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SOMMARIO

Søren Weidemann - Costanza Coppini - Jesper Eidem*

THE 2008 SURVEY AT QALA'AT HALWANJI (NW SYRIA)[1]

Abstract

This article presents the results of a surface survey carried out at the site of Qala'at Halwanji in 2008. Qala'at Halwanji is located high on a cliff above the Sajour river in Northwestern Syria, and was occupied for brief periods in the late EB and MB II periods. The survey, which covered ca. 40 % of the 4 ha site, produced more than 12.000 ceramic sherds, and a few scores of objects, mostly from the MB II period, plausibly the 18th cent. BC, when the site apparently functioned as a fortress. The article provides a short introduction to the site, a typological overview of the ceramics, a catalogue of other objects collected, and some comments on the chronological, functional, and distributional patterns of the materials, also as they relate to the results of the test excavations carried out at the site 2008-9.

Keywords

Qala'at Halwanji, Syria, surface survey, MB period, ceramics

I. Introduction

I.1. *General Introduction*

The site of Qala'at Halwanji (UTM 37S 402080 E, 4055977 N),[2] hereafter QH (Fig. 1) is located on a roughly square limestone cliff on the right (south) bank of the Sajour River, ca. 15 kms upstream from its confluence with the Euphrates (Fig. 2). The cliff, which towers ca. 20 metres above the Sajour (Fig. 3), in antiquity accommodated two short-lived settlements. The earlier (Level 2) in the late EB period, and the second and apparently last (Level 1), in the mature MB II period (18th cent. BC). At least in the latter period the occupation is likely to represent a fortress, established to control the local area and routes passing through it. It may be supposed that ancient Halwanji is mentioned in the rich contemporary documentation from Mari and elsewhere, but the site itself has not yet yielded any inscriptions, and the ancient name is unidentified. Although far from assured an identification with Dur-Šamšī-Adad, a fortress established by the mighty king ca. 1786 BC, but lost to Jamhad ca. 1779 BC, can be suggested.[3]

The site was first identified in 2007, and subsequently investigated during two short field seasons 2008-9 by a joint Danish-Syrian project. Further work was deferred to 2011, but eventually cancelled due to the political unrest in Syria, and remains suspended. A comprehensive summary report on the results obtained appeared in 2013, and at present we refer to this for further details,[4] while shorter notes have presented some of the remarkable sealings found in Level 1.[5] Here we publish the results of an intensive surface survey on the site conducted during the first season of work at QH in 2008. The survey was planned and executed by S. Weidemann (then MA-student at the Department of Cross-cultural and Regional Studies at the University of Copenhagen), assisted in the field

Fig. 1 - Map of the Upper Euphrates region (Base map Google Earth Pro).

Fig. 2 - Qala'at Halwanji 2009 (Google Earth Pro).

Fig. 3 - View of QH from Tell Halwanji on north bank of the Sajour.

work by fellow students A. Nymark Jensen (University of Copenhagen) and S. Shoro (University of Aleppo). The large ceramic repertoire collected was subsequently processed by Weidemann and used for his MA thesis.[6] The core of this article is the basic work by Weidemann, shortened and updated by the co-authors. Coppini edited and updated the sections on the ceramics (II-III), while Eidem composed the introductory section (I), added a section on the small finds retrieved by the survey (IV), and served as general editor for the article.

The material published here adds an important and some times intriguing aspect to the results obtained from the still limited excavations carried out at QH. These operations mainly exposed a large number of complete or reconstructable ceramic vessels in the burnt ruins of Level 1, and a smaller amount of vessels and sherds in Level 2. The survey, on the other hand, produced a large overview of the ceramics once used in the settlements on the site, and therefore provides a different perspective on this corpus. Indeed the MB II material presented here, combined with more complete vessels from the excavations studied by M. Maqdissi,[7] may be considered a chronological bench-mark for a rather short period within the first half of the 18th cent. BC, and thus prove useful for studies of more complex MB sequences elsewhere in Northern Syria. A second aspect, taken up in section III of this article, is to what extent the surface ceramics may confirm, respectively predict the nature of the sub-surface ruins.

I.2. *The 2008-2009 Excavations*

Before presenting the survey and its results it will be useful to provide a brief overview of the series of test excavations carried out on QH. For further details we refer to the preliminary report[8] and a forthcoming more complete presentation.

A total of 21 small sondages were opened in 2008-9 (Fig. 4). 16 of the sondages were 4.5 x 2 m, while 4 were 4.5 x 4.5 m (S.11, S.13, S.16, and S.19), and 1 9 x 2 m (S.21). Thus 243 m square of the site has been sampled to date. All the sondages, except Nos. 7, 9, and 17-18 on the W slope, were laid out with the long side N-S. These small operations were intended to test the situation in various parts of the site in preparation for larger exposures in future seasons. They thus provide only segments of structural and material remains. Where preservation is good, for instance, crushed ceramic vessels were often spread beyond the edges of the trenches, and can only be fully reconstructed when exposures are extended.

The almost square plateau of the QH cliff has the shape of a shallow basin where the ramparts on its edges are cut by two large gullies, potential gate areas, in the southwestern and eastern perimeters. Archaeological deposits are preserved on higher ground on or

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[6] WEIDEMANN 2011.
[7] MAQDISSI 2013.
[8] EIDEM 2013.

| No./Sherd no.	Type.Subtype	Fabric/inclusions	Colour	Diameter
No.: 1 Sherd no.:10/14	B1.A	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	10YR 7/4 pale brown	12
No.:2 Sherd no.:40/179	B1.A	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	10YR 7/4 pale brown	16
No.:3 Sherd no.:1/12	B1.B	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/4 pale brown	14
No.:4 Sherd no.:40/59	B1.B	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/4pale brown	11
No.:5 Sherd no.:6/20	S1.A	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/3 pale brown	22
No.: 6 Sherd no.:4/4	S1.A	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/3 pale brown	22
No.:7 Sherd no.:22/22	S1.B	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	2.5YR 7/6 light red	14
No.:8 Sherd no.:33/7	S1.B	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	2.5YR 7/6 light red	15
No.: 9 Sherd no.:8/2	S1.C	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/2 pale brown	28
No.:10 Sherd no.:37/9	S1.C	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/2 pale brown	30
No.: 11 Sherd no.:10/3	S1.C	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/2 pale brown	32
No.: 12 Sherd no.:10/4	S1.D	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/3 pale brown	27
No.: 13 Sherd no.:20/1	S1.D	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10Yr 8/1 white	34
No.:14 Sherd no.:3/1	S1.E	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/2 pale brown	28
No.: 15 Sherd no.:15/45	S1.E	Fabric: medium Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/2 pale brown	24
No.: 16 Sherd no.:29/25	S1.F	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	5YR 6/1 Grey	18
No.:17 Sherd no.:24/24	S1.F	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	5YR 6/1 Grey	22
No.: 18 Sherd no.:27/23	S1.F	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	5YR 6/1 Grey	24
No.: 19 Sherd no.:38/16	S1.G	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	10YR 8/3 pale brown	22
No.: 20 Sherd no.:7/22	S1.G	Fabric: fine Inclusions: minerals	7/5GY light greenish - grey	24

Fig. 14 - Ceramic drawings.

1

2

3
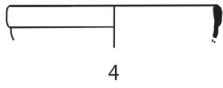
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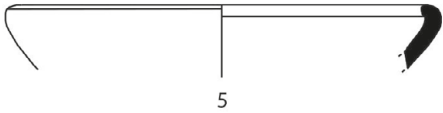
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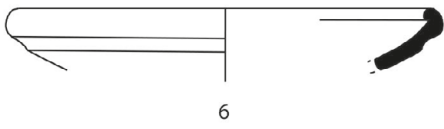
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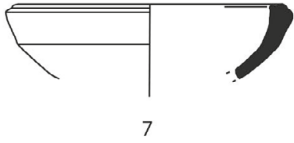
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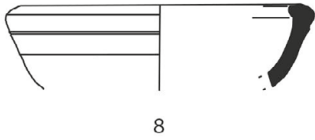
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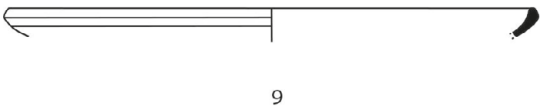
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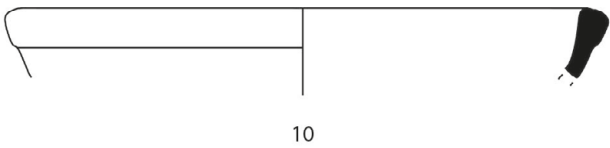
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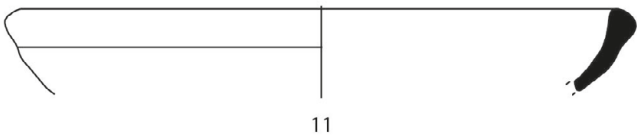
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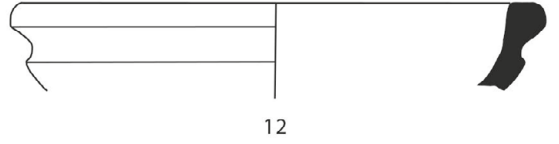
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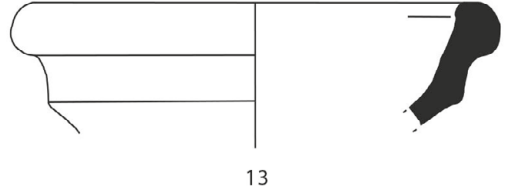
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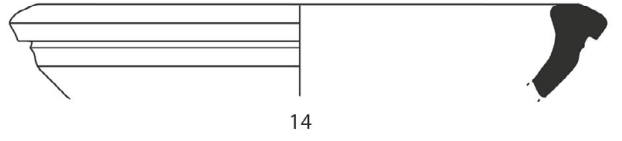
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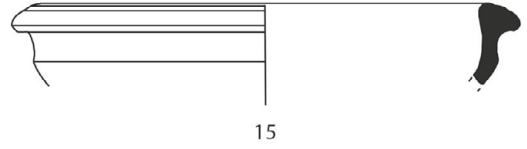
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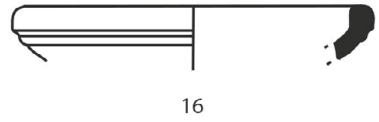
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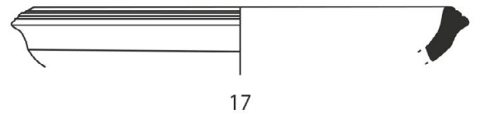
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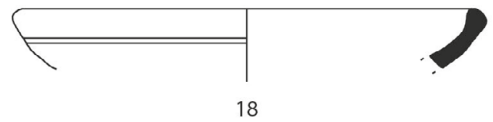
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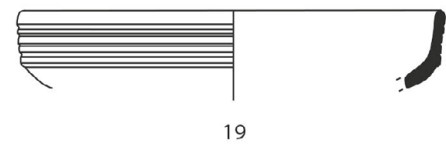
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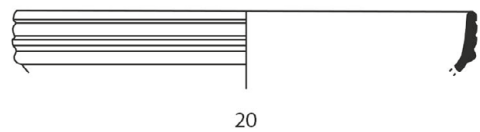
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CRISTINA TONGHINI - JACOPO BOSCHINI - BEKAS J. HASAN - VALENTINA VEZZOLI*
THE PRODUCTION OF OTTOMAN SMOKING PIPES: THE EVIDENCE FROM TELL ZEYD, NORTHERN IRAQ

ABSTRACT

In 2022 a new research programme was launched by the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, in cooperation with the Dohuk Directorate of Antiquities and Heritage, Kurdistan Region, Iraq: *Zeyd Archaeological Project (ZAP)*. Focusing on the sample-site of Tell Zeyd, this project aims at investigating settlement dynamics, land use, resource management, material culture, production, and trade in the northern hinterland of Mosul in a *long dureé* perspective, with a specific focus on the Islamic period (7th-early 20th c.). A first season of excavations was carried out in autumn, 2022. This article presents the evidence that emerged with the excavation of a test trench (S1) that testifies to manufacturing activities for the production of clay smoking pipes at the site in the Ottoman period.

KEYWORDS

Ottoman tobacco pipes, Ottoman pipe workshops, Ottoman archaeology, Ottoman material culture

ZEYD ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT (CT, BH)

In 2022 a new research programme – the *Zeyd Archaeological Project (ZAP)* – was launched by the Ca' Foscari University of Venice under the direction of C. Tonghini, in cooperation with the Dohuk Directorate of Antiquities and Heritage (Kurdistan Region, Iraq). Focusing on the sample-site of Tell Zeyd, this project aims to study the rural landscape of the hinterland of Mosul in the long Islamic period, from the Arab conquest in the 7th century to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire with the First World War.

The site of Tell Zeyd is located in the high plains of the Transtigrian hinterland of Mosul, between today's provinces of Mosul and Dohuk (Figs. 1-2); the site is fairly well preserved and spared by modern development and disturbance. The study of surface material carried out in the framework of the *Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project* (LoNAP) revealed a continuous occupation from the late Chalcolithic to the late Ottoman period;[1] the site reached a maximum extension of 8 h, with a more limited occupation of 2-4 h south of the tell in the Islamic period. A wadi flows beside the site and traces of canals are emerging from infra-red aerial photographs. The remains of a watermill, still visible in the eastern part of the site, show that this settlement had a role in the processing and distribution chain of cereals in the Islamic period.

Because of its features, Tell Zeyd constitutes an ideal site for investigating settlement dynamics, land use, resource management, material culture, production, and trade in the northern hinterland of Mosul in a *long dureé* perspective, with a specific focus on the long Islamic period (7th-early 20th c.).

The historical hinterland of Mosul, where Tell Zeyd is located, played a significant role in the economy of production in a *long durée* perspective, as testified by investment programmes carried out by the various political entities that acquired control of the area over time. For the Islamic period, more specifically, the written documentation indicates that in the decades following the Arab conquest in the 7th century this area was already resuming a role it had played in the past, that of the 'granary of the empire', and its development paralleled the creation of the district capital of Mosul and of the new political structure.[2] The role of the agricultural hinterland of Mosul did not diminish with the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate, but it became even more crucial for the sustenance of a growing population in Iraq, a consequence of the impressive evolution of urban entities such as Kufa and Basra and even more so with the foundation of the new capital, Baghdad.[3] Economic and demographic decline of this ruralscape seems to have followed the Mongol invasion in the mid-13th century,[4] and it is only with the establishment of the Ottoman empire in the 16th century that a phase of regeneration of the rural economy began, with new investments and a significant increase in rural production.[5]

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* Cristina Tonghini (Ca' Foscari University of Venice), Jacopo Boschini (Ca' Foscari University of Venice), Bekas J. Hasan (Dohuk Directorate of Antiquities and Heritage), Valentina Vezzoli (University of Udine).

[1] The *Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project* (LoNAP) was launched in 2012 to investigate a large area (3000 sq km) that constitutes part of the Mosul hinterland east of the River Tigris, with the plain of Dohuk and the Zagros foothills to the north, the Eski Mosul Dam lake to the southwest, and the Navkur plain and the Bardarash region: MORANDI BONACOSSI, IAMONI 2015. The final publication is currently in preparation. For the Islamic period: TONGHINI, VEZZOLI 2020; MORANDI BONACOSSI, TONGHINI forthcoming.

[2] ROBINSON 2000.

[3] HEIDEMANN 2011; KENNEDY 2011; ROBINSON 2000.

[4] ASHTOR 1976.

[5] KHOURY 1997; USTA, TONGHINI 2023.

Fig. 6 - *Sebiel* pipe from S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.140.12). © ZAP

Fig. 7 - Swollen stem-socket of 'round-headed' pipe with 'petalled' decoration from test trench S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.134.1) © ZAP

Fig. 8 - Lumps of unfired clay from trench test S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.124.1) © ZAP

Fig. 9 - Fragments of metal tools from test trench S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.124.57) © ZAP

Fig. 10 - The oven of Phase 2 (SU 122) seen from above during excavation, with the double-skin made of ceramic fragments, stone and mud that surrounds it. © ZAP

Fig. 11 - Unfinished *sebiel* pipe from test trench S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.124.2). © ZAP

Fig. 12 - Unfinished 'round-headed' pipe from test trench S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.124.6). © ZAP

Fig. 13 - *Sebiel* pipe with surface cavities, from test trench S1, Phase 2 (ZD22.117.34). © ZAP

Fig. 14 - Base remains from 'poppy-head' pipes (left) and lid-shaped element (right), from test trench S1, Phase 3 (ZD22.148.35). Diam. 2 cm (left) and 3 cm (right). © ZAP

FROM NAMES TO PERSONS, FROM PERSONS TO SOCIETY: CASE STUDIES FROM HATTI, BABYLONIA, AND ASSYRIA
Torino, June 5th, 2023

CARLO CORTI*

MR. 'RAIN MAN'. A SCRIBE OF THE HITTITE IMPERIAL PERIOD
(WITH AN EXCURSUS ON THE PERSONAL NAME ŠAUŠGAZITI)[1]

ABSTRACT

As part of my work related to the project "Ricerche di prosopografia ittita dell'Età Imperiale e compilazione del data base prosopografico", I focused on the personal name Šaušgaziti. During my research, I realized that, contrary to previous interpretations, several attestations believed to refer to Šaušgaziti in cuneiform script (mDŠUR-LÚ/DINANNA-LÚ) might actually make reference to a different personal name. On the basis of this new reading, I propose identifying the scribe mentioned in the colophons of the tablets KUB 13.9+ and KBo 13.62, as Ningaziti and not Šaušgaziti.

KEYWORDS

Šaušgaziti, Ningaziti, Hittite scribes, colophons

During my work connected to the project "Ricerche di prosopografia ittita dell'Età Imperiale e compilazione del data base prosopografico" as part of a research entitled "Networks of Power: Institutional Hierarchies and State Management in Late Bronze Age Western Asia (NePo)", funded by the Italian Ministry of Research,[2] I focused to the personal name Šaušgaziti. As is well known, Šaušgaziti is a name composed of the Hurrian divine name Šaušga and the Luwian word *zida/i-* "man" and is usually shown in the cuneiform writing $^{D}IŠTAR$-LÚ. According to my research, it is possible to detect at least four different individuals with this name attested in the archives of Hittite Anatolia.[3]

As rightly pointed out by de Martino "An individual by this name is mentioned in three court proceedings (KUB 13.35 + III 20; KUB 40.80 obv. 3, 5, 7, 27; KUB 40.90 obv. 6', 8', 14') and in KUB 54.1; we do not know which was his position at court, but he seems to be very close to the royal family and the queen".[4] Due to the content of the court proceedings, three more references can be added with reasonable confidence. One is the Šaušgaziti (sà-us-ka-VIR-zi) REX.FILIUS connected with Išuwa attested to in the seal Korucutepe 23;[5] the other two can be found in the votive documentation (KUB 15.29 obv. I 4' (fr), 5'; HT 33 3' (fr).[6] This is the individual that I have labeled under "Šaušgaziti1" in the database.

A second person with this name is attested in hieroglyphic sources, BoHa 22.244 (Bo 84/464)[7] in par-

ticular and, due to the generic title BONUS$_2$ VIR$_2$, does not seem to identify the same Šaušgaziti.

A third Šaušgaziti is cited in KBo 10.10 obv. IV 6, a manuscript that records a list of women delivered by individuals to the temple and, finally, a fourth is attested to in a seal from a private collection published by Hogart;[8] unfortunately, both references lack titles and attributions.

After this brief overview of the sources, we have to focus on another possible attestation of Šaušgaziti. This personal name seems to be cited also in the colophon of KUB 13.9+KUB 40.62 rev. IV 9'-11'

======================================

9'   …. [   ] QA-TI
10'   ŠU mA-li-�ih⁷-ḫi-�ni⁷ DUMU mAN.ŠUR-LÚ/ DINAN-
NA-LÚ DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA mGIŠ.KIRI₆.NU
11'   GÁB.ZU.ZU [Š]A mZu-wa-a EN GIŠ.KIN.TI

9' … [   ] complete.
10'   Hand of Aliḫḫini, son of AN.ŠUR.LÚ/DINANNA-LÚ, grandson of GIŠ.KIRI₆.NU,
11'   pupil [o]f Zuwa, master of craftsmen.

The interpretation of the sumerograms AN.ŠUR-LÚ or, possibly, DINANNA-LÚ as Šaušgaziti has

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[3] The bulk of the references of the personal name Šaušgaziti is in LAROCHE 1966, 161; 1981, 38 (NH 1143).

[4] DE MARTINO 2011, 51-52.

[5] For the identification proposal and the scenario in which this Šaušgaziti was active see mainly VAN DEN HOUT 1995, 182-185 and DE MARTINO 2010, 111-113; for the seal MORA 1987, VII 1.1 with previous literature.

I still have doubts concerning the Šaušgaziti cited in the so-called "Case against Ura-Tarḫunta and his father Ukkura" (KUB 13.35+) because in the list of witnesses of rev. III the majority of the people are mentioned only in this text and, in my opinion, this fact severely limits the possibility that this may be the same individual.

[6] For these texts see DE ROOS 2007, 196-197 and 286 respectively.

[7] DINÇOL, DINÇOL 2008, 53.

[8] HOGARTH 1922, 217 nr. 20, plate XXV 23a, b (sà-us-ka-VIR-zi).

been accepted by many scholars. Waal, in his book on Hittite colophons, does not give the corresponding Hittite reading,[9] while Gordin, initially suggested Šaušgaziti,[10] but in his monograph on Hittite scribal schools proposes Ningaziti.[11] In the Konkordanz the correspondence ᵐAN.ŠUR.LÚ = *Šaušgaziti* is given.[12]

It must be said, however, that this equivalence is not definite and not all scholars agree on this interpretation. Weeden, based on a note from CHD, dubiously proposed the equivalence ᵐᴰŠUR.LÚ = Ningaziti suggesting that "*Ninga-* is the reading of ᴰŠUR "cloudburst" suggested at CHD LN 445, although it is not attested in names, whereas ᴰŠUR is".[13]

I have already tried to demonstrate elsewhere the accuracy of such equivalence; it is, in fact, confirmed by comparison between the tablet KBo 31.12+(+) obv. II 6' and its parallel KBo 31.27++ obv. II 1' shown here:

(5') [x *ṬUP-PU* ᴰ*Ḫal-*]*ki-ya-aš mu-ga-a-u-uš* x[(6') [*ma-a-an*(-)] ᴰŠUR-*aš ni-ni-ik-z*[*i*

with

(1') [*ma-a-an*(-) ᴰ*Ni-i*]*n-*⌈*ga*⌉-*aš ni-ni-*⌈*ik*⌉-*z*[*i*.

While the tablets are not duplicates, the strict parallelism between the two can be confirmed, because they run parallels in the next paragraphs as well. Thus, we can now affirm that Ninga is the reading of ŠUR. Furthermore, ŠUR(-*ga-*), besides being an epithet, is also a deity as inferred from KBo 22.125 obv. I 9ff.:[14]

9   *ši-pa-an-za-kán-zi-ma ku-u-uš* DINGIRᴹᴱŠ
10 ᴰ*Ap-pa-lu-wa-an* ᴰ*La-pa-na-a-an*
11 [DUMU.]MUNUS ᴰ*Ap-pa-lu-wa* ᴰ⌈ŠUR-*ga*⌉-*ya*
12 [*A-N*]*A*⌐ ⌈DINGIRᴸᴵᴹ-*ma-aš-ma*⌉-[*aš* IR(?)]-*an-zi* [
    And they libate to these deities:
    Appaluwa (acc.), Lapana (acc.)
    [– dau]ghter of Appaluwa – and Ninga.
    And they [make a request(?)] to these deities.

This leads us to wonder then, why there have been, and still are, misunderstandings and conflicting opinions regarding the interpretation of the name. The answer is actually very simple. It is due to the close similarity of the cuneiform signs corresponding to numbers 41 and 42 of the Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: INANNA and Š/SUR respectively.[15]

Searching for references to the divine name Šaušga in the sources from the Hittite archives, we note that in the texts the signs IŠTAR, GAŠAN or LIŠ – and not INANNA – are used almost exclusively to indicate this goddess.[16] To my knowledge, there are only two cases in which the sign INANNA seems to have been used to refer the deity Šaušga. The first reference occurs in the Akkadian version of the so-called "Šattiwaza Treaty" – CTH 51.I.B KBo 1.2 rev. 33. But here the use of the reading INANNA does not come as a surprise, since, as proposed by Devecchi, this version of the treaty goes back to the Mitannian version. To be more precise, I quote an excerpt from

a recent article of Devecchi concerning the tradition of this version of the treaty:[17]

"Considering that (a) the composition of the historical prologue of CTH 52.I was likely influenced by the Mittanian chancellery (see above § 3); and (b) CTH 51.I.B shows formal features which are incompatible with the Hittite tradition, but at least in some cases can be traced back to the (Assyro-)Mittanian tradition, it could be suggested that CTH 51.I.B and CTH 52.I are the products of the same chancellery and that CTH 51.I.B preserves the "Mittanian" version of "Šuppiluliuma's edition.""

The second possible occurrence can be found in a tiny mythological fragment, KBo 26.137 2':[18]

1' [...](-) ⌈*tu-u-ri-ya*⌉ (-)x[...]
2' [...] ⌈ᴰ⌉INANNA-*aš ḫa-lu-kán*[...]
3' [... -*y*]*a*⌐-*ya-an pa-a-i-ši* [...]
4' [...]x-*na-u-wa-aš iš-ḫa-a*[*ḫ-ru* ...]
5' [...]-*da-kán Ú-UL* [...]
6' [... *Š*]*A*⌐ ᴰ*i-l*[*a*⌐ ...]
7' [...]x x[...]

But, as can be seen from the transliteration, the highly fragmentary conditions of the passage do not allow for definitive assessments, even if the probable restoration GIŠ in line 2' speaks in favor of the musical instrument rather than the divine name.[19]

With only one dubious example left, that which I wrote about the interpretation of two obscure cuneiform signs in the offering lists of CTH 679* "Festival of the Journey to Nerik" (KBo 23.89(+) obv. 7', KBo 20.87 + Bo 5543+ obv. 1'?, rev. 1, 13?, 16) would seem to be confirmed. I proposed reading the first sign as ŠUR – instead of INANNA – and the second as GAL, considering that they could represent the divine name ŠUR.GAL.[20]

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[9] Waal 2015, 252.
[10] Gordin 2010, 165.
[11] Gordin 2015, 182 with fn. 747.
[12] See also Torri 2015, 581; 2022, 62 fn. 113.
[13] Weeden 2011, 84 with fn. 390. Doubtfully, this proposal was also accepted by Bilgin 2018, 252 (Ningaziti?).
[14] See also KUB 41.16+ obv. I 8ff.: 8 [*na*]*m-ma-kán ke-e-da-aš* ⌈*A*⌉-*NA* DI[(NGIRᴹᴱŠ) BAL-*an-zi* (?) (ᴰ*Ap-pa-lu-wa*)] 9 [*nu*?] ᴰ*La-pa-na* DUMU.MUNUS ᴰ*Ap-pa-l*[(*u-wa* ᴰŠUR-*ga-ya*)] 10 [*A-N*(*A*? DING)]IRᴸᴵᴹ-*ma-aš-ma-aš* IR-⌈*an*⌉-*zi* [; [T]han [they libate(?)] to these de[ities: Appaluwa,] / Lapana – daughter of Appal[uwa - and Ninga.] / And they make a request(?) to these [deit]ies. These passages are already treated by Corti 2018, 36-37; see the recent edition of Fuscagni 2015, with previous bibliography.
[15] Rüster, Neu 1989, 112.
[16] See mainly Wegner 1981, 21 ff.
[17] Devecchi 2018, 83.
[18] See Rieken *et alii* 2009.
[19] See HW² H2, 80; cf. KBo 12.88 obv. 5'-6', another undetermined mythological fragment (CTH 370):]x-*ma-at-ta* GIŠ ᴰINANNAᴴᴵᴬ-*aš* /[*ša-né-ez-zi*]-*iš ḫa-lu-ga-aš*.
[20] Corti 2018, 35-36.

Stefano de Martino*

ALALIMI: ONE NAME, HOW MANY OFFICIALS?[1]

Abstract

The Hittite personal name Alalimi is documented from several texts as well as seals and sealings. We propose distinguishing among different state officials who bore this name. The two most important individuals were, respectively, Alalimi "cup bearer", who lived at the time of Ḫattušili III and reached the position of "Chief of the cupbearers", and another homonymous offcial active in the first years of the reign of Tutḫaliya IV. The latter was among the dignitaries mentioned in the court proceeding that refers to a conspiracy organized against Tutḫaliya IV.

Keywords

Hittites, state officials, administration, Alalimi

1. Alalimi: The Name

Alalimi is a personal name documented from many Hittite texts as well as from several sealings. As regards its etymology, Rieken and Yakubovich argued that it was a Luwian name and could be analysed as an etymological participle from an assumed Luwian stem *alali "to wish".[2] Yakubovich added that, with respect to its meaning, this anthroponym could be compared with the French personal name "Desirée".[3] Melchert, however, denied the assumed existence of a Luwian verb *alali- "to wish" and proposed that Alalimi was composed with a reduplicated base and hence belonged to an onomastic type well known in Anatolian onomastics.[4]

Individuals by the name of Alalimi are documented from texts discovered at Ḫattuša, from one tablet found at Ras Shamra,[5] and from several sealings, as well as one seal. Alalimi has drawn the attention of some researchers mostly because an individual by this name occurs among the witnesses both in the treaty concluded by Ḫattušili III with Ulmi-Teššob/Kuruntiya (KBo 4.10), and in the treaty signed by Tutḫaliya IV with the same king of Tarḫuntašša, the so-called "Bronze Tablet".

Van de Hout[6] already listed the cuneiform documents where Alalimi is mentioned and tried to disambiguate among them. He distinguished among at least five homonymous individuals, namely a cupbearer, a scribe, an augur, a state official, and a merchant.

We will deal here with those occurrences of the name Alalimi that refer to high-ranking officials, and we will try to ascertain whether they pertain to one or more homonymous officeholders.

2. Alalimi the Cupbearer and His Career

An individual by the name of Alalimi who bears the title of "cupbearer" (ᴸᵁ́SAGI.A) is mentioned in the fragmentary court proceeding KUB 13.34 + 40.84 iv 3, which dates to the reign of Ḫattušili III,[7] Alalimi testified that some containers sealed by Ḫalpa-ziti had been opened, likely without authorization.

The personal name Ḫalpa-ziti occurs in other Hittite texts from the time of Ḫattušili III. Among them we mention the treaty concluded by Ḫattušili III with Ulmi-Teššob/Kuruntya, KBo 4.10, where Ḫalpa-ziti bears the title of "Commander of the heavy infantry of the right" (GAL ᴸᵁ́.ᴹᴱˢUKU.ÚŠ ZAG-naš). Van den Hout,[8] who dated the Ulmi-Teššob treaty to Tutḫaliya IV and not to Ḫattušili III, nevertheless assumed that this Ḫalpa-ziti could be identified with the individual mentioned in the court proceeding, because a passage in this text (iv 20) refers to the šari(ku)wa-troops that are frequently associated with the UKU.ÚŠ soldiers.[9]

Ḫalpa-ziti is also documented from the fragmentary text KUB 31.32, which reports the content of a dream. It mentions a conversation exchanged between Ḫalpa-ziti, who bears the title of "commander of the heavy infantry", and an individual by the name of Tattamaru.[10] The latter is documented from several Hittite texts, and he bears the title of "commander of the heavy infantry of the left" (GAL ᴸᵁ́.ᴹᴱˢUKU.ÚŠ GÙB-laš) in the treaty concluded by Tutḫaliya IV

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[2] Rieken, Yakubovich 2010, 200 n. 2.
[3] Yakubovich 2010, 221 n. 18.
[4] Melchert 2019, 368-369.
[5] RS 17.319, Lackenbacher 2002, 166-167.
[6] Van den Hout 1995, 138-142.
[7] See Werner 1967, 41.
[8] Van den Hout, 1995, 191. See also Bilgin 2018, 225.
[9] See CHD Š. 2, 262.
[10] See Mouton 2007, 98-99.
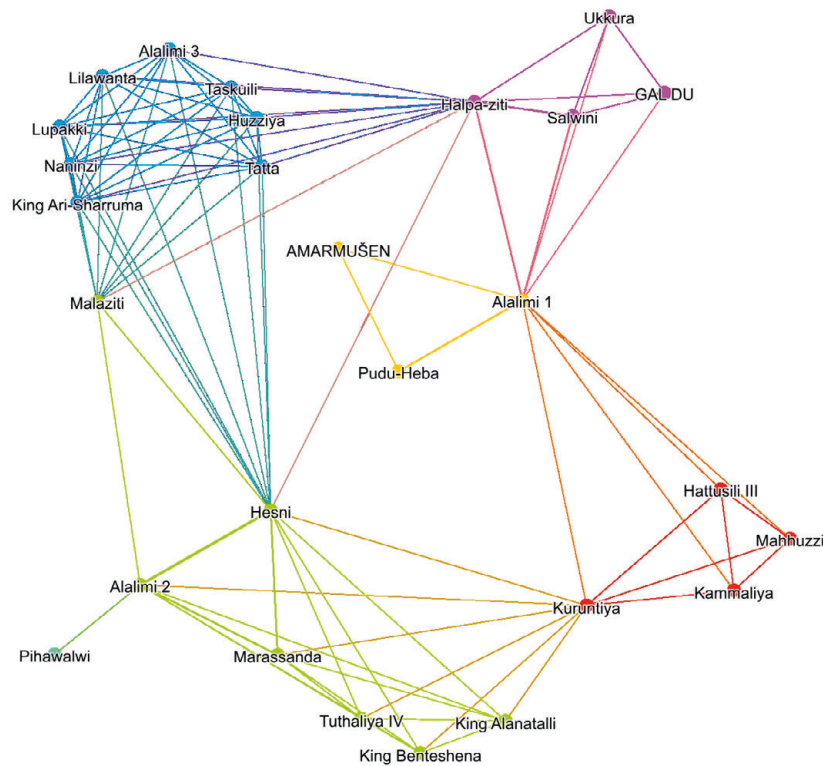
Fig. 1 - Network analysis of the relations among Alalimi and the other officials mentioned in this essay.

is also documented from a sealing discovered in the Hittite capital.[73]

Three sealings from Nişantepe (Herbordt 2005, no. 6, 8, and 9) preserve the impression of the seal of an individual by the name of Alalimi who bears the title "scribe" (L. 326). Besides, the colophon in the festival text KBo 22.214 documents the name of the scribe who wrote the tablet, Alalimi, and another name written in Hieroglyphic. Only the first two signs are readable, namely, *pi-ḫa*[-, but this fragmentary name can be restored as Piḫawalwi.[74] Hence, this colophon documents a collaboration between two scribes, namely, Piḫawalwi and Alalimi. A connection between these two individuals is also established by the aforementioned sealing Bo 91/1294, which preserves the impression of the seal of Alalimi PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS, as well as that of the seal of Piḫawalwi the "scribe".

Gordin[75] argued that Alalimi, "chief of the *pithos*-attendants" and "courtier", was also a scribe, since Taprammi,[76] whom we previously encountered as "chief of the *pithos*-attendants", is titled "scribe" and "courtier" in the seal impression documented from tablet KUB 25.32.[77] It should be noted that van den Hout recently contested the interpretation of the term expressed by the Hieroglyphic sign L. 326 as signifying a professional scribe and concluded that it only designated a literate member of the elite.[78]

In our opinion, the Alalami who is titled "scribe" in the sealing Bo 91/609 could be identified with Alalimi

PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS if we construe this title as a honorific designation but we exclude that this high-ranking official could also have been a professional scribe employed for copying festival texts such as the tablet KBo 22.214. Thus, it seems more likely that the sealing and tablet refer to another individual.

Furthermore, a diviner by the name of Alalimi is mentioned in the bird oracle KUB 22.68, and Alalimi, a merchant and son of a certain Tagi-Šarruma, is documented from the Ras Shamra tablet RS 17.319.[79]

Finally, an individual by the name of Alalimi without any title occurs in the flesh-oracle KBo 71.128 (i 8′-16′). The oracle investigation concerns Alalimi's wife, likely in connection to her pregnancy.

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[73] See Boehmer, Güterbock 1987, no. 194A. The *KARTAP-PU*-official could indeed fulfil the function of a royal messenger (see Singer 1983), and hence we do not exclude that Alalimi, who styled himself as "chariot driver" and "chief of the chariot drivers" in his seals, may have been the "overseer of the cup-bearers" who is mentioned in the letter KUB 21.38, and was in some way involved in diplomatic relations between Hatti and Egypt when the two courts were arranging the inter-dynastic marriage between the Hittite princess and Ramesses II.

[74] See Gordin 2015, 228; Waal 2015, 419-420.

[75] Gordin 2015, 226.

[76] On this official, see Mora 2016, 228.

[77] On this text, see McMahon 1991, 53-54; Torri 2022, 57.

[78] Van den Hout 2020, 341-374.

[79] On this individual, see Lebrun 2014, 142-155.

Clelia Mora*

THREE PEOPLE, THREE PLACES, AND TWO DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME

ABSTRACT

This paper is about two historical phases in ancient Anatolia. It examines eminent figures and the way they are spoken of in the preserved documents. The first part introduces two people who held high positions at the Hittite court and in the Syrian province during the final phase of the Hittite empire (second half of the 13th century BCE). The last part moves, both geographically and chronologically, into the neo-Hittite world (8th century BCE) to examine some epigraphic documents found in Kululu.

1. Taprammi: an outstanding (and well-rewarded) career at the service of the Hittite king

The first section is dedicated to a very interesting figure who operated in the last phase of the Hittite empire, called Taprammi, who was not linked by birth to the royal family, but was probably – according to the few sources we have – one of the most important and influential officials in the entourage of the king during the 13th century.

The following is a list of documents on which the name is mentioned. To begin with, let us look at the five seal impressions bearing the name Taprammi (in chronological order of publication):

- The impression of a stamp seal bearing the name Taprammi (published in SBo II n. 92), with titles EUNUCHUS₂ (repeated on either side of the name) and SCRIBA, is on the tablet KUB 25.32+ (cf. CTH 681.1 Fêtes de Karahna, seal impression in the middle of the reverse).[1]

- Another seal of Taprammi is impressed on a tablet from Ugarit (RS 17.231: cf. PRU IV, p. 238; Ugaritica III, pp. 50, 55). The text on the tablet is about the sale of a slave to the queen of Ugarit. The seal is impressed on the center of the obverse of the tablet. The titles on the seal are: SCRIBA and another title that is difficult to recognize in the central field, where a human figure in a long dress and the hieroglyphic signs indicating the name can also be seen; in the decorated double border around the central field the signs indicating the name Taprammi with titles EU-

NUCHUS₂ (L 254) and PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS can be read quite clearly. The sign that is difficult to read, surmounted by the MAGNUS sign, is found both in the central field and (it seems) in the outer border. Peled discussed this sign and suggested reading it as L 474 / EUNUCHUS.[2] According to T. Bilgin, on the other hand, it is more likely that it should be interpreted as MAGNUS.PASTOR, a title that is found next to EUNUCHUS₂ on three other seals.[3] Considering that the sign EUNUCHUS / L 474 is so far only present on 1st millennium documents, Bilgin's interpretation seems more likely to me (even though we can't be sure, considering some anomalies of the sign on this seal).

- Two seals (impressed on *cretulae*) published by Herbordt[4] bear the name Taprammi. It is unclear whether no. 408 belonged to the same Taprammi.[5] In fact, this seal only presents a human figure in the center of the seal, the title SCRIBA and a decoration on the edge of signs imitating the cuneiform signs.

No. 409 is an impression from a cylinder seal partially impressed on a *cretula* (because it was used as a stamp and not rolled); it bears the title EUNUCHUS₂ and the indication [(DEUS?)] CERVUS₂-*ti* REX, which should refer to a divine figure of which only traces of a hand remain (the same group of signs also appears in other seals from Nişantepe: cf. no. 630, where traces of the god-figure are preserved).

- A seal (preserved in impression on *cretula*) published by Dinçol, Dinçol,[6] with titles: SCRIBA, EUNUCHUS₂. The central part of the seal is similar to the one in SBo II (see above), with small variations; however, it also presents a decorated border in which a double-headed eagle, signs indicating the name, and the sign EUNUCHUS₂ alternate. On the

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* Università degli Studi di Pavia.

[1] Cf. McMahon 1991, 53 ff. Based on the late features of the script, the tablet is dated to the 13th century BCE. Note the peculiarity of a non-royal seal sealing a tablet dealing with an important cult celebration (cf. Bilgin 2018, 329); cf. also van den hout 2020, 252 ff.

[2] Peled 2013.

[3] Bilgin 2018, 329.

[4] Herbordt 2005, nos. 408, 409.

[5] See Hawkins in Herbordt 2005: perhaps the same owner?

[6] Dinçol, Dinçol 2008, n. 98.

same *cretula* is another impression of a seal bearing the name Talmi-Teššup / Ura Tarhunta, with the title SCRIBA-*la*.

Let's move now on to other kinds of documents:

- A certain Taprammi (without titles) is mentioned in another cuneiform text from Ugarit (RS 17.337: cf. PRU IV, pp. 168-169) which deals with a legal question relating to the ownership of slaves. If, as is probable (given the coincidence of the discovery of this tablet in Ugarit and the type of case discussed) this Taprammi is the same individual who was the holder of the seal from Ugarit mentioned above, this testimony is also very important because it gives us an interesting synchronism with Ini-Teššup king of Karkemish, who presided over the arbitration (a cylinder seal of Ini-Teššup is found on the reverse of the tablet). On this tablet there is no seal of Taprammi, who is mentioned several times in the text, but with no indication of the title (probably because he was a well-known official?).

- The hieroglyphic inscription engraved on the edge of the 'Kastamonu' bronze bowl bears the name Taprammi and the title EUNUCHUS$_2$. Hawkins proposed the following reading of the inscription:[7] *zi/a* CAELUM-*pi* DEUS.SCRIBA BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ *254 LEPUS+*RA/I* BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ *254 PONERE

"This bowl (to?) God-Scribe the good-man, the *254 (title), Taprammi place(d)"

Another interpretation, concerning the recipient, was recently proposed by Zs. Simon: "Taprammi placed this bowl for Massani, the scribe' (the recipient in this case would have been a scribe called DEUS)".[8]

The bowl, decorated in a very rich and refined way, including hunting scenes, was part of the famous Kastamonu 'treasure', found during public works and delivered to the Kastamonu Museum in 1990.[9] According to some scholars, all the 'treasure' should be attributed to Taprammi, but others do not share this opinion (I don't think we have enough elements to decide for or against).

- A similar name, in the form Taparami, is mentioned (twice) in the inventory text KBo 18.161 (CTH 242.13), but we are not sure whether this refers to the same person we are dealing with, as the title is missing.

- Finally, a stele or statue base (BOĞAZKÖY 1), found in the Hittite capital, bears a hieroglyphic inscription with the name 'Taprammi' and the title EUNUCHUS$_2$. The only other similar base that has been found bears the name of a certain Kukku (or Tuttu?),[10] probably another person of a high level.

According to most scholars, almost all the times that the name Taprammi is mentioned may refer to the same person, both due to the frequent presence of the title EUNUCHUS$_2$ and to the probable dating

of all the documents to the second half of the 13th century BCE. There are some doubts, especially due to the lack of the key title, about the seal published by Herbordt[11] (cf. above), and the name mentioned in the inventory text.

Let us now briefly turn to Taprammi's titulary and his career.

There has been much discussion about the corps of the LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG / EUNUCHUS$_2$: as we know, it was a corps of officials unconnected by kinship with the court, which was probably strengthened in the second half of the 13th century BCE, to protect the king and the institution he represented.[12] It is important to consider that in the Nişantepe-archive the number of seals with this title is inferior only to the seals with the titles MAGNUS.REX, REX.FILIUS and SCRIBA.[13]

Therefore, according to the preserved documentation, we can consider Taprammi as one of the most important members of this corps and probably one of the most prominent and influential courtiers close to the Hittite king. In this regard, I would like to underline some data which stand out from the documentation I mentioned before:

1) First of all, let us consider the important series of titles carried by Taprammi: EUNUCHUS$_2$, SCRIBA, PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS; MAGNUS.PASTOR? The title PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS[14] as well as the title EUNUCHUS$_2$, also seem to be typical of the late imperial age (and it continued to be used even later, during the 'dark age': cf. the KARAHÖYÜK stele). The 'PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS' men are likely to have been appointed by the last Hittite kings, perhaps to thank them for being royal followers. Tiwatamuwa,[15] bearing this title, was also an owner of a cylinder seal. There are other symbols, such as the double-headed eagle, filling the seals of Taprammi, that also appear to be high prestige marks.

2) We know that there are very few sealed tablets dating to the late period of the Hittite kingdom. Therefore, the fact that two different seals of Taprammi were used to seal two tablets (one of which was found in Ugarit, while the other concerns an important celebration) seems to be very significant and could be an indicator of the importance of this official; another

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[7] Hawkins 1993.

[8] Simon 2018.

[9] Cf. an accurate description and presentation of the entire 'treasure' in Emre, Çinaroğlu 1993; cf. also Czichon 1995 for a detailed analysis of the decorated bowl.

[10] Cf. Hawkins in Herbordt 2005, 259 (and seals nos. 166-167).

[11] Herbordt 2005, no. 408.

[12] Cf. Mora 2015, 2016; Bilgin 2018, 324-345, with previous references.

[13] See the indexes in Herbordt 2005.

[14] Cf. Hawkins in Herbordt 2005, 306; Mora 2016.

[15] Cf. Herbordt 2005, no 460.

GIULIA TORRI*

THE LIST OF WORKERS KUB 31.62, BETWEEN PROSOPOGRAPHY AND SOCIOGRAPHY[1]

ABSTRACT

This article presents an edition of the list of workers KUB 31.62 in order to analyze the function of the list and the temple personnel mentioned in it: cupbearers ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SAGI.A), treasurers (LÚ^{MEŠ} ŠÀ.TAM), table attendants (LÚ$^{MEŠ\ GIŠ}$BANŠUR) and cooks ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM).

KEYWORDS

Cupbearer, treasurer, table attendant, cook, Ḫatti

Among the fragments from the Hittite capital Ḫattuša there are some lists of people, mostly workers, that Laroche catalogued under the entries CTH 231-237.[2] It is a set of texts with a variety of contents, some of which belong to broader compositions[3] while others are of an actual administrative-economic character.[4] What is striking is the paucity of lists of people for economic-administrative functions in a society that had to make use both in local centers and in the capital of a high number of workers. Surely these lists need to be studied again in the future.[5] For now I would like to analyze one specific list, KUB 31.62, catalogued under CTH 232. This text is unique: the fragment KUB 31.70, attributed in 1971 to the same group, is in fact part of a treaty with the Kaškeans, KBo 50.266a++ (CTH 260.3.A). A small fragment attributed now to this group,[6] KBo 48.88, is probably part of another kind of composition.[7]

KUB 31.62 is a text fragment, dating back to the imperial period. It is the upper portion of a tablet inscribed only on the obverse. No photo of the reverse is provided in the *Konkordanz*, but the author of the handcopy, H. Otten, included the annotation *Rs. Leer*.[8] The preserved surface is divided into three columns by single column dividers. A total of eight thematic units were obtained by drawing paragraph dividers. Unfortunately, only five retain any comprehensible text.

No commentary on this fragment is provided in the introduction to the edition of KUB XXXI,[9] nor do we find detailed references in the reviews that came out within a few years after the publication. The only citation is found in J. Friedrich's review,[10] in which the author remarks about the importance of this and other texts that he attributes to lists of various contents. Specifically, he observes that KUB 31.62, as a list of persons and professions, would help to enrich our picture of Hittite onomastics. It was precisely because of research on Hittite prosopography that I became interested in this text, which has never led to a full critical edition. The project "Hittite Prosopographic Records",[11] under the auspices of the University of Torino, was designed for the purpose of inserting in a database a comprehensive list of the proper names, with titles and parental or working connections, attested in the different periods of Hittite history. Its purpose is to reconstruct a step-by-step portrait of Hittite society, highlighting links between individuals or following the careers of individual officials. Of course, there is no need to mention here the familiar problems that Hittite documentation presents in rarely offering the possibility of reconstructing the mentioned aspects.[12] As we know, we are more or less well-informed about the office and the duties of some high-ranking officials,[13] at least in some periods,

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[2] LAROCHE 1971: CTH 231: *Listes d'*AGRIG; CTH 232: *Listes de fonctionnaires*; CTH 233: *Listes de familles*; CTH 234: *Listes d'hommes*; CTH 235: *Listes de femmes*; CTH 236: *Listes d'hommes et de soldats*; CTH 237: *Listes de personnes*.

[3] For example, LAROCHE 1971 included KUB 26.2 in CTH 231, Lists of AGRIG. The text was later attributed to the KI.LAM festival and is now joined to CHDS 5.23 (KOŠAK, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus).

[4] A number of lists of workers was found also in the site of Maşat Höyük. See DEL MONTE 1995.

[5] One hypothesis is that lists were customarily written on wooden supports and only casually, for specific reasons, on clay. On the problem about wooden writing boards see CAMMAROSANO *et alii* 2019, 136-139.

[6] STURM, OTTEN 1939, 16. See KOŠAK, hethiter.net/: hetkonk (2.plus), s.v.

[7] GRODDEK 2012, 62.

[8] At least in the preserved portion.

[9] STURM, OTTEN 1939. This volume of cuneiform texts represented Heinrich Otten's first work as editor of the *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy* series.

[10] FRIEDRICH 1941-44, 76.

[11] A project conducted by the University of Torino with the collaboration of the University of Florence (PRIN 2020).

[12] The first comprehensive research about Hittite personal names is by LAROCHE 1966. The second fundamental research is by VAN DEN HOUT 1995. About the scribes see GORDIN 2015.

[13] Comprehensive studies about officials are by PECCHIOLI DADDI 1982, VAN DEN HOUT 1995 and BILGIN 2018.

§1		§4		§7	
1'[18]	˹ ᵐšu-na˺-DINGIR-*LIM*˹	u.e.	blank[19]	1	ᵐḫ[i-
2'	ᴸᵁ́SAGI.A	1	˹2˺ DUMUᴹᴱŠMAŠ.TAB[20].˹BA˺	2	ᵐx-[
		2		3	ᴸ[Ú
§2		[ᵐ]-x-ḫa-aš-du-uš			
3'	ᵐÚr-ᵈ10	3		§8	
4'	ᵐmar-ri-iš	[ᵐ -t]a-i-uš		4	ᵐx[
5'	ᵐta-ti-˹li₁₂˺	4		5	2[?[22]
6'	ᵐla-pa-LÚ	[ᵐ]x-ú-uš		6	ᴸ[Ú (?)[23]
7'	ᵐtu-tu-uš	5		broken	
8'	ᵐtal-me-ᵈ10	LÚᴹᴱŠ ˹ᴳᴵŠ˺BANŠUR			
9'	ᵐšu-na-DINGIR-*LIM*				
10'	ᵐDINGIRᴹᴱŠ.GAL	§5			
11'	˹LÚ˺ᴹᴱŠŠÀ.TAM	6	ᵐmi-x-[ ]x		
		7	ᵐšu-na-˹DINGIR˺-L[IM][21]		
§3		8	ᵐta-ti-li₁₂		
12'	x[ ]x x [	9	ᵐḫi-im-mu-DINGIR-*LIM*		
Broken		10	ᵐta-ti-˹ŠEŠ˺		
		11	ᴸᵁ́.ᴹᴱŠMUḪALDIM		
		§6			
		12	ᵐa-la-LÚ		
		13	ᵐta-me-˹ti˺-eš		
		14	ᵐkaš-šu-ú-uš		
		15	˹ᵐḫa-i-ti-li₁₂˺		
		Broken			

Tab. 1 - KUB 31.62 obv.

while we are almost completely ignorant of parental connections and aspects related to the private lives of individuals.[14]

The situation is even more difficult when we try to explore other aspects of Hittite society by reconstructing ties and connections within lower social classes or groups of workers.[15]

We can generally observe that documents related to the ancient world are often devoid of data on the lower classes. In their introduction to the methods of the prosopographic studies, Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn state:[16] "For the lower classes, prosopography is often pointless, unless as part of a much larger and methodologically different research project. The problem is acute for the Ancient World and the Early Middle Ages, but is relevant for all periods, including the twentieth century. The poorest and most marginal groups in society are hardly ever well documented".

On the other hand, the same authors also state: "We can distinguish, therefore, two 'schools' in prosopographical research: one studying elites - consisting of relatively small groups of well documented individuals - and one studying large groups of mostly anonymous or poorly documented individuals".[17]

KUB 31.62 suggests that it would be opportune to attempt research on the second category, which, however, cannot be based on proper names, if not

marginally, but on the functions and titles of these individuals and the reasons why they were listed together.

I will first present an edition of the text and then add some comments related to its content (Tab. 1).

[14] I have already described this problem in discussing the genealogy of Hittite scribes in Tᴏʀʀɪ 2015, 579-588.

[15] I find particularly useful here Z. Simon's work on Hittite demography, which is in some way connected with such research about the different social classes that populated the settlements. See Sɪᴍᴏɴ 2011.

[16] Vᴇʀʙᴏᴠᴇɴ, Cᴀʀʟɪᴇʀ, Dᴜᴍᴏʟʏɴ 2007, 61

[17] *Ibidem*, 42.

[18] Four lines are missing.

[19] The hand copy presents a blank space on the upper edge. End of a sign, probably part of the parallel left column is visible.

[20] Contrary to the hand copy, the TAB sign has two small wedge heads by the lower and upper horizontal that are not aligned with each other. The sign resembles the third variant by HZL Nr. 90 (hethiter.net:/ fotoarch Photo BoFN02147b).

[21] Remains of an open wedge are still visible in the photo (hethiter.net:/ fotoarch Photo BoFN02147b).

[22] Cfr. §4, 1: ˹2˺ DUMUᴹᴱŠMAŠ.TAB.˹BA˺.

[23] The sign is very fragmentary but it is more probable the edge of a horizontal wedge, surmounted by the head of an oblique sign, than an abraded horizontal followed by a vertical wedge as in the hand copy.

Rossana Damiano*

DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE GRAPHS FOR HITTITE AND KASSITE PROSOPOGRAPHIC DATA

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the application of Semantic Web and Linked Data technologies to represent, publish and study prosopographic data from the Late Bronze Near East. Starting from two case studies concerning the Hittite and Kassite kingdoms, the methodological aspects implied by these technologies will be illustrated and discussed, arguing that the benefits do not only rest only on data interoperability and accessibility, but also in the modeling process accomplished by domain experts and data representation experts, which enables the application of novel techniques for the study and exploration of data.

KEYWORDS

Ontologies, knowledge graphs, semantic modeling, RDF vocabularies, prosopographic data modeling

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we describe the application of Semantic Web and Linked Data technologies to represent, publish and study prosopographic data from the Late Bronze Near East. According to Lawrence and Bodard "Prosopography, as distinct from biography, focuses not on the life of an individual but on a person as part of a collection with whom they may share, or not, a number of traits".[1] Such traits define the social identities of individuals, such as names and titles, but also their network of relations within the administrative, legal, and cultural context they lived in. From the computational perspective, it is important to stress that, to grasp their shared nature, these traits must be described according to univocal, well-established models, a requisite that can be fulfilled by Semantic Web and Linked Data technologies.

We will illustrate two parallel, yet distinct case studies concerning respectively Hittite and Kassite kingdoms,[2] by focusing on methodological aspects that span from data modeling to data publication and analysis.

2. MOTIVATIONS AND BACKGROUND

More than two decades ago, Semantic Web technologies[3] have brought to Digital Humanities an interlingua that has replaced project-specific database schemes with interoperable, publicly available computational ontologies, shifting the representation of digital data from a technical issue to a substantial question negotiated between domain experts and knowledge engineers. The design of a computational ontology, intended as "an engineering artifact, constituted by a specific vocabulary used to describe a certain reality",[4] requires the domain expert and the knowledge representation engineer to cooperate in a tight and equal relationship to let emerge what Guarino termed as "the explicit assumptions regarding the intended meaning of the vocabulary itself". Despite the intrinsic limitations of computational ontologies, which are the result of a trade-off between representational goals and computational issues, the negotiation between the expert and the knowledge engineer can result in a fruitful clarification of the concepts in play, with benefits for the conceptualization of the domain. Moreover, despite the stability implicit in the term "ontology", the computational ontology that is the output of the process above must not be intended as an immutable artefact, as clearly stated by ontology engineering frameworks such as NEON:[5] as its use to represent a given domain continues, relevant exceptions and new cases will emerge from incoming data, leading to a continuous process of revision aimed at keeping the model and vocabulary aligned with the new findings.

The advent of Linked Data,[6] then, has broken the boundaries between projects by bringing about a paradigm according to which well-identified, unambiguously referenceable vocabularies are shared between projects involving the same knowledge domains. The RDF data model underlying Linked Data enables the publication and sharing of the data as "Knowledge Graphs" where the entities of a domain are described through their interconnections in a network-like representation that naturally lends itself to the study and exploration of the relationships between the domain entities by human experts and machines. This para-

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* Università degli Studi di Torino.
[1] LAWRENCE, BODARD 2015.
[2] DEVECCHI, SCARPA in press; DE MARTINO 2023.
[3] BERNERS-LEE, HENDLER, LASSILA 2001.
[4] GUARINO 1998.
[5] SUÁREZ-FIGUEROA, GÓMEZ-PÉREZ, FERNANDEZ-LOPEZ 2015.
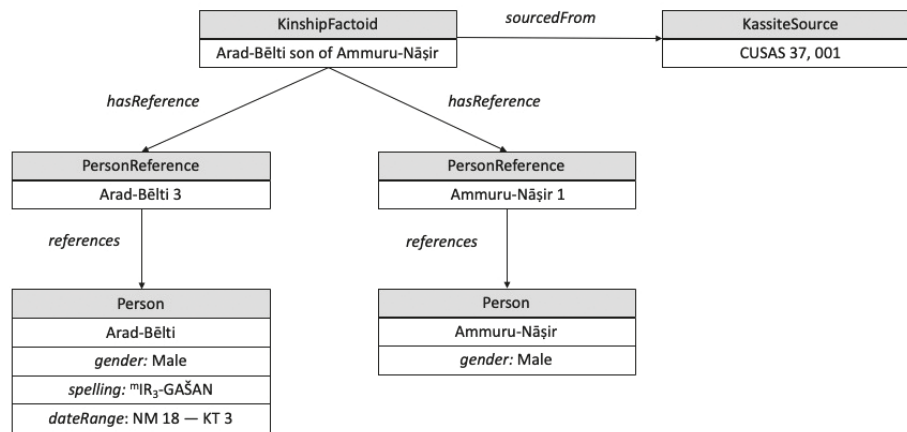[6] BIZER et alii 2008.

Fig. 1 - An example factoid involving two personages from the Kassite dataset.

3. From data modeling to data collection

3.1. *The ontologies*

The representation of prosopography with computational ontologies relies on the pioneering work carried out by Pasin and Bradley.[7] The Factoid-based Prosopographic Ontology[8] (FPO) licensed by Pasin and Bradley revolves around the notion of factoid, intended as a believed-to-be-true, reported event in some written source, a definition that fits very precisely the data – inferred from text corpora – investigated by the case studies. The Factoid model puts into play two basic entities directly connected with the notion of factoid: the Source, where the factoid is asserted (here, a Hittite or Kassite cuneiform text), and the Relation it describes (e.g., an administrative or legal relation), which refers to a given Person (Person Reference) and Location (Location Reference), namely the actual personage and place involved in the relation.

FPO, written in the Ontology Web Language[9] (OWL), not only provides a sound basis for the modelling of prosopographic data, validated against several published datasets spanning through ages and geographical areas,[10] but it also owns the desirable property of giving visibility to the *interpretation* behind the data thanks to its internal articulation. The notion of factoid itself, in fact, matches well the attribution of a specific relationship to specific entities decoded from a source without blurring the

distinction between the source and the relationship asserted by the expert from it (namely, the factoid, modeled as a type of assertion in FPO). Moreover, the arrangement of related persons and other entities in the factoid provided by FPO is in line with the well-established notion of Situation – a set of entities participating in some state of affairs or event which can be linguistically described – acknowledged by foundational ontologies such as Dolce[11] and BFO[12], thus paving the way with the integration of FPO with models that share the same perspective.

To adapt FPO to our case studies, the concepts and relations described by FPO have been specialized to fit the Hittite and Kassite domains (thus yielding the Hittite FPO, or HFPO, and the Kassite FPO, or KFPO). Technically, this has been done by adding more specific concepts (or *classes* according to the terminology of computational ontologies) and relations (or *properties*) to the ones in the ontology, leaving the core model unaffected.

Cuneiform texts and Seals have been introduced as specific source types, and specific factoids and relations have been created to account for the information conveyed by the cuneiform texts in the two domains, which concern the administrative, kinship, professional and legal relationships between the personages in the Hittite and Kassite world. In HFPO the relation types of the Hittite world (including co-worker, family, hierarchy, proximity, team, and witness relations) have been modeled by creating specific properties

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[7] Pasin, Bradley 2015.
[8] https://github.com/johnBradley501/FPO
[9] https://www.w3.org/OWL/
[10] Pasin, Bradley 2015; Bradley 2021; Lawrence, Bodard 2015.
[11] Gangemi *et alii* 2002.
[12] Arp, Smith, Spear 2015.

Regine Pruzsinszky*

WHO IS WHO IN TIGUNANI?
TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN UPPER MESOPOTAMIA DURING THE "DARK AGE" IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM BCE

ABSTRACT

The publication of the Labarna letter and the Ḫabiru prism by Mirjo Salvini in the 1990s revealed a first glimpse into a period that is referred to as the "Dark Age" due to large gaps in the historical tradition. These two texts belong to the archive of king Tunip-Teššup of Tigunani, a contemporary of Ḫattušili I at the end of the 17th century that provides new insights to the socio-political situation of a kingdom situated in the Upper Tigris region maintaining contacts along the old trading routes with Ḫatti in the west and Assyria in the east. This paper offers a first prosopographical study in identifying the ḫabiru listed on the prism with the individuals attested in the archival texts and their possible role in the formation of Mittani.

KEYWORDS

City elders, chronology, Dark Age, ḫabiru, Kassites, Mittani

1. PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED TEXTS FROM TIGUNANI

Ever since the publication of the Labarna letter from Tigunani in by M. Salvini[1] and the subsequent edition of the Ḫabiru prism,[2] the discussion about the role of the kingdom of Tigunani during a period we define as a "Dark Age" of Mesopotamia, attracted great interest.[3] These texts fit right into this "intermediate period between the Old and Middle Babylonian age, during which many things happened in the North, but in an epoch about which we have very little information", as G. Wilhelm translated J.-M. Durand's short characterization of this time period.[4] The texts from Tigunani remain enigmatic as the majority of them are unpublished and the texts themselves languished in a number of private collections.[5] Currently, we know of about 450 texts coming from the palace archive(s) of Tigunani, of which only ca. 50 tablets have been published in various venues. The majority of the tablets is only known through partly translated and annotated transliterations, the "folios" or "scholarly papers", which W.G. Lambert compiled in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A.R. George, the executor of Lambert's *Nachlass* described these as "a tremendous resource"[6] and entrusted them to J.J. Justel, who invited me to join his project on the history, administration and society of Tigunani as presented in the unpublished archives of king Tunip-Teššup, to study the personal names.[7]

In addition to M. Salvini's edition of the historically important Labarna letter,[8] the Ḫabiru prism and two omen texts,[9] another prism called *il prisma delle città*, and a few interesting administrative documents have been recently edited in two Festschriften by the same author.[10] A.R. George published another set of Tigunani texts, which include divinatory texts,[11] documents and letters.[12] Many tablets compiled in Lambert's folios, have ended up in the Moussaieff and Schøyen collections. Further tablets are in Japan, Turkey, and Switzerland and the folios suggest that a number of texts are scattered in the hands of anonymous collections. This is very unfortunate, since currently, it is impossible to collate the original tablets, whose archaeological context was never recorded and is forever lost.

J.A. Belmonte Marín[13] studied the geo-political context of the Tigunani texts and was able to show the confines of the heartland of this kingdom that consisted of at least 85 towns and settlements in the region around the Kašiyari mountain (= Ṭūr-ʿAbdīn). His reconstruction benefitted tremendously from the city prism published by M. Salvini,[14] which records levies or taxes paid by various cities to king Tunip-

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Teššup of Tigunani. According to Belmonte Marín, the core of the kingdom must have been situated along the Tigris between the region of Diyarbakır, Bismil and Batman. Strong ties with Eluḫut[15] demonstrate that Tigunani's control extended southwards of the Ṭūr-ʿAbdīn, which provided access to the Ḫabur region via the Mardin pass.

2. Preliminary prosopographical observations: Who were the ḫabiru?

After the Ḫabiru prism's *editio princeps* in 1996, considerable attention has focused on the names of the 438 *ḫabiru*[16] who served king Tunip-Teššup. About 50% of these personal names were analyzed as Hurrian by R. Zadok[17] in his review and studied by Th. Richter in his monumental book "Vorarbeiten zu einem hurritischen Namenbuch".[18] Some of these personal names also contain characteristic theophoric elements for the region, such as Teššup, Kušuḫ, Šimiga, the deified Tigris Ara(nš/ziḫ), and Ḫabur, the deified mountain ranges Ka/ešiyar, Kalli and Pišaiš, and the name of the cities Nawar, Ninu, Kulmiš, Kumme, Kaniš (Kaniya), Taḫupe, all of which were studied by L. Monti in his dissertation.[19]

My compilation of the personal names in the *folios* has shown relatively few overlaps with the ones of the Ḫabiru prism.[20] According to my observations, these names of the prism appear in the *folios* in conjunction with place names that link them all to the kingdom of Tigunani.[21] Interestingly, a number of them appear as [lú]ŠU-GI ("elders") acting as responsible or witnessing persons in close contact with SIPA ("shepherd") in the context of animal husbandry - one of the key elements of the pastoral economy and society of this region that was under palatial control.[22] The use of [lú]ŠU-GI for the elders in the context of animal husbandry dependent on the palace administration reminds us of what is known from Mari.[23] Generally and as expected, all these ([lú])ŠU-GI in Tigunani are associated with towns within the kingdom of Tigunani.[24] What is striking though is that almost all the names of the [lú]ŠU-GI appear in the Ḫabiru prism.

dog with the Habiru in these omens ties in well with the view of the latter as a population group at the margins-or beyond the margins-of society, outcasts living opportunistically, aggressive and unpredictable, often openly bellicose. This alludes ... to the quasi-feral menacing ownerless scavenger dog, which lurks in ruins or behind the city gate or roams through public spaces feeding on leftovers and carrion ..."

[17] Zadok 1999/2000.

[18] Shortly after the edition of the Ḫabiru prism, Richter 1998 devoted a preliminary analysis on its personal names. Richter 2016, 18 compiled the percentages of Amorite, Akkadian, Hurrian and other (atypical, non-semitic, and Kassite) names based on the analysis of Zadok 1999/2000, 351-352.

[19] Monti 2016, 419 wondered about the occurrence of the theophoric element Ištar in the Akkadian (not Hurrian!) personal name Arki-Ištar (see Richter 2016, 648[1166]). However, this theonym is attested in several names in the Tigunani texts: e.g., Mār-Ištar, Šēpī-Ištar, Šū-Ištar, and Ṣilli-Ištar. As Tigunani was located along the main routes to Assyria, with which it entertained good relations, this is not surprising. We even know of a ritual text for this goddess of Ninet, as pointed out by George 2017, 98 and a *tuppi parṣi,* a tablet of rites (WGL 7630) relating to the same goddess.

[20] Only about 1/8 of the personal names overlap, of which most are Hurrian.

[21] E.g., Nupur-kipa from Kawilašdamanni: Referring to the pledge document WGL 7769, Justel 2020, 315-315 speculated whether Nupur-kipa of Kawilašdamanni should be identified with the *ḫabiru*. Note that in WGL 7736 Nupur-kipa receives a chariot, which seems to support this identification. In the loan agreement WGL 7624, Nupur-kipa acts with two others as a creditor of Aranšiḫ-atal from Šuḫšima (located within the kingdom of Tigunani). The document is signed by the well-known scribe Kerizzu, son of Ḫapiaššu). Terekke from Ḫarta, who might be identical with his namesake in the Ḫabiru prism, delivers silver (1/3 MA-NA KÙ-BABBAR 1 GÍN 2 *li-li-ku-ma-ti*) at request of the king (WGL 7663). Maybe this refers to taxes that were requested, as shown by *il prisma delle città* and a number of documents and, in which silver, hides, etc. were collected from towns. On the place names attested in the Tigunani archives, see Belmonte Marín 2021.

[22] E.g., CUSAS 34, 61 and 62, WGL 7768: x animals *ša* GN [lú]ŠU-GI PN *ša* PN SIPA, WGL 7724: x animals *ša* GN PN SIPA [lú]ŠU-GI PN, WGL 7908: x animals *ša* PN SIPA *ša ina* GN *ašbu* [lú]ŠU-GI PN, WGL 7777: x animals *ša ina* GN *nadnu* [lú]ŠU-GI PN *u ša dumqi*, WGL 8190/4/ 8195 and 7686: x animals GN ŠU-GI PN. According to George 2017, 100: "The vast majority of the administrative documents in the archive of Tunip-Teššub's palace are concerned with accounting for livestock and manufacture of woolen cloaks. Clearly, the economy of Tunip-Teššub's state was mainly based on herding and exploitation of sheep and goats. Other texts in the archive document the distribution of various commodities by the palace: rations to personnel, fodder for oxen and pigs, solver to craftsmen; and the procurement of horses."

[23] Seri 2005, 108.

[24] For those towns belonging to Tigunani, see Belmonte Marín 2021, 88. Sometimes we observe more than one [lú]ŠU-GI of a town, such as in Uri, Šada and Šuddāni.

In WGL 7884 ŠU-GI Uštap-šenni from Šušḫima(pḫe) and in WGL 7885 ŠU-GI Hati...širi from Šikiša(pḫe) are attested. Both towns are suffixed with the Hurrian ending -(p)ḫe and the two named persons closely attached these towns seem to represent elders. Unfortunately, their context remains unclear in this document. Only once, in a silver repayment note (WGL 7784), in which silver is owed by the city of Uri belonging to the kingdom of Tiguani, (their?) two elders of the city ([lú]ŠU-GI URU[ki]) are named: Šeḫri-ḫuḫ, bearing the additional title MAḪ[?] *ša* DINGIR *šamê*, and Unap-šarri. Both personal names are not attested in the Ḫabiru prism.

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[15] Belmonte Marín 2021, 91. For a location of Eluḫut along the Tigris River in the city of Batman, see recently Kühne 2023, 167-187.

[16] "An appellative for a certain element, namely displaced persons who leave their homeland and seek their fortunes in neighboring countries." (Naʾaman 1988, 192). Ḫabiru, who were of different origin, appear as "fugitives, migrant laborers, bandits, domestic servants, soldiers of fortune, and regular troops" (Von Dassow 2008, 110). On their various origins, see Zadok 1999/2000, 355. For a comprehensive overview (on the spellings and possible etymologies), see von Dassow 2008, 105-111 and Durand 2015, 1053-1056. On the *ḫabiru*'s occurrence in divinatory texts from Tigunani, see George 2013, 109b, 318-319. De Zorzi 2017, 130 and 136-137 stated: "The equation of the

Elena Devecchi*

FROM HAND TO HAND: TRACKING THE WORKFLOW OF KASSITE OFFICIALS

Abstract

Cuneiform tablets from Kassite Babylonia record the names of thousands of individuals who interacted at different levels with the institutions that produced these texts. A useful criterion to recognize, among them, those who had an active role in the resource management is looking for personal names that follow the term "hand" (Akk. *qātum*), which in this context signifies authority and control over goods and individuals. The paper offers a detailed study of the data about Mudammiq-Adad, a scribe whose "hand" played a significant role in the administrative system recorded by the texts from Dūr-Enlilē. By analyzing his activities and interactions with other individuals, this study sheds light on a network of closely interacting agents, offers new insights into the role of scribes within the administration and highlights the collaborative rather than hierarchical nature of their participation in the operational dynamics of the economic organization they worked for.

Keywords

Prosopography, scribes, administrative system, Kassite Babylonia, Dūr-Enlilē

1. Looking for the "hands"

Archival sources from Kassite Babylonia record thousands of personal names attested in connection with different types of activities that – due to the nature of the texts – mainly reflect the economic and administrative systems of the institutions that produced them.[1]

Turning these personal names into historical individuals can be a challenging task, since the onomastic repertoire of this period is rather limited and only rarely are personal names accompanied by information such as filiation or profession that might help to distinguish possible namesakes. This obstacle can be only partially overcome with the help of the date and/or the archival context of the sources, since both are often either partially or completely unknown. Therefore, one needs to rely upon other sets of data that can contribute to the disambiguation process by enabling reconstruction of the "functional" and "behavioral" profile of individuals, i.e., their role in the economic and administrative activities and in the complex network of interactions they had with each other.

To this end, collecting and analyzing the attestations of personal names that follow the word "hand" (Akkadian *qātum*, usually written with the Sumerogram ŠU) can be a useful procedure to identify individuals who played a central function in the management of resources, since in this context "hand" indicates someone's "authority, possession, custody, charge, care, control, [or] jurisdiction" over goods and individuals.[2]

As part of the ongoing "Kassite Prosopographic Records" project,[3] I will present here a detailed overview of the data concerning an official named Mudammiq-Adad, whose "hand" had an important role in the administrative system recorded in the texts from Dūr-Enlilē. The analysis of his activities and of his interaction with other individuals will provide useful insights into the operations of the economic organization he worked for.

2. Who was Mudammiq-Adad?

Within the Dūr-Enlilē corpus,[4] the name Mudammiq-Adad is currently attested 76 times in 69 legal and administrative documents that date from Nazi-

Fig. 1 - Obverse and right edge of CUSAS 37 165: at the end of l. 5, following the name of Mudammiq-Adad, are the signs possibly to be read ^{lú}ḪAL.

Maruttaš y. 19 (1289 BC) until Šagarakti-Šuriaš y. 3 (1243 BC).[5] As a preliminary note, it should be stressed that these data might well be incomplete, since it is impossible to determine to what extent the currently known textual evidence from Dūr-Enlilē represents the whole set of documents originally produced by the local administration. Thus, since the following reconstruction might be biased by the incomplete state of the available records, it should be taken with due caution and regarded as provisional.

Mudammiq-Adad's name is attested over a span of 46 years, which suggests that more than one individual may have borne the name. Nowhere is this personal name accompanied by a patronymic that might distinguish possible namesakes. However, we do find information about his professions in the legal documents (see Table 1): here, Mudammiq-Adad's name appears at the end of the witness list as the scribe who recorded these acts; in two instances, he is further identified as a "diviner" (*bārû*, written logographically ^{lú}ḪAL). These documents date from as early as Nazi-Maruttaš y. 23[+6] until Šagarakti-Šuriaš y. 3, with a concentration of texts in the later period, from the end of the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II until the beginning of the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš.

Even though the legal documents cover a similarly lengthy time span of 43 years, it seems at the very least possible that we are dealing with one and the same scribe over the entire period, since not only Mudammiq-Adad but also other individuals provide prosopographic links among these legal

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[5] See the attestations listed in VAN SOLDT 2015, 555 (note that the attestation in CUSAS 30 91: 21 has been erroneously included among the occurrences that refer to Mudammiq-Adad as scribe and that in CUSAS 30 2: 14′ he does not bear the title of ^{lú}ŠITIM, but that of ^{lú}ḪAL); DEVECCHI 2020, 366; and LEVAVI 2017, 105. In contrast, the name Mudammiq-Adad does not seem to be very common in other contemporary Kassite archives. At Nippur, it is attested only six times: once as the name of a merchant (BE 15 163: 51), once as the name of the son of Kuriyāni (PBS 2/2 73: 32), three times in the compound "son of Mudammiq-Adad" (MRWH 31: 27; PBS 2/2 30: 36; PBS 2/2 83: 31), and once without further professional or kinship information (BE 14 148: 7): see CLAY 1912, 108 and HÖLSCHER 1996, 142-143. The subsequent edition of further texts from Nippur by SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2001 did not add any new attestations. The name is attested neither at Ur nor at Tell Imliḫiye.

[6] Even though the king's name is not preserved in the date formula, CUSAS 30 17 can be assigned to year 23[+] of Nazi-Maruttaš on prosopographic grounds (DEVECCHI 2020, 43 fn. 4).

Erica Scarpa*

THE BUSINESS OF MR. NINURTA-ZĀKIR-ŠUMI:
ACTIVITIES OF AN OFFICIAL WITHIN THE KASSITE ADMINISTRATION

Abstract

This paper explores the life and role of Ninurta-zākir-šumi during the Middle Kassite period, focusing on his position as an official in the Nippur countryside. Identified in sources from Nippur published between 1904 and 1922, his name has gained prominence with the recent publication of the ex-Rosen tablets. While previous studies have touched on his story briefly, the ex-Rosen documents offer a more detailed and nuanced perspective on his activities in the administration of Dūr-Enlilē and neighboring towns. The paper conducts a comprehensive reconstruction of his family lineage, establishing connections to the House of Enlil-kidinnī, *šandabakku* of Nippur. Through this exploration, the aim is to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Ninurta-zākir-šumi's life and his role in the managements of resources in the Nippur countryside.

Keywords

Kassite administration, prosopography, Dūr-Enlilē, Middle Babylonian, managements of resources

1. Introduction[1]

This paper focuses on Ninurta-zākir-šumi, a key figure in the administration of the Nippur countryside during the Middle Kassite period. The personal name, spelled md MAŠ-*za-kir-šu-mi*, md MAŠ-MU-MU, md *Nin-urta-za-kir-šu-mi*, or md *Nin-urta*-MU-MU, has been known since the early 20th century, appearing in a few sources from Nippur published between 1904 and 1922.[2] In these documents, at least seven men can be identified who bore this name over a period of approximately 120 years, living between the reigns of Burna-Buriaš II and Šagarakti-Šuriaš.[3] The individual under discussion in this paper is one of them.

Following the publication of a corpus comprising some 800 documents, part of a group of tablets that previously belonged to the Rosen Collection and was recently repatriated to Iraq, instances of this name have seen a significant increase.[4] Published between 2015 and 2020 by Wilfred van Soldt and Elena Devecchi, the ex-Rosen tablets illuminate a previously unknown microcosm and serve as the primary sources shaping our understanding of Ninurta-zākir-šumi's life, revealing much of the information currently available on this individual. His name is now men-

tioned in a total of 121 sources, and the reconstruction proposed in this study relies on the assumption that all these documents refer to the same individual, *i.e.* Ninurta-zākir-šumi, son of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī,[5] and an eminent member of the Kassite administration in the Dūr-Enlilē region for approximately three decades, between the reigns of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307-1282 BC) and Kadašman-Turgu (1281-1264 BC).[6] In fact, even though most sources mention him without patronymic, the administrative contexts strongly suggest that they all indicate the same individual, whose activities and role as an official in the

[2] BE 14 (6 sources); BE 15 (1); MRWH (1); PBS 2/2 (2); PBS 8/2 (1); TBER (1). Three more occurrences appeared in MUN. Devecchi 2020a, 38 fn. 3, clarified that the logographic spelling -MU-MU should be read -zākir-šumi (not -nādin-šumi), since in both the Nippur and ex-Rosen documents the scribes preferred the sign SUM as a logographic spelling for the verb *nadānu*.

[3] Hölscher 1996, 159; see also *infra*. Their identification is confirmed by distinct patronymics, with only a few occurrences lacking adequate context or dating for secure disambiguation.

[4] van Soldt 2015 and Devecchi 2020a; see also *infra*.

[5] This working hypothesis, namely that Ninurta-zākir-šumi belonged to a high-status family, has been previously proposed by van Soldt 2015, 24, followed by Murai 2018, 66.

[6] The Rosen tablets primarily pertain to the town of Dūr-Enlilē, sometimes regarded as their place of origin. However, this identification remains tentative due to the illicit excavation of the tablets and a lack of compelling arguments for linking the geographical name to a modern toponym. Devecchi 2020a, 18, suggested an identification with Umm al-Hafriyat, a site that has experienced extensive illegal excavations since the 1970s. I follow here the chronology summarized in Brinkman 2017, esp. 36. As I shall illustrate below, the earliest mention of his name dates back to NM 13, while the most recent dates to KT 15.
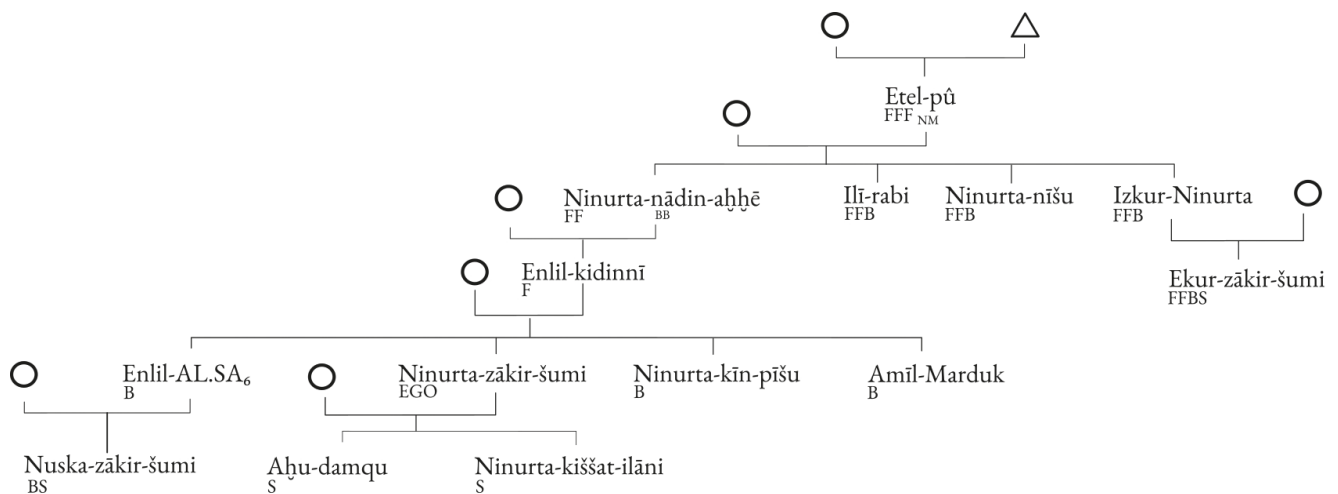
Fig. 1 - The diagram illustrates the familial connections of Ninurta-zākir-šumi. Letters accompanying the names indicate specific kinship ties (e.g., B = brother, FF = father's father = grandfather), while circles and triangles represent nameless women and men, respectively. Maternal descent information is not available, and the diagram does not account for potential variations in mothers among siblings. This does not affect the overall interpretation.

what is explicitly recorded. It appears likely that, besides Enlil-kidinnī, other members of his family may have held the title of governor of Nippur during the period spanning Burna-Buriaš II's and Šagarakti-Šuriaš's reigns. Enlil-AL.SA$_6$, who was also Enlil-kidinnī's son and thus possibly Ninurta-zākir-šumi's brother,[19] held the position of *šandabakku* between Kurigalzu II's 17th year and Nazi-Maruttaš' 16th year.[20] He had a son of his own, Nuska-zākir-šumi, attested in a few Nippur sources.[21]

Ninurta-zākir-šumi may also be identified as a potential brother to another son of Enlil-kidinnī, named Amīl-Marduk.[22] Following the precedent set by his father and his brother Enlil-AL.SA$_6$ before him, Amīl-Marduk assumed the role of *šandabakku* in Nippur during the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš: the earliest and latest sources place his governorship between years Kudur-Enlil 6 and Kaštiliašu IV 1.[23] Finally, Enlil-kidinnī also had a son named Ninurta-kīn-pīšu who appears in an account of cattle dated to KT 7.[24] All these kin relationships are predicated on the assumption that these men are descendants of the same father, Enlil-kidinnī, as no self-evident elements indicate an alternative interpretation.

The upper segment of the genealogical diagram in Fig. 1, on the other hand, is grounded in the kinship information presented in BE 14 39—a juridical document addressing the resolution of a dispute between Ekur-zākir-šumi, the son of Izkur-Ninurta, and Ninurta-n[ādin-ahhē], the son of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, over a parcel of agricultural land.[25] This document establishes a potential common descendant for the family of Ninurta-zākir-šumi, *i.e.* Etel-pû.[26]

Therefore, based on the evidence presented here, Ninurta-zākir-šumi belonged to a highly influential family that wielded control over the Nippur region

[19] HÖLSCHER 1996, 66, s.v.
[20] Enlil-AL.SA$_6$'s genealogy is documented in the legend of seal KGN 189, where it is stated that he was the son of Enlil-kidinnī, *nešakku* of Enlil, *šandabakku* of Nippur, and official of Nintiluba$^?$. However, this seal was mostly used by a an official named Ninurta-nādin-ahhē, while Enlil-AL.SA$_6$ himself most often used seal KGN 148. See DEVECCHI forthcoming; BRINKMAN 2020, 240. On his career, see REDINA-THOMAS 2015, 97-98. See DEVECCHI forthcoming, for further chronological considerations.
[21] HÖLSCHER 1996, 164, s.v.
[22] *Ibidem*, 29, s.v.
[23] See REDINA-THOMAS 2015, 98-99. In MUN 283: 2, Amīl-Marduk is identified as the son of Enlil-kidinnī (^{m}LU$_2$-^{d}AMAR.URU DUMU ^{md}*En-lil$_2$-ki-di-ni*). In a letter (CUSAS 37 335) dated to a period between the reigns of Kadšman-Turgu and Kudur-Enlil, Amīl-Marduk is mentioned expressing displeasure toward Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (son of Ninurta-zākir-šumi) in connection to a barley-related matter. There is a possibility that both the father and son worked for, or had strong ties with, the provincial governor.
[24] CUSAS 37 265: 6'-7'. This document solidifies a substantial connection between Enlil-kidinnī's household and the shepherd Namru, discussed below, as the latter appears involved in cattle management at the service of Ninurta-zākir-šumi in other sources.
[25] As noted by BRINKMAN 2003-2004, 399, the text refers to two individuals named Ninurta-nādin-ahhē. One of them (son of Etel-pû) has been identified with Ninurta-nādin-ahhē, the father of Enlil-kidinnī. On this document, see ELLIS 1976, 128-132. See also PAULUS 2014, 167-168; MURAI 2018, 44-45 (with bibliography). MURAI 2020, 106, offered a new edition of the text. As stated in the source, the *šandabakku* during the time of this legal case was Uzi-Šugab. HÖLSCHER 1996, *passim*, dates the document to NM ca. 19. It must also be noted that the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu father of Ninurta-nādin-ahhē is a namesake of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu son of Enlil-kidinnī (and thus Ninurta-zākir-šumi's brother). As outlined below, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu father of Ninurta-nādin-ahhē sealed an *aklu*-expenditure for Ninurta-zākir-šumi.
[26] See also MURAI 2020, 103. Etel-pû's son Ninurta-nādin-ahhē (*i.e* Enlil-kidinnī's father) may also have been governor of Nippur during the reign of Burna-Buriaš II; see REDINA-THOMAS 2015, 96-97.

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum*

MIDDLE-ASSYRIAN HEGEMONY, PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ONOMASTICS: SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM A LOCAL SAMPLE[1]

ABSTRACT

Text corpora with a limited range can offer interesting insights into onomastics and prosopography. The article provides an insight into the data material of the Middle Assyrian palace administration from Dūr-Katlimmu on the Habur (13th century BC)

KEYWORDS

Middle Assyrian, Assyria, generations, onomastics, šiluḫlu

During the second and third decades of the 13th century, Adad-nirari I (1295-1264), king of the land of Ashur, launched a series of military campaigns into the heart of the Mitanni kingdom. In the course of these campaigns, the region of the lower Habur (i.e. south of modern Hasseke) came under Assyrian control. The local centers along the river somehow had to adapt to the new overlord. The site then known as *Dūr-Katlimmu* was the southernmost of these towns on the eastern bank of the river. Since only a very small part of the LBA structures at present-day Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad have been thoroughly excavated, we lack information about the very beginnings of the Assyrian presence on the site. The rather limited archaeological record seems to indicate that the transition from the earlier Mitannian hegemonic phase was not accompanied by any major destruction or hiatus in settlement, at least in the area of the administrative building.[2] This gives the impression that the initial phase of the implementation of an Assyrian palatial administration was well under way. Administrative practices and economic routines were apparently established early on, and the site became the center of a *pāḫutu* ("district" or "province"), governed by a *bēl pāḫete* as head of the local palace (*ekallu*). Documents from the palatial administration of the site under the successors of Adad-nirari I, namely Shalmaneser I (1267-1234) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233-1197), shed some light on the micro-history of the site for some five decades. During this period, two officials who acted as governors are attested in the local documentation, *Katmuḫḫāju* and *Eṭir-Marduk*. Both can be counted among the elite from which the officials in the service of the Assyrian king were recruited. Correspondence addressed to the *sukkallu rabû* and *šar māt Hanigalbat Aššur-iddin*, the most high-ranking official after the Assyrian king, indicates

that *Dūr-Katlimmu* served, at least temporarily, as the headquarters for the westernmost regions of the Assyrian empire.

In the processing of the text documents found on site, questions concerning the identity of individual historical persons and the composition of the population are of major interest. In this paper I would like to discuss some challenges of prosopographic work with small corpora taking the evidence from the Middle Assyrian texts from *Dūr-Katlimmu* as example.

1. THE SAMPLE − INHABITANTS AS DOCUMENTED BY TEXTUAL DATA

We have very little information about the population of Dūr-Katlimmu, as no census has survived that would have covered all the inhabitants of the city. There is also no information from archaeological finds, as neither residential areas nor tombs from this period have been excavated. The excavator estimated the settlement area of the Middle Assyrian city to be around 25 hectares, with a population of around 2250 inhabitants. The demographic synopsis of the entire textual documentation points to slightly lower figures, perhaps between 1000 and 1500 individuals. The decisive factor is that population figures of this magnitude can be adequately supplied by the agricultural catchment area of the town. Even if, due to their specific nature the texts provide only a fragmentary picture of the local population, the numbers calculated seem to be more or less adequate, since they are supported by the yields obtained from the fields, as documented in the texts.

Still, the textual documentation is shaped by the functional perspective of the palace administration and thus of the Middle Assyrian state. As a result, sev-
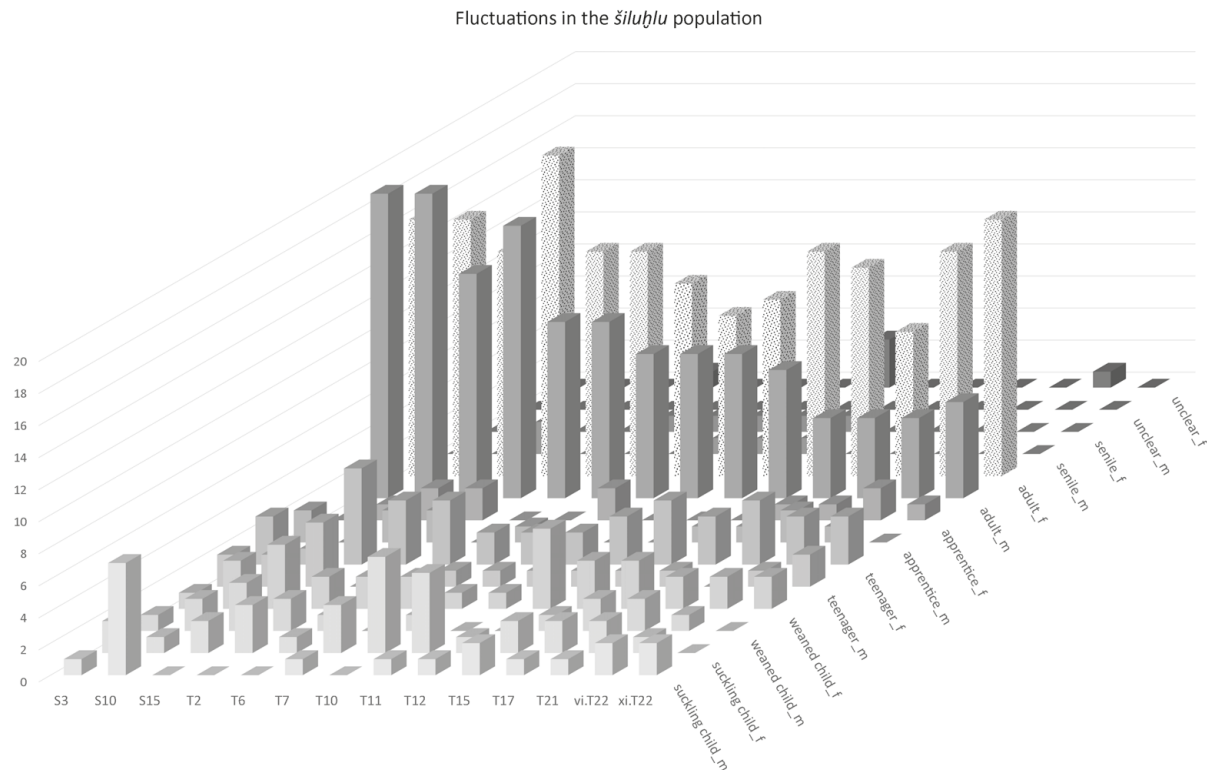
Fluctuations in the *šiluḫlu* population

Fig. 1 - Fluctuations of the *šiluḫlu*-population over time.

3. "SEEING LIKE A STATE"[6] − THE CASE OF THE *ŠILUḪLU*

The most important emic database providing information on the local sedentary population of the site are the large administrative tablets that register the supply of grain rations to *šiluḫlu* households in the service of the local palace. The composition and development of these households can be traced over several decades, up to four generations can be observed through the lens of administrative documentation. They are recorded by the palace administration as family groups (or households) – from infants to the elderly, even until death. While the personal name is proper to each individual, the clerks apply a standardized vocabulary (an ontology) to characterize the individual: The first attributive category is kinship, described by terms such as *ummu* "mother", *abu* "father", *māru* "son", *mārtu* "daughter", *aḫu* "brother", *aḫatu* "sister". As a second level of characterization, the administrators employed a vocabulary indicating state: *a'īlu* (LÚ) "man", *almattu* "widow(ed person)", *aššutu* (DAM) "wife", *kallutu* "daughter in law", *amtu* (GÉME) "female servant, *urdu* (ÌR) "male servant", *šiluḫlu* – the *šiluḫlu*-state.

Unlike other groups, in the palatial documentation the *šiluḫlu* are assigned a particular distinguishing feature: the individual life stage. The administration distinguishes a total of six stages of life, ranging from *ša irte* "suckling" (age of 0-3) to *pirsu* "infant" (2-5),

tāri'u /tārītu "child" (4/5-10), *talmīdu/talmittu* "male/ female apprentice" (8/10-12/15), *ša šipri* "female worker" (>16), *ikkaru* "male labourer" (>16), *šebu/ šebtu* "old man/woman" (>50). The values given for the individual stages of life are indicative, and the biographies of individuals may vary slightly. The *šiluḫlu* share this categorization of life stages with another important resource of the palace, the livestock – cattle, donkeys, sheep and goats. This distinction results in the following daily rations assigned in *Dūr-Katlimmu* according to age/sex (Tab. 1):[7]

Life stage	*qû* (small *sût*)	= liter	= kg	kcal
šēbu/šebtu	0	0	0	0
ikkaru	1,5	1,05	0,72	2.520
ša šipri	0,66	0,46	0,32	1.120
talmīdu	0,66	0,46	0,32	1.120
talmittu	0,5	0,35	0,24	840
tārītu/tāri'u	0,4	0,28	0,19	665
pirsu	0,33	0,23	0,16	560
ša irte	0,25	0,18	0,12	420

Tab. 1. Daily rations calculated on the basis of the yearly registers from *Dūr-Katlimmu*, rations in the 2nd column based on numbers in SALAH 2014, 39.

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[6] SCOTT 2020.

[7] The conversions are based on data in the *sût* so-called small, assuming that 1 l barley = 0.68 kg.

Salvatore Gaspa*

A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE AGENTS OF MOBILITY IN THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN ECONOMIC SPACE: THE CASE OF BOATMEN[#]

Let him take the rope of a b[oat] upstream:
his lamassu will guide [him] again and again.
SAA 8, 23 r.2-5

ABSTRACT

The boatmen who operated in the river transport system that served the Middle Assyrian kingdom represent an important category of mobility agents in the economic space centred on the Tigris River system and the port of the capital city as its terminal and directional centre. This study analyses the prosopographical data of a number of boatmen attested in Archive M4 of the city of Assur. Based on a smaller number of boatmen who were active during the period preceding the reign of Tiglath-pileser I and that of this king's reign, it is possible to reconstruct the individual dossiers regarding their professional relationships with the regular offerings administration and transportation activity during different eponymates of the Middle Assyrian period. This analysis also enables some reflections on boatmen's work, the river transport system and the socio-economic relations that characterised this professional milieu.

KEYWORDS

Prosopography, boatmen, Middle Assyrian, river transport, Ginā'u tax, socio-economic relations

1. INTRODUCTION

Boatmen (Akk. *malāḫu*) constituted a professional group responsible for mobilising commodities within the Middle Assyrian kingdom's territory via waterways. River transport was a quicker and more cost-efficient way of transporting goods from agricultural production areas to major urban centres compared to land transport.[1] As agents of mobility, boatmen played a central role in mobilising the annual tax for regular offerings (*ginā'u*) of the Aššur Temple that the provinces (*pāḫutu*) had to pay to the responsible administrative unit in Assur (modern Qal'at Šerqāṭ). The mobilisation generated by their activity raises questions not only about the internal organisation of the sailors' work and the quantitative aspects of the management of the *ginā'u* tax but also about the nature of the relationship between the state and this professional category, the way in which these professionals worked and the impact of this kind of state-driven mobilisation on the society and economy of Assyria. Relying on the pre-existing river transport system, the administrators entrusted a number of sailors with the task of collecting these payments and ferrying them to the port of consignment in the capital.

In the **Archive M4**, which has been discussed in various studies,[2] a large number of boatmen are attested. The prosopographical data of a small number of sailors was collected by Jakob in his monograph on Middle Assyrian professions.[3] The progress made in the publication and study of Middle Assyrian texts over the past few decades has enabled scholars to learn that a large number of individuals were involved in this profession and connected to the institution of the regular offerings bureau in Assur. The Archive M4 documents cover the period from the end of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I (1241-1206/1233-1197 BC) to that of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC), but the bulk of the documentation dates from the reign of the latter king.[4]

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* Department of Historical and Geographical Sciences and the Ancient World, University of Padua.

Abbreviations of Middle Assyrian kings' names used in Table 1 and in footnotes: TN I = Tukultī-Ninurta I (1241-1206/1233-1197 BC); An III = Aššur-nērārī III (1201-1196/1192-1187 BC); Eku = Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur (1195-1191/1186-1182 BC); NaE = Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1190-1179/1181-1169 BC); Ad I = Aššur-dān I (1178-1134/1168-1134 BC); NtA = Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur (1133 BC); Ari I = Aššur-rēša-iši I (1131-1115 BC); Tp I = Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC).

[1] For the economic advantage that the richer net of waterways and the more developed river transport system offered the south of Mesopotamia over the north, see WESZELI 2020, 87-103.

[2] PEDERSÉN 1985, 43-53; 1998, 84-85; FREYDANK 1997; 2011a; POSTGATE 2013, 89-146; MAUL 2013; GAUTHIER 2016.

[3] JAKOB 2003, 500-502. Middle Assyrian boatmen are also discussed in POSTGATE 2013, 101-103, 122, 129-131, and, more recently, GAUTHIER 2016, a study focused on the management of the *ginā'u* tax and shipments from the provinces.

[4] PEDERSÉN 1998, 84; POSTGATE 2013, 92. See also DE RIDDER 2018, 9-10. However, according to de Ridder (2018, 10), Archive M4 covers the period from Ad I to Tp I.

Of the boatmen attested in Archive M4, some occur in various eponymous periods (*līmu*). Although a large number of sailors are attested in this archive, we can reconstruct only a small group's activities and careers through different eponymates. In most attestations, the sailors' activities related to the transport and consignment of provincial contributions to Assur pertain to the period when Ezbu-lēšir held the office of overseer of regular offerings (*rab ginā'e*) for the Aššur Temple during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I.[5] In other cases, the sailors' activities pertain to the period of Ezbu-lēšir's predecessors,[6] as shown by documents issued when this position was held by Aba-lā-īde,[7] Sîn-nādin-apli[8] and Adad-iqīša.[9]

The service performed by the boatmen for the needs of the regular offerings administration of Assur essentially involved the transport of a limited variety of standard goods. These were grains (barley and, to a lesser extent, wheat), sesame, fruits and the processed liquid comestible called *dišpu*.[10] This term, commonly translated as "honey", may have been applied to the extract of any fruit available locally in Middle Assyrian provinces.[11] Fluctuations in the quantities of these commodities delivered to the capital, including a periodic or complete lack of deliveries, occurred throughout the period of activity of the regular offerings bureau.[12] Once consigned to the *ginā'u* administrators, these comestibles were redistributed among the temple staff in charge of food processing and processed into end products to maintain the regular flow and consumption of cult offerings in the Aššur Temple.[13]

An approximate chronological order of the sailors attested in the M4 text corpus can be reconstructed based on our current knowledge of the sequence of Middle Assyrian eponyms[14] (see Table 1). The period in which these *malāḫu*s occur spans from the

Tab. 1 - Sailors in Archive M4 and their possible chronological order

Eponymate	*Reign period*	*Sailors mentioned in dated and undated texts*
Salmānu-aḫa-iddina	An III[15]	Našḫirīya, Mār-Šērū'a, Urza, Šamšī-Anum, Aššur-malāḫ, Sīqīya, Tunnu (MARV 1, 56:23, 29, r.42, 43, 46, 51, 52, e.69)[16] Adad-tēya, …ra, Munnabitu (MARV 5, 55:14, r.62'', 86'', 87'')[17]
Bēr-kēna-šallimmī	Eku/before the accession of NaE[18]	Aba-īde, son of Piradi (MARV 3, 27:1)
Ninurta-apil-Ekur	NaE[19]	Anu-bēl-ilāni, MAŠ?... (= Ninurtāyu?), Aššur-kēttī-īde, …ša, …baiaeni, Munnabitu, Re…, Sarniqu, Mu…, Lub… (MARV 5, 35:3, 4, 6, 7, 9, r.3', 4', 5', 6', 7', 9')
Bēr-nāṣir	NaE[20]	IV.24: Adad-li…ni, Karīya, Qīštānu?, son of Dēnīya, Sîn-puḫa-iddina, Sîn-uballiṭ (MARV 6, 29:2, 4, 6, 7, 10, e.12) IV.25: Gabbubu, Ilī-tenāyu (MARV 6, 57:2, 5)

[5] On the *rab ginā'e* and his function, see Jakob 2003, 175-181. Ezbu-lēšir is attested with his official title in MARV 1, 25 envelope r.3'-4'; 49:3; 62 r.7-8; 73 e.8-9; MARV 2, 24:6-7, r.17; MARV 3, 36+ r.11, 18, env. r.4'''-5''' (Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts and Editions in Portrait Format*, 62-63); 85+2'' (Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts …*, 88); MARV 5, 7 e.17-18; 27 r.12-13; 42 r.12; MARV 6, 22:5'-6'; 26 r.15; 52 e.19-20; 72:4-5; 86 e.19-20, env. 2'; 89 r.8-9; 90+ r.11 (Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts …*, 315-316); MARV 7, 3:6, r.10-11; 12 r.12-e.13; 22 r.10; 29:1-2; 50 r.7', 11'; MARV 8, 22 r.6'-7'; 50:9-10; 59 r.12-13 (as a patronym of Aššur-nāṣir, his son); 78 r.12-13; 88:4-5; MARV 9, 32:6-e.7; MARV 9, 95 r.28.

[6] The tenure of these predecessors covered the period between the end of the reign of TN I and the reign of Ad I. See Freydank 1992, 276-278; Maul 2013, 563.

[7] MARV 3, 26.

[8] MARV 6, 42.

[9] MARV 5, 5.

[10] Gaspa 2011a, 172; 2011b, 233; Postgate 2013, 109-110, 112-116.

[11] Gaspa 2011a, 172; 2011b, 233; 2012, 216-217. According to Postgate 2013, 113, this substance may have been bees' honey produced locally, at least in some provinces, or imported. However, it seems unconvincing that the *ginā'u*-quota of *dišpu* that each province had to pay to the regular offerings administration

relied on local beekeeping or import through international trade.

[12] On arrears recorded in M4 texts, see Postgate 2013, esp. 97, 123, 136.

[13] On *alaḫḫinu*s and brewers, two professional categories in charge of processing the cereals for the Aššur Temple, see Postgate 2013, 109-110, 112.

[14] Freydank 1991; Llop 2008a; Bloch 2012. See also Gauthier 2016.

[15] Note that in Freydank 1991, 170, this eponym is dubitatively referred to as the period of Ari I/Tp I, while in Freydank 2016, 20, 169 he is assigned to the reign of An III. According to Gauthier 2016, 715, this *līmu* represented the 2nd regnal year of An III.

[16] In Jakob 2003, 500-501, this document is dubitatively assigned to Tp I's reign.

[17] See Gauthier 2016, *List of M4 Texts …*, 162 *ad* MARV 5, 55.

[18] According to Freydank 1991, 128 and Jakob 2003, 176, this *līmu* belonged to the period from TN I to Ad I (after Eku's reign). In Freydank 2016, 20, 144 he is assigned to the reign of Eku. See also Gauthier 2016, 750, 788.

[19] Possibly in the year 1181 BC, the 1st regnal period. See Freydank 1991, 158; Gauthier 2016, 715; *ibid.*, *List of M4 Texts …*, 134 *ad* MARV 5, 35.

[20] This eponym is assigned to the reign of NaE. See Freydank 1991, 129; 2016, 31 (8th year?), 145. In Gauthier 2016, 715 he is assigned to the 5th regnal year of this king.