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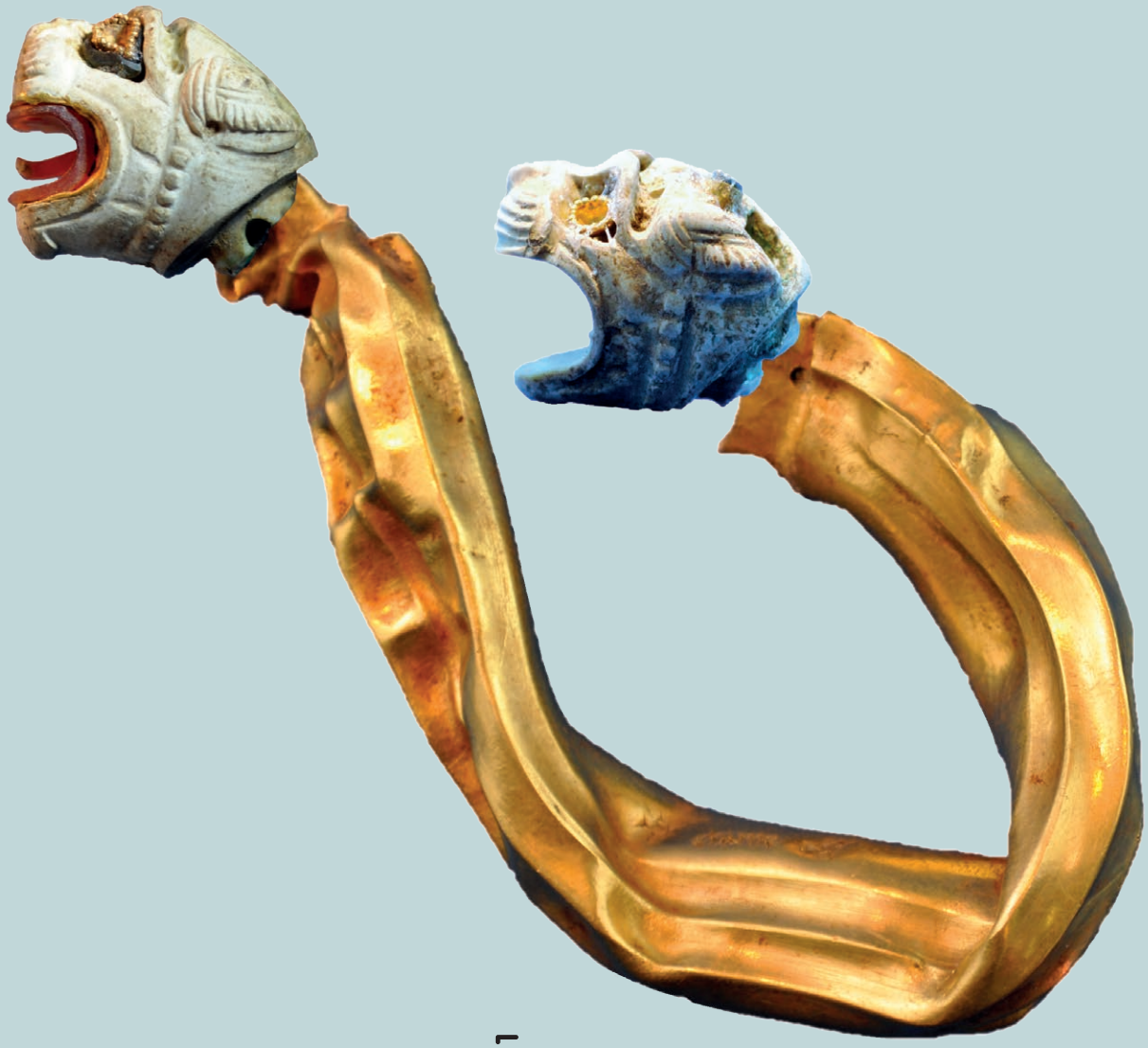

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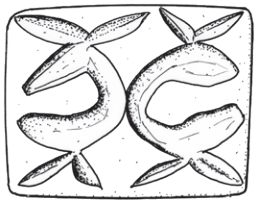

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Front cover photo: Gold bracelet with lion-head terminals from Jubaji tomb (copyright: Javier Álvarez-Mon).

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The Text of the Ebla Administrative Account TM.75.G.1443+4287 (*ARET* I 3 + *ARET* XII 146)

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Abstract. This article reconstructs an administrative text from two large fragments published in two different volumes of the *ARET* series: *Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi I*, text 3, and *Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi XII*, text 146. It provides a continuous transliteration and a translation of the text, followed by a brief commentary on significant events described in the document.

Keywords: Ebla, administrative text, join, wedding.

The join of the Ebla administrative text TM.75.G.1443 (*ARET* I 3) with the fragment TM.75.G.4287 (*ARET* XII 146) had been proposed previously,[1] but an updated edition of this text has yet to be provided.[2] The updated edition is given below.

This nearly complete account of monthly 'expenditures' (e_3) of textiles was written during the reign of the last Ebla king, Yiṯgar-damu (*Iš*$_{11}$*-ar-da-mu*), when Yibbiʾ-Ḏikir (*I-bi*$_2$*-zi-kir*) was the minister. The final annotations (rev. XII:1-13) indicate that this text pertains to the 12th month (iti MA×GANA$_2$*tenû*-U[GUR$_2$]), almost certainly from one of the final years of the Palace G archives.[3]

It has already been noted that some passages of TM.75.G.1443 (*ARET* I 3) + TM.75.G.4287 (*ARET* XII 146) run parallel to those of the multi-month account of metal expenditures, TM.75.G.2428 (*MEE* 12 35), allow-

[1] See Biga 2009: 38; Archi 2011: 6 n. 2; Biga 2012: 77; Archi 2014: 164 n. 18; Archi 2016: 36 n. 5.

[2] In the Ebla Digital Archives (EbDA), available online at http://ebda.cnr.it/index, *ARET* I 3 and *ARET* XII 146 are presented as separate entries (accessed on May 06, 2024).

[3] For related remarks, see Archi 2014: 164 and Archi 2016: 36.

ing them to be dated to the same year.[4] I can add another text to this collection, namely TM.75.G.12406+, which remains unpublished.[5]

TM.75.G.1443 (*ARET* I 3) + TM.75.G.4287 (*ARET* XII 146) can be divided into parts (noted as [1], etc.) and sections (noted as (1), etc.), which are further divided into sub-sections (noted as (1a), etc.). Points of contact between TM.75.G.1443 and TM.75.G.4287 as well as sections that parallel TM.75.G.2428 (*MEE* 12 35) and TM.75.G.12406+ are highlighted in my edition.

[1] Records concerning members of the Syrian elites from the following kingdoms, listed in order of attestation: NI-*ra-ar*^{ki}, *Ra-ʾa*$_3$*-ag*^{ki}, *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}, *I*$_3$*-mar*^{ki}, *Bur-ma-an*^{ki}, *Du-ub*^{ki}, *Gar*$_3$*-mu*^{ki}, *Lum-na-an*^{ki}, *I-bu*$_{16}$*-bu*^{ki}, *Ur-sa*$_2$*-um*^{ki}, *U*$_3$*-ti-gu*$_2^{ki}$, DU-*lu*^{ki}, *Ir-i-ib*$_2^{ki}$, *Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki}, *Sa-nab-zu-gum*$_2^{ki}$, *Gu*$_2$*-da-da-num*$_2^{ki}$:

(1a) obv. I:1-5:

[1] *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
NI-*ra-ar*^{ki}
3 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 5 aktum^{tug2} 5 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$

'One set of textiles for the king of NI-*ra-ar*^{ki} (and) five sets of textiles for his (5) elders'.

(1b) obv. I:6-II:1:

1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
Ra-ʾa$_3$*-ag*^{ki}
2 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 4 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$

'One set of textiles for the king of *Ra-ʾa*$_3$*-ag*^{ki} (and) four sets of textiles for his (4) elders'.

(1c) obv. II:2-6:

1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
Kak-mi-um^{ki}
1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$

'One set of textiles for the king of *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} (and) two sets of textiles for his (2) elders'.

(1d) obv. II:7-13:

1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
I$_3$*-mar*^{ki}
2 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Teš$_2$*-ne*

'One set of textiles for the king of *I*$_3$*-mar*^{ki}, two sets of textiles for his (2) elders (and) one set of textiles for *Teš*$_2$*-ne*'.[6]

(1e) obv. II:14-III:5:

1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 //
1 aktum^{tug2}-1 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
Bur-ma-an^{ki}
2 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 4 aktum^{tug2} 4 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$

'One set of textiles for the king of *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} (and) four sets of textiles for his (4) elders'.

(1f) obv. III:6-10:

1 *ʾa*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$

---

[4] See Archi (2019: 3) where the monthly account of textiles *ARET* I 1 is also dated to the same year of TM.75.G.2428 (*MEE* 12 35).
[5] I will publish this text in the forthcoming volume *ARET* XVII.
[6] A man named *Teš*$_2$*-ne*/*ni* is listed among the elders of Imar in Archi 1990: 32, s.v. UR-*ne*.

en
Du-ub^{ki}
2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 5 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 3 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU$_3$*

'One set of textiles for the king of *Du-ub*^{ki} (and) five sets of textiles for his (5) elders'.[7]

(1g) obv. III:11-IV:2:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
Gar$_3$-mu^{ki}
1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 //
2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 3 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 2 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU$_3$*

'One set of textiles for the king of *Gar$_3$-mu*^{ki} (and) three sets of textiles for his (3) elders'.

(1h) obv. IV:3-7:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
Lum-na-an^{ki}
2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU$_3$*

'One set of textiles for the king of *Lum-na-an*^{ki} (and) two sets of textiles for his (2) elders'.

(1i) obv. IV:8-12:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
I-bu$_{16}$-bu^{ki}
2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 5 aktum^{tug2} 4 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU$_3$*

'One set of textiles for the king of *I-bu$_{16}$-bu*^{ki} (and) five sets of textiles for his (5) elders'.[8]

(1j) obv. IV:13-V:5:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 //
1 ak[tum^{tug2}] 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
Ur-sa$_2$-um^{ki}
3 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 5 aktum^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 5 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU$_3$*

'One set of textiles for the king of *Ur-sa$_2$-um*^{ki} (and) six sets of textiles for his (6) elders'.[9]

(1k) obv. V:6-10:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
en
U$_3$-ti-gu$_2$^{ki}
1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 4 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU$_3$*

'One set of textiles for the king of *U$_3$-ti-gu$_2$*^{ki} (and) four sets of textiles for his (4) elders'.[10]

(1l) obv. V:11-12:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$
DU-*lu*^{ki}

'Two sets of textiles for (2 high-ranking men from) DU-*lu*^{ki}'.[11]

(1m) obv. V:13-VI:5:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} //
146 I' 1 [1 i]b$_2$+4^{tug2} [sa$_6$] gun$_3$

---

[7] In this case, the set of textiles includes only 3 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*, meaning that two elders did not receive their *ʾa$_3$-da-um*.
[8] In this case, the set of textiles includes only 4 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*, so one elder did not receive his *ʾa$_3$-da-um*.
[9] In this case, the set of textiles includes only 5 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*, so one elder did not receive his *ʾa$_3$-da-um*.
[10] In this case, the set of textiles includes only 2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*, so two elders did not receive their *ʾa$_3$-da-um*.
[11] In this case, the set of textiles includes only 1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*, so one man did not receive his *ʾa$_3$-da-um*.

e[n]
Ir-i-i[b_2]^{ki}
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 3 aktum^{tug2} 3 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for the king of *Ir-i-ib*$_2^{ki}$ (and) three sets of textiles for his (3) elders'.
(1n) obv. VI:6-10:
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
ba-da-lum
Ḫa-ra-an^{ki}
2 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 4 aktum^{tug2} 4 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for the *ba-da-lum* of *Ḫa-ra-an*^{ki} (and) four sets of textiles for his (4) elders'.
(1o) obv. VI:11-15:
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$<+-*n*>^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
ba-da-lum
Sa-nab-zu-gum$_2^{ki}$
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 3 aktum^{tug2} 3 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for the *ba-da-lum* of *Sa-nab-zu-gum*$_2^{ki}$ (and) three sets of textiles for his (3) elders'.
(1p) obv. VI:16-VII:5:
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 //
146 II' 1 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
146 II' 2 *ba-da-lum*
146 II' 3 *Gu*$_2$-*da-da-*[*nu*]*m*$_2^{ki}$
1 [$^{ʾ}a_3$-*da*]-*um*[^{tug2}-2] 1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for the king of *Gu*$_2$-*da-da-num*$_2^{ki}$ (and) two sets of textiles for his (2) elders'.

[2] Records concerning additional foreign political entities (located in Syria, the Levant and Anatolia, listed in order of attestation: *Šar-ḫu*^{ki}, *Ar-ḫa-du*^{ki}, *Ḫu-ti-mu*^{ki}, *Ti-zar*$_3^{ki}$, *Kab-lu*$_5$-*ul*^{ki}, *Ib-a*[l_6^{ki}], *Ap*$_2$-*zu*^{ki}, *A-sa-lu*^{ki}, *Zu-gur-lum*^{ki}, *Bur-ma-an*^{ki}, *Lu-ri*$_2$-*um*^{ki}, *Za-bi*$_2$-*um*^{ki}, *Du-ub*^{ki}, ḪAR-*zu*$_2^{ki}$, [x]-*da*-NI-LUM^{ki}, ˹x˺-[x]-*mu*[(-x)^{ki}], NI-*ša*-NI-*um*^{ki}, *Na-bu*$_3^{ki}$, *Zi-zi-n*[*u*˹]^{ki}, *U*$_3$-*ga*-LUM^{ki}, ˹*Wa-*$^{ʾ}a_3$˺-*zi-*˹*um*˺^{ki}, *Ba-ga*-NI-*um*^{ki}, *Ma-da-*$^{ʾ}a_3$-NE-*um*^{ki}, *Ḫa-ma-da*^{ki}, *Ar-ḫa-um*^{ki}, *Mu-*˹*ur*$_2$˺^{ki}) and the tribal group led by *Šu-ra-gar*$_3$-*ru*$_{12}$:
(2a) obv. VII: 6-7:
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 3 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
Šar-ḫu^{ki}
'Three sets of textiles for (3 high-ranking men from) *Šar-ḫu*^{ki}'.[12]
(2b) obv. VII:8-11:
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Ar-ḫa-du^{ki}
1 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 gu-dul$_3^{tug2}$ 3 aktum^{tug2} 3 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking) man from *Ar-ḫa-du*^{ki} (and) three sets of textiles for his (3) elders'.
(2c$_1$) obv. VII:12-VIII:1:
2 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
10 la$_2$-2 gu-dul$_3^{tug2}$ 10 la$_2$-2 aktum^{tug2} 10 la$_2$-2 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$ //
146 III' 1 *Ḫu-ti-mu*^{ki}
'Two sets of textiles for (2 high-ranking men), (and) eight sets of textiles for (8 men, possibly elders, from) *Ḫu-ti-mu*^{ki}',
(2c$_2$) obv. VIII:2-4:
146 III' 2 2 gu-mug^{tug2} 2 sal^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
146 III' 3 ku$_2$
146 III' 4 izi

[12] In this case, the set of textile includes only 2 $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*, so one man did not receive his $^{ʾ}a_3$-*da-um*.

'Two set of textiles for (the 2 men of) ku_2 / izi'.[13]
(2d) obv. VIII:5-12:
146 III' 5 10 la_2-3 $'a_3$-*da*-[*um*^{tug2}-2] 10 la_2-3 a[ktum^{tug2}] 10 la_2-3 i[b_2+*n*]^{r}[^{ug2}] sa_6 gun_3
Šu-ra-gar$_3$-*ru*$_{12}$
wa
šeš-šeš-*SU*$_3$
1 gu-dul_3^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib_2+3^{tug2} <gun_3>
$abba_2$-*SU*$_3$
20 aktum^{tug2} 20 ib_2+4^{tug2} gun_3
guruš-guruš-*SU*$_3$
'Seven sets of textiles for *Šu-ra-gar*$_3$-*ru*$_{12}$ and his (6) *brothers*, one set of textiles for his elder, twenty sets of textiles for his (troop of 20) soldiers'.
(2e) obv. VIII:13-16:
4 gu-dul_3^{tug2} 4 aktum^{tug2} 4 ib_2+4^{tug2} gun_3
Ti-zar$_3^{ki}$
20 aktum^{tug2} 20 ib_2+3^{tug2} gun_3
guruš-guruš-*SU*$_3$
'Four sets of textiles for (4 men from) *Ti-zar*$_3^{ki}$, (and) twenty sets of textiles for their (troop of 20) soldiers'.
(2f) obv. VIII:17-IX:2:
1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 //
146 IV' 1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib_2+2^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
146 IV' 2 *Kab-lu*$_5$-*ul*^{ki}
'Two sets of textiles for (2 high-ranking men from) *Kab-lu*$_5$-*ul*^{ki}'.
(2g) obv. IX:3-4:
146 IV' 3 4 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 5 gu-dul_3^{tug2} 10 la_2-1 aktum^{tug2} 4 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3 [3]+2 ib_2+3^{tug2} gun_3
Ib-a[l_6^{ki}]
'Nine sets of textiles for (9 high-ranking men from) *Ib-a*[l_6^{ki}]'.
(2h) obv. IX:5-6:
1 aktum^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 2 ib_2+2^{tug2} gun_3
Ap$_2$-*zu*^{ki}
'Two set of textiles for (2 men from) *Ap*$_2$-*zu*^{ki}'.
(2i) obv. IX:7-8:
1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
A-sa-lu^{ki}
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) *A-sa-lu*^{ki}'.
(2j) obv. IX:9-12:
1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib_2+2^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
Zu-gur-lum^{ki}
1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-1 1 gu-mug^{tug2} 2* aktum^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 2 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3 1 ib_2+3^{tug2} gun_3
$abba_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) *Zu-gur-lum*^{ki} (and) three sets of textiles for his (3) elders'.
(2k) obv. IX:13-X:6:
1 dul_3^{tug2} 1 aktum^{tug2} //
146 V' 1 1 ib_2+4^{tug2} u_2-$ḫab_2$
146 V' 2 en
146 V' 3 *Bur-ma-an*^{ki}
146 V' 4 *in*
146 V' 5 gi_6-sa_2
146 V' 6 šu-ba_4-ti
'One set of textiles, with a dark red ib_2, was received by the king of *Bur-ma-an*^{ki} on the (occasion of the) gi_6-sa_2-rite'.
(2l) obv. X:7-9:
146 V' 7 1 $'a_3$-*da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
146 V' 8 *Lu-ri*$_2$-*um*^{ki}

---

[13] I will discuss ku_2 / izi in a forthcoming study.

146 V' 9 1 ʾa_3-*da*-[*u*]*m*^{tug2}-2 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum$^{[tug2]}$ 1 gu-mug^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ <gun$_3$> 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$ maškim-*SU*$_3$
'Two sets of textiles for (2 high-ranking men from) *Lu-ri*$_2$-*um*^{ki} (and) three sets of textiles for their (3) representatives'.
(2m) obv. X:11-12:
1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$
Za-bi$_2$-*um*^{ki}
'Two sets of textiles for (2 high-ranking men from) *Za-bi*$_2$-*um*^{ki}'.
(2n) obv. X:13-16:
2 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
2 dumu-nita
en
Du-ub^{ki}
'Two sets of textiles for two sons of the king of *Du-ub*^{ki}'.
(2o) obv. X:17-XI:4:
1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} //
146 VI' 1 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
146 VI' 2 ḪAR-*zu*$_2$^{ki}
146 VI' 3 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-1 1 gu-mug^{tug2} 2 aktum^{tug2} 1 sal$^{tug2!(SAL)}$ 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
146 VI' 4 abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) ḪAR-*zu*$_2$^{ki} (and) three sets of textiles for his (3) elders'.
(2p) obv. XI:5-8:
146 VI' 5 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
146 VI' 6 [x]-*da*-NI-LUM^{ki}
1 ʾa_3-[*da*]-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2$^{?tug2}$ sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$
abba$_2$-*SU*$_3$
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) [x]-*da*-NI-LUM^{ki} (and) two sets of textiles for his (2) elders'.
(2q) obv. XI:9-12:
1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-1 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+[*n*]^{tug2} sa$_6$ g[un$_3$]
ʿxʾ-[x]-*mu*[(-x)^{ki}]
1 ʾa_3-[*da*]-*u*[*m*^{tug2}-2] 1 ʾa_3-[*da*]-*um*^{tug2}-1 2 ʿaktumʾ$^{[tug2]}$ 2 i[b$_2$+*n*^{tug2}] sa$_6$ g[un$_3$]
abba$_2$-[*SU*$_3$]
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) ʿxʾ-[x]-*mu*[(-x)^{ki}] (and) two sets of textiles for his (2) elders'.
(2r) rev. I:1-2:
1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
NI-*ša*-NI-*um*^{ki}
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) NI-*ša*-NI-*um*^{ki}'.
(2s) rev. I:3-6:
1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$ 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
Na-bu$_3$^{ki}
1 gu-mug^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$
maškim-*SU*$_3$
'Two sets of textiles for (2 high-ranking men from) *Na-bu*$_3$^{ki} (and) one set of textiles for their representative'.
(2t) rev. I:7-10:
1 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Zi-zi-n[*u**]^{ki} [14]
1 g[u-mug^{tug2}] 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$]$^{?}$
[maškim-*SU*$_3$]$^{?}$
'One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) *Zi-zi-nu*^{ki} (and) one set of textiles for his representative'.
(2u) rev. I:11-14:
146 I 1' [3 ʾa_3-*da*-*um*]^{tug2}-1 ʿ3ʾ [a]ktum^{tug2} 3 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
146 I 2' *U*$_3$-*ga*-LUM^{ki}
146 I 3' ʿ*Wa*-ʾ$a_3$$^{?}$ʾ-*zi*-ʿ*um*ʾ^{ki}
146 I 4' *Ba-ga*-NI-*um*^{ki}

[14] See the different reading proposed in the edition: *zi-zi*-L[UM]^{ki} (also *zi-zi-n*[*um*$_2$]!!^{ki} in http://ebda.cnr.it/index, accessed on May 06, 2024). However, that reading would require more space.

‘Three sets of textiles for (3 high-ranking men from) *U*$_3$*-ga*-LUM^{ki}, ⌜*Wa-*ʾ*a*$_3$⌝*-zi-*⌜*um*⌝^{ki} (and) *Ba-ga*-NI-*um*^{ki}’.
(2v) rev. I:15-II:3:
146 I 5’ 1 ʾ*a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ⌜ib$_2$⌝+2^{tug2} gun$_3$ //
*Ma-da-*ʾ*a*$_3$-NE-*um*^{ki}
1 gu-mug^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} gun$_3$
maškim-*SU*$_3$
‘One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) *Ma-da-*ʾ*a*$_3$-NE-*um*^{ki} (and) one set of textiles for his representative’.
(2w) rev. II:4-7:
1 ʾ*a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$
Ḫa-ma-da^{ki}
1 gu-mug^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
maškim-*SU*$_3$
‘One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) *Ḫa-ma-da*^{ki} (and) one set of textiles for his representative’.
(2x) rev. II:8-11:
1 ʾ*a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+2^{tug2} gun$_3$
Ar-ḫa-um^{ki}
1 gu-mug^{tug2} 1 sal^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} gun$_3$
maškim-*SU*$_3$
‘One set of textiles for (1 high-ranking man from) *Ar-ḫa-um*^{ki} (and) one set of textiles for his representative’.
(2y) rev. II:12-13:
2 ʾ*a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
2 *Mu-*⌜*ur*$_2$⌝^{ki}
‘Two sets of textiles for two (high-ranking men) from *Mu-*⌜*ur*$_2$⌝^{ki}’.

[3] Records concerning men of Ebla, operating in the Ebla kingdom:
(3a) rev. II:14-16:
1 zara$_6$^{tug2}
Gur-l[*i-im*]
146 II 1’ nag[ar]
‘One zara$_6$-textile for *Gur-li-im*, the carpenter’.
(3b) rev. II:17-20:
146 II 2’ 3 tug$_2$ gun$_3$
146 II 3’ *I-ti-*^{d}ʾ*A*$_5$*-lam*
146 II 4’ *Ra-i-zu*$_2$
146 II 5’ *Na-am*$_6$-i$_3$-giš
‘Three textiles for *I-ti-*^{d}ʾ*A*$_5$*-lam*, *Ra-i-zu*$_2$ (and) *Na-am*$_6$-i$_3$-giš (*PA*$_4$:*ŠEŠ* en)’.
(3c) rev. II:21-III:3:
146 II 6’ 1 ʾ*a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
146 II 7’ i$_3$-giš sag
146 II 8’ *Du-bi*$_2$*-šum* //
lu$_2$ *Iš*$_{11}$*-da-mu*
A-ti
šu-mu-taka$_4$
‘One set of textiles (on the occasion) of the (rite, marking the end of the mourning period, of the) olive oil of the (cleaning of) the head of *Du-bi*$_2$*-šum* of *Iš*$_{11}$*-da-mu*(’s household), *A-ti* has delivered’.
(3d$_1$) rev. III:4-19: // <u>*MEE* 12 35 rev. XXIV:6-13</u>
10 la$_2$-1 ʾ*a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 10 la$_2$-1 aktum^{tug2} 10 la$_2$-1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
ʾ*A*$_3$*-zi*
Ir-ti
1 dib TAR <u>5 ma-na kug:babbar / šu-bala-aka / 1 ma-na kug-sig$_{17}$ / 2 dib TAR</u>
Kun$_3$*-da-ba-an* <u>*Kun*$_3$*-da-ba-an* / lu$_2$ *Du-bi*$_2$</u>
ʾ*A*$_3$*-teš*$_2$
Du-bi$_2$
1 dib TAR
Bu$_3$*-zi* <u>*Bu*$_3$*-zi* / lu$_2$ *A-bi*$_2$*-za-mu*</u>

Dap$_6$-da-ar
A-mur-da-mu
Bu$_3$-ga-nu
ŠEŠ.2.IB
šu-mu-nigin$_2$
^{d}NI-*da-bal*
Lu-ba-an^{ki}

'Nine sets of textiles for (9 high-ranking) men (from Ebla), (and) two (silver) decorative discs[15] (valued at) thirty (shekels each)[16] for *Kun$_3$-da-ba-an* and *Bu$_3$-zi*, (all) acted as ŠEŠ.2.IB of the (ritual) circumambulation of the (image of the god) ^{d}NI-*da-bal* of *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}'.

(3d$_2$) rev. III:20-24:

1 dib TAR
Šu-i$_3$-lum
muḪaldim
i$_3$-na-sum
146 III 1'+ *Bu$_3$-ʾga*ʾ-[*n*]*u*

'One decorative disc (valued at) thirty (shekels of silver) for *Šu-i$_3$-lum* the cook, *Bu$_3$-ʾga*ʾ-[*n*]*u* has given'.

(3d$_3$) rev. III:25-29: // **TM.75.G.12406+ obv. II:1-2**

146 III 2'+ 1 dib* šanabi$_x$(ŠA.PI)
146 III 3' *Ir$_3$-am$_6$-ma-lik*
146 III 4' lu$_2$ *Ib-ga-iš-lu* **[...]** //
146 III 5' i$_3$-na-sum **i$_3$-na-sum**
146 III 6' *Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu* ***Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu***

'One decorative disc (valued at) forty (shekels of silver) for *Ir$_3$-am$_6$-ma-lik* the man of *Ib-ga-iš-lu*, *Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu* has given'.

(3d$_4$) rev. III:30-IV:1: // *MEE* 12 35 rev. II:10-14; // **TM.75.G.12406+ obv. II:3-7**

146 III 7' 1 dib TAR 2 ma-na TAR kug:babbar / šu-bala-aka / TAR kug-sig$_{17}$ / 1 dib **1 dib TAR**
146 III 8' *Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu* *Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu* ***Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu***
146 III 9' i$_3$-na-sum // **i$_3$-na-sum**
A-mur-da-mu ***A-mur-da-mu*** / **lu$_2$** ***Nab-ḫa*-NI**

'One decorative disc (valued at) thirty (shekels of gold) for *Na-am$_6$-ḫa-lu*, *A-mur-da-mu* has given'.

[4] Wedding of *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*, daughter of king Yiṯǧar-damu (*Iš$_{11}$-ar-da-mu*):

(4a) rev. IV:2-10:

1 zara$_6$^{tug2} babbar 1 zara$_6$^{tug2} u$_2$-ḫab$_2$
12 aktum^{tug2} babbar 13 aktum^{tug2} u$_2$-ḫab$_2$
1 gada^{tug2}
pad-*SU$_3$*
1 gu-dul$_3$^{tug2}
1 dumu-mi$_2$
PA$_4$:ŠEŠ-SU$_3$
Ti-iš-te-da-mu
dumu-mi$_2$ en

'One white zara$_6$-textile, one dark red zara$_6$-textile; one set of twelve white aktum-textiles, thirteen dark red aktum-textiles (and) one gada-textile for her veiling; one gu-dul$_3$-textile for a girl who is her personal maiden: for *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*, daughter of the king'.

(4b) rev. IV:11-22:

1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sag
1 ib$_2$-la$_2$ 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 giri$_2$ kun 1 ma-na
lu$_2$ mu-DU
I-bi$_2$-zi-kir

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[15] For this meaning, see Maiocchi 2010: 16ff.

[16] From comparison with the multi-monthly account of metal expenditures (*MEE* 12 35), 1 dib TAR is allocated to *Kun$_3$-da-ba-an*, and the other to *Bu$_3$-zi*.

en
wa
i_3-na-sum
I-bi$_2$*-zi-kir*
146 IV 2' *in* ud
146 IV 3' nig$_2$-mu-sa$_2$
146 IV 4' bur-KAK$^{!}$(NI)

'One set of textiles, one belt (with) one sheet (and) one dagger (valued at) one mina, which are (part of) the income from *I-bi*$_2$*-zi-kir* to the king, and were given by *I-bi*$_2$*-zi-kir* on the occasion of the wedding ceremony (together) with the vase-bur-KAK'.

(4c) rev. IV:23-V:20:

146 IV 5' 16 *'a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 //
16 aktum^{tug2} 16 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Bu$_x$(MUNU$_4$)*-ma*-NI
šeš
Ib-ri$_2$*-um*
U$_3$*-ti*
Gi-ri$_2$
Ir-ti
Nab-ḫa-NI
Ba-du-lum
I$^{!}$*-ri*$_2$*-ig-da-mu*
In-ma-lik
Ru$_{12}$*-zi*-LUM
I-ti-^{d}NI*-da-bal*
wa
1 šeš-*SU*$_3$
Ru$_{12}$*-zi-ma-lik*
En-na-da-mu
A-mur-da-mu
Ig-na-da-ar
I-ri$_2$*-gu*

'Sixteen sets of textiles for *Bu*$_x$(MUNU$_4$)*-ma*-NI, *Ib-ri*$_2$*-um*'s brother, (9 sets for) PN$_1$-PN$_9$ (who are *Ib-ri*$_2$*-um*'s sons) and (1 set for) his brother, (and 5 sets for) PN$_1$-PN$_5$ (who are *I-bi*$_2$*-zi-kir*'s sons)'.

(4d) rev. V:21-23:

146 V 1'+ 1 *'a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
146 V 2' en
146 V 3' NI-*ra-ar*^{ki} //

'One set of textiles for the king of NI-*ra-ar*^{ki}'.

(4e) rev. VI:1-2:

1 zara$_6$^{tug2} 2 *BU-DI* šušana$_x$(ŠU$_2$+ŠA) kug-sig$_{17}$
'A'-zi-mu

'One zara$_6$-textile, two toggle pins (valued at) twenty (shekels) of gold for *A-zi-mu* (spouse of *Ib-ri*$_2$*-um*)'.

(4f) rev. VI:3-4:

1 zara$_6$^{tug2} 2 *BU-DI* šanabi$_x$(ŠA.PI) kug:babbar 2 sag kug-sig$_{17}$
Maš-za-du

'One zara$_6$-textile, two toggle pins (valued at) forty (shekels) of silver (with) two gold heads for *Maš-za-du* (*Ib-ri*$_2$*-um*'s daughter)'.

(4g) rev. VI:5-24: // *MEE* 12 35 rev. XXIV:38-40, XXV:1-4
13 zara$_6$^{tug2} 26 *BU-DI* šušana$_x$(ŠU$_2$+ŠA) kug:babbar
Ti-a-bar-zu
Teš$_2$*-ma*$_2$*-da-mu*
Da-keš$_2$*-ma-lik*
Dal-du-ut
Kir-su-ut *Kir-su-ut / wa* rev. XXIV:38-39
Dar-am$_6$*-ma-lik*

Da-na-lugal		
A-nu-du		
Du-zi-i-šar		
Du-bil$_2$-ma-lik		
dumu-mi$_2$		
Ib-ri$_2$-um		
dam-dingir	dam-dingir^2	rev. XXIV:40 //
wa		
Teš$_2$-ma$_2$-zi-kir	[...] / [*Teš$_2$-ma$_2$*]*-zi-kir*	rev. XXV:1-2
dumu-mi$_2$	dumu-mi$_2$	rev. XXV:3
I-bi$_2$-zi-kir	*I-bi$_2$-zi-kir*	rev. XXV:4
1 dam		
146 VI 1'+ *Zi-mi-na-ma-lik*	// *Zi-mi-na-ma-lik*	rev. XXIV 37

'Thirteen zara$_6$-textiles, twenty-six toggle pins (each valued at) twenty (shekels) of silver for FPN$_{1-10}$ (*Ib-ri$_2$-um*'s daughters), (1) priestess and *Teš$_2$-ma$_2$-zi-kir*, *I-bi$_2$-zi-kir*'s daughter, (and) one woman of *Zi-mi-na-ma-lik*'.

(4h) rev. VII:1-10: // *MEE* 12 35 rev. XXV:5-14

1 zara$_6$^{tug2} 2 *BU-DI*	17 kug:babbar / 2 *BU-DI*
17 kug:babbar	
Ma-u$_3$-du	
1 dam	1 dam
I-bi$_2$-zi-kir	*I-bi$_2$-zi-kir*
lu$_2$ *Sa$_2$-gu$_2$-šum*	lu$_2$ *Sa$_2$-gu$_2$-šum*
in ud	
nig$_2$-mu-sa$_2$	lu$_2$ nig$_2$-mu-sa$_2$
bur-KAK	bur-KAK
Ti-iš-te-da-mu	*Teš$_2$-te-da-mu*
dumu-mi$_2$ en	dumu-mi$_2$ / en

'One zara$_6$-textile, two toggle pins (each valued at) seventeen (shekels) of silver for *Ma-u$_3$-du* one woman of *I-bi$_2$-zi-kir* of *Sa$_2$-gu$_2$-šum*('s household), on the occasion of the wedding (by anointing with the oil) of the bur-KAK-vase of *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*, the king's daughter'.

(4i) rev. VII:11-VIII:16:

1 *'a$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+[*n*]^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
'A$_3$-mu-ru$_{12}$-gu$_2$
ḫub$_2$<-ki>
2 *'a$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Dur-'a$_3$-bi$_2$-zu
BAR-I
4 gu-mug^{tug2} 4 aktum^{tug2} 4 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Wa-da-'a$_3$
Bu$_3$-šu
Ba-du-lum
U$_9$-NE-LUM
4 aktum^{tug2} //
4 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Gu$_2$-ba
En-na-NI
En-na-NI-2
Bu$_3$-da-NI
10 {x} sal^{tug2}
U$_9$-wa-i-šar
Ir$_3$-az(PEŠ$_2$.ZA)-NI
A-bu$_3$-^{d}KU-*ra*
Na-zi
Bu-am
Zu-LUM

Ga-da-na
Zi-ru$_{12}$-su
Dap$_6$-da-ar
A-ga-iš
'One set of textiles for *ʾA$_3$-mu-ru$_{12}$-gu$_2$* the acrobat, two sets of textiles for PN$_{1-2}$, four sets of textiles for PN$_{1-4}$, four sets of textiles for PN$_{1-4}$, (and) ten sal-textiles for PN$_{1-10}$ (all acrobats)'.
(4j) rev. VIII:17-20:
2 gada^{tug2} mu$_4^{mu}$ 2 {gada^{tug2}}šu
en
A-bi$_2$-na-du
šu-ba$_4$-ti
'Two pieces of linen to cover the two hands of the king, received by *A-bi$_2$-na-du* (dam abba$_2$)'.
(4k) rev. VIII:21-23:
1 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
Bu-da-na-im
ḫub$_2$<-ki>
'One set of textiles for *Bu-da-na-im*, the acrobat'.

[5] Record of textiles for cultic purposes:
(5a) rev. VIII:24-IX:2:
1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
i$_3$-giš sag //
Ir$_3$-am$_6$-ma-lik
lu$_2$ *Ib-ga-iš-lu*
'One set of textiles (for) the (rite, marking the end of the mourning period, of the) olive oil of (the cleaning of) the head of *Ir$_3$-am$_6$-ma-lik* from *Ib-ga-iš-lu*('s household)'.
(5b) rev. IX:3-9:
2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib$_2$+4^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
1 giri$_2$ mar-tu zu$_2$-aka
ʾA$_3$-zi
Du-bi$_2$
ŠEŠ.2.IB
nidba$_2$
2 ^{d}*A-gum$_2$*
'Two sets of textiles, one dagger of the mar-tu zu$_2$-aka type for *ʾA$_3$-zi* (and) *Du-bi$_2$* who acted as ŠEŠ.2.IB for the sacrificial offering to the two ^{d}*A-gum$_2$*'.
(5c) rev. IX:10-13:
1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} sa$_6$ gun$_3$
A-ku-^{d}En-ki
PA$_4$:ŠEŠ
^{d}En-ki
'One set of textiles for *A-ku-*^{d}En-ki, the attendant of ^{d}En-ki'.
(5d) rev. IX:14-19:
1 ib$_2$+3^{tug2} gun$_3$
1 guruš
4 na$_4$(NI.UD) siki
1 dam
gaba-ru
^{d}En-ki
'One ib$_2$-textile for one male-worker, four na$_4$-measures of wool for one female-worker: receipt of ^{d}En-ki'.
(5e) rev. IX:20-23:
14 na$_4$(NI.UD) siki
10 la$_2$-2 dumu-nita
6 dumu-mi$_2$
NE-di

'Fourteen na_4-measures of wool for eight boys (and) six dancing girls'.
(5f) rev. IX:24-X:5:

1 na_4(NI.UD) siki
1 *du-rum*$_2$
1 *BU-DI* zabar
2 $^{<giš>}$bal siki gi_6 //
2 $^{<giš>}$bal siki babbar
LAK390
in ud
$nidba_2$ tur
^{d}En-ki

'One na_4-measure of wool, one stole, one bronze toggle pin, two bal-measures of black wool (and) two bal-measures of white wool, LAK390,[17] on the occasion of the minor sacrificial offering to ^{d}En-ki'.
(5g) rev. X:6-8:

1 dul_3^{tug2} *Ma-ri*$_2^{ki}$
In-gar$_3$
ugula $kunga_2$-$kunga_2$

'One dul_3-textile of *Ma-ri*$_2^{ki}$ for *In-gar*$_3$, the overseer of the (pair(s) of) mules'.
(5h) rev. X:9-12:

1 aktum^{tug2}
TUG_2-ZI:ZI
sag
en

'One aktum-textile for the TUG_2-ZI:ZI for the head of the (Ebla) king (*Iš*$_{11}$*-ar-da-mu*)'.
(5i) rev. X:13-19:

1 *'a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
1 ib_2-la_2 1 $giri_2$ kun šušana$_x$(ŠU$_2$+ŠA) kug:babbar maš-maš
1 $giri_2$ mar-tu $kug\text{-}sig_{17}$
1 *gu*$_2$*-li-lum* a-gar_5-gar_5 $kug\text{-}sig_{17}$ TAR-2
Du-bi$_2$
si-in
E$_2$×PAP

'One set of textiles, one belt (with) one dagger (valued at) twenty (shekels) of silver (with) strips of metal, one *mar-tu*-dagger of gold, one bracelet of copper and gold (valued at) thirty-two (shekels), for the burial of *Du-bi*$_2$'.[18]
(5j) rev. X:20-24:

1 *'a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-2 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib_2+2^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
Mu-si-ra-du
DU-*lu*^{ki}
2 *'a*$_3$*-da-um*^{tug2}-1 2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib_2^{tug2}-3 gun_3
maškim-*SU*$_3$

'One set of textiles for *Mu-si-ra-du* of DU-*lu*^{ki} (and) two sets of textiles for his (2) representatives'.
(5k) rev. XI:1-3

1 gu-dul_3^{tug2} 1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
Du-da-sa
ugula *mar-za-u*$_9$

'One set of textiles for *Du-da-sa*, the overseer of the *mar-za-u*$_9$-rite'.
(5l) rev. XI:4-10:

2 aktum^{tug2} 2 ib_2+3^{tug2} gun_3
Su-ma-NI
Wa-ḫi-zu-um
šu-mu-$taka_4$

---

[17] See Pasquali 2016: 58 and n. 42, with bibliography.
[18] For various translations of E$_2$×PAP see Archi 2012: 11 "interment, burial; funerary ceremony", with previous bibliography; Biga 2007-2008: 250-256 "tomb, burial"; Bonechi 2020b: 341 "grave".

uzu
^{d}NI-*da-bal*
Lu-ba-an^{ki}
'Two sets of textiles for PN_{1-2} (who) delivered meat (to the temple of the god) ^{d}NI-*da-bal* of *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}'.[19]
(5m) rev. XI:11-17:
1 aktum^{tug2} 1 ib_2+3^{tug2} gun_3
šu-mu-taka$_4$
kad$_4^{mušen}$
in
A-da-ti-ig^{ki}
šu-ba$_4$-ti
(blank)
'One set of textiles for (1 man who) delivered kad$_4$-birds, received in *A-da-ti-ig*^{ki}'.[20]

[**6**] Totals:
(6a) rev. XII:1-9:
A[N].$ŠE_3$.GU_2 3 tug_2 gun_3
1 *mi-at* 10 la_2-2 *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-2
2 *mi-at* 62 {x} aktum^{tug2}
20 la_2-1 zara$_6^{tug2}$
80 la_2-1 {x} gu-dul$_3^{tug2}$ *ʾa$_3$-da-um*^{tug2}-1 gada^{tug2}
23 {x} sal^{tug2}
1 ib_2^{tug2}-4 u_2-$ḫab_2$
1 *mi-at* 32 ib_2+3^{tug2} sa_6 gun_3
1 *mi-at* 5 ib_2+2^{tug2} gun_3
'Total: 3 + 108 + 262 + 19 + 79 + 23 + 1 + 132 + 105 textiles of various kinds'.
(6b) rev. XII:10-11:
šu-$nigin_2$ 4 *mi-at* 94 tug_2-tug_2
14 gu-mug^{tug2}
'Grand total: 494 textiles and 14 gu-mug-textiles'.

[**7**] Date:
(7) rev. XII:12-13:
e_3
$^{[iti]}$ MA×$GANA_2$*tenû*-U[GUR_2]
'Expenditure of the 12th month'.

Several noteworthy events are detailed in this text. Parts [1] and [2], along with some variants, are similar to those recorded in texts *ARET* I 1-9 and 32, *ARET* VIII 523 and 531, and TM.75.G.2279, as mentioned previously.[21]

In section (2k), the phrase *in* gi_6-sa_2 probably refers to an offering ceremony that occurred at dawn, often involving dancers (NE-di) (Catagnoti 1989: 154, 175, 181).[22]

Part [**4**] of the document concerns the wedding of the king's daughter, *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*, which included payment of the bride price (nig_2-mu-sa_2). It has been assumed that she married either a court official,[23] or a son of the min-

[19] On uzu see Archi 1994, and Milano, Tonietti 2012: 37-42.
[20] On kad$_4^{mušen}$ see Bonechi 2008: 1, 18-19 (TM.75.G.2300 = *MEE* 4 85 = eEBL-j (VE 1004, EV 0177) II:1-2 kad$_4^{mušen}$ / *ba-gi-lu-um*, *bāqirum* "(a kind of bird)".
[21] For the most current bibliography on this group of administrative texts, see Bonechi 2020a: 144f. n. 5.
[22] For VE 817 see Conti 1990: 196, with previous bibliography; gi_6-sa_2 = *ba-na me-si-im*, /bayna(y) mīšim/, "in the middle of the night;" *u$_3$-ru$_{12}$ mu-si-im*, /ʾurru mūšim/ ("morning light") or *si-gi-lu-um*/*lum* /šiqrum/, ("dawn"). Archi 2002: 6 n. 16 "In the administrative documents, however, this term must have a technical meaning."
[23] Biga 1996: 70, "le mariage de la princesse a probablement eu lieu avec un fonctionnaire de la cour et elle resta à la cour".

ister Yibbi'-Ḏikir (*I-bi$_2$-zi-kir*).[24] Recently, Bonechi (2018 unpublished manuscript) and Cianfanelli (2024) have convincingly argued for identifying the groom as *Du-bu$_3$-ḫu-*^{d}*'A$_3$-da*, son of Yibbi'-Ḏikir. This wedding is also referenced in the mu-DU text *ARET* XIV 86 (see rev. VII:10-17). Section (4g) lists allocations of textiles to women, specifically daughters from the family of minister *Ib-ri$_2$-um* and *I-bi$_2$-zi-kir*, who participated in *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*'s wedding. This section concludes with a reference to one dam (woman/spouse) of *Zi-mi-na-ma-lik*, who could be identified as the ugula of *Da-ri$_2$-ib$_2$*^{ki},[25] or, more probably, as the overseer of *ir$_3$-a-num$_2$* recorded in other texts (see Archi 2018: 217) and/or with the man mentioned in the chancery text *ARET* XVIII 18.

Part **[5]** includes some sections (5g, 5j, 5m) that have been retained here, even though the prosopographical evidence does not clarify whether they concern participation in cultic events. In section (5k), the term *mar-za-u$_9$* refers to a ritual banquet held in the 1st, 9th and 12th months (Catagnoti 2019: 23).

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[24] Archi 2010: 5, "it is possible that Tište-damu ... [was] the wife of one of Ibbi-zikir's sons ... but the name of her husband is not given", and Archi 2023: 410f. "... the princess received a gold plate in the house of the minister ... this means that she had married a son of Ibbi-zikir".

[25] See Biga 2007-2008: 267 n. 82, 'TM.75.G.1754 (king Išar-damu-vizier Ibbi-zikir) rev. IV:1-10: 1 *'à-da-um*-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb-IV-TÚG-sa$_6$-gun / 1 dib 1 ma-na 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun 1 ma-na / *Zi-mi-na-ma-lik* / ugula / *Da-rí-íb*^{ki} / *in* ud / en / *wa* / *I-bí-zi-kir* / du-du, "textiles and precious objects to Zimina-malik, the sheikh of Darib, when the king and Ibbi-zikir went (probably to Darib)"'.

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Fig. 1. recto - ARET I 3 + ARET XII 146 (© Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria (MAIS)), graphic rendering of the join by Donatella Daddi.

Fig. 2. verso - ARET I 3 + ARET XII 146 (© Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria (MAIS)), graphic rendering of the join by Donatella Daddi.

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A new edition of the Hittite hymn to Adad (KBo 3.21 – *CTH* 313)[1]

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Abstract. In the ancient Near East, hymns have preserved their stylistic and formal integrity across epochs, serving as exemplary models for translation and literary adaptation in different languages and cultures. They provide critical insights into linguistic and religious ideologies, and shed light on the phenomenon of religious syncretism in the ancient Near East. Originating in Mesopotamia during the 3rd millennium BCE, hymns were transmitted to Hittite Anatolia around 1450 BCE, likely through Hurrian mediation. Their subsequent prominence within the Hittite court can be attributed to the convergence of religious concepts, which highlights the intercultural exchanges that shaped the region's religious landscape. The Hittite hymns dedicated to the Storm god, *CTH* 314 and *CTH* 313, exemplify the adaptation of Mesopotamian religious texts to Hittite ideological and ritual needs. *CTH* 313, dedicated to the god Adad, presents more interpretative challenges than *CTH* 314 but offers intriguing points for reflection, which are investigated here. The paper presents a new critical edition of *CTH 313,* exactly 41 years after Alfonso Archi's edition. The aim is to further enhance our understanding of the reception and development of the hymnic genre in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, by integrating the new data with the most recent historical, linguistic and palaeographic discoveries.

Keywords: storm god, religious poetry, hymn, Adad, Hittite, KBo 3.21, *CTH* 313.

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1. INTRODUCTION[2]

KBo 3.21 (*CTH* 313) is a Hittite hymn dedicated to the god Adad, preserved on a cuneiform tablet found in Ḫattuša (modern Boğazkale) and currently kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

The composition has the characteristics of an *eršaḫunga* prayer (Maul 1988: 1-72; Lenzi 2011: 43-46), whose purpose is to 'appease the heart' of the wrathful god. This type of hymn was recited by the cult cantor, and often, in Hittite literature, it served as an introduction to longer, more articulate prayers (Singer 2002; Daues, Rieken 2018; Schwemer 2022: 394). The mixture of hymn and prayer is typical for the Hittite religious literature and prompted the elaboration of emic types: the *mugawar* prayer, which was meant to act directly upon the god, to appease his wrath; the *malteššar* prayer, with which the king asked for prosperity for himself, his family and his country; and the *arkuwar* prayer, a kind of supplication that sought to defend a man afflicted by the wrath of a god, the most representative example of which is contained in the set of prayers of Muršili II (Singer 2002: 47-49; Daues, Rieken 2018: 63-74, 218-246, 369-398; Rieken 2019: 150, 154, 157-161). Such supplications were recited in specific circumstances, and the petitioner believed they had illocutionary effects. This is a clear indication of how hymns and prayers had impact on practical religion among the Hittites.

From a formal point of view, the Sumero-Akkadian hymn is composed according to a canonical order, established in Mesopotamia by experts in religious poetry. The earliest accessible phase of Mesopotamian hymnic religious poetry is the Old Babylonian one, whose works were based on earlier Sumerian models, but at the same time presented original innovations. Later, in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC, the hymn became one of the most translated and re-adapted genres by the Hittites, proving that it enjoyed a certain popularity even outside Mesopotamia itself.

Praising the deity appropriately was a fundamental requirement when appealing to it, as the correct execution of all the ritual steps avoided arousing its wrath and incurring disastrous consequences. For this reason, the very content of the textual material had to be flawless.

According to Metcalf's (2015b: 9) reconstruction, the hymnic canonical compositional scheme is as follows:

1. *Invocatio*: this is the opening part of the hymn, in which the deity (to whom the text is dedicated) is introduced.
2. *Laudes*: in the central section, the praises of the god are amplified using stereotyped and repetitive formulas.
3. *Preces*: the chant ends with a short supplication (e.g., for the health of the one for whom the hymn was composed) and/or a brief greeting.
4. *Elatio*: this is a variable component; when it is present, the praised deity (a minor god, such as Nergal, or even prominent gods, such as Marduk) is 'elevated' in rank by a superior deity (An and/or Enlil). In other cases, it may merely list further epithets of the god (as in KBo 3.21).

The 'Hittite hymns' were Hittite translations and (re-)compositions of Sumero-Akkadian texts, which followed the canonical scheme and were mostly used as prologues to prayers (Archi 1983: 21-22; Wilhelm 1994: 74; Haas 2006: 245; Rieken 2019). There is a consensus among scholars that the earliest Hittite 'versions' of Mesopotamian hymns were composed during the Middle Hittite period (15th century BC), in connection with a major influx of Mesopotamian literature and through Hurrian mediation.[3]

The translated hymns are mostly dedicated to Babylonian gods who also held counterparts in the Hittite cult, such as the Sun god (and goddess) and the Storm god. This implies that the reception of Sumero-Akkadian models was 'not merely an exercise in philology, but also reflected the Hittites' particular interest in certain aspects of

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[2] Abbreviations follow the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (<https://rla.badw.de/reallexikon/abkuerzungslisten.html>, accessed on 31 May 2024). All dates are BC. The customary subdivision into Old Kingdom (Ḫattušili I to Telipinu, ca. 17th-16th century BC), Early New Kingdom (post-Telipinu up to Tudḫaliya III, ca. 15th century BC) and Empire Period (Šuppiluliuma I to Šuppiluliuma II, ca. 14th-13th century BC) is used when referring to Hittite historical phases.

[3] See West 1997: 101-106; Schwemer 1998: 50-52; Metcalf 2015b: 81, 90. For general reviews of the spread of Hurrian traditions in Anatolia, see Wilhelm 1991; Klinger 2001; Giorgieri 2013; de Martino 2017.

Mesopotamian religion' (Metcalf 2015b: 83), which they believed were akin to their own religious ideology (Steitler 2017: 371-376). These aspects include the selection of specific deities for their translations and (re-)compositions, the poetic theme of elevating a beloved deity (known as *elatio*) and the rhetorical strategy employed to pacify an offended deity's heart during prayers. The very choice of the minor god Adad as the main deity in *CTH* 313 reflects this concept.

The opening section of KBo 3.21 is fragmentary, but the second column is well-preserved and opens with the *elatio* of the storm god Adad by the supreme god Enlil. The following section describes Adad in the role of an interpreter of *omina* (obv. ii 6-11) and a warrior fighting in the name of An and Enlil (obv. ii 12-19): both attributes are attested in the Mesopotamian tradition, especially in the northern Syrian area (Aleppo and Mari; Schwemer 2001: 221-226). The column ends with the beginning of the storm, which resumes in the third column. The prayer to 'calm the heart' of Adad is followed by the praise of the cities of Sippar, Babylon, and Pada (seats of the god's cult; rev. iii 14′-28′). After a fragmentary section, the text concludes with the colophon and the mention of a scribe 'competent in the Babylonian language' (rev. iv 12′).

This article presents a new edition of this remarkable composition, consisting of transliteration, bound transcription, translation, and a line-by-line commentary. In the last section, the genesis and cultural significance of the hymn are discussed.

2. CRITICAL EDITION

2.1. The manuscript

The hymn to Adad *CTH* 313 is known from a single two-columned cuneiform tablet, KBo 3.21, which is missing the lower part (maximum preserved thickness: 2.7 cm; length: 11.3 cm; width: 11.7 cm; measurements based on the photograph). Most of the preserved text is on columns obv. ii and rev. iii, where paragraphs are separated by remarkably slanted rulings that suggest little attention to layout accuracy; obv. i and rev. iv are extremely fragmentary.

The manuscript appears to be a scribal draft. The oblique course of the paragraph lines would confirm this hypothesis; moreover, there are an arguably erased and rewritten paragraph in rev. iii 10′-11′, and four lines written smaller in rev. iii 10′-13′. Emil Forrer, implicitly followed by Archi (1983: 29), thought that these lines had been left blank and then written later, but the erasure (Fig. 1) shows that the scribe had first inserted only one 'couplet' instead of two and had realized too late that he had to insert another couplet, whilst the space below was already

Fig. 1. Erasure traces, KBo 3.21 rev. col. III 11′ (© Vorderasiatisches Museum, Inv. Nr.: Bo 447 - *No* hethiter.net/: photoarch BoFN02029; BoFN02025a).

occupied by the following paragraphs. Whereupon he must have necessarily deleted and rewritten it in smaller characters.

The paleographic analysis of the diagnostic signs in KBo 3.21 suggests a MS (Middle Script) dating of the manuscript – this interpretation is supported by the *Konkordanz* of the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* – which corresponds to the Middle Hittite (or pre-imperial) historical phase. The diagnostic sign forms for the Middle Script phase attested on the tablet are TAR (HZL #7/B, 6) and EN (HZL #40/A, 6); all others are attributable to the pre-imperial phase and range from OS (Old Script) to MS dating: IK (HZL #67/A,1), AK (HZL #81/A, 2), AZ (HZL #92/B, 13), UK (HZL #93/B), AL (HZL #183/A, 4), E (HZL #187/C, 4), UN (HZL #197/A, 2), KU (HZL #206/A, 3), DA (HZL #214/A, 8), ID (HZL #215/A, 5–6), URU (HZL #229/A, 2), DI (HZL #312/B, 4), KI (HZL #313/A, 4), AḪ (HZL #332/A, 1–3), LI (HZL #343/A).

MS dating is further supported by linguistic analysis, which reveals the presence of elements typical of Middle Hittite: *tuliya anda* (postposition *anda* with dative/locative; obv. ii 3-4), *naḫšaratti peran* (postposition *peran* with dative and not the genitive; obv. ii 21) and *kerti=tta* (the dative *=tta* in a possessive function is one of the innovations that characterize Middle Hittite, as in Old Hittite possessive pronouns would be used; rev. iii 9′-13′).

2.2. Transliteration

Obv. i

§ 1

3′ [...] ˹RI˺ [...]

4 [... *ne-pí-ši d*]*a-ga-*˹*an-zi*˺*-pí-ia*

5 [...]

§ 2

6 [...]x *iš-kal-li-iš-ke-ez-zi*

7 [... *-e*]*z*′*-zi*

§ 3

8 [...]*-an ku-iš ar-ta-ri*

9 [... x]*-ez-zi*

§ 4

10 [...]*-it-ḫa-u-wa-an-ni-it*

11 [... *-p*]*a*′*-an-ma*

12 [...]

§ 5

13 [... *-ut*′*-t*]*e*′*-na-aš*

14 [...]*-ša*

15 [...]

§ 6

16 [...]

17 [...]

§ 7

18 [...]

19 [...]*-ma*

(breaks off)

Obv. ii

§ 8

1 *nu* ^{D}EN.LIL-*tar-še-et tu-uk pa-iš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*na-ša wa-li-iš-ḫi-u-wa-ar*
2 ⌜*ma*²⌝-*ni-ia-aḫ-in-na tu-uk zi-in-ni-it*

§ 9

3 *na-aš-ta A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{TIM} *tu-li-ia an-*⌜*da*⌝ *tu-el-pát*
4 *gul-aš-*⌜*ša*⌝ *tar-ra-nu-ut na-aš-ta ut-ne-ia-aš iš-ta-an-za-na-aš*
5 *ap-pa-an-na ki-iš-ri-it-ti da-iš*

§ 10

6 *li-iš-ši-ia-la-at-ta-ma ne-pí-ša-aš da-ga-an-zi-*⌜*pa-aš*⌝*-ša*
7 *ut-ta-a-ar kat-ta-an ar-ḫa pé-e-tum-ma-an-zi*
8 ^{D}É.A-*aš-kán ḫu-wa-an-ḫu-iš-ni ku-it ḫa-at-ri-i-e-eš-ša*
9 *an-da ki-it-ta a-aš-šu* ^{UZU}IÀ *ḫu-wa-ap-pa-an-na* ^{UZU}IÀ
10 *ú-wa-an-na nu* KUR-*e-aš a-ru-u-wa-u-ar* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *tu-uk*
11 *i-wa-a-ar-wa-a-ir*

§ 11

12 ^{D}*A-nu-uš-ma-*⌜*at*⌝*-ta* ^{D}EN.LIL-*aš-ša šar-ga-wa-an-ni ḫa-an-da*
13 *A-NA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KÚR-*ŠU-NU ú-e-mi-ia-u-wa-an-zi tu-uk wa-a-tar-na-aḫ-ḫe-er*

§ 12

14 *na-aš-ta tar-ḫu-i-la-a-tar-te-et ḫa-tu-ga-a-tar-te-et*
15 DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš pa-ra-a kal-la-ra-an-ni ne-ia-an li-li-wa-an-za-ma-aš-ša-an*
16 *ik-za-te-eš* KUR-*e kat-ta ḫu-u-up-pa-an ḫar-zi*

§ 13

17 *ik-ta-aš-ma-ad-du-uš-ša-an er-ḫa-az Ú-*⌜*UL*⌝ *na-aḫ-ša-ri-ia-wa-an-za*
18 *ar-ḫa Ú-UL u-ez-zi Ú-UL pít-tu-li-an-ta-an-ma*
19 *an-da wa-ar-pí-iš-ke-ši*

§ 14

20 [x x -*u*]*m*²-*mi-it-ma-kán al-pa-ra-mi-it-ti-ta* KUR-*e ka-ri-ia-an*
21 [*na-aḫ-ša-ra*²]-*at-ti-ma pé-ra-an da-an-du-ki-iš ḫu-u-ma-an-za*
22 [⋯ -*n*]*a*²-*aš*? *ú-i-te-na-aš ta-ga-wa-aš*
23 [⋯ -*d*]*a*²-*an-za-mi-iš ar-pí-ia-at-ta-ri*

§ 15

24 [⋯ -*t*]*e*²-*et ḫa-tu-ga A-NA* DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U$_{19}$$^{LÙ.MEŠ}$
25 [⋯ -*i*]*t*²-*ta ḫe-e-u-un-ma ḫi-in-ga-na-aš*
26 [⋯ -*n*]*a*²-*aš*? *na-aš-ta da-an-du-ki-iš* DUMU-*aš*
27 [⋯ *la-aḫ-l*]*a*²-*aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke-et-ta-ri*

§ 16

28 [⋯ -*z*]*i*²-*nu-za* SAG.DU-*in*
29 [⋯] x x x -*zi*²-*da*²
30 [⋯]x

(breaks off)

Rev. iii

§ 17

1′ [⋯]x-⌜*ir*⌝
2′ [...]x

§ 18
3′ [⋯ -*t*]*ar*-*te-et-kán aš-nu-an šal-la-an-ni-ma-ad-du-uš-ša-*⌜*an*⌝
4′ [⋯] *nu-ut-ták-kán an-da* Ú-UL *ku-iš-ki*
5′ [⋯]-*zi*

§ 19
6′ [*ka-ru-i-l*]*i*-*e-eš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *pít-tu-li-ia-u-wa-ar*
7′ [⋯]-*ia-an-du*

§ 20
8′ [DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*na-ša*] $^{⌜D⌝}$IŠKUR-*aš šar-ku-uš nu-ut-ta* ^{D}IŠKUR AN-*pát*
9′ [*mi-nu-mar da*]-*ra-an-du*

§ 21
10′ [*nu ke-er-ti-it-t*]*a mi-nu-wa-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-ad-du wa-ar-aš-nu-an-du*
11′ [*nu iš-ḫi-i*] *mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du*

§ 22
12′ $^{⌜D⌝}$IŠKUR-*aš ke-er-ti-it-ta mi-nu-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta*
13′ *wa-ar-aš-nu-an-du nu iš-ḫi-i mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du*

§ 23
14′ ^{URU}*Zi-ip-pí-ri-ma-az* ^{D}UTU-*wa-aš uk-tu-u-ri* URU-*ri*
15′ *du-un-na-ak-ke-eš-na-aš* É-*ri an-da-an e-eš-ḫu-ut*
16′ *nu-ut-ta ke-er-ti mi-nu-wa-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta*
17′ *wa-ar-aš-nu-wa-an-du nu iš-ḫi-i mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du*

§ 24
18′ ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA-*ma-aš-ša-an ku-e-da-ni* URU-*ri* ^{D}*A-nu-uš*
19′ *la-a-ma-an da-iš* ^{D}EN.LÍL-*aš-ma-aš-ši-kán gul-aš-ta*
20′ *du-uš-ga-ra-u-an-da gul-aš-ša* ^{D}AMAR.UTU-*aš a-aš-ši-ia-an-ti*
21′ *nu-za-kán* É.NAM.ḪÉ *a-aš-ši-ia-an-ti* É-*ri an-da e-eš-ḫu-ut*
22′ *nu ke-er-ti mi-nu-wa-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-at-ta*
23′ *wa-ar-ša-nu-wa-an-du nu iš-ḫi-i mi-nu-mar da-ra-an-du*

§ 25
24′ *A-NA* ^{URU}*Pà-da-ma-az-kán a-aš-ši-ia-an-ti* URU-*ri*
25′ *an-da du-uš-ga-ra-an-na a-ša-a-tar e-eš-ḫu-ut*
26′ *nu ke-er-ti mi-nu-wa-an-du li-iš-ši-ma-*⌜*at*⌝-*ta*
27′ *wa-ar-aš-nu-wa-an-du nu iš-ḫi-i mi-nu-mar*
28′ ↖ *da-ra-an-du*

(*Randleiste*)

Rev. iv
§ 26
1′ [...]x
2′ [...]-*ta*
3′ [... -*u*]*t*-*mi*
4′ [...]

§ 27
5′ [...]-⌜*a*⌝-*an-ra*
6′ [...]-*a-u-ar*

7′ [… *-m*]*a*²
8′ […] *uk-tu-u-ri*
9′ […]

§ 28
10′ [… *-m*]*i*²*-ia-at-ta ú-ez-zi*
11′ [… *-i*]*š*² *dam-mi-li šu-up-pa-i pé-di*
12′ […] DUB.SAR *pa-pí-li-li*

(*Randleiste*)

2.3. Bound transcription

Obv. i
§ 1
3² […] RI […]
4 [… *nepiši da*]*ganzipi=ya*
5 […]

§ 2
6 […] *iškalliškezzi*
7 [… *-e*]*zzi*

§ 3
8 […]*-an kwiš artari*
9 […]*-ezzi*

§ 4
10 […]*-itḫawannit*
11 [… *-p*]*an=ma*
12 […]

§ 5
13 [… *-utt*]*enaš*
14 […]*-ša*
15 […]

§ 6
16 […]
17 […]

§ 7
18 […]
19 […]*-ma*

(breaks off)

Obv. ii
§ 8
1 *nu* ^{D}EN.LIL*-tar=šet tūk paiš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-naš=a wališḫiwar*
2 *maniyaḫḫinn=a tūk zinnit*

§ 9
3 *n=ašta ANA* DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{TIM} *tuliya anda tuel=pat*

4 *gul(a)šša tarranut n=ašta utneyaš ištanzanaš*
5 *appanna kišri=tti dāiš*

§ 10
6 *liššiyala=tta=ma nepišaš daganzipašš=a*
7 *uttar kattan arḫa petummanzi*
8 ^{D}*ÉA-aš=kán ḫuwanḫwišni kwit ḫatriyešša*
9 *anda kitta āššu* ^{UZU}IÀ *ḫuwappann=a* ^{UZU}IÀ
10 *uwanna nu* KUR-*eaš aruwawar* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *tūk*
11 *iwarwaer*

§ 11
12 ^{D}*Anuš=ma=tta* ^{D}EN.LIL-*ašš=a šargawanni ḫanda*
13 *ANA* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$KÚR-*ŠUNU wemiyawanzi tūk watarnaḫḫer*

§ 12
14 *n=ašta tarḫuilatar=tet ḫatugatar=tet*
15 DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš parā kallaranni neyan liliwanz(a)=ma=ššan*
16 *ikz(a)=teš* KUR-*e katta ḫuppan ḫarzi*

§ 13
17 *iktaš=ma=ddu=ššan erḫaz* UL *naḫšariyawanz(a)*
18 *arḫa* UL *uezzi* UL *pittuliyantan=ma*
19 *anda warpiškeši*

§ 14
20 [... *-u]mmit=ma=kan alparamittit=a* KUR-*e kariyan*
21 [*naḫšar]atti=ma peran dandukiš ḫūmanz(a)*
22 [... *-n]aš witenaš tagawaš*
23 [... *-d]anzamiš arpiyattari*

§ 15
24 [... *-t]et ḫatuga ANA* DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U$_{19}$$^{LU.MEŠ}$
25 [... *-i]tta ḫeun=ma ḫinganaš*
26 [... *-n]aš našta dandukiš* DUMU-*aš*
27 [... *laḫḫ]aḫḫiškettari*

§ 16
28 [... *-z]inu=z(a)* SAG.DU-*in*
29 [...]*-zida*
30 [...]

(breaks off)

Rev. iii
§ 17
1′ [...]*-er*
2′ [...]

§ 18
3′ [... *-t]artet=kan ašnuan šallanni=ma=ddu=ššan*
4′ [...] *nu=tta=kkan anda* UL *kwiški*
5′ [...]*-zi*

§ 19
6′ [*karuil*]*eš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *pittuliyawar*
7′ [⋯]*-iandu*

§ 20
8′ [DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-naš=a*] ^{D}IŠKUR*-aš šarkuš nu=tta* ^{D}IŠKUR AN*=pat*
9′ [*minumar da*]*randu*

§ 21
10′ [*nu kerti*]*=tta minuwandu lišši=ma=ddu waršnuandu*
11′ [*nu išḫi*] *minumar darandu*

§ 22
12′ ^{D}IŠKUR*-aš kerti=tta minuandu lišši=ma=tta*
13′ *waršnuandu nu išḫi minumar darandu*

§ 23
14′ ^{URU}*Zippiri=ma=*(*a*)*z* ^{D}UTU*-wa-aš uktūri* URU*-ri*
15′ *dunnakkešnaš* É*-ri andan ešḫut*
16′ *nu=tta kerti minuwandu lišši=ma=tta*
17′ *waršnuandu nu išḫi minumar darandu*

§ 24
18′ ^{URU}KÁ.DINGIR.RA*=ma=šša*n *kwedani* URU*-ri* ^{D}*Anuš*
19′ *lāman dāiš* ^{D}EN.LÍL*-aš=ma=šši=kan gul*(*a*)*šta*
20′ *dušgarawanda gul*(*a*)*šša* ^{D}AMAR.UTU*-aš āššiyanti*
21′ *nu=z*(*a*)*=kan* É.NAM.ḪÉ *āššiyanti* É*-ri anda ēšḫut*
22′ *nu kerti minuwandu lišši=ma=tta*
23′ *waršnuandu nu išḫi minumar darandu*

§ 25
24′ *ANA* ^{URU}*Pada=ma=*(*a*)*z=kan āššiyanti* URU*-ri*
25′ *anda dušgaranna ašātar ēšḫut*
26′ *nu kerti minuwandu lišši=ma=tta*
27′ *waršnuandu nu išḫi minumar*
28′ ↖ *darandu*

Rev. iv
§ 26
1^{i}′ [...]
2′ [...]*-ta*
3′ [... *-u*]*tmi*
4′ [...]

§ 27
5′ [...]*-anra*
6′ [...]*-awar*
7′ [... *-m*]*a*
8′ [...] *uktūri*
9′ [...]

§ 28
10′ [... *-m*]*iatta wezzi*
11′ [... *-i*]*š dammili šuppai pedi*
12′ [...] DUB.SAR *papilili*

2.4. Translation

Obv. i

§ 1

[… in heaven] and earth

§ 2

[…] tears

§ 3

[…] who stands

§ 4

(*fragmentary*)

§ 5

(*fragmentary*)

§ 6

(*fragmentary*)

§ 7

(*fragmentary*)

(breaks off)

Obv. ii

§ 8

(Enlil) has given to thee, (Adad), his 'Enlilship', and has made perfect for thee (thy) elevation and (thy) rule over the gods.

§ 9

In the assembly, in the presence of the great deities, he has made your destiny mighty, and has placed in your hand the power to take the souls of the earth.

§ 10

You (Adad) have the power to interpret the *omina celestia et terrestria* contained in liver: the decree, which lies in the abyss of Ea (Apsû); to examine the favourable entrails and the unfavourable entrails! The gods have bestowed upon thee the submission of the lands.

§ 11

Anu and Enlil, in consideration of your eminence, have charged you with finding their enemies.

§ 12

Your formidable power is directed against evil entities, in the presence of the gods. Your quick net keeps the earth trapped.

§ 13

Not even the fearless escape the confinement of your net; (with your net) you keep imprisoned (even) those who do not fear (you)!

§ 14

[…] with […] and with thy mantle of clouds the land is covered. Every mortal from fear […] of the great mass of water […] mine […] turns out badly.

§ 15

[… th]y terrible towards mankind […] but the rain of pestilence […] and the mortal son […] is troubled.

§ 16

[…] the head […]

(breaks off)

Rev. iii

§ 17

(*fragmentary*)

§ 18

[…] thy […] is accomplished; and to thy greatness […] and thou in none […]

§ 19

[May the prim]eval deities […] anguish.

§ 20

[Among the deities,] the Storm god is eminent; to thee, the Storm god of heaven, may they (the deities) speak (words) of pacification!

§ 21

May they comfort thy [hear]t, may they appease (thy) liver, may they (the deities) speak (words) of pacification [to (thee), Lord]!

§ 22

Storm god, may they comfort thy heart, may they appease (thy) liver, may they (the deities) speak (words) of pacification to (thee), Lord!

§ 23

In Sippar, eternal city of the Sun god, establish (thy) residence in the sacred chamber! May they comfort thy heart, may they appease (thy) liver, may (the deities) speak (words) of pacification to (thee), Lord!

§ 24

Enlil engraved a happy fate for Babylon, the city to which Anu gave his name, beloved of Marduk! Establish (thy) residence in the 'Temple of Abundance', in the beloved home! May they comfort thy heart, may they appease (thy) liver, may (the deities) speak (words) of pacification to (thee), Lord!

§ 25

To Pada, beloved city, establish (thy) residence there, in gladness! May they comfort thy heart, may they appease (thy) liver, may (the deities) speak (words) of pacification to (thee), Lord!

Rev. iv

§ 26

(*fragmentary*)

§ 27

(*fragmentary*)

§ 28

[…] comes […] in a pure, pristine place […] scribe (expert) in the Babylonian language.

2.5. Line-by-line commentary

i 4: The expression *nepiši daganzipi=ya* is also attested elsewhere (cf. KUB 59.56 vs. 12′).
ii 1: On the 'sovereignty of Enlil': see *Ellilūtu*; *CAD* I/J: 85-86, see *illilūtu*.

wališḫiwar: from *walli-* 'glory, pride'; a noun derived from the idiomatic Hittite verb *walla-/walliya-* 'to rise, to glorify, praise' (semantically cf. *wallaḫḫiya-* 'song of praise' and *walliyatar-* 'glory, praise, song of praise'; *HEG* 4: 264; Sasseville 2020: 33-34, 129-132). It is used together with the verb *išḫamai-* 'to sing' (Akkadian *zamārum*) in the composition of hymns inspired by Mesopotamian and Hurrian traditions (Laroche 1964-1965: 28; Kloekhorst 2008: 944-945; Metcalf 2015b: 100).
ii 3-4: Archi (1983: 27) draws a parallel between this passage and *The Prayer to Ištar* (*CTH* 312), in which 'the great primordial deities' (corresponding to the Babylonian *Annunaku*; Hittite *karuileš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}) are mentioned.

gul(*a*)*šša*: Melchert (2016: 356) refutes the analysis of Archi (1983: 21) and Puhvel (1997: 242) – according to which *gul*(*a*)*šša* is the plural of a verbal noun †*gul*(*a*)*ššar* – and asserts that this term is a regular collective plural of the animate noun (*gul*(*a*)*šša*), resulting from the verb *gul*(*aš*)*š*, 'to engrave, trace, write', with verbal noun *gul*(*aš*)*š*(*u*)*war* (cf. KUB 3.110: 17; 43.72 ii 11). For Melchert, *tuel=pat gul*(*a*)*šša tarranut* corresponds to the Akkadian ^{D}EN.LIL *šīmātikka ušarbi* ('Enlil has exalted your destiny'; Šamšu-Iluna C, 73). See Melchert (2016: 355-359) for further insights; for the derivation of *gul*(*a*)*š-* from the theonym ^{D}*Gulšeš* (the Hittite goddesses of fate, partly analogous to the Greek Fates) and the discussion about the hypothetical identification of the Hittite ^{D}*Gulšeš* with the Luwian ^{D}*Kuwanšeš* (see Archi 2013a: 1-26; Waal 2014: 1016-1033, 2019: 121-132; Yakubovich 2014: 282-297, 2020: 281-282).
ii 4-5: The expression *n=ašta utneyaš ištanzanaš appanna kišri=tti dāiš* ('He (Enlil) has placed in your hand the power to take the souls of the earth') has a parallel in an Old Babylonian Akkadian hymn to Adad, *CT* 15.3-4
ii 7-8: *uštātlimkum bēli parakki epiātim ana qātika apqid* ('I had bestowed upon you the lords of the daises, I had entrusted the people to your hand' (Metcalf 2015b: 70; cf. Schwemer 2001: 419-421; Pohl 2022: 96-101).
ii 6-7: The adjective *liššiyala-*, 'pertaining to the liver, oracular' (*CHD* L/N: 72b; only one attestation), has been attributed by both Götze (1948: 149-150) and Archi (1983: 27) to the *omina celestia et terrestria* that would be shown to the god in his 'mind' (on the oracular powers of the deities, see Ebeling 1953: 20-21). In his reconstruction of the Akkadian original, Götze uses the term *kabattu* as the equivalent of *liššiyalatta*, which means both 'liver' and 'mind'; according to him, therefore, the Hittite scribe was misled by obv. ii 9 (*āššu* ^{UZU}IÀ *ḫuwappann=a* ^{UZU}IÀ) and chose for his 'translation' an adjective that specifically referred to the liver as a divinatory organ, i.e. *liššiyala-*. According to Van Brock, Mac Gregor (1962: 88), however, there would be no mistake: this adjective is a specific reference to the practice of extispicy (Mouton 2015, 2017: 7) and should be translated literally.
ii 8: The noun *ḫuwanḫueššar* can be translated as 'abyss', 'water in great quantities', and is associated with the realm of underground waters in which Enki/Ea, the god of wisdom, dwells. According to Beckman (1982: 22-23), a similar concept is also rooted in Anatolian beliefs, cf. KUB 36.89 obv. 27f. (*CTH* 671; Haas 1970: 146):

... DUMU ^{D}*Šulikatti nanakuššiya*[*ntaz*]*a*$^{?}$ 4 *ḫalḫaltumaraza ḫa*[*ll*]*uwaza ḫ*[*u*]*nḫuešnaza* UGU *eḫu* EGIR-*pa=wa=*[*za* ^{URU}*Neri*]*kki andan neya*

O son of Šulikatti ... from the four corners (of the Earth), from the deep abyss, come up! Come back (to the city of) Nerik!
ii 14-15: The endiad *tarḫuilatar=tet ḫatugatar=tet* ('thy formidable power') has a semantically ambiguous meaning: it can have a negative connotation and, in this case, a positive one, which can also be translated as 'the splendour of terror' (Groddek 2002: 85).
ii 15-16: On the more recent discussion of the etymology of the participle *ḫuppan*, see Melchert (2007: 513-518).
ii 17: The *ikz*(*a*) (cf. obv. ii 16) is a weapon used by the Storm god to trap his adversary, through the creation of an enclosure (*erḫa-*) from which the victim cannot get out. According to Hoffner (1977: 105), this passage reflects ancient Mesopotamian concepts of divine combat. Metcalf (2015b: 91) also argues this attribute of Adad is to be found in a very ancient Sumerian *topos*: the myth of the warrior god Ninĝirsu/Ninurta, equipped with a battle net with which he punishes his father Enlil's enemies. In support of this thesis, in a Babylonian myth (Schwemer 2001: 166-167) Adad is also described as the son of Enlil who takes on the warlike role of scourging his enemies, in his father's name.

arḫa uwa- and abl. "to come out from under what is upon"; see *CHD* Š: 137, 154.

ii 20: In his edition of the text, Archi (1983: 28) cites several passages in which Adad is described in the act of covering the sky with his clouds, obscuring 'the bright day'.

ii 24-27: The act of obscuring 'the bright day' (cf. obv. ii 20), as well as the 'rain of pestilence' (translation proposed by Archi 1983: 25), could both refer to the god's wrath, which makes mortal man anxious (*laḫlaḫḫiškettari*, 'is troubled').

dandukiš DUMU-*aš*: literally, 'the mortal son'. In Hittite, the standard expression is *dandukišnaš* DUMU-*šaš*, 'the son of mortality', which is commonly translated as 'mankind'. The nonstandard formulation used here may be a mistake or a calque from the original Sumerian expression.

iii 6′: The restoration proposed by Archi (1983: 28), *karuileš*, is plausible, both in terms of material space on the tablet and context; (see obv. ii 3-4; Laroche 1974: 175-185). The whole line could be a calque of the Akkadian expression: DINGIR^{MEŠ} *irubu inarruṭū* ^{D}*Anunnaki*, 'the gods shudder, the *Anunnaku* tremble' (cf. *CTH* 312; Reiner, Güterbock 1967: 260).

iii 8′: *šarku-* corresponds to Sumerian GÚ.TUKU and Akkadian *ašarēdum*, 'preeminent'; it is an epithet attributed to storm deities (see *CHD* Š: A 268-270).

iii 9′-13′: In his reconstruction of the original Akkadian text, Götze (1938: 71-72) has proposed a well-known Babylonian formula for this passage: *libbaka linūḫ kabattaka lipšaḫ*, 'may your heart calm down, may your mood calm down' (see *CAD* P: 228 for further attestations; Metcalf 2015b: 91 fn. 42). The following couplet, which repeats the content of the previous verses, also follows the Sumerian and Babylonian stylistic custom of invoking the deity before the supplication.

liššu-: 'liver', Akkadian *kabattu*. The liver – together with the heart and, more generally, the abdomen – is the seat of various emotions in Akkadian hymns, including anger, desire, and anguish. Specifically, the emotional tension accumulated in the upper part of the body is often associated with heat, as testified in numerous Old Babylonian texts (*kabattī ušaṣriḫ*, 'it made my liver warm', *The Annals of Sargon II of 711 BC* ii b/c' 7; cf. Fuchs 1998: 23; Sonik, Steinert 2023: 60, 337). One of the most common translations of the term *kabattu* is 'mind' (cf. rev. iii 10′-13′), but also 'soul', 'feeling' (especially in association with ŠÀ 'heart'; Sonik, Steinert 2023: 398). However, I think that the image of the liver needing to be quenched, associated with another organ that is the seat of the most impetuous and passionate human emotions, is more evocative: that's why I have chosen this translation.

iii 14′-15′: The sanctuary dedicated to the Sun god Šamaš, the É.BABBAR, is the main cultic complex in the city of Sippar, where the temple of Adad would have been located (Schwemer 2001: 321f.). The connection between the two deities is not unusual: Šamaš is mainly associated with the practice of extispicy, and Adad is also a master of this art (cf. rev. ii 6′-11′). According to Archi (1983: 29), the reason why the Hittite scribe did not quote the É.BABBAR directly is that he confused the signs that compose the name of the temple: ŠÀ (É.ŠÀ), instead of BABBAR. This circumstance determined his attempt to translate *dunnakešnaš* É-*ri*, 'inner chamber' – which would reflect the custom of naming the part of the temple where the deity is ritually invited to settle (cf. rev. iii 21′; KUB 15.34 ii 13-14).

iii 18′-21′: The É.NAM.ḪÉ ('Temple of Abundance') in Babylon is another famous place of Adad worship, consecrated by Ḫammurabi and restored by Ammi-Ṣaduqa (George 1993: 129-130; Schwemer 2001: 305-306; Polvani 2010: 279). The epithet LUGAL.É.NAM.ḪÉ(-A)/*bel enamḫe*, 'Lord of the É.NAM.ḪÉ (RIMB 2 B.2.4.1. i 11 in Schwemer 2001: 305 fn. 2245) is attributed to the Storm god in various texts. Archi (1983: 29) proposes a comparison with the Akkadian verse: KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} *šum-šu ṣīram ibbiū*, '(When Anu and Enlil) called Babylon by her exalted name' (*CH* i 16-17).

gul(*a*)*šša*: Melchert (2016: 356) refutes Archi's (1983: 21) amendment of the correct *gul*(*a*)*šša* into *gul*(*a*)*šta* and argues that this etymological figure is a calque of Akkadian *šīmta*/*šīmāti šâmu* 'to decree a fate'.

For the derivation of *dušgarawant-*, see Maier (2013: 175).

iii 24′-25′: The city of Pada, placed under the rule of Babylon since the time of Sûmû-la-el, is known from an inscription of Šamšu-Iluna for having a temple dedicated to Adad, erected by Ammi-Ṣaduqa (Archi 1983: 30; Schwemer 2001: 308).

dušgaranna: allative, restricted to the earliest linguistic phase of Hittite.
iv 11′: Puhvel (2012: 84) disputes Hans Güterbock's translation of this verse, which is modelled on Sumerian-Akkadian expressions ('in a virgin and pure place') and speculates that the phrase *dammili šuppai pedi* refers to an open-air shrine (a *ḫuwaši*?).

3. DISCUSSION

3.1. The Storm God in the Ancient Near East

The proximity and coexistence of different polytheistic systems were two determining factors in the syncretic process of harmonizing typologically similar deities in the ancient Near East. These *polisthea* (or *corothea*) were composed of both local and 'foreign' gods, which were articulated in a common semantic universe and mutually equated through the attribution of names, forms and functions. This syncretism was intended to turn everything 'different' into something more comprehensible, through the creation of 'divine assemblies'. The way these assemblies were conceived and structured suggested that ancient people may have believed in a multi-faceted divine unity. According to Schwemer (2007a: 123):

> Deities with different names are frequently gathered under a single typological label, whether in Ancient Near Eastern Studies, or in the study of religions in general, when they display a broad agreement with regard to their central functions and profile. Typological classification can bring several deities together within just one cultural context or assemble divinities from different cultural traditions under one type.

In a recent contribution (Schwemer 2022: 364), he expanded the discussion:

> The multitude of gods and goddesses that populated the land was tempered by hierarchy on the one hand, and typology on the other: Hierarchy kept the number of (regionally or trans regionally) important deities manageable and gave structure to the divine sphere by establishing groups and relationships. Typology allowed to form groups of deities with a shared profile and to identify them as local hypostases of the same major deity (e.g., the solar deity of a certain city), as hypostases with a certain remit or character (e.g., the Storm-god of the army), or as yet one more manifestation of a type of deity that was as common as the natural phenomenon with which they were associated (e.g., a spring goddess or a mountain god).

A fitting example of this concept is the divine figure that falls under the (modern) typological classification of the 'Storm god': as the dispenser of the rains necessary for harvests, this god is a central figure in the cults of many ancient Near Eastern civilizations that based their economy and survival on agricultural practices, such as the Anatolian one. However, although his nature remains the same, his importance and his names undergo substantial variations and evolutions depending on the regions in which he was worshipped (or, sometimes, within the same cultural context).

In order to understand the figure of the Storm god in Hittite Anatolia, it is necessary to consider that the Hittite culture is the result of the intermingling of different traditions, which include both those of the indigenous Anatolian-Hattian substratum and those of neighbouring countries. The Hattian religious ideology is the foundation on which all Hittite religious thought was firstly modelled, then enriched and expanded through the ages. In addition to the Hattian heritage, Hittite religious practices and beliefs also incorporated elements from Palaic and Luwian traditions, and most of the Mesopotamian and Hurrian religious concepts reached Anatolia through Kizzuwatnean mediation (Schwemer 2022: 368). This mixture gave birth to the cult 'of the thousand gods' of which the 'the Storm god of Heaven' was the undisputed leader, together with the Sun goddess Arinna, his spouse (Houwink ten Cate 1992: 83-148; Klinger 1996: 147-152; Schwemer 2022: 372, 2016, 2007a, 2001).

The name of Taru, the Hattian Storm god, could be written either in syllabic spelling or with the Sumerian ^{D}IŠKUR and ^{D}10 logograms, and his characteristics are the same as those of his Mesopotamian counterparts: associ-

ation with natural storm phenomena, the beneficial action of rain and the destructive force of thunder (Schwemer 2007b: 18).

Other peculiar characteristics of the Storm god are described in the divine lists of the Old Babylonian period and are also found in KBo 3.21 (*CTH* 313). The celestial couple consisting of Iškur/Adad and Šamaš (the Sun god) – who are sometimes joined by the Moon god Sîn – are divine 'witnesses' in connection with legal cases, such as trials and temple loans and oaths (recited before the symbol of the deities, within institutions named *ḫamrum*).[4] The connection between the Sun god and the Storm god as guardians of justice seems to be archaic (from the 3rd millennium BC onwards) and would have spread to Anatolia when cuneiform writing was introduced into the administration of the Hittite kingdom with Ḫattušili I (Steitler 2017: 369).

Storm god and Sun god have also a fundamental role in divinatory rituals, especially those involving the reading of the viscera (extispicy; cf. Lenzi 2011: 48-53 and related texts). Schwemer (2007a: 150) provides two explanations according to which the Storm god is connected to divination. His nature as a celestial deity, responsible for numerous nefarious natural phenomena, associated him with the omens for which oracular questions were required. Moreover, the winds he governed were the divine messages the gods used to communicate with men (Steinkeller 2005: 11-47; Schwemer 2007a: 150). Next to him, the Sun god Šamaš, the most 'omniscient'[5] of the gods – because he sees everything during his daily journey through the firmament – observes, controls and is not so much concerned with predicting events as judging those that have already taken place (Schwemer 2001: 221-226, 284, 683-686; cf. Schwemer 2022: 370-371).

As argued by Steitler (2017: 368), the joint prominence of the Storm god alongside the Sun god may have originated in northern Syria, of Hurrian culture. From the Middle Hittite period onwards, Hurrian influences had an increasing importance on the cult practised by the Hittite royal family.[6] Tarḫun(t), the Hittite Storm god, was assimilated to the Hurrian Storm god and king of gods, Teššub (particularly the one worshipped in Ḫalab, modern Aleppo), through the syncretic process of systematisation. Similarly, his divine circle, composed of his consort Ḫebat, the minor gods Ḫazzi and Nanni (the mountain gods) and Šeri and Ḫurri (the divine bull-men), was definitively integrated into the Hittite imperial cult, as shown in the rock reliefs in Chamber A of the Yazılıkaya sanctuary (Seeher 2011). *The Chronicle of Puḫānu* (Singer 1994: 86-87; Schwemer 2001: 494; Gilan 2004: 275) suggests the veneration of the Storm god of Aleppo had already been introduced in the time of Ḫattušili I's campaigns in northern Syria (Houwink ten Cate 1986: 109 fn. 37); later, from Tudhaliya I/II onwards, the god was integrated into the ranks of Hittite deities, initiating the golden age of his cult (Schwemer 2007a: 166).[7]

3.2. KBo 3.21: discussion

A first point of discussion on KBo 3.21 concerns the chronology of the composition. Scholars disagree on the dating of the text on both linguistic and paleographical basis: Güterbock (1978: 128) referred to KBo 3.21 as a hymn written in the Old Hittite language but attributed the manuscript to a later period; Kammenhuber (1990: 193), on the other hand, asserted that it belongs to the later phase of the language (NH). More recently, Klinger (2013: 102) places the writing of the hymn between the middle and the end of the 15th century BC, while

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[4] A shrine outside the city; its attestation in the Hurrian-Hittite texts may depend on the hypothetical presence of this institution in the *karum* of Kaneš, see Schwemer 2007a: 140 fn. 44.

[5] The gods of the ancient Near East did not possess the characteristics that today, under the influence of monotheistic theology, we associate with gods, e.g., omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence. The term 'omniscience' is not used here according to its modern meaning, but according to the ancient assumption that, to know, it was necessary to 'see'. See Basello 2012: 149; for a comprehensive treatment of the topic in Hittite Anatolia, see Wilhelm 2002: 54-70.

[6] For more recent studies on Kizzuwatna and the role of Hurrian mediation in the dissemination of Mesopotamian religious literature in Anatolia, see Trameri 2020. For a discussion of the development of the Hurrian pantheon, see Archi 2013b.

[7] About 150 places where he was worshipped and placed at the head of the local cult (also in the form of hypostases) are attested in written sources; see Schwemer 2007a: 166-167, 2007b: 21.

Hoffner, Melchert (2008: 116 fn. 182) consider it to be in the middle part of the linguistic spectrum (MH), but at the more recent end of the paleographic spectrum (NS; Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 116 fn. 182). The *Konkordanz* of the HPM suggests a paleographic dating 'mh.' (in German *mittelhethitisch*, corresponding to the MS phase). In the present discussion, the paleographic dating of the tablet to the MS phase and the linguistic and orthographic dating of the composition to the MH phase are argued. These conclusions are compatible with the hypothesis that the tablet represents a scribal draft, and that the composition of the text, as written on the tablet, is coeval with the writing of the tablet.

Concerning the *Sitz im Leben* of KBo 3.21, the secondary literature considers this hymn to be clearly Mesopotamian in origin. In addition to the explicit reference to cities such as Sippar, Babylon, and Pada (rev. iii 14′, 18′, 24′), the description of a belligerent Adad armed with a net (obv. ii 16) recalls the ancient Sumerian *topos* of the god Ninĝirsu/Ninurta, who wields a battle net and punishes the enemies of his father Enlil (Metcalf 2015b: 91 fn. 40). As Archi (1983: 29) notes, the *a-a'* form of this hymn and the rhetoric of 'soothing the heart' are also typical of the Mesopotamian style. Moreover, the hymn was written by a scribe competent in the Babylonian language (it is specified in the colophon of the text, rev. iv 12′), so it is possible that he translated an original Akkadian manuscript into Hittite (Haas 2007: 346). Götze (1948: 150) has proposed a partial reconstruction of the alleged original Akkadian text, and Klinger (2013: 102 fn. 11) also argues that KBo 3.21 is nothing more than the first draft of a translation: in support of his thesis, he cites the text and the paragraph lines, which are oblique, imprecise, and often written past the margin or above the column divider. Additionally, in rev. iii 10′-13′, the signs are smaller in size than the others, and Klinger affirms they could have been written by someone else later. Melchert seems to agree with this interpretation, because he assumes that 'the very unusual Hittite word order in the second passage (cf. iii 18′-20′) betrays that we are dealing with a translation' (Melchert 2016: 356). However, the unusual word order may also be due to a marked construction in Hittite, so it does not allow to assert with certainty that the text is a translation from an Akkadian original.

The 'Enlilship' (Akkadian *enlilūtum*) granted by Enlil to other deities is an attribute conventionally bestowed on the god Marduk, patron of Babylon, since Old Babylonian times.[8] The fact that, in KBo 3.21, the minor deity Adad obtains such a position prompted Güterbock (1946: 109) to suggest that the text is not a translation of an Akkadian original, but a Hittite 'reconstruction', adapting Mesopotamian models to a Hittite context. In contrast to this interpretation, Metcalf recently adds that, although there are no Sumero-Akkadian sources in which Iškur/Adad is bestowed with the privilege of *elatio*, 'this specific type of elevation by Enlil (and An) of a god of the second rank is an established topos' (Metcalf 2015b: 90). He also argues that a lost *elatio* dedicated to the Storm god might have been contained in the Old Babylonian hymn to Adad *CT* 15.3-4 (Schwemer 2001: 419-421; Metcalf 2015b: 69-71; Pohl 2022: 96-101). In this text, Enlil reproaches Adad for bringing destruction to the land, despite being the guardian of its survival; moreover, he reminds him that it is due to the life-giving power of the Storm god that he entrusted him with the lives of human beings: 'I had bestowed upon you the lords of the daises, I had entrusted the people to your hand' (*CT* 15.3-4 ii 7-8; Metcalf 2015b: 70). This expression has a parallel in KBo 3.21 (cf. obv. ii 4-5), which led Metcalf (2015b: 71) to suggest that Enlil's reproach might refer to a lost *elatio* similar to the one contained in the Hittite hymn.

Before Metcalf, Archi (1983: 21) also rejected Güterbock's hypothesis and proposed that the original Akkadian text was written not in Babylon (where Marduk was worshipped), but in a city where the Storm god Iškur/Adad had a prominent role, probably located in northern Syria or upper Mesopotamia (of Hurrian culture). The role of Hurrian mediation in the reception of Babylonian religious literature in Anatolia, first argued by Wilhelm (1991), is to be stressed here. In KBo 3.21, this hypothesis could be supported by Adad's ability to interpret *omina celestia et terrestria* (obv. ii 6-11), which is attested particularly in Aleppo and Mari, but never in Sumerian sources (Schwemer 2001: 221-226). Moreover, the use of the '*Ich will preisen'-Formel* (the Mesopotamian 'I want to sing'

[8] Cf. the opening of the prologue to the *Codex of Ḫammurabi* i 1-13.

formula)[9] in the composition, which is also present in Hittite version of Hurrian texts (e.g., the *Ulikummi Song*), could suggest that it may have reached Anatolia through Hurrian mediation and, linguistically, through Akkadian 'intermediaries' (as explained below). In conclusion, the strong theological bias in favour of the Storm god and his 'elevation' could be the result of the complex and rich interactions that took place between Hittite Anatolia, the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, and northern Syria (cf. Klinger 2005).

4. CONCLUSION

The hymns to the gods are one of the most pregnant and pervasive forms of cultural and textual transmission among the Late Bronze Age civilizations of the ancient Near East, so it is easy to guess that such symbolic and performative texts must have piqued the interest of the cultures that met Sumerian and Sumero-Akkadian literature. This is true for the Hittite world, where there was no local hymnic tradition (except for the hymnic sections contained in prayers), but where the ritual aspect of cult was particularly important. From this perspective, the hymn for the Hittites was not just a poetic composition: the recitation of a hymn was accompanied by rituals, and the 'borrowed' material could be used in religious practices by those who first translated and then readapted it, with the aim of meeting local cultic and ritual needs. This is evident in a series of hymns inspired by the Old Babylonian Sumerian model *Utu the hero* (also known as *Utu N*; Cavigneaux 2009: 7-13; Metcalf 2011, 2015a, 2015b: 95-98, 2023), which reached Anatolia through Hurrian mediation and in the form of Akkadian texts, called 'intermediaries' (Beckman 2012: 132-134; Daues, Rieken 2018: 7-8; Metcalf 2011: 176, 2015a, 2015b: 81-103, 2023). The discovery of an Akkadian version of a solar hymn and prayer, authored by a Hittite scribe and unearthed in Ortaköy/Šapinuwa (Schwemer, Süel 2021), substantiates this assumption. Moreover, it enabled philologists to reconstruct a trilingual translation (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite; Metcalf 2023: 53-72) of a text that significantly impacted specific religious practices within the Hittite royal cult dedicated to local Anatolian deities (Metcalf 2023: 47).

The first examples of this process of textual adaptation can be found in the hymnic sections of the *Prayer of Kantuzili to the Sun god* (*CTH* 373) and the *Prayer of a King* (*CTH* 374);[10] these texts were later refined during the Empire Period, resulting in works like the *Prayer of a Mortal* (*CTH* 372; Schwemer 2015: 29-48; Rieken, Lorenz, Daues 2017 –; Metcalf 2023), and the prayers of Muršili II (Singer 2002: 47-49; Daues, Rieken 2018: 63-74; 218-246; 369-398; Rieken 2019: 150, 154, 157-161). As summarized by Metcalf (2023: 48):

The translation and adaptation of the Sumero-Akkadian model in *CTH* 372–374 reflects, not only an interest in certain aspects of the Mesopotamian Sun-god, but also an interest in appropriating the literary language of praise and prayer from a Mesopotamian royal context to an Anatolian royal context.

This is even more evident during the Empire period, when prayers – the highest representation of Hittite religious literature, of which the hymnic sections are a part – changed and adapted to Hittite religious thought, both in terms of content and technique. This circumstance is indicative of the 'Hittites' struggle for a place among the great political and cultural powers of the 2nd millennium BC' (Rieken 2019: 160-161). The composition of KBo 3.21, on the other hand, belongs to that early phase (Middle Hittite) in which Hittite scribes were still heavily dependent on the structure and content of Mesopotamian religious texts, without yet venturing the (re-)compositions typical of the later period. Thus, the hypothesis of KBo 3.21 as a translation from an Akkadian original remains the most plausible, at least until further discoveries prove otherwise. Regardless, it is evident that the Hittite hymn to Adad *CTH* 313, along with those devoted to the Sun god, serve as additional proof that the dissemination of religious literature in the ancient Near East was a rich, living and dynamic process.

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[9] In Hittite translations, the Akkadian verb *zamārum* is translated with the Hittite verb *išḫamiḫḫi-*, 'to sing' (from *išḫamiḫḫi*, 'I want to sing'), but also with the idiomatic *walla-*, 'to praise', which is derived from the root of 'elevate', perhaps in analogy with the Sumerian KA-TAR-SI.L (see Laroche 1964-1965: 28; Metcalf 2011: 175 fn. 28).

[10] Both are dated to the Early Empire period; see Schwemer 2015: 3-14; Rieken Lorenz, Daues 2017 –; Metcalf 2023.

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Neo-Assyrian Metaphors through the Telescope: Linguistic Patterns involving Body Part Constructions in the State Archives Letter Corpus

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Abstract. We present findings from a semi-automated linguistic analysis of the letter corpus of the online State Archives of Assyria project (SAAo), focusing on a specific grammatical configuration we dub a Body Part Construction (BPC). Based on a verb with a compound prepositional phrase involving a simple human body part (e.g., *alāku ina muhhi*), the BPC is a basic construction for extending the semantic range of prepositional expressions in first millennium Akkadian, particularly metaphors. While specific instances of this construction have been documented in the literature, no large scale survey of them has been conducted until now. Here we present basic distributional facts about BPCs in the SAAo letter corpus, and discuss certain features of a linguistic nature and their role in constructing metaphors. We observe that most BPCs express directed motion or metaphorical variants thereof, and that such BPCs also exhibit a minor dialectal difference depending on whether they appear in Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian texts. This paper should be of interest not only for its specific findings about BPCs, but also because of the semi-automated methods used to generate its survey data that benefit from a new machine learning based computational approach.

Keywords: Akkadian metaphors, Neo-Assyrian letters, body parts, computational linguistics.

1. INTRODUCTION

In first millennium Akkadian there is a tendency for phrases that in older phases of the language would be expressed with simple prepositions, such as *ina āli* ('in the city'), to be replaced with compound prepositional phrases involving terms for basic body parts, such as *ina muhhi āli* (lit. 'in the skull of the city').[1] This phenomenon is especially observable in let-

[1] In this article, 'compound preposition' will always refer to a combination of basic preposition plus a noun in construct, not two basic prepositions. A basic (or base) prep-

ters, which are overall indicative of vernacular language patterns. Reflecting the grammaticalization of what were once completely independent words (Rubin 2005: 47), compound prepositions become the primary way of expressing oblique arguments of Akkadian verb phrases such as *alāku ina muhhi* X ('to go to X').[2] Previously, such phrases would have used simple prepositions or just case marking on the noun to indicate grammatical function.

At the same time, these compound prepositional phrases and the verb phrases based on them facilitate a large degree of metaphorical extension, highly dependent on the literal meaning of the lexical components. The lexically dependent nature of this process is especially evident in the Neo-Assyrian letter corpus. In such letters, for example, *alāku ina muhhi* X is the usual way to say 'to go to X', but one does not find phrases like *alāku ina rēš* X or *alāku ina qaqqad* X to express a similar meaning, even as the body part terms they involve refer to the same general region. Likewise, while *paqādu* X *ina muhhi* Y means 'to appoint X in charge of Y', the phrase *paqādu* X *ina pān* Y (lit. 'to appoint X in the face of Y') means 'to appoint X in service of Y'. Even though a plausible etymology for these metaphorical expressions can sometimes be given, it is harder to explain why a given expression uses a particular body part term or basic preposition.

In this paper we present a study of some of these compound prepositional phrases where they are most frequent, namely the Neo-Assyrian letters. Our interest is, on the one hand, to count these phrases across the letter corpus as well as elucidate some of their basic distributional properties. But on the other hand, we are particularly interested in the capacity of these phrases to serve as productive sites of metaphors. For instance, *šapāru* X *ina qāt* Y (lit. 'to send X in the hand of Y') usually means 'to send X via Y', whereas the phrase *šûlû* X *ina qāt* Y (lit. 'to lift X from the hand of Y') usually means 'to make X fall out of favor of / be forgotten by Y (usually the king)'. While *amāru* X means 'to see/look at X', the phrase *amāru ina muhhi* X usually means 'to be loyal to X'. These examples indicate how compound prepositions involving basic body parts can serve as interesting bearers of metaphorical meaning beyond their basic components.

Beyond this, our study demonstrates the utility of machine learning techniques in facilitating our survey of the letter corpus. These techniques allow us to query the corpus for our desired linguistic structures with greater complexity and precision than is currently offered by existing online repositories of Akkadian texts. Furthermore, an individual researcher can adapt the code we created to their own queries on another (digitized) corpus. In this sense, our paper should be of interest to other corpus researchers not just for its survey results, but also for how those results were obtained.

The structure of this paper is as follows: In Section 2 we define our objects of study in greater detail and motivate the use of conceptual metaphor theory in studying them. Section 3 discusses existing background literature. Section 4 describes the significant innovation of our paper, outlining step by step how we prepared our annotated corpus, how we surveyed it using semi-automated methods, and what additional manual annotations we made to those search results to enrich our analysis. Section 5 discusses various patterns in the data we found and why they are significant from a linguistic perspective. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the findings.

2. TECHNICAL TERMS AND THEORIES

We define a *Body Part Construction* (BPC) to be an Akkadian verb phrase of the form V (X) PP BP (Y): V is a verb; PP belongs to a closed class of basic prepositions in Akkadian; BP is a noun belonging to a set of basic body part terms that appear in compound prepositions; X is an optional direct object of V; and Y is an optional genitive object of BP (and also the oblique object of V). The entire prepositional phrase modifies the verb V and not, say, one of the nominal arguments X or Y.

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osition, in turn, is a single word or particle that functions as a preposition.

[2] Throughout this paper, citation of Akkadian verbal patterns with the verb first is a formal convention only. No comment is being made about attested word order.

Table 1 shows the values for PP and BP we consider in our survey. Note that the list of items considered leaves out base propositions like *adi* 'up to', *akī/kī* 'like' and *basi* 'in order for', which do not tend to appear with body part terms when modifying verbs. It also excludes more abstract terms like *birit* 'between' and *dātu* 'side' on semantic grounds, although one could also argue for their inclusion.

Note that the above definition is meant to indicate only syntactic dependencies and not word order. In addition, we take a BPC to be associated with a given meaning. Thus the expression *alāku ina pān* X can mean, depending on context, either 'to go before X' (e.g., to appear before the king) or 'to lead X'. There are thus two BPCs associated with the phrase *alāku ina pān* X, one for each of the meanings above.

In studying the metaphor properties of BPCs we are relying on the theory of conceptual metaphor as developed by George Lakoff and his followers (e.g., Lakoff 1987; Lakoff, Johnson 1999; Dancygier, Sweetser 2014). This approach to metaphor and related phenomena has seen frequent use in modern linguistic studies and is expanding to ancient near eastern languages (Pallavidini, Portuese 2020; Jindo 2018; Manasterska 2019; Harris 2022). Its value here comes from its ability to provide fine-grained analyses of linguistic expressions and to motivate those analyses in terms of basic embodied experience. In conceptual metaphor theory, a metaphor is a mapping from a *Gestalt* concept or integral scene A to another such scene B that preserves structural relations. A is called the source domain for the metaphor, and typically involves a scene that is more concrete or fundamentally rooted in basic physical experiences compared to B, which is called the target domain. A simple example of a conceptual metaphor is GOOD IS UP ('he's at the top of his class', 'he's down in the dumps'), where the source domain up reflects the basic concept of upwards direction relative to a stable ground, and the target domain good reflects more abstract notions of power, social standing, and value. Furthermore, to say that a concept B is a metaphorical extension of another concept A is to say there is a metaphor mapping from A to B, with A being more concrete. Using the above example, we can say that with respect to the metaphor GOOD IS UP, the concept GOOD is a metaphorical extension of UP.

The basic tenets of conceptual metaphor theory motivate restricting our study to BPCs as we have defined them. The literal meaning of the compound prepositions involving the four basic prepositions and basic body parts of Table 1 are fairly transparent, allowing for a clear understanding of the mappings defining more abstract or figurative meanings. At the same time, verb phrases with prepositional modifiers involving body parts often reflect basic physical experiences and are the most widely attested class of compound prepositional phrases in the letter corpus. They are hence likely to exhibit metaphorically (and metonymically) extended meanings based on those body parts. In contrast, while phrases involving terms not transparently derived from body parts, like *ana mahar* 'to/towards' and *ina kūm* 'in-stead of' do occur in the letter corpus, they are comparatively rare, or their etymologies are uncertain.

Conceptual metaphor theory also gives us a more refined schema within which to classify the metaphor properties of BPCs. According to conceptual metaphor theory, metaphorical expressions need not be regarded as innovative or literary by the people who use them.

Conventional metaphors in English such as 'the prices rose' or 'I see what you mean' are not usually regarded as metaphorical by native English speakers even though they are clearly metaphorical in Lakoff's sense of a mapping between distinct conceptual domains. Our analysis of BPC metaphors acknowledges this fact for Akkadian, recognizing the contribution to metaphor provided by high frequency terms such as *muhhu* and *pānu*.

Finally, focusing on body part terms also allows us to limit the size of our data set to something manageable for partial manual evaluation, as we avoid the large number of prepositional phrases which have not become gram-

Table 1. Basic prepositions and body part terms considered in our survey of BPCs.

Basic prepositions	Body part terms
ina,ana,ištu,itti	*ahu,idu,irtu,kišādu,lētu,libbu,muhhu,pagru, pānu, pānātu,pērtu,pû,pūtu,qablu,qātu,rēšu, šārtu,šēpu,šīru,uznu*

maticalized into actual compound prepositions (such as *ina bīt* 'in the house of', *ina ēkalli* 'in the palace of', and *ina šiddi* 'on the side').

3. BACKGROUND

Previous literature relevant to BPCs usually focuses on compound prepositions. In his fundamental study of Akkadian grammar, von Soden offers a concise diachronic survey of about a dozen frequent compound prepositional phrases, including their distribution in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian (GAG, 115 d-t.). The discussion, however, is largely divorced from considering verbs that the prepositional phrase may modify.

Comprehensive surveys of the Neo-Assyrian letter corpus are another place one finds comments relevant to BPCs (Parpola 1983; Hämeen-Anttila 2000; Luukko 2004). These studies focus heavily on orthographic, phonological, and morphological aspects of the letter corpus, even as various syntactic and semantic issues are also considered. However, beyond cataloguing frequently occurring compound prepositions, the syntactic and semantic issues treated by these studies are largely irrelevant for BPCs. The closest relevant discussion involves the interchangeability of *ina* and *ana* in certain contexts. Parpola argues that by Neo-Assyrian times *ina* and *ana* had largely merged semantically even if they still remained distinct phonologically (Parpola 1983: 48). He lists numerous examples of prepositional phrases where *ana* is used in place of the expected *ina*, and includes a few examples from Middle and Old Assyrian of the same phenomenon. Yet most of these examples have a temporal or locative meaning and involve only the basic preposition rather than compound prepositions. Three examples involve compound prepositions (specifically, *ana muhhi* and *ina libbi*). However, they all come from letters dating to the reign of Sargon II (r. 721-705 BC), a period for which our own analysis shows irregularities involving BPCs. Luukko (2004: 173) agrees with Parpola's conclusion, adding new examples of the interchangeability and observing again that it seems to occur mainly with phrases expressing temporality or spatiality. He notes, though, that interchangeability does not happen when *ana* marks an accusative object of a verb (*nota accusativi*). For his part, Hämeen-Anttila (2000: 70) concludes that despite the numerous examples of merging, *ina* and *ana* likely maintained a semantic distinction which perhaps was in the process of disappearing. In summary, with respect to all three surveys above, the great majority of *ina/ana* interchanges cited are not compound prepositions and those few cases that do involve compound prepositions date either to Sargon II or are undated.

One may also find scattered information relevant to BPCs in studies concerned with Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian dialectal patterns as well as philological studies of specific basic prepositions. Thus, Worthington (2006: 82) identifies as Assyrianisms the compound prepositions *ina muhhi* and *ana muhhi*. The examples of these phrases that Worthington cites largely signal topicalization or clausal subordination and are not associated with a specific verb. In a study of the relation between the Neo-Assyrian prepositions *issu* 'from' and *isse* 'with', Vinnichenko (2016) observes that the former readily forms compound prepositions such as *issu pān* 'from, because of' while the latter does not. Woodington (1983) catalogues compound prepositions appearing in Neo-Babylonian letters from the royal Assyrian archive (many of which are BPCs), whereas Hess (2021) and Hackl (2021) provide brief, up-to-date discussions of compound prepositions appearing in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian, respectively. Once again, however, in all cases the discussion revolves around the compound prepositions alone without any verbs they may modify.

Looking further afield, comparative semitic studies also tend to give brief surveys of cognate compound prepositions and their historical processes of formation. Rubin (2005: 46-48) discusses reconstructed proto-semitic compound prepositions in the context of grammaticalization. Lipiński (1997: 469) briefly discusses certain cognate constructions involving prepositional phrases, but does not extend the discussion to verbal phrases. On the other hand, some studies of specific (ancient) semitic languages go somewhat further in their survey of compound prepositions, such as Hardy II (2022) for Biblical Hebrew, but so far none exist for Akkadian.

The above information illustrates that previous literature has largely not considered Akkadian compound prepositions in their relation to various verbs, or their capacity for metaphorical extension of meaning. This paper

thus offers an initial, but novel, study of the subject involving a specific subclass of compound prepositions, namely BPCs.

4. METHOD

Our method for searching and extracting BPCs in the SAAo letter corpus involves the following three steps of data preparation:

1. Providing morpho-syntactic annotations for all SAAo letters.[3]
2. Converting these annotations to linked open data and retrieving all BPCs from it via appropriate knowledge graph queries.
3. Incorporating text metadata into the search results as well as a manual evaluation of metaphor-relevant features of BPCs.

A full technical description of these steps can be found in a Zenodo repository containing data files associated with this article.[4] Here, we present only abbreviated points of the entire process.

Step 1: Generating the morpho-syntactic annotations

We first produced morpho-syntactic annotations of the entire SAAo letter corpus that followed the Universal Dependencies framework for linguistic annotation.[5] These annotations provided a full morphological analysis of each meaningful token in the corpus as well as syntactic dependencies among tokens.

We generated these annotations using a bootstrapping method described in Ong, Gordin (2024b). Essentially, we first annotated a small set of texts manually and then trained a spaCy language model on those annotations capable of automatically annotating new texts with a certain degree of accuracy.[6] We applied this model to a new set of texts and manually corrected the resulting automatically generated annotations. Then we retrained the language model on the combined set of new and old annotations so that it could produce more accurate annotations on new texts. We repeated this process many times until six of the SAAo letter volumes had been completely annotated to gold standard. Finally, the language model was applied one more time to the remaining SAAo letter volumes to yield automatically generated annotations sufficiently accurate for facilitating a search for BPCs (Fig. 1).

Step 2: Converting annotations to linked open data

The annotations from Step 1 were converted to linked open data format to facilitate searching for morpho-syntactic structures like BPCs.[7] Fig. 2 illustrates what this conversion process looks like. After converting the annota-

[3] The specific SAAo volumes annotated were SAAo 1,5,10,13,15-18,19, and 21.

[4] See https://zenodo.org/doi/10.5281/zenodo.8289986.

[5] See https://universaldependencies.org/.

[6] By language model, we simply mean a computational algorithm capable of taking input strings from a given language and parsing them according to specific demands (e.g., identifying parts of speech of all words, morphological analysis, or syntactic dependencies). Language models are often obtained by training a neural network on sample data provided by humans. Humanists seeking an introduction to spaCy language models and their uses in the humanities may consider chapters 11 and 12 of Mattingly (2023) as well as an online course for beginners by the same author, found at spacy.pythonhumanities.com (accessed October 15, 2023). For examples of spaCy applied to ancient and low-resource languages, scholars may consult recent projects archived at the Center for Digital Humanities at Princeton (https://newnlp.princeton.edu/languages/). Finally, scholars interested in looking at current spaCy models for languages other than English may visit https://spacy.io/models.

[7] Linked open data is an approach to data representation in which data points are machine-readable units of information containing pointers to other data points as part of their basic structure. Such data is usually publicly accessible on the internet so that it can be integrated into larger linked open data projects. See Bizer, Vidal, Skaf-Molli (2018).

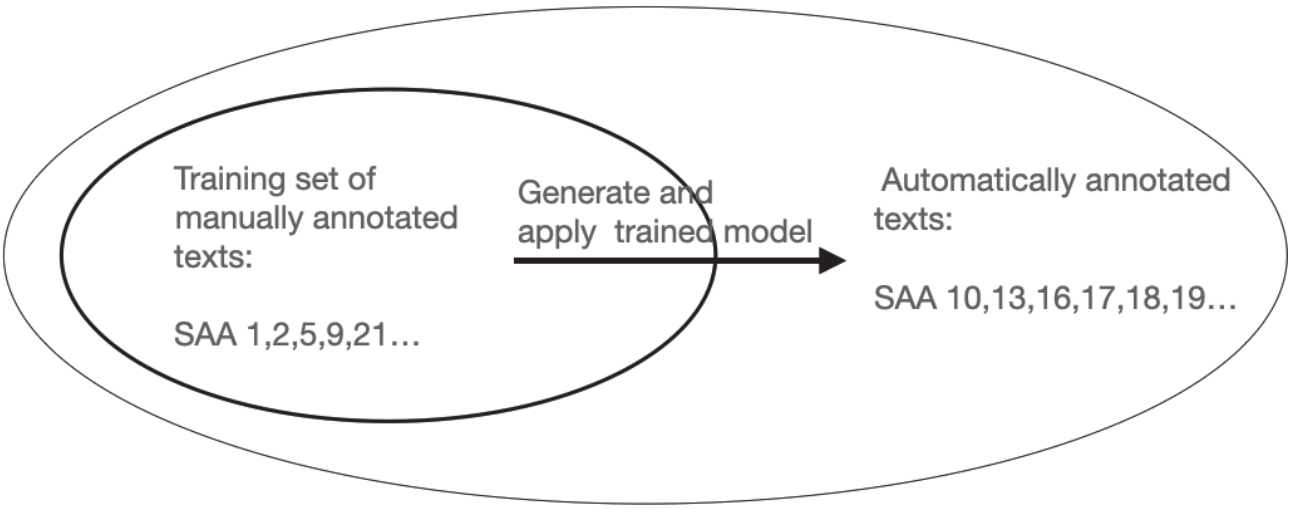

Fig. 1. Using the language model to generate the full set of morpho-syntactic annotations from a manually annotated training set.

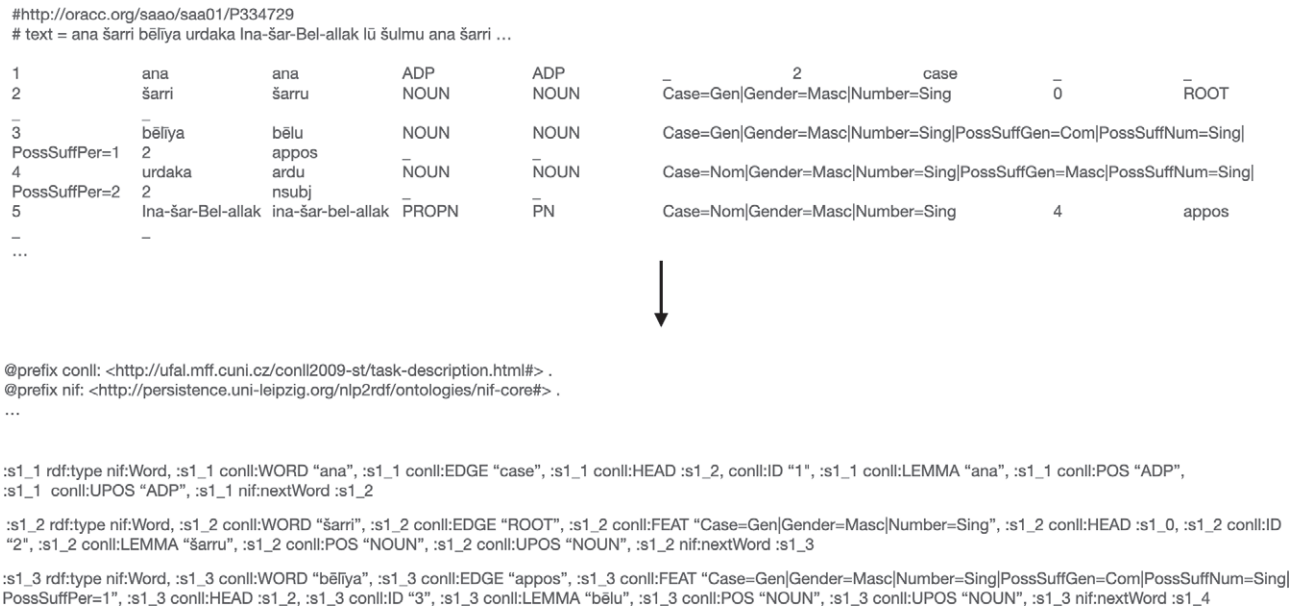

Fig. 2. Example of converting morpho-syntactic annotations to linked open data format.

tions to linked open data, we used a SPARQL query to retrieve all instances of BPCs in the SAAo letter corpus that involved body part nouns and basic prepositions in Table 1.

Step 3: Adding text metadata and metaphor evaluations

The SPARQL query from Step 2 yielded approximately 2400 likely BPC examples from the SAAo letter corpus. We augmented these results with two additional forms of data for enhanced analysis. The first is Oracc metadata that allowed us to associate to each BPC within a given letter the dialect of Akkadian, script type, likely date and ruler under which that letter was written in, as well as the letter's sender and receiver, provenience, and send-

tlemma	rlemma	slemma	date	dialect	oolemma	dolemma	ruler	tword	sword	Bad_analysis	etype
našû	ina	muhhu	731-730	Neo-Assyrian	marduk-apla-iddina		Tiglath-pileser III	naṣūni	muhhi		iobj
našû	ina	muhhu	731-730	Neo-Assyrian	marduk-apla-iddina		Tiglath-pileser III	naṣūninni	muhhi		obl
našû	ištu	muhhu	721-705	Neo-Assyrian		sisû	Sargon II	lišši u	muhhīya		obl
našû	ina	pānu	671				Esarhaddon	anašši	pānīšunu		obl
našû	ištu	pānu	652-VII-3	Neo-Assyrian			Ashurbanipal	inaššia	pān		obl
našû	ištu	pānu	672-669	Neo-Assyrian	ilumma-le'i	manû	Esarhaddon	ittiši	pān		obl
našû	ana	pû		Neo-Babylonian		šarrūtu	Tiglath-pileser III	iši	pīya		obl
našû	ina	pūtu	731-730	Neo-Assyrian	nippur	unqu	Tiglath-pileser III	naṣūni	pūt		obl
našû	ina	qātu	680-631				Esarhaddon or A	lišši	qātēšunu		obl
natāku	ina	libbu	672-669				Esarhaddon	lunattiku	libbi		obl
nazāru	ina	pānu	672-669	Neo-Assyrian			Esarhaddon	ussanziranni	pānīšu		obl
pahāru	ina	libbu	671-670	Neo-Babylonian			Esarhaddon	uptahharū	libbi		obl
pahāru	ana	muhhu	681-669	Neo-Babylonian			Esarhaddon	liphurū	muhhīka		obl
pahāru	ana	muhhu	710-709	Neo-Babylonian			Sargon II	liphurūma	muhhīšu		obl
pahāru	ana	muhhu	710-709	Neo-Babylonian			Sargon II	liphurū	muhhīšu		obl
pahāru	ana	muhhu	710	Neo-Babylonian			Sargon II	iptahrū	muhhišunu		obl
palāhu	ina	ahu	670				Esarhaddon	laplah	ahīya		obl
palāhu	ina	libbu	672	Neo-Assyrian			Esarhaddon	laplah	libbi		obl

Fig. 3. Section of CSV file with metadata associated with each BPC example found in our data set.

er's location (provided such things were known). These augmented search results were assembled into a big table (saved in a typical CSV file) illustrated in Fig. 3.[8]

In addition to this, the primary author made a manual survey of the search results, noting for each possible BPC a number of features difficult to classify automatically.[9] Because our investigation targeted verb phrases with a specific class of prepositional modifiers (namely those involving body parts), it seemed possible to us that what we call the 'verbal component' of the BPCs (i.e., the verb itself plus any direct object) might behave differently than the 'prepositional component' (the prepositional modifier including any external argument). Thus, some of these manually-recorded features are specific to the verbal or prepositional component. They include:

1. Whether the putative BPC was actually a BPC.
2. Whether the verbal and prepositional components of the BPC expressed a metaphor, a metonym, or both.
3. Whether the prepositional component of the BPC expressed an external argument of the verbal component, or was simply an adverbial modifier.
4. The degree of metaphorical extension of the verbal and prepositional components of the BPC in its context. This evaluation followed a four-tiered scale of **Literal**, **Basic**, **Basic+**, and **Literary**. **Literal** means the component had essentially no metaphorical meaning whatsoever. **Basic** means the component had, in the judgement of the primary author, a metaphor which is highly conventional both in Akkadian and its most direct, literal translation to English. **Basic+** means the metaphor is highly conventional in Akkadian but not in English. **Literary** means the metaphor was somewhat unusual, elaborate, or creative in Akkadian relative to its communicative context. Examples of these evaluations are given in Table 2.
5. The 'rhetorical mode' and 'communicative intensity' of the BPC. The first feature aimed to classify the communicative purpose of the BPC in context. This could include a factual statement, wish, information seeking question, rhetorical question, or order. Communicative intensity measured the degree of emotional expression that the speaker seemed to put into the BPC. This was measured according to a three-tier scale, where the lowest level reflected formulaic or neutral use of the BPC, and the highest level signaled significant emotional investment. Examples of these evaluations are given in Table 3.

[8] This table and its data is described in Ong, Gordin (2024a), and is freely available with Zenodo DOI: https://zenodo.org/doi/10.5281/zenodo.8289986.

[9] For the most common BPC types whose exemplars numbered in the dozen or more, certain features were not exhaustively checked.

Table 2. Verbal and prepositional components of BPCs exemplifying the four levels of metaphorical extension.

Verbal component		
Level	Example	Source
Literal	*ša ina* IGI LUGAL EN-[*ia*] ⌜***aq***¬***-bu-u-ni***	SAA 16 134, o. 6-7
	about whom I **spoke** in the presence of the king	
Basic	^{m}GIN—NUMU ANŠE.KUR.RA-MEŠ *ša*$_2$ KA$_2$—BAR$_2$.SIPA.KI *a-na* UGU TIN.TIR.KI *ki-i* ⌜***u***$_2$¬***-še-***⌜***lu***¬***-u***$_2$	SAA 19 133, o. 12'-13'
	Mukin-zeri **moved up** horses of the Borsippa gate against Babylon	
Basic+	KASKAL.2 *a-na* GIR$_3$.2-*šu*$_2$ ⌜*ki*¬ ***aš***$_2$***-ku-nu***	SAA 18 150, o. 13-14
	When I **set** the path at his feet (i.e., prepared him for his journey)	
Literary	*ša* TA *ku-tal-*[*li-šu*$_2$] ⌜***ma***¬***-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu-***⌜***ni***¬	SAA 10 294, r. 11-12
	He who has been **struck** in the back...	
Prepositional component		
Level	Example	Source
Literal	GIŠ.*ṣal-lu-ma-a-ni* NA$_4$*ki-ša*$_2$-⌜*du*¬ SAG.DU—*pa-zu-za-a-ni* ***ina*** **SAG-*šu*$_2$** *i-ba-aš*$_2$*-ši u*$_2$*-šar-qu-up*	SAA 16 065, r. 3'-4'
	They are even 'planting' black amulets, a neck-stone, and Pazuzu heads **on his head**	
Basic	*ša* ***ina*** **IGI LUGAL EN-[*ia*]** ⌜*aq*¬*-bu-u-ni*	SAA 16 134, o. 6-7
	about whom I spoke **in front of** the king	
Basic+	KASKAL.2 ***a-na*** **GIR$_3$.2-*šu*$_2$** ⌜**ki**¬***aš***$_2$***-ku-nu***	SAA 18 150, o. 13-14
	When I set the path **at his feet**	
Literary	**TA ŠA$_3$** ***ki-qil-li-ti*** *in-ta-at-ḫa-an-ni*	SAA 10 294, o. 1
	He lifted me **from the dung heap**	

5. RESULTS

General distribution

Approximately 2400 BPCs were found in the letter corpus using our semi-automated search and retrieve method. Table 4 shows the twenty most frequent verbs appearing in the results, expressed as a percentage of all BPCs. Table 5 shows the top sixteen of the compound prepositions, also by percentage.[10]

These tables reveal a few facts about the distribution of BPCs within the Neo-Assyrian letter corpus. Table 4 shows that BPCs predominantly occur with verbs involving directed motion (whether self-caused or acting upon an object). About 25% of BPCs involve the common verbs *alāku* and *šapāru* (15% and 11%, respectively), and all together verbs of direct motion account for about 44% of BPCs in the corpus. These facts are unlikely to be simple reflections of the more general distribution of said verbs in the letter corpus, since for instance *alāku* and *šapāru* each represent about 9% of all occurrences of verbs in the corpus. On the other hand, the compound prepositions demonstrate a strongly asymmetric distribution relative to their basic preposition component. For instance, *ina muhhi* is the most common compound preposition, occurring in 29% of BPCs even as *ana muhhi* occurs in 4.1% of them and *ištu muhhi* 1.1%. The theoretical possibility of *itti muhhi* does not even occur. Similar asymmetry is seen with *ina/ana/ištu/itti pāni*, which occur in 19%, 6.3%, 3.9%, and 0% of BPCs respectively. *ina/ana/ištu/itti libbi* occur 17.2%, 3.9%, 1%, and 0% of the time, respectively. Finally, *ina/ana/ištu/itti qāti* occur 5.3%, 0.3%, 0%, and 0% of the time.

[10] The tabulations account for dialectal variation in forms (e.g., Neo-Assyrian *ultu* or *issu* for *ištu*, *tadānu* for *nadānu*).

Table 3. Table of rhetorical types used to classify BPCs in the Neo-Assyrian letter corpus. The three levels of affective intensity for each category are not shown.

Rethorical type	Example	Source
Statement	*ša ina* IGI LUGAL EN-[*ia*] ⌜*aq*⌝-*bu-u-ni* about whom I spoke in the presence of the king	SAA 16 134, o. 6-7
Order	*ina* UGU ⌜LU$_2$.⌝*gi-mir-ra-a.a am-mu-te qi$_2$-ba-aš$_2$- šu$_2$* Speak to him about the Cimmerians	SAA 16 015, o. 7-8
Question	NUMUN-*u$_2$-ti-ia$_2$* LUGAL *liš-ʾa-al ana* UGU *mi-ni-i i-bu-kaš-šu$_2$-nu-ti* Let the king ask Zerutiya why he brought them in	SAA 18 054, r. 9-10
Wish	[*la*]-*as-ḫu-ra* [*ina*] ⌜UGU⌝*dul-li-ia* [*la*]-⌜*al*⌝*-li- ka* Let me come back to my work	SAA 16 037, o. 7'-9'
Rethorical Question	*kit-tu-u$_2$* [x] ⌜*ṣi*?⌝*ša$_2$ ma-la* LU$_2$.MU *ša$_2$* LUGAL *be-li$_2$-ia$_2$* ⌜*ma-ṣu*⌝*-u$_2$ a-na* UGU LUGAL-*u$_2$-tu i-dab-bu-ub-*⌜*ma*⌝ Is it really true that one as important as the cook of the king, my lord, is conspiring against the kingship?	SAA 19 147, o. 14-16

The asymmetries involving *itti* likely stem from two facts. First, when it occurs just as a basic preposition, *itti* does not have an instrumental meaning (using something as a tool) but only a comitative one (engaging in an activity alongside something else). The instrumental meaning is covered by *ina*. Second, most of the body part terms appearing in BPCs do not lend themselves to comitative expressions in Akkadian (whether literal or metaphorical). This is perhaps because they are not traditionally seen as seats of thought or general sentience, a typical requirement for an animate entity participating in an activity alongside an animate subject.[11] Indeed, the only BPCs involving *itti* in our survey were a handful of examples of the form *dabābu itti libbi* 'to speak with one's heart', i.e., to think to oneself.

Other asymmetries among the compound prepositions can be explained at least superficially in terms of discourse patterns. For instance, *ana qāti* appears much less frequently than *ina qāti* simply because the types of situations requiring the use of *ana qāti* are discussed less frequently in the letters. This includes placing something in the custody of someone else (*šakānu* X *ana qāt* Y), abandoning someone to the enemy (*wuššuru* X *ana qāt* Y), and the stock phrase from the royal inscriptions of the gods placing universal dominion in the hands of the king (*mullû* X *ana qāt* Y). Conversely, *ina qāti* is frequently used to describe the sending of a person or object to their destination via an agent (*šapāru/šūbulu* X *ina qāt* Y) as well as a servant describing or wishing to avoid being alienated from the king (*elû/šûlû* X *ina qāt šarri*). There is a comparative rarity of compound prepositions expressing where something comes from (*ištu libbi*, *ištu muhhi*) compared to where something is going to (*ina/ana libbi*, *ina/ana muhhi*) likely because most cases in the letters where there is a transfer of things, the sender is sending something from his present location to the letter's recipient (for whom there is no need to specify the source).

The conclusion we draw from these general facts is that most BPCs in the letter corpus at a literal level seem to involve directed motion, or less frequently location. Most of the verbs they use involve basic forms of motion (*alāku, šapāru*) or static position (*izzuzu, ašābu*), along with whatever metaphorical meanings are derived from those. Most BPCs tend to involve one of only three body part terms (*muhhu, libbu, pānu*), each of which refer to fairly broad, frequently accessed portions of space with respect to an object (top, interior, front). Finally, most BPCs use either *ina* or *ana*, basic prepositions expressing static position in something, motion to or from, and (per-

[11] While *pû* 'mouth' is the instrument through which speech is created, it is not a bearer of intelligence. Similarly, while *uznu* 'ear' is a traditional metonym for knowledge or wisdom in Akkadian, it itself is not the bearer of the ego or its thoughts. Cf. Steinert (2012: 219 fn. 1).

Table 4. Twenty most frequent verbs appearing in BPCs measured by percentage (out of 2400).

Verb		Verb	
alāku	15.9	*paqādu*	1.4
šapāru	10.6	*elû*	1.5
wabālu	5.5	*aṣû*	1.4
šakānu	5.0	*ṣabātu*	1.2
erēbu	4.2	*qerēbu*	1.1
epēšu	3.2	*etēqu*	1.1
qabû	3.0	*tadānu*	1.0
izuzzu	2.5	*ašābu*	1.0
dabābu	2.3	*maqātu*	1.0
našû	2.1	*sahāru*	1.0

Table 5. Sixteen most frequent compound prepositions appearing in BPC's measured by percentage (out of 2400).

PP			PP		
ina	*muhhi*	29.0	*ina*	*pî*	1.3
ina	*pāni*	19.0	*ištu*	*muhhi*	1.1
ina	*libbi*	17.2	*ina*	*pānāti*	1.1
ana	*pāni*	6.3	*ana*	*libbi*	1.0
ina	*qāti*	5.3	*ana*	*ahi*	0.7
ana	*muhhi*	4.1	*ina*	*šēpi*	0.6
ištu	*libbi*	3.9	*ana*	*šēpi*	0.5
ištu	*pāni*	3.9	*ana*	*qāti*	0.3

haps by polysemy) instrumentality. The prominence of *ina* and *ana* in BPCs motivates a closer look at these two prepositions.

ina *versus* ana *in BPCs*

A manual evaluation of the survey data yields an interesting fact about the overall use of *ina* versus *ana* in BPCs, something which is relevant to the statement in the Assyriological literature that the AŠ sign in Neo-Assyrian is sometimes to be read ana_3 when expressing a preposition.[12] Within the letter corpus, it appears that the Sargonid era Neo-Assyrian texts use AŠ to express BPCs describing directed motion (or metaphorical extensions thereof), whereas the Neo-Babylonian ones use *ana* (whether spelled via the logogram DIŠ or written syllabically). By 'Neo-Assyrian texts' or 'Neo-Babylonian texts', we mean texts either written in the Neo-Assyrian (resp. Neo-Babylonian) script or reflecting Neo-Assyrian (resp. Neo-Babylonian) Akkadian. Overall, in the letter corpus the presence of one of these features in a text implies the other. However, there are some exceptions in scholarly letters to the king (Worthington 2006).

Table 6 shows several examples of this phenomenon. Note that because the Neo-Assyrian texts spell the basic prepositional component of the BPC using the logogram AŠ rather than spelling it syllabically (as the Neo-Babylonian ones do), we cannot be sure the orthographic difference reflects a linguistic, i.e., spoken, distinction. Thus, when speaking of a 'dialectal split' with respect to the use of *ina/ana* (or AŠ/DIŠ), we mean either in terms of the script or the underlying form of Akkadian.

Table 6 lists various directed motion BPCs in the letter corpus demonstrating the dialectal split. BPCs in the left column provide strong evidence for the claim in the sense that there are many attestations in the data both for the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian forms. BPCs in the right column are suggestive, but not conclusive, in that they either have all or almost all their examples expressed in only one of the two dialects, there are a few counter-examples, or there are only a few examples in total. Table 6 indicates that the split mainly occurs with some basic verbs of directed motion involving *ina/ana muhhi*, *ina/ana libbi*, and *ina/ana pāni*. Directed motion BPCs using other compound prepositions, such as *ina/ana šēpe* or *ina/ana panāti*, or ones using less common verbs, are consistent with the dialectal split though the data does not permit definitive conclusions.

[12] See AHw, 47a and Syllabar, p. 1. Note however the contrary opinion in MZL, p. 469.

Table 6. Examples of BPCs involving directed motion that illustrate the dialectal split.

BPC	Meaning	Example	Source	Dialect
alāku ina muhhi	to go to	*it-tal-ku-nu ina* UGU-*ḫi-ia* They have come to me	SAA 16 49, r. 4	NA
alāku ana muhhi	to go to	*min*$_4$*-de-e-ma* KUR.NIM.MA.KI *a-na* UGU-*ḫi-ni il-la-ku-ni* Perhaps the Elamites will move against us	SAA 18 87, r. 15-16	NB
arādu ina libbi	to go down into	*a-nu-tu*$_2$ *ša* ^{m}*um-ba-ki-di-ni ša* $^{m\Gamma}$*ri*$^{\neg}$*-ši*—DINGIRLU$_2$.03.U$_5$ *ina* ŠA$_3$ ^{GIŠ}MA$_2$ *u*$_2$*-še-ri-du- u-ni...* The objects of Umban-kidinni, which Riši-ilu the 'third man' brought down on a boat...	SAA 16 139, o. 6-9	NA
arādu ana libbi	to go down into	*en-na mi-nam-ma ša*$_2$ *la pi-ia a-na* ŠA$_3$*-bi tu-ri-id* Now why did you go down into it without my permission?	SAA 21 45, o. 11-13	NB
qerēbu ina muhhi	to be close to	UD 02-KAM$_2$ LU$_2$.EN.NAM *ša* $^{KUR\Gamma}$*ḫa*$^{\neg}$*-ban ina* $^{\Gamma}$UGU$^{\neg}$ID$_2$ *iq-ṭar-*$^{\Gamma}$*ba*$^{\neg\Gamma}$*uq*$^{\neg}$*-tar-ri-bu* On the second day, the governor of Hamban approached the river	SAA 19 103, o. 5-7	NA
qerēbu ana muhhi	to be close to	^{m}*na-*[x x] [x] x *a-na* UGU-*ḫi-šu*$_2$ -[*nu*] $^{\Gamma}$*uq*$^{\neg}$*-tar-ri-bu* They presented Mr. Na- to them	SAA 18 092, o. 17-19	NB

We qualified the above claim about a dialectal split by saying that it holds for BPCs that: (1) are dated to the Sargonids,[13] and (2) signal directed motion, or metaphorical extensions thereof. Each of these qualifications will be discussed in turn.

First, the dialectal split is not as strictly observed for older Neo-Assyrian letters from the royal archives, specifically those written under Tiglath-pileser III (r. 744-727 BC) and Sargon II (r. 721-705 BC). Most of the exceptions in the survey data date exactly to these rulers. At the same time, even within these rulers the number of exceptions is still quite small. While the low number of exceptions for Tiglath-pileser could be argued to be an artifact of the overall low percentage of letters in the corpus dating to his reign (about 6% of the total), the letters dating to Sargon II account for about 45% of the total, yet still show a fairly low exception rate.[14]

Secondly, the dialectal split seems to apply only to BPCs meaning directed motion or metaphorical extensions thereof. An example involving metaphorical extension is *šûlû ina qāti* 'to make someone fall from favor (of the king, lord)', which is an extension of the literal meaning 'to lift something up from the hand of someone' via the metaphor INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL PROXIMITY. The literal meaning of the BPC involves directed motion, and so the metaphorical extension obeys the split. Likewise, *maqātu ina pāni* 'to defect to the side of' is derived by metaphorical extension of an expression that involves literal motion, although the nature of the mapping is not quite clear.[15] Note that BPCs using *ina muhhi* in the locative sense do not observe the split.[16]

All this suggests that the dialectal split is conditioned on the overall meaning of the BPC and not just its prepositional component apart from the verb. Even when there are two BPCs composed of the same lexical items, with one BPC expressing directed motion and the other not, only the BPC expressing directed motion will demonstrate the dialectal split. For instance, while *alāku ina pāni* usually means 'to go into the presence of (a king or lord)' and

[13] A small number of BPCs were found in letters dating to Sîn-šarru-iškun (r. after 627 to 612 BC).

[14] Recognizing that the letter archives for Sennacherib have largely not been recovered (see Frahm 2017: 186), so we cannot say anything definite about their exception rate.

[15] Perhaps 'to fall before someone' in the sense of showing one's military loyalty to them, which by both metonymy and metaphor is extended to general defection to an opposing side.

[16] For example, SAA 18 28, r. 5-6: *i-na* UGU BARAG [x x x] *lu-ši-bu* 'may they sit on the dais',
as well as the metaphorical example in SAA 18 86, r. 2: *i-na* UGU-*hi-i-ni ul i-rab-bu* 'he will not be our superior'. Both are Neo-Babylonian letters dated to Esarhaddon.

Table 7. Directed motion BPCs exhibiting dialectal split. Discussion of specific cases given in the footnotes.

Likely		Possible	
alāku ina muhhi	to go to	*abāku ina muhhi*	to take to
alāku ina libbi	to go into	*alāku ina pāni*	to go before
arādu ina libbi	to go down into	*erēbu ina muhhi*	to enter
elû ina libbi	to go up into	*ebēru ana muhhi*	to cross over into
erēbu ina libbi	to enter into	*elû ana muhhi*	to go up to
etēqu ina muhhi	to cross over to	*alāku ina panāti*	to go before
qerēbu ina muhhi	to come near to	*halāqu ina muhhi*	to flee to
qerēbu ina pāni	to arrive into the presence of	*halāqu ana pāni*	to flee into the presence of
šapāru ina pāni	to send someone before (king, lord)	*maqātu ina pāni*	to defect to the side of
		pahāru ana muhhi	to gather to/against
		emēdu ina muhhi	to lean/press on
		kašādu ina libbi	to arrive in
		kašādu ina pāni	to arrive before
		ṣabātu ina šēpē	to grasp at the feet of (the king, lord)
		šapāru ina muhhi	to send/write to
		tebû ana muhhi	to rise up and attack
		surkubu ina libbi	to load onto (boat, mule)
		pahāru ina pāni	to gather before
		rummû ina muhhi	to release into
		târu ina muhhi	to return to
		wabālu ina muhhi	to bring to
		wabālu ina pāni	to bring before
		etēqu ana pāni	to cross over before
		zaqāpu ina muhhi	to attack

does show the split, the phrase can also mean 'to lead' (lit. walk before). In this latter case, the dialectal split is not respected.[17]

It even appears that BPCs related by deeper forms of metaphorical extension of directed motion follow the dialectal split. For instance, one of the common meanings of the phrase *dabābu ana muhhi* is 'to speak against (someone)'. This is an expression based on the metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, wherein verbally harming someone is analogized to throwing objects at them. Since this last idea is an instance of directed motion, we expect *dabābu ina/ana muhhi* with the meaning 'to speak against (someone)' to show dialectal variation in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian letters, and this is largely what we find.[18] Similarly, when *dabābu ina/ana muhhi* takes a verb V in the infinitive as the object of the prepositional phrase, the expression has the meaning 'to plot to do V'. This meaning is obtained by the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, whereby the effort to realize an action is analogized to traveling along a path with beginning and end. Because traveling along a finite path is directed motion, we expect *dabābu ina/ana muhhi* in the sense of 'to plot to do V' to follow the dialectal split. This, too, is supported by the data. However, the common phrase *dabābu ina muhhi* (lit. 'to speak in the skull of') also has the meaning 'to speak about (a topic)'. The colloquial meaning is ultimately based on the metaphor

[17] For instance, SAA 18 86 is a letter written in Neo-Babylonian and features the phrase *i-na pa-ni-ku-nu lil-lik* 'let him lead you' (o. 14).

[18] Of the five letters in the Neo-Babylonian dialect which feature *dabābu ina/ana muhhi* in the meaning 'to speak against', two use *dabābu ina muhhi* (SAA 21 3, o. 7-11 and SAA 18 125, o. 8'-9'). However, the example from SAA 18, 125 appears inside a passage quoting words by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, and might be discounted as an exact quote of Assyrian. The other example (SAA 21 3) is from Assurbanipal to the Babylonians and is written in the Neo-Assyrian script but Neo-Babylonian dialect. It is possible the king is reverting to his own dialect. There are no examples of *dabābu ana muhhi* meaning 'to speak against' in letters written in Neo-Assyrian dialect.

STATES ARE LOCATIONS, whereby the state of explaining a topic is envisioned as being (statically) located within a bounded space. The source domain does not involve directed motion, and indeed, this BPC does not show dialectal variation in the letters.[19]

In addition, it is interesting that there are a few BPCs following the dialectal split whose verbal components are not clearly based on directed motion. They include *rahāṣu ina muhhi* 'to trust in' and *ša'ālu ina muhhi* 'to ask about'. While the semantic contribution of the prepositional phrase in both BPCs seems to involve metaphorical extension of location or motion into a location, neither of the verbs *rahāṣu* or *ša'ālu* has an established etymology in basic physical experiences such as those correlating physical power with height or happiness with bright environments. This does not mean that the verbs do not have a basic connection with directed motion, only that we cannot prove it is so.

Finally, note that there is slight evidence that the dialectal split is not just orthographic but actually linguistic. There are examples of the syllabic spelling of *ina* within directed motion BPCs in certain older Neo-Assyrian letters. For instance SAA 5 84, r. 1: *i-na* UGU *ta-hu-˹me˺-ša* KUR.*man-a.a i-tal-ku* '(they) have gone to the border of Mannea' (a Sargon II letter), and likely SAA 19 126, o. 3'-4': *an-nu-rig i-na* UGU LUGAL [u_2]- *se -bi-la-šu*$_2$ 'now I have sent him to the king' (a Tiglath-pileser III letter). It would be more natural that this linguistic feature of a slightly earlier stage of Neo-Assyrian (namely speaking *ina muhhi* in directed motion BPCs) continue to exist in the Sargonid period but now be written in the letters with the logogram AŠ, rather than having a change in pronunciation to *ana muhhi* while also insisting on using a logogram that predominantly expresses *ina*. At the same time, however, these examples date to the earlier part of the letter corpus (Sargon II (r. 721-705 BC) and Tiglath-pileser III (r. 744-727 BC)) – the period in which most of the exceptions to the dialectal split occur.

The above discussion has relevance to our general observation that BPCs tend to be narrowly based around expressions for directed motion or static position (or metaphorical extensions thereof), and rely on a small set of basic prepositions and body part terms to fill out their meaning (namely *ina/ana* and *muhhu/libbu/pānu*). The shift in the letter corpus from various older expressions using basic prepositions to ones using compound prepositions seems to have led to different effects depending on which body part term was used. In the letters, the terms *libbu* and *pānu* semantically compose with *ina/ana* in fairly transparent ways. *libbu* by itself refers to the interior of objects and *ina/ana libbi*, when combined with verbs of directed motion or position, still typically refer to movement or states to or within the object.[20] Similarly, *pānu* refers to the front part of an object or area directly before it, and *ina/ana pānu* combine with verbs of directed motion or position to reflect actions or states centered on the front area of an object (e.g., *ana pān šarri illak* 'he will go before the king'). On the other hand, the semantic composition of *muhhu* with *ina/ana* is not transparent. While *muhhu* could be argued to behave similarly to *libbu/pānu* with respect to situations involving placing an object on something or moving/being on it (e.g., *ina muhhīšu ašakkan* 'I will place it on him'), *ina/ana muhhi* is the main way in the letters to express simple translational motion to a destination or into a bounded space (e.g., *ina muhhi āli allak* 'I will go to the city', *ana muhhi bīti errub* 'I will enter the house'). The basic meaning of *muhhu* seems to play no role in such cases.

It is, therefore, possible that within the letter corpus, *muhhu* came to stand as the nominal component in the compound prepositions signaling simple translational motion. This did not happen because the original basic prepositions *ina/ana* needed it on semantic grounds, but because the general shift to compound prepositions required some basic body part term to be there on syntactic grounds. Note how in 1st millennium Akkadian one can interpret *muhhu* as a dummy element which is used to combine pronominal suffixes with *ina* and *ana* (Cf. CAD M/II, s.v. *muhhu* c.). Thus *ina/ana muhhi* effectively still functions like *ina/ana*. However, the use of the other compound prepositions would have induced a further semantic shift in that *ina/ana libbi* would come to express the notion of translational motion into or location within a bounded region (which was originally *ina*'s role). Thus, *ina/ana muhhi* was left to express only translational motion to a simple point-like destination (*ana*'s role). Within the let-

[19] This fact may or may not be related to the fact that the phrase *dabābu ana muhhi* does not have the meaning 'to speak about (a topic)' in either letters written in the Neo-Assyrian or the Neo-Babylonian dialect.

[20] Cases in the letters where *ina libbi* can signal motion out of an object (or have a quasi-instrumental sense) seem to be relatively rare.

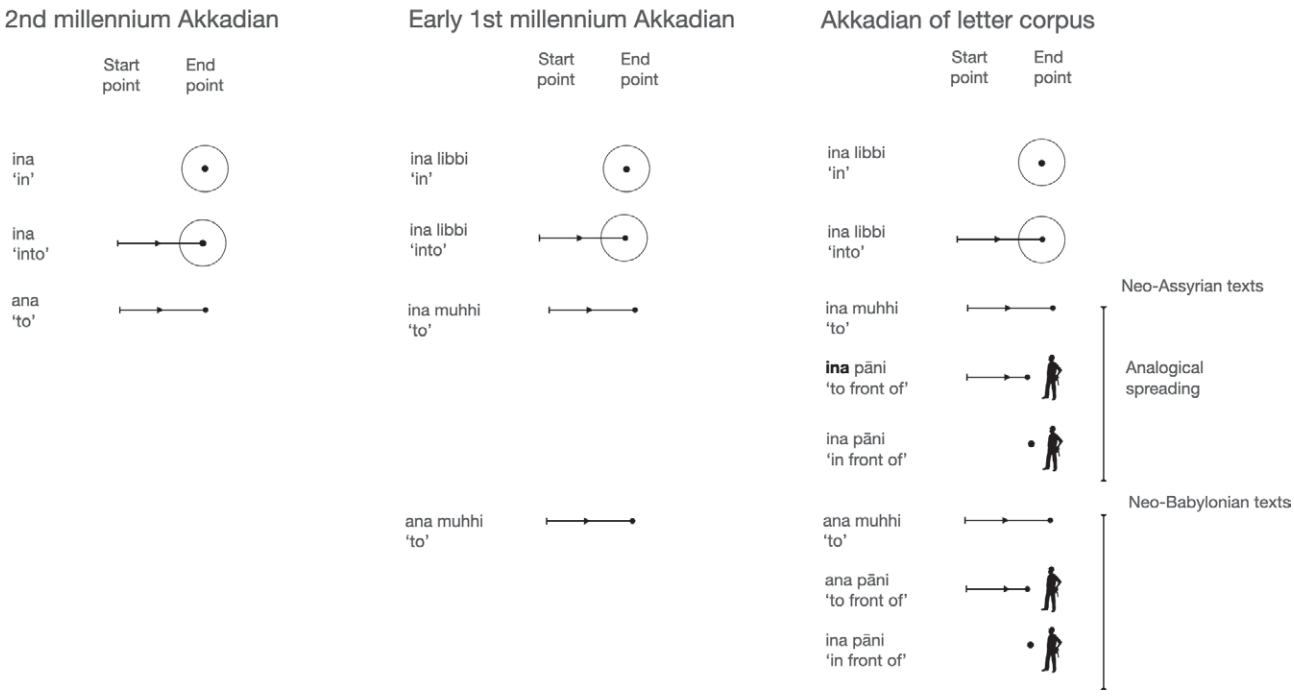

Fig. 4. Proposed path of development of the *ina/ana* dialectal split (not all possible compound prepositions are shown).

ters written in Neo-Assyrian, *ina muhhi* became the preferred way to express this notion while in the letters written in Neo-Babylonian it was *ana muhhi*. Finally, analogical spreading led to other directed motion BPCs in Neo-Assyrian using *ina muhhi*. This hypothetical process is modelled in Fig. 4.

Whether one finds this argument convincing depends, among other things, on accepting that what we have called the dialectal split is a linguistic fact and not simply an orthographic convention. As discussed above, there is slight but not overwhelming evidence for this claim. Moreover, the conclusions from the survey data would be stronger if it included other first millennium texts (both Assyrian and Babylonian) from outside the Neo-Assyrian royal archives, as well as texts from slightly earlier stages of the Neo-Assyrian dialect. As it is, our claim remains somewhat speculative.

Degree of metaphor extension

The manual survey of metaphor properties among BPCs that was conducted in Step 3 of Section 4 also reveals uneven distributions in terms of how much metaphorical extension BPCs exhibit, whether in their verbal component or their prepositional component.[21] These distributions are shown in Figs 5 and 6. One notices immediately how rare literary BPCs are. Of the approximately 1370 BPCs annotated for degree of metaphorical extension, only 12 were judged to be highly metaphorical in either component. Examples of these are given in Table 8.[22] The classification of these examples as 'literary' rests partly on the rarity of their occurrence in the letter corpus as well as their usage context (for example, SAA 10, 294 r. 11-12 is invoked as a saying or maxim).

Fig. 5 shows that about two thirds of BPCs have a literal meaning in their verbal component. This reflects our general observation that in the letter corpus, BPCs tend to deal with directed motion or static location. Such meaning is easily captured by the literal meaning of common verbs like *alāku* and *wabālu* (cf. Table 4). At the

[21] According to manual inspection, rhetorical context did not seem to play a strong role in degree of metaphorical extension.

[22] A fair number of these come from SAA 10 294, a poetic entreaty written by the forlorn scholar Urad-Gula to Esarhaddon.

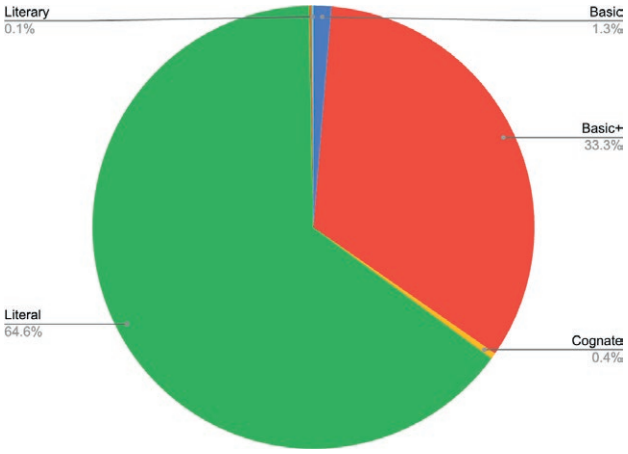

Fig. 5. Distribution of BPCs in survey data according to degree of metaphorical extension in their verbal component. Cognate = verb has cognate accusative object.

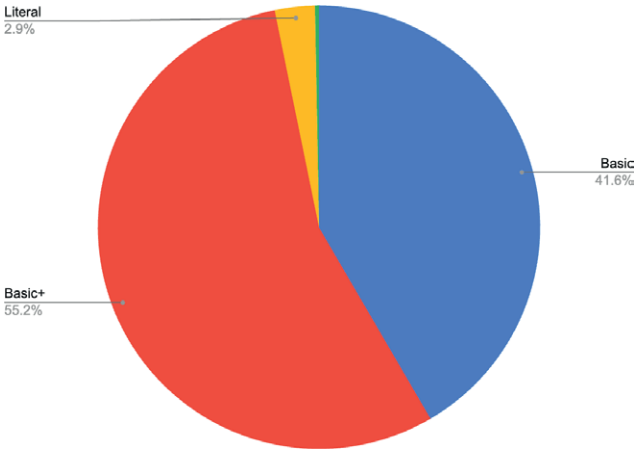

Fig. 6. Distribution of BPCs in survey data according to degree of metaphorical extension in their prepositional component.

same time, about a third of BPCs use a verb in a somewhat extended metaphorical sense (Basic+). A good example of this is *šūlû* X *ina qāt Y* 'to lift X from the hand of Y' = 'to alienate X from Y'. Here the verb realizes the metaphor intimacy is physical proximity. While most of the Basic+ verbs involve some degree of motion, there are a certain number based on distinct source domains. These include OWNERSHIP IS POSSESSION, DEGREE OF EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS PHYSICAL STABILITY, and PERSISTENCE OF ILLNESS IS PHYSICAL RESTRAINT. For BPCs realizing these metaphors, the prepositional components express a locative sense only.

On the other hand, Fig. 6 indicates that a slight majority (55%) of BPCs have prepositional components with a fairly extended metaphorical sense. This can often happen when the overall meaning of a BPC is a metaphorical extension of directed motion and the prepositional phrase shares in that sense (e.g., *šūlû* X *ina qāt Y*). However, it also arises when the prepositional component expresses a highly abstract oblique argument or adjunct expression. One typical example is *ina muhhi X* in the meaning 'concerning/about X'. This prepositional phrase can combine with a wide variety of verbs, particularly ones of communication (e.g., *šapāru, qabû, dabābu*). Overall, the high proportion of Basic+ prepositional phrases among BPCs reflects the generic contribution of the body part term to the BPCs overall meaning. It is often the case that BPCs involving *muhhu* 'skull/top of head' use that term only in a very generic capacity. A clear example is *alāku ina muhhi* X, 'to go to X', a BPC that involves only translational motion without a transparent sense of going to the top of something. BPCs involving other translational motion verbs like *erēbu, waṣû*, and *elû* similarly use *muhhu* only in a generic way. Abstract BPCs involving *libbu* 'heart' often find that the semantic contribution of the body part term is already covered by the basic preposition. Thus in *alāku ina libbi X* "to go into X', the basic preposition *ina* already conveys the notion of 'into'. Even the preposition *pānu* can find itself semantically bleached in certain BPCs (although these cases may also simply reflect our lack of understanding of the prepositional phrase). For instance, in *nasāhu* X *ištu pān* Y 'to tear out X from the face of Y' = 'to extract X (e.g., taxes) from Y', it is unclear what semantic contribution *pānu* makes to the overall meaning.

It should be said that while most of the BPCs from the survey data involved prepositional phrases expressing a core argument of the verb (the external argument), some had prepositional phrases functioning as an adjunct or were essentially an adverbial modifier, and express notions of manner, benefit, location, and temporality. We termed these examples 'accidental' BPCs. Thus, in SAA 21 109 r. 17-18: [^{d}EN] *u* ^{d}rAG¬[x x x] rKUR¬.NIM.MA.KI [*ina*] rUGU¬-*ka uḫ-tal-li-qu* '[Bel] and [Na]bu have destroyed Elam [on beh]alf of you', the prepositional phrase *ina muhhīka* is an optional modifier of the verb *uhtalliqu*. But in SAA 18 202 o. 13: LU$_2$.*kal-di ina* ŠU.2 KUR—*aš-šur*.KI *ni-kim* 'let us remove Chaldea from Assyria's control', the prepositional phrase *ina qātē Aššur*

Table 8. Highly metaphorical or literary BPCs.

Example	Source
TA ŠA$_3$ *ki-qil-li-ti in-ta-at-ḫa-an-ni* He lifted me up from the dung heap	SAA 10, 294 o. 15
ša TA *ku-tal-*[*li-šu$_2$*] ⌜*ma*⌝*-ḫi-iṣ-ṣu-* ⌜*ni* KA-*šu*⌝*lid-bu-ub* He who has been stabbed in the back has still got a mouth to speak	SAA 10, 294 r. 11-12
a-ke-e LUGAL *be-li ina* ŠA$_3$ IGI.2 *ša* ^{d}INNIN *i-ma-qut* How will the king, my lord, fall within the gaze of Ištar?	SAA 13, 149 r. 3-4
zi-i-qu da-[*an-nu ša$_2$* LUGAL] *a-na* UGU-*ḫi-ni* ⌜*li*⌝-[*zi-qam-ma*] May the st[rong] breeze [of the king waft] over us	SAA 21, 122 r. 3-4’
a-na-ku ina ŠA$_3$ *a-ḫi-ia* GIR$_3$.2-*ia* *a-na* DUMU—LUGAL EN-*ia la-ap- laḫ$_3$* May I revere the crown prince, my lord, with my arms and feet!	SAA 16, 34 r. 4-5

supplies a required argument to the verb to make sense of the scene. About one fourth of the BPCs in the survey data were accidental, with the remaining three fourths having prepositional phrases expressing core arguments.

In terms of their metaphorical content, a certain number of BPCs belong to more idiosyncratic categories. These include:

1. Those based on cognate objects, e.g. SAA 18 145 r. 3: *di-ik-ti* [*ina* ŠA$_3$]-⌜*bi*-šu$_2$*⌝*-nu* ⌜*ad**⌝*-duk** ‘I inflicted a defeat on them’ and SAA 17 158 o. 4: *ni-ka-si a-na* ŠA$_3$*-bi* URU *ki-i u$_2$-nak-ki-su* ‘they cut their way into the city’. Here, the direct object of the verb is not the patient but a verbal noun whose meaning is duplicated by the verb itself. The metaphorical elaboration of the BPC is thus based largely on the meaning of the verb.
2. Those where the metaphorical mapping assumes a perspective opposite to what one finds in English. The clearest example is *šakānu harrānī ina/ana šēpē* X ‘to prepare X for their journey’. The expression literally means ‘to set the path at the feet of X’, the opposite order to what one finds in English. Given that the Akkadian expression is somewhat parallel to the English ‘to set the path before someone’, the meaning of the former may emphasize the agent making the path more easily traversable for the traveler rather than seeing the traveler on their way. Another example is *mullû* Y *ana qāt* X ‘to place Y in the hand of X’. The expression appears only a few times in the letter corpus even as it is more common in royal inscriptions. Since *mullû* literally means to fill a container-like object, one would expect the above BPC to have *qātu* be the direct object of the verb and the thing placed in the hand as the object of the prepositional phrase.
3. Those whose verbal component cannot currently be etymologized in terms of basic physical scenes, such as *ša’ālu* ‘to ask’ or *rahāṣu* ‘to trust’. BPCs based on these verbs, such as *ša’ālu ina muhhi* ‘to ask about’ and *rahāṣu ana muhhi* ‘to trust in’ may be said to be metaphorical only in their prepositional component.
4. Those with uncertain analysis, such as SAA 21 4 r. 18-19: *u$_3$* URU *ša* ram-ni-*⌜*šu*⌝ [0] ⌜*ina*⌝[ŠU].⌜2⌝LU$_2$.KUR$_2$ *la u$_2$-maš* -⌜*šar*⌝ ‘But let the city by itself(?) not surrender(?) to the enemy’.

The bulk of the BPCs in the survey data are ‘near literal’ in the sense that they involve various common verbs used in a literal sense along with prepositional phrases, which largely reflect straightforward notions of location, direction, and instrument. One may say that these BPCs are the most literal kind of conventional metaphors. Examples include *alāku ina pāni* ‘to go before’, *sahāru ištu pāni* ‘to turn from’, *šapāru ina qāti* ‘to send/write via X’,

našû ina muhhi 'to bring to', and *epēšu ina pî* 'to do according to the order of'. Similarly, *erēbu ina libbi* 'to enter into' simply abstracts the body part *libbu* 'heart, core of the body' to a related spatial location.

On the one hand, the predominance of the near literal BPCs in the letter corpus is arguably related to the fact that correspondence in the royal archives frequently deals with the transfer or location of individuals and items. Messengers send letters to people, individuals come to and go from the palace, etc. BPCs are the standard way these ideas are expressed. The slightly more complex notions expressed by some of the conventional metaphors, such as buying and selling, attacking, subservience, and loyalty, are also frequent topics in the letters. Only in the dozen or so 'literary' BPCs does one find individuals or groups making requests to the king whose ornamentation does not completely reside in expansive salutations or other stock phrases (see Table 8). Note that the judgment of whether an Akkadian expression is highly metaphorical, or actually conventional, involves not just the complexity of the conceptual mapping underlying it, but also its perceived use.

CONCLUSION

This article surveyed 2400 metaphor constructions alluding to body parts in the Neo-Assyrian letter corpus (i.e., BPCs). The survey data indicates how most of the BPCs in this corpus tend to reflect notions of directed motion along with metaphorical extensions thereof. In addition, BPCs reflecting static location or metaphorical extensions thereof form a smaller group. One factor contributing to this result is likely a lexical one, i.e., the limited set of basic prepositions that can define a BPC (*ina/ana/itti/ištu*). While other basic prepositions in Neo-Assyrian such *adi* do combine with another element to form compound structures, the number of instances where this involves a basic body part as part of a compound preposition is quite small. Most BPCs involve either *ina* or *ana*, with a smaller number involving *ištu* and *itti* not occurring for semantic reasons. This automatically biases most BPCs to involve directed motion (or less likely static location) simply because this is built into the meaning of *ina*, *ana*, and *ištu*.

At the same time, in combining basic prepositions with body part terms such as *libbu*, *pānu*, and *muhhu*, it appears that certain semantic redundancies are created among the resulting combinations. We proposed that the robustly attested *ina/ana* 'dialectal split' for directed motion BPCs in Sargonid-era texts was a result of different regional choices in addressing this ambiguity. Though this is only one possible explanation for the data, our observations do inform the debate about the use of the AŠ sign to represent *ina/ana muhhi* in Neo-Assyrian texts.

On the other hand, we recognize that the content of the letter corpus also contributes to this strong asymmetry in distribution of BPCs. Beyond the reliance on various stock phrases in expressing greetings, wishes, suggestions, and the like which can involve BPCs, the correspondence in the royal archives overall generally deals with the transfer or location of individuals and items from one place to another. It is thus possible, that body part terms other than *libbu*, *pānu*, and *muhhu* are more frequently used in BPCs in other discourse contexts. However, given the fundamental contribution of the basic preposition to a BPCs meaning, we would still expect directed motion, or metaphorical extensions thereof, to be the most frequent meaning found in those contexts.

Nevertheless, while the functional nature of the letter corpus heavily biases it against conscious literary expression, non-trivial conceptual metaphors are still present in non-trivial numbers. The fact that about 11% of the BPCs in the corpus fit this category indicates that BPCs are a meaningful structure for metaphor generation.

Finally, the fact that our survey data was generated by semi-automated methods points to the utility of morphosyntactic language models in future Akkadian corpus research. The methods can be replicated by individual researchers interested in searching other corpora for complex grammatical structures.

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Anthropoid 'Philistine' sarcophagi: concluding remarks?

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Abstract. The care taken to preserve the bodily integrity of the deceased within an anthropoid sarcophagus is a particular funerary tradition, characteristic of ancient Egypt, but also documented by a number of findings in the Near Eastern area that testify to episodes of a phenomenon of emulation. In the area of Palestine and Transjordan, the discovery of so-called 'Philistine' anthropoid sarcophagi dated to a period between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age II (13th-8th centuries BC) has been documented; the presence of these terracotta specimens can be interpreted as the adoption of a foreign tradition by a group of individuals characterized by authority and economic availability and testifies to a receptive (i.e., passive) emulation relationship. This examination of the documentation has revealed historical patterns and dynamics that testify to the prolonged presence in an upper class (by authority and/or economic availability) of a strong cultural and ideological attraction (and openness) of the Levant to Egyptian culture, traceable over a long period of time.

Keywords: anthropoid terracotta sarcophagi, multiple burials within the coffin, open-hearth firing, Sea-Peoples, *Dorsal decubitus.*

The care for the preservation of the bodies of the dead led in some Near Eastern contexts to the creation of protective containers intended for burial, including so-called 'anthropoid' sarcophagi: this definition which is commonly used in studies took hold following its use by scholar Ernest Renan (1864: 412) on the basis of a term used in a passage from Herodotus' Histories (II, 86.7: ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ...; they, when the dead body is brought to them, show to the bearers wooden models of corpses, made exactly like by paintings...).[1]

[1] *The Histories of Herodotus*, transl. by Henry Cary, 1904, New York, D. Appleton and Company: 113-114.

'PHILISTINE' SARCOPHAGI

The unexpected discovery of anthropoid terracotta sarcophagi in the Palestinian region has led, following a rich debate in the scientific community, to a widely shared interpretation that tends to identify them as the result of an exogenous funerary custom, foreign to local customs, and therefore also to consider them as a sign of an influence of Egyptian culture on neighbouring regions.

The presence of these sarcophagi has been archaeologically documented in the Palestinian and Transjordan area, and their wide distribution can be reconstructed through fragmentary documentation (Fig. 1: for the area of present-day Israel from Beth She'an,[2] Tell Midrash,[3] Lachish,[4] Deir el-Balaḥ,[5] Tell el-Far'a[6] and Tel Shaddud (van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 106-111), and for the area of present-day Jordan from Tabakat Fahel/Pella,[7] Amman,[8] Sahab,[9] Dhiban[10] and through their dispersion in the collectors' market. [11]

These large ceramic artefacts present a particular cylindrical cocoon-like conformation of a cylindrical shape with differentiated ends (Fig. 2): they generally display a flat base on one side and a rounded opposite end with a cut-out portion, functional as a closing operculum, which is enriched with a modelled or applied (and in some cases painted) decoration.

In the initial phase of the discoveries, scholars often focused on the shape of the specimens, emphasising the variety of the decoration of the closing slabs. The 'lids' of the sarcophagi were in fact sometimes made with a simple modelling of the clay or with the application of elements (Oren 1973: 133-134) that draw a face or bust characterised in a naturalistic manner on the slab (Fig. 2: centre and right; Fig. 3) or depicted with morphologically unnatural features, conventionally defined as 'grotesque'[12] in cases where all available space on the lid is utilised, giving the image an almost caricatural appearance (Fig. 2: left).

On the basis of these considerations, the specimens have been divided into two groups (Oren 1973: 133-139): the first type (naturalistic) includes sarcophagi in which the design of the head and shoulders of a figure is clearly indicated in a manner reminiscent of the Egyptian sarcophagus tradition (Fig. 2: centre); the second type (grotesque) consists of specimens with a cylindrical shape in which the head and shoulders of the figure are not outlined on the container (Fig. 2: left).[13]

Some details of the relief decoration on the lid, e.g. the presence of a massive wig-like hairstyle around the face, of lotus blossoms and/or flowers (Fig. 3: left), or arms crossed over the chest (Fig. 2: centre and right; Fig. 3: right), lead back to a characteristic Egyptian iconography, albeit in a summary and schematic manner.

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[2] Rowe 1927: 38-41; Perrot 1946: 288-289; Oren 1973: 101-150; Dothan 1982: 268-276; Bunimovitz 1990: 216-217; Higginbotham 2000: 91, 123, 130; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 197-200; Mazar 2011: 171, 177; Panitz-Cohen 2013: 115-116.

[3] Tzori 1953: 4-5; Oren 1973: 140; Dothan 1979: 101; Dothan 1982: 252, pl. 15; Higginbotham 2000: 243; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 200.

[4] Hennequin 1939: 965-974; Tufnell 1958: 36, 131-132, 248-249; Dothan 1982: 276-279; Higginbotham 2000: 122; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 200.

[5] Dothan 1972; Dothan 1973; Dothan 1975; Dothan 1979; Dothan 1982: 252-260; Higginbotham 2000: 97, 131; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 200-203.

[6] Petrie 1930: 6-9; Dothan 1982: 260-268; Higginbotham 2000: 100; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 203-205.

[7] Yassine 1975: 62; Weippert 1988: 366, 373; Galal, Aston 2001/02: 174.

[8] Pritchard 1968: 108; Dothan 1973: 138; Oren 1973: 140; Yassine 1975: 57-68; Dothan 1982: footnote 2, 252; Mantovani 1992: 119.

[9] Albright 1932; Hennequin 1939: 965, 972; Dothan 1973: 138; Oren 1973: 140; Yassine 1975: 58-59; Dothan 1982: footnote 2, 252.

[10] Reed 1957/58: 57-67; Dothan 1973: 138; Oren 1973: 140; Yassine 1975: 59; Dothan 1982: footnote 2, 252.

[11] About the Moshe Dayan Collection exhibited in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem see Ornan 1986: 120-123; Arie 2016: 97.

[12] The unnatural character of some decorations is already defined as 'grotesque' in Fisher 1923: 234; the distinction between the naturalistic/grotesque character of the depiction is organically expressed in a classification in Oren 1973: 135-139.

[13] E. D. Oren's two types (Oren 1973: 133-139) correspond to T. Dothan's groups A and B (Dothan 1982: 254-255). Although this typological distinction is essentially shared by scholars, it is interesting to note that Lisa Kuchman/Sabbahy, analysing Egyptian production, has pointed out that there are also technical differences in the execution of faces between the two groups, Kuchman 1977/78: 15.

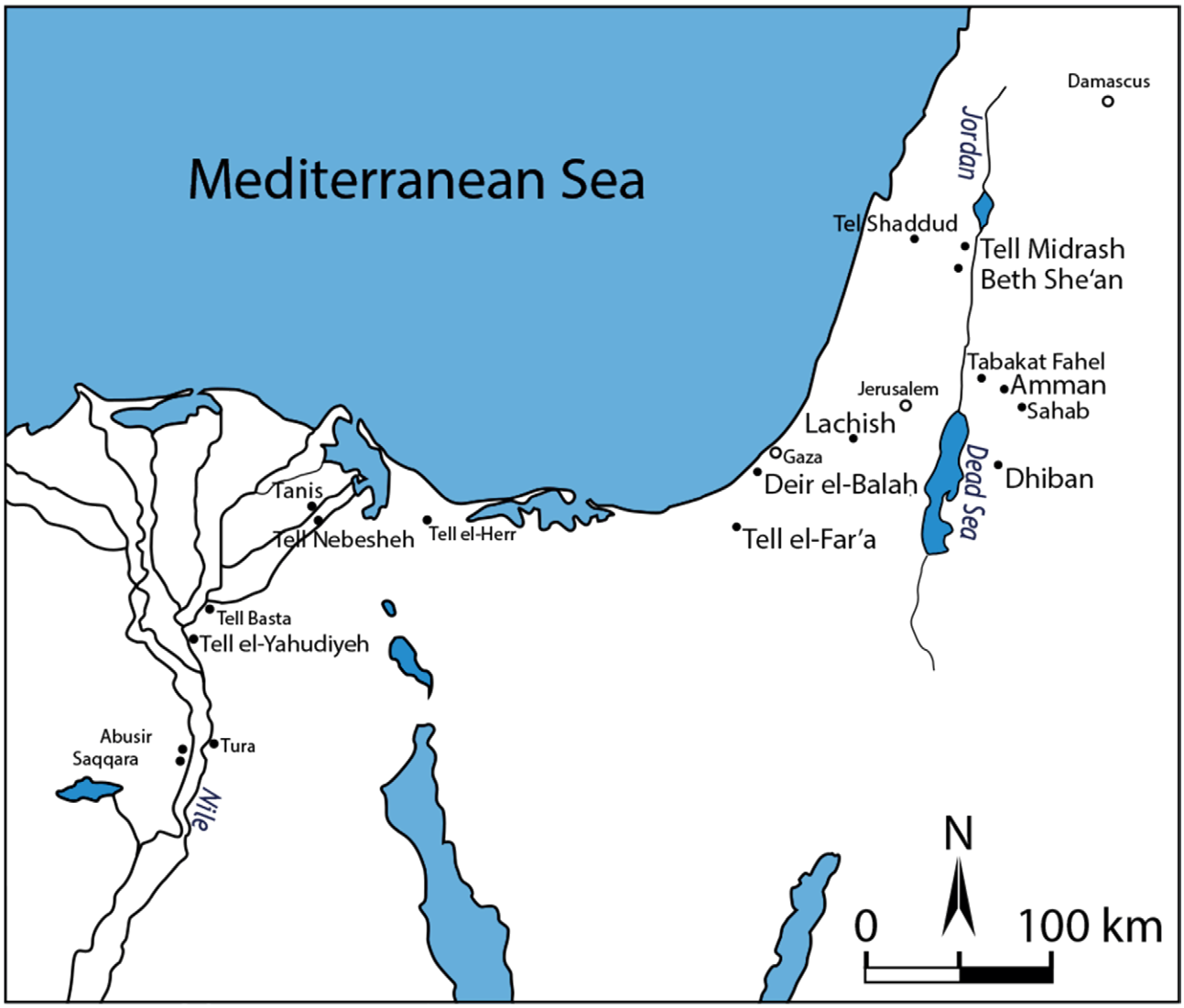

Fig. 1. Plan of the Egyptian Delta and southern Levant with mentioned sites.

Although the total number of preserved specimens is large,[14] only a very small percentage of them come from regular excavations: intact archaeological contexts are reduced to the cases of the burials found at Deir el-Balaḥ (Dothan 1979; Arie 2016: 97) and the one at Tel Shaddud (van den Brink *et al*. 2017).

The contexts of Deir el-Balaḥ, with artefacts of local production or traceable to the Philistine culture (Dothan 1982: 94-218), provided clues to the close contacts that existed between the Palestinian area and neighbouring cultures, in particular Egyptian (Dothan 1979: 5-91; Waldbaum 1966: 332). However, this limited number of sarcophagi from regular excavations does not allow certainty based on the materials found in the (four) intact burials. Recent in-depth studies of the materials generically found in the necropolises of this phase have revealed not only the presence of instances of the use of clay sarcophagi but also a widespread presence of artefacts that indicate

[14] Recent estimates put the total number of anthropoid sarcophagi from Palestine at around 130 specimens, Arie 2016: 97.

Fig. 2. Sarcophagi from Beth She'an (left: from the Tomb 66a, Israel Museum P 1433-1434; drawing based on Oren 1973: catalogue fig. 53: 4 integrated with details from photos of Richter 2002: pl. 95: a) and Deir el-Balaḥ (centre: from Tomb 114, drawing based on Dothan 1979: fig. 8; right: from the Tomb 116, drawing based on Dothan 1979: fig. 70).

a strong Egyptian emulative component (at Tell el-Far'a and other centres in the southern Levant), although the reading of the material data has not allowed the scholars to arrive at unambiguous interpretations.[15]

[15] Braunstein 2011: 17, 28-29; for the presence in the southern Levant of Egyptian and Egyptizing products associated with Egypt's policy towards the area and the chronological sequence of events in relation to the archaeological stratigraphy, see Martin 2004: 280;

Fig. 3. Sarcophagi from Deir el-Balaḥ (left: from the Tomb 118, Israel Museum ASOG 03003-03006; drawing based on Dothan 1979: figs. 122-123) and Tel Shaddud (right: drawing based on van den Brink *et al*. 2017: figs. 10-11).

On the other hand, the findings from the Transjordan area have documented the presence of morphological variants of the sarcophagi that are chronologically different from the findings from the Palestinian area. In detail from Sahab comes a lid (Fig. 5: left) decorated with a grotesque face with applied handles used as decorative elements of the face (Fig. 5: left) (Albright 1932; Hennequin 1939: 965, 972; Yassine 1975: 58-59). From Amman, come 'cocoon-like' specimens with a cylindrical shape characterised by numerous handles arranged in rows; in addition to the face, the decoration also features a relief depiction of arms stretched out along the sides (Fig. 4: left; (Yassine 1975: 58-59, figs. 2-4, pl. 21) (Fig. 4: left) or the lid is rounded and without the anthropomorphic design (Fig. 4: right; (Yassine 1975: 59, figs. 5-6, pls. 22-24) (Fig. 4: right). Finally, from Dhiban comes a specimen of an unusual type consisting of an oval-shaped case with a flat base and a long, slightly convex lid, equipped with side large bar-handles and decorated with an appliqué of a face with stylised features (Fig. 5: right), (Reed 1957/58: 57-67; Yassine 1975: 59, fig. 7).

Martin, Ben-Dov 2007: 200-201; Martin 2009: 216; Finkelstein *et al*. 2017: 277.

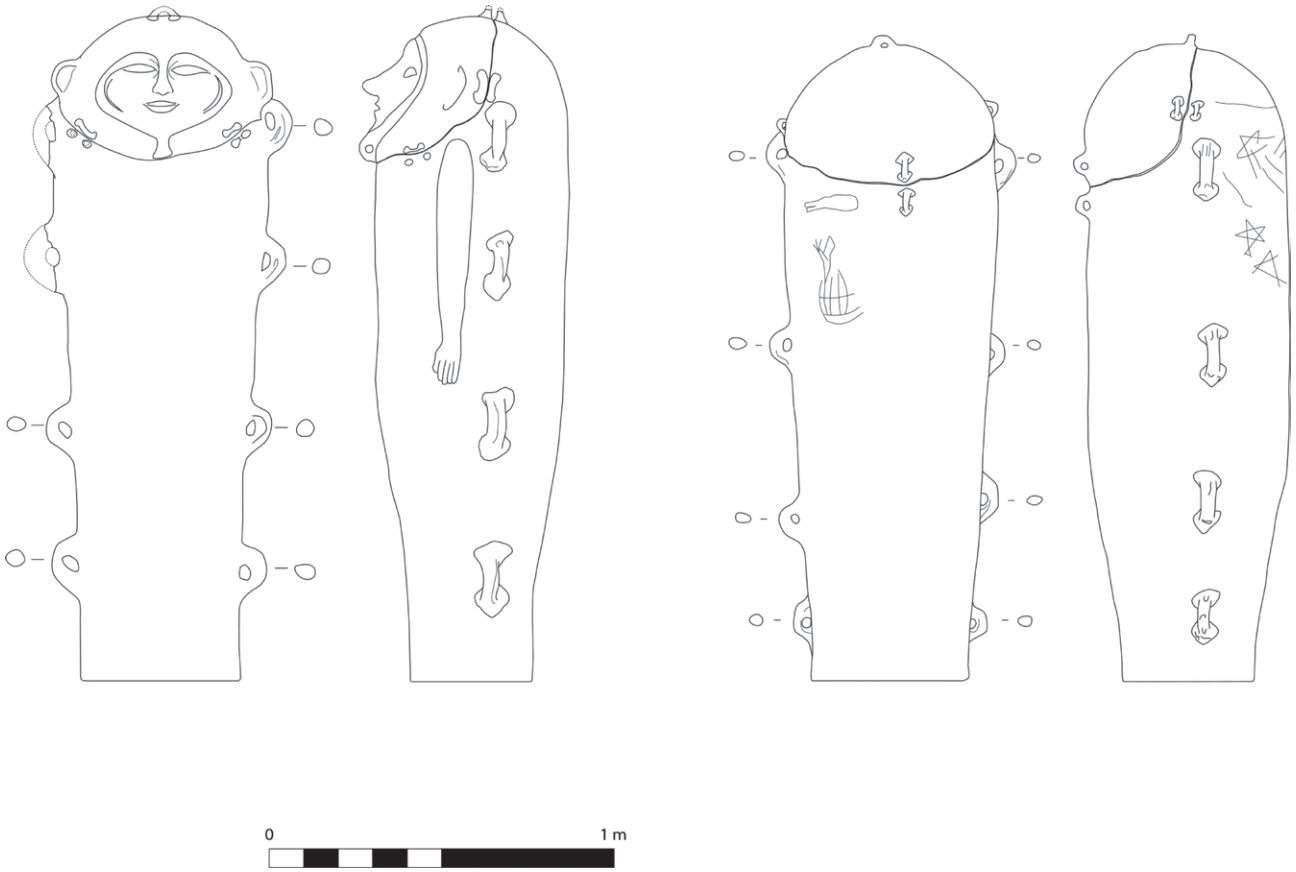

Fig. 4. Sarcophagi from *Raghdan Royal Palace* Tomb in Amman (left: inv. n. 174, front and side view drawings based on Yassine 1975: fig. 2; right: inv. no 175, front and side view drawings based on Yassine 1975: fig. 5).

Some technical aspects

Some unusual technical details recognisable on anthropoid sarcophagi were quickly pointed out by scholars, including traces of red paint (with yellow and black strokes) or a white surface plastering on some specimens (Oren 1973: 133; Dothan 1979: 99). Other technical peculiarities, however, are peculiar and widespread, such as the fragility and poor quality of the ceramic firing, which have long been the focus of scientific debate: the sarcophagi are reported to have been made using the coil technique (Dothan 1982: 254; van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 109), but the nature of the ceramic of the Palestinian specimens, rich in inclusions, porous and crumbly, has been attributed to a low-temperature firing.[16]

These minor details have contributed to the widely accepted hypothesis that the sarcophagi were made locally, a short distance from the burial site,[17] due to the objective difficulties of handling fragile artefacts of such dimen-

[16] Dothan 1979: 99; Ornan 1986: 120; Galal, Aston 2001/02: 127-128; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 35; Gunneweg 2014: 9-10. In the second half of the 20th century, the greater compactness of the ceramic lids compared to the great fragility of the containers was interpreted as an indication of a possible separate or double firing of the lid (Dothan 1979: 99; Ornan 1986: 120); in recent studies this possibility is no longer considered sufficiently justified and has raised some doubts about the firing method which have led to new reconstructions of the manufacturing process (Gunneweg 2014: 6; van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 109-110, figs. 16-17).

[17] Oren 1973: 133; Perlman, Asaro and Dothan 1973: 148-149; Dothan 1979: 99; Namdar *et al*. 2017: 726.

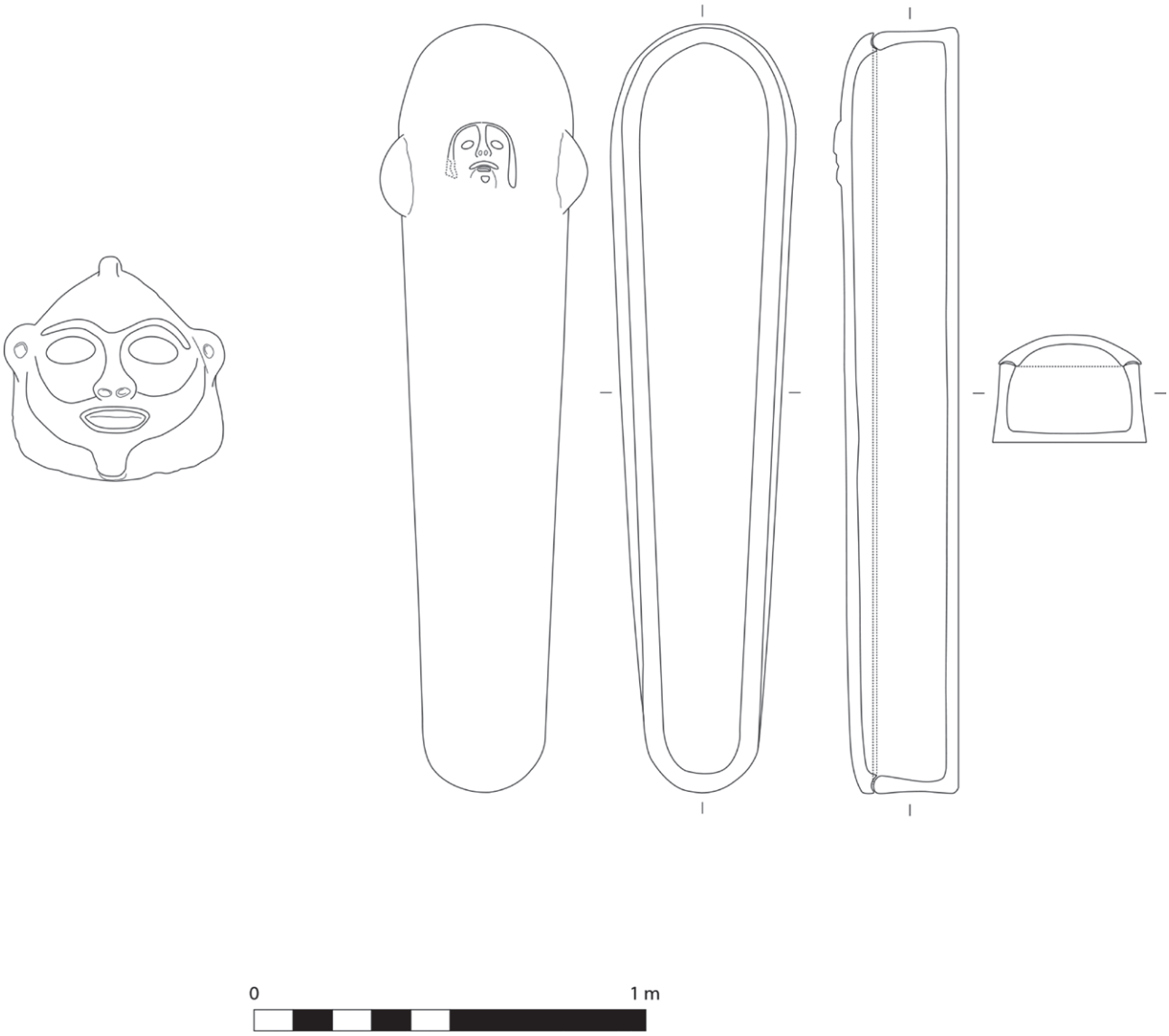

Fig. 5. Sarcophagi from Sahab (left: drawing based on Yassine 1975: fig. 4) and from the Tomb J3 of Dhiban (right: above and side views with and without cover and longitudinal cross-section drawings based on Yassine 1975: fig. 7).

sions, despite the fact that the variant specimens from the Transjordan area[18] have bar or multiple handles intended precisely for the purpose of enabling them to be (closed,) moved and transported (Galal, Aston 2001/02: 176, Cotelle-Michel 2004: 33-34).

Some aspects that are less debated by scholars concern two unusual features, namely the finding within some sarcophagi of part of the grave goods (Dothan 1982: 254; Pouls Wegner 2015: 306) and multiple burials (within the coffin: not to be confused with multiple burials in the same chamber or burial pit) reported in the Deir el-Balaḥ (Arensburg, Smith 1979; Dothan 1979: 5-T114, 46-T118) and Amman finds (Yassine 1975: 58, 60; Yassine 1983: 31) These peculiar data have been hastily interpreted as the outcome of a local funerary custom (Dothan

[18] The Transjordan specimens belong to a variant with multiple handles and are dated to the Iron Age at a later stage than the Palestinian specimens.

1982: 254; van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 127), although the small number of intact contexts that can be analysed does not allow this interpretation to be stated with certainty.

The presence of small objects inside the sarcophagus is also known in Egypt, where, however, the documented clay sarcophagi are always strictly intended for a single deceased person (Cotelle-Michel 2004: 63); moreover, in the case of Palestinian and Jordanian burials, there is no indication of possible mummification of the body.

The very detail of the multiple depositions could instead be an indication of a 'familiar' reuse of these containers within the Palestinian and Jordanian hypogea; in studies of Egyptian coffins, the function of the sarcophagus as a home for the deceased and its transformation into an expensive product have been highlighted, and the phenomenon of the reuse of the coffins and its complex social and funerary implications have also been addressed,[19] although the isolated attestations of the phenomenon in the southern coastal and inland Levant do not allow a generalisation regarding these cases, which so far remain singular and anomalous.

The presence of holes

Another interesting technical detail concerns the presence of holes of different sizes drilled before firing the artefact and located at the ends or at the rear/back of the container.

In Egypt, the presence of holes on anthropoid clay sarcophagi was reported as early as the beginning of the 20th century; in various studies, the holes were recognised as having a functional origin, varying from a practical drainage effect, in that they would allow the evacuation of the decomposition products of the deceased,[20] and it was thought that they could facilitate the drying process of the body (Junker 1912: 22); in the specific case of the larger openings at the top and base of the sarcophagi, it has also been suggested that they constituted symbolic way out left open as an escape route for the soul.[21]

Holes in the bottom of clay sarcophagi have also been documented in Syria (on non-anthropomorphic specimens): for example, they are recurring in a type of medium-sized 'quadrangular case' sarcophagus with a separate flat slab lid; on the flattened bottom of some of them, parallel rows of small holes have been reported, probably intended for the evacuation of body fluids.[22] Recent studies dedicated to Palestinian clay sarcophagi only briefly mention this subject (Cotelle-Michel 2004: 30-32), although a different hypothesis has been formulated that assigns the holes to a function of ventilation and/or venting of heat during the firing of the artefacts (Galal, Aston 2001/02: 127; Gunneweg 2014: 6).

The firing

The considerable size of these ceramic artefacts has been emphasised by scholars in order to hypothesise the use of a very large firing chamber for their production, capable of housing such voluminous products, although this observation has not led to uniformity among scholars: in the Palestinian area, the presence of kilns intended for the production of sarcophagi at the site has been hypothesised only at Deir el-Balaḥ (Dothan 1979: 99) and Beth She'an (Weippert 1988: 371) on the basis of the presence of fragments of specimens and/or manufacturing waste.

F. Cotelle-Michel (2004: 34-35), on the other hand, approached the subject for the Egyptian region along a broad chronological horizon, analysing the effects of 'open hearth' firing in the archaic tradition and attributing the execution of the chronologically more recent Egyptian specimens to firing in large furnaces of complex structure.

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[19] Cooney 2007; Cooney 2008; Cooney 2011; Cooney 2015.

[20] Scharff 1929: 5; Rowe 1930: 39; Oren 1973: 133; Dothan 1982: 254; Ornan 1986: 121; the problem of gas evacuation from sealed containers is raised in Aufrère 1987: 22.

[21] Rowe 1930: 39; Dothan 1982: 254; for the Egyptian specimens G. Steindorff spoke of *Seelenloch* in Steckeweh, Steindorff 1936: 61; Steindorff 1937: 72.

[22] For the Syrian area, see Jean-Marie 1999: 109, pls. 77, 249, 256; Felli 2015: 103-104, fig. 43; for the interpretation of the Egyptian data see Cotelle-Michel 2004: 30-31, figs. 15-16.

The presence of applications of clay in the form of small, rounded lumps near the cut between the lid and the container led the scholar to hypothesise that these clay knobs, placed at the edges of the convex slab of the lid, served to secure it to the cylindrical body of the sarcophagus during firing, thus preventing its possible deformation. [23]

It is precisely this process of 'open hearth' pottery production, traditional in the Egyptian area, that has therefore been re-proposed more recently by some scholars as also being used in the Palestinian region, although differing views remain as to the details, e.g. whether the lid should be separated from the rest of the sarcophagus during the firing phase (Gunneweg 2014: 6-10; van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 111).

The recent discovery of a sarcophagus at Tel Shaddud provided an opportunity to again address the topic of the artefact's production procedure (van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 107, 109): the large circular openings on the rounded top and/or under the flat base of the sarcophagus[24] were understood to be 'ventilation holes' useful during the process of 'open hearth' firing (as also proposed for the opening determined by the cut-out in the lid), while the small holes in the back of the specimen were reasonably interpreted as intended for the escape of decomposition products (Namdar *et al*. 2017: 729, 732).[25]

The theoretical observations ultimately seem to agree convincingly with the experimental deductions proposed by the studies and seem to provide a reasonable solution that draws inspiration from a technical tradition of a type of firing that is little documented in the near-eastern area, but found in this very specific class of production.

The origins of production

The scientific debate has universally recognised an Egyptian origin in the idea of a funerary container for the body: scholars have unanimously associated the origin of the phenomenon with the appearance in Egypt in the pre-dynastic age of stone sarcophagi (Hayes 1990a: 50; Grallert 2002: 191), which was later joined by the practice of mummification of the body, aimed at preserving the integrity of the deceased (Hayes 1990a: 79).

In Egyptian tradition, the appearance of the depiction of the deceased's features on the mummified body appears chronologically later and seems to have been initially entrusted to the creation of a face or mask-portrait using the technique of *cartonnage*,[26] partially replacing the physical features of the deceased concealed by the procedure of wrapping the body (Hayes 1990a: 309).

It is only from the Middle Kingdom, at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, that the first wooden or *cartonnage* anthropoid specimens are documented. Like the portrait-masks, they not only had a replacement function for the body, but also an apotropaic protective value, since the depiction of details, such as the headgear (*nemes*), the false beard and the broad collar (*wsekh*) worn on the chest, gave the reproduction of the deceased an otherworldly divine aspect.[27]

Regarding in particular the use of clay sarcophagi in the deposition, the Egyptian documentation attests to specimens dating back to ancient times, but the specific anthropoid morphology is only known from the New Kingdom, the phase to which the first sarcophagi date back to the Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasty (Kuchman 1977/78: 11-12); the use of clay anthropoid sarcophagi would spread from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards, becoming prevalent (and characteristic) in the late period.[28]

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[23] Cotelle-Michel 2004: 35. Differently similar rounded applications have been interpreted as mandrake fruits in Galal, Aston 2001/02: 174.

[24] The circular openings on the Tel Shaddud sarcophagus have been carefully noted in van den Brink *et al*. 2017: figs. 13 (hole under the base), 15 (hole at the top).

[25] It should also be noted that the in-depth analyses carried out for that research have documented in the sarcophagus trace of substances which have led to the hypothesis of the use of wax as a sealing and insulating coating from the body fluids.

[26] The French term *cartonnage* defines a rigid compound made up of overlapping layers of bandages made compact with stucco, usually modeled in a plastic way and superficially decorated with painting and gilding, Leca 1976: 72; Hayes 1990a: 303; Ikram, Dodson 1998: 308.

[27] Hayes 1990a: 310-311; Hayes 1990b: 223; Handoussa 1981: 143-145; Grallert 2002: 191-192.

[28] Garstang 1907: 208; Kuchman 1977/78: 17; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 16-17. Use is also documented in Nubia and the eastern Delta, e.g. in Steindorff 1937: 72-73.

It has also been observed that in Egypt the anthropomorphic conformation of the container changes with time, distinguishing this type of clay sarcophagi from the corresponding anthropoid stone, wooden or *cartonnage* specimens.

The original shape of the lid of the clay sarcophagi, with a small operculum (as in the Palestinian specimens), is transformed in the late phases by lengthening to become morphologically analogous to that of the traditionally bivalve stone/wooden/*cartonnage* specimens, i.e. (Kuchman 1977/78: 18) with a lid as long as the container (as in the more recent variant Transjordan type cited among the findings).

According to an old stream of studies, clay sarcophagi in Egypt, being made of an inexpensive material to replace stone, were intended for the specific use of poorer classes (Garstang 1907: 207, fig. 226), although the Egyptian archaeological data do not allow for such clear-cut statements at all and rather show a variety among the materials chosen for sarcophagi used in burials (Galal, Aston 2001/02: 174-175). In recent studies, it has been argued that the use of clay sarcophagi was generally intended for members of the middle and lower classes of Egyptian society, whereas in the more marginal areas of the kingdom, in Nubia and the Eastern Delta, such use would characterise the military *élites*, even the wealthy (Higginbotham 2000: 91; Pouls Wegner 2015: 306), as in the case of the Palestinian area.[29]

Findings and interpretations

Scholars have over time proposed different readings of the picture offered by the archaeological data in the Palestinian and Transjordan area.

Finds of sarcophagi dating back to the Late Bronze II phase were recorded at the site of Beth She'an (Tell el-Hosn)[30] during excavations in the first half of the 20th century,[31] among the findings at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), a site of the Shephelah near Ashkelon,[32] and in the northern area at Tel Shaddud, a locality in the Jezreel Valley (van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 106-107, figs. 9-12).[33]

The sarcophagi found at Deir el-Balaḥ, on the coast near Gaza,[34] have been attributed to the final phase of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, while sarcophagi from other sites such as Tell Midrash near Beth She'an[35] and the composite group of numerous specimens of uncertain provenance that have found their way onto the antiquities market have been generically dated to the later part of this chronological span.[36]

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[29] In Deir el-Balaḥ the rich material furnishings of the contexts speak in favor of a wealthy social class, Dothan 1979: 98-99; in Lachish a clay anthropoid sarcophagus, painted with hieroglyphics and figures of Egyptian divinities (Isis and Neftis), does not seem to be attributable to the availability of an individual belonging to the *poorer classes*, Galal, Aston 2001/02: 176.

[30] The site corresponds to the ancient Scythopolis.

[31] About fifty sarcophagi and various Egyptian materials came from the excavation of the location believed to be the site of an *Egyptian garrison*, Rowe 1927: 38-41; K.N. Yassine traces these sarcophagi to type I of his classification and dates them to the 12th century BC, Yassine 1975: 58, fig. 1: 1-3.

[32] From the excavation of tomb 570 come two clay sarcophagi which bear an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription and have lids with a naturalistic decoration; K.N. Yassine assigns the specimens to type I of his classification and dates them to the 13th century BC, Yassine 1975: 58, fig. 1: 8-9; Dothan 1982: 276-278, fig. 15, pls. 22-24.

[33] From the site comes a clay sarcophagus attributable to the group with naturalistic decoration which is dated to the Late Bronze II phase.

[34] About forty clay sarcophagi with naturalistic and grotesque decorations came from the excavation of the site, Dothan 1982: 252-260; Cotelle-Michel 2004: 200-203; a vague dating has been proposed between the Late Bronze Age IIB, at the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the end of the Bronze Age, within the horizon of the Twentieth Dynasty in Galal, Aston 2001/02: 175.

[35] From the site comes a fragment of the lid of a clay sarcophagus found out of context on the surface, Dothan 1982: 252, pl. 15; a dating corresponding to the final phase of the Bronze Age at the time of the Twentieth Dynasty has been proposed in Galal, Aston 2001/02: 175.

[36] For the collection of the National Museum of Jerusalem see Ornan 1986: 120-123; Arie 2016: 97.

Chronologically related to this last group attributed to the Iron Age are the few finds from hypogeal tombs in the Transjordan area,[37] i.e. from Sahab a sarcophagus attributed to the Iron Age I and dated to the 10th/9th century BC (Fig. 5: left),[38] from the area of the Royal Palace in Amman (Fig. 4) and from Pella specimens (Yassine 1975: 62) dated to the Iron Age I-II, between the 10th/9th-10th/7th century BC,[39] and finally from tomb TJ3 in Dhiban a sarcophagus (Reed 1957/58: 59-60) attributed to Iron Age II (Fig. 5: right) dated to the 8th century BC.[40]

An 'ethnic' interpretation that attributes the use of clay anthropoid sarcophagi in the Near East to foreign individuals, the Philistines or another group counted among the Sea Peoples mentioned in historical sources, has determined the conventional denomination by which these sarcophagi are also known. The 'ethnic' theory was suggested in the first half of the 20th century AD during Clarence Fisher's excavations at Beth She'an[41] but only gained wide acceptance following the brief commentary of W.M.F. Petrie who suggestively named the burials characterised by the discovery of these sarcophagi as tombs of the Philistine lords (Petrie 1930: 7).

The data were emphasised by W.F. Albright's considerations on the imitations of Egyptian culture in the neighbouring lands (Albright 1932: 305-306) and led G.E. Wright to express a convinced attribution of the use of such sarcophagi to foreign soldiers, Philistines or other Sea Peoples, hired as mercenaries in Egypt and operating in the peripheral regions of its border, south in Nubia and north in the eastern Delta, up to the neighbouring Jordanian-Palestinian area (Wright 1959: 65-66).

In the 1960s, with regard to the findings of clay anthropoid sarcophagi at Tell el-Far'a in the Wadi Ghazzeh near Gaza,[42] a hypothesis was affirmed (not widely shared by scholars) of a Mycenaean and Aegean influence in the architectural features of the *dromos* tombs dating back to the Late Bronze Age of the '900' necropolis (Waldbaum 1966: 335-336), determining an attribution of the burials to an earlier phase than the settlement of the Philistines in the area, traditionally placed at the beginning of the next chronological phase, i.e. the Iron Age I.[43] In order to resolve this discrepancy, it was therefore proposed to identify those tombs with the burials of *earlier groups* of foreigners (notably from Danuna and/or Akkaiwasha), associating the sarcophagi with the presence in the grave goods of so-called simple style pottery and a hypothetical Mycenaean influence in the local underground rock architecture.[44]

As a result of new findings, some aspects of these initial interpretations expressed by various scholars have been deepened. E.D. Oren (1973: 132-150) in his discussion of the anthropoid sarcophagi of Beth She'an refuted the hypothesis that the Late Bronze Age specimens could be connected with the Philistines or any other group belonging to the Sea Peoples (1973: 140), although at the same time he argued for the existence of a link between the headdress design depicted on some Palestinian sarcophagi (from Lachish and Deir el-Balaḥ) and some details visible on the depiction of these 'peoples' carved on the reliefs of the Temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.[45]

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[37] Dornemann 1982: 136; Bienkowski 2001: 265-268; Herr 2009: 549-558.

[38] The sarcophagus attributed to the beginning of the Iron Age by W.F. Albright was awarded by K.N. Yassine to type II of his classification, a morphological type attested exclusively in the Jordanian area and dated to the 10th-9th century BC, Albright 1932: 305-306; Yassine 1975: 58-59, fig. 4.

[39] The fortuitous discovery of a hypogeum led to the discovery of five sarcophagi, of which only four were preserved and attributed by K.N. Yassine to types II and III of his classification: both types are equipped with numerous carrying handles arranged in parallel rows; type II with grotesque decoration is dated to the 10th-9th century BC, Yassine 1975: 58-59, figs. 2-4; type III, a simplified cylindrical 'cocoon' type without anthropomorphic figurative decoration, is attributed to the 10th-7th century BC, Yassine 1975: 59, figs. 5-6.

[40] The sarcophagus with an oval-shaped chest with a flat bottom, completed with a long distinct and slightly convex lid, constitutes type IV of K.N. Yassine's classification: this type is also distinguished by the presence of large bar-handles and a lid decoration with a small, stylized mask; it is dated to the 8th century BC, Yassine 1975: 59, fig. 7.

[41] Fisher 1923: 234-236; Vincent 1923: footnote 1 on page 439, 440-441, fig. 9.

[42] Three sarcophagi dating back to the final phase of the Late Bronze II were attributed by W.M.F. Petrie to the 14th/11th century BC and by W.F. Albright dated rather to the 12th century BC, Petrie 1930: 6-9, pl. 24; Albright 1932: 299-304.

[43] The Iron Age phase is documented in the so-called '500' cemetery.

[44] Waldbaum 1966: 339-340. Against the hypothesis of this hypothetical influence, see Stiebing 1970.

[45] The thesis presented by T. Dothan associates these drawings with the Peleset group known from the sources, even if it is possible to attribute them to three different groups of peoples (Peleset, Denyen and Tjekker, although the latter would be recognizable by the

Contrary to the initial interpretation of the studies, it was observed by L. Kuchman (1977/78: 16) that the only elements supporting the hypothesis of the Philistine ethnic identity of the deceased in the late-Ramesside tombs found by Petrie at Nebesheh and Tell el-Yahudiyeh seemed to be only the external appearance and the possible origin of the artefacts found in the grave goods, concluding that otherwise these tombs could be considered as burials of Egyptians of a type that is scarcely attested due to a trivial defect in the archaeological documentation (1977/78: 20).

The continuation of the excavations in Palestine and the discoveries in Deir el-Balaḥ led T. Dothan to articulate and deepen this ethnic interpretation by postulating the assumption that in an early phase dating back to the end of the Late Bronze Age, some Egyptian officials, or foreign mercenaries in their service, introduced the use of these sarcophagi in Palestine in areas under Egyptian control, as in the case of the fortress of Beth She'an or other important control centres in the region. According to the scholar (Dothan 1979: 101-103), this initial phase was followed by the adoption by the local dominant group of this funerary costume, which became characteristically 'Philistine' in the Iron Age I.

In support of this interpretation, T. Dothan (1982: 5-13, 288, figs. 1-3) has also furthered the comparison already proposed by E.D. Oren between the unique stylised design depicted on the clay lids and the depiction of the feathered helmet headgear recognisable among the details engraved on the Egyptian reliefs of Medinet Habu, a detail that iconographically distinguishes groups of 'Sea peoples' identified as Philistines (the Peleset of the Ramesside sources).

As part of this overall revision of the data in the light of the identification of 'Philistine' funerary customs, she (Dothan 1982: 252) also understood the peculiar character of the construction of rock-cut tombs with underground chambers, which other scholars had - as already indicated - attributed to an Aegean influence.

A strand of research dissatisfied with this ethnic identification has taken shape in recent years with an alternative view[46] that recognises in anthropoid clay sarcophagi a funerary custom adopted by a limited number of officers and/or military personnel in close contact with Egyptian traditions, but not necessarily foreigners exogenous to the territory, according to a hypothesis already formulated by T. Ornan (1986: 121) and also supported in his studies by A. Mazar (2011: 180). Scholars' misgivings have led them to associate this practice in the southern Levant and Nubian territories with members of a generic 'local elite...in regular contact with Egyptians' (Albright 1932: 305-306; Yassine 1975: 62; Yassine 1988: 38-40).

This connection with the Egyptian administrative/military apparatus has been widely agreed upon,[47] even postulating a possible use of the anthropoid sarcophagi as indicators of areas directly under Egyptian rule (such as Deir el-Balaḥ, Beth She'an, Pella) as opposed to territories in the region outside this control (Dornemann 1982: 136; Stager 1995: 342).

In the context of this interpretation, C.R. Higginbotham delved into the topic of the presence of Egyptian and Egyptizing materials in Palestinian contexts, questioning the pattern of cultural interaction underlying the data found in the area, but recognised alternative solutions according to different patterns of interpretation of the data. The instrumental use of material culture can in fact be understood both as an indication of the areas directly under Egyptian control (Higginbotham 2000: 129-132), but also as a simple external emulation of traditional Egyptian customs and traditions (Higginbotham 2000: 132-136). According to this last, rather reasonable and supportable proposed interpretation, the local (non-Egyptian) ruling groups would have aimed to assert their social status through the emulation of a distinctive funerary practice of the Egyptian ruling class (Higginbotham 2000: 242-245).

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presence of beards and would therefore be excluded), Oren 1973: 135-138, drawings 1-19 in the text on the pages 136-137. Recently on the subject J. Emanuel summarized the oscillations of scholars on the ethnic interpretation of the deceased and preferred a 'more holistic approach' underlining the value of aspects including 'appearance', 'social growth', 'self-representation' of the deceased, Emanuel 2015/16.

[46] Richter 2002: 245; Huot 2004: 102-103; Ben-Shlomo 2010: 96-97.

[47] Gonen 1992: 28-29; James, McGovern 1993: 239; Galal, Aston 2001/02: 173-177; Killebrew 2005: 65; Mazar 2011: 180.

This theory has been taken up and shared by various scholars,[48] such as the recent discovery of the Tel Shaddud tomb, dated to the late 13th-early 12th century BC (van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 123). In this case, the hypothesis has been put forward that the deceased laid in the sarcophagus is to be interpreted as a wealthy Palestinian operating in life as an official (perhaps an officer in the local military corps) of the Egyptian administration in the region (governed by the fortified centre of Beth She'an).[49]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

To summarise, various scholars initially focused on the ethnic identity of the deceased identified as foreigners and their origin, while in later studies a typological (Oren 1973; Dothan 1982) or technological (Gunneweg 2014; van den Brink *et al*. 2017) approach was emphasised, focusing on the production factors of the artefacts and generally on the chronological aspects of the documentation. Recent studies have examined possible interpretations of the pattern of intercultural relations recognisable in this phenomenon, namely of reception or emulation (Higginbotham 2000).

The reduced presence of sarcophagi in the Transjordan area has led scholars to an approach centred on the analysis of funerary practice, which has confirmed its tracing back to a cultural model alien to the traditions of the local area (Dornemann 1982; Al-Shorman, Khwaileh 2011: 100-102).

This concise review of the scientific debate highlights that, regardless of the nationality or ethnic origin of the recipients, the funerary practice of using clay sarcophagi was adopted under a clear cultural influence of the Egyptian tradition introduced in the Near Eastern area by a *élite* of power derived from military/administrative authority or/and adequate economic availability.[50] The spread of this practice, which can be seen in the breadth of the attestations and the prolonged duration of the phenomenon, thus seems to be an indication of a likely progressive sharing by a non-restricted social group of this funerary custom.

The interest of scholars in the identification and evaluation of the social environment of the recipients has, however, left in the background the intrinsic singularity of the funerary custom of laying the deceased in dorsal *decubitus* inside an anthropoid sarcophagus, which emerges as unusual and innovative with respect to the prevailing local funerary custom that instead documents depositions in *decubitus* contracted on the side.

Studies of sarcophagi conventionally referred to as 'Philistine' have now made it clear that their use was adopted under the cultural influence of the Egyptian funerary tradition introduced by a group of influential and wealthy recipients: specimens are documented over a long period, between the late 13th and 7th centuries BC, beginning with Palestinian finds dating between the late Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I and extending into the Transjordan area with sarcophagi dated between Iron Age I and II.

This particular phenomenon must be considered the sign of the emulation of a model foreign to local traditions: following an episodic introduction into the area, probably spontaneous on the part of individuals or small numerically limited groups, it triggered a phenomenon of progressive sharing of the unusual funeral practice by a larger social group, for reasons of prestige and/or distinction.

The presence of these artefacts represents a specific chronologically and geographically distinctive cultural aspect that, however, does not exhaust the phenomenon of the attestation of anthropoid sarcophagi in the Near

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[48] Müller 2002: 186; Pouls Wegner 2015: 308-311; van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 127.

[49] van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 131; Namdar *et al*. 2017: 726; in particular, the military aspect is deduced from the presence in the funerary objects of an offensive weapon (a bronze dagger), van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 118, fig. 30; even a foreign influence in his diet has been assumed based on the remains of the consumption of a specific fish (Nilotic perch) documented by the context, van den Brink *et al*. 2017: 131, fig. 38a-b.

[50] The funerary contexts of Deir el-Balaḥ have testified to the broad economic viability of the recipients, as can be found in the grave goods of the deceased which include products from the international market; signs of the link with the sphere of power were also evoked for Beth She'an and Tel Shaddud.

Eastern area,[51] which are documented also in a different chronological phase during the Achaemenid period largely in Phoenicia and the Mediterranean Levant, but also in Mesopotamia and Persia, which deserve a comprehensive discussion elsewhere (Rossi 2023a and 2023b).

The review of the documentation ultimately revealed singular but clearly delineated modes and dynamics that testify to close intercultural relations between the eastern area and Egypt. The evaluation of the presence of anthropoid sarcophagi in the Levant region clearly revealed an emulation of a funerary tradition focused on preserving the bodily integrity of the deceased. In the Palestinian and Transjordan area, the appearance of the 'Philistine' sarcophagi can be interpreted as a phenomenon of adoption of an exogenous tradition by a group of individuals characterised by authority and considerable economic availability and seems to testify to an emulative relationship of a receptive (passive) type.

There are still margins of uncertainty about the final identification of the commissioners of the sarcophagi, due to the prevailing lack of the contexts in which the specimens were found, although the overall analysis of the materials and the historical events of the region undoubtedly demonstrate that this phenomenon attests to the presence of a strong bond of cultural and ideological attraction (and openness) towards Egyptian culture in the upper classes distinguished by authority and wealth in the southern Levant, which can be traced over a long period of time between the end of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age II.

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[51] Several scholars have underlined how the production of Phoenician sarcophagi dating back to the Achaemenid phase should be distinguished from the Palestinian and Jordanian production, Ferron 1993: 37; Elayi, Haykal 1996: 110; Richter 2002: 263; Lembke 1998: 105; in an extensive presentation of the Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi, only plausible Egyptian or Greek influences are considered (found in the iconography and funerary use) in Lembke 2001: 117-119; Frede 2002: 79-80.

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Sinister Bees and Desperate Pleas: Hittite Incantation Prayers

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Abstract. The tablet collections from Ḫattuša-Bogazköy contain a significant body of Hittite prayer literature. Particularly notable are personal prayers, arkuwar, made by Hittite rulers to the gods for support in historical contexts. These prayers reveal intricate rhetorical structures. While personal prayers are extensively studied, a comprehensive analysis of prayers across text genres is yet to be undertaken. This paper discusses prayers as speech acts within rituals, the structure of Hittite incantations, the relationship between orality and scribal craft, and the significance of Hittite magic traditions in the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds.

Keywords: Incantations, Hittite Rituals, Prayers.

1. PRAYER

The Late Bronze Age tablet collections in Ḫattuša-Bogazköy have preserved a significant body of Hittite prayer literature — so significant in fact that it has been possible to trace its development as a genre over the full course of Hittite history.[1] These cuneiform texts are independent compositions the inspiration for which came from Mesopotamian hymnic literature, but which evolved into something uniquely Anatolian (Schwemer 2011: 1-43). Out of this written tradition developed the so-called personal prayers, called *arkuwar* in Hittite, referring to the plea or petition made by the Hittite kings (and queens) to the gods for support in particular historical circumstances (Laroche 1963: 3-29).[2] As a genre they have rightly received extensive attention for their complex rhetorical structure, their

[1] For an overview about Hittite prayers see Singer 2002 and the on-line edition in Rieken, Lorenz, Daues 2017; Singer 2002: 13-14, proposes a development of the Hittite prayers from short incantations in magic rituals.
[2] But also alludes to argumentation and defence as outlined by Singer 2002: 5 with previous references.

importance for illuminating Hittite history, and more.[3] It is possible as well to dissect the ways in which the Hittite scribes responsible for creating these compositions married older/traditional text material with new/innovative ideas/elements (Klinger 2022: 131). Though the evidence for Hittite prayer is not limited to these personal prayers, a systematic investigation/survey of prayer across all text genres has yet to be undertaken.[4]

In the present paper we will begin with a discussion of *prayers* as speech acts contained within rituals.[5] From there we will talk about the nature and structure of Hittite *incantations*, including their presence in prayer compositions. We then will address the relationship between orality and scribal craft before finally offering some thoughts about the place of Hittite magic traditions in the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds.

Therapeutic ritual procedures — magic rituals — provide the richest source for Hittite prayers outside of the personal prayers. As is the case with magic across cultures, Hittite rituals are characterized by sequences of ritual actions linked to speech acts of various kinds: spells and incantations (*ḫukmai-*), prayers, evocations, *historiolae*, curses, and blessings (Torri 2003b: 2-8; Mouton 2016: 41-45).[6] The sequence of actions and types of techniques employed vary depending on the origin of the ritual, but the schematic chain of magic actions and their alternation with spoken words, introduced by *verba dicendi*, seems to reveal that they were often constructed and written down by the Hittite scribal and, possibly, religious school, which drew on written and oral traditions of different origins, arranging them in a preestablished framework (Torri 2003b: 8-10).[7]

Among the speech acts that we find are what we would recognize as proper prayers, with an offering, an address to the deity, and a request for blessings. Such prayers when occurring in magic rituals are generally limited to those benefitting the royal family. An example is TEXT #1, a ritual for the health of the king and queen against a sinister (*idalu-*) bee, or ominous omen (CTH 447). The ritual is divided into seven parts, seven being a magical number, each addressed to a different deity.[8] The deity is summoned to draw her attention to the patient, who, through the magical actions, is freed from the state of impurity. Each of the seven parts has in common the incantations against the sinister bee, which needs to be turned into a favorable bird — that is, a favorable omen. The incantation chosen here aims at directing the favor of the Sun Goddess of the Earth onto the royal couple. It opens with a sacrifice directed into the earth, which ensures the goddess's attention to the subsequent recitation. It closes — unusually — with a threat addressed to the goddess to compel her to fulfill the request.[9]

TEXT #1:	Ritual against a Sinister Bee (CTH 447: KBo 11.10 ++ = KBo 11.72++ ii)
offering	§17″: (obv. ii 17′-19′)Thereafter (there are) one black sheep, two white sheep, (and) nine (other) sheep for the Sun Goddess of the Earth. They dig the ground, and they sacrifice the sheep down, inside (the pit) and (s)he speaks as follows:
address	§18″: (ii 20′-24′)"Sun Goddess of the Earth! The human being <begets(?)> the human being and keeps him alive.[10] Regarding this bee, which you, Sun Goddess of the Earth, have sent, now the king and the queen are giving you this offering as a propitiatory gift (*maškan*) for this bee.

[3] See the recent publication Daues, Rieken 2018 and Dardano 2019: 14-28.

[4] If we define prayer broadly as verbal petitioning of the gods, it encompasses in a Hittite context not only the personal prayers, but also letters, myths, treaties, vows, and magic rituals. A general representation of prayers as literary product is sketched out by Daues, Rieken 2018: 6-28. The forthcoming Prayer in the Ancient World project (Leiden: Brill, https://brill.com/display/serial/PAMW) has provided a welcome opportunity to explore Hittite prayer in all these contexts. Our remarks in the present article draw on the insights of the section on incantations to the project.

[5] For a theoretical approach to the Speech-Act theory see Tambiah 1968: 175-208. For an overview of the Speech Act theory in Hittite texts see Torri 2003b: 8-16 and, recently, Della Casa 2021: 67-75.

[6] About *historiolae* in general see Francia 2013: 165-173.

[7] On the question of the actual power of oral magical formulas once put into written form through special literary forms, see Faraone 2011.

[8] A full edition of this ritual is by Popko 2003; Görke, Melzer 2015.

[9] Hittite prayers often represent the negotiation between the sovereign and the deity, and the promise made to the divinity becomes the opportunity to demonstrate that the deity can only benefit from aiding the supplicant (Torri 2019: 57- 59). However, the threat directed towards the deity represents an exception.

[10] For a different interpretation of this passage see Görke, Melzer 2015.

request §19″: (ii 25′-28′)"If you, Sun Goddess of the Earth, have sent it (the bee) to harm, now (for blessings) turn her around and make her a benevolent bird! (27′-28′)Grant the king and the queen sons, daughters, and their grandsons! Grant them, the king and the queen, old age!
§20″: (ii 29′-30′)"What sheep fleece is (thick), grant them to the king and queen, (as many) long years! (30′-34′)Further grant the king this: strength on the [bat]tlefield! What countries of the enemy are hostile to him, they shall come to him, under his knee! You, Sun Goddess of the Earth, shall arrange this situation and make it favorable!

threat §21″: (ii 35′-38′)"But if you, Sun Goddess of the Earth, transgress and stand apart negatively from the king and queen, let the oath (deities) of this ritual come to seize you!"[11]

The request for blessings here is not appreciably different from the appeals we find in the personal prayers, which similarly seek blessings for the king and his family through direct appeal to the deity — namely, progeny, long life, and victory over enemies.

TEXT #2 offers an exception to the rule that such prayers requesting support are limited to royal rituals. It is a ritual apparently performed by a private person in an emergency situation where he did not have access to a specialist.[12] Following the incipit stating the purpose of the ritual, which is a curse uttered against the person by a colleague or friend (*ara-*), an offering is made to the deity (Torri 2004: 132 and 134). This perhaps establishes the individual's credentials in the absence of a recognized specialist, enabling him to make the request of the deity (Graf 1991: 189).

TEXT #2: Ritual against "bad friendship" (CTH 458.2: KUB 17.28)

ritual (§3, ii 48-55)He puts the loaf on its place and shatters the jug. He washes his hands and goes away.[13] Then he puts a small table before the Sun God. He puts bread on it; he puts three loaves of bread on it. He sacrifices a ram to the Sun God and they slaughter it. He offers beer and speaks in the following way:

prayer (§4, ii 56-57)"You O Sun God are constantly looking for good in the heart of man, but no one looks into your heart. (ii 58-61)Who has committed evil, you, O Sun God, were above (him). I was walking my good path. Who committed evil against me, you, O Sun God, keep looking at him! (iii 1-3)[May my house] flourish! [May the people in my family], oxen, and sheep reproduce properly! May grain grow for me!"

The prayer inserted in this ritual (§4) is a proper prayer composed of an *invocatio* (ii 56-57), an *argumentum* or narrative (ii 58-61), and a *preces* or wish (iii 1-3) containing requests addressed to the god (Graf 1991: 189; Torri 2004: 138). The ritual preparations recall the offerings made to the Sun God on the roof in the personal prayers, and were probably likewise performed on a roof (Torri 2004: 137-38). And the prayer, again like the personal prayers, was performed to address a specific problem—namely, the curse directed at the individual. Interestingly, the preceding offerings and sacrifice also preclude any notion that the individual acted alone; he must have had help (Torri 2004: 139). In sum, although it was performed by a private person, this prayer shares the structure, language, and theology of the official prayer literature represented by the royal personal prayers. Both TEXTS #1 and #2 then, despite the very different identities of the supplicants, are products of the same written tradition of the Ḫattuša scribes, even if TEXT #2 proves to be an adaptation of a genuinely private and organic display of piety.

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[11] KBo 11.10 ++ = KBo 11.72++ ii
35 [(*ma-a-na-at-kán tág-na-aš* ^{D}UT)]U-*uš šar-ra-at-ta-ma*
36 [(*nu-uš-ša-an* LUGAL-*i* MUNUS.LUGAL-*i*)]*a ḫa-ar-ap-ši*
37 [(*nu-ut-ta ú-it-tu*$_2$ *ke-e-el Š*]*A* SÍSKUR
38 [(*ʾliˀ-in-ki-ya-an-za e-ep-du*)]

[12] According to a proposal of Torri (2004: 139-140) who also edited the text (Torri 2004: 129-141).

[13] Ritual moves to a rooftop.

2. INCANTATION

Hittite rituals are famously rich in magic spells or incantations (Hutter 2012: 153-171). Incantations (Hitt. *Ḫukmai-*, *Ḫuek-*) are magic formulas intended to produce an effect on a person or an aspect of the real world (Hutter 2012: 160-161). The content of effective incantations in Hittite rituals and their strong connection with the natural world have been described as a survival of popular or folkloric knowledge. They use natural categories that are easily recognizable by the inhabitants of a specific region. They draw on a set of natural phenomena that was an integral part of popular culture: water that runs off into the earth or fire that burns pinecones can easily represent an evil to be banished. The combinations of actions and words in the performance of a ritual produce the imperative transfer of qualities from the substance or the element to a recipient, the object of the magic action. Incantations and their power can only become effective when associated with significant ritual actions that accompany and mimic the words, consequently reinforcing them to make them effective (Torri 2003b: 23-34).

Hittite scribes, with their different origins and expertise and their mastery of texts from different areas, were handing down the rituals, adapting them to different occasions and working toward their final canonization. At the same time, they shared the same cultural code with the rest of the diverse Anatolian population (Torri 2003b: 8-34) and by reworking this code, rendered it into the standardized wording that we find in the rituals in our possession.

Like the personal prayers, which are full of rhetorical features, spells are often formed by complex figures of speech and rhythmic formulas.[14] Spells in the form of analogic magic incantations are especially prevalent and were used both to heal the ritual patient and to ward off evil. These are introduced by *verba dicendi* ("I/S(he) speak(s) [as follows]"). They are composed of a protasis that begins with the deictic particle "just as" (*māḫḫan*). This construction is followed by the apodosis or main clause, a directive/imperative introduced by the modal adverb *apēnissan*, "likewise." (Torri 2003b: 35-40) As for example in TEXT #3a from the myth of Telipinu:

TEXT #3a: Myth of Telipinu (CTH 324.1: KUB 17.10++ ii)
§23: (obv. ii 28′-32′)Here, Telipinu, I have sprinkled your paths with fine oil. You, Telipinu, walk in the path sprinkled with fine oil! Let *šaḫi-* wood and *ḫappuriya-* wood be your bed![15] Just as (*māḫḫan*) the reed and the rush are firm, may you, Telipinu, likewise (*apēniššan*) be firm! (Rieken, Lorenz, Daues 2012)

Here the spell serves to pacify the deity, who is addressed directly, so that fertility may return among humans and animals. Bappi's ritual — TEXT #3b — similarly contains an incantation addressed to the goddess — Ḫuwaššanna — who has caused the supplicant to become ill (Görke 2015):

TEXT #3b: Bappi's Ritual (CTH 431: KUB 17.12 iii)
§11′′′: (rev. iii 8′-15′)"Just as (*māḫḫan*) this fig contains in its interior a thousand seeds and as this raisin contains in its interior the wine, so may you, O goddess, my Mistress, in the same way (*QĀTAMMA*) hold the ritual patron in goodness! And may the ritual patron also please the deity like oil (and) honey!"

Another frequent construction within the magic ritual incantations is the use of the particle *kāša*, which can have spatial ("here") or temporal ("just now") significance (Steitler 2020: 365-381). In the former case, its purpose is to focus the deity's attention on the actions being performed in the moment (and thus has a performative aspect). This formula too is followed by a directive. TEXT #4 is an example:

TEXT #4: Ritual of ŠamuḪa for the purification for the royal couple, the second tablet (CTH 480: KUB 29.7+)
§18: (rev. 36-37)Then they give him a bulb of ga[rlic] and he meanwhile speaks as follows: "If someone rec[it]es before the deity in the following way: 'As this garlic is **wrapped** (*anda ḫūlaliyanza*) with skins, (38-39)and the one does not detach from the other (*arḫa ŪL tarnai*), may evil deeds, the broken

[14] On the formal structure of spells in Mesopotamian rituals and incantations, see Ceccarelli 2024: 91-145.
[15] Following a proposed emendation of HW² Ḫ, 275b. (see also Torri 2003b: 66 with previous literature). Differently Rieken, Lorenz, Daues 2012 with n. 28.

> oath, the curse, and impurity, like a garlic, be wrapped on the temple *anda ḫūlaliyan ḫardu*)!' (39-41) Now (*kāša*), I have just **peeled** (*arḫa šippanun*) this bulb of ga[rl]ic and left a paltry stalk of it. Let him (i.e., the deity) likewise **peel** (*QĀTAMMA šippaiddu*) the evil deed, the broken oath, the [cu] rse, the impurity, befo[re th]e god! May the deity and the patient be purified [of t]hat deed!"

Here the language of binding, suggested by the **wrapping** (*ḫūlaliya-*) and unbinding (*tarna-*) suggested by the act of **peeling** (*šappai-*) denote the idea of bewitchment as a bond that constricts the victim (Puértolas Rubio 2019: 61).[16] The rites are intended to purify the temple and the patients (the royal couple), against whom someone has spoken curses in front of the deity who resides in the temple. At the same time, the deity itself becomes the guarantor and witness of the change brought about through the performance of the ritual. In the process the malevolent actions and curses supposedly pronounced by the sorcerer are also described (Puértolas Rubio 2019: 60-61).

A handful of incantations are found in both magic rituals and prayers. Both genres were the product of the scholar-scribes who drew on the same reservoir of traditions to compose their texts (Torri 2003a: 221-222). In TEXTS ##5 and 6, incantations appear in different combinations in texts from different eras. Two motifs in particular occur repeatedly. The motif of releasing the exhausted one appears in **5a**, **b**, and **c**. The first is an Old Hittite ritual (16th century BC), the second from the early empire (15th century BC), and the third appears in one of Mursili II's plague prayers (14th century BC). The motif of the rear wheel not catching up to the front occurs in **5a**, but also **6a**, an Old Hittite prayer, and **6b**, again in the ritual of Ḫantitaššu.

TEXT #5a: Old Hittite Blessings for the King Labarna (CTH 820: KUB 60.44 ++)
§1 "(obv. 1'-6') [I am going to release the exhausted one]. They yoke [the rested one(?)], I am going to yoke [the rested one]. As the rear [wheel] cannot find the front [wheel], let [also the evil(?)] not find the [ ] of Our Sun (i.e., the king)." (trans. Torri 2003a: 220)

TEXT #5b: Ḫantitaššu's Ritual (CTH 395: KBo 11.14)
§10 "(ii 15-18) You, O Sun God, go and [...] three, four, and five times: 'let [...] in the meadow! Release the exhausted one and yoke the rested one. Release the exhausted one and yoke the rested one.'" (modified transl. from Torri 2003a: 220-221)

TEXT #5c: Plague Prayer of Muršili II (CTH 376.I: KUB 24.3 ++)
"(ii 39-44) Turn the plague, the hostility, the famine, and the severe fever towards Mittanni and Arzawa. Rested are the belligerent lands, but Hatti is a weary land. Release the exhausted one and yoke the rested one." (transl. Torri 2003a: 221)

TEXT #6a: Old Hittite Invocation against Slander (CTH 389.2: KUB 36.91 +)
"(ii 8'-12') As the snake does not [miss] its hole, may the evil word return to his [the slanderer's] own mouth. As the rear wheel cannot find the front wheel, may the evil word in the same way not find the [king and the queen]." (transl. Torri 2003a: 220)

TEXT #6b: Ḫantitaššu's Ritual (CTH 395: KBo 11.14)
§11 "(ii 20-26) Just as the *kappi*-seed/small seed escapes the millstone, so too may the ritual patron escape the mouth of Agni (Fire). As the rear wheel cannot catch up to the front, may the evil day not find the ritual patron. Are not my words the words of the Sun God and Kamrusepa? Let them become the incantations (*Ḫukmauš*) of a mortal." (transl. Torri 2003a: 218)

The shared motifs between them indicates speech acts that were considered especially effective, but also that incantations were no more or less appropriate for addressing the gods than the verbal petitions that define Hittite personal prayer. The practice of ritualists identifying themselves with a deity in the last example (**6b**) is found

[16] The principle of Hittite magical thought, based on the binary relationship between opposites, "pure/impure" and "bound/unbound," recurs in these spells and those presented in the following pages. A description of this principle can be found in Haas 1987-1990: 235-237.

across cultures and serves to collapse the "boundaries between the human situation and the mythical dimension" (Frankfurter 1995: 469-470). But by this appended declaration, the recitation also accesses well-known mythological narratives about the goddess of magic and the Sun God — narratives that, because of their familiarity, further strengthen the power of the recitation.

Magic rituals were practical texts, often giving little more than a description of the sequence of actions that a magician had to perform (Torri 2003a: 216). However, in the Hittite capital Ḫattuša they may have also become a *literary* product, not always used for practical purposes, that a literate class of scribes used for instruction (Marcuson, van den Hout 2015: 143-168). The fact that these texts, regardless of their supposed origin and occasion, often follow an established compositional pattern leads us in this direction.

Connected to these considerations is the problem of the relationship between local, oral tradition and Hittite scribal form.[17] Spells, often formed by complex figures of speech and rhythmic formulas and inserted so abundantly in some of the magic rituals, are interpreted as testimony of a preexisting oral tradition (Francia 2013: 165-166). Some scholars, on the other hand, consider those spells to be the result of an intervention of the scribes who formulated the rituals (Torri 2003a). Because the surviving ritual compositions were scribal products removed from their original performative contexts, the question arises whether they, and more particularly, their oral components, were actually intended to be performed (Frankfurter 2019: 608). The role of the written dimension in transforming and fixing what were probably originally oral products inevitably raises questions about reception.

The problem in addressing such questions is that we still know very little about the processes by which local, oral incantations were introduced into the Hittite repertoire. That said, just a few possible examples of this process have come to light. A Luwian birth ritual attributed to a woman named Pittei (Giorgieri 2004: 409-426) shows signs of having been a draft inscribed by a scribe on a scrap piece of clay as the native Luwian-speaking expert dictated to him in Hittite. It includes *historiolae* and incantations containing numerous Luwian words (indicated in bold in TEXT #7) that are designed to protect the mother and newborn in the event of an ill omen involving the moon:

TEXT #7: Birth Ritual of Pittei (CTH 767.7: KUB 44.4+)
"(rev. 22-24')Tongues, tongues, where are you going? We are going to **flatten** (:palḫuna *paiweni*) out the rock... We are going to **break** (*duwarnum*[*anzi*] *paiweni*) the obsidian. Likewise to cage (GIŠ-*ruanzi* KI.MIN) the lion. Likewise to **fetter** the wolf (:patalḫauna KI.MIN). Likewise to **lift** (lalauna[!]) the ***zammantis*** boy (i.e., the newborn)." (transl. Bachvarova 2013: 140)[18]

Similar incantations are found in another ritual known as "The Lord of the Tongue" (TEXT #8). In this text, however, the incantations are fully edited and adapted to the Hittite morphological norm as discussed by Ilya Yakubovich (2010: 404):

TEXT #8: "The Lord of the Tongue" (CTH 338: KUB 12.62)
"(obv. 10'-12')10 Tongue, my lord, where are you going? I am going to devour the road, I am going to cage the lion, I am going to pluck the *alili*-bird, I am going to lift the human." (trans. Bachvarova 2013: 148)[19]

Whether CTH 338 is an adapted version of Pittei's original incantation or of another, similar text (Yakubovich 2010: 404), its oral origins are in evidence, even after scribal modification, which leaves open the promise that other incantations in Hittite remain true in essence to their own oral origins.

A similar case is attested in two other texts cataloged as Blessings for the King Labarna, respectively designated as CTH 820.4 (MH; TEXT #9a) and CTH 820.5.1 (LH; TEXT #9b). The ritual context of these incantations

[17] See about this topic also Francia 2013: 172.
[18] Similar interpretation by Giorgieri 2004: 410.
[19] On this text and its poetic style see Francia 2013: 170, and Francia 2016: 3-4, who interprets this passage differently: "[Vado] dalla strada *per divorare*; vado dal leone *per fissar(lo) (magicamente)*; vado dal fiore *per raccorglierlo*; vado dall'uomo *per parlare.*"

is not entirely clear, although Charles W. Steitler has recently demonstrated that they were originally construction rituals, symbolically connected to the construction of kingship.[20]

TEXT #9a: Blessings for the King Labarna (CTH 820: KBo 21.22)
§5 (obv. 22 '-26 ')"Open!" – "Where are you from?" – "I come from a pure (place)." – "From which pure (place)?" – "From the *zaḫanittena*." – "From which *zaḫanittena*?"[21] – "From the Temple of the Sun deity." – "From which Sun deity?" – "His figure is new, his chest is new, his [head] is new, his manliness is new; §6 (l.e. 27 '-28 ')His [te]eth (are that) of a lion, [his] ey[es] (are that) of an eagle and he lo[oks around] like an eagle."

TEXT #9b: Blessings for the King Labarna (CTH 820: 1.A, KBo 13.22+ = 1.B, KUB 55.2)
§3 (1.A1+2 rev. 1-5 = 1.B obv. 5 '-7'; rev. 1-2)The palace servant says: "Open!". The Old Woman (MUNUSŠU.GI) says: "[From where] do you come (Pl.)?" Thus [the palace servant (DUMU.LUGAL)] (answers): "From a pure pl[ace." The Old Wo]man (says): "From which pu[re] (place)?" The palace servant (answers): "From the *zaḫane*[*ttenna*-]." [The Old Woman (says)]: "From which *zaḫanettenna*-?" The palace servant (answers): "From the temple of the Sun deity." The Old Woman (says): "What (does) the Sun deity (look like?)" §4 (1.A1+2 rev. 6-10 = 1.B rev. 3-5)"His figure is new, his chest is new, his manliness is new. His head is of iron, his teeth are that of a lion, his eyes are that of an eagl[e] and he looks around like an eagle."[22]

The two texts feature a dialogue: in the first case, the older text does not provide any information regarding the actors, whereas in the more recent version, they are identified as an Old Woman (MUNUSŠU.GI) and a palace servant (DUMU.LUGAL). The incantation in the second text (TEXT #9b) appears to be a fully edited adaptation of the first one (TEXT #9a), which depicts a dialogue without mentioning the actors, as if it had been hastily written down by the scribe.

According to the previous examples we may propose that some of these recitations, dialogues, and particularly analogic spells, were considered effective enough that they became integrated into the written tradition, suitable for use in other compositions. The fact that those other compositions include personal prayers, which we can confidently state were intended to be recited, suggests that incantations were also intended to be performed at some point in the ritual's life.

3. INCANTATION AS PRAYER

Echoing the conclusions of Fritz Graf for ancient Greece (1991: 194), Hittite incantations and prayers are coterminous. For the Hittites there is no distinction between incantations and prayers in terms of their effectiveness. Both seek to transform a situation in the real world. Both are performed orally in a group setting. Like prayers, incantations can address the deity directly (TEXT ##3a and 3b). Finally, both rely on rhetorical tools based on the premise that speaking the right way will ensure success. So goes the plea in Ḫantitaššu's ritual: "You, O Sun God, eat! Because I am continually reciting and incanting these things, grant them to me, O Sun God" (CTH 395 §11'). Only in cases of magic intended to do harm — real or imagined — does the utterance cross over into illegality (Hitt. *alwanzatar*, Sum. Ḫ$_7$; Mouton 2010), as in the curses made before the deity in TEXT ##2 and 4.

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[20] Editions by Galina Kellerman (1978: 199-208) and Alfonso Archi (1979: 43-44) Recently Charles W. Steitler (2017: 134-136) proposed that CTH 820.4 could be interpreted as a real construction ritual (parallel to a Hattian ritual). According to him CTH 820.5.1 (Steitler 2017: 259-271), was probably part of a ritual composed for the strengthening of the king. It is based on fragments in the Hittite language that have a counterpart in the Hattian language (CTH 820.5.2; Steitler 2017: 259-260).

[21] About this unknown word see HEG IV/16: 608. It is attested only here and in the parallel version CTH 820.5. According to the context it is a cultic space, particularly pure, which can be identified with the temple of the Sun deity.

[22] Following Steitler 2017: 263 it is proposed the reading is *ud-da-ni-iš-še-t*[*a-wa...*], as variant of *udne,* according also to the possible parallel in Hattic language te=wu$_u$r. However, the possible mistake in the use of the case, dative rather than nominative, arouses some perplexity in adopting this solution.

Within the context of Near Eastern religion, Hittite magic rituals are a distinctly original cultural product. Although, in composing their magic texts, the Hittites borrowed and reworked motifs and practices from Syria and other populations of Anatolia, the influx of Mesopotamian rituals into Anatolia followed a different transmission process. As Daniel Schwemer has observed, Babylonian magic craft was popular and in great demand in Ḫattuša, but it coexisted with the Anatolian ritual tradition, and their interaction was apparently limited to a small number of examples (Schwemer 2013: 165-166). The similarity of certain symbolisms, used in incantations, such as the opposition between right and left in the ritual actions preceding TEXT #2: "He breaks the loaf **on the left** and puts it on the ground, then he offers wine **on the left**, and speaks in the following way (KUB 17.28 ii 37-39; Torri 2013, on-line edition)"; or binding and unbinding (TEXT #4) have been placed in relation to the Mesopotamian tradition of the *Šurpu* and *Maqlû* series, and the Namburbi rituals (Strauß 2002: 326; Puértolas Rubio 2019: 61). More generally, oral rites, such as the incantations, accompanied by manual rites involving the manipulation of materials, performed and recited by professional healers, can be understood in both Anatolia and Mesopotamia as methods to deal with and eventually solve human crises (Abusch 2015: 1-3). Possible analogies between magic traditions are therefore to be considered as sources for cross-cultural similarities rather than cases of cultural borrowing (Schwemer 2013, 147).

The Hittite desire to collect ritual knowledge, however, was not a *theoretical* thirst for knowledge, as Daniel Schwemer (2007: 256) has pointed out.[23] "Foreign" rituals were collected from different regions throughout Anatolia and northern Syria in order *to be used* at the royal court. By integrating them to greater and lesser extents into their existing body of religious literature, the Hittite scribes have left us with a unique record of prayer traditions from across Anatolia.

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[23] See also Miller 2004: 458-461.

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The Multifaceted Possibilities of Small Objects: Notes of the Potential of Southern Levantine Signet Rings[1]

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Abstract. Signet rings constitute a class of materials whose study lies at the intersection of ancient jewelry and glyptic. Traditional approaches to the study of this artifact class have focused almost exclusively on issues related to typology, iconographical apparatus, and art historical analyses, with little consideration to the cultural and social interconnections. Signet rings may constitute a case study in their fundamental importance for a more complete picture of the trade networks, people and material movements and interconnections between peoples, cultures, and societies in the world of the Southern Levant within the context of the Eastern Mediterranean basin.

Keywords: signet ring, Southern Levant, seals, jewelry, personal ornaments, trade and interconnections.

SIGNET RINGS IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT: STATE OF THE ART AND RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

A Brief State of The Art Summary

Signet rings – and rings more broadly – have long been restricted to plates at the end of excavation reports, resulting in their incorporation into rather basic catalogues at the expense of more systematic inquiries about their potential to study communities and society: the object itself, which is

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most often poly-material, provides the possibility to track movements of people, materials, motifs, trade, and production techniques.

Without detracting from the historical and artistic value of these artefacts, jewelry in general has been subject to mixed fortunes in the last 200 years of archaeological research.

The earliest approaches to this class of materials had a distinctly 'collecting' and 'antiquarian' attitude, while the first studies with a scientific semblance, or at least a cataloguing spirit – as the aim of ordering rings originated more from museums and private collections according to some parameter – have been conducted since the end of the 19th century (Newberry 1906 or Marshall 1907).

Between the two World Wars, even though this was the time of the first major archaeological expeditions, the 'small finds' are published in appendices, without adequate contextual specifications or technological studies. Interest in raw materials only became apparent from the second half/end of the 20th century with the publication of few specialized journals (e.g., *Art and Archaeology Technical Abstracts* and *Gold Bulletin*) and the publication of the first edition of Moorey's volume in 1994. As far as the Near East (and Egypt) is concerned, it is worth mentioning the year 1971, in which three reference works were published approaching several classes of jewelry (with sections devoted to finger-rings and signet rings), systematically studied, with a culturally holistic attempted approach (Wilkinson 1971; Aldred 1971 and Maxwell-Hyslop 1971). In the 1970-80s, publications flourished on specific classes of jewelry such as pendants (Platt 1976 or McGovern 1985), or ornaments studied by the context of discovery – e.g., to name just a few the Tell el-'Ajjul treasury, the Gezer treasury or the Beth Shemesh treasury (respectively Negbi 1970; Seger 1976 and Tadmor and Misch-Brandl 1970); for rings and signet-rings the Boardman's 1970 volume, with its various reprints, remains a milestone in terms of construction of the typology, and organization of the vast material covered. Although in the last years of the 1900s, there is no shortage of typological studies, an underestimation of what is now called 'anthropology of ornamentation' is visible. It is only in the last 20 years that the attention of archaeologist has turned to raw materials and their processing (e.g. Nicholson and Shaw 2000), as well as to the connection between the ornament and the person wearing it (e.g., Limmer 2007; Green 2007; Brody and Friedman 2007; Cifarelli 2014; and some contributions from a conference edited by Nosch and Laffineur 2012). Milestones for the study of Southern Levant jewelry to date are Golani 2013 and Verduci 2018, in which a section is devoted to rings.

The last decades of the last century is when signet rings also come under the lens of interest of those studying glyptic, with Keel's volumes (e.g., 1995 with the relevant chapter). Clearly the interest of those scholars was focused on iconographic motifs and little on the practices of ostentation, use and the role in society of the object itself.

Signet Rings in Context

The protagonists of this paper will therefore be, as mentioned, the signet rings, those rings that due to their decorated and engraved bezel could also be used in the practice of sealing to affix their own recognizable mark/signature to validate, authorize or close goods, documents, transactions or even palaces premises (e.g. warehouses or storage rooms – or tombs).

Those signet rings (also called three-dimensional rings or solid rings) were formed by hoop and bezel produced – at least in the initial phase of their circulation – in one solid piece, with a unique casting or hoop and bezel soldered together and commonly made of metals, such as gold, silver, and bronze. Only a few specimens are preserved in faience due to the fragile nature of this material, and very few examples carved in hard stones such as carnelian, steatite, hematite or quartz (Fig. 1).

So called tridimensional signet rings, are first attested in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze II (1350-1150 BCE ca.) and likely spread from Egypt. Conceptually they echo the well-known scarab rings also of Egyptian provenance, which were already adopted and widespread in the Southern Levant by the Middle Bronze II (1700-1600 BCE ca.), partly retaining their original administrative function. Rings with bezels, of different shapes, soldered or formed in one piece with the ring may have an administrative, authentication, or control practice of use

Fig. 1. Signet rings from Southern Levant. Gold: Megiddo, Photo by C. Amit © IAA (Guy 1938: 173-174, Pl. 128:15). Silver: Deir el Balah, Photo by Unknown © Keel/BODO (Keel 2010: 452-453, No. 123). Bronze: Amman, Photo by Unknown © Keel/BODO (Eggler and Keel 2006: 23-24, No. 78). Faience: Ashkelon, Photo by Zev Radovan © The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (Keel 1997: 704-705, No. 42). Carnelian: Deir el-Balah, Photo by Unknown © Keel/ Bodo (Keel 2010: 454-455, No. 129). Ensteatite: Tell Zira'a, Photo by Ernst Brückelmann ©DEI/BAI (Vieweger 2011: 302, 350: Fig. 3.63-64, 3.145).

which was quite likely in Egypt, but this is difficult to prove in the Southern Levant due to the lack of recognized and recognizable impressions. The custom of tying a seal on the finger probably developed from the earlier use to wearing it around the neck or wrist, that made it possible to always have the seal handy on the body.

In Egypt, the first practice was to tie the seal (or the scarab) with a simple thread (Andrews 1990: 163) which has not been preserved. One of the first objects of this type retrieved in the Southern Levant, in which the simple thread is in gold is the specimen from Tomb 15 at Gibeon dated to the Middle Bronze Age II-III (Pritchard 1963: 154 no. 8 and fig. 70:22). (Fig. 2).

In order to begin exploring signet rings, during my experience in the 'Stamp Seals from the Southern Levant' Project the database has been queried (https://cssl.levantineseals.org), resulting the ability to quickly wade through thousands of excavated objects to meet my tailored search parameters. At the moment of the first writing of this paper, 118 signet rings are catalogued in the SSSL database. The earliest object dates to the middle of the 18th

Fig. 2. Gibeon ring with scarab in gold and ensteatite (or fired steatite), MB II-III. Tomb 15. Photograph by unknown, © Keel/BODO; drawings by U. Zurkinden (Keel 2013: 482-483, No. 43).

Dynasty with the most recent one dated to the beginning of Hellenistic period (5th-4th century BCE); only four percent of the objects remain undated. It is likely that not all the objects collected under the name 'signet ring' were conceived and used as seals, as many of them were too fragile and/or thin, or their bezels were too shallowly engraved to leave a clear image once impressed (e.g. Fig. 3).

How Can One Study Ancient Societies Through Finger Rings?

'As jewelry in the past functioned beyond just ornamentation, personal ornaments should thus be studied through their archaeological and cultural context in order to understand the social, religious and economic func-

Fig. 3. 'Signet ring' from Tell el Far'ah South, silver. Late Bronze Age IIB. © Institute of Archaeology, UCL London. (MacDonald, Starkey and Harding 1932: Pl. LXXIII:65).

Fig. 4. Nesperennub's mummy hands with rings. 23rd Dynasty, Luxor. British Museum. (Taylor 2011: 33).

tions of jewelry in ancient societies. Research of personal adornments from the ancient Near East has shown that they can be appreciated as objects transmitting information and reflecting social changes' (Golani 2020: 172).

More concretely, but summarizing, we can say that these objects can be an expression or manifestation of gender, age, cultural markers, symbols of rank, social role, status, but also a measure of wealth, or they can play a role in worship and religion.

Most of the signet rings found in the Near East originate from funerary contexts, intentional deposit less subject to exposure from natural or anthropogenic factors. The connection between communities and social dynamics is evident in the set of practices, codes of behavior, and associations of materials and bodies performed inside and around the tomb. Artifacts can also be created explicitly for the tomb, as the reference to the vulture-like pendant from a passage from the Egyptian Book of the Dead (Andrews 1990: 198). The Egyptian burials have in this case returned numerous rings: the hands of mummies are in this case precious evidence (Fig. 4). The depiction of rings on the hands of the anthropomorphic figures depicted on New Kingdom sarcophagi are indeed valuable evidence of the object in the stage of the use, as the Southern Levant is scarce in detailed human representations.

Different forms of ornamentation can differentiate roles and reinforce identity and perception of belonging to a specific community. Given overlap in categories, in remains such as personal ornaments – and jewelry – is extreme difficult discerning purely ornamental items from good-luck or apotropaic objects as also shapes and colors can take on a symbolic and protective power.

The creation of a multi-material object or the expression of different styles requires a variety of technical expertise ranging from simple stone roughed and drilled to jewelry techniques such as granulation and filigree, but also the management of operational chains, such as the creation of faience and at the same time the intersection of techniques in sharing workspaces. As noted by Dobres (2000: 135) 'In technical matters, there is always more than one way to get a job done. Why technicians work their material resources in some ways and others, therefore, becomes an important question.' As small portable objects resulting from various production techniques and materials, signet rings can reveal deep interconnections with the society or culture in which they were worn and used.

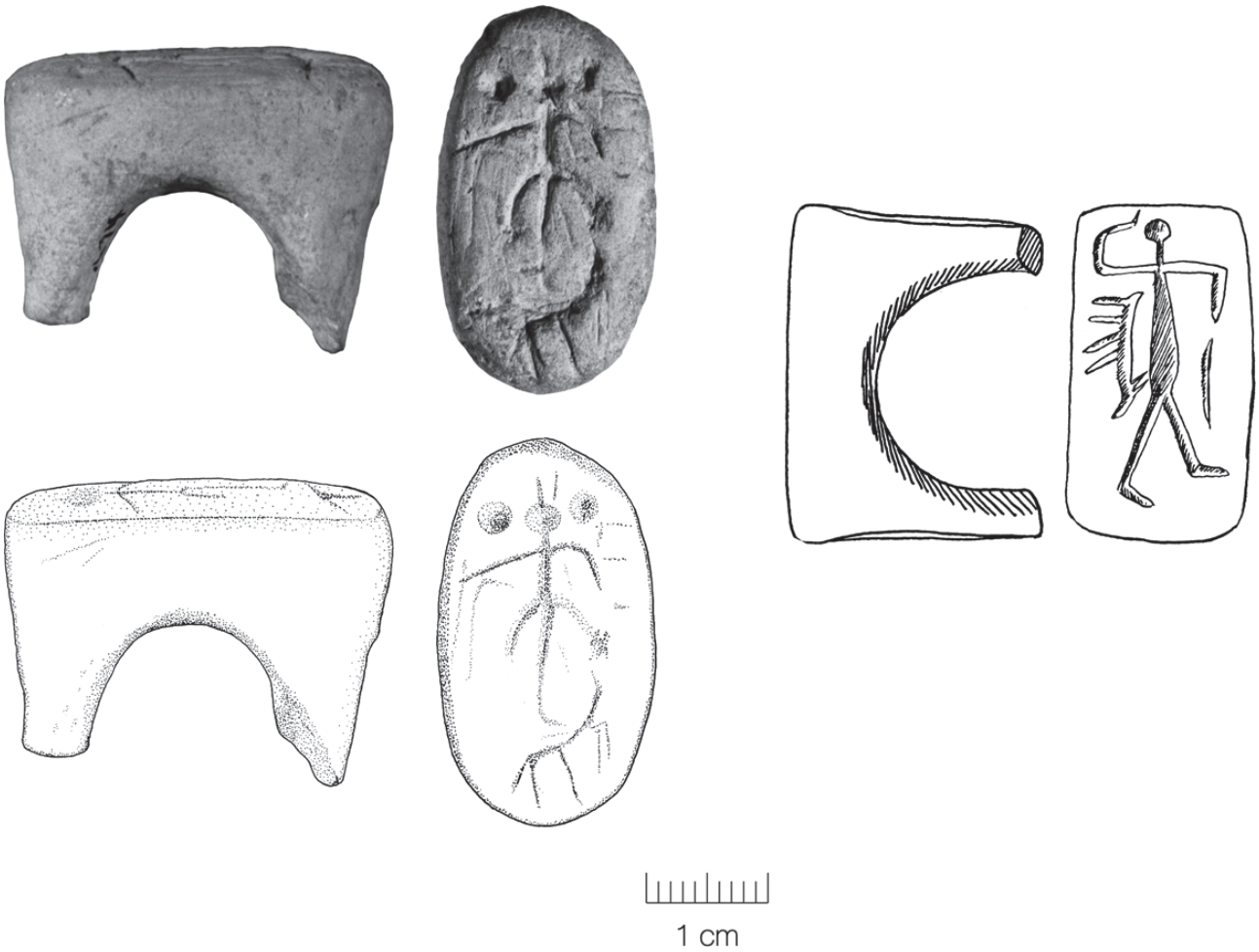

Fig. 5. Tell Beit Mirsim_39_compositeImage_BBCB7034-E306-49F9-9A5E-6D943E453148.png. © CSAPI/OBO, CSAPI/OBO (drawn by Ulrike Zurkinden) and Tell Beit Mirsim_42_compositeImage_67A1C239-82BF-4427-836F-56D25E9C1335.png. © CSAPI/OBO.

The study of typology[2] and production of signet rings can be very useful, once chronologically anchored, to learn about developments in jewelry techniques of manufacture.

As preliminary suggestions of the potential of these small objects in the SSSL Project database, among the rings dated to the Late Bronze and Iron Age (13th – 11st BCE century), my attention was caught by two objects, named Tell Beit Mirsim 39 and Tell Beit Mirsim 42 – after the name of the site where they were found (Albright 1938: No. 1674 and No. 1489). (Fig. 5).

Two reasons, in my opinion, make them noteworthy, the material in which they are made – limestone – certainly uncommon for the making of rings, but common for the making of other types of seals, and the iconographic apparatus that completes them with the engraving on the bezel in the same rather schematic style of an anthropomorphic figure on a quadruped.

[2] A new typologization is proposed by the author in a forthcoming article 'Between methodology and anthropology: research perspectives on signet-rings".

As for the use of limestone for production, this is easily available, and of preferred use due to the shortage of precious raw materials witnessed in the region after the Late Bronze Age system of lively trade went into crisis due to changing political conditions throughout the Mediterranean basin.

The genesis of the representation engraved on the bezel is as interesting as the production and probable history of the object's use itself. The combination between the use of limestone and stylized anthropomorphic iconographies is well defined by Keel in his group 'Philistine anchor-seals' (Keel 1994). In the rather large group collected by Keel, however, a further selection can be traced, based on the specifical iconography proposed and the truncated pyramid shape, halfway between the shapes known in the Late Bronze Age and the future "conoids" of the Iron Age. As already identified by Keel, Shuval and Uehlinger (1990: 388-389) the group defined here can be attributed to a specific region as can be seen from the map, with rare cases beyond the borders. The dating of the specimens is consistent, ranging from the 13th to the 10th century BCE as the final date (Fig. 6).

As regards this iconography that Keel describes as 'human figure on a rudimental animal' (Keel 1994: 30), various scholars have dealt with it (Keel *et al.,* 1990; Keel and Uehlinger 1998; Schroer 2018: 70-71), with the most accredited identification seeing Ba'al or Seth above the quadruped (lion?). In the decoration of the lunettes of the proposed rings, as well as of other seals, circular filling elements (stars?) are added. The similarity in the features and in engraving technique are surprising in all specimens.

Where does the tradition of these seals with such a particular shape come from? An explanation is also provided to us by Keel, who proposes that these small anchors are the miniaturization of the anchors that were offered as ex-votos in the Levantine sanctuaries (e.g. Ba'al temple in Ugarit) as thanks for a successful journey, maybe by sea (Keel 1994: 28 note 11).

From the practice of objects dedicated in temples, and therefore static objects, my hypothesis is that the passage could have been made to always have the object with you, with a given benefit as apotropaic value thanks to the representation of the divinity. For this purpose, the objects connected to the cultic sphere are miniaturized, perforated in the upper part to be suspended and used as a pendant. The rings presented here therefore fall, fully into the satisfaction of the desire to perceive the protective divinity next to oneself by wearing an object full of meaning, but according to a different custom, experimenting with a different form of ornamental accessory around a finger.

SIGNET RINGS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SCENARIO: PORTABILITY AND INTERCONNECTIONS

Displacements: Raw Materials on the Move

Over the course of the Bronze and Iron Age, exploitation of the raw materials in the Mediterranean basin shifted alongside alternating power structures, influences, and empires. Most of the gold used in the Near East was native, either mined from gold veins or collected in the form of pebbles from alluvial deposits; in its native state it has impurities often reflected by the presence of silver in quantities ranging five to fifty percent. The most exploited gold mines for the supply of gold in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200/1150 BCE) and early Iron Age (ca. 1150–950 BCE) was certainly those of Egypt and Nubia. The Turin Goldmine papyrus (Fig. 7) dated to the 20th Dynasty reveals the Egyptians defined three mining regions in the Eastern Desert (Ogden 2000: 161). Amongst the first evidence of the use of gold in the Southern Levant is the assemblage of objects found in the cave of Nahal Qaneh (modern Israel), dated to the fourth millennium BCE in which gold was likely imported from Egypt (Genz and Hauptman 2002: 151).

The second most common metal used in jewelry production is silver with its metallurgy, in which the metal was obtained through its extraction from lead ores such as galena (lead sulphite) or cerussite (lead carbonate), that also dates to the fourth millennium BCE. Recent research on the provenance of silver used in Southern Levant, based on the analysis of silver pieces from hoards, determined that those pieces dated to the Late Bronze Age origi-

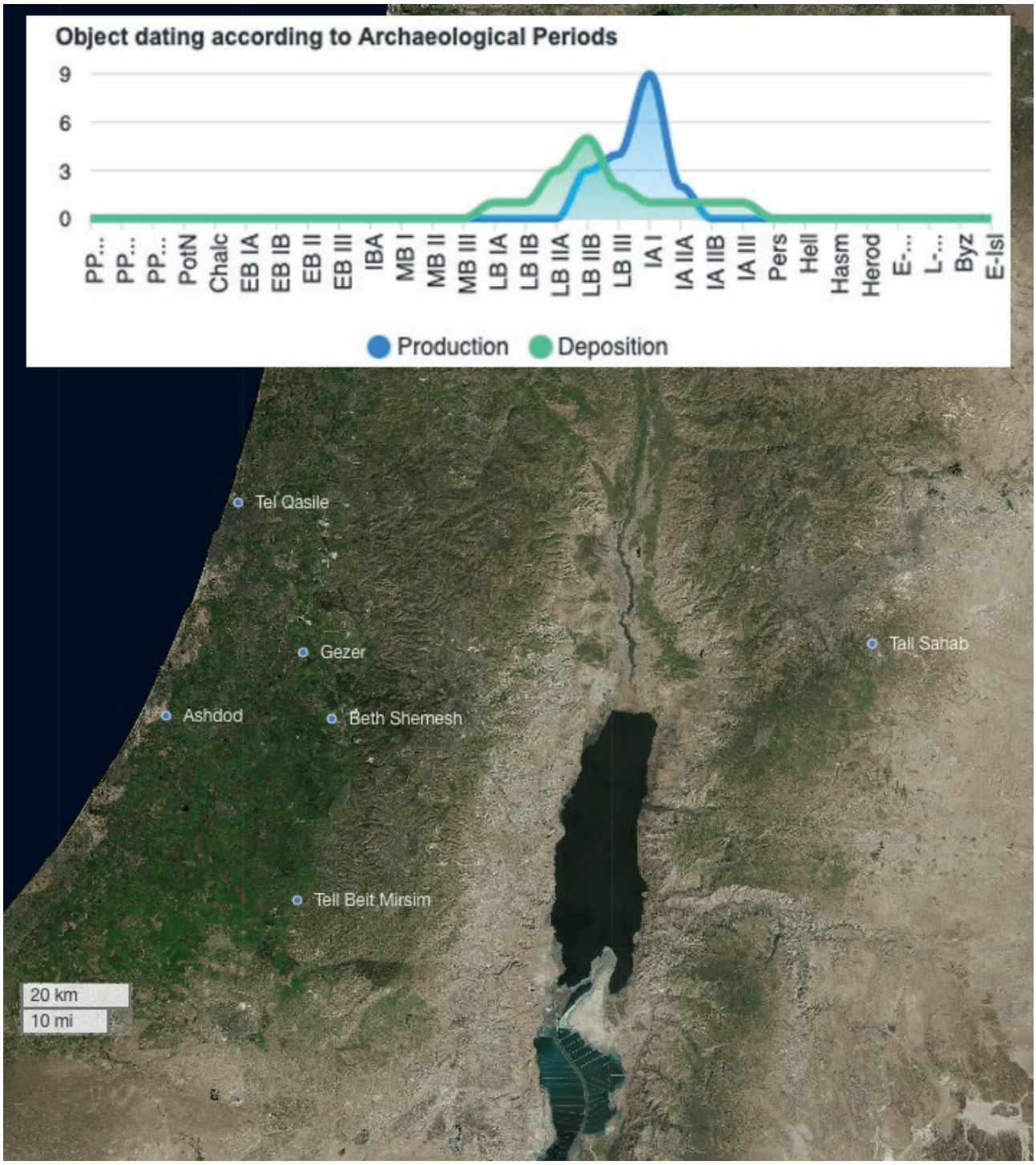

Fig. 6. Map of distribution of the seals in Fig. 5 and period of diffusion. https://cssl.levantineseals.org/#/

nated from a range of mines from Anatolia and the Aegean, whereas the ones dated to the later periods originated from Anatolia the Western Mediterranean (Sardinia and Iberia), and maybe Iran (Eshel *et al.* 2021; Gentelli *et al.* 2021; Wood *et al.* 2019).

Fig. 7. Turin Goldmine Papyrus. Museo Egizio Torino Cat. 1879 + 1969 + 1899. New Kingdom. https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/Cat_1879_1969_1899

The procurement of semi-precious and hard stones (steatite, amethyst and carnelian in particular), which saw their greatest use in the making of stamp seals during the Middle Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age, originated mainly from the Eastern Desert of Egypt. It was probably a desire to imitate

the color and the shine of the stones that prompted the production of substitute materials: 'newly' produced and almost ubiquitously materials such as faience (and various glass products) and ceramics. With less effort and less manpower, but more technology, aesthetically competitive materials were obtained.

Southern Levantine Signet Rings: Portable and Interconnected Objects. A focus on the Late Bronze Age

The concentration of signet rings in the Southern Levant occurs, as mentioned, during the Late Bronze Age II. This historical period coincides with the strong Egyptian presence in the Levantine area and the circulation of Egyptian or Egyptian-style jewelry. Rings arriving from Egypt in the Levant could be both personal possessions of Egyptian personnel working in the territory (officers, military and specialized personnel) but also objects of trade or exchange, appreciated by the local populations as luxury and fashionable goods. The Late Bronze Age is also the most prosperous period for Levantine jewelry with a large percentage of finds, which easily connects with the stability and revival of production and trade to which the Egyptian presence contributed. From the point of view of the production technology, the increasing skills of craftsmen in handling, casting, modelling and decoration (see e.g. granulation) techniques of small objects emerges.

The Aegean Area returned in Late Bronze Age contexts about a thousand objects from Egypt and the Near East, and at the same time Mycenaean and Minoan pottery have been found in the Southern Levant. It seems, however, that jewelry from Mainland Greece, Mycenae and Crete was not particularly valued elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, as it does not seem to have been exported as massively as Egyptian jewelry.

As corridor between north and south, as well as a bridge to inland regions such as Mesopotamia, the Southern Levantine economy was certainly influenced by the needs and demands of the major political entities around the East Mediterranean Basin. The fall of the so-called 'great empires' at the end of the Late Bronze Age characterized a transition from a trade system supervised and conveyed by a central organization to a period characterized by 'personal' initiative, groups of merchants acting on their own behalf with relative financial autonomy. According to Zaccagnini (1987: 57). and Liverani (1987: 67) (see also Tucci 2018: 424 and Golani – Tucci forthcoming), the merchants of the Late Bronze Age operated under the status of employees of palace or temple-based institutions, assuming that most of their earnings were derived from high-level exchanges. When the social organization of the Late Bronze Age collapsed, however, some of these merchants managed to reorganize themselves by guaranteeing exchanges at a more restricted level.

In this framework, the circulation of metal seems to have continued, albeit in a minor tone throughout different trade networks, with copious use of recycled metal (Killebrew 2014: 601). As far as materials are concerned, the graph clearly shows us according to the different periods of the signet rings, which metals are used more and which less from the Late Bronze Age later on (Fig. 8). On the vertical axis is the number of signet rings and on the

Fig. 8. Selected materials used for the production of signet rings. X axis = years; Y axis =quantity; made on 118 items (made by the Author).

horizontal axis is the timeline from Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period. I argue that the trend of the data collected up to this point is perfectly anchored in the socio-cultural landscape of the time when these objects were in circulation. The use of different metals in producing rings fluctuate following market flows.

Treasures in the Holds of Wrecks: Trade and Contact in the Mediterranean Basin

The cargoes in the holds of ships wrecked in the Mediterranean provide insight into the nature of long-distance trade (Bachhuber 2020: 1091). Roughly six shipwrecks dated between the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age have been investigated (see Bachhuber 2020: Fig. 5.1.1 and for the Late Bronze Age wrecks see Arif 2016)[3]. While cylinder seals and scarabs were found in more than one wreck (e.g., Cape Gelidonya, Bass *et al.* 1967), only two massive rings were found in the Uluburun shipwreck, one fragmentary in gold, and one complete in silver. This shipwreck was discovered in the early 1980s, a few miles off the coast of South-Turkey in the Kas peninsula. The core of the cargo was typical for the Late Bronze Age, comprising copper, tin, and lead ingots, and ceramic containers (Bass *et al.* 1989) – unfortunately the content falls in the percentage of untraced perishable materials that reached the Aegean area from the Levant coast and from Egypt. The cargo also included 14 amber beads from the Balkan peninsula, attesting to the complex networks by which goods circulated. It is generally accepted that the ship's itinerary was from the east to the west with a port of departure identified on the coast of the Southern Levant (Bachhuber 2020: 1094).

With the exception of the cargo of raw materials (copper, tin, glass ingots, ivory), agricultural products (such as olive oil, terebinth resin and pomegranates), figurines, weapons, weight, balances, and jewelry, most of them with

[3] At the time of this article's revision, it was recently reported that another wreck had been found 90 km off the Israeli coast https://www.haaretz.com/archaeology/2024-06-20/ty-article/energy-company-finds-earliest-deep-sea-shipwreck-and-its-canaanite/00000190-30c6-d39e-a999-76ce580f0000.

Fig. 9. Uluburun gold signet ring (KW 603). (Weinstein 2008: 360 No. 225).

Fig. 10. Ring of Ramesses IV. Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 37.727E. Creative Commons-BY (Photo: Brooklyn Museum).

striking comparisons in the jewelry of the Tell el-'Ajjul site (see disc pendants and falcon earrings – KV1672, 138 and KV94), were identified as personal 'possessions' of the ship's crew, which seemed to be composed of various geographical origins (Syro-Canaanite, Mycenean and the north of the Greece, Pulak 2008: 300).

The two rings mentioned previously, one in gold (Fig. 9) and one in silver, are now stored in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology (Turkey). The gold ring (KW 603) is actually composed of an alloy (gold and silver), similar to electrum, is dated to 1300 BCE ca. and would appear to have been produced in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. Only the upper half of the bezel is preserved, on which three signs are recognizable: a feather of Maat, the Egyptian goddess of justice; the figure of a vulture in the center; and a human figure (seated?) holding an *ankh*, maybe wearing a crown. The exact reading of the signs remains unclear and proposed parallels are part of the bezel of a ring from Leiden (Newberry 1906: Pl. 31:34.) and a ring in silver alloy from Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 10). Both parallels are not exactly consistent.

As suggested by Pulak (1988: 27), however, the ring was part of a treasure trove of gold objects ready to be reworked. The ring was found near other pieces of cut or folded gold jewelry. Cut marks – 'intentional destruction' as mentioned by Weinstein (1989: 23) – are visible on the ring, which defunctionalized in order to achieve another use. Among these precious gold objects, a small scarab of Queen Nefertiti was also recovered (KW 772), made of gold and in excellent condition (Weinstein 1989: 17). The scarab could be kept both for resale as 'exotica' to be soldered onto a new ring, but also as a re-melting item.

A little further south of this small treasure of precious objects, with which tools and some weapons were also associated, a second ring in silver (KW 650), dated to the 15th or 14th century BCE, was found. The bezel of the ring is extremely worn and bears a series of vertically arranged hieroglyphics. Weinstein tentatively (1989: 22) recognized the signs as, from bottom to top: a *nb* sign; a pair of crossed arrows, likely the symbol of the goddess Neith; and a counterpoise.

Fig. 11. Beth Shemesh hoard, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Photograph by the author.

Both the rings here presented have been intentionally stored as a cargo to be sold probably because of the preciousness of their material. Either because ruined and fragmentary or because the symbolic value they probably had in their original context was no longer recognized, these small travelling objects no longer served as personal ornaments, but as in many other cases, as recycling material.

A TALE TO BE CONTINUED: SIGNET RINGS FROM ONE HAND TO HAND

The practice of hoarding small pieces of precious metal for re-smelting and processing is quite well known in the Southern Levant, several small treasures made from scraps – also with rings fragments – were found in the region site's such as Megiddo, Beth Shean, Beth Shemesh (see respectively Arie *et al.,* 2019; Thompson 2009; Tadmor – Brandl 1980) (Fig. 11), or near the coast of Yavneh-Yam in a shipwreck dated to the Late Bronze Age, the probable small personal treasure of a merchant was found (Golani and Galili 2015). The association between small scraps of jewelry, passed from hand to hand, defunctionalized from their ornamental use at the end of their life, and weighing instruments reoccurs, as seen also in the Uluburun wreck.

It is certain that the practice of hoarding was more frequent from the end of the Late Bronze Age, when the shortage of silver after the collapse of the main networks and, at the same time, the loss of the influence of the great powers have changed trajectories and practices, and additionally the role, during the Iron Age, of Phoenician merchants in this reorganization of trade in the Mediterranean is evident (Wood *et al.,* 2019: 24).

Determining the value of a luxury object therefore goes far beyond its mere economic value; at the same time, even a small object such as a ring, if made of a precious material such as gold or silver, can be treasured and take on currency value. What is certain is that in whatever way these objects circulated, they contributed to the community circulation of materials, technology, ideas and anthropological understandings.

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The Tomb of Two Priestesses? The Late Neo-Elamite Jubaji Tomb in a Religious-Royal Context

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With an appendix on the Jubaji inscriptions by Gian Pietro Basello (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")

Abstract. This article revisits one of the most significant archaeological discoveries in southwest Iran in recent decades, a rich early-mid 6th century BCE tomb of two women, unearthed near the village of Jubaji on the Ramhormoz plain in 2007. Based on the sumptuous grave assemblages and the inclusion of a gold ceremonial 'ring' inscribed with the name of a late Neo-Elamite king, Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata, the tomb's excavator, Arman Shishegar, reasonably interpreted the women – one aged under 17 years, the other 30-35 years – as princesses. Here it is argued that the women may have been important figures in a religious institution based on a combination of the context of the tomb, which seems to have been in an association with a monumental structure, and certain elements of the assemblages. While none of the individual items is significant in isolation, when put together they are highly suggestive of a cultic environment. These include several semiprecious stone beads, including two inscribed eye-stones, that were already very ancient when deposited, special ritual paraphernalia, the bronze coffins that held the women's remains, the inscribed gold 'ring' naming Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata, and an inscribed gold object (perhaps a bracelet) of a cult officiant. This is not to say that the roles of princess and priestess were by any means mutually exclusive, but it is the religious aspect that has yet to be investigated. A reassessment here of the significance of the inscribed objects from the Jubaji tomb in a religious context is taken as an occasion to publish new transliterations, translations, and analyses of the inscriptions by Gian Pietro Basello.

Keywords: Elam, Jubaji, Ramhormuz plain, priestess, Kurigalzu.

One of the most significant archaeological discoveries in southwest Iran in recent decades is a rich late Neo-Elamite tomb of two women, unearthed by chance near the village of Jubaji on the Ramhormoz plain in 2007 (map

Fig. 1a).[1] Based on the sumptuous grave assemblages and the inclusion of a gold ceremonial 'ring' inscribed with the name of an Elamite king, Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata, the tomb's excavator, Arman Shishegar, reasonably interpreted the women – one aged under 17 years, the other 30-35 years – as royal family members.[2] Accordingly, Shishegar entitled the 2015 final excavation report 'The Tomb of Two Princesses'.

Here I would like to revisit in more detail my earlier proposal that the women may have been important figures in a religious institution (Wicks 2019, 2023). This is not to say that the roles of princess and priestess were by any means mutually exclusive, but it is the religious aspect that has yet to be properly investigated. Points of particular interest are the context of the tomb (section i), which seems to be in an association with a monumental structure, and the assemblages. Even though they were composed mainly of the same grave good genres as other elite Neo-Elamite burial assemblages – storage and serving vessels, perfume vessels, adornments, mirrors, weapons, and even luxury fabrics – they contained certain additional items suggestive of a cultic context for the reasons I will elaborate on here. They include several semiprecious stone beads that were already very ancient when deposited, including two inscribed eye-stones (section ii), special ritual paraphernalia (section iii), the bronze coffins that held the women's remains (section iv), and the inscribed gold 'ring' naming Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata and an inscribed gold bracelet (?) of a cult officiant (section v). A reassessment of the significance of the inscribed objects here in a religious context is taken as an occasion to publish new transliterations, translations, and analyses of the inscriptions by Gian Pietro Basello (appendix).

1. TOMB CONTEXT

The subterranean stone tomb was encountered during the digging of a canal next to the 'Ala River near Jubaji (Fig. 1b). It belonged to an extensive settlement area (RH-058) composed of several small hills that yielded pottery sherds spanning the Middle Elamite to Parthian periods (Alizadeh 2014: 291).[3] Just above the level of the roof and possibly extending over it was a pavement of bricks comparable in size to Neo-Elamite bricks from neighbouring Tall-e Ghazir. This seems to suggest the tomb was associated with a contemporary building or complex (Fig. 1c). Another mudbrick structure noted in the vicinity was perhaps also related to the tomb (Shishegar 2015: 60, figs. 3.21-22, 3.27).

The earthmoving machinery heavily damaged the tomb, preventing anything more than hypothetical reconstructions of its architecture and the bronze coffin interments, and left human bones, animal bones and grave goods mixed in the debris. Furthermore, the assemblages – a treasure trove of gold, silver, bronze, and semi-precious stone items – were partly looted before Shishegar's arrival. Many of the items were later confiscated by police, but their original context has been lost (Alizadeh 2014: 240–41). Despite the damage, important information can still be obtained from the deposits that remained in situ, including a portion of each coffin and piles of metal objects along the north wall in the main chamber, and terracotta vessels and sacrificed animals just outside the entry.

The datable ceramics and metal vessels in the assemblages place the tomb within the Neo-Elamite II archaeological phase (*c*. 725/700-520 BCE). The inscription 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' on the 'ring' might offer a *terminus post quem* further narrowing the date. Although not designated as a king as would be expected in a royal inscription, this individual is presumed to be the king of the same name mentioned in an inscribed rock relief commissioned by a local ruler, Hanni of Ayapir, at Kul-e Farah in Izeh Valley, some 75 km from Jubaji as the crow

[1] This paper presents results of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 892581 – ELAMortuary. We sincerely thank Javier Álvarez-Mon for providing us with his photographs of the Jubaji objects in the National Museum of Iran for the research presented in this paper and for his helpful comments on the draft. We also acknowledge the additional insights and philological suggestions provided by Gianni Marchesi (University of Bologna), and the valuable comments of the anonymous reviewer. Further thanks go to the National Museum of Iran for its kind permission to publish the photographs of the Jubaji objects.

[2] Skeletal remains examined by Farzād Foruzānar of ICAR (Shishegar 2015: 67).

[3] Shishegar (2015: 52) places the tomb 'in' the settlement but Alizadeh (2014: 291) 'next to' it.

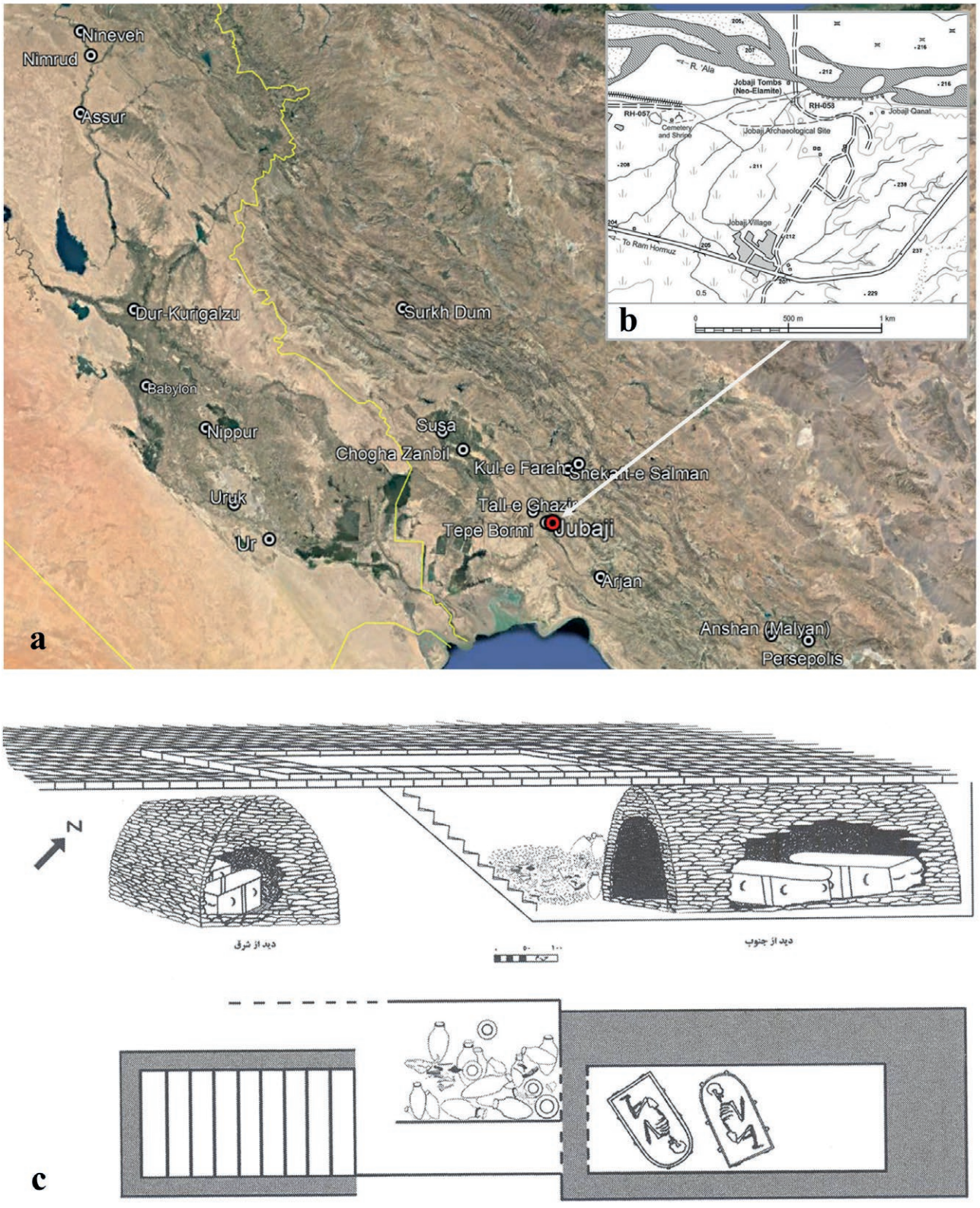

Fig. 1. a) map indicating main sites mentioned in text (Google Earth 2024), b) tomb location near Jubaji (Jobaji) village and the 'Ala River (after Alizadeh 2014, pl. 51), hypothetical tomb reconstruction (after Shishegar 2015: 64).

flies (EKI 75, Álvarez-Mon 2019: 85–91, KFI; see notes here in appendix JBJ 1). The various reigns proposed for king Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata range from *c*. 645–620 BCE (Tavernier 2004: 21–22) to as late as *c*. 585–539 BCE (Vallat 2006), with Shishegar (2015) opting for this latter range. This more recent date is supported by metalwork from the tomb that pre-empts formal and decorative styles favoured by the Achaemenid elite (Álvarez-Mon 2018: 847; 2020: 366, 396, 476).

The presence of a rich, probably royal, tomb reflects the geopolitical and economic importance of the Ramhormoz plain at the time. It occupied a central position along natural paths connecting lowland Susiana, highland Fars, and the Persian Gulf (Wright, Carter 2003: 62) and offered a large alluvial fan of the 'Ala River to sustain agriculture. It also boasted local sources of alabaster, gypsum, and bitumen.[4] From the early 2nd millennium BCE, when Elamite rulers consolidated control over southwest Iran, it emerged as a thriving settlement zone (Wright, Carter 2003: 61; Alizadeh 2014: 239–240) communicating between the new Elamite lowland capital of Susa in Khuzestan and the traditional Elamite highland capital of Anšan (Tall-e Malyan) in Fars. In the 1st millennium, Jubaji was one of seven occupied Neo-Elamite period sites on the plain along with the larger sites of Tall-e Ghazir (RH-001) and nearby Tappeh Bormi (RH-011), which is a likely candidate for the location of the ancient city of Huhnur,[5] and four smaller sites (RH-007S, RH-087, 116A, 116B) (Wright, Carter 2003: 69; Alizadeh 2014: 240, 302, table C10). Thanks to the more limited impact of growing antagonism between Elam and Assyria in the 8th and 7th centuries, occupation continued here unabated while sites dwindled on the exposed Susiana plain (Carter 1994: 72–73) in Elam's west, close to border conflict zones and a target of Assyrian retaliatory attacks. Along with the Behbehan plain to its southeast, Ramhormoz plain offered access to mountain refuges, the Persian Gulf, and allies in southern Babylonia making it an ideal power base (Stolper 1992: 199; Wright, Carter 2003: 72).[6]

2. ANCIENT STONE BEADS

Amongst the assemblages reported to have come from the Jubaji tomb were two genres of foreign semiprecious stone objects that had been manufactured long before the lives of the two interred women. One is a series of Harrapan bleached (or 'etched') carnelian beads that date back to the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE. The other, more recent but still eight centuries older than the tomb itself, are two inscribed Kassite period agate eyestones, both probably commissioned by the *c*. 14th century BCE king Kurigalzu (I or II). One had been inlaid into an applique, the other into a bracelet found on the wrist of the younger woman buried at the east (rear) end of the tomb (Shishegar 2015: 67).

2.1. Harappan carnelian beads

The Harappan carnelian beads are characterized by their distinctive 'etched' white designs, which were made by using alkali paint to bleach the stone (Kenoyer 2013: 10).[7] Some of examples attributed to the Jubaji assemblage are lengthwise-pierced barrel or slightly biconical shapes decorated with eyes, zigzags, or horizontal lines (Fig. 2a; compare beads from Harappan sites and Ur in Fig. 2c.1-5). The rest are flatter, laterally pierced, oval shapes

[4] Local use of an alabaster source at the northeast of the plain is attested by finds of partly worked pieces of it at Tall-e Ghazir (Wright, Carter 2003: 65). These local stone sources may help explain the numerous (locally made?) stone vessels recovered from the Jubaji tomb while none were noted in Neo-Elamite burials at Susa.

[5] The well-attested Elamite toponym Huhnur (Achaemenid Hunar) was probably located at Tappeh Bormi (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2005; 2018; *contra* Alizadeh 2014: n. 84) or, if not here, somewhere on the Ramhormoz plain (Basello 2018: 238; Henkelman 2017: 97–98, n. 70; Steinkeller 2018: 193; Potts 2016: 116).

[6] The Behbehan plain may have been the location of the Neo-Elamite royal city of Hidali. For debate over Hidali's location see Potts 2008: 291; Henkelman 2017: 97, n. 70; and Basello 2018: 238.

[7] Also reported as belonging to the tomb were very thin elongated cylindrical carnelian beads (Shishegar 2015, colour pl. 4/6 and 4/7), somewhat reminiscent of the characteristic long Harappan beads, but they lack their slightly biconical form.

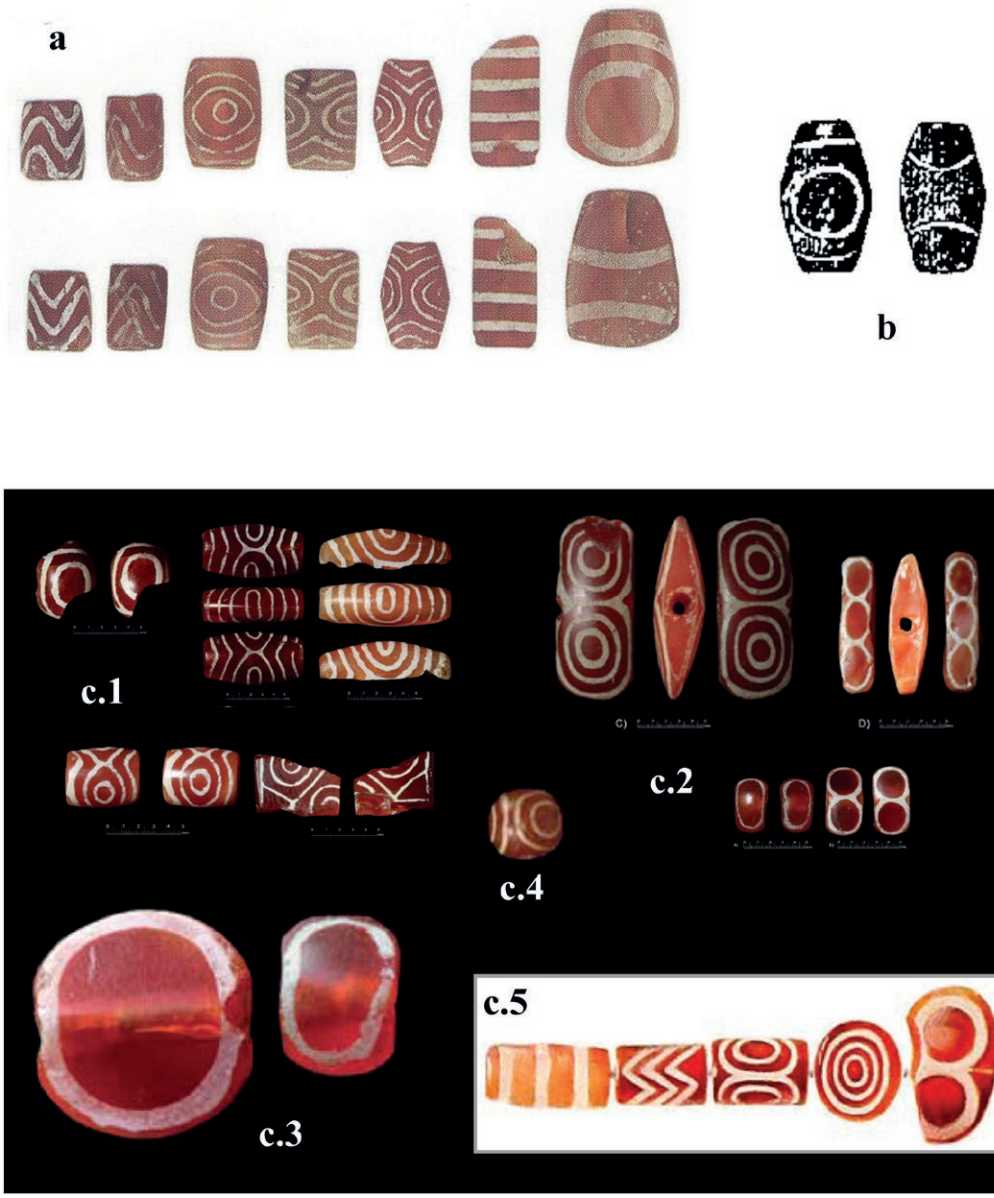

Fig. 2. Harappan etched carnelian beads *1*: a) Jubaji tomb (from Shishegar 2015, color pl. nos. 10.1–4); b) Surkh Dum, h. 1.6 cm (Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989, pl. 232ah, c) nos. 1–2. Dholavira (Prabhakar 2018, figs. 8–9), no. 3. Karanpura (Prabhakar 2018, fig. 5), no. 4. Harappa (Kenoyer 2013, fig. 6c, three-eyed bead), no. 5. Royal Cemetery of Ur (Frenez 2023, fig. 8f).

with eye designs and visible holes confirming prior use as beads. These eye-stones were preserved as insets on two gold discs together with agate eye-stones (Fig. 3a-b). Gold loops on the reverse of both discs indicate that they were meant to be sewed as appliques on to some kind of backing (note the reused or altered disc 6a with traces of removed gold loops). These widely traded bleached carnelian beads are most common at Harappan (*c.* 2600-1900 BCE) sites but have also been found across a vast area encompassing western China, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Greece (Kenoyer 2013: 10). An important sample of bleached Harappan beads and typical elongated biconical Harappan carnelian beads were preserved at Susa, which had direct trade contacts with Harappa (Meluhha) (Amiet 1986: 143–144, fig. 92a, top two rows and 92b; for Susa-Harappa trade contacts see Vidale 2018: 287–288; Ascalone 2023: 468–470).

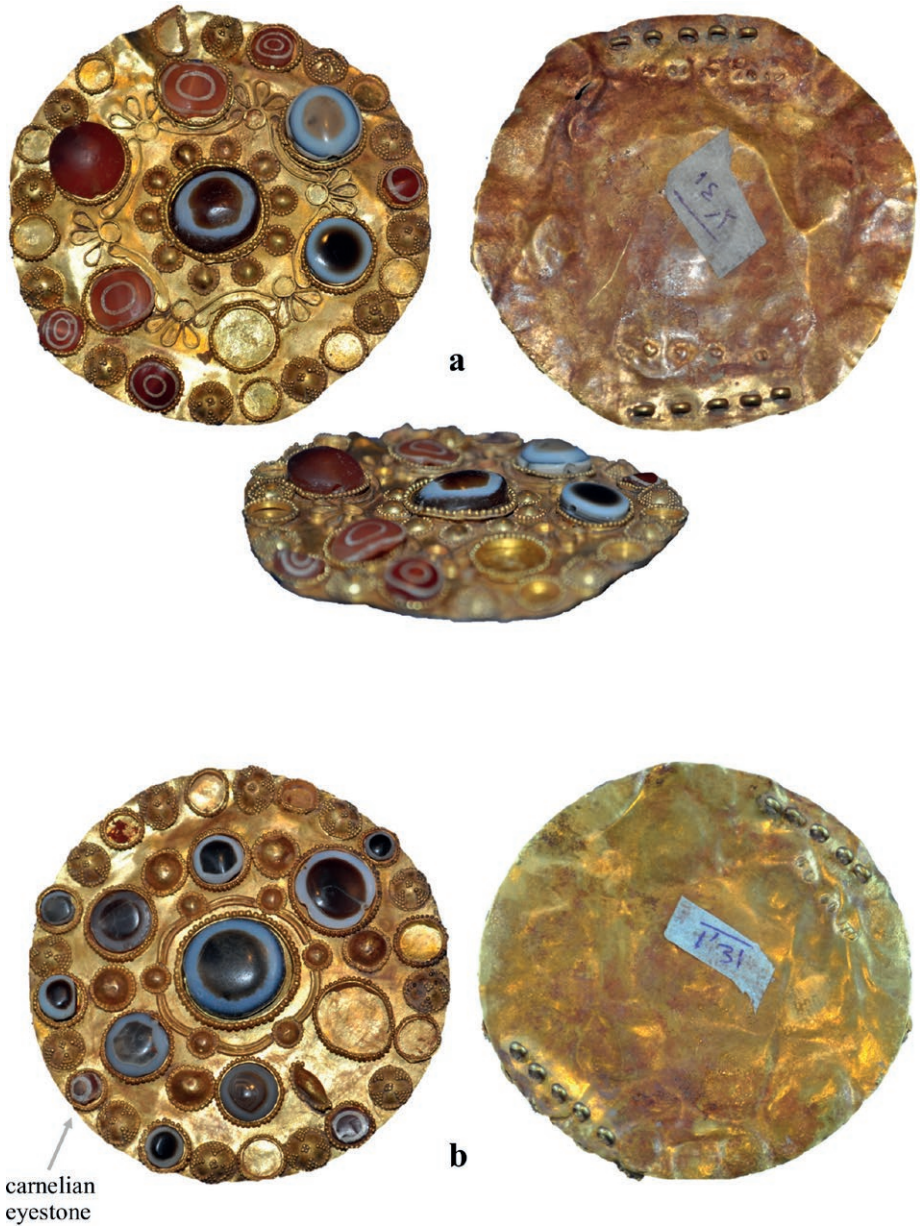

Fig. 3. Harappan etched carnelian beads from Jubaji tomb *2*: a) gold applique with eye-stone insets, diam. 7.5 cm b) gold applique with eye-stone insets, diam. 7.5 cm (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

The number of Harappan bleached beads accessible to the artisans who fashioned the Jubaji jewellery is striking given the length of time that had elapsed since their production. To my knowledge the Jubaji tomb is a unique instance of several of these ancient stones occurring together in a 1st millennium BCE context. Another very late find that can be cited is a single Harappan etched bead (Fig. 2b) in a sanctuary at Surkh Dum in Luristan in an Iron Age III context (*c.* first half of the 7th century BCE). The excavation report assigns this bead to the Iron Age, its earlier Harappan origin apparently unnoticed (Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989: 487–488 [context], Sor 183:6a). Presumably part of a votive deposit, it was notably found in the same area 6 (level 2B-1) as a cylindrical agate bead with a votive inscription of Kurigalzu II (Brinkman 1989: 476, no. 2, possibly dedicated to Ninlil). Enrico Ascalone (2022: 23) recently observed that Harappan 'etched' beads occur strictly within mid-third to early

2nd millennium BCE contexts in Mesopotamia and Iran, with just one bead at Ebla in Syria bringing this range down to the mid-2nd millennium BCE. This confirms that finds of these beads in such late archaeological contexts at Jubaji and Surkh Dum are rather exceptional.

A possible piece of written evidence for their long-term circulation is an inscription of the Kassite king Agum II preserved in two Neo-Assyrian copies by scribes of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE). It refers to votive gifts of eye-stones from Meluhha (^{na4}IGI.MEŠ *me-luḫ-ḫa*, line II 39), which are probably to be identified with the bleached carnelian eye beads. These beads appear with *ṣurru* (obsidian) from Marhaši (^{na4}ZÚ *mar-ḫa-ši*, lines II 36 [described as 'green'] and III 9) (Paulus 2018, appendix 3; Choukassizian Eypper 2018: 180). Assuming the Kassite text was accurately copied, it demonstrates the role of temples in maintaining in systemic contexts semiprecious stone items from cultures that had exited the historical stage centuries prior.[8]

2.2. Kassite agate eye-stones

Much like the Harappan beads, it is remarkable that not just one, but two Kassite period eye-stones manufactured around 800 years earlier were deposited in the Jubaji tomb. The one set into the applique preserved most of its (Kassite) Sumerian inscriptions on the obverse and reverse sides (Fig. 4a, appendix JBJ 3). The obverse labels the eye-stone as a votive gift from the king Kurigalzu (I or II) to Enlil and possibly also Adad. The reverse completes the texts with a curse formula against anyone who may erase the inscription, the label-plus-curse being a common pairing in inscriptions at this time (Galter 1987: 17). The bracelet eye-stone inlay, however, had been recut into a much smaller eye, and preserved only a few characters of its original inscription (Fig. 4b, appendix JBJ 4). Eye-stones like these carved from chalcedony (agate, onyx, etc.) with alternating layers of dark brown/black and light colours were popular in Mesopotamia, as were their faience imitations. They are often found as jewellery inlays, but as in the two Jubaji Kassite eye-stones and the Harappan bleached eye-stones discussed above, some have lateral holes for stringing as beads indicating this was a secondary use. An uninscribed eye-stone from the so-called foundation deposit of the temple of Inšušinak at Susa even preserved traces of a gold wire onto which it had been strung (Mecquenem 1905: 67, pl. XIII.7, Louvre Museum, inv. Sb 5775, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010179591). Eye-stones appear in texts spanning the Akkadian to Neo-Babylonian periods. They are frequently mentioned in association with temples or deities and less often as treasury items, gifts, booty, tribute. In the 1st millennium BCE, they also appear as objects with a magical function (Clayden 2009, appendix B).

A catalogue of inscribed eye-stones compiled by Tim Clayden (2009, tab. 1, appendix A) includes a total of 19 examples recovered during excavations in Mesopotamia at Uruk (1), Babylon (3), Dur-Kurigalzu (1), Nippur (11), Khorsabad (2?),[9] and Assur (1). A further 16 examples have been excavated in Iran at Susa (1), Jubaji (2), Surkh Dum (2) and Persepolis (11). Clayden did not include the eye-stone from Susa, of which only half survives, or the Jubaji eye-stones, which had not yet been published. G.P. Basello reads the extant line of the Susa fragment as ^{d}IM 'god Adad' (context not recorded, Louvre Museum, inv. Sb 11098, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010183801). Kurigalzu I/II dedicated all three other attested eye-stones to Adad (Clayden 2009, nos. 9, 29–30) – or four if Basello's proposed reading of Adad on the Jubaji eye-stone (JBJ 3) here is correct – perhaps he also commissioned this one. Accounting for the Susa and Jubaji examples, now almost half of the provenanced corpus of inscribed Mesopotamian eye-stones derives not from contexts in Mesopotamia, but rather in Iran.

The nine preserved names of the commissioners are all Mesopotamian kings.[10] Only two are pre-Kassite, the Ur III ruler Šu-Sin (2037-2029 BCE) and Assyrian ruler Šamši-Adad I (1813-1781 BCE), and their stones bear

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[8] See Paulus (2018) on the historical authenticity of this text from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh. An inscribed Kassite statue fragment from Susa also includes an anachronistic reference to Marhaši (see below n. 20).

[9] Clayden 2009, nos. 8 and 51 are listed as Khorsabad finds, but the Louvre Museum assigns the latter, a stone of Sargon II, a Nineveh provenience (N III 3400/N III 289 https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010172808).

[10] Clayden (2009, tab. 1) lists some 20 rulers, although the excavated eye-stones belong to just these nine, and a *c.* 8th-7th century BCE eye-stone stamp seal of an official from tomb 19 at Tell en-Nasbeh, Palestine (Clayden 2009, no. 78). Elamite kings do not

Fig. 4. Kurigalzu inscribed eye-stone beads from Jubaji tomb: a) gold applique with inscribed eye-stone bead (diam. 5.5 cm), b) gold cuff-style bracelet with recut inscribed eye-stone bead, approx. diam. 6.5 cm (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

simple name inscriptions. In the Kassite period, the inscriptions dedicate the stones as votive offerings to various deities by Kurigalzu I/II (*c.* 1400/1332-1308 BCE), Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333 BCE), Kurigalzu II (1332-1308 BCE), and Kadašman-Enlil I/II (*c.* 1370/1263-1255 BCE). Then after a gap of several centuries, they reemerge –

seem to have adopted the practice, unless one accepts two unprovenienced eye-stones of Humban-umena (*c.* 1350-1340 BCE), father of Untaš-Napiriša: one in the Yale Museum (Clayden 2009, no. 37), and another strangely large one (diam. 5 cm) in the Foroughi collection (Steve 1987, no. 4). A votive agate of Kutir-Nahunte (*c.* 1155-1150 BCE) from Susa (Lambert 1970: 246, n. 1) does, however, demonstrate the dedication of at least one inscribed agate stone in a different form by an Elamite ruler. A 6 cm wide portion of this agate, which has been broken approximately in half, is housed in the Louvre Museum (Sb 9467, w. 6 cm, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010182210) and the rest in the National Museum of Iran in Tehran.

again inscribed as votive offerings – with the Neo-Assyrian rulers Sargon II (721-705 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE), and the Neo-Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BCE). The best attested of these commissioners is Kurigalzu I/II, with Enlil being his most nominated recipient. There is no way of distinguishing between Kurigalzu I and II except where the inscriptions include the filiation 'son of Burna-Buriaš', identifying Kurigalzu II. Where a filiation is omitted Clayden (2009: 43) suspects the author was Kurigalzu I. If correct, this king should also be the author of inscription JBJ 3 on the Jubaji applique.

As at Jubaji, most find contexts of inscribed eye-stones were secondary (Clayden 2009, appendix A). A significant contingent of the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE corpus, nine in total, came from a hoard of mainly Kassite inscribed votives from a Parthian context at Nippur (Clayden 2011). Two more, one of Burna-Buriaš the other of Nebuchadnezzar II, came from a (single?) hoard in a Parthian house at Babylon. Finally, 11 of the 13 known Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian examples were recovered from the Achaemenid treasury at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957; see also Rezaei Naraghi 2022). It is striking that the Persepolis eye-stones were all Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian, whereas Jubaji yielded Kassite ones, presumably reflecting their different sources and circumstances of movement.

The few other known eye-stone contexts, both primary and secondary, were cultic. The bead naming Šu-Sin was found at Uruk in a small foundation-level pit in the doorway of room 216 connecting the ziggurat to a suite of rooms to its northwest. It had been strung onto a necklace with a bead of his wife Kubatum, his beloved *lukur* priestess (Akkadian *nadītum*), and deposited with a necklace of another of his *lukur*s, Abbabašti (Limper 1988: 63–66, nos. 140–141, pls. 21–25; Frayne 1997: 337–338, E3/2.1.4.28–29; Clayden 2009, no. 1).[11] Three eye-stones dedicated to Enlil were recovered from Mesopotamian temples: one in Temple A, i4/5 at Assur, perhaps removed from Babylonia as booty (Brinkman 1976, 226 Q.2.77; Clayden 2009, no. 11); one from the Kassite level of the Temple of Enlil (room 9, level III) at Nippur (McCown, Haines 1967, pls. 30.10, 31.8; Brinkman 1976: 227, Q.2.86; Clayden 2009, no. 13); and one at Dur-Kurigalzu in the north east courtyard of the e2.u4.gal temple in what seem to be Kassite levels based on a 1981 preliminary report of the find (Excavations in Iraq, 1979-80, *Iraq* 43(2), p. 172; Clayden 2009, no.15). Originally, these eye-stones had probably been dedicated at Enlil's city of Nippur where another one was unearthed in his temple in a Kassite context and six more in a Parthian hoard, or possibly at Dur-Kurigalzu (Clayden 2009: 50).

The two eye-stones from Surkh Dum – a Kassite onyx with a partly preserved inscription of Kurigalzu I/II 'governor of Enlil' (Sor 610)[12] and a Kassite chalcedony bearing the name Ninlil (Sor 714) – were also found in a cultic context. They had been deposited in a 'floor hoard' of an Iron Age II/ *c.* 8th century temple (area 1-2 steps, level 2C) just below the level that yielded the Harappan bead and cylindrical agate bead of Kurigalzu II (Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989: 487–488, tab. 8, cat. 31A:20, pl. 257a-b; Brinkman 1989, nos. 6–7).[13] A similar preservation of the Jubaji eye-stones of Kurigalzu in a temple for a period of time after their arrival from Mesopotamia would seem plausible.

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[11] See Sharlach (2008, with references) on junior wives of Ur III rulers with the religious title *lukur*.

[12] This should be an eye-stone of Kurigalzu I if Bartelmus (2010: 154) is correct that he was the only Kassite king to use the title 'governor for Enlil' ($GIR_3.ARAD_{(2)}$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$). In this case, it would be the first eye-stone attributable to this king without possible confusion with Kurigalzu II, hence disproving the suggestion that all eye-stones of Kurigalzu can be assigned to the latter's reign (George 2011: 118).

[13] The Neo-Assyrian Queens' Tomb II at Nimrud also yielded an inscribed object of Kurigalzu – a rectangular gold-mounted carnelian stone re-used as a necklace spacer bead. But it was not a votive offering, simply reading 'Stone of the head(dress), of Kurigalzu, the king' (Al-Rawi 2008: 134–135, Fig. 15-r; Hussein 2016: 18, 93, pl. 54a). Another remarkable example of inscribed Kassite objects in later contexts is at Metsamor in Armenia. A carnelian cylinder seal with a Syrian style image and an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription 'Great Leader (king) Kurigalzu', apparently a gift from the pharaoh, was found in a *c.* 11th-9th century BCE burial chamber (XI), and an agate frog weight with an inscription of Ulam Buriaš, son of Burna-Buriaš in a neighboring chamber (VIII) (Khanzadian, Piotrovskiĭ 1992).

2.3. Function of beads and eye-stones

The functions of semiprecious stone beads and jewellery insets went beyond the mere decorative, and this is true especially for eye-stones. The relatively few inscribed versions were obviously a royal prerogative strongly associated with cult. By contrast, the plethora of uninscribed eye-stones had less-specific functions ranging from luxurious, apotropaic ornamentation for royal women, to decoration for cult statues of goddesses, to magical/therapeutic use (Clayden 2009: 41–46, 52–55).[14] A conspicuous aspect of the inscribed re-cut eye-stone on the bracelet in the Jubaji tomb is its position on the inner side of the wrist rather than a prominent frontal position. If not considered a flaw on the stone to be concealed on this side, perhaps the fragmentary inscription was regarded as holding potent protective powers for the vulnerable pulse point.[15] Given the early age of death of this woman, around 17 years, she may have been suffering from an illness or injury and needed protection. While the inscription on this re-cut eye-stone had been largely removed, the other eye-stone set into the Jubaji applique could, in theory, still have been read since Sumerograms were still learned and used into the 1st millennium (e.g., Gesche 2001: 72–74; Cooper 2006: 85). Kurigalzu was certainly familiar to later audiences, in part thanks to the extensive body of inscriptions he left behind. His name appears, for example, in a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory from Ur listing items of four different Kassite rulers (Brinkman 1976: 242, Q.3.17; Ur Excavation Texts IV, no. 143, IM 57150). Kassite rulers were also popular subjects for later literary works, and Kurigalzu appeared in literary texts such as the Berlin Letter (see section ii.4) and the Donation of Kurigalzu I (Brinkman 2017: 32–33). Therefore, the eye-stone could surely still have carried the historical weight of this famous king when it was deposited at Jubaji.

2.4. How did ancient beads end up at Jubaji?

Now I return to question of why ancient objects originating from Harappa and Mesopotamia might have arrived in Iran and why temples likely played a role in keeping them out of archaeological contexts until much later. The Harappan beads probably arrived in Elam in the mid-3rd to early 2nd millennium via the thriving long-distance exchange network reaching from the Indus Valley to the Levant, while the Kassite eye-stones likely came under very different circumstances as further discussed below. Once in Elam, the beads and eye-stones might have ended up in burials, household hoards, or votive deposits that were later exposed, or perhaps been stored for long periods in temples as property of deities, as was the case for semiprecious stones like carnelian and agate in Mesopotamian temples (Benzel 2015). They may even have been preserved through a practice of active collecting, storage, and display of antiquities, which could retain their power over time and become tools of divine legitimization (Harper 1992: 162). Such collections have been unearthed in temple hoards in the religious precinct on the Acropole mound at Susa, including the so-called 'deposit of the gold statuette' from the temple of Inšušinak containing a votive agate of Kurigalzu dedicated to Ištaran, the city god of Der (Brinkman 1976: 230, Q.2.105; Louvre Museum, inv. Sb 6590, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180262). Similar collecting practices are known, for example, at the temple of Šamaš at Sippar (Walker, Collon 1980: 93–114, plan 3), and a collection of antiquities spanning the late 3rd millennium to the 7th century BCE was uncovered in a side chamber of the *gipāru*

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[14] The Neo-Assyrian 'queens" tombs at Nimrud (Gansell 2012: 12–13) and an Achaemenid bronze coffin burial at Susa (Tallon 1992: 249) are good examples of the extensive use of eye-stone adornment for royal women, while the archive of the Eanna temple at Uruk documents multitudes of eye-stones for ornamentation of cult statues of Ištar, Nanaya, Urkayītu (Beaulieu 2003: 13, texts NBC 4894:56, PTS 2684:1, PTS 3136:1, VS 20,19:1, GCCI 2, 372:4). Magical/therapeutic use of eye-stones is well-attested in Mesopotamia, the Lamaštu-Series III being an especially well-documented example instructing the stringing of specific numbers of eye-stones ('*inatu*') with 'mule stones' (*parû*-stones) to protect pregnant women and infants from the Lamaštu 'baby-snatcher' demon (Farber 2014: 186–189, 254). But if the women in the tombs were priestesses, death in childbirth may be an unlikely explanation. While information is lacking on the traditions of priestesses in Elam, Old Babylonian women in religious offices were not permitted to bear children (De Graef 2023), and pregnancy of *entu*-priestesses seems still to have been considered an aberration in the late Neo-Assyrian period (see n. 30).

[15] Collon (2010: 152) notes the importance placed in Assyria on protection of the wrist as the site of a main artery.

complex at Ur (see section iv) belonging to its phase of revival under the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus (556-539 BCE) (Brinkman 1965b: 250).[16]

Potential agents for the movement of Kassite eye-stones to Elam are numerous. In the Middle Elamite period arrival via peaceful royal interaction is possible – especially if one gives credence to the claim of the 'Berlin letter' that a sequence of Elamite kings had married Kassite princesses. Probably partly fictional, the 'letter' is a Neo-Babylonian literary text written from the perspective of the 12th century BCE Elamite ruler Šutruk-Nahunte (*c.* 1184-1155 BCE) or his son Kutir-Nahunte (*c.* 1155-1150 BCE) and recalls five such intermarriages, the last being between the author and the eldest daughter of the Kassite king Meli-šipak (1186-1172 BCE) (van Dijk 1986; Goldberg 2004; on the author's identity see Paulus 2013: 432, 436; Potts 2016: 224; Roaf 2017: 183). Especially pertinent is the union of Humban-umena and a daughter of Kurigalzu I who gave birth to Untaš-Napiriša, founder of the Elamite city of Chogha Zanbil. Untaš-Napiriša then married a daughter of Burna-Buriaš, i.e., a sister of Kurigalzu II. While it is tempting to read Elamite-Kassite history from the text, John Brinkman (2017: 33) cautions against using this and similar 'letters' describing much earlier events, amongst which the Kassites are a favoured subject, for the reconstruction of histories. Archaeological and artistic evidence has yet to be properly tapped for information on cultural connections between Elam and Kassite-era Babylonia, but Chogha Zanbil notably yielded seals inscribed with the same distinctive Kassite Sumerian, rendering Akkadian in Sumerian logograms, seen also on the eye-stones.[17] A. Bartelmus (2016: 225–226) observes that it is not clear whether these seals (and similar seals from Thebes), of which six are in Sumerian and four in Sumerian-Akkadian, were local or Babylonian products, but their content and language are hardly distinguishable from Kassite seals from Nippur, similarly containing an occasional incorrect character or accidental omission.[18]

Even if Elamite-Kassite intermarriages could be proved historically correct, Elamite military activity in Babylonia in the late 13th and 12th centuries is a more likely explanation for the presence of Kurigalzu's stones in Elam. Amongst the major reported events are Kidin-Hutran II's (*c.* 1240-1210 BCE) conquest of Enlil's city of Nippur (Grayson 1975: 176–177, Chronicle P/no. 22),[19] Šutruk-Nahunte's attacks on a series of Babylonian cities, from which he brought back many plundered Mesopotamian monuments to Susa (Paulus 2013; Roaf 2017, tab. 6.02), and Kutir-Nahunte's overthrow of the last Kassite king and plunder of Enlil's temple at Nippur and all the temples of Borsippa (Lambert 1994: 69; Foster 1996: 287–288). The plundering activity of the latter has been elicited from the three so-called 'Kedor-Laomer Texts', which were composed in the Achaemenid era and present the same historical problems as the Berlin Letter. However, they may well include actual royal letters within the poetic narrative (Foster 1996: 24). Furthermore, temple riches surely remained susceptible to removal to Elam during the period of Kutir-Nahunte's and then his brother Šilhak-Inšušinak's (*c.* 1150-1120 BCE) occupation of parts of Babylonia after the fall of the Kassites (Brinkman 1968: 466; Beaulieu 2018: 154). Amongst the Kassite objects recovered at Susa are *kudurru*s, which were typically kept in temples as 'guarantees' for royal land grants (Beaulieu 2018: 134), and smaller inscribed Kassite objects including the abovementioned Kurigalzu agate dedicated to Ištaran and eye-stone dedicated to Adad.[20]

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[16] Ur III tablets, an inscription from a statue of the Ur III ruler Šulgi, and a foundation cone of Kudur-mabuk, both of whom had daughters who served as *entu*s of Nanna, a Kassite *kudurru*, and an inscribed clay pedestal of Sin-balassu-iqbi who restored the *gipāru* (Woolley 1925: 383–384, room E. S. 2; 1962: 17, room 5). Sin-balassu-iqbi claimed that he preserved ancient foundation inscriptions and had a Sumerian inscription of Amar-sin copied for display in a temple museum (Brinkman 1965b: 249–250).

[17] This is a gross oversimplification of the use of Sumerian in Kassite Babylonia period. For an excellent, detailed discussion of the complexities of the acquisition and use of Sumerian by Kassite-era scribes in various text genres refer to Bartelmus (2016: 202–249).

[18] Erica Reiner (1970) judged the seal inscriptions as the work of provincial artists due to incomplete lines, often inaccurate or truncated signs.

[19] Preserved as a Late Babylonian fragment, the text may be a copy of an early original Grayson (1975: 56).

[20] Others are a lapis fragment with a Burna-Buriaš inscription (Mecquenem 1929, pl. 7; Frame 1987, no. 3; Louvre Museum, Sb 6868, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180510; two (?) chariot yoke finials with votive inscriptions of Kurigalzu II to Enlil (Sb 6862, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180504 and Sb 715, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010175099) (for the functional interpretation of these objects see Álvarez-Mon, Wicks 2021: 126, with references); a right shoul-

Much later events closer to the time of the Jubaji interments could also have brought inscribed Kassite eye-stones to Elam. Several reports accuse Chaldean rulers of sending Babylonian treasures, typically gold, silver, and precious stones, as gifts to Elam to garner military support against Assyria. Nabu-šuma-iškun (760-748 BCE) removed from the Esagila temple in Babylon 'silver, gold, choice and priceless stones [...] what earlier kings had brought (there) [...] he adorns the women of his palace; (and) he offers them to Syria and Elam as gifts' (Cole 1994: 248–249; Glassner 2004, no. 52, lines 34–45).[21] Under Mušezib-Marduk (692-689 BCE), the Babylonians were charged with the same transgression, sending Esagila's 'silver, gold, and precious stones' to Humban-menanu (Luckenbill 1924: 42, lines 28–34; Borger 1956: 12–13, §11 4a; Brinkman 1983: 39–40; RINAP3 Sennacherib 022, v:28-34). Merodach-Baladan II sent gold, silver, and precious stones amongst other gifts to solicit aid with vary degrees of success from Huban-nikaš I (743-717 BCE) and Šutruk-Nahunte II (717-699 BCE) (Brinkman 1965a: 163–165; Waters 2000: 14, 20–21; Fuchs 1994: 152–155, nos. 306–314). His son Nabu-zer-kitti-lišir and a certain Nabu-ahhe-iddina, son of Kuppuptu later sent lavish gifts to Huban-haltaš II (681-675 BCE) to no avail (Weidner 1954–56/AfO 17 *apud* Potts 2016: 267; Frame 1992: 66–67). Perhaps most famously, the Babylonian king Šamaš-šuma-ukin was accused of removing items from Esagil to send to Huban-nikaš II (653-652? BCE) to go to war against his brother Ashurbanipal (Borger 1996, C vii 128–129). Huban-nikaš had also earlier carried off booty from Uruk to Elam during the reign of his father Urtak (675-664 BCE) (Frame, Parpola 2023, no. 10).[22] Much of the criticism of Babylonian rulers in these texts may have been literary trope intended to cast them in an unfavourable light. But they leave little doubt that temples were places where precious stones could be preserved, even over generations, and that these items were amongst the favoured portable luxury items carried off as booty or sent as diplomatic gifts to Elam.

3. RITUAL PARAPHERNALIA

Many of the array of metal, stone, and ceramic vessels and utensils in the Jubaji tomb would have been used for funerary rituals, but two types stand out for their overtly cultic character. The first are frying pan-shaped (or patera) metal vessels carrying seated fish-women figures on the handles, and the second are tripod metal stands thought to have functioned as candelabras or braziers. Both are a stark contrast with the other rather standardized vessels and utensils that characterized Neo-Elamite assemblages and appear far more at home in a temple inventory.

3.1. Fish-woman pans

The tomb contained remnants of six pans carrying figures of elaborately ornamented and coiffed women with fish body appendages emerging from their heavy flounced skirts. Two complete pans, one silver and one bronze, had been preserved in a pile of vessels between the two coffins (Fig. 5a-c). Also identified in this deposit were four bronze fish-woman figures preserving rivet holes, rivets, or handle fragments (Fig. 6a-d), a bronze sheet pan frag-

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der fragment of a statue with a Kurigalzu II inscription: 'Kurigalzu, king of the universe, who has struck Susa and Elam as far as the border of [Mar]ḫaši' (Roaf 2017: 169, source 2 [=MDP 28, no. 9; Brinkman 1976, 209–210, Q.2.2]) - if the reading is correct, the mention of Marhaši (east of Elam), is anachronistic, recalling Sargonid and Hammurabi inscriptions (Sb 6863, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180505); a seal of an official purchased by Dieulafoy '*en mission*' https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010170694; and Kaštiliaš IV (1232-1225 BCE) *kudurru* fragment mentioning Kurigalzu (Brinkman 1976: 176, O.2.5, Sb 30, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174460).

[21] Whether the bejewelled women or the jewels alone were offered is unclear.

[22] This occurred when Urtak came with his troops to Uruk to appoint a ruler (Frame, Parpola 2023, no. 10). A document from the reign of Esarhaddon lists treasures returned *from* Elam by Urtak, and a return gift to honor a peace treaty (Fales, Postgate 1992: xxiv–xxv, no. 60, obv. ii 16; Gorris [2020: 40] takes these as Elamite temple treasures returned by Ashurbanipal *to* Elam with Assyrian gifts, or as silver items sent by Esarhaddon [p. 121]).

Fig. 5. fish-woman pans from Jubaji tomb *1*: a) silver and bronze pans in situ in a pile of vessels against the tomb wall (from Shishegar 2015: 282) b) complete bronze bronze pan and c) complete silver pan (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran), d) biconical gold beads from the tomb (from Shishegar 2015, color pl. 11/2).

Fig. 6. fish-woman pans from Jubaji tomb *2*: a-d) bronze fish-woman figurines (pans lost) (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

ment, and a piece of a long bronze pan handle (Shishegar 2015: 309).[23] The figures have unique hairstyles and costumes suggestive of intentional differentiation of their status or identity, and even their physiognomy and fish bodies are individualized to an extent. Both preserved pans have an omphalos, or navel, surrounded by stepped concentric circles that probably embody cosmological meaning. Certain Mesopotamian sources indicate that the underworld, the earth's surface, the surrounding cosmic ocean, and the heavens were conceived as circular, and the use of concentric circles to depict the separate realms is attested (Horowitz 1998: 41, 206, 257–258, 325, 334, 361). The fish-woman attachments amplify these cosmological allusions. Fish were associated with the pure and purifying water of the cosmic *apsû* realm of Ea/Enki that manifested on earth as marshes and rivers (Horowitz 1998:

[23] Bronze is used here throughout based on the assumption, not confirmed by analyses, that all the copper-base objects from Jubaji were made from a copper-tin alloy.

335, 344–345; CAD A2: 194, *apsû* 1b). They played a special role in ritual purification as they were believed to take evil away from earth with them to the *apsû* (e.g. Knudsen 1959: 60, text ND 5577; Foster 1996: 873).

As I have argued elsewhere (Wicks 2109; 2023), the Jubaji fish-women appear to be a unique Elamite invention. The only other known example is an unprovenanced fish-woman figurine, clearly detached from a similar pan, reported to have been found in the Ramhormoz region over half a century before the Jubaji discovery (BM 132960, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1962-0417-1; Barnett 1963: 96). The complete human form and headless fish appendage of these women distinguish them from the two main Mesopotamian fish characters, both associated with purification and Enki/Ea: the divine *kulullu/kuliltu* hybrid with a human upper body and a fish lower body, also known in Elam,[24] and the fish-cloaked *apkallu*, connected to the antediluvian sage Adapa, who endows exorcist priests with his wisdom (see Dalley 2011; Annus 2016: 16, 21). Displaying none of the typical divine markers (horned headwear, animal ears) and enacting an outstretched-hands gesture made by human supplicants before their gods, the Jubaji figures are clearly meant to represent human beings. But given their strong cultic connotations, they are probably images of priestesses.[25] If so, the find in the tomb of actual gold beads of the same distinctive biconical form as those strung around the fish-women's necks (Fig. 5d) is a tantalizing hint linking the interred women to this order of priestesses.

3.2. Tripod stands

Five whole and fragmentary bronze tripod stands were found with the metal vessels between the two coffins (Shishegar 2015: 313). The only complete one stands around 65 cm tall. At the top of its stem is a hollow, spool-shaped head that must have supported a vessel or tray for coals (Fig. 7a) and the bottom it is connected by three rampant bulls to a tripod base with duck-head feet. Amongst the remaining four are two stands with duck-head feet, both missing the spool, and two bases, of which only a pair and a trio of horses remained (Fig. 7b-e). The only similar stand known from Elam was found near Arjan on the neighbouring Behbehan plain in a *c*. 600 BCE tomb of an elite man, also buried in a bronze coffin. Standing 75 cm tall, it depicts lions, bulls, and Atlas figures and carries the inscription 'Kidin-Hutran son of Kurluš' (Alizadeh 1985: 55, 60–61; Álvarez-Mon 2010: 157–163). The only good comparison for these Elamite stands is a taller (h. 118 cm) late 8th/early 7th century BCE stand from the Haldi temple at Toprak Kale carrying inscriptions of the Urartian king Rusa (Barnett 1950: 24–25, fig. 13; Van Loon 1966: 98–99, pls. XVIII–XIX; Potts 2009: 6–7, with references).[26] A dish on top of the Toprak Kale example permitted placement of burning wood or charcoal for use as a brazier (Potts 2009: 7).[27] Assyrian and Babylonian temple inventories and ritual texts also document the use of ritual braziers, sometimes expressly made in bronze, to burn offerings to the gods (Potts 2009: 5; CAD K *kinūnu*: 393–395).

Much less elaborate ritual braziers or 'fire-stands' are attested in both the visual and archaeological records of Elam. One appears in the abovementioned rock relief of Hanni of Ayapir in the open-air sanctuary of Kul-e Farah (KFI, Álvarez-Mon 2019: 85–91). Depicted next to a sacrificial scene, it is a simple knee-high stand topped by a bowl with a flame tended by a figure labelled 'Kutur, the priest'. Another *c*. 7th-6th century BCE relief at the site shows a similar scene (KFV), and a much earlier *c*. 12th century Elamite relief across the valley at Shekaft-e Salman (SSI) depicts another stand, was probably added to the relief in the 7th century BCE, in front of four royal

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[24] The 14th century BCE stele of Untaš-Napiriša from Susa shows a female human-fish hybrid with a divine horned helmet and animal ear along with Napiriša, the Elamite Enki/Ea (Amiet 1966: 374–377, Fig. 282; Aruz 1992: 128–139). Human-fish hybrids are also depicted in Elam in association with the storm god (e.g. Amiet 1972: 231).

[25] Trudy Kawami (2019: 154) agrees to the extent that 'The figures may represent human individuals who embody the divine, or at least the supra-natural, in their social function [...] the deceased themselves shared some supra-natural aspects with the cast figures.' Javier Álvarez-Mon (2020: 453–458) is similarly open to the possibility.

[26] Other comparanda suggested for these stands are less similar (e.g., Potts 2009; Alizadeh 1985: 60–61).

[27] Much smaller tripod offering or incense stands with ring at the base and a bowl at the top, sometimes specified as having been rivetted on, also occur in the Levant and Cyprus in much earlier, Late Bronze Age, contexts (Bartelheim et. al. 2008, figs. 3a-b, 4, 17i-n).

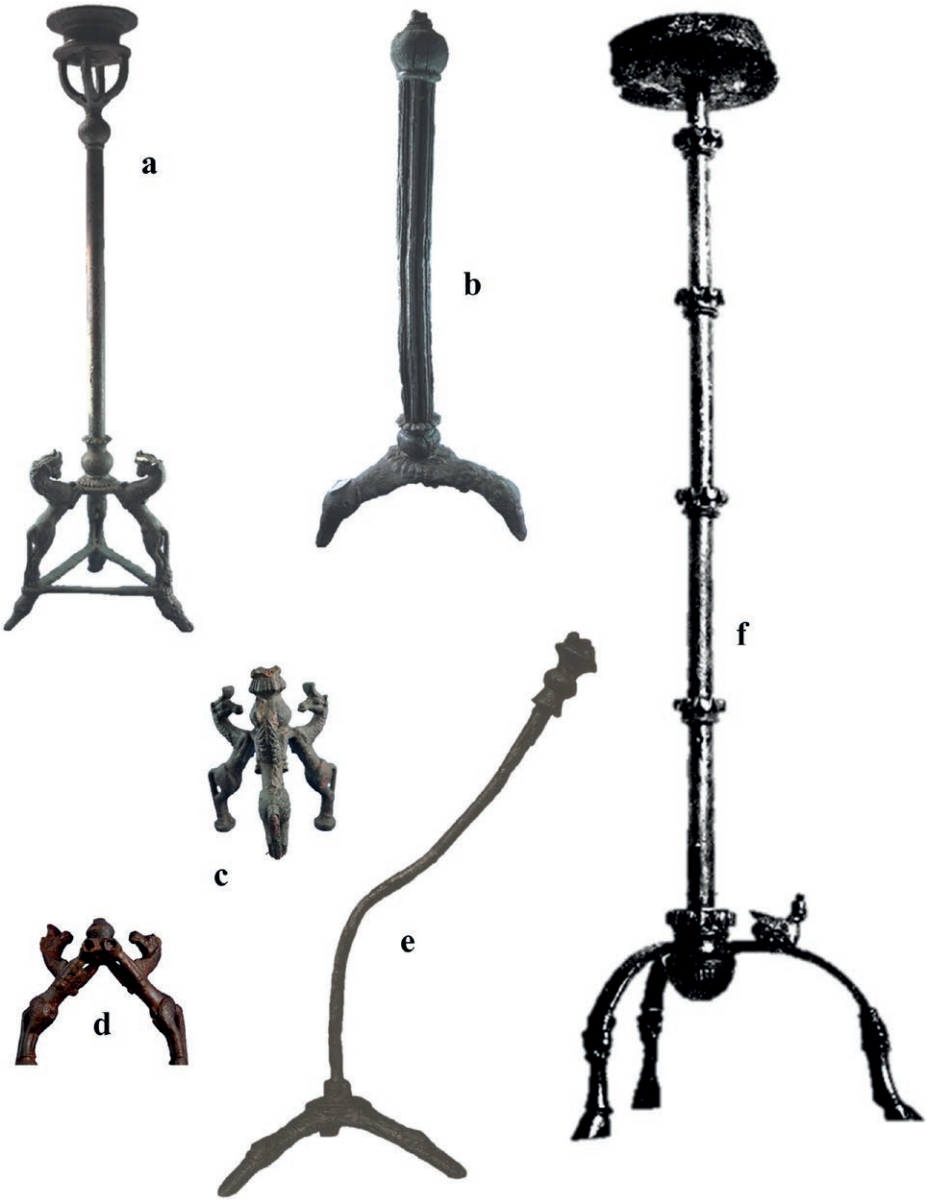

Fig. 7. bronze tripod stands from Jubaji tomb: a) complete stand, approx. h. 65 cm), b) near complete stand (approx. h. 55 cm), c-d) stand bases (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran), e) near complete, bent stand, approx. h. 70 cm (from Shishegar 2015, p. 327); f) bronze stand from Toprak-Kale, h. 118 cm (from Van Loon 1966, pl. XVIII).

worshipers (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 32–35, 82–84). At Chogha Zanbil on the Susiana plain, the *c*. 7th century phase of the Išmekarab temple yielded a 40 cm high ceramic stand topped by a dish that could have held coals for burning offerings (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: 53, fig. 10). Earlier use of smaller versions of these terracotta stands in funerary rituals at the site is attested in the Middle Elamite *palais-hypogée* tomb IV, where three of them (approx. h. 20 cm) were set down beside a burial platform (Ghirshman 1968, pl. XCI, G.T.Z 982–984; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013, fig. 135).[28] The Jubaji and Arjan bronze tripod stands may have been luxury metal versions of these braziers, more fit-

[28] Neo-Assyrian royal funerals also included a burnt offering (*šuruptu*) (Parpola 1970: texts 4, 195 and 280).

ting for temples, with removable dishes that were either not identified amongst the assemblages or taken away from the tomb directly after their use.

4. BRONZE COFFINS

Intensifying the impression that the Jubaji women were linked to the religious sphere are their bronze coffins (Fig. 1c). Both belong to a class of bronze U-shaped 'bathtub' coffins apparently conceived for use in Neo-Assyrian palaces as ritual basins, perhaps even in ancestor cult practices (Richardson 1999: 145; Brown 2010; Wicks 2015: 100–111). Their earliest attested use as coffins is in the Neo-Assyrian northwest palace of Ashurnasirpal (883–859 BCE) at Nimrud. Here three bronze coffins were deposited together in a secondary context in the antechamber of Queen's tomb III sometime between the later 8th and later 7th centuries BCE (Wicks 2015: 12–16, with references). Two others were used to bury two females in the *gipāru* religious complex at Ur in southern Mesopotamia, and another one to bury the man in the Arjan tomb (Wicks 2015). The two in the *gipāru* at Ur, PG1 and PG2, unearthed by Leonard Woolley in 1925-26 are of particular significance (Woolley 1926: 379; 1962: 53–56, pls. 17–18; see also Curtis 1983: 88–91). The coffins, which were placed close together in separate corbelled brick vaults, each contained a richly adorned and equipped female interment (Curtis 1983: 89–91). The PG1 female was aged around 25 years, while the PG2 female was noticeably smaller but not well enough preserved to determine her age (Molleson, Hodgson 2003). Analyses of their tibias and metatarsals revealed that they spent substantial time kneeling with their toes curled under (Molleson, Hodgson 2003: 120–121, fig. 23), presumably related to their specific role(s) in life.

Woolley (1926: 379) assigned the coffin burials to *c*. 700-650 BCE, a date well-supported by the assemblage (Curtis 1983: 87–88, 91–93; 2008: 163, 165), and noted that they cut across the southwest wall of the *gipāru* of Kurigalzu. His field notes further indicated that PG2 lay 'directly under', and hence pre-dated, the temenos wall of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BCE).[29] Just north of the coffins this same wall cut in half the poorly preserved Neo-Assyrian *gipāru* building he assigned to Sin-balassu-iqbi (Woolley 1965: 35–36, pl. 53; see also Curtis 1983: 93). Sin-balassu-iqbi, governor of Ur during the reigns of Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE), sought to undertake the most impressive monumental building projects at Ur since those of the Kassite king Kurigalzu, and he too adopted Sumerian for his building inscriptions. He rebuilt not only the *gipāru* but also the associated temple of Ningal, wife of the moon god Nanna, and carried out numerous restorations including work on the ziggurat (Brinkman 1965b: 249–251).

It was probably in this new incarnation under Sin-balassu-iqbi, that the coffins were deposited with the mortal remains of resident priestesses of Nanna (Weadock 1975: 112–114). The esteemed female cultic office of *entu*, also recorded in Assyria at this time,[30] was associated especially with princesses and had a long history in Mesopotamia. Sargon of Akkad (*c*. 2334-2279 BCE) installed his daughter Enheduanna – the world's first known author – as *entu* of Nanna (Westenholz 1989), and Naram-Sin (*c*. 2254-2218 BCE) later installed his daughter Tutanapšum

[29] Contradicting his initial report that one of the coffins lay under the wall of Nebuchadnezzar, Woolley later placed both coffins 'close to' the Temenos wall and stated that they had been 'dug down into the buried ruins of the ancient *gipāru* from a Persian house of which every brick had disappeared' (Woolley 1962: 55–56, 68; Woolley, Moorey 1982: 260).

[30] Three late Neo-Assyrian omen texts belonging to the celestial omen series, *Enuma Anu Enlil*, state that *entu*-priestesses will be made pregnant if Scorpius stands in the lunar halo (Hunger 1992, nos. 147, 307 and 480) and another states that if an eclipse occurs on the 28th day of Nisan, 'a daughter of the king, [an *entu*-priestess, will die]' in place of her father, who will fall ill but recover (Hunger 1992, no. 102, lines 10-11). Saana Svärd (2018: 126) highlights that the scribes were therefore aware of the tradition of the *entu*-priestess and the placement of princesses in the office, and points to another, rather mundane, text in which an *entu* receives barley (Mattila 2002, no. 68) demonstrating that at least one woman was known as an *entu*. Conversely, Natalie Naomi May (2022: 145) dismisses the omens as evidence of the *entu*-priestesses' existence, proceeding from an assumption that the *Enuma Anu Enlil* series was composed in the Old Babylonian period and copied until it reached late Neo-Assyrian scholars, and questions Mattila's reading of '*entu*' in the barley text. Regarding the former argument, although eclipse omens did exist in the Old Babylonian period, celestial omens gained popularity only relatively late, and the series reached its final form only by the 7th century BCE (Mattila 2002: XIII-XIV).

as *entu* of Enlil (Michalowski 1981: 175; Frayne 1993: 122–124, E2.1.4.19–20). Earlier burials of *entu*-priestesses within the *gipāru* complex are documented both archaeologically and textually. Five plundered corbel-vaulted tombs were preserved under a series of Isin-Larsa period rooms (B10, B12-15) on its northeast side, separating the *gipāru* residences and the temple of Ningal (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 8, 51–52, pl. 118).[31] Slightly later, Enanedu – daughter of Kudur-mabuk, a Larsa ruler of Elamite descent (De Graef 2022: 458–459) – described her repairs to the cemetery of former *entu*-priestesses in the *gipāru* when she served as *entu* in the reigns of her brothers Rim-Sin and Warad-Sin (Frayne 1990: 299–301, no. 20:34–43, BM 130729).[32] More than one millennium later, Nabonidus (556-539 BCE) boasted of his reinstatement of the ancient *entu* office, in which he installed his daughter Belšalti-Nanna (En-nigaldi-Nanna), and his restoration of the *gipāru* and the wall of the 'cemetery' of the *entu* priestesses along its side (Clay 1915: 66–67; Weadock 1975: 109–110; *Nabonidus* 34, http://oracc.org/ribo/Q005431/).

Given the close geographical, political, economic, cultural, and social ties between southern Babylonia and Elam, with frequent exchanges of people, materials, and ideas, including religious beliefs and rituals, the shared funerary treatment of important female individuals at Ur and Jubaji should not be surprising. In particular, the close connections between the Elamite and Babylonian elite, such as the marriage of the Chaldean ruler Merodach-Baladan to an Elamite, probably royal, woman (Henkelman 2008: 36) generated plentiful opportunities for the transfer of elite Babylonian customs such as the use of bronze coffins for the elite – including the religious elite.

5. GOLD OBJECTS WITH OWNERSHIP INSCRIPTIONS

The inscribed gold 'ring' naming Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata and the bracelet (?) of a cultic officiant, both more or less contemporary with the tomb, were looted and only later reunited with the assemblages (Shishegar 2015: 67). Here is it assumed that they both did indeed come from the tomb, as seems reasonable under the circumstances, but the provenience and even the authenticity of the objects and their inscriptions will never be beyond all doubt.

5.1. Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata 'ring'

The gold 'ring' of 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' (Fig. 8a, appendix JBJ 1) was one of three similar gold objects in the tomb typified by a curved tubular grip with disc-shaped finials. Though small, these objects were probably some kind of hand-held official insignia judging by a far more elaborately decorated inscribed example held in the hand of the man in the Arjan tomb.[33] The *c.* 7th/6th century Kul-e Farah IV relief in the Izeh Valley shows an object resembling these unique Elamite 'rings' with large disc terminals in the right hand of a weapon bearer (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 76).[34]

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[31] See also Weadock (1975: 109–110) and Charpin (2020: 202), noting the floor plan discrepancies in Woolley's publications and a possible sixth tomb under room B.11 or B.16.

[32] Documents from the Ningal temple dated to Larsa ruler Sumu-el years 10 and 27-28 also list offerings, styled as 'libations' to two dead *entu*-priestesses alongside minor gods; namely Enanatuma (*entu* around *c.* 1975 BCE, daughter of Išme-Dagan, king of Isin), who was being venerated at least fifty years after her death, and a certain Enmegalana (Figulla 1953a: 111, nos. 35–36; 1953b: 176, nos. 60–63). See also Weadock 1975: 104; Charpin 2020: 195, 202, n. 98 (with recent references).

[33] Two smaller bronze 'rings' from Susa and a silver one, possibly from Choga Zanbil, add no more evidence on function as they lack find contexts (Álvarez-Mon 2011: 305–306).

[34] Slightly later, open 'rings' with rather different animal head or griffin terminals appear in the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis as tribute in the hands of Median, Lydian, Scythian, and Sogdian (?) dignitaries (Schmidt 1953, pls. 27b, 32, 37, 43). Closed, circular, hand-held rings had a much longer history in Iran in the form of the characteristic Mesopotamian motif of a ring and rod passed from deity to ruler. Later, closed 'rings of investiture' are held by a ruler in the Parthian-era Tang-e Sarvak II relief (Haerinck 2003: 223) and passed from a deity or priest to a ruler in Sasanian reliefs (Overlaet 2013: 314–315, 322–323).

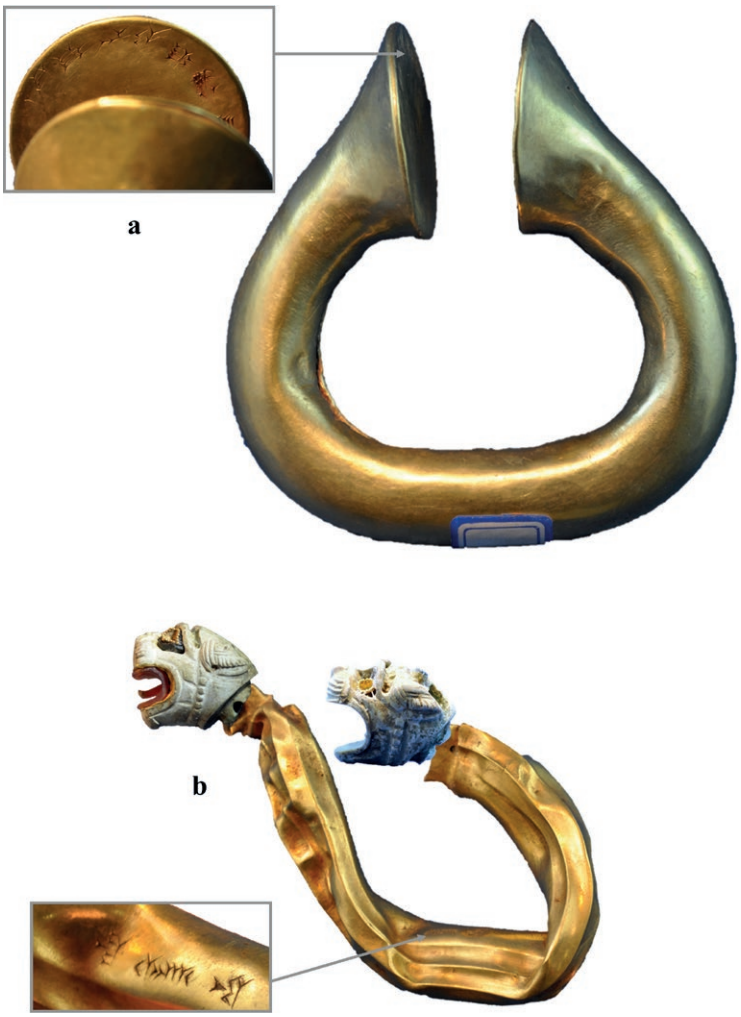

Fig. 8. inscribed gold objects from Jubaji tomb: a) 'ring' of Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata (approx. h.10 cm), b) gold bracelet with lion-head terminals (approx. w. 6 cm in original state) (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

The Arjan 'ring' and three other metal objects in the assemblage all carried the same name inscription 'Kidin-Hutran son of Kurluš'. The consistency of the inscriptions and the placement of the ring in the man's hand suggest that they marked his personal identity. Perhaps they were property or gifts acquired in his life or were items bestowed upon his death. The Jubaji 'ring', inscribed with a male name, was perhaps intended to signal in a general way the royal lineage of one or both women.[35] If they were priestesses, it might have marked one or both as dedications to the temple by their royal male relative, whether their father or brother.[36] Or perhaps it could have been a dowry item brought to the temple.[37] Its dedication by the king as a votive offering to a temple could not be excluded either.

[35] Perhaps the practice of inscribing objects was more common in these areas further south, since no inscriptions have been detected on grave goods in the many, albeit less wealthy, Neo-Elamite burials at Susa. Slightly later, stone vessels inscribed with the names of Achaemenid rulers are attested but only in non-mortuary contexts (e.g., numerous examples from Persepolis in Schmidt 1957: 84–88).

[36] As May (2022, n. 10) notes, princesses and free women were typically consecrated by their male family members, whether their fathers or brothers.

[37] In 24th century BCE Ebla, priestesses received rich gifts as dowries when entering the temple (Biga 2016: 79), and Old Babylonian documentation likewise records dowries of *nadītu* (Dalley 1980: 54), religious women who are also attested in legal tablets at Susa at

5.2. La-ar-na bracelet

Most explicitly connected to the cultic sphere is the gold bracelet inscribed '*la-ar-na*' nominating it as the property of the maker/doer of the 'offerings, sacrifice' (Fig. 8b, appendix JBJ 2). Wouter Henkelman (2008: 270, 274, 298) translates *lar* as 'officiant': 'the term par excellence that describes the "priestly" class of Elamite society', observing its use only for cultic specialists like high priests and *šatin* (cultic experts) and officials whose rank implied cultic duties such as the chancellor or the king. Whether the bracelet marked one of the women in the tomb as a *lar* or had instead been the possession of a (male) cultic specialist – even the king himself – is not self-evident, as gender is not implicit in either the inscription or the role.

Women certainly held positions in the cultic sphere, and sometimes very important ones. The esteemed female cultic office of *entu* discussed above appears in Elam from at least *c.* 15/14th century with an inscription from Haft Tappeh, which assigns an *entu* and an *ippu* priest responsibility for what seem to be royal funerary offerings. In the Neo-Elamite period the office is attested on a fragmentary inscribed limestone block (or stele?) of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak II (*c.* 550-530 BCE) from Susa (MDP 11, no. 102; EKI 85:14).[38] It contains 31 entries listing livestock for lap 'officiants', i.e., officials or groups with courtly and/or cultic roles including an ^{AŠ}*en-te*.GAL É.DA^{rMEŠ} [^{AN}] *hu-ban-na*, 'high-priestess of the "aside" temple of Humban' (Henkelman 2008: 362, 446–447). It is not clear what 'aside' implies – perhaps a building wing, or a shrine of Humban (or a subsidiary goddess) attached to a larger structure (Henkelman 2008: 447, n. 1036) – and whether it reduces her status in any way vis-à-vis her male counterparts, including a 'high priest'. But at any rate, her responsibility for the animals was the same. François Vallat identified another term possibly referring to a type of priestess, the *muhtip*, in the Susa Acropole text corpus, which also date to the early-mid 6th century BCE. Vallat (2002/03: 540) observes that these females appear to be either providing or receiving materials in the same way as male *šatin* priests (MDP 9: nos. 121 and 123, priests in nos. 89, 107, 168). 168). It is worth bearing in mind, however, that the same goods are also received by other individuals without qualification. Noting that a *muhhudu ullira* depicted in the relief of Hanni of Ayapir (KF I, EKI 75 G) seems to be a sacrificial priest, Vallat raises the possibility that the *muhtip* too could play this role. Slightly later, Persepolis Fortification text NN 2259 refers to a certain Utur – probably an Elamite name – who seems to be a female officiant or 'priestess' receiving livestock with a male individual named Kusa for the performance of a dedication (on) an (offering) table (Henkelman 2008: 403–404). Assuming that women could indeed perform ritual sacrifices of animals like male cultic specialists,[39] the unusual find in the Jubaji tomb of at least ten daggers, typically considered male-gendered objects, might be contemplated as possible evidence for sacrificial duties of the women.

CONCLUSION

None of the individual pieces of evidence discussed here is significant in isolation. But in combination, the tomb's incorporation into a large building or complex, the ancient stone beads, the ritual pans and tripod stands, the bronze coffins, and the inscribed gold items, one the property of a cultic officiant, make a compelling case for a link to a temple institution. This link may be explained in terms of the involvement of the institution in royal funerary rites, or, as I am inclined to believe, the identity of the interred women as highly ranked 'clergy' who were buried within the temple complex. This does not in any way negate the conclusions of Arman Shishegar that they were princesses of the family of Šutur-Nahunte. The appointment of royal daughters as high priestesses to keep the

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this time. Numerous dowry lists of women from Neo-Babylonian elite households have been preserved and their standard (portable) items included silver, gold, jewelry, garments, furniture, tableware, and utensils (Roth 1989).

[38] For the dating of this ruler, who would have been contemporary with Cyrus II, see Tavernier 2004: 39; Henkelman 2008: 445–446). As Gorris (2020) notes, the name of the office is borrowed from Akkadian *entu rabītu*, but the cult was that of a local Elamite god.

[39] In a Persepolis text Ururu the *šatin*, for example, performs animal sacrifices (Henkelman 2008: 314, PF 0352).

royal family and religious institutions closely bound had a long history in Mesopotamia,[40] and there is no reason why Elamite royalty should not have sought such relationships with the gods.

The riverside location of the tomb and the fish-women pans could suggest the association of the women with a water cult. Sources of pure water were important locations for Elamite worship. In an open-air sanctuary high above the Fahliyan river in the Mamasani region, a rock relief depicting worshipers receiving flowing water from a deity, perhaps Napiriša – the Elamite Ea/Enki – was carved around the 17th century BCE and new worshipers were added as late as the 6th century BCE (Potts 2004: 153–154; Álvarez-Mon 2019: 15–22). In the Izeh valley, the cave sanctuary with a spring at Shekaft-e Salman was established with reliefs at around the 12th century BCE, and the sanctuary in the rocky Kul-e Farah gorge with a seasonal creek was selected for extensive relief carving commencing around the 9th century BCE (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 2). In the Elamite lowlands, a (Middle Elamite?) building at the old bank of the Ab-e Dez close to Chogha Zanbil might also have played a role in riverside rituals (Henkelman 2008: 378).

A collation of written evidence for river-related cultic activity in ancient southwest Iran by Wouter Henkelman (2008: 377–384) further highlights the potential for an Elamite river-based cult at Jubaji. For example, Šaz(z)i the (son of the) river god known from Sukkalmah-dated legal documents at Susa appears as an offering recipient in the late Neo-Elamite Susa Acropole text archive (MDP 9 12:2, 5; 93:6; 168:3). Then the Persepolis Fortification texts, which postdate the Jubaji tomb by perhaps at most a century, record river offerings of wine, grain, and sacrificial animals. An Elamite origin for this cultic practice is likely. The only named recipient of the river offering text (NN 0339) is Humban, an Elamite god who had been worshiped since the 3rd millennium and whose cult still preserved pre-Achaemenid elements. Henkelman nominates Napiriša as another potential recipient and Anahita, who is frequently associated with streaming, pure waters. Another potential female divine candidate for worship is the daughter of Ea/Enki, Nanshe (or a contemporary, local Elamite equivalent), amongst whose important roles pertained to fish and fishing (Veldhuis 2004). Much earlier she was certainly known in Elam, as the late third millennium BCE ruler, Gudea of Lagash built a temple to her at the Elamite settlement of Adamdun (Potts 2021). Though much later, Trudy Kawami (2018: 690; following Rose 2011: 147) observes the long association of women with water offerings such as libations into streams or wells in Zoroastrian tradition in Iran.

If the importance of the Ramhormoz plain by around 600 BCE was not clear enough prior to the discovery of the Jubaji tomb in 2007, there can now be little doubt that it had hosted an important late Neo-Elamite royal city. And following through to the conclusion of the arguments I have made in this article; it was very likely also the location of an important temple. In my view, the wealth and elaborate cultic objects of the Jubaji burials would seem most fitting for a temple to either of the two venerable Elamite gods Humban or Napiriša, or even Ruhurater, who was worshiped at Huhnur on the Ramhormoz plain.[41] Here, elite, probably royal, families, can be reimagined dedicating their daughters continuing a long tradition of forging ties between the divine and royal houses.

Abbreviations

CAD Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
DB Achaemenid royal inscriptions in the name of Darius (I) at Bisotun
EKI König 1965
MDP Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse series
RINAP The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
XSd Achaemenid royal inscription in the name of Xerxes (I) from the Gate of Darius at Susa, published in Vallat 1974

[40] Several princesses were also appointed in the Ebla region in the 24th century as priestesses (Biga 2016: 79).
[41] For the worship of Ruhurater at Huhnur, including the possible restoration of a temple to this deity there in the Neo-Elamite period, see Henkelman 2007, 2008: 41, 59.

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Appendix: the Jubaji inscriptions by G.P. Basello (object descriptions by Y. Wicks)

INSCRIPTION JBJ 1: GOLD 'RING' WITH NAME INSCRIPTION OF ŠUTUR-NAHUNTE SON OF INTATA

Object description (see Fig. 8)

A small, curved, tubular shaped object (ext. h. 10 cm, w. 9 cm; int. 6 cm, thickness *c*. 2 cm) flaring at each end into disc terminals (diam. 4 cm), one of which carries an Elamite inscription. The discs were evidently separately made pieces soldered onto the ends of the tube or 'grip', which appears to have been formed by hammering gold sheet around a solid material (presumably left inside). A small gap remains on the inner side where the edges of the sheet do not quite meet.[42] The original location of the 'ring' in the tomb is unknown, as it was looted prior to the excavation (Shishegar 2015: 67).

Elamite inscription

The inscription was engraved along the upper border of one terminal following the curve of the disc.

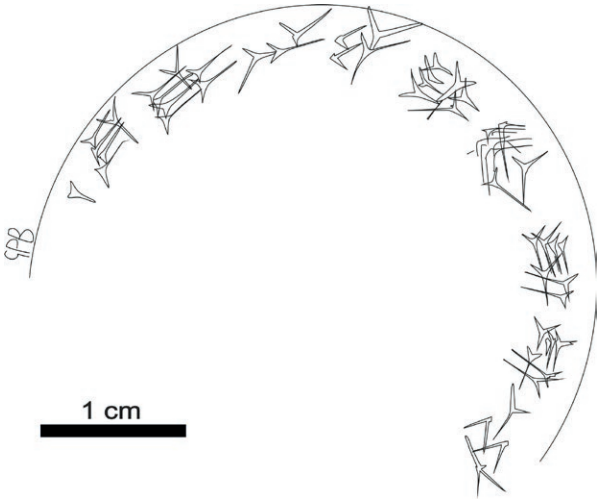

Fig. 9. Drawing of JBJ 1 inscription based on several photographs by J. Álvarez-Mon.

^{DIŠ}šu-tur-^{AN}UTU(PÍR) DUMU in-da-da-na
Šutur-Nahunte šak Intata-na.
Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata.

The final *-na* may have been used to refer to the whole epigraph, i.e. 'belonging to Šutur-Nahunte' (see Basello in Salaris 2019: 100).

[42] The flaring portion leading to the terminals appears to have been made separately and soldered on to the central part of the grip. On the Arjan "ring" the marks indicating a similar solder were taken as signs of wear that might give a clue as to their function (Álvarez-Mon 2011: 303–304). However, the use of a different gold alloy with a lower melting point to solder the pieces together can be blamed for the color difference (for this and further manufacture observations see Wicks 2017).

Some of the vertical wedges (in DIŠ, tur, AN, DUMU) are quite short, as if it had been difficult to prolong them towards the centre of the disc due to the obstacle presented by the opposite terminal. This suggests that the inscription was engraved after the manufacture of the 'ring' was complete. A further stroke seems to have been added to DUMU after the engraving of the vertical wedge, to prolong it towards the bottom. Some other (apparently) secondary strokes are visible, for example, in the first da.

Palaeography and orthography

The logogram for Nahunte, the Elamite sun god, is written using the common graphic variant of the corresponding Sumerian logogram (UTU) recorded as PÍR in modern syllabaries (Steve 1992, no. 393/227).

All the glyphs are well represented in Marie-Joseph Steve's (1992) syllabary for the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods, except for PÍR and na which have a distinctive (or 'diagnostic', to borrow a term from the study of ceramics in archaeology) formal appearance. In the epigraphic periodization of Steve represented in Table 1, the best matches for these two glyphs are with inscriptions of Tepti-Hupan-Inšušinak (N II 10).

Table 1. Matrix of formal matches between the distinctive glyphs of PÍR and na in JBJ 1 and those collected in Steve 1992. An 'x' marks a good match while an 'o' marks a poor match (blank: not attested). See Steve 1992: 21-23 for the list of texts belonging to each period.

		N I A	N II											N III A		N III B		
		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	1	2	1	2	3
393/227	PÍR	x	o	o	o	x	o	o		x	o		o	o		o	x	o
70	na	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o

According to Steve, good matches for PÍR can also be found in the following texts or corpora:

- a corpus of Elamite administrative tablets from Tal-e Malyan (N I A 1);
- a list of witnesses from Susa, probably part of a legal document (N II 6) published by Vincent Scheil (1928: 40, no. 3:5); note that the glyph in Steve is slightly different from the one in Scheil's drawing, so perhaps Steve based it on his own collation of the text;
- an administrative letter from the so-called 'village perse-achéménide' at Susa published by Herbert Paper as MDP 36 1:4 (N III B 2). However, the accompanying photograph does not confirm this match (Paper 1954, pl. XXIV).

A carnelian bead carrying the name Šutur-Nahunte, published by François Vallat (2011, no. 91; see also below, *Onomastics and prosopography*), should be added to the best matches. Except for na, which does not occur on the bead, all the glyphs, including PÍR, represent a nearly perfect match.

Formal comparisons such as these are just one of several elements a scholar must consider in dating an inscription. The best match does not necessarily represent a coeval dating, since palaeography is not a unitarian development but a historical process. Besides the formal variants due to different writing materials, the incidence of each column in the matrix is different: for example, column N III B 2 represents a single text, while N III B 1 represents around 300 administrative tablets from the Acropole mound at Susa.

The lack of a personal classifier before Intata, shared by all occurrences of this name as a patronymic (see below, *Onomastics and prosopography*), is normal, since after the word 'son' there were few doubts for the reader that an anthroponym would have followed.

Onomastics and prosopography

Intata is a linguistically Elamite name, the hypocoristic form of *intaš* (Zadok 1983: 101, no. 37; *intaš*: Zadok 1984: 16, no. 67); i.e., *in ta-š* '(he) put/established (*ta-*) it (*in*)'; cf. Lalintaš (*Lali* is possibly a DN; cf. Lila in Zadok 1984: 26, no. 128).

A 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' is attested also in the following inscriptions, with both anthroponyms (i.e., 'Šutur-Nahunte' and 'Intata') written using the same spelling as JBJ 1:

– The inscription in the name of Hanni at Kul-e Farah (EKI 75) dated to *c*. 650-550 BCE (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 91, §15.6, with further references), somewhat earlier by Steve (1992: 21–22) on palaeographical grounds (N II, *c*. 750-653, but before Hallutaš-Inšušinak *c*. 699-693):

(EKI 75:10, §14) ba-me EŠŠANA ^{DIŠ}šu-tur-^{AN}UTU(PÍR) šá-ak in-da-da-ri-na hu-ut-tan-ka$_4$
pa-me sunki Šutur-Nahunte šak Intata-r-na huta-n-k
I (*-k*) do (*huta-n-*) the service[?] (*pa-me*) of (*-na*) the king (*sunki*) Šutur-Nahunte son (*šak*) of (*-r*) Intata

Fig. 10. Drawing of EKI 75 §14 based on photographs by Gian Pietro Basello. Blank spaces represent areas left blank in the relief to avoid covering depicted figures. Red lines delimit damaged areas of the written surface.

Here the phonographic spelling šá-ak for 'son' was preferred to the logographic one in JBJ 1, where the scribe probably aimed to write as few characters as possible in inscribing this small metal surface which necessitated manoeuvring around the opposing terminal. The syntax is different from JBJ 1, since the construction with the personal marker (*-r*) is used instead of the so-called genitive postposition *-na* to link the father's name to his son's name. In EKI 75, I understand the following *-na* as connecting the whole syntagm 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' to the governing substantive *pa-me* 'service[?]'.

JBJ 1 and EKI 75 are not perfectly comparable from a palaeographical point of view, but the differences between them can be explained by the different medium (metal vs. rock) and perhaps a different scribal school.

The mention of Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata in inscriptions at both Jubaji and Kul-e Farah is not surprising if one considers that Ramhormoz and Izeh are separated by *c*. 70 km and the smoothest access to Izeh is from Ramhormoz (via Baghmalek). Today Izeh is rather isolated since there are no roads crossing the mountains towards the west or north, but in the past footpaths leading directly to Masjed-e Suleiman were used, maybe passing through the ancient site of Kol Chenar in the valley of Shami (see the recent discoveries of fortified and cult structures at Qalʿe-ye Lit/Qalʿe-ye Bardi in Messina 2018). The fertile valley of Izeh probably hosted a couple of waystations along an alternative path connecting Fars to Susiana.

– An unprovenanced carnelian bead (MS 2879) in the Schøyen collection, published by Vallat (2011, no. 91). Here the dedication was by a šu-tur-^{AN}UTU(PÍR) DUMU in-da-da-ir. The logographic choice for writing 'son' is the same as in JBJ 1, but it does not share the personal classifier DIŠ placed before the name of Šutur-Nahunte. Its syntax is also different from JBJ 1, which has the postposition *-na*. Instead it follows that of EKI 75 with the personal marker, except for its spelling (ir instead of ri). The bead is offered to ^{AN}ú-ir-šu ^{AŠ}e-ul an-za-an-ra 'the god Uršu of the Anšan Gate' (e-ul is a broken writing for *el* 'gate'; see XSd/Elamite:2, referring to the e-el of Darius at Susa). If the syntagm 'Anšan Gate' corresponds to the much older Sumerian sag-kul ma-da an-ša-an^{ki} 'the bolt to the land of Anšan', an epithet of Huhnur in a year name of king Ibbi-Suen (IS 9), we can connect the bead to this ancient city thought to have been located in the Ramhormoz plain.

Even if Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata is qualified as king only in EKI 75 §14, the attribution of these three occurrences of the same anthroponym and patronymic to one and the same individual is strengthened by the palaeographic details and the ties with the same geographical area.[43]

INSCRIPTION JBJ 2: BRACELET (?) WITH LA-AR-NA INSCRIPTION

Object description (see fig. 8)

A misshapen fluted gold tube, probably a bracelet (approximately h. 5 cm, w. 6 cm in its original form), with an Elamite inscription on the inner surface. It finishes in narrow and flat section at each end with small piercings suggesting it had been fitted with terminals. Shishegar (2015: English summary, fig. 10: 3.2) reconstructed it with a pair of elaborate lion-head terminals of alabaster (?) with gold and glass inlays and corresponding pin holes. This object was looted prior to the excavation, so its original location in the tomb is unknown (Shishegar 2015: 67).

Elamite inscription

The inscription was added on the inner side of the curved shaft. The 'Y' stylization of the wedges with angles between strokes maintained in each impression, suggests that the inscription was added using a wedge-shaped punch. Presumably the same tool was used to engrave all the wedges and any differences between them result from variations in the force and direction of the blow to the punch or the angle at which the punch was held.

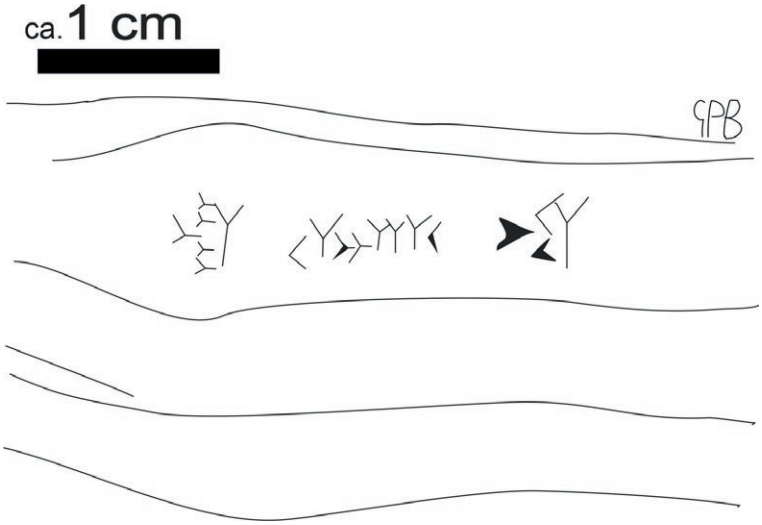

Fig. 11. Drawing of JBJ 2 inscription based on a photograph by J. Álvarez-Mon.

la-ar-na
la-r-na
'Belonging to the (cult) officiant'

[43] A Šutur-Nahunte, occurring as a patronymic and qualified as a king, is attested in the unprovenanced so-called Seal of Jerusalem from the Hahn-Voss collection (see Ziffer 2014: 46–49 on the history of this collection), now in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem (Amiet 1967: 44–45; Gorris 2020: 63–64, no. 4). For a full list and discussion of the occurrences of the name Šutur-Nahunte (with or without the patronymic Intata) see Elynn Gorris (2020: 30).

Shishegar (2015: 67) interpreted 'Larna' as the female anthroponym of the individual in the western coffin. However, *la-* can be interpreted as a verbal base with the meaning of 'to make offerings, sacrifice' (see Vallat 2000; Henkelman 2008: 181–304). Elements supporting the interpretation of *la-r-na* as a common noun instead of an anthroponym are the lack of a personal classifier, and the lack of the patronymic, which is usually needed to identify an individual.

With the animate class marker *-r*, here used to form a *nomen agentis* (i.e. 'the one who *la-*'), the verbal base *la-* has been rendered as 'clergy' by Vallat (2000: 1069) and '(cult) officiant' by Henkelman (2008: 270–272). The translation 'officiant' is preferred here according to the interpretation in the main text.

Further occurrences of *lar* in two Middle Elamite inscriptions in the name of Šilhak-Inšušinak I and in a late Neo-Elamite inscription on a bowl assigned to the Kalmakarra hoard are discussed by Henkelman (2008: 271–274). The latter occurrence, where *la-r* appears in the context of a slightly more articulated ownership inscription on another precious object in metal, runs as ^{AN}la-ar ^{AN}DIL-BAT-na (Lambert in Mahboubian 1995: 31; Vallat 2000: 1069–1070; Henkelman 2008: 270–271, n. 615). The divine classifier and the governed theonym supports the interpretation of a divine office.

In this interpretation *-na* is considered as the so-called genitive postposition whose function is to make explicit ownership, in this case referenced with his/her office rather than an anthroponym.

Palaeography and orthography

The best matches in the epigraphic periodization of Steve shown in Table 2 are with inscriptions of Hanni (EKI 75; N II B 7) and Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (EKI 86–89; N II B 13) for la and na, and with the Susa Acropole tablets (N III B 1) for ar.[44]

Table 2. Matrix of formal matches between the glyphs in JBJ 2 and those collected in Steve 1992. An 'x' marks a good match while an 'o' marks a poor match (blank: not attested). See Steve 1992: 21–23 for the list of texts belonging to each period.

		N I A	N II											N III A		N III B		
		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	1	2	1	2	3
55	**la**	o	o	x	x	o	x			o	o	o	x	o		o		o
451	**ar**	x		o							o					x		
70	**na**	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o

The form of na corresponds to the one on JBJ 1, suggesting a common origin of the two inscriptions.

The sign ar is rarely used in the Neo-Elamite period and is absent in the Persepolis tablets and Achaemenid royal inscriptions, being replaced by the sign ir in the framework of the so-called 'broken writing'. So *lar-na* would have been written la-ir-na in the Persepolis tablets.

[44] Atta-hamiti(-Inshushinak) is possibly to be identified as Athamaita, leader of the third Elamite revolt against Darius in 520 BCE in the Bisotun inscription (DB V §71) (Waters 2000: 85; Tavernier 2004: 24).

INSCRIPTION JBJ 3: APPLIQUE WITH INSCRIBED KURIGALZU EYE-STONE INSET

Object description (see Fig. 4)

A pale blue, white, and brown banded agate eye-stone (diam. 3.5 cm) set at the centre of a gold sheet disc (diam. 5.5 cm) surrounded by circles and rows of opposing triangles made with gold granulations. Four pairs of holes in the disc suggest it was sewn onto a garment or perhaps a headdress. The eye-stone bears a short epigraph on both the obverse (the 'eye') and the reverse side, which is concealed when the stone is set into the ornament. Prior use as a bead is clear from a lengthwise hole, also seen on many other inscribed eye-stones (as for JBJ 4 below, Fig. 7) and uninscribed eye-stones. The stone was cut so that the layers created a thin brown iris (now faded at the surface), a pale blue sclera, a white ring around the sclera, and a plain brown base or reverse. The stone has a lengthwise crack across its centre and almost one quarter of the stone has been broken away and lost. The location of this object is not reported, so it may have been amongst the looted items.

(Kassite) Sumerian inscription on the obverse

Two inscribed lines of text arranged in concentric circles, one on the outer blue sclera, the other on the inner brown iris, running counterclockwise. Part of the inscription on the sclera is missing due to the loss of part of the stone, and an additional portion has been chipped away. Half of the inner inscription on the brown iris has also been chipped away.

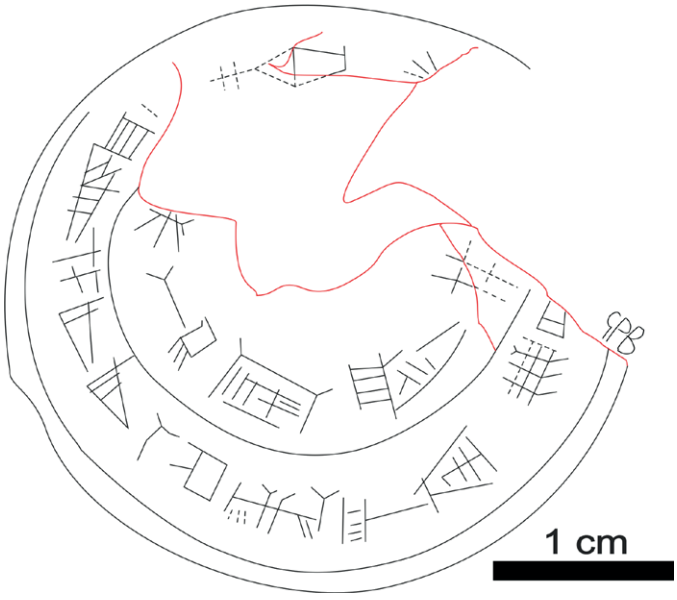

Fig. 12. Drawing of JBJ 3 obverse inscription based on several photographs by J. Álvarez-Mon. The sign IM is restored according to the form in Lambert's drawing of AO 21306 (Lambert 1969: 67, fig. 3, (iii)).

(inner) [x²] ^{d}en-líl lugal-a²[-ni-ir]
(outer) [^{d}]i[škur²] lugal-a-ni-ir ^{m}ku-ri-gal-zu in-[na²-ba]
'To Enlil, [his] lord, [(and²)] A[dad²], his lord, Kurigalzu has [presented] (this eye-stone)'

An Akkadian reading is also possible, as seen also, for example, in a Kassite spool (or chariot yoke) from Susa with a votive inscription of Kurigalzu II to Enlil. This inscription has just one Akkadian possessive pronominal

suffix written phonographically (further references in Basello 2012: 18; housed in the Louvre Museum, Sb 6862, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180504).

Palaeography

Several comparisons can be provided among the Kassite eye-stones listed by Brinkman (1976), Clayden (2009, Appendix A, section III) and available in the online Corpus of Sumerian Kassite Texts (https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ckst/). See especially the eye-stone Louvre AO 22497 (= Brinkman 1976, Q.2.76) published in Lambert 1969: 66–67, (i), and Fig. 2. From the palaeographic point of view, it seems to be engraved by the same hand. The text is the same except that it is dedicated to another god (Ninurta). The most relevant difference is in the arrangement of the epigraph, in horizontal lines instead of concentric circles.

(Kassite) Sumerian inscription on the reverse

The completely preserved epigraph on the reverse (the plain brown side) is arranged in three horizontal lines framed and separated by horizontal lines.

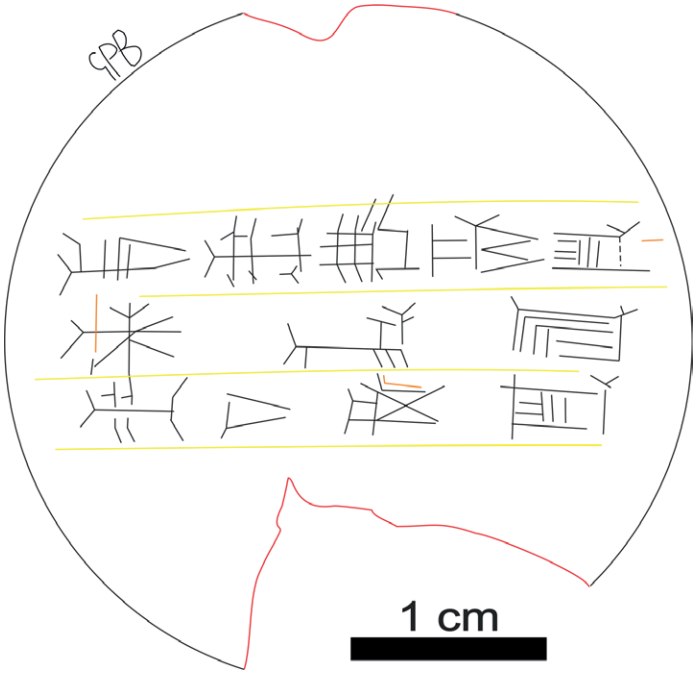

Fig. 13. Drawing of JBJ 3 reverse inscription based on several photographs by J. Álvarez-Mon.

(1) lú mu-sar ḫé-ùr
(2) ^{d}en-líl
(3) mu-ni ḫé-ùr

(1) (The one) who will erase the inscription,
(2) the god Enlil
(3) may erase his name.

As for the inscription on the obverse side, an Akkadian reading is also possible. The meaning of the Sumerian verb ùr is quite clear from the context as 'erase, remove', properly assigned to šu ùr ('to swipe the hand over something; erase something with the hand', attested also in reference to inscriptions) in standard Sumerian dictionaries (e.g. Attinger 2021: 1118, *s.v.* ur_3: 'passer en nivelant (tout); raser, araser, aplanir; effacer (une inscription, une tablette)'; Maiocchi 2023: 450. *s.v.* šu uru_{12}).

A close textual comparison is an 'agate knob' found at Kish bearing a three-line Sumerian epigraph dedicated by a king Kurigalzu to Zababa (Brinkman 1976: 225, Q.2.70, and n. 40), read by Brinkman as follows:

(1) ^{d}Za-ba_4-ba_4
(2) *Ku-ri-gal-zu* lugal šár lú mu-sar x [ ]
(3) ^{d}iškur! (= IM!) ^{d}utu mu-ni ḫé-ùr

Thanks to JBJ 3, the final part of line 2 could be restored as lú mu-sar ḫé-ùr.

The curse on the back of the JBJ 3 eye-stone completes very well the epigraph on the front, and was surely carved at the same time. This is confirmed also on palaeographical grounds, since the stylization of cuneiform wedges (required for the engraving of a hard stone rather than the usual impressing of clay) of the left part of the sign in on the front is exactly the same of the left part of sar on the back, just like these parts correspond in the usual forms of the signs on clay.

Palaeography

The sign ḫé (morphologically the modal proclitic expressing wishes) in line 1 and line 3 of JBJ 3 is rendered by two slightly different glyphs.

INSCRIPTION JBJ 4: GOLD CUFF-STYLE BRACELET WITH RECUT INSCRIBED EYE-STONE INSET

Object description (see Fig. 4)

An ornate cuff-style gold bracelet (h. 5.5 cm, w. 6.5 cm) found on the wrist of the skeleton in the eastern coffin. It is composed of a circular face with a large central eye-stone and separately made wristband with smaller eye-stones, the middle one of which is inscribed. The main eye-stone on the face is framed by a granulated circle, then a concentric register of granulated 'rosettes' with central bosses, and another register of alternating rectangles of agate inlays and gold divided by granulated lines. Two panels join the circular face to the wristband, each decorated with a pair of teardrops with now-missing inlays and a pair of granulation-encircled eye-stones. The wristband has thick, plain double-band borders framing pairs of granulated lines and row of vertically arranged 'rosette' pairs alternating with three granulated double-rings inset with eye-stones (one missing), the middle one of which is inscribed. The face and wristband join at both sides via hinge-like mechanisms connected by removable pins, both of which remained inside the pin holes.[45] The eye-stones in this piece are mostly recycled beads of blue, brown, and white banded agate, with visible lateral holes. Some are quite convex while others are flatter. The middle, inscribed, eye-stone on the wristband is very flat and its texture duller than the others.[46] Its upper inscribed brown layer has been ground down substantially around the border, to reveal the layer of blue below and create the 'eye' effect.

[45] Bracelets of a comparable style have been recovered from Queens' Tomb II at Nimrud (Hussein 2016, pl. 72a-c; catalogue nos. ND 1989.9, 1989.10, 1989.12, and 1989.43, 44).

[46] There are examples of manufactured stones made from a "paste" (see Al-Rawi 2008: 135) which may tend to shine less than stone examples, but there is presently no suggestion that this is an artificial stone.

(Kassite) Sumerian inscription

According to the publication of Shishegar (2015: 159), this eye-stone preserved a complete two-line inscription consisting of the female anthroponym a-ni-nu-ma/ku. However, the extant height of line 2′ is lower than that of line 1′, the two lines are not vertically centred, and some of the characters are partly truncated. This attests the eye-stone was originally larger and had been recut at some point, perhaps to fit into the bracelet.[47] Since most extant inscribed Kassite eye-stones (see Clayden 2009: 38, table 1) are in the name of Kurigalzu, the following restoration of the text is tentatively proposed.

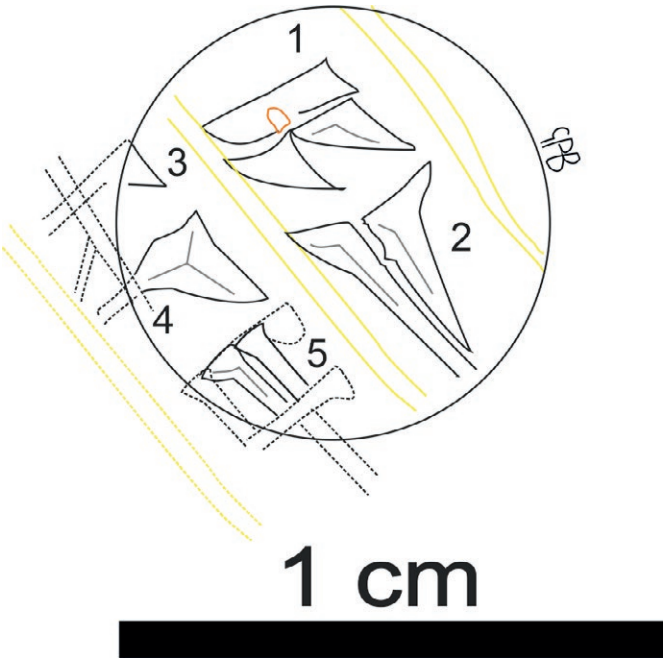

Fig. 14. Drawing of JBJ4 based on a photograph by J. Álvarez-Mon (grey: tentative chisel contact edges; orange: accidental stroke; yellow: line rules; dashed: restorations).

[DN²]
(1′) [lugal²-]a-ni[-ir²]
(2′) [ku²-r]i²-g[al²-zu²]
[...]

'[To DN²,] his [lord²], [Kur]ig[alzu² ...]'

These highly speculative restorations follow the common Kassite template found also in the Kurigalzu epigraph JBJ 3 above, and, for example, in the spool from Susa mentioned above (Basello 2012: 18). A good match, also in the 'typesetting' of the glyphs, is represented by the agate eye-stone MLC (= Morgan Library & Museum, New York) no. 2625 (= Brinkman 1976: 227, Q.2.87; see also Electronic Babylonian Library, www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/MLC.2625), kindly brought to our attention by Alexa Bartelmus. If a and ni on line 2 were less spaced in this stone, the vertical alignment with ri and gal in the following line would be the same as in JBJ 4: 1′–2′.

[47] This is not an isolated example of a recut eye-stone. For example, an onyx eye-stone acquired by the Ashmolean Museum dedicated to the goddess Ningal by Abī-ešuh (1711-1684 BCE) was later trimmed into a pair of eyes and rededicated to Ningal by Aššur-uballit (1363-1328 BCE) (published by Langdon 1923; see also Frayne 1990: 405–406 E4.3.8.2; Clayden 2009, no. 7).

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