

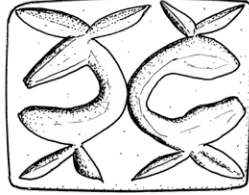
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Front cover photo: Tell Brak, gold sheet pendant, Early Bronze Age, Deir ez-Zor Archaeological Museum (adapted from Aruz, Wallenfels (eds) 2003, fig. 158a).

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Introduction to Goldsmith Techniques in Syria during the Early and Middle Bronze Age

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Abstract. Jewels constitute a relevant form of documentation relating to the complex society and state formation process in Bronze Age Syria. They provide material evidence of various socioeconomic dynamics, including the capitalisation of precious metals (gold and silver), intensification of exchanges over long-distances, along with the emergence of specialised craftsmen and goldsmiths who mastered the know-how in metallurgy and the manufacture of complex objects. During the 3rd and early 2nd millennia BC jewellery became an important tradition, in response to an increased demand for luxury personal objects for social display by the early Syrian and Mesopotamian kingdoms. Innovative techniques were introduced and would, over time, be transmitted across the Near East and the Mediterranean to Greece, Etruria and Rome, where granulation and many different decorative motifs were appreciated and diffused. The long-lasting continuity of traditional jewellery with its distinct techniques and motifs down to modern times attests to the economic and social relevance of this craft and the capacity of the Bronze Age societies to create a highly specialised craftsmanship. This article aims to illustrate and analyse the techniques documented by the Syrian Bronze Age jewels.

Keywords. Syria, Bronze Age, goldsmiths, jewellery-making, metal-working, granulation, filigree.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWELLERY-MAKING

Metal-working appeared in Syria in the 7th millennium BC, when it is documented only by small personal ornaments such as beads and rings, all in copper either in its native form or as malachite.

The earliest evidence comes from Tell Ramad in south-western Syria, where a pendant was found¹ created from a native copper nugget, in level I (end of the 7th millennium BC). At Tell Sabi Abyad² rings, pins, pendants and small pendants of copper sheet have also been found.

¹ France-Lanord, De Contenson 1973: 107.

² Akkermans, Schwartz 2003: 133.

Further copper beads come from 6th millennium sites of the “Halaf culture”, such as Tel Kurdu in the Amuq and Chagar Bazar in the Khabur triangle.³

During the 4th millennium, the varying and important properties of different metals were discovered and exploited (silver,⁴ copper, lead). The increased use of metals was accompanied by demand and, consequently, greater importance for sites close to areas where they could be found such as, for example, the Taurus in Anatolia, Wadi Araba and central Iran.

Around the mid-point of the 3rd millennium, artefacts in lead, copper, gold, silver, electrum⁵ and bronze⁶ are widespread throughout the Near East.

Syria was notable for its production of gold jewellery and, today, offers extensive testimony relating to the 3rd and 2nd millennia. The production of objects such as bracelets, pendants and earrings began to increase in various Syrian cities such as Qatna,⁷ Byblos⁸, Ebla,⁹ Mari,¹⁰ and Tell Brak.¹¹

During the second half of the 3rd millennium, new and more complex processes appear, especially soldering and decorative techniques involving heat which facilitate the assembling of different elements and the production of decorative features.

Techniques such as granulation, filigree and *cloisonné* developed rapidly from the beginning of the 2nd millennium onwards in the major urban centres of Syria and along the Levantine coast, revealing a profound understanding of the physical-chemical attributes of gold and the various metals essential especially in the processes of fusion and soldering. These techniques were used individually to produce and decorate pendants, beads, rings and bracelets or combined to create composite ornamentation and pieces.¹²

The finds from the royal tombs of Byblos¹³ and Ebla,¹⁴ for example, are representative of the artistic techniques and aesthetic qualities of gold jewellery during the Middle Bronze Age in Syria and the Lebanon (2000-1600 BC).

TECHNIQUES¹⁵

1. Use of sheet metal

As early as the 3rd millennium BC techniques were used in the Near East which made it possible to make containers from sheets of metal by exploiting the malleability of the metals themselves. The hammering of unheated metal is the earliest technique we find used during the Neolithic period in Iran and in Anatolia. The sheet of metal

³ Mallowan 1936: 7-26; Moorey 1994: 255.

⁴ For the silver production by cupellation in Habuba Kabira in Syria, see Pernicka, Rehren, Schmitt-Strecker 1998.

⁵ Electrum: an alloy of gold and silver, in which the ratio of silver varies from 20 to 50%.

⁶ Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin and was used extensively during the 3rd and 2nd millennia, thus giving its name to the archaeological Bronze Age.

⁷ Formigli, Abbado 2011; Pfälzner, Dohmann-Pfalzner 2011.

⁸ Jedjian 1968; Dunand 1950; Montet 1928.

⁹ Matthiae 1985; Matthiae 1981; Matthiae in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: nos 121, 391; Pinnock in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: no. 414.

¹⁰ Nicolini 2010; Margueron 2004; Jean Marie 1999; Parrot 1965.

¹¹ Matthews, Matthews, McDonald 1994; Mallowan 1947.

¹² Dardaillon, Prévalet 2008: 11.

¹³ The artisans of Byblos preferred to decorate both jewellery and weaponry with small, spherical beads and round or twisted threads soldered to the objects, with even the settings of semi-precious stones within surroundings of such threads being further embellished by the addition of small granules. See Dunand 1958: 854, n. 16700; Dunand 1950: pl. CXXXII.

¹⁴ The economic importance of Ebla as a centre reveals the technical expertise of Syrian artisans through a couple of dozen jewels found in the princely tombs dating to the end of the Middle Bronze Age (1800-1700). See Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995.

¹⁵ This paper does not aim to cover all the techniques employed in working gold but only those documented by objects found in Bronze Age Syrian sites which were studied and catalogued in my doctoral thesis.

being obtained by hammering¹⁶ an ingot of metal until a sheet of the required thickness was obtained.¹⁷ The sheet was then cut and shaped according to the type of object desired. Prolonged beating of the sheets produced the so-called “leaves” which were extremely thin, like those produced by machinery today. The use of cylindrical mills is not attested in ancient gold-working.

2. Pierced work decoration

Piercing was used to produce all kinds of ornaments, cutting through the sheets of metal to create decorative *chiaroscuro* effects (alternating metal and spacing) whilst also reducing the w. of the piece. Examples are two pierced sheets from Mari (Figs 1-2)¹⁸ and two from Umm el-Marra (Fig. 3)¹⁹ dating to the Early Bronze Age, as well as another two from Byblos (Figs 4-5)²⁰ from the Middle Bronze Age. In antiquity pierced work decorations were generally created by using a sharp instrument like a scalpel or chisel, and we find marks left by such tools on numerous objects.²¹

3. Repoussé and chasing work²²

Repoussé and chasing are techniques which are normally used in combination in making jewellery.

Repoussé work is carried out on the reverse of the sheet metal on which a pattern has been traced, whilst chasing is performed on the face.

Chasing is carried out using a chisel, a purpose-made bar of hard metal with rounded tip which is tapped onto the sheet using a special hammer. The sheet is lain on a layer of pitch during the process. Work on the reverse is done using rounded needle-shaped tools to create the raised parts of the figures whilst the face is decorated using differently shaped chisels, including “profilers” used to creating the outlines of figures. The metal sheets are placed on a flexible material such as lead or pitch during these processes.²³

An example of this technique can be seen on a pendant from Tell Brak (Fig. 6) dating to Early Bronze Age III-IV, ca. 2350-2159 BC and depicting two incised and entwined lions, their paws represented like the talons of an eagle.²⁴ The two lions are very finely and carefully produced, especially in the anatomic details (mane, muzzle, eyes), and the pendant was part of a treasure that was buried in a room of one of the buildings at Tell Brak dating to the Akkadian period.

The main ribbing of a pendant in the shape of a sheet from *Ville II*²⁵ at Mari (Fig. 7) was created by means of a similar *repoussé* technique, with a hard point being pressed into and along the metal. Similar ribbing is found also on other objects from Mari (Figs 8-9) dating to the Middle Bronze Age. The secondary ribbing was roughly rectilinear, created free-hand in firm strokes. Goldsmiths generally used a fine instrument with a rounded point (of different diameters) that, for the sake of simplicity, we can call “soft point”. No examples of such tools have been

¹⁶ The gold was beaten into very thin sheets in Mesopotamia from its earliest appearance in the 4th millennium BC probably with stone hammers and on hard flat stones. Ogden has identified such a tool from Ur as a hematite pestle: Ogden 1982: 35, fig. 4.3.

¹⁷ Giardino 1998: 71-72, 83.

¹⁸ Nicolini 2010: 336, no. 184/23; Nicolini 2010: 334, no. 175

¹⁹ Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 611, fig. 15.

²⁰ Dunand 1958: 694, nos 14435, 14435bis.

²¹ Ogden 1982: 43.

²² The French term *repoussé* indicates both techniques: the motif is first created in relief and then completed with the use of a chisel, Giardino 1998: 83-85.

²³ Formigli 2000: 323.

²⁴ P. Collins in Aruz, Wallenfels (eds) 2003: 231, fig. 185.

²⁵ Margueron defines the phases of the city of Mari as *Ville I*, *II* and *III*, corresponding to: *Ville I*: 2990-2500 BC; *Ville II*: 2500-2300 BC; *Ville III*: 2300-1800 BC.

preserved but they would probably have been in bronze, bone or wood and, in some cases, we can reconstruct the shape of the tool used from the traces left on the finished object.²⁶

4. Engraving

Carried out with sharp, pointed tools, engraving consists of creating figures and motifs by removing parts of the metal. It is generally used for the setting of rings, medallions, etc., but can also be employed to create “positive”, or raised, shapes by removing the surrounding metal. Fine examples from Mari are a pair of grooved spiral earrings from Tomb 86, dating to the Early Bronze Age (Figs 10-11),²⁷ where the decorative incisions were made with a burin or chisel.

This technique can also be seen on the beads of the bracelet in the so-called “treasure of Ur”²⁸ found at Mari (Fig. 12).²⁹

A similar incision, though of inferior quality, is found on the bail of a half-moon pendant (Fig. 13) from Mari and dating to the *Šakkanakku* or Amorite phase.³⁰

5. Dapping punches

This metalworking technique differs from *repoussé* work since the gold sheet is placed on a base or doming block (like a small anvil) and is worked with a smooth round-headed punch. The head of the punch is the same size and shape as the hemispherical indentations in the doming block. The sheet of metal is placed between the two and the punch tapped with a hammer to produce either concave or convex hemispheres. Unlike *repoussé*, this technique requires the use of a doming block which presupposes mastery of lost-wax fusion processes or forging in order to create both the block and the punches.³¹

Since we have no examples of such tools from the 3rd or 2nd millennia, any analysis of this technique must be based solely on the objects available.

It is possible that the hemispherical relief elements used in the decoration of discs (Figs 14-15) from tomb 300 and dating to the *Ville I* period at Mari, may already indicate the use of dapping with punches then repeated by using the tool on the reverse of the cold metal. However, it is difficult to prove that such processes were employed. In this regard, G. Nicolini, who has conducted extensive research on the jewels from Mari, has employed experimental archaeology to investigate the techniques used: he has produced hemispheres, cutting the sheet before and after the punching. These hemispheres were then assembled in pairs to produce spheres, soldered at the centre and with the holes at top and bottom. An example of such an object is a bead (Fig. 16) from the *Ville II* period, which appears to be the earliest found at Mari although it is not possible to claim whether it predates the quite rare examples from the royal tombs of Ur or whether it was created at Mari itself.³²

Another example is from the Royal Necropolis of Ebla (Fig. 17),³³ from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats and dating to the Middle Bronze Age, 1750-1700 BC. This is a small disc containing eight hemispherical shapes probably produced using rivets or punches.

²⁶ Nicolini 2010: 66.

²⁷ Nicolini 2010: 118; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 63, pl. 44.

²⁸ During the 1956 season, a vase was found in room XXVII of the Pre-Sargonic palace, dating to the 3rd millennium BC, containing a collection of precious objects in different materials including the important bead from a necklace bearing a cuneiform inscription with the name Mesannepada, the founder of the 1st dynasty of Ur, thus indicating the existence of relations between the two kingdoms. See Parrot 1968.

²⁹ Nicolini 2010: 113, no. 150; Margueron 1965: 227-228, pl. XIV.1.

³⁰ Nicolini 2010: 246, no. 139.

³¹ Nicolini 2010: 63.

³² Nicolini 2010: 63.

³³ Matthiae 2010: 345-346; F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 481, no. 400.

6. Pressing with patterned punches

Pressing of a metal in jewellery-making is usually carried out on a mould on which the desired motif is incised so as to create the design in relief and a punch and hammer are used. The sheet of gold is beaten upon the mould to create a decoration in relief, a method which makes it possible to create rapidly a series of identical decorative elements. A simpler procedure, pressing without a mould, consists of laying the sheet of metal on a smooth, soft surface (leather, lead or pitch) and hitting it with a punch and hammer. This imprints the motif on the metal, the depth depending on the force with which the hammer is used and the softness of the metal itself. This method, however, rarely leaves unequivocal marks on the objects indicating the technique employed, but the fact that many decorative elements and figures are identical, down to small details, lead us to conclude that it must have been the method used.³⁴

An example of this technique is a sheet with 12-petalled rose decoration (Fig. 18), dating to between *Ville I* and *Ville II*, with pronounced concavities which result in a marked level of relief. On the reverse, the marks left by the tool used are clearly visible.³⁵

7. Filigree

Filigree is a very ancient metal-working technique which involves soldering fine threads of metal onto a sheet to create decorative motifs, sometimes combined with granulation in the same piece of jewellery.³⁶ Examples exist with single, double and even triple rows of threads which can be smooth, beaded or entwined, flat, rounded or square in section and of varying thickness, twisted and soldered onto sheet metal.

A double-cone-shaped gold bead (U.9779) from a tomb (PG 580) in the Royal Cemetery of Ur³⁷ represents an example of extremely high-quality filigree work.

A splendid example from Early Bronze IV is a triangular pendant with chain from tomb 1 at Umm el-Marra (Fig. 31). Both sides of the pendant are decorated with eight twisted, double-thread “plaits” framed by thin, double threads. The threads of each pair twist in opposite directions with the effect of a weave between each “plait”.³⁸ The same decoration with double row runs along the edge of the pendant on both sides.

The Mari “treasure of Ur” also includes two gold discs, the edges of which bear two gold threads twisted in clockwise and anti-clockwise directions (Fig. 19).³⁹

A further example of this technique can be seen in the disc cited earlier (Fig. 17)⁴⁰ which has four double-rows of wavy threads separating four motifs in *cloisonné* in the shape of drops flanked by two golden spheres, all surrounded with granulation, and a central circle of smooth thread separating the two granulated lines.

8. Granulation

This technique involves soldering minute spheres, or granules, onto a metal base so finely that the point at which they are attached is almost invisible to the naked eye. It is normally used on gold but there are also examples of silver bearing granulation. The tiny spheres were applied in straight or curving lines, or filled entire parts of the surface to create complex designs.⁴¹ Granulation can be defined according to three criteria: the calibre (size), method of soldering and use.⁴²

³⁴ Nicolini 2010: 63.

³⁵ Nicolini 2010: 64-65.

³⁶ Giardino 1998: 99-100.

³⁷ See P. Collins in Aruz, Wallenfels (eds) 2003: 128, no. 75; Woolley 1934: pl. 138, U.9779.

³⁸ Schwartz *et al.* 2003: 334, fig. 15.

³⁹ Nicolini 2010: 93, no. 11; Margueron 2004: 298-299; Parrot 1956: 219, fig. 32.

⁴⁰ Matthiae 2010: 345-346; F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 481, no. 400.

⁴¹ Giardino 1998: 100-101.

⁴² Nicolini 2010: no 405.

It would seem to have made its appearance in the Near East in the mid-3rd millennium. From tomb 1100 of the royal cemetery at Ur there is, in fact, an earring which is recognised as the first piece of jewellery decorated with true granulation,⁴³ which is here combined with a filigree spiral.⁴⁴

The first examples of decorative elements created with granulation in the eastern Mediterranean are from Byblos, where it appears for the first time on a circular gold medallion (Fig. 20), found in the so-called “*Jarre Montet*”,⁴⁵ and dating to late 3rd/early 2nd millennium. We also find granulation used to decorate weapons and jewellery at Byblos.⁴⁶

Granulation is well-represented at Mari, where it came into use relatively early, immediately following its first appearance in the Early Dynastic tombs of Ur, where the technique is characterised by the use of large granules. The pendant of an earring with two pointed pods (Fig. 21) from tomb 1048⁴⁷ includes a kind of capsule soldered in an irregular pattern.

G. Nicolini maintains that this “capsule” (Fig. 21) was not necessarily the work of goldsmiths from Ur.⁴⁸

Other jewels from Mari shows two further and different techniques.

One can be observed on a gold earring (Fig. 22),⁴⁹ from room 119 of the large palace dated to the late 3rd/early 2nd millennium BC where the granules form decorative lozenges, a motif of Sumerian origin, and the quality is quite refined for the period. This kind of decoration is extremely unusual at the end of the 3rd millennium but would become widespread during the 2nd millennium in Egypt and throughout the Near East. The same kind of work can also be seen on a pair of earrings from Troy,⁵⁰ created using large granules.

It is, however, extremely difficult to hypothesise that the goldsmiths of Mari could have furthered developed this craft technique without having general knowledge of methods of eastern gold-working, especially and this becomes more obvious when considering the issue of uncertain dating of archaeological objects since certain objects from the site cannot be dated.⁵¹

The second example is a pendant (Fig. 23)⁵² from room 113 of the royal palace. Its decoration, of Sumerian origin, includes lines upon which triangles, in alternating position, touch along with granulated lozenges, all set in a clearly visible soldering alloy. If this piece is later than the former (Fig. 22), it could be contemporary with the production from Ebla but it, undoubtedly, finds no comparisons amongst pieces made at Mari.⁵³

At Byblos most of the finds using granulation were discovered in six deposits in the Temple of the Obelisks. Amongst these, the “*Jarre Montet*” mentioned above also held a large pendant (Fig. 20) which has been compared to the disc of Larsa,⁵⁴ from which it differs in that it has a tube for it to hang from on the reverse instead of a ring on the upper part, and is also very simple in its design and limited amount of granulation.⁵⁵

Goldsmiths at Byblos used granulation to produce a metal sheet with a votive scene (Figs 24-25),⁵⁶ without a thread or ribbon as border, an extremely difficult task to perform. This style is not as rich as that on the Larsa medallion and may not have been Mesopotamian in origin.⁵⁷

⁴³ “The Sumerians were the first people we know to have shown skill in filigree and granulated work”: Woolley 1934: 297.

⁴⁴ Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 51, fig. 34; Woolley 1934: pl. 138, U. 11584.

⁴⁵ Tufnell 1966. In 1921-1922 during the series of excavations at Byblos, Pierre Montet discovered a large vase and accompanying lid with snake-like handles that contained a treasure of hundreds of precious objects of differing provenance dated to the end of the 3rd millennium BC.

⁴⁶ For the jewellery from Byblos decorated with granulation, see Tufnell 1966: fig. 4 no. 85; Dunand 1958: nos 16700, 16701, 16702, 14451, 14452, 16698; Dunand 1950: pl. CXXXII.

⁴⁷ Jean-Marie 1999: 189, pl. 218.7.

⁴⁸ Nicolini 2010: 72.

⁴⁹ Nicolini 2010: 124, no. 24.

⁵⁰ For the jewellery from Troy, see Tolstikov, Treister 1996.

⁵¹ Nicolini 2010: 72.

⁵² Margueron 2004: 542, pl. 90.

⁵³ Nicolini 2010: 72.

⁵⁴ For the Larsa disc, see Arnaud, Calvet, Huot 1979.

⁵⁵ Lilyquist 1993: 38.

⁵⁶ Dunand 1958: 854, no. 16700; Dunand 1950: pl. CXXXII.

⁵⁷ Lilyquist 1993: 41.

Two more pieces of jewellery with granulation are from Ebla. The first is a necklace (Fig. 26) which was amongst the funerary deposits in the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats. This consists of three elements, each formed by a rectangular plaque from which a disc is suspended, the plaques and discs all being richly decorated.⁵⁸ The granulation on all three discs is identical and represents a six-pointed star with six small granulated circles the points and three lines of granulation framing each disc.⁵⁹

The second is an earring (possibly a nose-ring) from the “Tomb of the Princess” (Fig. 27). This consists of two curved sheets soldered along the edges, in relief, and decorated in granulation with sickle shapes, rhomboids and triangles. The earring is very similar to others found in Palestine, at Tel Ajjul, which are also decorated with granulation but the more markedly half-moon shape is probably to be attributed to a later date, although this is still subject to debate.⁶⁰

8.1. Preparation of the granules

The granules are prepared by fusing relatively small pieces cut from gold wire or sheet. These are then placed on a flat base of charcoal and flame applied through a mouth pipe: the effect of gravity turns the pieces into perfectly spherical granules.⁶¹

To obtain large number of granules quickly, the pieces of gold can be placed inside a crucible made of refracting material on a layer of charcoal powder and other, alternating layers be added.

The furnace is then brought to fusion temperature; the resulting granules are then washed in water and divided according to diameter.⁶²

9. *Cloisonné*

This technique permits the creation of “compartments” (*cloisons*) by means of applying thin gold, silver or copper wire onto a metal base. The compartments thus produced are then filled with coloured vitreous paste or precious stones.

Examples of *cloisonné* in Early Bronze Age Mesopotamia and Syria are, however, quite rare, the technique being attested, instead, at Ebla during the Middle Bronze Age by, for example, the large ring (Fig. 28) found in the “Tomb of the Lord of the Goats”. This consists of two lilies each flanked by two buds, enclosing an oval space in which a small scarab in vitreous paste is set and, as noted by G. Scandone Matthiae, is a fine example of *cloisonné* jewellery.⁶³

Another example of *cloisonné* work from Ebla is the disc mentioned above (Fig. 17) with four tear-shaped motifs and a central circle formed by thin gold wire. The central, circular *cloisonné* and the two lateral tear-shaped compartments still hold pieces of lapis lazuli, whilst the original stones are missing from the other two *cloisonnés*.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 471, no. 396.

⁵⁹ Matthiae 1981: 217.

⁶⁰ F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 470, no. 394.

⁶¹ This observation derives from the course on Ancient goldsmiths’ craft held in Montepulciano (Italy) by Alessandro Pacini attended by the present writer in 2012.

⁶² Vitiello 1987: 321.

⁶³ G. Scandone Matthiae in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 467, no. 387; Scandone Matthiae 1995.

⁶⁴ F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 481, no. 400.

10. Casting

This technique consists of melting metal in a terracotta crucible and then pouring it into a mould. Once the metal has solidified it produces a positive version of the shaped mould. Earliest metal-workers often made the moulds from soft or fire-resistant stone such as soapstone, or terracotta, and carved the shape of the object to be created. The use of such moulds is well-documented especially in relation to tools and weapons in copper and, later, bronze, whereas we have few examples relating to the production of jewellery.⁶⁵

An example of a mould dating to the Early Bronze Age (2300-2200 BC) comes from Tell Brak (Fig. 29). This is a multiple, rectangular mould⁶⁶ used to create two large pins, a standing nude female figurine, two figures of goats, an amulet with animal protome and a circular plaque.⁶⁷

11. Lost-wax casting

This method consists of creating a wax model upon which fine clay is lain to produce a negative mould. The mould is then heated in order to melt and remove the wax through a hole in the terracotta casing. Once the wax has been eliminated, molten metal is poured into the mould and, once this has cooled, the clay casing is broken in order to reveal the finished object.⁶⁸

An example of lost-wax casting from Mari is a small golden bull's head (Fig. 30), today in the Louvre, which was found in the house of the priests of the temple of Ištar and may have decorated the top of a sceptre or ceremonial staff.⁶⁹ The head is quite simple in design and appears to have been made using a mould in which molten gold or electrum replaced the original, probably in bitumen.⁷⁰

12. Soldering

The technique of soldering on gold and silver, used to create composite jewels from numerous tiny parts, was known from at least the middle of the third millennium BC in Mesopotamia. The earliest pieces of jewellery often consist of various components assembled by mechanical means or using a variety of techniques that involve the application of heat and which, for the sake of simplicity, can be included under the general heading of "soldering". The use of natural electrum as solder for gold is attested in some pieces from Ur.⁷¹ Other pieces of jewellery of the 3rd millennium, such as the gold *loop-in-loop* chains⁷² from Ur,⁷³ with their carefully soldered links, show instead that a copper-based solder was used for some delicate tasks, since native gold rarely contains more than 1 or 2% copper.⁷⁴

Electrum and silver were soldered from the start of the 3rd millennium onwards, and this technique became more frequently used at the start of the 2nd millennium.⁷⁵

Soldering with copper salts is particularly well-suited to filigree and granulation. This involves the use of a copper compound (a sulphate, an oxide or a carbonate) ground to a powder and applied, together with a liquid, to the

⁶⁵ Giardino 1998: 64-66.

⁶⁶ Studying on these moulds provides information on the metal-working techniques used in the 3rd and 2nd millennia, but also on jewellery which is rarely preserved in the archaeological documentation.

⁶⁷ Oates, Oates, McDonald 2001: 247-248, fig. 267.

⁶⁸ Giardino 1998: 66-70.

⁶⁹ Nicolini 2010: 57.

⁷⁰ Nicolini 2010: 57.

⁷¹ Moorey 1994: 229-231.

⁷² For the *loop-in-loop* chains, see Ogden 1982: 57.

⁷³ For the chains from Ur, see Woolley 1934: pl. 146.

⁷⁴ Ogden 1982: 64.

⁷⁵ Ogden 1982: 63-64.

points at which the separate pieces are to be soldered. The object is then heated in a reducing environment, such as a wood-burning furnace, to the temperature needed to transform the copper salts into copper metal. As soon as it is reduced, the copper binds to the gold creating a minimum of soldering alloy with a melting point that is slightly lower than that of the metal of the jewel itself, welding the pieces firmly together.⁷⁶

In ancient goldsmiths, strong brazing was also used in the production of jewellery. Brazing is a form of soldering in which the parts to be joined, heated in a furnace or with a soldering tool.

The filler metal should have a lower melting point than the adjoining metal.⁷⁷ Moreover, this method is preferable when the join will have to resist stress or when the high temperatures required by copper salts is too risky to be used.

Autogenous welding was used in certain cases to solder the links of chains and to unite the edges of moulded figures. Hard-soldering could also be used for granulation, as has been observed in some Near Eastern jewellery productions.⁷⁸

13. Chains

In early jewellery-making, as today, chains served not only to hold pendants or link different elements but had their own aesthetic purpose.

Chains from Syrian archaeological sites are of the *loop-in-loop* type. This means that, instead of soldering successive links on inside the next, a number of closed links were prepared and then soldered to each other. The first link was bent in half and a second, also bent, inserted, then a third, and so on, to obtain a *loop-in-loop* chain of the simple type.⁷⁹

We have two Early Bronze Age examples of this kind of chain, one from Tomb 1 at Tell Umm el-Marra (Fig. 31)⁸⁰ and the other from Tomb VIIY49 set3 at Mari (Fig. 32).⁸¹ A Middle Bronze Age example was found, instead, at Ebla in the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats (Fig. 33)⁸² and there are numerous parallels in the Syro-Palestinian area, although the individual curved elements tend to be bent more tightly in the various contexts at Byblos, Tell Ajjul and Megiddo, where they were used in a variety of objects.⁸³

CONCLUSION

The production of gold jewellery became an important activity in the Mediterranean region from the 3rd millennium onwards. The earliest evidence for gold objects in Syria are attested in the sites of Umm el-Marra, Tell Brak, Tell Munbaqa⁸⁴ and Mari. The Middle Bronze Age marks a peak in international relations, with continuous exchanges between the courts not only of gifts and merchandise but also of craftsmen and technical knowledge channels.

A significant development in gold-working techniques during the Middle Bronze Age can be seen compared to those that have flourished during the Early Bronze Age in Syria, especially in relation to the methods of granulation, filigree and soldering. Such development manifests itself in both the quality and quantity of the artefacts.

⁷⁶ This observation derives from the course on ancient goldsmiths' craft held in Montepulciano (Italy) by Alessandro Pacini attended by the present writer in 2012.

⁷⁷ Pinton 2003: 163; Moorey 1994: 229.

⁷⁸ Maryon 1998: 8.

⁷⁹ Formigli 2000: 323; Ogden 1982: 57.

⁸⁰ Schwartz *et al.* 2003: 334, fig. 15.

⁸¹ Nicolini 2010: 309, no. 149; Margueron 2004: 108, pl. 80.

⁸² Matthiae 2010: 345, fig. 194.

⁸³ F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds) 1995: 472, no. 398.

⁸⁴ Czichon, Werner 1998.

The formation of great kingdoms and their desire to affirm their power favoured the intensive production of precious objects, in gold, silver, gemstones and ivory,⁸⁵ the technical aspects of which testify to the existence of both specialised and polyvalent workshops and a marked cultural syncretism.

On the basis of archaeological contexts (palaces, temples, storehouses, treasuries and elite burials) we may affirm that, in all probability, gold jewellery was reserved for the elite and ruling classes, who soon began to consider them also as objects for exchange and commerce. We can cite, for example, the treasure of Ur, a possible gift from king Mesannepada of Ur (2250 BC) to the king of Mari, and a group of objects sent as gifts to a king of Ebla by one or more pharaohs, almost certainly of the XIII dynasty.⁸⁶

On particular occasions, objects in gold and silver were also given to members of the royal family, the family of the minister and members of the administration (based on the individual's rank). Such occasions related to fundamental events such as marriage, the birth of a son (in this case, the gifts were received by women) and funerals.⁸⁷ Extremely interesting in this regard are the lists of wedding gifts and four texts concerning funerary offerings from Ebla, published by A. Archi in 2002.⁸⁸

The state invested in raw materials, that is precious metals, and employed craftsmen to transform these into precious objects that entered into circulation through commercial exchanges with other states. Over time, artisans consequently came to represent an extremely important category for the state. One of the texts from Ebla mentions the presence of 500 metal-workers, a detail which suggests that metal arrived in the city in the form of ingots and was then turned into finished objects by local artisans.⁸⁹

Syrian goldsmiths' craft during the Bronze Age appears to be relatively homogenous in both technique and style, although with regional variations. There are, in fact, numerous influences to be noted,⁹⁰ resulting from contact with neighbouring regions. Egyptian influences, seen first in the coastal city of Byblos,⁹¹ more easily reached by the pharaohs' commercial expeditions, then spread to a number of centres in the Syrian interior, as shown by the discovery of artefacts of Egyptian manufacture at Ebla.⁹² Instead, we find a marked Mesopotamian influence at Mari, in the region of the Middle Euphrates, and at Tell Brak in the Jezirah. Most of the objects found at these sites can be compared to the jewels found in the royal tombs of Ur.

To summarise, whilst in order to reconstruct the various shapes and different kinds of jewels we can rely upon the visual testimony which art or written documents have left to us, in order to re-create the technologies employed we must study the jewellery directly through archaeometric and other non-invasive laboratory analyses. It is only via such examination that we can identify the techniques employed and, therefore, define the procedures and methods of production used in specific cultures, workshops and groups of craftsmen.

The difficulties involved in studying goldsmith techniques in 3rd and 2nd millennium Syria derive also from the scarcity of archaeological finds relating to the workshops and metalworking tools. Amongst the few furnaces known to date there is that used for metalworking discovered in room 138 of Palace P-1 at Mari, with its characteristic "Egyptian" structure and which was probably used, as least in part, by a goldsmith at the end of the *Ville II* period.⁹³

⁸⁵ Exotic and precious goods (lapis lazuli, carnelian and tin) arrived in the Syrian city of Ebla from Afghanistan and the Indus valley via complex, long-distance and indirect networks determined by geographically strategic positions of intermediary points. Precious metals (silver and gold) arrived, instead, via a southern circuit of exchange with autonomous cultural groups on the Anatolian plain, along the Euphrates or up the Orontes and the plain of the Amuq: Peyronel 2008: 60.

⁸⁶ Matthiae 2010: 350-351.

⁸⁷ Archi 2011: 49.

⁸⁸ Archi 2002.

⁸⁹ Archi 1995: 117.

⁹⁰ The Royal Archives of Mari have shown how important this was as an indication both of a Syrian culture, undoubtedly greatly influenced by Mesopotamian elements, and of original aspects which reveal how Syria was a great cultural and autonomous pole situated between Egypt and Mesopotamia.

⁹¹ For Egyptianising objects from Byblos, see Sowada 2009; Hakimian 2008.

⁹² For objects of Egyptian manufacture, see Matthiae 2018; Matthiae 2010: 348-249.

⁹³ Nicolini 2010: 56.

This kind of interpretation, however, necessitates a multi-disciplinary approach including also ethnographic aspects, which means including an analysis of contemporary workshops. Similarly, experimental archaeology can help establish the diagnostic criteria required in order to identify the methods employed which, at the same time, add to our knowledge of the organisation of goldsmiths' workshop, the status of the craftsmen and the manufacturing process.

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CATALOGUE

Fig. 1

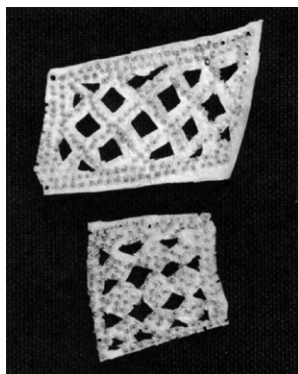
Mari
Mosaic sheet
IXA44NO3
Gold
L. 75 mm, 128 mm, th. 4 mm, w. 2.74 g
Early Bronze Age
Deir ez-Zor, Archaeological Museum
Nicolini 2010: 334, no. 175.

**Fig. 2**

Mari
Sheet
M 2728
Gold
L. 27 mm; w. 0.19 g.
Early Bronze Age
Damascus, National Museum
Nicolini 2010: 336, no. 184/23.

**Fig. 3**

Umm el-Marra
Decorative sheet
UMM04 1-027
Gold
Tomb 4
Early Bronze IV
Aleppo, National Museum
Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 611, fig 15.

**Fig. 4**

Byblos
Gold sheet with square perforations
14435
Gold
L. 5.4 cm; th. 0.02 cm
Temple of the Obelisks
Middle Bronze Age
Dunand 1950: pl. CXVII.
Dunand 1958: 694, no. 14435.

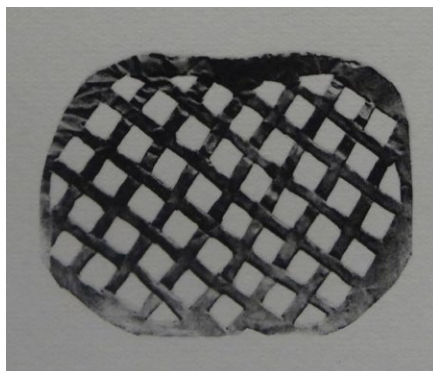
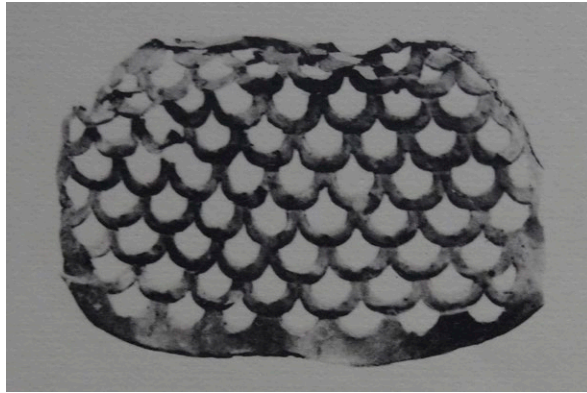


Fig. 5

Byblos
 Gold sheet with fish-scale perforations
 14435bis
 Gold
 L. 5.4 cm, th. 0.02 cm
 Temples of the Obelisks
 Middle Bronze Age
 Dunand 1950: pl. CXVII.
 Dunand 1958: 694, no. 14435bis.

**Fig. 6**

Brak
 Sheet pendant
 TB 15070
 Gold
 H. 4.9 cm, wid. 6.2 cm, th. 0.5 cm, w.
 5.5 g
 Early Bronze Age
 Deir ez-Zor Archaeological Museum
 Matthews, Matthews, McDonald
 1994: 185, fig. 10.
 P. Collins in Aruz, Wallenfels (eds)
 2003: 231-232, fig. 158a.

**Fig. 7**

Mari
 Pendant in shape of a leaf
 M 2955
 Gold
 H. 38.6 mm, wid. 19.7 mm
 Early Bronze Age
 Damascus, National Museum.
 Nicolini 2010: 232, no. 118.

**Fig. 8**

Mari
 Pendant in shape of a leaf
 M 1843
 Gold
 H. 72 mm: wid. 49.3
 Temple of Dagan?
 Middle Bronze I, late Shakkanakku?
 Aleppo, National Museum
 Margueron 2004: 543, pl. 95.
 Nicolini 2010: 243, no. 135.



Fig. 9

Mari
Pendant in shape of a leaf
M 1878
Gold
H. 62.3 mm: wid. 46.4.
Temple of Dagan?
Middle Bronze Age
Aleppo, National Museum
Margueron 2004: 543, pl. 95.
Nicolini 2010: 243, no. 136.

**Fig. 10**

Mari
Earring with spiral groove
M 639
Gold
H. 17.8 mm, wid. 15.8 mm, th. 9 mm,
w. 1.26 g
Tomb 86
Early Bronze
Paris, Musée du Louvre
Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 63, pl. 44.
Nicolini 2010: 118, no. 13a.

**Fig. 11**

Mari
Earring with spiral groove
M 640
Gold
H. 14.3 mm, wid. 14 mm, th. 8.3, w.
1.05 g.
Tomb 86
Early Bronze Age
Paris, Musée du Louvre
Nicolini 2010: 118, no. 13b.

**Fig. 12**

Mari
Bracelet with beads
M 4407
Gold and lapis lazuli
Treasure of Ur
Early Bronze Age
Damascus, National Museum
Parrot 1965: 27-28, pl. XIV-1
Margueron 2004: 297-298, pl. 93.
Nicolini 2010: 310, no. 150.



Fig. 13

Mari
Crescent-shaped pendant
M 1114
Gold
H. 15.2 mm, wid. 25.4 mm
Middle Bronze I
Amorite or Shakkanakku period
Aleppo, National Museum
Nicolini 2010: 246, no. 139.

**Fig. 14**

Mari
Decorative disc
M 1426
Gold
Diam. 55/54 mm
Tomb 300
Early Bronze Age
Aleppo, National Museum
Jean-Marie 1999: 308, 315.
Nicolini 2010: 327, no. 159.

**Fig. 15**

Mari
Decorative disc
1425
Gold
Diam. 70/72 mm
Tomb 300
Early Bronze Age
Aleppo, National Museum
Nicolini 2010: 328, no. 160.

**Fig. 16**

Mari
Spherical bead from necklace
M 234
Gold
L. 16.9 mm, diam. 7.8 mm
Early Bronze Age
Damascus, National Museum
Nicolini 2010: 227, no. 100.



Fig. 17

Ebla

Decorative disc

TM.79.Q.200

Gold and lapis lazuli

Diam. 3 cm, th. 0.3 cm

Area Q, Royal Necropolis, Tomb of

the Lord of the Goats, Hypogeum C

Middle Bronze II: ca 1750-1700 BC

Aleppo, National Museum

Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone

Matthiae (eds) 1995: 481, no. 400.

Matthiae 2010: 345-346.

**Fig. 18**

Mari

Sheet

SO85.TH06.17

Gold

L. 116 mm, w. 3.27 g

Early Bronze Age

Deir ez-Zor, Archaeological Museum

Nicolini 2010: 347, no. 236.

**Fig. 19**

Mari

Headband

M 4408

Gold

Wid. 37.3 mm, h. 25 mm

Diam. discs 18.5/19.3 mm

Th. discs 1.2/1.5 mm; w. 6.64 g

Treasure of Ur

Early Bronze (Ville II)

Damascus, National Museum

Parrot 1965: 219, Fig. 31.

Margueron 2004: 298-299, pl. 78.

Nicolini 2010: 93, no. 11.

**Fig. 20**

Byblos

Decorative disc

Gold

Diam. 5.8 cm

Montet Jar

Middle Bronze Age

Tufnell 1966: fig.4 no. 85.

Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: pl. 69.

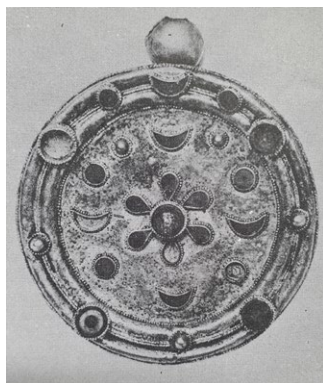


Fig. 21

Mari

Earring with two pods

IIID1 SE46.TH91.7

Gold

H. 24.5 mm, wid. 17.9 mm, th. 18.5 mm, w. 5.05 g

Tomb 1048

Shakkanakku

Deir ez-Zor, Archaeological Museum

Jean-Marie 1999: 189, pl. 218-7.

Nicolini 2010: 191, no. 74.

**Fig. 22**

Mari

Granulated curved earring

M 4533

Gold

H. 16.3 mm, diam. 17.5 mm, t. 4.2 mm, w. 2.15 g

Late 3rd/early 2nd millennium

Room 119, Great Palace

Damascus, National Museum

Margueron 2004: 542, pl. 88.

Nicolini 2010: 124, no. 24.

**Fig. 23**

Mari

Pendant with granulation

M 4549

Gold

H. 17.8 mm, wid. 11.5 mm, t. 6.5 mm, w. 3.30 g

Royal Palace, Room 113

Middle Bronze I

Damascus, National Museum

Parrot 1967: 23, pl. IV-4.

Margueron 2004: 542, pl. 90.

Nicolini 2010: 246, no. 140.

**Fig. 24**

Byblos

Sheet with granulation

16701

Gold

L. 4.8 cm, wid. 3.7 cm

Temple of the Obelisks

Middle Bronze Age

Dunand 1950: pl. CXXXII.

Dunand 1958: 854-855, no. 16701.



Fig. 25

Byblos

Sheet with granulation

16702

Gold

L. 5.3. cm, wid. 3.9 cm

Temple of the Obelisks

Middle Bronze Age

Dunand 1950: pl. CXXXII;

Dunand 1958: 854-855, no. 16702.

**Fig. 26**

Ebla

Necklace

TM.79.Q.250a-c

Gold

L. 10.4 cm, h. 4.4 cm, diam. discs 2.5 cm

Area Q. Royal Necropolis, Tomb of
the Lord of the Goats,

Hypogeum B

Middle Bronze II: ca 1750-1700 BC

Aleppo, National Museum

F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone

Matthiae (eds) 1995: 471, no. 396.

**Fig. 27**

Ebla

Earring

TM.78.Q.166

Gold

Diam. 3.2 cm, th. 0.6 cm, w. 6.8 g

Area Q. Royal Necropolis, Tomb of
the Princess

Middle Bronze I-II: ca 1825-1775 BC

Aleppo, National Museum

F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone

Matthiae (eds) 1995: 470, no. 394.

**Fig. 28**

Ebla

Ring

TM.79.Q.23e

Gold, pale blue vitreous paste

H. 2.2 cm, diam. 2.4 cm, l. 1.4 cm.

Area Q. Royal Necropolis, Tomb of
the Lord of the Goats

Middle Bronze II: ca 1750-1700 BC

Aleppo, National Museum

G. Scandone Matthiae in Matthiae,

Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae (eds)

1995: 467, no. 387.



Fig. 29

Tell Brak

Multiple mould for jewellery

Oates, Oates, MacDonald 2001: 247-248, fig. 267.

**Fig. 30**

Mari

Head of a bull

M 1069

Gold

H. 12.3 mm, w. 0.715 g

Early Bronze

Paris, Musée du Louvre

Nicolini 2010: 330, no.165.

**Fig. 31**

Umm el-Marra

Pendant with chain

UMM00 M-032

Gold

H. 2.6 cm, wid. 1.2 cm, th. 0.3 cm, w.

2.6 g

Chain l. 1.1 cm

Tomb 1

Early Bronze IV

Aleppo, National Museum

Schwartz *et al.* 2003: 334, fig. 15.

Fig. 32

Mari

Bracelet with linked beads

TH03.79 (bead), TH03.80 (chain)

Gold

Bead: L. 18, diam. 9.7, w. 1.25 g

Chain 1: L. 144 mm, w. 3.28 g

Chain 2: L. 142 mm, w. 3.37 g

Tomb VIIY49 SET3

Early Bronze Age

Deir ez-Zor, Archaeological Museum

Margueron 2004: 108, pl. 80.

Nicolini 2010: 309, no. 149.

**Fig. 33**

Ebla

Necklace with two pendants

TM.78.Q.407

Gold, rock crystal and greyish-green translucent stone

L. chain 22 cm, L. stones 2 cm, diam. 0.8 cm

Royal Necropolis, Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Hypogeum C

Middle Bronze II: ca 1750-1700 BC

Aleppo, National Museum.

F. Baffi in Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone

Matthiae (eds) 1995: 472, no. 398.





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(MUNUS.)LUGAL-UT-TUM-*ma-kán an-da* KAxU-*az me-mi-an-zi*

Analisi di alcune azioni rituali per la regalità in CTH 479.2.1¹

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Abstract. The aim of this paper is to highlight some of the peculiarities and problems of interpretation that emerge from the analysis of the rites which are described within the text of the tablet listed under the number 479.2.1 of the *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*. This text preserves the so called “Kizzuwatna ritual”, which concerns the purification of the Hittite royal couple. In this paper I will discuss: the *uzianza* rite, the locations in which the ritual took place (lack of knowledge of which has hitherto created difficulties in understanding the ritual’s execution); the use within this text and in other texts of the term *UNŪTU* for which a new translation is suggested, and finally a ritual action, described as (MUNUS.)LUGAL-UT-TUM-*ma-kán an-da* KAxU-*az me-mi-an-zi*, which uniquely appears in two paragraphs of the *uzianza* offering cycle.

Keywords. Kingship, queenship, Kizzuwatna, purification ritual, royal couple.

INTRODUZIONE

Questo studio si propone di analizzare alcune azioni rituali presenti in CTH 479.2.1. Sotto questo numero di catalogo sono raccolti i frammenti appartenenti a una tavoletta che conserva la descrizione dello svolgimento di otto giorni di un rituale proveniente da Kizzuwatna. Essi sono:

¹ Ringrazio le professoresse Giulia Torri e Rita Francia, i dottori Francesco Barsacchi e Andrea Trameri che mi hanno aiutato nella stesura di questo contributo, offrendomi sostegno e preziosi suggerimenti. Ringrazio anche il dottor James Burgin per aver corretto e rivisto il mio inglese e l’anonimo revisore per i suoi utili commenti. Questo contributo è la rielaborazione di alcune parti della mia tesi di laurea magistrale discussa presso l’Università degli Studi di Firenze il 17 luglio 2018. Le abbreviazioni usate seguono quelle del *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*. Per i riferimenti bibliografici alle pagine web sono state utilizzate le indicazioni per la citazione contenute nelle stesse.

KUB 30.31 (1505/c +1564/c +1566/c +1602/c +1728/c +2350/c); KUB 32.114 (483/b); KBo 38.90(1192/c); KBo 39.281 (1148/c). I piccoli frammenti KBo 38.279² e KBo 35.215³ sono stati identificati come paralleli a KUB 30.31+. Del primo le righe 6'-7' corrispondono a KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 37-39, del secondo le righe 2'-4' sono parallele a KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 38-40. La prima edizione della tavoletta risale al 1977 ad opera di Lebrun (1977: 93-153) ma recentemente ne è stata pubblicata una edizione online a cura di S. Ūnal.⁴ Il testo su di essa conservato è purtroppo lacunoso ma per alcune sue particolarità è stato negli anni un interessante caso di studio. Una di esse è senz'altro la natura dei riti riportati. Il testo inizia con la descrizione dei riti che si svolgono il sedicesimo giorno del "rituale di Kizzuwatna"⁵ e prosegue fino al suo ventitreesimo giorno che, come informa il colofone, non è il giorno conclusivo del rituale. Sempre dal colofone proviene l'informazione che la tavoletta conservata è la seconda della serie su cui era raccolto il testo. Ciò pone alcune difficoltà sulla comprensione del rituale e sulla composizione della tavoletta. L'assenza della prima tavoletta,⁶ ad esempio, priva non solo della descrizione dei primi quindici giorni della cerimonia ma anche delle informazioni sul suo stesso scopo e sulle cause che portavano alla sua esecuzione. Priva, inoltre, dell'indicazione di chi eseguisse il rituale e per chi, nonché della materia magica necessaria per esso. Bisogna in questa sede sottolineare che la prima tavoletta dovrebbe contenere un numero significativamente più alto di informazioni, rispetto alla seconda che si è conservata, tra cui vi è lo svolgimento di ben quindici giorni del rituale e quindi di un periodo di tempo doppio rispetto a quello descritto sulla tavoletta in esame. Se è verosimile ipotizzare che tavolette appartenenti alla stessa serie avessero le medesime dimensioni, è possibile immaginare che la prima tavoletta e questa seconda avessero dimensioni simili. Pertanto, dovendo la prima tavoletta contenere informazioni relative a un arco di tempo maggiore rispetto a quella in esame, è ipotizzabile, che essa dovesse essere molto più sintetica della seconda. Questa maggiore sinteticità, che non è da escludere, lascia perplessi, soprattutto perché nelle tavolette di una stessa serie solitamente il testo è ripartito in maniera abbastanza regolare e analoga. Il rituale di Šamuḫa, ad esempio, è conservato anch'esso solamente su una tavoletta, che è la seconda della serie che preservava il testo integrale del rituale, ma essa riporta lo svolgimento di nove giorni (dal settimo al quindicesimo), laddove la prima tavoletta doveva preservare accanto alle premesse per il rito lo svolgimento di sei giorni (dal primo al sesto giorno).⁷ Tenendo presente questa caratteristica ci si aspetterebbe che anche per CTH 479.2.1 vi fossero almeno altre due tavolette a precedere quella che si è conservata, e che esse descrivessero lo svolgimento ciascuna di sette/otto giorni del rituale. Si può plausibilmente ipotizzare che lo scriba abbia tracciato un segno in meno nel numerale del colofone al momento di scrivere "III tavoletta del rituale". Altra ipotesi che si può avanzare è che lo scriba stesse ricopiando la seconda tavola di questo rituale da una copia di dimensioni maggiori di quella attuale e volesse indicare nel colofone che non aveva finito di ricopiarla. La questione, purtroppo, rimane al momento irrisolta. Ciò che è indiscutibile è il tecnicismo e la sinteticità che sono caratteristiche di questo testo e che vengono alla luce soprattutto esaminando attentamente le azioni rituali riportate. Lo scopo del presente articolo è, pertanto, mettere in evidenza alcune delle peculiarità e dei problemi di interpretazione che emergono dall'analisi

² Ūnal (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 479.2.2 (INTR 2017-01-04)

³ Ūnal (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 479.2.3 (INTR 2017-01-04)

⁴ Ūnal (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 479.2.1 (INTR 2017-02-23).

⁵ Il nome del rituale è preservato nel colofone, in cui sono presenti solo le informazioni più essenziali: DUB.2.KAM ŠA SÍSKUR URU *Ki-iz-zu-ua-at-na / Ū-[U]L QA-TI*, "Seconda tavoletta del rituale di Kizzuwatna. Non finito". In questo è simile al colofone di un altro rituale che coinvolge la coppia reale e appartiene alla tradizione kizzuwatnea, il rituale di Šamuḫa, CTH 480.1 (KUB 29.7+). Quest'ultimo colofone aggiunge però una informazione in più rispetto a quello in esame e recita: DUB 2.KAM ŠA SÍSKUR URU *Šamūḫa Ū-UL QA-TI / LU. MES AZU mā[hḫa]n SÍSKUR ienzi*, "Seconda tavoletta del rituale di Šamuḫa. Non finito. Come i LU. MES AZU eseguono il rituale." La prima edizione di CTH 480.1 è edita in Lebrun 1976: 117-143 (per la trascrizione del colofone si veda p. 125 e per la sua traduzione p. 132) e recentemente è stata pubblicata online una nuova edizione a cura di Görke, Melzer (eds), hethiter.net/: CTH 480.1 (TX 15.02.2016, TRde 10.02.2016). La natura estremamente sintetica del titolo del testo del CTH 479.2.1 potrebbe essere un elemento significativo per la storia della composizione della tavoletta, della sua destinazione d'uso e della sua ricezione all'interno della corte ittita.

⁶ Trémouille ha dimostrato in un suo articolo che KBo 24.45+ che era stato interpretato come prima tavoletta di questo rituale, ed è ancora considerato tale nell'edizione online in Hethiter.net, non può esserlo (Trémouille 2002: 841-856).

⁷ Cfr. Görke, Melzer (eds), hethiter.net/: CTH 480.1 (TX 15.02.2016, TRde 10.02.2016).

dei riti descritti all'interno del testo della tavoletta del CTH 479.2.1, riservando particolare attenzione all'analisi del rito di offerta *uzianza*. Dopo una breve introduzione ai riti presenti sulla tavoletta, saranno quindi discussi: il rito *uzianza*, i luoghi del rituale (che creano delle difficoltà nella comprensione dello svolgimento del rituale), l'uso del termine *UNŪTU* all'interno del testo e in altri testi, e un'azione rituale che compare all'interno di due paragrafi del ciclo di offerte *uzianza* rendendoli unici all'interno del testo e della tradizione testuale ed è descritta come (MUNUS.)LUGAL-UT-TUM-*ma-kán an-da* KAxU-*az me-mi-an-zi*.

I RITI

La descrizione dei riti eseguiti nel corso del rituale è molto concisa e fa uso di formule fisse e termini tecnici di origine hurrita che non vengono spiegati all'interno del testo.⁸ Tanto che, al paragrafo 6, Ro I 49-51,⁹ per ulteriori dettagli sulle modalità di esecuzione di un rito, si rimanda alla consultazione di un'altra tavoletta. Manca all'interno del testo anche una indicazione di come le impurità e i residui dei sacrifici e degli altri riti eseguiti venissero smaltiti.¹⁰ Così come mancano indicazioni precise sugli attori del rituale che rimangono per buona parte anonimi: su un totale di circa 34 paragrafi, solo quelli che vanno dal primo al settimo fanno menzione esplicita dei Signori del Rituale (nel testo EN^{MES}.SÍSKUR/LÚ^{MES} EN.SÍSKUR) ovvero i committenti, il re e la regina di Hatti, e di una tipologia di officianti, i Signori della Parola (nel testo *uddanaš* EN^{MES}, Ro I 13). Nella sezione del ciclo di offerte *uzianza* (paragrafi settimo-ventinovesimo) i sovrani sono menzionati soltanto tramite i loro *UNŪTĒ*^{MES}. Fanno eccezione i paragrafi dal diciassettesimo al diciannovesimo, che presentano delle caratteristiche che li differenziano dagli altri paragrafi della sezione del rituale dedicata al ciclo di offerte *uzianza* e di cui si parlerà dettagliatamente più avanti. Nei paragrafi diciassettesimo (Ro II 50, 52), diciottesimo (Ro II 57,59) e diciannovesimo (Vo III 1, 5 e 7), infatti, si specifica che le offerte *uzianza* sono fatte da parte del re e della regina. Di seguito una tabella con le ricorrenze all'interno del testo di una menzione diretta del re, della regina e dei Signori del Rituale:

Tabella 1:

LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL	Ro I 2 (§1), 7 (§1), 11 (§2), 35 (§5), 42 (§5)		Vo III 7 (§19)
LUGAL	Ro I 13 (§2), 17 (§2), 19 (§2), 20 (§3), 23 (§23)	Ro II 50 (§17), 57 (§18)	Vo III 1 (§19)
MUNUS.LUGAL	Ro I 25 (§3), 29 (§4), 34 (§5)	Ro II 52 (§17), 59 (§18)	Vo III 5 (§19)
EN.SÍSKUR	Ro I 27 (§3), 32 (§4)		
EN ^{MES} .SÍSKUR	Ro I 39 (§5)		
LÚ ^{MES} EN.SÍSKUR	Ro I 40 (§5)		

⁸ Questa caratteristica potrebbe essere un indizio importante della composizione del testo e della sua destinazione d'uso.

⁹ *A-NA DINGIR*^{MES}-*ma-kán / ma-aḫ-ḫa-an iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru da-an-zi na-at ḫa-an-ti* DUB.2.KAM / *nu-uš-ma-aš-at ka-a-aš-ma up-pa-aḫ-ḫu-un*, "E in che modo prendono le lacrime agli dèi, ciò è a parte su una seconda tavoletta e ormai l'ho mandata a loro."

¹⁰ È possibile ipotizzare che indicazioni su come smaltire le impurità e i residui dei riti fossero contenute in un'altra tavoletta, forse una delle successive o in una del tutto separata e indipendente come avviene per il rito delle lacrime. Si veda nota precedente. Nel caso del bagno rituale (Ro I 7 e 43-49), in particolare quello che si esegue di fronte al fiume (Ro I 45-49), si può pensare che le impurità venissero eliminate con l'uso dell'acqua. Di come venisse trattata ed eliminata l'impurità nel mondo ittita si è occupato Wright in un'opera sull'argomento ormai datata e incentrata sul mondo biblico ma che presenta confronti con il mondo anatolico e mesopotamico (Wright 1987).

È sempre in questi primi paragrafi che compare l'unica annotazione relativa alla redazione della tavoletta, ad opera dello scriba del testo, il cui nome, però, non è indicato nel colofone. I riti che si svolgevano durante queste giornate sono attinenti al ripristino delle condizioni di purità dei Signori del Rituale, in questo caso i sovrani, e delle divinità. Essi sono, in ordine di apparizione all'interno del testo: l'unzione regale,¹¹ il bagno rituale,¹² il rito delle lacrime (Torri 2016: 73-78), il rito *uzianza*, il rito dello *šehelliški*,¹³ il rito del *tuħalzi*,¹⁴ il rito dell'oscillazione e della purificazione con l'"acqua della purità" e il rito del *gangati*.¹⁵ Tutti questi riti, ad esclusione dell'unzione regale, del bagno rituale e del rito delle lacrime, fanno parte della catena di riti e termini rituali, radicati all'interno della tradizione kizzuwatnea, che Strauß (2006: 76-119) ha individuato essere una caratteristica comune ai testi rituali che trattano di purificazione e provengono dalla regione di Kizzuwatna. Tale catena di riti e termini rituali è documentata quasi interamente nel testo del CTH 479.2.1, sono presenti infatti: il rito di offerta *uzi*, il rito dello *šehelliški*, il rito del *tuħalzi*, il rito dell'oscillazione e quello di aspersione dell'acqua (ovvero il rito di purificazione con l'"acqua della purità")¹⁶ e infine il rito della pianta *gangati*. Mancano solo la cerimonia del "colpire il *kupti*" e

¹¹ L'unzione regale è, a mio avviso, l'azione espressa con il verbo ittita *šakniyanzi* (KUB 30.31+ Ro I 3). L'interpretazione tradizionale del verbo, seguita da molti studiosi che si sono occupati di questo passo, lo analizza come composto dal nome neutro *šakkar* (genitivo *šaknaš*) "escremento" e dal verbo *iya-* "fare" e gli dà il significato di "andare di corpo". Si veda, ad esempio, Kronasser 1966: 403. Recentemente, però, questa interpretazione è stata messa in dubbio e CHD Š/I: 47, lo intende come verbo derivativo dal sostantivo neutro *šagan* (genitivo *šaknaš*) "oil, fat" e dà come significato: "to anoint, smear (with oil), oil (something)", accostandolo all'accadico *PAŠ.ĀŠU*. Quest'ultima interpretazione sembra essere la più pertinente con il contesto rituale ed è accolta anche da Ünal nell'edizione online della tavoletta. Si veda Ünal (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 479.2.1 (TRde 23.02.2017) con la bibliografia in nota.

¹² Esso si svolge in più giornate: alla fine del sedicesimo giorno si lavano i sovrani (Ro I 7); alla fine del diciassettesimo giorno si lavano i sovrani, gli officianti e gli strumentari usati (Ro I 42-44); infine il diciottesimo e il diciannovesimo giorno vengono lavate anche le divinità, verosimilmente sotto forma di statuette (Ro I 45-51).

¹³ L'espressione *šehelliškin pai-* non è seguita da una spiegazione dettagliata delle azioni rituali da compiere ma il contesto in cui è usata all'interno del testo permette di ipotizzare che si tratti di un tecnicismo che indica il rituale di raccolta, preparazione e offerta dell'acqua della purità (*šehelliyas watar*) all'interno del vaso *šehelliški*. Sono di questa opinione anche Strauß e Trémouille. Si veda Strauß 2006: 100-101 e Trémouille 1996: 73-93, e la relativa bibliografia. Il rito si svolge durante la notte del ventesimo giorno e prosegue il ventiduesimo giorno. Cfr. Ro IV 20-35.

¹⁴ Nel paragrafo trentaduesimo, dopo che si è effettuato il rito dello *šehelliški*, in Vo IV 35 si legge: *nu tuħalzi šipandanzi* ovvero, letteralmente, "e offrono il *tuħalzi*". Il termine *tuħalzi/tuħulzi* è un prestito dal ħurrita e indica un tipo di offerta o sacrificio (da intendersi non solo come rituale ma anche come l'oggetto/animale usato in un rituale), sul quale purtroppo non si sa molto. Cfr. Tischler 1994: 408 e Richter 2012: 465-466 con relative bibliografie. La locuzione *tuħalzi šipant-*, che ricorre anche in altri testi (es. KBo 27.67 Ro 12'-13'; KBo 24.45 Ro 28'; KUB 29.4 III 12-14; KBo 5.1 I 56) probabilmente, serviva come termine tecnico per indicare un tipo di rituale ben conosciuto ai redattori e ai fruitori del testo, che non sentivano il bisogno di ulteriori dettagli. Fulcro di questo rituale era forse proprio l'oggetto chiamato *tuħalzi*. Recentemente in un articolo dedicato all'undicesima tavoletta del rituale *itkalzi* dove il termine *tuħalzi* compare nel colofone (Or 90/393+ IV 23), de Martino, Murat e Süel propongono che *tuħalzi* sia una qualità, connessa all'idea di purezza e di pulizia che può essere raggiunta in un rituale di purificazione e che dunque nei testi ħurro-ittiti in cui compare questo termine abbia acquistato un significato più ampio, venendo usato anche per indicare gli oggetti e le sostanze impiegate nei rituali di purificazione (de Martino, Murat, Süel 2013: 133-135).

¹⁵ KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 41-45. È descritto nell'ultimo paragrafo della tavoletta ed è forse l'ultimo rito da svolgersi il ventitreesimo giorno. A inizio paragrafo si svolge nell'edificio *šinapsi* e consiste nell'offerta della pianta *gangati* del *šinapsi*, ma in lacuna alle righe successive è probabile che la stessa pianta sia offerta all'interno del grande edificio *karimmi*. Nel testo in esame sembra esserci uno stretto legame tra la pianta *gangati* e l'edificio *šinapsi*. Il nome *gangati* è di provenienza ħurrita ed è ancora incerta la sua identificazione. Essa è largamente usata in ambito magico-rituale e medico in contesto di purificazione, tanto che ha dato origine al verbo *gangatai-*, che vuol dire "trattare con la pianta *gangati*, purificare, placare". Di essa si è occupato Haas 2003: 328-335. Per una bibliografia del termine più esaustiva si veda Richter 2012: 184-185.

¹⁶ KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 36-40. Il rito è descritto nel trentatreesimo e penultimo paragrafo della tavoletta e si svolge durante il ventitreesimo giorno, nel tempio del dio della Tempesta, nel tempio della dea Ĥepat e in tutti i templi. Esso consiste nell'agitare o scuotere o far girare con movimento oscillatorio (il verbo usato è *wahnu-*) un'aquila (TI₈^{MUŠEN}), un falco (SUR₁₄.DÛ.A^{MUŠEN}), una rondine (*hapupit*), una tadorna (^{MUŠEN}HURRI) e una pietra *ħušti* e nel purificare con l'acqua della purezza (*šehelliyaz witenaz šuppīyahhanzi*). La prima azione rituale è, secondo Haas (2003: 328), da intendersi come un *Absorptionsritus*, un rito che consisteva nel far assorbire le impurità ad alcune sostanze di modo da allontanarle da chi o cosa si stava purificando. In questo testo il verbo è usato come transitivo con i templi come oggetto, probabilmente si intendeva che il sacerdote faceva il giro intorno ai templi

gli altri termini rituali hurriti legati alle offerte, che la studiosa pone rispettivamente all'inizio e alla fine della catena rituale. Pur tenendo presente, come ammonisce Strauß, che gli elementi della catena rituale non si presentano sempre nel medesimo ordine né compaiono necessariamente tutti all'interno del medesimo testo, ci si domanda se l'assenza di questi elementi sia dovuta al fatto che essi non fossero necessari al fine del rituale o al fatto che del testo rituale del CTH 479.2.1 non si è conservato né l'inizio né la fine. Il rito che sembra essere essenziale al fine della buona riuscita del rituale di Kizzuwatna è il rito *uzi* (nel testo in esame *uzianza*), vale a dire il ciclo di offerte di carne alle divinità, ed è esso che pone le maggiori difficoltà per l'interpretazione e la comprensione del rituale nella sua interezza. Queste difficoltà riguardano diversi aspetti: lo svolgimento del rito di offerta; i tempi e i luoghi in cui le offerte venivano fatte; le divinità a cui erano rivolte le offerte; gli animali scelti per il sacrificio; la materia magica e gli strumenti usati durante il rito e la presenza di una variazione nello svolgimento del rito in tre paragrafi del rituale.

IL RITO UZIANZA

Il rito è descritto nel testo con l'espressione *uzianza šipant-* e, come si è già affermato, riveste un ruolo di primo piano nel rituale in questione. Il termine *uzianza* viene analizzato da Lebrun (1977: 104 e 111) come un luvismo per l'accusativo plurale di *uzi-* "carne", termine culturale hurrita dal sumerico UZU "carne" che sarebbe stato poi luvizzato dagli scribi di Kizzuwatna. In traduzione lo studioso usa il termine al singolare "un morceau de viande". Moore (1982: 180-181), invece, analizza *-anza* come un suffisso formante che ricorre anche nella formula SISKUR *zurkiyanza* equivalente di SISKUR *zurkiyaš*, "offerta/sacrificio di sangue". La sua traduzione per *uzianza* è dunque "meat offering". Il termine *uzianza* è quindi una variante del hurrita *uzi* e indica in questo testo un tipo di offerta fatta alla divinità che consisteva nell'offrire la carne dell'animale sacrificale (Tischler 2010: 186-187). Come sembra si possa dedurre dal rituale di Papanigri (CTH 476), in questa offerta l'animale veniva fatto a pezzi e le sue carni, insieme al grasso, venivano cotte e in seguito donate alla divinità.¹⁷ Questa offerta ricorre in altri testi ed è spesso accompagnata dall'offerta *zurki* (il termine è anch'esso hurrita e significa "sangue",¹⁸ e può trovarsi nella variante *zurkianza*)¹⁹ che consiste in un rito di sangue. Secondo Feder (2011: 12) il fatto che le carni dell'animale sacrificale usato per il rito di sangue siano in seguito offerte in banchetto alle divinità durante il rito di carne²⁰ è la prova che il rito di sangue e l'offerta di carne, seppure indipendenti, erano strettamente connessi e costituivano un'unità formale. Nella documentazione, comunque, la presenza di uno non implica necessariamente la presenza dell'altro. Nei testi in cui Strauß individua la catena di azioni rituali tipicamente kizzuwatnea, il rito di offerta *uzi* è quasi sempre presente²¹: KBo 23.1 + Ro 56;²² KBo 5.1 Ro I 26-29, 34-36;²³ KBo 17.65 Ro I 18;²⁴ Bo 4951 Vo 11;²⁵ KBo 21.45 Ro I 10-11;²⁶ KUB 9.2 Ro I 12;²⁷ KUB 7.52 Ro 7;²⁸ KBo 24.45+ Ro 26'.²⁹ Anche nel CTH

eseguendo il rito dell'oscillazione. La seconda azione rituale è strettamente legata al rito dello *šehelliški* (si veda nota relativa): con l'acqua della purezza o meglio della purità rituale si continuava l'azione purificatoria e catartica.

¹⁷ KBo 5.1 Ro I 26-29, cfr. Strauß 2006: 94-95.

¹⁸ Si veda per un commento del termine Feder 2011: 244-246, mentre per una bibliografia sul termine si veda Richter 2012: 420-421.

¹⁹ Come ad esempio in KUB 29.7+ Vo 13/Vo 22 (CTH 480, rituale di Šamuḫa) e nel frammento KUB 58.57. Si veda Strauß 2006: 96 e n. 368.

²⁰ Come si vede, per esempio in CTH 476.

²¹ Nella tabella di Strauß, il rito *uzi* manca solo al CTH 471, KBo 5.2. Si veda Strauß 2006: 78.

²² Si tratta di CTH 472, il rituale di Ammiḫatna, Tulbi e Mati contro l'impurità del tempio. Cfr. Strauß 2006: 253-271.

²³ CTH 476, il rituale di Papanigri da eseguire quando si rompe la sedia del parto. Si veda Strauß 2006: 284-309.

²⁴ Si tratta di CTH 489, il rituale di nascita "Quando una donna rimane incinta", e del testo K in Beckman 1983: 132-175.

²⁵ Appartiene a CTH 477, che raccoglie i rituali di parto ed è il testo J in Beckman 1983: 124-131.

²⁶ È un frammento di rituale di parto, CTH 430, che è stato pubblicato come testo O in Beckman 1983: 206-209.

²⁷ CTH 702, il rituale per Hebat: il restauro di un tempio. Si veda Strauß 2006: 274-276.

²⁸ Appartiene a CTH 473 che raccoglie i frammenti dei rituali di Ammiḫatna, Tulbi e Mati. Si veda Strauß 2006: 273.

²⁹ Fa parte dei rituali catalogati sotto CTH 479, i rituali di Kizzuwatna. Il testo è pubblicato per intero in Strauß, 2006: 310-326.

480, il rituale di Šamuḫa, sembra essere presente il rito *uzi*, sotto l'espressione *zurkias* UZU *zēyantit šipanti*.³⁰ Ma non in tutti questi testi in cui compare il rito *uzi* è menzionato il rito di sangue *zurki*: esso, infatti, manca in KBo 24.45+, nel KUB 9.2 e nel testo del CTH 479.2.1, qui in esame.³¹ Alle offerte di carne e sangue è attribuito un forte potere catartico e sono quindi molto usate in tutte le occasioni in cui si sentiva la necessità di (re)instaurare una condizione di purità, in quanto capaci di appagare le divinità e attirarne la benevolenza.³² Il legame dei riti di offerta di sangue e carne con la purificazione, l'espiazione e l'allontanamento di ogni male, malattia e impurità non si trova solo nei testi di origine kizzuwatnea che si sono visti ma è caratteristico di rituali appartenenti ad aree diverse del Vicino Oriente antico come ad esempio l'area mesopotamica (come testimoniano i testi *namburbi* e il rituale *bīt rimki*)³³ e lo si ritrova anche all'interno della Bibbia (ad esempio in: Esodo 29, 10-28; Levitico 8, 14-32; 12; 14; 16).³⁴ Bisogna in ogni caso sottolineare che il rito *uzianza*, in KUB 30.31+, non è descritto nei dettagli ma solo con una concisa formula standard: si offre il sacrificio di carne dell'animale X alla/e divinità Y e si prendono in mano gli *UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ} dei Signori del Rituale. Similmente a quanto avviene anche in altri testi rituali di origine kizzuwatnea, non viene detto, per esempio, in che modo si preparasse e svolgesse il rito, quale delle diverse tipologie di sacerdoti ed esperti di arte magica fosse coinvolta nell'esecuzione oppure perché si dovessero prendere in mano gli *UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ} dei Signori del Rituale e se il tutto fosse accompagnato da recitazioni magiche. Non è da escludere l'ipotesi che sotto questa formula possa anche nascondersi l'esecuzione del rito di sangue (*zurkianza*). Se così fosse lo scriba potrebbe, allora, o aver modificato il rituale eliminando il primo, o aver posto maggiore enfasi sul secondo, perché forse considerato più consono alle divinità per cui si effettuava il sacrificio. In questo testo le divinità menzionate sono Teššub e Hebat che sono delle divinità celesti, mentre l'uso del sangue avviene più frequentemente in riferimento a divinità del mondo infero, che ne sono attratte proprio perché assetate di esso (Strauß 2006: 97 e Feder 2011: 210 e 211). Sembra, però, più probabile, ipotizzare che lo scriba nel comporre il testo avesse come riferimento un rituale in cui l'azione di offerta della carne in combinazione con le altre azioni rituali fosse stata ritenuta sufficiente. Dunque, seppur l'uccisione dell'animale sacrificale implicasse lo spargimento del sangue dello stesso (Collins 2002: 320-321), probabilmente in questo caso solo le sue carni venivano offerte alle divinità.

All'interno della formula standard con cui è descritto il rito di offerta, colpisce l'uso del termine accadico *UNŪTU* (pl. *UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ}), accompagnato nella forma di stato costruito di volta in volta da LUGAL o MUNUS. LUGAL. La parola accadica *UNŪTU* ha generalmente il significato di "strumento, utensile, strumentario" (Tischler 2001: 296) ed è in questa accezione che sembra essere usata nei primi paragrafi della tavoletta (KUB 30.31+ Ro I 43 e 46). Diverso sembra però essere il caso dei paragrafi che si riferiscono ai sacrifici di carne. Ogni paragrafo è organizzato allo stesso modo, per cui nell'ordine:

1. si effettua un sacrificio, si prende l'*UNŪTU* del re (*UNŪT LUGAL*);
2. si effettua un sacrificio, si prende l'*UNŪTU* della regina (*UNŪT MUNUS.LUGAL*);
3. si effettua un sacrificio e si prendono insieme entrambi gli *UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ}.

L'unica eccezione è rappresentata dal paragrafo diciottesimo (Ro II 57-61) in cui le azioni sono fatte da parte dei sovrani³⁵ e si dice esplicitamente che gli strumenti non vengono presi: *Ū-NU-[UT]-ma EGIR-an Ū-UL ku-it-ki ap-pa-an-zi* (Ro II 60-61). Anche nei paragrafi diciassettesimo (Ro II 50-56) e diciannovesimo (Vo III 1-9), si dice esplicitamente che gli *UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ} non vengono presi, come vedremo più avanti. Non è ben chiaro perché gli

³⁰ È di questa opinione Feder (2011: 17). L'espressione compare in KUB 29.7+ Vo 72 ed è tradotta da Lebrun (1976: 132) come "l'offrande du *zurki* de viande cuite", "l'offerta del *zurki* di carne cotta", e da Görke e Melzer "das *zurki*-Opfer mit gekochtem Fleisch", "l'offerta *zurki* con carne cotta", si veda Görke, Melzer (eds), *hethiter.net*: CTH 480.1 (TRde 10.02.2016).

³¹ In KBo 5.1 (CTH 476) anche se non è esplicitamente chiamato con il nome *zurki* in Ro I 25-26 si legge che la sedia del parto e i pioli dovevano essere aspersi del sangue di due uccelli che poi si offrono in sacrificio *uzi*. Ciò è quindi indice che un rito di sangue fosse previsto. Si veda al proposito anche Feder 2011: 10-20.

³² Si veda sulla questione Strauß 2006: 92-98 con la bibliografia citata e anche, con particolare focus sui riti di sangue, Feder 2011.

³³ Cfr. Strauß 2006: 97-98 con bibliografia.

³⁴ Si veda l'approfondita analisi al riguardo in Feder 2011.

³⁵ A Ro II 57 e 59 si legge *IŠTU LUGAL/MUNUS.LUGAL*.

UNŪTĒ^{MES} venissero presi in mano dopo ogni sacrificio e se ci fossero altre azioni particolari da eseguire prima o dopo averli presi. L'ipotesi di lavoro che si intende proporre è che nel rituale CTH 479.2.1 gli *UNŪTĒ^{MES}* rappresentino la persona a beneficio della quale si effettua il sacrificio e che la loro menzione indichi, quindi, da parte di chi è eseguito il sacrificio e su chi deve avvenire la sua azione benefica, forse nell'eventualità che la persona non potesse essere presente al momento dell'esecuzione del rituale.

I LUOGHI DEL RITUALE

La descrizione dei riti nel CTH 479.2.1 pone delle difficoltà nel capire dove e quando essi venissero svolti e di conseguenza dove si trovassero i vari attori della performance rituale, in particolare i sovrani. Essi dovrebbero infatti trovarsi per il compimento delle azioni rituali in tre città diverse (Ḫattuša, Kizzuwatna³⁶ e Adaniya),³⁷ lontane l'una dall'altra parecchi giorni di marcia, in un arco di tempo insufficiente a coprire la distanza. Essi potrebbero essere rappresentati simbolicamente da uno o più oggetti, i quali renderebbero così possibile, attraverso un processo di magia analogica, lo svolgimento dei riti anche a distanza, come si vedrà ora nel dettaglio.

Il sedicesimo giorno, a sole ancora non sorto, le azioni rituali si aprono con il re e la regina a Ḫattuša e proseguono poi, quando il sole è sorto, a Kizzuwatna, nel tempio del dio della Tempesta, nell'edificio *šīnapši*³⁸ dove degli officianti anonimi svolgono una non ben chiara azione rituale. A circa mezzora dal sorgere del sole³⁹ si svolge l'ultimo rito della giornata: il bagno rituale del re e della regina. L'azione ritorna quindi a Ḫattuša. Il giorno successivo, nuovamente le azioni rituali iniziano prima del sorgere del sole a Ḫattuša con l'unzione dei sovrani mentre a Kizzuwatna i signori della parola eseguono il rito delle lacrime per conto dei sovrani. Infine, quando mancano 5 *gipešsar* e 8 *wakšur* alla fine del giorno, *mahhan ANA UD^{MI} 5 gipešsar 8 wakšur ašzi* (Ro I 41-42), cioè circa 57 minuti (57 minuti e 07 secondi), il bagno rituale della coppia reale, degli officianti e degli strumenti utilizzati conclude i riti della giornata. Nei giorni diciottesimo e diciannovesimo i riti si svolgono di fronte al fiume, *PA-NI ÍD*, Ro I 45 e 48, ma non c'è nessuna indicazione per capire se i riti si svolgessero in una località presso Ḫattuša o Kizzuwatna o presso entrambe.

È possibile ipotizzare che i riti si svolgessero in contemporanea in entrambe le città. Ad essere lavati e purificati tramite il rito del bagno rituale sono, infatti, gli dèi, i sovrani, gli officianti e gli *UNŪTĒ^{MES}* e non è possibile che si potesse percorrere in poche ore la distanza tra Ḫattuša e Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, che era di qualche giorno di cammino, né pare convincente l'idea di Güterbock (1957: 353) che una delle due città avesse un quartiere chiamato come l'altra. In questi primi paragrafi, lo scriba sembra registrare il cambio di scena quando esso è più significativo, per es. in Ro I 2 la scena si svolge a Ḫattuša e in Ro I 5 a Kizzuwatna, ma nel resto del paragrafo non c'è alcun ulteriore riferimento a dove avvengono i riti, perché l'ultimo rito coinvolge i sovrani e di essi già si conosce la posizione. Nel paragrafo seguente, il secondo, allo stesso modo l'inizio dei riti avviene con azioni che coinvolgono il re e la regina (Ro I 10-12) e non viene specificato dove essi siano. Al contrario, viene sottolineato in Ro I 12 che il rito seguente si svolge a Kizzuwatna. Anche nel resto della tavoletta si registra il cambio di scena in maniera simile, quando esso è più significativo. Ancora al paragrafo 6, Ro I 45 e 48, non si menzionano le città in cui il rito avviene ma si dice che esso

³⁶ Il nome della regione è preceduto dal determinativo URU, che precede i nomi delle città e, nell'espressione KUR URU NG, quelli dei paesi. Il fatto che nel testo si descrivano edifici di una tipologia quale ci si aspetterebbe di trovare in una città di grande importanza, mi porta a considerare come molto probabile l'ipotesi che con URU Kizzuwatna lo scriba intendesse la città capitale della regione, Kummanni. È della stessa opinione Strauß (2006: 98 n. 379).

³⁷ Sull'identificazione di Kizzuwatna e Adaniya, si veda il punto della situazione fatto in Novák, Rutishauser 2017: 134-145 e Hawkins, Weeden 2017: 281-294.

³⁸ Il termine ricorre nei testi ittiti, soprattutto rituali, di tradizione kizzuwatnea ed è quindi chiaro che esso sia proveniente dalla regione di Kizzuwatna e dalla cultura ḫurrita. Probabilmente il *šīnapši* era un luogo all'interno del tempio ed era in qualche modo connesso con il mondo degli inferi e con la dinastia regale. Al riguardo si vedano soprattutto: Gentili Pieri 1982: 2-37, Trémouille 1997: 174-179 con le bibliografie di riferimento, e Richter 2012: 383-384.

³⁹ In Ro I 6-7, si legge *A-NA UD^{MI} 2½ ki-pe-ēš-šar 5 ūa-ak-šur pa-iz-zi*, "quando passa del giorno 2 e ½ *gipešsar* e 5 *wakšur*". Sulla base dei valori del *gipešsar* e del *wakšur* individuati in van den Hout 1990: 518-522 questo tempo è stato calcolato come corrispondente a circa 29 minuti (29 minuti e 17 secondi).

deve svolgersi davanti al fiume (*PĀNI ÍD*) e su ciò viene posta l'attenzione. I due paragrafi che descrivono il ventesimo giorno e le prime offerte di carne (paragrafi 7 e 8, Ro I 52-63), non contengono nessuna indicazione di dove si svolgano i riti e i sovrani sono menzionati tramite i loro *UNŪTĒ^{MES}*. Forse è un indizio del fatto che le offerte vengono fatte nella stessa località dei giorni precedenti. I due paragrafi successivi, invece, specificano che i riti devono svolgersi rispettivamente: *É-ri an-da*, “dentro la casa”, (Ro I 64) e *I-NA É^dUTU^{ŠT}-ia-kán*, “e dentro il palazzo del Mio Sole”, (Ro II 1).⁴⁰ L'informazione che allo scriba preme trasmettere non è quella della città in cui si svolgono i riti, che a lui e ai fruitori della tavoletta doveva essere nota o comunque ben chiara,⁴¹ ma il percorso che in essa si compie per fare le offerte. Il paragrafo undicesimo, presenta un altro cambio di scena, purtroppo in lacuna: le offerte al dio della Tempesta Teššub e alle divinità maschili della sua cerchia si fanno *šal-li-kán* [...] *an-da* (Ro II 7).⁴² Le offerte del paragrafo seguente, il dodicesimo, sono presentate alla sua paredra, *Ḫepat*, e alle divinità femminili del suo seguito in un luogo imprecisato, il quale, però, si può ipotizzare che sia rimasto lo stesso delle offerte precedenti (Ro II 14-19). I paragrafi tredicesimo, quattordicesimo e quindicesimo sono molti lacunosi e su di essi non si può dire nulla (Ro II 20-42). Il sedicesimo non fornisce alcuna indicazione sul luogo delle azioni rituali (Ro II 43-49). I paragrafi diciassettesimo, diciottesimo e diciannovesimo introducono un elemento di novità che coinvolge l'uso degli *UNŪTĒ^{MES}* ma non è menzionato nessun luogo (Ro II 50-61 e Vo III 1-9). L'assenza della menzione di un luogo specifico in cui i riti debbano essere svolti potrebbe essere indice del fatto che l'azione non si è spostata dal luogo delle precedenti offerte. Nel ventesimo paragrafo, in Vo III 10-1, si legge l'espressione *kuedani pēdi* [lacuna] *apedani pēdi* (...), lett. “in quale posto [lacuna] in quel posto (...)”, che sembra trovare un parallelo in Vo III 38 e 39 (paragrafo ventiquattresimo) dove è presente *kuedani* [lacuna] *AŠ-RU*, lett. “in quale [lacuna] posto (...)”. Il testo è parzialmente in lacuna e non è possibile trarre delle conclusioni certe, si può solo dire che lo scriba introduce nuovamente una notazione per far capire meglio dove i riti descritti nel paragrafo dovessero essere svolti. I paragrafi si riferiscono rispettivamente ad offerte di carne da fare a *Ḫepat hari*⁴³ (paragrafo ventesimo) e alla divinità *Ḫilašši(ti)* (paragrafo ventiquattresimo), ma l'espressione *kuedani pēdi* [lacuna] *apedani pēdi* (...)/*kuedani* [lacuna] *AŠ-RU* sembra far pensare non a un luogo ben definito, ma a un luogo da determinare in base alle circostanze per cui si svolge il rituale, forse in un posto in cui si fosse verificata una particolare situazione o che fosse in una particolare condizione. Verosimilmente, quel luogo è ancora da individuare all'interno di una delle città (o entrambe) menzionate all'inizio del testo (*Ḫattuša* e/o *Kizzuwatna/Kummanni*) perché solo in Vo IV 7 (ventottesimo paragrafo) si ha un esplicito cambio di scena e le azioni rituali si spostano ad *Adaniya*, e nello specifico *INA^{URU} Adanii-a-ia-kan menahhanda*, “di fronte alla città di Adaniya”. Diversa è invece l'interpretazione di Trémouille (1997: 170) che intende l'espressione in Vo III 10-11 come un riferimento al luogo specifico, all'interno del tempio, in cui adorare la dea *Ḫepat hari*.

È da evidenziare che, diversamente dalle offerte per la dea *Ḫepat hari*,⁴⁴ le offerte alla divinità *Ḫilašši(ti)*, non sono indispensabili per la buona riuscita del rituale nella sua interezza ma si devono fare solo se si è soliti fare il sacrificio *uzianza* per questa divinità (paragrafo ventiquattresimo, Vo III 37-45) e se nel tempio c'è un vaso *šehelliški* per questa divinità (paragrafo trentesimo).⁴⁵ Sorprende che in Vo IV 7 e seguenti, si dica solo che le offer-

⁴⁰ Ci sono altre attestazioni dell'uso del termine *É^dUTU^{ŠT}* in contesto culturale ed esse si trovano nella festa del mese KUB 54.36+ Vo 55' e dupl., come nota Trémouille (2001: 71). In CTH 381, la preghiera di Muwatalli II, si fa menzione del palazzo della Maestà (*É.GAL^dUTU^{ŠT}*) in Ro II 3-4 quando se ne invocano le divinità maschili e femminili (si veda Singer 1996: 13, 35 e 58);

⁴¹ In *Kizzuwatna* o *Ḫattuša* o forse entrambe.

⁴² “Dentro il grande...”. Nel testo l'aggettivo *šalli* “grande” precede sempre il sostantivo *É^karimmi-* (Vo IV 30 e 44), che potrebbe essere in questo caso in lacuna.

⁴³ Per una analisi di questo epiteto della dea *Ḫepat* si veda Trémouille 1997: 167-172.

⁴⁴ La dea *Ḫepat* nella sua ipostasi *hari* è destinataria in CTH 479.2.1 di più giri di offerte: il primo è descritto nel paragrafo diciottesimo mentre il secondo nel paragrafo ventesimo. A essa, inoltre, nel paragrafo trentesimo, di notte, si offre lo *šehelliški* all'interno dello *hamri*. Probabilmente questa ipostasi della dea doveva avere un ruolo significativo nel processo di purificazione. Potrebbe essere importante anche notare che nella parte del rituale CTH 479.2.1 dedicata ai sacrifici *uzianza* essa compare nei paragrafi immediatamente successivi a quelli in cui durante i sacrifici a *Ḫepat hurtišši* ed *entašši* si compie la particolare azione di dire “reginità/regalità”. Si veda più avanti.

⁴⁵ Si veda KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 20-26

20. *ne-ku-za* [me-ḫur] [a-pé-e]-da, -ni-pát UD-ti GE₆-az I-NA É dIM

te vadano fatte di fronte alla città di Adaniya, ma non si specificano in che tempio né in che momento del giorno, e di quale giorno, vadano fatte le offerte di carne. Si può ipotizzare che in maniera simile a quanto accade nei paragrafi precedenti le azioni si svolgano, durante il dì del ventunesimo giorno, all'interno di un tempio o di un'area sacra in cui erano adorati il dio della Tempesta con le divinità maschili del suo *kaluti* e la dea *Ḫepat* con le divinità femminili della sua cerchia, che sono destinatari delle offerte di carne dei paragrafi ventottesimo e ventinovesimo. Il paragrafo trentesimo specifica che le azioni seguenti si svolgono nella notte di quello stesso giorno, nel tempio del dio della Tempesta e della dea *Ḫepat*, nello specifico probabilmente nell'edificio *šinapsi*⁴⁶ e poi nel tempio del dio della Tempesta, nello *hamri*.⁴⁷ Il paragrafo successivo ci informa che lo stesso rito di preparazione e offerta dello *šeḫelliški* si svolge di notte, durante lo stesso giorno, nella città di Adaniya, quindi al suo interno, e che con questo si conclude il giorno ventunesimo.⁴⁸ Le azioni rituali, che si svolgono ad Adaniya, sono eseguite, dunque, contemporaneamente a quelle che si svolgono lo stesso giorno a Kizzuwatna e, forse, *Ḫattuša*. È impossibile, infatti, pensare che i sovrani abbiano coperto la distanza tra Kizzuwatna e Adaniya in poche ore. All'inizio del trentaduesimo paragrafo, l'azione si sposta nella città di Kizzuwatna, in particolare “su, nel grande *karimmi*” e nel tempio di una divinità, il cui nome è purtroppo perso in lacuna, e avviene nel corso della ventiduesima giornata.⁴⁹ Nei due paragrafi seguenti, il trentatreesimo e il trentaquattresimo, invece, coerentemente con il resto della tavoletta non si

21. É ^dḪe-p[át] [...] ^éši-na-ap-ši (cancellatura dello scriba)

22. še-ḫe-el-li-[iš-ki-in] pi-an-zi I-NA É ^dU ḫa-am-ri-ia

23. ^dḪé-pát ḫur-ti-[iš-ši-i?] Ū A-NA ^dḪé-pát ḫa-a-ri-ia

24. še-ḫe-el-li-iš-[ki-in] [p]i-an-zi ^dHi-la-aš-ši-ti-ia

25. ma-a-an še-ḫe-el-[li-iš-ki]-iš e-eš-zi nu-uš-ši

26. pi-an-zi ma-a-an [NUGÁ]L-ma nu-uš-ši Ū-UL pi-an-zi

“In quel giorno di sera e di notte nel tempio del dio della Tempesta e nel tempio della dea *Ḫepat* [...] l'edificio *šinapsi* (cancellatura dello scriba) donano lo *šeḫelliški* e nel tempio del dio della Tempesta, nel *hamri* e alla dea *Ḫepat hurtišši* e alla dea *Ḫepat hari* donano lo *šeḫelliški* e alla divinità *Ḫilašši*(ti), se c'è lo *šeḫelliški*, lo donano a lei, se non c'è allora non lo donano a lei”.

⁴⁶ KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 20-21

20. ne-ku-za [me-ḫur] [a-pé-e]-da, ni-pát UD-ti GE₆-az I-NA É ^dIM

21. É ^dḪe-p[át] [...] ^éši-na-ap-ši (cancellatura dello scriba)

“In quel giorno di sera e di notte nel tempio del dio della Tempesta e nel tempio della dea *Ḫepat* [...] l'edificio *šinapsi* (cancellatura dello scriba)”. Purtroppo, la lacuna di qualche segno che precede il nome dell'edificio *šinapsi* non permette di affermare con estrema sicurezza che questo sia il luogo all'interno del tempio in cui si svolgessero i riti, ma è possibile ipotizzare che lo scriba abbia voluto specificare in quale parte del tempio si dovessero svolgere i riti, similmente a quanto avviene alla riga successiva.

⁴⁷ KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 22, (...) I-NA É ^dU ḫa-am-ri-ia (...), “(...) nel tempio del dio della Tempesta, nel *hamri*(...)”.

Trémouille (1997: 166-167) individua nel *hamri* un edificio con funzione religiosa e giudiziaria. Sul termine *hamri* si veda anche la ricca bibliografia in Richter 2012: 123 ss.

⁴⁸ KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 27-28

27. I-NA ^{URU}A-da-ni-ī[a] [...] [ne]-ku-za me-ḫur a-pé-e-da-ni-pát

28. UD-ti še-ḫe-el-li-iš[š] [...] pi-an-zi UD.21.KAM QA-TI

“Nella città di Adaniya [...] in quel giorno di sera donano lo *šeḫelliški* [...]. Ventunesimo giorno finito”.

⁴⁹ KUB 30.31+ Vo IV 29-35 §32

29. lu-uk-kat-ta-ma I-NA UD.22.KAM I-NA ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-ua-at-ni

30. še-er šal-li ^éka-ri,-im-ma-na-aš

31. A-NA ^dIM [^dḪé-pát še-ḫe-el]-li-iš-ki-ia-aš

32. EGIR-an-da [tu]-ḫal-zi-in ši-pa-an-da-[a]n-zi

33. nam-ma-ia [ḫu-ma-a-an]-da-aš ku-e-da-aš

34. A-NA É ^d[...] še-ḫe-el-li-iš-ki-eš pi-ia-an-te-eš

35. nu tu-ḫal-zi ši-pa-an-da-an-zi UD.22.KAM QA-TI

“Ma il mattino seguente, durante il ventiduesimo giorno, nella città di Kizzuwatna, su, nel grande *karimmi* al dio della Tempesta e alla dea *Ḫepat* offrono gli *šeḫelliški* e dopo il *tuhalzi* e in seguito al tempio della divinità [...] a tutti coloro cui gli *šeḫelliški* sono donati e (essi) offrono il *tuhalzi*. Ventiduesimo giorno finito”.

In Vo IV 30 la corretta interpretazione dell'espressione *še-er šal-li ^éka-ri,-im-ma-na-aš* è problematica per la incerta concordanza tra *šalli* e *karimmanaš*. Si veda ad esempio quanto osservato in CHD Š/3: 420.

specifica la città in cui si svolgono i riti, che doveva essere rimasta la stessa del paragrafo precedente, ma vengono indicati solo i luoghi all'interno di essa in cui man mano gli officianti si spostano per eseguire le azioni rituali: il tempio del dio della Tempesta e della dea 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷, tutti i templi (di cui non si specifica altro),⁵⁰ (forse) il tempio o la cella del dio della Tempesta e di 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷, nelle loro ipostasi del *dupšaḫi*, l'edificio *šinapši* e (forse) il grande *karimmi*.⁵¹ In conclusione, il rito prevedeva cerimonie da svolgersi, interamente o parzialmente in contemporanea,⁵² in ben tre città diverse del regno ittita: 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷, Kizzuwatna/Kummanni e Adaniya. All'interno di queste località, lo scriba distingue i luoghi nei quali si svolge il rito:

- a 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷, un luogo sacro non ben specificato ma probabilmente vicino a dei bacini d'acqua e a un fiume usati per scopi rituali. Non è da escludere che i riti si svolgessero in una struttura simile a quella presente a Kizzuwatna/Kummanni. Se questo complesso templare sia da cercare all'interno della città, in uno dei suoi templi o all'esterno, in un santuario come Yazılıkaya, non è possibile stabilirlo con certezza poiché mancano all'interno del testo riferimenti precisi su cui basare una qualsiasi ipotesi;
- a Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, il grande *karimmi* ovvero un grande complesso templare, che si trovava forse su una altura. Si può ipotizzare che fosse un tempio bipartito con due celle per le divinità principali del pantheon kizzuwatneo e altri spazi dedicati ad altri culti per esempio ai *kaluti* del dio della Tempesta e di 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷, una struttura o una camera (oppure più di una) legata al culto degli antenati reali, e strutture dedicate a particolari esigenze di culto e della vita cittadina, come il *šinapši*, lo *ḫari*, lo *ḫamri*. Facevano parte del *karimmi* o, forse, erano strutture indipendenti il tempio del dio della Tempesta, con il suo edificio *šinapši* (teatro delle azioni del sedicesimo giorno), e il tempio del dio della Tempesta e 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷 del *dupšaḫi*, avente anch'esso un edificio *šinapši* (Vo IV 42-43). Le strutture templari anche qui dovevano essere in prossimità di un fiume e di bacini d'acqua;
- ad Adaniya, un edificio culturale o un'area sacra al di fuori della città (*I-NA*^{URU} *A-da-ni-ia-ia-kán me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da*), il tempio del dio della Tempesta e della dea 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷 (probabilmente a doppia cella) con l'edificio *šinapši* e il tempio del dio della Tempesta con l'edificio *ḫamri* al suo interno. Forse qualcuno di questi edifici doveva essere anche all'interno della città poiché all'inizio del paragrafo trentunesimo si legge *I-NA*^{URU} *A-da-ni-[ia]*.

La presenza dei sovrani in queste località distanti tra loro qualche giorno di marcia, nei tempi descritti nella tavoletta si può ben spiegare ipotizzando che in alcune località essi non fossero presenti fisicamente ma solo tramite qualche oggetto che li rappresentasse simbolicamente, come gli *UNŪTĒ*^{MEŠ}.

⁵⁰ Vo IV 36-40 §33

36. *lu-u-kat-ta[-ma I-NA]* UD.23.KAM É^dIM É^dḪé-pát

37. É.DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ia ḫu-u-ma-an-da IŠ-TU TI*₈^{MUŠEN} SUR₁₄.DŪA^{MUŠEN}

38. *ḫa-pu-pi-it*^{MUŠEN} 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷 *ḫu-uš-ti-it-ta*

39. *ḫa-aḫ-nu-ḫa-[a]n-zi še-ḫe-el-li-ia-az ú-i-te-na-az*

40. *šū-up-pi-ḫi-[a]-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*

“Ma il mattino seguente, durante il ventitreesimo giorno, il tempio del dio della Tempesta, il tempio della dea 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷 e tutti i templi con un'aquila, un falco, una rondine, una tadorna e una pietra *ḫušti* ‘circondano’ e con l'acqua della purità purificano”.

⁵¹ Vo IV 41-45 §34

41. *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma zi-in-na-an-zi* (cancellatura dello scriba)

42. *nu A-[NA]* É^dIM *du-up-ša-ḫi-ia-aš^dḪé-pát du-up-ša-ḫi-ia*

43. *ŠA* [^Éš] *i-na-ap-ši ga-an-ga-a-ti I-NA* ^Éš *i-na-ap-ši*

44. *pi-a[n-zi] šal-li-ia-aš-ša^Éka-ri-im-na-aš*

45. x[...] *pi-an-zi* UD.23.KAM *QA-TI*

“E quando sono pronti (cancellatura dello scriba) e al tempio del dio della Tempesta del *dupšaḫi* e della dea 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷 del *dupšaḫi* donano la pianta *gangati* dell'edificio *šinapši* nell'edificio *šinapši* e al'/del' grande edificio *karimmi* donano x [...]. Ventitreesimo giorno finito”. L'espressione *šal-li-ia-aš-ša^Éka-ri-im-na-aš* in Vo IV 44 può essere intesa sia come un genitivo singolare/plurale che come un dativo-locativo plurale.

⁵² Ciò implicherebbe un alto grado di organizzazione degli officianti coinvolti nell'esecuzione, che avrebbero dovuto coordinarsi non solo riguardo al giorno dell'esecuzione del rito prescritto ma anche riguardo al momento del giorno.

USO DEL TERMINE *UNŪTU* IN ALTRI RITUALI E TESTI

Un uso del termine *UNŪTU* simile a quello che si fa in KUB 30.31+ si trova, come già accennato, in un altro testo rituale di tradizione kizzuwatnea dove compaiono gli *UNŪTE*^{MEŠ} dei sovrani, ovvero il rituale di Šamuḫa, CTH 480. Anche in esso lo scopo è purificare i sovrani da ogni male e causa d'impurità. Nel testo che si è conservato è descritta la purificazione delle divinità effettuata da parte del re tramite la pianta *gangati*, ma si specifica che non si prende l'*UNŪTU* del re, questo perché il re partecipa di persona alle azioni rituali. Al contrario, la regina viene menzionata solo indirettamente tramite il suo *UNŪTU* e solo in questo modo sembra partecipare al rituale.⁵³ Per questo motivo si potrebbe ipotizzare che essa fosse assente mentre il rituale veniva eseguito e venisse purificata proprio tramite l'utilizzo nel rituale del suo *UNŪTU*. Nel caso del CTH 480, con la locuzione *UNŪT LUGAL/MUNUS.LUGAL* gli scribi sembrano riferirsi a degli oggetti che rappresentano concretamente e simbolicamente sovrani. Nonostante il termine *UNŪTU* si traduca generalmente come "strumento, utensile, strumentario", è possibile sulla base di quanto detto prima, che nella locuzione *UNŪT LUGAL/MUNUS.LUGAL* usata in CTH 479.2.1 il termine sia da tradursi più propriamente come "insegna, emblema". Purtroppo, non è chiaro se gli strumenti che vengono lavati in Ro I 46-47 siano gli strumenti usati dagli officianti nei riti precedenti oppure gli emblemi dei sovrani in preparazione dei riti successivi ma non è da escludere che possa trattarsi di entrambe le cose. Cotticelli-Kurras (2016: 91-92) mette *UNŪT LUGAL/MUNUS.LUGAL* a capo di una lista di strumenti e simboli del potere. La natura di questi emblemi dei sovrani usati nei due rituali di Šamuḫa e di Kizzuwatna non è stata ancora oggetto di ricerche specifiche. L'espressione si trova tuttavia in molti testi, ad esempio in KUB 13.35 I 11-13⁵⁴ dove si legge *UNŪT LUGAL-wa kuit kuit ḫarkun nu-wa ANA UNŪT LUGAL ḫarpanalla* (segni di glossa) *ŪL kuwapikki iyanniyanun nu-wa-za ŪL kuitki dahhun*, ovvero "whatever royal equipment I had, I never went at it hostilely, and I did not take anything for myself".⁵⁵ Questo testo non appartiene alla sfera rituale ma a quella giudiziaria e sembra testimoniare il fatto che la locuzione *UNŪT LUGAL* abbia una accezione ampia e diversificata a seconda dei contesti in cui è usata. In questo esempio, colui che parla è Ukkura, un funzionario che si sta difendendo, insieme al figlio, dall'accusa di malversazione, dunque di appropriazione indebita dei beni che gli erano stati affidati e di altri beni appartenenti alla Corona (indicati nel testo da *UNŪT LUGAL*) e che sono elencati nel testo. È attestata anche l'esistenza dell'*UNŪT* della dea Ištar, che si apprende in KUB 16.83 era stato perso⁵⁶ e in CTH 785 se ne ha menzione in contesto molto frammentario in riferimento al dio della Tempesta.⁵⁷ Anche in CTH 475, il rituale del re di Kizzuwatna Pilliya per il dio della Tempesta e la dea Ḫepat, in contesto di offerte al dio della Tempesta e in riferimento al dio, compare il termine *UNŪTE*^{MEŠ}.⁵⁸ Riguardo agli strumentari/emblemi che sono menzionati nel testo CTH 479.2.1, come anche nel rituale di Šamuḫa, si doveva trattare di oggetti che potevano essere facilmente presi in mano e maneggiati durante i riti ma una loro descrizione nei testi manca. Ciò potrebbe essere dovuto al fatto che nella regione di Kizzuwatna, da cui questi due testi rituali provengono, dovevano essere ben conosciuti e usati comunemente come emblemi della coppia reale ed erano forse entrati nell'uso ittitico tanto che il redattore dei testi non ha sentito la necessità di specificare cosa fossero. I testi pervenutici, che mostrano un forte influsso della tradizione culturale kizzuwatnea, sono stati redatti a Ḫattuša, nella capitale, mentre mancano al momento tavolette ritrovate in quella regione che ci permettano di fare una indagine approfondita su questa e su altre questioni. Per farsi una idea di quali potevano essere i simboli della regalità in questa regione si potrebbe guardare alle raffigurazioni dei sovrani nei rilievi rupestri, alla glittica e ai testi rituali della zona dell'Anatolia meridionale e dell'alta Siria. Si prenda ad

⁵³ KUB 29.7+, si veda Lebrun 1976: 117-143.

⁵⁴ CTH 293, un procedimento giudiziario riguardante Ukkura.

⁵⁵ La traduzione inglese è quella fornita in Puhvel 1991: 182 ma in Hoffner 2002: 57 si legge "Regarding whatever items belonging to the Crown I had, I never acted in an untrustworthy manner, and I have not taken anything for myself".

⁵⁶ KUB 16.83 I 46-48, cfr. Puhvel 1991: 160.

⁵⁷ Bo 4938, Vo 3' dove si legge *UNŪTE*^{MEŠ} KŪ.BABBAR. Qualche riga più in basso (Vo 7') in contesto di offerte compare il termine *allaššiya* "reginità". Si veda Haas 1998: 172-173.

⁵⁸ KBo 46.62 Ro II 14' e KBo 23.47+ Vo III 3'. Il termine è affiancato da ^{GIŠ}SUKUR "lancia". Si veda Haas 1998: 192-194.

esempio i rilievi di Firaktin e Sirkeli.⁵⁹ Questi rilievi sono attribuiti rispettivamente a Ḫattušili III e a Muwatalli II. Il rilievo di Sirkeli è il più antico dei due e rappresenta solo il sovrano con indosso un copricapo a calotta, orecchini, una lunga veste con lungo mantello e scarpe con punta arricciata mentre tiene in mano un lituo. In questa immagine il re rispecchia l'iconografia del dio Sole ma sappiamo si tratta del sovrano ittita dalla didascalia in luvio con il titolo “gran re” e il nome del sovrano. Nel rilievo di Firaktin, invece, il re e la regina sono rappresentati nell'atto di offrire delle libagioni alle divinità. Il quadro del rilievo è diviso in due metà: a sinistra il re offre libagioni al dio della Tempesta; a destra la regina compie la stessa azione di fronte alla dea Ḫepat. L'abbigliamento di entrambi i sovrani riflette quello delle divinità: il re ha un copricapo cornuto di forma conica, orecchini, tunica con gonnellino corto, spada al fianco, scarpe con punta arricciata, arco in spalla; la regina che appare solo abbozzata rispetto al re, indossa un copricapo conico, il velo, una lunga veste e le scarpe con la punta arricciata. Le due figure dei sovrani sono affiancate anche qui da epigrafe didascalica in geroglifico luvio recante i titoli MAGNUS.REX (Laroche, HH 18) e MAGNUS.DOMINA (Laroche, HH 16) e i nomi dei sovrani. Il segno geroglifico DOMINA (Laroche, HH 15), che è inteso come “signora, padrona”, è usato nella titolatura in luvio come corrispettivo femminile di REX (Laroche, HH 17). Esso, si deve inoltre notare, riproduce un volto femminile con il velo e con indosso forse il copricapo a punta che si vede nel rilievo. Altrettanto visibile nel rilievo è il copricapo a punta del re, che secondo Laroche⁶⁰ è rappresentato anche nel segno geroglifico che indica il sovrano. I segni geroglifici ricorrono anche nei sigilli dei sovrani. Indubbiamente essi erano un modo per rendere riconoscibili subito i sovrani sia nei sigilli che nei rilievi ma ciò forse non basta per poter ipotizzare che l'espressione UNŪT LUGAL/MUNUS.LUGAL possa riferirsi a delle rappresentazioni concrete dei segni geroglifici. Altra ipotesi che è possibile avanzare è che l'espressione indichi nell'intero l'abbigliamento dei sovrani o degli oggetti ben precisi facenti parte di esso. Ciò che è possibile dire con certezza è che la formula fa riferimento a degli oggetti ben concreti che è possibile prendere in mano e manipolare ritualmente.

(MUNUS.)LUGAL-UT-TUM-ma-kán an-da KAxU-az me-mi-an-zi

All'interno del ciclo di offerte *uzianza*, il paragrafo diciassettesimo (Ro II 50-56)⁶¹ e il paragrafo diciannovesimo (Vo III 1-9)⁶² presentano delle caratteristiche che li distinguono dagli altri paragrafi: oltre ad avere un contenu-

⁵⁹ Sui simboli del potere e le rappresentazioni del potere nell'impero ittita, e in particolare su questi rilievi, si vedano van den Hout 1995: 245-273, de Martino 2010: 87-98 e Bonatz 2007: 111-136.

⁶⁰ Laroche 1960b: 10 e, per i segni geroglifici REX, MAGNUS.REX, DOMINA e MAGNUS.DOMINA, 9-13.

⁶¹ KUB 30.31+ Ro II 50-56

50. A-NA Ḫé-pát ḫur-ti-iš-ši-i 1 u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU ŠA LUGAL
51. IŠ-TU MUŠEN šī-pa-an-ti EGIR-an-ma Ú-NU-UT LUGAL ap, -pa, -an-zi
52. nu nam-ma 1 u-zi-an-za ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL IŠ-TU MUŠEN [šī-pa-an]-ti
53. Ú-NU-TUM-ma EGIR-an Ú-UL ap-pa-an-zi MUNUS.LUGAL-[UT]-TUM-kán im-ma
54. an-da KAxU-az me-ma-i ták-ša-an 1 u-zi-an-za
55. IŠ-TU SILA₄ šī-pa-an-ti nu Ú-NU-UT LUGAL a[p]-[pa-an]-zi
56. MUNUS.LUGAL-UT-TUM-ma-kán an-da KAxU-az me-mi-an-zi

“Alla dea Ḫepat ḫurtišši offre 1 sacrificio di carne di uccello da parte del re e dopo prendono l'emblema del re, in seguito [of]fre 1 sacrificio di carne di uccello da parte della regina ma dopo non prendono l'emblema e nel mentre con la bocca dice proprio ‘reginità’, insieme offre 1 sacrificio di carne di agnello e prendono l'emblema del re e nel mentre dicono con la bocca ‘reginità’”.

⁶² KUB 30.31+ Vo III 1-9

1. A-NA Ḫé-pát en-ta-aš-ši-ia IŠ-TU ŠA [x]
2. 1 u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU MUŠEN šī-pa-an-ti Ú-NU-UT [x] [x]
3. EGIR-an Ú-UL ap-pa-an-zi KAxU-az-kán [x]
4. im-ma LUGAL-UT-<TUM> an-da me-ma-i nu na[m]-ma, 1 u-zi-an-za
5. IŠ-TU ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL šī-pa-an-ti nu [Ú-NU]-UT MUNUS.LUGAL EGIR-an ap-pa-an-zi
6. (Cancellatura dello scriba) ták-ša-an-ma
7. IŠ-TU ŠA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL 1 u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU SILA₄

to che si corrisponde quasi perfettamente, essi sono l'unica attestazione della recitazione di formule magiche durante il ciclo di offerte⁶³ e sono scritti, con una struttura in parte a chiasmo che è immediatamente visibile se messi a confronto l'uno accanto all'altro.

§ 17		§19
Si fa il sacrificio da parte del re	↗ ↘	Si fa il sacrificio da parte del re
Si prende l'emblema del re		Non si prende l'emblema del re
Si fa il sacrificio da parte della regina	↖ ↙	Si dice: LUGAL-UT-<TUM>
Non si prende l'emblema della regina		Si fa il sacrificio da parte della regina
Si dice: MUNUS.LUGAL-UT-TUM		Si prende l'emblema della regina
Si fa il sacrificio da parte di entrambi	↔	Si fa il sacrificio da parte di entrambi
Si prende l'emblema del re		Si prende l'emblema della regina
Si dice: MUNUS.LUGAL-UT-TUM	↔	Si dice: LUGAL-UT-TÛ

Le azioni che si svolgono nel primo di questi paragrafi consistono dunque nel fare un sacrificio di carne alla divinità da parte del re, nel prendere in mano l'emblema del re, fare il sacrificio da parte della regina, non prendere l'emblema della regina e, da quel che si può capire, probabilmente tenendo ancora in mano l'emblema del re pronunciare "reginità" (MUNUS.LUGAL-UT-TUM). Sempre tenendo in mano l'emblema del re, si dice nuovamente "reginità" dopo aver effettuato il sacrificio da parte di entrambi. Nel secondo paragrafo l'azione del dire "regalità" viene descritta un passaggio prima rispetto al primo paragrafo. Si effettua dunque un sacrificio da parte del re ma non si prende il suo emblema e si pronuncia "regalità" (LUGAL-UT-TÛ), poi si fa il sacrificio da parte della regina e si prende il suo emblema. In conclusione, si fa il sacrificio da parte di entrambi, si prende l'emblema della regina e si dice "regalità".

L'elemento di novità che salta subito all'occhio, è che si dice espressamente che non si prende l'emblema del re o della regina e che al posto di questa azione si deve invece invocare a voce alta lo status di re o di regina. Le azioni nei paragrafi si corrispondono in maniera speculare tranne che nell'ordine. Nel primo paragrafo si dice per la prima volta "reginità" dopo il secondo sacrificio mentre nel secondo paragrafo l'azione di dire "regalità" viene compiuta subito dopo il primo sacrificio. Perché ci sia una corrispondenza perfettamente speculare ci si aspetterebbe che l'ordine delle azioni fosse di questo tipo:

8. *ši-pa-an-ti nu Ú-NU-UT MUNUS.LUGAL EGIR-an ap-pa-an-zi*

9. *LUGAL-UT-TÛ-ma-kán KAxU-az an-da me-ma-i*

"Alla dea Hepat *entašši* offre da parte del [re] 1 sacrificio di carne di uccello e dopo non prendono l'emblema [del re] ma nel mentre con la bocca dice proprio regalità, in seguito offre 1 sacrificio di carne da parte della regina e dopo prendono l'[emble]ma della regina (cancellatura dello scriba) e offre da parte del re e della regina insieme 1 sacrificio di carne di agnello e dopo prendono l'emblema della regina ma nel mentre dice regalità con la bocca".

⁶³ L'altra recitazione magica viene fatta durante lo svolgimento del rito delle lacrime, che viene eseguito il diciassettesimo giorno del rituale e copre i paragrafi dal secondo al quinto del rituale. Si veda KUB 30.31+ Ro I 12-41.

§ 17

Si fa il sacrificio da parte del re
 Si prende l'emblema del re
 Si fa il sacrificio da parte della regina
 Non si prende l'emblema della regina
 Si dice: MUNUS.LUGAL-UT-TUM
 Si fa il sacrificio da parte di entrambi
 Si prende l'emblema del re
 Si dice: MUNUS.LUGAL-UT-TUM

§19

Si fa il sacrificio da parte della regina
 Si prende l'emblema della regina
 Si fa il sacrificio da parte del re
 Non si prende l'emblema del re
 Si dice: LUGAL-UT-<TUM>
 Si fa il sacrificio da parte di entrambi
 Si prende l'emblema della regina
 Si dice: LUGAL-UT-TÛ

Riguardo a questi due particolari paragrafi del CTH 479.2, Melchert (1985: 188-189) ritiene che, dal momento che in alcuni rituali il re e la regina non partecipavano personalmente ma vi venivano rappresentati in vari modi, il testo in analisi potrebbe rappresentare un esempio di questa pratica, secondo una duplice modalità: la prima consisteva in “for someone to hold up at the appropriate time the king’s or queen’s signs of office” e la seconda nella semplice menzione a voce della carica del re o della regina. Lo studioso infatti dà a *imma* il significato di “rather”, e la sua traduzione dei passi pertanto è: “... they hold the implements of the king ‘behind’. Next one performs one u. sacrifice with a bird on behalf of the queen, but they do not hold (her) implements ‘behind’. (Rather) one inserts the office of queen verbally (lit. by mouth). (...) But they do not hold the implements of the king ‘behind’. (Rather) one inserts the office of the king verbally (...)”. Contrariamente a quanto avviene all’interno del ciclo di offerte, dunque, in questi paragrafi, una volta non si prende l’*UNÛT* MUNUS.LUGAL e al suo posto si dice invece “reginità” e la seconda volta non si prende l’*UNÛT* LUGAL ma si dice “regalità” con lo scopo di rappresentare i sovrani nelle azioni sacrificali.⁶⁴ Questa semplice ed elegante spiegazione mette in chiaro perché si dica (MUNUS.) LUGAL-UT-TUM, ma non perché si introduca questo nuovo elemento per rappresentare i sovrani all’interno delle offerte *uzianza* o il perché della struttura non perfettamente speculare dei paragrafi. La struttura parzialmente a chiasmo dei paragrafi può essere legata alla regolare struttura dei sacrifici *uzianza* all’interno di questo rituale: per prime vengono descritte le azioni compiute da parte del re, poi da parte della regina, e infine da parte di entrambi. Ciò probabilmente a rispecchiare la posizione di maggior rilievo e importanza del re rispetto alla regina. Non è possibile, purtroppo, dire con certezza se questo ordine nella sequenza di azioni rituali fosse quello originale del rito o se fosse stato modificato al momento della sua ricezione da parte ittita.

La variazione apportata in questi due paragrafi ai sacrifici *uzianza* è significativa per il carattere di unicità che hanno queste azioni all’interno del testo e, più in generale, nel panorama della documentazione ittita conosciuta. Questi sono infatti gli unici paragrafi, a parte quelli dedicati al rito delle lacrime, dove compare un accenno a una

⁶⁴ Molto simile all’azione descritta in CTH 479.2.1 è forse quella che si compie in KUB 29.7+ (CTH 480.1) Ro 3: *UNÛT* LUGAL-*ma* EGIR-*an* UL *kuwatqa* *harkanzi* *UNÛT* LUGAL-*ma* EGIR-*an* UL *kuwatqa* *harkanzi* ^dUTU^{SI}-*kan* *imma* KA^xU-*az* *anda* *apēniššan* *memiškanzi*. La formulazione con cui è descritta, che presenta variazioni all’interno del testo (Ro 14-15, 22-23,50 e Vo 11,17) è di difficile interpretazione. L’azione viene compiuta solo in riferimento al sovrano sempre all’interno di riti di purificazione ma diversi da quello *uzianza*. Görke e Melzer traducono Ro 3 come “Das Utensil des Königs aber [hã]lt man keineswegs hinten. Stattdessen verkündet man (die Anwesenheit) der Majestät dazu immer wieder wie erwähnt mündlich”. Si veda, anche per gli altri passi, Görke, Melzer (eds), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 480.1 (TX 15.02.2016, TRde 10.02.2016). Cfr. inoltre, al riguardo, Strauß 2006: 102 nota 397. Laroche (1976: 125), al contrario, traduce “Et l’on ne tient pas du tout en arrière les ustensiles du roi; au contraire, sur l’ordre de «Mon Soleil», on prononce les paroles suivantes” e interpreta in maniera simile gli altri passi (Laroche 1976: 126, 128-130).

recitazione. All'interno del testo in esame, infatti, tra le azioni del sacrificio *uzianza* non è documentata alcuna recitazione magica. È da chiedersi se sia così anche in altri testi rituali in cui compare questa offerta di carne. In tutti i testi in cui appare il sacrificio *uzi* (per le attestazioni si rimanda al paragrafo ad esso dedicato) esso è menzionato tramite concise formule fisse ma in nessuno di essi è presente al suo interno una recitazione magica. Si può quindi dedurre che la modifica presente in CTH 479.2 doveva avere una precisa importanza e un particolare significato all'interno del rituale. C'è anche da domandarsi perché lo scriba abbia scelto un sumerogramma con complemento fonetico accadico, da leggere rispettivamente *šarrūtu* “regalità, status di re” e *šarratuttu* “reginità, status di regina”, per rendere i termini da pronunciare nell'invocazione. In hurrita questi concetti sono resi dai termini *šarrašši-* (“regalità”) e *allašši-* (“reginità”), ed essi sono largamente usati nei testi rituali ritrovati a Hattuša ma appartenenti alla tradizione rituale di quest'area.⁶⁵ Non mancano neanche esempi di lunghe recitazioni in hurrita⁶⁶ ma esse son ben diverse nei contenuti, pertanto è difficile capire il perché di questa scelta.

Gli officianti dei paragrafi 17 e 19 prendono in mano l'emblema del re per invocare lo status di regina e l'emblema della regina per invocare lo status del re. Dalla lettura dei paragrafi sembra evidente che l'azione di dire “regalità/reginità” è legata all'avere in mano l'emblema di uno dei due sovrani: rispettivamente del re nel caso si dica “reginità” e della regina nel caso si dica “regalità”. Tale azione non ha paralleli in nessun testo conservatosi⁶⁷ e ciò potrebbe aiutare a comprendere meglio lo scopo del rituale di Kizzuwatna e capire perché e quando è stato redatto il testo. C'è testimonianza nei rituali magici dell'usanza di prendere degli oggetti che simboleggiano la virilità e la femminilità per svolgere determinate azioni magiche.⁶⁸ Questi oggetti sono, in genere, un'arma per l'uomo e un oggetto della quotidianità o del vestiario femminile per la donna: nella maggior parte dei testi essi sono, quindi, arco e frecce e fuso e conocchia. Nel rituale di Paškuwatti,⁶⁹ per esempio, l'officiante porta via dal signore del rituale fuso e conocchia e gli dà arco e frecce dicendo, nel frattempo, che in questo modo ha portato via la femminilità da esso e gli ha restituito la mascolinità. Questo rituale, che era stato analizzato in passato come rituale contro l'impotenza maschile è ora inteso come rituale contro l'omosessualità,⁷⁰ che era interpretata come effeminatezza e andava eradicata ripristinando la mascolinità del signore del rituale con l'azione sopra descritta e altre. Si poteva, anche, usare questi simboli di virilità e femminilità in rituali di magia nera, per ottenere l'effetto opposto. Ad esempio, in KBo 2.9+ I 25-30 (CTH 716, il rituale di evocazione di Ištar di Ninive) si legge: “Togli agli uomini (nemici) la virilità, la forza, la salute e il coraggio, le armi, gli archi, le frecce (e) il pugnale e portali nel paese di Hatti! Poni in mano a quelli il fuso e la conocchia della donna, vestili alla maniera femminile, metti loro il velo! Togli loro la tua benevolenza!”⁷¹ L'effetto che si vuole qui ottenere è indebolire gli eserciti nemici perché siano assoggettati più facilmente. In KBo 17.1 Ro 42', facente parte dei rituali antico ittiti di purificazione per i sovrani che sono raccolti nel CTH 416, il re tiene in mano una falce e la regina una macina.⁷² Probabilmente, anche qui, questi oggetti erano usati come simboli di virilità e femminilità. Il caso del rituale in esame è, però, diverso. L'oggetto che simboleggia il re è usato per evocare la condizione di regina e viceversa quello simboleggiante la regina per evocare la condizione di

⁶⁵ Si veda nota seguente e la nota 67 per un esempio.

⁶⁶ Ad esempio, nel CTH 701, le offerte al trono di Hēpat.

⁶⁷ Ci sono certamente riti che menzionano regalità e reginità insieme, come quelli di intronizzazione, ad esempio il rituale d'intronizzazione di Teššub e Hēpat, effettuato al momento della salita al trono di Tuḫaliya II, KBo 10.34 (CTH 700). In esso si celebrano per Teššub il rituale della regalità (ŠÍSKUR *šarraššijas*) e per Hēpat il rituale della reginità (ŠÍSKUR *allaššijas*), al riguardo si veda ad esempio Kümmel 1967: 47-49. Ci sono anche altri testi in cui si effettuano sacrifici per la regalità e la reginità (si veda, ad esempio, Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 66, 68, 125-126 o Salvini, Wegner 1986) ma in nessuno si usano gli strumentari del re e della regina o altri oggetti che possano aiutare nell'identificazione di essi. L'espressione *haššuwiznatar mema-* è più spesso usata con il significato di “promettere, concedere la regalità a qualcuno”, si veda Cotticelli-Kurras 2016: 78.

⁶⁸ Si veda al proposito Hoffner 1966: 326-334.

⁶⁹ CTH 406, KUB 7.8 +.

⁷⁰ Per questo rituale e la sua nuova rilettura si veda Miller 2010: 83-89.

⁷¹ La traduzione è tratta dall'edizione online del testo, edita da Fuscagni. Cfr. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 716.1 (TX 02.03.2011, TRit 14.02.2011).

⁷² Cfr. Montuori (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 416 (TX 08.02.2017, TRit 24.07.2015).

re. Potrebbe essere un modo per indicare che da parte del re si prega affinché la benevolenza della divinità ricada sulla regina e viceversa. Oppure potrebbe essere che in qualche modo l'equilibrio dei ruoli all'interno della coppia si era spezzato e bisognava che entrambi i sovrani ricordassero il ruolo dell'altro. Ciò che si può dire con certezza è che questa azione rituale lega insieme la coppia reale e ha un particolare significato all'interno del rito, che al momento purtroppo sfugge alla comprensione.

Degna di nota è la scelta delle divinità a cui all'interno di questi paragrafi si offrono i sacrifici: nel paragrafo diciassettesimo è la dea *Ḫepat hurtišši*⁷³ (si tratta del sacrificio in cui si dice "reginità") mentre è la dea *Ḫepat entašši*⁷⁴ nel paragrafo diciannovesimo nel quale, durante il sacrificio, si dice "regalità". La scelta di queste due ipostasi di *Ḫepat* per lo svolgimento di questo particolare rito appare singolare all'interno del testo, in cui generalmente si alternano le offerte al dio della Tempesta e alla dea. Potrebbe, quindi, esserci un significato in questa scelta anche se al momento, in mancanza anche di paralleli in testi diversi, sfugge alla comprensione.

Le azioni del diciassettesimo e del diciannovesimo paragrafo sono seguite dai sacrifici di carne per la dea *Ḫepat hari*. Probabilmente anche questa scelta doveva avere un significato per l'autore e gli esecutori del rituale. Dei paragrafi che descrivono le offerte alla dea *Ḫepat hari*, il diciottesimo rappresenta un unicum, poiché le offerte sono fatte esplicitamente da parte dei sovrani (la formula presente è *IŠTU (ŠA) LUGAL/MUNUS.LUGAL*) e si specifica che non viene preso il loro emblema.⁷⁵ Inoltre, non è presente la recitazione che sostituisce l'azione del prendere in mano questi oggetti che si trova nel paragrafo precedente e in quello seguente a questo. Ciò potrebbe voler dire che i sovrani fossero presenti in carne e ossa ai sacrifici di questo paragrafo e non ci fosse bisogno di rappresentarli tramite degli oggetti. Tale ipotesi pone, comunque, delle difficoltà nella comprensione dello svolgimento del rituale. L'ultimo riferimento alla coppia reale come partecipanti attivi al rituale si ha sul finire del diciassettesimo giorno, quando il re e la regina ancora a *Ḫattuša* fanno il bagno rituale, e forse nei due giorni successivi in cui essi dovrebbero trovarsi ancora nella capitale. Inoltre, per i paragrafi successivi al diciannovesimo, i sovrani sono di nuovo presenti solo tramite i loro emblemi. Non sembra dunque possibile che essi, se giunti a Kizzuwatna per il rituale, partecipassero solo alle offerte prescritte in questo paragrafo. Ci si potrebbe chiedere se esso, piuttosto, non risenta più degli altri dai modelli presi per la sua composizione. Il rituale proviene da Kizzuwatna e, forse, era stato originariamente pensato per la coppia di sovrani di quel paese e solo in seguito riadattato per la coppia reale di *Ḫatti*. Potrebbe essere verosimile pensare, dunque, che il re e la regina dovevano già trovarsi in quel luogo. Altra spiegazione possibile potrebbe essere che identici riti in strutture culturali simili, se non identiche, si svolgessero in contemporanea nella capitale e che questo paragrafo sia indice di ciò. Se così fosse la presenza nel paragrafo ventesimo dell'espressione "in quale luogo...allora adesso in quel luogo..."⁷⁶ potrebbe essere un riferimento a una località

⁷³ Il termine *hurtišši* è stato analizzato da Trémouille (1997: 172-174) come derivante da *hurtai-* "maledizione", ciò porta la studiosa a ipotizzare che questa ipostasi indichi l'aspetto della dea *Ḫepat* come protettrice dei giuramenti e punitrice degli spergiuri. Si veda anche la voce in Friedrich, Kammenhuber, Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2012 : 774-775.

⁷⁴ Secondo Laroche 1960a: 162 ss., seguito da Lebrun 1977: 111-112 e Trémouille 1997: 147-154, il termine deriva dall'accadico *ENTU* "grande sacerdotessa", una sacerdotessa di alto rango che presso gli ittiti equivale a NIN.DINGIR, con l'aggiunta di un suffisso luvio che serve a formare degli aggettivi con valore di genitivo. Il significato del termine è da intendersi, quindi, come "dignité de prêtresse, celui/celle de la prêtresse *ENTU*, relatif/ve à la prêtresse *ENTU*". *Entašši* è in questo testo un epiteto della dea *Ḫepat*, che diventa perciò la divinità protettrice della sacerdotessa *ENTU*. È verosimile anche pensare, secondo Trémouille, che dal momento che presso gli Ittiti la regina aveva un ruolo attivo nel culto, la carica di *ENTU* o comunque la funzione sacerdotale non fosse separata da quella regale.

⁷⁵ KUB 30.31+ Ro II 57-61

57. *A-NA* ^d*Hé-pát* *ha-a-ri-ia* 1 *u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU*, LUGAL x

58. *IŠ-TU MUŠEN ši-pa-an-ti nu nam-ma* 1 *u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU MUŠEN*

59. *IŠ-TU ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL ták-ša-an-ma* 1 *u-z[i]-an-za*

60. *IŠ-TU SILA₄ ši-pa-an-ti Ú-NU-[UT]-ma* EGIR-an

61. *Ú-UL ku-it-ki ap-pa-an-zi*

"Alla dea *Ḫepat hari* offre 1 sacrificio di carne di uccello da parte del re e dopo 1 sacrificio di carne di uccello da parte della regina e offre insieme 1 sacrificio di carne di agnello ma in seguito non prendono affatto l'emble[ma]".

⁷⁶ KUB 30.31+ Vo III 10-16

in cui si verifica una particolare condizione ovvero l'assenza del re e della regina. La località potrebbe essere Kizzuwatna, in contrapposizione, dunque, con il paragrafo diciottesimo che descrive invece ciò che accade dove i sovrani sono presenti, forse Ḫattuša.

CONCLUSIONI

Il testo del rituale di purificazione del CTH 479.2.1 presenta alcuni elementi di criticità all'interno della descrizione delle azioni rituali. Dalla dettagliata analisi di alcune di tali azioni è risultato evidente come l'uso di determinati emblemi, denominati *UNŪT* (MUNUS.)LUGAL e connessi con la natura della regalità, lasci intravedere la possibilità dello svolgimento delle azioni rituali in assenza dei sovrani, rappresentati simbolicamente da tali oggetti. Specifiche informazioni riguardanti i luoghi di svolgimento del rituale suggeriscono, infatti, che i riti dovevano essere effettuati, simultaneamente o almeno in parte, in tre grandi centri del regno ittita (Ḫattuša, Kizzuwatna/Kummanni e Adaniya). L'analisi ha anche mostrato come l'andamento del rituale, almeno in questa parte conservata, sia stato accuratamente organizzato dallo scriba che doveva trasmettere le istruzioni necessarie per la sua esecuzione.

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10. A-NA⁴Ḫé-pát ḫa-a-ri-ia ku-e-da-ni pé-e-di [...]

11. nu-uš-ši ki-nu-un-na a-pé-e-da-ni pé-e-di [...][1 u-zi-an]-za

12. IŠ-TU SILA₄ ši-pa-an-ti EGIR-an-ma Ū-NU-UT LU₄GAL, [ap-pa-an]-zi

13. nu nam-ma 1 u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU MUŠEN ši-pa-an-ti

14. EGIR-an-ma Ū-NU-UT MUNUS.LUGAL ap-pa-an-zi ták-ša-an-ma

15. 1 u-zi-an-za IŠ-TU SILA₄ ši-pa-an-ti nu Ū-NU-TE^{MES}

16. EGIR-an ták-ša-an ap-pa-an-zi

“Alla dea Ḫepat ḫari in quale posto [...] e a lei ora in quel posto [...] offre [1 sacrificio di car]ne di agnello e dopo [prendo]no l'emblema del re, in seguito offre 1 sacrificio di carne di uccello e dopo prendono l'emblema della regina e insieme offre 1 sacrificio di carne di agnello e in seguito prendono insieme gli emblemi”.

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The Overseers of the Teams of Mules and Asses, *ugula sur_x-BAR.AN/IGI.NITA*

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Abstract. The administrative documents of Ebla record two genres of equids: IGI(.NITA/MUNUS), an abbreviation of ANŠE.IGI+ŠE(libir) “ass”, and (ANŠE.)BAR.AN /kúnga) “mule”, both provided to agricultural units. They were also used as draught animals for the chariots of the king, his sons, the queen, and the minister, according to the documents of the central administration. The “overseers of the teams of mules”, that is the charioteers in service at the Palace were 47 / 60 (*ARET* 20: 197), and 49 those who received a gift on the occasion of the celebration of the victory over Mari (TM.75.G.2280+). Here are listed the names of the charioteers dating the occurrences according to the minister to whom each document has to be dated. In case of annual documents, the year of the minister is given, and these data are collected in Table I.

Keywords. Ebla, overseers, prosopography, equids, ass, mule

Asses, (ANŠE.)IGI.NITA, and mules, (ANŠE.)BAR.AN (= kúnga), were the animals employed at Ebla for agricultural works according to the documents concerning the farming activity. Mules were in part purchased in the region of Nagar (Tell Brāk), east of the Ḫabur triangle.¹

Mules and male asses were also employed as draught animals for the chariots of the king, the minister, members of the royal family (including the queen and the princesses for some particular occasions) and several officials. The importance of the chariots as a means of war and for parade display is appraisable also considering that the stable of “the house of the king” received 40 kg of gold, 7 kg of silver, and 35 kg of copper on the occasion of an important distribution of goods (75.2280+).² This delivery is registered immediately after the weapons, the frontlets, and the blinkers received by the princes for their chariots.³

¹ On the equids at Ebla see Archi 2019.

² Note that 75.2280+ means TM.75.G.2280+, and so on.

³ See Archi 2019: 17.

The men in charge of the teams of animals for these chariots are often mentioned by names on the occasion of distribution of garments, a fact which is not paralleled by any other archive of the Ancient Near East.

A first list of these “overseers of the teams of mules / asses”, *ugula/lú sur_x-BAR.AN / (sur_x-)IGI.NITA*, has been given by the present writer in Archi 1988: 266-270. The following list gives first the name of the minister under whom the official was in service (Arr.: Arrukum, years 40-36 before the destruction of Ebla; Ibr.: Ibrium, years 35-18; I.Z.: Ibbi-zikir, years 17-1). In case of an annual document of Ibrium or Ibbi-zikir, this text is dated according to the year in which the minister was in office, e.g. [Ibr. 14]: Ibrium, year 14; [I.Z. 02]: Ibbi-zikir, year 2. The names of the overseers mentioned in these annual documents are collected in table I.

Note that s.-B.A. = *sur_x-BAR.AN* and I.N. = *IGI.NITA*

- ’À-gàr / ’À-ga-lu/ru₁₂* *ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr./I.Z.): ARET III 61 V 12-13; ARET IV 6 obv. VII 4-6, X 1-13; 7 obv. IV 18-V 16; MEE 7 34 obv. III 22-23 (of Ibbi-zikir) [Ibr. 14]; MEE 12 35 rev. XVII 2-3 [I.Z. 8]; MEE 12 38 obv. II 30-31, XV 20-21 [I.Z. 09]; 75.2447 rev. I 12-13; 75.1962 rev. VII 9-11 (of prince Na’am-i-giš); 75.1797 obv. XII 11-14 (-ru₁₂ dumu-nita I-ti-ib; Ibr.).*
- ’À-lum* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): ARET VIII 525 XVI 24-26 (of the king).*
- ’À-mi-lum* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): ARET VIII 525 XVI 23-26 (of the king).*
- A-bù-^dKu-ra lú I-ti-^dGa-mi-iš* *ugula I.-N. (I.Z.): ARET VIII 529 obv. IX 19-22 (ugula {s.-B.A.} 2 IGI.NITA of the king); 75.2329 rev. IV 12-13 (ugula s.-B.A. of the king).*
- A-bù-NE* *ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): ARET XV 17 rev. V 10-13 (of the king).*
- ’A-du-nu* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.2635 rev. V 1-3.*
- A-gi* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): ARET I 6 rev. IX 15-17.*
- A-gi-su* *ugula I.-N. (I.Z.): 75.2329 rev. IV 11-13.*
- A-ma-lik* *ugula s.-B.A. GIŠ-GÍGIR.É (Ibr.): ARET XIX 9 rev. II 4-9.*
- A-mi-ni-bar-zú* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1917 rev. I 20-II 2 (of the king).*
- A-na* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1429 rev. II 7-9.*
- Ar-ba-nu* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.10187 obv. VI 12-14.*
- Ar-si-aḥ* *ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): ARET I 14 obv. X 2-7 (of Ibrium); ARET III 398 obv. I 2-4; 75.10197 obv. I 4-6.*
- A-wa-i-šar* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): ARET II 15 obv. V 6-11 (of prince Iksub-damu).*
- A-wu-um* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.2336 obv. IX 15-17.*
- A-za_x-bar-zú* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): ARET III 61 V 6 (of the king); III 118 obv. IV 7-9 (of the king); ARET IV 20 rev. V 12-15 (of the king); 75.1436 obv. III 15-iv 3 (of the king); 75.1826+ rev. VI 4-7.*
- Ba-du-LUM / Bad/BE-du-LUM* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): ARET IV 3 obv. II 12-15 (of the king); IV 7 rev. VIII 7-13 (of Ibbi-zikir); ARET VIII obv. 522 IV 13-16 (of the king); VIII 525 rev. III 21-26; ARET IX 14 obv. IV 5-6; ARET XII 809 obv. V 11-13 (of the king); 75.1221 obv. III 11-14 (of the king); 75.1225 rev. I 5-7 (of the king); 75.1917 rev. I 20-II 2 (of the king); 75.2241 rev. VII 17-20 (of the king); 75.2251 obv. IX 5-7 (of the king); 75.2275 obv. VII 3-5 (of the king); 75.2371 obv. IV 1-3 (of the king); 75.10185 obv. III 2-3 (of the king).*
- Ba-du-nu* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): MEE 7 44 obv. XI 17-18; 75.1221 rev. V 9-12.*
- Ba-ga-ma* *ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr./I.Z.): ARET III 224 I 2-3; ARET IV 11 obv. VII 11-17 (of Ibrium); ARET XII 1154 III 7-9 (of Ibrium); ARET XIX 5 rev. VI 7-12 (of Ibrium); XIX 7 rev. II 2-6 (of Ibrium); XIX 12 obv. VIII 6-9 (of Ibrium); XIX 19 rev. I 16-II 5, IV 4-7 (of Ibrium); 75.1428 rev. I 6-9 (of Ibrium); 75.1701 obv. IV 4-6 (of Ibrium); 75.1791 rev. IV 4-6 (of Ibrium); 75.1797 rev. V 10-12 (of Ibrium); 75.1870 obv. IX 1-3 (of Ibrium); 75.1935 obv. XIV 11-14 (of Ibrium); 75.2406 rev. IV 18-19; 75.2462 obv. XV 15-16 [I.Z. 02]; 75.2464 rev. X 14-15 (of Ibrium) [Ibr. 03]; 75.2478 rev. IV 12-v 5 (of the king); 75.10079 rev. IX 12-17 (of the king).*
- Bar-i* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.2270 obv. III 1-3 (of Ibbi-zikir).*
- Bar-zi* *ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.2277 obv. XII 14-16 (of Ibbi-zikir).*
- Bir₅-ba-lum lú/ugula IGI.NITA (Ibr./I.Z.): MEE 10 21 XI 1-3 (of Ibrium); 75.2353 obv. I 17-19 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.2520 obv. VI 9-11 (of Ibrium).*

- Bù-da-i* ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.2250 obv. V 21-23 (of prince Gadum); 75.2336 obv. VIII 20-22 (of prince Gadum).
Bù-DU₁₀ ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* III 61 V 11 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1917 rev. II 4-11 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1917 rev. IV 1-5 (of the king).
Dab₆-da-mu ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1729 rev. VII 9-11 (of prince Ilzi-damu).
Da-ni ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* VIII 523 XX 16-18 (of Ibdulu).
Daš-na ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* XII 1408 obv. VI 5-6.
Da-zi-ma-ad/du ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* III 61 V 10 (of Ibbi-zikir); MEE 12 35 obv. IX 21-22, rev. VIII 55-56 [I.Z. 08]; MEE 12 37 rev. XVIII 31-32 [I.Z. 09]; 75.1436 obv. IV 3-10 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1826+ rev. VI 5-7; 75.10160 rev. IX 10-11; 76.288+ obv. XI 20-21.
Du-bí lú/ugula B.A.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 29 obv. II 9-11; XV 31 obv. IV 28-29 (ugula).
Du-bí ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1917 rev. III 23-IV 5 (of the king).
Du-bí-zi-kir ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 14 obv. I 11-15 (of *Īr-NI-ba*).
Dur-BE ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* XII 949 obv. IV 4-5.
Dur-da-ar ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.2330 rev. VII 21-22.
EN-gi-lum ugula I.N. (Ibr.): *ARET* III 468 obv. IX 14-16; *ARET* XII 48 I' 2-3; 75.10082 obv. IX 14-16 (of Ibbi-zikir).
En-na-ba-al₆ (I.Z.): 75.2593 obv. XI 7-9 (of the king).
En-na-BE ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 21 obv. XI 10-13 (of *Du-bí-šum ur₄*); XV 26 obv. VII 16-18, rev. VIII 3-5 (of *Du-bí-šum ur₄*); XV 36 obv. VI' 5-7 (of *Du-bí-šum ur₄*).
En-na-BE ugula I.N.-I.N. (I.Z.): 75.1381 obv. VI 2-4 (of the king).
En-na-BE ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* VIII 522 obv. V 2-4 (of Ibbi-zikir); *ARET* XII 90 rev. II 5-7 (of Ibbi-zikir); XII 873 obv. II 2-4 (of Ibbi-zikir); MEE 12 37 obv. II 19-21 (of Ibbi-zikir) [I.Z. 09]; 75.1917 rev. II 3-11 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1917 rev. IV 2-5 (of the king). 75.2277 obv. XI 13-16 (of Ibbi-zikir).
En-na-il lugal I.N. (pre-Arr.): *ARET* XIV 8 rev. III 1-3; XIV 14 rev. I 7-II 2; XIV 49 obv. VI 11-12 (ugula I.N.) (Arr.) *ARET* XV 54 rev. VII 1-2.
En-na-i/il ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr., I.Z.): *ARET* I 8 rev. XVI 6-9 (of the king); *ARET* III 61 V 9 (of Ibbi-Zikir); 75.1382 obv. VII 19-21 (of the king); 75.1436 obv. III 15-IV 3 (of the king); 75.1934 obv. VI 12-14 (of the king); 75.2478 rev. V 2-4 (of the king); 75.10079 rev. IX 13-17 (of the king).
GABA-da-mu ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): MEE 12 5 obv. VIII 9-10. lú B.A.-B.A.
Ga-ti ugula B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* IV 19 rev. VI 6-8 [I.Z. 01].
Gu-la-bù ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* VIII 526 obv. XIV 16-18 (of Dubuḫu-Hadda).
Gul-da-mu ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1729 rev. VII 9-11 (of prince Ilzi-damu); 75.2250 obv. V 30-VI 2 (of prince Ilzi-damu).
Gú-li ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 44 obv. V 7-13 (DU *Ar-mi-um^{ki}* ... maškim-*sù*).
Gur-da-LUM ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 4 rev. IX 19-25 (of the king); *ARET* XII 946 obv. II 13 (*G.* son of *Ru₁₂-zú-i*); 75.1916 obv. I 2-4 (of the king); 75.1917 rev. I 19-II 2 (of the king); 75.2371 obv. X 3-5 (of the king).
Gú-šu ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 6 rev. XII 17-25 (of Ibbi-zikir); *ARET* IV 9 obv. V 10-13 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1436 obv. IV 6-10 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1917 rev. II 8-11 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.10201 obv. X 20-21 [I.Z. 04]
Ḫa-za-an lú I.N. (Ibr.): *ARET* I 6 rev. VII 11-14.
Hu-ba-an/nu ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 10 rev. II 11-13; *ARET* III 61 V 2 (of the king); III 457 obv. II 1-2 (of the king); *ARET* IV 1 obv. X 3-6 (of the king); *ARET* VIII 522 obv. IV 10-16 (of the king); VIII 525 rev. I 6-8 (of the king); VIII 525 rev. III 19-26 (of the king); VIII 532 rev. VI 13-15 (of the king); *ARET* XII 751 I 12-14 (of the king); XII 759 rev. III 2-3; *ARET* XX 6 rev. I 5-7 (of the king); XX 7 obv. III 15-16; XX 21 obv. X 5-7; 75.1221 obv. III 8-14 (of the king); 75.1252 obv. XIV 6-8 (of the king); 75.1356 rev. V 6-8: (of the king); 75.1436 obv. III 12-IV 2 (of the king); 75.1729 obv. V 2-4 (of the king); 75.1890 obv. VIII 1-3 (of the king); 75.1916 rev. III 2-4 (of the king); 75.1917 rev. I 17-II 2 (of the king); 75.1917 rev. IV 2-5 (of the king); 75.2277 rev. V 5-7 (of the king); 75.2242 rev. V 16-18 (of the king); 75.2243 rev. I 11-13 (of the king);

75.2336 obv. XII 6-8 (of the king); 75.2370 obv. VIII 4-6 (of the king); 75.2372 rev. III 24-IV 2 (of the king); 75.2432 obv. I 13-II 2 (of the king); 75.2438+2623 rev. V 3-5 (of the king); 75.2523 rev. I 8-10 (of the king); 75.10187 obv. VII 12-14 (of the king); 75.10272 obv. VII 2-4 (of the king).

Ib-du-ma-lik ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 26 obv. X 15-17.

Ib-du-^dRa-sa-ap ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* III 901 I 2-3; *ARET* XV 15 obv. VI 10-12; XV 29 obv. XII 15-17; XV 37 rev. IX 8-10; XV 40 obv. VI 14-15.

Ib-dur-i-šar ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* VIII 522 obv. IV 21-V 4; 75.1221 obv. VII 1-2 (of prince Ir'aq-damu); 75.1917 rev. II 9-11 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.2649 obv. XI 18-20 (of Ibbi-zikir).

Ib-du-ra ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* XII 818 rev. II 2-3.

Ib-dur-i ugula s.-B.A.: 75.1827+ rev. VI 2-3.

Ib-ga-i/il ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr./I.Z.): *ARET* I 4 rev. IX 19-25 (of the king); I 15 rev. VI 10-VII 1; *ARET* III 61 V 4-6 (of the king); III 108 VIII 5-6; III 877 rev. III 6'-7'; *ARET* IV 7 rev. V 10-16, VII 20-VIII 6; IV 18 obv. VIII 8-15 (of the king); 75.1416 rev. X 4-5; 75.1436 obv. III 14-IV 3 (of the king); 75.1826+ rev. VI 4-7; 75.1917 rev. I 19-II 2 (of the king); 75.1942 obv. XI 6-7; 75.2406 rev. IV 15-16; 75.2430 obv. VIII 9-11 (of Ibrium); 75.2478 rev. IV 13-V 5 (of the king); 75.2502 obv. VI 18-20 (of the king) [Ibr. 15]; 75.2504 obv. II 6-8 (of the king); 75.10074 obv. XX 18-19 [I.Z. 06]; 75.10234 obv. V 10-12; 75.10275 rev. V 7-9 (of the queen).

Ib-ḥur-i ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1436 obv. IV 8-10 (of Ibbi-zikir).

Ib-NI-LUM ugula I.N.-I.N. (I.Z.): 75.1381 obv. V 19-VI 4 (of the king).

I-i-bu₁₆ lú I.N. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 6 rev. IX 16-17.

Ì-lum-ak ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 42 obv. VI 6-9 (of *En-na-BE*).

Ì-lum-BAL ugula s.-B.A. 1.) (Ibr.): 75.2166 rev. II 10-12 (of Ibrium); 75.2456 rev. XIV 20-22 (of Ibrium); 75.2478 rev. V 1-4 (of the king); 75.2503 obv. XI 7-9 (of Ibrium).

2.) (I.Z.): 75.2477 obv. VIII 2-3; 75.10079 rev. IX 14-17 (of the king).

3.) (I.Z.): 75.1729 rev. VII 15-17 (of prince NE.ḪAR-damu); 75.2250 obv. VI 6-8 (of prince NE.ḪAR-damu); 75.2336 obv. IX 11-13 (of prince NE.ḪAR-damu);

In-gàr lú/ugula B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 3 rev. X 6-8; I 6 rev. IX 9-22; *ARET* II 23 obv. III 1-rev. I 4; *ARET* IV 6 rev. X 17-XI 1; IV 9 obv. IX 7-10; 14 rev. VII 23-VIII 11; IV 21 obv. IV 10-12; 75.1253+ rev. VI 4-5; 75.10074 obv. XXVII 10-11 [I.Z. 06]; 75.10202 rev. XIV 23-26 [I.Z. 13]; 10187 obv. VII (lú, "son", of Adamu).

Ìr-am₆-ma-lik ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XII 298 obv. V 2-3; *ARET* XV 5 obv. II 9-12 (of the king); XV 34 obv. XII 7-9; 75.10050+ obv. XVII 2-4.

Ìr-PĚŠ-zé Dur-ri^{ki} ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1971 rev. II 5-11 (of Ibbi-zikir).

Ìr-ba-šu/sum ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1429 rev. II 8-9; 75.2336 obv. IX 8-9; 75.2250 obv. VI 3-5 (of prince Irkab-rizu).

Ìr-da-lum ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* XII 949 obv. IV 3-5.

Ìr-i-ba ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): 75.2467 obv. VI 13-15 (of *Zú-ba-lum*).

Ìr-i-ba ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 1.) *ARET* III 113 II 3-4; III 463 rev. III 3-4; *ARET* XII 90 rev. II 2-4 (of the king); MEE 12 36 obv. XXX 4-6 (of the king) [I.Z. 10]; 75.1422 obv. VIII 1-2; 75.1755 obv. II 10-11; 75.1821 rev. II 8-10 (of the king); 75.1827+ obv. VIII 5-6; 75.1917 rev. I 15-II 2 (of the king); 75.1917 rev. III 24-IV 5 (of the king); 75.2250 obv. V 24-26; 75.2406+ obv. IX 19-20; 75.2418 rev. IX 7-9 (of the king); 75.2507 obv. XIII 30-31 [I.Z. 11]; 75.10201 obv. XIX 7-8 [I.Z. 04];

2.) (I.Z.): 75.1436 obv. IV 4-10 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.2339 rev. III 8-10 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.2372 rev. III 17-19 (of Ibbi-zikir);

3.) (I.Z.): 75.1729 rev. VII 12 (of prince Irkab-rizu); 75.2336 obv. VIII 23-IX 1: (of prince [X]-damu); 75.2433+2509 obv. V 14-16: (lú *A-da-ra-gú*).

I-šar ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* VIII 527 XX 15-17 (of Ibbi-zikir).

I-ti-^dGa-mi-iš ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* VIII 529 obv. IX 20-21 (ugula s.-B.A. 2 IGI.NITA en); *ARET* XX 6 obv. VIII 15-16; 75.1381 obv. V 18-VI 4 (ugula I.N.-I.N. of the king); 75.1416 obv. VIII 7-10 (ugula s.-B.A. 2 IGI.NITA en); 75.2336 obv. IX 14-17; 10121 obv. VII 16-18 (lú 2 IGI.NITA of the king); 75.10281 rev. VI 6-8 (lú 2 IGI.NITA of the king).

- I-ti-ib* ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): *ARET* XIX 19 rev. I 8-15; 75.1797 obv. XII 13-14.
- I-ti-NE* ugula I.N.-I.N. (I.Z.): 75.1381 obv. VI 1-4 (of the king).
- I-ti^dRa-sa-ap* (I.Z.): *ARET* II 15 obv. V 6-11 (of prince Iksub-damu); 75.2336 obv. IX 14-17.
- I-ti-um* of *Ar-mi^{ki}* ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 17 obv. II 3-8.
- Kam₄-da-mu* ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 9 rev. VIII 4-6.
- Lu-a-i* s.-IGI.NITA (of the king): *ARET* XII 138 II' 6'-8'.
- Lu-a-ma-lik* ugula s.-B.A. GIŠ-gígir-É.SIKI (Ibr.): *ARET* XIX 2 obv. IX' 15-X' 3.
- Me/Mi-ga-i* ugula I.N. / s.-B.A. (Ibr./I.Z.): *ARET* III 468 obv. IX 15-17 (of Ibrium); *ARET* VIII 522 obv. IV 12-16 (of the king); VIII 525 rev. III 23-26 (of the king); *ARET* XII 528 rev. III' 2-3: *Mi-ga-i* lú 2 IGI.NITA; 75.1221 obv. III 10-14 (of the king); 75.1917 rev. II 7-11 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.2241 rev. VII 16-20 (of the king); 75.2275 obv. VII 2-5 (of the king); 75.2438+2623 rev. VI 9-11 (of the king).
- Mi-na-i* ugula s.-B.A.: 75.1221 obv. III 10-14 (of the king).
- Na-zú-mu* lú B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 37 rev. IV 7-9.
- NI-a-lu/ru₁₂* ugula s.-B.A. / ugula I.N. (Ibr./I.Z.): *ARET* IV 15 rev. X 10-13 (of Ibrium); 25 obv. IV 2-9 (ugula s.-B.A. 2 IGI.NITA en); 75.1826+ rev. VII 6-7; 75.2164 obv. II 8-10 (ugula IGI.NITA of the king).
- NI-na-du* ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): *MEE* 7 34 rev. IV 4-8 (of Gir-damu, son of Ibrium) [Ibr. 14]
- Puzur₄-(ra)-ma-lik* ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 4 rev. IX 19-25 (of the king); I 6 rev. XII 17-25 (of Ibbi-zikir); *ARET* IV 1 obv. III 6-9 (of the king); *ARET* VIII 522 obv. IV 11-16 (of the king); VIII 525 rev. III 20-26; 75.1221 obv. III 9-14 (of the king); 75.1436 obv. IV 7-10 (of Ibbi-zikir); 75.1917 rev. I 18-ii 2 (of the king); 75.2337 obv. V 1-3 (of the king); 75.2371 obv. III 20-iv 3 (of the king); 75.2499 obv. IX 4-6 (of Dusigu, the mother of the king); 75.2542 rev. VIII 10-11; 75.10229 obv. VIII 11-13 (of the king).
- Puzur₄-ra-i* šeš Šu-NE ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): 75.2269 obv. VIII 2-4.
- Puzur₄-ri* (I.Z.): *ARET* III 118 obv. IV 8-9 (of the king); 75.1918 rev. III 11-12 [I.Z. 05]
- Rt-ba-il* ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* III 31 obv. II 9-10; III 567 IV 2-3; *ARET* XV 15 obv. 1-3.
- Rt-i-ma-lik* lú B.A. (Arr./Ibr.): *ARET* XIV 55 obv. V 12-13; *ARET* XV 10 rev. VI 2-7; XV 14 obv. VI 7-10, XI 7-9; XV 15 obv. V 4-6, VIII 9-11; XV 33 obv. II 18-20; *MEE* 2 12 rev. IV 4-5; 75.1379 rev. VII 3-4.
- Ru₁₂-zi-iš-lu* ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* VIII 521 rev. VII 4-6 (of prince Ir' aq-damu); *ARET* XII 609 II 5; 75; 75.10234 obv. V 8-11: (lú *Ib-ga-i*; of prince Ir' aq-damu).
- Ru₁₂-zú/zu-i/il* ugula s.-B.A. 1.) (Ibr.): *ARET* I 14 obv. X 2-7 (-zu-; of Ibrium); *ARET* III 61 V 3 (of the king); III 108 V 4'-6' (of the king); *ARET* IV 12 rev. VI 5-9 (-zu-; of Ibrium); 15 rev. VIII 10-16 (of Ibrium); *ARET* XII 150 I 2-3; XII 162 II 2-4 (of the king); XII 897 I 3-4; *ARET* XIX 3 obv. XII 11-14 (-zu-; of Ibrium); XIX 5 rev. VI 7-12 (-zu-; of Ibrium); XIX 20 obv. II 4-5 (-zu-; of Ibrium); *MEE* 2 25 obv. VIII 8-10: (of Ibrium); 75.1389 obv. XII 11-13 (of the king); 75.1428 rev. I 5-9 (of Ibrium); 75.1524 obv. IV 9-11 (of the king); 75.1701 obv. XII 5-7 (of Ibrium); 75.1791 rev. IV 2-6 (of Ibrium); 2406 rev. VII 5-7; 75.2464 rev. X 10-11 [Ibr. 03]; 2478 rev. IV 11-V 4 (of the king).
- Ru₁₂-zú-i/il* ugula s.-B.A. 2.) (I.Z.): *ARET* I 7 rev. XIV 3-9; *ARET* IV 8 obv. I 5-11; IV 14 obv. VIII 6-9 (of the king); 75.1946 obv. VII 13-15 (of the king); 75.3887+ (= *ARET* III 795+) obv. III 3-4; 75.10059 obv. III 4-5; 75.10079 rev. IX 11-17 (of the king); 75.10088+ obv. I 8-9 [I.Z. 03]; 75.10187 rev. IV 5-7 (of the king).
- Sa/Sá-mi-um* ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): *ARET* I 7 rev. XV 15-21 (of the king); *ARET* VIII 522 obv. IV 14-16 (of the king); *ARET* XII 609 II 1-3 (of the king); 75.1221 obv. III 12-14.
- Su-wa-si* ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* II 32 rev. IV 4-11
- Ša-nu-ni-a* ugula s.-B.A. (I.Z.): 75.1729 rev. VII 6-8 (of prince Ibte-damu); 75.2250 obv. V 27-29 (of prince Ibte-damu).
- Še-BAL/KUL(numun?) ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr./I.Z.): *ARET* I 4 obv. IX 19-25 (-BAL; of the king); I 10 obv. II 13-III 3 (-KUL; of the king); *ARET* III 61 V 6' (-KUL; of the king); *ARET* XII 609 II 6 (-KUL); *ARET* XIX 15 obv. II 2-5 (-BAL; of the king); *ARET* XX 9 obv. VII 10-12 (-?; of the king); *MEE* 10 29 rev. VII 13-15 (-KUL; of the king) [I.Z. 05]; 75.1777+ rev. XI 12-13 (-KUL); 75.1436 obv. III 13-IV 3 (-KUL; of the king); 75.1826+ rev. VI 3-7 (-KUL); 75.1917 rev. I 21-II 2 (-BAL; of the king); 75.2242 rev. V 15-18 (-KUL; of the king); 75.2339 rev. III 4-6 (-KUL; of the king); 75.10275 obv. X 2-4 (-KUL; of the king).

- Šu-NE ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): *ARET* XIX 19 rev. IV 13-V 2 (of the king); 75.1428 rev. I 7-9 (of Ibrium); 75.2269 obv. VIII 4-5; 75.2464 rev. X 19-21 (of the king) [Ibr. 03].
- Ti-ba-mu* ugula s.-B.A.: *ARET* III 531 VIII 3-4.
- Ti-ti-na* ugula s.-B.A. (pre-Arr./Arr.): 75.10050 (= *ARET* I 45+) obv. XVI 5-6; *ARET* XIV 8 obv. VI 4-6 (lugal); XIV 9 § 19 rev. IV 3-5 (lugal); XIV 14 obv. V 1-3; XIV 15 obv. I 1-4; XIV 32 obv. X 6-8.
- Û-KA-na-an ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* XV 11 rev. V 3-11 (of ugula *Iš-da-má*).
- Wa-na* ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): *ARET* I 17 obv. X 1-4 (of Ibrium); *ARET* IV 15 obv. X 11-14 (of Ibrium); *ARET* XII 1037 obv. I 2-4 (of Ibrium); *ARET* XIX 3 obv. I 4-7 (of Ibrium); XIX 7 rev. II 2-6 (of Ibrium); XIX 14 obv. XIII 3-6 (of Ibrium); *MEE* 10 21 obv. XI 6-8 (of Ibrium); 75.1247+ rev. VI 16-18 (of Ibrium); 75.1771 obv. VI 5-6 (of Ibrium) [Ibr. 04]; 75.1935 obv. XIV 10-14 (of Ibrium); 75.2352+ obv. XII 10-11 [Ibr. 09]; 75.2416 rev. IV 11-13 (of Ibrium); 75.3052+ obv. XII 10-11 [Ibr. 05]; 75.12269+ obv. VIII 1-3 (lú B.A.-B.A.).
- Wa-rí-gu* ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): 75.1783 obv. IX 1-5: (of Ruzi-damu lú-kar of Manuwat).
- Zàr-ù* ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): 75.2478 rev. V 2-4 (of the king); 75.10079 rev. X 14-17 (of the king).
- Zi-ba-LUM* ugula I.N. / ugula s.-B.A. (Ibr.): *ARET* III 468 obv. IX 12-16; *ARET* IV 10 obv. I 10-II 12 (of Ibrium); 75.1772 obv. X 9-11 (of Ibrium); 75.2503 rev. I 13-15 (of Ibrium); 75.10155 rev. IV 3-5 (of Ibrium).
- Zú-ne/ni* ugula s.-B.A. (Arr.): *ARET* III 795 III 2-3 (-ne); *ARET* XV 15 obv. IV 5-8 (-ni; of the king); XV 18 rev. V 12-VI 2 (-ni; of the king); XV 33 obv. XII 5-7; 75.3887+ (= *ARET* III 795+) obv. III 6 (-ne).

Table 1: The overseers of teams of mules mentioned in annual documents.

Annual Text	Year	Names of the overseers of the teams of mules
75.2464 rev. X 10-21	Ibr. 03	<i>Ru</i> ₁₂ -zu-il ugula s.-B.A. <i>Ba-ga-ma</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>Ib-rí-um</i> Šu-NE ugula s.-B.A. en
75.1771 obv. VI 5-6	Ibr. 04	<i>Wa-na</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>Ib-rí-um</i>
75.3052+ obv. XII 10-11	Ibr. 05	<i>Wa-na</i> ugula s.-B.A.
75.2359 rev. V 10-11	Ibr. 09	<i>Wa-na</i> ugula s.-B.A.
<i>MEE</i> 7 34 obv. III 22-23 rev. IV 4-8	Ibr. 14	’ <i>À-gàr</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>I-bí-zi-kir</i> NI-na-du ugula s.-B.A. <i>Gi-ir-da-mu</i> d.-n. <i>Ib-rí-um</i>
75.2502 obv. VI 18-20	Ibr. 15	<i>Ib-ga-i</i> ugula s.-B.A. en
75.2462 rev. XV 15-16	I.Z. 02	<i>Ba-ga-ma</i> ugula s.-B.A.
75.10088+ obv. I 8-9	I.Z. 03	<i>Ru</i> ₁₂ -zú-i ugula s.-B.A.
75.10201 obv. X 20-21 XIX 7-8	I.Z. 04	<i>Gú-šu</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>Ìr-i-ba</i> ugula s.-B.A.
<i>MEE</i> 10 29 r. III 11-12 VII 13-15	I.Z. 05	<i>Puzur</i> ₄ -ra-ma-lik ugula s.-B.A. Še-BAL ugula s.-B.A. en
75.10074 obv. XX 18-19 XXVII 10-11	I.Z. 06	<i>Ib-ga-i</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>In-gàr</i> ugula s.-B.A.
<i>MEE</i> 12 35 obv. IX 21-22, r. VIII 55-56 XVII 2-3	I.Z. 08	<i>Da-zi-ma-ad/du</i> ugula s.-B.A. ’ <i>À-gàr</i> ugula s.-B.A.
<i>MEE</i> 12 37 obv. II 19-21 obv. II 30-31, XV 20-21 rev. XVIII 31-32	I.Z. 09	<i>En-na-BE</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>I-bí-zi-kir</i> ’ <i>À-gàr</i> ugula s.-B.A. <i>Da-zi-ma-du</i> ugula s.-B.A.
<i>MEE</i> 12 36 obv. XXX 4-6	I.Z. 10	<i>Ìr-i-ba</i> ugula s.-B.A. en DU.DU <i>si-in Na-gàr</i> ^{ki}
75.2507 obv. XIII 30-31	I.Z. 11	<i>Ìr-i-ba</i> ugula s.-B.A.
75.10202 rev. XIV 23-26	I.Z. 13	<i>In-gàr</i> ugula s.-B.A. DU.DU <i>Ma-rí</i> ^{ki}

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Textile Production in Central Anatolia between the 2nd and the 1st Millennium BC: Analysis of Tools and Contexts

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Abstract. This study deals with tools linked to textile production in central Anatolia in the transition period between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC. It is a critical phase which begins with the crisis and collapse of Hittite Empire and which is characterized by a variety of changes, from architecture to pottery and pastoral strategies. These changes are often associated with the arrival of new people in central Anatolia, set within broader movements that affect the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age. The aim is to include textile tools in the archaeological debate concerning the problem of continuity or innovation with respect to the Hittite tradition. Spindle whorls and loom weights are indeed the archaeological evidence attesting the occurrence of textile activities in contexts like the ancient Anatolian one, where clothes and fabrics have rarely been preserved because of their perishability.

Keywords. Central Anatolia, textile production, spindle whorls, loom weights, Late Bronze Age, Iron Age.

INTRODUCTION¹

Textile production is a process through which raw materials, such as flax or wool, are converted into a final fabric. It includes several stages: fibre procurement, fibre preparation, spinning, weaving and finishing (Anderson Strand 2012b: 22). Since ancient clothes and fabrics have rarely been

¹ This article is based on the author's Master degree thesis at the University of Pisa, a work on textile production in central Anatolia between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC. Information about Uşaklı Höyük's textile tools and contexts comes from the author's personal research at the site in the two campaigns of 2018 and 2019. I would like to thank Prof. Stefania Mazzoni and Prof. Anacleto D'Agostino for permitting me to study and analyse the artefacts and the excavation documentation *in loco*.

preserved because of the perishability of the fibres employed, we cannot count only on fortunate and preserved fragments to discuss how past societies organised their usual production of textiles. We need a multidisciplinary approach, in which textual, archaeological, zooarchaeological and iconographic evidence are all taken into account. Starting from the pioneering work of E. Barber (1991) multidisciplinary studies on textiles have recently been conducted, as demonstrated by the publications of C. Breniquet (2008) and M.L. Nosch *et al.* (2013). By combining different sources, it is possible to discuss technology and the economic, social and cultural impact of textiles on ancient society (Nosch *et al.* 2013). This article deals in particular with the archaeological evidence, i.e. textile tools (needles, spindles whorls, loom weights, spools, spindle shafts, shuttles, *spatulae*) of central Anatolia, dated to the transition period between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC.

CENTRAL ANATOLIA AND THE PROBLEM OF THE TRANSITION FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE TO THE EARLY IRON AGE

Central Anatolia (Fig. 1) is a region of modern Turkey which is defined by geographic boundaries: the Pontic mountains in the north, the Taurus mountains in the south (Genz 2011: 331), the Kızılırmak river in the north-east and the Sakarya river in the west (Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 416). From the second half of the 17th century BC, the region was politically unified by the Indo-European speaking people of the Hittites. At the top of its power, in the 14th and 13th centuries, the Hittite kingdom stretched from central Anatolia, the core of the empire, to northern Syria and from the Aegean coast to the Euphrates river (Bryce 2005:44). The Hittite empire collapsed shortly after 1200 BC for reasons that are still being discussed (Bryce 2005: 340-346; Knapp, Manning 2016: 126-127; Yakar 2006: 1-6). The downfall marks the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. There is not a generally accepted chronological system for the Iron Age in central Anatolia (Genz 2011: 333) and terminology is, still today, cause of debate (Summers 2008: 206). The literature often employs the term Dark Age referring to the critical phase between the end of the Hittite Empire and the emergence of Phrygia in the second half of 9th century BC, associated with the arrival of Phrygians from the west (Summers 2008: 206). It is a three-century time frame characterised by a considerable change in the material culture (Genz 2011: 332), from architecture to pottery and pastoral strategies. Two main explanations can be given. The changes could be the result of a socio-economic reversal developed within the communities where, lacking the request for specialised craftsmen and activities, people became engaged in subsistence and household activities (Genz 2003: 187). Alternatively, they could be linked to the immigration of new settlers in central Anatolia (Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 423), set within broader movements of peoples that affected the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age. As Summers (2017: 270) states, the question remains unanswered.

TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The aim of this study is to include textile tools in the archaeological debate concerning the problem of continuity or innovation in the transition period between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC with respect to the Hittite tradition. Textile tools and contexts of a group of key sites have been analysed. The sites have been selected according to their geographic position (central Anatolia), chronology (occupation during both the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age) and the presence of archaeological evidence linked to the subject of this study.

The common archaeological evidence for textile production in the Eastern Mediterranean are spindle whorls and loom weights. Spindle whorls (Fig. 2) prove the production of spun thread, while loom weights the use of a specific type of technology, the warp-weighted loom (Andersson-Strand 2012a: 207). Textile tools can be found in several shapes and materials. Experimental archaeology has demonstrated that some of these differences are not to be explained in terms of cultural, geographical or chronological factors, but are the expression of a function (Andersson-Strand 2012a: 207). Dealing with textile tools sometimes means having to face problems and limits.

It can indeed be difficult to distinguish between loom weights, spindle whorls and beads, if we are analysing a round object with a central hole (Barber 1991: 51). Another difficulty concerns available information about textile tools. Unfortunately, spindle whorls and loom weights are often mentioned without an adequate description of the context and technical data (measures, weight). In addition, a class of objects known in ancient Near East and often linked to textile production has to be introduced: the reworked sherds. Sometimes categorised as pierced disks or whorls, they are perforated pottery sherds with a more or less circular shape and a central hole. The question is if they can really be considered textile tools. From a morphological point of view, they have the requirements needed. As a matter of fact, the circular shape and the central perforation define either short cylindrical sorts of loom weights or discoid types of spindle whorls. The advantages could have been the easiness of manufacturing and the insignificant cost in terms of raw material and potential errors. At the same time however, it could have been difficult to get a perfect circular shape and a central hole without breaking the sherd (Peyronel 2004: 164). The possible use of reworked sherds as textile tools requires a confirmation or a denial with the help of experimental archaeology. It is important to try and resolve the issue, because it affects the evaluation of textile activities on the reference sites, given that each judgment is based on the analysis of material evidence.

The archaeological evidence linked to textile production in central Anatolia between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC can be divided in two groups. Depending on the accuracy of the findings registration, we can differentiate between evidence with context that is not at all or not well specified and evidence with context that is properly defined. For the study presented here, based on preliminary reports and final publications of excavations, it has not always been easy to obtain a complete picture of spinning and weaving crafts.

Alaca Höyük

The site of Alaca Höyük is situated in the Çorum province, 35km north-east of Boğazköy. Known by travellers since the 19th century, first excavations there were led by T. Makridi in 1907. Real scientific excavations were undertaken between 1935 and 1978 (1935-1939; 1940-1948; 1963-1978) by H. Koşay, R.O. Arık, M. Akok (Gürsan-Salzmänn 1992: 4). A. Çınaroğlu began new excavations in 1998 (Genz, Mielke 2011: 5). The site has a long history of settlement, from the Late Chalcolithic to the Iron Age. Much has been published since the earlier campaigns, but the picture provided is incomplete (Mielke 2011: 1040-1041). In earlier publications, objects have been registered according to “meter-depth” from a datum point or, when assigned to time periods, have not been correlated with structural findings or stratigraphic levels (Gürsan-Salzmänn 1992: 4-5).

The second cultural layer of Alaca, divided in level 4, 3 and 2, covers the Middle and the Late Bronze Age (Mielke 2011: 1041). A metal workshop in use at least in the first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC and during the Old Hittite Period, was discovered in 2001 (Çınaroğlu, Çelik 2009: 95; Süel *et al.* 2017: 55). It is a multiple-room structure characterised by waste channels, which indicate that abundant water was used (Çınaroğlu, Çelik 2007: 307). The finding of various crescent loom weights, terracotta spindle whorls and bronze and bone needles (Çınaroğlu, Çelik 2007: 308; Çınaroğlu, Genç 2003: 510) suggests that some kind of textile activities could have taken place in the metal workshop.

During the Empire period Alaca was provided with a complex known as “temple-palace”, characterised by grouped rooms unified by central courtyards (Mielke 2011: 1042) and storage silos hinting the function of distributive centre (Süel *et al.* 2017: 54). After they were no longer needed for that function, the silos have been filled with soil and refusing material in which sometimes there were spindle whorls, crescent loom weights and bronze needles (Çınaroğlu, Genç 2003: 512). Textile tools have been found in the rooms of the “temple-palace” complex: needles, crescent loom weights and a large number of spindle whorls (Çınaroğlu, Çelik 2010: 92).

The transition to the 1st millennium BC is not clear at Alaca. A late Phrygian settlement is attested in the middle part of the mound (Çınaroğlu, Çelik 2009: 96), characterised by many simple round pits, some used as trash pits and some as grain storage (Çınaroğlu, Çelik 2010: 91). Needles and bone, stone and terracotta spindle whorls have been found there (Koşay 1951: 172; Koşay, Akok 1973: 62, PL. XIV), though the context is not specified.

The development of textile activities since the first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC is recorded in the site, suggested by the finding of crescent loom weights (Fig. 3), spindle whorls and needles. These textile tools have been found mainly in the metal workshop, a multifunctional structure used also for luxury production, according to the findings of gold and silver objects. We cannot exclude that valuable fabrics, intended for elite customers, were produced in the workshop.

Some kind of textile activities which cannot be clearly defined are attested in the “temple-palace” complex during the Hittite empire. Regarding loom weights, spindle whorls and needles found in the complex, we cannot say if we are dealing with a centralised production meant for trade or with a private one intended for the palace consumption. It has not been possible to know if the domestic structures situated west of the complex have yielded textile tools.

It is difficult to attest textile activities in the site during the Iron Age. Alaca seems to have been a sparse settlement with abundant reuse of Hittite material (Koşay 1951: 111). While loom weights are absent, reworked sherds and spindle whorls are recorded, though the context is not specified.

Alişar Höyük

The site of Alişar Höyük is located north of the village of Alişar, in the Yozgat province in a plain irrigated by the Kanak Suyu River. The site has a long cultural history, from the 4th to the 1st millennium BC (Michel 2011: 316). It was excavated by the Oriental Institute of Chicago between 1927 and 1932 and in 1993 within the Alişar Regional Project. The final results of the excavations have been published as part of the Oriental Institute Publications (OIP) series (Gorny 1993: 163).

Although the site represents one of the first systematic excavations in central Anatolia (Genz, Mielke 2011: 6), some problems arise. The first one is the recording of data. The provenience of the artefacts is not always described in detail and, with respect to textile tools, terminology can lead to confusion. The term “whorl” refers to circular objects perforated in the centre, which means that some of them could have probably been used as spindle whorls (von der Osten 1937a: XXI). Nevertheless, the great amount of pictures reveals the attention reserved to textile tools.

The second problem at Alişar concerns difficulties of comprehension regarding the 2nd millennium BC. Occupied both in the Old Assyrian colony period and in the Old Hittite period (Gorny 1995: 169), the mound reveals no clearly defined building layer from the period of the Hittite Empire (von der Osten 1937c: 429), although some classes of material, like pottery and biconvex seals, suggest an occupation until the end of the Late Bronze Age (Gorny 1993: 164).

It is not clear if textile tools, which are dated to the Hittite Empire in final publications, actually belong to the Late Bronze age or not, since the period designated at Alişar with “Hittite Empire” stretches from the end of the III millennium BC to the 12th century BC, including the phase of Mesopotamian merchants (von der Osten 1937c: 463, Fig. 289). The following textile tools have been found at Alişar (Tab. 1):

- bone spindle whorls obtained from femur head (von der Osten 1937b: 251, Fig. 277) and terracotta spindle whorls (von der Osten 1937b: 273);
- crescent, pyramidal and oval loom weights (von der Osten 1937b: 273);
- bronze and copper needles (von der Osten 1937b: 260, Fig. 285);
- reworked sherds (von der Osten 1937b: 284);
- terracotta spools (Fig. 4) (von der Osten 1937b: 282, Fig.307);
- bone spindle shafts (Fig. 5), many decorated with linear patterns or with circles with centered dots (von der Osten 1937b: 237, Fig.269),²

² Note that von der Osten (1937b: 237) used the term ‘styli’ (i.e. writing tools) referring to objects that have been interpreted here as spindle shafts.

- 'various bone splinters pointed at one hand' (von der Osten 1937b: 237, Fig.265 no e1179, d2107, d153, e807) which could be interpreted as *spatulae* (Fig. 6);³
- bone objects (von der Osten 1937b: 250, Fig.276) which could have been used as shuttles in weaving activities (Fig. 7).

Unfortunately, as mentioned before, it is not possible to assign the correct dating to these tools. Consequently, we are not able to draw a picture regarding Alişar textile activities in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC.

At the end of the Late Bronze Age, the site suffered a destruction which, however, did not put at an end to his history. During the Iron Age, the mound underwent an 'urban renewal', detected by intrusions in the 2nd millennium levels probably creating a mixing of material (Gorny 1993: 163). The Iron Age levels at Alişar, designated as 4c-a M (mound) and 9-8 T (terrace), have not revealed evidence of public or monumental buildings (von der Osten 1937b: 325). Textile tools have been found in great variety, but the context or the exact level are rarely specified:

- terracotta spindle whorls (von der Osten 1937b: 450, Figs 504-506) mainly with globular and biconical shapes; stone spindle whorls with hemispherical shape and often decorated with concentric rings or rings with centred dots (von der Osten 1937b: 427, Figs 484-485) and biconical with rim;
- numerous pyramidal and round loom weights (von der Osten 1937b: 450);
- bronze and copper needles (von der Osten 1937b: 435, Fig. 492);
- reworked sherds (von der Osten 1937b: 450);
- a terracotta spool (von der Osten 1937b: 454, Fig.509 no e1786).

Luckily the provenience of artefacts is occasionally described:

- a group of 12 spindle whorls (Fig. 8), two made of stone and the others of terracotta, has been found in a 4c M level context, which has been dated between the 11th and the 9th centuries BC (von der Osten 1937b: 339). As von der Osten states (1937b: 450), this variegated group proves that several shapes - truncated conical, biconical, hemispherical and globular - were in use at the same time.
- In the southwest corner of room D of a domestic structure of 4b M level, dated between the 9th and the 7th centuries BC (von der Osten 1937b: 339), a hoard of thirty round loom weights was uncovered (von der Osten 1937b: 312, 450, Fig. 507). Observing the picture (Fig. 8), they look like they are of the doughnut-shaped type and of the spherical type, which are similar to those found in the Middle Iron Age Boğazköy, Gordion, Kuşaklı and Uşaklı Höyük.

The large quantity of textile tools found at Alişar Höyük does not compensate with the inaccuracy of data recording. Textile production is well attested from spindle whorls, needles and loom weights, which are photographed and well described in terms of material and shape. Not even final publications give an exact description of the findings and the only accurate attestations come from domestic contexts.

Boğazköy

The site of Boğazköy is located in the Çorum province, on a high plateau safeguarded on both sides by deep river valleys (Schachner 2017a: 37). Discovered by C. Texier in 1834, extensive research on behalf of the Ottoman Museum of Istanbul started with the four excavation-seasons of 1906-1907 and 1911-1912, led by H. Winckler and T. Makridi, joined in 1907 by O. Puchstein, secretary general of the Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches (Schachner 2017b: 42; Seeher 2011: 192). This was the first period of scientific excavations (Schachner 2017b: 42), which brought to the identification of the site of Boğazköy as Hattuša, the capital of Hittite Empire, thanks to fragments of cuneiform tablets (Seeher 2011: 192). A problem connected with these early researches is the inade-

³ *Spatulae* are oblong, flat, objects, with a pointed end and the other more rounded (Cecchini 2000: 223), used to beat the threads of the weft during weaving (Cecchini 2000: 225).

quate state of documentation and publication (Schachner 2017b: 42). Most of the small findings cannot indeed be associated with any of the buildings (Schachner 2017b: 43). The researches at Boğazköy carried on, led by the German Archaeological Institute and the German Oriental Society and directed by K. Bittel (1931-1939, 1952-1977), P. Neve (1977-1993), J. Seeher (1994-2005) and A. Schachner (Seeher 2011: 193). The site was inhabited from the Late Chalcolithic to the Byzantine period (Seeher 2011: 188).

The study of textile activities in the Hittite capital is of crucial importance for a wider knowledge of textile production in the territories of the Hittite empire.

The textile evidence from the Late Bronze Age comes from the Lower City (mainly from the residential area) and the rock of Büyükkale.

The Lower City is composed by the complex of the Great Temple (made up by the temple itself, the storage magazines and the southern district) and by a residential area with the typical multi-room home equipped with ovens, open fireplaces, drainage systems (Seeher 2011: 14-15). Textile tools belonging to the Hittite Empire phase have been found:

- Residential area (Understadt Ib phase):
 - nine stone spindle whorls, the majority of which are biconical and with globular shape (Boehmer 1972: 224, Pl.XCIII no 2326-2328, 2330; Boehmer 1979: 60, Pl.XXXVII no 3811-3815);⁴
 - eight bronze needles (Boehmer 1972: 90, Pl.XX no 431; Boehmer 1972: 92, Pl.XXII no 501-507);
 - a bone spindle shaft (Boehmer 1972: 196-197, Pl.LXXIII no 2047);⁵
 - two bone weaving shuttles (Boehmer 1979: 52, Pl.XXXI no 3699-3700).
- Great Temple Complex:
 - three bronze needles, two in Complex 1, located to the south of the temple and one in storeroom 6 (Boehmer 1972: 92, Pl.XXII no 508-511).

Büyükkale has been the fortified seat of the royal residence since the Old Hittite kingdom (Bittel 1970: 67).⁶ The following tools have been found in the Hittite Empire phase layers (BK IIIb-a):

- three bone spindle whorls (Boehmer 1972: 196, Pl. LXXIII no 2039-2041) which are similar to Alişar spindle whorls obtained from femur head (see von der Osten 1937b: 251, Fig. 277) and one stone spindle whorl (Boehmer 1972: 224, Pl. XCIII no 2329);
- eight bronze needles (Boehmer 1972: 90, Pl. XX no 430, 432-434; Boehmer 1972: 92, Pl.XXII no 496-500);
- a decorated ivory spindle shaft (Fig. 9) (Boehmer 1972: 196-197, Pl.LXXIII no 2046);
- six bone weaving shuttles (Fig.10) (Boehmer 1972: 201, Pl.LXXV no 2106-2111), some of which are similar to examples from Alişar (Fig.7) (see von der Osten 1937b: 250, Fig.276).

To the end of 13th century BC the Hittite capital began its decline (Seeher 2010: 220). The city was abandoned for the most part and official buildings as the royal palace and the temples were set on fire (Seeher 2010: 221). After the collapse of Hittite Empire, Ḫattuša was uninhabited, but not for long. Early in the 12th century BC people of different material culture appeared, marking a break with respect to the former Hittite tradition (Seeher 2018: 103).

The Early Iron Age (12th – 11th centuries BC, phases 7-5) is mainly documented in Büyükkaya, re-occupied shortly after the collapse of the Hittite Empire by self-sufficient communities based on cattle and agriculture (Seeher 2010: 222). Textile tools have been found in Early Iron Age layers:

- a very large number of spindle whorls, for the most part with biconical and globular shapes, generally undecorated but occasionally incised with simple lines (Seeher 2010: 224);

⁴ Six stone spindle whorls, both biconical and globular, have been found in domestic contexts, although it is not clear if they are to be dated to the Old Kingdom or to the Empire period (Boehmer 1972: 224, Pl.XCIII, no 2324-2325; Boehmer 1979: 60, Pl.XXXVI, no 3808-3810a).

⁵ In line with von der Osten, Boehmer interpreted as writing 'styli' the decorated bone objects tapering to a point at one hand.

⁶ Little has survived from that period because of destructions caused by fire and intentional demolitions (Bittel 1970: 67).

- a terracotta loom weight (Seeher 2018: 102);
- carelessly manufactured terracotta spools (Seeher 2018: 102).

During the Middle Iron Age (10th –8th centuries BC, phase 4-3) Büyükkaya was a small settlement consisting of one-room buildings and based on a farming economy, in continuity with the previous phase (Seeher 2018: 141). Hundreds of spindle whorls of the same type of those from the Early Iron Age have been recovered (Seeher 2010: 224) together with some clay round loom weights (Seeher 2018: 102), probably of the same type like those from the Middle Iron Age found at Alişar, Gordion, Kuşaklı and Uşaklı Höyük. Also Büyükkale and the Lower City attest some kind of textile activities from the Middle Iron Age, with the finding of:

- stone spindle whorls, most of them truncated conical and non-decorated or decorated with incised circles (Boehmer 1972: 224-225, Pl. XCIII no 2331-2333, Pl. XCIV no 2334-2338);
- three lead spindle whorls, one from a Middle Iron Age context (Boehmer 1972: 167, Pl. LX no 1739), two truncated conical dated to the Late Iron Age (Boehmer 1972: 167, Pl. LX no 1740-1741).

To sum up, needles and spindle whorls have been found in domestic (Lower City), religious (Great Temple Complex) and palatial (Büyükkale) contexts of the Hittite Empire period (Tab. 2). There is a clear prevalence of materials such as stone and bone for spindle whorls, the majority of which are biconical and globular (Fig. 11 no 2327-2329). What is striking is the almost total absence of loom weights during the Late Bronze Age.⁷ This peculiarity should not trick us into thinking about an absence of textile production, which is evidenced by the discovery of spindle whorls and by the analysis on sheep and goats remains, that suggest pastoral strategies aimed at obtaining secondary products such as wool (von den Driesch, Pöllath 2003: 297). One may wonder if the answer lies in textile technology. While the discovery of loom weights in archaeological contexts proves the use of the warp-weighted loom, the absence of such tools suggests the use of other technologies which do not usually leave trace in the archaeological record, such as the horizontal ground-loom and the vertical two-beam loom. This was valid in ancient Egypt and, almost entirely for the Bronze Age, in the Syrian-Palestinian area (Barber 1991: 124-125). That said, there seems to be no reason why we should exclude the knowledge of such looms in Hattuša.

After the collapse of the Hittite Empire, Hattuša was occupied again early in the 12th century BC. At Büyükkaya, a very large number of spindle whorls, for the most part with biconical and globular shapes, generally undecorated but occasionally incised with simple lines, has been found in Early Iron Age layers. Noteworthy is the finding of terracotta spools, objects that, according to experimental archaeology, may have been used in various textile activities: as loom weights, bobbins to wind threads, weights used in tablet weaving (Siennicka, Ulanowska 2016: 25-27).

In the Middle Iron Age something changed at Büyükkaya: while spindle whorls of the same type of those from the Early Iron Age were used (Seeher 2010: 224), spools disappeared a new type of clay round loom weight was recorded (Seeher 2018: 102), probably similar to those found in Middle Iron Age context at Alişar, Gordion, Kuşaklı and Uşaklı Höyük. Also at Büyükkale and in the Lower City textile activities are attested, by the finding of bronze and iron needles and stone spindle whorls, most of them of the truncated conical type (Fig. 11, no 2330-2333).

Çadır Höyük

The site of Çadır Höyük is located in the north central Anatolian plateau, in the Yozgat province (Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 426). Occupation spanned from the Chalcolithic period to the 11th century CE (Steadman *et al.* 2013: 113). The site has been identified in 1993 during the survey which was part of the Alişar Regional Project (Gorny *et al.* 1999: 149-150). The excavations began in the same year under the direction of R. Gorny of the University of Chicago. Since 2011 the research at Çadır has been directed by G. McMahon (McMahon 2012: 15).

⁷ Crescent loom weights are attested at Boğazköy in the Hittite period (see Bittel 1937, Pl. 15 no 10), but the exact context is not recorded.

Hittite levels at Çadır are limited (Steadman *et al.* 2013: 129) and this could be the reason why textile tools have not been discovered. Iron Age deposits have been found right after Hittite levels, with no break in the occupational sequence (Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 426).

To the Early Iron Age levels (12th – late 10th centuries BC) belonged a set of pit or depression with multiple phases of plastering, which might have had an industrial function, according to the excavators. They don't exclude textile activities, in particular felt-making, which requires wool to be pressed in warm water (Steadman *et al.* 2015: 100-101), or dyeing (Gorny 2006: 36). Both of the explanations are acceptable, given the waterproof nature of the structures (Gorny 2006: 36). A bronze needle (Steadman *et al.* 2013: 134), spherical and biconical spindle whorls, a couple of heavy unbaked clay loom weights and reworked sherds have been found (Ross 2010: 71).

In Middle Iron Age levels (late 10th – late 8th/early 7th centuries BC) an open-air area has been uncovered, consisting of plastered features, like those of the previous phase (Ross 2010: 72). Two unbaked clay loom weights, a significant number of modified sherds and spindle whorls have been found, indicating function continuity with the Early Iron Age and suggesting that the area had an industrial function (Ross 2010: 72,74).

Our knowledge of Çadır Höyük textile production between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC is based only on the findings Iron Age levels. Nevertheless, in the absence of textile tools, faunal analysis on kill-off patterns of caprines during the Hittite phase have shown the importance of strategies based on secondary product production such as wool (Ross *et al.* 2019: 35-36). Textile activities in the Iron Age are documented by the discovery of spindle whorls, loom weights and reworked sherds. Spindle whorls from the Early Iron Age phase are described as spherical and biconical. Only two heavy, unbaked clay loom weights are attested having a discoid shape (Fig. 12). The typology of Middle Iron Age spindle whorls is not specified, whereas the two unbaked clay loom weights are in line with the previous Iron Age tradition with regards to the material. Both Early and Middle Iron Age levels have yielded a significant number of reworked sherds. As already though, the function of these objects is not clear. According to Ross (2010: 71), sherds with complete or incomplete drill holes were probably attempts to make jar stoppers or weights. We only know that reworked sherds and textile tools have been found in association with pits or depressions characterised by multiple levels of plastering which excavators, given their waterproof feature, linked to felt-making (Steadman *et al.* 2015: 100-101) or dyeing activities (Gorny 2006: 36). Another explanation is possible: textile fibres, both wool, flax or hemp, need to be prepared for the process of spinning. Wool is usually washed to remove impurities, while flax undergoes a retting process, which consists in separating the fibre bundles from the woody parts of the stalks (Andersson Strand 2012a: 26). This can either be done by water retting, where the plant stems are soaked in lakes, rivers or waterlogged pits, or by field retting, where the stems are laid out in a field (Andersen, Karg 2011). Whichever might have been the function of plastered pits, it had probable to do with textile activities. However, if spinning (and maybe fibre preparation) is well documented, weaving does not seem to be a priority at the site, unless we consider pierced reworked sherds as loom weights. Ross *et al.* (2019: 36) suggests that, though produced textiles could have been made for local consumption, it is also possible that Çadır may have become a regional centre for textile production thanks supposedly to its copious supplies of animals and access to trade routes.

Gordion

The site of Gordion is located in central-west Turkey, at the juncture of the Pursuk and Sakarya rivers (Voigt 2011: 1069). It is composed of three topographic zones: Yassihöyük, known in reports as Citadel Mound or City Mound, the Lower Town and the Outer Town (Voigt 2011: 1070). After being identified as the ancient Gordion by the Körte brothers at the end of the 19th century CE, extensive excavations directed by R. S. Young were carried there between 1950 and 1973, and by K. DeVries and G. K. Sams between 1988 and 2006, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (Voigt 2011: 1073; Voigt, Henrickson 2000: 37). A new phase of investigation began in 2012 (Rose 2017: 137).

Late Bronze Age (YHSS 8-9) textile traditions are documented by:

- 16 spindle whorls (Fig. 13) - conical, truncated conical and biconical - found as burial equipment in the Old Hittite cemetery of Gordion (Mellink 1956: Pl.24), a practise attested for the same period at Boğazköy;⁸
- 21 unpublished spindle whorls, dated to the Late Bronze Age or to the Early Iron Age (Burke 2007: 64);
- loom weights found at Gordion in 'nearly every occupation level' (Burke 2007: 67).

Right above Late Bronze Age deposits lie Early Iron Age strata (YHSS 7, 1200 – 950 BC). There was no evidence of any significant hiatus, but every aspect of material culture changed between the two periods (Voigt 2011: 1077). Voigt and Henrickson (2000: 46) suggest that these changes were the result of the arrival of a new group at the site, probably Phrygian speakers, given the continuity with the following Early Phrygian period, where the ethnicity is documented by inscribed materials. Three buildings on the Citadel Mound, Megara 6, 7 and 8, dated to the beginning of the Early Iron Age, contained cooking installations and equipment related to cloth production (Burke 2005: 70).

With the Middle Iron Age / Early Phrygian period (YHSS 6, 950 – 800 BC) it is possible to trace at Gordion the formation of a Phrygian state (Voigt, Henrickson 2000: 46), corresponding to a massive building program (Voigt 2011: 1078). At the time, the town was a walled settlement with an élite complex that included megara and an elevated terrace with an industrial complex (Kealhofer, Grave 2011: 429). Textile tools have been discovered in megara, probably used as residence by an emerging Phrygian elite (Voigt, Henrickson 2000: 49):

- 25 spindle whorls and a significant number of loom weights in the main room of Megaron 4, along the rear wall (Burke 2005: 70);
- spindle whorls in a storeroom of Megaron 1 (DeVries 1990: 383);
- 75 doughnut-shaped loom weights behind Megaron 4, in a storeroom (Burke 2005: 70);
- an unbaked clay doughnut-shaped loom weight in Megaron 7 (DeVries 1990: 377);
- an unbaked clay doughnut-shaped loom weight in Megaron 11 (DeVries 1990: 383).

To the west of the élite complex there was a high terrace with an industrial quarter, consisting of two buildings of approximately 100m long, the Terrace Building to the east and the Clay Cut Building to the west, which faced each other across a broad street. Each was divided in megara units, with an anteroom and an inner room (Rose 2017: 154; Voigt 2011: 1081). The complex housed cooking installations, often in the anteroom, grinding platforms along the back wall of the main room and a large number of textile tools (Fig. 14) (Burke 2005: 72):

- more than 1000 spindle whorls. The samples, mostly asymmetrical and biconical, do not show signs of distinctive decoration (Fig. 15). Their weight ranges from 'very light (less than 10 g) to so large that some could have functioned as light loom weights (about 100 g or more)'. The broad range of weight suggests that different qualities of thread might have been produced (Burke 2005: 74-76);
- at least 2750 doughnut-shaped loom weights have been identified, in addition to other shapes (Burke 2005: 75-76). The doughnut-shaped type (Fig. 16) is similar to Middle Iron Age samples from Alişar, Boğazköy, Kuşaklı, and Uşaklı Höyük. One or two rows of weights have occasionally been found in the Terrace Buildings suggesting that the loom was still standing at the time of destruction (Burke 2005: 76);
- iron needles in different shapes and sizes (Burke 2005: 79);
- bronze and iron knives (Burke 2005: 79);
- a wooden comb (Burke 2005: 78).

Around 800 BC, Gordion suffered a destruction by fire. During the Middle Phrygian phase (YHSS 5, 800 – 540 BC), the Citadel Mound was rebuilt: all the area was levelled off and rebuilt replicating the Early Phrygian élite quarter. However, most of the buildings have been robbed, so we have little evidence in situ (Voigt 2011: 1082).

⁸ Under the floor of a building in the area of the Haus am Hang, four skeletons of adults have been uncovered (Old Hittite period, phase NW Hang 7). Two objects linked to textile activities lied with the bodies: a needle and a spindle whorl (Schirmer 1969: 29).

From this review it is possible to examine Gordion textile activities (Tab. 3). In Late Bronze Age domestic contexts, a few stratified textile-related artefacts have been uncovered, as opposed to those quite well documented from the Old Hittite cemetery. The practise of leaving spindle whorls among the burial equipment is also attested in one unique example at Boğazköy (Schirmer 1969: 29).

With the collapse of the Hittite Empire, Gordion may have been briefly abandoned, but soon reoccupied (Voigt 2011: 1087). According to Voigt (2011: 1077), every aspect of material culture changes. Considering the poor evidence for the Late Bronze Age, it is not possible to say to which extent textile activities underwent a change between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC. Early Iron Age settlers are said to be “Phrygian”, given the continuity with the succeeding Early Phrygian period where ethnicity is documented by inscribed materials (Voigt, Henrickson 2000: 46). Textile tools have been discovered in three Early Iron Age buildings on the Citadel Mound, together with cooking tools and installations. During the Middle Iron Age at Gordion, the main centre of the dawning Phrygian political entity, considerable quantities of spindle whorls and loom weights have been recorded from the Terrace Complex. Given the variety of sizes and weights, they should have generated a wide range of products perhaps even knotted carpets, pictured in the pebble mosaics of Megaron 2 (Burke 2005: 80). The production of fabrics and cloths was probably managed and supervised by the ruling class and by the élite of the nearby residential quarter (Burke 2010: 172). Their uses were various: clothes as medium of exchange, as luxury goods, heavy-duty clothes for Phrygian military (Burke 2005: 80; Burke 2010: 150-152).

Kaman-Kalehöyük

The site of Kaman-Kalehöyük is located in the Kırşehir province, 100km southeast of Ankara. Excavations, started in 1986 under the direction of S. Omura, were sponsored by the Middle Eastern Culture in Japan and are still ongoing. The site was occupied from the Early Bronze Age to the Ottoman period (Omura 2011: 1095-1096).

The Late Bronze Age is designated as Stratum IIIb-a, where IIIb indicates for the Old Hittite period and IIIa the Hittite Empire period. However, similarly to the case of Alişar, it is not clear whether the site was occupied during the Empire period or not (Genz, Mielke 2011: 7). Furthermore, objects and artefacts described in preliminary reports have been dated to the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age, without distinction. Nevertheless, textile tools are attested:

- five terracotta spindle whorls have been found, but it is not possible to specify the context. Spindle whorls are decorated with incised lines. Different shapes are recorded: globular, biconical irregular and convex (Omura 2006: 27, Figs 66-67; Omura 2008: 19, Figs 20-22);
- three copper needles (Omura 2008: 19).

The Early Iron Age phase (Stratum IIc, 11th – 9th centuries BC) is characterised by two types of structures: single-room half-basement houses with bench made of sun-dried mudbricks attached to the walls, and ground level rooms with stone foundation that almost reaches the outer floor level (Matsumura 2008: 41; Omura 2011: 1101). One single-room house has yielded ten uncooked clay weights, found on a bench made of mudbrick (Omura 2012: 450). The function of the bench is not clear: it might maybe have been used as a space to place vessels or other objects (Omura 2011: 1101).

Architectural remains from the Middle Iron Age (Stratum IIc and IIa 6) are similar to those from the previous Early Iron Age phase (Omura 2006: 55). Three decorated spindle whorls have been found: two made of terracotta (Fig. 17), with convex shape, flat bottom and hollow top (Omura 2007: Figs 35-36) and one made of stone, hemispherical and with flat top (Omura 2007: Fig. 21).

Little can be said about Kaman-Kalehöyük textile production between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC. Faunal analysis on caprines of the Late Bronze Age phase shows pastoral strategies aimed at obtaining wool (Hongo 2003). Nevertheless, occasional tools attest textile activities: spindle whorls, all but one made of terracotta, and ten clay loom weights. The shape of the latter, discovered in an Early Iron Age context, is unfortunately not recorded.

Kuşaklı - Šarišša

The site of Kuşaklı is located in the province of Sivas, at an altitude of 1650m above sea level (Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe 2013: 220). The site was excavated between 1992 and 2004 by A. Müller-Karpe (Mielke 2011: 1042). The settlement was a city that did not evolve from an earlier settlement, but was founded in the 16th century BC. It was destroyed by fire in the 13th century BC, fell to ruin with the decline of the Hittite Empire (Müller-Karpe, Müller-Karpe 2013: 220) and was gradually abandoned.

According to Müller-Karpe (2017: 71) widespread textile activities are attested in the settlement during the Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by the various stone and terracotta spindle whorls scattered in almost all the excavation areas. Reworked sherds, more or less accurately shaped and provided with a central hole, are recorded. Except for this conspicuous documentation, loom weights are rare. Textile production seems to be well attested at Kuşaklı. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain additional information regarding the artefacts and their contexts. At that time, the settlement included both a residential area and an acropolis with temples and stores. The exact collocation of the tools would shed a new light on fibre working during the Hittite period. It could be interesting indeed if textile-related artefacts were found in religious contexts, an association documented to a limited extent only at Boğazköy.

Building E, part of the temple complex most probably dedicated to the god of the storm, has returned biconical terracotta spindle whorls (Arnhold, von den Driesch 2009: 116, Pl.37 no 5) and reworked sherds most of which broken during drilling (Fig. 18) (Arnhold and von den Driesch 2009: 117, Pl.37 no 6-8). These textile tools were part of the refuse soil which had been deposited after the phase of use of the building (Arnhold, von den Driesch 2009: 136).

The site was newly occupied by a small settlement from the end of the 7th century BC, during the Middle Iron Age (Powroznik 2010: 235). In houses from this phase, with different sizes but similar plan (Powroznik 2010: 20-21), some textile tools have been found:

- five biconical spindle whorls, of which one in stone (Powroznik 2010: 222, Pl.7, no 10) and four in terracotta, with similar diameter and weight (Powroznik 2010: 220, Pl.7, no 3-6);
- one doughnut-shape loom weight of 226g and one spherical loom weight of 466g (Fig. 19) (Powroznik 2010: 221, Pl.7, no 1-2).

As a newly founded city, Kuşaklı offers an interesting point of view for this research. As a matter of fact, textile production in this site might be an authentic expression of Hittite traditions. Many stone and terracotta spindle whorls are attested in almost all excavation areas, as well as reworked sherds. In particular, building E, which is part of the temple complex, has returned terracotta biconical spindle whorls (Arnhold and von den Driesch 2009: 116, Pl.37 no 5), which are similar to those found at Boğazköy. Loom weights are rare in the site, a peculiarity which reminds of the Late Bronze Age situation at Boğazköy. The Middle Iron Age textile tools found in domestic contexts are biconical spindles whorls and two loom weights, like those used in the same period at Alişar, Boğazköy, Gordion and Uşaklı Höyük.

Uşaklı Höyük⁹

The site of Uşaklı Höyük is located in the province of Yozgat, in the south-western part of a plain delimited in the north by the Eğri Öz Dere river and in the south by Mount Kerkenes (Mazzoni *et al.* 2010: 118). Between 2008 and 2012 it was the subject of a survey led by S. Mazzoni of the University of Florence and co-directed by A. D'Agostino of the University of Pisa. Excavation work began in 2013 and continues today as joint project between Florence, Pisa, Siena and Bozok/Yozgat Universities. Materials out of context indicate an occupation as early as the end of the 3rd millennium BC (Mazzoni *et al.* 2018: 69). The major phase of occupation of the site can be dated

⁹ The sample taken here into account comes from selected Late Bronze Age and Iron Age contexts. Although this sample can be representative of the local production, the results which follow should be considered to be preliminary.

to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC (Mazzoni *et al.* 2010: 118). The reference contexts to discuss Late Bronze Age textile activities at the site are two monumental Hittite buildings.

Located in the south-eastern part of the lower city (Area A) Building II, probably a temple, consists of multiple rooms and large courtyards, of which only the base and the foundations are preserved. The construction technique and a few cult materials found in the accumulation levels have helped in dating the monumental structure to the Late Bronze Age. Apparently it shows no traces of destruction, but it seems to have been abandoned, dismantled for a long period of time and eroded by recent agricultural activities. It also shows evidence of occupation during the Iron Age and the Roman period, perhaps linked to the activity of block extraction (Mazzoni *et al.* 2018: 69-70; Mazzoni *et al.* 2019: 70). The area of the temple has returned some reworked sherds. If they are to be interpreted as textile tools residual of the main phase of use of the building, their presence in a temple context may be due to the need to produce textiles and fabrics for cultural purposes or for private use for the temple staff. It is important to remember that the temple has undergone an emptying process that may have affected the distribution of textile tools.

Built on an artificial terrace on the southern slope of the mound (Area D), Building III, probably a palace, does not seem to have gone through phases of reuse or alterations, but it is the result of a single construction project. The building was emptied of all contents, abandoned and then destroyed by a conflagration (D'Agostino 2020). In a collapsed layer, a fragment of a crescent loom weight has been found, while a reworked sherd has been discovered in the layer just above the destruction level of the palace. This lack of evidence can probably be due to the removal of all contents from the building, but it is also important to consider that it was probably the seat of administrative, political and economic power, not necessarily linked to textile production.

It seems that the conflagration did not discourage a new settlement, as demonstrated by Early Iron Age pits set on the levelled remains of the palace (Mazzoni *et al.* 2019: 64). From this point, the archaeological evidence that attests textile activities comes from the Middle Iron Age, to which belong some pits (Orsi 2020: 282). The following textile tools have been recorded:

- two biconical terracotta spindle whorls both with 23g weight from the refilling of pit 330;
- a conical unbaked clay loom weight grooved at the top and a doughnut-shaped unbaked clay loom weight from the refilling of pit 355;
- two spherical unbaked clay loom weights and one unbaked clay doughnut-shaped loom weight from the refilling of pit 320;
- two unbaked clay doughnut-shaped loom weights from the pit cut 357;

Other tools found in the Iron Age strata cannot be dated with certainty: five terracotta and stone spindle whorls (four biconical, one globular), three bone needles and reworked sherds. A group of textile tools comes from the south-eastern slope of the tell. However, they are difficult to date, having been found in the artificially accumulated soil that constitutes the embankment of the defensive system of the Iron Age citadel, dated between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC.

On the basis of the current documentation, it is not possible to draw a picture about Late Bronze Age textile activities at Uşaklı Höyük. Both Building II and Building III have undergone an emptying process that may have affected the distribution of textile tools, but it is also possible that the two buildings were not necessarily places of performance of textile crafts.¹⁰

Middle Iron Age textile tools provide us with a better knowledge (Fig. 20). Doughnut-shaped and spherical loom weights are comparable with the evidence of contemporary material from the sites of the central plateau such as Alişar, Boğazköy, Gordion and Kuşaklı, while biconical and globular spindle whorls are similar to those found at Boğazköy and Kuşaklı. It is not clear the function of the pits in which textile tools have been found, they could be interpreted as working areas or as refuse pits.

¹⁰ Note that reworked sherds are attested both in the foundation levels of Building III and from the test sounding below Building II foundations, which have yielded materials dated to the Late Bronze Age (Mazzoni *et al.* 2019; Orsi 2018; Orsi 2020). A detailed study of Uşaklı Höyük's reworked sherds, however, is still in progress.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this work was to include textile tools in the archaeological debate concerning the problem of continuity or innovation with respect to the Hittite tradition in the transition period between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC. Having examined tools and contexts on the single settlements, it is now possible to draw some conclusions.

The first important remark concerns the impossibility of considering typological variations of the spindle whorls as dating elements. Even if settlements such as Boğazköy, Kuşaklı and Uşaklı show a preference for biconical and globular spindle whorls in the Middle Iron Age, this peculiarity cannot be considered typical for all central Anatolia settlements in that specific chronological phase. Each site has its own peculiarities, different types of spindle whorls coexist through time. From the picture here traced it is possible to notice the prevalence of terracotta spindle whorls (with the exception of Late Bronze Age Boğazköy), as opposed to the Syrian-Palestinian area, where the favourite materials are stone and bone (Peyronel 2004).

The second remark concerns loom weights. Late Bronze Age weaving traditions are curiously poor documented in central Anatolia. Few loom weights have been recorded for example at Boğazköy and Kuşaklı, where spinning activities are instead well attested. We cannot exclude the knowledge of technologies which do not usually leave trace in the archaeological record such as the horizontal ground-loom and the vertical two-beam loom, known in the same period both in Egypt and in the Syrian-Palestinian area (Barber 1991: 124-125). Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify 'not weighted looms' remains during excavations, a problem which complicates the discussion (Cecchini 2000: 213).

Early Iron Age weaving traditions, here documented only in three sites, are quite interesting. Çadır and Kaman-Kalehöyük attest for the first time the use of unbaked clay loom weights, but their shape is unfortunately not recorded for either sites. At Boğazköy terracotta spools have been found at Early Iron Age Büyükaya. As already mentioned, we are dealing with objects whose function is not clear. Experimental archaeology has demonstrated that spools may have been used as loom weights, thread holders (bobbins), weights in tablet weaving (Siennicka, Ulanowska 2016: 25-27). Spools have also been found in Siro-Palestinian contexts from the beginning of the Iron Age (Cecchini 2000: 216). Cecchini (2000: 216-217) states that, if we accept the use of spools as loom weights, we can assume the introduction in Syria and the reintroduction in Palestine of the warp-weighted loom from the Iron Age I, thanks to the arrival of foreign peoples (Cecchini 2011: 195). People involved in these migration movements may have brought with them their textile technology, of which spools were part. Since spools were in use in the Aegean throughout the Bronze Age (Spinazzi-Lucchesi 2018: 67), a western origin for this new weaving technology should not to be excluded. One may wonder if the terracotta spools found at Alişar, which have been ascribed to the Hittite Empire period (with all difficulties connected with the interpretation of the 2nd millennium BC at the site), could be the evidence of movements of new communities in central Anatolia.

In the Middle Iron Age, a new shift in weaving technology was marked by the appearance of spherical and doughnut-shaped loom weights made of raw or slightly cooked clay, with a large central hole and heavy weight. These loom weights, innovative elements compared to the previous local or regional tradition, have been recorded from the Middle Iron Age at Alişar, Boğazköy, Gordion, Kuşaklı, Uşaklı, and were known, together with spherical loom weights, in the Syrian-Palestinian area since the beginning of the Iron II Period (Spinazzi-Lucchesi 2018: 67).

The third remark regards the production organization in central Anatolia between the 12nd and the 1st millennium BC. Textile activities, as defined by the archaeological documentation, seem to be mainly based on a private production system, in which the final product is destined for private consumption for family members (it can be said that producer and consumer "live under the same roof"), or alternatively aimed at a short-range trade circuit. Textile tools found in palaces or temples are rare. Their being located in official buildings could indicate a production system subject to a centralised control, but also a sort of private production for the palace and the temple staff. A new system appears at the beginning of the Iron Age, exemplified by Çadır and Boğazköy. In both sites

the great quantity of spindle whorls, often in association with pits, suggests a wider production instead of a simple domestic context. It seems that with the collapse of the Hittite Empire the inhabitants adapted to a new situation, experiencing new economic and technological strategies based on local resources (Ross *et al.* 2019: 19). At the present state of research, there are no trace of industrial, well-structured “complexes” specialised in the production of fabrics and textiles at least before the Middle Iron Age at Gordion. Not even in Late Bronze Age Boğazköy, the administrative, economic, political and religious heart of the Hittite empire, such structures are documented. This can only mean that textile production was not considered a sufficiently profitable activity and that the economic strength of the capital was found in the storage and management of cereals (or cereal products), as evidenced by the large fortified granary of Büyükkaya, by the complex of silos between the Lower City and Büyükkale and by the storages of the Great Temple.

In conclusion we can say that it is not always easy or possible to recognise different kind of textile organisation, since it is sometimes difficult to find detailed information on finding contexts. Furthermore, it is not possible to hypothesise which of the two textile fibres, flax or wool, was the most widespread on the plateau. Textile fragments are rarely been preserved in Anatolian contexts and the tools testify without distinction spinning and weaving of flax as well as wool.

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Table 1: Textile tools types and contexts from Alişar Höyük.

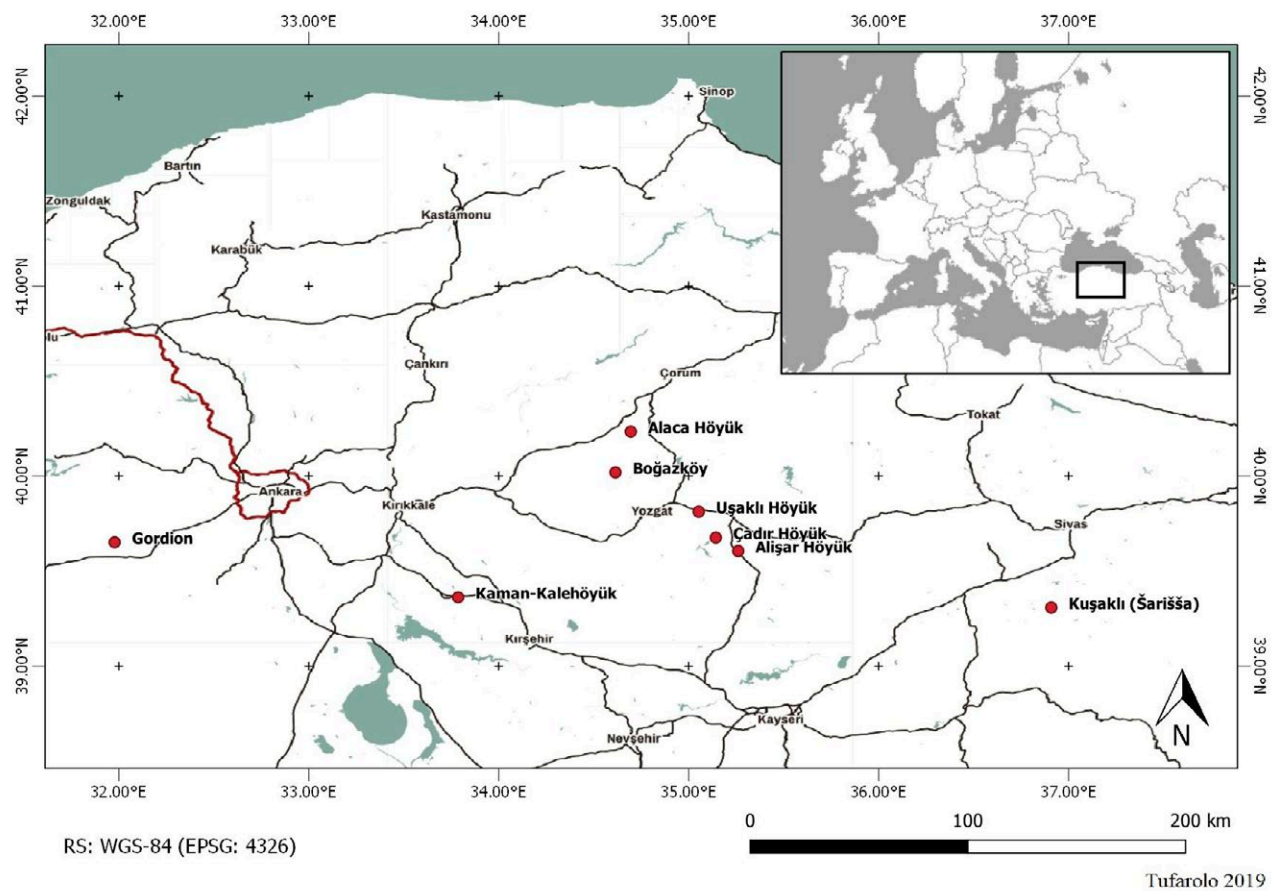
Textile Tools	Hittite Empire		Iron Age	
	Context			
	Not specified	Domestic	Not specified	
Loom weights	•	•	•	
Spindle whorls	•	•	•	
Needles	•		•	
Reworked sherds	•		•	
Spatulae	•			
Spindle shafts	•			
Spools	•		•	
Weaving shuttles	•			

Tab. 2 Textile tools types and contexts from Boğazköy.

Textile Tools	Hittite Empire			Early Iron Age	Middle Iron Age
	Context				
	Unterstadt	Great Temple	Büyükkale	Büyükkaya	Büyükkaya
Loom weights				•	•
Spindle whorls	•		•	•	•
Needles	•	•	•		
Reworked sherds					
Spatulae					
Spindle shafts	•		•		
Spools				•	
Weaving shuttles	•		•		

Tab. 3 Textile tools types and contexts from Gordion.

Textile Tools	Hittite Empire		Early Iron Age		Middle Iron Age	
	Not specified	Megara	Not Specified	Megara	Terrace Complex	
Loom weights	•	?		•		•
Spindle whorls	?	?	•	•		•
Needles						•
Reworked sherds						
Spatulae						
Spindle shafts						
Spools						
Weaving shuttles						
Other Tools						•

**Fig. 1:** Map of Central Anatolia with sites discussed in the text (by E. Tufarolo, basemap from Maps © www.thunderforest.com, Data © www.osm.org/copyright).

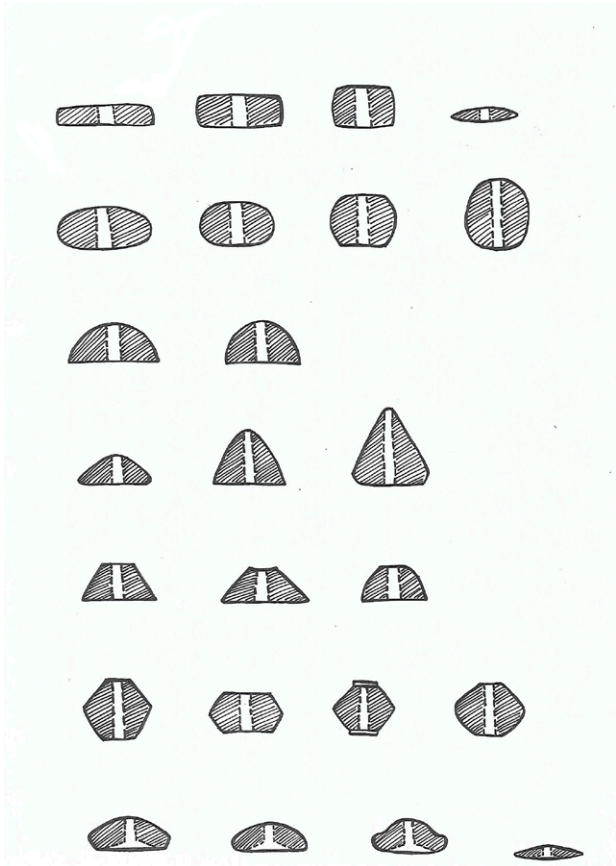


Fig. 2: Spindle whorls typology (drawing from the author) From top to bottom: discoïdal, globular/spherical, hemispherical, conical, truncated conical, biconical, convex. Anatolia has been assumed to have been a low-whorl territory (Barber 1991: 63), with the spindle whorl fastened near the bottom of the shaft (Barber 1991: 43) Here the examples with the flat surface are thus displayed upside down.

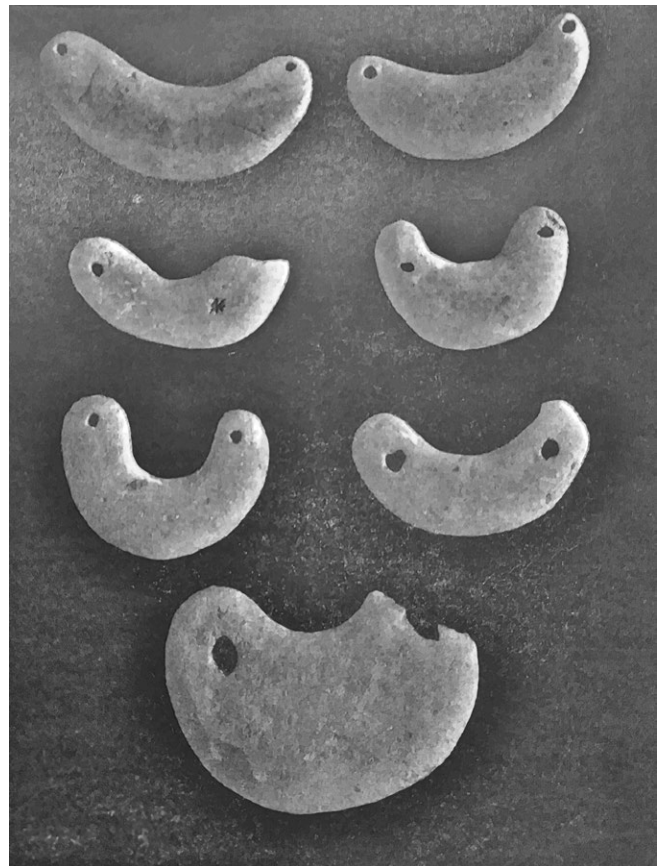


Fig. 3: Crescent loom weights from the Hittite layers, Alaca Höyük (Koşay 1951: Pl. LXXXIX Fig.1).

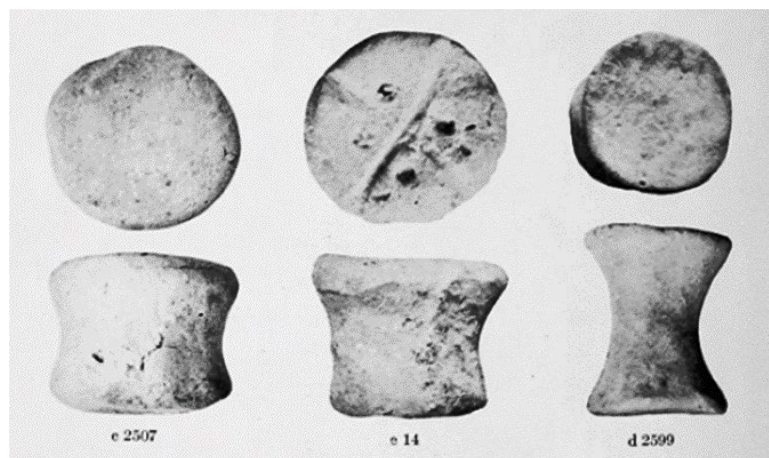


Fig. 4 Terracotta spools from the Hittite Empire, Alişar Höyük (modified from von der Osten 1937b: 282, Fig.307).

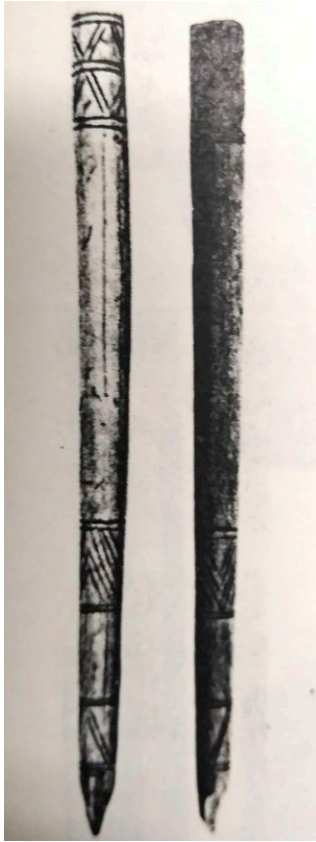


Fig. 9: A decorated ivory spindle shaft from Hittite Empire phase layers at Büyükkale (BK IIIb-a), Boğazköy (modified from Boehmer 1972: 196-197, Pl.LXXIII no 2046).

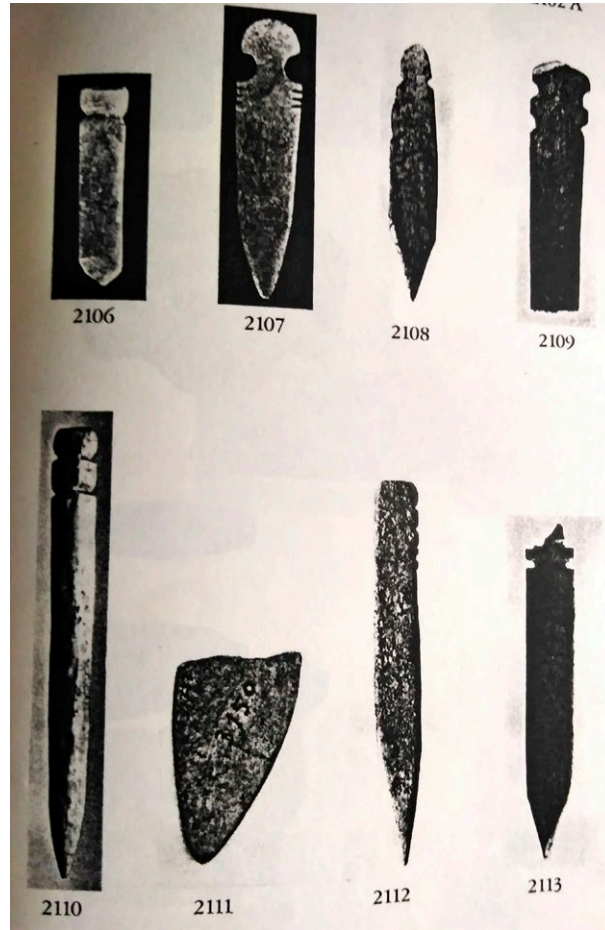


Fig. 10: Six bone weaving shuttles from Hittite Empire phase layers at Büyükkale (BK IIIb-a), Boğazköy (modified from Boehmer 1972: 201, Pl.LXXV no 2106-2111).

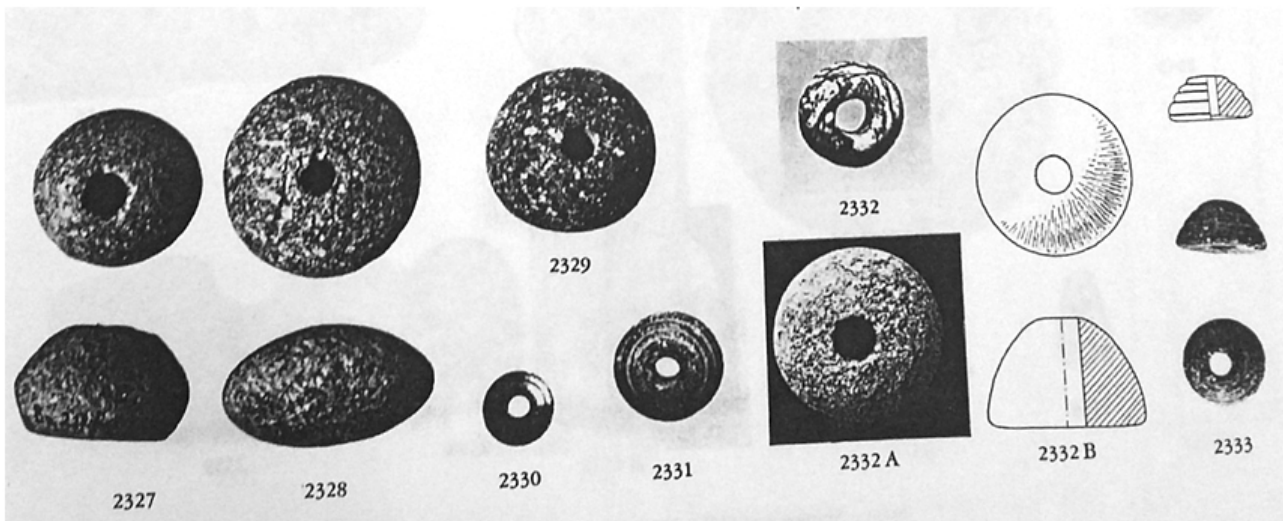


Fig. 11: Stone spindle whorls from Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Boğazköy (modified from Boehmer 1973, Pl.XCIII).



Fig. 12: A clay loom weight from Early Iron Age phase at Çadır Höyük (Ross 2010, Fig.7).

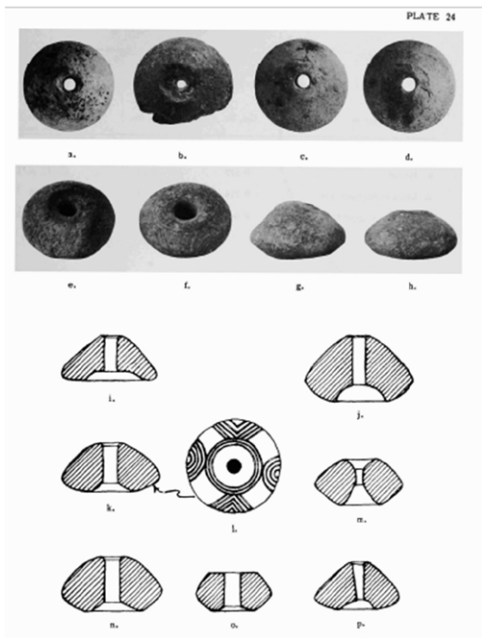


Fig. 13: Spindle whorls from Old Hittite Cemetery at Gordion (Mellink 1956; Pl.24).

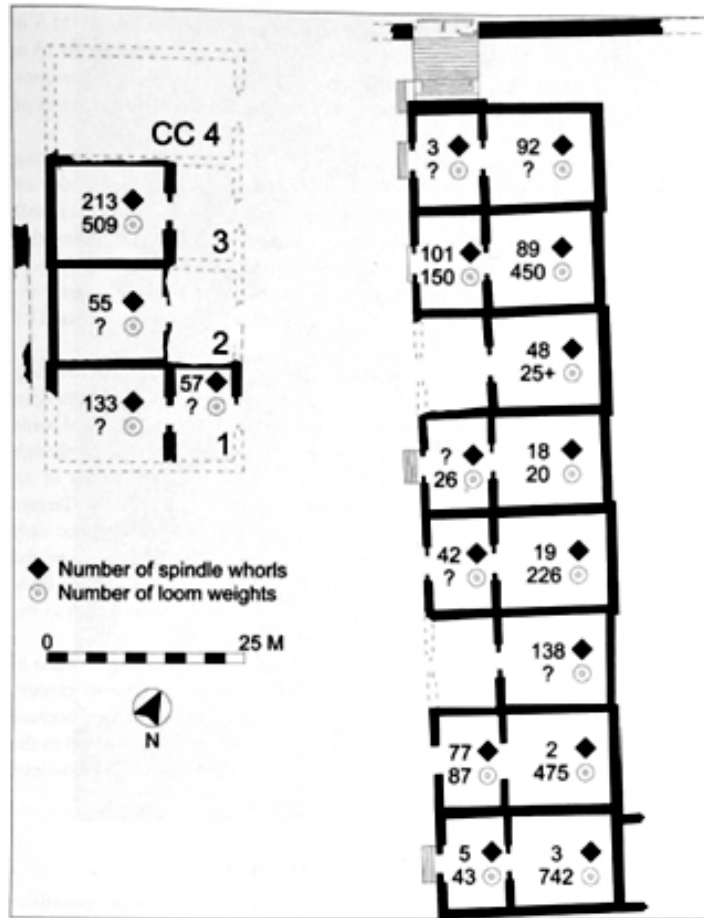


Fig. 14: Terrace Building and Clay Cut Building with notation of textile tools (Burke 2005: 71, Fig. 6-2).

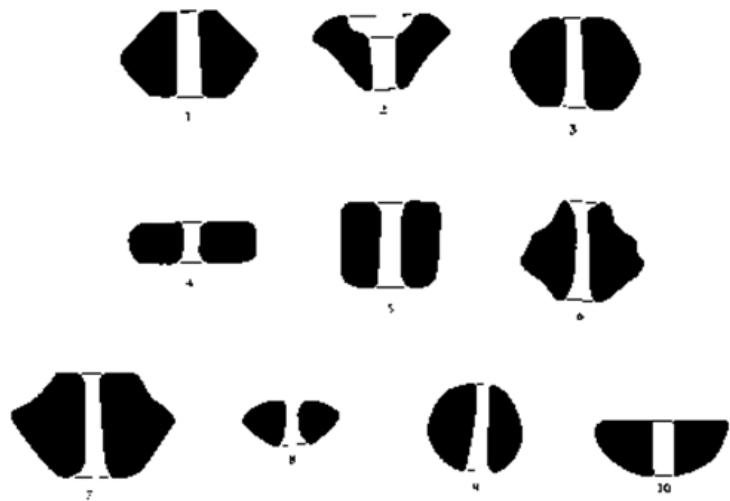


Fig. 15: Spindle whorls typology from Early Phrygian phase Gordion (Burke 2005: 74, Fig.6-4).

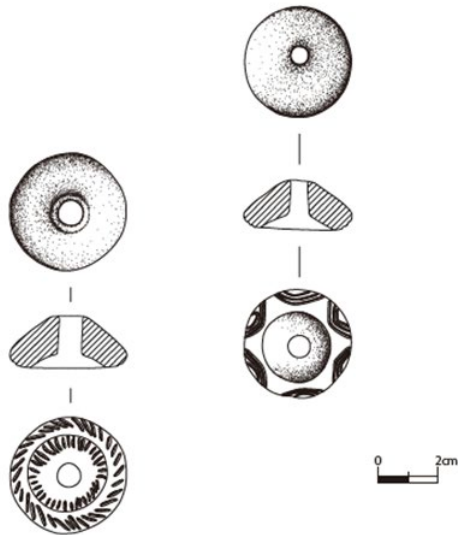


Fig. 17: Convex spindle whorls from Middle Iron Age Kaman-Kalehöyük (Omura 2007: Fig.35-36).



Fig. 16: Doughnut-shaped loom weights from Early Phrygian phase Gordion (Burke 2005: 75, Fig.6-5).

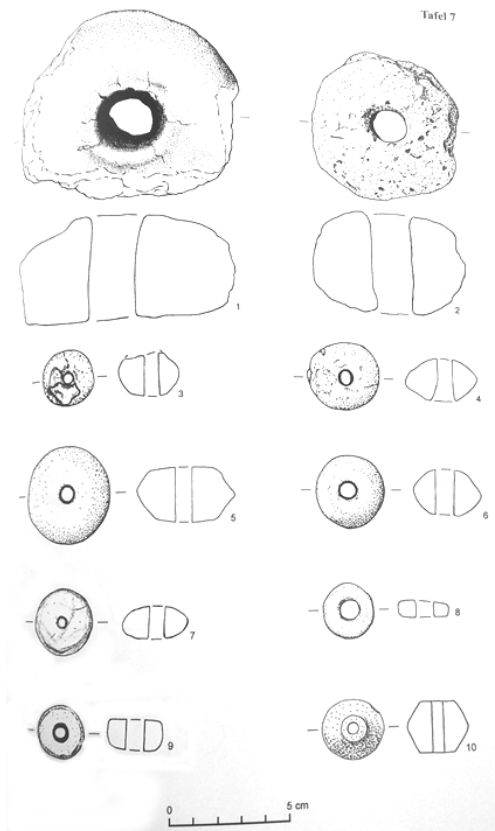


Fig. 19: Two unbaked clay loom weights and spindle whorls from Middle Iron Age Kuşaklı Höyük (Powroznik 2010: Pl.7).

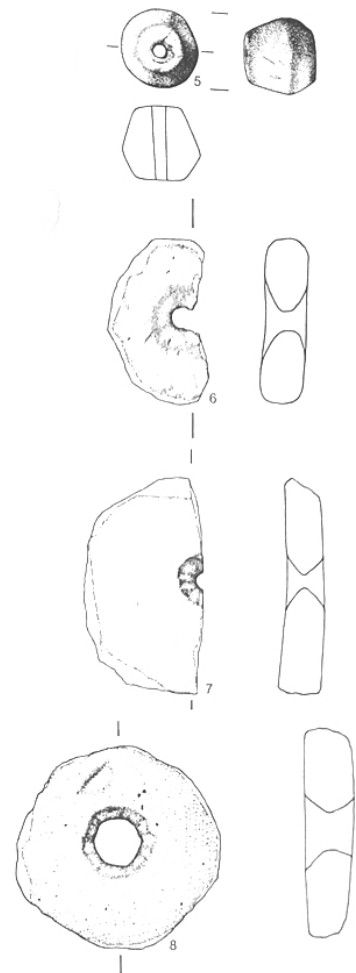


Fig. 18: Spindle whorl and reworked sherds from Building E, Late Bronze Age Kuşaklı Höyük (modified from Arnhold, von den Driesch 2009: Pl.37).

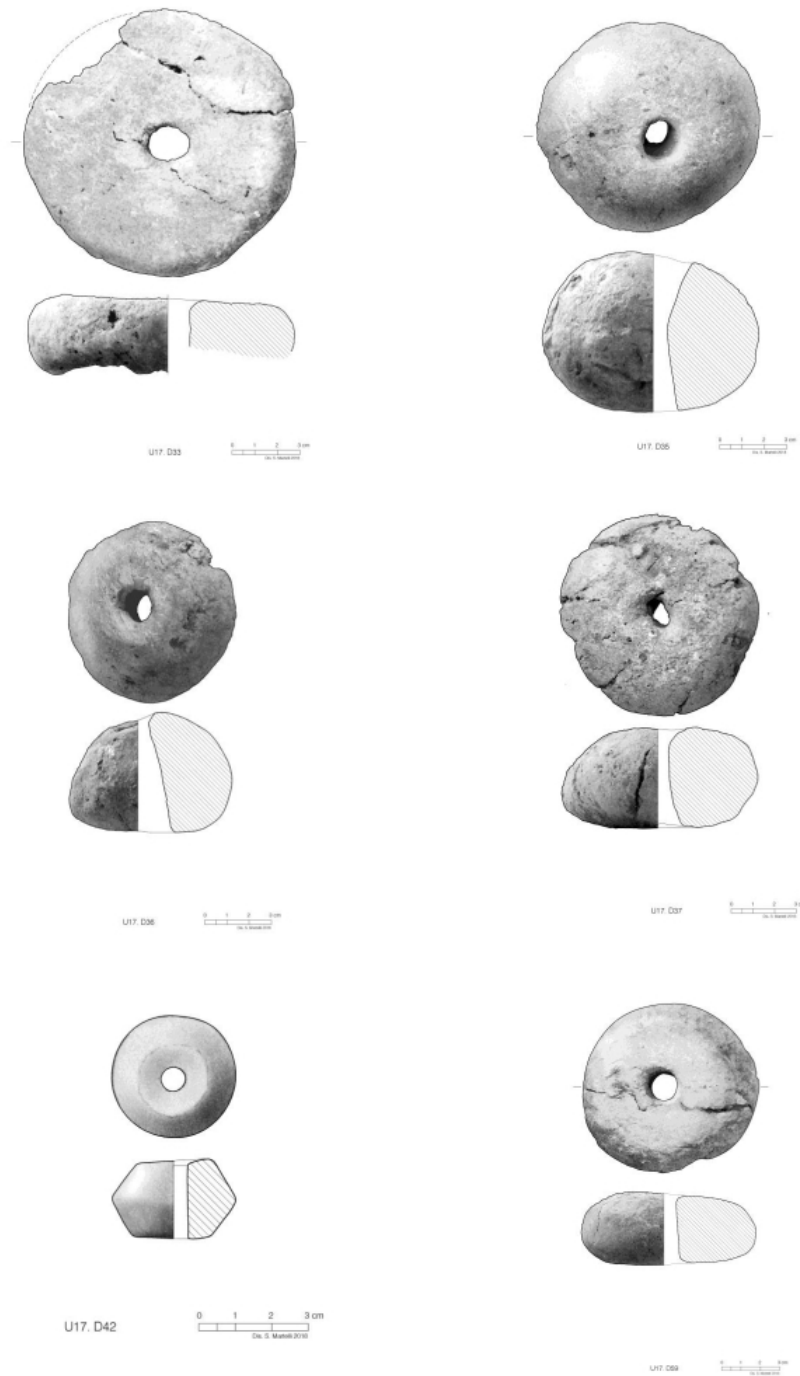


Fig. 20: Some textile tools from Uşaklı Höyük Middle Iron Age pits (Archive of the Uşaklı Höyük Archaeological Project).



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How to Cope with the Dead in Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology. New Sources, Approaches, and Comparative Perspectives in the Light of a Recent Publication

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Abstract. Death remains a fascinating and challenging issue for archaeological research. Sometimes, however, it is astonishing how rationally and unemotionally archaeologists and anthropologists approach it. They take human remains and everything that surrounds them just like any other archaeological data set. Following the maxim “the dead do not bury themselves”, they mainly ask about for the social and political background of burials and funerary practices, and they try to reconstruct funerary rituals. Other questions that relate to the essential human experience of death rarely appear on the research agenda. In this respect, the recently published proceedings of an international workshop held in Florence in 2013 help me review the different approaches of ancient Near Eastern archaeologists and philologists who deal with phenomena of death and burial. Since the promising title of the book, published in 2016, is “How to Cope with Death” (in the ancient Near East), it will address the methodological question how to cope with death in Ancient Near Eastern archaeology. After a discussion centered on the papers collected in this volume (see appendix), the perspective will be enlarged by a refined look at the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments.

Keywords. Archaeology, dead, ancestor, funerary monument.

Under the title “How to Cope with Dead – Mourning and Funerary Practices in the Ancient Near East”, the proceedings of the international workshop held in Florence in 2013 and published in 2016 collect thirteen stimulating papers and an introduction by the editor, Candida Felli.¹ The authors gathered in this book are Adriano Favole, Alfonso Archi, Anne

¹ For the book’s contents, see the appendix. For the convenience of this article and the reader, references to the authors and their contributions will be made following this list of contents and not in the separate bibliography.

Löhnert, Andrea Kucharek, Candida Felli, Edgar Peltenburg, Anne Porter, Glenn Schwartz, Stefano Valentini, Peter Pfälzner, Joyce Nassar, Arkadiusz Soltysiak, and, in a joint article, Jennie Bradbury and Graham Philip. Their focus is on archaeological and textual data from the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC. The only exception is the article by Favole, which presents an anthropological perspective on contemporary funerary rituals in Italy and France. The geographic range covers mainly Syria, but also includes two comparative perspectives on textual sources on mourning and lament from Ancient Egypt (Kucharek) and Mesopotamian Nippur (Löhnert).

Despite this geographic and chronological limitation, the compilation of the case studies is rather eclectic. This is not due to the negligence of the editor but is a general problem in the “archaeology of death and burial”, which depends mostly on chance finds. Archaeological research projects usually start with perspectives and strategies that do not include the aim to excavate burials, tombs, or cemeteries. Yet, as soon as these appear, they attract multilateral attention. Their investigation demands a significant investment of time and a specialized work crew, and sometimes they shift the project’s research agenda in a completely new direction. For example, the unexpected discovery of the royal hypogeum in Qatna (Pfälzner) came as a real surprise, strongly affecting research interests in Qatna and beyond. The same goes for the elite tombs in Tell Jerablus Tahtani and Gre Virike (Peltenburg), Tell Banat (Porter), and Umm el-Marra (Schwartz) and for the vaulted hypogea in Tell Barri (Valentini). They significantly influenced the interests of their excavators and ended up making them specialists in a field they probably did not consider entering at the beginning of their projects. Hence, the “archaeology of death and burial” is a research field with sudden finds and alterations that can occur with every new and unexpected discovery. It is a field without a defined methodology or common research strategy, unlike “landscape archaeology” or “settlement history”, for example. What instead is typical of the “archaeology of death and burial” and is very well reflected in the book is the unavoidable multidisciplinary approach. The sources addressed in “How to Cope with Dead” are texts, tomb architectures and monuments, grave goods such as pottery, figurines, and organic materials, iconographic objects, human remains, and landscapes. It would normally require a group of specialized researchers to cover all these source categories with sufficient expertise, but it also is normal that not every burial context is equipped with or connected to all these specialties. Hence, it remains a serious challenge to interpolate where evidence is missing and links to certain categories, especially texts, are highly speculative.

The authors and especially the editor of the book have all these critical points in mind. The individual papers may be case studies, but their overall benefit is the focus on key topics and terms, which indeed reflect the state of the art and which can be seen as a successful approach to shape the “archaeology of death and burial” in continuation of Mike Parker Pearson’s seminal book that introduced this field to a broader audience (Parker Pearson 1999). In the following, I briefly comment on the most salient research topics of this approach:

- the visibility and accessibility of funerary/mortuary monuments;
- mourning practices;
- the “collective representation of death” (after Robert Hertz);
- the intermediate phases of burial and the dead, and the problem of secondary burial;
- concepts of embodied identity and fractal personhood;
- the dead playing a critical role in the negotiation of political power;
- the landscape of death and mourning practices.

1. THE VISIBILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY OF FUNERARY/MORTUARY MONUMENTS

Recent investigations in the Middle Euphrates region and the Jabbul plain of western Syria yielded new evidence of the differentiation of grave types and monuments during the earlier part and middle of the 3rd millennium BC. Variations in the monumentality, visibility, and accessibility of the tombs excavated in Gre Virike, Tell Jerablus Tahtani, Tell Banat, Tell Ahmar, Tell Umm al-Marra, and Ebla point to a distinct separation between private and public, individual and collective, and intramural vs. extramural burials. They reflect processes of social

segregation, stratification, and elite building in a “zone of uncertainty” (Peltenburg) that shifted between urbanism and tribalism. The accessible tombs, burials under palaces (Ebla), and rock-cut shaft graves anticipated the hypogea and subterranean vaulted tombs of the Middle Bronze Age II. These grave architectures and their location under palaces and houses clearly mark the importance of collective burials in contrast to individual graves, which all are found outside these areas.

2. MOURNING PRACTICES

A central topic in the book that definitely relates to its title “How to Cope with Dead” is mourning practices. We owe thanks to the editor who brought up this topic and to other authors (Archi, Kucharek, Löhnert, Pfälzner, Porter) who focused on it in their contributions, because it opens the discussion to a field that, as mentioned above, archaeologists and philologists of the ancient Near East have so far rarely touched upon. Textual sources from the Early Bronze to the Iron Age (collected by Archi and Felli) provide insights into mourning practices, including gestures of mourning such as wailing, weeping, and beating the breast, or they tell about professional mourners (e.g. the *razimtum*, *munabbitum* in Ebla). It is suggested that ritual journeys to extramural royal tombs may also have been accompanied by performances of mourning, but the evidence for this is not so clear. Most of all, however, the book argues against the common view that mourning, as the ultimate response of people in the face of a death, cannot be assessed through archaeological data, but must remain a matter of solely philological and anthropological research. Against this view, the contributions of Felli and Porter demonstrate the materiality of mourning, which for example is recognizable in figurines and figures applied to pots that express gestures of mourning and may represent people taking part in the funerary and mortuary practices. Porter and Pfälzner, furthermore, use archaeological data from collective graves (rock-cut shaft graves and hypogea) to suggest different stages of mourning. Important in this respect is Porter’s remark that mourning, in contrast to grieving, is socialized and public. This definition helps to relate the period of mourning to the transformation of the dead (after van Gennepe) and the collective representation of death (after Hertz) and thus brings the archaeological evidence (e.g. of the interaction with the dead body, for intermediate and secondary burials) stronger into mind. From an archaeological perspective, this research certainly has to face several practical and theoretical obstacles (e.g. the distinction between mourning and commemorating), but it is new and important for the attempt to address the nature of emotional responses and expressions in any mortuary practice.

3. THE “COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF DEATH”

Richard Hertz’s model of the “collective representation of death” is a classic in the study of mortuary practices that can be applied to many burial contexts including the ancient Near East. It explains the gradual transformation of the deceased to the state of an ancestor as a member of the collective group of ancestors and matches the picture of the Early Bronze Age monumental tombs mentioned above (1) and the Middle Bronze Age royal hypogeum in Qatna (Pfälzner). Based on textual records, namely the descriptions of the NEnaš processions at Ebla (Archi, Felli, Peltenburg), the model might be extended to other strong identifying and community references. These ritual processions, which lead the king and queen with the retinue of priests, scribes, and other officials to the mausoleums of the royal predecessors in the countryside of Ebla, evoke a marked blurring of identities between living performers (the king and the queen) and the deified ancestors. As a result, the transformation of the king as living embodiment of the ancestors was the ultimate achievement of this ritual.

In a fascinating article in the book, Favole explains why Hertz may have become more exotic to us than to the Dayak of Borneo, from whom he took his model of “collective representations”. The contemporary rites of cremation in Italy and France as described in this article result in the “nullification” of the body and erase nearly every aspect of shared collectivity. In fact, modern societies (at least some in this world) demonstrate a profound trans-

formation of traditional mortuary practices. The “collective representation of death”, which has the essential aim of assuring the future of the dead in the community of the living, is replaced by a personalized (cremation) ritual, which leave no traces and no orientations for future memories. Or, as the author says: “it produces an afterlife, or a non-afterlife, without a future”. As much as for ethnologists, is it an important task of the “archaeology of death and burial” to illuminate the elementary choices in mortuary practices and beliefs. A modern society locked in its crisis can learn much from that.

4. THE INTERMEDIATE PHASES OF BURIAL AND DEATH AND THE PROBLEM OF SECONDARY BURIALS

In Hertz’s model, the phase between the death of a person and the final ceremony that marks the definitive burial of the corpse is called the “intermediate” period. It has three levels: the provisional burial of the dead, the sojourn of the soul, and the mourning of the survivors. Recent excavations of complex burial contexts such as the royal hypogeum in Qatna have focused on this intermediate period, which in reality often does not comprise solely a single-phased ritual, but a multi-staged burial program. Modern research methods nowadays allow us to reconstruct some or most of the rituals and actions that accompanied the provisional burial of the corpse, and they even may make it possible to calculate the time span until the final burial ceremony, due to the analysis of body treatments and taphonomic processes. The mourning and the sojourn of the soul pose different problems of research, which already have been addressed (3) or will be addressed (6) in this article. However, a serious problem of definition or “semantic problem” (Pfälzner) is that of “secondary burials”. Usually it is assumed that a primary burial marks the stage of the intermediate period if evidence of a secondary burial follows, which is then regarded as the final ceremony. Yet, what happens if irregularities in an archaeological funerary context are misinterpreted as evidence of secondary burial; what if they in reality result from multi-staged burial programs, later disturbances of a burial site, or post-funeral relocations (Pfälzner)? The identification of a secondary burial still depends on the interpretations of scholars who often disagree among themselves about the nature of a secondary burial. For example, while Felli, Peltenburg, Porter, and Schwartz all see evidence of secondary burials in Early Bronze Age funerary contexts in northwestern Syria (e.g. Umm el-Marra, Tell Banat, Hadidi, Halawa B, Selenkahiye), Archi widely denies their existence.

Secondary burials are socially meaningful, so it is an important challenge for archaeologists to collect as much evidence as possible of their existence. From an archaeological point of view, they can provide the clearest evidence of transformations after death: the liberation of the living and becoming an ancestor in the collective group of ancestors. Not only sophisticated and interdisciplinary research in funerary contexts may help to reach clarification; ethnographic studies in contemporary societies that still practice secondary burials can also enrich our perspectives on archaeological phenomena. For example, the Toba Batak in Sumatra and the Tandroy and Mahafaly in Madagascar relocate parts of the deceased from a temporary repository to collective tombs, which are the most monumental and meaningful expression of ancestry, territoriality, and prestige. They do this even though they are Christians, because their own beliefs deeply root in the traditions of collective identities. Archaeology can learn much from the rituals that relocation of the bones requires, while Western minds can learn what the “collective representation of the death” means in modern times.

5. CONCEPTS OF EMBODIED IDENTITY AND FRACTAL PERSONHOOD

In his contribution, Peltenburg stresses the important point that multi-stage burial arrangements entailed more than removing living persons from society. They were equally concerned with reintegrating the dead into society as a different kind of active entities. In this respect, the dead as ancestors interfere with the living on different levels. They might be legitimizing or protective, but can also become angry at and vengeful toward their descendants who do not behave in the correct way. In northwestern Syria, public and secluded tombs and the use of ancestor images

attest to the long-lasting veneration and reanimation of certain deceased persons who had played and now continued to play a meaningful role in society. Their embodiments in society did not necessarily evoke the images of the deceased as they were perceived during their lifetimes, but rather represent an idealized simulacrum of the self. This is what usually happens also in many other cultural contexts when the predecessors become immortal and ideologized and are used for political purposes (see 6). Vice versa, the enactment of the king in the Eblaite NEnaš ceremony as the living embodiment of the ancestors shows that existing individuals can change their identities and share the special qualities of the ancestors.

The combined archaeological and textual evidence indicates that from the 3rd millennium B.C. on, social institutions emerged to reconstruct the embodied lives of all parties, to create new relationships between mourners, the recently deceased and ancestors, and in some cases, divinities (Peltenburg). The concept of fractal personhood was necessarily linked by such shifting relationships. It became omnipotent and characteristic of other societies in the ancient Near East; I will address this in the second part of this paper. Here it should be remembered that, also in this case, interpretations have to be critically reviewed. For instance, scholars still have differing interpretations of the notorious notion of the *kispum* ritual, for which textual but also archaeological data yields much, yet sometimes contradictory evidence. While some view it as a ritual that evokes the active role of the dead in society and as the act of feasting with the dead (Pfälzner 2015), others take it more strictly as the regular nourishment of the dead in order to prevent their baneful interference with the living (Bayliss 1973). To decide which placements of offerings or installations in an archaeological funerary context relate to a *kispum* ritual is indeed a difficult and rather hypothetical task. And more than that, it can be a fallacy to confuse the *kispum* with concepts of embodied identity and fractal personhood at all.

Generally, however, it can be concluded that the embodiment of the dead in society played an essential role in the negotiation of group identities, affiliation, and power relations; and it obviously had a profound eschatological meaning, since it promises a future for both the living and the dead. From a modern perspective, it represents the very opposite of the “nullification” of the body in contemporary cremation practices (as described by Favole), which appears as a drastic decision against personhood and embodiment.

6. THE DEAD PLAYING A CRITICAL ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATION OF POLITICAL POWER

The aforementioned concepts of embodied identity and fractal personhood strongly connect to the politicization of the dead. The settings of many Early Bronze Age mortuary monuments, especially in the Middle Euphrates Valley (Gre Virike, Jerablus Tahtani, Tell Ahmar, Tell Banat/White Monument, Umm el-Marra, Tell Bi'a) and the descriptions in the Ebla texts are clear examples of the integration of major mortuary facilities into the political landscape. Furthermore, the continued use of mortuary monuments over many generations demonstrates that ancestors played a critical role in confirming the naturalness of the political order of the day (Peltenburg). The tombs are not just some place to put dead bodies: they are representations of power. In this respect, however, there is a significant difference in the setting of the tombs. While some communities, such as Mari in the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC (Nassar) and Qatna in the 2nd millennium BC (Pfälzner), prefer burials in infra-urban spaces with very little or no visibility, others, such as the 3rd millennium Middle Euphrates-Ebla complex, use both infra and extra-urban spaces with high visibility for at least some tombs. An explanation of such variations might be the political and socio-economic organization of the decentralized populations in northwestern Syria, which in the middle of the 3rd millennium BC still had a strong pastoral element. In this context, the monumental permanence of certain tombs may have helped to shape the lived landscape forever, to form a fixed point in time and space for future generations for mainly political reasons. This does not mean that the dead in other infra-urban and hidden funerary contexts (e.g. Mari, Qatna) had a less important political function. The difference may just lie in the different type of audience. One is of a rather public nature and attracted by monumental tombs and inclusive mortuary and mourning ceremonies; the other consists of dynastic and family groups who practiced their funerary rites in rather exclusive spaces. In the second part of this paper, I will turn to an example in which both cases overlap.

7. THE LANDSCAPE OF DEATH AND MOURNING PRACTICES

In larger parts of northwestern Syria and especially during the Early Bronze Age, the physical space of the mortuary monuments and the spaces of mortuary rituals interacting with the spaces of the living (the mourners) and the fictional spaces of the dead create a special kind of landscape: the landscape of death. As Parker Pearson has termed it: “Placing the dead is one of the most visible activities through which human societies map out and express their relationships to ancestors, land and the living” (Parker Pearson 1999: 141). Accordingly, the landscape of death is the physical and ideological reference framework in which human relations overcome the boundaries of the past, the present, and the future. Due to the presence of funerary and ancestor monuments, it presents a ubiquitous and continuous phenomenon, but it needs its performances in mourning and mortuary ceremonies to be experienced and commemorated.

The archaeological evidence from burial contexts in northwestern Syria during the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC provides a series of examples of the visibility of the dead in the community of the living. However, not every region and period in the ancient Near East has the same recognizable intensity and apparentness of burial traditions. The low number of burials detected archaeologically in proportion to the estimated living population has been widely observed. The lack of “proper” burials becomes even more evident in the long-term perspective, which for certain regions and periods shows a striking absence of burial context. The “Invisible Dead” project of Durham University, whose results are summarized in the book by Bradbury and Philip, focused precisely on such long-term trends. A comprehensive database collecting information of burials from the 7th to the 1st millennium BC, mainly in the northern and southern Levant made it possible to demonstrate that the distribution of the dead over time and space is highly uneven. Such inequalities are not artifacts resulting from diverging research activities and interests; in certain cases, they can be proven to be the result of very disparate burial practices. While some may leave clearly visible traces in the archaeological record (hence called “proper” burials), others may not, due to different traditions of disposal and treatment of the dead. Examples of “improper” burials would be floating the dead body in a river or disposing of it in the steppes without a formal grave. There is no general distinction between societies and communities that prefer “proper” burials and those that prefer “improper” burials; the choices often depend on the status, sex, and age of the deceased individual. In this context, extramural disposals in “poor” graves or without graves are something that can very rarely be traced by archaeological research. In reality, a landscape of death emerges newly from the archaeological record only if a society significantly invested in the disposal, treatment, and remembrance of their dead or rather of certain groups of the dead. This is by no means a common case in the long history of the ancient Near East. Therefore, it needs special attention and serious reasoning about all the social, political, economic, religious, and ideological factors that bring a landscape of death into life. The book “How to Cope with Dead” puts a very valuable emphasis on this issue. In the next chapter of this paper, I will reconsider it with regard to the funerary monuments and practices in Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms of the Iron Age, which in general provide the ideal case study to review all of the seven research topics discussed so far.

The Syro-Hittite complex of funerary monuments

The locations of the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments, which include about 73 partly inscribed stelae and 28 statues, cover an area from southeast Anatolia to the northern and western parts of modern Syria.² In historical terms, they relate to urbanization processes in the Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms in this area from the 10th to the end of the 8th centuries BC. Due to the persistent traits of a Syrian *koine*, but also because of the strong surviving Hittite traditions in many of these small-scale political units, perhaps better called city-states, the term “Syro-Hittite” was introduced and is applied here to designate an area of common cultural affiliations.

² The corpus is compiled in Bonatz 2000. For further studies on the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments and their inscriptions, see Hawkins 1980; Hawkins 1989; Voos 1988; Bonatz 2001; Bonatz 2016; Bonatz 2019; and on the most recent find of the Kutamuwa stele in Zincirli, Struble, Herrmann 2009.

One of the common cultural expressions in the Luwian and Aramaean city-states is the funerary monument. Apart from some regional variations in the iconography of these monuments, the overall image of a mortuary repast virtually embodied in the conception of these monuments attests to a joint cultural practice adopted across a widespread area of diffusion. The term mortuary repast is used because most of these monuments show a table with offerings of food presented to the deceased (e.g., Figs 3-5). This has to be distinguished from the idea of funerary or mortuary banquet, as no evidence is given of a ritual meal shared by others. The image seems to have been created for the memory and benefit of the deceased and is thus clearly eschatological in its meaning. It also describes the memorial rite – the feeding of the dead – for which the funerary monument marked the proper place of performance.

As for the physical setting of this type of monument, there were apparently different choices. One was the erection of the monument as a proper marker over a grave, as confirmed by the archaeological context of the statues from Tell Halaf (Fig. 2 and Bonatz 2000: B 5). Each was set in a small tomb chamber over a shaft containing a cremation burial.³ In their inscriptions, two stelae from Neirab (Fig. 3 and Bonatz 2000: C 11) make provisions for the protection of the deceased's "sarcophagus" or "remains", which hence must have been located close to these monuments.⁴ A stela with the depiction of a mortuary repast found on the citadel in Zincirli-Sam'al (fig. 4) may be related to a nearby cist grave.⁵ In this case, the rather public display of the stela stands in contrast to the private sphere of the chambered monument. New evidence of such a private display space is given by the Kutamuwa stela (Fig. 5), which was found in a small chamber or "mortuary chapel" connected to a private house with temple in the lower town of Zincirli (Struble and Herrmann 2009). No remains of burial were discovered in this architectural context, so there is reason to believe that this monument merely served as a symbol of the deceased's afterlife. In fact, I assume that most of the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments primarily had this symbolic function and that they were not necessarily connected to the place of burial. Instead, it was the representation of the mortuary repast that created the cultic place for the deceased's memory, a place of interaction between the living and the dead.

Reviewing the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments in the context of the previously described approaches in a redefined "archaeology of death and burial", the following observations can be highlighted:

1. The visibility and accessibility of the funerary monuments include different choices. Monumental statues of the deceased and ancestors were placed in public places, i.e., in front of palaces (e.g. the statue A 6 on the citadel in Zincirli/Sam'al) or at city gates (e.g. the statue A 13 in the Lion Gate of Malatya), but they also could have been erected in grave chambers (e.g. the two female statues B 4 and B 5 in Tell Halaf/Guzana). In the same way, the funerary stelae were located in open spaces (e.g. the stela C 46 on the citadel of Zincirli/Sam'al) and in private chambers (e.g. the Kutamuwa stela in the lower town of Zincirli/Sam'al). The statue of a royal ancestor (A 6) from the citadel in Zincirli has cup marks on its base. Thus, it was intended to receive offerings, but they were also performed during ceremonies and public audiences that took place in the courtyard area between the palaces (Gilibert 2011: 99-106). In contrast, the stela of Kutamuwa was erected in a small chamber with an offering platform in front of it. In this context, every ritual activity was exclusive, limited to a small group of people and concealed from the eyes of the public.

Obviously, the difference between the public and the private display of a funerary monument resulted from the different social status of the deceased. Royal ancestors (male and female) were commemorated and venerated in the rather public sphere of the urban spaces, while other elite members of the society were remembered and ritually provided with food and drink in the context of their families. However, the mere fact that also non-royal individuals were able to commission a funerary monument demonstrates an attitude that is much different from other cul-

³ Bonatz 2000: 154-155, with further references.

⁴ KAI 225 and KAI 226, see also Bonatz 2000: 67-69. The common translation of the word 'rsth' used in both inscriptions is "sarcophagus". Alternatively, I.A. Yun proposes, with good arguments, the reading "remains" in the sense of human remains ('bone, skeleton', Yun 2006: 23-24).

⁵ Bonatz 2000: 136, with further references.

tural areas in the ancient Near East, in which a personal image made of stone was mainly a privilege of the highest-ranking individuals in society. In the long history of the ancient Near East, the Syro-Hittite funerary monument, either erected publicly or privately, is an extreme example of the visibility of death as an eternal collective. Within this collective, hierarchies and social affiliations remain the same as during lifetimes and are displayed with different iconography, accessibility, and monumentality of the stone images, but any stone image at all guaranteed the continued existence of the dead and thus also gave hope to the living.

2. Mourning practices can sometimes be deduced from the iconography of funerary monuments; for example, the famous Ahiram sarcophagus from Byblos shows mourning women on one small end of the tube of the sarcophagus (Rehm 2004: pls 7.8, 10). The imagery of the Syro-Hittite funerary monument, however, does not clearly refer to mourning practices. It often depicts the descendants of the deceased presenting offerings to or receiving protection from the deceased, but such actions are not an aspect of mourning. Nevertheless, one monument from Maraş depicts not only the usual fan-waving heirs (a female and a male) of the deceased woman, but also a procession of four veiled women (Fig. 6). Each holds one hand in front of her chest and the other outstretched. Even if this cannot be recognized with certainty as a typical gesture of mourning, the serious and regardful posture of the women may still imply an element of mourning.

It might be a fallacy to recognize mourning only in highly affective gestures such as beating the breasts and the head as pictured on the Ahiram sarcophagus. The gesture on the stela from Maraş could well be interpreted as a silent and modest form of mourning. As explained above, mourning should not be confused with grieving, because it is a socialized and public act. Mourning in the context of the Syro-Hittite funerary rites is indeed difficult to trace. Yet, it is still quite possible to assume socialized and public mourning rituals behind the imagery of the stelae and statues and mainly in the context of ceremonies taking place in different key spots of the urban space where the living and the dead interacted. This assumption will be reconsidered when the last topic, the “landscape of death”, is addressed at the end of this paper.

3. Robert Hertz’s model of the “collective representation of death” is basic for understanding the dynamics that lay behind the erection and use of the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments. As can be gathered from the inscription on the Kutamuwa stela and other funerary inscriptions, the monument was often already commissioned during a person’s lifetime. This means that certain individuals made provisions for their afterlife, which was perceived as an eternal life in the presence of the living. The funerary monument, whether commissioned by its owner or by her or his heirs, necessarily was first a monument erected for the deceased in the course of the funerary ritual; but then, after a few generations, it became an ancestor monument. It did not change its shape and it kept the image of its owner, but as time proceeded, it marked the transformation of the deceased to the state of an ancestor as a member of the collective group of ancestors. Again, there must have been a difference in the perception of the publically erected monuments of royal ancestors and the monuments of non-royal ancestors in rather private contexts. Yet, as social cohesion in the urban communities was strong and members of the elite not only supported the ruling dynasty but also participated in their lifestyle,⁶ the ancestors obviously also acted as a group of collectively intertwined individuals. Two examples illustrate this.

In the inscription on his stela, Kutamuwa calls himself “the servant of Panamuwa, King of Sam’al”. His close relation to the royal house of Sam’al is visually confirmed by his clothing, especially the hat, and the carving style of his relief, which is strikingly similar to another mortuary relief from Zincirli (Fig. 4) and to the carved reliefs portraying King Barrakib, the successor of Panamuwa II (Orthmann 1971: pl. 63.c). The image and the inscription on the stela thus first brings to mind Kutamuwa’s status as a member of the elite in Sam’al and only afterward asserts the importance of his family by addressing Kutamuwa’s sons, who are responsible for the offerings, in the inscription and the depiction of the mortuary repast on the stela.

The other evidence is the carved orthostats with depictions of ancestors seated at the offering table. These are placed in the walls of the city gates together with other orthostats that show representatives of the living commu-

⁶ Compare Gilibert 2011: 119-131.

nity, deities, and monsters. The pictorial programs at the entrances to the citadels in Zincirli (Gilibert 2001: fig. 31, Zincirli 12-51) and Karatepe (Çambel, Özyar 2003: pl. 124.a-b) provide the clearest examples of this integration of the ancestors in the group of other actors who represent the wealth, power, and protection of the city.

In the Luwian and Aramaean city-states, the “collective representation of death” in its distinctly visualized and monumentalized form is certainly one of the most important means of assuring collective identities and the future of the city, based on the community of the living and the dead.

4. The intermediate phases of burial and death and the problem of secondary burial are difficult to access in the case of the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments. One reason is the practice of cremation, which is attested to be the most common burial praxis in this period, although only few cremation burials and cemeteries have been excavated so far. The clearest example is the two statues from the citadel in Tell Halaf/Guzana, which were placed over shaft tombs containing urns with cremation remains and a few funerary gifts. Such burial contexts, however, do not allow us to reconstruct the multiple steps in the process of a burial, intermediate phases, or even secondary burial practices. Yet, there are a few alternatives we can speculate about in regard to these aspects.

One is the evidence of the funerary monument as it stands in its own right. The stelae can be as tall as 1.60 m, while the statues can have colossal dimensions with heights up to 3.25 m (including the base). The quarrying, transportation, and sculpting of such monuments need investments of time and labor. Even if there are indications that a funerary monument was sometimes commissioned during a person’s lifetime, the process of erecting the monument would have taken place only after his or her death. A meaningful immediate phase between these two events – death and then erection and inauguration of the monument – has to be expected, mainly because the funerary monument was considered the place where the soul of the deceased would rest for eternity (see below 5). This is a very important and striking point in the function and perception of the funerary monuments. It explains that the actual burial is of secondary importance, because the focus of ritual remembrance, offerings, and interaction with the dead is the funerary monument. I would therefore suggest that the cremation burial of a deceased person has to be considered one intermediate step in the funerary ritual and that the whole ceremony was terminated only after the erection of the statue or stela, that is, the moment when the soul of the deceased finally merged with the image. The feasts and funerary offerings that are prescribed to be carried out in the presence of the image are provisions for the future of the soul, yet they are merely the confirmation of the status quo that was reached with the erection of the funerary monument and its ritual consecration.

In the context of such mortuary practices and their underlying conceptions of the afterlife, secondary burials apparently were not needed. It would not have had any meaning to relocate the remains of the cremated body if the focus of attention and ritual practices was the stone monument. This interpretation, however, as plausible as it seems at first glance, has the problem that the total number of funerary monuments known to us today is far fewer than the estimated population in this large area. One of the very few cemeteries archaeologically investigated from this period is Yunus in the surroundings of Carchemish. It has the usual shaft graves with simple cremation urns. Over one of these graves, a very small funerary stela with a coarsely incised image of the deceased was found (Bonatz 2000: C 45). This find and some others indicate that also small, “cheap” stelae and statues existed. Nevertheless, it seems that only a rather small part of the population could have afforded a funerary monument. In the case of the Kutamuwa stela, for example, one may wonder why only he had a funerary stela placed in a separate chamber of his dwelling, while there would have been space for at least a couple of monuments dedicated to other members of the family. Hence, the “invisible dead” are a problem that also concerns the Syro-Hittite area. One should therefore be cautious about expecting that archeologically recorded funerary customs and complexes always represent the typical case. They rather demonstrate the multitude of customs and attitudes even within a given cultural system. However, if we conclude that striking funerary phenomena such as the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments are not the normal case, then they become an even more significant indication of what individuals may have thought was the best and most enduring option.

5. Concepts of embodied identity and fractal personhood can be recognized on several levels in which the dead are remembered and reintegrated in the world of the living.

The primary achievement of the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments lies in the centralization and monumentalization of a special memorial act, which is ritually embedded in the feeding of the deceased. Since in practice the ritual aims for the continual perpetuation of commemoration, the statue or stele of the deceased stands as a durable manifestation and call for its performance. The monument with its image marks the re-embodiment of the dead in society.

Paying attention to the deceased necessarily involves actors in the ritual performance. The interaction or literally face-to-face communication between the deceased (the ritual object) and the living actor (the performing subject) underlines the aspect of the liminal zone. The mortuary repast enables the encounter between living and dead in a metaphysical sense, but it also requires a physical space in which it can be carried out. It is obvious that the funerary monument marks the place of interaction through the ritual that it visually describes.

Making the absent visible and present in the here and now is one of the main purposes of ritual practice (Dücker 2007: 33). Through the mortuary repast, the transcendent image of the deceased can be evoked and it becomes tangible and accessible for reciprocal communication. Hence, the Syro-Hittite funerary monuments are lasting substitutes for living experiences with the dead, something that explains separation from them as being not a temporal, but merely a spatial fact. This gap can be bridged whenever the proper ritual is performed. The living subject participates in the ritual meal, not by sharing the meal with the deceased, but by offering food and drink to them. With this constellation in mind, we can imagine individuals acting in the presence of the funerary monument, which hence is not only a pictorial representation of the deceased, but also a testament to ritually maintained social relations.

Crucial in this respect is the concept of the “soul”, which is expected to dwell on in the stele or statue. The Aramaic inscription on the Kutamuwa stela makes a clear statement about this. Prescribing the offerings to several gods and to himself, Kutamuwa says, “A ram for Kubaba, and a ram for my ‘soul’ (*lnbšy*) that (will be) in this stele” (l. 5), and furthermore below in the inscription (l. 10-11), “He is also to perform the slaughter in (proximity to) my ‘soul’” (translated in Pardee 2009: 54).

David Hawkins has recently argued that the term “soul” (*nbsš*) should not be understood too literally. He instead suggests that *nbsš* is the translation of the Luwian word *atri-* and that, in the context of Kutamuwa’s inscription, its meaning is rather “likeness” (Hawkins 2015: 54-55). If we follow this interpretation, the translation would be, “A ram to my ‘soul’ (likeness), which (is) on this stele,” and “He is also to perform the slaughter on my ‘soul’ (likeness),” i.e., pour the blood over the image on the stele (Hawkins 2015: 55).

Concerning the concepts of embodied identity and fractal personhood, there is little difference between “soul” in its literal meaning and “likeness” as its metaphorical translation. The “likeness” in the context of the Kutamuwa stele is treated as if it were the living substitute for the dead person or as his simulacrum. This simulacrum contains aspects of the deceased individual, commemorated through the image and the inscription. For example, Kutamuwa is represented as the servant of the king and as the patriarch of his family. He appears to have had a multicultural identity, because his inscription is written in Aramaic, but the gods mentioned in the inscription, like Kubaba and Hadad of the Vineyards (= Luwian *Tarhunzas tuwarasis*), are Luwian. The provisions made for his afterlife kept him closely tied to his descendants (the sons mentioned as being responsible for the offerings), but the sacrifices to the gods (Hadad, Šamš, and Kubaba), which are mentioned in the same context, indicate another relationship important for his future life. In fact, the wish to share regular sacrifices with the gods is a common topos, also known from the Samalian royal inscriptions. For example, the inscription on the Hadad statue from Gercin clearly states that the “soul” of the deceased king (i.e., Panamuwa) is expected to eat and drink with Hadad (KAI 214: 17, 21-22, ⁷ on this issue, see Niehr 1994 and Niehr 2006). There might be a slight difference in hierarchy, inasmuch as the king is privileged to eat with Hadad while Kutamuwa receives the same sacrifices as the gods (Pardee 2009: 63), but the sort of desire is essentially the same. This demonstrates another level of post-mortal embodiment in which the person reaches closer contact with the gods.⁸ The ultimate stage in this transformation is the deification

⁷ KAI = Donner H., Röllig W. 1966-1969, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz (2nd edition).

⁸ The phrase in a Luwian building inscription (KULULU 1, §§15-16) also emphasizes this demand. Here, the author, a servant of the ruler Tuwati, writes, “But when I myself shall ‘go away’ into the presence of the gods from the rule of Tuwati, these houses (will be) here” (translation from Hawkins 2015: 51).

of the royal ancestors, which is attested by the presence of royal statues with divine attributes (e.g. Bonatz 2000: A 6, A 7), the physical setting of some monuments in places where offerings were also presented to the gods, and inscriptions for both the Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms (Hawkins 2015: 50-51; Niehr 1994; Niehr 2006).

6. The dead playing a critical role in the negotiation of political power is an important issue, especially for the relations between the ruling royal class and the elite (aristocracy) in the Luwian and Aramaean city-states. Alessandra Gilibert (Gilibert 2011: 128-131, 134) has pointed out that, from the 9th century on, non-royal elites in the city-states ascended to more political power and that, in the context of a refined courtly environment, the king often became the catalyst for a hierarchy of non-royal court members. This process corresponds to the dramatic increase in funerary monuments in the 9th and 8th centuries BC.

As mentioned above, the iconography of the deceased on several funerary monuments resembles that of the king, although details, such as variations in the embellishment (embroidery?) of the garment and the furnishing for eating and drinking, indicate different hierarchic positions. The funerary monuments of non-royals may not have had the same visibility as those of the royal family because they were erected in rather private spaces, but they manifested the same aspect of durability. The stone monument per se was a symbol of social and political prestige.

Apart from such infra-social negotiations, the presence of ancestor monuments in the public spaces of the cities had a high value for the political order of the city-state, of course. These monuments may have helped to assure the origin and continuation of the dynastic line. However, since cases of inner-dynastic struggles and political overthrows are reported, the monuments of the royal ancestors could also have changed their meaning. Several of the monumental royal ancestor statues were found in contexts that suggest an intentional burial after violent destruction. The statue of a ruler from Melid (Bonatz 2000: A 13) that stood in the chamber of a gate (the Lion Gate in Arslantepe) was overturned from its base, its face was mutilated, and thereafter the monument was buried in the same gate chamber. The statue of a royal ancestor from Sam'al (fig. 1) also was toppled from its double lion base and ritually buried next to its original place in front of the Building J on the citadel of Sam'al. The severe mutilation of the royal statue from Carchemish (Bonatz 2000: A 7), which was found only in fragments close to the "Processional Entry", suggests a similar eradication of a politically important memorial. One may argue that such bad treatments of the royal ancestors were the result of the Assyrian conquest of these cities. However, the quite respectful burial of the statues in Melid and in Sam'al put this solution into question. It shows that the statues were believed to have their own spirit, because they were mutilated, ritually killed, and buried. The ritual annihilation of these images obviously must have involved people who believed in their power and who tried to banish it in accordance with their own cultural background.

7. In the realm of the Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms, the landscape of death is a persistent element structuring urban spatiality and sociopolitical cohesion. The monuments to the deceased and ancestors were encountered in different public and private spheres of the city landscapes and their surroundings. They were erected as individual monuments or as part of complex architectural and pictorial programs that served as diacritical markers for social and political identities. From the point of view of rather small-scale political units, their existence obviously had a strong legitimizing impact on hegemonic practices and territorial claims. In the case of the small kingdom of Sam'al-Ya'idi, there is striking evidence of the creation of a sacral landscape occupied by the ancestors and gods of the city-state.

About 7 km to the north of the capital, Zincirli, the two summits of a massive rock called Gerçin rise from the flat plain. The long inscription on the Hadad statue that was found at the foot of this prominent landmark provides a clear account of its function, first, as the state sanctuary and, second, as the necropolis of the kings of Ya'idi.⁹ Panamuwa I, who commissioned the statue around 830 B.C., used it also to make provisions for his own afterlife. As a dedication to the storm god Hadad, it also entailed the wish that the "soul" of Panamuwa might eat and drink with Hadad. Panamuwa furthermore mentions his grave chamber and a statue (probably his own) erected next to this grave. Felix von Luschan found fragments of four other monumental but severely damaged statues

⁹ KAI 214; for a more updated edition of the inscription, see Tropper 1993: 154-158.

at Gerçin in 1890 (Luschan 1893). These images probably also represented royal ancestors; their originals stood somewhere on the summits of Gerçin. The Gerçin complex thus stands as a landscape monument with a strong aura of sacrality. It was possible to view it from Sam'al every day and perhaps even the monumental statues were placed there on the top in a way that they could have been seen from a great distance. Inasmuch as Gerçin virtually occupies the plain, the royal ancestors and deities of Sam'al-Ya'idi venerated there manifested the ruling dynasty's possession of this land. The concept is not so far from NEnaš processions at Ebla in the middle of in the 3rd millennium BC (see above). It entails a journey through the landscape marked by the presence of the ancestors and deities that bestow legitimation and spiritual power on the ruling king.

One may expect that ceremonial processions were carried out between locations such as Zincirli and Gerçin; and the ceremonies inside the cities must also have required a meaningful movement between public and private spaces, upper and lower town, palaces, courtyards, and city gates.¹⁰ Such processions and ceremonies could have included mourning rituals if special focus was given to recently deceased individuals or important ancestors. However, since clear evidence of this is missing, we should stress the most distinct aspects: the communal and private space was mapped out with many focal points that lead to an unavoidable and continuous interaction between the living and the dead. The landscape of death in the context of the Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms was an omnipresent physical and spiritual experience. It must have had great meaning for the self-awareness of the contemporary communities, a bond to the past and a promise for the future. And this might have been the main reason why it completely disappeared after the Assyrian conquest.

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¹⁰ On this issue, see especially Pucci 2008 and Gilibert 2011.

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Fig. 1: Statue on double lion base, Zincirli citadel, c. 925-875, H. 2.50 m (statue), 0.72 m (base), Istanbul, Archaeological Museum no. 7768 (Bonatz 2000: A 6).



Fig. 2: Statue, Tell Halaf, mudbrick terrace under the “palace”, H. 1.42 m, c. 950-875, Aleppo Museum no. 7536 (Bonatz 2000: B 4).

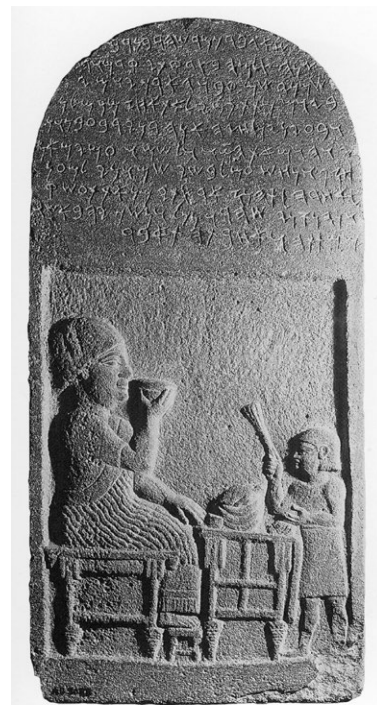


Fig. 3: Stele, Neirab, c. 710-690, H. 0.95 m, Louvre AO 3027 (Bonatz 2000: C 35).



Fig. 4: Stele, Zincirli, citadel, c. 730-710, H. 1.52 m, Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin VA 2658 (Bonatz 2000: C 46).

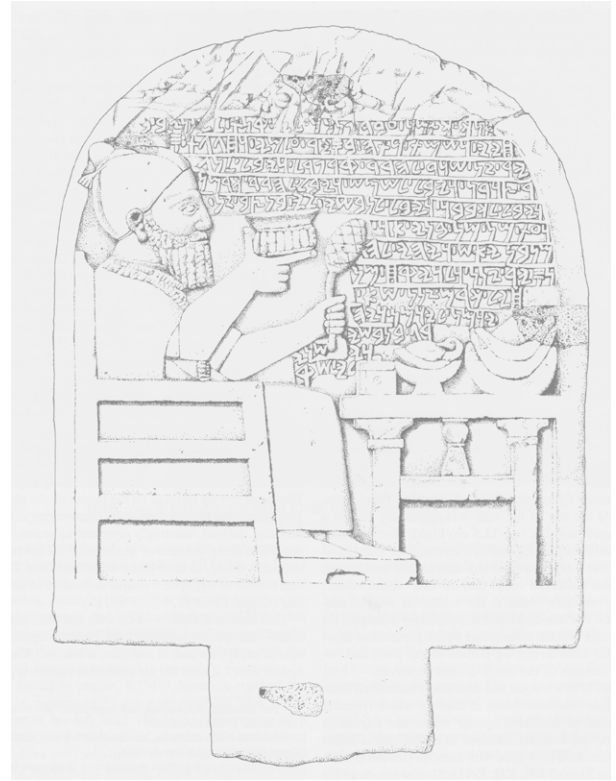


Fig. 5: Stele, Zincirli, lower town, c. 740-730, H. 0.99 m, Gaziantep Museum (Strubel and Herrmann 2009: fig. 4, drawing by K. Reczuch).



Fig. 6: Stele, Maraş, c. 800-725, H. 0.77 m, Antakya Museum, no. 17917 (Bonatz 2000: C 59).



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Göbekli Tepe and the Sites around the Urfa Plain (SE Turkey): Recent Discoveries and New Interpretations

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Abstract. The most famous Pre-pottery Neolithic site of Anatolia, Göbekli Tepe, since 1994 has been the subject of intensive studies due to its peculiar characteristics, linked to the presence of both circular buildings and the so-called anthropomorphic T-shaped pillars. It was supposed that its discovery would have been one of a kind, but in the next few years scholars revealed the existence of similar settlements in the area of Şanlıurfa Province. These sites, still far from being investigated, share with Göbekli Tepe the same archaeological evidences, including chronological features, size and architectural and iconographic traits. The aim of this article is to focus on the new available data, which could lead us to re-discuss the interpretive models valid up to a few years ago, as recent publications point out. New interpretive tools and excavations are required to better understand what seems to be the clue of the presence of a real cultural *facies* with precise connotations, amongst which an high specialized craftsmanship, that was able to exploit the best limestone morphology of the territory for the construction of monumental complexes.

Keywords. Göbekli Tepe, T-shaped pillars, Pre-pottery Neolithic, Anatolia, communal buildings, History houses, circular enclosures, chiefdoms, animalistic art, Totemism.

INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of the Neolithic, in south-western Asia, a radical change was witnessed concerning the type of architecture. In fact, unlike in previous periods, communities of individuals in those territories began to spend considerable energy in the construction of houses, community buildings and in the organization of entire settlements.¹

Without forgetting the ecological reasons,² from the general global warming that occurred around 9600 BC which caused the melting of glaciers, rising sea levels and the territorial expansion of plants and animals (Scarre 2009: 176-182), or the demographic increase following the end of the Pleistocene (Binford 1968), probably more significant results were obtained as a consequence of cultural and cognitive developments. These were able to induce people to create new plots in symbolic representation and in the consequent reification of these ideas in innovative architectural structures (Watkins 2006: 15), which led Man towards a sedentary life starting from the Epipaleolithic period. Until then, within the tectonic phase, there is no documentation of major artistic events except for the so-called “cave art”, recorded exclusively in France and Spain, and some other isolated cases (Renfrew 2011: 107). It was only with the end of the Pleistocene that this new “psycho-cultural” mentality became the pre-able to that “Revolution of Symbols” (Cauvin 1997), which reached its apex during the Neolithic period.

From the 1960s onwards, the province of Şanlıurfa became the arena for important archaeological studies and excavations: particular importance was given to the prehistoric studies begun in south-eastern Anatolia in 1963 under the supervision of R. Braidwood and H. Çambel, which were able to reveal the region’s key role during the Neolithic period. From then on, excavations were carried out at Çayönü, Biris Mezarlığı and Söğüt Tarlası and many other Neolithic sites (Çambel, Braidwood 1980), which pioneered the discovery of very important sites for our knowledge of the Neolithic Aceramic period (Pre-pottery Neolithic) in Anatolia, the most notably one Göbekli Tepe. Considered a singular site since its founding, Göbekli Tepe is the subject of intensive studies and speculations linked to its unique architectural and iconographic features.

The aim of this article is to reveal the most recent research conducted on the site, which puts it in contrast to what was originally supposed, namely that it was a “mountain sanctuary” of hunter-gatherers, with a cult, not to say religious value: the discovery of new Neolithic settlements contemporary to Göbekli Tepe, which share with it archaeological evidences, including the most famous architectural tract known as T-shaped pillars, suggest the existence of a real cultural *facies*, with precise connotations limited to the current Şanlıurfa Province, which was able to exploit the best limestone morphology of the territory in the construction of monumental complexes.

DESCRIPTION

The site of Göbekli Tepe

Located at the top of an extensive range of limestone hills overlooking the Harran plain, which is a visible point from a great distance, 15km northeast of the city center of Şanlıurfa, Göbekli Tepe, whose name means

¹ The following article comes as the result of my MA dissertation discussed at the University of Pisa.

² From a climatic point of view, the transition between Pleistocene and Holocene in Southwest Asia has been characterized by abrupt changes in rainfall, vegetation, temperature and seasonality, which have had a significant impact on water resources, bringing a wetter and warmer climate in the Near East and spreading the forest into the steppe interior of Anatolia (Asouti *et al.* 2015: 1565), as evidenced by palynological analysis (Van Zeist, Bottema 1991: 34-49). However, starting from the Holocene, unlike what was hypothesized by G. Childe, the climate in Anatolia has not undergone great variations and has remained almost continental: this fact has been learned as a result of archaeological studies of carbonized remains of plants and seeds of species still present today (pistachio, oak, almond), found within the contexts of the PPNA (Çelik 2016a: 183).

This type of climatic condition, which alternates between very rainy periods and a hot summer, not making one condition prevail over the other, has unfortunately led to the destruction of most of the Neolithic wooden remains, used for the construction of buildings (Kurapkat 2014: 81).

“bulging mountain”,³ is an artificial mound about 300m in diameter and more than 15m high made of accumulated layers of debris deposited over an area of 9ha (Schmidt 2010a: 239), facing the springs of the Balikh to the east, also known as Cülap çay.

Excavations have been carried out since 1994⁴ under the direction of the Museum of Şanlıurfa and the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul (DAI), within the so-called “Urfa-Project”.

Stratigraphically speaking, there are not great certainties until now, except for the so-called “Level I”, the latest and post-Neolithic layer, which points out mainly agricultural activities from the Middle Ages and modern times which caused erosion on the top of the tell and sedimentation on the slopes. As highlighted by the trench on the southern side of the excavation, this level reaches a thickness of more than 2m.

The earliest Neolithic horizon dates to the 9600-8800 cal BC, PPNA/EPPNB (Schmidt 2002b: 24), also called “Level III”, to which all major circular buildings, from 10 to 30m in diameter, and larger T-shaped pillars (2-5.5m) belong. A geoelectrical survey including GPR confirmed their presence all over the site and not just into a specific area of the mound (Becker *et al.* 2014b: 11). These studies revealed more than ten buildings in addition to the eight already excavated, designated A-H according to the date of their discovery. Five of these monumental structures, A, B, C, D and G, are located in the main excavation area in the southern depression of the mound; Enclosure F is placed in the southwest hill, Enclosure E in the western plateau, whereas Enclosure H, one of the most recent discoveries, is located in the north-west hill (Notroff *et al.* 2016: 66).

Two circular pits with each 2m of depth coved into the bedrock have been found north-west of Enclosure E: probably linked to the building, these pool-like structures are really common in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period of Southeastern Anatolia in order to accumulate water.⁵ Small burrows with diameter of 10-15cm and depth of 10-15cm at frequent intervals so as to form a circle represent the first stage of their building technique (Çelik 2016a: 182).

On the other hand, the most recent Neolithic layer, the so-called “Level II”, presents architectural remains belonging to the periods between the EPPNB and the MPPNB (ca 8800-8000 cal BC) (DAI 2003: 171). It consists of buildings with rectangular rooms made of stone walls, terrazzo floor and often other unusual installations such as large stone rings (Schmidt 2002b: 24). Some of these buildings may have T-shaped pillars too, although smaller ones (approx. 1.5m).

In addition to these three levels, there is a fourth layer of occupation that has never been interpreted univocally before. Evaluated as Level IIB, subsequent to Level II(A), in the excavation plan of 2004 (Schmidt 2006b: 349, Fig. 2), in the plan of 2008 it then became intermediate between the layers mentioned above (Level II/III), in the one of 2010, in which it is clearly referred to as Level IV (Schmidt 2012b: 332, Fig. 2), even prior to Level III, and then its placing remains uncertain until the latest published studies (Notroff *et al.* 2016: 67, Fig. 5.1). The structures belonging to this phase of occupation are not fixed as well, but they are generally located in the central area of the hill, such as the enclosures G⁶ and F (Dietrich *et al.* 2014: 12, Fig. 2).

Level III ends with a “ritual burial”: covered with 3-5m of soil, the buildings of Göbekli Tepe are witnesses of this Anatolian tradition of the Neolithic period, involving both religious and domestic buildings, which relates them to a spiritual system (Özdoğan, Özdoğan 1998: 591). The origin of this filling material (300-500m³ of debris for each building: DAI 2004: 214) is still unknown, but it is not sterile soil because of the findings of the PPNA/EPPNB, including Helwan points, El-Khiam and Aswad points (PPNA), Byblos, Nemrik and Nevalı Çori points (EPPNB) (Schmidt 1996: 3).

³ See Schmidt (2011a: 98).

⁴ The first appearance of Göbekli Tepe in official archaeological documents dates to 1980, when he was mentioned by archaeologist Peter Benedict in his article “Survey Work in Southeastern Anatolia” (Benedict 1980: 179-182). He went so far as to classify the site as medieval or modern, because of findings that he mistakenly considered small cemeteries and tombstones (Schmidt 2011a: 25).

⁵ One of the two basins, the northernmost one, also has a central conical slab, an altar alike, and an access staircase with five steps, carved into the rock (Beile-Bohn *et al.* 1999: 48, Fig. 20; Schmidt 2007b: 279, Fig. 214) For further information, see Herrmann, Schmidt (2012: 57-67).

⁶ There are currently no publications on Enclosure G. The only news come from Schmidt (2011b: 47).

Analyses made on samples of pedogenic carbonates have recently established a good *terminus ante quem* for the refilling of the enclosures: in particular, we must assume a first filling for Level III having as *terminus ante quem* the second half of the 9th millennium BC⁷ and a second one for Level II in the middle of the 8th millennium BC (Dietrich, Schmidt 2010: 82).

Several elements cut in the rocky substrate have been found during surveys conducted in the areas around the mound (Schmidt 2009a: 187-223): among them, it is important to remember the already mentioned “pools” (DAI 1996: 607, Fig. 3), inlets for the extraction of rocks used in buildings, unfinished monoliths of stone⁸ still *in situ*, 3 *phallos* engraved in the rock of the western slope (Schmidt 1998: 3; 2000a: Table 10, Figs 1-2), and a great amount of chipped stone.

Level III

Level III includes the largest circular megalithic buildings, with a diameter of 10-30m, excavated in the middle of the great depression on the southern slope. The perimetrical pillars that belong to this phase are usually more than 3m high, they are linked with walls of quarry stone and benches and they are oriented towards the two central pillars (5.5m high in Enclosure D: DAI 2010: 184, Fig. 3).

Many pillars have anthropomorphic engravings or relieves, some of them appear to have stylized arms and hands connected to a decorated belt⁹ (Schmidt 2011a: Fig. 117). However, the most unexpected feature is the one concerning the wide range of animal figures: there are not only ferocious animals represented in a hostile attitude, such as scorpions, snakes, wild boars, foxes, but also harmless one, as for instance gazelles and various bird species. Starting from the earliest excavation, buildings take their name after the most present species on their pillars. It is significant to see that all depicted animals are male, often sexually aroused, and no clearly female symbol is visible so far (Schmidt 1999: 13). One of the most remarkable sculptures discovered all over the site is the high relief of a predator on the perimetrical Pillar 27 in Enclosure C, which is a masterpiece of great plastic craftsmanship (Fig. 1).

Concerning lithic industry, the so-called Jerf el Ahmar “plaques” with incised signs (Stordeur, Abbès 2002: 591, Fig. 16/1-3), also found in Körtik Tepe, have been discovered, as well as zoomorphic Nemrik type stone “sceptres”, which we have evidence of in Hallan Çemi, Nevalı Çori, Çayönü, Mureybet and Jerf el Ahmar (Dietrich *et al.* 2012: 685, Fig. 9), and that could actually have different meanings, depending on their framework.¹⁰

Naviform cores, retouched blades, scrapers, burins and sickles have been found at each stage of production; even if arrowheads of the Byblos and Nemrik type are quite common (Schmidt 2002b: 24), Large Byblos, El-Khi-am and Nevalı Çori points are not, in contrast with the massive presence of these in the oldest layers (EPPNB) of the site of the same name, where the T-shaped pillars were found. The great availability of these arrowheads in Jerf

⁷ Among the findings of Level III fillings are lithic findings, such as arrowheads, blades and cores, wild botanical species, such as almonds, pistachios and wheat, and a large amount of wild animal bones: careful analysis revealed a rich fauna of non-domestic species, which includes wild cattle (20%) and onagers (10%), Persian gazelles (43%) and wild boars (8%), goats (11%) and deer (8%) (Peters *et al.* 1999: 35). Other studies have made it possible to verify, through intra-species comparisons of the bone weight parameter, that for example in cattle is related to body weight, that the *Bos taurus primigenius* contributed to 50% of the total meat consumed, while the gazelle, the most hunted animal, only 15% (Peters, Schmidt 2004: 207-208). Different investigations indicate this amount of bones found (about 30000) as the cause of the high amount of phosphate found within the Level III sediments (Schmidt 2006b: 345). Human remains are found among the bones, too.

⁸ E.g. the gigantic pillar (6.9m) found on the northern plateau (DAI 1997: 551, Fig. 1). In the site of Karahan Tepe a 4.5m pillar was discovered too ready to be removed from the rock (Moetz, Çelik 2012: 706, Fig. 4).

⁹ The ‘T’ pillars have been interpreted as stylizations of individuals following the discovery of the so-called “Urfa man” in Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle (Çelik 2014a: 20; 2014b: 102).

¹⁰ E.g. in Körtik Tepe two type of zoomorphic Nemrik sceptres have been discovered, the first kind made of hard stone and partially worn, with a clear functional purpose, and the second one made of chlorite, with no trace of use and perhaps linked to the ritual sphere, found in funerary furnishings (Özkaya, Coşkun 2011: 97, 122, Figs 24-25).

el Ahmar (PPNA) raises doubts about a possible chronological explanation, which can be the case for the Helwan type points, also present in the Aswad variant, found in the levels of Göbekli Tepe's PPNA (Schmidt 2000b: 52). Instruments of type Çayönü and points Palmyra, Amuq or Ugarit were not found in Göbekli Tepe.¹¹

The first structure to be discovered was Enclosure A, also called the "Snake Pillar Building" (Schmidt 2000b: 49). It contains six T-shaped pillars *in situ*, three of which bear relief motifs: Pillars 1 and 2, about 3m tall each, feature respectively a relief depicting snakes and a ram, and a bull, fox and crane and a *bucranium* (Fig. 2). Pillar 5, whereas, roughly 2.1m tall and arranged like an orthostat, continues the ophidian theme.

A bench was found between Pillars 1 and 2, while a number of sculptures were found in the fill debris, including a lithic mask, an *itthyphallic* lion, the head of a wild boar and an animal bearing a human head (Schmidt 2000a: 8-11). At the moment the remaining Pillars 3, 4 and 7 show no sign of figures but their presence should not be ruled out as the structure has not been completely excavated (Schmidt 2007b: 272, 274).

Thanks to the 14C analysis of plant remains (wood charcoal of *Pistacia sp.* and *Amygdalus sp.*) the enclosure has been dated to 9000 cal BC (Kromer, Schmidt 1998: 8). The results are in line with lithic remains found, amongst which there are El-Khiam, Helwan and Aswad-type arrowheads which indicate a chronological period dating back to the PPNA (DAI 2000: 593). In addition to this ancient period, the structure shows more recent enclosure modifications, still dating back to PPN, which can be determined by the arrangement of the rectangular-shaped wall preserved to the west and located at a higher level than the floors of the structure itself (Schmidt 1997: 8-9).

The "Fox Building", or Enclosure B, has an internal diameter approximately less than 10m and is located at the north of Enclosure A (Schmidt 2002a: 8-9, Fig. 1; 2013: 81, 88, Fig. 9) and houses a total of 11 pillars.¹²

Central Pillars 9 and 10 both show signs of a relief depicting a fox (DAI 2002: 664, Fig. 2). They are about 3.5m tall and weigh 7 tonnes each (DAI 2003: 171). The remaining pillars are placed around the perimeter within the circular stone wall and in a radial position compared to the two central pillars, apart from Pillar 15 which is parallel to the two. On the southern face of Pillar 6 there are reliefs of a reptile and a snake (Schmidt 1999: 13, Fig. 5), while Pillar 14 also shows a fox on the right side and a snake on the back (Schmidt 2007b: 274, Pl. 2).

A terrazzo floor was found in the central part of the structure, with an exposed area of a few square metres, as well as a lithic plate fixed on the floor in front of the central eastern pillar which almost forms part of the enclosure itself and is most likely linked to some activities associated with the use of liquids. Investigations carried out in Trench L9-67 confirmed the existence of a second circular stone belonging to the enclosure, whose access way seems to be confirmed by the discovery of a porthole found *in situ* that presents reliefs of two foxes at the side of a *bucranium* (Dietrich 2017: online article; Schmidt 2010a: 250).

If the radiocarbon dating of a fragment of pedogenic carbonate from Pillar 8 of Enclosure B establishes a date no later than the EPPNB for this backfilling – that is about 8960 ± 85 BP (Pustovoytov 2002: 4) – a dating later than 8430 ± 80 BP¹³ is established for the burial of Enclosure C, the "Enclosure of the wild boar"¹⁴ (Figs 3-4).

¹¹ It was established to address the issue of lithic finds here, without splitting it between Level III and II: in fact, in literature the finds are classified as belonging to one or the other level, when they probably belong to their respective fill debris. If, as hypothesized, the Enclosures A-H of the Level III are older than the rectangular rooms of the Level II, it is not said that the filling of such buildings is equally anterior. Moreover, according to the latest datings, scholars suggest a probable contemporaneity between the enclosures of Level III and those of Level II, at least during a phase of occupation of the site (Dietrich *et al.* 2019a: 4-6). It should also not be forgotten that the backfilling at both levels was not taken from a virgin soil, but in turn presents both PPNA and EPPNB remains. A confirmation of this comes from the lithic finds of Enclosure H, which shows the presence of Nemrik and Byblos points (EPPNB), but the total absence of El-Khiam and Helwan points (PPNA), discovered instead in several buildings of Level III, as stated in Dietrich *et al.* (2016: 65). To associate, therefore, a find at a specific level is an operation that is anything but elementary.

¹² In Schmidt (2007b: 272) is said that a further pillar may have been lost as a result of illegal excavations that partially damaged the circular building.

¹³ To better understand the dating methodology used, please read Pustovoytov (2003: 24-27) or Pustovoytov, Taubald (2003: 25-32).

¹⁴ See the representations in the form of engravings, all-round reliefs or protomes of figures 4 (Pillar 27), 3 (Pillar 35) and 6 (between Pillars 39 and 28) in Schmidt (2008b: 29-31).

It stands as a series of concentric circles with a total diameter of 30m, of which the two most internal ones have pillars (Schmidt 2007b: 276). As it stands, we know that there are two central pillars, followed by eleven pillars in the first circle and eight in the second one (Dietrich *et al.* 2014: 12, Fig. 3).

Unlike the other structures, Enclosure C has significantly undergone iconoclastic actions chronologically not well identified.¹⁵ The excavation of a pit of more than 10m in diameter in its central part resulted in the destruction of the twin pillars (P35 and P37) into many pieces. In front of this central pillar, that was originally more than 5m high and bears a relief of a bull, two pierced stone plates, a rudimentary vessel and the sculpture of a wild boar with a fragmented base (Fig. 5) – all made of limestone – were found. A twin sculpture was found close to Pillar 12 belonging to the second circle, this too with a damaged base. This evidence allows us to hypothesize their arrangement on one of the faces of the pillars as an original high relief, similar to the spectacular sculpture of the predator on Pillar 27 found in the first circle.

In addition to the wild boar, the animal symbol of this enclosure, many effigies of an undefined predator appear – perhaps a large feline such as a leopard or a canine – along with depictions of ducks and bustards (Peters, Schmidt 2004: Fig. 13). The theme of the snake, cherished in structures A and D, is totally absent. During excavations, it was no surprise when hands and fingers soon became visible on Pillar 40 and geometric bas-reliefs representing symbols in the form of a “H” and a “U” on Pillar 28 (Schmidt 2008b: 31-32).

One of the main features of this building is the lack of a terrazzo floor, hallmark which so far has only been found in the so-called “Rock temple”, now referred to as Enclosure E.¹⁶ In fact, the two structures lay directly on the bedrock, reached in Enclosure C at the height of 796.60m a.s.l. – the same as the limestone plain that surrounds the site (Schmidt 2008b: 27) – and have the same two pedestals of about 30cm which are pierced centrally to better anchor the supported pillars to the surface (Schmidt 2007b: 273; 2008b: 27-28). Within these grooves, traces of stone and mud filling were found, which were used as a “buffer” (Schmidt 2011c: 219, Fig. 2). It is believed that these two enclosures are the first and oldest created in Göbekli Tepe due to the presence of this rocky floor.¹⁷ The lack of suitable space for the buildings would have resulted in the subsequent overlap of structures, which in turn would have developed the need to think up alternative methods for making the floors through the use of cemented limestone surfaces called “terrazzo” that imitated the previous use of the rocky layer (Schmidt 2007b: 276).

Initially the access way to the structure was characterized by a narrow passage – a “*Dromos*” – between two parallel walls made of massive stone sheets worked on all sides, the biggest of which protrudes towards the inside of the corridor and suggests a connection to the original opening or portal. After having fallen into disuse, this porthole was walled, as witnessed by the two lower rows of a block wall preserved *in situ*. On the southern facade of this porthole-stone, just below the opening that led visitors into the entry of the enclosure, a limestone slab with a flat relief of the animal symbol of this complex was found: a wild boar lying on its back (Schmidt 2010a: 253, Fig. 26). A little more on the southern side, a large U-shaped monolith was discovered, of which the column on the left presents the sculpture of a predator, that sits at the top like a guardian, while the one on the right was not preserved at all (Dietrich *et al.* 2014: 11).

The third element that forms the access way to the enclosure is made up of a stairway (eight steps have been discovered as it stands) that, it is believed, was necessary for overcoming the difference in level due to the original entrance, about which we still know very little (Becker *et al.* 2014a: 5).¹⁸

¹⁵ It could be an event dated to Level II or Level I as reported in Schmidt (2002a: 9) or it could simply belong to a post-Neolithic era of uncertain dating, as reported in Schmidt (2008b: 27). This destructive action was accompanied by fire, as witnessed by Pillar 35, the eastern one, whose lower side, preserved *in situ* in a vertical position, shows signs of a fracture caused by intense heat.

¹⁶ A circular perimeter of 10m in diameter is the only thing visible of Enclosure E: in fact, no pillars or walls have been found, but only an “imprint” dug a few centimetres into bedrock, which brings to light a carefully worked rocky floor, a kind of pre-terrazzo-like floor, and a low bench running along the sides (Schmidt 1995: 9; 2006c: 109). Due to its special position in the western part of the mound, it is impossible to establish any stratigraphic relationship with the excavation areas investigated so far and the other structures.

¹⁷ Even though in Schmidt (2010a: 240, Fig. 2) Enclosure E is associated with the Structures F and G and dated to the hypothetical intermediate Level II/III.

¹⁸ A similar staircase has been found in Trench K10-24, not far from Enclosure H (Dietrich *et al.* 2014: 14, Fig. 8).

Although Enclosure D was initially called the “Enclosure of the crane”, there does not seem to be a marked iconographic preference for this bird which features beside depictions of snakes, foxes, wild asses, insects, spiders, bulls and gazelles. It is configured as an ovoid structure of 20m in diameter with thirteen pillars, perhaps fifteen originally (Schmidt 2007b: 275), dated to EPPNA, 9675-9314 cal BC (Dietrich, Schmidt 2010: 82-83).¹⁹

The depictions of animals are combined with those of abstract symbols, an “H” shape, a crescent moon, a *bucranium* and anthropomorphic elements. For example, on the two central pillars of about 5.5m in height and weighing 10 tonnes, arms and hands clasped on the abdomen are perfectly visible, as well as a belt and a sort of leather sack or cape at the waist (Schmidt 2010a: 244, Fig. 9) and a necklace in the form of a *bucranium* on the neck.

Between all the pillars discovered until now, P33 and P43 possess the most complex and singular reliefs. Pillar 33, for example, shows depictions of different birds on the eastern face, three buzzards on the head and three large cranes on the trunk above a motif of wavy lines (Fig. 6) that were initially interpreted as a stream (Schmidt 2002a: 11) which in the rear margin of the pillar flows into heads of snakes (Schmidt 2011a: 184). Above the water and between the cranes, H-shaped pictograms and small foxes with miniature markings are depicted (Schmidt 2011a: 199).

The images continue on the front of the pillar where there are reliefs of a spider, other snakes, a six-legged insect, an “H” symbol and a series of motifs in an arc in the central area, while the margins are rich with geometric motifs of a triangular nature. Finally, the western side presents a relief of a fox with snakes emerging from its chest that spread around towards the front face of the pillar.

The entire surface of Pillar 43 is covered with motifs amongst which stands out a large vulture looking towards the centre of the building (Fig. 7). This bird holds up its right wing while the left wing points forwards, in the direction of another bird. Above these two, a third bird, a snake and two “H-shaped” symbols bind to a pattern of concentric triangles and small squares. Between these two features, in a central position compared to the pillar’s face, there is a spherical element, maybe a solar disk.

Directly above the band of triangles three large objects in the shape of a “padlock” are visible, each one depicting an animal, and at the top of these another band of triangles is present.

On the body of the pillar, however, there is the relief of an enormous scorpion, a fox and a snake arranged to the left and encased by the stone wall. Another bird carries a beheaded and ithyphallic human that, together with the presence of other dangerous animals, could be an indication that the individual suffered a violent death (Schmidt 2006a: 39-40).

A final characteristic of Pillar 43 concerns its placement that is exactly between Trenches L9-68 and L9-69, in the precise point on which the terrace wall associated with Level II passes (Schmidt 2008a: 420).

Having hybrid characters, since they present similar characteristics to both the enclosures of Level III²⁰ of the south-eastern area and those of Level II²¹ excavated mainly in the north-east, Enclosure F (Dietrich *et al.* 2012: Fig. 12) of Göbekli Tepe is located on the western side of the hill and it was discovered just under the surface in Trenches K09-77/87.²² It has a diameter of 10m – equal to that of Enclosure B (Dietrich *et al.* 2015: 100) – and features pillars that are fragmented in the centre due to the proximity of the surface.

¹⁹ The discovery of a small fragment of clay plaster, belonging to the stone fence (Trench L9-68), has allowed the extraction in the laboratory of the quantities of charcoal needed to date the structure to 14C, which is thus older than Enclosure A.

²⁰ This structure recalls the oldest buildings both for the circular shape of the enclosure, with two central pillars and different perimeters, connected by stone benches (Dietrich *et al.* 2012: 690, Fig. 612), and the presence of a terrazzo floor (about 80cm below the benches). The south-west (and not south-east) orientation is the distinctive feature.

²¹ As in earlier buildings, the pillars of Enclosure F are smaller in size (they reach a maximum of 2.15m with Pillar XXXV) and are therefore indicated by Roman numerals.

²² In particular, Enclosure E is attributed to Level II in some works (Schmidt 2007b: 271, Fig. 9), between Layer II and Layer III in other publications (Schmidt 2010a: 240, Fig. 2), or remains as an uncertain construction, connected to Level IV, in some others (Dietrich *et al.* 2014: 12, Fig. 2). This peculiar hybridism, shared with a building found in Harbetsuvan Tepesi with a diameter of 20m (Çelik 2014a: 13), does not allow a clear stratigraphic placement of the structure.

From an iconographic point of view, the structure does not particularly differ from the enclosures of Level III, presenting zoomorphic reliefs such as foxes (Pillar XXXVII: Schmidt 2007b: 276-277), wild boars and birds (Pillar XXXIV) and V-shaped motifs and sculpted arms on Nevalı Çori type pillars (Schmidt 2009b: 165-166). Extremely interesting is the flat relief with a 25cm high sculpted male figure with a long neck discovered on the back of Pillar XXV (Schmidt 2009b: 177, Fig. 4). In addition to being iconographically connected to the beheaded and *ithyphallic* figure of Pillar 43 of Enclosure D, the motif of this pillar, which presents a new genre of vestment-type decoration, continues across to another fragment of the same pillar that shows the relief of a dog measuring about 10cm.

Enclosure F is not the only structure to appear in the so-called “undefined” layer. In fact, a few metres to the west of Enclosure D but at a decidedly higher level lies Enclosure G that has not been excavated yet. In addition, to the north of the latter there is a clear sequence of layers and structures of a mainly circular shape that together form what was recently defined as the “first nucleus of settlement”, probably destroyed following the erection of complexes C and D.

All these structures could belong to an older “Level IV” (Schmidt 2011b: 47-48) that is currently unknown²³ (Notroff *et al.* 2016: 67, Fig. 5.1).

Discovered thanks to the geomagnetic investigations conducted in the north-western depression of the hill, Enclosure H possesses a circular/ovoid layout of about 10m in diameter, a couple of central pillars and, as of today, seven perimetral pillars that preserve the usual iconographic traits (Dietrich *et al.* 2016: Fig. 6). As with the other structures of Level III²⁴, the presence of a second circle of external walls would indicate an older phase of construction (Dietrich *et al.* 2016: 58). Just like Enclosure C, it seems to have undergone iconoclastic and destructive work in antiquity, probably preceded by modifications during usage, shown by the evidence of the reuse of Pillars 66 and 69²⁵ that present an atypical orientation that may indicate a secondary use (Clare *et al.* 2018: 123), with the long side towards the interior of the enclosure and given that they are surmounted by a limestone slab.

From the iconographic point of view, the general predominance of incision over relief is significant and this is perfectly demonstrated by Pillar 56 with a total of 55 animals that bear witness to a vacuous artistic horror. Some of the animals recognized are birds of prey, cranes, ducks, snakes and some mammals, possibly felines.

If Pillar 57 can be remembered for the presence of a unique relief depicting a scolopendra (Becker *et al.* 2014a: 6), Pillar 66 deserves interest not for the animals depicted (a couple of bulls or deer), but for its dramatic theme instead. According to academics, the features of the animals could represent a moment of extreme suffering, such as approaching death, or death itself²⁶ (Dietrich *et al.* 2016: Fig. 13).

The last consideration tied to this building concerns the traces of plaster and clay mortar discovered in some points along the wall. The ease with which this enclosure was devastated by atmospheric agents, especially rain, could certainly have been countered by long term restoration and promoted by ritual communal ceremonies (Clare *et al.* 2018: 131), but could also direct us to a hypothesis of an upper cover that could have protected the enclosure’s interior from bad weather, up to the moment of the “ritual burial” (Dietrich *et al.* 2016: 59).

To sum up, the dating of structures A, B, and C, D allows us to establish that the Göbekli Tepe structures were not all constructed at the same time but some more recently than others (Dietrich *et al.* 2016: 65).

²³ E.g. Trenches L9-59/79/88/89/97/98/99, L9-58, where Enclosure G is located, and K09-77/87 to which Enclosure F belongs.

²⁴ Chronologically speaking, to the present day there are three radiocarbon dates for Enclosure H, one coming from the clay plaster found on the stone wall between Pillar 54 and Pillar 66 (8520 ± 60 cal BC), two from the filling of the structure (8650 ± 50 and 8680 ± 80 cal BC). These data, therefore, suggest that the construction of the building took place before the LPPNA, while its burial after the EPPNB.

²⁵ The reuse of pillars has also been found in other buildings, such as P21 in Enclosure D and P36 in Enclosure C.

²⁶ For more information, see the frescoes found by J. Mellaart in Çatalhöyük, depicting scenes of deer and uro hunting (Hodder 2006: 197, Fig. 84 and Tab. 15; Mellaart 1962: Tab. XVa).

Level II

The buildings of Level II are generally characterized by a rectangular plan, small size (about 3 x 4m) and a terrazzo floor.²⁷ These buildings date back to the 9th millennium BC during the EPPNB²⁸ and occupy the empty space between the structures of Level III, except for small areas, where they partially overlap the oldest layers (e.g. Trenches L9-66). Their location is linked to the creation of a terrace raised above Level III, delimited by a wall enclosing the area of the south-eastern depression of the A-D buildings.²⁹

The T-shaped pillars found in Level II are smaller (1.5m average height), as well as less common, inside the buildings. They are mainly located in a central position, although they are totally absent in many buildings and they follow the Roman numbering, so that they are distinct from those of the older layers. As for the circular structures of the oldest Level III, no evidence of domestic activities, such as fireplaces and ovens, has been found so far (Notroff *et al.* 2016: 66), even if there are little documented stone bowls³⁰ arranged on the floors (Schmidt 2010b: 259, Fig. 4) and stone rings whose function is unknown, similar to that found among the Central American cultures of the Colombian period (Schmidt 2009b: 168).

The main structure of Level II, found in Trench L10-71 in the north-east area, called “Lion Pillar Building”, most probably not a complete building but a cellar-like structure (Schmidt 2000b: 49), shows a rectangular room with walls up to 2m high. Four pillars lie in a central position arranged in two rows, while the other four stand along the perimeter (Dietrich *et al.* 2016: Fig. 3).

The inner pillars located to the east reveal flat relief representations of lions with their jaws wide open and leaping as if to catch a prey, while the other two are bare. One of the perimeter pillars along the south wall show arms and hands and has significant similarities with the pillar found in Nevalı Çori. Its placement inside the wall obviously establishes a subsequent reuse compared to its first realization.

In the space between the two pillars with flat reliefs, a stone slab has been discovered with a motif that is completely foreign to the site: it is a depiction of a woman squatting with open legs, in an undefined situation, probably connected to the sexual sphere (Fig. 8). The peculiarity of this figure concerns not only the theme that emerges, but also the anomalous technique used for its realization: the graffito engraving. For this reason, it may not be part of the original decoration of the building (Schmidt 2010a: 246).

On the terrazzo floor, at a depth of about two meters, stone slabs have been found: it is likely to think that they are the remains of a fallen roof. Although it is not certain yet whether to consider the building underground or semi-underground, the discovery of another room at its south, including a pair of pillars without relief, could confirm its belonging to a larger structure (Schmidt 2011a: 245-246).

The Sites of The Urfa Area

In any case, terrazzo floor-like buildings, T-shaped pillars and the circular enclosures are not unique to Göbekli Tepe. As a topic still relatively untouched, sites like Karahan Tepe, Ayanlar Höyük, Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle,

²⁷ Rectangular buildings of about 4m x 7m whose function is unknown, characterized by walls made of large stones, flat and unfinished, without access and therefore probably semi-underground, were also discovered in Harbetsuvan Tepesi (Çelik 2014a: 14).

²⁸ To date, the buildings of Level II are those belonging to Trenches K09-97, L09-07/17/27/37/47 located in the south-west of the hill, and those in the south-eastern depression of Trenches L9-55/56/57/59/69/60/70/80/95/96 and L10-51/61/71. According to lithic deposits and radiocarbon dates, the *Löwenpfeilergebäude*, for example, should be dated to the EPPNB-MPPNB (Schmidt 1997: 9). The latest radiocarbon analyses performed in Dietrich *et al.* (2013: 38-40, Tab. 1 and Figs 2-3) date Layer II to 8880 ± 60 14C-BP, 8241-7795 cal BC, with a 95.4% level of reliability.

²⁹ This element is clearly visible, for example, in L9-79, where a staircase was also found (Schmidt 2002a: 9-11, Figs 6, 10), and in L9-68 and L9-69, exactly where Pillar 43 of Enclosure D was placed (Schmidt 2008a: 420).

³⁰ These large bowl-like limestone basins were found, for example, in Trenches K10-79, L09-07 and L9-70 and had animal bones on the bottom. However, the extracted filling samples did not give positive results in regard to the presence of possible organic remains (Schmidt 2012a: 326 and 328, Figs 10-11).

Sefer Tepe, Hamzan Tepe, Harbetsuvan Tepesi, Kurt Tepesi and Taşlı Tepe, are dated between the end of the PPNA and the beginning of the PPNB (Çelik 2014a; 2014b; 2016b) and are located in both the province and within the margins of the area, in the districts of Viranşehir, Siverek and the central district on the highlands overlooking the Harran Plain (Çelik 2006: 24; 2014a: 12; 2015b: 354), all share these characteristics which let us suppose the existence of an influential cultural *facies* in this area.

Their location, size and diversity in the lithic assemblage would seem to be connected to the function assumed by each site. For example, Karahan Tepe compared to Harbetsuvan Tepesi, considered its satellite settlement and whose position was designed for controlling the Harran Plain, primarily monitored the interior areas of the Tektek Mountains. The positions of both sites guaranteed a suitable environment for the so-called “Trapping areas” (Çelik 2016b: 422) – areas set aside for hunting - as evidenced by the number of flint artifacts discovered.³¹ The lithic data concerning Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle on the contrary bear witness to a rather important manufacturing place for the production of blades used in the agricultural field, as logic deduces for a site located in the north-west corner of the Harran Plain (Çelik 2011b: 142-145).

The presence of small temporary settlements and satellite sites,³² orbiting up to a maximum of 15km from the major centres Karahan Tepe, Sefer Tepe and Ayanlar Höyük, was probably proof of the importance of these macro centres. Furthermore, the fact that Taşlı Tepe is located at about the same distance from Sefer Tepe, Karahan Tepe and Göbekli Tepe could indicate that the settlements with the T-shaped pillars were distributed in the region according to predetermined agreements or for the purpose of establishing different areas of competence and borders between the territories (Çelik *et al.* 2011: 230).

All the sites built on bedrock exploited the geological structure of the region with its limestone nature, especially for architectural purposes. Mere archaeological surveys, some of which were conducted during illegal excavations, have revealed the existence of basin-like pools carved in bedrock for the collection of rainwater (Çelik 2003: 44-48; 2010: 262, Fig. 6; Güler, Çelik 2015: 23), circular enclosures and T-shaped pillars, some of which are visible on the surface and preserved *in situ*.³³ If, on the one hand the size of these pillars, about 1-2.5m (Çelik 2000a: 4-6; 2014a), do not find comparisons with Göbekli Tepe – except from the more recent Level II and especially in Enclosure F (Hauptmann 1991/92: 28; Hauptmann 1993: 56, Fig. 16; Schmidt 1997/98: Fig. 15; 2002a: 8, Fig. 7) – it is true that the 8m high cultural layer of Karahan Tepe and its 16 hectares (Çelik 2015a: 449), the 14 hectares of Ayanlar Höyük, along with the round enclosure with a diameter of about 20m with T-shaped pillars of Harbetsuvan Tepesi,³⁴ suggest us that the oldest levels, contemporaries of Göbekli Tepe III, lie a few metres under the surface (Çelik 2017: 363-364).

From the artistic point of view, the pillars discovered in these sites share the features of those found in Göbekli Tepe but with some exceptions. Some of the 266 T-shaped pillars found in Karahan Tepe,³⁵ for example, present depictions of animals³⁶ but none for the moment show incisions of arms or hands, characteristics otherwise

³¹ The comparison between the amount of arrowheads found in Göbekli Tepe and Karahan Tepe reveals a strong unbalance towards the latter site, 40% more, probably due to the presence of “Trapping areas” in the Tektek mountains. The massive presence of this stone is believed to be due to the proximity of the settlement to some deposits (Çelik 2011a).

³² Reference is made to Mınzilit Isa, Mınzilit Feris, Mınzilit Hileyil and Asağı Yazıcı Güney Mevkii for Karahan Tepe (Çelik 2015b: 358-359); Curna Henzir, Vari Nebi, Ömer Altundağ Tarlası, Sirtki Hesey, Çillo 1, Çillo 2 and Oççık for Ayanlar Höyük, and Kuş Harabesi Kuçe Çamçak Tepe, Inanlı Tepe, Kocanizam and Başaran Höyük for Sefer Tepe (Çelik 2015a; Güler *et al.* 2013). These settlements are temporary, or small with circular buildings, and hardly show architectural remains. The only exception so far is the site of Kocanizam in the Viranşehir district, where a limestone slab identified as the body of a ‘T’ pillar was found (Güler *et al.* 2013: 296).

³³ In Hamzan Tepe, for example, both T-pillars and two circular buildings that can be defined as civic or domestic were discovered, one of which has a diameter of about 4.5m and walls 1m x 30-40cm thick in a single row of stones (Çelik 2014a: 14). There are no similar structures built with this building technique, but the round building is an architectural tradition that can generally be observed in settlements dated to the EPPN (Sicker-Akman 2001: 389-394).

³⁴ With such a diameter, this structure is almost twice as large as the Enclosure F of Göbekli Tepe (Çelik 2016b: 427 and Figs 5-6).

³⁵ The number of T-pillars seems to be directly proportional to the number of scrapers found; the increased presence of this element in the Karahan Tepe site compared to Göbekli Tepe would be a significant factor in this respect.

³⁶ In detail, snakes (Çelik 2016c); fragmentary composition of rabbit-gazelle-rabbit-gazelle-another animal (Çelik 2011a: Fig. 12).

seen at Harbetsuvan Tepesi and Kurt Tepesi (Çelik 2014a). Surely the most characteristic element of the stelae found in these sites but not shared universally³⁷ is the wide tie shaped groove with a “chevron” motif at the top.³⁸ At the moment the only *bucranium* discovered on the body of one of these 16 pillars was found *in situ* at Sefer Tepe (Çelik 2006: 24 and Fig. 3; Kürkçüoğlu, Kara 2005: 62-63), while the relief of a belt is attested on one of the 14 pillars of Harbetsuvan Tepesi. At the present time there is no trace of reliefs of animals around the pillars but the discovery of a fragment of a feral head, probably belonging to a large feline (Ercan, Çelik 2013: Figs. 3a, 3c), connected to the site of Ayanlar Höyük, would seem to confirm its presence (Ercan, Çelik 2013: 53-54, Figs 3a-d; Schmidt 2007a: 128, Fig. 23; Hauptmann 2007: 162, Fig. 20).

Amongst the small findings that characterize these sites, there are the so-called chlorite vessels with the probable function of whetstones (Ercan, Çelik 2013: 48-29, Figs 1a-d) - examples of which were found in other sites of the period such as Hallan Çemi, Çayönü (Çambel 1974: 373, Fig. 14; Rosenberg 1999: 12, Fig. 3), Demirköy, Göbekli Tepe (Köksal-Schmidt, Schmidt 2007: 101), Karahan Tepe and Körtik Tepe (Çelik *et al.* 2011a: 246; Coşkun *et al.* 2010: 61, Figs 2a-b; Özkaya 2009: 5, Figs 7-8; Özkaya, Coşkun 2011: 90-93 and Figs 15-21, 26), probably the site where they were originally from - anthropomorphic *ithyphallic* statues and Totem poles (Karahana Tepe, Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle), portholes (Ayanlar Höyük, Karahan Tepe) and Blanchard phallus-like limestone sculptures (Hamzan Tepe). Examples of terrazzo floors were found not only in Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle,³⁹ but also in Karahan Tepe (Çelik 2000b: 7; 2011a) and Ayanlar Höyük (Çelik 2011b: 158, Fig. 16).

DATA ANALYSIS

Animalistic Art and Totemism

The existing link between the sites investigated up till now can be made not only from an architectural point of view, with the presence of the T-shaped pillars, circular enclosures and terrazzo floors, but even more from an artistic point of view. The most significant elements are certainly the relief incisions of animals on the *stelae* and, as pointed out, figurines, round reliefs and zoomorphic reliefs found in the filling of the structures or the totemic compositions that reveal a rather sophisticated artistic streak (Figs 9-10).

The importance that these depictions possess is to be understood from the characterizations of the circular buildings at Göbekli Tepe, whose habit was to make one animal prevail over the others. In Enclosure A, for example, the snake dominates, in B the foxes take over, in C the wild boars are the protagonists, while in D the birds (and the snakes) have an important role. The direction of their gaze towards the interior of the enclosures seems to have a specific reason.

From a stylistic point of view, the repetition of motifs and iconography that extended beyond the site would seem to confirm the existence of a true class of specialized artists belonging to the same cultural tradition (Schmidt, Köksal-Schmidt 2014: 76). This fact is evident both inside Göbekli Tepe, whose foxes represented on the

³⁷ In Taşlı Tepe, for example, the pillars found have no reliefs or engravings of any kind.

³⁸ It recalls the motif of Pillar 18 of Enclosure D in Göbekli Tepe, but it's considerably different (Çelik 2015b: 358; Schmidt 2010a: 243, Fig. 8).

³⁹ The emergency excavation of a 15m long section has brought to light four terrazzo floors, two of which have been exposed: in particular, the Terrazzo floor I, preserved in the lower part of the section and made without particular attention, is just over 3m long and is bordered to the south by an irregular heap of stones probably coming from a wall, which is not visible to the north. Under the floor is visible a layer of pebbles, placed as a “buffer”, reaching a thickness of 25cm. It was not possible to identify the floor plan of the structure to which the floor belongs, but 3 door-sockets were found close to each other. Terrazzo floor II, unlike the previous one, was built very diligently and seems to be the floor of a round building of about 2m in diameter, preserved only in half. It is relatively thin, having a thickness of about 2cm, and its surface is well levelled and burnished. Along the external perimeter, the floor is raised perpendicularly, and this suggests the presence of an original plaster wall along the perimeter. Among all the floors, a total of four stones have been found with a circular recess 12cm in radius and 3-5cm in depth, which could be either door-sockets or simply post holes, such as those placed at regular intervals in the “Lion pillar Building” of Göbekli Tepe (Çelik 2011b: 141-142).

pillars, for example, are all created following the same figurative canon, both beyond its confines and in the other settlements in the region of Urfa. At Karahan Tepe for instance, on two pillars that were the victims of marauders, reliefs of snakes were found, one with a triangular head and zigzagged body,⁴⁰ similar to those discovered at Nevalı Çori and Göbekli Tepe (Schmidt, Köksal-Schmidt 2014: 74-75, Figs 1-5; Schmidt 2000a: Fig. 5; Hauptmann 1993: 59, Fig. 19) which are based on the same famous lithic bowls of Körtik Tepe. Whilst another one, with a round head and wavy body (Moetz, Çelik 2012: 705, Fig. 3), resembles other engraved representations on stone found at Jerf el-Ahmar (Stordeur *et al.* 1996: 2, Fig. 2).

Even the anatomical neglect of the ophidians, that in the light of comparison with other animal families is without doubt predetermined⁴¹ (Dietrich *et al.* 2012a: Fig. 10), extends to all the region and bears witness to an artistic unity on a large scale founded on extensive knowledge of the specific animalistic traits and their naturalistic yield.⁴²

Art that aims to faithfully reproduce reality has taken a step further, aiming instead to represent a dream-like and mysterious component. Knowing that, it is easy to understand the discovery of pansexual figurines that refer in shape and contents to the T-shaped pillars, examples of which have been found in Gaziantep (Çelik 2005: 29, Figs 1-3) and Kilisik,⁴³ the so-called Urfa Man from Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle (Fig. 11), and the totem poles of Göbekli Tepe (Schmidt 2012a: 34-36, Figs 6-8; 2014: 330, 335, Fig. 3) and Karahan Tepe,⁴⁴ sculptures that present the juxtaposition of different figures, animals and humans, along the vertical axis (Dietrich *et al.* 2019b: 23, Fig. 5) and that identify the guardian spirits of specific parental units or social organizations, such as clans or tribes⁴⁵ (Fig. 12).

Without dwelling on the narrative-iconographic aspect of such compositions,⁴⁶ it is very evident that they constitute the reflection of belief and practices tied to a specific conception of the natural and supernatural world whose access was the prerogative of mediums and shamans, through the possible use of both hallucinogenic drugs, along with techniques including sensory deprivation, physical pain, meditation, fasting, etc.⁴⁷, and also thanks to rituals that required disguising themselves as animals during scripted ceremonies.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Perhaps representing Levantine vipers, a dangerous species for humans (Peters, Schmidt 2004: 183).

⁴¹ Among the rather evident details which are absent for this typology of reptilians, it is enough to think about the scales, the teeth or the tongue, well present in other reliefs of bulls, wild boars and foxes, for example. The sketch of these figures and their caricature could be apotropaic (the lack of attention to the anatomical details of this reptile would have contributed to reduce their strength or keep them away from the settlements) or symbolic (being a subject very represented during the PPNA, it was enough to outline just the traits to communicate directly to the observer the message he wanted to transmit).

⁴² This is the case of the birds represented at Göbekli Tepe, of which 20 different *species* have been identified; each of them is well characterized and easily recognizable. In this regard, one of the most unusual relief, preserved in the Museum of Şanlıurfa, shows the figure of a standing bird, having short legs and a small tail, traits that seem to place it among the Sphenisciformes.

⁴³ It is a small anthropomorphic sculpture in the shape of a "T" found in a small village at the foot of the Taurus, about 85km north of Nevalı Çori: of the famous pillars it shares the angle of the arms and the position of the hands on the front edge and has a long nose, based on a model of lithic masks, also miniaturistic, found in Göbekli Tepe, probably used within mythopoietic rituals closely related to death (Dietrich *et al.* 2018). Between the hands of the figure appear the head, interpreted by H. Hauptmann also as a phallus, and then the body of a second person, which ends with a hole in the bottom. On the lateral faces we can see, however, those that H. Hauptmann himself describes as legs that join the arms of the first individual. The composition ends with a rather evident hole (Hauptmann 2012: 19, Figs 9-10). According to M. Verhoeven's interpretation, the two figures could be either asexual or represent bisexual or female individuals. In the latter case, the larger figure, squatting, would have given birth to the smaller one, also of female gender, if the hole were interpreted as a vagina (Verhoeven 2001: 8).

⁴⁴ Another famous example is the one discovered in the site of Nevalı Çori within the so-called "Cult Building", reassembled by the archaeologist K. Schmidt (Hauptmann 1999: 76).

⁴⁵ The totem can take the form of a plant, insect, animal, bird or mythical entity: the belief that a group has a particular relationship with its totem, usually seeing it as a sacred ancestor, and therefore subject to special taboos and ritual observances, is called "Totemism" (Darvill 2002).

⁴⁶ See Köksal-Schmidt, Schmidt (2010: 74-75, Fig. 1).

⁴⁷ Leone (2002: 63-69; 2009: 102-106) discusses the subject in greater depth.

⁴⁸ With regard to these practices there are both figurative evidence, where the anatomical component of the animal differs

Therefore, it appears plausible to state that within these societies the animal world did not take the form of a different domain that was separate from the social or supernatural world but represented becoming one with them according to a holistic vision of the world called “Ecosophy” (Årem 1990: 115). A summary of this type could derive from a sort of innatism modulated not by knowledge, from the moment that these derive from experiences based on the senses, but on cognition (Chiesa 2012: 40). It then follows that in the first place the animals are equipped with a range of attitudes, habits and behaviours similar to those of humans for a variety of mythological and cosmological reasons and acquire, thanks to these, the role of “owners and guardians” of determined places, such as, for example, the enclosures of Göbekli Tepe and, more generally, the “Communal Buildings” of the PPNA/EPPNB.

Secondly, the constant zoomorphic presence reflects both a constant and physical dependence on the animal world and the immaterial need for it to guide and determine many practices of routine daily life, as if its transformation into reality was a metaphorical and a concrete equivalent aimed to absorb its vital energy and power (Whittle 2003: 93-95).

It is in this perspective that, according to A. Marciniak, some places could have been used within ceremonies and feasts and could have been connected to rituals possibly tied to the understanding of the surrounding world, such as special “arenas”. These community constructions would have allowed the conceptualization, creation, renewal or renegotiation of the “man-animal” relationship and allowed for reflection on these symbolic categories (Reynolds 2011: 177). One similar conclusion was reached by T. Watkins who defines these arenas as “Theatres of memory”, within which social relations between individuals unfold and both material and pragmatic knowledge and beliefs, including holistic ones, are learnt by living in close contact with natural phenomena (Watkins 2006: 15).

The depictions of animals on the T-shaped pillars and on the three-dimensional sculptures of Göbekli Tepe should therefore suggest to us that in these buildings parallel worlds of powerful animal and human communities could meet (Boric’ 2013: 59) and debate on themes such as society, family and fertility, making use of mythical storytelling too (Whittle 2003: 101). The importance of these realizations, which is often ignored, is in fact tied to the “animated” character which is intrinsic to them: in summary, Neolithic Man built artificial and inanimate environments and filled them with symbols to make them suitable for his sustenance, in order not to renounce his relationship with Nature from which he had learnt everything. Instead he made it converge with every aspect of life within his habitation, therefore creating an extension of it.

The domination of one animal over the others within the different structures, maybe represented by the figures on Pillar 43 as well, could indicate that the animal guide/totem belonged to a specific family or clan. From this perspective it is likely that different clan formations could have been based in Göbekli Tepe, each one edifying a communal building that reunited the group during collective ceremonies with the dwellings of clan leaders/shamans, the so-called “delegates of knowledge”,⁴⁹ giving life to a primordial form of settlement, according to the model hypothesized by I. Hodder for Çatalhöyük.⁵⁰

significantly from reality - see, for example, Pillars 33 and Pillar 43 of Göbekli Tepe and the fresco of Çatalhöyük in House 21 of Level VII from Mellaart (1963: 95-98) - and material evidence, e.g. the plastered skull with the attached mandible of a wild boar found in Çatalhöyük (Twiss 2006: 10, Fig. 5). We suggest to interpret these data as evidence of animal disguises within esoteric-ritual contexts (Lichter 2016: 73).

⁴⁹ “Cultural memory always has its special holders: they include shamans, bards, griots as well as priests, teachers, artists, writers, scholars, mandarins or as always they want to call the delegates to knowledge” (Assman 1997: 28).

⁵⁰ According to I. Hodder, the main reason why these people gathered in such an agglomeration was that they could help each other in case of need and lack of resources, both with protection against external danger and the supply of food in case of shortage: in such situations, it was, in fact, much more convenient for the inhabitants of a house to be able to count on the help of neighbours and return the favour where necessary: “*The leopard changes its spots: recent work on societal change at Çatalhöyük*”: December 2013 conference, <https://vimeo.com/82267556>.

Communal Buildings and History Houses

Following what has just been said, it is clear that it is not easy in the case of these enclosures to separate the symbolic component from the functional one, even if the archaeological data suggest variable solutions that certainly derive from different traditions and also from the availability of usable raw materials.

In fact, it is no coincidence that the latest reconstructions of the buildings of Göbekli Tepe, which irrefutably sanction the presence of wooden coverings⁵¹ that gave access to the structures, are very close to those of the Community Buildings discovered in Jerf El Ahmar⁵² or those of the Cult Building of Nevalı Çori made by H. Hauptmann (Figs 13-14). Some of the common features of these so-called Communal Buildings of the PPNA/EPPNB, which have an incredible symbolic value, are carved pillars, plans and distinctive architectural features, peculiar characteristics such as notable dimensions, walls with niches, terrazzo floors, benches and platforms for sitting next to the walls (Özdoğan 2010: 30). In addition, the predilection for the semi-underground construction of these structures must not be forgotten, as the latest developments have confirmed that this occurred in Göbekli Tepe as well.⁵³

Therefore, this kind of correspondence states that the expressive variety of these types of enclosures, all having a communal character, is not due to the natural manifestation of the sacred place (Kornienko 2009: 95), but depends exclusively on the availability of local raw materials.

It is now accepted evidence that it was important for such structures to possess a strong symbolic design and to be built in a “ritualistic” way so to speak. The presence of skulls under the pillars of Jerf El Ahmar (Stordeur 2000: 2) or at the foot of the “Tower” of Jericho, the burial of a woman embracing a plastered skull in Çatalhöyük as a foundation deposit and the zoomorphic presence on the pillars in the province of Urfa, are just some examples of this extended sacred and holistic vision of the world, totemic or shamanic, as has been stated.

On the model of Çatalhöyük, different scholars agree with giving a definition of “History houses”⁵⁴ to these dwellings that are particularly rich from the iconographic and “ritual” point of view. According to I. Hodder and C. Cessford, for example, who give a take the definition of the “House society” elaborated by C. Levi-Strauss,⁵⁵ within a society that does not develop any form of writing, the house itself was the tool that allow the mechanisms of reproduction through the construction and preservation of a collective memory (Hodder, Cessford 2004: 31). According to E. B. Banning, the House societies perpetuated themselves through real or imaginary relation-

⁵¹ Kurapkat (2014) clearly specifies the different building techniques and the various materials used according to the area of origin of the structures, in particular Neolithic and Anatolian. In particular, he reiterated the reasons why there is no evidence of wooden remains of superstructures in Göbekli Tepe, i.e. the fact that in most regions of the Near East neither conditions of permanent humidity nor absolute aridity capable of preserving the botanical remains prevail. He also definitively established that the stone architecture preserved on the site could provide proof of an original cladding of structures from the wooden roof on its own and in turn he developed a model of the cladding of the buildings. He was also responsible for explaining the extraction of the pillars from the quarry and their transport in situ (Kurapkat 2014: 81-82).

⁵² Both the Communal Building of the village 1/east, a direct reminiscence of House 47 of phase III of Mureybet (Cauvin 1977: 28-30, Figs 10-11), and the Communal Building of the village II/west (EA 30), both radially divided into cells and benches, had central wooden pillars supporting a flat earthen roof, laid on a wooden structure (Stordeur 2000: 2).

⁵³ There are many examples, such as the buildings of first phase in Çayönü or the Skull Building, those located in Hallan Çemi (Rosenberg 1995: 91, Figs 3-4), the Cult Building in Nevalı Çori and houses in Jerf El Ahmar and Mureybet III in Syria. In Göbekli Tepe rather pronounced evidences were found, among which the ladder found at the beginning of the access corridor to Enclosure C that probably could be reconstructed as a hypogean *dromos*.

⁵⁴ At Çatalhöyük, the buildings that stood out from the others for their size, the richness of their wall paintings, installations such as bucrania, multiple burials and multi-level reconstructions (Lercari 2017), were those that aimed to preserve and perpetuate the memory of a family, to transmit its history, and in which domestic rites and the care of ancestors were provided (Hodder, Pels 2010: 178).

⁵⁵ In the definition of the anthropologist it is noticeable a departure from the models of classification of kinship towards a “house” understood as a legal person in possession of an estate, able to reproduce itself through the transmission of its name, its goods and rights (Lévi-Strauss 1982: 187). The transmission of houses and objects within them builds a memory and constitutes social unity. According to Hodder (2006: 165-167), many events take place inside houses, from more practical ones (e.g. replacing an older wall with a newer one) to more ritual ones (e.g. foundation or burial), all aimed at building “histories”.

ships founded on maintaining this collective memory (Banning 2011: 643-646). Therefore, the conservative and encyclopaedic use that architecture in all its forms could have had in this period is not to be excluded. In fact, the material world is the substance thanks to which “(...) people create their own meaningful, biographical texts” (Hodder, Hutson 2003: 212).

Amongst the characteristics of these houses in Çatalhöyük, we must remember the repetitiveness of the pictures and sculptures from one level to another in the site, the works of continuous reconstruction and restoration and the long duration of their lives within the history of the settlement. The evidence of pillars being reused within the enclosures of Göbekli Tepe, literally moved from one structure to another, which at their turn underwent progressive narrowing following the addition of new stone circles,⁵⁶ as well as the latest dating that sanctions a probable contemporaneity between the enclosures of Level III and those of Level II at least during a phase of occupation of the site (Dietrich *et al.* 2019a: 4-6), certainly suggests a definition of “History houses” for the “circles” of Göbekli Tepe as well.

In Çatalhöyük these structures which merged domestic function and “ritual” practices were, on the other hand, flanked by the more elementary ones, considered to be simply dwellings. Micromorphological analysis of the deposits on the floors have shown in fact that activities associated with the preparation of food, its consumption and the processing of obsidian, etc., took place even in these more elaborate enclosures (Matthews *et al.* 1996: 317).

What recently emerged from the studies conducted in Göbekli Tepe on plant remains, in particular the phytoliths derived from grasses, and confirmed by the heavy presence of grindstones (a good 7268) also in enclosures of Level III, such as Enclosure D (Dietrich *et al.* 2019a: 25), has highlighted the existence of ritual practices tied to the consumption of cereals and alcoholic beverages, contextually with the collective ceremonies and banquets. As a result, the idea of an integrated vision of domestic and ritual activities in the site begins to powerfully take hold amongst scholars (Clare *et al.* 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

“Chiefdoms” of PPNA?

The main purpose of this paper was to provide a general overview concerning the T-shaped pillar’s sites: in the first place, new developments in excavations at Göbekli Tepe were considered, which led to the formulation of new theories re-evaluating the previous idea of an open-air “Hunter-gatherers’ Sanctuary” in favour of a more likely stable settlement, covered and (semi-)underground buildings; secondly, we discussed about the importance and the need of investigating other sites with the same attributes in order to reach a better comprehension of the Göbekli Tepe site itself.

Archaeological evidence relating to the presence of numerous other sites with common features within the same region suggest at least a similar function for the same sites, which probably divided the territory of the province of Şanlıurfa, by defining specific boundaries and areas of influence. Archaeological findings investigated so far have established a predilection for hunting habits at Karahan Tepe, located on the limestone plateau of *Tektek Dağları* to monitor the inland areas of the Tektek Mountains, and Harbetsuvan Tepesi in full control of the Haran plain; the settlement of Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle is meant to be strictly linked to agricultural activities.

The “hierarchy theory” concerning the sites with T-shaped pillars is far from reality, we just need to consider the strategic position of these sites and the number of satellite settlements also discovered in the area of influence of Sefer Tepe and Ayanlar Höyük: according to this previous view, Göbekli Tepe should be the head of an amphictyony of “satellite” sites, being the most important and extensive sanctuary (9ha), with the most impressive stratigraphic deposit (15m) and his central and strategic position (Schmidt 2001: 11).

⁵⁶ I. Hodder sees in the concentric circles of the walls a reference to a multi-stage renovation modelled on Çatalhöyük and believes that the space between the walls, which has not yet been entirely excavated, can accommodate burials (Banning 2011: 643-646).

Archaeological surveys established 16 hectares of extension for Karahan Tepe and 14 hectares for Ayanlar Höyük; both settlements own cultural layers of debris of about 7-8 metres (which could very well host semi-underground circular buildings, as in Level III of Göbekli Tepe), and also archaeological findings⁵⁷ and stone industry⁵⁸ show similarities between these sites and Göbekli Tepe. In the light of these considerations, even if we cannot exclude the hypothesis of amphictyony linking these large settlements, Göbekli Tepe's supremacy must be rejected.

About Göbekli Tepe's society, we argued that it was made up of several families and clans, headed by guardians of "collective memory and cultural identity" holding the cult of the ancestors, the myths of that specific *gens* and the power of the animal totem, which the communal monumental building was dedicated to.

Assuming this social structure for the other sites having buildings with T-shaped pillars as well, we can accept that around 9745-9314 cal BC (the earliest date of the Enclosure D) several communities belonging to the same cultural *facies* settled in the area of the current province of Şanlıurfa and gained strategically significant stations for hunting and controlling the territory, such as the plateaus, the Euphrates valley and the Harran plain (Fig. 15).

Chiefdoms are autonomous political units that include a number of villages or communities under the permanent control of a paramount chief (Carneiro 1981: 45), whose emergence can well be regarded as the leading line of politogenesis, as predecessors of contemporary societies. This term of anthropological derivation has been recently updated, considering various evolutionary alternatives to the classical politogenesis.⁵⁹

The definition of "chiefdom analogues", in particular in the sub-category of "polysettlement analogues united by horizontal links", well represents the sites with T-shaped pillars of the PPNA in Anatolia: non-hierarchical systems of acephalous communities with a salient autonomy of small family households, like the ones that were described among the Apatanis of North-East India, or the Pueblo Indians of the northern New Mexico (Grinin, Korotayev 2011: 296-297), or the horizontal egalitarian society proposed by M. Frangipane for the subsequent Halaf culture (Frangipane 2007).

Archaeologically speaking, we have evidence that the settlements of Sefer Tepe, Karahan Tepe, Göbekli Tepe, Taslı Tepe are about 30km apart from each other, almost following a firm and pre-planned layout: bearing in mind that they are also generally founded on or near plateaus (Erim-Özdoğan 2011: 229), we can assume, as anticipated, a division of the territory following natural boundaries (Güler *et al.* 2013: 297).

The distance between Karahan Tepe and Harbetsuvan Tepesi of 7km, however, allows us to argue that the latter site was probably a "satellite" settlement of the first one, in order to control the Harran plain. Moreover, the similarity between the pillars of the two settlements clearly indicates a contemporaneity and the existence of bondings between the two sites (Çelik 2014a: 21).

Archaeological evidence, comparisons between sites and buildings, iconographic representations, statuary, ritual practices and anthropology, all of this suggests us to formulate a theory, according to which several clans, led by leaders which were able to "read" and interpret the messages of nature and their ancestors, the shamans, settled in several centres in the current province of Şanlıurfa around the second half of the 10th millennium.

⁵⁷ For example, the 266 pillars discovered on the surface of Karahan Tepe; the chlorite vessel and the fragment of a feline statue by Ayanlar Höyük; the pillar with *bucranium* of Sefer Tepe; the presence of both circular buildings and pillars at a Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle and at Hamzan Tepe and the discovery of terrazzo floors all over the sites here.

⁵⁸ The analysis of the lithic industry found out at Göbekli Tepe on the surface or during the first surveys dated the site to the EPPNB-MPPNB, not attesting to any Byblos point, later spotted. Also, the discovery of fragments of decorated lithic vessels (Beile-Bohn *et al.* 1999: 62, Tab. 26), at that time only found at Hallan Çemi (Rosenberg 1993: 128, Fig. 9), but well-known today from the site of Körtik Tepe, suggested a date between 10500 and 8600 BP, then the PPNB (Schmidt 1995: 9). The same considerations can be found in all the reports currently available for the sites in the Urfa area where T-shaped pillars have been found on the surface.

⁵⁹ Grinin, Korotayev (2011: 291) subdivide all the diversity of the medium complexity polities into two major types, named chiefdoms/chiefdom-like polities and chiefdom analogues: "*Chiefdom analogues, that can be defined as polities or territorially organized corporations that have sizes and functions, which are similar to those of chiefdom-like polities, but that lack any of their other characteristics, such as high levels of hierarchy and centralization, presence of formal leader, organized system of resource control, political independence, 17 and so on.*"

Architectural elements with a high mysterious connotation inside the houses, the so-called “T-shaped pillars”, anthropomorphic figures perhaps representing the founding ancestors, are said to be the hallmark of this cultural *facies*.

Advanced techniques for working limestone, easily found in the area, has allowed them to create monoliths and statues of great artistic value: the knowledge, traditions and memory of these communities were thus permanently imprinted in the monumental houses that they built, as real “prehistoric libraries”.

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Fig. 1: Sculpture of the predator of Pillar 27, Enclosure C (Public domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GobeklitepeHeykel.jpg>, edited by Christopher C. Caletti).



Fig. 2: The central Pillar 2 of Enclosure A (CC BY-NC 2.0 betabloker, <https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/a227dec2-0662-4442-ad5c-8ddc8c7c2c98>).



Fig. 3: Overview of Enclosure C (CC BY-NC 2.0 betabloker, <https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/b45c0927-9f76-4e8f-b5ce-0aa84cb9c680>).



Fig. 4: Enclosure C in detail: central pillar with fox-relief and perimetral Pillar 27 with high-relief of a predator and flat-relief of a boar (Photo by ZEKERIYA SEN on Unsplash, edited by Christopher C. Caletti).



Fig. 5: Sculpture of a wild boar with a fragmented base from Enclosure C (CC BY-SA 4.0 Dosseman, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=87320502>).



Fig. 6: Pillar 33 (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 gordontour, <https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/37fd4fd5-7740-46a8-8f96-c7027dbdf4b6>).

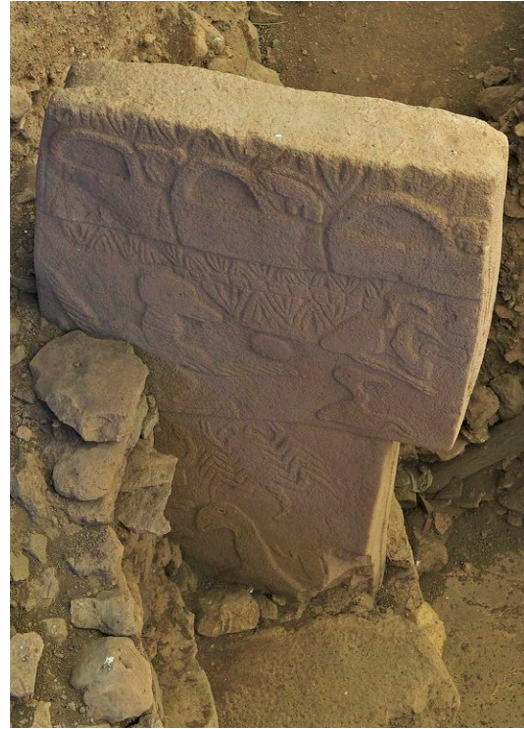


Fig. 7: Pillar 43 of Enclosure D (CC BY-SA 2.0 Ai@ce, <https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/61902b25-e6a4-4541-8289-6abb67225849>).

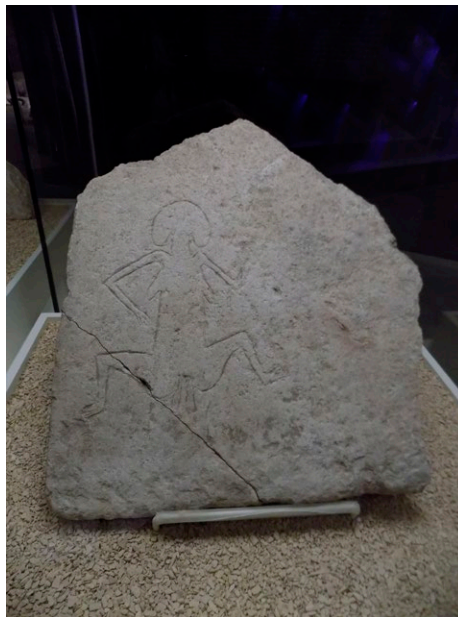


Fig. 8: Lion Pillar Building: stone slab with a female motif (CC BY-SA Cobija https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C5%9Ean1%C4%B1urfa_M%C3%BCzesi_Neolitik_%C3%87a%C4%9F_buluntu.jpg).



Fig. 9: Sculptures from Göbekli Tepe: wolf-head sculpture (top left, CC BY-SA Dosseman, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b0/Urfa_museum_Animal_statuette_sept_2019_4754.jpg), reptile-head sculpture (bottom left, CC BY-SA Dosseman, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d9/Urfa_museum_Animal_statuette_sept_2019_4758.jpg), lithic mask (right, CC BY-SA Cobija, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/78/%C5%9Ean%C4%B1urfa_M%C3%BCze_si_Neolitik_%C3%87a%C4%9F_insan_heykeli_par%C3%A7as%C4%B1.jpg), edited by Christopher C. Caletti.



Fig. 10: Relief from Göbekli Tepe (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0 Pilar Torres, <https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/8cd9abb4-88b4-4628-ba7f-7450ac376d56>).

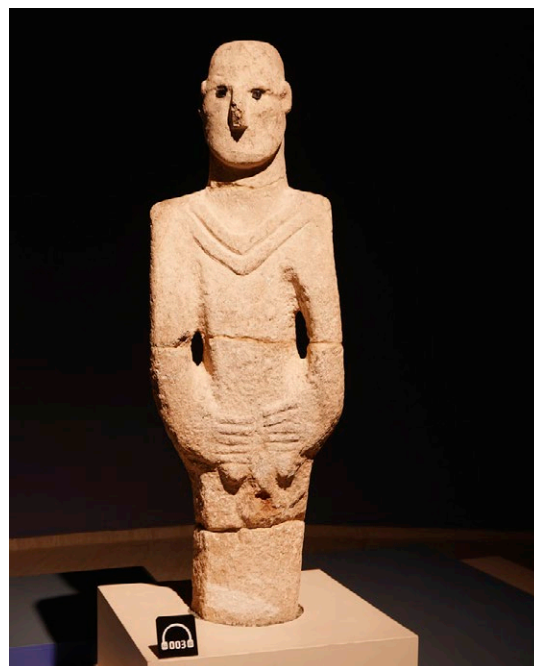


Fig. 11: The so-called "Urfa man" from Şanlıurfa-Yeni Mahalle (CC BY-SA 2.0 Ai@ce, <https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/703fcd4d-bd47-43a1-91e3-14351550914f>).



Fig. 12: “Totem poles” from Nevalı Çori on the left (CC BY-SA Dosseman https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Urfa_museum_Totem-like_head_sept_2019_4855.jpg, edited by Christopher C. Caletti) and Göbekli Tepe on the right (CC BY-SA Cobija https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C5%9Ean%C4%B1urfa_M%C3%BCzesi_Neorilik_%C3%87a%C4%9F_totem.jpg, edited by Christopher C. Caletti).

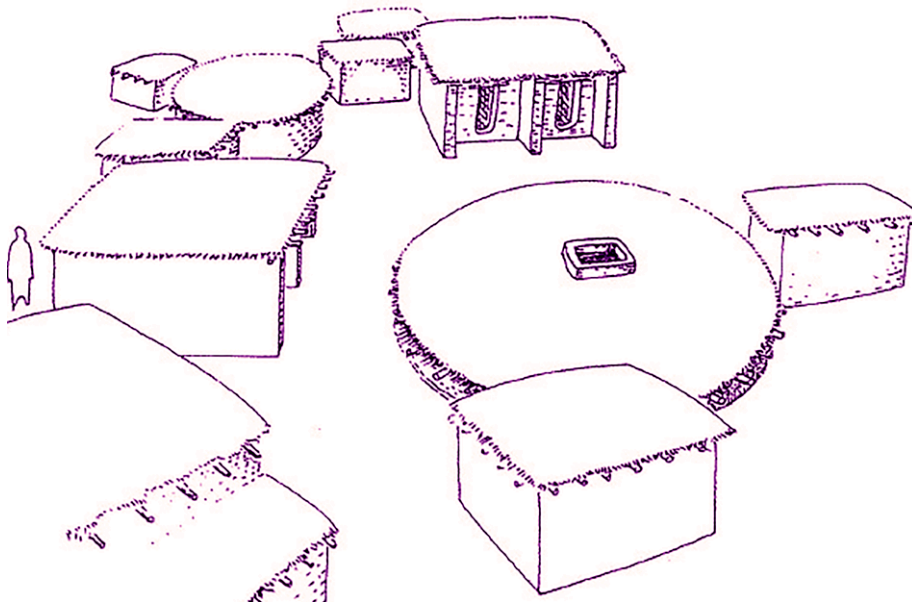


Fig. 13: Village II-West of Jerf El Ahmar (Stordeur 2000: Fig. 3, edited by Christopher C. Caletti).

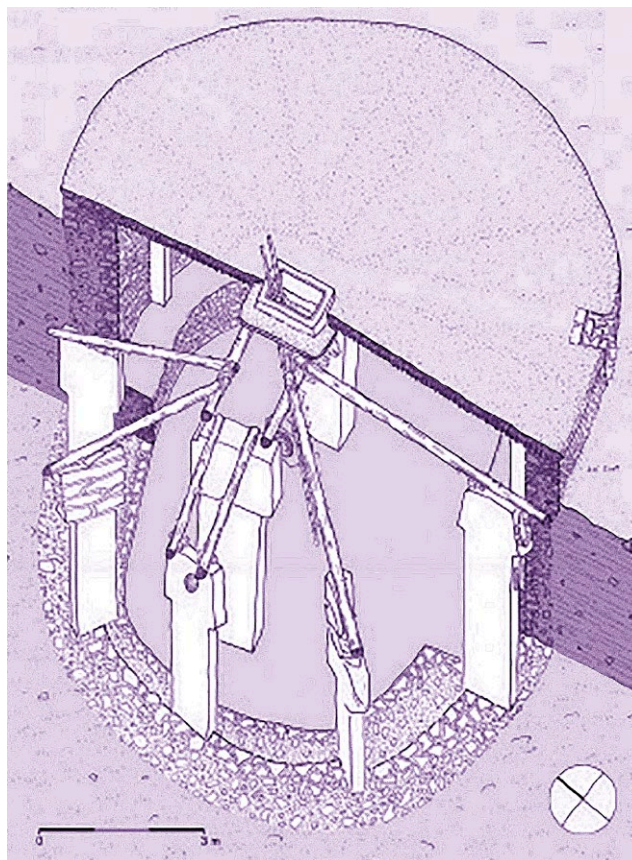


Fig. 14: Reconstruction of the covering of Enclosure B in Göbekli Tepe (Kurapkat 2014: Fig. 2.21, edited by Christopher C. Caletti).

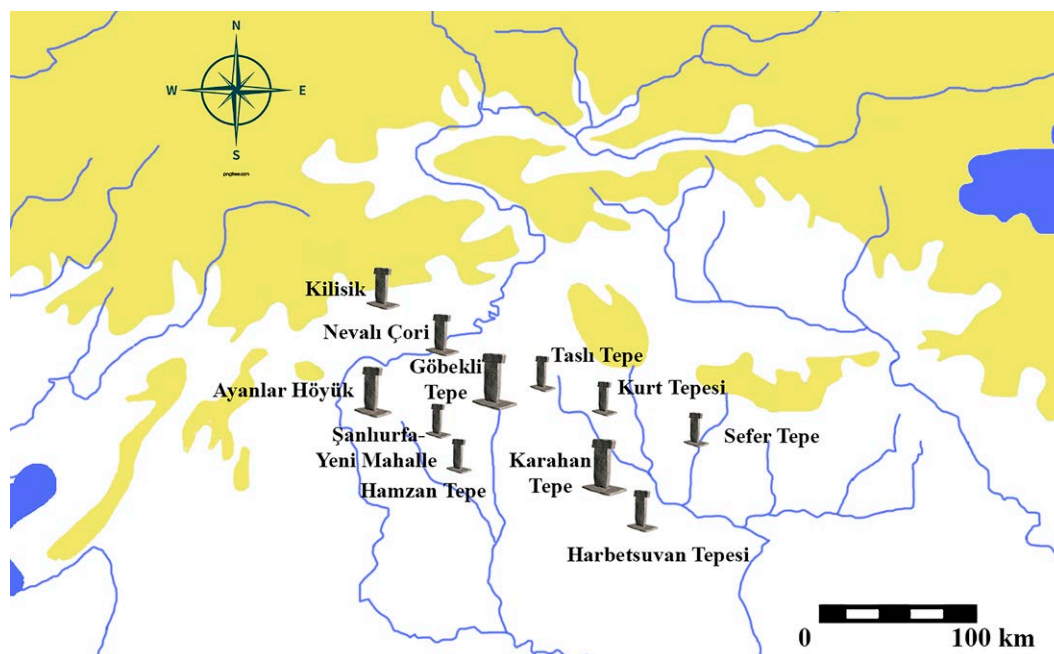


Fig. 15: Current distribution of sites with T-shaped pillars (©Christopher C. Caletti 2019).



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Su alcuni aspetti delle attività dei collettori di beni nei testi di Ebla¹

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Abstract. The article intends to contribute to the study of the term ur_4 by focusing on the attestations that show the close connection of the ur_4 officials with some members of the Ebla élite. In particular, it should be noted that some officials recur constantly in connection with the same members of the Eblaite court, for whom the officials delivered and purchased mainly harnesses for equidae and wagon parts, being also involved, in the case of the King and mainly of the Minister *Ib-ri-um*, in the management of their residences. In the same way, the ur_4 officials were also part of the personal staff of the Eblaite princesses and some of the women of Minister *Ib-ri-um*'s family. In most cases the officials were known to the Eblaite court, they were lugals or even relatives of the Minister *Ib-ri-um*. The attestations confirm that also the ur_4 officials coming from foreign kingdoms carried out the same type of activities. Furthermore, it is possible to highlight a certain recurrence that binds the foreigner ur_4 to their kingdoms of origin.

Keywords. Ebla, administration, official, collector, prosopography.

Il presente lavoro intende approfondire lo studio del termine ur_4 che è frequentemente documentato nei testi di Ebla (XXIV secolo a.C.). Fin dai glossari dei primi volumi della collana *ARET*, pur in assenza di una proposta interpretativa, il termine è stato considerato come indicante una categoria di funzionari.² Sollberger, invece, ha proposto l'interpretazione del

¹ Questo articolo è la rielaborazione di uno dei capitoli della tesi di Dottorato 'L'amministrazione del regno di Ebla: funzionari e sottoposti' che ho difeso nel 2019 e nella quale ho preso in esame tutte le attestazioni, edite ed inedite, relative ai termini a-am, ib, ú-a, a- ur_4 , ugula, ur_4 , maškim e maškim:e-gi₄. Queste ricerche si inseriscono nel quadro del progetto *The Prosopography of Ebla* dell'Università di Firenze (online a: <https://www.sagas.unifi.it/vp-336-prosopographyebla.html>), diretto da Amalia Catagnoli, alla quale vanno i miei ringraziamenti per l'aiuto costante che ha fornito durante l'elaborazione del mio lavoro. Ringrazio anche Marco Bonechi per i suoi preziosi ed utili suggerimenti.

² Il termine è stato definito come 'un funzionario' (Biga, Milano 1984: 328), 'nome di funzione' (Archi 1985a: 308; Archi, Biga 1982: 394; Archi 1988b: 237; Lahlouh,

termine come verbo ‘tosare’ (“Shearer” and “shorn”)³ in riferimento agli ovini, da cui deriva la traduzione ‘di pelo corto’,⁴ da parte di Fronzaroli, riferita ai ‘buoi’ (gu₄) donati al dio ^dKU-*ra* e al suo carro nei testi dei due matrimoni regali editi in *ARET XI 1* e *2*.⁵ Nel corso del tempo il dibattito a proposito del termine ur₄ ha prodotto altre traduzioni: Waetzoldt ne ha proposto un’interpretazione come ‘eine Art “persönlicher Handelsbeauftragte”’,⁶ mentre Astour ne ha avanzato una come ‘collettore’,⁷ successivamente ripresa nei glossari di alcuni degli ultimi volumi della collana *ARET*.⁸ Di recente Archi ha proposto una traduzione ‘carrier’⁹ del termine. Inoltre, un primo studio prosopografico dei funzionari ur₄ è stato presentato da Bonechi.¹⁰

Dal momento che le attestazioni registrano, come principali attività svolte dagli ur₄, la ricezione e la consegna di tessuti, metalli e finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri, nonché l’acquisto di beni presso le ‘fiere’ (KI:LAM₇), si condivide qui la traduzione del termine ur₄ come ‘collettore (di beni)’.



Il termine ur₄ è attestato sia nei testi lessicali che nei testi amministrativi e di cancelleria di Ebla.

Nel presente lavoro sarà impiegata soltanto una parte delle numerose attestazioni del sumerogramma ur₄, ma nell’indice saranno riportate tutte le attestazioni finora note in cui il termine è registrato. I passi citati sono elencati seguendo l’ordine di edizione.¹¹

1. LISTE LESSICALI

Sia le liste lessicali sumeriche di tipo éš-bar-kin₅ che la lista lessicale bilingue attestano il termine ur₄ senza, tuttavia, che quest’ultima ne riporti una glossa.

- [1] *MEE* 15 27 v. VI’ 13’: ur₄?
 [2] *MEE* 15 80 r. IX 17: ur₄ (LAK-472)
 [3] VE 1307’: ur₄ (senza glossa)

Il termine ur₄  è anche attestato nella variante grafica , la quale viene convenzionalmente traslitterata “ur₄”.¹² Entrambe le grafie possono avere una forma plurale, raramente attestata, come ur₄-ur₄,¹³ o “ur₄”-“ur₄”.¹⁴

Catagnoti 2006: 592). Ancora, in Samir (2019: 267) il termine è interpretato ‘eine Beamtenbezeichnung’. In Edzard (1981: 143) non viene data alcuna interpretazione, mentre in Milano 1990 e in Fronzaroli 2003 il termine non è presente.

³ Si veda Sollberger 1986: 68.

⁴ Si veda Fronzaroli 1993: 33.

⁵ Si vedano *ARET XI 1* r. VIII 27-IX 4 e *ARET XI 2* r. X 22-XI 4.

⁶ Si veda Waetzoldt 1984: 428. La traduzione è poi riproposta in Waetzoldt 2001: 282 r. XIV 4. Lo studioso ha considerato il funzionario come ‘possibile diretto superiore del mercante ga:raš’, si veda Waetzoldt (1984: 427): ‘Möglicherweise war sein unmittelbarer Vorgesetzter der «Im-und Exportkaufmann» (ga:raš)’.

⁷ Si veda Astour 1992: 52.

⁸ Si veda Catagnoti, Fronzaroli (2010: 274): ‘collettore, agente commerciale’; Pomponio (2013: 480): ‘raccoglitore’ (nei testi ‘collettore’).

⁹ Si veda Archi 2018: 291.

¹⁰ Bonechi 1997: 533-535.

¹¹ Considerazioni cronologiche e prosopografiche suggeriscono che i passi [4-9], [11-14], [16-49], [60-63], [68], [72-73], [78-79], [81-87], [90], [92], [96-97], [99-115], [117-125], [143-152], [155-158], [165], [167-175], [177], [184], [186], [188], [221-224], [242], [249-259], [279-280] e [301-304] siano da ascrivere al periodo del re *Īr-kab-da-mu* e che i passi [15], [50-59], [64-67], [69-71], [74-77], [80], [91], [93], [116], [126-142], [153-154], [160-162], [166], [176], [178-179], [181-183], [185], [189-220], [225-241], [243-248], [260-262], [265-278], [281], [283-295], [297] e [299-300] siano, invece, da ascrivere al periodo dell’ultimo re *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*. Risulta più complesso proporre una datazione per le attestazioni [10], [88-89], [94-95], [98], [159], [163-164], [180], [187], [263-264], [282], [296], [298] e [305-319].

¹² Per le varianti grafiche dei segni si veda Catagnoti 2013: 49.

¹³ La forma plurale del termine, ur₄-ur₄, è anche attestata in [298], mentre in *MEE* 7 14 v. I 2 è attestato ur₄-ur₄ gùn. Si tratta della forma plurale di ur₄ gùn, che probabilmente indica una categoria di lavoratori distinta dai collettori di beni oggetto di questo studio.

¹⁴ La grafia reduplicata si trova alla fine delle liste [294-295], a queste si aggiunga l’attestazione in *ARET XX 6* r. XIV 14, mentre in *ARET XX 6* r. XIV 5-6 è attestato gùn-gùn “ur₄”-“ur₄”.

Il termine di funzione è poi qualificato dai sumerogrammi mah ‘grande’ e tur ‘piccolo’, come attestato nei passi seguenti, tratti da testi amministrativi:

- [4] *ARET XV 43 r. V 10-11*: ʾ1 ʾíb-III^{túg} gùn / *I-šar* ur₄ mah
 [5] *ARET XV 43 v. I 7-8*: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *NE-lum* ur₄ tur

È possibile che l’uso dei termini mah e tur indichi l’esistenza di una gerarchia tra gli ur₄.
 Si aggiunge che non si registra alcuna presenza di nomi femminili qualificati dalla funzione di ur₄.

2. LE ATTIVITÀ DEI FUNZIONARI UR₄ NEI TESTI AMMINISTRATIVI

Le attestazioni esaminate in questo paragrafo riguardano le attività svolte dai funzionari ur₄: ricezione e consegna di beni, acquisti – che i funzionari svolgevano alle ‘fiere’ (KI:LAM₇)¹⁵ che si tenevano in località sia interne che esterne al regno di Ebla – e infine la consegna di notizie. I principali beni che vengono consegnati sono finimenti ed equipaggiamento per equidi e carri, ma gli ur₄ consegnano anche tessuti, metalli e beni di altro genere, come ÉREN+X.

2.1. Ricezione e consegna di beni: tessuti, oggetti in metallo e quantità di metalli

2.1.1. Solamente un’attestazione registra la consegna di ‘tessuti variopinti’ (túg gùn) al re di Ebla:

- [6] *ARET XV 17 r. II 9-13*: 2 ʾà-da-um^{túg} 2 zara₆^{túg} 2 íb-III^{túg} gùn sa₆ / “ur₄” / šu-mu-tak₄ / túg gùn / en

Dal momento che il passo menziona due set di tre tessuti, è probabile che ne registri la consegna a due funzionari ur₄, di cui non sono riportati i nomi, piuttosto che a uno soltanto.

2.1.2. Due sono, invece, le attestazioni che registrano la consegna di tessuti assieme a oggetti in metallo:

- [7] *ARET XV 10 (= MEE 2 37) r. VIII 16-IX 5*: 1 túg gùn libir-ra 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn / 1 íb-lá GÁxLÁ ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù-gi / en / NI-ra-ar^{ki} / ÉxPAP / *Wa-ba-rúm* ur₄ / šu-mu-tak₄
 [8] *MEE 2 4 r. I 1-IV 2*: 1 ʾà-da-um^{túg} 1 gú-zi-tum^{túg} 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn 1 íb-III ú-háb 1 šu-kešda / 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en / 1 gís^{is} za-ħa-da kù-gi / 1 kun kù-gi / *NE-lum* ur₄ / in-na-sum / en / in ur₄ / giš-dug-DU / en / *Ù-ba-zi-ig^{ki}*

In [8], presumibilmente, sono registrati beni che saranno dati al re di Ebla¹⁶ da parte dell’ur₄ *NE-lum*, nome che nei testi è quasi sempre qualificato proprio dal termine ur₄. Il passo [7], invece, attesta la consegna di beni da parte del funzionario *Wa-ba-rúm* in occasione della morte del re di NI-ra-ar^{ki}. Questo permette di comprendere che i funzionari ur₄ contribuivano al mantenimento dei rapporti diplomatici e commerciali tra il regno di Ebla e gli altri regni indipendenti. È possibile osservare questo anche nel passo seguente:

- [9] *TM.75.G.1402¹⁷ r. VII 6-VIII 1*: 10 gín-DILMUN kù:abbar / *Ar-mi-um^{ki}* / ħi-mu-DU / *Ar-si-a-ħa* ur₄

¹⁵ Studi approfonditi sul termine KI:LAM₇ sono stati condotti da Biga 2002a; Biga 2002b; Biga 2003a. Si vedano anche Conti 1997: 59 n. 139; Glassner 2002. Le fiere sono spesso in connessione con i nomi di alcune delle divinità più importanti (Biga 2002b: 280; Biga 2003a: 60-61), o con i toponimi presso i quali tali divinità avevano i loro principali luoghi di culto (Biga 2002b: 281-282; Biga 2003a: 60 e 63).

¹⁶ Nel passo [8] l’espressione en *Ù-ba-zi-ig^{ki}* non è da intendere come ‘re di *Ù-ba-zi-ig^{ki}*’, essa implica piuttosto che il sovrano di Ebla si trovava presso *Ù-ba-zi-ig^{ki}*. Questo centro è infatti elencato in *ARET I 13 r. XII 13* assieme ad altre località note per far parte del territorio di Ebla, mentre in *ARET VII 156 r. I 1-2* vi è la menzione di ki *Ù-ba-zi-gú^{ki}* in un elenco di territori appartenenti ai figli di *Ìr-am₆-da-mu*, probabilmente uno dei figli del re, si vedano Bonechi 1990: 168; Bonechi 1993: 301. Si veda anche Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 453.

¹⁷ Pubblicato in Milano 1980: 2-4.

È qui registrata la consegna di dieci sicli d'argento, da parte dell'amministrazione eblaita, per una persona di *Ar-mi-um*^{ki18} che 'accompagnerà' o 'ha accompagnato' (*hi-mu-DU*)¹⁹ l'*ur*₄ *Ar-si-a-ḥa*. Quanto registrato in [9] si inserisce nel contesto ben documentato di scambi e di rapporti che Ebla e *Ar-mi*^{ki} mantenevano durante il periodo di *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM,²⁰ al quale questo testo è datato.²¹

2.1.3. Sono qui sotto elencati i passi che registrano la ricezione o la consegna di quantità di metalli:

- [10] *ARET* VII 78 r. II 6-v. I 2: 10 kù:babbar / EN-bu-NI / *Bù-da-ma-lik* *ur*₄ / šu-ba₄-ti
 [11] *MEE* 2 16 r. I 1-V 1: 40 ma-na kù:babbar / 1 ^{gi}šú kù-gi / 1 ma-na 12 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 1 níg-bànda / 50 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 1 *ma-ra-tum* / 3 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / níg-ba / NI-zi / 3 ma-na ŠA.PI-5 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-ba / ábba-ábba / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / *Dur-du-lum* / *Ti-ti-nu* / *La-da-ad* / di-ku₅ / *Du-bí-zi-kir* / lú / *Du-nu* / *Íl-da-mu* / *Ru*₁₂-*'à-da-mu* "*ur*₄" / 1 šu-mu-tak₄ / *Ír-ra-ku*^{ki}
 [12] *MEE* 2 16 r. V 2-v. III 4: 30 ma-na kù:babbar / 1 ma-na kù-gi / 1 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / *bù-ga-na-a* / 1 gír / [*n*]a-ba-ḥu / 3 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 5 gín-DILMUN gul-za:gín / 1 *'à-da-um*^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} 1 íb-I [...] / níg-ba / *En-na-Da-gan* / *Du-bí-šum* *ur*₄ / *I-pés-zi-nu* / *Sá-gu-si* / 1 šu-mu-tak₄ / *Ír-ra-ku*^{ki}

In particolare i passi [11-12] registrano la consegna di quantità di argento e oggetti d'oro²² in dono rispettivamente a NI-zi, il re di *Ma-ri*^{ki} – compresi gli anziani della sua città – e a *En-na-Da-gan*, suo successore. In entrambi i casi i beni sono consegnati da alcuni lugal della corte eblaita del periodo del re *Ír-kab-da-mu*,²³ quali: *Ti-ti-nu*,²⁴ *La-da-ad*²⁵ il 'giudice' (di-ku₅), il ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM e *Sá-gu-si*.²⁶ Tra questi sono menzionati anche gli *ur*₄ *Du-bí-šum* e *Ru*₁₂-*'à-da-mu*, tra i quali il primo è per certo anche un lugal.²⁷ La presenza di funzionari *ur*₄ all'interno di entrambe le delegazioni eblaita trova un suo parallelo nelle attestazioni che registrano *ur*₄ stranieri assieme alle delegazioni delle proprie corti in visita presso Ebla, come si vedrà nel § 7.

Il funzionario *ur*₄ *Ru*₁₂-*'à-da-mu* del passo [11] è noto anche in un'altra attestazione in connessione con la 'fiera' (KI:LAM₇) di *Ír-ra-ku*^{ki}, presso la quale acquista 260 túg-NI.NI:

- [13] *ARET* VII 13 r. IV 1-6: [argento / níg-sa₁₀] / 2 *mi-at* 60 túg-NI.NI / *Ru*₁₂-*'à-da-mu* *ur*₄ / KI:LAM₇ / *Ír-ra-ku*^{ki}

Gli acquisti presso le fiere che avevano luogo in centri eblaiti o stranieri sono una delle attività principali dei funzionari *ur*₄ e lo stesso *Ru*₁₂-*'à-da-mu* svolge questa azione in altri passi ([121] e [123]), per i quali si rimanda al § 2.4.2.

¹⁸ È stata proposta l'identificazione di questa città con un grande centro della Cilicia (Bonechi 1991: 74), con Tell Banat / Tell Bazi (Otto 2006 e Biga, Otto 2010) e con Samsat (Archi 2011: 29; Archi 2016: 29-30; Archi 2019b: 2 e 7-9).

¹⁹ Per questo termine si vedano Fronzaroli 1993: 27 con bibliografia; Tonietti 1998: 87 [16].

²⁰ Al riguardo si veda Archi 2011: 7 ss.

²¹ Si veda Archi 2019c: 22.

²² Il termine ^{gi}šú è stato interpretato come 'un recipiente, probabilmente di forma aperta, (ciotola o coppa)' (Fronzaroli 1993: 24). Su questo oggetto si vedano anche Pasquali 2005: 45 e 167; Catagnoti 2016: 41-43.

²³ Archi 2000: 48-55.

²⁴ Per *Ti-ti-nu* si veda Catagnoti, Fronzaroli 2010: 157 con bibliografia.

²⁵ Per *La-da-ad* si veda Archi, Biga, Milano 1988: 263 ss.

²⁶ *Sá-gu-si*, il cui nome è registrato anche con le varianti *Sá-gú-si*, *Sá-gú-šum*, *Sa-gú-šum* e *Sá-gu-šum*, era uno dei lugal più attivi e attestati durante il periodo del re *Ír-kab-da-mu*, si veda Archi 2000: 54.

²⁷ L'*ur*₄ *Du-bí-šum* era un lugal attivo durante il periodo del re *Ír-kab-da-mu*, si vedano Pomponio 1984: 131; Archi 1991a: 205 ss; Archi 2000: 21. Alcune attestazioni registrano i suoi apporti versati all'amministrazione eblaita in quanto lugal: *ARET* I 30 r. I 1-3: [1 g]u-zi-tum 1 íb-III-sa₆-gùn 1 dib ŠŪ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 'mu'-DU / 'Du'-'bí'-šum; *MEE* 2 15 v. II 3-5: 10 lá-1 ma-na kù:babbar / mu-DU / *Du-bí-šum*; TM.75.G.10024+*ARET* III 342: *Du-bí-šum*: 40;00 kù:babbar 1;04 oggetti 138 túg 37 íb^{túg} (Archi 2000: 29); TM.75.G.1237: *Du-bí-šum* *ur*₄: 10 (^{gi}gu-kak-gíd-šub tur / maḥ) (Archi 2000: 30); TM.77.G.23+TM.80.G.207: *Du-bí-šum*: 90;00 kù:babbar oggetti (Archi 2000: 30); TM.77.G.23+TM.80.G.207: *Du-bí-šum*: 2;00 kù:babbar (Archi 2000: 30).

Du-bi-šum non è l'unico funzionario ur_4 del quale sono registrati gli apporti. I passi seguenti, infatti, registrano gli apporti degli ur_4 *ʾĀ-gi*, *Ig-na-da-mu*, *Īr-i-ba*, *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik*, *Ku-tu* e *ʾIb*⁻[x-x] che erano, quindi, anche lugal:

- [14] *ARET* I 31 v. II 4-III 4: 1 túg gùn 1 zara₆^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} babbar 1 aktum^{túg} 3 gír mar-tu kù-gi / 1 bur-KAK kù-gi / mu-DU / *Ig-na-da-mu* / “ ur_4 ”
- [15] *ARET* XII 332 v. V' 4'-7': 5 ma-na kù:babbar / *ás-ti* / *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik* ur_4 / [...]
- [16] *MEE* 2 14 v. II 7-III 1: 16 túg-túg / 10 íb-III^{túg} gùn / mu-DU / *Īr-i-ba* ur_4
- [17] *MEE* 2 27 r. IX 5-7: 8 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} / mu-DU / *ʾĀ-gi* “ ur_4 ”
- [18] *MEE* 2 27 v. V 10-VI 2: 5 zara₆^{túg} / 5 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} / 10 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / mu-DU / *Īr-i-ba* “ ur_4 ”
- [19] *MEE* 2 34 v. V 1-4: [...] / 20+x íb-III^{túg} gùn / mu-DU / *ʾĀ-gi* “ ur_4 ”
- [20] *MEE* 2 34 v. V 5-VI 1: 1 *mi-at* 22 túg-túg / 21 íb-III^{túg} gùn / mu-DU / *ʾĀ-gi* “ ur_4 ”
- [21] *MEE* 2 44 v. IV 4-6: 10 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} / mu-DU / *ʾĀ-gi* “ ur_4 ”
- [22] *MEE* 7 36 v. V 2'-4': 6 ma-na kù:babbar / mu-DU / *ʾĀ-gi* “ ur_4 ”
- [23] *MEE* 7 36 v. V 5'-8': 5 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / mu-DU / *Īr-i-ba* ur_4 / [...]
- [24] *MEE* 7 38 r. III 3-6: 10 ma-na kù:babbar 1 *ʾá-da-um*-II gùn / 5 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg(KU)} / mu-DU / *ʾIb*⁻[x-x] ur_4
- [25] *MEE* 7 46 r. III 6-9: 1 zara₆^{túg} 1 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / mu-DU / *Ku-tu* “ ur_4 ” / *Dam-ru*₁₂-ud
- [26] *MEE* 7 46 r. V 9-VI 3: 1 zara₆^{túg} babbar 1 zara₆^{túg} ú-háb 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn 40 íb-lá gùn / 1 *du-ru*₁₂-rúm / mu-DU / *Ig-na-da-mu* “ ur_4 ”
- [27] TM.75.G.1353²⁸ v. IV 1-4: 1 lá-1 ½ ma-na kù-gi / ŠA.PI gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / mu-DU / *Ig-na-da-mu* “ ur_4 ”²⁹

Gli apporti versati consistono di quantità di tessuti e di metalli, o di oggetti in metallo, con l'eccezione dell'apporto di *Ku-tu* ([25]), che consiste solo di tessuti. I tessuti dati in apporto sono sia comuni, come túg-túg e íb^{túg} ([16], [19]), consegnati anche in grandi quantità ([20]), sia di pregio, come nel caso dei *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} ([17-18], [21], [25]) e degli zara₆^{túg} ([18] e [25-26]). Un ricco apporto è registrato nel passo [26] da parte di *Ig-na-da-mu*. Quantità di argento sono versate principalmente da *ʾĀ-gi* ([22]), le cui consegne risultano le più consistenti, seguite dagli apporti di *Īr-i-ba* ([23]) e di *Ig-na-da-mu* ([27]).

Per quanto riguarda il funzionario ur_4 *Du-bi-šum* preme qui riportare alcune delle attestazioni che lo menzionano, al fine di distinguerlo dall'omonimo e contemporaneo ur_4 di *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}:

- [28] *ARET* III 176 II' 2'-7': 1 *ʾá-da-um*^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn sa₆ / *Ib-dur-i-šar* / lú *Za-ti-ma* / in u_4 / *Du-bi-šum* “ ur_4 ” / níg-mul-an [...]
- [29] *ARET* XV 4 r. X 14-XI 3: 1 sal^{túg} maškim:e-gi₄ / níg-mul-an / šu-mu-tak₄ / kú / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [30] *ARET* XV 8 v. XI 13-XII 5: 12 KIN siki sa₆ / 6 KIN siki *ba-ra-u*₉ / 6 aktum^{túg} / 6 KIN siki sa₆ / 2 aktum^{túg} / *Lá-du-gú* ur_4 / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / túg-nu-tag
- [31] *ARET* XV 9 v. III 3-6: 1 gada^{túg} / en / 1 gada^{túg} / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [32] *ARET* XV 12 v. V 7-10: 1 KIN siki / níg-sa₁₀ KÁ.NAM / é / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [33] *ARET* XV 20 v. VI 13-16: 1 KIN siki sa₆ / 1 KIN siki *ba-ra-u*₉ / 4 níg-lá-DU / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [34] *ARET* XV 21 v. VI 6-9: 1 íb-III^{túg} ú-háb / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Mu-ma-il* / šu-ba₄-ti
- [35] *ARET* XV 24 v. VII 3-6: 2 KIN siki / *Zi-ba-LUM* / *ma-zi-u*₉ / túg *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [36] *ARET* XV 31 v. XIII 17-19: 2 KIN siki *ba-ra-i* 1 KIN siki sa₆ / íb-III ú-háb / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [37] *ARET* XV 41 (= *MEE* 10 26) v. IX 17-X 6: 3 KIN siki sa₆ / 1 KIN siki sag / 6 níg-lá-sag / 6 KIN siki / ʾšitim-šitim / é / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4
- [38] *ARET* XV 43 r. VI 4-7: 4 KIN siki sa₆ / 5 KIN siki *ba-ra-u*₉ / 1 gu-dùl^{túg} / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4

²⁸ Pubblicato in Milano 1980: 12-15.

²⁹ Si veda Bonechi 1997: 534 e n. 415.

Il lugal *Du-bi-šum*³⁰ compie attività di rappresentanza per l'amministrazione eblaita in qualità di ur_4 (in [12]), consegna notizie (in [28]) o è lui stesso oggetto di notizia (in [29]³¹) e, come si vedrà nel § 2.4 ai passi [118], [120] e [124-125], effettua acquisti anche presso alcune fiere. È, inoltre, l'unico ur_4 del quale sono menzionate delle residenze, in [32] e [37].

In base, invece, alla seguente lista di passi, *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 di *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} è da tenere distinto dall'omonimo eblaita, non solamente perché qualificato dal toponimo, ma anche perché, nelle attestazioni che lo registrano, non è mai coinvolto in attività svolte per conto dei membri dell'élite eblaita. Al contrario, riceve tessuti come qualsiasi funzionario di un regno straniero:

- [39] *ARET XV 16 v. VIII 3-5*: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Du-bi-šum* “ ur_4 ” / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}
 [40] *ARET XV 23 r. VI 17-19*: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}
 [41] *ARET XV 24 r. V 4-6*: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}
 [42] *ARET XV 28 r. XI 1-3*: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / túg *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}
 [43] *ARET XV 28 v. II 1-4*: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} / níg-ba-sù
 [44] *ARET XV 32 r. XIII 8-10*: 1 'á-da-um^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}
 [45] *ARET XV 39 v. II 2-4*: 1 gu-zi^{túg} 1 íb-III gùn / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}

2.2. Ricezione e consegna di beni: lana, finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri

I funzionari ur_4 impegnati nella consegna di lana, finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri formano un gruppo ben definito e riconoscibile:

2.2.1. *Nu-za-ar/-ru*₁₂ riceve quantità-KIN di lana e feltri quasi esclusivamente per il re di Ebla e in un caso anche per il ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM ([47]):

- [46] *ARET XV 13 (= MEE 2 41) v. III 1-5*: 5 KIN siki sag / 1 túg-du₈ / en / *Nu-za-ar* ur_4 / šu-ba₄-ti
 [47] *ARET XV 19 v. VIII 1-5*: 10 KIN siki sag / 3 túg-du₈ / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-^rba₄-ti^r
 [48] *ARET XV 22 v. VII 4-8*: 7 KIN siki sag / 2 túg:du₈ / en / *Nu-za-ru*₁₂ / šu-ba₄-ti
 [49] *ARET XV 39 v. IV 17-V 4*: 2 KIN siki *ba-ra-u*₉ maḥ / 1 túg:du₈ / en / *Nu-za-ru*₁₂ / šu-ba₄-ti

2.2.2. L'intermediazione dei funzionari ur_4 consisteva nella ricezione della lana che sarebbe poi stata impiegata per la manifattura di quantità di feltro e per realizzare finimenti e equipaggiamenti per equidi³² e carri, destinati al re, ai ministri *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM, *Ib-ri-um* e *I-bi-zi-kir*, ai membri delle rispettive famiglie e a persone collegate ad esse. In alcune attestazioni l'impiego di quantità di lana per la realizzazione di questi beni è evidenziato dall'uso del ter-

³⁰ Numerosi passi registrano la consegna di beni a membri della famiglia del funzionario: *ARET XII 974 I' 2'-4'*: 1 zara₆^{túg} 1 túg-NI.NI / šeš-mi *Du-bi-šum* “ $u[r_4]$ ” / [...]; *ARET XV 10 r. IV 15-V 2*: 1 íb-lá kù:babbar maš-maš kù-gi / GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kù:babbar / *Zú-du* / šeš *Du-bi-šum*; *ARET XV 38 r. XI 16-XII 3*: 1 'á-da-um^{túg} / 1 aktum^{túg} / *Zú-du* / šeš *Du-bi-šum* “ ur_4 ”; *ARET XV 50 r. VIII 18-21*: 1 *gu-zi-tum* 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn / *Zú-du* / šeš / *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 ; *ARET XV 50 r. IX 1-3*: 1 sal^{túg} / *Zi-ni-ár* / šeš *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 .

³¹ In [29] è possibile ritenere che il funzionario maškim:e-gi₄ porti, all'amministrazione eblaita, la notizia della consegna di ‘cibo’ (kú) da parte di *Du-bi-šum* ur_4 oppure, più probabilmente, che faccia riferimento alla consegna di cibo per il funzionario ur_4 , ovvero alla consegna di provviste, certamente necessarie per i suoi numerosi spostamenti.

³² I finimenti per equidi menzionati nei passi del presente § 2.2.2 sono: *a-sa-ra-nu*, ‘corazza’ (Conti, Bonechi 1992; Conti 1997: 62-63; Pomponio 2013: 405); *bar-uš*, ‘pungolo’ (Conti 1997: 57-60; Pasquali 2005: 87); *eškiri*, ‘cavezza’ (Archi 1985c: 32; Conti 1997: 46 ss.); *KA.SI* (Conti 1997: 50-51; Civil 2008: 121); *kù-sal*, ‘elementi decorativi del morso’ (Conti 1997: 49-50. Si vedano anche Archi 1985c: 32; Fronzaroli 1996: 52 ss.), ‘harness strap’ (Civil 2008: 123), ‘monile’ (Pasquali 2005: 29); níg-anše-ak, ‘briglie’ (Archi 1985c: 32; Conti 1997: 45-46); níg-lá-sag, ‘fascia per la testa’ (Lahlouh, Catagnoti 2006: 571); níg-sagšu, ‘elmo’ (Lahlouh, Catagnoti 2006: 573); *zi-ki-ra-tum*, ‘panache’ (Archi 1985c: 33).

mine kin₅-ak.³³ È possibile organizzare questi passi in due gruppi che registrano rispettivamente quantità di lana impiegate per la realizzazione di finimenti per equidi e parti di carri sia per il re di Ebla ([50-52]), sia per il ministro *Ib-ri-um* e alcuni suoi figli ([53-59]):

- [50] *ARET* I 11 v. X 5-12: 1 ^{gis}KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 2 níg-anše-ak / *wa* / *ba-a-nu* / en / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [51] *ARET* IV 10 v. X 12-XI 3: 3 ^{gis}KIN siki / kin₅-ak / kù-sal / *wa* / níg-anše-ak / 3 u₅ / 3 ^{gis}KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 3 eškiri_x / *wa* / 6 níg-anše-ak / ^{gis}gígir-II en / [*N*]*u-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [52] *ARET* XIX 6 v. I 3-11: 2 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 4 dùl^{túg} / 1 KIN siki / 2 níg-anše-ak / *wa* / *ba-a-nu* / en / *Nu-za-ar*
 [53] *ARET* III 262 v. I' 1-6: 4 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 1 ^{gis}gígir-II / *Ib-ri-um* / *Wa-ba-rúm* 'ur₄' [...]
 [54] *ARET* IV 10 v. XI 4-11: 4 KIN siki / kin₅-ak '1' túg-du₈ maḥ / 1 ^{gis}KIN siki / kin₅-ak 1 túg-du₈ tur / lú ^{gis}gígir-II / *Ib-ri-um* / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [55] *ARET* XX 5 v. XIII 15-24: 1 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 2 eškiri_x / *Ba-ga-ma* / *wa* / *I-nu-ud-da-mu* / [...] / sur_x-BAR.AN' (?) / 'x' / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [56] *ARET* XX 7 v. VIII 1-6: 4 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 2 ^{gis}gígir-II / *I-ti*^d*Ì-lam* / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [57] *MEE* 2 11 r. III 9-13: 1 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 2 níg-lá-sag / *Ib-ri-um* / *Wa-ba-rúm*
 [58] *MEE* 2 11 r. IV 9-V 3: 1 na₄ siki / kin₅-ak / 1 níg-sagšu / [...] / *Ba-ga-ma* 'ugula' / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [59] *MEE* 7 35 v. V 1-6: 4 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 1 ^{gis}gígir-II / *I-ti*^d*Ì-lam* / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti

Nelle attestazioni successive, invece, non è registrato il termine kin₅-ak, tuttavia, come si nota nei passi [61] e [63], la mancanza di un numerale che quantifichi i beni registrati dopo le quantità di lana riportate fa ritenere che quelle stesse quantità di lana siano state utilizzate proprio per la realizzazione di quegli stessi beni. Anche queste attestazioni sono state suddivise in gruppi che registrano la ricezione di lana e la realizzazione di finimenti per equidi e parti di carri da un lato per il re di Ebla ([60-67]), per i suoi figli ([68-69]) e per il personale a lui connesso ([70-71]), dall'altro lato per il ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM ([72-73]) e per il ministro *Ib-ri-um* e membri della sua famiglia, incluso suo figlio, il ministro *I-bi-zi-kir* ([74-77]):

- [60] *ARET* II 14 (= *MEE* 2 30) v. VIII 12-17: 2 KIN siki 1 na₄ / tuš / ^{gis}gígir-IV / en / *Kùn-nu* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [61] *ARET* XV 8 v. XII 12-16: 20 KIN siki sag / ^{gis}gígir-II-1 / en / *En-na-NI* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti
 [62] *ARET* XV 20 v. VII 16-20: 1 KIN siki / 2 'a₅-na-bù / en / *Kùn-nu* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [63] *ARET* XV 39 v. III 9-IV 1: 1 KIN siki *En-na-NI* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti / KA.SI / en
 [64] *ARET* XIX 9 v. XIV 8-14: 6 ^{gis}KIN siki / níg-anše-ak si-ga / 4 sur_x-BAR.AN / *wa* 2 níg-anše-ak / en / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [65] *ARET* XIX 13 v. IX 2-8: 10 KIN siki / *ba-a-nu* / 2 níg-anše-[ak] / 4 [kù-sal kù-g]i / en / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [66] *ARET* XIX 13 v. X 12-XI 1: 2 ^{gis}KIN siki / 4 eškiri_x / en / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [67] *ARET* XIX 20 v. X 12-XI 5: 1 KIN siki *ba-a-nu* / ^{gis}gígir-II / *Ib-ri-um* / 2 KIN siki / 2 sur_x-BAR.AN / kù-sal níg-anše-ak kù-gi / lú en / 1 KIN siki / 1 KA-SI 1 níg-anše-ak / *Ib-ri-um* / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [68] *ARET* XV 8 v. VII 11-16: 4 KIN siki sag / 2 KIN siki / 1 ^{gis}gígir-II-1 / *Sag-da-mu* / *En-na-NI* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti
 [69] *ARET* XX 18 v. IX 17-X 2: 6 KIN siki / ^{gis}gígir-II-^{gis}gígir-II / *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* / en / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [70] *MEE* 2 25 v. X 9-15: 2 KIN siki / 2 KA.SI / 4 níg-anše-ak / igi-sig / é en / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [71] *MEE* 2 25 v. X 16-XI 4: 1 KIN siki / 2 KA.SI / igi-sig / <é> en / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [72] *ARET* XV 8 v. VII 1-10: 4 KIN siki sag / 2 KIN siki / 1 ^{gis}gígir-II-1 gibil / 2 KIN siki sag / KA.SI / 2 níg-anše-ak / 2 ^{gis}gígir-II-1 / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / *Kùn-nu* / šu-ba₄-ti

³³ Per questo sumerogramma si veda Catagnoti, Fronzaroli 2010: 14 con bibliografia.

- [73] *ARET* XV 16 v. XII 4-9: 4 KIN siki sag / 2 KIN siki hul / ^{gis}gígir-II gibil / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / *Kùn-nu* / šu-ba₄-ti
- [74] *ARET* IV 5 v. VI 10-14: 1 KIN siki / 1 ^{gis}gígir-II / *A-mur-da-mu* / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
- [75] *ARET* XII 1247 v. II' 1²-6²: 1 [...] / 2 níg-anše-a[k] 1 eškiri_x / *Ba-ga-ma* / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / [...]
- [76] *ARET* XII 1373 v. VI' 1-5: [...] 'x' / ^{gis}gígir-II / *Ib-rí-um* / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
- [77] *ARET* XX 20 v. X 13-17: 1 KIN siki / 1 eškiri_x 2 níg-anše-ak / *I-bí-zi-kir* / *Wa-ba-lum* / šu-ba₄-ti

Sebbene in tutte le attestazioni presenti in questo § 2.2.2 *Nu-za-ar* non sia mai qualificato dal termine ur₄, egli è comunque identificabile con l'omonimo ur₄ già attestato nel passo [46], dal momento che si occupa dei beni del sovrano eblaita – come registrato anche in [48-52] e [64-66]. I passi [54] e [67] sono delle eccezioni, dato che *Nu-za-ar* svolge le sue attività anche per il ministro *Ib-rí-um*. In [71] egli riceve lana per la manifattura di finimenti per gli equidi destinati all'igi-sig é en, ovvero al 'custode della residenza del re',³⁴ azione compiuta anche da *Wa-ba-rúm* in [70].

Oltre a *Nu-za-ar*, anche i collettori *En-na-NI* (in [61] e [63]) e *Kùn-nu* (in [60], [62] e nel passo [82] menzionato successivamente) ricevono lana da impiegare per la realizzazione di parti di carri e finimenti per equidi destinati al sovrano eblaita. In [60], [62] e [82-83] *Kùn-nu* non è qualificato dal termine ur₄, tuttavia è registrato come ur₄ nel passo seguente:

- [78] *ARET* XV 41 (= *MEE* 10 26) v. VIII 13-15: 4 KIN siki / *Kùn-nu* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti

Kùn-nu riceve lana anche per il ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM in [72-73] oltre che, ancora, in [82-83].

In [61] e [63] *En-na-NI* è registrato in connessione al re di Ebla, ma riceve quantità di lana per carri anche in connessione con *Sag-da-mu* ([68]), verosimilmente uno dei figli del re.³⁵

Mentre *Nu-za-ar* sembra essere il principale collettore dei beni del sovrano eblaita, *Wa-ba-rúm* (il cui nome in [77] è registrato con la variante *Wa-ba-lum*, così come anche in [141]), è collegato con particolare ricorrenza al ministro *Ib-rí-um* e alla sua famiglia. Riceve lana per la realizzazione di finimenti per equidi e parti di carri per *Ib-rí-um* (in [53], [57] e [76]) e per i suoi figli *I-bí-zi-kir* ([77]), *Ba-ga-ma* ([55], [58] e [75]) e *I-ti*^d*I-lam* ([56] e [59]), nonché per *A-mur-da-mu* ([74]), uno dei figli di *I-bí-zi-kir*. Si può quindi ritenere che *Wa-ba-rúm* facesse parte del personale del ministro *Ib-rí-um*: non solo si occupava dei beni destinati alla sua famiglia ma, come si vedrà nel § 3, era anche connesso a una residenza di *Ib-rí-um* ([190-191]).

Il passo seguente, invece, registra la consegna di finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri da parte dell'ur₄ *Du-bí-šum* per un anonimo figlio del re di Ebla:

- [79] *ARET* XV 24 r. VIII 5-IX 7: 4 kù-sal / 2 níg-anše-ak / *zi-ki-ra-tum* / ^{gis}gígir-II / 1 sur_x-BAR.AN <<GIŠ?>> / 12 kù-gi / GÁxLÁ / bar-uš / *a-sa-ra-nu* / 10 kù:babbar GÁxLÁ / níg-ba / dumu-nita / en / *Du-bí-šum* ur₄ / šu-mu-tak₄ / in u₄ / *I-ne-ib-du-lum* / ì-ti / *Ar-mi*^{ki}

Interessante il passo successivo, che elenca quantità di lana ricevute dal collettore *Du-bí-ga-lu* per la realizzazione di vari 'collari del giogo' (*hu-li-hu-li*)³⁶ per 27 'pariglie di equidi' (sur_x-BAR.AN) e per la manifattura di parti di carri a quattro ruote dei più importanti membri dell'élite eblaita: il re, la regina, *Ìr²-à-ag-da-mu*, il ministro *I-bí-zi-kir* e *In-gàr*.³⁷

- [80] *ARET* VIII 541 (= *MEE* 5 21) v. X 4²-19²: 30 lá-3 KIN siki / *hu-li-hu-li* / 6 sur_x-BAR.AN / en / 2 sur_x-BAR.AN / *ma-lik-tum* / 2 sur_x-BAR.AN / *Ìr²-à-ag-da-mu* / 15 sur_x-BAR.AN / *I-bí-zi-kir* / 2 sur_x-BAR.AN / *In-gàr* / 30 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / ^{gis}gígir-é-IV-^{gis}gígir-é-IV / *Du-bí-ga-lu* / šu-ba₄-ti

³⁴ Al riguardo si veda lo studio dedicato in Catagnoti 2019: 33, con particolare riferimento ai passi [76-77].

³⁵ Si tratta di uno dei figli del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, attestato nei passi *ARET* XV 29 r. II 12-14, *ARET* XV 29 r. X 12-15 e *ARET* XV 47 v. V 16-VI 5, che registra la sua morte. In quanto vissuto e morto durante il periodo del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, egli è da tenere distinto rispetto all'omonimo *Sag-da-mu* dumu-nita in della generazione successiva, attestato in passi databili al re *Ìs₁₁-ar-da-mu*, per i quali si veda Archi, Biga, Milano 1988: 224 e 228-229. Si veda anche il commento in Pomponio 2013: 117.

³⁶ Per il termine *hu-li*, o *hu-lu*, si vedano Pasquali 1995; Conti 1997: 40-41.

³⁷ Dato che *In-gàr* ricorre nella lista dei villaggi spartiti in eredità tra i figli del ministro (*ARET* VII 153 v. I 2²-II 8), è stato ipotizzato che appartenesse alla famiglia di *Ib-rí-um*. Si rimanda qui alla nota 103.

Si ritiene plausibile che *Du-bí-ga-lu* sia identificabile con l'omonimo ur_4 nonché $pa_4:šeš$ di *Īr-'á-ag-da-mu* attestato in [235-236].

Oltre che al re, ai ministri e ai loro figli, i funzionari ur_4 ricevevano e consegnavano lana per finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri anche per altri esponenti dell'élite eblaita:

- [81] *ARET* XII 309 v. VII' 9-18: 2[+x siki K]IN / [ba-a-]nu / [¹a₅-]na-[b]ù / [níg-anš]e-ak / [^{giš}g]ígir-II-1 en / 5 KIN siki / ^{giš}gígir-II-1 / *Iš-da-má* / Maš-kaskal / šu-ba₄-ti
- [82] *ARET* XV 13 (= *MEE* 2 41) v. III 6-IV 5: 2 KIN siki sag / 2 níg-anše-ak / en / 3 KIN siki sag / kéšda / *En-na*-^dUtu / 2 KIN siki *ni-za-ù* 4 KIN siki ħul / ^{giš}gígir-II-1 / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / 1 KIN siki *ni-za-ù* / 4 KIN siki ħul / ^{giš}gígir-II / *Iš-da-má* / *Kùn-nu* / šu-ba₄-ti
- [83] *ARET* XV 20 v. VI 5-12: 6 KIN siki / ^{giš}gígir-II-1 / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / 6 KIN siki / ^{giš}gígir-II-1 / *En-na*-BAD / *Kùn-nu* / ¹š^u-mu-tak₄

Qui i collettori *Kùn-nu* e Maš-kaskal ricevono o consegnano lana necessaria per la realizzazione di carri e di finimenti per equidi, oltre che per il re ([81-82]) e per il ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM ([82-83]), anche per *En-na*-BAD ([83]), per *Iš-da-má* ([81-82]) e per *En-na*-^dUtu ([82]). Tra questi, *En-na*-BAD e *Iš-da-má* sono molto probabilmente da identificare con i rispettivi lugal omonimi,³⁸ mentre *En-na*-^dUtu³⁹ è forse identificabile con l'importante dam en che ricopriva il ruolo di $pa_4:šeš$ del dio ^dKU-ra.

Maš-kaskal, registrato in [81], era certamente un funzionario ur_4 , come i passi seguenti dimostrano:

- [84] *ARET* XV 8 r. VI 13-15: 1 gu-dùl^{tùg} 1 aktum^{tùg} / ì-giš-sag / Maš-kaskal ur_4
- [85] *ARET* XV 12 v. IV 1-8: 10 KIN siki gi₆ / Maš-kaskal ur_4 / šu-ba₄-ti / 1 KIN siki / maškim-sù / šu-du₈ / ÉREN+X / NE-ra-ad^{ki}
- [86] *ARET* XV 50 r. IV 18-21: 10 lá-1 siki na₄ / 3 túg:du₈ / e-e / Maš-kaskal ur_4
- [87] *ARET* XV 50 v. IV 13-17: 10 lá-1 siki na₄ / 3 túg:du₈ / e-e / Maš-kaskal ur_4 / šu-ba₄-ti

2.2.3. Si vuole infine mettere in evidenza alcune attestazioni che documentano la connessione di alcuni funzionari ur_4 con dei gruppi di lavoratori:

- [88] *ARET* XII 95 r. II' 2'-5': 50 na₄ siki gi₆ babbar / *ga-si-ru*₁₂ / NE-lum ur_4 / ¹x x¹
- [89] *ARET* XII 194 II' 2'-6': ¹sal^{tùg} [1 í]b-[x]-[...]^{tùg} / I-šar "ur₄" / *Ĥa-zu-wa-an*^{ki} / é / nagar
- [90] *ARET* XII 923 r. VI' 2-5: 28 gu / nagar-nagar / *Ig-na-da-mu* "ur₄" / [...]
- [91] *ARET* XII 949 r. III' 4'-6': 1 gu-mug^{tùg} 1 sal^{tùg} 1 íb-II^{tùg} gùn / *Ma-zu-lu* "ur₄" / lú su₄-su₄
- [92] *ARET* XV 9 v. IX 3-5: 6 KIN siki / al-tar / *Dam-da-il* ur_4
- [93] *ARET* XIX 1 v. X 12-XI 2: 10 na₄ siki íb-III^{tùg} babbar / *ga-si-ru*₁₂ / I-šar "ur₄"

Le categorie di lavoratori registrate in questi passi sono i *ga-si-ru*₁₂,⁴⁰ i 'carpentieri' (nagar-nagar), gli 'artigiani delle pietre'⁴¹ (lú su₄-su₄) e i 'mietitori' (al-tar).⁴² In quanto collettori di beni molto probabilmente gli ur_4 si occu-

³⁸ Per quanto riguarda *Iš-da-má* si veda Archi 2000: 53. Secondo Archi (2000: 49), durante il periodo del re *Īr-kab-da-mu*, vi sono due *En-na*-BAD attivi come lugal.

³⁹ Su *En-na*-^dUtu si veda Bonechi 2018: 95-96 con bibliografia.

⁴⁰ Al riguardo si veda la glossa presente nel vocabolario bilingue eblaita VE 297: ú-a = *ga-si-lu*, *qāširum*, < *qšr, 'addetto all'approvvigionamento' (Conti 1990: 114 con bibliografia). Si veda anche Bonechi 2006: 82 con bibliografia.

⁴¹ Si veda Lahlouh, Catagnoti 2006: 580. Si veda anche Bonechi (2003: 81): 'It is likely we can interpret this name of profession in a broader sense, i.e. "craftman of gems", actually a (palatine) artist also able to work with precious metals'. Il termine su₄ indica un tipo specifico di pietra preziosa la cui identificazione è ancora incerta, al riguardo si vedano Fronzaroli (1996: 68) che suggerisce 'une variété de cornaline', proposta ripresa anche in Pasquali 2005: 10 e infine Archi (2003b: 31-33) propone l'identificazione della pietra con l'agata.

⁴² Si veda Pomponio 2013: 406. In Lahlouh, Catagnoti (2006: 513): 'personale che provvede alla mietitura'.

pavano di reperire e consegnare le materie prime necessarie allo svolgimento delle attività di questi lavoratori, possibilmente anche acquistando quanto necessario presso le fiere: infatti più attestazioni elencate nel § 2.4 documentano l'acquisto, ad esempio, di varie tipologie di legno, materiale certamente necessario per i nagar. In base al passo [89] è anche possibile che gli ur_4 consegnassero quanto dovuto direttamente ai 'laboratori di produzione' (é).

Il ruolo dei funzionari ur_4 era dunque molto importante, poiché provvedevano alla ricezione e alla consegna di beni fondamentali affinché i membri dell'élite eblaita potessero adempiere ai loro compiti. Infatti, il re e la regina intraprendevano numerosi viaggi tra le varie città del territorio eblaita durante i pellegrinaggi delle feste religiose, mentre i figli del re e i ministri si spostavano tra le città del regno di Ebla per svolgere attività economiche e mantenere rapporti diplomatici con gli altri regni. Ecco perché sono soprattutto i membri dell'élite eblaita a ricevere finimenti per equidi e carri. I funzionari si occupavano, poi, anche della gestione delle quantità di lana da impiegare per la manifattura di suddetti beni. È possibile ipotizzare che i funzionari ur_4 , prima di consegnare il prodotto finito al destinatario, avessero il compito di portare la lana ricevuta agli *atelier* dove le donne, impiegate come tessitrici, lavoravano per ottenere tessuti.⁴³ È anche possibile che utilizzassero la lana per acquistare materie prime da far impiegare alle maestranze artigiane per la realizzazione di finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi, carri o parti di essi.

2.3. Ricezione e consegna di beni di altra tipologia

2.3.1. Il passo seguente registra la presa in consegna di ÉREN+X⁴⁴ presso *Zàr-ad*^{ki45} da parte del funzionario ur_4 'À-da-ti:

[94] *ARET* XII 749 r. IV' 8'-13': 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / 'À-da-ti "ur₄" / šu-du₈ / ÉREN+X / in / *Zàr-ad*^{ki}

'À-da-ti è probabilmente da identificare con l'omonimo menzionato nel passo seguente, il cui 'rappresentante' (maškim) *I-si-ba-NI* si occupa della presa in consegna di ÉREN+X-mí:⁴⁶

[95] *ARET* XII 749 v. I 5-11: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-II^{túg} gùn / *I-si-ba-NI* / *Zàr-ad*^{ki} / maškim / 'À-da-ti / šu-du₈ / ÉREN+X-mí

Dunque gli ur_4 potevano avere funzionari maškim alle loro dipendenze, come registrano anche i passi seguenti, ai quali va aggiunta l'attestazione [85] che registra un maškim del collettore Maš-kaskal:

[96] *ARET* II 14 (= *MEE* 2 30) r. XI 6-9: 1 'à-da-um^{túg} 1 íb-II^{túg} gùn / *I-ti-a-gú* / maškim / *NE-lum* ur_4

[97] *ARET* III 1 v. II' 7'-8': ...] maškim / *NE-lum* "ur₄" [...

[98] *ARET* III 753 I' 1'-3': ...] *Zi-[kir]-ra-ar* ur_4 / *Du-bù-ḫi-ma-lik* / maškim-sù

[99] *ARET* XV 14 r. V 9-11: 1 sal^{túg} / maškim / *Engar-uri*₄ ur_4

[100] *ARET* XV 30 r. VI' 2-6: 1 dùl^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn sa₆ / *AB-na* / maškim / *Ad-da* / ur_4

[101] *ARET* XV 30 v. III 5-8: 1 gír mar-tu ti kù-gi / *Ìr-ga-bù* / maškim / *NE-lum* ur_4

[102] *ARET* XV 34 r. V 9-11: 5 íb-III gùn / maškim / *A-bi-'à* ur_4

[103] *ARET* XV 58 v. VI 1-4: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III gùn / [*Ne*']-zi-[*m*]a-lik / maškim / *Ig-na-da-mu* ur_4

[104] *ARET* XIX 14 r. IV 16-V 3: [1] íb-[III-] ^{túg} gùn / *Ne-zi-ma-a-ḫa* / maškim / *Ad-da* ur_4

⁴³ Si veda Biga 2011: 82.

⁴⁴ Per il termine ÉREN+X è stata proposta la traduzione 'toro androcefalo' da Pomponio (1980: 552-553). Su questo termine si vedano anche Krecher 1987: 180 n. 11; Archi 1990b: 105; Krebernik 1992: 112-113; Fronzaroli 1996: 57-58. Per un parere contrario si veda invece Lambert 1989: 14. In alcuni casi questi tori androcefali servivano come decorazioni per i carri, come attestato in *ARET* VII 44 r. I 1-3, si veda Steinkeller 1992: 259-260 e n. 45.

⁴⁵ Forse una località compresa nel territorio eblaita, si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 481; Bonechi 1993: 330.

⁴⁶ Si veda Steinkeller 1992: 259 n. 45.

NE-lum ha alle sue dipendenze almeno due maškim dei quali i testi registrano anche i nomi personali: *Īr-ga-bù* ([101]) e *I-ti-a-gú*⁴⁷ ([96]). Come si vedrà nei passi [145] e [148-150], *Du-bi-šum* è l'unico ur₄ alle cui dipendenze siano registrati degli ugula sur_x-BAR.AN.

2.3.2. Alcuni beni sono consegnati anche da parte di funzionari ur₄ provenienti da regni stranieri:

[105] *ARET XV 48 r. VI 9'-VII 2*: [1 gu 1] zara₆^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn sa₆ / 1 giššilig 1 gir mar-tu / *I-gi* ur₄ / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} / šu-mu-tak₄ / giššuštin / [...]

In questo passo il funzionario *I-gi* riceve tessuti, una 'ascia' (giššilig)⁴⁸ e un pugnale mar-tu per la consegna di un 'trono' (giššuštin).⁴⁹ I testi di Ebla del periodo del ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM documentano più volte *I-gi* di *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}.⁵⁰

[106] *ARET XII 193 r. II 3'-4'*: 1 sal^{túg} maškim *I-gi* / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}

[107] *ARET XV 3 r. IV 2-5*: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 'gu' 2 'íb-DÛ^{túg} gùn' / *I-gi* / ur₄ / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}

[108] *ARET XV 43 r. X 1-7*: 1 níg-lá-gaba / *I-gi* ur₄ / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} / 1 sal^{túg} maškim-sù / šu-mu-tak₄ / geštin-'a' / ha-ra-na

[109] *ARET XV 57 v. I 4-6*: 1 gu-zi-tum 1 zara₆^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *I-gi* / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}

Queste attestazioni confermano che anche i funzionari ur₄ provenienti da altri regni contribuivano al mantenimento delle relazioni internazionali con Ebla.

2.4. Acquisti

2.4.1. Alcune attestazioni registrano specificamente che i funzionari ur₄ ricevevano quantità di lana per 'comprare' (níg-sa₁₀) altri beni:

[110] *ARET IV 17 v. XII 10-16*: 1 KIN siki / níg-sa₁₀ 1 gada^{túg} / 1 KIN siki *ba-ra-i* / ḪAR-zu-ba-tum / en / Nu-za-ar / šu-ba₄-ti

[111] *ARET XV 8 v. XII 6-9*: 2 KIN siki níg-sa₁₀ 2 gišgudu₄ / *En-na-il*

[112] *ARET XV 22 v. VII 9-10*: 2 KIN siki níg-sa₁₀ giššúr / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄

[113] *ARET XV 24 v. VII 11-13*: 1 ½ KIN siki níg-sa₁₀ 2 ú-íla gišgudu₄ / *En-na-il* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti

[114] *ARET XV 43 v. X 6-8*: 3 KIN siki níg-sa₁₀ níg-lá-sag / 36 KIN siki / Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik ur₄

[115] *ARET XV 50 v. IV 4-9*: 6 KIN siki / níg-sa₁₀ 6 a-gú / 3 KIN siki sa₆ / dùl^{túg} / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄ / *Ba-u₉-ra-ad*^{ki}

Si tratta, in questi casi, di beni più particolari come 'carichi' (ú-íla) di 'acacia' (gišgudu₄)⁵¹ in [111] e [113], delle 'travi' (giššúr)⁵² in [112], della 'pasta di antimONIO' (a-gú) in [115] e un ḪAR-zu-ba-tum⁵³ in [110], probabilmente destinati ai membri dell'élite eblaita, come lo stesso passo [110] sembra confermare: qui *Nu-za-ar* svolge acquisti, ancora una volta, per il re di Ebla.

⁴⁷ *I-ti-a-gú* è attestato come maškim di NE-lum anche in *ARET XIX 6 v. IX 22-b.d. 3*: 1 gu-zi-túg / *I-ti-a-gú* / maškim / NE-lum. Verosimilmente si tratta, anche in questo caso, del funzionario ur₄ NE-lum.

⁴⁸ Per questo termine si veda Pasquali 2005: 57 n. 263.

⁴⁹ Per questo termine si veda Pasquali 2005: 49-55.

⁵⁰ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 316-326; Bonechi 1993: 144.

⁵¹ Per l'interpretazione del termine gišgudu₄ si veda il recente studio di Catagnotti 2018: 135 ss.

⁵² Per questo termine si veda Pomponio 2013: 424.

⁵³ Per quanto riguarda il termine ḪAR-zu-ba-tum si veda Pasquali (2010: 181): 'Il était utilisé comme ornement pour les heaumes (níg-sagšu) ou bien pour les harnais des équidés (ba-a-nu)'. Si vedano anche Biga, Milano 1984: 300; Pasquali 1997: 241-243; Pomponio 2008: 78.

2.4.2. Nella maggior parte dei casi i beni venivano acquistati presso le fiere dei centri del regno di Ebla e dei centri appartenenti a regni indipendenti. L'amministrazione eblaita sfruttava le fiere per acquistare beni che non erano sempre reperibili entro i confini territoriali di Ebla.

- [116] *ARET* III 635 v. II' 4'-7': 2 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĤAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti
- [117] *ARET* VII 11 r. I 4-11: 13 ma-na kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 90 la-ḥa ì-giš / níg-sa₁₀ / 4 *mi-at* 17 túg-túg / 12[+3³] níg-lá-sag / 10 lá-1 íb-III^{túg} babbar / 1 *mi-at* 20 na₄ siki sa₆ / 1 ma-na kù:babbar / DILMUN tar / má-gal / níg-sa₁₀ / KI:LAM₇ / *Ma-rí*^{ki} / *Zú-ba-LUM* "ur₄" / níg-sa₁₀
- [118] *ARET* VII 11 r. IV 5-V 1: 3[+2²] m[a-na] kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ / 2 *mi-at* 80 íb-III^{túg} gùn / 6 íb-III sa₆ gùn / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*À-da* / *Du-bi-šum* "ur₄" / [níg-s]a₁₀
- [119] *ARET* VII 11 r. VII 6-13: 51 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ / 10 lá-1 ^{giš}ASAR / 13 íb-III sa₆ gùn / KI:LAM₇ / *NI-ab*^{ki} / *Zú-ba-LUM* "ur₄" / níg-sa₁₀
- [120] *ARET* VII 13 r. VI 7-VII 2: 4 ma-na kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ / 48 túg-NI.NI / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄ / KI:LAM₇ / x-[...]^{ki}
- [121] *ARET* VII 13 v. I 4-II 5: [...] / [níg-sa₁₀] / 1 *mi-at* 27 túg-túg / KI:LAM₇ / ^r*Ga*^r-^r*ga*^r-[*ba-an*]^{ki} / *Ru*₁₂^r-^r*à-da-mu* ur₄ / lú *Šu-m[a]-[i]k*
- [122] *ARET* VII 13 v. II 6-III 2: [...] / [níg-sa₁₀] / [...] / KI:LAM₇ / *Zi-ba-tum* / *Zú-ba-LUM* ur₄
- [123] *ARET* VII 13 v. V 9-VI 5: [...] / níg-sa₁₀ / [n ak]tum^{túg} / KI:LAM₇ / *Si*^r-^r*à-am*^{ki} / *Ru*₁₂^r-^r*à-da-mu* ur₄
- [124] TM.75.G.1390⁵⁴ r. I 1-II 3: 4 ma-na tar kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 14 gada ḥul 10 gada sa₆ šu en 1 *mi-at* 35 íb-III^{túg} gùn x+6 zú-^dA.AMA KI:LAM₇ ^dAMA-ra *Du-bi-šum* ur₄ níg-sa₁₀
- [125] TM.75.G.1390⁵⁵ v. IV 5-VI 4: 1 ma-na kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 3 zara₆^{túg} *Kab-lu*₅-*ul*^{ki} 15 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 2 níg-lá-sag 2 [níg-lá-gaba] 16 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 3 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 10 gada sa₆ ŠA.PI-3 2-NI gín-DILMUN kù:babbar níg-sa₁₀ 8 *gú-[li-lum]* KI:LAM₇ ^d*Ga-mi-iš* *Du-bi-šum* ur₄ níg-sa₁₀
- [126] TM.75.G.10077⁵⁶ v. VII 12-17: (argento) níg-[sa₁₀] 2 GI[Š-x] *Ib-bi-um* "ur₄" šu-ba₄-ti KI:LAM₇ ^r*À-da-NI*^{ki}

Alcuni funzionari effettuavano acquisiti presso le fiere di centri eblaiti, come ^r*À-da-NI*^{ki57} ([126]), *NI-ab*^{ki58} ([119]), *Si*^r-^r*à-am*^{ki59} ([123]), mentre altri si recavano verso fiere localizzate fuori dal regno eblaita, come a ^r*Ga*^r-^r*ga*^r-[*ba-an*]^{ki60} ([121]) e a *Ma-rí*^{ki} ([117]). Non sembra esservi una ricorrenza costante tra i funzionari ur₄ e i centri presso i quali si dirigevano per svolgere acquisti. *Ru*₁₂^r-^r*à-da-mu*, per esempio, effettuava acquisti presso il KI:LAM₇ del centro eblaita *Si*^r-^r*à-am*^{ki} ([123]), ma è anche attestato a svolgere la medesima attività presso *Ir-ra-ku*^{ki} (in [13]) e ^r*Ga*^r-^r*ga*^r-[*ba-an*]^{ki} (in [121]).

Interessante è il passo [117], che registra l'affitto da parte del collettore *Zú-ba-LUM*, per 1 mina e 30 sicli di argento, di un má-gal, ovvero di una 'barca da carico',⁶¹ verosimilmente utile per il trasporto fluviale dei beni acquistati presso il KI:LAM₇ di *Ma-rí*^{ki}. È infatti noto che presso *Ma-rí*^{ki}, ma anche presso *Du-du-lu*^{ki}, altra città fluviale, operavano dei mercanti addetti proprio al commercio fluviale, i ga:raš.⁶² È possibile ipotizzare che il funzionario, dopo aver acquistato i beni alla fiera di *Ma-rí*^{ki}, abbia affittato un'imbarcazione da carico per usufruire del

⁵⁴ Citato in Waetzoldt 1984: 427. Si veda anche Pomponio, Xella 1997: 205.

⁵⁵ Citato in Waetzoldt 1984: 427. Si vedano anche Kienast, Waetzoldt 1990: 41; Pomponio, Xella 1997: 176.

⁵⁶ Citato in Biga 2002b: 287.

⁵⁷ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 124-127; Bonechi 1993: 18-20.

⁵⁸ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 400-401; Bonechi 1993: 260.

⁵⁹ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 441; Bonechi 1993: 293. Si veda anche Catagnoti (2016: 32-33 e n. 19): 'mentre resta molto probabile un riferimento alla valle dell'Oronte, anche il corso inferiore di questo fiume può essere preso in considerazione, dal che deriva una possibile localizzazione a (nord)ovest di Ebla.'

⁶⁰ Secondo Catagnoti, Bonechi (1992: 50): 'il est tout à fait possible de proposer l'identification de Kakkabân <- *Kakkabân avec le volcan Kawkab ou, sinon, avec une cité qui en est proche : le Kawkab se trouve près de Hassaké et rentre dans l'horizon géographique des textes sargoniques de Tell Brak.'

⁶¹ Per questa traduzione si veda Archi 2003a: 51.

⁶² Si vedano Archi 2003a: 51-52; Biga 2008: 309-311.

trasporto fluviale fino, forse, a Má-NE^{ki63}, centro posto lungo il fiume Eufrate e posizionato tra *Ī-mar^{ki}* e *Ma-ri^{ki}*, nonché centro che agiva da sbocco portuale per Ebla.

2.4.3. Si distinguono per quantità le attestazioni che registrano gli acquisti di *Wa-ba-rúm*. Sebbene nei passi seguenti *Wa-ba-rúm* non sia qualificato dal termine ur₄, si ritiene che sia sempre identificabile con l'omonimo funzionario più volte attestato nei passi al § 2.2.2:

- [127] *ARET* III 297 II 1²-4²: 22 gu-mug^{túg} / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / [...]
 [128] *ARET* III 534 V 1²-4²: ...] *Wa²-ba²-rúm* / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*A-da-ma* / ²*Ā-da-NI^{ki}*
 [129] *ARET* XII 1059 II² 1²-4²: ...] 1² ma²-na² kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / [...]
 [130] *MEE* 7 29 r. X 1²-7²: 'x' [...] / ŠA.PI² gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*Āš-da-bil*
 [131] *MEE* 7 29 v. II 1-4: 1 ma-na ŠA.PI gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [132] *MEE* 7 29 v. IX 7-X 1: 2 ma-na ŠA.PI-4 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 15 ²*à-da-um^{túg}-I²* / 1 *mi-at* 4 íb-III^{túg} gùn / 1 ma²-na ta[r gín-DILMUN kù: babbar] / níg-sa₁₀ 1 BAR.AN / ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / KI:LAM₇ / šeš-II-ib / ²*Ā-da-NI^{ki}*
 [133] *MEE* 7 29 v. XIII 6-16: 3 ma-na 55 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 27 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / 1 *mi-at* 67 íb-III^{túg} gùn / 4 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar / [níg-sa₁₀] ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*A-da-ma* / wa / KI:LAM₇ / BÀD.AN^{ki}
 [134] *MEE* 7 34 v. IV 30-V 15: 16 ma-na / tar kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 1 *mi-at* aktum^{túg} / 5 zara₆^{túg} / 30 lá-1 túg-NI. NI / 80 ²*à-da-um^{túg}-I²* / 1 dùl^{túg} *Ma-ri^{ki}* / 4 gada^{túg} / 46 salt^{túg} / 62 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / 1 *mi-at* 80 íb-III^{túg} gùn / 1 *mi-at* 50 kuš-kuš sa₆ gi₆ / ŠA.PI gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}bar-uš / *Wa-ba-rúm* / ²*Ā-da-NI^{ki}*
 [135] *MEE* 7 47 r. IX 1-11: 10 lá-2 na₄ siki *Ma-ri^{ki}* / 2 ma-na kù: babbar / 95 ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / 6 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / n[íg-sa₁₀] ^{giš}ád / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*A-da-ma* / wa / SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 [136] *MEE* 10 20 v. I 25-II 5: ŠA.PI gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 12 ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / 60 [...] -zi-péš-da-ru₁₂ / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*Ga-mi-iš*
 [137] *MEE* 10 29 v. XIV 10-XVI 19: 20 lá-3 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 30 ²*à-da-um^{túg}-II²* / 1 bára^{túg} / 1 gid^{túg} tur sa₆ / 46 gid^{túg} / 30 aktum^{túg} ti^{túg} / 21 túg-NI.NI / 21 aktum^{túg} mu₄^{mu} / 5 ²*à-da-um^{túg}-I²* / 44 ²*à-da-um^{túg}-I²* / 23 níg-lá-sag / 3 íb^{túg} ú *Ma-ri^{ki}* / 1 íb^{túg} babbar / 93 salt^{túg} / 21 gada^{túg} mu₄^{mu} / 10 ma-na / ŠA.PI-5 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 5 *mi-at* íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / 15 ma-na tar kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 1 *li-im* 8 *mi-at* 60 íb-III^{túg} gùn / '6' ma-na 13 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 5 *mi-at* 60 na₄ siki *Ma-ri^{ki}* / ap / níg-sa₁₀ 1 kù: babbar / 1 ½ na₄ siki / 1 ma-na ŠA.PI gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 3 *mi-at* a-gar₅ / 5 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 65 ma-na ni-NE / 15 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / 4 gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 6 giš x-x / 2 3-NI gín-DILMUN kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 20 lá-1 ba-ba / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*A-dam-ma* / KI:LAM₇ / ²*Ā-da-NI^{ki}* / lú ^dAMA-ra / KI:LAM₇ / NI-ab^{ki} / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*Ā-[da]* / KI:LAM₇ / Ši-²*à-mu^{ki}* / KI:LAM₇ / ^d*Gi-ba-lu* / KI:LAM₇ / SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 [138] *MEE* 12 35 v. VII 6-12: 17 kù: babbar / 34 ^{giš}ti-ĪHAR / ŠÚ+ŠA kù: babbar / níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}ma-dul₁₀ / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti / KI:LAM₇ KI:LAM₇

I centri presso i quali *Wa-ba-rúm* si recava erano: ²*Ā-da-NI^{ki}* (nei passi [128], [132],⁶⁴ [134], [137]), NI-ab^{ki} e Ši-²*à-mu^{ki}* (in [137]), SA.ZA_x^{ki65} (in [135] e [137]), i quali facevano parte del regno di Ebla. A questi si aggiungono

⁶³ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 379-381; Bonechi 1993: 227-228.

⁶⁴ L'attestazione riporta: KI:LAM₇ šeš-II-ib ²*Ā-da-NI^{ki}*. La connessione tra KI:LAM₇ e šeš-II-ib conferma il contesto religioso nel quale si tenevano le fiere, collegate alle celebrazioni religiose nei centri che ospitavano i templi delle divinità più importanti e presso i quali, per un breve periodo di tempo, prestavano servizio proprio gli šeš-II-ib, si vedano Biga 2002b: 282; Biga 2003a: 64.

⁶⁵ Il dibattito su questo termine non si è ancora concluso, dal momento che nei documenti gli scribi eblaiti distinguono tra *Ib-lá^{ki}* e SA.ZA_x^{ki}. Alcuni studiosi lo individuano come parte del Palazzo di Ebla, il Quartiere Amministrativo oppure la 'casa del re' (é en).

anche altri centri sede di culto delle divinità in onore delle quali si tenevano le fiere, come il KI:LAM₇ di ^d*Āš-da-bil* ([130]), i KI:LAM₇ di ^d*A-da-ma* e di BÀD.AN^{ki} ([133]), il KI:LAM₇ di ^d*Ga-mi-iš* ([136]). In particolare il passo [137] registra numerose fiere visitate da *Wa-ba-rúm*, il cui ordine potrebbe rispecchiare anche un percorso geografico compiuto dal funzionario, percorso in cui i toponimi sono alternati da fiere qualificate da nomi divini, che probabilmente sottintendono, a loro volta, altri toponimi presso i quali vi erano luoghi di culto.

È importante evidenziare che *Wa-ba-rúm* è anche il nome di un ugula nagar:

[139] *ARET* IV 4 (= *MEE* 2 3) v. III 14-IV 6: 1 gu-mug^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Šu-ma-NI* / maškim / *Wa-ba-rúm* / ugula nagar / šu-mu-rak₄ / igi-du₈ / é / ^d*Ā-da*

[140] *ARET* IV 19 (= *MEE* 7 24) v. IX 12-14: 5 KIN siki / *Wa-ba-rúm* / ugula nagar

[141] TM.75.G.1389⁶⁶ v. V 11-17: 5 KIN siki níg-sa₁₀ ^{giš}maš *Wa-ba-lum* ugula nagar šu-ba₄-ti KI:LAM₇ SA.ZA_x^{ki}

Nel passo [141] *Wa-ba-lum*, in qualità di ugula nagar, riceve 5 misure-KIN di lana per acquistare delle ‘assi’ (^{giš}maš)⁶⁷ in una fiera che si svolge presso SA.ZA_x^{ki}, attività che, si è visto in questo paragrafo, svolge più volte in qualità di ur₄. Pertanto si ritiene di poter identificare *Wa-ba-rúm* ur₄ con l’omonimo ugula nagar. È possibile che in alcuni casi *Wa-ba-rúm* abbia svolto la sua attività di ur₄ per alcuni gruppi di carpentieri affidati alla sua supervisione, comprando materiali necessari allo svolgimento del loro lavoro. D’altronde si è visto in [88-93] che alcuni ur₄ erano connessi a gruppi di lavoratori, tra i quali anche i nagar. Un altro esempio si ritrova nel passo seguente:

[142] TM.75.G.2245⁶⁸ r. IX 20-22: *Maš-’à-lu* ur₄ ugula gùn

Maš-’à-lu è sia ur₄ che ‘soprintendente’ (ugula) dei ‘tintori’ (gùn).

Tornando ai beni acquistati da *Wa-ba-rúm*, questi riguardano varie tipologie di tessuti, lana, ma anche quantità di ‘rame’ (a-gar₅), ‘cinghie’ (kuš-kuš),⁶⁹ ‘gusci di tartaruga’ (ba-ba)⁷⁰ e vari tipi di legno, come il ^{giš}ád⁷¹ e il ^{giš}ti-ĤAR,⁷² tutti beni che, insieme a *zi-péš-da-ru*₁₂⁷³ e ^{giš}ma-dul₁₀,⁷⁴ servivano probabilmente per la realizzazione o la decorazione di carri, o parti di questi, per i membri dell’élite eblaita. Tuttavia non è da scartare l’ipotesi che parte della lana ricevuta dai collettori servisse per la realizzazione di finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per i loro equidi e i loro carri. Infatti, per lo svolgimento delle loro attività i funzionari ur₄ dovevano spostarsi sia dentro che fuori dai confini del regno di Ebla ed è dunque verosimile che avessero bisogno di carri ed equidi. A tal riguardo sono importanti i passi seguenti:

[143] *ARET* IV 17 v. XII 7-9: 1 KIN siki / *hu-lu* / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄

[144] *ARET* XV 9 v. IX 6-9: 2 KIN siki / *hu-lu* / sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄

[145] *ARET* XV 21 r. XI 10-13: 1 gir mar-tu hul / *En-na-BAD* / ugula sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄

[146] *ARET* XV 21 v. IV 4-12: 2 KIN siki *Kùn-zé* / 3 KIN siki *EN-bù-il* / 2 KIN siki *Ni-sa-du* / 3 KIN siki *Ti-ra-il* / *I-šar* / *Ib-dur-i-šar* / kin₅-ak / ^{giš}gígir-II / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄

In altri casi, invece, come centro distinto da Ebla, ma nei pressi della città. Per le varie ipotesi interpretative sul termine SA.ZA_x^{ki} si vedano Archi 1993: 469; Archi 2004: 204; Archi 2009: 108-109; Bonechi 1993: 277-282; Bonechi 2016c: 68-69.

⁶⁶ Citato in Biga 2011: 86 n. 51.

⁶⁷ Si veda Fronzaroli (1993: 31): ‘La lista lessicale bilingue ha la glossa *a-ù-um* (= GIŠ-maš, A), interpretabile come /lāh-um/ «tavola (di legno), asse», da confrontare con acc. *lē’u*, nordocc. *lūh-*, ar. ge. *lawh*. [...] Nei testi amministrativi maš-maš indica le «striscioline (di metallo)» usate come parti accessorie di oggetti decorati’.

⁶⁸ Citato in Archi 2003b: 28 n. 2.

⁶⁹ Si veda Pasquali 1997: 234-235.

⁷⁰ Si veda Pasquali 2003: 20.

⁷¹ ‘Una pianta spinosa’, si veda Lahlouh, Catagnoti 2006: 538. Si vedano anche Biga 2003a: 65 n. 28; Conti 2003: 123.

⁷² Il ^{giš}ti-ĤAR è un materiale che qualifica oggetti come il ^{giš}šū₄, generalmente fatti di legno di bosso (^{giš}taskarin), per questo è stato pensato che indicasse una particolare tipologia di legno. Inoltre è un materiale che Ebla ottiene o acquistandolo presso fiere, specialmente quella di ^d*Ā-da-NI*^{ki}, oppure come consegna da parte degli inviati di DU-lu^{ki}, *Hu-sa/-ša-um*^{ki}, *Ma-nu-wa-ad*^{ki} e grazie ai trasporti di *Ib-al*^{ki}, si vedano Conti 1997: 69; Pasquali 2005: 7-8; Lahlouh, Catagnoti 2006: 541; Civil 2008: 109.

⁷³ Per questo termine si veda Lahlouh, Catagnoti 2006: 596.

⁷⁴ Il termine ^{giš}ma-dul₁₀ è stato interpretato in Civil (1968: 13) come ‘chariot pole’, in Fronzaroli (1993: 150) è tradotto ‘timone del carro’. Si veda anche Conti 1997: 39.

- [147] *ARET* XV 23 v. V 14-17: 3 KIN siki / *hu-lu-hu-lu* / BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* “ur₄”
 [148] *ARET* XV 26 r. VII 16-18: 1 aktum^{túg} / ugula sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄
 [149] *ARET* XV 26 v. VIII 3-5: 10 KIN siki *ba-ra-u₉* / ugula sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄
 [150] *ARET* XV 36 r. VI 5-7: 1 sal^{túg} *En-na-BAD* / ugula sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* “ur₄”
 [151] *ARET* XV 41 (= *MEE* 10 26) v. X 7-10: 1 ½ KIN siki / *hu-lu* / sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* ur₄
 [152] *ARET* XV 54 v. VII 11-14: 3 KIN siki / *hu-lu* / 3 sur_x-BAR.AN / *Du-bi-šum* “ur₄”

Du-bi-šum, riceve lana per dei ‘(collari del) giogo’ (*hu-lu*), per alcuni ‘muli’ (BAR.AN, [147]) o per delle ‘coppie di muli’ (sur_x-BAR.AN, [144], [151-152]): è possibile ritenere che questi beni, così come i muli, appartenessero al funzionario, dal momento che *Du-bi-šum* possedeva un carro ([146]) e, non a caso, aveva alle sue dipendenze almeno un ugula sur_x-BAR.AN ([148-150]), ovvero un funzionario preposto alla gestione del personale che si occupava dei suoi equidi. Il passo [145]⁷⁵ registra anche il nome di un suo funzionario ugula sur_x-BAR.AN: *En-na-BAD*.

È pertanto possibile che anche nei passi seguenti i beni registrati fossero destinati ai funzionari che li avevano ricevuti, dal momento che non è menzionato alcun destinatario:

- [153] *ARET* I 17 (= *MEE* 2 22) v. VIII 10-16: 10 KIN siki / kin₅-ak / 10 túg-du₈ lú / ^{giš}gígir-II / *Nu-za-ar* / šu-ba₄-ti / lú ^{giš}gígir-II
 [154] *ARET* XII 17 v. I 1²-4²: ... níg-anše-ak / ^{giš}gígir-é / *Wa-ba-rúm* / šu-ba₄-ti
 [155] *ARET* XV 8 v. X 12-14: 5 KIN siki / 1 ^{giš}gígir-II-1 / NE-lum ur₄
 [156] *ARET* XV 21 v. V 8-12: 5 KIN siki sag / *ba-a-nu* / 5 sur_x-BAR.AN / *Nu-za-ru*₁₂ ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti
 [157] *ARET* XV 21 v. VI 10-VII 2: 11 ½ KIN siki sag / 4 KA.SI / 6 ru₁₂-bù-gú / 5 *ba-a-nu* / *En-na-NI* ur₄ / šu-ba₄-ti
 [158] *ARET* XV 37 v. XII 4-7: 3 KIN siki gi₆ / [...] / IGI.NITA / NE-lum ur₄

I passi esaminati nel § 2.2 registrano i funzionari ur₄ *En-na-NI*, *Nu-za-ar* e NE-lum che ricevono lana necessaria alla realizzazione di finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri destinati al re di Ebla, così come *Wa-ba-rúm* ne riceve per la manifattura dei beni destinati al ministro *Ib-ri-um* e ad alcuni suoi figli. Per questo, sebbene non sia da escludere che i beni registrati nei passi appena elencati ([153-158]) fossero per i funzionari ur₄ stessi, è altrettanto possibile che si trattassero di beni che i collettori avevano incarico di consegnare ad altri destinatari, seppur non menzionati. Altrettanto può essere detto per i passi seguenti:

- [159] *ARET* III 510 v. IV 3²-5²: 3 gu tar tar / NE-lum / ur₄
 [160] *ARET* VII 62 v. II 7-IV 1: 1 ma-na kù-gi / 1 dib / tar 8 kù-gi / 6 *bu-di* / (cancellatura) / NI.NUN “ur₄”
 [161] *ARET* VIII 542 (= *MEE* 5 22) v. VII 13²-19²: 4 ^à-da-um^{túg}-I 4 aktum^{túg} 4 íb-II^{túg} gùn / *Ti-la-NI* / *I-bi-zi-ki-ri* / *En-na-NI* / šu-mu-tak₄ / za_x en / *En-na-BAD* “ur₄”
 [162] *ARET* VIII 542 (= *MEE* 5 22) v. VII 20²-25²: 2 ^à-da-II 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ / *Ar-wa* / dumu-nita / en / *wa* / NE-dar “ur₄”
 [163] *ARET* XII 96 v. IV 3-4: 1 gu 1 sal^{túg} *En-na-il* ur₄ / [...]
 [164] *ARET* XII 355 r. I 1²-2²: 2 ^à-da-um^{túg}-II 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Íl-a-da-mu* “ur₄”
 [165] *ARET* XII 363 II 2²-3²: 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄^{mušen} {ZA} kù:babbar / NE-lum ur₄
 [166] *ARET* XII 874 r. VI 8-11: 1 [^à-da]-u[m^{túg}]-II 1 [^à-d]-a-um^{túg}-[x] 1 aktum^{túg} 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn 1 íb-I^{túg} gùn / 1 gada^{túg} 1 níg-lá sag / *En-na-d*-*Da-gan* “u[r₄]” / [...]
 [167] *ARET* XV 6 (= *MEE* 2 29) r. VI 13-14: 1 gir mar-tu kù:babbar maš-maš kù-gi / A-LUM ur₄
 [168] *ARET* XV 11 r. III 5-7: 2 gu-dùl^{túg} 2 sal^{túg} 2 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Šum-ma-il* ur₄ / *En-na-il* ur₄
 [169] *ARET* XV 23 r. VIII 13-14: 1 gir mar-tu tar.tar kù:babbar kù-gi / A-LUM “ur₄”
 [170] *ARET* XV 26 v. XII 1-XI 4: AN.ŠĚ.GÚ 22 gu-dùl^{túg} 53 sal^{túg} 20 lá-1 aktum^{túg} 30 túg-NI.NI 12 *gu-zi-tum* 5 zara₆^{túg} 5 túg-NI.NI sa₆ 9 haš zara₆^{túg} 32 íb-III^{túg} gùn 8 íb-III sa₆ gùn 33 ½ KIN siki hul 10 KIN siki *ba-ra-*

⁷⁵ Nel caso specifico i testi registrano anche alcuni funzionari maškim connessi a *Du-bi-šum*, ovvero *Ar-si-a-ħa* (*ARET* XV 58 v. VI 5-7 e probabilmente in *ARET* XV 52 r. XI 3²-5²), *In-ma-lik* (*ARET* XV 43 r. IV 9²-11²) e *I-zi-ma* (*ARET* IV 17 r. XIV 1-4).

*u*₉ / *Du-bi<-šum>** *ur*₄ / 30 KIN siki sag 5 ½ KIN siki *ba-ra-u*₉ / 5 *zi-ri* siki / 9 KIN siki *ḫul en* 7 KIN siki *sa*₆ / *iti ga-sum*

- [171] *ARET XV 31 r. IV 23-25*: 1 *gú-li-lum a-gar*₅-*gar*₅ *kù:babbar* / *Ib-dur-il* / “*ur*₄”
 [172] *ARET XV 38 r. XI 12-15*: 1 *gu-dùl*^{túg} 1 *aktum*^{túg} / *Zé-kam*₄ “*ur*₄” / *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM / *šu-ba*₄-*ti*
 [173] *ARET XV 49 v. VII 18-19*: 2 *níg-lá-DU* / *En-na-il* *ur*₄
 [174] *ARET XV 53 r. VIII 10-11*: 1 *gír* ‘*mar-tu*’ *kù-gi* / *NE-lum* “*ur*₄”
 [175] *ARET XV 55 r. IX 13-14*: 2 ‘*á-da-um*^{túg} 2 *aktum*^{túg} 1 *túg-NI.NI 3 íb-III*^{túg} *gùn sa*₆ / *Ìr-am*₆-*da-mu* *ur*₄
 [176] *MEE 2 25 v. I 5-10*: 1 *gu-dùl*^{túg} 1 *sal*^{túg} *íb-III*^{túg} *gùn* / *Ar-šum* “*ur*₄” / *dub-sar* / *ì-na-sum* / *si-in* / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}
 [177] *MEE 7 27 v. V 5-8*: 2 *gín-DILMUN kù-gi* / *ni-zi-mu* / *NU*₁₁-*za* [x] *gú-li-lum* / *I-lu*₅-*za*_x-*ma-lik* *ur*₄
 [178] *MEE 10 2 v. VI 9-12*: 1 ‘*gu-dùl*^{túg} 1 *sal*^{túg} 1 *íb-III*’ / 1 *níg-lá-sag* / *Ib-dur-il* “*ur*₄” / *a-NE-tum*⁷⁶
 [179] *TM.75.G.1397*⁷⁷ v. III 3-6: *ŠA.PI kù-gi* / 2 *dib ŠÚ+ŠA* / *In-gàr* *ur*₄ / *Sag-du* *ur*₄

Tuttavia, le quantità di tessuti consegnate nei passi [161-162] e [168] e le quantità di oggetti in metallo registrati in [179] portano a ritenere che, almeno in questi quattro casi, i beni fossero in effetti destinati agli *ur*₄ stessi. Per quanto riguarda il passo [172] è possibile ipotizzare che *Zé-kam*₄⁷⁸ fosse l'*ur*₄ al servizio del ministro *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM. Dal momento che un funzionario *ur*₄ chiamato *Du-bi* non è mai attestato altrove, è probabile che in [170] si tratti di una grafia difettiva per indicare il nome del ben più noto *ur*₄ e lugal *Du-bi-šum*, attestato durante il periodo di regno del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*.

2.5. Consegna di notizie

2.5.1. Dato che per lo svolgimento delle loro attività i funzionari *ur*₄ dovevano spostarsi sia dentro che fuori dai confini del regno di Ebla, in alcuni casi venivano incaricati di consegnare notizie. Altrettanto vale per gli *ur*₄ provenienti da regni stranieri, come si vedrà nel § 7.

Il maggior numero di notizie consegnate è relativo ad avvenimenti che interessano le donne della corte eblaita e che verranno trattate nel § 5. Un secondo gruppo è costituito dalle notizie relative a eventi militari:

- [180] *ARET III 894 I' 1'-8': ...* *I-lu*₅-*za*_x-*ma-lik* “*ur*₄” / *níg-mul-an* / *Mu-úr*^{ki} / *TUM<xSAL>* / *wa* / *Û-nu-bù*^{ki} / *ì-giš-sù* / *nídba*
 [181] *ARET XIX 1 r. III 6-11*: 1 ‘*á-da-um*^{túg}-II 1 *aktum*^{túg} 1 *íb-III*^{túg} *sa*₆ *gùn* / *I-lu*₅-*za*_x-*ma-lik* / “*ur*₄” / *níg-mul-an* / *Gú-da-da-núm*^{ki} / *šu-ba*₄-*ti*

La maggior parte delle notizie relative ad avvenimenti militari sono consegnate dal funzionario *I-lu*₅-*za*_x-*ma-lik*. In [180] consegna alla corte eblaita la notizia che *Mu-úr*^{ki79} è stata saccheggiata (*TUM<xSAL>*),⁸⁰ mentre *Û-nu-bù*^{ki81} ‘ha offerto dell’olio’ (*ì-giš-sù nídba*).⁸² È già attestata un’offerta di olio dal centro di *Û-nu-bù*^{ki} in *ARET XV 31 r. XIV 16-18*, testo databile al periodo di *Ìr-kab-da-mu*. In [181], invece, *I-lu*₅-*za*_x-*ma-lik* consegna a Ebla

⁷⁶ La grafia *a-NE-tum* non è chiara: potrebbe trattarsi di un toponimo scritto in grafia difettiva, oppure di un nome comune (si vedano al riguardo le considerazioni in Bonechi 2016b: 35 n. 32).

⁷⁷ Pubblicato in Archi 1985c: 26-28.

⁷⁸ *Zé-kam*₄ è anche il nome di un lugal registrato in più testi del periodo di *Ar-ru*₁₂-LUM (Archi 2000: 55), non è tuttavia chiaro se l'*ur*₄ *Zé-kam*₄ sia da identificare con l'omonimo lugal.

⁷⁹ L'identificazione di questo centro con il più noto *Mu-ru*₁₂^{ki} è discussa, si vedano Bonechi 1990: 167; Bonechi 1993: 248-249; Fronzaroli 2003: 115. Si veda anche Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 388.

⁸⁰ Per il termine *TUMxSAL* si veda Pettinato 1980: 244. Il saccheggio era, molto probabilmente, la pratica più comune adottata per conquistare una città o per effettuare una spedizione punitiva contro un centro già conquistato e mirava all'indebolimento della sua base economica, bruciandone il raccolto o razzianandone i capi d'allevamento, si veda Biga 2008: 312.

⁸¹ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 456; Bonechi 1993: 308; Fronzaroli 2003: 115.

⁸² L'offerta di olio serviva a sancire o rinnovare un'alleanza, si vedano Archi 1991b: 221-222; Catagnoti 1997: 116; Biga 2008: 317.

la notizia che *Gú-da-da-núm*⁸³ ‘è stata conquistata’ (*šu-ba₄-ti*) da *Ib-ri-um*.⁸⁴ La stessa notizia si trova anche in TM.75.G.1836⁸⁵ r. IX 12-X 1 che ne registra la consegna da parte di *A-bù^dKU-ra*, uno dei *maškim* di *I-bí-zi-kir*.⁸⁶

È molto probabile che *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik* sia da identificare nell’omonimo menzionato nei passi seguenti:

[182] *ARET* III 467 r. II 5-9: 1 ‘*à-da-um*^{túg-II} / *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik* / *níg-mul-an* / *Ha-sa-šar*^{ki} / è

[183] *ARET* XII 1287+ v.² VII’ 10-15: 1 ‘*à-da-um*^{túg-II} 1 *íb-I*^{túg} *sa₆ gùn* / *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik* “ur₄” / *níg-mul-an* / *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* / [*Ma*]-*n*[*u-wa-a*]^{dki} / [...]

I due passi successivi, invece, registrano la consegna, da parte di due funzionari ur₄, di notizie che sono state generalmente interpretate come relative a sconfitte militari di alcuni centri:⁸⁷

[184] *ARET* XV 45 r. X 5-10: 2 *sal*^{túg} / ‘*maškim*’ / *A-da* ur₄ / *níg-mul-an* / ‘*Gú*’-*[ra]-ra-ab*^{ki} / *til*

[185] TM.75.G.2434+10280⁸⁸ v. IV 5-10: 1 ‘*à-da-um*^{túg-II} 1 *aktum*^{túg} 1 *íb-III*^{túg} *gùn* *Ib-du-lu* “ur₄” *níg-mul-an* ‘*A₅-la-la-ḥu-um*^{ki} *Ib-la*^{ki} *til*

Il funzionario *A-da* registrato in [184] è definito ur₄ di *Ma-ri*^{ki} nel passo seguente:

[186] *ARET* XV 29 r. IV 16-19: 2 *dùl*^{túg} 2 *aktum*^{túg} 3 *túg-NI.NI* 23 *íb-III*^{túg} *gùn* / *maškim* / *A-da* ur₄ / *Ma-ri*^{ki}

Inoltre, *A-da* riceve dall’amministrazione eblaita numerosi tessuti, tra cui 13 tessuti bianchi alla foggia di *Ma-ri*^{ki}:

[187] *ARET* III 193 r. VII 3-4: 1 *aktum*^{túg} 1 *níg-lá sag* 1 *níg-lá-gaba* 13 *babbar túg* *Ma-ri*^{ki} / *A-da* ur₄

Dato che il funzionario ur₄ *A-da* è attestato in connessione con *Ma-ri*^{ki} solamente in [186], si ritiene che potesse appartenere all’amministrazione di Ebla e che si trovasse a *Ma-ri*^{ki} in occasione dello svolgimento di relazioni diplomatiche tra i due regni.

Un suo *maškim:e-gi₄* riceve delle quantità di argento per intraprendere un viaggio, probabilmente a scopo commerciale:⁸⁹

[188] TM.77.G.730⁹⁰ v. IX 6-X 4: ŠA.PI *gín-DILMUN kù:babbar* / *maškim* / *Ha-ra-il* / 7 *kaskal* / 15 *gín-DILMUN kù:babbar* / *maškim:e-gi₄* / *A-da* ur₄ / 6 *kaskal* 4 *gín-DILMUN kù:babbar* / *Ha-ra-nu*^{ki} / *tar kù:babbar* / *Sar-ru*₁₂^{ki} / 5 *kaskal*

Il *maškim:e-gi₄* riceve 15 sicli d’argento, una cifra non sufficiente a coprire ‘sei viaggi’ (6 *kaskal*), ragion per cui l’espressione 6 *kaskal* è probabilmente da intendere come ‘sesto viaggio’.

2.5.2. In altri casi, invece, i funzionari consegnano notizie di eventi interni alla corte eblaita:

[189] *ARET* VIII 525 (= *MEE* 5 5) r. X 5-13: 1 ‘*à-da-um*^{túg-II} 1 *aktum*^{túg} 1 *íb-III*^{túg} *sa₆ gùn* / *A-šu-ur-NI* “ur₄” / *níg-mul-an* / *ma-lik-tum* / *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* / *lú I-bí-zi-kir* / *šeš-II-ib* / *in* / *Á-a*^{ki}

Il funzionario *A-šu-ur-NI* consegna alla regina la notizia che *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik*, uno dei figli del ministro *I-bí-zi-kir*, agiva come *šeš-II-ib* ad *Á-a*^{ki}.⁹¹ Sono soprattutto i funzionari *maškim* a portare a corte la notizia di avvenimenti

⁸³ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 247-249; Bonechi 1993: 161-162.

⁸⁴ Si veda Biga 2008: 316.

⁸⁵ Citato in Biga 2008: 316.

⁸⁶ Al riguardo si vedano i passi *ARET* I 5 v. V 5-15; *ARET* VIII 531 (= *MEE* 5 11) v. VIII 26-IX 4; *ARET* XII 701 III’ 1’-8’; *MEE* 7 23 v. II 2-8; *MEE* 12 37 r. XV 16-27.

⁸⁷ Il passo [185] è stato interpretato come segue in Archi (2006: 4): ‘1+1+1 veste a Ibdulu, il sorvegliante (ur₄) che ha portato la notizia che Alalah ha battuto Ebla (/ che Alalah è stata battuta (da) Ebla [?])’. Si veda anche Biga (2008: 320): ‘1,1,1 tissus pour Ibdulu qui a apporté la nouvelle que Ébla a conquis/battu Alalakh’. Sul termine TIL si vedano Milano 2003: 423-426 e Pomponio 2003.

⁸⁸ Citato in Biga 2008: 320.

⁸⁹ ‘Argento non lavorato veniva offerto a ospiti che si presentavano a corte con doni, o era versato dall’amministrazione ai suoi inviati per acquisire dei manufatti sul mercato interno, o beni di pregio come muli (ma anche più usuali come pecore e lana) su piazze esterne, mentre un’aliquota di questo argento era destinata a coprire le spese di viaggio’ (Archi 2003a: 48).

⁹⁰ Citato in Archi 1979b: 93 n. 3.

⁹¹ Su questo toponimo si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 82; Bonechi 1993: 1.

di questo tipo, che riguardavano in particolare i figli dei due ministri *Ib-ri-um* e *I-bi-zi-kir* e noti membri della corte eblaita.⁹²

Diventare šeš-II-ib era un evento importante, poiché significava entrare a far parte di una confraternita la cui funzione era legata al culto di differenti divinità venerate nel territorio eblaita. In particolare erano connessi al pellegrinaggio in onore del dio ^d*A₅-da-bal* di *Lu-ba-an*^{ki93} e il loro ruolo era legato, probabilmente, al trasporto del simulacro divino⁹⁴ durante il pellegrinaggio a lui dedicato, nonché durante le festività connesse alle altre divinità. Quella di šeš-II-ib era, dunque, un funzione religiosa il cui svolgimento si legava ai templi. Per questo non sembra un caso che l'unico ur₄ che consegna una notizia di questo tipo sia proprio *A-šu-ur-NI*, un collettore connesso al tempio degli dei. Egli è infatti qualificato anche come ur₄ lú é dingir-dingir-dingir nei passi [205-206] e [211-215], nel § 4.

3. GESTIONE DELLE RESIDENZE DEL RE E DELLA FAMIGLIA DI *IB-RÍ-UM*

I due passi seguenti attestano la connessione di *Wa-ba-rúm* con alcune delle residenze del ministro *Ib-ri-um*:⁹⁵

[190] *ARET XII 18 III' 5'-12'*: 1 gu-mug^{túg} 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Wa-ba-rúm* / “ur₄” / lú é / *Ib-ri-um* / in / *Ša-du-úr*^{ki} / [...]

[191] *ARET XIX 3 v. I 10-II 3*: 16 gu-mug^{túg}-I / dumu-nita / [...] / [...] / [...] / *Wa-ba-rúm* “ur₄” / BAD é / *Ib-ri-um*

I testi di Ebla documentano, in realtà, numerosi funzionari ur₄ connessi unicamente con le residenze di *Ib-ri-um* e, in un caso soltanto, di *Du-bù-ħu*-^d*À-da*:

[192] *ARET III 800 II 5'-8'*: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} [n] íb-II^{túg} gùn sa₆ / NE-zi-ma-lik “ur₄” / ugula é / *Ib-ri-um*

[193] *ARET IV 21 (= MEE 7 49) v. II 6-9*: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb^{túg} gùn / Puzur₄-ra-BAD ur₄ / lú é / *Du-bù-ħu*-^d*À-da*

[194] *ARET XIX 5 r. XII 2-8*: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Bu-ma-il* / “ur₄” / BAD é / *Ib-ri-um* / in / *Ša-du-úr*^{ki}

[195] *ARET XIX 16 r. III 1-8*: 1 dùl^{túg} *Ma-ri*^{ki} 1 aktum^{túg} / *I-ri-ig-zé* / lú-kar / *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} / šeš / NE-zi-ma-lik “ur₄” / ugula é / *Ib-ri-um*

[196] *MEE 7 29 r. II 7-11*: 5 ma-na kù:abbar / níg-sa₁₀ še / *En-na-BAD* “ur₄” / BAD é / *Ib-ri-um*

[197] *TM.75.G.1888+11723*⁹⁶ r. X 6-10: 1 gu-mug^{túg}-I 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn *Ìr-a-um* ur₄ é *Ib-ri-um* lú *Dur-bi-du*^{ki}

*Ìr-a-um*⁹⁷ in [197] è connesso a una residenza secondaria di *Ib-ri-um* presso *Dur-bi-du*^{ki},⁹⁸ mentre *Bu-ma-il* in [194] è connesso alla residenza del ministro presso *Ša-du-úr*^{ki},⁹⁹ esattamente come *Wa-ba-rúm*. Gli stessi *Bu-ma-il* in [194] e *En-na-BAD* in [196] sono chiaramente qualificati come ‘collettore (e) maggiordomo della residenza di *Ib-ri-um*’ (ur₄ BAD é *Ib-ri-um*).

⁹² Si vedano Fronzaroli 1997: 6 ss.; Archi 2002a: 23 ss.; Biga 2006: 31-34. Per un primo studio su questa categoria di personale si veda Urciuoli 1995.

⁹³ Si vedano Urciuoli 1995: 11 ss.; Fronzaroli 1997: 6 ss.; Archi 2002a: 26 ss.; Biga 2006: 32-33. In particolare, per quanto riguarda il pellegrinaggio šu-mu-nigin per il dio ^d*A₅-da-bal* di *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} si veda Archi 2010c: 36; Catagnoli 2015: 137; Tonietti 2016: 80 ss. Il pellegrinaggio iniziava da *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, procedeva poi verso SA.ZA_x^{ki} e toccava altri 36 piccoli centri, evidentemente devoti al dio, che sono elencati nei due testi inediti TM.75.G.2377 e TM.75.G.2379, al riguardo si veda Archi 1979a: 107-108.

⁹⁴ Per la definizione del ruolo di questa categoria di personale e per uno studio più recente, si veda Tonietti 2016: 86-89.

⁹⁵ Questo risolve il dubbio in Bonechi 2016a: 16.

⁹⁶ Citato in Biga 2010c: 158.

⁹⁷ *Ìr-a-um* è attestato come ur₄ anche in *ARET XV 4 v. IV 11* con la variante del nome *Ìr-a-mu*.

⁹⁸ Centro appartenente al regno di Ebla e menzionato in relazione a *Ib-ri-um* e alcuni dei suoi figli, vedi Bonechi 1993: 116. Si veda anche Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 223.

⁹⁹ Si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 436-437; Bonechi 1993: 286.

Nei passi [192] e [195] l'ur₄ NE-zi-ma-lik è, invece, definito ugula é *Ib-ri-um*, letteralmente ‘soprintendente della residenza di *Ib-ri-um*’.¹⁰⁰ Purtroppo non è possibile comprendere chiaramente la differenza esistente tra le espressioni BAD é e ugula é, ma l'uso di diversi termini di funzione in relazione a una residenza verosimilmente implicano anche attività e ruoli differenti da parte del funzionario incaricato. Si presuppone che le attività degli ur₄ riguardassero l'approvvigionamento di beni per la residenza, le annesse proprietà fondiarie¹⁰¹ e il personale che vi lavorava. I passi seguenti mostrano più chiaramente questo legame:

[198] *ARET XVI 27 r. V 15-VII 4: wa / ì-na-sum / Gi-ir-da-mu / Zi-li “ur₄” // wa / Zú-du “ur₄” / wa / é / Am₆-ma-šú^{ki} / é / Šè-la-du^{ki} / é / Û-gul-za-du^{ki} / é / Ar-ra-mu^{ki} / é / Kap-pa-lu^{ki} / é / Mu-ra-ru₁₂^{ki} / é / Giš^{ki} / é / Za-lu-lu^{ki} / é / SA.ZA_x^{ki} / é / Da-ri-pa-nu^{ki}*

[199] *ARET XVI 27 r. VIII 13-X 2: wa / ì-na-sum / Nab-ḥa-il / En-na-BAD “ur₄” / wa / é / Mu-ri-ig^{ki} / é / Mi-tù^{ki} / é / Á-a^{ki} / é / Bù-gi^{ki} / é / La-gù^{ki} / é / Sa-na-ru₁₂-gù^{ki} / é / Gù-ra-ra-ab^{ki} / é / Ib-su^{ki}*

Il testo di cancelleria *ARET XVI 27* registra il passaggio di beni fondiari da parte di *Ib-ri-um* a tre suoi figli, *Gi-ir-da-mu*, *Ir-da-mu* e *Nab-ḥa-il*,¹⁰² in particolare in [198] sono elencate varie proprietà per *Gi-ir-da-mu* e, insieme alle terre assegnate, sono inclusi anche due funzionari ur₄, *Zi-li* e *Zú-du*. Allo stesso modo il passo [199] elenca le terre assegnate a *Nab-ḥa-il*, assieme alle quali è registrato anche il funzionario ur₄ *En-na-BAD*, che viene qui spontaneo identificare con l'omonimo ur₄ BAD é di *Ib-ri-um* presente in [196].

In base a questi due passi, quindi, sembra proprio che i funzionari ur₄ fossero compresi nell'amministrazione di una residenza.¹⁰³ Viste le loro attività, verosimilmente erano i ‘collettori’ dei beni necessari al ministro, ai suoi figli, ma anche alle persone che abitavano o lavoravano presso le sue residenze.

Sebbene i testi, finora, documentino in modo chiaro solamente ur₄ connessi alle residenze della famiglia del ministro, non è possibile escludere che ve ne fossero anche in connessione con le residenze del re e di altri membri dell'élite eblaita. A tal proposito, infatti, si ritiene che i tre passi seguenti attestino una connessione del collettore NE-dar con una delle residenze secondarie del re di Ebla:

[200] *ARET III 105 VI 1-3: 1' à-da-um^{tùg}-II 1 aktum^{tùg} 1 íb-III^{tùg} gùn sa₆ / NE-dar “ur₄” / Da-na-NE^{ki}*

[201] *ARET IV 14 v. IV 17-V 1: 2 aktum^{tùg} 2 íb-III^{tùg} gùn / NE-dar / En-na-BAD / ur₄ / in / Da-na^{ki}-NE^{ki} / šu-ba₄-ti*

¹⁰⁰ Si ritiene molto importante sottolineare che nel passo *ARET XIX 17 v. III 11-IV 5* lo stesso funzionario è qualificato come ur₄ e ugula engar di *Ib-ri-um*, carica tradotta come ‘soprintendente dei contadini’, si vedano le interpretazioni proposte in *ARET I 11 r. IX 10; ARET IV 18 r. III 12; ARET VII 24 v. III 5*. Il termine ugula engar è tradotto ‘Obmann der Pflüger’ (Edzard 1981: 142), ‘Vorsteher der Landverwalter’ (Samir 2019: 266), oppure ancora ‘chief farmer’ (Archi 2018: 232). Questa seconda funzione sembra sostenere con maggior forza che gli ur₄ si occupassero dell'approvvigionamento dei beni necessari a coloro che abitavano presso le residenze del ministro, personale lavorativo compreso.

¹⁰¹ Basandosi sul caso del maggiordomo *Íl-zi*, studiato da Bonechi (2016a: 9 ss.), i ‘maggjordomi’ (BAD é) si occupavano della gestione e del mantenimento della residenza cui erano assegnati e dei relativi appezzamenti terrieri, potevano avere alle loro dipendenze altri funzionari e lavoratori, impiegati nella residenza, e gestivano cospicue quantità di lana. Molto probabilmente la funzione di ugula é era più rivolta al controllo delle unità di personale lavorativo presente nelle residenze e nelle proprietà dei membri dell'élite di Ebla.

¹⁰² Catagnoti, Fronzaroli 2010: 167.

¹⁰³ ‘Yibrium chiede al re non solo di confermare i villaggi da assegnare ai suoi figli ma anche di designare dei funzionari che ne curino l'amministrazione come loro «sostituti»’ (Catagnoti, Fronzaroli 2010: 170). Nel passo *ARET XVI 27 r. VII 5-VIII 12: wa / ì-na-sum / Ir-da-mu / In-gàr / wa / La-dab₆^{ki} / é / Ḥa-la-zu^{ki} / é / NI-ba-ra-ad^{ki} / é / Gi-za-nu^{ki} / é / Ga-ra-ma-nu^{ki} / é / Ma-du-lu^{ki} / é / Ma-du^{ki} / giš-nu-kiri₆ / Mar-bar^{ki} / lú <lul->gu-ak / nin-ki / Gi-NE-ú^{ki} / in / Bar-ga-u₉^{ki}, In-gàr si trova nella posizione in cui i passi [198-199] registrano i funzionari ur₄ che si dovranno occupare delle residenze assegnate a *Gi-ir-da-mu* e *Nab-ḥa-il*. Dato che in *ARET VII 153 v. I 2'-II 8 In-gàr* ricorre nella lista dei villaggi spartiti in eredità tra i figli del ministro, è stato ipotizzato che appartenesse alla famiglia di *Ib-ri-um*, si veda al riguardo Catagnoti, Fronzaroli 2010: 171. Considerando che *In-gàr* è qualificato come ur₄ in [179], in *ARET III 842 I' 1'* e in *ARET IV 13 v. I 12*, si propone che in *ARET XVI 27 r. VII 5-VIII 12* svolgesse la funzione di ur₄ per *Ir-da-mu*, pur non essendo qualificato dal termine di funzione. Infatti è più probabile che una funzione che prevedeva la ricezione e la consegna di beni preziosi fosse a maggior ragione ricoperta da una membro della stessa famiglia. Su *In-gàr* si veda anche Bonechi 2016b: 33 ss.*

[202] *ARET* XX 17 r. XII 14-XIII 4: 1 [...] sal^[túg] / w[a] / 1 aktum^{túg} mu₄^{mu} / *Na-da-ba-tum* / dam / en / al₆-tuš / *Da-na-NE*^{ki} / *NE-dar* / “ur₄” / šu-mu-tak₄

Il passo [202] registra la consegna di alcuni tessuti da parte del funzionario ur₄ *NE-dar* a *Na-da-ba-tum*, una delle donne del re residente a *Da-na-NE*^{ki},¹⁰⁴ centro che ospitava una delle residenze secondarie del re di Ebla.¹⁰⁵ Dal momento che *NE-dar* è registrato in connessione con *Da-na-NE*^{ki} anche nei passi [200-201], si ritiene che tra le sue attività vi fosse anche lo specifico compito di occuparsi della ricezione e della consegna di beni per quanti lavoravano e abitavano proprio presso questa residenza secondaria del re di Ebla, come una delle sue donne.

4. CONNESSIONE A LUOGHI DI CULTO

I seguenti passi attestano la connessione dei funzionari ur₄ con alcuni luoghi di culto:

- [203] *ARET* I 5 v. XI 19-21: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 aktum^{túg} 1 i[b-n]^{túg} gùn / *En-na-ba-al*₆ “ur₄” / é dingir-dingir-dingir
 [204] *ARET* III 272 III' 1'-7': ... [*En-na*]*-*ma*-[*lik*]* “ur₄” / en-nun-ak / é-nun / en / in / 'à-da-NI^{ki} / [...]
 [205] *ARET* IV 3 r. I 18-II 1: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *A-šu-ur-NI* / “ur₄”* [lú]* é dingir-dingir-dingir
 [206] *ARET* VIII 539 (= *MEE* 5 19) v. VIII 1'-4': ... 8 kù-gi / NU₁₁-za-sù / *A-šu-ur-NI* “ur₄” / lú é dingir-dingir-dingir
 [207] *ARET* XX 22 v. IX 8-14: 4 KIN siki / *Ga-da-NE* / *En-na-ba-al*₆ / *Ib-ḥur-NI* / *I-da-ni* / “ur₄” / lú é dingir-dingir-dingir-dingir
 [208] TM.75.G.1792¹⁰⁶ v. V 6-ss.: *En-na-ma-lik* “ur₄” en-nun-ak é-nun 'à-da-NI^{ki}

Nei passi [204] e [208] *En-na-ma-lik* è qualificato come ur₄ ed en-nu-nak dell' é-nun del re. Per quanto riguarda il termine en-nun-ak, ‘sorvegliante’, si rimanda al recente studio dedicato alla sua analisi.¹⁰⁷ Essendo qualificato da entrambi i termini di funzione, è possibile che *En-na-ma-lik* fosse incaricato, in quanto collettore, di occuparsi dei beni necessari al personale dell' é-nun en o destinati al luogo di culto stesso. Contemporaneamente, in quanto sorvegliante, è possibile che si occupasse anche della custodia di suddetti beni.

Le attestazioni [203] e [205-206] menzionano rispettivamente *En-na-ba-al*₆ e *A-šu-ur-NI*, qualificati come ur₄ del ‘tempio degli dei’ (é dingir-dingir-dingir).¹⁰⁸ *En-na-ba-al*₆, insieme a *Ga-da-NE*, *Ib-ḥur-NI* e *I-da-ni*,¹⁰⁹ è nuovamente attestato come ur₄ in connessione con il tempio degli dei in [207], mentre, sempre qualificato come collettore, si trova menzionato in altri passi che lo registrano in connessione con alcune ‘apprendiste danzatrici’ (dumu-mí NE-di):

- [209] *ARET* VIII 529 (= *MEE* 5 9) r. X 15-17: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *En-na-ba-al*₆ “ur₄” / lú dumu-mí dumu-mí <NE-di>*
 [210] TM.75.G.1216¹¹⁰ v. V 3: (6 tessuti) dumu-mí NE-di *En-na-ba-al*₆ ur₄ šu-ba₄-ti

Si ritiene che i passi [203], [207] e [209-210] registrino lo stesso *En-na-ba-al*₆ “ur₄” (lú) é dingir-dingir-dingir che, probabilmente, si occupava di ricevere e consegnare beni necessari al tempio e al relativo personale di culto e di servizio. È possibile che si occupasse anche di quanto necessario alle NE-di che, verosimilmente, potevano svolgere

¹⁰⁴ Su questo centro si vedano Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 190; Bonechi 1993: 93.

¹⁰⁵ Si vedano Biga 1996: 30 n. 4; Archi 2014-2015: 73; Archi 2017: 305.

¹⁰⁶ Citato in Archi 1998c: 82.

¹⁰⁷ Si veda Catagnoti 2019: 22-24, con particolare riferimento ai passi [13-14]. Si vedano anche Pasquali 2018a; Pasquali 2018b.

¹⁰⁸ Bonechi (2016a: 34 e n. 163) propone l'identificazione del tempio degli dei con il Tempio Rosso. Si veda anche Bonechi 2016c: 68 n. 103 con bibliografia.

¹⁰⁹ *I-da-ni* è attestato come ur₄ anche nel passo [246]. Inoltre *I-da-ni*, *Ib-ḥur-NI* e *Ga-da-NE* sono attestati insieme in connessione al tempio degli dei anche in *ARET* X 64 (3): *Ib-ḥur-NI I-da-ni En-na-BAD Ga-da-NE AN.ŠÈ.GÚ* 10 lá-2 udu 'lú' é dingir-dingir-dingir e *ARET* X 61 r. III 1-5: [*Ib-ḥur-NI*] [*I-da-ni*] [*En-na-BAD*] [*Ga-da-NE*] 'lu' 'é' dingir-'dingir'-dingir (entrambi in Biga 2006: 25 n. 28) e sono attestati assieme anche in *ARET* X 65 r. IV 2-6: 'En'-na-BAD *Ib-ḥur-NI I-da-ni Ga-da-NE* (Biga 2006: 25 n. 29).

¹¹⁰ Citato in Archi 1992: 194.

il loro mestiere in occasione delle festività proprio presso il tempio. Infatti, in [210] *En-na-ba-al*₆ riceve dei tessuti destinati, con tutta probabilità, proprio alle *dumu-mí* NE-di. Allo stesso modo anche *A-šu-ur-NI*, definito *ur*₄ *lú* é *dingir-dingir-dingir* nei passi [205-206], si sarà occupato, in quanto collettore, di procurare i beni necessari a quanti abitavano o lavoravano presso il tempio. È possibile che *A-šu-ur-NI* sia da identificare con *A-sùr-NI* che nel passo [234], insieme ad *I-ti-ne*, è attestato come *ur*₄ e *pa*₄:šeš en.

Sembra evidente l'identificazione di *A-šu-ur-NI* con l'omonimo attestato nei passi seguenti, in quanto sempre connesso all' é *dingir-dingir-dingir*:¹¹¹

[211] *ARET* I 5 v. VIII 22-IX 2: 4 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 4 aktum^{túg} 4 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn / 2 mu₄^{mu} / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-u[r]*-NI / *lú* é *dingir-dingir-dingir*

[212] *ARET* III 530 II' 4²-9²: 3 aktum^{túg} 3 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-ur-NI* / *I-ti-ne* / *lú* [é*] 'dingir*-dingir*¹-[dingir*]¹¹² / [...]

[213] *ARET* VIII 542 (= *MEE* 5 22) r. III 10-14: 3 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 3 aktum^{túg} 3 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-ur-NI* / *I-ti-ne* / é *dingir-dingir-dingir*

[214] *ARET* XX 6 r. XIV 15-XV 4: 3 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 3 aktum^{túg} 3 íb-IV^{túg} gùn / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-ur-NI* / *I-ti-ne* / *lú* é / *dingir-dingir-dingir*

[215] *ARET* XX 10 r. I 8-12: [3 ak]tum^{túg} [3 íb-I]II^{túg} [gù]n / *U[š-r]a-sá-[m]u* / *A-šu[-u]r-NI* / *I-[ti]-ne* / *l[ú]* 'é' [dingir-di]ngir-dingir

Anche *Uš-ra-sá-mu*¹¹³ e *I-ti-ne*, qui registrati sempre insieme ad *A-šu-ur-NI*, sono *ur*₄ connessi al tempio degli dei,¹¹⁴ come dimostra anche il passo seguente:

[216] *ARET* XIX 11 v. II 7-13: 3 'à-da-um^{túg}-I igi-DU / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-da-ma-lik* / *I-ti-ne* / "ur₄" / é / *dingir-dingir-dingir-dingir*

5. I FUNZIONARI UR₄ E LE DONNE DELLA CORTE EBLAITA

I funzionari *ur*₄ si trovano in connessione diretta con alcune delle donne¹¹⁵ più importanti della corte di Ebla:¹¹⁶

[217] *ARET* III 869 II' 1²-6²: ...] *A-gi-lu* / "ur₄" / *Da-mur-da-mu* / *dam* / *Ib-rí-um* / [...]

[218] *ARET* VIII 527 (= *MEE* 5 7) v. IV 22-24: 1 gu-mug^{túg} 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Zi-la-BAD* *ur*₄ / *lú* *Bù-kù:babbar*

[219] *ARET* VIII 529 (= *MEE* 5 9) r. VIII 24-IX 6: 1 zara₆^{túg} / *Da-mur-da-sè-li* / *dumu-mí* / *Rí-ti* / é-gi-a / en / 1 zara₆^{túg} / *ábba:mí-sù* / 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Ìr-i-ba* "ur₄"-sù

[220] *ARET* VIII 532 (= *MEE* 5 12) v. VI 9-11: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-I^{túg} gùn / *Zi-la-BAD* *ur*₄ / *lú* *Bù-kù:babbar*

¹¹¹ Come possibile notare dalle attestazioni [212-215] i nomi *Uš-ra-sá-mu*, *A-šu-ur-NI* e *I-ti-ne* ricorrono quasi sempre registrati insieme. A tal proposito risultano interessanti le attestazioni *ARET* XX 16 r. X 12-15: [2+]1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II [1+]2 aktum^{túg} 3 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-ur-NI* / *I-da-ne*, *ARET* XX 18 r. II 20-III 4: 3 'à-da-um^{túg}-II / 3 aktum^{túg} 3 íb-IV^{túg} gùn / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-ur-NI* / *I-da-ne*, *ARET* XX 23 v. X 13-18: 3 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 3 aktum^{túg} 3 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* / *A-šu-ur-NI* / 'T-da-ne / *lú* 'é' / [din]gir-dingir-dingir. In questi passi il nome *I-ti-ne* sembra essere sostituito da *I-da-ne*, una probabile variante. È possibile riscontrare una simile variante anche per il nome personale *I-da-ni-ki-mu*, registrato negli elenchi dei figli del re di Ebla con numerose varianti, tra le quali anche *I-ti-ni-ki-mu* (in *ARET* XV 26 r. VIII 16).

¹¹² Ringrazio Amalia Catagnoti per la collazione.

¹¹³ *Uš-ra-sá-mu* è attestato come *ur*₄ in *ARET* III 44 V' 5²-7²: 1 gu-mug^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Ù-aš-ra-sá-mu* *ur*₄ / [...] e in *ARET* VIII 527 (= *MEE* 5 7) r. VIII 11-15: 1 túg-NI.NI / *ama-gal* / *Uš-ra-sá-mu* *ur*₄ / *si-in* / ÉXPAP.

¹¹⁴ Tra *I-ti-ne* e *Uš-ra-sá-mu*, solo quest'ultimo, per quanto noto ad oggi, è registrato da solo in connessione all' é *dingir-dingir-dingir* in *ARET* XX 9 r. III 5-9.

¹¹⁵ Per alcuni studi relativi alle donne di Ebla si vedano Biga 1987; Biga 1991; Biga 1997; Biga 2000; Biga 2003b.

¹¹⁶ Questa particolarità era già stata notata da Wäetzdoldt (1984: 428): 'Mehrere hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten, darunter auch die Frau des Herrschers, hatten einen "eigenen" UR₄'.

- [221] *ARET XV 13* (= *MEE 2 41*) r. XI 1-7: 1 'à-da-um^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn / *I-ku-NI ur₄* / níg-mul-an / *Kak-mi-um^{ki}* / *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* / šà-zu / dumu-mí
- [222] *ARET XV 13* (= *MEE 2 41*) r. XI 8-XII 1: 1 zara₆^{túg} 2 *bu-di* GÁxLÁ 10 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* / 1 íb-III^{túg} ú-háb 2 *gú-li-lum* 1 kù-sal 11 ½ gín-DILMUN kù-gi / dumu-mí / *Wa-ba-rúm ur₄* / šu-mu-tak₄
- [223] *ARET XV 43* r. VII 2-9: 1 *gu-zi*^{túg} 1 zara₆^{túg} 2 *gú-li-lum* 1 kù-sal 2 *ti-gi-na* / 13 kù-gi / *Zú-ba-LUM* / šu-mu-tak₄ / *in u₄* / *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* / šà-zu / dumu-mí
- [224] *ARET XV 43* v. VII 18-VIII 5: 1 *gu-zi*^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn / 1 íb-lá kù:babbar kù-gi / 1 dib tar kù-gi / *I-gi ur₄* / níg-mul / *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* / šà-zu
- [225] *MEE 12 36* r. XVI 22-XVII 8: 2 2-NI gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 2-NI kù-gi / 2 ^{geš}geštug-lá / *En-na-ba-al₆* "ur₄" / níg-mul-an / *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* / dumu-nita / tu-da / *ma-lik-tum* / ì-na-sum
- [226] *MEE 12 36* v. IV 2-10: 8 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 2 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 6 ^{geš}geštug-lá / *I-ti-ne* "ur₄" / lú *ma-lik-tum* / *Na-am₆-ha-lu* / *A-bù-ma-lik* / lú *I-ti-dÌ-lam*
- [227] *TM.75.G.1250*¹¹⁷ r. VI 1-VII 10: 5 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 5 aktum^{túg} 5 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn lú ir₁₁-ir₁₁ *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu* šu-mu-tak₄ 12 túg-NI.NI 12 ka-dù-gíd *bu-di* zabar 16 48 ^{geš}geštug-lá zabar 4 12 dumu-mí (resto della colonna mancante) 1 túg-x' 1 sal^{túg} 2 géme-sù 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 *gu-dùl*^{túg} 2 sal^{túg} 2 íb-II háb gùn NI-BÀD^{ki} *Si-a-um ur₄* DU.DU *áš-da Dag-ri-iš-da-mu si-in Na-gàr^{ki}*
- [228] *TM.75.G.1381*¹¹⁸ r. I 1-II 13: [1 'à-da-um^{túg}] 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn 1 dib 50 *ba-da-lum Ha-ra-an^{ki}* 3 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 2 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 5 aktum^{túg} 5 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn ábba-ábba-sù en [ì-na]-sum 1 aktum^{túg} AN.ŠĚ túg-túg *I-bi-zi-kir ba-da-lum Ha-ra-an^{ki}* 1 zara₆^{túg} 1 gíd^{túg} 1 *gada*^{túg} mu₄^{mu} 10 aktum^{túg} ti^{túg} [1?] *gú-li-lum* PA.PA ŠÚ+ŠA 1 tar kù:babbar 2 *bu-di* 2 *sag-sù* kù-gi *Zu-ga-LUM ma-lik-tum Ha-ra-an^{ki}* lú DU.DU *si-in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} 2 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn dumu-nita ur₄ pa₄:šes-sù 4 zara₆^{túg} 3 túg-NI.NI dam-dam pa₄:šes-mí-sù
- [229] *TM.75.G.2329*¹¹⁹ r. I 1-III 9: 10 aktum^{túg} ti^{túg} babbar 2 aktum^{túg} ti^{túg} ú-háb 10 zara₆^{túg} babbar 10 zara₆^{túg} ú-háb 8 gíd^{túg} babbar 2 gíd^{túg} ú-háb l *du-ru₁₂-ru₁₂* 10 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 10 aktum^{túg} 10 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn 2 *gada*^{túg} mu₄^{mu} l *gada*^{túg} túg-šu l *gada*^{túg} PAD ti^{túg} l *gada*^{túg} hul *Da-mur-da-šè-in* dumu-mí *In-ma-lik ma-lik-tum* DU-lu^{ki} šu-mu-tak₄ 2 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb^{túg} gùn *A-bi-za-mu* "ur₄" DU.DU *áš-da-sù* 10 lá-3 túg-NI. NI dumu-mí-dumu-mí pa₄:šes-mí-sù 6 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 6 aktum^{túg} 6 íb^{túg} sa₆ gùn *Ra-ši-ti-lu-wa Du-ri-ti-lum* *Wa-da-NE Ti-gi-da-NE-a-du A-wa-ši Ib-dur-i-šar* DU-lu^{ki} *in u₄* DU.DU *ši-mu-DU Da-mur-da-šè-in ma-lik-tum* DU-lu^{ki}
- [230] *TM.75.G.2593*¹²⁰ r. VII 13-15: *En-na-ni-il ur₄* lú *Kés-du-ut*

Le attestazioni possono essere organizzate in due gruppi. Il primo gruppo è costituito dai passi che registrano la connessione dei funzionari ur₄ con le donne appartenenti alla famiglia del re, tra le quali la regina stessa (*Da-bur-da-mu*) in [226] e, soprattutto, le principesse: *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu* in [227], *Da-mur-da-šè-li* in [219], *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* in [221-224], *Kés-du-ut* in [230], *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* in [225] e *Zu-ga-LUM* in [228].

Il secondo gruppo, invece, attesta la connessione dei funzionari ur₄ con alcune delle donne della famiglia del ministro *Ib-ri-um*: *Bù-kù:babbar* in [218] e [220], *Da-mur-da-mu* in [217] e *Da-mur-da-šè-in* in [229].

Nel passo [229] il funzionario ur₄ *A-bi-za-mu* riceve doni quando 'va' (DU.DU) con *Da-mur-da-šè-in*¹²¹ a DU-lu^{ki},¹²² regno di cui è già definita *ma-lik-tum*. Quindi *A-bi-za-mu* fa parte del corteo che 'accompagna' (*ši-mu-*

¹¹⁷ Citato in Biga 1998: 20.

¹¹⁸ Citato in Biga 2008: 308.

¹¹⁹ Citato in Biga 2014: 74-75.

¹²⁰ Citato in Archi, Biga 2003: 28 n. 72.

¹²¹ *Da-mur-da-šè-in* era una figlia di *In-ma-lik*, fratello del ministro *Ib-ri-um*. Il suo nome è attestato anche nelle varianti *Dam-mur-da-šè-in* e *Da-mur-da-si-nu*, si veda Biga 2014: 74 e n. 8.

¹²² Recentemente è stata proposta l'identificazione di DU-lu^{ki} con Biblo (Biga 2014: 77 ss). Al riguardo si vedano anche Archi, Piacentini, Pomponio 1993: 206-211; Bonechi 1993: 111-112; Bonechi 2016b: 30 e n. 3. Per un'opinione diversa si veda Archi (2019b: 8 e 12) che propone un'identificazione col sito di Titriş Höyük.

DU) *Da-mur-da-šè-in* a *DU-lu^{ki}* e probabilmente sarebbe poi rimasto al servizio della donna, come nel caso dell'*ur₄* *Ar-si/-šè-a-hu* per *Zú-ga-LUM*,¹²³ la regina di *Ha-ra-an^{ki}*:

[231] TM.75.G.2356¹²⁴ v. I 7-13: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn *Ar-šè-a-hu ur₄* *Ha-ra-an^{ki}* níg-mul-an *Zú-ga-LUM* dumu-nita tu-da

[232] TM.75.G.2529¹²⁵ r. III 1'-7': [1 ...^{túg} 1 ...^{túg} 1] 'íb'-x^{túg} sa₆ gùn *Ar-si-a-hu* "ur₄" *Ha-ra-an^{ki}* níg-mul-an *Zú-ga-LUM* tu-da

Come è stato proposto, la prima di queste due attestazioni menziona la nascita di un figlio maschio della regina *Zú-ga-LUM*, mentre la seconda registra un parto avvenuto a distanza di pochi anni.¹²⁶ In entrambi i casi, il funzionario *ur₄* che consegna alla corte di Ebla le notizie riguardanti la regina di *Ha-ra-an^{ki}* rimane sempre lo stesso.¹²⁷ È dunque verosimile che sia *A-bi-za-mu* che *Ar-si/šè-a-hu* fossero funzionari originari di Ebla, facenti parte del personale delle due donne e, in quanto tali, le avessero poi seguite presso le città di cui sono divenute regine.

Allo stesso modo l'attestazione [227] registra beni per l'*ur₄* *Si-a-um* che 'va con *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu* a *Na-gàr^{ki}*' (DU.DU *áš-da Dag-ri-iš-da-mu si-in Na-gàr^{ki}*). Il passo registra il momento in cui la principessa eblaita *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu* si reca presso la città di cui sarà regina. Anche *Si-a-um*, quindi, segue la principessa presso la nuova corte.

I funzionari *ur₄* facevano parte del personale delle donne e degli uomini che servivano e questo può essere confermato da alcuni passi che ne registrano la qualifica anche come *pa₄:šèš*:

[233] *ARET* IV 12 v. IV 7-10: 3 zi-rí siki / *Íl-a-da-mu ur₄* / *pa₄:šèš* / en

[234] *ARET* XII 232 r. IX 19-22: 2 'à-da 2 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *I-ti-ne* / *A-sùr-NI* / "ur₄"- "ur₄" / *pa₄:šèš* en

[235] *ARET* IV 14 r. IV 22-V 4: 1 aktum^{túg} / 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Du-bí-ga-lu ur₄* / *pa₄:šèš* / *Ír-'à-ag-da-mu*

[236] *ARET* VIII 541 (= *MEE* 5 21) r. III 19-IV 3: 1 gada^{túg} / [...] / *Du-[bí]-ga-lu [ur₄]** / *pa₄:šèš* / *Ír-'à-ag-da-mu*

Il termine *pa₄:šèš* indica 'inservienti' addetti alla cura di una persona ed è stato notato come molti nomi propri di individui qualificati come *pa₄:šèš* di una persona di alto rango – generalmente i re, i ministri e i rispettivi figli – ricorressero, in altre registrazioni, qualificati da ulteriori termini di funzione.¹²⁸ Questo ha portato a concludere che tra i *pa₄:šèš* alcuni avessero mansioni precise e in particolare che 'alcuni pochi individui, per il fatto di essere vicini al sovrano, potessero ricoprire il ruolo di dignitari di corte'.¹²⁹ Dunque alcuni funzionari, proprio per la loro vicinanza alle alte gerarchie della corte, potevano essere incaricati di svolgere importanti funzioni, come quella di *ur₄*, e potevano venire così selezionati per far parte del personale di alcune donne.

¹²³ *Zú-ga-LUM* è una delle figlie del penultimo re di Ebla *Ír-kab-da-mu*, data in sposa al re di *Ha-ra-an^{ki}* così da suggellare, con un matrimonio interdinastico, l'alleanza tra le due città. Per quanto riguarda la figura di *Zú-ga-LUM* e i rapporti tra Ebla e *Ha-ra-an^{ki}* si vedano Archi 1988a; Biga 2010b; Tonietti 2010: 77 ss. A partire dal regno di *Ír-kab-da-mu*, il matrimonio interdinastico divenne un mezzo ampiamente usato dalla corte eblaita per sancire alleanze e allargare la rosa dei propri alleati, di conseguenza sono noti numerosi matrimoni delle figlie del re *Ír-kab-da-mu* con re di città che, anche sotto il successore *Íš₁₁-ar-da-mu*, saranno sempre legate da rapporti di amicizia con Ebla. Al riguardo si veda Biga 1987: 45 ss.; Biga 1991: 298-299; Biga 2003b: 350; Biga 2008: 307-308; Tonietti 2005: 247 ss.

¹²⁴ Citato in Biga 2010b: 162; Biga 2010d: 43 n. 12.

¹²⁵ Citato in Biga 2010b: 162; Biga 2010d: 44 n. 14.

¹²⁶ Si veda Biga 2010b: 162.

¹²⁷ Una terza attestazione ricorda un altro parto della regina *Zú-ga-LUM*: TM.75.G.10137+11703 r. III 11-15: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn *Ha-ra-an^{ki}* níg-mul-an *Zú-ga-LUM* tu-da (Biga 2010b: 162).

¹²⁸ Archi 1996a: 59. A tal proposito, per esempio, *Na-am₆-ha-lu*, qualificato come *pa₄:šèš* en, è anche registrato come ugula *za_x* en 'soprintendente del tesoro del re', si veda sempre Archi 1996a: 59. Si può aggiungere, inoltre, che *Du-bí-ga-lu ur₄* *pa₄:šèš* *Ír-'à-ag-da-mu* ([235-236]) è probabilmente da identificarsi col *maškim* *Ír-'à-ag-da-mu* attestato in *ARET* VIII 527 (= *MEE* 5 7) v. I 28-II 4 e *ARET* VIII 533 (= *MEE* 5 13) r. VII 11-14. In entrambi i casi i termini di funzione indicano mansioni che sono comunque rivolte alla cura, se non della persona del re e di suo figlio, dei loro beni o dei loro interessi. *Du-bí-ga-lu ur₄* e *pa₄:šèš* di *Ír-'à-ag-da-mu* è attestato anche in quattro passi inediti per i quali si veda qui l'indice dei nomi di persona dei funzionari *ur₄* s.v. *Du-bí-ga-lu*.

¹²⁹ Si veda Archi 1996a: 58.

Il passo [230] qualifica il funzionario ur_4 *En-na-ni-il* come $lú$ *Kéš-du-ut*,¹³⁰ ‘quello di *Kéš-du-ut*’, la figlia del re di Ebla *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*,¹³¹ mostrando così un rapporto di dipendenza dalla principessa. Tuttavia, in tre attestazioni *En-na-ni-il* è qualificato come pa_4 :šeš piuttosto che come ur_4 , confermando l’appartenenza del collettore al personale al servizio di *Kéš-du-ut*:

[237] *ARET* XX 17 v. III 9-14: 1 *ṽ-da-um*^{túg}-I 1 sal^{túg} 1 *ib-IV*^{túg} gùn / *En-na-ni-il* / pa_4 :šeš / *Kéš-du-ut* / *dumu-mi* / *ma-lik-tum*

[238] *TM.75.G.10127*¹³² v. VI 11-13: *En-na-ni-il* pa_4 :šeš *Kéš-du-ut*

[239] *TM.75.G.10184*¹³³ v. V 16-18: *En-na-ni-il* / *NI* pa_4 :šeš *Kéš-du-ut*

Esattamente come *Ar-si/šè-a-hu* per la regina *Zú-ga-LUM*, anche *En-na-ni-il* svolgeva attività di collegamento tra *Kéš-du-ut*, che già si trovava a *Kiš^{ki}* come regina, e Ebla, consegnandole doni da parte del re suo padre e del ministro *I-bi-zi-kir*:

[240] *ARET* XX 24 r. IX 6-21: 1 *dùl*^{túg} *Ib-la*^{ki} 1 *aktum*^{túg} 1 *ib-III*^{túg} *sa*₆ gùn / *wa* / 2 *gú-li-lum*^{giš} *pa* za:gìn *kù-gi* / *lú níg-ba* / en / *lú I-bi-zi-kir* / *ì-na-sum* / *in* u_4 / *níg-mu-sá* / *bur-KAK* / *Kéš-du-ut* / en / *Kiš^{ki}* / *En-na-ni-il* / *lú Ša-ù-um* / *šu-mu-tak*₄

Anche il passo [219] conferma l’appartenenza dei funzionari ur_4 al personale delle donne cui erano connessi: *Ìr-i-ba* funzionario di *Da-mur-da-šè-li*,¹³⁴ ‘nuora’ (é-gi-a) del re, viene definito ur_4 -*sù* ovvero ‘suo ur_4 ’. Si sottolinea, inoltre, che anche la regina di Ebla avesse un ur_4 al suo servizio (*I-ti-ne* “ ur_4 ” *lú ma-lik-tum*),¹³⁵ come attestato in [226].

Si ritiene, quindi, possibile che le principesse, così come il re e *Ìr-ṽ-ag-da-mu*, avessero i loro funzionari ur_4 personali che svolgevano il ruolo di collettori di beni, ricevendo e consegnando beni nell’interesse delle donne.

Per quanto riguarda *En-na-ni-il*, si vuole sottolineare che questo funzionario è registrato come *En-na-ni-il* $lú$ *Kéš-du-ut* nelle liste di *ib*¹³⁶ registrate in *ARET* X 50 e X 61. Le due principali liste di ur_4 [294-295] e la lista [297] elencano, in comune con le liste di *ib* registrate in *ARET* IX 44 e in *ARET* X 50, 51 e 61, i seguenti nomi personali: *A-da-a-du*, *Bù-da-ma-lik*, *En-na-NI*, *Ib-dur-i-šar*, *Ìr-i-ba*, *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik*, *I-ti-NI*, *Ma-ṽ-à-ù*, *Mi-na-NI*, *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik*, *Puzur₄-ra-NI*, *Wa-ti-lu*, *Za-mi-lu* e *Zi-kir-ra-NI*. Ma i nomi qualificati da entrambe le funzioni sono, in realtà, in numero ben maggiore, se si confrontano quelli menzionati nelle liste di *ib* con tutti quelli qualificati dal termine ur_4 presenti nei testi eblaiti. Dei circa 65 nomi non in rottura presenti nella lista di *ib* *ARET* X 61, circa una ventina, infatti, è registrata con la qualifica di ur_4 in altri testi. Questo fatto potrebbe non essere casuale: sebbene i casi di omonimia siano possibili, spesso si può ipotizzare che si tratti delle stesse persone. Un primo caso riguarda *En-na-ni-il* $lú$ *Kéš-du-ut*, per certo l’omonimo ur_4 della principessa attestato in [230]. Allo stesso modo, è verosimile che *BAD-sù-ne-àr* e *Wa-ti-lu*, attestati in tutte e quattro le liste di *ib*,¹³⁷ entrambi qualificati come $lú$ é *nagar* in *ARET* X 51 e 61, siano da identificare con gli omonimi ur_4 dei passi *ARET* XV 4 v. IV 8-10 e *ARET* XX 6 r. XIV 10-14.

¹³⁰ In *ARET* VIII 524 (= *MEE* 5 4) r. XIII 24-25 e in *ARET* X 50 (*TM.75.G.232*) r. III 1-2, *ARET* X 64 (*TM.75.G.558*) r. III 7-8, *ARET* X 65 (*TM.75.G.559*) r. IV 11-V 1, *TM.75.G.1246* v. I 11-12 e *TM.75.G.2270* r. II 6-8 (citati in Archi, Biga 2003: 28 n. 72) questo stesso *En-na-ni-il* è qualificato come $lú$ *Kéš-du-ut* con omissione della qualifica di ur_4 .

¹³¹ *Kéš-du-ut* è attestata come figlia del re *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu* e della regina *Da-bur-da-mu*, si veda il passo [237] e le attestazioni in Biga 1997: 42 n. 26. Per il matrimonio della principessa *Kéš-du-ut* si vedano Archi 2010a; Archi, Biga 2003: 26-28.

¹³² Citato in Archi, Biga 2003: 28 n. 72.

¹³³ Citato in Archi 1996a: 69.

¹³⁴ *Da-mur-da-šè-li* è la stessa ‘nuora del re’ (é-gi-a en) della quale è menzionato un parto in *ARET* IV 1 r. IX 13-14.

¹³⁵ Come visto nei passi [212-216] e in [226] e [234] il nome *I-ti-ne* è documentato più volte tra i funzionari ur_4 ma molto probabilmente non identifica sempre una stessa persona. Il collettore *I-ti-ne* connesso al tempio degli dei ($lú$ é *dingir-dingir-dingir*) in [212-216] è la stessa persona il cui nome è attestato nelle varianti *I-da-ni* (in [207]) e *I-da-ne* (si veda la nota 111). Al contrario, *I-ti-ne* ur_4 pa_4 :šeš en e l’*I-ti-ne* ur_4 $lú$ *ma-lik-tum* sono, molto probabilmente, persone diverse.

¹³⁶ Per quanto riguarda le liste inedite di *ib* presenti nei testi inediti di *ARET* X ringrazio Alfonso Archi e Maria Giovanna Biga.

¹³⁷ Uno studio prosopografico approfondito dei nomi *BAD-sù-ne-àr* e *Wa-ti-lu* è in corso da parte della scrivente.

Purtroppo al momento non sono ancora chiare le funzioni svolte dagli *ib*, termine che nei vocabolari bilingui eblaiti non è glossato. Dato che non pochi nomi di persona sono qualificati da entrambi i termini di funzione (*ib* e *ur*₄), si potrebbe ipotizzare che i due termini indicassero delle funzioni concettualmente molto simili.¹³⁸ Inoltre, i funzionari *ib* sono registrati esclusivamente nei testi amministrativi provenienti dall'archivio L.2712, mentre il termine *ur*₄, ampiamente documentato nei testi dell'archivio L.2769, non è mai registrato nei testi presenti in L.2712 a oggi disponibili. È, dunque, possibile che i due termini indicassero delle funzioni simili ma svolte in contesti differenti: gli *ib*, forse, si occupavano della ricezione e della consegna di beni alimentari, dal momento che il termine è registrato solo nell'archivio L.2712, che preservava proprio testi amministrativi di razioni alimentari. Invece, gli *ur*₄ si occupavano maggiormente della consegna di tessuti, metalli, equipaggiamenti e finimenti per equidi e per carri destinati a persone di alto rango. Probabilmente queste persone erano qualificate nei testi, di volta in volta, dai due termini di funzione, *ib* e *ur*₄, in base all'incarico che stavano svolgendo al momento della registrazione. Si ritiene in ogni caso che questo argomento necessiti di ulteriori approfondimenti.

Come già accennato, oltre a svolgere commissioni di tipo personale, gli *ur*₄ agivano come tramite fra le principesse e Ebla attraverso scambi di beni e di notizie tra le due parti, notizie che concernevano esclusivamente lo stato di salute delle principesse e gli avvenimenti fondamentali della loro vita nelle corti straniere, come la nascita dei loro figli.

Nelle attestazioni [221] e [223] la corte di Ebla riceve per due volte la notizia che *Ter*₅-*kab-du-lum*, una delle dam più importanti del periodo del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, andata in sposa al re di *Kak-mi-um*^{ki},¹³⁹ 'ha partorito una figlia' (*šá-zu dumu-mí*).¹⁴⁰ Relativamente alla stessa occasione, nell'attestazione [222] si registrano doni per la nuova nata consegnati da parte di *Wa-ba-rúm*. In [225] l'*ur*₄ *En-na-ba-al*₆ porta a corte la notizia che *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*,¹⁴¹ una delle figlie del precedente re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, ha partorito un figlio. A questo gruppo di attestazioni si può aggiungere anche il passo seguente, riguardante la notizia del parto della principessa *Ti-a-i-šar*:¹⁴²

[241] *ARET* XX 21 r. III 11-23: 2 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb-IV^{túg} sa₆ gùn / Šu-ma-lik "ur₄" / 'À-za-an^{ki} / nígmul-an / *Ti-a-i-šar* / dumu-mí / en / dumu-nita / tu-da / en / wa / *I-bi-zi-kir* / ì-na-sum

Gli *ur*₄ della corte eblaita erano inviati presso le corti di cui le principesse eblaita erano divenute nuove regine anche per consegnare loro doni in altre occasioni oltre alle nascite:

[242] *ARET* XV 56 r. VI 5-VII 2: 1 zara₆^{túg} 1 má-da-ma-tum / 1 du-ru₁₂-rúm / 2 níg-lá-ZI.ZI / 2 bu-di kù-gi / 10 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / *Da-bur-da-mu* / ÉXPAP / *Du-bí-šu*[m] ur₄ / *Ma-d[a]-sì-ì[n]* / [G]a-wa-ad / šu-mu-tak₄

[243] *ARET* XIX 13 v. VII 2-8: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 zara₆^{túg} / ì-giš-sag / *Da-ti*-^dUtu / *ma-lik-tum* / *Lum-na-an*^{ki} / *I-lu*₅-za-x-ma-lik [u]r₄ / šu-mu-tak₄

¹³⁸ Questo legame concettuale tra i due termini *ib* e *ur*₄ era già stato evidenziato da Bonechi grazie all'analisi della lista lessicale monolingue *MEE* 3 53, nella quale il termine *IB* è scritto subito dopo il termine *ur*₄. Secondo quanto osservato da Bonechi (2006: 85 n. 7) l'ordinamento dei vari termini elencati nella lista lessicale si organizza per sequenze di coppie di termini complementari.

¹³⁹ I testi *MEE* 2 45 e *MEE* 2 47 riportano come datazione in *DIS* mu DU *Ter*₅-*kab-du-lum* 'a₅-na *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} 'anno in cui *Ter*₅-*kab-du-lum* è andata a *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}', ricordando l'evento della partenza della dam verso *Kak-mi-um*^{ki}, molto probabilmente in occasione del suo matrimonio interdinastico, si vedano Archi 1996b:106-107; Pomponio 2008: 133.

¹⁴⁰ Il fatto che i funzionari *ur*₄ impegnati nella consegna della notizia nelle due attestazioni differiscano, ha portato a presupporre che si trattasse di due parti distinti, in entrambi i casi riguardanti la nascita di una bambina. Secondo Pomponio (2008: 133) 'non è da escludere che si tratti di due varianti del nome dello stesso funzionario di alto grado'. Se così fosse anche il funzionario *ur*₄ di *Ter*₅-*kab-du-lum* avrebbe fatto parte del suo seguito e avrebbe agito per la donna allo stesso modo di *Ar-si/šè-a-hu* per *Zù-ga-LUM*.

¹⁴¹ Relativamente all'ipotesi di *Ti-iš-te-da-mu* come moglie di uno dei figli del ministro *I-bi-zi-kir*, di cui le attestazioni non riportano mai il nome, si veda Archi 2010a: 5.

¹⁴² Il testo inedito TM.75.G.2507 porta menzione del matrimonio di questa principessa, si veda Archi (2018: 154): 'The marriage of *Ti-a-i-šar* (a daughter of king *Iš'ar-damu*), probably to a son of a certain *Ir-NE*, is registered in the AAM TM.75.G.2507 r. X 8-26 and XII 15-25, of the year I.Z. XI.'

[244] TM.75.G.2632¹⁴³ r. IV 6-V 3: 1 zara₆^{túg} ú-háb 1 pad^{túg} '1' 'du'-ru₁₂-[rúm] [...] [...] [...] [2 bu-di] [kù]-'gi' 'NU₁₁'-za sag-sù 1 ½ gín-DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal Da-ti-^dUtu ma-lik-tum Lum-na-an^{ki} ÉxPAP I-šar ur₄ [šū-mu-t]ak₄

In [243] il funzionario *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik* consegna tessuti a *Da-ti-^dUtu*, una delle figlie del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu* data in sposa al re di *Lum-na-an^{ki}*,¹⁴⁴ in occasione della ‘cerimonia di purificazione’ (i-giš-sag),¹⁴⁵ mentre in [244] il collettore *I-šar*¹⁴⁶ consegna doni in occasione della morte della principessa. In [242] il funzionario *Du-bi-šum* consegna dei doni per la morte di *Da-bur-da-mu*, una dam importante della corte eblaita all’epoca del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, da non confondere con l’omonima regina e moglie di *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*.

I funzionari ur₄ ricevono, poi, tessuti, lana e anche carri per le donne:

[245] *ARET* III 636 v. II' 1'-5': ...] 15 KIN siki ni-za-ù / Zi-mi-ni-kù:babbar / ma-lik-tum / Bur-ma-an^{ki} / I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik / [...]

[246] *ARET* VII 124 r. II 1-v. I 1: 1 [g]u-dùl^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} / Za-i-mu / dam en / I-da-ni “ur₄” / šu-ba₄-ti

[247] *ARET* VIII 529 (= *MEE* 5 9) r. VI 10-13: 1 gada^{túg} (cancellatura) 1 giš^{giš}gigir-é-IV / ma-lik-tum / Du-bi-ga-lu “ur₄” / šu-ba₄-ti

[248] *ARET* XII 969 v. II' 5'-9': 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / Bù-da-ma-lik “ur₄” / DU.DU / áš-ti / ama-gal en

[249] *ARET* XV 25 v. II 3-6: 6 aktum^{túg} 1 gid^{túg} babbar / Ter₅-kab-du-lum / Du-bi-šum / šu-ba₄-ti

I funzionari coinvolti in queste attività sono già noti da altre attestazioni e spesso si trattava di persone che avevano legami con la famiglia del re o del ministro: ad esempio *Du-bi-ga-lu*, che in [247] riceve un tessuto di lino per un carro della regina di Ebla, è noto in quanto ur₄ e pa₄:šeš di *Ìr-'à-ag-da-mu* in [235-236]. È possibile che *Bù-da-ma-lik* ([248]) fosse figlio di *I-rí-ig-da-mu* (*ARET* VII 155 v. IV 8 e v. VI 8-9), che a sua volta era figlio del ministro *Ib-rí-um* e che per questo sia registrato come ur₄ di *Du-si-gú*.¹⁴⁷ Oltre all’ama-gal en e alla regina, riceve una consegna anche la principessa *Zi-mi-ni-kù:babbar*, una delle figlie del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu* data in sposa al re di *Bur-ma-an^{ki}*,¹⁴⁸ che manteneva i contatti con Ebla grazie a *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik*. L’identificazione del *Du-bi-šum* attestato in [249] come ur₄ di Ebla, o piuttosto come l’omonimo ur₄ di *Kak-mi-um^{ki}*, non è chiara. Infatti, *Ter₅-kab-du-lum*, la destinataria dei tessuti registrati, è una principessa eblaita ma anche la regina di *Kak-mi-um^{ki}*, quindi il ruolo di ur₄ poteva certamente essere svolto da *Du-bi-šum* di *Kak-mi-um^{ki}*. È, infatti, da considerare che in [224] la notizia del parto di *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* viene consegnata dal collettore *I-gi*, verosimilmente l’ur₄ di *Kak-mi-um^{ki}*.¹⁴⁹

Oltre che a donne della famiglia del re, i funzionari ur₄ erano connessi anche a donne o figlie della famiglia dei ministri: il passo [217] registra l’ur₄ *A-gi-lu* in connessione con *Da-mur-da-mu*, una delle dam del ministro *Ib-rí-*

¹⁴³ Citato in Biga 2008: 297.

¹⁴⁴ Si vedano Archi 1996b: 105; Biga 2003b: 350.

¹⁴⁵ Si veda Biga 2007-2008: 265; Biga 2010a: 10-11.

¹⁴⁶ *I-šar* è un nome molto frequente nei testi di Ebla. Questo nome è portato da uno dei fratelli di *Ib-rí-um* (*ARET* I 11 r. X 14-XI 1), da un KÍD-sag della casa del ministro presso *Da-ra-um^{ki}*, si veda Catagnoti 2012: 56 e n. 67, e anche da uno dei numerosi pa₄:šeš del re (*ARET* III 24 II' 5, *ARET* XII 699 r. I 13, *ARET* XII 699 r. IX 1 e *ARET* XII 701 II' 6'). In particolare, nelle attestazioni *ARET* I 7 (= *MEE* 10 14) v. XI 10-11 e *ARET* II 15 (= *MEE* 7 20) v. I 6-7 è definito anche lú *ma-lik-tum*.

¹⁴⁷ È stato proposto che *Du-si-gú* potesse appartenere alla famiglia del ministro *Ib-rí-um* poiché la sua ascesa al fianco del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, durante i suoi ultimi anni di regno, è coincisa con l’ascesa del ministro *Ib-rí-um* su tutti gli altriugal della corte, si veda Biga 2003b: 355. Questo ipotetico legame di parentela porta a giustificare l’attività di *Bù-da-ma-lik* come ur₄ della ama-gal en. Inoltre il nome *Bù-da-ma-lik* identifica anche uno dei pa₄:šeš del ministro *Ib-rí-um* (TM.75.G.1397 r. VI 7-v. I 2, testo edito in Archi 1985c: 26-27).

¹⁴⁸ Si vedano Biga 1987: 46; Biga 2003b: 350; Biga 2008: 298; Fronzaroli 2003: 79; Bonechi 2018: 97-98.

¹⁴⁹ *Ter₅-kab-du-lum* era una principessa eblaita, molto probabilmente data in sposa al sovrano di *Kak-mi-um^{ki}* all’epoca del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*. *I-gi*, dunque, consegna la notizia di un evento avvenuto presso *Kak-mi-um^{ki}*, ragione per cui risulta possibile ritenere che si tratti sempre del funzionario ur₄ di questo regno.

um; le attestazioni [218] e [220] registrano l'ur₄ *Zi-la-BAD* in connessione con *Bù-kù:abbar*, nome che può indicare sia una dam del re *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, sia una delle figlie del ministro *I-bi-zi-kir*.¹⁵⁰

6. IL CASO DEL FUNZIONARIO UR₄ E KÍD-SAG ÌR-Ì-BA

Oltre ai nomi condivisi tra le liste di ur₄ [294-295], [297] e le liste di ib *ARET IX 44*, *ARET X 50*, 51 e 61, non sono pochi i nomi dei funzionari ur₄ che coincidono con quelli dei KÍD-sag.¹⁵¹ Già Archi¹⁵² ha notato e approfondito il parallelismo evidente tra la lista di funzionari ur₄ [294] e le due liste di KÍD-sag *ARET XIX 2 r. VI 16-VII 18* e *ARET XIX 3 r. I 8-II 16*.

In questo quadro si inserisce il caso di *Ìr-i-ba*, l'unico nome, tra tutti quelli condivisi tra le liste di ur₄ e di KÍD-sag, a essere qualificato da entrambi i termini di funzione in uno stesso passo:

[250] *ARET XV 28 v. X 9-17*: 1 KIN siki / *Ìr-i-ba* ur₄ / KÍD-sag / in u₄ / dumu-nita en / è / é / ^d*Ra-sa-ap* / *gù-nu*

Qui *Ìr-i-ba* è definito ur₄ e KÍD-sag durante un'occasione precisa, 'nel giorno in cui il figlio del re è uscito dal tempio del dio ^d*Ra-sa-ap gù-nu*' (in u₄ dumu-nita en è ^d*Ra-sa-ap gù-nu*). Molto probabilmente si tratta di una cerimonia riguardante un figlio del re, non identificabile, che è documentata anche in un altro testo sempre del periodo di *Ìr-kab-da-mu*:

[251] *ARET XV 21 v. VIII 1-12*: 1 KIN siki / KÍD-sag / ká / ^d*Ra-sa-ap* / *gù-nu* / in u₄ / [m]a-da-ù / dumu-nita en / è / é / ^d*Ra-sa-ap* / *gù-nu*

In questo passo l'anonimo KÍD-sag registrato è il guardiano della 'porta del dio ^d*Ra-sa-ap gù-nu*' (ká ^d*Ra-sa-ap gù-nu*), ovvero del tempio del dio dove si svolge la cerimonia del figlio del re,¹⁵³ menzionato anche in questa occasione. È possibile ritenere che il KÍD-sag registrato in [251] sia sempre *Ìr-i-ba*. Un *Ìr-i-ba* che era ur₄ e lugal è anche attestato nei passi [16], [18] e [23], che registrano le sue consegne di apporti e che sono stati datati¹⁵⁴ al periodo di *Ìr-kab-da-mu*, esattamente come i passi [250-251]. Dunque potrebbe trattarsi sempre della stessa persona.

È possibile ipotizzare che *Ìr-i-ba*, in qualità di ur₄, avesse accompagnato il figlio del re presso il tempio di ^d*Ra-sa-ap gù-nu* per lo svolgimento di una cerimonia per la quale è verosimile ci fossero state delle consegne di doni da parte dell'amministrazione di Ebla, beni di cui *Ìr-i-ba*, in quanto collettore, avrebbe dovuto prendersi carico. In quest'occasione *Ìr-i-ba* avrebbe anche temporaneamente¹⁵⁵ svolto l'incarico di KÍD-sag, addetto alla guardiania

¹⁵⁰ Le varie liste delle dam en sono state raccolte e studiate in Tonietti 1989: 99 ss. In particolare, per le donne della famiglia di *Ìr-kab-da-mu* si veda Archi 1996b. Invece, *Bù-kù:abbar* come figlia di *I-bi-zi-kir* è attestata nei passi *ARET XX 24 r. V 9* e *TM.75.G.2507 v. XIII 22*, si veda Archi, Biga, Milano 1988: 243. È complesso stabilire a quale delle due donne il funzionario ur₄ fosse connesso e nemmeno un esame cronologico può al momento risolvere questo dubbio. Infatti, le attestazioni [218] e [220] appartengono entrambe agli ultimi anni del ministro *I-bi-zi-kir*, periodo in cui sia *Bù-kù:abbar* dam en, sia l'omonima dumu-mí *I-bi-zi-kir* erano ancora attestate.

¹⁵¹ I KÍD-sag sono stati interpretati come 'guardiani delle porte' (Fronzaroli 1984: 150). La loro funzione era strettamente legata al controllo, alla guardiania di luoghi di importanza, come la porta del Palazzo del re, le porte dei templi delle varie divinità, comprese le porte delle città, presso le quali alcuni testi di cancelleria attestano che i KÍD-sag erano coinvolti in eventi militari (si veda il passo *ARET XIII 13 r. V 7-12*).

¹⁵² Si veda Archi 2002b: 24.

¹⁵³ La natura della cerimonia rimane non chiara a causa della difficile interpretazione del termine *ma-da-ù*, si vedano Conti 1990: 91; Fronzaroli 2003: 87; Archi 2005; Pomponio 2008: 217; Pasquali 2013: 53-56; Samir 2019: 253. Si ritiene comunque plausibile che [250-251] menzionino una stessa cerimonia che riguardava il figlio del re di Ebla e che si era svolta nel secondo e nel terzo mese dell'anno.

¹⁵⁴ Si veda Archi 2000: 28 e 31-32.

¹⁵⁵ La carica di KÍD-sag era svolta occasionalmente, come altre funzioni che esprimono attività di controllo o sorveglianza, si veda Catagnoti 2019: 38.

della ‘porta’ (ká) del tempio di ^d*Ra-sa-ap*, come registrato in [251], sorvegliando l’ingresso del tempio per tutta la durata della cerimonia.

Oltre a fornire un supporto al parallelismo ravvisato tra le liste di *ur*₄ e di KÍD-sag, queste attestazioni permettono di evidenziare, ancora una volta, che le persone che svolgevano la funzione di *ur*₄ potevano anche svolgere altre attività, come già visto nei passi [139-142], [191-192] e [194-196].¹⁵⁶ A tal proposito, la funzione espressa dal termine *ur*₄ sembra fosse a vita: le attività di alcuni funzionari *ur*₄ sono documentate per lungo tempo, fino alla registrazione della loro morte,¹⁵⁷ come nel caso dell’*ur*₄ *Du-bi-šum*, la cui attività è così ben documentata da numerose attestazioni da poterne ricostruire la carriera nei suoi punti salienti.

7. I FUNZIONARI *UR*₄ DI REGNI STRANIERI

Alcuni funzionari *ur*₄ registrati nei documenti di Ebla non appartengono all’amministrazione eblaita, bensì a quella di altri regni con i quali Ebla intratteneva rapporti diplomatici.

7.1. *En-na-il* e *Mu-rí* di *Ar-mi*^{ki}

- [252] *ARET* I 45 v. III’ 1-3: [...] / 4 k[ù-sal] 2 níg-anše-ak / *Mu-rí* “*ur*₄”
 [253] *ARET* II 14 (= *MEE* 2 30) v. I 10-12: 1 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} / *Mu-rí* / *Ar-mi*^{ki}
 [254] *ARET* III 31 r. III 6’-8’²: 1 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb^{túg} gùn sa₆ / *Mu-rí* / *Ar-mi*^{ki}
 [255] *ARET* XV 23 r. V 7-14: 1 *gu-zi*^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III sa₆ gùn / *Mu-rí* “*ur*₄” / *Ar-mi-um*^{ki} / níg-mul / en / *Ar-mi*^{ki} / LAK-390 / *Ti-²la*’
 [256] *ARET* XV 25 v. I 1-7: 1 *gu-zi-tum*^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn sa₆ / 1 dib ŠA.PI kù-gi / *Mu-rí-lu* / *Ar-mi*^{ki} / níg-mul-an / šu-ba₄-ti / Ša-ra-bi-ig^{ki}
 [257] *ARET* XV 26 r. X 4-12: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *En-na-il* / lú NE-zi-ma-il / DU / ‘Áš’-ti-b[ú^{ki}] / *Ar-mi*^{ki} / 1 aktum^{túg} / *En-na-il ur*₄ / *Ar-mi*^{ki}
 [258] *ARET* XV 33 r. XI 4-6: 1 ‘à-da-um^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ / *Mu-rí* / *Ar-mi*^{ki}
 [259] *ARET* XV 39 v. IV 14-16: 4 KIN siki^{gi}gígir-II-1 / *Mu-rí ur*₄ / *Ar-mi*^{ki}
 [260] *MEE* 7 26 r. V 6-11: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *En-na-il* / ugula si / *Ar-mi*^{ki} / maškim / *En-na-il ur*₄
 [261] *MEE* 12 35 r. XII 25-XIII 2: 4 ma-na 10 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / 50 gín-DILMUN kù-gi / 1 dib / Šar-mi-lu / 2 ma-na tar kù:babbar / šu-bal-ak / tar kù-gi / 1 dib / *Mu-rí-a* / *Ar-mi*^{ki} / šè / DU.DU / ‘si-in’ / ki-sur / Na-bù^{ki}

7.2. *Gú-za-ba* di *Gàr-mu*^{ki}

- [262] *ARET* III 800 III 9’-11’¹: 1 gu-dùl^{túg} 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Gú-za-ba* “*ur*₄” / *Gàr-[mu]*^{ki} [...]

¹⁵⁶ A questi passi si aggiunge anche *ARET* XV 2 v. I 3: 1 túg-NI.NI *ur*₄ lugal *Gàr-la-an*^{ki}.

¹⁵⁷ Varie attestazioni registrano la morte di alcuni *ur*₄: *ARET* III 871 II’ 4’-6’¹: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *I-ti-in* “*ur*₄” / ÉxPAP, *ARET* IV 13 v. II 19-III 2: 1 sal^{túg} 1 í[b-n] gù[n^{túg}] / [...] / *ur*₄ / ÉxPAP, *ARET* IV 24 (= *MEE* 10 30) v. III 13-IV 3: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Wa-ba-sum ur*₄ / *si-in* / ÉxPAP, *ARET* XV 8 r. XI 9-11: 1 *gu-zi*^{túg} 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Ig-na-da-mu ur*₄ / ÉxPAP, *ARET* XV 43 r. XI 19-23: 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / ugula Ša-da-du^{ki} / in *ur*₄ / *Du-bi-šum ur*₄ / ÉxPAP, *ARET* XV 43 r. XI 24-XII 2: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Ba-ra-a ur*₄ / ÉxPAP.

7.3. *Ba-lu-zú, Ib-hur-NI e Û-zu di Ì-mar^{ki}*

- [263] *ARET* III 300 II' 1'-4': [...] 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn sa₆ / *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” / *Ì-mar^{ki}* / [...]
- [264] *ARET* XII 1416 r. I 4'-6': 1 'à-da-um^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Û-zu* “ur₄” / *Ì-mar^{ki}*
- [265] *ARET* XIX 4 r. XI 3-v. I 1: 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Ar-šum* / *Ì-mar^{ki}* / *níg-mul-an* / *Mar-tu^{ki}* / *til* / *wa* / *udu* / *sù* / *àga-kár* / 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” / *Ì-mar^{ki}* / *in* u₄ / *Mar-tu^{ki}* / *til*
- [266] *MEE* 7 35 r. VIII 2-6: 2 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Ib-hur-NI* / *wa* / *Těš-ni* / *Ì-mar^{ki}*
- [267] TM.75.G.1381¹⁵⁸ v. VI 6-16: (1 tessuto) 2 *bu-di* ŠŪ+ŠA kù:babbar 2 sag-sù kù-gi *Ti-ša-li-im* (4+4+4 tessuti) *Ib-hur-NI* *Těš-ne* *Wa-ba-sum* *A-i-lu* ábba-sù *Ì-mar^{ki}*
- [268] TM.75.G.1776¹⁵⁹ v. IV 8-13: (1+1 tessuti) *A-sa-du* dumu-nita *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” *Ì-mar^{ki}* šu-mu-tak₄
- [269] TM.75.G.1797¹⁶⁰ r. IX 7-9: (1+1+1 tessuti) *Ba-lu-zu* *Ì-mar^{ki}*
- [270] TM.75.G.1867¹⁶¹ r. IV 4-9: (1+1+1 tessuti) 1 íb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír-kun GÁxLÁ 1 ma-na kù:babbar *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” *Ì-mar^{ki}* *in* u₄ húl na-rú-sù *Zú-ba-LUM* šu-mu-tak₄
- [271] TM.75.G.1867¹⁶² r. V 6: *Û-zú* “ur₄”
- [272] TM.75.G.1935¹⁶³ r. II 2-6: (2+2+2 tessuti) *Dam-da-il* *wa* *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” *Ì-mar^{ki}*
- [273] TM.75.G.2248¹⁶⁴: (1+1+1 tessuti) *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” *Ì-mar^{ki}*
- [274] TM.75.G.2450¹⁶⁵ r. XIV 1-7: (1+1+1 tessuti) *Ib-hur-NI* “ur₄” *Ì-mar^{ki}* *in* *A-te-na-ad^{ki}* šu-ba₄-ti
- [275] TM.75.G.2464¹⁶⁶ v. VII 9-15: *Ba-lu-zú* ur₄ *Ì-mar^{ki}* *in* u₄ húl na-rú-sù *Zú-ba-LUM* šu-mu-tak₄
- [276] TM.75.G.10079¹⁶⁷ r. III 10-IV 10: (1+1+1 tessuti) *en* *Ì-mar^{ki}* (1+1+1 tessuti) *Ib-hur-NI* “ur₄” (1+1+1 tessuti) *Wa-bi-sum* (2+2+2 tessuti) *Těš-ne* *wa* *Kùn-na-im* maškim-maškim-sù (1 tessuto) 2 *bu-di* 30 kù:babbar 2 sag-sù kù-gi níg-ba *Ti-šè-li-im* ama-gal-sù
- [277] TM.75.G.10143¹⁶⁸ r. XII 2-4: [...] kù-gi *Ba-lu-zú* “ur₄” *Ì-mar^{ki}*

7.4. *Šu-ma-lik di Lum-na-an^{ki}*

- [278] *ARET* IV 11 r. XIV 4-6: 1 sal^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} gùn / *Šu-ma-lik* ur₄ / *Lum-na-an^{ki}*

7.5. *BAD-sù-kur^{ki}, Ìr-az-il e Û-rí di Ma-rí^{ki}*

- [279] *ARET* XV 7 r. III 14-15: 1 níg-lá-sag / *BAD-sù-kur^{ki}* ur₄
- [280] *ARET* XV 40 r. VII 18-21: 2 sal^{túg} / ašgab / *BAD-sù-kur^{ki}* “ur₄” / *Ma-r[í]^{ki}*
- [281] *ARET* XX 16 r. IX 21-X 3: [1] 'à'-da-um^{túg}-I [1] aktum^{túg} / 1 íb-II^{túg} gùn / *Û-rí* / “ur₄” / *Ma-rí^{ki}* / [DU. DU] / *si-i[n]* / *Du-d[u-lu^{ki}]*
- [282] TM.75.G.2267¹⁶⁹ v. III 10: (1+1 tessuti) *Ìr-az-il* “ur₄” *Ma-rí^{ki}*

¹⁵⁸ Citato in Archi 1990a: 32.

¹⁵⁹ Citato in Archi 1990a: 33.

¹⁶⁰ Citato in Archi 1990a: 33.

¹⁶¹ Citato in Archi 1990a: 33.

¹⁶² Citato in Archi 1984: 248.

¹⁶³ Citato in Archi 1990a: 33.

¹⁶⁴ Citato in Archi 1990a: 34.

¹⁶⁵ Citato in Archi 1990a: 35.

¹⁶⁶ Citato in Archi 1998b: 18.

¹⁶⁷ Citato in Archi 1990a: 36.

¹⁶⁸ Citato in Archi 1990a: 37.

¹⁶⁹ Citato in Archi 1985b: 76.

7.6. NI-zi di Na-gàr^{ki}

- [283] *ARET VIII 528* (= *MEE 5 8*) v. IV 13-V 5: 1 dùl^{túg} *Ma-rí^{ki}* 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 aktum^{túg} 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag / 10 ra-'à-tum / 30 ba / mu-DU / NI-zi / Na-gàr^{ki} / iti *i-si*
- [284] *ARET XII 874+* r. I 16-21: 2 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 2 aktum^{túg} 2 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn / *Ul-tum-ĥu-ĥu* / NI-zi "ur₄" / 10 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 10 aktum^{túg} 10 íb-II^{túg} sa₆ gùn / ábba-ábba / *sù*
- [285] *ARET XX 16* v. VI 3-18: 1 túg gùn *Ar-mí^{ki}* 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ / 1 dib 2 ma-na / 1 bur-KAK ŠA.PI kù-gi / 1 bur-KAK tar 5 kù-gi / 1 an-zam_x 1 pad-sù 1 *ma-da-a-um* 1 *zi-bar* 56 kù-gi / 50 ma-na kù:babbar / (anepigrafo) / níg-ba / en / Na-gàr^{ki} / 1 túg gùn *Ar-mí^{ki}* 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ / 1 dib 1 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA kù-gi / 1 dumu-nita-sù / 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} ú-ĥáb / 10 ma-na kù:babbar / NI-zi "ur₄"
- [286] *ARET XX 24* v. IV 13-V 6: 1 túg gùn *Ar-mí^{ki}* / lú é-ti-túg / NI-zi "ur₄" / Na-gàr^{ki} / *ma-lik-tum* / ì-na-sum / 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-II 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / NI-zi "ur₄" / Na-gàr^{ki} / *ù-lum* / *ma-lik-tum* / ì-na-sum
- [287] *MEE 12 35* r. XIII 14-XIV 6: 53 ma-na kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 11 BAR.AN / 10 lá-1 ma-na 50 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 2 *mi-at* 50 udu / *in* / 1 3-NI kù:babbar / 2 *mi-at* 55 udu / *in* / 1 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / 56 ma-na ŠÚ+ŠA gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / níg-sa₁₀ 5 *li-im* 7 *mi-at* 80 na₄ siki / *ap* / níg-sa₁₀ 1 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / 3 na₄ siki / 5 *li-im* 8 *mi-at* na₄ siki / níg-sa₁₀ 1 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / 4 na₄ siki / AN.ŠĚ.GÚ 1 *mi-at* 20 lá-1 ma-na 10 gín-DILMUN kù:babbar / 2 *mi-at* la-ĥa ì-giš / NI-zi "ur₄" / Na-gàr^{ki} / *šu-ba₄-ti*
- [288] *MEE 12 35* r. XIV 7-17: 10 lá-1^{giš} ma-gíd / 80 *zi-péš-da-lu*^{giš} pa / 31 kéš-da / *ša-bir₅-gi-nu* / 1 'à-da-um^{túg}-I 1 aktum^{túg} 1 dùl^{túg} 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 1 *NE-lum* / mu-DU / NI-zi "ur₄" / en / *wa* / *I-bi-zi-kir* / *si-gi-su-ma*
- [289] TM.75.G.2250¹⁷⁰ v. I 13-18: 1 túg gùn 1 aktum^{túg} 1 íb-III^{túg} sa₆ gùn / en / Na-gàr^{ki} / 1 túg gùn *Ar-mí^{ki}* 1 íb-IV^{túg} ú-ĥáb / NI-zi "ur₄" / Na-gàr^{ki}
- [290] TM.75.G.2337¹⁷¹ r. I 14-II 25: 36 kù-gi / NU₁₁-za [x]^{giš} gam-gam '1' [gišgígir]-'é' [x] 'da' [...] [x] [zú-zú]-*batum* ŠA.PI zabar AŠ 1^{giš} zú níg-ba en Na-gàr^{ki} NI-zi ur₄ šu-mu-tak₄-sù lú ĥi-mu-DU TUŠ.LÚxTIL *Ma-rí^{ki}* (1+1+1 tessuti) 1 dib 1 ma-na NI-zi "ur₄" *wa* (1+1+1 tessuti) dumu-nita en Na-gàr^{ki}
- [291] TM.75.G.2426¹⁷² v. II 1-15: 1 ma-na ŠA.PI kù:babbar / *šu-bal-ak* / ŠA.PI kù-gi 2 ½ / 1 dib / dumu-nita / en / Na-gàr^{ki} / 2 ma-na tar kù:babbar / *šu-bal-ak* / 1 ma-na kù-gi 2 ½ / 1 dib / NI-zi ur₄ / Na-gàr^{ki} / 1 ma-na 10 kù:babbar / 7 ábba-sù 10
- [292] TM.75.G.10070¹⁷³ v. IV 1-10: (1+1+1+1 tessuti 40 gusci di tartaruga) mu-DU NI-zi "ur₄" Na-gàr^{ki} (1+1+1 tessuti) mu-DU *A-za_x*^{ki} Kiš^{ki}
- [293] TM.75.G.10236¹⁷⁴ v. III 15-19: [1] 'à-da-um^{túg} [1 aktum^{túg} 1 níg]-lá-sag^{túg} *Ma-rí^{ki}* 1 za-ĥa-da zabar mu-DU NI-zi "ur₄"

Nella maggior parte delle attestazioni i funzionari ur₄ che giungono a Ebla ricevono beni da parte dell'amministrazione e solo in alcuni casi sono menzionate le loro azioni. In genere consegnano notizie, come nei passi [255-256], oppure beni, come nei passi [283], [288] e [292-293], dove NI-zi consegna 'apporti' (mu-DU) a Ebla. I passi che attestano le relazioni tra Ebla e il regno di Na-gàr^{ki} ([283-293]) hanno una particolare rilevanza, poiché documentano il ruolo svolto dal funzionario ur₄ NI-zi di Na-gàr^{ki} come principale intermediario nel mantenimento dei rapporti diplomatici tra i due regni.¹⁷⁵ I rapporti tra i due regni si fanno più frequenti specialmente quando Na-gàr^{ki} diviene, assieme a Kiš^{ki}, uno dei principali alleati di Ebla durante la campagna militare contro *Ma-rí^{ki}*¹⁷⁶ e

¹⁷⁰ Citato in Archi, Biga 2003: 39. Si veda anche Archi 1998a: 6.

¹⁷¹ Citato in Archi, Biga 2003: 24. Si veda anche Archi 1985b: 77.

¹⁷² Archi, Biga 2003: 24.

¹⁷³ Citato in Archi, Biga 2003: 22 n. 57.

¹⁷⁴ Citato in Archi 1998a: 6.

¹⁷⁵ L'importante ruolo di NI-zi è sottolineato anche da Archi (2019a: 173-174) che, in alcuni testi, considera l'ur₄ NI-zi 'something like a "vizier, ambassador"'.
¹⁷⁶ La guerra contro *Ma-rí^{ki}* è stata ampiamente studiata in Archi, Biga 2003. Si veda anche Archi 2011: 17.

culmineranno, poi, con le nozze della principessa eblaita *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu*, che diventerà regina di *Na-gàr^{ki}*.¹⁷⁷ Specialmente in questo periodo, il funzionario ur₄ *NI-zi* giunge a Ebla al seguito del re di *Na-gàr^{ki}* ([285] e [289]) oppure anche come accompagnatore di *Ul-tum-ḥu-ḥu*, figlio del re ([284]), nonché insieme a un altro figlio del re il cui nome non è registrato ([285] e [290-291]), ma che è plausibile fosse sempre *Ul-tum-ḥu-ḥu*. In quanto collettori di beni gli ur₄ accompagnavano i rappresentanti delle proprie corti verosimilmente per ricevere e custodire i beni loro consegnati.

Solo alcune attestazioni forniscono delle informazioni più precise per inquadrare il contesto nel quale i funzionari ur₄ svolgevano le loro azioni. In [261] un certo *Mu-ri-a* di *Ar-mi^{ki}* riceve una ‘placchetta’ (dib) da 30 sicli d’oro per essere andato, assieme a *Šar-mi-lu*, ‘presso il confine di *Na-bù^{ki}*’ (*“si-in”* ki-sur *Na-bù^{ki}*), ovvero a definire il confine tra *Ar-mi^{ki}* e *Na-bù^{ki}*,¹⁷⁸ che era poi il confine tra il territorio di *Ar-mi^{ki}* e quello di Ebla, dal momento che *Na-bù^{ki}* faceva parte del regno eblaita.¹⁷⁹ Successivamente, sempre *Mu-ri-a* e *Šar-mi-lu* compiono un viaggio per meglio definire il confine.¹⁸⁰

Si vuole, poi, analizzare alcuni i passi che registrano i funzionari ur₄ del regno di *Ì-mar^{ki}*, poiché strettamente connessi alla corte eblaita. In [267] *Ib-ḥur-NI* è il nome di uno degli ‘anziani’ (ábba) della regina *Ti-ša-Li-im* di *Ì-mar^{ki}* assieme a *Těš-ne*, *Wa-ba-sum*¹⁸¹ e *A-i-lu*, ma è anche il nome di un ur₄ di *Ì-mar^{ki}*, come attestato in [274] e [276]. Dal momento che è stato ipotizzato che la regina *Ti-ša-li-im* fosse una principessa eblaita data in sposa al re di *Ì-mar^{ki}*¹⁸² per sancire l’alleanza con Ebla, è forse possibile che anche ‘gli anziani di lei’ (ábba-sù) *Těš-ne/-ni* e *Wa-ba/bi-sum*, oltre a *Ib-ḥur-NI*, appartenessero alla corte di Ebla. Avrebbero, quindi, seguito la futura regina a *Ì-mar^{ki}* e in particolare *Ib-ḥur-NI* avrebbe continuato ad agire come ur₄ della corte di *Ì-mar^{ki}*, presumibilmente al servizio di *Ti-ša-Li-im*. Allo stesso modo, si potrebbe ipotizzare che il funzionario ur₄ *Wa-ba-sum*, di cui i testi eblaiti registrano solo la morte in *ARET* IV 24 (= *MEE* 10 30) v. III 13-IV 3, sia l’anziano della principessa eblaita che, giunto a *Ì-mar^{ki}*, aveva agito come ‘rappresentante’ (maškim) del re di *Ì-mar^{ki}* presso la corte eblaita. Proprio per la sua provenienza dalla corte eblaita sarebbe registrata la sua morte, ma non le sue attività in quanto, ormai, a servizio presso un altro regno.

Dunque, *NI-zi* svolge un ruolo fondamentale nel mantenimento dei rapporti diplomatici tra Ebla e *Na-gàr^{ki}*, i beni da lui ricevuti sono secondi solamente a quelli consegnati al suo sovrano; *Mu-ri* partecipa a un evento militare e diplomatico importante quale la definizione del confine tra *Ar-mi^{ki}* e *Na-bù^{ki}*; *Ib-ḥur-NI* di *Ì-mar^{ki}* faceva parte degli ‘anziani’ (ábba) della regina *Ti-ša-li-im*. Quindi, proprio come gli ur₄ eblaiti, anche quelli provenienti da regni stranieri erano persone di alto rango. Come ulteriore conferma, è possibile aggiungere che i passi [270] e [275] registrano doni per il funzionario ur₄ *Ba-lu-zú* di *Ì-mar^{ki}* in occasione della ‘cerimonia della sua stele’ (ḥúl na-rú-sù):¹⁸³ si tratta di un evento che in genere riguarda solamente persone di alto rango.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ Per quanto riguarda il matrimonio di *Dag-ri-iš-da-mu* si veda in particolare lo studio dedicato in Biga 1998, poi si vedano anche Archi 1998a: 5-8; Archi 2010a: 1; Archi 2011: 17-18; Archi, Biga 2003: 27.

¹⁷⁸ Si veda Archi 2011: 16.

¹⁷⁹ Nel sesto anno di *I-bi-zi-kir Na-bù^{ki}* viene conquistata e occupata dal ministro stesso, si veda il testo *ARET* IV 18 al r. I 7-18 e al r. II 12-18. *Na-bù^{ki}* è posizionata da Archi (2011: 15) non lontano da *Kak-mi-um^{ki}*. Un viaggio di *Mu-ri-a* verso il confine con *Na-bù^{ki}*, assieme al suo *ma-za-lum Iš-bù-du*, è registrato anche in *ARET* XIX 15 (= *MEE* 2 40) r. I 3-II 1. Per una differente ricostruzione dell’evento si veda Bonechi 2016b: 78-82.

¹⁸⁰ Si veda Archi 2011: 15.

¹⁸¹ *Wa-ba-sum* e *Těš-ne*, gli anziani della regina *Ti-ša-li-im*, sono elencati tra i maškim del re di *Ì-mar^{ki}*, si vedano i passi *ARET* III 63 r. I 9-15, TM.75.G.2364 r. VII’ 5-11 (Archi 1990a: 34), TM.75.G.2524 r. X 1-14 (Archi 1990a: 35). Si veda anche Archi 2010b: 22) e TM.75.G.10079 r. III 10-IV 10 (Archi 1990a: 36).

¹⁸² Si veda Archi 1990a: 27.

¹⁸³ Secondo Fronzaroli (1980: 41): ‘L’interpretazione di ḥúl può essere proposta sulla base della documentazione mesopotamica che vi fa equivalere *ḥidūtum* “gioia; festa” e *ḥadūm* “gioire?”. Per quanto riguarda il termine na-rú ‘stele’ si veda Archi 1998b: 15: ‘in the entry KUR.PAD na-rú = *ma-da-ù zi-ga-na-tim* of the Lexical Lists (manuscript C), the second Eblaitic word is *sikkannu* „stele, beryl” (MEE IV, p. 216: 166a, 166b; [B] KUR.PAD na-rú = *ma-da-u₉ na₄-na₄*; [D] KUR.PAD na-rú = *na-ša-du*)’.

¹⁸⁴ Nei testi amministrativi la ‘cerimonia della stele’ (ḥúl na-rú), così come le ‘offerte per la stele’ (nǐdba na-rú), sono eventi connessi principalmente al re *Iš₁₁-ar-da-mu*, ai due ministri *Ib-ri-um* e *I-bi-zi-kir* ma anche a re di regni alleati con Ebla (*ARET* XII 309 v. II’ 7’-12’), dunque in genere a persone di alto rango. Si veda al riguardo Archi 1998b.

Vista l'importanza diplomatica delle attività svolte dagli ur_4 e dato che si occupavano di oggetti preziosi consegnati ai membri dell'élite delle loro rispettive corti, risulta logico che per ciascun regno straniero ricorressero sempre gli stessi ur_4 , ciascuno probabilmente deputato a rappresentare il regno di provenienza presso la corte eblaita. Purtroppo non vi sono, al momento, testi che registrino funzionari ur_4 eblaiti specificamente preposti al mantenimento dei rapporti diplomatici con i vari regni indipendenti, sebbene si sia visto che gli ur_4 al seguito del personale delle principesse eblaiti svolgessero un ruolo di collegamento tra le varie corti.

L'attestazione [287] dimostra che gli ur_4 stranieri, oltre alla consegna di beni e notizie, acquistavano beni come gli ur_4 eblaiti. Infatti, il passo registra numerose quantità di argento destinate all'acquisto di animali e lana, il cui totale, 119 mine e dieci sicli di argento, è consegnato al funzionario ur_4 NI-zi insieme a 200 'giare' (la-ḥa) di olio. L'argento è impiegato precisamente per l'acquisto di 'muli' (BAR.AN) – che sappiamo essere la specie di equidi maggiormente richiesta da Ebla e il cui allevamento e addestramento era praticato proprio nella regione di *Na-gār*^{ki185} – di 'pecore' (udu) e di quantità-na₄ di lana. Dato che l'argento è consegnato a NI-zi, dato che i beni da acquistare sono caratteristici di *Na-gār*^{ki} e poiché l'acquisto di beni era una delle attività svolte dai funzionari ur_4 , è possibile che in questo caso l'amministrazione eblaita si sia avvalsa della professionalità dell' ur_4 di *Na-gār*^{ki}, che una volta rientrato nel suo regno avrebbe impiegato l'argento ricevuto per procurare a Ebla i beni e i capi di bestiame caratteristici del territorio del suo regno.

Per svolgere queste attività gli ur_4 stranieri, alla stregua di quelli eblaiti, si spostavano molto probabilmente utilizzando carri, come dimostra il passo [259], che registra un carro dell' ur_4 di *Ar-mi*^{ki} *Mu-ri*. A tal riguardo, il passo [280] registra due tessuti consegnati dall'amministrazione eblaita per un ašgab, un artigiano esperto nella lavorazione della pelle, dell' ur_4 BAD-*sù*-kur^{ki} di *Ma-r*[*l*]^{ki}. Da confronti con altri testi¹⁸⁶ è possibile notare che, in contesti di spostamenti, ricevono tessuti non solamente gli esponenti eblaiti che dovevano intraprendere o erano appena tornati da un viaggio, ma anche tutto il personale che li aveva accompagnati e che era necessario per l'organizzazione e la gestione del viaggio stesso: i funzionari ugula sur_x-BAR.AN, i nagar e gli ašgab. Si tratta di artigiani sicuramente utili per approntare le necessarie riparazioni ai carri per incidenti che, specialmente in viaggi lunghi, potevano capitare.¹⁸⁷

8. LISTE DI FUNZIONARI UR₄

I seguenti passi registrano delle liste di funzionari ur_4 :

- [294] *ARET* XIX 5 r. XIV 2-20: 18 sal^{tug} / *Áš-da-mu* / *A-dab*₆ / *Nab-ḥa-il* / *A-zú-gú-ra* / *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik* / *Ì-lum-bal*^(KUL) / *Bù-da-ma-lik* / *Šu-i-lum* / *Gul-la* / *Šu-i-lum-II* / *A-bí-u₉* / *Na-zi* / *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* / *Ba-li* / *Gul-la-II* / *En-BAD* / *Ìr-i-ba* / *Ar-si-a-ḥa* “ ur_4 ”-“ ur_4 ”
- [295] *ARET* XX 6 r. XII 9-XIII 12: 24 sal^{tug} / *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik* / *Ì-lum-bal* / *Ib-du-NI* / *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik-II* / [*Ib*]-*dur-i-šar* / *I-ti-NI* / *Puzur₄-ra-NI* / *A-da-a-du* / *Dur-NI-lum* / *Ìr-pés-zé* / *Zi-kir-ra-NI* / *Ìr-i-ba* / *Ga-rí-ù* / *Šum-uru*^{ki} / *En-na-NI* / *Mi-na-NI* / ^d*KU-ra-ma-i-da* / *Bù-da-ma-lik* / *Bù-da-ma-lik-II* / *Ìr-da-pés* / *I-du-na-NI* / *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik* / *lú še-munu₄* / *I-lu₅-za_x-[ma-lik]* / *Ar-šum* / “ ur_4 ”-“ ur_4 ”

Sono inoltre da considerare come liste di ur_4 anche i seguenti passi:

- [296] *ARET* III 214 v.³ I 1³-3³: ...] *I-[lu₅-]za_x-ma-l[ik]* / ^d*KU-ra-ma-i-da* / [x] “ ur_4 ”

¹⁸⁵ Si veda Archi 1998a: 9.

¹⁸⁶ Si vedano i passi *ARET* IV 6 v. I 9-II 3 e TM.75.G.1741 v. VI 1-VII 2 (Archi 1981: 79).

¹⁸⁷ L'ipotesi che questi artigiani partecipassero a viaggi in quanto esperti nella riparazione dei carri è avallata anche dalla descrizione degli elementi che costituiscono il carro per trasportare la statua del dio ^d*KU-ra* e la dea ^d*Ba-ra-ma* durante la cerimonia del matrimonio regale di *Ìr-kab-da-mu* in *ARET* XI 1 r. VII 23-VIII 26, si veda Fronzaroli (1993: 7): '(Per) il carro (sul quale) viaggiano Kura e Bara[ma] 4 corde sono provviste. Le assi di due cipressi come (suo) legname sono provviste, (e) due timoni [di pioppo]. [E il ...], la traversa del giogo, ..., i finimenti, il secchio per l'acqua, il tessuto per il carro, la stuo[ia, ..., la traversa del timone], le cavezze, sul carro sul quale viaggia Kura, Amazau e l'«unto» di Kura pongono'.

- [297] *ARET VIII 523 (= MEE 5 3) v. X 15-XI 13: 22 ½ KIN siki / Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik / A-da-a-du / I-du-na-KUL-NI / Šum-uru^{ki} / I-ti-NI / I-ti-NI-II / [Īr]-i'-ba / Zi-kir-NI / Ib-dur-NI / En-na-NI / Wa-ti-lu / Ma'-à-ù / Si-a-um / Za-mi-lu / Bù-da-ma-lik / "ur₄" / zi-rí siki / du₁₁-ga / nidba / ^dRa-sa-ap gú-nu*
- [298] *ARET XII 684 III' 1'-3': Ar-šum / ur₄-ur₄ / [...]*

È poi possibile dedurre che altri passi registrino liste di funzionari ur₄ grazie ad un confronto con i nomi registrati nelle liste [294-295] e [297]:

- [299] *ARET III 140+III 144 r.² III 11-IV 7: 14 sal^{túg} / Iš₁₁-a-[ma-lik] / A-da-a-du / I-du-na-NI / Šum-bàd^{ki} / Puzur₄-ra-NI / Wa-su-LUM / Īr-da-péš / I-ti-[NI] [...]*
- [300] *ARET VIII 542 (= MEE 5 22) r. II 1-17: 16 sal^{túg} / I-ti-NI / Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik / Ib-dur-NI / 'Si'-a-um / Ib-du-NI / A-da-a-du / Šum-uru^{ki} / Zi-kir-NI / Īr-i-ba / En-na-NI / I-du-na-NI / Ma'-à-ù / Bù-da-ma-lik / I-ti-NI-II / NI-a-ra-bù / Ĥa-ra-NI*
- [301] *ARET XV 33 r. IV 7-25: 20 lá-1 sal^{túg} / 2 En-na-il / Ar-si-a-ħa / A-bi-u₉ / AN-MAĤ-x' / Īr-[...] / Puzur₄-[ra]-ma-lik / Ba-li / Ī-lum-ak / [N]a-na / A-dab₆ / Šu-i-lum / Zi-ti / Bù-da-ma-lik / Nab-ħa-il / NE-lum / Áš-d[a]-mu / [x]-i'-lum / A-bi-a*
- [302] *ARET XV 36 v. VII 7-VIII 1': 20 lá-1 sal^{túg} / A-si-da-mu "ur₄" / La-za-ħi-zu* / En-na-il / Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik / Zé-kam₄ / Na-na / Ī-lum-ak maĥ / I-šar maĥ / Šu-i-lum / Ī-lum-ak tur / Nab-ħa-il / [x]-dab₆? / [...]*
- [303] *ARET XV 49 r. XII 9-XIII 3: 20 lá-2 sal^{túg} / La-za-ħi-za* / NE-lum / A-si-da-mu / En-na-il / Ī-lum-ak tur / A-bi-u₉ / Ba-li / Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik / Zi-ti / Bù-da-ma-lik / A-d[ab₆] / 'Nab'-[ħa-il] / [...]*
- [304] *ARET XV 59 r. IX 13-X 8: ... Šu-i-lu[m] / Ĥu-ni-a / Ī-lum-ak / Na-na / A-dub / Šu-i-lum-II / Zi-ti / Bù-da-ma-lik / Nab-ħa-il / NE-lum / Īr-ga / En-na-il-II / Ar-si-a-ħa / A-bi-'à'*

Come già notato da Tonietti,¹⁸⁸ considerando la quantità di tessuti registrata, il passo [299] conserva un'altra lista di 14 funzionari ur₄, purtroppo in rottura, riconoscibile grazie a un confronto dei sei nomi conservati con i nomi registrati nella lista [297]. Si ritiene, inoltre, che anche la lista [300] possa registrare un elenco di ur₄, dal momento che condivide 13 dei 15 nomi registrati in [297], con l'eccezione dei nomi *Wa-ti-lu* e *Za-mi-lu*.

Sulla base dei nomi presenti nelle liste menzionate e attraverso una ricerca prosopografica di tutti i nomi qualificati dal termine di funzione, è possibile che anche i seguenti passi preservino dei frammenti di liste di ur₄:

- [305] *ARET III 328 II 1-8: I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik / Kum-la / En-na-il / A-bi-'à / Na-zi / Ar-si-a-ħa / Nab-ħa-il / 'Īr'-x[...]*
- [306] *ARET III 517 r. I 1'-3': Nab-ħa-il / NE-lum / Zé-kam₄ [...]¹⁸⁹*
- [307] *ARET III 749 IV' 1'-7': Šu-i'-l[um] / Nab-ħa-il / Kum-la / Ib-dur-iš-lu / Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik / Īr-péš-z[é] / [...]*
- [308] *ARET IV 22 v. X 7-12: 21 sal^{túg} / Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik / Ī-lum-bal / Ib-du-NI / 'x-x'-ma-lik [...]*
- [309] *ARET XII 98 r. II 1-10: A'-d[ab₆] / [...] / A-dab₆ / Ī-lum-bal / Ī-lum-bal / A-zú-gú-ra / Mu-ma-il / Ib-dur-il / 'Dar'-da-rí / [...]*
- [310] *ARET XII 120 r. I' 1'-6': [...-N]I / [...-m]a-lu / [x-N]E-[m]u / [A-d]a-a-ad / [...-d]a-ru₁₂ / [...-r]i-NI [...]*
- [311] *ARET XII 327 III' 1'-7': Zi-kir-ra-NI / Ib-du-NI / En-na-^dDa-gan / Ga-rí-ù / 3 gu-dùl^{túg} 3 íb-III^{túg} gùn / Wa-ti-lu / [...]*
- [312] *ARET XII 370 v. I' 1'-3': A'-zú-gú-r[a] / Mu-m[a]-i[l] / [...]*
- [313] *ARET XII 688 v. III' 1'-8': [...]-[ga]ba / Zi-kir-ra-NI / Īr-i-ba / Ga-rí-ù / En-na-NI / Me-na-NI / Bù-da-ma-lik / [...]*
- [314] *ARET XII 853 I' 1'-8': Ga-rí-ù / Īr-i-ba / En-na-^dDa-gan / 3 gu-dùl^{túg} 3 íb-III^{túg} gùn / Wa-ti-lu / [Ib]-UR-da-mu / BAD-sù-ne-àr / [...]*
- [315] *ARET XII 856 r. II 1'-7': [...]-x-x' / En-na-NI / Īr-da-péš / Ib-du-NI / Īr-i-ba / I-ti-[x] / [...]*
- [316] *ARET XII 1232 I' 1'-5': Ga-rí-ù / Šu-i-lum / Ib-du-il / Zu-a-bù / [...]*
- [317] *ARET XII 1250 III' 1'-5': 'Gul'-la / Du-la-ad / Īr-péš-zé / Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik [x] / Uš-ra-sá-mu*

¹⁸⁸ Si veda Tonietti 1990: 38.

¹⁸⁹ Forse sono da considerare come nomi di ur₄ anche quelli registrati in *ARET III 517 r. II 1'-4'*.

- [318] *ARET* XII 1253 v. VII' 1'-8': [*Ī-l*]um-bal / A-zú-gú-ra / *Hu-ne-a* / *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik* / *Nab-ḫa-il* / *A-bi-u₅* / *Na-zi* / [...]
 [319] *ARET* XII 1262 III' 1'-6': *I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik* / *Ī-lum-bal* / A-zú-gú-ra / *A-si-da-mu* / *A-dab₆* / [...]

Tuttavia, dato che la lista di ur₄ [294] è parallela alle liste di KÍD-sag registrate in *ARET* XIX 2 r. VI' 16-VII' 18 e *ARET* XIX 3 r. I 8-II 16 – si veda il § 6 – e considerando che le liste [294-295] e [297] elencano alcuni nomi in comune con le liste di ib registrate in *ARET* IX 44 e in *ARET* X 50, 51 e 61 – al riguardo si veda il § 5 – risulta più complesso stabilire a quale categoria di funzionari appartengano i nomi registrati nei passi frammentari [305-319]. Nonostante questo dubbio, i nomi registrati nei passi [305-319] saranno comunque inseriti nell'indice dei nomi di persona dei funzionari ur₄ per completezza prosopografica.

CONCLUSIONI

Dai materiali raccolti e analizzati si constata che il termine ur₄ è stato usato nei testi di Ebla per indicare il personale la cui attività principale era quella di ricevere e consegnare tessuti, metalli e soprattutto finimenti ed equipaggiamenti per equidi e carri. Inoltre acquistano beni, difficilmente reperibili nel territorio eblaita, nelle fiere che si svolgevano sia presso località del regno di Ebla, sia presso centri di altri regni. La traduzione del termine come 'collettore (di beni)' pare quindi la più adatta. I beni presi in carico da questi funzionari erano destinati soprattutto al re, ai ministri *Ar-ru₁₂-LUM*, *Ib-ri-um*, *I-bi-zi-kir* e ad alcuni membri delle rispettive famiglie. In particolare, i funzionari ur₄ *Nu-za-ar/ru₁₂* ed *En-na-NI* lavoravano principalmente per conto del re, mentre *Wa-ba-rim* per conto di *Ib-ri-um*, di *I-bi-zi-kir* e di alcuni dei loro figli. Nei pochi casi in cui i funzionari ur₄ ricevevano o consegnavano beni per persone non connesse alle famiglie del re o dei ministri, si trattava comunque di persone di alto rango, quali alcuni lugal ([81-83]).

Una connessione ricorrente è ravvisabile tra alcuni ur₄ e alcune donne della corte eblaita: più precisamente questi funzionari accompagnavano le principesse eblaita presso il regno di cui sarebbero divenute regine, occupandosi di ricevere e consegnare i beni loro destinati, nonché di portare a Ebla notizie sul loro stato di salute, mantenendo così anche rapporti diplomatici tra Ebla e i regni stranieri. La consegna di notizie è, in realtà, un'attività generalmente svolta da altri funzionari eblaiti, come per esempio i *maškim* o i *ma-za-lum* e anche dai mercanti. Tuttavia, qualsiasi funzionario le cui attività prevedevano spostamenti esterni al territorio eblaita poteva essere impiegato come latore di messaggi, oltre che di beni. La stessa cosa è ravvisabile nei passi che attestano funzionari ur₄ provenienti dalle corti di altri regni: questi ultimi facevano parte della delegazione al seguito del rispettivo sovrano, in visita a Ebla, o giungevano in sua rappresentanza, consegnando, appunto, beni e, in qualche caso, notizie.

Come indicano i passi [88-93] e [139-142], oltre che al re e ai ministri *Ar-ru₁₂-LUM*, *Ib-ri-um* e *I-bi-zi-kir*, le attività dei collettori erano connesse anche a vari gruppi di lavoratori ai quali probabilmente procuravano i materiali necessari allo svolgimento delle loro attività, come visto nel § 2.2.3. I funzionari ur₄ svolgevano queste stesse attività anche per quanti risiedevano e lavoravano presso luoghi di culto – quali l'é-nun en presso *Ā-da-NI^{ki}* ([204] e [208]) e l'é dingir-dingir-dingir ([203] e [205-207]), nonché presso una residenza secondaria del re ([200-202]), presso le residenze del ministro *Ib-ri-um* ([190-192] e [194-197]) e di *Du-bù-ḫu-Ā-da* ([193]).

Un fatto importante da notare è che non pochi funzionari ur₄ erano anche lugal – come *Du-bi-šum* e gli ur₄ registrati nei passi [14-27]. In alcuni casi la carica di ur₄ era svolta da persone attestate anche come pa₄:šeš, 'inservienti', alle dipendenze dello stesso esponente eblaita ([233-236]). Si trattava, dunque, di persone che, proprio perché note alla corte eblaita, avevano la responsabilità di occuparsi della ricezione, della consegna e anche dell'intermediazione nell'approvvigionamento delle materie prime per la realizzazione dei beni destinati a persone di alto rango.

INDICE DEI NOMI DI PERSONA DEI FUNZIONARI UR₄

Nell'indice seguente sono elencati i nomi qualificati dal termine ur₄ e registrati nei testi eblaiti finora noti, editi e inediti. I nomi attestati nei passi utilizzati in questo articolo sono indicati con la stessa numerazione delle

rispettive citazioni. Invece, i nomi di ur_4 menzionati in passi non utilizzati in questo studio sono indicati con il numero del testo della collana di pubblicazione o col numero di inventario, nel caso delle citazioni di testi inediti.

<i>A-bi-'à</i>	[102], [304-305]	<i>Bù-da-ma-lik</i>	[10], [248], [294-295], [297],
<i>A-bi-a</i>	[301]		[300-301], [303-304], [313]
<i>A-bi-u₉</i>	[294], [301], [303], [318]		<i>ARET XV 28 r. VII 3</i>
<i>A-bi-za-mu</i>	[229]	<i>Bù-da-ma-lik-II</i>	[295]
<i>A-da-ma-lik</i>	[216]	<i>Bu-ma-il</i>	[194]
<i>A-da</i>	[184], [186-188]	<i>Bu_x-ma-il</i>	<i>ARET XV 35 r. VI' 9</i>
<i>A-da-a-du</i>	[295], [297], [299-300]	<i>Dam-da-il</i>	[92]
<i>A-da-a-ad</i>	[310]	<i>'Dar'-da-ri</i>	[309]
<i>A-dab₆</i>	[294], [301], [303], [309], [319]	<i>'Diri'-um</i>	<i>ARET XII 964 r. II' 6'</i>
	<i>ARET III 125 I' 2'</i>	<i>Du-bi-ga-lu</i>	[80], [235-236], [247]
<i>'A'-d[ab₆]</i>	[309]		<i>ARET XII 895 r. II' 5</i>
<i>A-dub</i>	[304]		<i>TM.75.G.1942¹⁹⁰ r. VII 6</i>
<i>'À-da-ti</i>	[94-95]		<i>TM.75.G.1948¹⁹¹ v. III 1</i>
<i>Ad-da</i>	[100], [104]		<i>TM.75.G.2245¹⁹² r. VI 2</i>
<i>'À-gi</i>	[17], [19-22]		<i>TM.75.G.2335¹⁹³ v. IX 22</i>
<i>A-gi-lu</i>	[217]	<i>Du-bi-šum</i>	[12], [28-38], [79], [112], [115],
<i>A-LUM</i>	[167], [169]		[118], [120], [124-125], [143-152],
<i>AN-MAḤ</i>	[301]		[170], [242], [249]
	<i>ARET XII 1036 v. II' 3</i>		<i>ARET I 30 r. I 3</i>
	<i>ARET XV 33 v. VI 17</i>		<i>ARET III 176 III' 1'</i>
<i>Ar-si-a-ḥa</i>	[9], [294], [301], [304-305]		<i>ARET IV 17 r. XIV 4</i>
<i>Ar-si-a-ḥu</i>	[232]		<i>ARET VII 3 r. V 7</i>
<i>Ar-šè-a-ḥu</i>	[231]		<i>ARET XII 92 v. I' 2'</i>
<i>Ar-šum</i>	[176], [295], [298]		<i>ARET XII 942 v. II' 1</i>
<i>A-si-da-mu</i>	[302-303], [319]		<i>ARET XII 974 r.³ I' 3'</i>
	<i>ARET XII 151 r.³ I' 2'</i>		<i>ARET XV 10 r. V 2</i>
<i>Áš-da-mu</i>	[294], [301]		<i>ARET XV 23 r. IV 15</i>
<i>A-šu-ur-NI</i>	[189], [205-206], [211-215]		<i>ARET XV 38 r. XII 3</i>
	<i>ARET XX 16 r. X 14</i>		<i>ARET XV 41 v. V 9</i>
	<i>ARET XX 18 r. III 3</i>		<i>ARET XV 43 r. IV 11'</i>
	<i>ARET XX 23 v. X 15</i>		<i>ARET XV 43 r. XI 22</i>
<i>A-sùr-NI</i>	[234]		<i>ARET XV 50 r. VIII 21</i>
<i>A-zú-gú-ra</i>	[294], [309], [312], [318-319]		<i>ARET XV 50 r. IX 3</i>
<i>BAD-sù-ne-àr</i>	[314]		<i>ARET XV 52 r. XI 5'</i>
<i>BAD-su-ni-àr</i>	<i>ARET XX 6 r. XIV 13</i>		<i>ARET XV 58 v. VI 7</i>
<i>BAD-ni-àr</i>	<i>ARET XV 4 v. IV 9</i>		<i>MEE 2 15 v. II 5</i>
<i>Ba-li</i>	[294], [301], [303]		<i>MEE 10 18 r. V 6</i>
<i>Ba-ra-a</i>	<i>ARET XV 43 r. XII 1</i>		<i>TM.75.G.1237¹⁹⁴</i>

¹⁹⁰ Archi 1996a: 69.

¹⁹¹ Archi 1996a: 69.

¹⁹² Archi 1996a: 69.

¹⁹³ Archi 1996a: 69.

¹⁹⁴ Archi 2000: 30.

	TM.75.G.10024+ARET III 342 ¹⁹⁵	<i>Hu-ni-a</i>	[304]
	TM.77.G.23+TM.80.G.207 ¹⁹⁶	<i>Ib-bi-um</i>	[126]
<i>Du-la-ad</i>	[317]	<i>Ib-du-il</i>	[316]
<i>Du-na-sa-gi</i>	ARET XII 338 I' 1'	<i>Ib-du-NI</i>	[295], [300], [308], [311], [315]
<i>Dur-NI-lum</i>	[295]	<i>Ib-du-lu</i>	[185]
<i>En-BAD</i>	[294]	<i>Ib-dur-il</i>	[171], [178], [309]
	MEE 7 44 v. IV 12		ARET XIX 3 v. I 4
Engar-uri ₄	[99]	<i>Ib-dur-NI</i>	[297], [300]
<i>En-na-ba-al</i> ₆	[203], [207], [209-210], [225]	[<i>Ib</i>]- <i>dur-i-šar</i>	[295]
<i>En-na-BAD</i>	[161], [196], [199], [201]	<i>Ib-dur-iš-lu</i>	[307]
	ARET X 61 ¹⁹⁷ r. III 3	<i>Ib-ḥur-NI</i>	[207]
	ARET X 64 ¹⁹⁸ (3)		ARET X 61 ²⁰³ r. III 1
	ARET X 65 ¹⁹⁹ r. IV 2		ARET X 64 ²⁰⁴ (3)
<i>En-na</i> ^d <i>Da-gan</i>	[166], [311], [314]		ARET X 65 ²⁰⁵ r. IV 3
<i>En-na-il</i>	[111], [113], [163], [168], [173], [301-303], [305]	<i>Ib-UR-da-mu</i>	[314]
	ARET I 45 v. 3 V' 1	<i>Ib</i> '-[x-x]	[24]
	ARET III 369 V' 3	<i>I-du-na-NI</i>	[295], [299-300]
<i>En-na-il-II</i>	[304]	<i>I-du-na-KUL-NI</i>	[297]
	ARET XV 35 r. VI' 8	<i>Ig-na-da-mu</i>	[14], [26-27], [90], [103]
<i>En-na-NI</i>	[61], [63], [68], [157], [295], [297], [300], [313], [315]		ARET XV 4 v. III 12
	MEE 10 18 r. II 3		ARET XV 8 r. XI 10
<i>En-na-ma-lik</i>	[204], [208]	<i>I-ku-NI</i>	[221]
<i>En-na-ni-il/-NI</i>	[230], [237-240]	<i>Îl-a-da-mu</i>	[164], [233]
<i>Ga-da-NE</i>	[207]		ARET XII 1257 r. 3 I' 4'
	ARET X 61 ²⁰⁰ r. III 4		ARET XIX 2 r. IX' 12
	ARET X 64 ²⁰¹ (3)	<i>Îl-e-da-mu</i>	ARET XIX 8 r. I 14
	ARET X 65 ²⁰² r. IV 5	<i>Î-lum-ak</i>	[301], [304]
<i>Ga-ri-ù</i>	[295], [311], [313-314], [316]	<i>Î-lum-ak maḥ</i>	[302]
<i>Gul-la</i>	[294], [317]	<i>Î-lum-ak tur</i>	[302-303]
<i>Gul-la-II</i>	[294]	<i>Î-lum-bal</i>	[294-295], [308-309], [318-319]
<i>Gur-NI-ba</i>	ARET XV 33 v. VI 16	<i>Î-lum-bal</i>	[309]
<i>Ḥa-ra-NI</i>	[300]	<i>I-lu₅-za_x-ma-lik</i>	[177], [180-183], [243], [245], [294-296], [305], [319]
<i>Ḥa-zú</i>	MEE 10 18 r. IV 1		ARET III 134 v. 3 X 5
	MEE 10 18 v. I 2		ARET XIX 18 r. IV 6
<i>Ḥu-ne-a</i>	[318]		

¹⁹⁵ Archi 2000: 29.

¹⁹⁶ Archi 2000: 30.

¹⁹⁷ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.

¹⁹⁸ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.

¹⁹⁹ Biga 2006: 25 n. 29.

²⁰⁰ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.

²⁰¹ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.

²⁰² Biga 2006: 25 n. 29.

²⁰³ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.

²⁰⁴ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.

²⁰⁵ Biga 2006: 25 n. 29.

	<i>ARET</i> XX 8 r. III 3	^d KU- <i>ra-ma-i-da</i>	[295-296]
<i>Íl-zi</i>	<i>ARET</i> XV 48 r. XI 4	<i>Ku-tu</i>	[25]
<i>In-gàr</i>	[179]		<i>MEE</i> 10 3 v. VII 9
	<i>ARET</i> III 842 I' 1'	<i>Lá-du-gú</i>	[30]
	<i>ARET</i> IV 13 v. I 12		<i>ARET</i> IV 16 v. II 3
	<i>ARET</i> XVI 27 r. VII 8	<i>La-za-ḫi-za</i>	[303]
<i>Ìr-a-um</i>	[197]	<i>La-za-ḫi-zu</i>	[302]
<i>Ìr-a-mu</i>	<i>ARET</i> XV 4 v. IV 11	<i>Ma-à-ù</i>	[297], [300]
<i>Ìr-am₆-da-mu</i>	[175]	<i>Maš-à-lu</i>	[142]
	<i>ARET</i> XV 23 v. VI 17	<i>Maš-kaskal</i>	[81], [84-87]
<i>Ìr-da-péš</i>	[295], [299], [315]	<i>Ma-zu-lu</i>	[91]
<i>Ìr-ga</i>	[304]	<i>Mi-ga-il</i>	<i>ARET</i> XII 979 I' 3'
<i>Ìr-i-ba</i>	[16], [18], [23], [219], [250], [294-295], [297], [300], [313-315]	<i>Mi-na-NI</i>	[295]
	<i>ARET</i> XV 55 r. VI 2	<i>Me-na-NI</i>	[313]
	<i>ARET</i> XV 55 r. X 2	<i>Mu-ma-il</i>	[309], [312]
	<i>MEE</i> 2 18 r. IV 2		<i>ARET</i> XII 812 r. ² I' 1'
<i>Ìr-péš-zé</i>	[295], [307], [317]	<i>Nab-ḫa-il</i>	[294], [301-307], [318]
	<i>ARET</i> XV 50 r. VIII 6	<i>Na-na</i>	[301-302], [304]
	<i>MEE</i> 10 18 r. III 8	<i>Na-zi</i>	[294], [305], [318]
	[305]	<i>NE-dar</i>	[162], [200-202]
<i>Ìr²-x[...]</i>	[301]		<i>ARET</i> VIII 525 r. VI 14
<i>Ìr[...]</i>	[15], [114], [295], [297], [299-300], [308], [317-318]	<i>NE-lum</i>	[8], [88], [96-97], [101], [155], [158-159], [165], [174], [301], [303-304], [306]
<i>Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik</i>	[295]		<i>ARET</i> III 177 IV' 4'
<i>Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik-II</i>	[295]		<i>ARET</i> XV 12 v. VI 7
<i>Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik lú še-munu₄</i>	[89], [93], [244]		<i>ARET</i> XV 16 v. IX 16
<i>I-šar</i>	[4], [302]		<i>ARET</i> XV 24 v. VIII 1
<i>I-šar maḫ</i>	[212-216], [226], [234]		<i>ARET</i> XV 28 v. IX 7
<i>I-ti-ne</i>	<i>ARET</i> VII 6 v. V 4		<i>ARET</i> XV 43 v. X 1
<i>I-ti-in</i>	<i>ARET</i> III 871 II' 5'		<i>ARET</i> XV 43 v. XII 12
<i>I-da-ne</i>	<i>ARET</i> XX 16 r. X 15		<i>ARET</i> XIX 6 b.d. 3
	<i>ARET</i> XX 18 r. III 4	<i>NE-lum tur</i>	[5]
	<i>ARET</i> XX 23 v. X 16	<i>NE-zi-ma-lik</i>	[192], [195]
<i>I-da-ni</i>	[207], [246]		<i>ARET</i> XIX 17 v. IV 2
	<i>ARET</i> X 61 ²⁰⁶ r. III 2	<i>NI-a-ra-bù</i>	[300]
	<i>ARET</i> X 64 (3) ²⁰⁷	<i>NI.NUN</i>	[160]
	<i>ARET</i> X 65 ²⁰⁸ r. IV 4	<i>Nu-za-ar</i>	[46-47], [50-52], [54], [64-67], [71], [110], [153]
<i>I-ti-NI</i>	[295], [297], [299-300]		<i>ARET</i> XIX 6 r. VIII 7
<i>I-ti-NI-II</i>	[297], [300]	<i>Nu-za-ru₁₂</i>	[48-49], [156]
<i>I-ti-[x]</i>	[315]		<i>ARET</i> III 774 r. II 1'
<i>Kum-la</i>	[305], [307]	<i>Puzur₄-ra-BAD</i>	[193]
<i>Kùn-nu</i>	[60], [62], [72-73], [78], [82-83]	<i>Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik</i>	[294], [301-303], [307]

²⁰⁶ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.²⁰⁷ Biga 2006: 25 n. 28.²⁰⁸ Biga 2006: 25 n. 29.

	<i>ARET</i> XII 589 I' 2'	<i>Zi-la-NI</i>	<i>ARET</i> VIII 525 r. III 2
	<i>ARET</i> XV 18 r. III 8	<i>Zi-li</i>	[198]
Puzur ₄ -ra-NI	[295], [299]	<i>Zi-mi-na-ar</i>	<i>ARET</i> XII 1197 v. VII' 6'
Ru ₁₂ -à-da-mu	[11], [13], [121], [123]	<i>Zi-ti</i>	[301], [303-304]
Sag-du	[179]		<i>ARET</i> XV 13 r. XII 15
Sá-mu	<i>ARET</i> IV 13 r. XI 4		<i>ARET</i> XV 32 v. I 2 ²⁰⁹
Si-a-um	[227], [297], [300]	<i>Zu-a-bù</i>	[316]
[Su-]ma-[i]l	<i>ARET</i> III 846 I' 1'	<i>Zú-ba-LUM</i>	[117], [119], [122], [223]
Šu-ì-lum	[294], [301-302], [304], [307],	<i>Zú-du</i>	[198]
	[316]	[x]- ^r dab ₆ [?]	[302]
Šu-ì-lum-II	[294], [304]	[...-d]a-ru ₁₂	[310]
Šu-ma-lik	[241]	[...]-[ga]ba	[313]
	<i>ARET</i> I 14 v. I 2	[x-g]i	<i>ARET</i> XII 1405 r. [?] I' 1'
Šum-ma-il	[168]	[x]- ^r i [?] -lum	[301]
Šum-bàd ^{ki}	[299]	[x-i]m-[x-p]éš'	<i>ARET</i> XII 905 r. V 8
Šum-uru ^{ki}	[295], [297], [300]	'x-x'-ma-lik	[308]
Uš-ra-sá-mu	[211-216], [317]	[...-m]a-lu	[310]
	<i>ARET</i> III 667 I' 2'	[x-N]E-[m]u	[310]
	<i>ARET</i> VIII 527 r. VIII 13	[...-N]I	[310]
	<i>ARET</i> XX 9 r. III 8	[...-r]i-NI	[310]
	<i>ARET</i> XX 16 r. X 13	[...]-šum	<i>ARET</i> XII 434 r. [?] I' 1'
	<i>ARET</i> XX 18 r. III 2		
	<i>ARET</i> XX 23 v. X 14		
Û-aš-ra-sá-mu	<i>ARET</i> III 44 V' 6'	<i>ur₄ di regni stranieri</i>	
Wa-ba-rúm	[7], [53], [55-59], [69-70], [74-76],	<i>Ar-mi^{ki}:</i>	<i>En-na-il</i> [257], [260]; <i>Mu-ri</i> [252-255], [258-259], 75.1573 ²¹⁰ v. IV 2, (var.) <i>Mu-ri-a</i> [261], <i>ARET</i> XIX 15 r. I 4, (var.) <i>Mu-ri-lu</i> [256]
	[116], [127-140], [154], [190-191],	<i>Gàr-mu^{ki}:</i>	<i>Gú-za-ba</i> [262]
	[222]	<i>Ì-mar^{ki}:</i>	<i>Ba-lu-zú</i> [263], [265], [268], [270], [272-273], [275], [277], (var.) <i>Ba-lu-zu</i> [269]; <i>Dam-da-il</i> [272]; <i>Ib-ħur-NI</i> [266-267], [274], [276]; <i>Û-zu</i> [264], (var.) <i>Û-zú</i> [271]
	<i>ARET</i> III 41 II' 2'	<i>Kak-mi-um^{ki}:</i>	<i>Du-bi-šum</i> [39-45], <i>ARET</i> IV 17 v. III 1, <i>ARET</i> XV 26 r. II 19, <i>ARET</i> XV 49 v. VI 13; <i>I-gi</i> [105-109], [224], <i>ARET</i> XII 444 r. II' 1
	<i>ARET</i> XIX 13 v. X 10	<i>Lum-na-an^{ki}:</i>	<i>Šu-ma-lik</i> [278]
	<i>ARET</i> XIX 20 v. X 10	<i>Ma-ri^{ki}:</i>	BAD-šú-kur ^{ki} [279-280]; <i>Ìr-az-il</i> [282]; <i>Û-ri</i> [281]
Wa-ba-lum	[77], [141]	<i>Na-gàr^{ki}:</i>	NI-zi [283-293]
Wa-ba-sum	<i>ARET</i> IV 24 v. IV 1		
Wa-su-LUM	[299]		
Wa-ti-lu	[297], [311], [314]		
	<i>ARET</i> VIII 525 r. IX 10		
	<i>ARET</i> XX 6 r. XIV 12		
Wa-ti-ru ₁₂	<i>ARET</i> XV 4 v. IV 10		
Za-mi-lu	[297]		
	<i>ARET</i> VIII 525 r. III 1		
Zé-kam ₄	[172], [302], [306]		
	<i>ARET</i> XV 59 v. V 13		
Zi-[kir]-ra-ar	[98]		
Zi-kir-ra-NI	[295], [311], [313]		
Zi-kir-NI	[297], [300]		
Zi-la-BAD	[218], [220]		

²⁰⁹ Il nome di persona *Zi-ti* è collazionato sulla fotografia.

²¹⁰ Archi 2011: 23.

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Five Seasons of Excavations (1997-2001) in Field I at Tell Beydar (Syria)¹

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Abstract. Since 1997 the Ca' Foscari University of Venice has been taking part, as one of the official partners, in the Syro-European archaeological expedition at Tell Beydar (Northeastern Syria). A new excavation area, Field I, was opened by the Italian team on the north-eastern slope of the 3rd millennium Upper City, just inside the Inner-City Wall. After five seasons of excavation, the presence of one of the city gates has been confirmed, and the topographical layout of the area is sufficiently clear. The opening in the fortification wall was protected by two huge, massive brick structures projecting on its internal side. Through this passage, a narrow street led from the Outer City toward the mound's central plateau. This street was flanked on both sides by large complex buildings, possibly official in character, and by small open spaces occupied by graves and dumping areas.

Keywords. Tell Beydar, Jezirah, 3rd millennium BC, Upper City, fortifications, architecture, graves.

PROGRESSION AND MAIN RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION

Since 1997 the Ca' Foscari University of Venice has been taking part, as one of the official partners, in the Syro-European archaeological expedition at Tell Beydar (Northeastern Syria).² A new excavation area, Field I

¹ The present article was originally intended for the proceedings of an ICAANE conference which for unfortunate circumstances were not published. Given its content and scope, it is presented here with practically no changes. As a summary report (the final report is presently in preparation), most of the data it contains are illustrated here for the first time.

² At the time when these campaigns took place, the expedition was directed by M. Lebeau (European Centre for Upper Mesopotamian Studies) and Antoine Suleiman (Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de Syrie), who passed away in 2012. Ca' Foscari University was represented by prof. Lucio Milano. Other official partners of

(Fig. 1), was opened by the Italian team on the north-eastern slope of the 3rd millennium Upper City, just inside the Inner-City Wall. Here, the presence of a deep gully approximately on the line of one of the major gaps in the Outer Wall suggested the presence of one of the ancient accesses to the Upper City.

After five seasons of excavation, the presence of one of the city gates has been confirmed, and the topographical layout of the area is now sufficiently clear. It can be summarised as follows: the opening in the fortification wall was protected by two massive brick structures projecting on its internal side. Through this passage, a narrow street led from the Outer City toward the mound's central plateau. This street was flanked on both sides by large complex buildings, possibly official in character, and by small open spaces occupied by graves and dumping areas.

During the first campaign (1997) a 20 m long, east-west oriented step-trench was opened in the upper part of the slope in order to define the stratigraphic sequence of the area inside the Inner-City Gate (Milano, Rova 2001). The step-trench was continued in the 1998 season both in the eastern and, from here, in a northern direction, towards the bottom of the gully (Milano, Rova 2003a), where the sherd-paved street leading toward the Outer City was discovered (Fig. 2).

In the following years (see Milano, Rova, 2003b), work continued in two different areas:

1. on the upper part of the slope (Western Sector), the original step-trench area was deepened and expanded to the north, in order to obtain a wider horizontal exposure.
2. towards the bottom of the gully (Eastern Sector), the course of the street was followed in a northern direction until the limit of the Inner-City Gate and beyond. At the same time, the gate structure and the buildings flanking the street on both sides were investigated (Fig. 3).

With the exception of some Hellenistic pits, the occupation of the area is confined to the 3rd millennium BC. Excavated layers date between the Early Jezirah (henceforth EJ) II/IIIa and the EJ IIIb period.³ They belong to a slightly earlier phase than the official buildings ("palace", "temples") and the domestic quarter discovered on the Inner-City plateau by the other teams working at the site. Virgin soil has not yet been reached, but various elements suggest that the area was occupied since the beginning of the 3rd millennium (among these, the recovery from the lowest part of the slope of a few out-of-place pottery sherds which may date from the EJ 0/I periods).⁴ The dates obtained from a number of ¹⁴C samples from different parts of the field cluster between 2600 and 2400 BC cal. (Lebeau, Milano 2003), in general agreement with those proposed on the basis of the pottery sequence.

The Western Sector

In the Western Sector, the uppermost occupation (Phase 1, dating back to the later EJ IIIb period) was probably domestic in character, and consisted in parts of different rooms and open-air areas equipped with a variety of different installations (tannurs, white-plastered basins).

Under it, there were the remains of more substantial architecture, probably belonging to a building of some importance (Fig. 4). This showed a considerable continuity throughout the late EJ IIIa/earlier EJ IIIb period (Phases 3 and 4 –with sub-phases 4a-d). The building was founded on a large platform of massive mudbricks, which was re-built at least once (between sub-phases 4d and 4c) after cutting the building's walls almost to ground level.

The north-western corner of the excavated area (Fig. 5) was occupied by an open area (courtyard?), delimited on the south by a large mud-brick wall covered with a thick gypsum plaster, which also covered a bench running along the northern face of the wall. To the south-east of this, at the base of a large Hellenistic pit, the remains of

the project were the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, represented by prof. Karel Van Lerberghe, and the Université Libre de Bruxelles, represented by prof. Philippe Talon. For general information on the Beydar excavations, see Ismail *et al.* (eds) 1996; Lebeau, Suleiman (eds) 1997, 2003.

³ For the EJ periodisation in general, see Lebeau *et al.* 2000; for Tell Beydar in particular, Lebeau, Rova 2003.

⁴ Among these, a few examples of pointed bases and notably a fragment bearing a painted decoration strongly reminiscent of the so-called "terminal Uruk style" (Lebeau *et al.* 2000, Lebeau, Rova 2003).

a stone-paved canalisation were preserved, running under the floor level. The canalisation was first built during sub-phase 4d, cutting into the earlier platform, and was rebuilt twice, with a slightly different course, during sub-phases 4c and 4b.

A doorway, flanked on its northern side by a buttress showing an elaborate system of multiple white-plastered recesses, gave access from the courtyard to a room located to the east. This room measured 3.70 x 2.40 m; it was completely rebuilt, between sub-phases 4d and 4c, and remained in use, after that, until the end of Phase 4. It showed a well-preserved sequence of eleven different floor levels and was equipped with various installations. A white-plastered bench along the northern wall was present throughout the room's history, while other installations – e.g. a stepped threshold in the doorway, a low brick platform in the south-eastern corner; a fireplace in the centre and/or along the northern wall, and a small grain-filled jar - varied in number and location according to the different floor levels. From the room, in addition to objects pertaining to normal domestic activities, especially food preparation (grinding stones, carbonised grains, pottery fragments), come a group of approximately 50 clay sealing fragments and a clay tablet bearing possible numerical marks. Some of the sealings show complex miniature designs on two registers, probably dating early EJ IIIb.

During the earliest sub-phase (4d), the area to the east of this room was a sherd- and pebble-paved, street-like open space, equipped with different open-air installations (fireplaces, benches, small basins). Subsequently it was covered by a system of retaining walls and filling layers leaning against the eastern wall of the room. This massive structure, extending over an area of several square meters and involving a considerable amount of work, would not make sense if only aimed at retaining the room's wall. We therefore suppose that it protected the outer boundary of a larger building, of which the area represented the southern periphery. This hypothesis is supported by the size of the underlying brick platform (at least 5 x 8 m), by the high quality of some architectural features (plastered bench, stone canalisation, buttressed entrance to the room) and by the presence of administrative material (sealings etc.).⁵

Remains belonging to an earlier occupation phase were uncovered in the easternmost part of the original step-trench. They consisted of small units (probably partially open-air or covered with light material) bounded by low thin walls, equipped with a series of complex installations (multiple white-plastered basins and receptacles).⁶ These were probably used in a set of connected activities (we may suggest grinding cereals and possibly mixing the resulting flour with some liquids) on a scale that, again, seems to exceed normal domestic needs.

The Eastern Sector

In the Eastern Sector of the excavation, the system of access to the Upper City through the North-Eastern Inner-City Gate located on this side of the mound was investigated. The whole area had been severely damaged both by rain erosion, which caused a thick slope-wash layer to accumulate in its lowest part, and by the action of the *wadi*. This at first followed the ancient course of the street, but then deviated from it, to cut its way through the ancient gate structure. In spite of the large size of the uncovered structures, it is clear that this gate did not represent the main access to the Upper City, but only a side-access. It is also clear that, in determining its layout, concerns for defense and strict control of the traffic prevailed over display.

The street was exposed for about 41 m, from the point in which it climbed up the mound's slope and was progressively reduced to a narrow path, to a point located outside of the Inner-City Wall. In its southern part, the street was relatively wide (ca 160 cm) and followed a straight line, gently sloping toward the north; it was flanked by lines of flat-topped stones, which may have served as sidewalks (Fig. 6). Its central part had been repeated-

⁵ The hypothesis was confirmed in the course of the 2002 excavation season, when further rooms of the same building, which now extends for more than 20 m in a north-south direction, were exposed in the area located north of the original step-trench. Notably, a fragment of a cuneiform tablet bearing an administrative text was also recovered in the area.

⁶ Similar installations have been discovered at other 3rd millennium sites in the Khabur region (Tell Melebiya, Tell Abu Hafur, Tell Bderi, Tell Brak) and, west of it, at Tell Chuera. For discussion and literature, see Milano, Rova 2001: 70.

ly plastered with layers of pottery sherds. Further north, it seemed to follow a more tortuous way, narrowing between the two sides of the massive gate structure. It then rose to give access to a small raised space, which had stone-based walls, a stone threshold and a sherd-paved floor. The small size of the latter (only 180 x 100 cm) and the presence of a heavy door, suggested by a large *in situ* door-socket, point to a strict control over people and goods passing through the North-Eastern Gate. The space led to an irregular stairway, or ramp, made of large flat basalt stones interspersed with compact mud and pottery sherds (Fig. 7), which descended toward the Outer City. In the EJ IIIa period, the stone stairway was 340 cm long, and covered a difference in height of ca 120 cm. Beyond the gate's limit, the street continued northward, resuming the shape of a gently sloping, rectilinear sherd-paved path.⁷

On both sides of the street, the Inner-City Gate complex was a massive structure which extended for several meters in both directions. The top of the structure appeared eroded. It was certainly standing for a long time and was probably repeatedly modified and repaired. Its base has not been reached; it pre-dates all the street pavings excavated so far. A *terminus ante quem* for its erection is represented by the later layers and structures leaning against it, which date between the EJ II and the beginning of the EJ IIIa period.

The gate structure was remarkably asymmetrical: the limits of the eastern wall were shifted about 4 m to the north in comparison with those of the western wall. The latter extended for 15 m in a north-south direction, along the street, and for at least 7 m from west to east. The eastern face was articulated by a series of irregular buttresses. The northern face was also rather irregular and was joined on the north by a system of glacis-like superimposed sloping layers of compacted clay and debris, retained by a series of smaller mud-brick walls.

Subsequently, the northernmost wall was used as the southern limit of a building flanking the continuation of the street in the Outer City area (Fig. 8). One room of this building was completely excavated; it was accessed from the north through a narrow corridor, while a second door opened to the west, into what appears to have been an open space outside the Inner fortification wall. The room had a fine, light-plastered floor surface, which also covered a low bench running along its northern and eastern walls. On its eastern wall, along the street, there were two niches, in which small, window-like openings were probably located. A pit containing early EJ IIIb pottery sherds, which cuts one wall of the room, provides a sure *terminus ante quem* for its abandonment, while its building is to be dated in the EJ IIIa period. The presence in this phase of rooms joining the external side of the Inner-City Wall confirms the suggestion that this had already lost its original defensive function. This interpretation was previously advanced to explain a similar situation encountered in Field H on the Outer City Wall (Bluard 1997: 183).

The limits of the opposite side of the Inner-City Gate wall were less clear, since the area had been heavily disturbed by the *wadi*; it is clear, however, that it extended for more than 15 m in length and 6 m in width. Both walls were built with a mixed technique which alternated sections of true mudbrick with sections filled with cob and miscellaneous debris filling layers. In the lower part of the wall, large, very fine, sandy bricks of greyish-yellowish colour were used. These were covered by layers of crumbly, reddish bricks, which probably represent a later phase in the life of the Inner-City Gate structure.

Inside the limits of the Inner-City Gate complex, the street was flanked on both sides by a series of rooms and small open spaces. On the eastern side, two different buildings separated by a small open space were partially exposed. Almost nothing is known of the northern building: only part of a room was excavated, which was accessed from the side opposite the street. North of it, there was a 5 by 3,50 m open space, which functioned as a small burial ground. It contained three rectangular built graves, which are probably contemporary with the southern building, since they all follow its general orientation and one of them leans toward its external wall. The building was accessed from the street, at its southern corner, through a series of irregular stone steps. It consisted of several rooms, including a small courtyard of irregular shape. Traces of at least two different phases, involving some reshaping of the building's walls, were preserved, which could be correlated to two different pavings of the street.

⁷ The 2002 excavation season showed that this, however, was not its original layout: during a previous phase, which can now be firmly dated in the EJ II period, the stone stairway actually continued, under the EJ IIIa sherd paving, until the northern limit of the excavated area and beyond.

The layout of the area to the west of the street is more complex and underwent significant changes in the course of time. Originally, there must have been a small open space beyond the limit of the gate wall, opposite to the one discussed above, and roughly symmetrical with it. The area was, however, completely covered by a massive stone collapse, which was not removed during excavation. Within the collapse, two north-south alignments and a shorter east-west alignment of larger stones were visible. These may represent the remains of a stone structure which was leaned in a later phase against the Inner-City Gate wall, in order to extend it along the street and straighten its profile.

Further south, a large continuous wall, probably contemporary with the gate structure, flanked the street. Beyond this wall, there seems to have been at first a building of some importance, with massive walls made of the same large, yellowish-greyish bricks which were used for the gate walls. This was later abandoned, and multiple ash and debris layers accumulated in the rooms. The area then served as a burial ground for children (6 graves were excavated). Still later, a number of narrower walls were built over the remains of the earlier building, leaning toward the southern limit of the Inner-City Wall. These marked a series of rooms whose function – despite the recovery of a series of floors and of some activity areas (ash lenses, etc.) – remains dubious, since they were abandoned rather quickly, while new graves were sunk into the area.

Further south, there was a large open area, which was progressively covered with multiple layers of ashes and other debris, into which mudbrick graves were sunk (Fig. 9). At different times, mud-brick walls were founded on the ash layers, probably with the only aim of retaining them, since they defined no real rooms, and were filled and covered by successive ash layers. Later still, the dumping area was reduced in size, and a series of small rooms with plastered walls and real floors with some *in situ* material were built on its eastern and southern sides.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the 1997-2001 excavations in Field I at Tell Beydar have contributed to the understanding of the general topography of the settlement, by providing new data on the layout of the North-Eastern Inner-City Gate and surrounding areas. The excavated layers belong for the most part to the EJ IIIa/early EJ IIIb period, a previously poorly known phase in the life of the city. It is rather certain, however, that the topographic layout of the area was not significantly different in the later EJ IIIb phase, contemporary with the official complex and the other private and public buildings unearthed on the Upper City plateau (Lebeau, Suleiman (eds) 1997, 2003).

Synchronically, the most interesting feature is the presence in this area of a highly protected secondary access to the central plateau. This type of access can be compared with the main access to the official complex located on the southern, opposite side of the mound (see Lebeau, paper presented at the 2002 ICAANE in Paris) whose impressive stone-paved stairway obviously shows quite different concerns for monumentality and significant display.

The area inside the North-Eastern Inner-City Gate was characterised by a series of complex buildings on both sides of a narrow street. The area was not occupied by simple domestic units, but rather by larger, more complex structures, possibly of official character, which included open-air areas in which “industrial” activities took place, and where administrative tasks were also performed. The concentration of graves in the area parallels similar finds made during the earlier campaigns in different sectors of both the Outer and the Inner-City Wall (Lebeau, Suleiman (eds) 1997, 2003). This confirms the urban walls as a favorite neighborhood for burial grounds, and shows that the choice was not limited to the external side of the wall.

The Field I excavations have provided fresh data about the Beydar Inner-City Wall, previously only investigated in the neighbouring Field G (Suleiman 2003). The most important discoveries here are the exceptional width and the complex building technique of this wall, which represents a significant contribution to the study of the poorly known fortification systems of EJ III Upper Mesopotamian cities.

From a diachronic point of view, the Field I excavations have recovered important information on the earliest history of the 3rd millennium *Kranzhügel*. It seems clear by now that the widespread EJ IIIb occupation of the

upper mound was preceded by an uninterrupted EJ IIIa sequence of layers and, earlier still, by an unexpectedly substantial occupation dating back at least to the EJ II period. In particular, the early date of the Beydar fortification has been confirmed, together with its partial loss of function already by the EJ IIIa period. The remarkable changes in the topographic setting of the area and in the general function of some of the buildings through time mark the transition from the early history of urbanisation at Tell Beydar to its full flourishing at the beginning of EJ IIIb.

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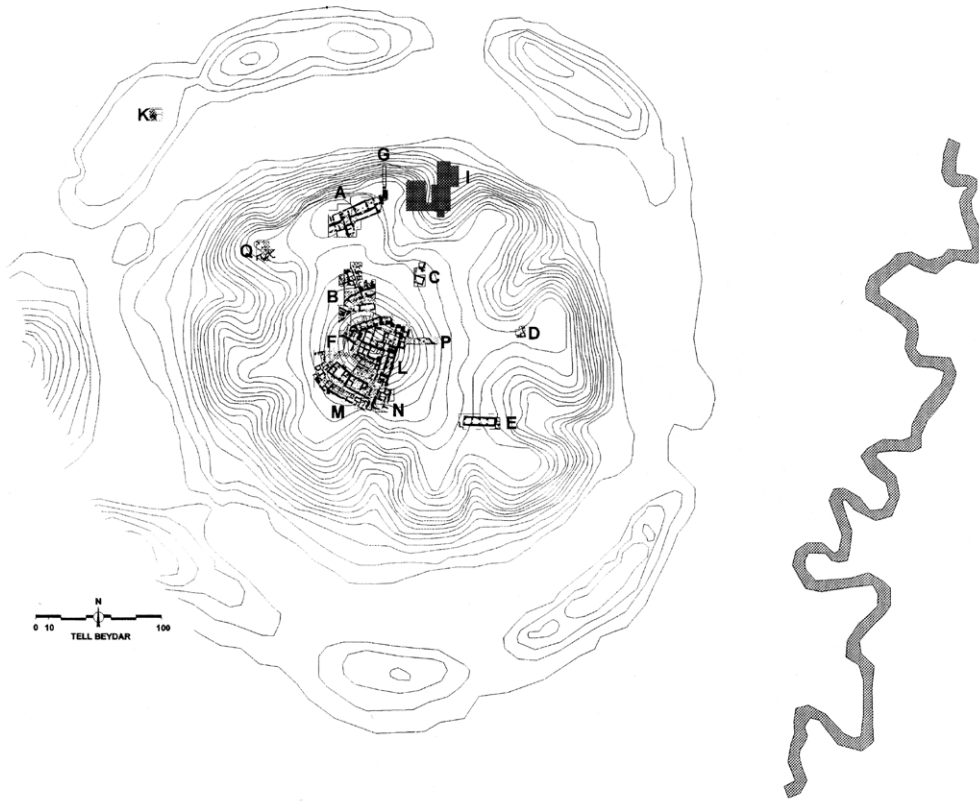


Fig. 1: Topographical map of Tell Beydar with location of excavation areas (2001).



Fig. 2: Field I: 1997-1998 step trench.

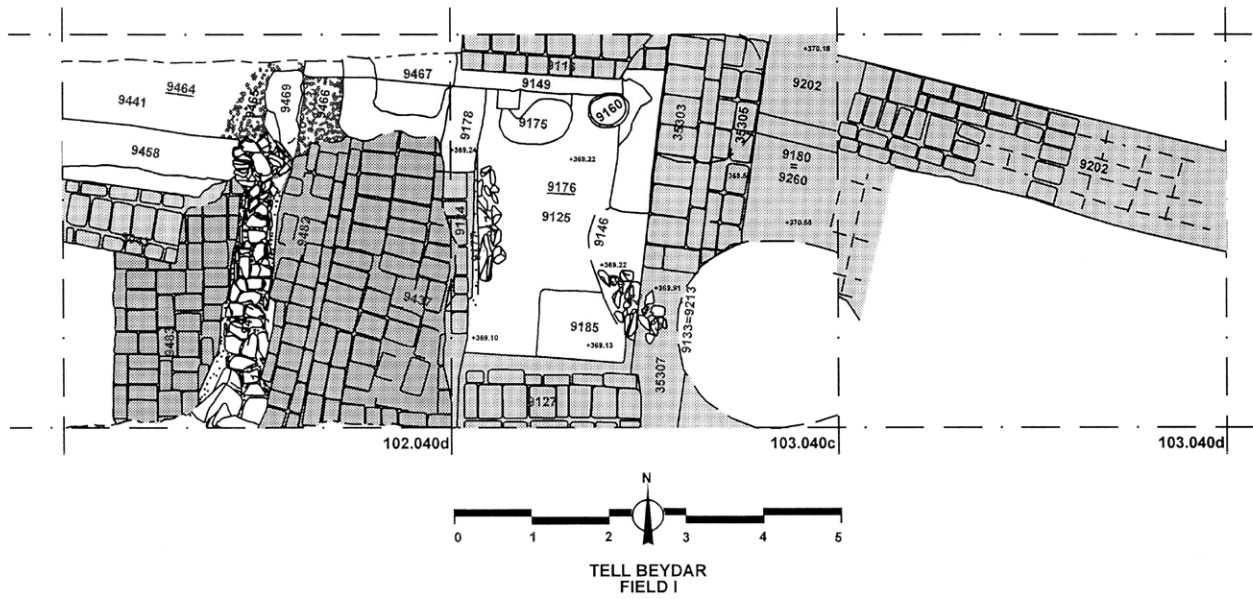


Fig. 4: Western Sector, plan of sub-phase 4c.



Fig. 5: Western Sector, courtyard with plastered wall and bench, stone canalisation.



Fig. 6: Eastern Sector, southern portion of the street.



Fig. 7: Eastern Sector, the stone ramp and the Inner-City Gate access.



Fig. 8: Eastern Sector, building flanking the street outside the Inner-City Wall.



Fig. 9: Eastern Sector, Grave 35079.



The Ancestors of Labarna I and the Cruciform Seal

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Abstract. This paper argues that the evidence of the Offering List C and the Cruciform Seal on the early Hittite rulers can only be reconciled with each other, if the former's entry on Labarna refers to the ancestors of Labarna I and not of Ḫattušili I, as hitherto assumed.

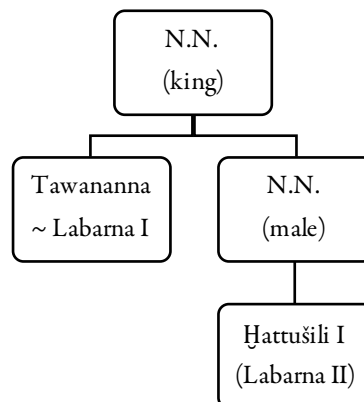
Keywords. Early Hittite history, Hittite royal list, offering lists, Cruciform Seal, Zalpa-text.

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

1. THE OFFERING LIST C AND THE SO-CALLED CRUCIFORM SEAL

According to the so-called Testament of Ḫattušili I (KUB 1.16 iii 41-44), his immediate predecessors were his grandfather (whose name he did not disclose), followed by the son-in-law of his grandfather, Labarna I, who was, in turn, followed by Ḫattušili I (also known as Labarna II), “the son of the brother of Tawananna” (as he identified himself in another text), who was the wife of Labarna I. This can be illustrated with the following tree (see Beal 2003: 13-15 for a critical discussion of the previous literature with alternative reconstructions):



It is this family tree into which two further pieces of information should be accommodated: the entry of an offering list of deceased Hittite royalties mentioning Labarna (the Offering List C) on the one hand, and the early kings named in the so-called Cruciform Seal on the other. The entry of the offering list is as follows (KUB 11.7 i 10²-11¹, Otten 1951: 65):

(10⁰) [*A-NA* ^mBU-LUGAL-*ma* DUMU ^m*Tu-ut-ḫa-[li-ya* ^(11¹) *A-BU* ^m*Pa-wa_a-aḫ-te-il-ma-aḫ* *A-BU* *l[a-ba-ar-na]* (...)] for BU-Šarruma, son of Tudḫaliya, [father]¹ of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ² (and³/the⁴) father of La[barna] (...).

Before turning to the analysis of this entry, it must be emphasized that there is no reason to doubt the correct position of this entry in the roughly chronologically ordered offering list and the date it implies (see the critical discussion of the previous literature in Beal 2003: 17-20 with refs.): Hurrian names (such as BU-Šarruma) are completely possible even in this early period of Hittite history⁵ and it is technically incomprehensible that a cuneiform scribe accidentally and completely moved an entire entry from a much later paragraph during the copying process (the parallel part of the other offering lists has not been preserved). In other words, every reconstruction of the genealogy and the list of the early Hittite rulers must provide an explanation for this entry.

As for the analysis, the general assumption of the scholars is that Labarna of this offering list is identical to Ḫattušili I (as Labarna II) and, accordingly, two genealogical trees and king lists have been reconstructed depending on the interpretation of the second half of the entry (Beal 2003: 16-17):

If the entry means ‘father of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ, (who is) the father of Labarna’:⁶

¹ On this generally accepted restoration see the discussion in Beal 2003: 16 n. 16. Only Otten 1951: 65 n. 2 believes to see the traces (a horizontal line) of BU; this, however, cannot be confirmed by the photographs of the Konkordanz. Although inspired by the unique structure of the entry (cf. below) and by the false assumption that someone with Hittian name cannot have a father with Hurrian name, Carruba 1998: 103 proposed a restoration [*A-NA*] instead, but this was rejected already by Forrer 1926: 21* pointing out that there is not enough space for it (compare the other *A-NA* sequences of the same fragment). Carruba’s suggestion was followed by Forlanini 2010: 117-118, who, accordingly, excludes this source from the investigation of the genealogy of early Hittite kings (at this juncture a reviewer called my attention to Forlanini 2017: 127, although he does not discuss there anything relevant to this issue). This reviewer kindly informs me that (s)he rejects the generally accepted restoration and follows that of Carruba, since *A-NA* “respects the list compilation criterion; in this, whenever a new PN appears, it is preceded by ANA” (which is, however, not the function of *A-NA*) and since “it proposes the same scheme as the first part: ANA X kinship name Y”. Although the latter observation is correct, we do not know if this entry indeed followed this scheme. Moreover, in case of *A-NA* the offering should separate *A-NA* ^mBU-LUGAL-*ma* DUMU ^m*Tu-ut-ḫa-[li-ya]* and [*A-NA*] ^m*Pa-wa_a-aḫ-te-il-ma-aḫ* *A-BU* *l[a-ba-ar-na]* as in the other entries of this list, which is not the case. Moreover, the fact that all these names belong to one entry is strongly suggestive that they are members of a single genealogy. The reviewer did not address the arguments of Forrer and Otten. On other possibilities for restoration see below, n. 14.

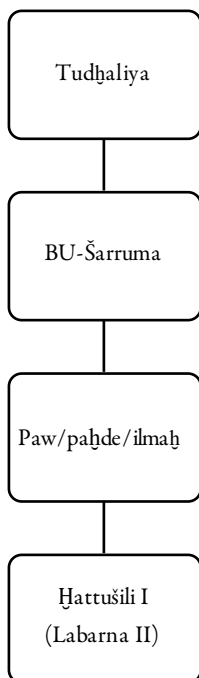
² His name is spelled as ^m*Pa-pa-aḫ-di-il-ma-ḫa-* in KUB 1.16 iii 44 (cf. also KBo 28.137, 3¹). The oscillations <w/p> and <e/i> reflect specific Hittian phonemes (see most recently Simon 2012: 34-41, 50-60 with detailed refs.). This has, however, no relevance here and thus the neutral spelling Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ is used throughout this paper.

³ Sommer – Falkenstein 1938: 162 n. 2, 209; Otten 1951: 52; Bin-Nun 1975: 55; Soysal 1989: 105; Forlanini 1995: 130.

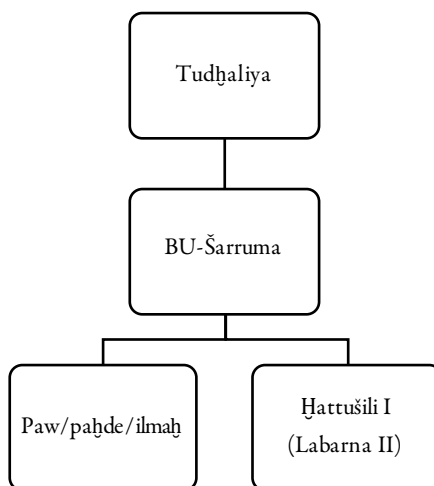
⁴ Pecchioli Daddi 1992: 15; Sürenhagen 1998: 82-83; Forlanini 2010: 116; Gilan 2014: 87 (“probably”). Freu 2007: 37 allows both interpretations.

⁵ See already Forlanini 1995: 130 (but cf. 2004: 380: 44, 2010: 118 n. 18), *contra* de Martino 2010: 130-131, 2011: 9, 25, 2017: 153. The introduction of the cult of Šarruma is irrelevant from this point of view, *contra* Carruba 1998: 102.

⁶ Sürenhagen 1998: 82; Beal 1992: 560 (with some question marks), 2015: 1169 (presented as an uncontested fact). Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ is identified as the father of Ḫattušili I also in Bin-Nun 1975: 55; Pecchioli Daddi 1992: 19; Carruba 1998: 104-105, 107 (with question mark); Forlanini 2010: 116, 119; Beal 2011: 581 (“perhaps”).



If the entry means ‘father of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ (and) the father of Labarna’:⁷



Both interpretations are evidently possible and accordingly it was assumed that the grandfather of Ḫattušili was either BU-Šarruma or Tudḫaliya.

Nevertheless, this reconstruction is suspicious for several reasons. First, Ḫattušili never mentions in his report that Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ, who was a rival king during the ascension of Labarna I to the throne, was his father.⁸

⁷ Gurney 1962: 216 (although the first two rulers received a question mark) and Carruba 1990: Fig. 299 (with question marks and without genealogical information).

⁸ Bin-Nun 1975: 8-9, 55 and Carruba 1998: 104-105 even restored the word “father” in the broken part of the passage, but see the

Second, he derives his legitimation from being the nephew of Tawananna and not the son of Paw/paḫde/ilmah. However, it may be argued, as Forlanini 2010: 117 indeed has, that the usurpation by Paw/paḫde/ilmah was exactly the reason Ḫattušili did not refer to him as his father (and a usurper is evidently not a robust base for legitimation). Third, it is similarly awkward that BU-Šarruma is defined by an extensive genealogy, although the names in the offering lists are normally combined only by the father's name, an epithet, or geographical appurtenance, if at all (Beal 2003: 18). Beal argues that it served to differentiate him from another BU-Šarruma at the end of the Hittite Empire (KBo 4.14 iii 40, de Martino 2011: 16-17 with refs.), but such technique of differentiation was not used in other homonymous cases and in fact there would not have been such a need for any reader of the offering list (the difference in the offering itself does not seem to be relevant from this point of view, see Beal 2003: 20-21). Fourth, Tudḫaliya is clearly not indicated as king in the offering list. Beal 2003: 20 n. 37 admits this problem, but emphasizes that there is also nothing in the offering list to indicate that he was not a king. This is correct, but it is more important that the preserved form of the offering list does not attribute him offerings, i.e. he was not treated as a member of the royal dynasty. Unfortunately, the entire issue depends upon the question if Tudḫaliya was included in the broken part between Ḫuzziya and BU-Šarruma as someone who received offerings, but this is what we obviously do not know at the current stage of textual transmission. However, if the restoration of]-zi-ya-a[š as Ḫuzziyaš in line 1 of the Offering List A [KUB 36.120 i 1] is correct (Gilan 2014: 89), then this list does not book any king between Ḫuzziya and Labarna I, which would virtually exclude Tudḫaliya as a king.

These arguments are thus not necessarily decisive, but this reconstruction cannot be reconciled with the second piece of information, the Cruciform Seal, since it completely neglects the logic of the seal.⁹ Both sides of the seal show in strict arrangement (anti-clockwise on the obverse, but clockwise of the reverse [Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 105]) four Hittite Great Kings who ruled after each other, i.e., the organizing principle behind their order is not the genealogy (*contra* Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 96-97, who assume a genealogy on the obverse, but a king list on the reverse side), but the king list (so already Klinger 2017: 68-69 [cautiously]; with the modern numbering in parentheses):

- a. Rev. (center: Šuppiluliuma I): Ḫuzziya – Labarna – Ḫattušili (I) – Muršili (I)¹⁰
- b. Obv. (center: Muršili II): Tudḫaliya (I/II) – [Arnuwanda (I)]¹¹ – Tudḫaliya (III) – [Tudḫaliya (the Younger)]¹²

contextual criticism of Gilan 2014: 88.

⁹ A reviewer “find[s] it difficult to reconcile two lists based on entirely different criteria”. However, reconciliation is sought for the information provided by these lists, not for the logic behind these lists. Since both lists refer to the same period, their information should be coherent with each other. It is the reconstruction of precisely this coherency that is attempted in this investigation.

¹⁰ Despite this clear piece of evidence that even the Hittites counted at least Ḫuzziya as a Hittite king before Labarna I, some scholars still falsely start their Hittite king list with Labarna I (Sürenhagen 1998: 76; Bryce 2005: xv, 62 with n. 3; 2009: 798, 2012: 723, 2019: 25, 268, 270 [with false genealogy]; Klinger 2007: 124; Sagona, Zimansky 2007: 262; Liverani 2014: 256; Blanchard 2019: 457) or even with Labarna II / Ḫattušili I (Starke 1998: 189, 191-192, 2002: 310, 2004: 64; Frei *apud* Marek 2017: 109; van den Hout 2013: 27 [who, however, starts with Labarna I on p. 24]), cf. also Klengel 1999: 35-37.

¹¹ Although strictly speaking Arnuwanda is a restoration, the name of the wife is largely preserved, which guarantees this restoration.

¹² The restoration here follows Miller 2004: 7-9 (cf. also Forlanini 2005: 239 n. 30). Alternatively, a restoration with Šuppiluliuma is also possible (proposed by Stavi 2011: 235-237 and followed by Klinger 2017: 69 with n. 55; for criticism of other proposals see Miller 2004: 7 n. 9 and Hawkins in Herbordt, Bawanypeck, Hawkins 2011: 89). The internal logic of the seal (a list of preceding rulers) as well as the preserved name of the wife, Taduḫepa, allow both restorations. Moreover, both sides could appropriately argue for their decision: as pointed out by Miller, Muršili is known to have attempted to make amends for the coup d'état of Muršili's father, Šuppiluliuma, who overthrew Tudḫaliya the Younger (an argument ignored by Klinger). Stavi 2011: 235 claims that a royal seal is not an appropriate place for that, but exactly the opposite is the case, since with this seal Muršili admits that Tudḫaliya the Younger was the legitimate ruler. Stavi and Klinger rely also upon the claim of Hawkins in Herbordt, Bawanypeck, Hawkins 2011: 89 that traces of the PURUS sign (from the name of Šuppiluliuma) might still be readable, which is, however, refuted by Hawkins himself, if his entire report is taken into account: “The Dinçols and I examined the impressions of the “Cruciform Seal” separately and independently and we each thought that we saw traces of the PURUS of Šuppiluliuma's name on Bo 86/618, but when we came to check this together, we could not verify it”. Thus, this cannot be used as an argument (Interestingly enough, the drawing of Bo 86/618 in Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 91 Fig. 4 shows a fragmentary PURUS, although in the text it was called “illegible” [n. 13]. The photo

Since according to the above reconstructions Ḫattusili was preceded at least by BU-Šarruma and Tudḫaliya, Beal dated Ḫuzziya of the Cruciform Seal before Tudḫaliya. Nevertheless, if any of these reconstructions is correct, either Tudḫaliya or BU-Šarruma should stand on the Cruciform Seal instead of Ḫuzziya. Since, however, it is Ḫuzziya who is standing there, he had to be the immediate predecessor of Labarna and, accordingly, the grandfather of Ḫattušili.¹³ There are only two possibilities to avoid this conclusion: First, Ḫuzziya is the only one among the eight kings listed on the seal whose presence does not follow the strict logic of the seal. This is an obvious *petitio principii*. Second, the grandfather of Ḫattušili is not the immediate predecessor of Labarna I. However, we know from the Testament that this is not the case (see above).

The conclusion that Ḫuzziya is the grandfather of Ḫattušili sheds new light upon the offering list. Since, as we have seen above, there is no reason to remove BU-Šarruma's entry, there is only one solution: the Labarna of the offering list is not identical to Labarna II / Ḫattušili I, as generally assumed until now, but to Labarna I. In other words, this entry lists the ancestors of Labarna I and not that of Ḫattušili I. In fact, since the two Labarnas imply two possible explanations, one expects that this idea has already been put forward and this is indeed the case, as it was already suggested (although with differing details) by Forrer 1926: vi-vii, 22*-23* and Sommer, Falkenstein 1938: 209, and followed by Otten 1951: 52 ("zweifellos"). The difference is that they could not have proved that their reconstruction was the correct one, since the *crucial* piece of evidence, the Cruciform Seal, was unknown at that time.

Mention must be made of a similar, but not identical reconstruction, too, provided by Barjamovic, Hertel, Larsen 2012: 51 n. 183 (cf. also Barjamovic 2011: 289 n. 1147). It is worth quoting their reasoning *in extenso*:

"If we take Ḫattušili to be the 'king', and Labarna (I) to be the 'old king' (LUGAL ŠU.GI) of the so-called 'Zalpa text' [see below on this issue, Zs. S.] (...) and, like Zalpuwa, we regard Ḫattuša and Šanaḫwitta to have been independent states down until the end of the 18th century BC, then Šanaḫwitta would have been ruled by the man PU-LUGAL-ma, making him the 'father of the old king' (ABI LUGAL.ŠU.GI) (...) The elusive 'Tudḫaliya' would have ruled Šanaḫwitta before PU-LUGAL-ma, and thus not be in the direct dynastic line of the later Hittite kings. This explains his marginal position in the later Hittite list of royal offerings (...)."

However, the assumption that Šanaḫwitta was ruled by BU-Šarruma is *ad hoc* and this assumption does not necessarily make him "the father of the old king", since all that the text tells about "the father of the old king" is that he received Ḫurma from the grandfather of Ḫattušili in Šanaḫwitta. Note furthermore, that there are good arguments ignored by these scholars against the view that Labarna I was the 'old king' (see the discussion below).

Returning to the precise reconstruction of the genealogy, due to the cryptic formulation of the offering list entry, both of the genealogies given above theoretically also apply here. In the first case Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ was the father of Labarna I. This is, however, not very plausible, since, as mentioned above, he was the rival king of Labarna I. In the second case Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ and Labarna were brothers, which makes the rivalry more understandable.¹⁴ Accordingly, this genealogy simply explains why Ḫattušili did not state that Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ was his father

in Tafel 6.1 is unfortunately not helpful, a renewed collation may help to decide the issue). According to Stavi, the Cruciform Seal was an attempt of legitimating the above-mentioned usurpation of Šuppiluliuma. Note, however, that from the point of view of present paper, both restorations are perfectly in order as they fit the internal logic of the seal.

¹³ Carruba 1998: 104-105, 107 (with question mark on the genealogy, repeated in 2005: 267, 2007: 141, and 2008: 80, without the genealogy); Beckman 2000: 26 (followed by Genz, Mielke 2011: 15); Wilhelm 2004: 76 (without genealogy); Forlanini 2004: 379, 2010: 116, 119; Freu 2007: 25, 38-39; Collins 2007: 37-38; Barjamovic, Hertel, Larsen 2012: 51 n. 183 and Barjamovic 2011: 289 n. 1147 (who also consider Pimpirit as the name of the grandfather, which is excluded by the Cruciform Seal, what they do not take into account); de Martino 2016: 19, 116.

¹⁴ Note that the exact genealogical position of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ depends on a restoration (see above note 1) and thus it is not completely impossible that Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ was a brother of BU-Šarruma (cf. already Forrer 1926: vi-vii, 22*-23*): an uncle would be also a fitting rival king. The third possibility for restoration, DUMU 'son' (cf. Forrer 1926: 22*), is virtually excluded by the fact that then Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ would have been an ancestor of his rival, Labarna, in all possible reconstructions. A reviewer proposed two further options: nothing was standing there or *Û* 'and' (as a remote possibility). However, both restorations would be irregular from the point of view of the structure of the entries. At this juncture a reviewer asked "how to explain" the fragment KBo 28.137, 3' that shows [...^mPa-wa-]aḫ-di-il-ma-aḫ ^mḪu-uz[-zi-ya...]. However, there is nothing to explain here, since the context is completely

(because he was not) and why BU-Šarruma must have been identified by his genealogy (because he originated from another dynasty).

2. THE PROBLEM OF THE ZALPA-TEXT

At this juncture, one can call attention to the second, historical part of the so-called Zalpa-text just mentioned above, which, in its widespread interpretation (see below), would also perfectly fit the reconstruction here and even provide some additional help. The underlying assumption is, of course, that this text can be used for historical reconstruction at all (as it is usually done). However, this is questioned by Stipich 2012: 707-710: he argued that the fact that the text does not name its main protagonists (“the king”, “the grandfather of the king”, and “the old king”) shows that its topic is not a specific historical event, but the theory and practice of the division of power within the royal dynasty. However, setting aside these protagonists, the text is very specific and delivers many personal names and toponyms, which already refutes Stipich’s views, and the missing names can be simply explained by the assumption that the audience of the text precisely knew who they were, as Gilan 2007: 317-318, 2015: 211-212 rightly points out.¹⁵ In other words, there is no reason not to use the second part of the Zalpa-text as a historical source.

As for the historical content, we learn from this text that “the grandfather of the king” gave Ḫurma to “the father of the old king”. Since this “old king” is nowadays identified as Labarna I, it was his father who received Ḫurma¹⁶ from “the grandfather of the king” (he would be Ḫuzziya as per above). According to the above discussion, “the father of the old king” would be BU-Šarruma (cf. already Barjamovic 2011: 187). The circumstance that BU-Šarruma ruled in Ḫurma would explain why he was included in the royal offering list and why he was given offering, that the others did not receive, and would solve the problem of Beal 2003: 16, who rejects the possibility that the offering list would show the ancestors of Labarna I, since Labarna I was non-royal and it would have been strange “if the equally non-royal ancestors of this Labarna were still receiving offerings in the New Hittite period”.

However, Gilan 2007: 316-317, 2015: 208-210 has recently questioned the reconstruction of Beal and cautiously argued that there was only a “grandfather of the king”, followed by “the king” on the throne and “the old king” (who did not rule between them since he was a vassal ruler) would have been Ḫakkarpili, a vassal ruler of Zalpa. This would evidently mean that “the king” cannot be identified as Ḫattušili I, since he was not the grandson of his predecessor, Labarna I. The identification of Ḫakkarpili with “the old king” is, however, not very probable: while Gilan is probably right arguing that Ḫakkarpili was not the son of “the grandfather of the king” (to whom he is referring only as “king” and who was probably the son of someone else, see immediately below), Ḫakkarpili’s story, that he was given to Zalpa to rule because Ḫattuša and Zalpa requested a ruler from “the grandfather of the king”, is mentioned immediately after the claim that “the grandfather of the king” gave Ḫurma to “the father of the old king”. Nevertheless, when Ḫakkarpili is first mentioned, he is called the “son of [...]”, i.e. he was identified and the necessity of his identification can only be explained with the circumstance that he was a new protagonist. In other words, he cannot be “the father of the old king” just mentioned.

More complex is Gilan’s second claim that “the old king” was only a vassal ruler. §13’ of the Zalpa-text clearly

fragmentary and thus it is unknown what the connection of these personalities in this text is. In other words, this fragment cannot be used as an argument.

¹⁵ Stipich 2012: 709 explains the specific names and settings as a tool, with which the audience could identify itself with the situation better. However, this is inconsistent, since the best way of identification would have been the mentioning of the specific royal names. He argues furthermore (709-710) that the later copying shows the “zeitlos” interest in the text – which, however, does not mean that the audience of the original text would have needed the mentioning of the names of the king.

¹⁶ For this reconstruction see the extensive critical discussion in Beal 2003: 21-24 with refs. (followed e.g. by Gilan 2007: 316, 2015: 208; Forlanini 2010: 117 [cf. also 2004: 379]; Barjamovic, Hertel, Larsen 2012: 51 with n. 183; Martínez 2016: 179, 188; Kloekhorst, Waal 2019: 196; cf. also de Martino 2016: 20).

identifies “the old king” as a vassal ruler of “the king”, which evidently does not fit Labarna I. Nevertheless, in the New Hittite version of the paragraph, it is not “the old king” whom the king leaves in Zalpa, but the so-called “Great Ones” (LÚ.MEŠGAL), the highest ranking officials. It is hard to make any decision which version is the correct one, but since “the old king” is a *lectio difficilior*, it seems more probable that it was “the old king” whom “the king” has left in Zalpa, and, accordingly, he was a vassal ruler and could not have been Labarna. This would mean that “the father of the old king” and “the old king” are not identical to Labarna and his father.

Even if the Zalpa-text, accordingly, cannot be connected with the problem of this paper, the combined evidence of the entry of the offering list and of the Cruciform Seal allows only the genealogical and historical reconstruction advanced in this paper. However, in this case it must be addressed why BU-Šarruma was included in the list of offerings. He could not have been a Hittite royal prince, because this would have made his son, Labarna, blood-relative to his own wife, which was a taboo in Hittite society. One can still entertain the possibility that he was a ruler somewhere. Although we do not know anything about the origin of Labarna I, a royal bloodline is anyway probable. BU-Šarruma might have also received offerings simply as the father of a Hittite Great King, perhaps by the order of his own son. Forlanini 2010: 117 with refs. argues that the list of offerings consists of those people who were interred in Ḫattuša. While strictly speaking this cannot be proven, it makes much sense (see, however, the critical remarks of Gilan 2014: 94), but at the same time it implies that some of them must have been transferred: for instance, Piyaššili, King of Karkamiš or Ḫuzziya himself, since there is no reason to assume that during his time Ḫattuša was the capital.¹⁷ This implies that a given date the remains of the early Hittite kings had been transferred to Ḫattuša and one of them must have been Labarna. It is also entirely conceivable that the remains of his family members had been transferred with him. Alternatively, Gilan 2014: 94-95 suggested that the offering lists are “based on an inventory of statues or other ancient artifacts that once belonged to, or were donated, by these ancient royals” (the statues refer here to those of the deceased members of the royal family). This would also explain the presence of BU-Šarruma in the list. However that may be, as long as the reason behind the “membership” in the offering lists is not clarified, the presence of BU-Šarruma cannot be used as a counter-argument.

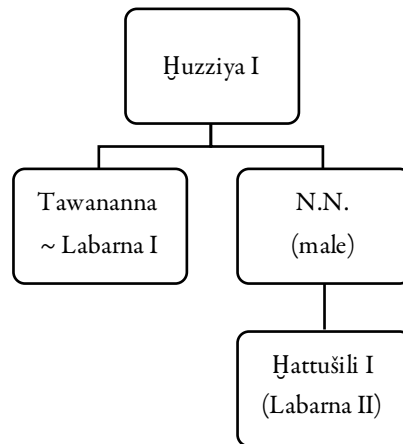
Finally, the synchronization of the Offering List C and the Cruciform Seal must be addressed. The publishers of the Cruciform Seal suggest that Ḫuzziya of the seal is identical to Ḫuzziya of the offering list booked seven sections before BU-Šarruma (Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 104-106). The names in these sections are not preserved and the only exception (Kantuzzili) does not coincide with known Hittite kings. Since Beal needs to accommodate at least one if not two kings in between, he (Beal 2003: 32-33) suggests that the sections between Ḫuzziya and Labarna I are kings who ruled between them (it is of course possible that both Ḫuzziyas are not identical and thus he is somewhere in the lacuna, but this only makes shorter the list of names to be explained). This is definitely a possibility, but goes against the strict logic of the Cruciform Seal. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the plausible restoration of the Offering List A also excludes any king between Ḫuzziya and Labarna I. This is in accordance with the other possibility that these sections of the Offering List C simply refer to Hittite princes as the text indeed does so on multiple other occasions thus suggesting that the two Ḫuzziyas are indeed identical.

3. CONCLUSIONS

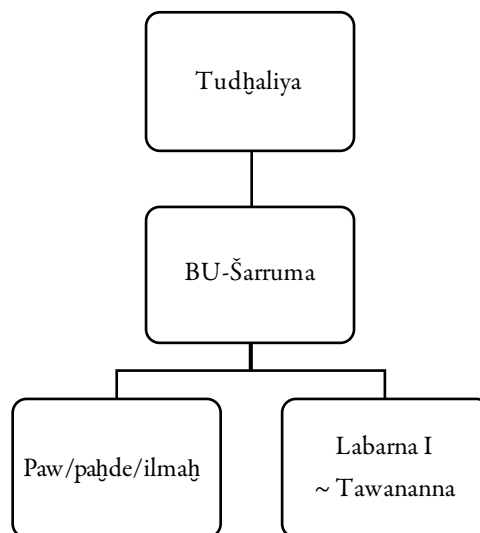
To sum up, the combined evidence of the Cruciform Seal and the entry in the Offering List C allows the following genealogical reconstruction:

- a. The Hittite royal dynasty:

¹⁷ On the thorny issue of the Hittite capital before Ḫattušili I see the critical discussions of Martínez 2017 and Kloekhorst forthcoming (cf. also Kloekhorst, Waal 2019: 196-197). I am very grateful to Alwin Kloekhorst for providing me with his manuscript.



b. The dynasty of Labarna I:



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Alalah between Mittani and Hatti

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Abstract. Recent excavations at Alalah (Tell Atchana), under the direction of K. Ashlhan Yener, have yielded significant new information about the city's history, especially during its later levels. They fill in some blanks left by Leonard Woolley's mid-20th century excavations, and sometimes open up other blanks. One of their most important results is to reveal a period Woolley essentially overlooked, extending from the destruction of the Level IV palace and castle circa 1400 BC to the construction of the fortress built after Hittite conquest, about 75 years later. The dominion of Hatti thereafter diminished Alalah, according to the findings of Yener's excavations. Woolley envisioned a turbulent occupation lasting until the Sea Peoples supposedly destroyed the city around 1200 BC. The new excavations, while adding to the evidence of Hittite presence in the late 14th century, suggest instead that settlement dwindled and eventually vanished during the 13th century. Textual finds remain scant after 1400, when the Level IV archives end. Notwithstanding the scarcity of written records, which is an important datum in itself, the archaeological evidence suffices to necessitate drafting a new history of Alalah during the last two centuries of the Bronze Age.

Keywords. Alalah, Hatti, Late Bronze Age, Mittani, Mukiš, periodization, Woolley.

The site of Alalah (Tell Atchana) has played a key role in the reconstruction of Middle and Late Bronze Age history ever since Leonard Woolley excavated there in the 1930s and 1940s. It could also serve as a case study illustrating how scenarios that originated as hypotheses to explain newly-excavated finds enter the historical narrative as if they were facts based on those very finds. When texts are available there is a temptation to label the archaeological remains with textual data, in order to make them tell a story; texts thus tend to strengthen the illusion of historicity. Yet the material remains are primary. While texts may be key to reading the archaeological record *as* history, that record – the sequence of occupation strata, their contents, their cultural affiliations, and so forth – is the framework for situating texts *in* history, and in time. But of course the excavator must normally start reading the record backwards, from the topsoil down, without knowing how the material excavated came to be.

So it was with Woolley's excavation of Tell Atchana, located in what is now the Hatay province of Turkey. As his workmen uncovered a succession of unknowns, Woolley posited events and processes to account for the finds and, with the collaboration of Sidney Smith as epigrapher, to link them with the external historical and cultural framework as it was then known – the stories of the Hittite, Babylonian, Mittanian, and Egyptian kingdoms, along with sequences of Cretan, Aegean, and Cypriot ceramics (among other imports).¹ These stories and sequences could be found to intersect at Tell Atchana, which proved to be ancient Alalāḥ (see map, Fig. 1). For the site yields a continuous series of occupation levels from the 13th century BC back to at least 2000 BC, and it has also yielded texts that provide direct or indirect synchronisms with other regions.

But all the texts found at Alalāḥ together cover barely more than a century's worth of the site's occupation, and most strata remain anepigraphic. In order to stitch together a narrative history of the city, Woolley bridged the gaps between texts, between building phases, and between textual and archaeological data with imagination, positing an Egyptian attack or a domestic insurgency or an anti-Hittite revolt to explain whatever the texts did not say about the physical remains. Such historical fictions find their fullest expression in Woolley's popular presentation of the Alalāḥ excavations, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (first published in 1953), but they also surface in his scholarly publications on the site and clearly shaped his interpretations of the finds. For example, within the space of a few pages in the concluding chapter of his final report on the excavations, Woolley attributes a (putative) siege of Alalāḥ that ended Level VA to Thutmose I (1955: 391), insists that a rebellion ended Ilmilimma's reign and the Level IV palace (1955: 393-95), and suggests that 'Level II began ... with a revolt against Boğazköy' (1955: 397). But no evidence puts Thutmose I at Alalāḥ. The inscribed Egyptian vessel fragment upon which Woolley based this addition to the pharaoh's curriculum vitae, however it came to be deposited in a Level V pit at Tell Atchana, cannot by itself indicate a particular kind of Egyptian presence there, much less conquest or occupation; it is now considered to have arrived as an article of trade.²

As for the putative rebellion against Ilmilimma, the textual support for this idea was the obscure reference in the inscription on Idrimi's statue to a *mašiktu*, 'misfortune', that drove Idrimi's family from Aleppo – not from Alalāḥ – and Woolley's identification of that event with the burning of the Level IV palace was predicated on his erroneous reconstruction of the dynasty.³ Finally, although it is often assumed that Alalāḥ, or the land of Mukiš, participated in a revolt against Hittite rule during the reign of Muṣili II, this is not in fact attested by the extant texts that tell of this revolt (see further below). Even if Alalāḥ did participate, identifying this event with the transition to Level II depends on making a series of assumptions in order to link the textual with the archaeological evidence.

Meanwhile, following Smith, Woolley invented a ruler named Taku whom Thutmose III supposedly placed on the throne of Alalāḥ, founding the dynasty continued by Niqmepa (Woolley 1955: 391, with n. 3). According to Smith (1940: 38), this Taku would have been followed by Abba-il, son of Šarra-il (a.k.a. Abban, son of Šarran), whose seal Niqmepa used, and the ankh on that seal proves that Abba-il was an Egyptian vassal! Based only on the

¹ The development of interpretation can be followed through Woolley's excavation reports (beginning with the first report in 1936 and concluding with the final publication in 1955), supplemented by Smith's (1939) preliminary account of the tablets, his study of the chronological implications of the finds at Alalāḥ (Smith 1940), and his publication of the inscription on the statue of Idrimi (Smith 1949).

² This vessel, inscribed with a standard prayer for funerary offerings, is most recently discussed by Ahrens (in press, Ch. VI, E §1.5.3.1, pp. 191-92), who kindly provided me his dissertation in advance of publication, and by Ritner (2019). Ahrens suggests that it dates to Dynasty 18 and originates from the area of Memphis; Ritner dates it to the Middle Kingdom and attributes its presence at Alalāḥ to Hyksos-period trade (see Ritner 2019: 301). Even if it had been produced or inscribed at Tell Atchana (rather than in Egypt), as Woolley came to believe, a single vessel in secondary archaeological context would be too slender a basis for claims of Egyptian control.

³ On Idrimi and the inscription on his statue – which is incorrectly paraphrased with surprising frequency – see von Dassow 2008: 23-45. The inscription has now been treated afresh by Durand (2011) and Lauinger (2015). On Woolley and Smith's erroneous reconstruction of the dynasty of Idrimi, see below, with n. 11; for the historical context of the statue inscription, see further below, with n. 34.

entry in Thutmose III's annals that records a shipment of lumber, copper, and slaves from Alalah during his 38th year, Smith concluded that Thutmose III had captured Alalah, ending Level V and installing a new dynasty (Smith 1940: 7). The inference that Thutmose III acquired control of Alalah has often been repeated, notwithstanding its logical and evidentiary fragility: the goods sent by Alalah in year 38 are denoted *inw*, conventionally rendered 'tribute', and the same word is used for goods sent in year 33 by Babylon and Hatti, kingdoms no one infers that Thutmose III 'controlled'.⁴ Smith's eagerness to see Egypt's hand in events at Alalah, despite the total absence from all Alalah texts of any evidence for Egypt playing a role in the city's history, surpassed Woolley's: he considered Egyptian imagery on a seal used in Level VII sufficient evidence that Egypt had ruled Alalah during Dynasty 12 (1940: 13-15), just as he took the ankh on the dynastic seal used by Niqmepa (actually an heirloom from the Middle Bronze Age) to be evidence of Egyptian domination during Level IV.⁵ Woolley's and Smith's confident concoctions of non-facts ought to serve as a warning against promulgating either historical claims or archaeological interpretations on such flimsy grounds.

Numerous studies treating specific periods at Alalah have resulted in significant modifications to Woolley's dating of the strata, and the history of periods represented in texts (mainly Levels VII and IV) has been rewritten repeatedly.⁶ However, while the events he invented have gradually fallen away from the narrative, the skeleton of Woolley's reconstruction – the definition of strata and their correlation with historical moments – has remained largely intact. Now the results of the new excavations directed by Aslihan Yener necessitate revising the structure of interpretation Woolley built, from the ground up.

ALALAH AFTER 1400: GROUNDS FOR REVISION

Excavations at Tell Atchana commenced under Yener's direction in 2003 and have continued to the present. The first volume reporting on the excavations (Yener (ed) 2010) covers the first two excavation seasons; the second volume (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (eds) 2019), covering the 2006-2010 seasons, presents the results from the Late Bronze II levels of the site. In his dissertation, Murat Akar (2012) undertook a fresh analysis of the stratigraphy of the later levels, providing detailed descriptions and copious illustrations of the relevant excavation areas, diagnostic finds, and their contexts; this material is updated in his chapter for the second volume (Akar 2019). Some of the recently-discovered material has meanwhile been published or discussed in various articles (e.g., Akar 2013; Yener 2011, 2013, and 2017; Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014). In the present article, I synthesize my own observations, informed by those of the colleagues credited here, with information in the scholarly literature, in order to integrate the archaeological and textual evidence for the history of Alalah and Mukiš during the 14th -13th centuries BC.⁷ Fig. 2 is a plan of the site showing the new excavation areas under discussion superimposed on Woolley's plan of Level IV.

The second volume of the excavation reports presents a revised periodization for Tell Atchana from Woolley's Level IV to the end of the Late Bronze Age (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 317-335, with Table 13.1, and

⁴ Moreover, one need only consider the difference in perspective dramatized by Wenamun's interview with the prince of Byblos to realize that Egypt may have coded as *inw* what it purchased in trade (albeit the story is set several centuries later). See Simpson (ed) 2003: 116-124, for an English translation of the story of Wenamun by Edward F. Wente; for analysis of both this story and the use of *inw* in Thutmose III's annals, see Liverani 1990: 247-66. See von Dassow 2008: 21-23 for particulars relevant to Alalah and for discussion of the predilection for inserting Egypt into the affairs of places where it is not attested.

⁵ Eventually Smith realized that Abba-il might have ruled long before Niqmepa, and not at Alalah, but he did not alter his reconstruction accordingly, for in his opinion 'the retention in use of a royal seal after centuries seems unlikely' (Smith 1949: 59, Table A, asterisked note). Woolley (1955: 391, n. 4) became unsure whether to follow Smith or Wiseman on this point.

⁶ A detailed overview of the history of scholarship on the site, with particular attention to the dating and historical reconstruction of Levels VII-IV, is provided by Lauinger (forthcoming) in his chapter on Alalah for the *Handbook of Ancient Mesopotamia*.

⁷ Through participating in the Tell Atchana excavations as epigrapher, I gained first-hand knowledge of the site and the finds, profiting from numerous discussions on site with Yener and members of the team, above all Murat Akar and Mara Horowitz (see Acknowledgments). In advance of the 2012 season I was provided with Murat Akar's dissertation (Akar 2012). I am grateful to Mara Horowitz for providing me with files of volume 2 (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (eds) 2019) in advance of publication.

unnumbered chart on p. 336; see also Yener 2013: 16-17 with Fig. 4). The principal sets of archaeological observations that form the basis for revising the periodization of the site, and rewriting the history of Alalah during the 14th-13th centuries, may be summarized within four main points.

1. The castle, which was rebuilt prior to the palace of Level IV and continued in use alongside it, was destroyed together with the palace, rather than surviving it until the Hittite conquest as Woolley believed. (In accord with the usage chosen by the current excavation project, the structure rebuilt before and during Level IV that Woolley variously called a fort, fortress, or castle is here termed the ‘castle’, to distinguish it from the ‘fortress’ that replaced it during the period of Hittite rule.)
2. Subsequent to that destruction, the castle was rebuilt thrice prior to the construction of the fortress Woolley dubbed Hittite. The last of these three rebuildings could have occurred under Hittite rule, that is, following Šuppiluliuma’s conquest, and the fortress could have been built under Muršili II.
3. The construction of that fortress appears not to have been completed, and it has yielded almost no diagnostic material. However, its Hittite cultural affiliation and date are confirmed by the excavation of a building of similar construction in the southern part of the site, which has yielded diagnostic material. These two buildings are referred to as the ‘Northern Fortress’ and the ‘Southern Fortress’ in the usage of the current excavation project.⁸
4. So far, no finds from the current excavations confirm that Tell Atchana was occupied throughout the 13th century. Woolley described phases of the temple continuing right down to around 1200 – when he supposed the Sea Peoples swept over Alalah – and the Hittite prince who took up residence at Alalah and wrote to Ammištamru II of Ugarit in the mid-13th century presumably lived somewhere on the site. But perhaps it was only the temple that was maintained, while the rest of Alalah was gradually abandoned, leaving nothing for any Sea People to attack.

These points are each elaborated in what follows.

Any new reconstruction of Alalah’s history must be delineated against the background of Woolley’s, for his interpretation of the site has provided the backbone of all subsequent studies to date (including those that substantially modify elements of it). Therefore, tiresome as it may be to frame the discussion in terms of pointing out where Woolley erred, his reconstruction is necessarily the point of departure.

Levels in transition

The temporal scope of this article begins at the end of Level IV, the first level Woolley excavated that yielded substantial numbers of tablets. It therefore begins with a problem.

As Woolley defined it, Level IV begins with the construction of the palace that he attributed to Niqmepa, and it ends with the destruction he attributed to the Hittites under Šuppiluliuma I.⁹ The palace whose construction marks the start of Level IV was however destroyed long before the Hittite conquest that marks the end of Level IV. The adjacent castle, which was rebuilt prior to the palace and remained in use throughout its existence, lasted with further rebuilding until the Hittite conquest, whereupon it was destroyed and replaced by the big new fortress of Levels III-II. Woolley dated the building of the Level IV palace to roughly 1450 BC, its destruction to 1400, and the end of Level IV to 1370, the latter presumably because he thought 1370 was the approximate date of Šuppiluliuma’s conquest (1955: 388-95, with chronological charts). That event actually transpired almost four decades later. His approximate dates for the construction and destruction of the Level IV palace, however, may be maintained, albeit on other grounds than those he cited.¹⁰

⁸ The excavation of the two buildings, the construction techniques they exhibit, and the finds associated with each are described and illustrated by Akar (2019); see also Akar 2013, and the synthesis of Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (2019, esp. 317-320).

⁹ See Woolley 1955: 110; 130, with n. 1; 156; 166; 387.

¹⁰ For these approximate dates, see von Dassow 2008: 39-42; 60-62.

Woolley attributed the destruction of the Level IV palace to a rebellion that brought Idrimi to the throne, relying on the same reconstruction of the sequence of rulers that led him to attribute the building of the palace to Niqmepa (Woolley 1955: 111; 130; 156; 393-95). On this basis he could fill the gap between the destruction of the Level IV palace and the Hittite conquest that ended Level IV with the reigns of Idrimi and his son Addu-nirari – the son named in the inscription on Idrimi’s statue, who was conjecturally equated with Addu-nirari of Nuḥašše, a member of the northern Syrian coalition that opposed Šuppiluliuma.¹¹ He filled the gap archaeologically, too, observing phases of rebuilding or remodeling in the castle that took place between the burning of the Level IV palace and the Hittite conquest, and he attributed this remodeling to Idrimi – even suggesting that the remodeled castle was the palace Idrimi’s statue inscription says he built (Woolley 1955: 156; 163, with n. 1, and 395).¹² The statue of Idrimi itself would have sat in an annex to the temple until, in the twilight of Alalah’s existence, it was knocked off its throne, broken, then – following a revolt against Hatti – it was buried in a pit dug from the Level IB temple annex.¹³

So far as its use of textual information is concerned, this reading of the evidence was shown to be wrong on almost all essential points even before Woolley published his final report on the site. Idrimi did not succeed Ilimilimma, son of Niqmepa, rather, he preceded his son Niqmepa on the throne; the misfortune that may have ended his father Ilimilimma’s reign took place in Aleppo, a century before the burning of the Level IV palace in Alalah; Addu-nirari of Nuḥašše was not Idrimi’s son and did not rule at Alalah. The only major element that remained intact was that Šuppiluliuma I’s conquest ended Alalah IV.¹⁴ What about Woolley’s reading of the archaeological evidence, which depended on his historical reconstruction? His attribution of the Level IV palace to Niqmepa has often been repeated (though not without challenge), as has his attribution of the palace’s eastern wing to Niqmepa’s son Ilimilimma.¹⁵ While the date of Idrimi and the positioning of his career – as well as his statue – within Alalah’s history have been revised over and over, Woolley’s story about the statue’s final deposition was repeated as an article of dogma, until recently. Amir Fink’s (2010) reexamination of the excavation records indicates that the pit containing the broken statue may have been dug from the annex to the Level III (or II?) temple instead, yielding the inherently more plausible proposition that the statue was dethroned and buried upon the Hit-

¹¹ Woolley 1955: 391, with n. 3, and 394-95, drawing upon Smith 1949: 58-69, where the sequence of rulers during Level IV is reconstructed within the framework of an epigraphic and chronological argument that is as elaborate as it is tenuous.

¹² Woolley (1955: 156) writes as follows: ‘There is evidence, to be discussed later, p. 163, showing that later additions should be attributed to a time after the destruction of the palace but during the Level IV period; and if that be so, then the building in its present form can only be called the Level IV castle’; and further, ‘Idrimi after his return built a new palace for himself; we found that late in the Level IV period, after the burning of Ilimilimma’s palace, the interior of the castle was remodeled on the lines of a palace’ (Woolley 1955: 395). Unfortunately the description Woolley offers of this remodeling is insubstantial as well as unclear (Woolley 1955: 163, with n. 1; see also 387), which probably accounts for its having been overlooked by almost all readers, and he does not illustrate the remains he describes.

¹³ Woolley 1955: 85-89, with Fig. 34c; and see Woolley 1953: 162-63 for the anti-Hittite revolt (one suggestion that may be right; see below). His varying descriptions of the findspots of the statue and throne are collected by Fink (2010: 27-30, with Table 2; 56-58).

¹⁴ See Wiseman 1953: 5-8; von Dassow 2008: 26-28, 31-33 (on the sequence of rulers and Addu-nirari), and 62-64 (on Šuppiluliuma’s conquest), with references there. Addu-nirari of Nuḥašše, ally of Itūr-Addu of Mukiš (see below, under Documents from the time of Šuppiluliuma I), is probably not to be identified with the Addu-nirari who ruled Qatna during the first half of the 14th century (as indicated by one of the temple inventories found there; see Bottéro 1949: 29-33), as Richter has proposed (see Richter and Lange 2012: 158, n. 28; *contra* Wilhelm 2012: 239, n. 49).

¹⁵ For a survey of scholarly opinion and the (scant) evidence and arguments regarding who built the Level IV palace, see von Dassow 2008: 35-36, advocating for Idrimi, and Fink 2010: 67-78, advocating for Niqmepa. Fink argues for attributing the rebuilding of the castle (before the palace) to Idrimi, and follows Woolley’s attribution of the eastern wing of ‘Niqmepa’s’ palace to Ilimilimma. This is not impossible, but he bases his attributions on a stratigraphic analysis that consists largely of re-labeling things (e.g., calling the Level IV fortress [= castle] a palace does not demonstrate that it was one; Fink 2010: 70, 77). Meanwhile he supports his case by claiming that for each successive ruler to ‘build his own wing of the palace, while continuing to use the palace of his predecessor’ is ‘typical dynastic behavior’ (Fink 2010: 77), without adducing any other instance of such behavior, which is not in fact typical.

tite conquest.¹⁶ Meanwhile the interval between the end of the Level IV palace and the end of Level IV was simply neglected, in the absence of texts to fill it (see von Dassow 2008: 62).

One of the few scholars to address the neglected interval is Fink, who has sought to fill it by 1) redating Levels III-I upward so that Woolley's Level III occupies the gap between the destruction of the Level IV palace and the Hittite destruction of Alalah; 2) describing the inscribed statue of Idrimi as the 'enthronement inscription' of Addu-nirari, (putative) son of Idrimi and ruler of Alalah during the early 14th century; and 3) attributing the Level III/II 'Hittite' fortress to Addu-nirari and calling it his palace (see Fink 2010: 49-52, 93-99, 112-119). The first proposition is refuted by the evidence of the current excavations (discussed immediately below), automatically invalidating the third, while the second, which posits a nonexistent genre of inscription, is overdrawn. The inscription of the statue of Idrimi may well have served the purpose of legitimizing Addu-nirari, if indeed he made a bid for the throne; nothing confirms that he was enthroned, however, in the early 14th century or at any other time. In sum, while Addu-nirari and the Idrimi inscription may belong to the early 14th century, the fortress does not.¹⁷

Now the new excavations have yielded archaeological remains that fill that interval to a depth of almost two meters (see Fig. 3), enlarging upon and clarifying whatever remodeling of the castle Woolley observed following the destruction of the palace. Moreover, contrary to what Woolley claimed, the castle was burnt down when the palace was.¹⁸ Akar describes and illustrates the phases of the castle over the course of Woolley's Level IV, as revealed by excavations in Area 1, Square 32.54, thus: Phase 2d of the castle is physically connected and stratigraphically correlated with the Level IV palace, and the two structures were destroyed together; subsequently the castle was rebuilt in three successive phases (2c, 2b, and 2a), the last of which (2a) corresponds to what Woolley mistook for the first phase of the 'Fortress' (= Level III); the castle was finally obliterated by the construction of Woolley's Level (III-)II Fortress.¹⁹ These three phases represent about 75 years of history, still not illuminated by any texts (as none is certainly known to derive from a stratified context within those phases). So what do we call this period?

Within the framework of Woolley's periodization, it would be the second half of Level IV. However, at this juncture Woolley's stratigraphic analysis was clearly wrong. Yener and her collaborators therefore propose to call it Period 3 (using Arabic numerals to distinguish the redefined periods from Woolley's levels); the following period, defined by the construction of the big new fortress under Hittite rule, would become Period 2.²⁰ Akar has furthermore suggested that what Woolley defined as Level VB should instead be understood as the first phase of a redefined Level (or Period) 4, the second phase of which would feature the building of the palace, on the following grounds: the 'Level VB' phase of the castle is stratigraphically discontinuous with the preceding Level VA, but shares the ground level of the palace, the building of which represents a modification (not a replacement) of the existing structure (2012: 78-80). This suggestion has been taken up by Yener, who writes as follows: 'Given that the extensive "Palace" and "Castle" complex labeled Level VB by Woolley were still in use in IV when the "Niqme-pa

¹⁶ This research, first presented in Fink 2008, is recapitulated in the context of a broader reanalysis of the Late Bronze Age levels of Alalah in Fink 2010 (Chapters 2-3). By its nature such an inquiry cannot be conclusive, the physical evidence of the excavated temple and pit no longer being available for examination, but Fink's reading of that evidence is more persuasive on both archaeological and historical grounds than Woolley's.

¹⁷ See further below, with n. 34. Fink starts with a valid proposal but magnifies it, and Addu-nirari's imagined career, well beyond what the evidence warrants. Even if it were not now shown to be archaeologically impossible, there would be no basis for attributing the construction of the fortress to this figure who might have been king.

¹⁸ See Woolley 1955: 130, 156, 166, and 395. Notwithstanding his statements in the final report, Woolley had initially observed that the palace, castle, and adjoining structures were destroyed together (Woolley 1939: 5-8; by 'western range' he means rooms of the 'castle' in its Level IV form). Fink (2010: 50-51, 93, 112) argues that the castle (= 'fortress') and palace were destroyed in one event, and so were all other Level IV structures, but his argument depends on raising the end of Woolley's Level IV to c. 1400 in order to insert the building of the Level III-II fortress into his own Level IVB^F, which the newly-excavated phases occupying that very interval show to be an invalid proposition.

¹⁹ Akar 2019: 15-33, with Figs 2.3-2.15. For a summary see Yener 2013: 15-16.

²⁰ See Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 317-318, with Table 13.1; 335-41. The new period definition was previously developed in Akar 2012: 265-66 (§5.4), 275 (Fig. 5.14, illustrating the proposed new periodization), and 300-5 (§7.1).

Palace” wing was built, and given the quite different nature of the stratigraphy being recovered from new excavations beneath the “Palace VB” wing, it is perhaps more natural to consider the entire palace/castle complex VB/IV as a distinct phase, that is, Level 4 in the new phasing’ (Yener 2013: 15).

Thus, the revised periodization would proceed as follows: Period 4 would begin with the rebuilding of the castle that predated the Level IV palace, and that perdured through the palace’s existence; it would end with the destruction of the palace and castle circa 1400 BC. The period between that event and the obliteration of the castle, sometime after Šuppiluliuma’s conquest in the 1330s, would be Period 3. The next period, Period 2, would be defined by the construction of the Hittite fortress and its contemporary in Area 4 – renamed the ‘Northern Fortress’ and the ‘Southern Fortress’ – projects that may have lasted for barely a generation, before being abandoned about 1300 BC.²¹ Period 1 would correspond broadly to Woolley’s Level I, which is divided into three by successive rebuildings of the temple; the reconstruction of residences in the vicinity of the temple and new construction atop the Southern Fortress belong to the early part of this period. Lastly, an early Iron Age reoccupation of Tell Atchana, also noted by Woolley, would constitute Period 0.

Two remarks about nomenclature are in order at this point. First, about the fortress Woolley called Hittite, which Yener *et al.* call the Northern Fortress (or Building 2003-1), Akar writes that the term ‘was selected to avoid identifications with any ethnic or political identity’ (2019: 27). Of all the buildings ever excavated at Tell Atchana, however, this one has the best claim to be identified by the name designating a people, or better a kingdom, considering the designation ‘Hittite’ to have a political referent over and above any putative ethnic one. The current excavation team have not rejected the idea that it was built under Hittite rule. On the contrary they reinforce this attribution, speculating that the Northern Fortress was meant to be ‘the central Hittite administrative complex’ and to make ‘an important statement’ of Hittite domination (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 338). Although Akar obliquely criticizes Woolley’s identification of the building with its builders or sponsors (Akar 2013: 39-40), he affirms it by suggesting that raising the foundation platform on which the fortress was built ‘could intentionally reflect the style of the Hittite overlords’ (Akar 2013: 44). Second, it is not altogether obvious that this building’s southern counterpart merits the designation ‘fortress.’ No explicit argument for calling the structure (Building 2006-2) a fortress is made in the excavators’ discussions of it, although the presence of a possible city wall nearby is observed (Akar 2019: 59-60) as well as finds of weaponry (Yener, Akar, Horowitz 2019: 339). Nevertheless, following the usage chosen for the current excavation project, the designations Northern and Southern Fortress will be employed herein.

ALALAH AND MUKIŠ DURING THE 14TH AND 13TH CENTURIES²²

Turning now to the main purpose, the rest of this article is occupied with examining the relevant textual sources together with the archaeological evidence in order to develop a framework for reconstructing Alalah’s history during the last two centuries of the Bronze Age. It is organized on the template of the revised periodization outlined above, which however may be further revised in future excavation reports. In the present study, therefore, periods of the city’s history will be described primarily by reference to Woolley’s levels or in terms of approximate dates and key events, buildings, or persons.

Two tables compile the principal elements from which the historical framework may be constructed. Table 1 charts archaeological events, phases, and diagnostic finds at Tell Atchana that form the basis for constructing it, and correlates them with textually-attested persons where possible.²³ These data are plotted against the series of

²¹ Cf. however Pucci (2020: 330-31), who interprets the ceramic evidence to indicate that the Southern Fortress continued in use in the early 13th century.

²² The geographical name conventionally rendered Mukiš should perhaps be corrected to Mugiš, in accord with Hurrian phonology, based on the Ugaritic spelling *mgšh* (with the Hurrian gentilic suffix) attested in CAT 2.33 (see below, with n. 90). Absent certainty that the name is originally Hurrian, I have opted to retain the conventional spelling.

²³ Data from the current excavations that are incorporated into Table 1 are mostly to be found in Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019; other sources are cited below. The absolute dates suggested are my own proposal.

levels defined by Woolley on the left, and against a timeline of approximate dates on the right. The approximate dates given herein are predicated on the assumption that the solar omen of Muršili II's 10th regnal year was indeed a solar eclipse, either that of 1312 BC (following Wilhelm 2012) or the less-noticeable eclipse of 1308 BC (following Gautschy 2017).²⁴ The revised periodization developed by Yener's team is given in the second column from the right, with brackets indicating which phases in the new excavations each period or level (numbered with Arabic numerals) would encompass. The time-frame covered by Table 1 includes Levels V-IV, although they fall outside this article's scope, because the redefinition of Period (Level) 4 is interdependent with the definition of a new Period 3; both proceed from reinterpreting the relation between castle and palace.²⁵

Table 2 charts the textual evidence for Alalah's history during these periods. The core territory of the realm ruled from Alalah was Mukiš, and the realm could be referred to, *pars pro toto*, by either name. The two entities must however be distinguished: the land of Mukiš was not equivalent to the realm of Alalah, which in the 15th century encompassed other territories as well.²⁶ Only when the city of Alalah was the seat of government would references to Mukiš as a polity apply to Alalah as its capital. The name Mukiš denoted a town as well as a region, and it is possible that the town of Mukiš (whose location is unknown) sometimes served as the seat of government, instead of Alalah.²⁷ It cannot therefore be assumed that Alalah, the city, is meant when Mukiš, the polity, is mentioned (or vice versa). Nevertheless, the textual evidence for Alalah's history includes texts mentioning Mukiš.

For the 14th -13th centuries, that evidence consists primarily of texts yielding information about Alalah or Mukiš within the larger context of Hittite history. These texts comprise a handful of tablets and other inscribed artifacts found at Alalah itself and a number of tablets found elsewhere in the Hittite empire. The textual evidence thus falls into two categories: 1) Hittite or Hittites in texts found at Alalah, and 2) Alalah or Mukiš in texts issued by Ḫatti, which at present includes texts found at Ḫattusa, Ugarit, and Kayalıpınar. Table 2 lists texts in these categories in chronological order. The two categories include neither all texts found at 14th -13th century Alalah, nor all texts found elsewhere that could potentially be brought to bear on reconstructing Alalah's history during this period; rather, they are delimited by criteria that permit establishing a sound basis for such a reconstruction, without introducing any and every textual record that might conceivably have involved Alalah or Mukiš. Thus Hittite texts that mention Mukiš or Alalah but offer no direct historical information, such as ritual texts, are omitted from Table 2, although they come into consideration in treating Ḫatti's relationships with this region.

More important is to note which texts are absent from category 2 on the criteria that define it: the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75); the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I; Muršili II's Ten-year Annals, as well as his Extensive Annals; Muršili II's treaty with Tuppi-Teššob of Amurru; and (perhaps) Muršili II's disposition of Tuppi-Teššob's dispute

²⁴ The solar omen remains one of many points of debate in the endeavor to establish the absolute chronology and synchronization of Egyptian, Hittite and Mesopotamian history; for the *status quaestionis* see Devecchi and Miller 2011, and now Miller 2017 (with literature there). The schemes Miller devises would each put the dates slightly higher than Wilhelm's, while unmooring the chronology from the identification of a solar eclipse for Mursili's year 10 (Wilhelm : 109-110).

²⁵ With regard to the upper boundary of Period 4, new evidence for the relationship between (Woolley's) Levels V and IV derives from Square 32.57, a sounding in the palace courtyard. There, local Phase 2a, pertaining to Level V, yielded impressions of a seal that was also impressed on a tablet found in the Level IV palace (AIT 419); see von Dassow 2008: 298, and for the newly-found seal impressions see Yener 2007: 175, with Fig. 8. In the same phase were found olive pits dated by C¹⁴ to 1518-1411 BC (Yener 2008: 288), as well as a sherd of a Vapheio cup (to be published by Robert Koehl; information courtesy Mara Horowitz). These three items (sealings, dated olive pits, sherd) are incorporated into Table 1.

²⁶ See von Dassow 2008: 64-67. The distinction between the region of Mukiš and the realm of Alalah has been lost on some readers of the sources, notably Jesse Casana, who misrepresents Michael Astour as arguing for a 'mega-Mukish' (Casana 2009: 26) while overlooking the textual evidence that Alalah's territory included more lands than Mukiš during the period of Level IV. Cf. Cohen 2017: 299, with n. 40.

²⁷ For the Alalah IV tablets that attest the town of Mukiš, see von Dassow 2008: 197-98, 214, and 216-21. The suggestion that the seat of government may have moved from Alalah to Mukiš (von Dassow 2005: 51-52; 2008: 59-62) remains in the realm of hypothesis. It would be tempting to locate the city of Mukiš at Tell Tayinat, just across the ancient Orontes from Tell Atchana, if excavations there were to reveal substantial Late Bronze Age occupation.

with the king of Carchemish, Tudḫaliya, and Ḫalbaḫe (see below, with n. 61). None of these texts mentions Mukiš or Alalaḥ. Nor, incidentally, do Rameses II's reports of the Battle of Qadesh.

From Ilimilimma to Itūr-Addu (ca. 1400-1325 BC)

As described above, after the palace and castle were destroyed during the reign of Ilimilimma, the castle was rebuilt thrice, in Phases 2c, 2b, and 2a, before being replaced by the massive new fortress built under Hittite rule. No texts have yet been found in a secure context within any of those three phases, nor do any texts, of whatever provenance, definitely refer to events that transpired at Alalaḥ within this period, which would have run from roughly 1400 to sometime after Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Mukiš in the 1330s. This period is however bracketed by references in a few documents issued by Ḫatti: CTH 135 mentions events involving Alalaḥ that may have occurred around its start; a Hurrian tablet fragment found at Kayalıpınar (Kp 05/226 = KpT 1.11) recounts events involving Alalaḥ and Mukiš that probably also transpired circa 1400; CTH 45, 46, and 47, all of which were found at Ugarit, mention events that brought this period to a close; so do CTH 49, 51, and 53, each framing the events differently; and CTH 136 belongs toward the end of this period. Two more texts, the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75) and the inscription on the statue of Idrimi, have been adduced to reconstruct the history of this period, although the one yields only circumstantial evidence and the other a problem in search of resolution. In the following subsections all of the aforementioned texts are discussed roughly in the chronological order of the moments to which they or their contents are thought to pertain.²⁸

CTH 135 and the Aleppo Treaty

The destruction of Alalaḥ during Ilimilimma's reign has been attributed to Tudḫaliya I, because the historical prologue to the Aleppo Treaty, concluded by Muwattalli II with Talmi-šarrumma (and extant in a copy drawn up under Muwattalli II), reports that Tudḫaliya razed Aleppo.²⁹ The idea that Tudḫaliya also destroyed Alalaḥ when he attacked Aleppo is not unreasonable, but it is predicated on no direct evidence, and other enemies of Alalaḥ were at hand – notably Tunip, as we shall see presently. Nevertheless, the gravitational force of a suggestion that something was done by a Hittite ruler suffices to attract other sources as if for mutual corroboration. Thus, CTH 135, a fragmentary treaty between Ḫatti and Tunip, has been attributed to Tudḫaliya I, too, though Šuppiluliuma I has been another contender.³⁰ The Hittite king concluded this treaty with Lab'u, who is otherwise unknown, and with the city of Tunip. The treaty's historical prologue narrates a conflict between Alalaḥ and Tunip in which Ilimilimma figures as the aggressor who has taken towns from Tunip in violation of an oath (*māmītu*), probably the very treaty concluded by Ilimilimma's father Niqmepa with Ir-Teššob of Tunip (ALT 2) that was found broken on the floor of the Alalaḥ IV palace.³¹

²⁸ For translations of CTH 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, and 75, with a concordance citing the original sources, editions, and studies, see Beckman 1999; for CTH 49, 51, 53, and 75, as well as CTH 135 and 136, see Devecchi 2015. An edition of CTH 136 is provided by Devecchi 2007, and an edition of CTH 135 by Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, no. 52. CTH 135 may comprise as many as four fragments: KUB 3.16 and 21 plus KBo 19.59 and KBo 28.122. The text of KUB 3.16+21 was first edited by Weidner (1923, no. 10); KBo 19.59 was later joined to KUB 3.16; then del Monte (1985) suggested that KBo 28.122 belonged to this treaty, but with no join, and this fragment is not included by Kitchen and Lawrence (2012).

²⁹ See von Dassow 2008: 61. The numbering of the Tudḫaliyas, long an unsettled element in the sequence of Ḫatti's kings, seems to have been resolved so that the king whose consort was Nikkalmati is Tudḫaliya I, the father of Šuppiluliuma I is Tudḫaliya II, and so on (see Miller 2004: 5-7, with Table 1); however, the second Tudḫaliya may still be labeled III in accord with past practice (see, e.g. Miller 2017: 105-106, Figs 3.03 and 3.04).

³⁰ This treaty has gone backwards in time by stages: Weidner suggested attributing it to Muwattalli II (Weidner 1923: 136, n. 1); Astour confidently assigned it to Šuppiluliuma I (Astour 1969: 391-394); and Klinger (1995), followed by Devecchi (2007: 214) among others, attributes it to Tudḫaliya I.

³¹ See Klinger 1995: 241; von Dassow 2008: 60-62.

One might infer that it was the army of Tunip that destroyed Alalah, since, according to CTH 135, Tunip had a *casus belli*. Instead Tudḫaliya has gotten credit for both the destruction of Alalah and the treaty with Tunip, and as a consequence he is even thought to have annexed the kingdom of Mukiš.³² If however CTH 135 was actually concluded by Šuppiluliuma I, half a century later, it would have quite different ramifications. Jörg Klinger (1995: 239-40) argues for attributing it to Tudḫaliya I on palaeographic and prosopographic grounds: the tablet is written in Middle Hittite script, and it features not only Ilimilimma of Alalah but one Piḫana, who may be identified with a Piḫana who appears in a land grant of Muwatalli I (Tudḫaliya's predecessor). The date range of the Middle Hittite script extends to the early part of Šuppiluliuma's reign, however, and both Piḫana and Ilimilimma appear in the treaty's historical prologue; one would have to assume that the events recounted in the prologue occurred immediately prior to the making of the treaty in order to equate the two moments. Historical prologues to treaties made by Ḫatti could reach rather far back in time, as witness the Aleppo Treaty! Inasmuch as CTH 135 could have been concluded long after the altercation between Alalah and Tunip narrated in its prologue, the case for attributing it to Tudḫaliya I is not secure.³³

Relevant to the question of Tudḫaliya I's role in the region's history are the texts recording rituals attributed to Allaituraḫe of Mukiš and Giziya of Alalah, the extant redactions of which are palaeographically dated to his time (Miller 2004: 506, with n. 924; on Allaituraḫe see now Wilhelm 2020). However, as Miller points out, a number of possible scenarios could account for the presence of these texts in Ḫattusa, as well as for their attribution to particular ritual specialists (Miller 2004: 507-511; see also Miller 2005: 130-31). The historical – as distinct from the cultural – significance of the preservation by Hittite scribes of texts recording rituals attributed to practitioners from Alalah and Mukiš is thus a matter of conjecture.

The statue inscription of Idrimi

It has been suggested – by Woolley first of all – that Addu-nirari, the son and successor of Idrimi who is named in the statue inscription, but who is wholly unattested in the archives of Alalah IV, came to power after the destruction that occurred during the reign of Ilimilimma.³⁴ This would account both for the scribe Šarruwe's explicit credit line, otherwise aberrant in a royal inscription, and for the designation of the otherwise unknown Addu-nirari as heir; whether or not he was really a son or descendant of Idrimi, the inscribed statue would have materialized his claim to the kingship of Alalah. On this hypothesis, his reign could be placed in the period following the destruction of the palace and castle, presumably in this period's first phase (represented by Phase 2c in Square 32.54).

The postulate that Addu-nirari attained the throne of Alalah, and moreover expressed his right to it by commissioning a statue whose inscription commemorated his forebear's campaign against Ḫatti, would stand in interesting tension with the postulate that Tudḫaliya acquired actual control over Mukiš after (putatively) destroying Alalah (see above, with n. 32). There is however no more evidence confirming the attribution of Addu-nirari to the early 14th century than there is for his existence during the late 15th century. A prince of Alalah by this name is attested only in the inscription on Idrimi's statue, about which Weeden observes, 'it seems impossible to integrate this inscription into the context of Alalah IV without writing some kind of historical novel to account for the absence of Addu-Nerari from the documents. I myself prefer the shorter novella that has Addu-Nerari dying or being killed before taking the throne' (Weeden 2019: 140), i.e., as Idrimi's successor in the 15th century.

³² Devecchi 2007: 214. It must be noted that conquest does not automatically imply annexation.

³³ In the edition published by Kitchen and Lawrence (2012, no. 52), Tudḫaliya's name is conjecturally restored in the treaty's first line, no trace of which is visible in the photographs of the fragment (Bo 2632 = KUB 3.16) provided on line on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz. The reader may benefit from critiques of Kitchen and Lawrence (2012), in particular Charpin 2016: 141-48; Lauinger 2016; and von Dassow 2016.

³⁴ See von Dassow 2008: 32-33; Fink 2010: 94-99; and now Lauinger 2019 (esp. 36-38). See also above, with nn. 11-14, 17.

KpT 1.11 (Kp 05/226)

The most tantalizing source pertaining to Alalaḥ's history during this period is a fragment of a Hurrian tablet in Middle Hittite script discovered at Kayalıpınar, the site of Šamuḫa.³⁵ The text, partly composed in the first person, narrates events in the land of Kizzuwatna that involve (an) Alalaḥ(ian), and tells of the missions of two personages named Eḫli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma.³⁶ Together they traveled into the mountains, whence they set out 'with your gift' and took the way down to the sea. Eḫli-Tenu ascended to Mt. Sallurbi, descended to Mukiš, and proceeded to Mittani, while Ilī-Šarruma apparently went to Winuwanda to do something else. The next episode involves other individuals, including a woman named Ammī-lū-šarra, as well as the god Teššob and the entire pantheon; the narrator, now speaking in the first person, relates that he gave [x], does not give [y] as a burnt-offering, and does not offer [z] to the gods, in a passage that mentions a Hittite.³⁷

Would that we could learn who Eḫli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma were, who the narrator was, and to whom this tale is addressed! But it is not even clear to what genre this unique text may belong. Gernot Wilhelm suggests that it is either a detailed letter or an annalistic narrative, and now inclines toward the former (2006: 233; 2019: 199). The hypothesis that it is a letter would account for the first-person narrator, as well as the second-person reference ('your gift'); but to whom would it have been addressed, and why in Hurrian, given that it was found at Šamuḫa? Prayer is another genre that features both third-person and first-person narration, as well as second-person address, and the mention of offering (or not) to the gods could suggest a prayer. Epic poetry is another possibility, as is historical narrative, which could of course be incorporated into texts of many genres.

And what about the date of the text and the events it relates? Wilhelm initially preferred an attribution to Tudḫaliya I, on the grounds that it was this king who joined Kizzuwatna to Ḫatti and that his campaign to Aleppo had to have affected Alalaḥ and Mukiš, while acknowledging the possibility of a later attribution, even as late as the early reign of Šuppiluliuma I (Wilhelm 2006: 236). Rieken observes that the text's sign forms indicate a date toward the end of the Middle Hittite period (Rieken 2009: 130); furthermore, in exploring the significance of its presence at Kayalıpınar, she remarks that the city of Šamuḫa "served Tudḫaliya II/III as a place of refuge after the destruction of Hattuša and simultaneously the prince Šuppiluliuma as the starting point for a campaign in the south of the realm" (Rieken 2009: 133). Wilhelm has meanwhile strengthened the argument from Tudḫaliya II's association with Šamuḫa. Hurrian did not become widespread in Ḫatti until his time, he observes, and attributing KpT 1.11 to Tudḫaliya II would fit with the report of this king's campaign to Mt. Nanni (= Anticassius) in a fragment of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (Wilhelm 2012: 231-32; 2015: 73). Furthermore, another of the Hurrian texts found at Kayalıpınar (KpT 1.32) involves Tašmešarri, who is securely identified with Tudḫaliya II (Wilhelm 2019: 197).

As matters stand (if only the other half of the tablet would turn up!), it is not possible to tell just what the protagonists of the narrative were doing that brought one of them to Mukiš, and when they were doing it. Together, however, the findspot, script, language, and content of KpT 1.11 are highly suggestive of its historical context. Bearing in mind that the tablet necessarily postdates the events narrated – perhaps considerably – these elements combine to indicate that the tablet itself pertains to the reign of Tudḫaliya II in the mid-14th century, while the narrative relates events in the time of Tudḫaliya I, toward 1400.

³⁵ Kp 05/226, first described in Wilhelm 2006, was then presented in transliteration and translation (unfortunately without annotation) by Wilhelm *apud* Rieken 2009: 130-33; the text is now published as KpT 1.11 (with minimal annotation) in Wilhelm 2019. In what follows I draw upon the interim results of a collaboration with Sebastian Fischer in the study of this text.

³⁶ Alalaḥ is written without a determinative, while Mukiš (like Kizzuwatna) is written with the URU (city) determinative, and both toponyms are provided with the derivational suffix *-ḡe* (spelled *-hi*). Thus the first may be a gentilic ('Alalaḥian') while the second denotes the region of (the city) Mukiš. Cf. Wilhelm 2015: 73, where he reads ^{URU}Mukišhe as if it stood for Alalaḥ.

³⁷ The gentilic appears in l. 33', where ^{URU}Ha-ad-du<-ḫu>-u-uh-ḫa-al-la is spelled with an erroneous extra writing of the suffix *-ḡ(e)* before the essive case marker, and it carries the 3pl. enclitic *-lla*; read thus Ḫatt(i)=o=ḫh(e)=a=lla, in which neither the Hittite (in the essive) nor the 3pl. enclitic pronoun (in the absolute) can be the subject.

Documents from the time of Šuppiluliuma I

The remaining texts listed above pertain to the transition to Hittite rule, at the end of the period under discussion. CTH 136 is a fragment of a treaty between Hatti and Mukiš that was probably concluded under Šuppiluliuma, at a certain moment in the course of the Hittite conquest of northern Syria.³⁸ At what moment, other evidence may enable us to say, although none of this treaty's historical prologue is preserved, nor is the name of the ruler of Mukiš with whom it was concluded. He might have been Itūr-Addu, who is named in the historical prologue to CTH 46, Šuppiluliuma's edict granting terms to Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit.³⁹

According to CTH 46, Niqmaddu appealed to Ḫatti when his kingdom was attacked by a coalition comprising Itūr-Addu, king of Mukiš, Addu-nirari, king of Nuḫašše, and Agi-Teššob, king of Niya; furthermore, the text relates that Niqmaddu came to Alalaḫ to submit to Šuppiluliuma, and Ištar of Alalaḫ was among the divine witnesses to the document. This text is complemented by CTH 45, Šuppiluliuma's letter to Niqmaddu urging him not to join Mukiš and Nuḫašše in opposition to Ḫatti, but to submit to Ḫatti (as Niqmaddu then does), and by CTH 47, Šuppiluliuma's edict specifying Ugarit's tribute to Ḫatti, which has a historical prologue that recapitulates the story about Mukiš and Nuḫašše pressuring Ugarit to join in hostilities against Ḫatti. Meanwhile, the members of the coalition resisting Hittite conquest appear in separate episodes in the historical prologue of CTH 51, Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Šattiwaza of Mittani, which narrates Šuppiluliuma's (so-called) 'One-year Campaign.' The pertinent passage of this text first reports Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Aleppo and Mukiš, without naming their rulers; then the narrative turns to Niya, whose king Taguwe came to the land of Mukiš to submit to Šuppiluliuma, but Taguwe's brother Agi-Teššob united Niya against him and brought Agiya, king of Araḫati, into alliance against Ḫatti, whereupon Šuppiluliuma defeated Agi-Teššob and Araḫati, and conquered Qatna, too; then the text relates his invasion of Nuḫašše, which he captured, and whose king Šarrupše he replaced – with no mention of Addu-nirari. Finally, two other treaties concluded by Šuppiluliuma, CTH 49 (with Aziru of Amurru) and CTH 53 (with Tette of Nuḫašše), mention Mukiš as one of several once and potential future enemies of Ḫatti.

Clearly each of these texts selects different elements of a complex multi-stage drama for the narrative it presents, so that they do not tell the same story about the same course of events (and it would violate sound interpretive method to make them do so).⁴⁰ Wilhelm analyzes the diverse accounts, adducing the evidence of the letters recently discovered at Qatna as well as the relevant Amarna letters, and reconstructs the following sequence of episodes. In his 'One-year Campaign,' the narrative of which incorporates later events, Šuppiluliuma conquered Ḫalab and Mukiš (as related in CTH 51); at this time he concluded treaties with several kingdoms formerly subject to Mittani, including Mukiš (represented by CTH 136), Niya, Nuḫašše, and Qatna; subsequently, several of the newly-subjected kingdoms rebelled against Hittite rule, in particular Mukiš, Nuḫašše, and Niya, the coalition that attacked Ugarit (as related in CTH 46).⁴¹ The moment when Itūr-Addu, Addu-nirari, and Agi-Teššob were all kings of their respective realms and combined to oppose Ḫatti can be roughly fixed to the years following Šuppiluliuma's initial conquest of Mukiš, thus sometime in the 1330s.

³⁸ Devecchi (2007) has demonstrated that CTH 136 should be identified as a treaty with Mukiš and attributed to Šuppiluliuma I; further, she argues for dating it to the moment after he subjected Aleppo and Mukiš, as narrated in CTH 51.

³⁹ Following Devecchi 2012, CTH 46 is classified as an edict rather than a treaty, along with CTH 47 and 65. Her arguments proceed along several lines: first, these three tablets take the same form as Hittite royal land grants; second, unlike treaties, they lack mention of an oath sworn by the subjected party; moreover, they were found in the latter's archives, while Hittite treaties are known mainly from copies kept in the sovereign's archives. *Pace* Singer (2017: 615, n. 2), who suggests that the name of the king of Mukiš should be read in Hurrian (GUR-Teššob), I retain the reading Itūr-Addu because the names of his known predecessors as rulers of Alalaḫ are Semitic.

⁴⁰ The historiographic approach that attempts to make all sources tell pieces of the same story (which can then be assembled from the pieces) is exemplified by Astour 1969. For recent points of entry into the secondary literature that has proliferated around the sources pertaining to the time of Šuppiluliuma I and Mursili II, see Miller 2008 and Wilhelm 2012.

⁴¹ Wilhelm 2012: 237-40 and 2015: 74, wherein he explains how the compositional strategy of the prologue to Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Šattiwaza relates to the objectives of this text. Violetta Cordani (2011) has offered a different analysis that plots the events of Šuppiluliuma's 'One-year Campaign' over the course of five years.

While the precise details are elusive, it is certain that the kingdom of Mukiš played a key role in Hatti's subjugation of Syria, that it was one of the first dominoes to fall, and that the city of Alalah was the stage for effecting at least some parties' submission to Hatti.⁴² Alalah was where Niqmaddu of Ugarit went to submit; it was probably where Taguwe of Niya went, too, when he went to Mukiš at an earlier stage; and presumably it was there that the ruler of Mukiš, whether Itūr-Addu or a predecessor, submitted to Šuppiluliuma. The same occasion could also have involved the submission of other parties – such as Tunip, enemy of Alalah and likely a voluntary Hittite vassal, which features in no extant narrative of the Hittite conquest. If the edict by which Šuppiluliuma bound Niqmaddu (CTH 46) was issued at Alalah, that accounts for the presence of Ištar of Alalah among the divine witnesses to the document. This consideration, however, highlights the absence from the finds at Alalah of any documentary trace of Mukiš's treaty with Hatti: CTH 136 was found at Boğazköy.

The textual evidence discussed above hardly permits any concrete inferences about the history of Mukiš or Alalah between the destruction of Alalah's citadel during Ilmilimma's reign and Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Mukiš seven decades later. It is certain that Alalah and Tunip were in conflict at the start of that interval, it appears that conflicts involving Mukiš involved Hatti, and it is possible that Tudḫaliya I was the destroyer of Alalah. Elena Devecchi concludes that Tudḫaliya I subjugated the kingdom of Mukiš, based on a) the fact that Kizzuwatna became a subject of Hatti during his reign (CTH 41 and 131), b) the Aleppo Treaty's report of his conquest of Aleppo, and c) Šuppiluliuma's statement in his letter to Niqmaddu of Ugarit (CTH 45) that the kings of Nuḫašše and Mukiš 'renounced the peace treaty with Hatti,' which Devecchi argues should refer to treaties that had been concluded under Tudḫaliya I.⁴³ According to the reconstruction outlined above, however, the treaties the kings of Mukiš and Nuḫašše rejected would have been imposed by Šuppiluliuma (assuming that the letter refers not to treaties offered but to treaties actually concluded). The validity of extrapolating from Aleppo to Alalah (or to Mukiš) may be questioned, and other indications that Tudḫaliya I campaigned in the Amuq are uncertain. Thus the textual evidence does not suffice for inferring the effective implantation of Hittite rule over Mukiš during the early-to-mid-14th century. Moreover, Hittite domination is not in evidence in the archaeological remains of this period at Alalah.

Until – perhaps – its last phase. A group of thirteen tablets attests the presence of Hittite administration and may derive from the last rebuilding of the castle (Phase 2a in Square 32.54). These thirteen tablets, ALT 309-318 plus three fragments recently identified by Christian Niedorf, each record the distribution of barley in a given month, following a common template and starting with the same two entries: barley (ŠE) is allocated to 'the gods' and to a man with the Hittite name Tarḫuziti.⁴⁴ The recipients recorded thereafter include, variously, the goddess Ḫebat, the carpenters, the *maryannū* (note the Akkadian rather than the Hurrian plural), the men of certain towns, a man named Piruwe, other named individuals, and an unnamed 'man of Hatti.' Each tablet concludes by totaling up the allocations as (x) measures of beer – or was it wine, since that is what KAŠ often signifies in Syria, and besides, the goddess Ḫebat required wine from Mukiš in the following century.⁴⁵ The months given in the

⁴² N.B.: CTH 51 does not specify Alalah. Wilhelm (2015: 73) again reads (the land of) Mukiš as (the city of) Alalah here, which may be correct but is not what the text says. Probable as it may be that Šuppiluliuma established a 'temporary residence' at Alalah (loc. cit.), or 'set up his headquarters in Mukiš' as Singer writes (2017: 615), these statements read information into the record rather than interpreting it.

⁴³ Devecchi 2007: 211-214. To support the proposal that Tudḫaliya I imposed a vassal treaty on Mukiš, she adduces a treaty with Aštata represented by fragments joined as KBo 50.134 (catalogued under CTH 212), as well as CTH 135 (on the assumption that this treaty with Tunip is to be attributed to Tudḫaliya). See also Devecchi 2013: 81-83.

⁴⁴ The texts of ALT 309-318 (only catalogued in Wiseman 1953) are given in transliteration in Wiseman 1959; for copies, see Wiseman 1953, pl. 33 (ALT 309) and Wiseman 1954: 25-26. The three uncatalogued texts added by Niedorf (2008: 95-96) are nos. 433.11-13 in his numbering system. Photos of several tablets in this group are now on line in the Alalach-Archiv hosted by the Hethitologie Portal: <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/Alalach/alalarch.php>

⁴⁵ Ḫebat's wine order appears in the report of a dream of Queen Puduḫepa, on which see most recently Singer 2017: 622. Niedorf (2008) adduces this text in arguing for taking KAŠ to signify wine, not beer, in the group of tablets under discussion, which he describes as 'wine-delivery lists.' This would be consistent with usage of KAŠ at Alalah but out of accord with disbursals of ŠE. See also von Dassow 2015: 179, with n. 11.

headings are designated by the logograms for Babylonian month names, rather than by the Hurrian month names they had borne during Level IV at Alalah, and the measure used is the *silā₃*, not the *parīsu* measure as before.

The change in calendrical and metrological systems indicates a change in administration, and the appearance of Hittites indicates its political affiliation. All these tablets, ‘written by the same rough hand’ as Wiseman put it (1953: 92), clearly derive from the same dossier although they were not all found in one spot. Several of them were found together in Woolley’s Square T8, within the area of the Hittite fortress but in a spot where he identified an addition to the Level IV palace (hence the tablets were attributed to Level IV); others, evidently having been scattered from their original location, came from diverse findspots that he identified (generally) as Level III or II.⁴⁶ The data are inadequate to determine the stratigraphic position of the tablets’ findspots, much less their original location, but taken together the findspots’ very stratigraphic indeterminacy – Woolley’s Level III or IV? – suggests that they may belong to the last phase of the castle before it was replaced by the Northern Fortress.

None of the texts issued by Ḫatti under Šuppiluliuma mentions what he may have done at the city of Alalah, other than accept Niqmaddu’s submission there. In particular, he does not mention destroying it – and if the battles in which Mukiš was defeated were fought elsewhere, there is no reason he should have done so – nor does he (in any extant passage) mention fortifying it or installing a ruler or anything. Fortifying Alalah is another thing Šuppiluliuma would have had no reason to do upon subjugating the kingdom of Mukiš, unless he had installed a Hittite prince to replace the local leadership, which no evidence suggests he did. At most, based on CTH 136, it may be supposed that Šuppiluliuma imposed the treaty with Mukiš on a local ruler (as in all his other vassal treaties), whose government could have hosted Hittite officials to maintain and implement Hittite dominion. Any Hittite official posted at Alalah – like Tarḫuziti – would probably have brought his own scribe, whose activity could have materialized Hittite administration in the production of written records like ALT 309-318. Thus the fortress was most likely built not upon Šuppiluliuma’s conquest but under the rule of his successor, Muršili II (see below, with n. 65).

The implantation of direct Hittite rule (ca. 1325-1300 BC)

The next period is defined by the construction of the Northern Fortress (Woolley’s Hittite Fortress), located in Area 1 of the current excavations (see Fig. 4), and the newly-discovered Southern Fortress, located in Area 4 (see Fig. 5 and above, with n. 8). One may therefore call it the Fortress period. The contemporaneity of the two buildings is apparent from similarities in construction methods and material culture. Woolley considered the Hittite fortress to have been built in Level III and rebuilt in Level II, but the lack of clear and consistent delineation of Level III, alongside the continuity into Level II of the structure that defines it, suggests that his Level III may have been a phantom stratum combining elements that should be differentiated between the period of Hittite rule and the preceding period.⁴⁷ While the re-excavation of the Northern Fortress has produced new evidence for its construction, as well as clarifying its stratigraphic relationship with the castle it replaced, it has not yielded diagnostic material attesting who built the fortress and when. The excavation of the Southern Fortress, however, has. Among the finds in this building are pottery typical of Hittite Anatolia, a drainage installation similar to those found at Ḫattuša, and a Hittite shaft-hole axe found in topsoil but perhaps originating from the Southern Fortress, phase 2.⁴⁸

Almost no tablets or other inscriptions have yet been found in stratified contexts in either the Northern or Southern Fortress, or elsewhere in loci clearly belonging to this period. About ten tablets and fragments found during Woolley’s excavations are likely to derive from the Fortress period, based on the find contexts reported

⁴⁶ See von Dassow 2005: 29-30 with n. 66-67 and Chart B for the findspots of these tablets as recorded during the excavations and subsequently in print.

⁴⁷ See the re-analyses of Akar 2012: 78-80, 152-53; 2013: 42; and Akar 2019: 16, 27-29.

⁴⁸ See Akar 2013: 45-46; Akar 2019: 60-63 (with illustrations of the drain pipe, Fig. 2.39); Yener 2011 (for the shaft-hole axe); and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (eds) 2019: 320 (pottery), 339 (axe).

on their field cards.⁴⁹ In addition, one of the four tablet fragments found in 2003 came from a context assigned to this period, but it could well originate from an earlier one; barely four signs are preserved, not enough for interpretation.⁵⁰ More recently two tiny fragments of lexical tablets have been found, one apiece in the 2011 and 2015 excavation seasons, but each was found in secondary context and it is likely that, together with other lexical material found in later contexts, they originate from Level IV (see below, with n. 54). Among the seals and impressions of seals inscribed in Anatolian hieroglyphs that were found during Woolley's excavations, at least one was found in a Level II context.⁵¹ A few seals or sealings with Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found in the new excavations, but none so far in a late-14th century context.⁵² The most significant such find is the impression of a seal belonging to the prince Tudhaliya and his wife Asnu-Hepa, who probably arrived at Alalah during this period, but the sealing was found in what appears to be a Level I context (see below, with n. 59).

In the following paragraphs I describe the texts that derive from (or have been attributed to) contexts within the period of Hittite rule, some of which may pertain to the Fortress period (Woolley's Level II, now Period 2).

Tablets of miscellaneous contents

Fragments of a Hittite oracle tablet, AIT 454 (excavation no. ATT 46/2a-c), were found in rubble fill 'under found[ation] of a wall of Level I phase A' of the temple (quoting the field card), thus in Level II. Woolley assigned the tablet to Level III on the grounds that 'it comes from a burnt building, and the Level II temple in which it was found had not been burnt' (1955: 78), as the Level III temple was. Since it was found in fill, it could have originated from a context other than the temple (cf. Fink 2010: 52, with n. 33); its findspot in any case predates the 13th century. Another fragment bearing the excavation number ATT/47/26 and described on the field card as a 'Hittite omen text' (apparently not catalogued or published) was recorded as found in Level III, Square S13, which would be in the area of the Northern Fortress. Most likely this fragment and its fellow Hittite oracle tablet share the same original storage location, whichever building it was, dating to the late 14th century. The palaeography of AIT 454, however, dates to the late 13th century (Singer 2017: 624, with n. 6). Unless one supposes that the tablet's findspot was incorrectly recorded, the palaeographic and archaeological data flatly contradict each other.

A fragment of a legal document, AIT 105 (excavation number ATT 38/1), was found in 'Palace site, level 2', and a few more tablets or fragments known only by their excavation numbers are recorded from similarly indistinct

⁴⁹ See von Dassow 2005: 30, with Chart B and Appendix I (pp. 19-20, 52-57), on these tablets and their findspots, as well as the dissociation of excavation numbers from tablets found during Woolley's excavations at Tell Atchana. The field cards for the tablets, from which I quote below, are held in the British Museum; I repeat my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study the excavation cards, and to Christopher Walker, formerly Deputy Keeper in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, for photocopying them on my behalf in 2002. Transcriptions of the field cards for objects with ATT numbers (tablets, envelopes, and sealings) from the 1939, 1947, and 1948 seasons are published in Lauinger 2011, Appendix 1.

⁵⁰ This fragment is A03-R1600, found in Phase 2 of Area 1, Square 32.53; it is one of four found in 2003 and published by Lauinger (2005; 2010). Of the others, one was found in an area of modern deposition and two, including the HĀR-ra/*hubullu* fragment (A03-R1001+A03-R1139, discussed below), were found in topsoil (Lauinger 2010: 86-87).

⁵¹ See Woolley 1955: 266-67, with Pl. 47, for a list of these seals (nos. 153-64), contributed by R. D. Barnett. One sealing (AT/37/101) is recorded as 'from the main street, Level II' on its field card; Barnett's reading of the legend as CHIEFTAIN-*qa-nu-ha-pa* should be corrected to *tara/i-pari-nu-ha/e-pa* according to Dinçol and Peker 2019: 86. A seal inscribed *A-wa-taš* (AT/38/135) that was recorded as 'from palace site, above destruction level of palace, Level III, Sq. S 12; could belong to Period 2 (rather than 3). Other seals with Anatolian hieroglyphs derive either from other levels or from unstratified contexts.

⁵² Lauinger (2005) lists three stamp seals with Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions found in 2003. Two of these (A03-R1115 and A03-R1207) are described under the rubric 'Middle Bronze Age Glyptic' by Collon (2010: 91-92), and the third (A03-R1534) does not appear in the volume reporting on the 2003-2004 excavation seasons (unless the number is an error for A03-R1554, listed as 'unclassified,' Lauinger 2005: 90).

find contexts in Level II.⁵³ One administrative record listing objects in Hurrian (AIT 440), found in 1937, was assigned to Level I/II but most likely derives from the Level IV archives.

Lexical tablets

Two fragments of the lexical series *ḪAR-ra/hubullu* (AIT 445 and 446) were found in the first year of Woolley's excavations and assigned to Level I/II, while a third (AIT 447, excavation number ATT 47/25), found a decade later, was assigned to Level III (see von Dassow 2005: 30, with Chart B). Only for the third was a findspot recorded: Square U12 'in Level II Fort room with store jars but probably below the floor level' (as recorded on the field card; see also Woolley 1955: 168). Thus it was found while excavating the Hittite Fortress, but in a context now understood to belong to the last rebuilding of the castle during the preceding period.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, in 2003 the new excavations turned up another *ḪAR-ra/hubullu* fragment (joined of two pieces) near the surface of the tell (published in Lauinger 2005; also 2010). All these lexical fragments likely originated from the same period, and perhaps even from one and the same recension of the lexical series, as observed by Jacob Lauinger (2010: 85-86). The period is indicated by the findspot of AIT 447. On the basis of its findspot, Lauinger argues that AIT 447 was part of the rubble fill used in constructing the fortress, and therefore originates from the preceding Level IV, along with the other *ḪAR-ra/hubullu* fragments that got dispersed toward the surface. This is plausible, since the tablet corpus of Alalah IV attests a context for making use of lexical lists while the scattered cuneiform finds of later periods do not. If Lauinger's hypothesis is right, these pieces of *ḪAR-ra/hubullu* likely belong to the period of the Level IV palace, not a later period, notwithstanding the near-surface location of most of the extant fragments.

The same argument may be extrapolated to two fragments from other lexical series that were found more recently. One, AT 13062, preserves a segment of tablet I of Diri, and the other, AT 22997, preserves a segment of Syllabary A (S^a); both fragments are published in von Dassow 2017. The first was found just below topsoil in Area 2, Square 44.96, in the southeastern part of the site, during the 2011 excavation season; the second was found in Area 1, Square 42.06, south of the temple of Ishtar, during the 2015 season.⁵⁵ These isolated pieces likely share the same original context as the pieces of *ḪAR-ra/hubullu*, and together this lexical material more likely attests scribal training during the late 15th than the late 14th century.

Hittite correspondence

Three letters in Hittite must derive from the period of Hittite dominion, but their findspots are either unknown or unstratified. Depending on the identification and date of the correspondents, they may belong to the Fortress period or the following period.

AIT 125, a letter from the king (of Carchemish) to Pirwanna concerning a delivery of poultry, was found 'above the ruins of the town wall'; the findspot of AIT 124, the fragment of a letter from Armaziti to Šarr[u- ...],

⁵³ These are ATT 38/3, a group of tablet fragments whose findspot is recorded as 'Palace area, level 2, square R8'; ATT 38/26, a tablet recorded as found in 'Palace area, Level 2, Square T11'; and ATT 47/24, a fragment whose findspot is recorded only as 'Level II', which I have been unable to identify with any published tablet although the field card reports both its measurements and some of its contents (von Dassow 2005: 30, with n. 70; Lauinger 2011: 43). Regarding AIT 105, while recognizing that it was recorded as found in Level II, Niedorf (2008: 128-29) includes this tablet (his no. 352.7) in the Alalah IV corpus, and he may be right to do so.

⁵⁴ See Akar 2019: 33 and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 326, with Fig. 13.4, a plan illustrating Woolley's 'cellars' (containing the storage jars) in relation to the 'serai gate' and castle, Phase 2a. Note however that their reference to a 'Hittite' lexical text fragment is erroneous, and they have ignored Lauinger's attribution of all the *ḪAR-ra/hubullu* fragments to Level IV.

⁵⁵ Information about the findspot of AT 13062 was kindly provided by Mara Horowitz (e-mail, 29 October 2012), and information about the findspot of AT 22997 by Aslihan Yener (e-mail messages of 5, 6, and 8 August 2015).

was lost en route from excavation to publication.⁵⁶ The contents of neither letter (so far as preserved) are historically informative, and none of the named correspondents can be identified with certainty. Armaziti may however be the Hittite prince (DUMU.LUGAL) of that name, known from the archives of Hattusa and Ugarit, who was active during the mid-13th century (see d'Alfonso 2005: 66-67; Lebrun 2014: 48-76); meanwhile Pirwanni may perhaps be identified with Pirianni of the recently-found Tell Afis tablets, also of the 13th century (see below, with nn. 84-86). A fragment of a third letter, sent by the king of Hatti to one Tudhaliya, was identified in the Hatay Archaeological Museum and numbered ATT 35.⁵⁷ What survives of the text is little more than the address on the obverse, '[Thus] His Majesty; [to T]udhaliya, [spe]ak' (with scant traces of the next two lines), and the remains of a second letter appended on the reverse, in which the correspondent requests that his brother (i.e., peer or colleague) write to him once in a while.

Small as it is, and deprived of archaeological context, this last fragment bears the only text that helps anchor the Fortress period in historical context. The addressee is no doubt Tudhaliya the prince, whose inscribed relief was found re-used as a paving-stone in the steps of the Level IB temple.⁵⁸ On the relief he is portrayed together with his wife, who can now be identified by name as Asnu-Ḫepa, based on the sealing AT 20414 recently found in Square 42.10; this square was opened to test the stratigraphy of Woolley's temple sounding nearby.⁵⁹ The seal names Asnu-Ḫepa the princess and Tudhaliya the prince, and so does the inscription on the relief. The latter inscription also gives a title for Tudhaliya that has previously been read as MAGNUS.AURIGA, 'chief charioteer'; based on reexamination of the relief, Yener, Dinçol, and Peker (2014) propose the reading MAGNUS.SACERDOS, 'great priest,' instead. Tudhaliya's wife Asnu-Ḫepa is also attested as the author of a postscript to the queen appended to the fragmentary letter KBo 18.12, which, the same authors propose, must have been a letter from Tudhaliya to the king of Hatti.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, Devecchi (2010: 15-17) has observed that the Tudhaliya of the relief may be identified with the Tudhaliya GAL LÚKUŠ₇, 'chief of the charioteers,' who was one of the human witnesses to the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75, discussed above). If the title in hieroglyphic Luwian on the relief were MAGNUS.AURIGA, it would be equivalent to the title GAL LÚKUŠ₇ in cuneiform Hittite, but the titles need not be the same for Tudhaliya to be the same man, holding different roles in different contexts. Devecchi shows that the human witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty must have been persons present at the issuance of the original document by Muršili II, rather than at the making of the copy under Muwattalli II (2010: 8-12). Accordingly, the Tudhaliya attested by a letter fragment, sealing, and relief at Alalah would have entered into office during the reign of Muršili II, in the late 14th century.

Two other possible attestations of the same Tudhaliya have been identified. The first occurs in CTH 63 (Beckman 1999, no. 30), a tablet recording Muršili's disposition of two disputes involving parties in northern

⁵⁶ Both letters have been reedited by Hagenbuchner (1989), AIT 124 as no. 330 and AIT 125 as no. 298. AIT 125 and ATT 35 (see next note) are now also included in Hoffner 2009 (nos. 125 and 126). In 2008, I collated AIT 124 at the British Museum; collation did not result in improved readings, except for the observation that the third sign in l. 4 is not NAGAR (carpenter) but probably ŠU(!), thus UN.MEŠ-šu!-uš-mu-ká[n ...]. I thank Daniel Schwemer for Hittitological assistance on that occasion, including the suggestion that the sender's name, written ¹MI-LÚ, be read Armaziti. See now Lebrun 2014: 64; but disregard her erroneous proposal that AIT 124 belongs among the 15th-century Alalah tablets.

⁵⁷ This fragment was published by Niedorf (2002), who numbers it H4 (presumably ATT 35 is an accession number assigned by the museum, but he does not make this clear). Niedorf states that seven Hittite texts altogether had been found in Alalah: H1 = AIT 124; H2 = AIT 125; H3 = AIT 454; H4 = ATT 35; and three more unpublished fragments of Hittite tablets, H5-7, which he mentions without giving further information (Niedorf 2002: 518, n. 3). These fragments are in the British Museum, according to the concordance in Niedorf 2008: 439.

⁵⁸ For the relief and its findspot, see Woolley 1955: 86, 398, with Pl. XLVIII. Woolley thought the relief portrayed the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV, and moreover associated it with the treaty concluded by Hattusili III with Rameses II. For the identification of the addressee of the letter fragment with the Tudhaliya portrayed on the relief, as well as other possible attestations of the same person, see Niedorf 2002: 521-23. For the data assembled here, see also Fink 2010: 53-55.

⁵⁹ On this sealing, which was found in July 2014, and its archaeological context, see Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014. For a photograph of the sealing, see Yener 2017: 216, with Fig. 5;

⁶⁰ Yener 2017: 137. On postscripts (or 'piggy-back letters') in Hittite correspondence, see Weeden 2014: 48-49; he lists KBo 18.12 under correspondence from vassal to queen (61).

Syria, one between the rulers of Nuḫašše and Barga and the other pitting Tuppi-Teššob of Amurru against three parties: the king of Carchemish, Tudḫaliya of [...], and Ḫalbaḫe ('the Aleppine'). It has been suggested that this Tudḫaliya was the Hittite prince posted at Alalaḫ (see Niedorf 2002: 521, with references there). According to Jared Miller, however, who reexamined the tablet upon identifying an additional fragment of it, the traces of the toponym indicating what town or land Tudḫaliya governed exclude the restoration of either the name Alalaḫ or Mukiš.⁶¹ He could still be the same Tudḫaliya, who could have been posted at two different places in succession, as Devecchi points out in discussing this and the second possible attestation: the fragmentary letter KBo 9.83, addressed to the king of Ḫatti by Tudḫaliya.⁶² This letter concerns Gaduman (Qadume), a town located near Aleppo that belonged to Alalaḫ's realm during the period of the Level IV palace, and that, alongside Mukiš, marked the southwestern frontier of the territory of Carchemish according to the surviving fragment of Šuppiluliuma I's treaty with Šarri-Kušuḫ (CTH 50).⁶³ Thus the sender may well be identical to the Hittite governor of Alalaḫ during the Fortress period. Finally, Lorenzo d'Alfonso (2011: 167) supports identifying the Tudḫaliya of CTH 63 with the Tudḫaliya posted at Alalaḫ, considering it unlikely that two different Hittite officials bearing the same name exercised power simultaneously in northern Syria, and he suggests restoring the lost toponym as KUR^{UR}[^Umu-kiš-s']a. Inasmuch as it entails positing an otherwise unattested "Hittitized" form of the name Mukiš, this proposed restoration can bear little weight. Nevertheless it is probably one and the same Tudḫaliya whom these various texts attest.

The appointment of a Hittite prince at Alalaḫ, displacing the local dynasty, represents the Hittite annexation of Mukiš. So does the construction of the Northern and Southern Fortresses. We do not have the data to determine exactly when Tudḫaliya was installed at Alalaḫ, or whether he was the first Hittite appointee to rule there; the circumstantial evidence discussed above suffices only to indicate that he was probably appointed by Muršili II.⁶⁴ Likewise, no direct evidence indicates exactly when the fortress construction took place, but this too should probably be attributed to Muršili (see also above). The construction of fortresses in subjugated territories is attested for Muršili, as it is not for Šuppiluliuma: according to his Extensive Annals, in his fourth year Muršili rebuilt and fortified several towns in the land of Mira; in his seventh year he did the like on the Kaška frontier; and in his ninth year he built a fortress in Aštata.⁶⁵

Only two documents issued by Muršili II feature Mukiš, and Alalaḫ is mentioned in only one of them. CTH 64 (Beckman 1999, no. 31A), found at Ugarit, is Muršili II's edict confirming Ugarit's possession of towns claimed by Mukiš and fixing the frontier between the two realms. According to this document, the people of Mukiš (evi-

⁶¹ The toponym occurs in col. ii: 52; and Miller suggests it may have been [Aštata]a; see Miller 2007: 123-28 (edition of the joined text), 131-32 (note on ii: 52'), and 137, n. 40. He also observes that it cannot be restored as Ugarit – as suggested by Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014: 138 – because this toponym is too long for the break. Besides, Ugarit was not under the rule of a Hittite governor.

⁶² See Devecchi 2010: 16, with n. 59; cf. Singer 2017: 618-19, who supposes that Miller's reading excludes identifying the Tudḫaliya of CTH 63 with the one attested at Alalaḫ. KBo 9.83 contains a double letter, the main letter from Tudḫaliya to His Majesty, plus a letter of greeting between peers appended on the reverse (like ATT 35); the text is divided by Hagenbuchner (1989) into nos. 34 and 118. For a recent discussion and translation of the entire text, see Marizza 2009: 157-158 (no. 94).

⁶³ On Gaduman (Qadume) see Niedorf 2002: 522; von Dassow 2008: 66-67, with n. 166 (and index of place names, s.v. Katume [or Qadume], p. 574); and Marizza 2009: 157. The text of CTH 50 (KUB 19.27) was published almost a century ago by Emil Forrer (1926: 48-50) and has not been reedited since; it is not treated in Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, who merely record it in Excursus II as no. 59. See now Devecchi 2015: 238, for a summary. CTH 50 is also discussed in connection with KBo 9.83 by Singer (2017: 616, 619-20).

⁶⁴ It is worth noting that neither Tudḫaliya nor the two later Hittite princes attested at Alalaḫ, Palluwe and Šugur-Teššob (on whom see below, with nn. 71 and 83), is identified by a title relating to Alalaḫ or Mukiš. Singer (2017: 621) doubts whether Palluwe, whom he is inclined to identify with his namesake at Emar, was posted at Alalaḫ at all.

⁶⁵ These episodes appear respectively in KUB 14.15, col. iv: 33-45; KUB 19.30, col. i: 14-15; and KBo 4.4 col. ii: 61-62 (see Goetze 1933: 72-73, 92-93, and 120-121), which are Tablets II, III, and IV in the translation of the Extensive Annals ('Annali completi') given by del Monte (1993: 73-131). The suggestion of Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (2019: 337) that a vassal of Šuppiluliuma may have built the massive Northern Fortress (a 'symbolic representation of Hittite hegemony,' p. 338) flouts sense while lacking a basis in evidence.

dently kingless, but clearly not powerless) had sued Niqmepa of Ugarit over towns formerly belonging to Mukiš that had been transferred to Niqmaddu of Ugarit by Šuppiluliuma I. Muršili II looked into the matter, confirmed Ugarit's right to those towns, and delineated the border between Ugarit's territory and the land of Mukiš; among the divine witnesses to the edict was Istar of Alalah. CTH 66, also found at Ugarit, is the treaty Muršili II imposed on Niqmepa of Ugarit, the terms of which mention Mukiš among potential enemies and sources of fugitives.⁶⁶

It may be inferred that the project of annexing Mukiš and fortifying Alalah was undertaken during Muršili II's reign for the purpose of disabling Mukiš politically, so that it could not join in rebellion against Hittite rule. The rebellion that took place in Muršili II's years 7 and 9 was led by Nuḫašše and Kinza (Qadesh), according to his annals and the historical prologue to his treaty with Tuppi-Teššob of Amurru; these texts do not mention Mukiš.⁶⁷ This hypothetical moment of annexation would present an ideal historical setting for the dethronement, decapitation, and burial of the statue of Idrimi. As Petra Goedegebuure puts it in her study of the rare instances of iconoclasm in the Hittite realm, Idrimi's statue would have been destroyed in order 'to break the nexus between a ruler from the dynasty of deposed kings of Alalakh and its gods' (2012: 426). The statue stood in an anteroom of the temple of Istar, its inscription celebrated a campaign against Ḫatti, and Itūr-Addu had led Mukiš in resistance against Ḫatti not even one generation before. Now was the time to suppress local autonomy through the management of icons as well as men. While the native dynasty was annulled politically by the appointment of a Hittite prince to rule at Alalah, its liaison with divinity was broken by breaking the statue of its founder – and burying it beneath the temple where it had functioned as a telephone to the gods. Eventually the people of Alalah would repay the Hittites in the same coin.

From this time onward, Mukiš begins to disappear from the historical record, and Alalah from the archaeological record as well. The massive project of constructing the Northern Fortress was probably accomplished with the labor of prisoners of war, possibly Egyptian ones, as Akar suggests, given that the construction most resembles Egyptian fortifications.⁶⁸ The abandonment of this project unfinished may reflect the evaporation of the need to reinforce Hittite control in the region, once Mukiš had been emasculated and the rebellion suppressed. The Southern Fortress may have continued to serve as the seat of local Hittite rule for some years, while other parts of town remained occupied, without generating any textual records or any trouble for the empire.

Incidentally, the epidemic that afflicted Ḫatti in this period, for which the Plague Prayers of Muršili II are virtually our sole source, need not be invoked as the cause of any of these events. Muršili emphasizes the epidemic's severity in his prayers that it cease, as he must do in order to convince the gods to answer his pleas; his claims of drastic depopulation are not to be taken literally.⁶⁹ These lines go to press as the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic reaches a crest, a crisis that has revealed what drastic effects even an epidemic with low mortality can have on society (especially societies unaccustomed to uncontrollable disease and accustomed to rapid worldwide travel, two conditions not present in the ancient world). Throughout Muršili's reign, however, the kingdom of Ḫatti continued successfully to prosecute wars, suppress revolt, build, and expand, not only retaining but consolidating Hittite dominion over all the territories Šuppiluliuma I had won. Clearly Ḫatti suffered no shortage of men.

⁶⁶ For CTH 66 see Beckman 1999, no. 9; Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, no. 63; and Devecchi 2015: 193-200.

⁶⁷ The treaty with Tuppi-Teššob is CTH 62 (Beckman 1999, no. 8; Kitchen and Lawrence 2012 nos. 62A-62B; Devecchi 2015: 212-19). Miller (2008) analyzes the rebellion and the sources for it, in conjunction with his edition of the newly-joined text reporting Mursili II's altercation with 'Arma'a (almost certainly Horemheb) of Egypt (which he has now joined to one of the Plague Prayers; personal communication, 15 May 2017). The new synchronism between Hittite and Egyptian history provided by this text has prompted reanalysis of the chronological evidence, yielding dates of 1315-1313 for the Syrian rebellion, if the solar omen of Mursili's 10th year was the eclipse of 1312 BC (see above, with n. 24).

⁶⁸ See Akar 2013: 47-48; there he adduces the Middle Kingdom fortress at Buhen, the post-Hyksos Palaces F and G at Avaris (Tell ed-Dab'a), and New Kingdom fortresses in Canaan.

⁶⁹ Cf. Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 340-41. For a historical analogy, see the recent analysis of evidence pertaining to the Justinianic Plague by Mordechai *et al.* (2019), which illuminates the discrepancy between rhetoric and reality.

Withdrawal and Abandonment (13th Century)

The post-Fortress period at Tell Atchana is somewhat evanescent, both as a historical reality and as its material trace. This period, corresponding to Woolley's Level I, commences after the Northern Fortress was abandoned and the Southern Fortress went out of use. The current excavations have not exposed significant 13th-century occupation at the site.⁷⁰ Yet Alalāḥ must have been inhabited at least as late as the mid-13th century, because in a letter to Ammištamru (II) of Ugarit, who ruled c. 1260-1235, the Hittite prince Šugur-Teššob wrote that he had taken up residence there.⁷¹ Perhaps the city was abandoned gradually until only the temple continued to be maintained.

Woolley subdivided Level I into three phases defined by successive rebuildings of the temple (Level IA, IB, and IC), but since he excavated the temple site right down into the water table, the remains he found now exist only in words and pictures.⁷² In other areas, since this was almost everywhere the final period of the site's occupation, modern agricultural work has disturbed its remains. As for textual documentation, during the 13th century Alalāḥ is attested only in letters found at Ugarit. The only texts found at Alalāḥ itself that certainly derive from this period are two inscribed seals of another Hittite prince, Palluwe, one of which was found in the Level IB temple (see further below, with n. 82). The Hittite letters discussed above may also originate from Level I; in the case of ALT 124, this would become a certainty if indeed its sender Armaziti is to be identified as the Hittite prince of that name.⁷³ In addition, during the 2012 excavation season a bulla impressed with the seal of one Pilukatuḫa, Great Priest, was found out of context; it too may derive from a 13th-century phase.⁷⁴

This period is thus characterized more by the disappearance of things (fortifications, textual records, substantial remains) than by the appearance of other things. Nevertheless, features that differentiate it from the Fortress period are observable in the archaeological record. In the areas investigated during the current excavation project, the post-Fortress period is represented in Area 1 by the latest phases in Squares 42.29 and 43.54, southeast of the Northern Fortress; also by Phase 4 in Square 42.10; and in Area 4 by the latest phases in Squares 64.72-73 and 64.82-83, atop the Southern Fortress.⁷⁵ According to the excavators, these areas exhibit rebuilding and reuse on a plan different from the preceding period. Their material culture attests continued Hittite occupation, most distinctly in the form of miniature vessels resembling ones found in cultic contexts at Ḫattusa; in Square 43.54, such vessels were found in a plastered area with a drainage channel nearby.⁷⁶ Notwithstanding the ongoing Hittite presence, the fortresses built

⁷⁰ See Akar 2012: 212-14, 269, 305-6; Yener 2013: 17-20; cf. *eadem* 2017: 217; and see now Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 341. Pucci (2020) evaluates the material differently.

⁷¹ For the approximate dates of Ammištamru's reign, see Singer 1999: 678 (with chronological chart between pp. 732-33). Šugur-Teššob's letter is *Ug* 5, 26 (RS 20.03). Singer remarks that because the first element of his name is written not with the sign ŠUKUR but with the signs ŠUKÜR, it should not be normalized Šukur- (2017: 620, with n. 5) – correctly Šugur- according to Hurrian phonology – although he had previously accepted this rendering (1999: 665, n. 195). Perhaps Singer then rejected it in order to avoid the risk that Šugur-Teššob the prince might be identified with the Šugur-Teššob (ŠUKUR-^dU) who wrote *Ug* 5, 44, the reading of whose name he corrected from *Ši-ni-^dU* (Singer 1999; see further below, n. 83). I owe to an anonymous referee the suggestion to read the first element of the prince's name GĒŠPU instead of ŠUKÜR, which I cannot however confirm or refute based on the published photo (*Ug* 5, Fig. 35).

⁷² For the series of temples from beginning to end see Woolley 1955: 33-90. Fink has conducted a detailed examination of the surviving excavation records pertaining to the Levels IV-0 temples with their annexes, which results in significant modifications to the plans and coordinates of these structures (Fink 2010: 31-60).

⁷³ See above, with n. 56. Yener (2013: 19-20, with n. 25) states that one of three 'biconvex seals in the style of the 13th century' from Tell Tayinat bears the name Armaziti, and suggests identifying him with the Hittite prince of that name. Following up the references she cites, however, turns up seals naming Armaziti from Alişar Höyük and Eskiyyapar, not from Tell Tayinat.

⁷⁴ This bulla is mentioned and illustrated by Yener (2017: 216, with Fig. 3), who states that it is to be published by B. Dinçol and H. Peker.

⁷⁵ See Akar 2019: 42-48 and 69-72 on the latest phases in Squares 43.54 and 42.29 (Area 1) and Squares 64.72-73 and 64.82-83 (Area 4); see also Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 312-317. On Square 42.10, Local Phase 4, see Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014.

⁷⁶ See Akar 2013: 45, with n. 39; Yener 2017: 217; Akar 2019: 43, with Fig. 2.24, and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 313, 320. Peter Neve (1993: 29, with Pl. 66) remarks that the findspots of such vessels suggest that they were primarily used as foundation offerings. Ulf-Dietrich Schoop (2011: 247-49) points out that they are found in settlement contexts as well, but there too they could serve the purpose of ritual.

to implant Hittite rule were abandoned. Meanwhile, the temple was rebuilt on a different plan (Level IA) – without having been destroyed – and then it was wrecked and burned down and rebuilt again (Level IB).⁷⁷ On that second occasion, the orthostat portraying Tudḫaliya, the Hittite prince appointed at Alalah by (probably) Muršili II, was removed from the temple cella and reused face down to form a tread in the temple steps (see above, with n. 58). To add iconic injury to insult, Tudḫaliya's nose was apocopated; the face of his wife behind him was undamaged.⁷⁸

Exactly when the Level IB temple was built, and Tudḫaliya dishonored, is impossible to tell on present evidence. The data do suffice to suggest a rough date for the construction of the Level IA temple, in which Tudḫaliya's orthostat must have stood. According to Woolley's reconstruction, it formed part of a series of basalt orthostats lining the recesses and buttresses at the back of the cella, most of which were removed in destroying the IA temple and reused in building the IB temple.⁷⁹ It may be inferred that Tudḫaliya was responsible for building the Level IA temple. Assuming that the replacement of the Level II temple is to be correlated with the transition from the Fortress to the post-Fortress period (i.e., that Woolley's definition of the Level II-I transition, based on the temple sequence, is validated by the current excavations), this inference entails the corollary that Tudḫaliya remained in office at Alalah during that transition. If he was appointed by Muršili II, and assuming he did not enjoy an exceptionally long residence at Alalah, the building of the Level IA temple may be dated around 1300 BC.

The impossibility of dating the transition from Level IA to IB prohibits postulating a historical occasion for the abuse and reuse of Tudḫaliya's monument, but it does not foreclose positing a cause. Recently it has been suggested that the desacralization of the orthostat was undertaken by the Hittite authorities to punish Tudḫaliya for some violation he had putatively committed.⁸⁰ But that is to predicate conjecture on speculation, and even if the conjecture were persuasive, it would not have been necessary for the Hittites to wreck the whole temple simply in order to effect Tudḫaliya's disgrace. For once, it is Woolley's interpretation that is the more plausible, to wit, that the demolition of the temple featuring Tudḫaliya's image and the reuse of his orthostat as building material represents the repudiation of Hittite rule by the local residents of Alalah (1955: 86). They repudiated it iconically, by removing from sacred space the monument portraying the local representative of Hittite authority, demolishing the temple he built, defacing his image, and demoting his monument to a paving-stone on which temple-enterers would tread. The image of Hittite rule was treated the way the Hittites had previously treated Idrimi's inscribed statue, the image of local autonomy – broken and buried.

How much this mattered to the Hittites, and whether they were in a position to do anything about it anyway, at a time when they were probably occupied in conflict with Egypt, one can only speculate. There is a modern tendency to impute to ancient rulers far broader powers than they could actually have exercised. If the Level IA temple was built ca. 1300, its destruction could well have occurred around the time of the Battle of Qadesh.⁸¹ The fact that Rameses II's accounts of that event mention neither Mukiš nor Alalah means only that they were irrelevant, not that they opposed Hatti. Nevertheless, the hostilities (however one interprets the battle's outcome) provided an opportunity for the dwindling community of Alalah to throw off the Hittite yoke, at least to the extent of demolishing the temple featuring Tudḫaliya's relief, without much concern that doing so would invite consequenc-

⁷⁷ On the non-violent transition from the Level II temple to its IA successor, and the violent transition from the Level IA temple to its replacement in Level IB, see Woolley 1955: 82; 85.

⁷⁸ The damage to Tudḫaliya's nose is noted by Goedegebuure (2012: 430), who adds further observations about the iconography of the relief.

⁷⁹ Woolley 1955: 82-85. Goedegebuure determines that Tudḫaliya's orthostat must have stood 'at the left side of the northwest buttress', because a figure is carved on its left side (2012: 431). It should be noted that, although Woolley reconstructs the Level IA temple in detail, its remains were exiguous, as illustrated by the composite plan in Fink 2010: 37, Plan 15. The steps built of the reused orthostat in the Level IB temple are seen in the excavation photograph published in Fink 2010: 48 (Photo 7), and, partly dismantled, in another photograph taken following excavation of Level II (Fink 2010: 34, Photo 2).

⁸⁰ So suggests de Martino (2010: 94, with a forced connection to CTH 63), followed by Goedegebuure (2012: 431).

⁸¹ The decade preceding this battle is the historical context in which Singer (2011) situates the cluster of tablets found at Qadeš (Tell Nebi Mend) and published by Millard (2010). These tablets include an administrative record (no. 5, TNM 057) that registers, among other entries, the allocation of beer for men of Mukiš (the land) and men of Ḫalab (the city). See now also Singer 2017: 622.

es. How heavily the hand of Hittite rule lay on Alalāḥ is indicated by the quantity of textual records produced by the Hittite administration there, which is to say that it must have been pretty light. Perhaps, then, no successor to Tudḫaliya's office was present at Alalāḥ for the destruction of the temple he built.

Hittite power was not banished, however. In the annex to the Level IB temple was found a steatite seal inscribed, in Anatolian hieroglyphs, 'Palluwe, son of the king, lord of the country' (AT/39/322); a terracotta seal inscribed for the same man, 'son of the king, Palluwe ...' (AT/39/38?), was found in topsoil (see Barnett *apud* Woolley 1955: 266-67). Presumably this prince Palluwe was put in charge at Alalāḥ, but we know nothing of what he did there other than lose two seals. It has been suggested that he be identified with one Palluwe who is attested – without title – in a letter from the Hittite king to an official at Emar, which dates to the early 13th century; this would accord well enough with the likely date of the Level IB temple, but sharing the same name hardly suffices for prosopographic identification.⁸²

Eventually – years after Egypt and Ḫatti made peace, at a time when Assyria was extending its reach westward – another Hittite prince was posted at Alalāḥ. Šugur-Teššob wrote to Ammištamru of Ugarit as follows:

Thus (speaks) Šugur-Teššob, prince: to Ammištamru, king of Ugarit, speak.
 May it be well with you.
 Now, I have come from before His Majesty and taken up residence at Alalāḥ, so you are my neighbor.
 Be you on good terms with me, and I shall be on good terms with you.
 Send to me (for) whatever you desire. For my part, whatever I send to you, heed (it).
 (*Ug* 5, 26: 1-13)

The Hittite prince proceeds to inform the king of Ugarit that he is sending him certain craftsmen, and gives him instructions concerning their mission.⁸³ As a contemporary of Ammištamru, Šugur-Teššob would probably have been appointed by Ḫattusili III.

Further evidence that Hittite rule over northern Syria continued to be exercised from Alalāḥ in this period may be provided by the tablets found at Tell Afis (ancient name unknown), recently published by Alfonso Archi.⁸⁴ Among these nine tablets are two relatively well-preserved letters in Hittite.⁸⁵ One of them (no. 2) conveys messages from the 'lord of the country' (EN KUR⁷¹) to his subordinate Tinninni and to Ašmaḫya, apparently the overseer at Tell Afis, about fetching Tinninni's future wife (?) Šidurena to the town of Yarpigga, where another subordinate, Piriynni, would witness delivery. The other (no. 1), from which the beginning and all of the reverse are missing, conveys at least two messages: the second is addressed by Tinninni to his lord Piriynni, informing

⁸² See Fink 2010: 55 (with Photo 5, illustrating the steatite seal of Palluwe, and with n. 50 on AT/39/38, apparently not the correct field number for the terracotta seal). That one of Palluwe's seals found its way to the temple does not warrant naming the building after him as Fink does (Fink 2010: 44, 52-56). The Emar tablet attesting Palluwe is Msk 73.1097 (Hagenbuchner 1989, no. 23, corrected by Singer 2000: 66-67; *pace* Singer [p. 71], nothing indicates that 'corruption' is at issue). These sources and the possible identification of Palluwe at Emar with Palluwe at Alalāḥ are discussed in Singer 2017: 621.

⁸³ See Lackenbacher 2002: 95-96 (with n. 276), who suggests interpreting the terms for the craftsmen as purple-dye specialists and their task as production of purple wool (*argamannu*). Her proposal is elaborated by Singer (2008, with a translation of *Ug* 5, 26; see now Singer 2017: 620-621). Cf. Lebrun (2014: 140-142), who proposes identifying Šugur-Teššob DUMULUGAL with the Šugur-Teššob who sent *Ug* 5, 44 to the king of Ugarit, calling his addressee "my [lord]" and himself "your servant"; failing to see the incompatibility of the roles and status relations indicated by the two letters, Lebrun thus makes the Hittite prince into a subordinate of the king of Ugarit (Lebrun 2014: 288). Cf. n. 71 above.

⁸⁴ Archi and Venturi 2012; part I of this joint article, by Fabrizio Venturi, treats the material culture of Late Bronze Age II Tell Afis, and part II, by Archi, publishes the tablets. I thank Alfonso Archi for bringing this article to my attention and providing me an offprint. While I discuss only the tablets here, it should be noted that Venturi's discussion of the ceramic evidence brings forth elements bearing comparison with that found at Tell Atchana.

⁸⁵ These are tablets 1 (TA.08.E.1), only about half of which is preserved, and 2 (TA.09.E.203), which is missing only the lower corners; see Archi and Venturi 2012: 34-43, with Pls. I-III. My summary of the letters' contents follows Archi's reading and interpretation. No. 2 is also discussed by Singer 2017: 621-22.

him how and what the lord of the country is doing, and it follows a message (from the lord of the country?) reporting that the queen is ill and staying with the correspondent, who will arrive in Izziya in three days' time. Archi identifies the queen in question as Puduḥepa (wife of Ḫattusili III) and the lord of the country as the Hittite governor residing at Alalah. His argument proceeds from several interlocking (albeit circumstantial) lines of evidence, including sources indicating that Puduḥepa – from whom the goddess Ḫebat demanded wine from Mukiš (above, with n. 45) – travelled to Izziya, and Izziya must be located at Kinet Höyük, which is about a three-day journey from Alalah.⁸⁶ The title 'lord of the country' is the same as that which was held by Palluwe (REGIO.DOMINUS in Anatolian hieroglyphs). It is tempting to suggest identifying the Pirianni of the Tell Afis letters with Pirwanu, the addressee of ALT 125 (see above, with n. 56), notwithstanding that the two names have different etymologies, but near-homophony can hardly imply equivalence when so few persons altogether are attested with so little context. The lord of the country in whose service Tinninni and Pirianni were employed might conceivably have been Šugur-Teššob, the prince who wrote to Ugarit upon taking up his position.

Alalah appears still later in the archives of Ugarit, under the spelling Aladḫa, in a series of letters found in the house of Urtenu that have recently been published by Sylvie Lackenbacher and Florence Malbran-Labat (2016). The editors read ^{URU}*A-la-ad-ḫa* throughout and understand it to be Alalah, without remarking on the spelling of the toponym, which appears in different guises over the course of its existence.⁸⁷ That it is indeed Alalah that is meant by Aladḫa is fairly well assured by its co-occurrence with Mukiš in one fragment, wherein the correspondent writes, 'In the coming months he will go to the land of Mukiš, to the city of Aladḫa' (RSO 23, 32: 6'-9' [RS 94.2389]). This fragment is one of several letters addressed to Niqmaddu (III) of Ugarit, circa 1225 BCE, by the Hittite official titled *uriyanni* and by the king of Carchemish, who charge him with undertaking the restoration of Alalah (Aladḫa) and reproach him for failing to do it.⁸⁸ Here is a passage from one of the *uriyanni*'s letters:

See here, in Alalah, aren't your chariot(s) and troop of men staying in Alalah? Haven't the projects of Alalah been assigned to you? So now direct (the work) accordingly! Now herewith I dispatch to you Madi-Dagan, the scribe. Put in his charge 200 men who will do the projects in Alalah.
(RSO 23, 28 [RS 94.2578]: 32-43)

Another letter specifies that the projects are to include establishing gardens and irrigation works at the city of Alalah (RSO 23, 29 [RS 94.2509]). But Niqmaddu fails to execute his assignment, so eventually the *uriyanni* escalates the matter to the king of Carchemish, who writes as follows:

Didn't His Majesty charge you with the restoration of Alalah? Why does your troop of men not do the projects of Alalah? If you send a troop of men, do they (just) stay for five or six days and then get up and disappear? Now, herewith I send you Madi-Dagan, the scribe. Put in his charge a troop of 200 men. If you do not give (them) to him, know that I shall write to His Majesty and his enmity will reach you. The projects at Alalah are inactive on account of you!
(RSO 23, 31 [RS 94.2079+2367]: 6-24)

⁸⁶ See Archi, in Archi and Venturi 2012: 44-48, as well as Venturi's remarks on p. 24.

⁸⁷ The Ebla archives attest the spellings *A-a-a-ah*^{KI}, *A-la-la-ḫu*^{KI}, *A-la-a-ḫu*^{KI}, and variants of these (see Archi 2006), alongside a toponym *Alaḫdu* (*A-ah-du*^{KI}, *A-la-ḫa-du*^{KI}; see RGTC 12/1: 32), which resembles *Alaḫtum* of the Mari archives, understood to be Alalah (Durand 2002: 65-66, with n. 157); then the name is consistently spelled (^{URU})*A-la-la-ah*^{KI} (or the like) in the tablets from the city itself as well as from Ugarit (RGTC 12/2: 8-10) and Hatti (RGTC 6: 5). Durand (2002) posits a feminine form *Allaḫtum* of a toponym having the absolute form Alalah. One could also imagine a form featuring a dental consonant that could be heard and spelt either as a dental /l/ or as a stop, provided that it might also metathesize with the adjacent /h/, in order to account for Aladḫa, Alalah, and *Alaḫtum* as variants of each other and reduce all these attestations to a single toponym; the requisite linguistic gymnastics are however beyond the present writer's grasp.

⁸⁸ The dossier assembled by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat comprises RSO 23, 28-36, all but two of which include the matter of restoring Alalah (Aladḫa) among the subjects they address. The editors date this dossier to the period immediately following Tukulti-Ninurta's defeat of Kaštiliaš IV (Lackenbacher, Malbran-Labat 2016: 61), which is to say ca. 1225 BC, during the short reign of Niqmaddu III.

In a further fragment (RSO 23, 33 [RS 94.2506]), the correspondent reproaches his recalcitrant addressee, saying ‘Hasn’t His Majesty treated you like his son? So why don’t you heed his words? In the city of Alalāḥ not a single plant has been planted!’

Had there been a Hittite appointee governing from Alalāḥ at this time, surely the king of Ugarit would not have been tasked with restoring the city. From a fragmentary Hittite letter datable to the late 13th century (Bo 2810; Hoffner 2009, no 120), Singer infers that there must still have been ‘a Hittite governor residing in Mukiš’, and even posits that this letter is an archival copy the original of which ‘might still be discovered at Alalāḥ’ (2017: 623). In the present writer’s opinion that is unlikely, given the rest of the evidence now available, in particular the newly-published letters discussed above and the lack of remains attesting occupation of the site during this period. The archaeological and the textual evidence corroborate each other on this point: apparently the king of Ugarit never did do any work at Alalāḥ.

And that is the last we hear of the city. The latest textual attestations of Ḫatti’s increasingly tenuous hold on the region, in three letters also found at Ugarit, refer to the land of Mukiš instead. These three letters probably derive from the reign of Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit (ca. 1215-1190).⁸⁹ In one (*Ug* 5, 33), the king of Ḫatti reproves the king of Ugarit for failure to heed orders, and demands that he provide a ship to transport grain levied from the land of Mukiš. In another (RSO 7, 6), the king of Carchemish contradicts the statement of the king of Ugarit that his troops were stationed in the land of Mukiš, complains that the troops he has sent are incompetent, and berates him for failing to meet His Majesty’s demands. Finally, a letter in Ugaritic addressed by one Iriri-šarruma to the queen of Ugarit (CAT 2.33), in which the correspondent protests the king’s order to supply 2,000 horses, mentions ‘the enemy that is in Mukiš’ (presumably an invading force).⁹⁰ In each of these texts Mukiš appears simply as a region where things take place. The people of this land withdrew, it seems, from playing any political role during the last decades of the Late Bronze Age.

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⁸⁹ For discussion of these texts and their date, see Singer 1999: 716-17 and 723-25; also Singer 2017: 622-24, with references to other sources pertaining to the same historical context.

⁹⁰ In this letter the place name is spelled *mgsiḥ* (see above, n. 22). An annotated English translation is given by Pardee 2003: 105-106.

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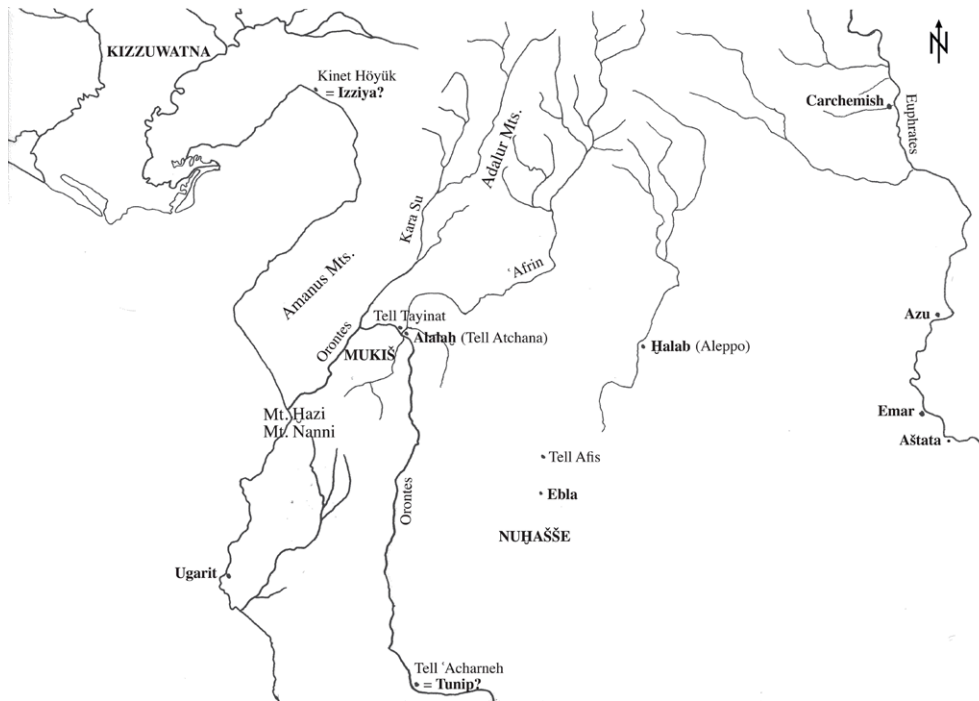


Fig. 1: Map showing the locations of Alalah and its neighbors, drawn by the author.

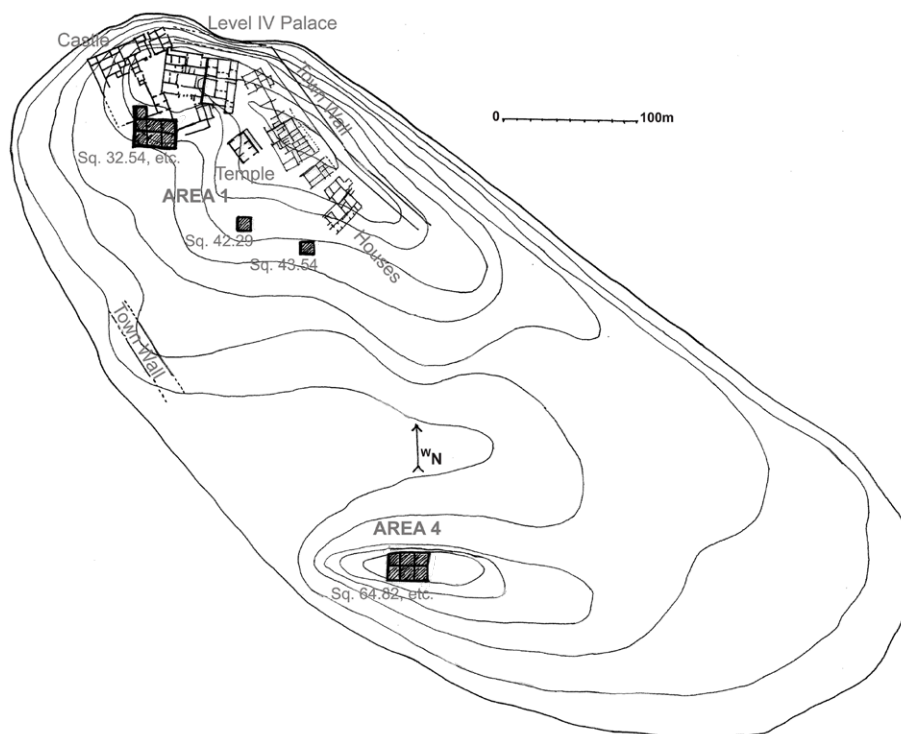


Fig. 2: Plan of Tell Atchana (Alalah) showing new excavation areas discussed here alongside structures excavated by Woolley. Drawn by the author on the basis of Woolley 1955: Pl. XXII and Yener 2013: Fig. 3.

Area 1, Square 32.54
West Section

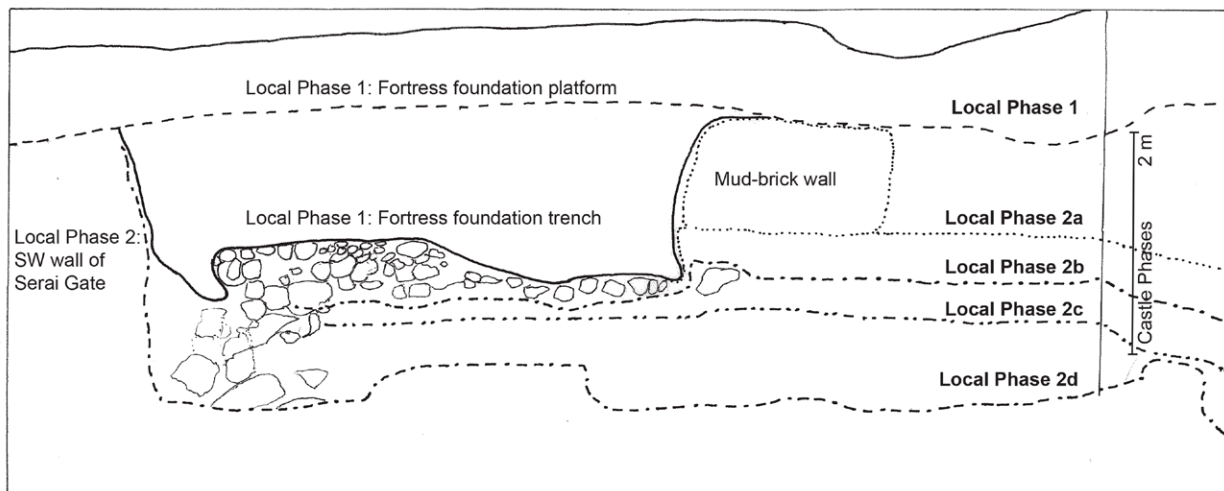


Fig. 3: Stratigraphy of the castle (Phases 2d-2a) and the Northern Fortress (Phase 1). Drawn by the author on the basis of Akar 2012: Fig. 4.26.

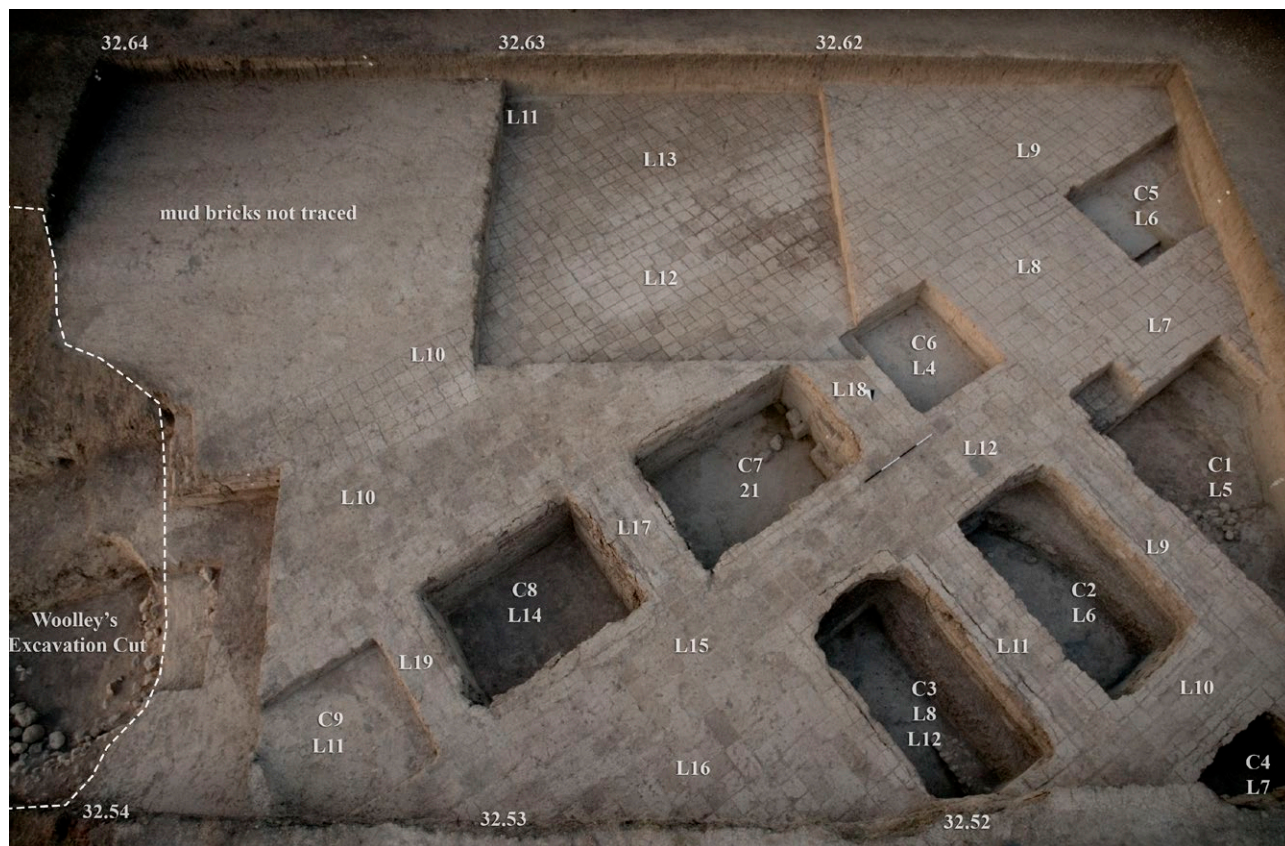


Fig. 4: Northern Fortress under excavation, illustrating casemates and Woolley's excavation cut (Akar 2019 Fig. 2.11; cf. Akar 2013 Fig. 5). Photograph and design by Murat Akar; image courtesy Alalakh Excavations.

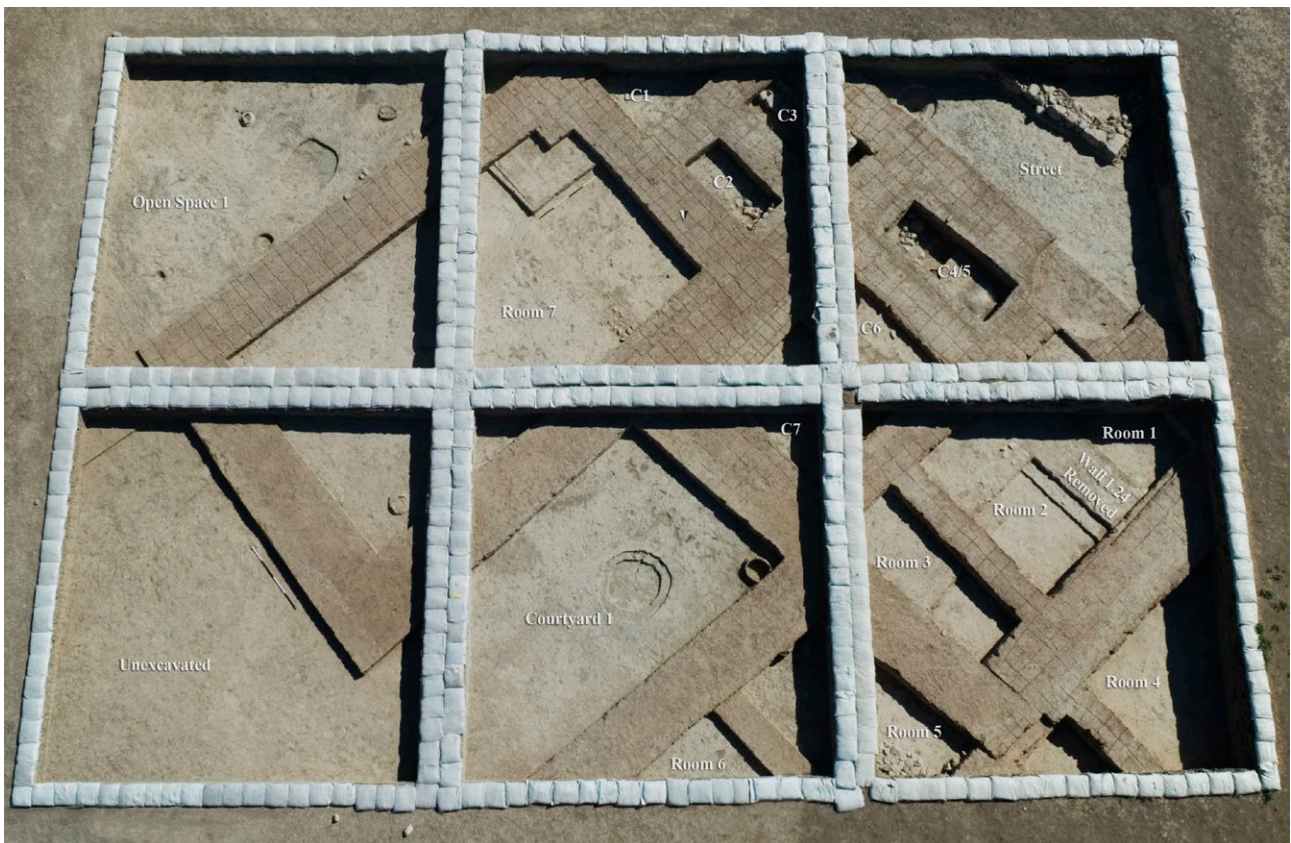


Fig. 5: Southern Fortress under excavation (Akar 2019 Fig. 2.37; cf. Akar 2013 Fig. 7). Photograph and design by Murat Akar; image courtesy Alalakh Excavations.

Table 1: Correlation of archaeological phases and finds at Tell Archana with historical events and persons at Alalah.

Woolley's levels	historical events and persons at Alalah	diagnostic finds at Tell Archana	key phases in Yener's excavations	proposed periods	approx. dates
IC	Šugur-Teššob, Hittite prince (RS 20.03)	[king writes AIT 125 to Pirwannu]		1	1250
IB	Palluwe, Hittite prince	[Armaziti (prince?) writes AIT 124] Palluwe's seal (AT/39/322), found in temple annex; Tudḫaliya's relief re-used in Temple IB steps [sealing of Plinkaruḫa (AT 17741)]			
IA	*Tudḫaliya, Hittite prince, builds temple*	sealing of Tudḫaliya & Asnu-Ḫepa (AT 20414); [letter AIT 35 from king of Ḫatti to (prince) Tudḫaliya];	Area 1; Area 4;		1300
II	*Mursili II builds N. & S. Fortresses*	Hittite-type miniature vessels in Sq. 43.54, phase 1 Hittite-type drain pipe, pottery, [& shaft-hole axe] in S. Fortress, Phase 2; Hittite tablet AIT 454 found beneath Temple IA wall	Sqs. 42.29 & 43.54, Phase 1 Sq. 32.54, Phase 1; Northern Fortress	2	1310
III	Suppiluliuma I's conquest Iṭur-Addu, king of Mukiš destruction *by Tudḫaliya I? of palace & castle Ilmilimma Niqmepa	[AIT 309-318, from last castle phase?]	2a: castle rebuilt 2b: castle rebuilt 2c: castle rebuilt after destruction	3	1330 1400
IV	palace built castle rebuilt castle rebuilt	archives in palace & castle		4	1450
VB	palace rebuilt	sealings linked to Iri-Ḫalba;	2d: castle rebuilt	5	
VA	castle rebuilt	Vapheto cup fragment; olive pits, C14 1518-1411	Sq. 32.57, Phase 2a: street below palace courtyard		

* Inferences are marked with asterisks. [] Finds whose archaeological context is unknown, insecure, or unstratified are within square brackets.

Table 2: Sources linking Alalah or Mukiš with Ḫatti in the 14th-13th centuries.

	<u>Alalah</u> or <u>Mukiš</u> in documents issued by Ḫatti	Hittite or Hittites at Alalah
Tudḫaliya I or II	? CTH 135, treaty between Ḫatti and Tunip reporting conflict between Tunip and <u>Alalah</u> under Ilmilimma ? KpT 1.11, Hurrian tablet recording campaign narrative mentioning <u>Alalah</u> and <u>Mukiš</u>	
Šuppiluliuma I	CTH 136, treaty between Ḫatti and <u>Mukiš</u> CTH 45, letter to Niqmaddu II of Ugarit urging him to ally with Ḫatti instead of joining <u>Mukiš</u> and Nuḫašše in resistance CTH 46, edict issued to Niqmaddu, who appealed to Ḫatti when attacked by the coalition of <u>Mukiš</u> , <i>et al.</i> , and who submitted to Suppiluliuma at <u>Alalah</u> CTH 47, edict stipulating Niqmaddu's tribute after his submission to Ḫatti upon refusal to join <u>Mukiš</u> and Nuḫašše in hostilities CTH 49, treaty with Aziru of Amurru, mentioning <u>Mukiš</u> among former or potential enemies of Ḫatti CTH 51, treaty with Šattiwaza of Mittani, reporting Hittite conquest of Aleppo and <u>Mukiš</u> , whither Takuwe of Niya came to submit CTH 53, treaty with Tette of Nuḫašše, mentioning <u>Mukiš</u> among potential enemies CTH 50, treaty with Šarri-Kušulḫ, defining territory of Carchemish with <u>Mukiš</u> at western frontier	? AIT 309-318 and Niedorf 2008 nos. 433.11-13: lists of grain distributed to persons who include Tarḫuziti and a 'man of Ḫatti'
Muršili II	CTH 64, edict determining frontiers of Ugarit, after people of <u>Mukiš</u> sued Niqmepa to recover territory transferred to Ugarit by Suppiluliuma; divine witnesses include Ištar of <u>Alalah</u> CTH 66, treaty with Niqmepa of Ugarit, mentioning <u>Mukiš</u> among potential enemies	Tudḫaliya, prince, addressee of royal letter ATT 35, and his wife Asnu-Ḫepa, princess, both named on sealing AT 20414; both portrayed on relief re-used as paving-stone in Level IB temple ? AIT 454, Hittite oracle tablet found beneath foundation of Level IA temple ? sealing of Pilukatuḫa, Great Priest (AT 17741)
after Muršili II		Palluwe, prince, attested by two inscribed seals, one found in Level IB temple (AT/39/322; AT/39/38?)
Ḫattušili III	<i>Ug</i> 5, 26 (RS 20.03), letter from Šugur-Teššob, prince resident at <u>Alalah</u> , to Ammištamru II of Ugarit	Šugur-Teššob, prince, at Alalah ca. 1250 ? Armaziti (prince?) writes AIT 124 ? AIT 125, letter from king to Pirwanna, perhaps = Pirianni of Tell Afis tablets
Tudḫaliya IV	RSO 23, 28-36, in which Niqmaddu III of Ugarit is charged with restoring <u>Alalah</u> (and failing), ca. 1225 RSO 7, 6 (RS 34.143), letter from king (of Carchemish) to king of Ugarit, contradicting the latter's statement that his troops are in <u>Mukiš</u>	
Šuppiluliuma II	<i>Ug</i> 5, 33 (RS 20.212), letter from Ḫatti to the king of Ugarit (Ammurapi?), demanding famine relief for Ura and mentioning levy of grain from <u>Mukiš</u> CAT 2.33, letter in Ugaritic from Iriri-tarruma to the queen, mentioning 'the enemy that is in <u>Mukiš</u> '	

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