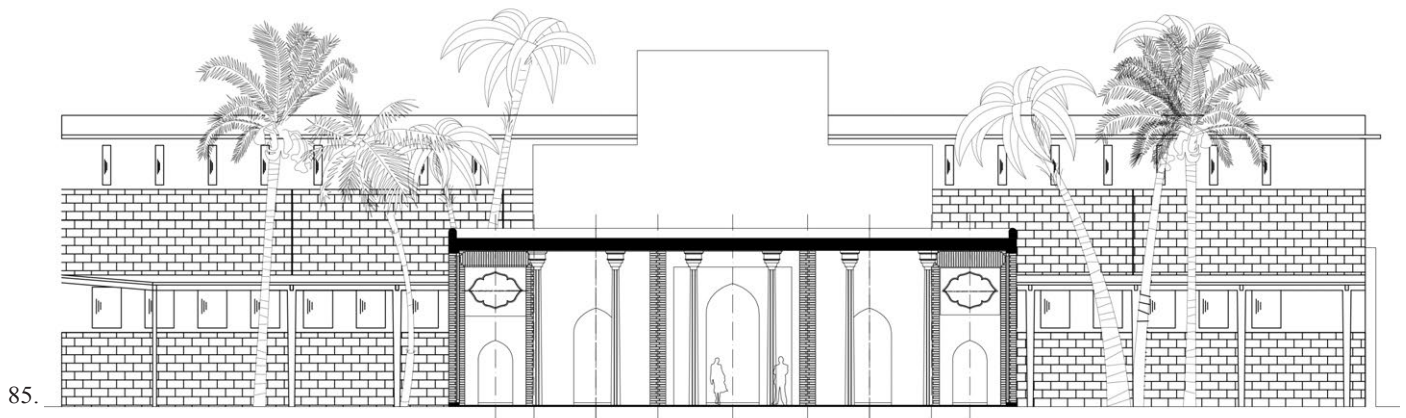


Fig. 85 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, actual cross section-elevation of the transition zone between the Islamic Gallery and the reconstructed new *musalla* room, 2014.

Fig. 86 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, actual cross section-elevation of the new *musalla* room, 2014.

Fig. 87 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, actual transversal cross section-elevation of the new *musalla* room, 2014.



94.



95.

Figs. 94-95 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, construction phases of the outer stone finishing of the new *musalla* room, 2014-17.