The Cuneiform Texts from the Danish Excavations of Ḥamā in Syria (1931–1938)

Letters, Administrative Documents, Scholarly Texts, Inscriptions, and Seals

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Abstract

This volume constitutes the first complete publication and examination of 20 clay tablets and objects inscribed with cuneiform writing that were discovered in the Syrian city Ḥamā, known in the Bible and in ancient times as Hamath. These manuscripts were primarily found during the Danish excavations from 1931–1938. The most significant finds are the remains of two political correspondences from the 9th century BCE and several contemporary manuscripts with medical prescriptions, magical recitations, and birth omens, which must be regarded as ancient scientific knowledge. The texts represent a substantial contribution to the very limited corpus of cuneiform texts from Syria and the Levant dated to the early first millennium BCE. Furthermore, the surprising discovery of ancient scientific texts from this period necessitates a reevaluation of prevailing understandings of the transmission of cuneiform knowledge in the western periphery of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

The main part of this book consists of text editions and hand copies of the cuneiform texts from Hamath. In addition, the volume examines the functions these texts served in their ancient setting, from where the Hamath text traditions originated, how the knowledge travelled to this city, and by whom the manuscripts were copied.

Keywords: Ancient science, Mesopotamian medicine, Mesopotamian magic, ancient healing, political correspondence, Ḥamā, Hamath, Neo-Assyrian, Old Testament, cuneiform writing.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The Danish excavations of Ḥamā (ancient Hamath) from 1931–1938, sponsored by the Carlsberg Foundation, unearthed close to 20 tablets and objects inscribed with Babylonian cuneiform script. The artefacts are kept today at the National Museum of Denmark, together with thousands of important objects and a comprehensive research archive, and in one or more collections in Syria. This volume constitutes the first full publication of the cuneiform texts from Hamath, though several Danish researchers throughout the past 50 years had planned to work on these manuscripts. Otto E. Ravn preliminarily labelled the tablets according to genre in 1937 on the basis of photographs, and his suggestions remained the principal information available prior to my identification of the manuscripts, which I outlined in Arbøll 2020. Jørgen Læssøe published Text 8 in 1956, and he may have intended to publish the remaining pieces at a later time. Prior to the publication of the monograph *Hama II/2* by Poul J. Riis and Marie-Louise Buhl in 1990, Riis described in various letters how he envisioned all the cuneiform material should be included therein. Læssøe suggested, in a written correspondence with Riis in the 1980s, that he would work on the material to prepare it for publication. However, only Simo Parpola's edition of Text 1, and an appendix with a preliminary edition of Text 3, was included, and a complete catalogue never materialised. This volume therefore builds on the scientific legacy of Danish Assyriology by finalising the publication of the cuneiform texts from Hamath.

It is a great privilege and pleasure to thank the people and foundations that have supported my research and enabled me to write this book. My research for this volume, including my work on the tablets and the text editions, was made possible by a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Copenhagen (2019–2020) generously granted to me by the Edubba Foundation, and I am extremely grateful to the foundation for its support of my work. The study was conducted within the framework of the Hidden Treasures project, which is a research collaboration between the University of Copenhagen and the National Museum of Denmark, directed by Nicole Brisch and co-directed by Anne Haslund Hansen, and generously supported by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Augustinus Foundation. The project aims to digitise and publish a complete catalogue of the cuneiform tablets and inscribed objects kept at the National Museum of Denmark. It was a great pleasure for me to work as a postdoctoral researcher on this research project for periods of 2019 and 2020, and I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Nicole Brisch for her considerate and encouraging support. The completion of this volume was made possible by the Carlsberg Foundation, which kindly awarded me a Carlsberg Junior Research Fellowship at Linacre College at the University of Oxford (2021–2023). Settling in a new country can be challenging, and it has been a demanding experience during a pandemic. I am therefore particularly grateful to Jacob Dahl, Professor of Assyriology at the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford, who has continuously supported my work, made me feel at home in Oxford, and provided me with ample opportunities to grow academically.

My work on the tablets from ancient Hamath would not have been possible without the help and support of the staff at the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities at the National Museum of Denmark, in particularly Anne Haslund Hansen, Stephen Lumsden, John Lund, and Lasse Sørensen, who have kindly facilitated my work on the manuscripts and the archival material. I gratefully acknowledge their intellectual generosity here. Only limited information on the contents of the unpublished Hamath tablets existed when I began my work. Christian Halvgaard had compiled a number of notes and collected excavation photographs of parts of the material while researching cuneiform tablets at the National Museum of Denmark in the 1990s, which he kindly

shared with me when I began my research on the texts from Hamath. Though Læssøe had prepared a very preliminary hand copy of the previously unpublished fragment 6A335, it was necessary to produce a new one.

A number of colleagues have been instrumental in improving my work on this material. I am especially thankful and indebted to Daniel Schwemer for numerous highly fruitful and insightful discussions of my editions of the Hamath tablets. He identified 7A626, and, following my identification of the remaining material, he offered, with characteristic generosity, to have a number of meetings where we read through all the texts. During our reading sessions, he provided me with numerous improved readings and important inputs, for which I am truly thankful. I am also very grateful to Barbara Böck for meticulous and valuable comments on my editions of the magico-medical manuscripts, which she most kindly read through and provided insightful comments on. Several of my editions of the Hamath manuscripts have benefitted significantly from being scrutinised in Cuneiforums held with the Hidden Treasures project group, and I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Nicole Brisch, Christian Halvgaard, Ulla Koch, Seraina Nett, and Rasmus Aarslev. It is also a great pleasure to gratefully acknowledge the hospitality and friendship of Aage Westenholz and Inger Jentoft, and I would like to express my gratitude to them both. During numerous visits to their house, Westenholz read through and discussed several of the Hamath manuscripts with me, and his comments helped me improve numerous readings. I would like to thank Michael Jursa for generously offering to read 4A608 with me, which helped me improve a number of problematic readings. Mark Weeden kindly looked at the difficult cursive Luwian hieroglyphs in 6A383, and I am thankful for his helpful comments. My thanks also extend to the two anonymous reviewers who meticulously read through the manuscript and suggested a number of minor corrections, which helped me improve the quality of the book. Furthermore, I am grateful to Wolfgang Schramm who kindly shared his unpublished edition of Sağ-gig with me. I am equally thankful to Maurizio Viano for providing me with a number of important references. I would also like to thank Tzvi Abusch for kind communication regarding my discovery of the Hamath manuscripts of *Maqlû*. My appreciation also extends to Jesper Eidem, Peter Brylov Christensen, Zsombor Földi, Enrique Jiménez, Bjarne Lodahl, John MacGinnis, and Émilie Pagé-Perron for their help in various matters. In connection to my work on digitising the cuneiform collection at the National Museum of Denmark, including the tablets from Hamath, I would like to thank photographers Søren Greve, Jens Lauridsen, and Arnold Mikkelsen. Additionally, the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities at the National Museum of Denmark generously allowed me to include photographs from the excavations kept in their archives, and these were kindly digitised by Frederik V. Rasmussen and Lasse S. Schütt. Osama S.M. Amin is also thanked for kindly allowing me to use his photograph of a stele from Sūḫu.

I owe an enourmous debt of gratitude to Jennifer Cromwell who selflessly, and without hesitation, offered to correct my English throughout this volume. She spared me from many embarrassing mistakes, and she is warmly thanked here. Furthermore, I am truly grateful and indebted to Kim Ryholt for his enthusiastic support of my research through the years, and for his honest and constructive advice whenever I have needed it.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the funding I received from the International Association for Assyriology to attend and present the research in this volume at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 2021. Furthermore, my gratitude extends to the Ancient Near East Lecture Series at the University of Cambridge for an invitation in 2021 to present my research on the Hamath tablets. I would like to thank the participants at these gatherings for stimulating discussions and useful comments. In addition, I would also like to express my thanks to my colleagues at the University of Oxford, my colleagues at the University of Copenhagen, and the staff at the National Museum of Denmark.

Finally, this book could not have been written without the loving support of my family, especially

my wife, wildlife zoologist Sophie Lund Rasmussen, with whom I have been fortunate to discuss major and minor discoveries and frustrations throughout my work. Most importantly, I dedicate this book with all my heart to the most caring and wonderful person in the world: my son Theo.

T.P.A
Oxford, December 2021

Abbreviations and Symbols

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AHw	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
BAM	*Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen. Bände 1–10* (Berlin / Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co. / Walter de Gruyter / De Gruyter). See Köcher 1980; Geller 2005.
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Volumes 1–21* (Illinois and Glückstadt / Illinois: The Oriental Institute and J.J. Augustin Verlagsbuchhandlung / The Oriental Institute).
CDA	*A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* [Second (corrected) printing] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag).
CDLI	*Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*, <https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de> (accessed 07/06/2023).
CMAwR	*Corpus of Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Rituals. Volumes 1–3* by T. Abusch and D. Schwemer / T. Abusch, D. Schwemer, M. Luukko, and G. Van Buylaere (Ancient Magic and Divination 8/1–8/3; Leiden and Boston: Brill).
CTN	*Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 1–6* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq).
ePSD2	*The New Version of the Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/index.html> (accessed 07/12/2021).
eSAD	*The Electronic Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*, <https://www.gkr.uni-leipzig.de/altorientalisches-institut/forschung/supplement-to-the-akkadian-dictionaries> (accessed 19/07/2022).
KAI	*Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
MSL 10	*The Series ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu*, by B. Landsberger and E. Reiner 1970 (Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 10; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum).
PNA	*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volumes 1–3* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project).
RIMA	*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods. Volumes 1–3* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press).
RIMB 2	*Rulers of Babylonia. From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*, by G. Frame 1995 (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Babylonian Period, Volume 2; Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press).
RINAP	*The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. Volumes 1–5* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).
RINAP online	*The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/> (accessed 07/12/2021).
SAA	*State Archives of Assyria. Volumes 1–21* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press / The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project).
SpTU	*Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk / Uruk. Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18. Teil I-V* (Berlin / Mainz: Gebr. Mann Verlag / Verlag Philipp von Zabern).
Sūḫu online	*The Inscriptions of Suhu Online Project*, <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/suhu/> (accessed 07/12/2021).
UET 7	*Middle Babylonian Legal Documents and Other Texts,* by O.R. Gurney 1973 (Ur Excavations Texts 7; London: Trustees of the British Museum and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania and British Museum Publications Limited).

All other bibliographical abbreviations can be found at the CDLI Abbreviations for Assyriology <https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/abbreviations> (accessed 07/06/2023).

Symbols and Further Abbreviations

šu!	emended, but certain reading (against unidentifiable or irregular sign on tablet)
šu!?	emended, but uncertain reading of a sign
šu?	uncertain reading of a sign
x	undeciphered sign
:	cuneiform division mark
[ ]	break
[x]	indicates space available in break
[...]	indicates a break of uncertain length
[( )]	indicates an uncertain reconstruction in a break
⌜ ⌝	partially broken sign(s)
< >	sign(s) to be added to the text
{ }	sign(s) to be deleted from the text
* *	sign(s) written over erasure
{ }	erased sign(s) to be removed from the text
...	untranscribed, untranslated sign(s), word(s) or passage(s) of text
\	indented line
→	indicates the continuation of a line, if one line in a given manuscript is spread over more than one line in the edition
+	joined to
(+)	indirectly joined to
EM	Exorcist's Manual (see Arbøll 2021: 245–253)
LB	Late Babylonian
LBA	Late Bronze Age
lo.e.	lower edge
MA	Middle Assyrian
MB	Middle Babylonian
ms(s)	manuscript(s) (cuneiform tablet or fragment)
n', n''	line number (n) with a number of broken lines (' = x) preceding it (n+x, n+x+y, etc.)
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian
NMD	The National Museum of Denmark
OB	Old Babylonian
obv.	obverse
rev.	reverse
SB	Standard Babylonian, the equivalent of *Jung-babylonische* (jB)

$Sign_x$+$Sign_y$ designates a ligature of two cuneiform signs

In the transliterations in Chapter 10, I have read word final CV*m* signs with these values rather than their CV_x values. However, I acknowledge that word final *m* in Akkadian may have been completely lost when these texts were copied.

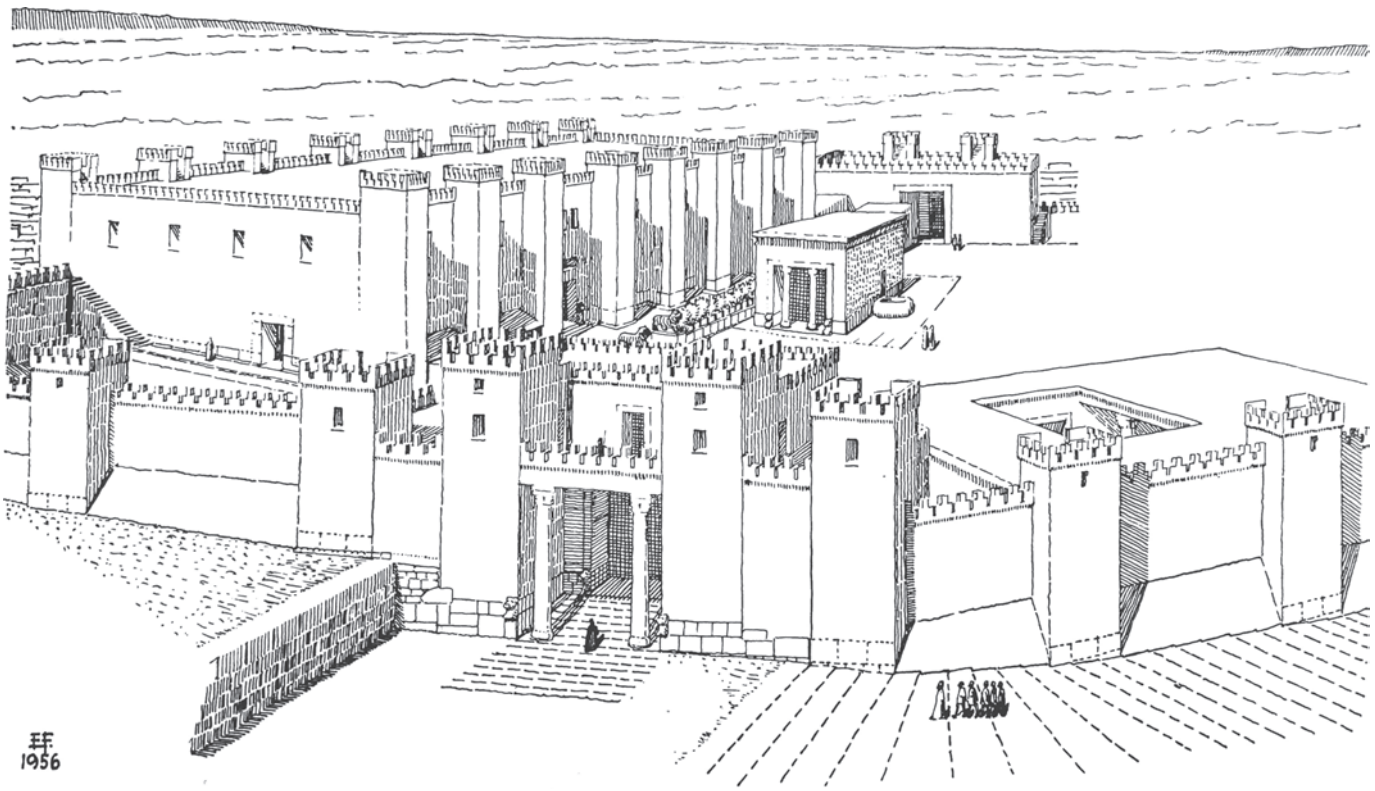


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the Hamath citadel (reproduced after Fugmann 1958: pl. Ib).

1
Introduction

At some point in the 9th century BCE, a young man sat down with his stylus and a moist piece of clay in the city called Hamath, present day Ḥamā, to copy a text in Babylonian cuneiform script. Regardless of whether this individual was a scribal student or training to become a healer of sorts, his task that day was to copy the fourth tablet of an elaborate magico-medical ceremony intended to remove the influence of witchcraft. The work was known throughout distant Assyria and Babylonia as *Maqlû*, "Burning", in Akkadian. As he began to carefully impress the cuneiform wedges he appears to have struggled with the text. Besides making some minor mistakes, he failed to understand the learned writing of a specific type of magic called "cutting-of-the-throat" (*zikurudû*). It remains uncertain whether these difficulties originated from his lack of experience or the fact that he was trained in a scribal environment far from the intellectual circles of Mesopotamia proper. As he finished the copy, his teacher may have instructed him to place the cuneiform tablet in the principal temple at the citadel, to commemorate his acquisition of the scribal arts, and, perhaps, to add to the growing cuneiform library kept therein. Though little is known about the copyist himself, he was one of several students who left behind cuneiform tablets during their training at Hamath around this time.

The story above is fiction, but the text is real and known today as 6A344. It is one of 20 clay tablets and objects inscribed with cuneiform that were discovered primarily in the 1930s on the central mound at Hamath and in cremation burials throughout the city. This study provides the first complete edition and examination of these texts. The tell at Hamath, located on the western bank of the Orontes River in western Syria north of Damascus, is engulfed today by the modern-day city. The site was excavated from 1931–1938 by a Danish expedition under the direction of Harald Ingholt and sponsored by the Carlsberg Foundation (Ingholt 1940; Fugmann 1958: 1–11; see Bryce 2009: 282–283). Ingholt chose the site for two reasons: Hamath was well known through references in the Old Testament (see below), which suggested a relationship had existed between this city and the northern kingdom of Israel; and the first writings of the, by then, largely undeciphered hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions had allegedly come to light at Hamath (see Hawkins 2016: 184–185). The site therefore held potential for illuminating the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE in the Levant, a period during which the region was ruled by a number of so-called Neo-Hittite and Aramaic states.

In the city's legendary past, Hamath had allegedly been ruled by king Toʿi and his son Joram/Haddoram, who had been allies of David in Biblical Israel, possibly around 1000 BCE (2Sam 8:9–10; 1Chr 18:9–10). According to this tradition, the Assyrians had conquered the city some centuries later, and they had deported the people of Hamath and resettled them in Samaria in ancient Israel (2Kings 17:24 and 18:33–34). From the Danish excavations, and other explorations of the Levant, we know today that the kingdom of Hamath incorporated the surrounding region as well as the northern region known as Luġath in several centuries from 900–720 BCE, and it must have been a major state in the Levant in this period. The history of the realm can be divided into two periods: a family of Neo-Hittite rulers in the 9th century; and several Aramaic rulers in the 8th century BCE.[1] The basis of the kingdom's power likely lay in its key position along various trade routes leading from Mesopotamia proper to the Mediterranean. Accordingly, the city

1. For the later settlement at the site and its interim importance at various points in history, see Dion 1997: 170; Hawkins 1972–75: 69–70.

became increasingly attractive for the growing Neo-Assyrian Empire throughout the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, though Hamath attempted to resist its primarily military advances. At one point in the 9th century BCE, the Neo-Hittite ruler Urḫilina even initiated a broad coalition in the region, together with Aram-Damascus and Israel, to counter the Assyrian intrusion under Shalmaneser III. The events culminating in 720 BCE, when the city was destroyed by Sargon II, and the inhabitants were deported to the newly conquered southern province at Samaria. Sargon II continually commemorated his victory over Hamath throughout his reign due to the significance of the conquest. These factors combined, which are discussed in depth in Chapter 2, illustrate the importance of Hamath in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE.

The Danish excavators focused on the citadel, which had housed the official buildings of the ruling elite of Hamath. In addition, they dug sondages to explore cremation burials throughout the city (see Fig. 2). The results of the Danish excavations have been published in several comprehensive volumes (e.g., Riis 1948; Fugmann 1958; Riis and Buhl 1990), which show that inscribed objects with cuneiform script, hieroglyphic Luwian, and Aramaic were also uncovered. Though the latter two categories have been published and examined in various publications,[2] the objects inscribed with cuneiform have remained largely unpublished, except for three texts, one edited by Jørgen Læssøe (1956) and two by Simo Parpola (1990), as well as a few additional inscribed objects published first by Poul J. Riis (1948) and later by Otto E. Ravn (1960). However, these are only part of the artefacts uncovered, and the complete catalogue of tablets and objects from Hamath inscribed with cuneiform writing consist of: three letters, two administrative documents, eight scholarly texts, a clay tablet with cylinder seal impressions, a bead, three cylinder seals, a stamp seal, and a ring. The letters and scholarly manuscripts from Hamath are significant as the only examples of Babylonian cuneiform writing recovered from Syria in the 10th and 9th centuries BCE. Furthermore, at least one administrative text from around 1000 BCE attests to the use of cuneiform writing in the region at an earlier stage than previously suggested following the Late Bronze Age. The majority of the texts from Hamath comprises the scholarly manuscripts recovered from Building III on the tell. These contain traditional Mesopotamian text genres, such as the anti-witchcraft ritual *Maqlû*, incantations related to the magico-medical works Sag̃-gig, "Head disease", and *Muššu'u*, "Rubbing", prayers to undo evil omens, medical prescriptions for treating diseases of the ears, and omens concerning malformed births. Such texts formed an integral part of ancient scientific knowledge. Based on their palaeography and content, the manuscripts from Building III can be dated collectively to the 9th century BCE.[3]

The cuneiform tablets and inscribed objects unearthed during the excavations are located today at the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities at the National Museum of Denmark (NMD) in Copenhagen (11 artefacts), and in collection(s) in Syria (10 artefacts). At the NMD,[4] the objects from Hamath form one of the main collections of archaeological objects. It has not been possible to collate the artefacts in Syria. Already in 1980, there was a growing concern that the fragments of these manuscripts had been misplaced (letter from Læssøe to Riis dated 27/10/1980), and, soon after, Riis instructed his son, Thomas Riis, to bring photographs of the artefacts to various Syrian

2. For an overview of the majority of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Hamath and the surrounding region, see Hawkins 2016: 184. For a recent edition of most of the inscriptions, see Payne 2012: 59–65. For the Aramaic inscriptions from Hamath, see Richelle 2019: 210–211; Lipiński 2000a: 264, 266–267; Otzen 1990.

3. The artefacts were found in level E of the excavations on the tell, and the archaeological context provides the manuscripts from Building III with a *terminus ante quem* 720 BCE. Other inscribed artefacts can be dated to around 1000 BCE (see Chapters 3 and 10).

4. All abbreviations and acronyms used are listed in the section entitled "Abbreviations and Symbols" before the introduction.

Fig. 2. Ḥamā and the excavated areas in the 1930s (reproduced after Fugmann 1958: 3 Fig. 2).

collections to locate the artefacts.[5] However, they were not found. Consequently, the photographs from the Danish excavations kept at the NMD are the only available documentation for almost half the cuneiform tablets and inscribed objects. Though the quality of the excavation photographs is outstanding, it is possible that the eventual resurfacing of the artefacts in Syria may alter individual observations made here.

The surprising discovery of Mesopotamian magico-medical works and omens concerning malformed births in a Levantine city, dated approximately to the 9th century BCE and in NB script, necessitates a reevaluation of prevailing understandings of the transmission of cuneiform knowledge in the western periphery of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (see already Arbøll 2020). For example, current descriptions do not account for written traditions circumventing the knowledge networks between Assyria and Babylonia in the first half of the 1st millennium BCE. The Hamath texts therefore allow us to examine a number of thought-provoking questions. Were these text traditions actually remnants of knowledge that was cir-

5. Letter from Riis to Læssøe dated 2/6/1981. Thomas Riis visited the National Museum in Aleppo, the newly opened museum in Ḥamā, and the National Museum in Damascus. He was not able to visit the Aleppo Citadel, which was closed for military reasons.

culating among Syrian intellectuals prior to the Late Bronze Age collapse? Did the tradition of cuneiform writing found at Hamath, and the knowledge represented by the texts, travel to Hamath via previously unrecognised routes in the early 1st millennium BCE? Who could have brought the knowledge to Hamath? Why, and how, was such scholarship used locally?

In order to approach these questions, this volume includes text editions of all the cuneiform material from Hamath as well as eight chapters (2–9) that discuss all aspects of these texts and their content. The chapters are structured as follows: (2) a historical background of the city; (3) a presentation of the archaeological contexts in which the written artefacts were discovered; (4) an overview and dating of the cuneiform tablets and inscribed objects; (5) an examination of the texts in relation to their archaeological contexts; (6) a study of the function of the text collection found in Building III on the citadel mound; (7) a discussion of the three writing systems attested in the city; (8) a re-assessment of how scholarly knowledge in cuneiform writing was transmitted to, and within, early 1st millennium BCE Syria; (9) an in-depth examination of the sign forms and distinctive scribal features of the copyists who produced the cuneiform tablets, to assess the number of scribes responsible for the cuneiform tablets; and "(10) text editions followed by my hand copies of the 20 inscribed clay tablets and objects.

In a broader perspective, the cuneiform tablets from Hamath warrant a new analysis of the relationship between Mesopotamian and Biblical text traditions. Already 30 years ago, Stephanie Dalley (1990) demonstrated that people with the theophoric element Yahweh were attested as central figures in Hamath during the 8th century BCE. Whether these persons originated in contemporary Israel or if the cult of Yahweh had achieved local iterations in the area of Hamath, the presence of such individuals emphasise a cultural connection between Hamath and Biblical Israel. Furthermore, the foundation for the traditions of Deuteronomistic history may have been laid in ancient Israel before the fall of the kingdom in 722 BCE.[6] Previous research has shown that the books of Deuteronomy drew on knowledge of Hittite and Assyrian texts and culture, likely disseminated via the Levant (e.g., Aster 2018; Sanders 2017, Steymans 2013; Berman 2011; Noll 2007: 335–337; Geyer 1981; see also Morrow 2005). The new sources from Hamath demonstrate that Babylonian cuneiform knowledge was more widespread in the early 1st millennium BCE than hitherto believed. The apparent relationship between Hamath and the northern Biblical kingdom of Israel means that additional genres of Mesopotamian scholarship – such as those edited in this study – could have circulated in Israel in this period. Accordingly, future research should look for possible links between the books of Deuteronomy and magico-medical rituals from Mesopotamia, such as *Maqlû*. It is the hope of the author that such fruitful investigations will appear in the future.

6. For the massive research on the traditions of Deuteronomy, see, e.g., Schorch 2011 with further references; Lemche 1985: 306–385, especially 375.

2
A History of the Kingdom of Hamath

Ancient Hamath, located on the Orontes River near various ancient trade routes, was occupied from the 5th millennium BCE until the citadel's destruction by Sargon II in 720 BCE (Ingholt 1940: 11–118; Fugmann 1958: 12–13). The name of the city may already have been mentioned in written sources from the mid-3rd millennium at Ebla (*é/'à-ma-ad/du*^{ki} likely read *Ḫamat*(*u*), see Archi 2015: 430, 436; Archi 2010: 33–37; Hawkins 2000: 400 and note 29; Lipiński 2000: 249 and note 2), though possible references to the city in sources from the 2nd millennium BCE are debatable (Bryce 2012: 133; Lipiński 2000: 249–250, 339–340; cf. Younger 2016: 425–427; Hawkins 2000: 399; Hawkins 1972–1975: 67).[7] Both the historic circumstances of the kingdom of Hamath in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE and the area it controlled are difficult to determine. In 1st millennium BCE sources, however, the state of Hamath is well known primarily through NA annals describing military campaigns conducted by the Assyrians in the area ((KUR/URU) *a-ma-at/mat-* or *ḫa-*(*am-*)*ma-*(*at-*)*ta/e/i/u*, Hawkins 1972–1975: 67; Hawkins 2000: 400; Younger 2016: 427).

Two generalised periods of rule can be recognised in Hamath's 1st millennium history, namely a Hittite-Luwian or Neo-Hittite dynasty in the 9th century, which lasted until the last quarter of that century, followed by a number of Aramaic rulers from around 800 BCE until the city's destruction in 720 BCE (Lipiński 2000: 252). Hamath's blend of Aramaean and Hittite culture can be classified as Syro-Hittite.[8] One of the earliest references to the city in Assyrian sources is from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II (ca. 890–884 BCE) and refers to a sheikh from Lāqê (see Fig. 3) known as the "Man from Hamath" (*Ḫamatāya*, PNA 2/I: 446; Hawkins 2000: 400 and note 34; Younger 2016: 427; Simon 2019: 139–140).

Several historic kings are known to have ruled over Hamath; these are listed in Table 1 with an estimate of the minimum length of their reigns. The earliest known rulers are referenced in the Old Testament as To'i (*Ṯ'y*) and his son Joram/Haddoram, who were allegedly contemporaries of David of Judah and Israel around 1000 BCE (2Sam 8:9–10; 1Chr 18:9–10). It has been suggested that the name To'i originates in Hurrian, although this remains uncertain (Hawkins 2000: 400 and note 30). Furthermore, his son Joram's name appears to be Hebrew, though it was alternated in the Old Testament with Haddoram, a name containing the theophoric element Adad (Younger 2016: 146).

While some researchers have argued for an element of historic reality in this information (e.g., Richelle 2019: 203), others have considered it to be historically inaccurate (e.g., Lipiński 2000: 251 and note 11). However, recent research suggests that it is possible To'i may have been the historic king Taita (Steitler 2010: 93–95; see Richelle 2019: 204 and note 5). In the 11th century BCE, a dynasty of rulers established a state known as Palistin/Walistin (later Patina; Assyrian Unqi) in north-west Syria in the LBA, based at Tell Tayinat. This state likely incorporated Aleppo and Hamath in the 10th century BCE.[9] The kingdom may have been founded by a group of immigrating Sea Peoples called the Philistines (*Plšt*), possibly related to the people with the same name in the Old Testament (Hawkins 2011: 52; Weeden 2013: 11–19; Emanuel 2015:

7. The etymology of the name is uncertain, although it may originate in the word for "wall" (*ḥmt* in Ugaritic and related Semitic languages, del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 364–365) as a reference to a "protective fortress" (Krahmalkov 2000: 189; see KAI 3: 9). It remains unclear if the city was named by a Semitic-speaking people.

8. See Bryce 2012: 48.

9. Hawkins 2009: 166–168, 171–172; Hawkins 2011: 51–53; Singer 2012: 461–464; Weeden 2013: 11–16; Archi 2016: 36. Previously, it was believed that Hamath could have been part of another state's territory, such as Tunip, in the LBA (Hawkins 2000: 399; see also Younger 2016: 145; for Tunip, see Bryce 2009: 720).

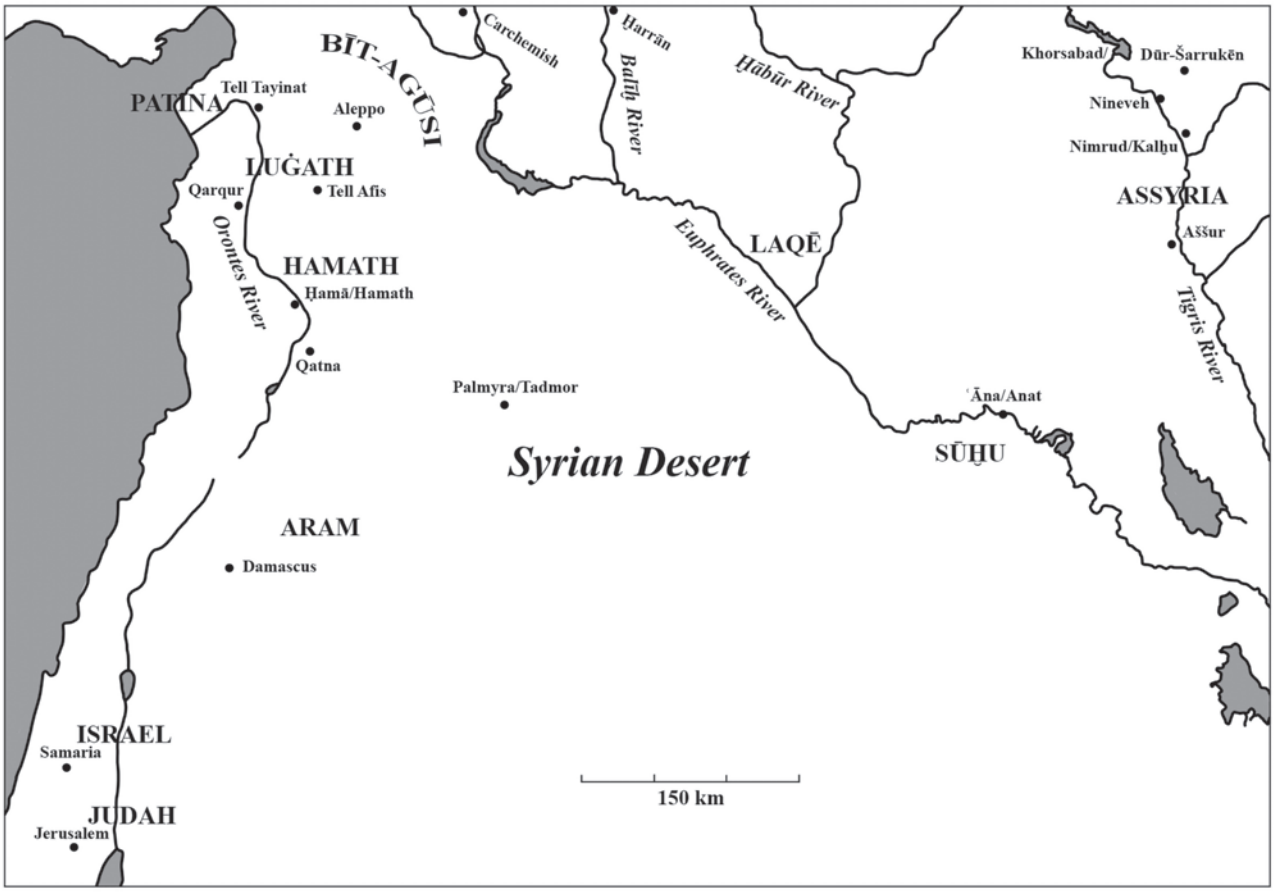


Fig. 3. Map of the Levant and western Assyria (drawn by the author).

17–25; see Payne 2012: 49 note 41). Regardless, these kings wrote their inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian.

In inscriptions from Aleppo and near Hamath (Meharde-Sheizar), Taita is mentioned as the king of Palistin (Hawkins 2009: 169–171; Hawkins 2011: 51; see Harrison 2014: 402–405; Archi 2016: 40). These inscriptions from Aleppo are dated to the 11th century BCE, whereas those from Meharde-Sheizar are believed to originate in the 10th century BCE (Hawkins 2011: 53; see Emanuel 2015: 14). It is therefore possible that the inscriptions from Meharde-Sheizar refer to a younger Taita than the one from Aleppo (for the Meharde-Sheizar inscriptions, see Hawkins 2000: 403, 416–419; Payne 2012: 47–50; Hawkins 2016: 190). Thus, two kings with the name Taita may have existed, the second one either a nephew or grandson of Taita I in the 11th century BCE. Taita II could therefore have ruled in the early 10th century BCE, at which time Palistin may have incorporated Hamath into its kingdom (Hawkins 2011: 53; Weeden 2013: 13, 15; Emanuel 2015: 14–15). Steitler (2010: 94–95) has argued how linguistic change may have caused Taita to appear as To'i in the Old Testament (cf. Simon 2019: 138 and note 62; see also Weeden 2013: 18). Consequently, Taita II is the most likely candidate for a historic identification of the Biblical To'i, if the correlation holds up

Years attested BCE	Ruler of Hamath	Contemporary rulers
Early 10th century	Taita II (=To'i?)	
Early 9th century	Parita	
853–845	Urḫilina/Irḫuleni	Shalmaneser III, Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri of Aram-Damascus
Ca. 840	Uratami(s)	Marduk-apla-uṣur of Sūḫu
Ca. 800–780	Zakkūr	Adad-nīrāri III
Second quarter of the 8th century	(Bar-ga'ya?)	
738	'Azri-Yau	Tiglath-pileser III
738–732	Eni-ilu	Tiglath-pileser III
720	Yau-bi'di/Ilu-bi'di	Sargon II

Table 1. Kings of Hamath.[11]

to future investigation.[10] Yet, it is still unclear why a king of Palistin would become king of Hamath in the Biblical tradition (Weeden 2013: 18), as well as what this king's exact relationship was to ancient Judah and Israel (Mazar 2007: 137; see Younger 2016: 146). In fact, so many uncertainties still exist that we should be cautious in drawing premature conclusions (Singer 2012: 471). Regardless, Hamath may have gained its independence during the 10th century (Richelle 2019: 204, 222).

The first independent Neo-Hittite king of Hamath to be attested in multiple inscriptions appears to be a certain Parita. Sadly, he is only known from inscriptions erected by his son Urḫilina (Payne 2012: 59–65). Furthermore, he is never supplied with a royal title, although he must have been Urḫilina's predecessor (Bryce 2012: 135). One of Urḫilina's inscriptions (HAMA 4, Hawkins 2000: 403–406) may even refer to both his father and an unnamed grandfather, which implies at least two generations of rulers before him in this dynasty (see Younger 2016: 447).

Parita's son Urḫilina is the first well-known king of Hamath. He is named in his own inscriptions, primarily excavated in secondary contexts, as well as in Assyrian accounts of campaigns in the region.[12] His name is Hurrian, and he is the first Hittite-Luwian king of Hamath who had hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions composed (Bryce 2012: 136 and note 24; Hawkins

10. Archi 2016: 36. Bryce (2012: 207) suggested the possibility that the ruling class of Hamath could have had ancestors who were part of the administrative elite installed in the region under Suppiluliuma I (1344–1322 BCE); see also Bryce (2009: 503). Alternatively, the Parita dynasty that ruled over Hamath may have been an offshoot of the dynasty of Palistin (Sader 2014: 23).

11. See Lipiński 2000: 318; cf. Younger 2016: 144, 447; Bryce 2012: 135–138. Insufficient documentation survives to determine even approximate timespans for the individual kings' reigns. See Hawkins (2016: 184) for a concise overview of what evidence is available.

12. Hawkins 1976–80: 162; Riis and Buhl 1990: 10–13. It has been suggested that Urḫilina may be depicted on Shalmaneser III's bronze bands from the Balawat gates, as the ruler on top of a citadel (Hawkins 1976–80: 162; for the depiction, see King 1915: Band XIII.6). It seems, however, unlikely that the city should be Hamath, as the city itself was not described in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions (see RIMA 3: 7–179, especially 140–148; cf. Riis and Buhl 1990: 10–13). Note that the attendant(?) behind the person on the reclining sofa is posed in a stance resembling Assyrian genies in palaces. Whether this should be taken as evidence for Assyrian influences present in Hamath at the time is unclear.

Fig. 4. The Kurkh Monolith (BM 118884, the Trustees of the British Museum).

2000: 400; Lipiński 2000: 252). Based on Assyrian sources, Urḫilina's reign must have been from at least 853–845 BCE (Hawkins 2000: 400). Assurnaṣirpal II (ca. 883–859 BCE) does not refer to Hamath in his annals, which may indicate that the kingdom was not important or was simply avoided for unknown reasons (Bryce 2012: 216). However, he did plunder the land of Luġath, although it remains uncertain whether or not Hamath controlled the northern region at this time (Younger 2016: 429, 447–448).

When Shalmaneser III (ca. 858–824 BCE) invaded Luġath around 853 BCE, he plundered several of Urḫilina's cities that were under Hamathite control (Hawkins 2000: 400; Hawkins 1976–80: 162). In inscriptions recounting Shalmaneser III's western campaigns in 853, 849, 848 and 845 BCE, the Assyrians encountered opposition from a coalition of states led by the ruler Hadad-ezer/Adad-idri of Aram-Damascus as well as the Hamathite Urḫilina (Younger 2016: 449, 449–473; Bryce 2012: 226–227, 236; Lipiński 2000: 252).[13] The first major battle between the coalition and Shalmaneser III was at the battle of Qarqar on the Orontes (possibly Tell Qarqur) in 853 BCE, which is described in detail on the so-called Kurkh Monolith.[14] Although Shalmaneser III formally declared the battle a victory, the outcome was likely less decisive.[15] It was only in 841, during a campaign against a new ruler of Damascus, the usurper Hazael, that Shalmaneser III did not encounter the anti-Assyrian coalition (Hawkins 2000: 400). Thus, there may also have been a change in the political situation at Hamath at some point between 845 and 841 BCE.[16]

The portrayal of struggles with Hamath could reflect this region's importance in the early reign of Shalmaneser III (Younger 2016: 458). Nonetheless, Shalmaneser III may ultimately have conquered the northern region Luġath, or subjected Urḫilina to tribute (Dion 1997: 139, 146; Richelle 2019: 215). Over a century later, Sargon II claimed that his ancestors had imposed tribute upon Urḫilina, although Shalmaneser III never stated this in his inscriptions (Hawkins 2004: 160; Younger 2016: 459–460, 472–473; see Lauinger and Batiuk 2015: 65). When the coalition collapsed, possibly because leadership changed in Aram-Damascus and Israel, Urḫilina may have had to come to terms with Shalmaneser III (Younger 2017: 265–266; ibid. 2016: 459–460; Bryce 2012: 236–237; Dion 1995: 483). However, this hypothesis is mainly dependent on the fact that the Assyrians were able to go through Hamathite territory in 841 BCE to attack Damascus, as well as a much later reference by Sargon

13. It is unclear of how many rulers the coalition consisted. Most Assyrian accounts reference 12 rulers, but only 11 are included in a complete list (RIMA 3: A.0.102.2 col. ii 90–95, A.0.102.6 col. ii 27–28+col. ii 61–62+col. iii 3–4+col. iii 27–28, A.0.102.8 lines 16'-17'+32'-33'+37'-38'+45'-46', A.0.102.10 col. iii 1–2+17–19, A.0.102.14 lines 59–61, A.0.102.16 lines 32+77'-79', A.0.102.28 lines 29–30, A.0.102.29 lines 12–13, A.0.102.30 lines 22–23; see Younger 2016: 461–462). Furthermore, it is unclear if the two leaders Hadad-ezer and Urḫilina were included as part of the 12 kings (ibid. 2017: 256–257), though their presence among the 11 rulers/groups in the above list does indicate that they were considered as such. For a study of Shalmaneser III's inscriptions relating to his western campaigns, see Yamada 2000.

14. Younger 2016: 449–467; Bryce 2012: 226–230; see Fugmann 1958: 268. The text was written on the stele in a hurry, seeing as it contains multiple mistakes. It was likely written in late 853 or in 852 BCE (RIMA 3: 11). If written in late 853, the hastily inscribed stele could support the conclusion that Shalmaneser's victory at Qarqar was not as conclusive as the text suggests.

15. Younger 2016: 458–459; Bryce 2012: 230; Hawkins 2000: 400. Unlike other battles from the campaign, this one does not seem to have been depicted on the Balawat gates (Younger 2016: 459; Curtis and Tallis 2015: 62; Hertel 2004: 309; see RIMA 3: A.0.102.63–86; King 1915: Band IX.2, Band XIII.4). RIMA 3: A.0.102.76 mentions that Shalmaneser III captured the city Qarqar, and RIMA 3: A.0.102.86 refers to the "Battle against the land of the people of Ḫamat". In a reorganisation of Shalmaneser III's bronze bands, Hertel (2004: 313) argued that the narrative on the Balawat gates is "not similar to other annalistic inscriptions made during the reign of Shalmaneser". It contains a number of summaries, of which some are concerned with geography, antagonists, or dated events of importance (ibid.). Still, the exact structure of the bronze bands remains debated (see recently Curtis and Tallis 2015: 62 with bibliography). Due to the lack of certain dates and text on the bands, some episodes are unclear.

16. Note Parpola's suggestion that Hamath had a pro-Assyrian policy around 841 BCE (Parpola 1990: 262 and note 18).

Fig. 5. Clay tablet with cylinder seal impressions containing Luwian hieroglyphs (5A496, the National Musem of Denmark, photograph by Roberto Fortuna).

II to tribute imposed on Hamath by his forefathers (see above).

Both Urḫilina and his son Uratami produced a small number of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, which attest to their various building activities (Payne 2012: 59–65; Hawkins 2000: 398, 403–413, 421; see Hawkins 2016: 184 for an overview). Sadly, most of these were discovered in secondary contexts before or after the Danish excavations (Hawkins 2000: 402). The inscriptions were generally dedicated to the goddess Baʿlat (Pahalatis in Luwian), which suggests a Phoenician influence (Niehr 2014b: 335–336; Lipiński 2000: 252; Hawkins 1972–1975: 68). Note that one of Urḫilina's inscriptions is dedicated to Tarḫunzas, the weather-god and likely the consort of Baʿlat (Niehr 2014a: 167; Hawkins 2000: 407). The cult of Baʿlat continued into the succeeding Aramaic dynasty, even though the later ruler Zakkūr dedicated a stele from Tell Afis to the god Baʿalšamayin (Niehr 2014b: 336). Both the deities originate in Byblos (Niehr 2014a: 167). Urḫilina claims in his inscriptions that he constructed a temple[17] and a granary dedicated to Baʿlat, in ad-

17. Urḫilina's inscriptions HAMA 4 and 5 were likely doorjambs for the temple of Pahalatis and the storm-god described in the individual texts (Hawkins 2000: 402; see Hawkins 2016: 184–185; see Riis and Buhl 1990: 28–33).

dition to building several unnamed cities.[18] Furthermore, an inscription by Urḫilina was discovered at Hines, some 70 km north of Kalḫu (ibid.: 408–409). Although Landsberger (1948: 33 note 66) originally suggested that Urḫilina could have advanced into Assyria with military force, the inscription may instead have been copied by an Assyrian scribe from booty taken back by Shalmaneser III or Sargon II (Hawkins 2000: 409; Lipiński 2000: 299).

It is unclear when Urḫilina's son Uratami came to power (cf. Younger 2016: 474). The name Uratami is Luwian (Bryce 2012: 136 and note 24; Hawkins 2000: 400), and some hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Hamath were written during his reign. The inscriptions describe the construction of a fortress or sections of a city wall, presumably in the city of Hamath (Hawkins 2016: 186–187; Bryce 2012: 136; Hawkins 2000: 413).[19] During Uratami's reign, the kingdom of Hamath may have cultivated political or trade relations with the kingdom Sūḫu on the Euphrates (see discussion in Chapter 8). A letter excavated in Building III at Hamath is the sole, albeit important, evidence for this connection (Text 1). It was sent to Rudamu in Hamath, who should perhaps be identified as Uratami (see commentary to Text 1), by a certain Marduk-apla-uṣur mentioned in relation to the city Anat/ʿĀna in the land Sūḫu on the Euphrates. He may be identified as the Sūḫean whose tribute is referenced on Shalmaneser III's Black Obelisk (RIMA 3: 150 text A.0.102.90; PNA 2/II: 711; Parpola 1990: 260–261; Clancier 2021: 343–344, 351–354). The letter cannot be dated precisely, but Marduk-apla-uṣur's tribute on the Black Obelisk can be placed between ca. 840–832 BCE.[20]

This letter has been used to establish a connection between these two kingdoms in the second half of the 9th century BCE (e.g., Parpola 1990: 264; Clancier 2021: 353–354), though in Richelle's (2019: 209) opinion, the letter only "presupposes some common trade interest between Hamath and Sūḫu" (cf. Clancier 2021: 356). Still, it is clear that important trade routes leading out of Sūḫu went through Hamath in the 1st millennium.[21] Various Hamathite personages are known from the Lāqê area where the Ḫābūr meets the Euphrates, and certain areas in Lāqê may have been under Hamathite control in the 9th century. The Aramaic ruler Zakkūr of Hamath allegedly came from the Sūḫean city Anat (see below), and there existed a partially shared cuneiform ductus between Hamath and Sūḫu (see Chapter 9). Yet, the extent of the kingdom of Hamath during Uratami's reign remains unclear. Younger (2016: 475–476 with references) deems it unlikely that Uratami extended his power as far as his father had, though a reference to Ḫalabeans in one of Uratami's inscriptions indicates that he may

18. Bryce 2012: 135; Gonnet 2010: 98–99; Hawkins 2000: 403–411. Urḫilina also claims to have constructed a seat for every god (Hawkins 2016: 184–185). Several deities were celebrated in the kingdom of Hamath throughout the 9th and 8th centuries. An additional deity, Ašima', is stated in the Old Testament to have been celebrated in Hamath (Niehr 2014a: 169–170, 385). A deity celebrated at Hamath in the 3rd millennium BCE was Hadabal with his consort "the Lady" (Archi 2015: 619–621, 756–757). See also note 91.

19. It is possible that the inscriptions were originally placed within a gate or the relevant sections of the wall described in some inscriptions (Hawkins 2016: 187; Hawkins 2000: 402–403). If so, it is possible to speculate that a number of "river lands" (i.e., areas of the Orontes or districts under Hamathite control) mentioned in these inscriptions were responsible for constructing the building/wall(s). Alternatively, these people may have been those garrisoned at each post (see Hawkins 2016: 187; Younger 2016: 474).

20. Parpola (1990: 261) has suggested the year 838 BCE as the time of his tribute, though this remains hypothetical (cf. Clancier 2021: 353). Younger (2016: 474) places his tribute between 842–832 BCE. RIMA 3 (150 text A.0.102.091) suggests that the last tribute on the Black Obelisk can be dated to either 857, 853, or 848 in accordance with Shalmaneser III's annals.

21. Grawlikowski 1983: 54; Parpola 1990: 260; Graslin-Thomé 2009: 309; Hawkins 2016: 187; Clancier 2021: 156. It is worth noting that Graslin-Thomé and Clancier do not recognise a route leading from Sūḫu through Tadmor/Palmyra to Hamath, which is otherwise listed by Grawlikowski, Parpola, and Hawkins. Clancier (2021: 119–121), however, states that mapping wadis and wells were beyond his study, and, thus, future historical-geographical work may illuminate additional routes or nuance our current view on paths leading from the Euphrates to Hamath.

have controlled Aleppo (= Ḫalab, Richelle 2019: 217; Hawkins 2000: 413–414). Little is known about the beginning or end of Uratami's reign, and the only certainty is that – at present – he is the last known Neo-Hittite ruler of Hamath (Bryce 2012: 136).

Due to the many uncertainties concerning the length of Uratami's reign, the end of the 9th century is obscure.[22] The next ruler of Hamath, however, appears to be an Aramaean named Zakkūr, who is described as a native of Anat on the Euphrates (Clancier 2021: 361–362; Dion 1997: 147–162; Millard 1990: 52; Riis and Buhl 1990: 13–14). Although it is uncertain when he came to power, he was likely a usurper, perhaps a former army commander, who seized the throne around 800 BCE.[23] Zakkūr's reign is difficult to date, as there are numerous uncertainties as to the order in which events transpired. The main inscription from his reign is found on an Aramaic stele excavated at Tell Afis (Ḫaḏarik, Hadrach, Akkadian *Ḫatarikka*) in the northern part of Hamath in the region Luġath (= Luʿaš/*lʿš*, Akkadian *Luḫuti*), in which he is called "Zakkūr, king of Ḥamath and Luʿaš".[24] The stele recounts how Zakkūr resisted an attack on and siege of Ḫaḏarik by a coalition of 16 kings led by Bar-Hadad II of Damascus (Hawkins 2016: 187–188; Bryce 2012: 137, 177, 249; Lipiński 2000: 399; Dion 1997: 150–152; see Mazzoni 2001: 105 note 5 with further references). The stele indicates that the opposition to Zakkūr's coming to power was a regional concern (Younger 2016: 481).

Fig. 6. Fragment of an obelisk from Adad-nīrāri III mentioning Zakkūr (drawn by the author after Reade 1981: pl. XX photo c).

It is unclear when exactly the events described in Zakkūr's stele transpired. It has been suggested that they can be linked to the Assyrian campaign to the western Hamathite city Manṣuāte in 796 BCE, which was the only campaign undertaken in Syria between the years 803 and 773.[25] It is therefore possible that

22. Note Younger's tentative suggestion regarding a possible mention of Hazael of Aram-Damascus on a fragment of an Aramaic stele from Tell Afis dated to the last part of the 9th century BCE (Younger 2016: 475–476 and notes 199–200 with references).

23. Younger 2016: 476; Lipiński 2000: 284–285, 302; Dion 1997: 147. It is unclear if he gained power in Hamath or Ḫaḏarik/Ḫatarikka, and whether Hamath was annexed to Luġath or vice versa (Mazzoni 2001: 105–106; Ikeda 1979: 82–84). Yet, Dion (1997: 148) considers it most likely that he claimed Hamath first. See also Millard 1990; Kraeling 1966: 95–104; Fugmann 1958: 268.

24. *zkr* : *mlk* : [*ḥ*]*mt* : *wlʿš*, KAI 202A line 1; Lipiński 2000: 254–255 and notes 26–27; Pognon 1907–08: 156–178. His stele was presumably dedicated to Iluwer/Ilu-wēr/Elwer (*ʾlwr*), a weather-god known in the eastern and northern parts of Syria, especially in the area between Tuttul and Anat on the Euphrates (Younger 2016: 443; Niehr 2014a: 168; Schwemer 2001: 200–210; Millard 1990: 51). For Zakkūr's stele, see also Niehr 2020: 71–78.

25. Lipiński 2000: 254–255, 311; Millard 1994: 57; cf. Younger 2016: 481–483. Four dates have been suggested for the siege of Ḫaḏarik, namely just before 805, slightly later in 804, 796, and 772 BCE (see recently Younger 2016: 481–486 with references). These are the years when the Assyrians campaigned in Syria (Millard 1994: 57–58), and it is the period to which most researchers are comfortable placing Zakkūr's reign. The question is how Zakkūr's stele related to the border agreement outlined in the Antakya stele and when this inscription should be dated. Seeing as Zakkūr's deliverance at Ḫaḏarik is

Zakkūr won his victory through the support of the Assyrian army (Hawkins 2000: 401; Lipiński 2000: 310; Dion 1997: 153–154). Further evidence includes the Antakya stele erected under the supervision of the Assyrian commander-in-chief (*turtānu*) Šamšī-ilu, and it records a border agreement between the kings of Hamath and Bīt-Agūsi, in favour of the latter.[26] It has been speculated that the Assyrian campaign in 796 BCE coincided with the events described on Zakkūr's stele and the border agreement between Bīt-Agūsi and Hamath.[27] Seeing as the stele references the commander Šamšī-ilu, who likely became *turtānu* around 780 BCE, the stele should probably be dated to the 780s (Siddall 2013: 118; Fuchs 2008: 131–135; cf. Lipiński 2000: 284). A fragment of an obelisk illustrated in Fig. 6 dates to the reign of Adad-nīrāri III (ca. 810–783 BCE), and it seems to depict a person with the name Zakkūr (^{m}*Za-ku-*[*ri*$^{?}$]) providing tribute to the Assyrian king (Reade 1981: pl. XX photo c; Lipiński 2000: 302 and note 346; Younger 2016: 484–486; for Adad-nīrāri, see Siddall 2013). If this person is identical to Zakkūr of Hamath, the fragment may illustrate that he was a vassal of the Assyrian state (see Hawkins 2000: 400–401; Bryce 2012: 330 note 43).

Zakkūr may have ruled from Ḫaḏarik, which could also have served as his capital, as it was the centre of the northern region Luġath (Bryce 2012: 133–134; Lipiński 2000: 257; see also Bryce 2009: 296; Dion 1997: 143–146). On his stele, we find the first, and only, occurrence of the title "king of Hamath and Luġath", which may hint at the important nature of the region for Zakkūr (Richelle 2019: 215). Ḫaḏarik is also attested as the seat of a NA governor in the 7th century BCE (Radner 2006–8a: 58 no. 50), and perhaps the Hamathite court stayed largely at Ḫaḏarik following Zakkūr's reign.

Though it is unclear how a man from Anat became the ruler of a major state in the Levant, it is plausible that Zakkūr was a mercenary. In a slightly later royal inscription from the independent governor Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur of Sūḫu, there is a reference to an Aramaic raiding party in Sūḫu consisting of several thousand men from various areas, and the second-in-command was a certain Yâ'e the son of Balammu, a man from Hamath.[28] Presumably, organised raiding parties were not abnormal, and it is possible that Zakkūr was involved in similar clandestine undertakings in the late 9th century BCE.

When did Zakkūr's reign end? Besides the information supplied by the three sources discussed above, it is almost impossible to reconstruct his time as king. It is therefore unclear when he died and who succeeded him. Presumably, he must have ruled in the first quarter of the 8th century. The events in the Antakya stele could therefore have occurred during one of the final years of his reign, when Zakkūr's power was perhaps weakened. The ruler(s) of Hamath from the second quarter of the 8th century until Tiglath-pileser III's reign (ca. 745–727 BCE) are unknown (see Lipiński

generally regarded as an event in the beginning of his reign, it should probably be dated before the Antakya stele, which may indicate a weakening of power at a later date (e.g., the 780s). As discussed by Na'aman (1991: 85–86), the date 804 is possible, in addition to 796 BCE, while earlier as well as later dates should be disregarded (see Younger 2016: 482–483; Lipiński 2000: 284, 305–311; Dion 1997: 150–152). On the basis of a range of chronological issues, the date 796 BCE is often considered the most likely year (see the recent discussion in Younger 2016: 482–484; Lipiński 2000: 309–310 and note 405; Jepsen 1941–1944: 170).

26. RIMA 3: 201–203 A.0.104.1; Richelle 2019: 217–220; Siddall 2013: 55–56, 59, 69; Dion 1997: 154–156; Grayson 1990: 203–204; Donbaz 1990: 6–7; see Hawkins 2016: 187–188; Ikeda 2003: 91–99; Hawkins 2000: 399. For Šamšī-ilu, see Dalley 2000; Fuchs 2008; Siddall 2013: 118–127.

27. E.g., Bagg 2019: 13; Harrison 2001: 119–120; cf. Lipiński 2000: 283–285 who dates it to 807 or 806 BCE and Younger 2016: 485–486, who dates it after 805, possibly even in the later years of Zakkūr's reign.

28. Dion 1995: 487; IM 95917 col. i 17: … ^{m}*ia-a-a'-e* DUMU ^{m}*ba-la-am-mu* ^{lú}*a-mat-a-a* (Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: Text no. 2; Sūḫu online Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur 2 (= Q006212; accessed 13/05/2021)). As noted by Dalley (2000: 88), these are regarded as tribal people by some researchers, although this was likely not the case. Instead, they were presumably warriors from established cities. Furthermore, such groups seem to have been highly organised (see Clancier 2021: 462–463).

2000: 313; Bryce 2012: 137). Only one individual has been proposed as a possible ruler of Hamath in these hazy decades, namely a mysterious individual named Bar-ga'ya ruling the presumably powerful Aramaean state in northern Syria called *Ktk*.[29] While this land is as yet unidentified, it is possible that the name refers to an already known kingdom. In general, much of the history of the region in this period is obscure (Younger 2016: 486–487).

The Assyrians campaigned to Ḫaḏarik in 772, 765 and 755 under the command of the semi-autonomous *turtānu* Šamšī-ilu, indicating that the region experienced an unstable situation at this time.[30] However, it is unclear whether they attacked the city or came to its aid (Richelle 2019: 218; Hawkins 2000: 401). Regardless, the archaeological evidence from Tell Afis indicates a flourishing Aramaean city during the 8th century BCE (Soldi 2009: 104). Was Hamath simply pro-Assyrian throughout this period, as suggested by Bryce (264), or did the kingdom experience more freedom for a brief period, as suggested by Bagg (2017: 269–270)? Certainly, the Assyrian campaigns indicate a weakening of Hamathite control in Luġath, as well as other regions, in the decades leading up to the middle of the 8th century. Furthermore, a weakening of Hamath may be mirrored in an account in the Old Testament (2Kings 14:28), where Jeroboam II allegedly expanded the kingdom of Israel in this period (e.g., Lipiński 2000: 311–313; Younger 2016: 489–492). Nevertheless, the areas held by Hamath around 800 BCE may largely have been the same when Tiglath-pileser III began his western expansion (Richelle 2019: 219–220; see Dion 1997: 155).

In 738, Tiglath-pileser III suppressed a rebellion in Syria by Tutamuwa of Patina and an otherwise unknown leader named ʿAzri-Yau.[31] None of the available inscriptions make it clear which state ʿAzri-Yau ruled, although one text from Tiglath-pileser III's reign indicates a possible connection to Hamath: "I annexed to Assyria (those) nineteen districts of the city Hamath … which had been criminally <and> sinfully seized for ʿAzri-Yau".[32] Who was this ʿAzri-Yau? As outlined elsewhere (e.g., RINAP 1: 40; Younger 2016: 493) there are currently two viable proposals identifying him respectively as Azariah, the king of Judah (e.g., Tadmor 1961), and as an otherwise unattested king of Ḫaḏarik and Hamath (Na'aman 1995: 276–277 with references). The suggestion by Na'aman seems most viable at present. The first element of ʿAzri-Yau's name is likely Hebrew or Phonician whereas the second contains a Yahwistic element (Younger 2016: 493; "Yahweh is my help", PNA 1/I: 240). He shares the theophoric element with the later ruler Yau-bi'di's name ("Yahweh is behind me", PNA 2: 497). Regardless, we should probably not read too much into these attestations regarding their cultural origins, as Yahweh worship seems to have spread into the areas belonging to Hamath by the 8th century BCE (e.g., Dalley 1990; Lipiński 2000: 314–315; cf. Younger 2016: 493 and note 248). In the inscription quoted above, ʿAzri-Yau was accused of criminal rebellion, which Lipiński (2000: 314 and note 427) interpreted as a reference to a pre-existing vassal treaty. If such a treaty existed, ʿAzri-Yau would have been an Assyrian vassal before 738, though this remains entirely hypothetical. It

29. Bryce 2012: 137; Hawkins 2000: 389–390 and note 24 with references; cf. Lipiński 2000: 225–227. Bar-ga'ya was part of a treaty with Mati'ilu who ruled Arpad before it was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III in 740 BCE (Bryce 2012: 137). This treaty is inscribed in Aramaic on Sefire stele I (Fitzmyer 1995: 42–55, 59–60). The kingdom *Ktk* was located somewhere in northern Syria to the west of Carchemish in the 8th century BCE (Lipiński 2000: 221–230; Bryce 2009: 394). Wazana (2008: 714 note 5, 730–731 notes 48 and 50) provides in-depth discussions of previous suggestions that identify Bar-ga'ya as, e.g., Aššur-nīrāri V or the *turtānu* Šamšī-ilu. These suggestions all remain speculative. No direct evidence links Bar-ga'ya or the kingdom to Hamath.

30. Hawkins 2016: 189; Lipiński 2000: 312; Millard 1994: 58–59; see Younger 2016: 486–487. The campaign in 765 may even have experienced the outbreak of an epidemic (Millard 1994: 58).

31. RINAP 1: 42–44 text 13, 76 text 31; Younger 2016: 492; Dion 1997: 167–168; Hawkins 2000: 401. His name is written ^{m}*az-ri-ia-a-ú* and ^{m}*az-ri-a-ú*.

32. RINAP 1: 76 text 31 lines 5–8: … 19 *na-ge-e ša* ^{uru}*ḫa-am-ma-at-ti* … ^{6} … ^{7} *ša i-na ḫi-iṭ-ṭi* <*ù*> *gul-lul-te a-na* ^{m}*az-ri-ia-a-ú e-ki-i-mu* ^{8} *a-na mi-ṣir* KUR *aš-šur* GUR-*ra* …

Fig. 7. Yau-bi'di being flayed at Sargon II's court (reproduced after Botta and Flandin 1849: room VIII reliefs 24–25).

has been suggested that ʿAzri-Yau could have been taken prisoner and deported to Assyria for sentencing (Na'aman 1995: 276–277).

Having beaten the rebellion, Tiglath-pileser III reduced the Hamathite kingdom and added large parts of it to Assyria in the form of two provinces, namely, the Ṣumur/Ṣimirra province, west of the Orontes, and the Ḫatarikka province, roughly corresponding to Luġath (Richelle 2019: 222–223; Hawkins 2016: 189; Lipiński 2000: 315; see Younger 2016: 492, 494–495; Radner 2006–8: 66). Hamath itself was left as a vassal state with the Assyrian nominee Eni-ilu as the puppet ruler.[33] However, the evidence for Eni-ilu is very limited, and the events during his time as ruler are

33. See Younger 2016: 495; Bryce 2012: 269; Hawkins 2000: 401; Lipiński 2000: 296, 314–316 and note 427. Eni-ilu is only attested in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions where his name is consistently written $^{\text{p}}$*e-ni-ìl* (RINAP 1: 47 text 14 line 11, 77 text 32 line 4, 122 text 47 rev. 8'). Texts 14 and 32 can be dated to 738 (see Younger 2016: 495 note 256 with references), but text 47 should be dated to 732 (RINAP 1: 115–116).

not clear.[34] The length of his reign is unknown, but he may still have been on the throne in 732 BCE.[35] It has been speculated that Hamath was annexed during the Assyrian war on Damascus in 733–732 BCE (Radner 2006–8: 61; cf. Hawkins 2016: 189).

Following Tiglath-pileser III's western conquests in the 730s, Hamath must have played a marginal role in Syrian politics for the remainder of his reign and during the rule of Shalmaneser V. The last known ruler of Hamath before the city's destruction in 720 BCE is a certain Yau-bi'di/Ilu-bi'di.[36] In the so-called "Ashur Charter", Sargon II justifies his actions against Hamath by denouncing Yau-bi'di as its unlawful leader (Bryce 2012: 275–276; Saggs 1975: 11–20). He therefore seems to have been instrumental in organising a revolt when Sargon II became king of Assyria in 722 BCE (Lipiński 2000: 316). This revolt involved the newly formed provinces, as well as the surrounding regions Samaria, Bīt-Agūsi, Ṣimirra, and Damascus (Richelle 2019: 223–224; Younger 2016: 496; Bryce 2012: 275–276; Lipiński 2000: 316). An early version of Sargon II's annals indicates that Yau-bi'di and his accomplices killed every Assyrian they could find when Sargon II became king (Frahm 2013: 46). The rebellion culminated in 720 BCE when Sargon II crushed the opposition and captured Yau-bi'di during a battle near Qarqar, which had also been the battleground where the Assyrians fought Urḫilina's coalition some 100 years before (Younger 2016: 498). After his defeat, Yau-bi'di and his family were taken to Assyria where he himself was flayed alive at court, an event depicted on a relief from Khorsabad (Fig. 7).[37] Hamath was sacked and its people deported to Samaria,[38] although some military units were incorporated into the Assyrian army (Lipiński 2000: 317; Hawkins 1972–75: 69). Sargon subsequently prided himself with the title "uprooter of Hamath", and he erected stelae in strategic locations throughout the region, including Hamath, in the years following his victory.[39] A number of rebel Assyrians, who had not supported Sargon's accession to the throne, were resettled in Hamath, and the kingdom's remaining territories may have been divided

34. See Richelle 2019: 223 with references. Thus, an alternative, and hypothetical, narrative places ʿAzri-Yau as a rebel leader attempting to detach the northern part of Hamath, to force this region from the hands of the current ruler Eni-ilu (Bryce 2012: 137, 264–265). While it is entirely possible that ʿAzri-Yau was not a ruler beforehand, he may have been an integral part of Hamathite society or its army, which could have allowed him to instigate a rebellion.

35. Furthermore, Lipiński (2000: 298, 316) suggested that Eni-ilu was mentioned in a letter as ʿAyn-ilu to Tiglath-pileser III (ND 2766). However, the edition in SAA 19: 42 no. 37 line 12 shows the transliteration is ^{m}*A-i-ni*-DINGIR, which the editors transcribe as Aini-El. Nonetheless, this may be the same person (see also PNA 1/I: 94, Aini-ilu).

36. Riis and Buhl 1990: 14–15. His name was written ^{m}*i-lu-*(*ú*)*-bi-i'-di* (RINAP 2: text 1 line 23, text 43 line 25) and $^{m.d}$*ia-ú-bi-i'-di* (RINAP 2: text 7 line 33, text 35 line 1, text 73 line 8, text 76 line 17', text 81 line 4, text 84 line 18'(?), text 89 obv. 17(?), text 89 lo.e. 22, text 103 col. ii 53, text 108 fragm. D line 7', cf. text 117 col. ii 4; see also RINAP online; Fuchs 1994: 410). He is called an "evil Hittite", as well as a "Hamathean", by Sargon II (Hawkins 2000: 401 and note 55).

37. Younger 2016: 498; Lipiński 2000 and notes 447–448; Albenda 1986: pl. 78, room 8 slabs 24–25; Botta and Flandin 1849: room VIII reliefs 24–25. It is uncertain if the relief shows two depictions of Yau-bi'di, one in chains and one where he is being flayed by an Assyrian official with a small scalpel, or a separate official in chains in front of Yau-bi'di while he is being flayed. The text over Yau-bi'di reads: "Ya<u>-bi'[di the Hama]thean, I flayed his skin" (^{m}*ia-*<*ú*>*-bi-i'-*[*di* KUR *a-ma*]*-ta-a-a* $^{\text{line 2}}$ [*ma*]*-šak-šú a-k*[*u*]-$^{\lceil}$*uṣ*$^{\rceil}$, Fuchs 1994: 278, 364 VIII:25; El-Amin 1954: pl. 21). A cylinder inscription adds: "(I am) he who dyed the skin of the rebel Ilu-bi'di as (red-dyed) *nabāsu*-wool" (*ša ma-šak* ^{m}*i-lu-bi-i'-di ḫa-am-ma-'i-i iṣ-ru-pu na-ba-si-iš*, Fuchs 1994: 35 line 25; Reiner 2006: 327 and note 12; Younger 2016: 498; Thavapalan 2020: 306). Whether or not the verb *ṣarāpu* should be taken literally as an indication that Yau-bi'di's skin was tanned is unclear (see Younger 2016: 498 with references). Note, also, the wordplay between the land *Ḫamattu/Amattu* and the word for rebel *ḫammā'u*.

38. Radner 2018: 109–113. Especially the square between Buildings I-III at the citadel bear witness to the city's violent destruction (Fugmann 1958: 198).

39. Richelle 2019: 206 and notes 19–20; Frahm 2018b: 59–81; Hawkins 2016: 189–190; Younger 2016: 499; Frame 2006 with additional references. Sargon II also chose to place a stele at Hamath late in his reign recording his earlier conquest of the region (Hawkins 2004: 163–164).

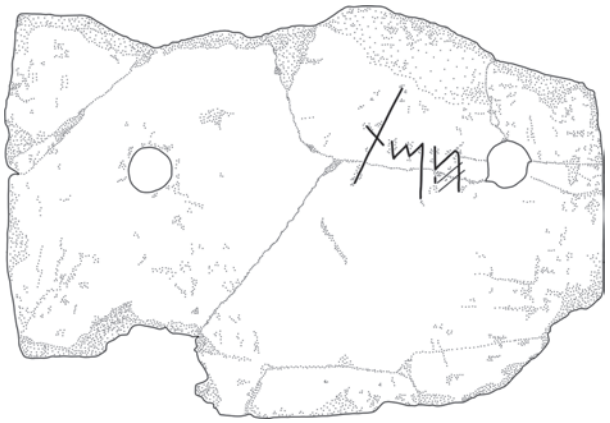


Fig. 8. Ivory label from Fort Shalmaneser with the name Hamath inscribed in Aramaic (drawn by the author after an image of BM 132994 on the British Museum website).

between the Assyrian provinces Ṣôbā and Manṣuāte.[40]

At Nimrud, and particularly at Fort Shalmaneser, excavators found numerous artefacts originating from Hamath and Luġath.[41] The excavators discovered several ivories, among these a label inscribed in Aramaic with the name Hamath (*ḥmt*, Fig. 8) and a triangular plaque with the regional name Luʿaš in room SW37 of Fort Shalmaneser.[42] Additionally, shell fragments (clappers or castanets?) were excavated in room T.10 inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphs spelling Urḫilina's name (Barnett 1963: 82–84; Hawkins 2000: 402, 410–411). A similar object was also excavated at Hamath on the ramp leading through Building I.[43] It has been suggested that these items were brought to Assyria during the reign of Shalmaneser III as diplomatic gifts or were taken by Sargon II as trophies.[44]

Geographically, the kingdom of Hamath seems to have controlled regions outside the immediate heartland of the city itself, throughout the first centuries of the 1st millennium.[45] However, its borders fluctuated depending on the various surrounding states, and the extent of the kingdom in several periods is unknown (Richelle 2019: 203; see also the discussions in Na'aman 2002: 291–295; ibid. 2006: 359–361, 369–373). At least from the time of Shalmaneser III, a region named Luġath in Aramaic, located to the north of Hamath and south of Aleppo, appears to have been part of the kingdom, with the city Ḫaḏarik

40. Lipiński 2000: 317; Hawkins 2000: 401; Hawkins 2016: 190; Younger 2016: 498. Yet, Sargon II states in his inscriptions that "I set a eunuch of mine as [provincial] gov[ernor] over them …" in reference to the 6,300 Assyrian criminals he resettled in the land of Hamath (RINAP 2: text 103 col. ii 63–64: ^{lú}*šu-ut* SAG-*ia* ^{lú}EN.[NAM] ^{64} UGU-*šú-nu áš-kun-ma* …; cf. Hawkins 2016: 190; Hawkins 1972–75: 69). For later letters from a possible governor of (the land of) Hamath, see SAA 1 nos. 171–176 and Fales 2002.

41. Note that Dion (1997: 162 and note 109) assigns a bronze bowl to Hamath, although its origins are unclear. For the bowl, see Barnett 1967: 3 item N19 and pl. V no. 1.

42. ND 10151 and ND 10359. See Barnett 1963; Millard 1962; see Younger 2016: 429; <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=368917&partId=1> (accessed 24/03/2020). Remains of an ivory workshop were discovered at the citadel of Hamath level E (Riis 1963: 205–206).

43. Riis and Buhl 1990: 213 Fig. 98 no. 800, 215; Hawkins 2000: 421. In the doorway between Rooms V and W in the North-West Palace at Nimrud, an oblong ivory relief panel, probably from a larger composition, contain an Egyptian motif with a cartouche and a name written with Egyptian hieroglyphs. Barnett (1963: 81) suggested that the name could represent Yau-bi'di, although it remains speculative (see also Riis and Buhl 1990: 16; <https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=365318&page=1.&partId=1&searchText=118120> (accessed 24/03/2020); cf. Kitchen 2009: 161–162).

44. E.g., Mallowan 1966: 472, 595; Bryce 2012: 136; Hawkins 2016: 186; Younger 2016: 460. In fact, it is not impossible that some of the objects were taken by Shalmaneser III during his conquest of other cities in the Hamath region. A similar situation can be found regarding a small cylinder of black stone with white veins discovered at Assur, but originally taken by Shalmaneser III at Malaḫa, a royal city of Hazael of Damascus (RIMA 3: 151 A.0.102.92).

45. For a general overview, see Richelle 2019; Hawkins 2000: 399; Hawkins 1972–75: 67. For the cities of Hamath and possible modern identifications, see Bagg 2019: 10 and note 53. During Tiglath-pileser III's conquest, 19 districts of the land of Hamath were conquered and annexed (Sader 2014: 25; see Hawkins 2000: 399 and notes 24–25). For a description of Hamath and neighboring regions in the NA sources, see Tenu 2016.

functioning as the regional centre.[46] The area may have been part of the state Patina until some point during the reign of Assurnaṣirpal II (Richelle 2019: 211), though Hawkins (2000: 400 and note 36) argues that Luġath was part of Hamath already during the reign of Assurnaṣirpal II.

Generally, Hamath shared its northern border with Bīt-Agūsi/Arpad and Patina (for Arpad, see Dušek 2019). Following Shalmaneser III's unsuccessful campaigns into Syria, it is possible that the state Arpad was a vassal of Hamath for some time, and perhaps Aleppo was under their sphere of influence (Lipiński 2000: 297). A region west and south-west of Aleppo may also have been part of the kingdom at some point in the 9th century (ibid.: 282).[47] Somewhere between the reign of Shalmaneser III in the second half of the 9th century and the reign of Tiglath-pileser III in the third quarter of the 8th century, Hamath likely expanded to the west (Richelle 2019: 206). However, Hamath's western border generally seems to have been the mountain range Jebel Ansariyah (Younger 2016: 429).

Some of the desert areas to the east of Hamath were likely part of the kingdom at some point, although we know little about their historic developments (Lipiński 2000: 318; Dion 1997: 157; see Dalley 2000: 88). At least during the time of Uratami in the 9th century BCE, the kingdom may even have covered part of the region known as Lāqê, located where the Ḫābūr meets the Euphrates.[48] The city Dūr-Katlimmu was located in the northern part of this area.[49] The regions Lāqê and Sūḫu on the Euphrates were important areas for caravan routes leading from Babylonia to the Mediterranean, and it has been proposed that Hamath controlled routes leading through Tadmor/Palmyra to and from Lāqê and Sūḫu.[50] Although the extent of Hamath's control over areas on the Euphrates and Ḫābūr remains hypothetical (Richelle 2019: 208–211), a connection existed between Hamath and Anat in Sūḫu (see above and Chapter 8). Together with the references to Hamatheans on the Euphrates referenced above, these factors indicate that people from Hamath yielded periodical influence in the region of Lāqê.[51]

Finally, the early 1st millennium kingdom of Ṣôbā may have formed the southern extent of the Hamathite

46. Richelle 2019: 205, 211–212; Younger 2016: 427–429; Bryce 2009: 423; Mazzoni 2001: 110; Lipiński 2000: 257–258; Dion 1997: 137–146; Hawkins 1972–75: 68 with references; cf. Sader 2014: 33. For a discussion of the location of cities belonging to Hamath at the time of Shalmaneser III, see Lipiński 2000: 258–266. For a chronological overview of historic and archaeological data from various sites in the Levant, including Hamath and Tell Afis, see Mazzoni 2001: 102–103. See also ibid.: 106–109 for a discussion of the geography of Luġath. For a recent discussion of the region Luġath/Luʿaš, see Sader 2018: 120–122.

47. From the 7th century BCE, though, a connection between people from Hamath and society at Til Barsip in northern Syria can be observed in an administrative text mentioning a Hamathean as the father of a witness (Dalley 1996–97: 82–84 Text no. 13). Furthermore, the early 1st millennium ruler Hapatilas of Arpad may have died in Anat in Sūḫu, perhaps underlining a relationship between the Til Barsip region and Sūḫu (Hawkins 2000: 240). Dalley (2000: 87–88) has further argued for a triangle of relationships between Til Barsip, Hamath, and Anat in Sūḫu (see below; for Hamath and Sūḫu, see Clancier 2021: 356–362).

48. A Luwian inscription from the king Uratami mentions "the river-land of Laka" (Hawkins 2000: 411–412 with references). However, the interpretation of this name as a reference to Lāqê (Mereggi 1962: 96–97; Lipiński 2000: 100–102, 251–252 and notes 12 and 16; Simon 2019: 139–140; Clancier 2021: 357–358, 360–362) is disputed (cf. Hawkins 2000: 414; Hawkins 2016: 187; Younger 2016: 282; Richelle 2019: 208–211). Nonetheless, a Lāqêan sheikh attested during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (ca. 890–884 BCE) was called "the Hamathean" (see beginning of the chapter for references). For Lāqê, see, e.g., Clancier 2021: 357–361; Radner 2002: 4–6.

49. Radner 2002: 4–6. During Assurnaṣirpal II's 7th campaign he conquered cities of the Lāqêans Henti-ili and Azi-ili (RIMA 2: 214 text A.0.101.1 col. i 89, col. iii 30, col. iii 38, col. iii 45; Clancier 2021: 337).

50. See discussions in Lipiński 2000: 252, 278; Hawkins 2016: 187; Clancier 2021: 356–361. For a reconstruction of the trade routes, see references in note 21.

51. One explanation may simply be that some traders or seminomadic people in the region of Hamath travelled along the partial desert routes and became part of bands of raiders, which could potentially yield their influence in times of crisis along the Syrian areas of the Euphrates.

kingdom at this time (Richelle 2019: 204–205, 220–221; for Ṣôbā, see Abousamra 2019). Its border with Aram-Damascus was defined by the city Manṣuāte, control over which alternated between these territories repeatedly (Younger 2016: 445; Bryce 2012: 252).

3
The Archaeological Context of the Written Remains

The excavations of Hamath yielded remarkable, diverse textual finds dating roughly to the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE. Overall, three groups of written objects were discovered, namely those inscribed with monumental or cursive Luwian hieroglyphs (Hawkins 2000: 398–403), a small number of cuneiform tablets and objects inscribed with cuneiform writing (Fugmann 1958: 190–191; Læssøe 1956; Parpola 1990; Arbøll 2020), and a group of primarily Aramaic graffiti (Otzen 1990; Börker-Klähn 1998 discussed the possibility that two of these graffiti were Phrygian). Of these groups, only the cuneiform inscribed objects remain largely unpublished, which therefore form the focus of this study.

Two locations at Hamath in particular are responsible for yielding these texts: the primarily Iron Age buildings excavated in level E on the tell itself, which date to the 1st millennium BCE (Fugmann 1958: 150–269), and a number of LBA and Iron Age cremation burials excavated throughout the lower town (Riis 1948). The majority of the written objects were uncovered on the tell.

The ancient citadel on the tell was the main focus of the excavations from 1931–1938 (see Fig. 9). At the southern end, the excavators found a grand gate-complex leading to a large open area containing monumental buildings considered largely Neo-Hittite in style.[52] The doorways of several of these buildings were flanked by Hittite-style lion statues (Fugman 1958: 155–157, 173–175, 178, 180, 185, 203, 207–208; Hawkins 2000: 402; Lumsden 2019: 58–59), which was also the case in other early 1st millennium BCE Neo-Hittite cities in the Levant. However, unlike other such cities in the area, the orthostats in the monumental buildings were generally not decorated at Hamath (Dion 1997: 156–157). Most of the monumental constructions have been dated to the 10th and 9th centuries BCE (Fugmann 1958: 171–172, 189–190, 232–236, 244–245, 257–258, 267–268; see Venturi 2010: 10 and note 76). However, Buildings IV and V appear to be older than other structures at the citadel (Lumsden 2019: 62), and, in general, some buildings had experienced inferior repairs and additions at some point, possibly in connection with the Aramaic dynasty taking control in the 8th century BCE (e.g., Fugmann 1958: 172, 189–190, 236, 268). Both Urḫilina and Uratami describe major building projects at Hamath in their royal inscriptions, and this includes the construction of a temple, perhaps identified as Building III (see Chapter 6). Yet, it remains unclear which structures their inscriptions refer to and to what extent they enlarged or repaired existing structures, or built new ones (Hawkins 2000: 402). Still, the state of the buildings may indicate that the citadel had not been the residence of the rulers of Hamath for decades prior to its destruction (e.g., Fugmann 1958: 268; Bryce 2012: 133–134; Younger 2016: 444). Regardless, the monumental buildings must have constituted important structures in the socio-economic life of the city until their destruction in 720 BCE by the hands of the Assyrians.

Clay tablets with cuneiform writing or seal impressions with cuneiform legends were excavated at the citadel in Building I square O16 (excavated 1935–1936), Building II square O12 (excavated 1934), as well as Building III squares N16 and N17 (excavated 1936; Fugmann 1958: 8). Sadly, only some of the exact findspots were registered, and photographic depic-

52. See the recent discussion by Lumsden 2019: 61–62 and note 33 with further references. The citadel is occasionally referred to as Aramaean (Hawkins 2000: 399). While some researchers argue that the monumental buildings at the citadel of Hamath can be compared to those excavated at other Neo-Hittite cities, such as Tell Tayinat and Tell Halaf (e.g., Bonatz 2014: 223–224), others argue that the architecture resembles traditions from central and southern Syria (e.g., Matthiae 2008: 207–210; see also the discussion by Younger 2016: 425; Mazzoni 1994: 325).

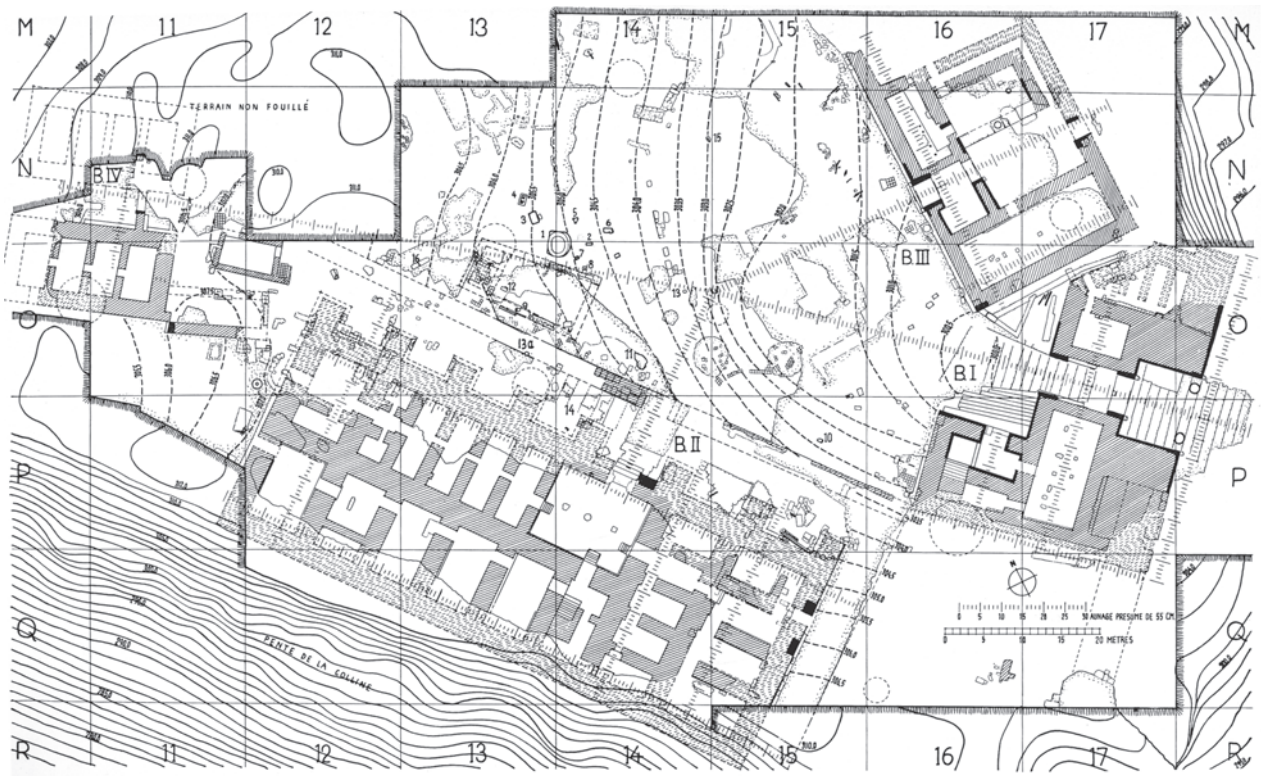


Fig. 9. Overview of Buildings I-IV at the Hamath citadel (reproduced after Fugmann 1958: 192 Fig. 244).

tions from the excavations themselves, which document the discovery of the cuneiform tablets, provide little additional information.[53] The location of only a single tablet is recorded, being marked with a stick in front of Building III (Fig. 10).

In the gate structure Building I (Fugmann 1958: 153–172; Fig. 11), the excavators discovered an inscribed tablet of yellowish clay, with cylinder seal impressions consisting of a winged figurine and a brief cuneiform legend, lying on the stairs directly north of Rooms A-B in level E (Text 14; Riis and Buhl 1990: 85–86 no. 143, Fig. 42). The text resembles an envelope, although it is clearly too thin to contain anything. This prompted Riis and Buhl (1990: 86) to suggest that the object could have been a foundation document that fell out of a wall when the building was destroyed in 720 BCE. While this hypothesis is not impossible, the document's original function and placement remain uncertain.

The large structure known as Building II may have been a palace or an administrative building (Fugmann 1958: 208–237; Brown 2008: 420; Lumsden 2019: 61; Fig. 12). It seems to have housed a weapon depot (Riis and Buhl 1990: 97, 100–107; Dion 1997: 308 and note 45; Kühn 2014: 60 and note 164). Among the numerous finds is a single cuneiform letter in a doorway(?) leading from room XX to the north-western area outside Building II.[55] Although Fugmann (1958: 232) discussed whether the objects from room XX could have originated on a second level of the building, he attributed the text to level E. However, in a private letter dated to 12th October 1981 from Poul J. Riis to Jørgen Læssøe, Riis states that Fugmann's reconstruction was hypothetical. Thus, Riis attributed the tablet to level F1 (ca. 1075–900 BCE), on the basis of the corresponding walls excavated in the area (cf. Parpola 1990: 265).[56] As discussed below, it is possible that Text 4 also originated in this building.

Fig. 10. A stick to the right side in the photograph marks the findspot of 6A293 or 6A294 in front of Building III (photograph 4565, the National Museum of Denmark).[54]

Most of the cuneiform inscribed objects from Hamath were excavated in Building III (Fugmann 1958: 173 Fig. 213, 190–191; Fig. 13). As argued in Chapter 6, this structure may have been a temple. In total, Fugmann registered 18 entries comprising tablets and

53. The unpublished excavation diaries provide additional information regarding the dates on which the cuneiform tablets were discusovered and the workers who found them. During the 8th week of 1936 (27/4) the two fragments in front of Building III were discovered. Ismain Khani saw the first piece in the sifted earth from this area, and when he re-examined the soil he also discovered the second piece. Only three days later (Thursday 30/4) Ingholt noted "Jour des tablettes cunéiforms" in the diary. On this day, the workers Ibrahim Habbab, Ismain Ali, Ismain Khani, Ahmad Hayek, and Subhi Neshine discovered the tablets and bulla in Room A of Building III. The following day (1/5), at the beginning of the 9th week of excavation, square N16 yielded the largest number of fragments, namely those discovered between Rooms A-B and in Room B. Ibrahim Habbab, Ozzo Ibrahim, Hussin Sefaf, Nahmud Neshme, Subhi Nesme, Hussein Wani, and Ismain Khani uncovered the tablets. Finally, one fragment was discovered in a pile of discarded earth the day after (2/5).

54. Note that the photograph was taken during the excavation of level F in grid N16, which was excavated a whole year after level E, in 1937 (Fugmann 1958: 8).

55. Text 3; Fugmann 1958: 222–225, 231–232, 234 Figs. 265 and 308. In the same room, a duck weight was also recovered (Fugmann 1958: 225).

56. A clay tablet with a seal impression containing Luwian hieroglyphs (5A496, Fig. 5) was also excavated among the foundation stones between Room Z and S of Building II (Fugmann 1958: 233; Riis and Buhl 1990: 86–88; Hawkins 2000: 420–421, pl. 231).

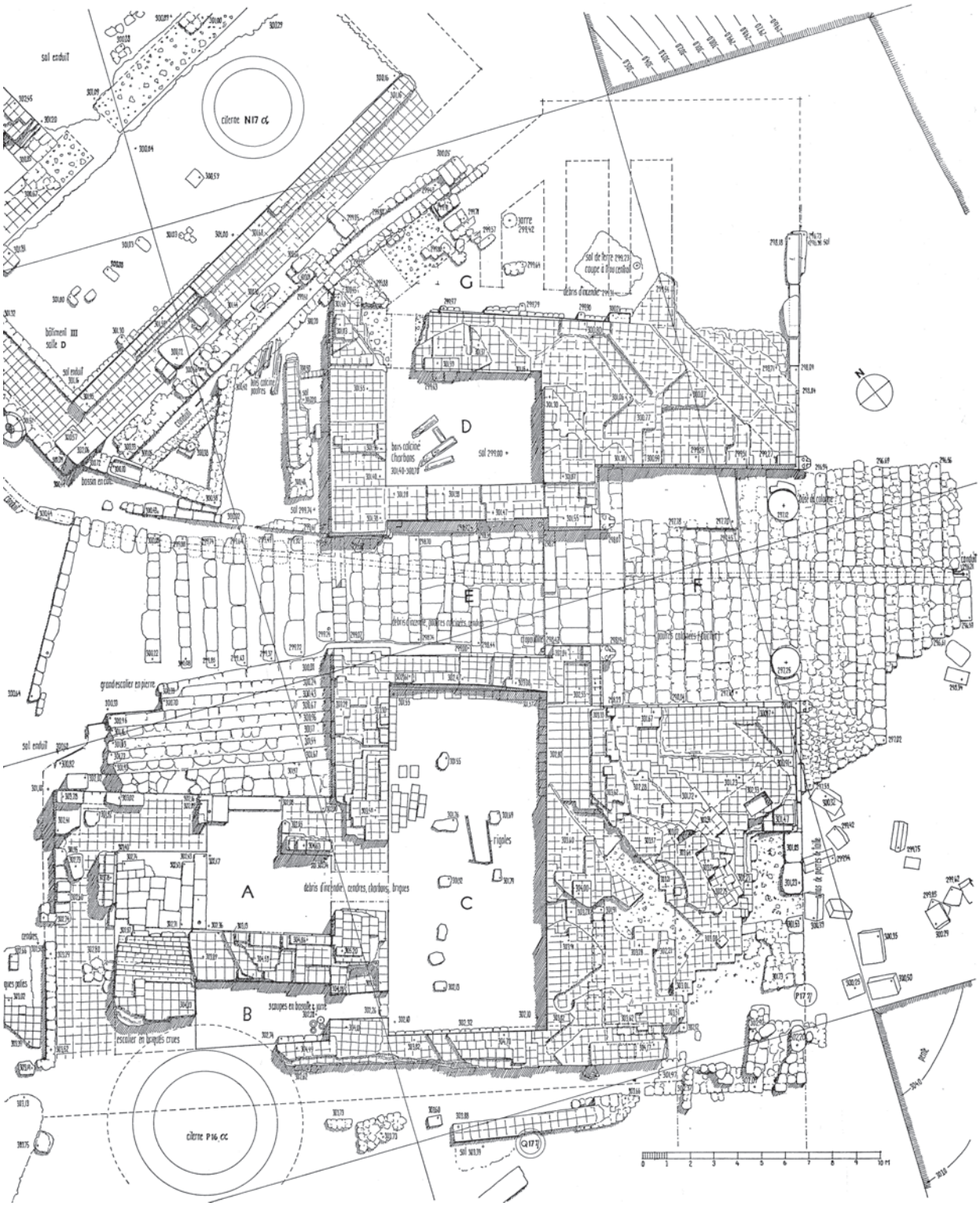


Fig. 11. Plan of Building I (reproduced after Fugmann 1958: 154 Fig. 186).

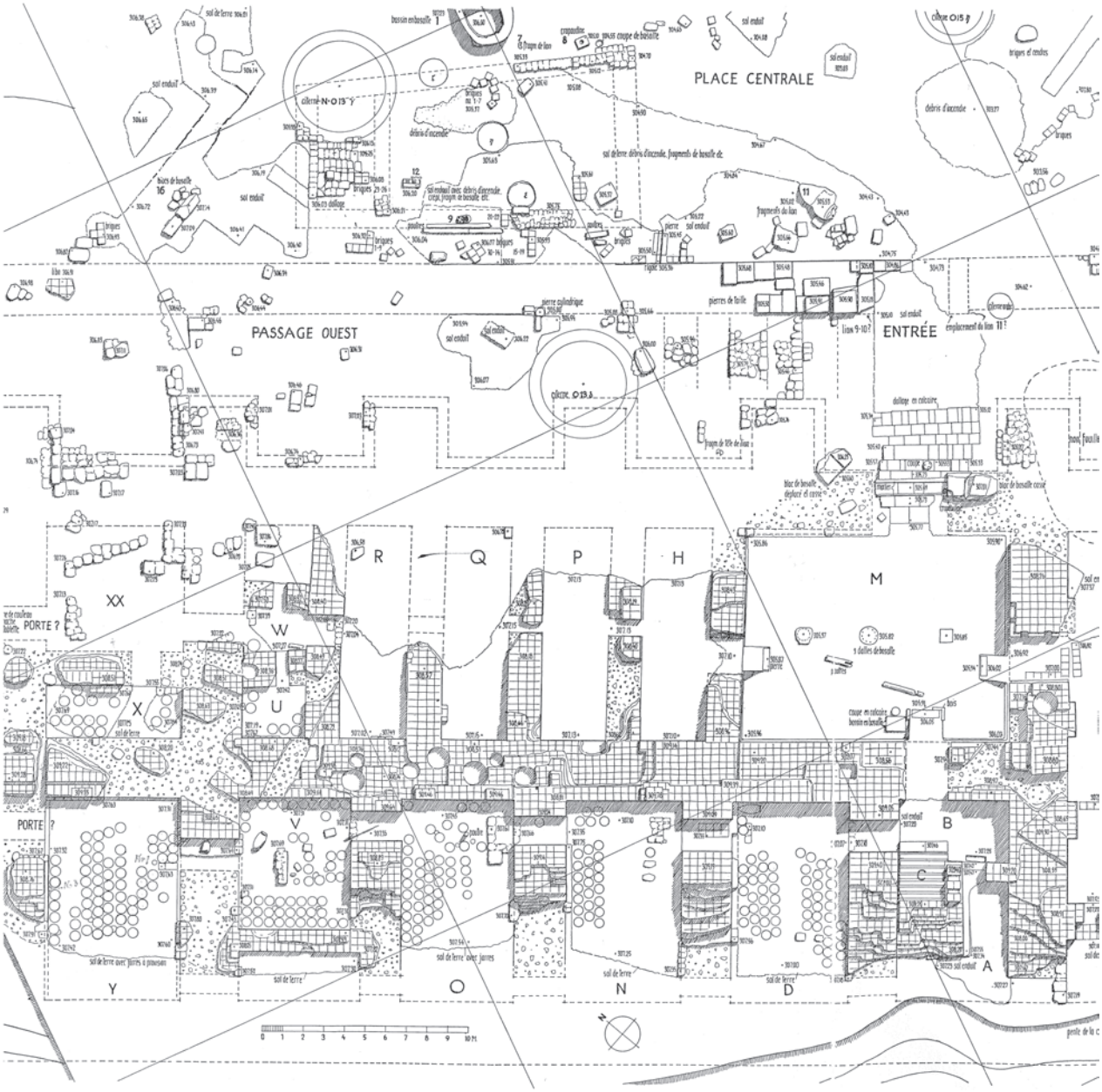


Fig. 12. Plan of the north-western part of Building II (reproduced after Fugmann 1958: Fig. 265).

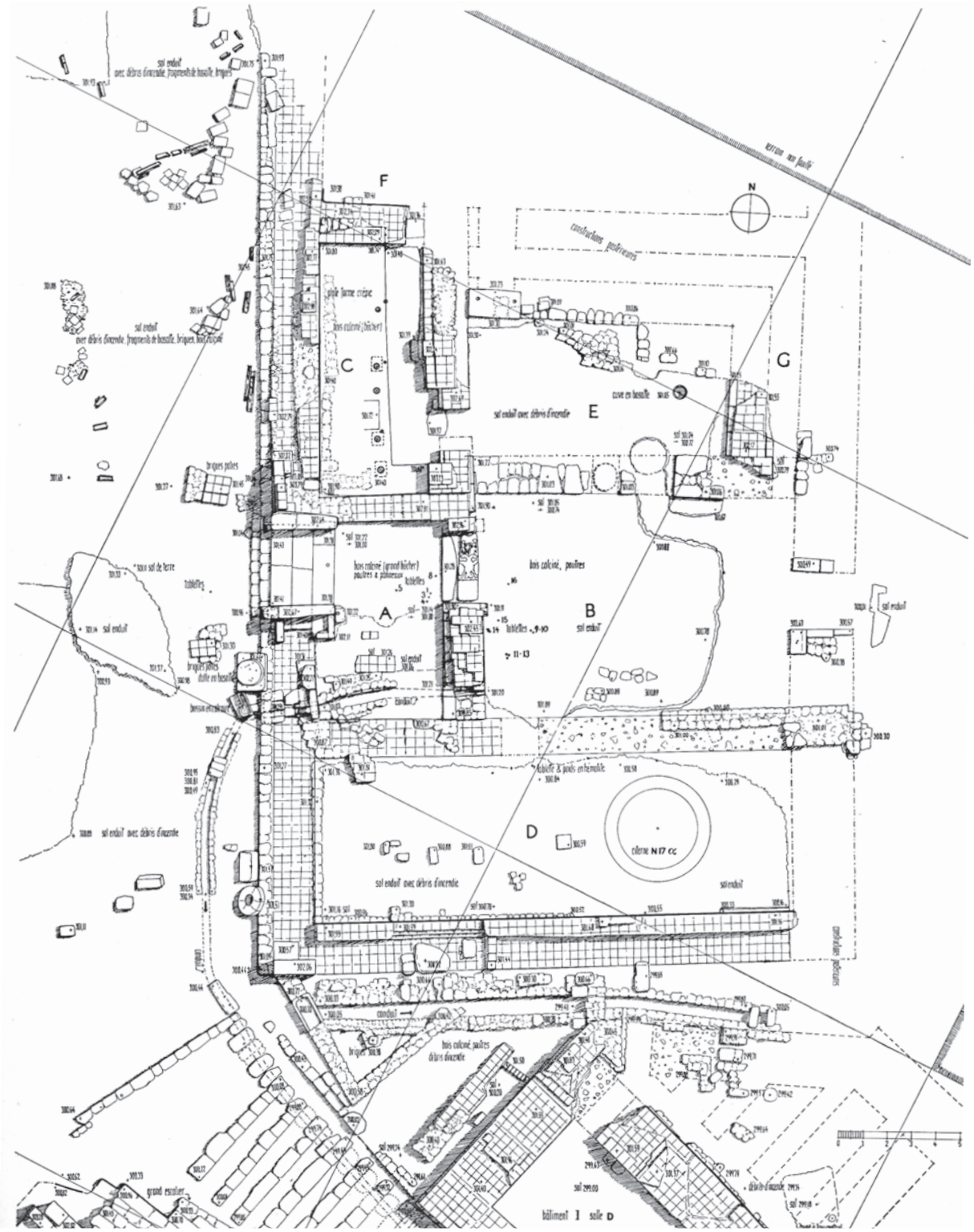


Fig. 13. Plan of Building III (reproduced after Fugmann 1958: 173 Fig. 213).

Fig. 14. The entrance to Building III and Room A (photograph 3602, the National Museum of Denmark).

fragments recovered from various places within and in front of this structure. The actual number of individual tablets and fragments discovered can now be reduced to 11, on the basis of new joins presented in Chapter 10. The objects were all found in a layer of destruction attributed to Sargon II's obliteration of the citadel in 720 BCE (Fugmann 1958: 180–181). The ground was covered with the remains of burned material, and charred debris found within the building likely reflect the use of pyres for setting the building on fire (Fugmann 1958: 180, 183 Fig. 228). Consequently, the tablets are all coloured shades of grey or black due to the fire, and at least two tablets (Texts 9 and 13) were exposed to such intense heat that the clay of one side became covered in bubbles.

The largest group of cuneiform manuscripts was discovered in Building III, namely two letters and a bulla (Texts 1–2, 5), fragments of four larger manuscripts (Texts 6–8 and 12), as well as four fragments of broken tablets (Texts 9–11, 13). The fragments of the medical tablet edited as Text 12 were found in front of Building III (6A293, 6A294) and in the entrance Room A (6A336, 6A338 = Fugmann no. 4). Room A also held a fragment of *Maqlû* VI (see below), a fragment with two incantations (6A339 = Fugmann no. 8), two letters (6A334 = Fugmann no. 1; Parpola 1990; 6A337 = Fugmann no. 3), and a clay bulla with stamp seal impressions, cursive Luwian hieroglyphic script, numerical notations, and the possible remains of a few cuneiform strokes (6A383 = Fugmann no. 7). The entrance to Room A was flanked by two severely damaged monumental lions (6B597 and 6B598; see Fugmann 1958: 174–175 Figs. 214–215, 178, 180 Fig. 222; Fig. 14).

A manuscript of *Maqlû* Tablet IV was discovered in Room B (6A344 = Fugmann nos. 11–13, 15), and *Maqlû* Tablet VI was found scattered throughout Rooms A (6A335 = Fugmann no. 5), A or B (7A626), and perhaps B or D (6A350 = Fugmann no. 17).[57] In Room B (Fig. 15), the excavators found a prayer against the evil omen of a snake (6A343+6A345 = Fugmann no. 14; Læssøe 1956), a fragment with *Šumma izbu* omens (6A342 = Fugmann no. 10), and a fragment of an incantation (6A341 = Fugmann no. 16). The only manuscript believed to have originated in Room D is the fragment of a tablet with a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual incantation (6A354 = Fugmann no. 18; see Fig. 16).

Fugmann (1958: 183) suggested that Room D of Building III originally held the text collection, and that individual manuscripts were dropped in 720 BCE when they were carried from Room D towards the entrance (Fig. 17). Consequently, some texts shattered and became scattered as a result of activity through the various rooms, either prior to or during the plundering and destruction of the citadel. As I have recently outlined in detail (Arbøll 2020: 5), three possible hypotheses may explain the find spots of the manuscripts: they were removed by people connected to Building III immediately before the city came under attack (see Parpola 1990: 257 and note 2); they were kept on a hypothetical second floor of Building III and became scattered when the upper level collapsed (Lumsden, personal communication); or they were removed by the Assyrian army when the city was taken, possibly as part of a knowledge gathering effort (Arbøll 2020: 5; see also Chapter 8).

57. Some confusion as to the exact level and findspot of some tablets, such as 7A626, occurred, although they must belong to the layer of destruction in 720 BCE (Riis and Buhl 1990: 19).

Fig. 15. View from the east of Room B in Building III, with Room A and the entrance in the background (photograph 3726, the National Museum of Denmark).

Fig. 16. View from the south-west of the entrance to Building III and Rooms A, B, and D (photograph 3729, the National Museum of Denmark).

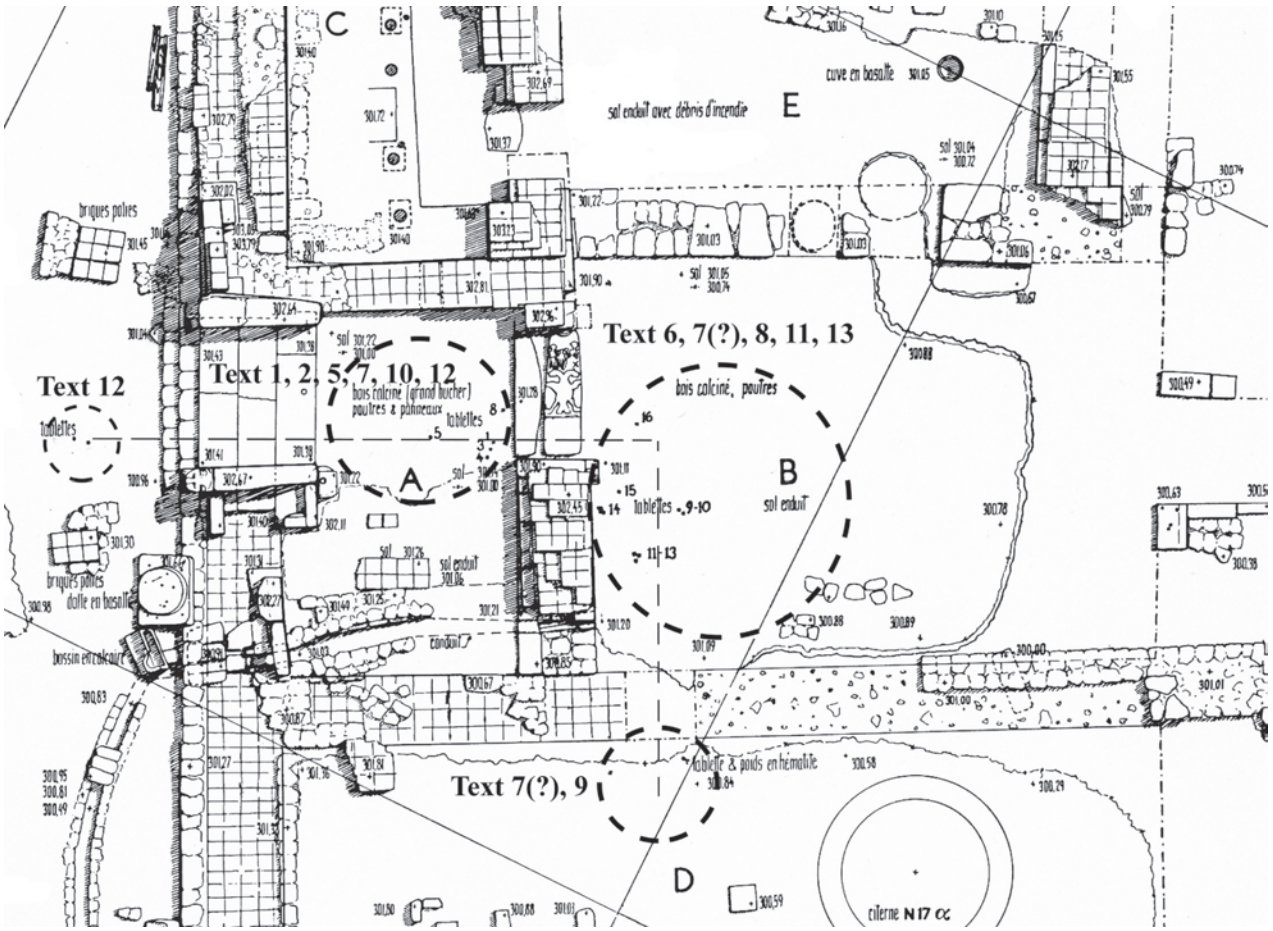


Fig. 17. Reconstructed route leading from Room D to the main entrance of Building III (Arbøll 2020: 4 Fig. 1; reproduced after Fugmann 1958: 174 Fig. 213).

Decades after the Danish excavations, in the 1970s, the administrative Text 4 was found by chance at the foot of the south-western part of the citadel mound near an Orthodox Cathedral. Although it is uncertain from where the manuscript originated, it is possible that it came down from the slowly eroding southern slope of the tell where Building II is located.[58]

Finally, a number of objects inscribed with cuneiform writing were discovered in cremation burials in two sondages in 1935 to the south of the tell in the Souk El Khamis quarter (Riis 1948: 2–3 and Fig. 1, pl. 1 G VIII and G XII; see Fig. 2). The wider archaeological context of the tombs was not examined, but the finds were subdivided into four phases, between 1200–720 BCE, which correlate with the phrases F (ca. 1175–900 BCE) and E (900–720 BCE) at the citadel (ibid.: 202; Riis and Buhl 1990: 18).

58. Stephen Lumsden, personal communication; see Lumsden 2019: 60–61. Alternatively, it may have come down from the citadel when people reused other materials from the mound in the area around the Orthodox Church. Two hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Uratami, edited by Hawkins (2000) as HAMA 6 and 7, were reportedly "discovered at a depth of 2 m. between the Orthodox Cathedral and the Great Mosque" (ibid.: 402 and note 67).

4
Cuneiform Tablets and Inscribed Objects

The manuscripts from Hamath can be divided into two overarching groups consisting of clay tablets, including bullae (Texts 1–14), and inscribed objects of varying materials, such as stone, bronze or silver (Texts 15–20). What follows provides an overview of the sources, drawing on and supplementing the commentary provided to the text editions in Chapter 10, allowing for further discussions of the dating and context of specific texts. It is unclear if Texts 9–11 were originally part of the same tablet containing incantations from the series *Muššu'u*/Sag̃-gig. No convincing reconstruction can be offered at present, however, and the three manuscripts are treated separately throughout this book. Note that at least two further administrative cuneiform tablets from the NB king Nabonidus' reign may have originated from Hamath (Pearce and Wunsch 2014: 190–191 nos. 55–56). They both reference ^{uru}*ḫa-mat*, which likely represent Hamath. Due to their recent publication and uncertain provenience, these two texts have not been included here.[59]

59. The NA letters published in SAA 1 nos. 173–176 from Nineveh and Nimrud were sent to Sargon II by a certain Adda-ḫāti, who was presumably the governor of Manṣuāte(?) in the region of Hamath (see PNA 1/I: 45; for the letters from Nimrud, see CTN 5: 167–169, 173–175). It is unclear if the letters were dispatched from Hamath. Arnaud (2013: 8–12 nos. 2–3) edited two texts allegedly from Hamath. However, his edition did not supply photographs of the tablets because they were only available as casts, and these had disappeared by the time of publication (ibid.: 8 note 36, 11 note 58; see ibid.: 1989: 194–196). There are no convincing arguments at present for attributing the tablets to Hamath. Consequently, I have not included the two texts in this study.

Overview of the Texts

1. Excavation number: 6A334
Discovery: Building III Room A no. 1.
Date: Ca. 840 BCE.
Content: Largely preserved clay tablet with a letter in portrait format to the Neo-Hittite ruler Rudamu/Uratami of Hamath from Marduk-apla-uṣur, a semi-independent ruler of the region Sūḫu on the Euphrates.

2. Excavation number: 6A337
Discovery: Building III Room A no. 3.
Date: Ca. 853 BCE.
Content: The left side of the obverse of a clay tablet preserving a letter in portrait format. The original clay tablet was wider and longer than the preserved part indicates. Due to the breakage, the subject matter of the letter cannot be properly established. As argued in the commentary to the text, it is plausible that the addressee was Urḫilina, the Neo-Hittite ruler of Hamath.

3. Excavation number: 4A608
Discovery: Building II between Room XX and a doorway.
Date: 1075–900 BCE.
Content: Largely preserved clay tablet with a letter in portrait format from a certain Erība-Adad to someone named Dayān-Adad. The content is not entirely clear, but it may relate to an expected payment via an intermediary named Aplāya.

4. Excavation number: N/A
Discovery: Near the western slope of the citadel mound in a secondary context. As discussed in Chapter 10, the text may have originated in Building II.
Date: Unclear.
Content: An administrative text measuring out various commodities, such as grain, which are either administered to or provided by persons with names in a language other than Akkadian.

5. Excavation number: 6A383
Discovery: Building III Room A no. 7.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: Clay bulla used for sealing some unknown commodity. The clay contains cursive Luwian hieroglyphic writing including numbers, which cannot presently be convincingly deciphered. Furthermore, the bulla preserves two stamp seal impressions, of which one contains Aramaic writing. Some unclear remains of purposefully imprinted straight lines could preserve the remains of a few cuneiform wedges, although this remains uncertain.

6. Excavation number: 6A344
Discovery: Building III Room B nos. 11–13, 15.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: Four fragments comprising a large part of the obverse and a fragment of the reverse of a single-columned tablet preserving a copy of the series *Maqlû* Tablet IV (Abusch 2016: 111–127; Schwemer 2017: 35–36). The text contains long lines that typically span two lines of the canonical version of *Maqlû*. The manuscript has been named *Maqlû* IV ms yy and it duplicates lines 20–73 and 95–118 of tablet IV.

7. Excavation number: 6A335(+)6A350/I-III(+)7A626
Discovery: Building III Room A no. 5 (6A335), Room A-B (7A626) and Room B-D (6A350).
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: Five fragments of a single-columned tablet comprising the obverse and only a few signs on the reverse of the series *Maqlû* Tablet VI (Abusch 2016: 149–162; Schwemer 2017: 38–39). The tablet contains long lines that regularly span two lines of the canonical version of *Maqlû*. The manuscript has been named *Maqlû* VI ms xx, and it duplicates lines 1–8, 32–59, 92–116, and 151–155 of tablet VI. Additionally, one fragment comprises five lines, which cannot be identified with certainty within *Maqlû* VI. This fragment may have been part of a colophon.

8. Excavation number: 6A343+6A345
Discovery: Building III Room B no. 14.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: A single-columned tablet previously published by Jørgen Læssøe (1956). The manuscript contains an Akkadian prayer in three sections to the gods Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk. The reverse is not preserved, and it remains uncertain if it contained any writing (cf. Seux 1976: 352). The text was meant to remove the evil omen caused by a snake. Maul (1996: 300–303) identified the text as a *namburbi*-ritual prayer, i.e., part of an apotropaic ritual meant to remove an ill portend. However, a shorter version of this recitation is found mainly in the "mouth-washing" *mīs pî* ritual in later sources, primarily intended for ritually making and consecrating statues and figurines (Walker & Dick 2001: 131–135; 148–149 ms N).

9. Excavation number: 6A354
Discovery: Building III Room D no. 18.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: A fragment from the right side of a single-columned tablet, possibly of the obverse. The manuscript was exposed to high heat that resulted in bubbles in the clay on the reverse. The first preserved lines cannot be properly read, but part of the text is reminiscent of a Sumerian and Akkadian bilingual incantation from the therapeutic series *Muššu'u* Tablet I incantation I lines 33–37 (Böck 2007: 93–111) and the incantation series Sağ-gig Tablet I lines 65–74 (Schramm unpublished: 18–19).

10. Excavation number: 6A339
Discovery: Building III Room A no. 8.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: A minor fragment from a larger single-columned tablet, which contains the remains of two incantations in Akkadian. The manuscript may have originated on the obverse of the tablet. One recitation is perhaps reminiscent of incantations from the therapeutic series *Muššu'u* Tablet IV incantation 3 lines 62–65 (Böck 2007: 160) and the incantation series Sağ-gig Tablet VII lines 61–64 (Schramm unpublished: 97).

11. Excavation number: 6A341
Discovery: Building III Room B no. 16.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.

Content: A fragment from the lower-right corner of the obverse of a single-columned tablet. The reverse is broken. The text preserves two incantations in Sumerian, the first of which may have been a partly Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual recitation. The recitations appear to be related to spells in the therapeutic series *Muššu'u* Tablet I incantation 1 lines 54–55, as well as Tablet III incantation 1 lines 1–5 (Böck 2007: 104–105, 134) and the incantation series Sag̃-gig Tablet III lines 1–9, as well as tablet IV lines 107–110 (Schramm unpublished: 33, 57; cf. Sag̃-gig IV lines 107–110).

12. Excavation number: 6A293(+)6A294(+)6A336(+)6A338
Discovery: Building III outside the entrance to Room A (6A293, 6A294), Room A nos. 2 (6A336) and 4 (6A338).
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: Four fragments from a two-columned library tablet preserving symptom descriptions and medical prescriptions for treating diseases of the ears. Three pieces likely preserve the obverse of the reconstructed tablet, and one piece may belong to the reverse. Individual diagnoses appear to be reminiscent of entries found in two NA manuscripts, of which one is from the medical therapeutic series from Nineveh (BAM 503). Regardless, the individual prescriptions in the Hamath manuscript are not direct duplicates to known medical texts.

13. Excavation number: 6A342
Discovery: Building III Room B no. 10.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: A fragment from the lower part of, possibly, the obverse of a single-columned tablet with "malformed foetus" omens (*Šumma izbu*). The reverse is lost. The fragment was exposed to intense heat when the Assyrians burned Building III, and one side contains numerous bubbles. The preserved omens cannot be located among the known entries in the serialised version of *Šumma izbu*, which indicates that the manuscript from Hamath does not represent the known versions.

14. Excavation number: 5A1
Discovery: Building I staircase leading to Room A.
Date: *Terminus ante quem* 720 BCE.
Content: A clay tablet resembling a clay envelope with multiple impressions of the same cylinder seal. The seal preserves a cuneiform legend attributing it to an otherwise unknown individual named Iri-Addu.

15. Excavation number: 6A191
Discovery: Grave XII 15.
Date: 1075–925 BCE.
Content: From a cremation burial. An agate bead with a cuneiform inscription naming a certain Ubāru who served under the Kassite king Kadašman-Turgu (ca. 1281–1264 BCE). How the object came to Hamath is unclear. Excavated in the same grave as Text 16, it likely belonged to a necklace made up of these objects.

16. Excavation number: 6A187
Discovery: Grave XII 15.
Date: 1075–925 BCE.
Content: From a cremation burial. An amethyst cylinder seal possibly imitating Kassite seals. The inscription contains pseudo-hieroglyphic shapes of cuneiform signs, which cannot be properly read at present. Excavated in the same grave as Text 15, it likely belonged to a necklace made up of these objects.

17. Excavation number: 5B176
Discovery: Grave VIII 101.
Date: 925–800 BCE.
Content: From a cremation burial. A carnelian Kassite cylinder seal with a brief inscription praising Ištar of the Eanna temple known from Uruk.

18. Excavation number: 5B178
Discovery: Grave VIII 57.
Date: 925–800 BCE.
Content: From a cremation burial. A haematite cylinder seal possibly from the LBA. The inscription is badly damaged, and only part of what may have been a personal name can be read.

19. Excavation number: 5E2
Discovery: Grave VIII 479.
Date: 1200–1075 BCE.
Content: From a cremation burial. A bronze seal with traces of writing on both sides. One side may preserve remains of illegible cuneiform writing and the other could have held hieroglyphic Luwian signs. Neither side can be read with certainty.

20. Excavation number: 6B869
Discovery: Grave XII 156.
Date: 1200–1075 BCE.
Content: From a cremation burial. A silver ring with a brief cuneiform inscription possibly preserving a name or pseudo-cuneiform signs intended for decoration.

Dating and Context of the Manuscripts

The dating of the various cuneiform tablets and inscribed objects is primarily dictated by the archaeological context, although the precise date of individual texts may be refined via content or the implications of their context. Accordingly, Text 1 cannot be dated with certainty. However, it references a certain Rudamu from Hamath, likely identified as the Neo-Hittite ruler Uratami, and Marduk-apla-uṣur, a local ruler of the city Anat in the Euphrates kingdom Sūḫu, who is mentioned on the so-called Black Obelisk as having paid tribute to Shalmaneser III. It also mentions Adad-nādin-zēri, likely a governor of Sūḫu and a contemporary of Marduk-apla-uṣur. Sadly, the exact chronology of the events in Sūhu at this time is not entirely clear, though the letter makes it clear that Uratami must have been a contemporary of these two individuals and maintained relations with Sūḫu at this point in time (Parpola 1990: 261–262; see Lipiński 2000: 105; cf. Richelle 2019: 209; see Chapter 2). The events narrated on the Black Obelisk span most of Shalmaneser III's reign (858–824 BCE), and it seems plausible that the letter must be dated around the time of Marduk-apla-uṣur's tribute to Shalmaneser III, as suggested by Parpola (1990: 261; see RIMA 3: 150; Brinkman 1968: 201). However, even though the Black Obelisk must have been erected late in the reign of Shalmaneser III, it is difficult to date when exactly Marduk-apla-uṣur presented this tribute. Considering that Marduk-apla-uṣur is the fourth tributary in a chronological development of five different tributaries depicted on the Black Obelisk, his tribute must have been in the second half of Shalmaneser III's reign. Consequently, the letter has been dated by scholars to late in Shalmaneser III's reign (Hawkins 2000: 403), the third quarter of the 9th century BCE (Lipiński 2000: 101), around 840 BCE (Dalley 2000: 87; Younger 2016: 427), or 838 BCE (Parpola 1990: 261; Richelle 2019: 209). Regardless, a correlation between Marduk-apla-uṣur's tribute and the letter in question is difficult to establish, and the exact date of Text 1 remains undefined.

Text 2 is sadly too broken to determine the exact topic discussed. Nevertheless, the tablet may possibly have been addressed to the Neo-Hittite ruler Urḫilina. Speculatively, I suggest in Chapter 10 that the sender of the letter may have been Urḫilina's contemporary and ally, Hadad-ezer of Aram-Damascus, who, together with Urḫilina, led the Damascus coalition of Levantine states against Shalmaneser III in 853, 849, 848, and 845 BCE (see Chapter 2). It is unclear if these states would have communicated via cuneiform writing, but, considering the use of Akkadian as an international means of communication in the LBA throughout the Middle East, as well as Uratami's communication with Sūḫu via cuneiform letters, it is not impossible that Hamath and Aram-Damascus would have communicated through this medium in the 9th century BCE. If indeed this reconstruction is correct, the topic may have been related to the Assyrian invasion under Shalmaneser III or a response planned by these two leaders of the Syrian coalition in advance of the Assyrian army (see Bryce 2012: 229). Thus, the letter may tentatively be dated to around the first year of the Assyrian invasion in 853 BCE or a number of years before or after this date.

Texts 3–4 may have originated within Building II, although only Text 3 was certainly excavated there. This manuscript is written with very curved wedges, and the ductus is generally reminiscent of early LB

writing. However, the manuscript was discovered in layer F1, dated to ca. 1075–925 BCE. These substantial differences cannot be resolved. Text 4 was excavated in a secondary context below the north-western slope of the tell from where it may have fallen down due to erosion. The manuscript was written in a ductus reminiscent of MB writing, and it is regarded as a text from the same building and layer as Text 3. For the present, I follow Riis' interpretation of Text 3 as an object from level F1 (see Chapter 10). Regardless of the datings, these two texts were not written by the same scribe, and, by extension, they point to various scribal activities in Building II. In terms of subject matters, the exact contents are unclear, although the tablets do not seem to deal directly with stately affairs. Text 3 was a private letter, perhaps connected to trade, and Text 4 may record expenses or revenue in relation to an administrative unit. Thus, both texts indicate that at least one archive of sorts existed at some point prior to or around the turn of the 1st millennium BCE in Building II, although it cannot be determined that this archive was directly related to the official government of the city.

The bulla Text 5 was discovered in a layer of destruction in Building III dated to the Assyrian conquest of Hamath in 720 BCE. Thus, this clay bulla can be provided with the year 720 BCE as a *terminus ante quem* for when it was produced. The content itself cannot be properly read, although it surely contains cursive hieroglyphic Luwian writing and two stamp seal impressions, of which one contains Aramaic writing. Although it seems likely that Aramaeans were present in the Hamath region already in the 9th century BCE, it is equally possible that cursive hieroglyphic Luwian retained its status as an administrative writing system at Hamath after the leadership changed to Aramaic rulers in the 8th century BCE. Consequently, Text 5 may be dated to anywhere between 900–720 BCE. It is unclear to what exact commodity this bulla had once been attached, though a group of numbers on the bulla illustrate the plurality of the subject.

The scholarly assemblage consisting of Texts 6–13 was discovered in Building III in relation to a layer of destruction dating to the Assyrian conquest in 720 BCE. Thus, these texts were also produced prior to 720 BCE. The exact context of these tablets is discussed in Chapters 5–8 and the various copyists behind the manuscripts are examined in Chapter 9. The sign forms preserved in the scholarly texts are mainly similar to NB forms, although some manuscripts preserve a few MB sign forms, suggesting a date closer to the turn of the millennium than 720 BCE. Furthermore, most manuscripts contain a ductus roughly similar to Texts 1–2, which may indicate that the manuscripts were produced in the 9th century BCE under the Neo-Hittite rulers Urḫilina and Uratami. Additionally, the transmission of Babylonian cuneiform scholarship to Hamath is likely to have happened closer to 900 than 720 BCE (see Chapter 8). It is unclear whether the manuscripts were still in use when Building III was destroyed or if they were kept for archival purposes only. Regardless, they were present in the building at the time of its destruction. Though the possible cultic use of Building III may have continued into the 8th century BCE (Chapter 6), the building seems to have been rebuilt at some point, at which time it is possible that the tablets were simply stored without serving any further practical use. Additionally, it is unclear if the Aramaic kings retained their residence in Hamath. Thus, if specialists offered the knowledge in question to rulers of the state, it seems more likely that the manuscripts were produced before the period of Aramaic rule in the 8th century BCE.

The original context of Text 14 is unclear, but it was found in a layer of destruction dating to 720 BCE. As discussed in Chapter 3, it may have been a foundation document of some sort that was placed in a wall in Building I. If so, the manuscript must have been placed in the wall at the time of the building's construction, possibly during the 9th century BCE.[60] If so, the tablet provides a further indication that cylinder

60. It is difficult to date Building I according to its construction, but Riis and Buhl (1990: 23) proposed a date in the 9th century BCE. Fugmann (1958: 171–172, 236) suggested specifically the reign of Uratami.

seals with cuneiform script were in use at Hamath in the early 1st millennium BCE.

The objects listed as Texts 15–20 were excavated in five different cremation burials from individual archaeological phases dated between 1200–800 BCE. Thus, several of the objects predate the Neo-Hittite and Aramaic rulers known from the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. Interestingly, several of the objects seem to have been created in Kassite Babylonia, which may be indicative of a brisk trade in the LBA between Babylonia and the region around Hamath. However, it is possible that the objects were traded gradually towards the Syrian region from Babylonia, e.g., through Sūḫu. Regardless, it should be noted that some of the objects might have been obtained by their ancient owners for decorative use only. Nevertheless, cuneiform writing must have been seen on the streets of Hamathite society at least by the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE, although it cannot be evaluated how many people, if any, were able to read it. Perhaps possessing an object with cuneiform writing made the owner appear internationally connected or intellectually superior.

5
Discussion of the Texts

The cuneiform texts and inscribed objects from the excavations of Hamath can be subdivided into three groups: epistolary and administrative documents; magico-medical and omen texts; and seals and inscribed personal objects. Based on their archaeological context, it is possible to assign these tablets collectively to four assemblies, namely a tablet with seal impressions from Building I (Text 14), a letter and possibly an administrative text from Building II (Texts 3–4), a larger collection of manuscripts including letters, a bulla, and magico-medical tablets from Building III (Texts 1–2, 5–13), and six seals and inscribed objects found in relation to five cremation burials (Texts 15–20).

Tablets from Building I

Text 14 from Building I is a slim clay tablet covered in cylinder seal impressions with a cuneiform legend, although the manuscript does not contain any additional writing. Though it appears to be an envelope, it seems unlikely that the tablet has any internal content due to its limited thickness (20 mm; see Riis and Buhl 1990: 85–86 no. 143). It has been suggested that the tablet could have been a sort of foundation document originally placed within a wall (ibid.: 86). The seal's cuneiform legend contains a Hurrian-Semitic hybrid name belonging to an otherwise unknown individual. Building I was a gateway into the citadel at Hamath, and so the named person may have played a role in connection to the building or its construction. Sadly, little else can be deducted concerning the function of the document.

Tablets from Building II

Text 3 was excavated in Building II, though it may have belonged to a layer dated to around 1000 BCE (see Chapter 4). It is also possible that Text 4, which was uncovered in a secondary context, also originated in this building. While the former is a letter between two otherwise unknown individuals discussing payment by a third party, the latter manuscript is an administrative document measuring commodities, particularly grains, which were either received or delivered by named individuals. These individuals may have held primarily Luwian names. None of the texts can be dated with certainty, but it is possible they were from around the turn of the 1st millennium BCE. Building II also supplied a possible foundation tablet with a unique Luwian hieroglyphic seal.[61] The excavators suggested that Building II may have functioned as a palace (Riis and Buhl 1990: 24; Fugmann 1958: 233). Though the building had originally consisted of a bottom and upper floor, at least the bottom floor appears to have been used for storage (Lumsden 2019: 59). Therefore, other researchers have regarded Building II as a storage structure, as well as the royal residence (Matthiae 2008: 210), or the storage building of "an extended palatial complex" covering the tell (Brown 2008: 420). Regardless of the building's use, it has been suggested that Building II was constructed by Urḫilina and expanded by Zakkūr (Fugmann 1958: 233, 236; Riis and Buhl 1990: 24). It is unclear how the limited written finds fit into these interpretations, though they appear to substantiate an administrative function of the building at some point.

61. 5A496, Fig. 5; Hawkins 2000: 420–21 and pl. 231; Riis and Buhl 1990: 86–88 no. 144; Fugmann 1958: 233. This manuscript is not discussed here, as it does not contain any cuneiform writing. Building II also provided an ostrakon with a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription mentioning a king, see Riis and Buhl 1990: 157 nos. 508A-B, 159 no. 508.

Tablets from Building III

The manuscripts from Building III seem to represent one or more text collections, which were preserved in an active or archival capacity in this building until its destruction in 720 BCE.[62] The two letters (Texts 1–2) represent part of a state correspondence between Neo-Hittite leaders of the kingdom of Hamath in the 9th century BCE and various associates. It seems reasonable to assume that Building III originally housed a larger collection of diplomatic correspondences. In addition, the building also contained a larger collection of incantations from the series *Maqlû* (Texts 6–7), a prayer related to a *namburbi*-ritual for the evil omen caused by observing a snake (Text 8),[63] several fragments of incantations possibly related to the text series Sagˇ-gig and *Muššu'u* (Text 9–11), symptom descriptions and prescriptions for treating diseases of the ears (Text 12),[64] and birth omens related to malformed foetuses (Text 13). Presumably, this collection of manuscripts was larger originally. It is uncertain whether the bulla (Text 5) had any relevance for the texts or simply belonged to some unrelated commodity, which was at some point received or dispatched via Building III. Nevertheless, the diverse range of topics attest to stately, scholarly, and possibly administrative activities in Building III at one or more points during the centuries before Hamath's destruction in 720 BCE.

Generally, the magico-medical content mirrors several of the genres found in other roughly contemporary text collections from the NA period, such as the manuscripts from Assurbanipal's libraries in Nineveh, the text collection in Kalḫu (Nimrud), tablets excavated at the peripheral scribal school at Ḫuzirina (Sultantepe), and the semi-private text collection N4 in the so-called "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters" in Assur (Pedersén 1986: 41–59; Pedersén 1998: 151–152, 158–161, 178–180; Maul 2010: 196–202; Robson 2019: 115, 130-131; Arbøll 2021: 20–22). Although it is impossible to estimate the rough percentages of genres once available in the scholarly collection at Hamath (see Chapter 5), the remains indicate that incantations and prayers were well represented, whereas medical prescriptions and omens were fewer in number. Comparing this to other collections is fraught with difficulties, especially in relation to the text collection in N4, which focused on magico-medical practice. Looking at the more nuanced collections at Nineveh and Kalḫu, the main genres represented are omens as well as incantations, rituals, hymns, and prayers, whereas medical content was more limited than other genres (Robson 2019: 115). Still, *Šumma izbu* is not widely represented. Looking at the school in Ḫuzirina, incantations, rituals, hymns, and prayers account for almost half the preserved genres, whereas medicine and omens are limited (ibid.: 130–31). This division of texts seems to resonate with the limited finds from Hamath. In general, Robson (ibid.: 138) has stated that the reason why there were relatively so few omens at Ḫuzirina is because the students "were given a thorough grounding in the literary classics of their culture as well as in standard works of healing, prayer and penitence", and seeing as they were destined to work in the imperial apparatus "they had no great need for omens in order to advise on imperial affairs". However, the single medical manuscript from Hamath may not have been a completely normal work of healing for students to copy, as prescriptions for the ears are relatively uncommon. Nevertheless, the division of genres from Ḫuzirina, which also included manuscripts of *Maqlû* (Schwemer 2017: 29, 31, 34, 42) and *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007: 33), seem to resonate with the grouping of genres tentatively observed in the Hamath collection.

Looking at the content, the magico-medical texts attested at Hamath were designed to remove the effects of witchcraft and ill omens sent by witches and warlocks (*Maqlû* Tablets IV and VI = Texts 6–7), to

62. For a discussion of "living" and "dead" archives, see Brosius 2003: 7–9.

63. Although the text was used elsewhere in the "mouth-washing" *mīs pî* ritual, see Chapter 10.

64. It is unclear if three contemporary bronze pinchers found in Building I (grid P16, 4E321c and O17, 5E695) and II (grid P12, 7b632) could be indicative of healing practices at the citadel. Furthermore, a number of medical instruments were found in the layer after 720 BCE, which may indicate medicine was practiced in later periods at the Hamath citadel.

remove the effects of an evil omen caused by a snake (Text 8), to remove physical symptoms (Text 12),[65] and to provide interpretation of omens in relation to (abnormal) births (Text 13). We cannot be sure how the texts related to *Muššu'u* and Sag̃-gig were perceived at Hamath, although the incantations must have been aimed at healing ailments (Texts 9–11). Therefore, the learned manuscripts from Hamath seem to be related primarily to observing, encountering, and alleviating ominous occurrences or diseases in order to heal an individual. But, by whom were the tablets copied, what purpose did the preserved manuscripts actually play at the citadel, and for whom were they performed?

The scholarly tablets themselves do not preserve any colophons. Nonetheless, it is possible to say something about the people who copied the manuscripts by observing features in the texts themselves. Several of the learned tablets contain mistakes, include erasures, or end abruptly.[66] Furthermore, they contain diverse genres. The handwriting is often neat and in a small hand on the manuscripts. Furthermore, the tablets appear to be library copies of texts, and they preserve parts of entire tablets in standardised works as well as compendia of various sorts. Together, the mistakes and composition of some texts (e.g., Texts 9–11 and 13) point to the tablets being school texts used in the advanced training of scribes or specialists.

The best evidence for early career scribal and specialist school texts is provided in Petra Gesche's study of NB and LB early school texts from 2001. Gesche identified and studied school texts from three phases, namely the primary, first, and second school phases, which were all written before any kind of specialisation of NB and LB scribes and scholars. Extracts from *Maqlû* and Sag̃-gig were copied in tablets from the second school phase and labelled 2(a) by Gesche (2001: 175–76).[67] These were excerpt tablets with several extracts from incantations, prayers, and mythical texts, followed by excerpts of lexical lists, all separated by lines (ibid.: 50). These do not seem to preserve *namburbi*-rituals or related prayers, and, furthermore, omens and medical texts must have belonged to the specialisation of the scribe in question after the two initial school phases. This observation is supported by the LB educational texts for healing studied by Finkel, which do not contain any of the content attested in the tablets from Hamath (Finkel 2000: 148). Thus, the larger compendia and series tablets from Hamath do not seem to relate to the NB or LB school texts investigated by Gesche, and they must have been produced by advanced scribes or specialists, specialising in, e.g., exorcism (*āšipūtu*).[68] Thus, these copyists were at roughly the same skill level as Kiṣir-Aššur, the famous NA Assur exorcist, when he was a "junior apprentice" (*šamallû ṣeḫru*).[69] Therefore, the texts from Hamath may represent part of a Babylonian curriculum taught during the advanced training of scribes or specialists in the early 1st millennium BCE. Alternatively, they may have been part of an idiosyncratic scholarly environment existing at Hamath.

Who made the texts? Although it is possible that the scholarly tablets represent the remains of exercises by apprentice scribes, either Sūḫeans/Babylonians or natives from Hamath destined to work in the kingdom's administration, it is equally possible that the manuscripts were copied during the training of omen or ritual specialists, such as the Mesopotamian

65. Generally, it has been discussed whether medical symptoms can be regarded as omens, and the issue remains unresolved (see, e.g., Heeßel 2004: 107; Koch unpublished: 13–14).

66. It is unclear if some deviations in the Hamath *Maqlû* mss are due to a varying tradition or simply mistakes.

67. At least one of these incantations, also copied at Hamath (Text 9), was also copied as a school text (Gesche 2001: 286–87 = Böck 2007 tablet 1 ms I; see also the excerpts in UET 7 no. 128 = Böck 2007 tablet 1 ms L).

68. Note that complete manuscripts of, e.g., *Maqlû* were also discovered at Ḫuzirina, although the students were not necessarily specialising as exorcists or diviners (Schwemer 2017: 52).

69. Arbøll 2021: 34–72. Although little is known of MB scribal education, it should be noted that Akkadian incantations and liver omens appear to have played a role in Kassite exercises (Veldhuis 2000: 74, 76, 81, 83–85). The evidence is also unclear concerning MA scribal education (e.g., Wagensonner 2014; Jakob 2003: 256–258).

āšipu-exorcist, *bārû*-diviner, or even native augurs. Little is known about ritual and omen practitioners from Hamath itself, although there is currently no indication of the existence of Babylonian ritual or omen specialists in the city. Still, this possibility should not be dismissed easily, seeing as the kings of the LBA states sent specialists to one another, and several of these must have made their way through Syria (Heeßel 2009; see discussion in Arbøll 2020: 10–15). Furthermore, there is evidence indicating that a number of related professions were active in the kingdom of Hamath, especially during the 8th century BCE. In the sole inscription from the reign of the Aramaic king Zakkūr, there is a reference to "seers" (*ḥzyn*) and "messengers" (*ʿddn*), suggesting the availability and use of both types for the king of Hamath around ca. 800 BCE (Niehr 2014a: 181; Lipiński 2000: 255; see Sader 2018: 124–127). Furthermore, a respected professional tradition for augurs existed in the Syro-Anatolian area in the early 1st millennium BCE. They were involved in observing birds (*dāgil iṣṣūri* "bird watchers"), neutralising evil portents in a *namburbi*-ritual style, and performing scapegoat rituals in cases of epidemics/mass death (*mūtānu*), especially for armies during campaigns (Radner 2009: 226–228).

These augurs were active in the 9th century BCE, and they were present at the NA court around 800 BCE. Here, they received offerings alongside the traditional Mesopotamian healing and omen experts, and they were involved in rituals in Assyria (ibid.: 231–238; Robson 2019: 64 Table 3a). There even seems to be augurs in the service of an Assyrian king from Hamath, who may have been relocated to Assyria.[70] Although the identity of the king is unclear in the single reference to argurs from Hamath, Radner (2009: 235) has convincingly suggested it must be Sargon II. Sadly, nothing in the scholarly tablets from Hamath provides indications of bird divination or epidemics. Still, it should be noted that the Assyrian army encountered an epidemic (*mūtānu*) near Hamath in 802 BCE during its campaign to Ḫaḏarik (Ḫatarikka; ibid.: 230).[71] Considering that nothing regarding these manuscripts indicates that they were produced outside of Hamath, it seems likely they were produced by locals, such as immigrants or natives of the city.[72] Thus, they were presumably not copied in connection to the training of scribes, but instead by several ritual, incantation, or omen apprentices. However, the suggestion remains hypothetical, as at present there is no evidence linking Syro-Anatolian augurs to cuneiform writing, other than their connection to the NA court and rituals practiced in the Assyrian heartland (ibid.: 226–228, 231–238). Note that the augurs in Assyria had Akkadian names, which might indicate that they were in part culturally appropriated by Assyro-Babylonian culture (ibid.: 223).

Considering the explicit focus on magical recitations and medical healing in combination with school texts or tablets used in the specialisation of exorcists, it is worth considering if the tablets from Building III represented a scholarly approach to knowledge similar to that allegedly established by the scholar Esagil-kīn-apli in the 11th century BCE and encapsulated in a famous text known today as the "Exorcist's Manual" (EM).[73] The EM preserves a collection of text incipits or overarching titles referring to series and groups of texts of the exorcist's craft (*āšipūtu*), and the text itself states it was "established for learning and reading, a complete list" (*KAR* 44 obv. 1: … *a-na* NÍG.ZU *u* IGI.DU$_8$.A *kun-nu* PAP MU.NE; translation follows Frahm 2018a: 18). As such, the EM itself states that it relates to scholarly education. The earliest datable copy of the EM originates from the N4 text collection in Assur in the 7th century BCE (KAR 44).

70. See Radner 2009: 235–236 and notes 91–98 with references; SAA 16 no. 8 obv. 1'-2': [*š*]*a* ^{lú}*da-gíl*-M[UŠEN.MEŠ (x x)] $^{2'}$ [^{lú}]*ḫa-mat-a-a* NIN [x x x].

71. Finally, an astrological or divinatory bronze bowl without provenience is likely indicative of advanced divinatory practices in the Levant during the 8th century BCE (Younger 2012).

72. Among some of the LBA tablets discovered in the region, at least one Gilgamesh fragment from Megiddo was also locally produced (Goren et al. 2008: 9).

73. I have recently provided an in-depth discussion of this text and the previously published literature (Arbøll 2021: 245–253; for a recent edition, see Geller 2018).

All known manuscripts of this famous text mention Esagil-kīn-apli, who was traditionally described as the *ummânu*-expert of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE).[74] He is generally accepted as the editor of the diagnostic-prognostic series Sa-gig, and it has been suggested that his editorial work was part of his role as advisor to Adad-apla-iddina (Frahm 2011a: 324–325 and notes 1545–1546).

Researchers have argued that the EM served various roles: a pedagogical function, defining the ideal range of exorcistic knowledge;[75] instructions for how to become an exorcist (*āšipu*) and an expert (*ummânu*);[76] or a work celebrating the status of the *āšipu*'s profession.[77] However, in the case of the 7th century BCE *āšipu* Kiṣir-Aššur, the EM does not reflect any training patterns, as they might have existed in the text. By extension, Kiṣir-Aššur did not depend on the EM as a curriculum to become an *āšipu* (Arbøll 2021: 252). In other words, the EM may have underlined the prestige belonging to the exorcist's profession at a specific point in time. It is entirely plausible that it was known to advanced students of the discipline and copied to acquire in-depth knowledge about the profession and the range of knowledge constituting an exorcist's scholarly expertise at the time of Esagil-kīn-apli. It also supplied its reader with the names of works necessary to provide an ideal service as an exorcist.

With this in mind, let us return to the scholarly texts from Hamath. Of the few genres attested, at least three out of five are attested in the EM, namely *Maqlû*,[78] possibly *namburbi*-rituals,[79] and Sag̃-gig.[80] *Mušš'u*, however, was not listed in the EM, possibly because the series was composed after Esagil-kīn-apli's time (Böck 2007: 27–29). Furthermore, medical prescriptions for the ears are not explicitly listed in the EM, although the text refers to specific types of prescriptions (*bulṭu*) and various overarching titles perhaps referencing medical texts (Arbøll 2021: 248 note 82). Finally, *Šumma izbu* was not listed in the EM, and it was relevant to the diviner (*bārû*), though it appears that mainly scholars and exorcists wrote to the Assyrian king about these matters in the 1st millennium BCE.[81] Thus, the collection in Building III at Hamath incorporated texts traditionally attributed by researchers to the exorcist (*āšipūtu*, i.e., incantations and rituals), the physician (*asûtu*, i.e., medical prescriptions), and the diviner (*bārûtu*, i.e., omens).[82] Although it is possible that the scholarly tablets at Hamath simply represent a general curriculum for scribes in the learned texts of the time, such as that found in NA Ḫuzirina, they might have been produced by apprentice exorcists, diviners, or literate augurs.

Returning to the scholarly texts from Building III, if we accept the hypothesis that the manuscripts were indeed the work of apprentices training to become ritual or omen specialists, it seems possible that the texts were somehow related to practiced knowledge at the Hamath citadel. Although we cannot disregard that the manuscripts were purely an academic exercise, it is worthwhile to consider which purpose the attested genres may have played at Hamath. In Assyria, *Maqlû* appears to have been performed primarily in connection to the Assyrian court, and it may have

74. See the recent and full bibliography in Arbøll 2021: 257 notes 120–122.

75. Frahm 2018a: 36–37; Schwemer 2011: 421.

76. Clancier 2014: 42–48, 62; Jean 2006: 62.

77. Lenzi 2008: 85; Bottéro 1985: 65–66, 87.

78. KAR 44 obv. 14: *ma-aq-lu-ú*.

79. KAR 44 obv. 14: ḪUL *ka-la* and rev. 29: NÍG.AK.A.MEŠ NAM.BÚR.BI Á.MEŠ AN *u* KI-*tim ma-la ba-šá-a*. See discussion of these lines in Lenzi 2008: 88 and note 120; Geller 2000: 257–258; Bottéro 1985: 71–72.

80. KAR 44 obv. 9: *sa-kik-ke*$_4$SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ.

81. Koch 2015: 266. Possibly *Enūma Anu Enlil*, *Šumma ālu* and extispicy omens were mentioned in the EM as part of the process towards breaking the professional boundaries of the exorcist and becoming a scholar (Frahm 2018a: 22).

82. However, medical prescriptions were also listed in the EM, and to some degree, must have fallen under the professional sphere of the exorcist in the 1st millennium BCE (Arbøll 2021: 6). The evidence from Ḫuzirina implies that whatever professional boundaries may have existed in the early 1st millennium between, e.g., the exorcist's craft (*āšipūtu*) and the physician's craft (*asûtu*), apprentice scribes or specialists copying such tablets were exposed to both traditions and their knowledge was not held exclusively within each discipline.

been used chiefly in connection to the elite and the king (Abusch 2002: 15–16). Yet, there is a reference in a letter from Guzāna (Tell Halaf) to perform certain burning rites (*ma-aq-lu-a-te*), although it was likely a general reference and not a specific mention of the ritual *Maqlû* (Dornauer 2014: 36–37 no. 5). Furthermore, certain incantations from *Maqlû* may have been used elsewhere in apotropaic uses, possibly related to evil omens, e.g., in a roughly contemporary NA amulet from Tarsus with a spell drawing on *Maqlû* VII acting in an apotropaic manner (Goetze 1939: 11–16). However, *namburbi*-rituals, incantations from Sağ-gig/*Muššu'u*, and medical prescriptions seem to have been used in a variety of private contexts (e.g., Maul 1994: 13). The precise context of *Šumma izbu* is not clear-cut, although it was considered difficult by Assyrian court scholars and it was interpreted mainly in a royal context in antiquity (e.g., SAA 10: 44 no. 60, 216 no. 276; Koch 2015: 272–273).

Finally, the question remains for whom the texts at Hamath might have been performed. Considering the above, it is possible that the scholarly Texts 6–13 from Building III were concerned with genres meant to facilitate a specialist's ability to heal ill omens and diseases, as well as to advise leaders of the state, the elite, or private individuals regardless of status. However, this remains hypothetical until further evidence surfaces.

The picture that emerges via the sources from Hamath, albeit a very tentative one due to the state of the collection, is one of knowledge suitable for training scholarly apprentices, who had completed their basic scribal schooling. This knowledge could subsequently be placed at the disposal of a ruler or ruling elite to secure the state, the monarch's household, or simply be used in connection to the healing of individuals. However, we have no knowledge of how the Hamath manuscripts were used or if they were even part of the intellectual environment surrounding any ruler of Hamath. Additionally, it is unclear if the 8th century BCE Aramaic rulers, before the decimation of the state of Hamath by Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, had their seat in this city or elsewhere (see Chapter 2). Thus, it remains uncertain whether the knowledge present at Building III was placed at the disposal of leaders of the state in the 8th century. In fact, it is unclear if it played anything but a marginal role at Hamath, besides the training of scribes.

Inscribed Objects from Cremation Burials

Finally, a few objects inscribed with cuneiform writing were excavated in cremation burials. Texts 15 and 16, which can be dated to the Kassite period, were recovered in a grave belonging to a female adult and an infant dating to ca. 1075–925 BCE (Riis 1948: 250). Text 15 is an agate bead with a cuneiform inscription and Text no. 16 is an amethyst cylinder seal. Both were apparently part of a necklace with other beads (see pl. xx). In two slightly younger graves from ca. 925–800 BCE, belonging to a female adult and a male adult, the excavators found Texts 17 and 18. The former is a Kassite style cylinder seal of carnelian and the latter is a haematite cylinder seal in Hurrian(?) style. An older grave from ca. 1200–1075 BCE, belonging to an unknown adult, contained the bronze seal Text 19, which may contain traces of cuneiform(?) and Luwian hieroglyphic(?) writing on each side. Finally, a grave belonging to a male of uncertain age dated to ca. 1200–1075 BCE contained a silver ring with a cuneiform inscription. Although the objects provide little information about the individuals themselves, it is noticeable that these objects appear to have been used primarily as ornaments or jewellery, by individuals dating to the very LBA or the early Iron Age. Furthermore, most objects can be dated somewhere in the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE, and were likely imported from Babylonia. This fact underlines the cultural exchange between Babylonia proper and the peripheral city Hamath.

6
The Text Collection in Building III

The function of Building III has been much debated. It has been suggested that the structure functioned as a temple, a palace, or an administrative building.[83] Building III was clearly monumental, and several items in secondary contexts hint at a cultic use (e.g., Riis and Buhl 1990: 71, 73 no. 90; Fugmann 1958: 181, 184 Fig. 229). These include a container, which may originally have served as a watering trough for sacrifical animals or for cultic cleaning, which was excavated in front of the facade of Building III to the south of the entrance (Riis and Buhl 1990: 71, 73 no. 90), and a large stele depicting a religious scene that was reused as a doorstep between Rooms A and B.[84] The latter was likely integrated into Building III at some point during a rebuilding. However, it is unclear when the transformation of the structure took place, though Fugmann (1958: 181) suggested a date near the end of phase F (c. 900 BCE), which would date the stele to the same time (Riis and Buhl 1990: 58).

Some of Urḫilina's (ca. 860–840 BCE) Luwian inscriptions mention the construction of a temple dedicated to the goddess Baʿlat/Pahalatis and the storm-god Tarḫunzas/Tarḫunt (Hawkins 2000: 402; Payne 2012: 64–65). The excavators believed that these inscriptions originated in and refer to Building III, where they served as doorjambs, although they were largely discovered in secondary contexts (Riis and Buhl 1990: 28–32; Hawkins 2000: 402). It seems that the worship of Baʿlat/Pahalatis continued in Hamath under the Aramaean rulers, and it is possible the primary place of worship was in Building III (Lipiński 2000: 252 note 25). If the building functioned as a palace under the Neo-Hittite kings, it may not have continued as such after the Aramaic succession of power, as the seat of power was likely moved to Ḫaḏarik (Tell Afis, see Bryce 2012: 133–134).

In addition, the excavators discovered two square pedestals with red bricks, preserving Aramaic graffiti from the 8th century BCE, situated to the left and right of the entrance to Building III (Otzen 1990: 267–268; Fugmann 1958: 177 and Fig. 218; see also Richelle 2019: 209–210; Niehr 2014a: 180). The northernmost of these pedestals is illustrated on Fig. 18. The presence of these pedestals suggests that this monumental building held some significance at the citadel. However, there have been different interpretations of these graffiti, and it is unclear if they functioned as dedicatory or votive inscriptions (Otzen 1990: 269–272), notes concerning persons or areas who supplied the stones (Lipiński 2000: 264, 266–267), or ceremonial markers (Richelle 2019: 210–211; see also Niehr 2014a: 167 and note 201, 180). The excavators discovered a vessel on top of one of the pedestals, which they suggested was placed there for ritualistic purposes (Riis and Buhl 1990: 172 no. 598). This hypothesis remains uncertain.

The fact that Building III held magico-medical and omen texts (Texts 6–13), political letters addressing Neo-Hittite leaders of the state (Texts 1–2), and at least one administrative bulla (Text 5) suggest that the building must have played a role in the intellectual, political, and possibly administrative life of the citadel at one or various points in Hamath's history. Although the political letters could indicate a palace context, comparable scholarly manuscripts were mainly found elsewhere in 1st millennium BCE collections of texts in temples and private contexts throughout Mesopotamia (e.g., Pedersén 1998). The clay bulla, how-

83. See Lumsden 2019: 59 and note 9; Niehr 2014a: 179–180 and note 260; Parpola 1990: 257 note 2. Novák (2014: 267) states that no important temple has come to light in Hamath, although he concedes that citadels in Syro-Hittite cities often included palaces and temples (ibid.: 263). For other buildings at the Hamath citadel that may be identified as temples or sanctuaries, see Niehr 2014a: 180; see ibid.: 180 note 264 for references to diverging opinions.

84. Riis and Buhl 1990: 56 no. 48, 58; Fugmann 1958: 181, 184 Fig. 229; see Niehr 2014a: 179–180. A less impressive stele dated to phase E2 was likely also reused in Building III (Riis and Buhl 1990: 62 no. 53).

Fig. 18. The northernmost pedestal in front of the entrance to Room A in Building III (photograph 3728, the National Museum of Denmark).

ever, indicates an administrative context, similar to numerous bullae discovered in Building V (see Riis and Buhl 1990: 89–96 nos. 154–167). As discussed in Chapter 5, the administrative apparatus must have been present in both palaces and other contexts on the Hamath citadel.

In a stimulating study of the roles of temples in ancient Near Eastern healing, Hector Avalos (1995: 222–31) outlined the uses of the healing goddess Gula's temples in relation to medical practices. He proposed that Gula's temples, particularly the one in Isin, were used to place votive objects to petition a deity or provide thanksgiving, that the buildings housed medical information as a resource centre for medical consultants, and that such temples may have been used for short-term rituals, although admittedly the evidence for the final point is circumstantial.[85] Considering the breadth of knowledge uncovered at Hamath in Building III, it may have been available to and used by healing professionals versed in cuneiform. Temples as repositories of knowledge are also attested in other roughly contemporary cities (e.g., Arbøll 2021: 255–56; Robson 2019: 210–216, 264, 272–274). The petitioning nature of recitations found in Texts 6, 7, and 8 may indicate that they functioned in the context of Building III, although *Maqlû* and *namburbi*-rituals were typically performed outside temples (Schwemer 2017: 7; Abusch 2002: 16; Maul 1994: 48). However, the reference to seeking out sanctuaries of deities in Text 12 indicates a relationship between this text and temples in connection with the healing of ear illnesses. However, it remains unclear, which deities dwelled in Building III, if any, and it is uncertain what the building's possible relationship to healing could have been. Although numerous uncertainties exist, the evidence suggests that Building III, hypothetically, functioned as a temple throughout the Neo-Hittite and Aramaic periods of the city's history. Perhaps the text collection found here was simply a repository of knowledge placed by scribes or scholars in training (Chapter 9) as part of a pious act, as votive offerings, or to perpetuate these textual traditions and make the knowledge available for reference. In any case, it must have been available in the building in 720 BCE when these texts were removed in the face of the invading Assyrian army (Chapter 3).[86]

85. Furthermore, it is possible that royal children were placed under the patronage of deities in connection to illness in the NA period, although the evidence is unclear and should be investigated further (see Parpola 1983a: 109–110; SAA 10: XXXIX-XL and note 194).

86. Considering the lack of cuneiform finds from Tell Afis, which was presumably the residence of the ruler of Hamath in the 8th century BCE (see Chapter 2), it seems that the text collection was assembled in the 9th century BCE. If it was accumulated later, it must have belonged to specialists who did not work directly with the ruler of the state.

7
Writing Systems in Hamath

With this publication of all the cuneiform fragments recovered from Hamath, it is now possible to discuss one of the crucial results that the excavations yielded, namely contact between various scripts (for the Levant, see Lipiński 2000b; Archi 2016). Ancient Hamath was home to people utilising cuneiform, Luwian hieroglyphic, and scripts for writing Aramaic, often in connection to one another. Although the existence at the city of these varying scripts has been noted on several occasions, it has rarely been sufficiently highlighted that the scripts overlapped to some extent.

During the early 1st millennium BCE at Hamath, two phases are often described as Hittite-Luwian (ca. 900–800 BCE) and Aramaic (ca. 800–720 BCE). Several of the bullae recovered in Buildings III and V show traces of hieroglyphic Luwian (Hawkins 2000: 422–23), and they primarily belong to the layers of destruction from 720 BCE (Riis and Buhl 1990: 89–96 nos. 154–167). As Hawkins has pointed out, it is uncertain to which period of the region's history the bulla edited as Text 5 belonged (Hawkins 2000: 403, 423). The manuscript contains Luwian cursive hieroglyphs, a Neo-Hittite and an Aramaic seal impression, the latter with Aramaic script, and perhaps the remains of a few cuneiform strokes. The Aramaic seal impression may represent an Aramaic governor of the city (Otzen 1990: 276) or simply an official with the Aramaic name *'dnlrm*.[87]

Why is Text 5 important? While it is certainly testament to individual scripts used in Hamath, it is also evidence of an administrative use of cursive Luwian hieroglyphs at a time when a governor or official had an Aramaic name written in Aramaic script (see Archi 2016: 37). In addition, the bulla may have contained cuneiform strokes. Regardless, it seems that at least two of these scripts were used concurrently at Hamath at some point between 900–720 century BCE. The numerous Aramaic graffiti found on various red slabs around the citadel underline the use of Aramaic script in the 8th century BCE (Otzen 1990).[88] At other cities in the Levant, hieroglyphic Luwian and Aramaic remained in use during the period of Assyrian control simultaneously with the use of Assyrian cuneiform (Archi 2016: 38 and note 129).

With the publication of the cuneiform fragments, especially from Building III, it is now possible to nuance further the picture regarding language contact within Hamath. As argued in Chapter 9, the cuneiform tablets excavated in Building III, and possibly the single tablet from Building II (4A608), were most likely produced locally. Furthermore, the manuscripts from Building III, where Text 5 was also recovered, should not be dated later than 720 BCE. Thus, at the time when hieroglyphic Luwian must have been the preferred administrative script at the citadel, specialised scholarly knowledge and political letters were written in cuneiform. Arguably, the scribes or scholars writing in cuneiform script must have been a minority. Nonetheless, cuneiform knowledge traditions clearly occupied a place at the citadel, although it is difficult to assess whether the tablets were still in use when the city was captured in 720 BCE or simply preserved in Building III without a clear purpose. Regardless, cuneiform appears to have been used as an administrative script in some capacity near the end of the 2nd millennium BCE (Text 4). As discussed in Chapter 6, the exact use of Building III in various periods is uncertain, though the building may have served a religious or administrative purpose in the 8th century BCE.

Speaking generally of the Levant in the first half of the 1st millennium BCE, Lipiński (2000b: 126–27)

87. See also a similar Aramaic seal with a slightly different name in Riis and Buhl 1990: 90, 94 no. 159; Otzen 1990: 279.

88. Some of the red slabs inscribed in front of Building III were written with a South-Arabian or North-Arabian script (see Richelle 2019: 209–210).

stated that "the Neo-Hittite element among the inhabitants of the country was rather restricted" – a point with which Bryce (2012: 134) also agreed. The majority of the population would therefore have been Aramaic speakers in the 1st millennium BCE (e.g., Lipiński 2000b: 127).[89] However, Hawkins (2000: 403) and Bryce (2012: 56–57) have emphasised that hieroglyphic Luwian script was not only confined to display inscriptions.[90] Indeed, earlier material also indicates contact between writing scripts, as a bronze seal (Text no. 18), excavated in a cremation burial urn from around 1200–1075(?), may contain a Luwian(?) hieroglyphic inscription on one side and remains of cuneiform writing on the other (Riis 1948: 131 G VIII 479). Furthermore, a potsherd with inscribed cursive Luwian hieroglyphic signs from around the 8th century BCE attests to the continued use of Luwian script under the Aramaean rulers (see Hawkins 2000: 421–22, pl. 232). Furthermore, the use of this script on perishable materials may have been more common than is realised. However, this does not mean that Luwian was widely spoken in the kingdom (Bryce 2012: 57), perhaps being restricted to the ruling class. Nevertheless, its use in the administration at a time when Aramaic must have been the dominant spoken language is indicative of the continuation of Neo-Hittite influences after the Aramaic succession in the 8th century BCE at Hamath.[91]

Little is known about how leaders of the various states in the Levant communicated in the early 1st millennium BCE. Parpola (1990: 264) indirectly argued that Text 1, sent from Sūḫu to Hamath, must have been written in cuneiform because this script was likely widely used in Sūḫu. Still, the scribe writing the letter made several mistakes on the reverse, indicating that he was in a hurry or that cuneiform was not his main duty. As argued in Chapters 5 and 9, I believe Hamath cultivated a local cuneiform environment where it was not unusual to communicate with other kingdoms in cuneiform writing. Thus, I do not find it impossible that Hadad-ezer of Aram-Damascus, a contemporary Aramaic state, would have communicated in cuneiform writing with Urḫilina, the Neo-Hittite ruler of Hamath in the second half of the 9th century BCE (Text 2), as cuneiform writing was also the preferred medium of communication in the LBA. Sadly, texts contemporary to those excavated at Hamath remain limited (see Horowitz and Oshima 2006), though it is interesting to note that the roughly contemporary ruler Yariri of Carchemish (ca. 800 BCE) claimed to have been able to read several scripts and speak many languages, including "Assyrian cuneiform" (Archi 2016: 34; Hawkins 2000: 131). The inscription indicates there was still a status related to several such scripts in the 9th century BCE, and this must have been known among the various elites.

It seems that cursive Luwian hieroglyphs was the preferred administrative script at Hamath, possibly throughout the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. At least during the 8th century, Aramaic must have been widely spoken among the general population, as evidenced by the graffiti in this language. Prior to the 1st millennium BCE, cuneiform writing had been used as the preferred script in at least one archival context. In the

89. For Hebrew personal names of 8th century BCE rulers(?) of Hamath, see Dalley 1990. For a discussion of an alleged Canaanism in Zakkūr's inscription from Tell Afis, see Lipiński 2000b: 135.

90. Two archaising stelae from sites near Hamath indicate that a certain king Taita and his wife Kupapiyas of Wadasatini (Patina?) wrote Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions before the Neo-Hittite Parita dynasty in Hamath (see Hawkins 2000: 365, 415–419).

91. E.g., Dion 1997: 156–157 and note 79; cf. Jasink 1995: 98. A look at Hamath's main deities, namely Baʿlat/Pahalatis and her consort Tarḫunzas, seem to support a continuation of traditions from the Neo-Hittite to the Aramaic rulers (Niehr 2014b: 336). However, it should be noted that Baʿlat was likely Aramaic in origin (Lipiński 2002b: 127). Other deities are attested in the Hamath region throughout the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, e.g., Baʿalšamayin, ʾIl-Wēr, Ašimaʾ, Adon, and Yahweh (Niehr 2014a: 166–170; Dalley 1990: 29–30). Note that the possible presence of a Yahweh cult in the Hamath region in the 8th century BCE, as suggested by Dalley (1990: 29–32), was not a concern for the Assyrians in terms of managing future insurrections when they decided to deport people – possibly including Yahweh worshippers – from Hamath to Samaria following the conquest in 720 BCE (Radner 2018: 109 Fig. 3, 112).

early 1st millennium BCE, the primarily scholarly texts alongside political communications were also written in cuneiform. Thus, at least three diverse scripts, representing three languages, were in use alongside one another in Hamath throughout the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE, although cuneiform and hieroglyphic Luwian may primarily have been used in scholastic, political, and administrative contexts.

8
The Transmission of Scholarly Knowledge

Knowledge travels "in minds and bodies, writings and performances", as recently stressed in a compelling study of 1st millennium BCE cuneiform scholarship by Eleanor Robson (2019: 1). Our information concerning the routes through which cuneiform knowledge moved, and with whom it travelled, are relatively clear in regards to the age of internationalisation in the LBA and within the heart and landscape of the NA Empire itself. It remains less obvious, however, how specialised knowledge traditions in Babylonian cuneiform writing, such as the ones excavated at Hamath, made their way to the Levant before these regions were incorporated into the NA Empire. While cuneiform may have played a minor role in the Levant during the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE (Archi 2016: 33), it was certainly known in (some of) the Neo-Hittite cities, as evidenced by the regent of Carchemish Yariri's inscription, in which he claims to be able to read(?) Luwian hieroglyphs, Assyrian cuneiform, Urartian cuneiform(?), Aramaic(?), and speak 12 languages (Archi 2016: 34; Hawkins 2000: 130–133, KARKAMIŠ A15*b*). Consequently, suggestions concerning the limited role of cuneiform in these centuries are mainly based on the scarcity of cuneiform texts.[92] However, it is important to remember that the situation may be comparable to the LBA, a period for which we would know little about the international means of communication if not for the finds at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt (see Clancier 2021: 354–355). Thus, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

In 1990, Simo Parpola published what can probably be characterised as the most important cuneiform tablet from ancient Hamath, namely a letter addressed to Rudamu/Uratami from the Sūḫean ruler Marduk-apla-uṣur (Text 1).[93] The letter indicates a relationship between the cities Hamath and Anat/ʿĀna on the Euphrates in the kingdom Sūḫu.[94] Accordingly, Parpola observed that the few manuscripts from Hamath published at the time appeared to preserve "a distinctive local ductus taught at a given scribal school". This observation prompted him to formulate a hypothesis explaining the existence of cuneiform scholarship and letters at Hamath by proposing that this city and Anat (Anah) shared "a common cuneiform tradition (maintained in Hamath by scribes trained in Anah, rather than vice versa)" in which "the incantation (and possibly all the cuneiform texts found in the city?) had originally been imported from Anah" (ibid.: 264; see Clancier 2021: 354, 356–357). With the full publication of the manuscripts from Hamath, these hypotheses concerning the role of cuneiform must be revised. I have recently addressed and discussed these arguments (Arbøll 2020), and I will reiterate my main points here in order to elaborate and provide further evidence for my analysis. By evaluating the availability of similar knowledge traditions in or near the Levant in the LBA and the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE, I will address when and through which possible routes the Hamath cuneiform traditions travelled to Hamath. Furthermore, I will use these observations together with analyses in the other chapters to formulate a new hypothesis concerning the role of cuneiform in the Levant in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE. In order to discuss

92. E.g., Parpola 1990: 264; Archi 2016: 33; Clancier 2021: 354. Clancier (ibid.: 355) argued for the existence of several chancelleries in Sūḫu, though they likely disappeared due to the increased use of Aramaic, and he proposed a similar situation for other Levantine kingdoms. Though formally unclear, Clancier also proposed that the spoken language in Sūḫu, by at least the 8th century, was Aramaic (e.g., ibid.: 403).

93. The letter has been recognised as important for the socio-political history of the Levant in the early 1st millennium BCE since the time of its discovery, see Ingholt 1940: 115 and note 10.

94. Parpola 1990: 264–265. For a full bibliography concerning this manuscript, see the commentary to Text 1. For additional discussions of the letter and Sūḫu, see below and Chapter 2.

possible routes of knowledge transmission, I will begin by briefly discussing the letters and administrative documents before contextualising the scholarly manuscripts from Hamath in relation to those found in the LBA Levant, the Assyrian scribal traditions, and the Babylonian scribal traditions attested in the western areas of Mesopotamia, particularly in relation to the region Sūḫu on the Euphrates.

The three letters (Texts 1–3) from Hamath all contain an introductory formula attested in MB letters (see the commentaries in Chapter 10) as well as in NB letters from, e.g., Nippur primarily dated to the NA period (Cole 1996: 40, 43, 45, 56 etc.). The first of the letters can be dated to around 840 BCE, the second has the *terminus ante quem* 720 BCE, and the third is dated to around 1075–900 BCE. The letters do not copy the style found in the LBA correspondence between state leaders found at Tell el-Amarna (see Rainey 2014). The scribal practice represented by these three letters therefore seems to rely on a different letter writing tradition. As the formal rhetoric of the letters indicates a style that draws on an older tradition, the scribal practices in question may have been perpetuated for some time before they were written. Furthermore, the administrative Text 4 likely represents an older text (see Chapter 3). Together, these manuscripts cover at least two collections of tablets from Hamath, and they prove that cuneiform was used in socio-political and economic contexts possibly one or more centuries before the destruction of the city in 720 BCE.

Moving on to the scholarly texts, I have recently discussed how Sag̃-gig and idiosyncratic *Šumma izbu* traditions circulated the Levant in the LBA, and there is also slight evidence for *namburbi*-rituals at this time.[95] While *Maqlû* is not attested at all, and must represent an import after this period, it is possible that medical written traditions also existed in the LBA, at least in the knowledge sphere of the Hittites.[96] However, none of the manuscripts edited in this volume are direct duplicates of LBA texts from the Levant, though at least the *Šumma izbu* fragment (Text 13) and possibly the medical text (Text 12) may represent otherwise unattested traditions (for *Šumma izbu*, see Rutz 2013: 252–253; De Zorzi 2011: 43–46; Arnaud 2007: 29–30). Similarly, the *namburbi*-prayer (Text 8) represents an otherwise unfamiliar use of a prayer known in shorter versions from Assyria and Babylonia. Regardless, it is certain that medical specialists, and possibly omen specialists, travelled through these regions during the LBA when such professions were exchanged between courts (Heeßel 2009; Fincke 2012: 98–99; see discussion in Chapter 5 relating to Building III). As discussed below, there was a substantial traffic and trade leading from Babylonia through the Levant in the LBA. Thus, it is entirely possible that some of these textual traditions came to the Levant and began circulating the region at this time. Though it is possible that these localised traditions were not continued into the 1st millennium, we cannot exclude the possibility that some scholarly traditions represented in the Hamath text collection were derived from knowledge circulating the Levant in the LBA.[97]

Let us move on to the Hamath scholarly tablets in relation to the Assyrian scholarly traditions of the MA and NA periods (see, e.g., Robson 2019; Pedersén 1985; 1986; 1998: 129–181). As I have argued in Chapter 10 and elsewhere (Arbøll 2020: 9–10), the manuscripts of the series *Maqlû* Tablets IV (Text 6) and VI (Text 7) must be considered full manuscripts of the serialised series found in various NA contexts,

95. Arbøll 2020: 10–12. In the Levant in the LBA, for Sag̃-gig see Böck 2007: 42–43; Schramm unpublished: 5; for *Šumma izbu*, see Rutz 2013: 263, 532–533; Arnaud 1987: 309–314; Arnaud 2007: 47–51; for *namburbi*-rituals, see Arnaud 2001: 334–335 no. 30.

96. Arbøll 2020: 9–11. For medical texts in the LBA Levant, see Rutz 2013: 254 note 195; Arnaud 2007: 98–99; see Fincke 2012: 98; cf. Tsukimoto 1999: 187. For such knowledge at Ḫattuša, see Lupo 2019: 606–609.

97. However, the scholarly manuscripts from Hamath appear in roughly the same orthographic tradition, which means that, if some texts were derived from the LBA continuum, these would have circulated orally or on perishable materials (e.g., writing boards) before being updated orthographically and committed to writing in Hamath. The probability of this suggestion cannot be evaluated here, though it cannot be excluded.

or a version thereof.[98] The Hamath manuscripts must therefore be counted among the earliest existing serialised texts of *Maqlû* (see Abusch 2016: XV; Schwemer 2017: 43–58). The *namburbi*-prayer (Text 8) is only known in Assyria in abbreviated versions primarily related to the "mouth opening" *mīs pî* ritual.[99] The incantations partially similar to those found in Sag̃gig/*Muššu'u* (Texts 9–11) were also known in Assyria in serialised(?) manuscripts, though some variations in the Hamath fragments are not similar to the Assyrian versions.[100] The medical compendium for treating diseases of the ears (Text 12) contains entries partially similar to prescriptions found at Nineveh and Assur, though it is possible that they represent a standardised section of cures not attested in the Assyrian material.[101] Although the series *Šumma izbu* circulated in various places in Assyria, none of the multitude of available manuscripts seem to be represented by the Hamath fragment (Text 13).[102] Consequently, only the manuscripts of *Maqlû* appear to be directly parallel in form to text traditions found in Assyria.

Could scribes or scholars at Hamath have obtained their scholarly traditions via Assyria? While we know little of Hamath's history in the LBA, it is clear that MA written traditions were established in Assyria in this period, mainly on the basis of Babylonian texts.[103] Still, it is doubtful if these traditions were circulated in the periphery of the kingdom and outside of Assyria.[104] As outlined in Chapter 2, the relationship between Hamath and Assyria was problematic in the 9th century BCE, although it is possible that there was a period of coexistence by the end of Urḫilina's reign. When the Aramaean ruler Zakkūr came to power around 800 BCE, he seems to have been in the Assyrian fold. After the 780s BCE, it seems that the relationship between Hamath and Assyria became complicated again, which lead to a number of rebellions against Assyrian control in the area. Thus, there are few periods of coexistence in which one would expect Assyrian knowledge to be transmitted into the Hamath region before the destruction of the city in 720 BCE, when it was incorporated into a province under Assyrian administration.[105] Yet, such scholarly traditions would likely have been transmitted in Assyrian script, although all the manuscripts excavated at Hamath are in a local ductus of Babylonian writing.

As has been discussed recently, the most vibrant parts of the NA knowledge networks existed in the Assyrian heartland, especially in the cities Nineveh, Assur, Dūr-Šarrukēn, and Kalḫu (Robson 2019: 50–51, 53, 83. 120–123, 125–126, 128–135). Here, works were revised, reedited, standardised, and composed on the basis of Assyrian knowledge traditions and an influx of Babylonian scholars and scholarship to the royal

98. For other primarily NA or later manuscripts of *Maqlû* tablets IV and VI, see Abusch 2016: 111–112, 149–150; Schwemer 2017: 43–58.

99. Maul 1994: 300–303; Al-Rawi and George 1995: 225; Walker and Dick 2001: 20, 27–29. According to Walker and Dick (2001: 20), the incantation was originally composed for use in the *mīs pî* or a similar ritual, and its use at Hamath is therefore secondary. However, as shown later in their study, none of the other preserved tablets of the ritual can be dated earlier than the Hamath incantation (ibid.: 27–29).

100. Böck 2007: 33–43; Schramm unpublished: 10–11, 27, 32, 45, 63, 78, 90–91. For a discussion of the serialisation of Sag̃gig, see ibid.: 3–6. *Muššu'u* was likely created as a series after the 11th century BCE (Böck 2007: 27–29, 88–89). Concerning the differences between these series and the Hamath fragments, see the commentaries to Texts 9–11 in Chapter 10.

101. Arbøll 2020: 11; see the commentary in Chapter 10.

102. For text editions of *Šumma izbu*, and particularly manuscripts from NA sites, see De Zorzi 2014: 337–928; Leichty 1970: 31–233.

103. E.g., Heeßel 2011: 171, 174–195, especially 192; Heeßel 2012: 12–15; see the comprehensive discussion with previous references in Arbøll 2021: 256–259.

104. E.g., a tablet in Assyrian script palaeographically dated to around 1000 BCE was excavated at Carchemish in a NA context (Marchesi 2014: 333; Marchetti 2015: 51).

105. It is also uncertain if rulers of Hamath would have needed Assyrian specialists, as they do not seem to have been intent on imitating Assyrian style. The study by Baaklini (2021) showed very limited Assyrian influence on material culture in Hamath before the conquest, and the identified features were likely facilitated by local trends in the Levant regarding objects of prestige (ibid.: 294–295, 297, 302–303).

court.[106] NA cuneiform scholarship did circulate, though, outside the heartland in western cities such as Ḫuzirina/Sultantepe, where they were copied as part of a school (ibid.: 135–138). While this is the main collection of NA texts outside of Assyria proper, it seems unlikely that it was unique (ibid.: 138). In general, Assyrian knowledge networks outside the heartland seem to have been tied closely to the Assyrian administration. For example, some students at Ḫuzirina seem destined for a career in the imperial apparatus (ibid.: 135–138, 256), and administrative and scholarly texts excavated in other western cities were primarily found in connection to Assyrian administration.[107] Thus, the few instances in which texts from a specialist or scholarly context are found in the Levant can be connected to the presence of administrative activities. Consequently, the majority of the Assyrian traditions that seeped out into the periphery were written in Assyrian script, and the few Babylonian examples likely originate from people attached to the Assyrian administration.[108] Considering the socio-political circumstances regulating the Assyrian knowledge networks, as well as the fact that Hamath lay outside of Assyrian administration in the 9th and parts of the 8th centuries BCE, it therefore seems implausible that the scholarly manuscripts excavated at Hamath represent text traditions derived from an Assyrian scribal or scholarly context. However, if some texts discovered at Hamath were derived from neither LBA nor NA scholarly traditions, why did they appear in the Levant at the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE?

Discussion of Possible Knowledge Transmission via Sūḫu

Following the reconstruction outlined above, the material from Hamath does not seem to represent LBA knowledge traditions exclusively, nor does it appear to have been transmitted from Assyria or via Assyrian scribal contexts. Furthermore, the Hamath text collection is unique at present in its Levantine setting. The manuscripts were copied in Babylonian script in a non-Assyrian context, but most comparable finds in the region are younger and in NA script. As the manuscripts are written in Babylonian script, it is necessary to consider possible routes along which such knowledge may have travelled from Babylonia to the Levant. Two obvious routes present themselves based on the socio-political circumstances in the 9th century BCE outlined in Chapter 2, namely via the regions Sūḫu on the Euphrates or Lāqê, where the Ḫābūr meets the Euphrates. Already in Parpola's (1990: 260 Fig. 2, 264–265) edition of the letter to Uratami from Marduk-apla-uṣur of Sūḫu, he suggested that the knowledge represented in the manuscripts might have travelled with scribes or scholars via Sūḫu over Tadmor/Palmyra onto Hamath. One of the obvious points of departure from the Euphrates towards the Levant would have been through Ḫindānu, a city above the region Sūḫu and under Assyrian control from around the middle of the 9th century.[109] From

106. E.g., Parpola 1983b; Frahm 2011b: 523–524; Fincke 2017: 379, 383, 386–387, 391–393.

107. See the useful overview in MacGinnis 2018; Canaan in Horowitz and Oshima 2006 and Faust 2018: 37–40; Tell Tayinat in Lauinger 2012 and 2016; Ziyaret Tepe in Parpola 2008 and MacGinnis and Monroe 2013–14; Carchemish in Marchesi 2014 and Marchetti 2015; Tell Halaf in Friedrich et al. 1940, Dornauer 2014 and Maul 1994: 159 and note 7. For a NA amulet with an Akkadian incantation drawing on *Maqlû* from Tarsus, see Goetze 1939: 11–16 no. 8. It is unclear if the mention of burning rites (*ma-aq-lu-a-te*) in general from Guzana/Tell Halaf also referenced the ritual *Maqlû* (see Dornauer 2014: 36 no. 5). See also the few remains from Rasm et-Tanjara described by Nougayrol in Athanassiou 1977: 314–325. For more places (in Assyria and outside) where NA texts were found, see the subprojects given at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/atae/> (accessed 29/06/2022).

108. See Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 22 and note 22.

109. Ḫindānu was only properly incorporated into the NA Empire under Shalmaneser III, though the region rebelled at the end of his reign (Radner 2006–8: 55). It was incorporated properly at least around 800 BCE. Several letters in SAA 1 (nos. 82, 83, 87, 208, and 211) may concern this city. In terms of cuneiform writing in the Lāqê region, nearly all the texts excavated at Dūr-Katlimmu were in Assyrian script and dated to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE (Radner 2002: 20–23). It should be noted that Nippurians were involved in trade through Ḫindānu

there, the route could have bypassed Tadmor/Palmyra (Clancier 2021: 156, 159; see below).

Sūḫu was the subject of a recent book by Philippe Clancier (2021), in which he provides the most comprehensive study of the region to date, while simultaneously presenting new hypotheses with potentially wide-ranging implications for our understanding of the region in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE.[110] To fully assess the significance of this region in relation to Hamath, it is necessary to discuss Clancier's study, in order to outline the socio-political situation in Sūḫu before and during the 9th century BCE, at which time the letter to Uratami from the Sūḫean Marduk-apla-uṣur illustrates a connection between these realms (Text 1). Where previous research has maintained that the 1st millennium rulers of Sūḫu were largely semi-independent leaders of a single area, despite the occasional Assyrian involvement in the region,[111] Tenu and Clancier (2012: 258–260) proposed an alternative hypothesis by which the Assyrians maintained control of the upper part of Sūḫu, treating this area as a vassal state. Clancier (2021: 111–112, 332–333, 338, 350) let this theory come to its natural conclusion, arguing for a geographical and political division of Sūḫu in the 9th and part of the 8th century BCE. This premise breaks with the current consensus, which treats Sūḫu as one geographical and socio-political region (see note 111). Because this relatively new hypothesis has potential consequences for reconstructing how knowledge could travel through Sūḫu in these centuries, I will discuss Clancier's main arguments for reconstructing the routes through this area, as well as the region's history.

The routes for travelling through Sūḫu are reconstructed and discussed by Clancier (2021: 119–121, 156, 159). In many ways, Sūḫu was an oasis in the middle of a desert/steppe area, through which traders and travellers had to move and make stops (ibid.: 347). Some routes followed the Euphrates, whereas others bypassed the river and went via the steppe (ibid.: 121). It is unclear how well the steppe roads were controlled, although local rulers kept an eye on steppe wells in at least the 8th century BCE (ibid.: 346–347). Following the path from Babylonia to the Levant, there were several ways through Sūḫu, but they all lead through main cities such as Anat and Ḫarradu and split off at Ḫindānu (located outside of Sūḫu).[112] From these key points, various roads led to Assyria, the Levant, and Tayma (ibid.: 121). Clancier (ibid.: 156) relies on Graslin-Thomé (2009: 309) for reconstructing the overall routes via which traders travelled, and these differ slightly from Parpola (1990: 260) and Grawlikowski (1983: 54) in relation to whether the route to Hamath led through Tadmor/Palmyra (see Hawkins 2016: 187). The items traded through the region can be gathered especially from tributes listed in the Assyrian annals, as well as depictions and descriptions on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (Clancier 2021: 340–348). One noteworthy item is ivory. Objects of this material from Hamath were excavated in the city itself (e.g., Fugmann 1958: 179), where the remains of an ivory workshop may also have been uncovered (Riis 1963: 206), and several items from Hamath were uncovered at Nimrud, especially in Fort Shalmaneser.[113] Clancier (2021: 315, 328) proposed that

in the 8th century BCE (see Cole 1996: 1, 111–115 nos. 40–41, 158–160 no. 72).

110. For the cuneiform inscriptions recovered from Sūḫu, primarily dating to two rulers in the 8th century, see Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990; RIMB 2: 275–331; Na'aman 2003a; Na'aman 2003b; Na'aman 2008; Clancier 2021: 512–517, 520–536; Sūḫu online.

111. See Ismail et al. 1988: 1–4; Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: 321–332; Parpola 1990: 260–262; RIMB 2: 275–277; Radner 2002: 6–7; Sūḫu online.

112. For crossing rivers in Sūḫu with armies, commercial caravans, or large herds, see Clancier 2021: 134–164. Liverani (1992: 112) argued that Ḫindānu did not become important for caravan trade with Tayma and South Arabia before 1075 BCE at the earliest.

113. Barnett 1963; Millard 1962. Brinkman (1968: 183 note 1127) proposed that ivory was one of the most important items traded through Sūḫu. Another commodity traded via Hamath may have been textiles, and various tools for weaving as well as numerous loom weights were discovered in the city (Kühn 2014: 63 note 192, 69). Several weights allegedly from Hamath may attest to the city's prosperous trade (Bordreuil and Gubel 1983:

one reason for the Assyrian interest in Sūḫu was a wish to control the trade between Assyria, Babylonia, and the Levant via Anat and Tadmor/Palmyra.

Considerable knowledge about the middle Euphrates region around Sūḫu has been gained from numerous archaeological excavations in the last 50 years (see, e.g., Northedge et al. 1988; Abdul-Amir 1988; Tenu 2008). As Clancier (2021: 310–312) outlines, the Assyrians conquered the area down to at least Ḫarradu in upper Sūḫu during numerous campaigns in the region in the 12th century BCE (see also Tenu 2009: 190–191). It is possible that they established several forts near Ḫarradu at this time, possibly within a few decades.[114] The find of two MA cuneiform documents at Ḫarradu, edited by Clancier (2012), seem to support this conclusion. The fortification at Ḫarradu was presumably based on a pre-Assyrian layout of the city (Tenu and Clancier 2012: 250). The question is if these results can be used to conclude that the Assyrians maintained a continuous presence at this and related cities into the 1st millennium BCE, as there is limited evidence pointing directly to a strong Assyrian presence at the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE. The region was certainly difficult to control due to its geography and the numerous Aramaic peoples relying on pastoralism (Clancier 2021: 316, 346). There are various indications that none of the great powers held complete control of it in the LBA (Tenu and Clancier 2012: 248–249), although Tiglath-pileser I claimed to have defeated enemies throughout Sūḫu down to the city Rāpiqu near the entrance to Babylonia (RIMA 2: 37–38 A.0.87.3; Postgate 1981: 52). In Clancier's opinion, it was the Assyrian intervention of particularly Tiglath-pileser I in the MA period, which gave rise to a two-partite division of Sūḫu (Clancier 2021: 314–315).

Clancier argued that Sūḫu can be divided geographically into an "upper/western" and "lower/eastern" region both situated upstream from the city Ḫarradu at the upper part of Sūḫu to Ḫīt downstream at its lowest part.[115] He used this argument as the basis for analysing the political situation in the 9th and 8th centuries, and hypothesised that the region was divided into an "upper/western" and "lower/eastern" region of Sūḫu from around Ḫarradu to Anat and downstream from Anat at around Sūru until Ḫīt (ibid.: 4–6, 325; for these cities, see ibid.: 171–178, 183–186). The upper region would have been ruled from Anat, and the lower part from Sur Jurʿeh (ibid.: 8, 175, 350–351). Based on relatively meagre historic evidence derived primarily from NA royal inscriptions describing campaigns in the area or the presentation of tribute,[116] the inscriptions of two 8th century rulers of Sūḫu,[117] and the letter from Marduk-apla-uṣur of Anat to Uratami (Text 1), Clancier provided an impressive reconstruction of a Sūhuean dynasty. These rulers start with an early 2nd millennium self-proclaimed son of Hammurapi called Tunamissah, and the dynasty lasted into the 9th century with Adad-nādin-zēri (contemporary of Shalmaneser III, Text 1), and Šamaš-rēša-uṣur and Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur who ruled in the

341 and Fig. 5; Bordreuil 1995: 13–14; Heltzer 2001). Heltzer (1995: 101–105) furthermore proposed that some of the traders in the region of Hamath were Phoenicians.

114. Clancier 2021: 312–313. It is unclear if such fortresses were built to control the Aramaeans in the area (see ibid.: 316). However, the Assyrian control of the important trade city Ḫindānu may be questioned, as one of the Sūḫean inscriptions of the 8th century BCE mentions a raid at a caravan leaving this city (Liverani 1992: 111). If the Assyrians maintained strict control, one would expect they would have been able to control such raids, regardless of Sūḫu's hypothetical partial independence. Still, Assyrian control may not have been strict in areas outside the city, as open country and mountain regions were notoriously difficult to control.

115. Clancier 2021: 4–6, 333. Clancier (ibid.: 319–320) subdivides the history of Sūḫu in the 1st millennium into four sections: (1) the end of the 10th and early 9th centuries where Assyrians expanded control over the Ḫābūr and part of Sūḫu; (2) most of the 8th century when descendants of Tunamissah ruled over the entire region of Sūḫu; (3) Tiglath-pileser III's integration of Sūḫu into the Assyrian Empire; and (4) a less clear period afterwards.

116. RIMA 2: 23, 34, 38, 43, 53–54, 59–60, 98, 134, 149, 174–175, 180, 200, 212–215, 221–222, 225, 227, 230, 275–276, 280–281, 285, 287, 289–291, 293–294, 296, 298–300, 302, 304, 309, 312, 320, 323–324, 327, 330, 348, 351; RIMA 3: 150, 209, 211.

117. See references in note 110.

8th century.[118] He attributed this dynasty to the lower part, while interpreting a number of unrelated rulers called Ili-ibni (ca. the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II and the beginning of Assurnaṣirpal II's reign), Marduk-apla-uṣur (reign of Shalmaneser III, Text 1), and a certain Tabnea as tributary pro-Assyrian rulers of the upper part (late 9th and early 8th centuries; Clancier 2021: 325–327, 393–394, 519). In the 8th century, Tabnea was replaced by the governor of Raṣappa called Nergal-ēreš who became governor of the collective province Ḫindānu, which incorporated (part of) Sūḫu (only Anat?), Lāqê, and Raṣappa.[119] Following this period, Assyria allegedly ruled Anat for 50 years before the city was conquered by Šamaš-rēša-uṣur (ibid.: 374–376).

Clancier presents sound arguments in support of his hypothesis,[120] although he phrases the division of Sūḫu as a matter of fact.[121] However, he rarely discusses the evidence that contradicts this interpretation, and he does not attempt to verify individual conclusions regarding the structure of the socio-political entities in Sūḫu through contemporary evidence (see below). Clancier's idea would, nevertheless, provide an explanation as to why certain rulers in the region throughout the 9th and 8th centuries appear as contemporaries while in opposition to one another.[122] Though the relatively scattered and vague historic

118. Clancier 2021: 320–321, 327–334, 385–393, 518. Clancier's reconstruction of the Tunamissah dynasty assumes that three names in a genealogy were reversed in some inscriptions, while listed correctly in others (cf. ibid.: 374, 387–390). Furthermore, it also requires that some members of the Tunamissah dynasty would have settled for the abbreviated title "governor of Sūḫu" instead of the full and traditional title "governor of Sūḫu and Mari" (ibid.: 390). These issues remain partially unresolved.

119. Clancier 2021: 8, 378–379, 383; Na'aman 2003b: 102; Radner 2002: 6; for Nergal-ēreš, see Siddall 2013: 101–104, 106–118; Radner 2012: 274–276; Fuchs 2008: 75–78. The reading of the name Nergal-ēreš/Pālil-ēreš remains disputed (Parpola 2017: 393 note 1; Radner 2012: 265 note 2; PNA 3/I: 981–982). It is unclear if there was a weakening of centralised power in Assyria in the late 9th and early 8th centuries or if administrative reforms enabled officials to rise to power. For Raṣappa, see Parpola 2017.

120. E.g., there is evidence mainly for tribute presented by governors in the upper region of Sūḫu with Anat as centrum (Clancier 2021: 325, 327, 340), which supports Clancier's hypothesis. However, Clancier makes several observations throughout the book that weaken the rigour of his overall argument. One example is his speculation that the city Sur Jurʿeh (Clancier's city no. 28 in the Sūḫu region) was known at various times as both Āl-gabbāri-bāni and Imgur-Enlil, and that this city had been the location of the so-called Balawat Gates of Assurnaṣirpal II and Shalmaneser III (Clancier 2021: 219–226, 232–236, 335; see already Anonymous 1983: 221 regarding Sur Jurʿeh as Āl-gabbāri-bāni). Not only is his interpretation based on an extremely broken reading, the identification of the site as Imgur-Enlil holding the Balawat gates lacks agreeing data. First and foremost, it would have placed these bronze bands in lower/eastern Sūḫu, which Clancier regards as land outside the direct control of Assyria, but it also disagrees with established identifications of Balawat as Imgur-Enlil, which are not discussed (e.g., Oates 1974; Curtis and Tallis 2008).

121. E.g., Clancier 2021: 8, 111–112. Only in one instance does he make it clear that the division is a hypothesis (ibid.: 334). This is partly because he has previously presented what he called "les indices d'une division du Sūḫu" (Tenu and Clancier 2012: 255–259). Although Clancier (2021: 111) states explicitly that Sūḫu should not be approached as a state, due to the geographically diverse nature of the region (ibid.: 113), the language and concepts he uses conceptualises the region as a state (e.g., ibid.: 8 speaks of political reunification, 112 the division as political, 176 Anat as a capital of western Sūḫu, 232 a royal scriptorium at Sur Jurʿeh). The scarcity of sources prevents an understanding of contemporary geo-political understandings of the region, but, considering the (semi-)nomadic nature of several groups inhabiting it, Clancier's conceptualisation of Sūḫu should be subject to further discussions in future studies.

122. The historic sources are often confusing in this regard, but one example is Text 1, in which Marduk-apla-uṣur and Adad-nādin-zēri are mentioned together in a single letter. The Tunamissah dynasty of rulers in the 8th century BCE, used the traditional title "governor of Sūḫu and Mari" (Clancier 2021: 6–8, 307), whereas the NA sources rarely mention any rulers as governors of Sūḫu, except for Ili-ibni and Kudurru (ibid.: 7). Another example illustrating the confusion concerns Kudurru of the Tunamissah dynasty who may have ousted Ili-ibni as Assyrian elect governor of upper Sūḫu (ibid.: 327–330). Though Clancier (ibid.: 330–339) maintains the division of Sūḫu, Assurnaṣirpal II's inscriptions state that he subdued Sūḫu to Rāpiqu (RIMA 2: 212). This campaign, though, may not have been as successful as claimed (see Clancier 2021: 335–336 with references). Later, Assurnaṣirpal II did not campaign further than Ḫarradu, the reason for which is unclear (cf. ibid.: 339).

Fig. 19. Inscription of Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur of Sūḫu (IM 132899, photograph by Osama S.M. Amin).

sources generally fit Clancier's hypothesis,[123] the archaeological evidence from the region is the only real corroborating evidence. How does it hold up to scrutiny? Ḫarradu – city (1) in Clancier's terminology – as well as other northern cities seem to have been overly fortified, and they likely served as forts (Clancier 2021: 67–100, 313–315). Furthermore, the particular architectural outline found in these northern Sūḫean cities does not seem to appear in an identical form in cities downstream (ibid.: 313; Kepinski 2006: 331–332). While these overall observations speak in favour of Clancier's hypothetically divided kingdom, there are also arguments that speak against it.

Tenu (2008: 155–170), for example, classified several of the fortresses upstream and downstream as comparable. Furthermore, it has been suggested that a fortification downstream called Tell Yemniyeh (22) was an Assyrian stronghold (e.g., Kepinski 2006: 331), even though it is located close to Sur Jurʿeh, which Clancier (2021: 229–232) considers the hub

123. An example discussed in depth by Clancier (2021: 325–327 and note 21 with references) concerns tribute received by Tukulti-Ninurta II from Ili-ibni of Sūḫu in (or in front of?) Anat. As the king did not receive tribute below Sūru, and therefore only in upper Sūḫu, this might indicate a distinction in how the regions were regarded. However, as Clancier also points out (ibid.: 326–327), the Assyrian army was able to move in peace below Sūru and in Babylonia at this time, which is not easily explained. Furthermore, it is unclear if the tribute Ili-ibni presented to Assurnaṣirpal II in Assyria "to save his life together with (that of) his brothers (and) his sons" really meant he had to flee Sūḫu on account of Kudurru of the Tunamissah dynasty's military actions (see ibid.: 327–328, 331–332; RIMA 2: 200).

of lower Sūḫu and possible seat of the Tunamissah lineage of rulers. Other cities located downstream in lower Sūḫu with Assyrian elements include ʿUsiyeh (20), in which the foot of an Assyrian-style *lamassu* was recovered,[124] as well as Gleiʿeh (29), in which a terracotta *lamassu* and a stone stele with a few cuneiform signs were recovered (ibid.: 81–85).[125] Indeed, a city – possibly downriver – with Assyrian *lamassu*s was depicted on Assurnaṣirpal II's bronze bands on the Balawat Gates in relation to Kudurru's tribute.[126] Thus, several of the cities situated in lower Sūḫu emphasise the willingness to imitate Assyrian style, though one might as well argue such material was evidence of an Assyrian presence.[127] Comparatively, it is well known that local Assyrian officials in centres of power, such as the palace at Til Barsip, imitated Assyrian palaces in their decoration (e.g., Parrot 1961: 100–111, 262–278). Further evidence points to an intentional imitation of the iconography of Assyrian rulers in the cities downstream in Sūḫu. On a stele from Babylon, Šamaš-rēša-uṣur(?) was depicted in the style of an Assyrian ruler (Clancier 2021: 407; Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: 398–405; see also Fig. 19). At the same time, the 8th century rulers of Sūḫu imitated Babylonian royal inscriptions in style and their primary scribal environment relied on Babylonian ductus. Considering the evidence discussed above, Sūḫu therefore shows signs of strong ties to Assyrian as well as Babylonian culture in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE (cf. Clancier 2021: 316). While several forts upstream were likely built by the Assyrians in the MA period, the 1st millennium evidence within Sūḫu can be used to argue for Assyrian control or local rule that amalgamated traditions from Assyria and Babylonia. In either situation, the ruling culture in lower Sūḫu was not completely opposed to Assyria.[128]

Accepting Clancier's premise that there were two overarching competing powers in Sūḫu, the chaotic socio-political situation in the region, vaguely illuminated by limited sources, must undoubtedly have been more nuanced. The question is, therefore, if the main cities within Sūḫu behaved as those in roughly contemporary Babylonia, as outlined in a programmatic study by Mogens Trolle Larsen (2000).[129] Larsen argued that the various cities in Babylonia had essentially reverted to city-states during the NA period, though the ruler who controlled the religious and cultural capital Babylon could legitimately be crowned by Marduk and influence Babylonia via the region's main cult, while few people in Babylonia were effectively dependent on or looked up to this office.[130] A similar situation could perhaps be proposed for Sūḫu, where the one who controlled Anat could attempt to exercise legitimate control through the official cult, due to the city's religious and economic importance among the local populations. Such a scenario would be similar to the socio-political situation for Sūḫu outlined by, e.g., Parpola (1990: 262) and Na'aman

124. Clancier 2021: 75–76. At ʿUsiyeh terracotta guardian figures of lions were also found (Anonymous 1983: 223).

125. Allegedly, Anat had also once preserved slabs of reliefs with pictures and cuneiform writing, though the water had washed these away (Clancier 2021:175). It remains uncertain which script was used, and whether they were imitative reliefs or actual Assyrian reliefs. One of the preserved reliefs also depicts a scribe (Anonymous 1983: 204; Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: 397 no. 27; Cammarosano et al. 2019: 135 Fig. 5; RIMB 2: 328 S.0.0.1007; Clancier 2021: 454 Fig. 38).

126. Curtis and Tallis 2008: 169 Fig. 68, 185 Fig. 84; see Clancier 2021: 335. For the battle between Kudurru and Assurnaṣirpal II, in which the former was backed by a Babylonian army led by the Babylonian king's brother and a general who was a diviner, see ibid.: 330–332.

127. However, it seems unlikely that the Assyrians would have cultivated a military presence in all fortified sites downstream when they would mainly have needed Ḫarradu, see Titolo 2020: 212–213. Nonetheless, an Assyrian presence in lower Sūḫu has been argued for (see discussion in Clancier 2021: 90–93).

128. A recent study on the influence of Assyrian culture on the kingdom of Hamath by Baaklini (2021) illustrates the overwhelming difficulties involved when attempting to identify direct Assyrian influence on, e.g., material culture, architecture, and iconography.

129. Larsen's article was not referenced or discussed by Clancier (2021: 544–563).

130. For a discussion of Babylon's importance within Babylonia, or lack thereof, during the NA period, see von Dassow 1999: 244–245. For Babylonia in the 7th century BCE, see Frame 2007.

(2003b: 102). If the situation is comparable, the Assyrians may have found it sufficient to control Ḫindānu above Sūḫu, as well as Anat, as the primary religious centre and trade hub of the region. This proposal does not negate Clancier's observations, as it would allow Tunamissah's family to remain in control of chosen cities downstream, occasionally acting as rebels in the eyes of the Assyrians, although they were in reality just one or more powerful city-states. This is, in my opinion, a better solution to the Sūḫu state problem. Thus, individual semi-autonomous cities could have controlled an area and an upland, but not the surrounding Aramaean population and individual settlements. If Clancier's hypothesis is accurate without modifications, and Sūḫu was partially split under Assyrian dominion, the question arises as to what extent Assyria exercised direct control over the region, and whether they had troops and administrative structures stationed in the fortresses in western Sūḫu. This remains unclear, but the upper fortifications may support there being a strong Assyrian presence.

Finally, it is now possible to consider the transmission of knowledge through Sūḫu to Hamath. While it is unclear when and how the knowledge represented by the Hamath text collection made its way to the city, the evidence suggests a 10th or 9th century date for the manuscripts in question. Furthermore, there are sufficient differences in the sign forms in the scholarly texts and the letter from Sūḫu (Text 1) to propose that they represent two distinct, albeit clearly related, scribal environments (see Chapter 9). As Nils Heeßel (2009) has illustrated, an *asû* who wrote a cuneiform tablet with medical content in Babylonia lived in the later stages of his life in the Hittite capital Ḫattuša in the LBA, and his tablet from Babylonia was later taken as spoils of war to Assyria. Specialists such as this *asû* were presumably able to move through the disputed territory of Sūḫu without problems. Additionally, a scribe called Kidin-Gula at Emar in the LBA may have originated from Sūḫu, which underlines the mobility of scribal culture on the Euphrates into the Levant in the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE.[131] Thus, it is not inconceivable that scribes or specialists at some point travelled from Babylonia to Sūḫu, and either these or their descendants travelled onwards from there to Hamath at some unknown point in time. Why these literate persons chose to travel to Hamath is unclear, though it is possible that one or more of them offered their services in terms of state correspondence, administration, and healing/omen practice. Such services eventually became connected with an import of traditional scholarly knowledge, because of its application in the training of scribes or the specialist use of such knowledge for the local ruler. Though it is unclear where Aramaeans became acquainted with Babylonian scholarship, particularly medical traditions (see Dion 1989: 216), it may have happened along this route through Sūḫu and Lāqê towards Hamath in the early 1st millennium BCE.

As I have proposed in Chapter 7, it may have been less unusual than hitherto believed for states to communicate in cuneiform writing in the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE. Furthermore, Text 1 is important for illuminating the relationship between Hamath and Sūḫu.[132] As discussed in Chapter 2, it is unclear if the letter only designates a common trade interest between Hamath and Sūḫu or if it underlines a political and economic relationship between these states (Parpola 1990: 264; Richelle 2019: 209; Clancier 2021: 353–354, 356). Regardless, links did

131. Cohen 2004: 13; ibid. 2009: 183–186. Furthermore, Viano (2016: 382–383) argued that Sumerian scholarly and literary materials came primarily from northern Babylonia into the Levant in the LBA. Already in the OB period, Charpin (2012: 133–136) has argued that scribal traditions at Mari were influenced by traditions from Eshnunna. I would like to thank Maurizio Viano for kindly sharing the above references with me. Furthermore, it is possible that multiple divergent scholarly traditions existed in northern Mesopotamia around 1600 BCE, as exemplified by the *Šumma izbu* traditions and other scholarly material from Tigunānum (De Zorzi 2017; George 2013: 101–128, 285–319).

132. According to Clancier (2021: 351–354, 473–474) Text 1 underlines the upper/lower division of Sūḫu (see commentary in Chapter 10), though the content does not confirm this hypothesis.

exist between Hamath, Lāqê, and Sūḫu throughout the 9th and 8th centuries BCE (see also Clancier 2021: 356–362), and there may have been regular movement between Hamath and Sūḫu in terms of political and commercial correspondences, as well as knowledge (ibid.: 357). This suggests that a tributary region, such as (upper) Sūḫu, was able to maintain independent commercial and political relations with a state that may have been opposed to Assyria in some periods (see Clancier 2021: 360). Thus, it seems that specialist knowledge was able to travel freely via scribes or scholars in these centuries through regions fractured by politics and economic interests. This free movement implies that Assyria's control of the region was restricted to state politics and tax on trade.

If cuneiform knowledge travelled via Sūḫu to the Levant, there should be evidence of such scholarship from Sūḫu. The excavations at Sur Jurʿeh did uncover several fragments of a six-columned tablet with Ḫulbazizi incantations in Babylonian script (Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: 397 no. 28, 447–455). Yet, the fragments have not been published with photographs and they are not supplied with a museum number, making it difficult to trace the original to compare the script with that found at Hamath. From the hand copy, however, it seems that some signs such as *ma* and *ú* had slightly longer upper wedges. Furthermore, signs such as TU_6 are not identical to the manuscripts from Hamath (compare ibid.: 447–455 to Chapter 9). The fragments from Sur Jurʿeh were uncovered together with inscriptions by Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur, indicating an 8th century BCE context.[133] They were likely part of scribal education, in accordance with the archaeological context, which Clancier (2021: 232–234) interprets as a royal scriptorium on the basis of the numerous tablet and stele fragments from Šamaš-rēša-uṣur and Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur excavated there. Although such a scriptorium could have existed, I hesitate to adopt this interpretation, as the excavators uncovered the written remains in a pottery workshop (Anonymous 1983: 221). Nonetheless, the Ḫulbazizi fragments underline that cuneiform scholarship was present in this city in the 8th century, which emphasises that such knowledge must have existed in these cities.

As shown in Chapter 9, the tablets from Hamath were probably produced locally and therefore not imported (cf. Parpola 1990: 264). As I have argued throughout this chapter, the scribes or specialists responsible for these manuscripts most likely came to Hamath via Sūḫu in the 10th or 9th centuries BCE, and the knowledge represents traditions known from Babylonia. Nils Heeßel (2011: 171, 174–175, 192) has argued that some scholarly traditions were roughly standardised in the MB period, in terms of content and entries, and these individual tablets were subsequently serialised in Assyria and Babylonia. Though it cannot be excluded that some genres represented in the collection from Hamath originated in local LBA learned environments, knowledge such as the medical compendium (Text 12) and the manuscripts of *Maqlû* (Texts 6 and 7) likely came to this city from Babylonia in pre-established standardised formats. The tablets with *Maqlû* in particular suggest that individual texts, or perhaps even the entire series, were standardised in Babylonia prior to their presence in Hamath.[134]

Having assessed the trade routes leading from Babylonia to Hamath above, it seems only reasonable to assume that the bead inscribed with a Kassite king's name (Text 15) and the 2nd millennium cylinder seals (Texts 16–18) found in cremation burials originated in Babylonia and were traded along the Euphrates, via routes leading through Sūḫu and possibly Lāqê, making their way to Hamath, possibly via Tadmor/Palmyra, near the end of the 2nd millennium or early

133. Note also the differences in sign forms in Fig. 19 with the forms in the tablets from Hamath, listed in Table 2.

134. The standardised version was likely shaped somewhere between 1300–1000 BCE (Schwemer 2010: 211; cf. Abusch 2016: XV). It is unclear where this process occurred, although the early sources appear to be from Assyria (Schwemer 2017: 4; see Arbøll 2020: 10–11 and note 19). A standardisation in Babylonia would fit with the association of *Maqlû* with the 11th century Babylonian scholar Esagil-kīn-apli via the Exorcist's Manual (see Schwemer 2017: 5; Geller 2018: 298 line 14).

1st millennium BCE.[135] These objects therefore indicate a connection to Babylonia, although it is possible that the writing meant nothing to the buyers.[136] The clay tablet with multiple cylinder seal impressions containing the Hurrian-Semitic name Iri-Addu, however, indicates that the writing on this seal represented the name of a local owner.

135. It is unclear if the bronze seal (Text 19) and the silver ring (Text 20) were also traded items or if they represent writing understood by the owners.

136. The objects were likely traded for their esthetical values, and on Text 15 it is almost impossible to read the inscription properly. It would probably have been difficult to read even at the time it was made.

9
Sign Forms and Distinctive Scribal Features

All the manuscripts from Hamath are written in Babylonian cuneiform script. The tablets are generally written in a small and very neat hand, though Text 3 is clearly imprinted in a different and more slanted script than the other texts. Over 200 different signs are used in the manuscripts edited as Texts 1–13, and the written sign forms sufficiently preserved in the 13 clay tablets and fragments are presented in Table 2. Most of the signs cannot be distinguished as specific MB or NB forms (see already Parpola 1990: 263–264; Læssøe 1956: 67), although some signs are exclusively NB in style[137] and a few signs preserve distinct MB forms.[138] Therefore, the tablets from Hamath are not exclusively NB in style, and, accordingly, they may represent a tradition of cuneiform script placed slightly before the NB writings found in Babylonia (see Parpola 1990: 263–264). In terms of language, Parpola (ibid.: 263) concluded that the limited data in Text 1 points to an intermediate stage between MB and NB, specifically in relation to morphology, syntax, and lexicon. Læssøe (1956: 66–67) also noted a number of grammatical irregularities in his edition of Text 8, though he attributed these to the fact that the text was written in the periphery of spoken Akkadian.

A pronounced feature of the sign forms is a distinctively impressed upper horizontal wedge in signs with two or more horizontal wedges (e.g., the sign MA). This pattern is only reversed in a limited number of signs (e.g., the sign BI). Additionally, some scribes at Hamath seem to have preferred to imprint vertical wedges that cross horizontal wedges on top of the upper horizontal wedge, whereas others impressed them below it (e.g., the signs TA, AMA, SI).[139] Though these features are by no means unusual, the distinctive character of the prolonged upper horizontal wedge provide the cuneiform signs with a coherent look, which seems to characterise the tradition of script found at Hamath and possibly in Sūḫu in the 9th century BCE. Nonetheless, the available manuscripts appear to represent at least two dominant schools of training, as illustrated by the sign DI, which was distinctively imprinted with either one or two initial *Winkelhaken* (see Table 2).

How many scribes were involved in producing the preserved manuscripts? On the basis of the sign forms, I suggest that the cuneiform tablets from Hamath were written by at least nine different individuals. Thus, I propose that Texts 1–4 were written by four different scribes, and at least five further individuals may have been involved in copying the scholarly manuscripts represented by Texts 6–13. Note that some signs may vary slightly within a single text (e.g., Text 7 DIR ms xx_2 obv. 12', xx_3 obv. 12''), which underlines that the differences outlined here are tentative due to the state of the material and the limited sources available.

Though the two letters, Texts 1 and 2, share many features, there are enough discernible differences to propose that they were not written by the same scribe. Differences can be found in the forms of the signs AL (Text 1 obv. 9 vs. 2 obv. 5) and KI (Text 1 obv. 1 vs. 2 obv. 6).[140] Slight variation also occurs in the sign UM (Text 1 obv. 2, 4, 10 vs. 2 obv. 2, 3). The two signs DIB and LU can be written as slightly distinct signs, but it is worth noting that they also appear very dissimilar in each manuscript (Text 1 obv. 3 vs. 2 obv. 4). Furthermore, several sign forms in the letters differ from the scholarly manuscripts, e.g., DA (Text 1 obv. 1 vs. 6 ms yy_1 obv. 19', 20', 21', 22', 23', 24' and 7 ms

137. E.g., DUMU (Texts 1 and 7), KI (Texts 1, 2, 6, 7, 8), KEŠDA (Texts 6 and 8), MÁŠ (Text 8).

138. The signs TAR (Text 3), MU (Text 6), IB (Text 6), KAB (Text 12), and possibly TUK (Text 12) as well as ḪA (Text 1; see already Parpola 1990: 264). The MB forms are only preserved in the manuscript referenced, and not in all tablets from Hamath.

139. This feature may even change within a single text, see the attestations of TA in Text 8.

140. However, another form of the sign KI also in Text 1 is identical to Text 2 and other fragments, see Table 2.

xx_3 obv. 4''), GÍN (Text 1 obv. 9 vs. 6 ms yy_1 obv. 18' and 8 obv. 10, 14, 15), IG (Text 2 obv. 15 vs. 7 ms xx_3 obv. 13''), and LU (Text 1 obv. 3 vs. 6 ms yy_1 obv. 11', 7 ms xx_1 obv. 3, and 10 obv.? 4').

Text 3, another letter, was clearly written in a different style of script than all the other texts. Its script is very slanted and several signs differ from all the other manuscripts, e.g., IB (Text 3 obv. 7 vs. 7 ms xx_2 obv. 5'), TAG (see below under Text 12), Ú (Text 3 rev. 4' vs. all other examples), UM (Text 3 obv. 2 vs. 1 obv. 2, 4, 10 and 2 obv. 2, 3). However, the very slanted sign NA is comparable to one instance in a scholarly fragment (Text 3 obv. 4 vs. 10 obv.? 2').

Text 4 has not been copied, but enough can be seen on the photographs to conclude that it must have differed from the other tablets from Hamath (e.g., the sign KI(?) obv. 4 (indented line) and the sign LÚ obv. 10 and rev. 16(?)).

The scholarly manuscripts from Building III (Texts 6–13) appear to have been copied by at least three different individuals who can be differentiated from the four scribes in Texts 1–4 (see above). Several sign forms in Text 6 differ slightly or substantially from the other scholarly manuscripts, e.g., the signs AMA (Text 6 ms yy_1 obv. 30' vs. 7 ms xx_3 obv. 6''), GÍN (Text 6 ms yy_1 obv. 18' vs. 1 obv. 9 and 8 obv. 10, 14, 15), IN (Text 6 ms yy_1 obv. 27' vs. 7 ms xx_3 15'' and 9 obv.? 9'), KUM (Text 6 ms yy_2 rev. 3'' vs. 8 obv. 5, 16, 17), NI (Text 6 ms yy_1 obv. 4', 12', 15', 27' vs. 7 ms xx_1 obv. 2, 4, xx_2 3', 7', 11', xx_3 obv. 14'', 15'' and 8 obv. 22, 26 and 9 obv.? 9'), SA (Text 6 ms yy_1 obv. 25' vs. 7 ms xx_1 obv. 4, xx_2 obv. 16' and 11 obv.? 5'; Text 8 obv. 22), and TA (Texts 6 ms yy_1 obv. 18' vs. 7 ms xx_3 obv. 11'', 13'' and 11 obv.? 6', 7', 8'(?)). However, the sign DA in Text 6 (ms yy_1 19'ff.) appears similar to the forms in Texts 1 (obv. 1, 7) and 7 (ms xx_3 obv. 4''), and the sign NI in Text 6 (ms yy_1 obv. 4', 12', 15', 27') is roughly identical to the one in Text 2 (obv. 7). The sign MEŠ (Text 6 ms yy_1 obv. 3', 4', 5', 6', 7', 8', 14', 15', 16', 17') resembles Text 12 (ms A_3 col. ii 5'', 12'', A_4 col. iii 6'), whereas another form is shared by Texts 7 (ms xx_2 obv. 3', 15'), 8 (obv. 5, 7, 12, 17, 18, 20), and 13 (obv.? 3'). It is unclear if Text 1 has a third variant (rev. 14'). Overall, the sign forms in Text 6 demonstrate that the person responsible for this tablet did not produce Texts 7, 8, 9, and possibly 11 of the remaining scholarly manuscripts nor write any of the preserved letters. This observation means that two different individuals copied *Maqlû* Tablets IV and VI at Hamath.

The scribe or scholar who copied Text 7 may have been responsible for other scholarly manuscripts, though the sign SAG differs between Texts 12 and 13 (see below). The sign KA, however, differs slightly from all other instances except Text 13 (compare Text 7 ms xx_2 obv. 4' vs. 13 obv.? 5'). Furthermore, the sign KIŠ is written differently in Text 7 (ms xx_2 obv. 8') and 8 (obv. 21). The forms of AL (Text 7 ms xx_2 obv. 4' vs. 1 obv. 9, rev. 4', 2 obv. 5, 8 obv. 26),[141] DIB (Text 7 ms xx_3 obv. 13'' vs. 2 obv. 4), and IG (see above) show that the copyist is not one of the people responsible for the letters. Despite a few similarities between Texts 7 and 13, there are also slight indications that two different scribes copied these manuscripts.

The sign MUNUS in Text 8 (obv. 18) differs from Texts 6 (ms yy_2 rev. 9'') and 7 (ms xx_2 obv. 6', 10', 13'). Furthermore, the writing of the sign UM (obv. 15) differs from all attestations in the letters.

The sign Á in Text 9 (obv.? 10') differs slightly from some other manuscripts (see Table 2), though Text 7 (ms xx_1 obv. 3, xx_3 obv. 9'') shows that it could be written in two ways within a single manuscript.

In the fragment Text 10, the sign NA differs slightly from all other instances except Text 3 (see above). Furthermore, the SU (obv.? 3') is also slightly different from other attestations. The sign TU_6 in Text 10 (obv.? 5') is different from the form in Text 11 (obv.? 4'), which suggests that these fragments do not originate from the same tablet. The sign LU in Text 10 (obv.? 4') is dissimilar to examples in the other texts, although it cannot be excluded that Text 10 shared the form with Text 6 (ms yy_1 obv. 10', 11').

In Text 11, the sign SA appears to be different from Texts 6 and 7 (see above). However, it is possible that

141. The form of the sign AL in Texts 2 and 8 is almost the same, though differing from the two additional forms found in Texts 1 and 7.

the sign was incorrectly copied in Text 11.

In Text 12 the sign ḪAR differs from Texts 1 and 8 (Text 12 ms A_3 col. ii 12'' vs. 1 obv. 7 and 8 obv. 5, 7, 9), and the manuscript (ms A_1 col. i 9'', A_2 col. ii 5', 7', A_3 col. ii 3'') contains a different writing of the sign ŠÀ than that found in Text 10 (obv.? 4'). Furthermore, the signs SAG (Text 12 ms A_1 col. i 10'', A_3 col. ii 4'', 11'', A_4 col. iii 5', 6'; cf. 7 ms xx_1 obv. 1 and 13 obv.? 2') and TAG (Text 12 ms A_4 7'; cf. 3 obv. 6 and 6 ms yy_1 obv. 5') are not similar in any of the attested texts. For the sign MEŠ, see above.

Finally, Text 13 shares a similar sign KA with Text no. 7, though the form of the signs GAL (Text 13 obv.? 4' vs. 6 ms yy_2 rev. 14'' and 8 obv. 1) and SAG (see above) may have differed from other manuscripts.

As this analysis demonstrates, the same individual did not copy Texts 6 and 7. Furthermore, there is slight evidence that Texts 8, 9, 10, and 11 also differed from these two manuscripts. Additionally, there are minor differences between Texts 10 and 11 as well as Texts 10 and 12. Text 13 also appears to have been copied by another scribe. Thus, the tentative evidence indicates that at least five scribes could have been involved in producing the scholarly manuscripts from Building III.[142] The sign forms found in the collective manuscripts, however, attest to differences found within a related tradition of writing cuneiform, which all the manuscripts from Hamath – including at least one letter sent to the city from Sūḫu (Text 1) – appear to share.

How competent the writers of the manuscripts from Hamath were when they impressed their styli into the moist clay remains to be addressed. Spelling mistakes, misunderstandings, and omissions preserved in the texts and fragments indicate that the copyists may have been students when the tablets were produced. The scribe copying Text 6 forgot signs (e.g., ms yy_1 obv. 2', 7', 22'), made a mistake when copying a learned variant (ms yy_1 obv. 25') and copied a wrong passage into a line (ms yy_1 obv. 15'). He may also have misunderstood a passage, which caused an unclear reading in a line (ms yy_1 obv. 6'). Most importantly, however, the copyist of Text 6 (ms yy_1 19'-24') made a persistent mistake and erroneously wrote ZI.RU.KU_5.DA for *zikurudû*. In addition, Text 7 contains a spelling mistake (ms xx_1 obv. 4), the scribe forgot a sign (ms xx_3 obv. 7''), and he miscopied some sentences (ms xx_3 obv. 13'', 16''). The tablet also preserves two erasures (ms xx_3 obv. 4'', 16''(?)). Text 8 contains incorrectly written signs (obv. 16, 23), a sign that needs to be removed (obv. 7), and the manuscript contains spelling mistakes (obv. 5, 15, 22). Texts 9 (obv.? 11', 12', 14') and 11 (obv.? 2') contain mistakes in Sumerian, which indicate that the copyist(s) did not understand these passages properly. Finally, the copyist of Text 13 likely made a mistake in his writing of the sign UD (obv.? 2'). Considering the discussion of scribal/specialist education in Chapter 5, it cannot be excluded that the scholarly manuscripts represent the results of cuneiform training, whether these individuals were destined to become scribes in the Hamathite kingdom or scholarly experts. However, it should be noted that even the trained scribe of Text 1 included two mistakenly written signs (rev. 5', 7') and omitted a sign (rev. 11').[143] Therefore, even educated scribes preparing letters for the ruling elite of Sūḫu did not write cuneiform flawlessly.

In Chapter 8, I discussed Parpola's suggestion that the written cuneiform traditions at Hamath were transmitted via Sūḫu (see Parpola 1990: 263–265). As there are differences in the sign forms between Text 1, which was sent from Sūḫu, and the remaining tablets from Hamath, it is now possible to dismiss Parpola's hypothesis that the tablets were produced by the same scribe or imported from Sūḫu to Hamath (ibid.: 264; see Clancier 2021: 356–357). Even when comparing the material to other slightly later

142. I hesitate, though, to exclude the possibility that the fragments edited as Texts 9–11 belonged to the same tablet, although the sign forms do not appear to be uniform. It is unclear if several scribes were involved in copying a single manuscript, though this is disregarded based on current knowledge regarding the manuscripts from Hamath.

143. This scribe also has a noticeable use of the sign MI for the reading *mé* and ME for *mì*. The latter is also used similarly in Text 8 obv. 28.

texts from Sūḫu or other sites in this region, there are no clear overlaps in the appearances of the script.[144] Sadly, the discussion is hampered because there are so few contemporary sources for comparison. However, nothing in the scholarly tablets from Hamath suggest that they were produced outside the city. Rather, they must have been locally produced and represent a cuneiform tradition within Hamath itself. As illustrated by Text 3, it also seems that more than one tradition of writing cuneiform script may have existed in the city, though they may not have been contemporary. Parpola's suggestion that Text 3 was related to a Sūḫean merchant residing in Hamath is still one of several possible interpretations, though nothing within the manuscript supports it (cf. Parpola 1990: 265). The excavation context implies that Text 3 was produced or kept at Hamath as part of local affairs. There are clear stylistic differences between the cuneiform traditions at Hamath and Sūḫu, and the letter and scholarly manuscripts were not the product of a single overlapping school at Sūḫu, and at least the learned material must have been produced locally at Hamath (Texts 6–13). Nonetheless, Hamath, Sūḫu, and Lāqê shared cultural ties throughout the first centuries of the 1st millennium BCE. Accordingly, it is conceivable that the Hamathite tradition of writing cuneiform, as observed in the scholarly texts, was originally imported from or via Sūhu.

Sign List

The below table presents an overview of the sign forms attested in the various manuscripts from Hamath. I have named the various signs after their entry in Borger (2010), although this may not represent the phonetic or logographic reading found in the Hamath manuscripts. Only the clay tablets with largely complete sign forms have been included, and I have not included single wedge signs, such as DIŠ, AŠ or U.[145] Furthermore, I have excluded signs copied erroneously, as well as those that had to be emended (see the commentaries to individual texts). Signs in a broken context where the reading is unclear have also been disregarded. Finally, Texts 6 and 8 make use of a particular line divider composed of three vertical wedges on top of one another (Læssøe 1956: 60). These dividers generally seem to inform on how lines were divided on the manuscript copied from. However, in at least one instance, the divider was also used to mark a variant writing or separate two words (see commentary to Text 8 obv. 18). The sign for the divider is listed in Table 2 under Borger (2010) no. 865.

144. The sign forms in Texts 1–13 are not shared by any of the 8th century BCE royal inscriptions from Sūḫu nor the fragments of Ḫulbazizi excavated in the region (see Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: 411–456; see also the sign forms on the stele in Fig. 19). A NB letter from Dūr-Katlimmu also has quite different handwriting (Kühne 1989–90: 312 Fig. 127; Radner 2002: 20 and note 220, 26).

145. Texts 4–5 and 14–20 have been excluded, as Text 4 is not copied (see commentary), Text 5 does not contain any clearly preserved signs, and Texts 14–20 all contain engraved items or seal impressions.

Table 2. Sign forms attested in the Hamath manuscripts.

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
BAL	8. 	Borger 5 Labat 9
	9. 	
GÍR	7. 	Borger 6 Labat 10
TAR	3. 	Borger 9 Labat 12
	6. 	
AN	1. 	Borger 10 Labat 13
	2. 	
	3. 	
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	10. 	
	12. 	

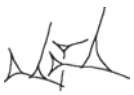
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
d+EN	1. 	
	7. 	
BA	3. 	Borger 14 Labat 5
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	9.  (?)	
ZU	7. 	Borger 15 Labat 6
	8. 	
	10. 	
SU	6. 	Borger 16 Labat 7
	7. 	
	8. 	
	10. 	

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
ARAD	8. 	Borger 18 Labat 50
ŠAḪ	9. 	Borger 23 Labat 53
KA	1.  6.  7.  8.  9.  13. 	Borger 24 Labat 15
TU6	10.  11. 	Borger 26 Labat 16
UŠ11	7.  , 	Borger 29 Labat 17
NAG	8.  12. 	Borger 64 Labat 35

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
GU7	12. 	Borger 65 Labat 36
URU	1.  3.  (damaged)	Borger 71 Labat 38
ASARI	8.  10. 	Borger 79 Labat 44
URUxGU	8. 	Borger 84 Labat 46
LI	1.  3.  8. 	Borger 85 Labat 59
TU	1.  7.  8.  10. 	Borger 86 Labat 58

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
LA	1. 	Borger 89 Labat 55
	3. 	
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	
MAḪ	6. 	Borger 91 Labat 57
PAB	1. 	Borger 92 Labat 60
MU	1. 	Borger 98 Labat 61
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
SÌLA	2. 	Borger 99 Labat 62
	6. 	
	7. 	

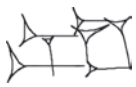
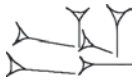
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
NA	1. 	Borger 110 Labat 70
	2. 	
	6. 	
	7. 	
	10. 	
	12. 	
	13. 	
RU	1. 	Borger 111 Labat 68
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
NU	6. 	Borger 112 Labat 75
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	
BAD	6. 	Borger 113 Labat 69
	12. 	
	13. 	
TI	1. 	Borger 118 Labat 73
	6. 	
	7. 	
	12. 	
MAŠ	6. 	Borger 120 Labat 74
	7. 	

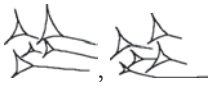
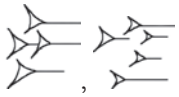
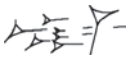
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
BAR	7. 	Borger 121 Labat 74
	8. 	
AG	8. 	Borger 127 Labat 97
MÁŠ	8. 	Borger 130 Labat 76
ḪU	6. 	Borger 132 Labat 78
	7. 	
IG	2. 	Borger 136 Labat 80
	7. 	
	12. 	
MUD	8. 	Borger 137 Labat 81
ŠÌTA	6. 	Borger 139 Labat 83
	12. 	
ZI	6. 	Borger 140 Labat 84
	8. 	

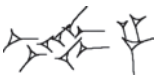
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
GI	12. 	Borger 141 Labat 85
RI	1.  6.  7.  8.  13. 	Borger 142 Labat 86
NUN	6. 	Borger 143 Labat 87
KAB	12. 	Borger 148 Labat 88
ŠUR	12. 	Borger 151 Labat 101
MÚŠ	7. 	Borger 152 Labat 102
ŠINIG	6. 	Borger 162 Labat 93
EN	1.  7. 	Borger 164 Labat 99

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
DIM	6.  (?) 7.  8. 	Borger 167 Labat 94
MUN	12. 	Borger 168 Labat 95
SA	6.  7.  8.  11.  (!)	Borger 172 Labat 104
GÚ	12.  (?)	Borger 176 Labat 106
GUR	12. 	Borger 180 Labat 111
SI	7.  8.  9.  11. 	Borger 181 Labat 112

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
SAG	7. 	Borger 184 Labat 115
	8. 	
	12. 	
	13. 	
DIR	7. 	Borger 207 Labat 123
TAB	1. 	Borger 209 Labat 124
	6. 	
GEŠTIN	6. 	Borger 212 Labat 210
TAG	3. 	Borger 221 Labat 126
	6. 	
	12. 	
KÁ	7. 	Borger 222 Labat 133
AB	3. 	Borger 223 Labat 128

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
UM	1. 	Borger 238 Labat 134
	2. 	
	3. 	
	8. 	
DUB	1. 	Borger 242 Labat 138
MUL	6. 	Borger 247 Labat 129a
TA	1. 	Borger 248 Labat 139
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	11. 	

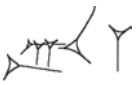
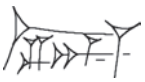
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
I	1.  6.  7.  9. 	Borger 252 Labat 142
TUR	1.  7. 	Borger 255 Labat 144
AD	1.  6.  7.  8.  10. 	Borger 258 Labat 145
ZÍ	8. 	Borger 259 Labat 147

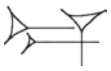
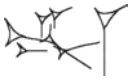
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
IN	6.  7.  9. 	Borger 261 Labat 148
LUGAL	6.  13. 	Borger 266 Labat 151
EZEN	6.  8. 	Borger 271 Labat 152
SUM	1. 	Borger 292 Labat 164
UG	7. 	Borger 296 Labat 130
AZ	8. 	Borger 297 Labat 131
GAB	7. 	Borger 298 Labat 167
EDIN	6. 	Borger 300 Labat 168
TAḪ	7. 	Borger 301 Labat 169

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
KASKAL	1. 	Borger 302 Labat 166
AM	1.  7. 	Borger 309 Labat 170
NE	7.  12. 	Borger 313 Labat 172
KUM	6.  8. 	Borger 339 Labat 191
IL	1.  7. 	Borger 348 Labat 205

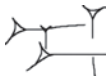
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
DU	1.  7.  8.  12.  13. 	Borger 350 Labat 206
SUḪUŠ	1. 	Borger 351 Labat 201
TUM	9. 	Borger 354 Labat 207
IŠ	7.  (damaged) 12. 	Borger 357 Labat 212

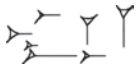
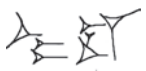
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
BI	1.  2.  ,  (?) 3.  6.  7.  8.  12. 	Borger 358 Labat 214
ŠIM	7.  8. 	Borger 362 Labat 215
KIB	7. 	Borger 378 Labat 228

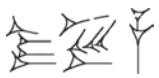
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
NI	2.  6.  7.  ,  8.  9.  12. 	Borger 380 Labat 231
UŠ	6. 	Borger 381 Labat 211
AMA	6.  7. 	Borger 392 Labat 237
IR	12. 	Borger 437 Labat 232
PA	1.  7.  8.  9. 	Borger 464 Labat 295

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
ŠAB	7. 	Borger 466 Labat 295
SIPA	6. 	Borger 468 Labat 295m
GIŠ	2.  6.  7.  8.  12.  13. 	Borger 469 Labat 296
AL	1.  2.  7.  8. 	Borger 474 Labat 298
MAR	6.  7. 	Borger 483 Labat 307

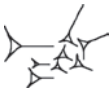
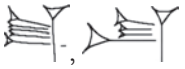
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
KID	7. 	Borger 484 Labat 313
ŠID	1.  12. 	Borger 485 Labat 314
Ú	1.  3.  6.  7.  8.  12. 	Borger 490 Labat 318
GA	6.  8.  12. 	Borger 491 Labat 319
LUḪ	8. 	Borger 494 Labat 321

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
É	6. 	Borger 495 Labat 324
	7. 	
	12. 	
KAL	1.  , 	Borger 496 Labat 322
	7.  , 	
	8. 	
E	1. 	Borger 498 Labat 308
	6.  , 	
	7.  , 	
	8. 	
	11. 	
UN	7. 	Borger 500 Labat 312
	8. 	
	9.  (damaged)	

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
UB	8. 	Borger 504 Labat 306
	9. 	
GI4	9. 	Borger 507 Labat 326
RA	6. 	Borger 511 Labat 328
	8. 	
	12. 	
	13. 	
LÚ	1. 	Borger 514 Labat 330
	6.  , 	
	8. 	
	10. 	

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
ŠEŠ	1.  6.  7. 	Borger 535 Labat 331
ZAG	12. 	Borger 540 Labat 332
SAR	6. 	Borger 541 Labat 152
LIL	8. 	Borger 544 Labat 336
MÚRU	6. 	Borger 545 Labat 337
ÁŠ	8. 	Borger 548 Labat 339

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
MA	1.  2.  3.  6.  7.  ,  8.  12. 	Borger 552 Labat 342
GAL	6.  8.  13.  (?)	Borger 553 Labat 343
MIR	8. 	Borger 556 Labat 347
GIR	8.  12. 	Borger 558 Labat 346
BUR	12. 	Borger 559 Labat 349

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
Á	1.  6.  7.  8.  9. 	Borger 560 Labat 334
DA	1.  6.  7.  (damaged)	Borger 561 Labat 335
ŠA	6. 	Borger 566 Labat 353
ŠU	1.  6.  7.  8.  12. 	Borger 567 Labat 354

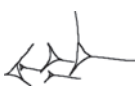
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
LUL	7.  13.  (damaged)	Borger 570 Labat 355
GAM	7. 	Borger 576 Labat 362
KUR	6.  7.  8.  9.  12.  13. 	Borger 578 Labat 366
ŠE	12. 	Borger 579 Labat 367

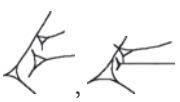
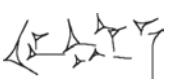
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
BU	6. 	Borger 580 Labat 371
	7. 	
	8. 	
	13. 	
UZ	8. 	Borger 583 Labat 372
SUD	12. 	Borger 584 Labat 373
MUŠ	6. 	Borger 585 Labat 374
	8. 	
	13. 	
TIR	6. 	Borger 587 Labat 375
	7. 	

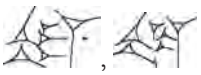
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
TE	1. 	Borger 589 Labat 376
	2. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
LIŠ	8. 	Borger 591 Labat 377
	10. 	
UD	1. 	Borger 596 Labat 381
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	11. 	
	12. 	

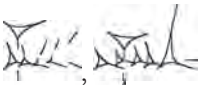
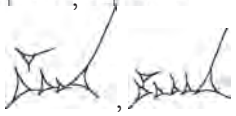
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
PI	6. 	Borger 598 Labat 383
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	
ŠÀ	10. 	Borger 599 Labat 384
	12. 	
ERIM	7. 	Borger 612 Labat 393
ḪI	6. 	Borger 631 Labat 396
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	
A’	7. 	Borger 635 Labat 397
KAM	12. 	Borger 640 (= 595) Labat 406

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
IM	1. 	Borger 641 Labat 399
	7. 	
	8. 	
BIR	13. 	Borger 643 Labat 400
ḪAR	1. 	Borger 644 Labat 401
	8. 	
	12. 	
ḪUŠ	8. 	Borger 645 Labat 402
UGU	1. 	Borger 663 Labat 412
	13. 	
ÁB	6. 	Borger 671 Labat 420
KIŠ	7. 	Borger 678 Labat 425
	8. 	

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
MI	8.  12. 	Borger 681 Labat 427
NIM	6.  7. 	Borger 690 Labat 433
AMAR	1. 	Borger 695 Labat 437
UL	1.  11. 	Borger 698 Labat 441
DUGUD	12. 	Borger 704 Labat 445
MAN	6.  7.  12. 	Borger 708 Labat 471

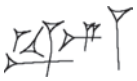
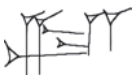
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
EŠ	6.  7.  8.  12. 	Borger 711 Labat 472
IGI	1.  3.  6.  7.  8.  12. 	Borger 724 Labat 449
AR	8.  (damaged)	Borger 726 Labat 451
AGRIG	8. 	Borger 727 Labat 452
Ù	1.  8. 	Borger 731 Labat 455

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
ḪUL	6. 	Borger 733 Labat 456
	7. 	
	8. 	
DI	1. 	Borger 736 Labat 457
	3. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	10. 	
	11. 	
	12. 	
KI	1.  (damaged), 	Borger 737 Labat 461
	2. 	
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	

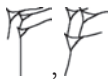
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
KUG	7. 	Borger 745 Labat 468
	8. 	
PAD	6. 	Borger 746 Labat 469
	8. 	
LÁL	12. 	Borger 751 Labat 482
ME	1. 	Borger 753 Labat 532
	2. 	
	6. 	
	7. 	
MEŠ	2. 	Borger 754 Labat 533
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	
	13. 	

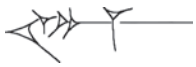
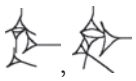
Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
LABAG	6. 	Borger 755 Labat 483
ENGUR	7. 	Borger 756 Labat 484
ZAR	7. 	Borger 767 Labat 491
TÚL	6. 	Borger 786 Labat 511
BUL	6. 	Borger 788 Labat 515
NIGIN	12. 	Borger 804 Labat 529
NENNI	7.  (damaged) 8. 	Borger 806 Labat 515
IB	3.  7.  ,  12. 	Borger 807 Labat 535

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
KU	1.  7.  ,  8.  10. 	Borger 808 Labat 536
TÚG	7.  8.  12. 	Borger 809 Labat 536
LU	1.  ,  6.  7.  8.  10. 	Borger 812 Labat 537
DIB	2.  7. 	Borger 813 Labat 537

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
KIN	12. 	Borger 815 Labat 538
SÍG	12. 	Borger 816 Labat 539
EREN	6.  12. 	Borger 818 Labat 541
TUK	12. 	Borger 827 Labat 574
UR	2.  7.  9. 	Borger 828 Labat 575
GÍN	1.  6.  8.  , 	Borger 836 Labat 595

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
A	1.  2.  3.  6.  7.  8.  11. 	Borger 839 Labat 579
ZA	6.  7.  8. 	Borger 851 Labat 586
ḪA	1.  6.  8.  ,  13. 	Borger 856 Labat 589

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
NÍG	1. 	Borger 859 Labat 597
	2. 	
	6. 	
	7. 	
	8. 	
	12. 	
	13. 	
ÀŠ	12. 	Borger 862 Labat 598b
DIŠ DIŠ DIŠ	6. 	Borger 865
	8. 	
IMIN	12. 	Borger 866 Labat 598

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
ŠÚ	1. 	Borger 869 Labat 545
	6. 	
	7. 	
	12. 	
	13. 	
ÉN	7. 	Borger 870 Labat 546
	10. 	
	11. 	
ḪÚL	7. 	Borger 876 Labat 550
MUNUS	6. 	Borger 883 Labat 554
	7. 	
	8. 	

Sign name	Sign forms in Text	Sign list
NIN	6.  7.  12. 	Borger 886 Labat 556
GU	13. 	Borger 891 Labat 559
EL	8. 	Borger 899 Labat 564
LUM	8. 	Borger 900 Labat 565
SIG4	6. 	Borger 905 Labat 567

10
Text Editions

I have subdivided the cuneiform tablets from Hamath into four groups, namely: (1) letters and administrative documents; (2) manuscripts of *Maqlû* and other incantations; (3) medical and omen texts; and (4) other tablets, as well as inscribed objects. These are all edited and provided with a commentary in this chapter. The texts, whether manuscripts or objects, are numbered Nos. 1–20, and individual entries provide all the available information, which generally includes a brief description, as well as technical information, including a bibliography, a transliteration, a translation and a commentary of the relevant object. In terms of the translations, especially regarding the manuscripts of *Maqlû* from Hamath, I have translated reconstructions of lines only when a part of these are preserved in the tablets. For the full edition of such texts, I refer the reader to the relevant publications below.

Letters and Administrative Documents

No. 1: Letter to Rudamu/Uratami from Marduk-apla-uṣur

A letter in Babylonian script with damage to the lower half of the obverse and upper part of the reverse. It was likely addressed to the ruler Uratami of Hamath and sent by Marduk-apla-uṣur, a local semi-independent ruler of the largely Aramaic region Sūḫu on the Euphrates (Ismail et al. 1983: 193–194). The letter may originate from around 840 BCE, i.e., the beginning of Uratami's reign (Parpola 1990: 257; cf. Richelle 2019: 209; Younger 2016: 774–775).

Museum no.:	6A334
Provenience:	Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room A no. 1
Length / Width / Thickness:	75 / 48 / 25 mm
CDLI no.:	P525393
Photograph / Copy:	pp. 198–199
Bibliography:	Clancier 2021: 340, 343–344, 351–354, 361 (edition, discussion) Parpola 1990 (photograph, copy, edition)

Transliteration

Obverse

1 *a-na* ^{m}*Ru-da-mu qí-bi-ma*
2 *um-ma* $^{m.d}$AMAR.UTU-A-PAB ŠEŠ-*ka-a-ma*
3 *a-na ka-a-šá lu-ú šul-mu*
4 *um-ma-a a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia-a-ma*
5 *ṭup-pa šá i-na* ŠU^{II}
6 $^{m.d+}$EN-SUḪUŠ-*ia*-GUB *tu-še-bi-la*
7 *an-da-ḫar la-am-ma ṭup-pa-ka*
8 *a-na a-ma-ri-ia ṭup-pa*
9 *ki-i al-ṭu-ru u*[*l-t*]*e-bi-lak-ka*

10 *um-ma at-t*[*a* x x x]
11 *it-ti-i*[*a* x x x x]
12 ⌜x⌝[x x x x x x x x]
13 [x x x x x x x x]
14 [x x x x x x x x-*n*]*a-a-a*
(*Lower part and edge destroyed*)
Reverse
1' [x x] $^{m.d}$IM-SUM-*n*[*a*-NUMUN]
2' LÚ ⌜*ka*⌝-*me* DINGIR-*šú ú-de-*⌜*e*⌝-[*ni*]
3' *i-ta-kal ù a-na-ku*
4' *al-tap-raš-šú at-ta*
5' ⌜*i*⌝-[*n*]*a* UGU *ú*!-*de-e-ka*
6' *te-*⌜*me ù*⌝ *i-ši*
7' *ul i-ke*! (man)-*lak-k*[*a*?]
8' ⌜*ù a*⌝-*na-ku* ⌜*i-na*⌝ UGU
9' *ú-de-e a-te-me ù a-n*[*a-á*]*š-ši*
10 ' *en-na ḫa-an-ṭiš* DUMU *šip-ri-ka*
11' <*li*>-*il-li-ka*
12' ^{uru}*an-at ù*
13' {*ù*} ^{uru}*ḫa-ma-ti*
14' *lu* KALAG.MEŠ! *dan-nu*

Translation
Obverse
1 To Uratami speak,
2 thus Marduk-apla-uṣur, your brother:
3 Good health to you.
4 To my brother thus:
5–6 The tablet, which you sent to me via Bēl-išdīya-kīn,
7 I have (now) received (it). Before your tablet
8 (arrived) for me to see, another tablet
9 that I had written w[as] shipped off to you (stating the following):
10 "Yo[u ...]
11 with m[e ...]
12–14 [(*Break, more than three lines broken away*)]
(*Lower part and edge destroyed*)
Reverse
1' [...] Adad-nādin-[zēri],
2'-3' a man *who has bound*(?) his god, has been eating up [our] 'goods', but I
4' myself have sent (word) to him. (Now) you,
5'-6' swear on your 'goods' and carry (them to me)!
7' He cannot withhold (them) from y[ou].
8'-9' And I will swear on (my) goods and I will br[i]ng (these to you).

10'-11' Now <may> your messenger come quickly to me!
12'-14' May the cities of Anat (*ʿĀna*) and Hamath be extremely strong!

Commentary

General comments: The photographs published by Parpola, which constituted the basis for his reading of the text, originate from a time when the tablet had not been cleaned properly (Parpola 1990: 262). These photographs are also the basis for Clancier's recent re-edition (Clancier 2021: 351–353). The tablet had been cleaned before Søren Greve and I produced new photographs of the Hamath material at the NMD in 2019. Accordingly, I was able to improve several readings.

Obv. 1: For the identification of Uratami as Rudamu, see Hawkins 2000: 403; Parpola 1990: 260 with further references. Parpola (1990: 260) emphasises that the identification must be correct due to the consonantal similarity, despite the differing vocalisation (for *t/d* in Luwian, see Payne 2010: 16 with further references). As also stated by Parpola (1990: 260), the reverse of the letter in particular indicates the high status of Rudamu in Hamath, which could underline the identification with Uratami. However, the evidence is not conclusive, and there are uncertainties involved in the identification of Rudamu as Uratami (cf. ibid.). Unfortunately, Uratami is not mentioned in NA sources, and we do not know how his name would have been written in Akkadian otherwise.

The letter provides *bi* instead of the expected *bí* in *qí-bi-ma*. The same is true for Text 3 (see the discussion below). For a discussion with further references of this otherwise sparsely attested formula as a letter opener after the MB period, see Parpola 1990: 263 note 32; Salonen 1967: 59–76, 80; see further references at the CDLI concerning MB letters, <http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=middle_babylonian_letters> (accessed 16/06/2020). The opening of the letter is also related to the OB letter formula, see Sallaberger 1999: 22–24.

The introduction is clearly not related to the NA letter tradition, nor many of the other NB letters sent to the NA kings (e.g., Cole 1996: 11). Still, it occurs occasionally in the Babylonian part of the NA correspondence (e.g., SAA 17: 5–7 nos. 2–3, 133 no. 151; SAA 19: 7 no. 4; CTN 2: 199–201 nos. 201–202). For further commentary on this introductory formula, see the commentary to Text 2.

2: Marduk-apla-uṣur was probably a local ruler of Anat (*ʿĀna*) located in the Euphrates kingdom Sūḫu, who is also known from the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (PNA 2/II: 711; see Clancier 2021: 343–344, 351–354, 361). The events narrated on the obelisk span the years 858–828 BCE, although Parpola (1990: 261) argues convincingly that Marduk-apla-uṣur's tribute must be dated to somewhere between 840–832 BCE, perhaps around 838 BCE (cf. Clancier 2021: 353). Clancier (ibid.) argues that two Sūḫus existed in the 9th century BCE, namely one under Assyrian domination in the western part with Anat as its capital, and one under Babylonian influence in the eastern part (see discussion in Chapter 8). Accordingly, Marduk-apla-uṣur would have been the pro-Assyrian governor in the western part, and Adad-nādin-zēri would have been the independent ruler in the eastern part. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 8, the evidence is not entirely clear, and this is not the only possible explanation.

5: As noted by Parpola (1990: 262), the reference to a *ṭuppu* indicates that the ruler of Hamath was able to dispatch cuneiform tablets as a means of communication (cf. ibid.: 264). This observation may be substantiated by Text no. 2.

5, 7, and 8: Regarding the word *ṭup-pa*, it is possible it should be read *tuppa* in Akkadian, see Streck 2009: 135–140.

6: For Bēl-išdīya-kīn as a messenger of Marduk-apla-uṣur, see Parpola 1990: 261–262. For a later attestation of this name, see PNA 1/II: 318.

7: For the verbal form *an-da-ḫar* of *maḫāru*, see Parpola 1990: 263.

For the otherwise unattested form *la-am-ma* as *lām+ma*, see the discussion in Parpola 1990: 262.

10: Although there are relatively few letters from Hamath to act as a comparison, it seems that *umma* was employed to introduce direct speech by replacing, e.g., *qabû*, as in the NB texts from Nippur (Cole 1996: 11).

14: Parpola (1990: 262) suggests the reconstruction [^{uru}*Ḫi-in-da-n*]*a-a-a* derived from the city Ḫindānu on the border of Sūḫu (see Parpola and Porter 2001: 10, pl. 9 D2).

Rev. 1': At least one line is missing at the beginning of the reverse.

It is unclear if the name should be read $^{m.d}$IM-SUM-^{r}NUMUN$^{?}$ x^{1} [x] instead of $^{m.d}$IM-SUM-*n*[*a*-NUMUN], because an added phonetic complement is potentially awkward in this name. The name Adad-nādin-zēri is attested for a governor of Sūḫu and Mari, who was contemporary with both Marduk-apla-uṣur and Uratami (Parpola 1990: 262; Ismail et al. 1983: 192). As noted in the PNA (2/II: 711) and by Parpola (1990: 262), if the reading Adad-nādin-[zēri] is correct, then it might indicate that Marduk-apla-uṣur rivalled this ancestor of two independent governors of Sūḫu in the early 8th century BCE (namely, Šamaš-rēša-uṣur and Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur, see Ismail et al. 1983; Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990). For further discussion of the proposed conflict in Sūḫu around this time, see Parpola 1990; Clancier 2021: 340, 354.

1'-2': The subject of the verbal form in rev. 2' appears to be Adad-nādin-zēri, although gods are frequently described in relation to (epidemic?) destruction with the verb *akālu*. However, if DINGIR-*šú* in rev. 2' is the subject, it becomes difficult to make proper sense of the preceding text.

1'-4': For an alternative translation, see Clancier (2021: 352).

2': Parpola (1990: 259) read *k*[*a*]-*ME*, uncertainly and without translation (see also Clancier 2021: 351–353). He proposed the problematic interpretations *kāsip/kāšip/kami ilīšu* "who breaks/bewitches/binds his god" as a "slanderous epithet" (Parpola 1990: 262). The writing *ka-me* could also be related to "outside", which is otherwise mainly attested in connection to gates (KÁ *ka-me-i/e*, CAD K: 126–127), although the case ending remains problematic. This would indicate that Adad-nādin-zēri was outside of Anat, and therefore outside the main city of Sūḫu, and it could therefore be considered a mocking comment. Another reading might be ^{lú}*ka*^{1}-*me* "the captive", although the case ending is difficult to account for. I believe a reference to Adad-nādin-zēri being "a man who has bound his god", a participle in the construct genitive from *kamû* "to capture, bind" (AHw: 433–434; CAD K: 128–131; CDA: 145), may make sense. In the Marduk Ordeal, Marduk is repeatedly referenced as the "prisoner" (^{lú}*ṣabtu*), because of the religious implications of the divine statue's time in Assyria during the reign of Sennacherib (Livingstone 1989: 82–91). Although the wording and context are different in the current text, I suggest the implications may be the same: a divine statue could have been removed from its proper place and is therefore kept where it does not belong. The implication may therefore be that Adad-nādin-zēri had removed the statue of his god from Anat, which was its proper home. The Assyrians also later removed a number of gods from Anat, placing them in exile (Clancier 2021: 371, 432–433).

For *ú-de-e* as "goods", which is otherwise used vaguely as "container, sack, equipment, (comprehensive term for miscellaneous household or luxury goods and furniture)", see AHw: 1401–1402; CAD U/W: 22–25; Parpola 1990: 262 with discussion.

2'-3': For an alternative reading, see Arnaud (2013: 12–13). His interpretation must be dismissed, as his reading (e.g., rev. 3': *i-ta-bit a-na-ku*) does not match the signs on the photograph of the tablet.

5': The *ú*! contains a mistake, with an oblique wedge written above it. A mistakenly written vertical wedge also appears in the MEŠ! in rev. 14'.

6': For the imperative *te-me* of *tamû*, see Parpola 1990: 263.

The writing *i-ši* must be a verbal form of *našû* or *išû*. The reconstruction in rev. 9' of a present verbal form points to an imperative of *našû* in this line.

7': The sign *man* is clearly wrong (Parpola 1990: 263). Parpola (ibid.: 259) transliterates *k*[*i*], although there is only a blank space without erasures afterwards (cf. ibid.: 263). Thus, the scribe must have made a mistake. On the surface it appears as though the scribe wrote the nonsensical *i-niš-šid* or something similar. While Parpola's emended reading makes sense, it is uncertain. However, it lacks an alternative, and I emend the sign to *ke*!. Furthermore, the verbal form *i-ke*!*-lak-k*[*a*?] must be from *kalû*, although the vocalisation is different from the expected *a/a* (AHw: 428–429; CAD K: 95–104; CDA: 143). Presumably, the scribe understood the final vowel to be an *i* forcing partial vowel assimilation, i.e., *ikelli* (see Woodington 1983: 138). Clancier (2021: 352) reads *i-*⌜*kil*⌝*-lak-*⌜*ka*⌝, though this is not the case on the cleaned tablet.

Arnaud (2013: 12–13) provides an alternative reading (*ul i-ši al-ka*), though he lists this line as 6'. His interpretation is dismissed here, as the third sign is not *-ši* and the following sign is not *al-*.

9': Clancier (2021: 352) reads *ú-de-e-a a-te-me ù a-*⌜*na-áš*⌝*-ši*, though the final *-a* of *ú-de-e-a* is not written.

11': The scribe has omitted the expected initial *li*, and it must be considered an omission (see Parpola 1990: 257–263; cf. Clancier 2021: 337).

12'-13': These lines contain a dittography (Parpola 1990: 257–263).

13': For the writing ^{uru}*ḫa-ma-ti* for Hamath, see Parpola 1990: 263 note 29; Hawkins 1972–75: 67.

14': The sign KAL is written incorrectly in both instances with only a single vertical wedge at the end. The MEŠ was perhaps influenced by the TI in rev. 13', which caused confusion regarding the form.

It is unclear which form the writing KALAG.MEŠ! hides, although it could be a substantive or stative in the plural, or a verbal form of, e.g., *danānu*, in an iterative or a forceful stem. Note that MEŠ may be used to mark preceeding signs as a Sumerogram at Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989: 89–90). The final form *dan-nu* appears to be a singular adjective, which would point to a substantivised form in the writing before. However, if the MEŠ! indicates plurality, as would be expected (the form must refer to two previously mentioned cities), a singular adjective makes little sense. Thus, *dan-nu* is probably a masculine plural stative of *danānu*. The word *dan-nu* may emphasise the meaning of KALAG.MEŠ!, which my translation reflects. Still, it is not impossible that *dannū* should be interpreted as an explanatory gloss for the preceding writing, i.e., KALAG.MEŠ! *dan-nu*. Disregarding the personal names, the few other Sumerograms in the letter are separate and simple, which might explain why KALAG.MEŠ! required elaboration.

No. 2: Letter to Urḫilina(?) from Hadad-ezer(?)

Left side of a letter in Babylonian script with only the obverse preserved. It is uncertain how much in the width of each line and how many lines near the bottom are missing. Considering that Text 1 is substantially broader, several signs may be missing on each line. Sadly, only the introduction can be read properly. The tablet contains the same mixture of the MB and NB ductus illustrated by the other texts from Hamath, although it has a slightly different orthography than Text 1 (see commentary). It is difficult to determine the sender, recipient, and subject of the letter, but a tentative reconstruction may be that it was addressed to Urḫilina and sent by his contemporary ally of Aram-Damuscus Hadad-ezer.

Museum no.: 6A337
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room A no. 3
Length / Width / Thickness: 53 / 23 / 11 mm
CDLI no.: P525395
Photograph / Copy: p. 200
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

Obverse

1 *a-na* ^{m}*Ur-ḫ*[*u-le*$^{?}$*-ni/na*$^{?}$ *qí-bi-ma*]
2 *um-ma* $^{m.d}$I[M$^{?}$*-id-ri-ma*$^{?}$]
3 *um-ma-a a-n*[*a*$^{?}$ *aḫīya*/(PN-*ma*?)]
4 *dib-bi is-*$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
5 *al-te-q*[*é*]
6 *qí-bi*$^{?}$ *me-*$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
7 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* $^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
8 $^{\lceil}$*a-na*$^{\rceil}$ *qa-an-*[*ni*]
9 *a-*$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[(x x)]$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
10 *a-*$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
11 *šá* $^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
12 *a-*$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
13 *m*[*i*$^{?}$-]
14 *a-*$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$[ ]
15 *ik-*[ ]
16 *a-n*[*a*$^{?}$]

(*Breaks off*)

Reverse completely broken away

Translation

Obverse

1 To Urḫ[ilina speak],
2 thus *Ad*[*da-idri*],
3 t[o *my brother*] thus:
4 The report [...]

5 I have taken […]
6 command [(*someone to do something*?)…]
7 the gods […]
8 to the bord[er of (GN?) …]
9–10 […]
11 which […]
12 […]
13 without […]
14–15 […]
16 to […]
Reverse completely broken away

Commentary

Obv. 1: Many interpretations of a name beginning with the sign UR are possible, namely all names beginning with *Ur-*, *Lig/k/q-*, *Ṫáš-*, *Ṫaz/s/ṣ-*, etc. Presuming the letter was sent to Hamath, the name must belong to someone from this region. Furthermore, it was excavated in Building III, which seems to have housed important political correspondences, such as Text 1. Fugmann (1958: 191) suggested the name might represent Urḫilina, and it is tempting to reconstruct *Ur-ḫ*[*u-le-ni*] or *Ur-ḫ*[*i*!?-*le-ni*]. As quoted by the PNA (2/I: 564), his name was written ^{m}*Ir-ḫu-le-na/ni* in the majority of Shalmaneser III's royal inscriptions, although the name was spelled ^{m}*Ur-ḫi-le-*(*e*)*-ni* and ^{m}*Ir-ḫu-le-e-ni* on the Balawat Gate bronze bands. Considering the otherwise unattested form of Uratami's name in Text 1, written Rudamu, it is not impossible that Urḫilina's name could have been vocalised Urḫulina or similarly by scribes outside of Assyria when writing in Akkadian. A shell fragment in hieroglyphic Luwian from Hamath records his name as Urḫilana (Hawkins 2000: 421; see Bryce 2012: 56), which indicates that the name could be vocalised in several ways. It therefore seems plausible that 6A337 could have been addressed to Urḫilina, and it is currently difficult to account for another individual among the Hamathite elite to whom the letter would have been addressed.

2: The sender's name cannot be restored with certainty, but it begins with the sign DINGIR. However, it is not impossible to reconstruct $^{m.d}$I[M$^{?}$-*id-ri*], the Akkadian name of Urḫilina's contemporary, the king Hadad-ezer of Damascus (see PNA 1/I: 46). While such a reconstruction is naturally speculative, it is reasonable to assume these contemporary allies would have communicated with one another through a written medium. Still, it remains unclear if Urḫilina and Hadad-ezer would have communicated with one another via cuneiform letters instead of another medium in a different script.

3: The letter edited as Text 1 also introduces another topic via the phrase *ummā ana* after a courtesy formula in obv. 3 (Parpola 1990: 258). The damaged third Hamathite letter, edited as Text 3, also opens with a classic introduction followed directly by the suggested second introductory formula (Parpola 1990: 265). The dual *umma* introduction is also seen in certain MB letters (see references in the commentary to Text 1) as well as in NB letters from Babylonia primarily dated to the NA period (see examples in Cole 1996). For changes in the introductory formulae of NA letters, see Luukko 2012.

4: The reading *dib-bi*, representing the word *dibbu* "word, report, gossip, rumour, matter", especially in the second half of the 2nd millennium and the 1st millennium BCE, seems certain (CAD D: 132–134). Still, in NA sources the word *ṭēmu* was primarily used to describe a report. However, the second

sign could also be KASKAL, although the reading is not entirely certain. The sign looks like a BI, and a slightly shorter horizontal wedge above and a longer one below is also found in other manuscripts from Hamath with the sign BI (see Chapter 9). The second and third sign could also be emended to NE!. However, if one were to emend the reading, it could also be GISAL for *gišallu* "oar" (CAD G: 99–100), and both emendations make little sense. A reference to a campaign or a military expedition (KASKAL) could make sense in relation to Urḫilina's time, when he and the leader of Aram-Damascus, Hadad-ezer, had established an alliance to counter the Assyrian intrusions into Hamath (see examples of *ḫarrānu* in CAD Ḫ: 106–113). However, the reading *dib-bi* is preferred here.

The third sign appear to be GIŠ and the final sign could be the beginning of ŠE. However, a wooden determinative for a Sumerogram beginning ^{giš}Š[E. ...] seems unlikely. The exact interpretation of this word is unclear, but a reading such as *is-l*[*i-ma*] as a verb from *salāmu* is not impossible (see examples in CAD S: 89–92). Alternatively, it is possible to reconstruct the reading *dib-bi am*ʾ-[*mu-te*ʾ] "*th*[*ose*] words". Still, this interpretation is problematic because the reconstructed pronoun is Assyrian and the letter is otherwise Babylonian in style (see Kouwenberg 2012: 70 note 130; Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 50). I have left the reading open.

5: An alternative reading could be *al-te-m*[*i* ...], perhaps referring to the problematic line obv. 4 as discussed above: "I heard *th*[*ose*] words [...]". The form appears regularly as *al-te-mu* in some NB letters (e.g., Cole 1996: 385 with interal references), though also as *al-te-mi/me* in the NA royal correspondene from Babylonia (see SAA 17: 191; SAA 18: 197 with internal references).

Presumably, the scribe of this letter was not the same as in Text 1, cf. the *al* in Text no. 1 rev. 4'.

6: It remains unclear if some of the signs should be emended, but I read *qí-bi me-*⌜x⌝[...]. Here, *qí-bi* must be an imperative and perhaps present an order to be given to a third party. Alternatively, one could emend the second sign and read *ki-i*! *pi-*⌜x⌝[...] or *ki-*⌜*ta*-x⌝-[...], although this does not aid in reconstructing the text. The sign read BI is not like the BI in obv. 4 or similar signs found in other texts (see Chapter 9). This issue cannot be resolved at present.

7: The partially visible sign before the break could be a number of signs, and the reading is uncertain.

8: A word *qannu* "border, environs" written as *a-na qa-an-ni* occurs in both MB and later contexts (see CAD Q: 81–83). A reference to a border fits the context of military movements and the political issues being discussed.

12: The sign after A looks like MUNUS, although it is unclear. It is possible the same word was repeated in obv. 14.

13: I read *m*[*i*ʾ-...]. However, the sign may also be read *u*[*l*] (cf. the *ul* in Text 1 rev. 7'). If the reading *u*[*l-* is preferred, it is possible to reconstruct *u*[*l-te-bi-lak-ka*] (see Text 1 obv. 9), as well as the preposition *ullānu*, although this preposition is mainly attested in the OB period and otherwise in SB inscriptions (CAD U-W: 78–79). Finally, it cannot be excluded that the preserved wedges represented UG[Uʾ].

No. 3: Letter to Erība-Adad from Dayān-Adad

A small letter in very curved Babylonian script from a certain Erība-Adad to Dayān-Adad concerns the presence of a person named Aplāya, who seems to be missing. Nothing concerning the social status of these individuals can be evaluated via the preserved parts of the letter, although it is noteworthy that both the sender's and recipient's names contain the theophoric element Adad in reference to the Mesopotamian storm- and rain-deity (see commentary). The letter was found in Building II, and the document has a slightly different orthography than other tablets from Hamath. Although the findspot was registered as level E (ca. 900–720 BCE), it was emphasised by Riis that Fugmann's reconstruction was hypothetical (letter from P.J. Riis to J. Læssøe dated 12/10/1981). Thus, Riis attributed the tablet to level F1 (ca. 1075–900 BCE) on the basis of concrete circumstances in the corresponding walls excavated in the area, which would make this letter slightly older than Texts 1–2 (cf. Parpola 1990: 265). This suggests that scribes at Hamath employed cuneiform writing earlier than hitherto expected. The script in the tablet does not seem to be related to the orthographic traditions exemplified by the scholarly texts from Building III (see Chapter 9). In terms of the archaeological context, it is therefore surprising that the script appears to resemble NB script, though some sign forms in the text, such as the *ú* in rev. 4, largely disappear after the 8th century BCE. Unlike the other Hamath letters, this manuscript does not appear to be political, although it is possible that the recipient had an archive at the Hamath citadel in a semi-official capacity (see Chapter 5).

Museum no.: 4A608
Provenience: Ḥamā, level F1, Building II, O12, between Room XX and a doorway
Length / Width / Thickness: 42 / 35 / 27 mm
CDLI no.: P525386
Photograph / Copy: pp. 201–202
Bibliography: Parpola 1990: 265 (copy, partial edition)

Transliteration

Obverse

1 [*a-na*] ^{m}*E*[*r*]*i-ba-*^{d}IM
2 [*qí*]*-bi-ma um-ma*
3 ^{m}DI.KUD-^{d}IM-*ma*
4 *um-ma-a a-*⌜*na*⌝
5 ^{m}⌜*Eri*⌝*-ba-*^{d}IM-*ma*
6 *šum-ma* ^{m}*Ap-la-a-a*
7 *a-ši-ib*
8 [(x) x x]⌜x⌝

(*Breaks off*)

Reverse

1' [x x x]⌜x⌝[x (x)]
2' [x] ⌜x⌝ ba? ⌜x⌝[x]
3' ⌜DUB⌝ la tar *ṣab-ta*?
4' *la ú-ma-li*?
5' [^{m}*A*]*p-*⌜*la*⌝*-a-a*
6' [*la*(?)] *a-ši-ib*
7' [x x]⌜x⌝ *ṭi-pi*⌝

Translation

Obverse

1 [To] E[r]ība-Adad
2 [sp]eak, thus
3 Dayān-Adad,
4–5 to Erība-Adad thus:
6 If Aplāya
7 is present
8 [(in GN?)] (then),

(*Breaks off*)

Reverse

1'-2' [(*Too broken for translation*)]
3' (My) tablet … *seized*,
4' he has not paid in full.
5' (As) [A]plāya
6' is [not(?)] present,
7' add [PN(?) (instead)].

Commentary

Obv. 1: For the name Erība-Adad in NA sources, see PNA 1/II: 400–401. Though the name is normalised Erība-DN in Assyrian sources, the evidence is less clear in relation to Babylonian texts. In these, the spellings Erība- and Irība- are attested (e.g., CAD R: 54). Note that the initial element of the name is rarely spelled phonetically in NA sources.

Parpola (1990: 265) argues the divine element ^{d}IM suggests that the sender and recipient were Sūḫeans, with the recipient residing in Hamath. However, the cult of Adad (Adda, Addu, Hadad, Hadda) was widespread throughout the northern part of Syria (Schwemer 2001), and even the name of the 9th century BCE ruler of Aram-Damascus Hadad-ezer also referred to this deity. Furthermore, Building III in Hamath may have housed a temple for the goddess Baʿlat/Pahalatis, as well as the storm-god (Hawkins 2000: 402). Thus, Adad would not be an unexpected theophoric element in Akkadian names from Hamath. The correct reading of the theophoric elements in the names of this letter remains uncertain.

2: As in Text 1, the letter has *bi* instead of *bí*.

3: For the name Dayān-Adad in NA sources, see PNA 1/II: 367.

4: The additional introductory formula is also attested in Texts 1 and 2 (see above). However, the final *-ma* after the sender is not attested in Text 1. Its presence may be a remnant of the earlier style that this letter presumably represents.

6: For the name Aplāya in NA sources, see PNA 1/I: 115–119.

Rev. 2': The first visible wedges may represent a *tu* or perhaps even *iš*$^{!}$, although it is uncertain. The second sign is read *ba*, although it is unclear if it might have been a *ma*. It could also be emended to *da*$^{!}$ or *ku*$^{!}$, although there is clearly something missing without a lot of breakage in the sign.

3': Nothing is broken before the first partly visible sign, as is indicated on Læssøe's copy in Parpola 1990: 265. The signs appear to be DUB la tar *ṣab-ta*$^{?}$, though several readings are possible. The signs /la/ and /tar/ are difficult, and they could be interpreted as a message (DUB) not cut off (*la* KU$_5$-*ma*$^{?}$) from the recipient. A negation might fit the context, seeing as the following line also has

one. However, the phrase would be ackward and it does not seem to be attested otherwise. If the final signs are *ṣab-ta*$^{?}$, this word may describe the preceding term. Alternatively, one might emend the vaguely visible wedges between TAR and the final sign to ḪA to produce the second person masculine singular stative *ḫaš-ḫa*$^{!?}$*-ta*$^{?}$ "you (do not) need (the tablet)". The line could also be emended to DUB *la* MU$^{!}$.1$^{?}$.$^{\lceil}$KAM$^{!\rceil}$. If so, it could indicate that the sign *la* in front was an abbreviated form of a preposition, such as *lāma*, "before", and *balāt*, "without", or the Aramaic preposition *l*, "to, for", rendered in Akkadian. Finally, if the vaguely preserved wedges interpreted as ERIM are not actually wedges, it is possible to read the final part of the line as the number 2 and the sign $U_4^{?}$, without final MEŠ. These issues cannot be resolved.

3'-7': For an alternative reading, which does not appear to reflect the visible signs on the photograph, see Arnaud (2013: 13).

4': The final sign does not look like *li*, though four oblique wedges can look like two in other NB letters (cf. Parpola 1990: 265).

7': Parpola (1990: 265) suggests reading [x x]$^{\lceil}$x$^{\rceil}$ *ki*$^{?}$*-la*$^{?}$*-šú*$^{?}$, which does not reflect the remaining wedges. Still, with only slight emendation, it is possible to restore the verbal forms *ṭe/ṭi-pi*$^{!}$ "is added/add", which could suggest that the initial signs in the line contained a personal name. However, the final sign could also be interpreted as BU or ḪI.

No. 4: Administrative Tablet

An administrative cuneiform tablet in Babylonian script, previously kept in a private collection belonging to Ḫidr Šišaklī (Shishakli) in Ḥamā (note dated to 20/12/1975). The document has a slightly different orthography from the other tablets, and, as with Text 3, it is perhaps slightly older than the texts excavated in Building III.

The physician Dr Tawfiq al-Shishakli of the Šišaklī family was a friend of Poul J. Riis, and Ejnar Fugmann's publication from 1958 was dedicated to his memory. Sadly, the tablet here must be considered lost, as the Šišaklī family, along with its properties, was destroyed during violent events in 1982 (letter from P.J. Riis to J. Læssøe dated 13/06/1984). Apparently, the tablet was found below the citadel mound near the north-western slope at the Orthodox Church at the time of the construction of a new Orthodox Cathedral in Ḥamā (note dated to 20/12/75). Possibly, one or more hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions had previously been found in the same area (see Hawkins 2000: 412). The tablet may have come from the area around Building II where the slope of the tell is crumbling (Stephen Lumsden, personal communication). If so, it is possible that this area originally held tablets dated to around 1000 BCE or earlier (see the discussion of the date of Text 3 in Chapter 4), which may have been connected to the administrative apparatus of the citadel or to people associated with the official building.

Photographs of the manuscript were provided to P.J. Riis by the Šišaklī family (letter from P.J. Riis to J. Læssøe dated to 13/06/1984). No measurements are indicated on the photographs, although a note at the NMD states it was approximately 7 centimetres long (note dated 20/12/75). The tablet contains relatively well-preserved writing on the obverse and reverse, with a large patch of unwritten surface on the reverse. Sadly, the photographs are extremely unclear and difficult to read.

Museum no.: N/A

Provenience: Ḥamā, area surrounding the Orthodox Church(?), north-west of the citadel mound

Length / Width / Thickness: ca. 70 / ? / ? mm

CDLI no.: P525385
Photograph /Copy: p. 203
Bibliography: --

Transliteration
None given.

Translation
None given.

Commentary
General commentary: Few things can be read with certainty from the sole surviving and poor-quality photographs. The text is definitely administrative, and the structure appears to consist of lines beginning with numbers, often followed by *pa* for *parīsu* as a measure of a commodity. This abbreviation was used among the Hittites and at Emar for ½ GUR (CAD P: 186). Thus it is not unreasonable that it should also have been used in the administration near the end of the 2nd millennium or very early 1st millennium BCE at Hamath. The commodities are generally grain (ŠE), but oil appears to be recorded in one instance (Ì, obv. 8). These commodities are followed by personal names, and, in several instances, indented lines below the names likely specify patronymic names (the initial sign appears in each instance to be DUMU followed by a PN). Many names do not appear to be Akkadian, though it is unclear if they are Luwian or represent other languages (e.g., lo.e. 12: *ia-ga-aš*). In at least one instance in obv. 10, a father's name appears to be followed by a title introduced by LÚ.

Besides an additional entry similar to those found on the obverse, the reverse contains a large uninscribed area and two final lines at the end. Presumably, these lines contain a date formula or something similar. The initial sign might be a MU or a LÚ. Alternatively, the final lines might represent a summary, a purpose, or describe an administrative unit.

No. 5: Clay Bulla

A small clay bulla used for sealing and, at some point, impressed around a string to enclose a container. The clay lump contains two stamp seal impressions, several cursive Luwian hieroglyphs, some hitherto unrecognised numerical notations, and possibly the remains of a few cuneiform strokes. Although other examples of clay bullae exist from the Hamath citadel (see below), this is the only bulla from Building III.

Museum no.: 6A383
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room A no. 7
Length / Width / Thickness: 30 / 18 / 16 mm
CDLI no.: P525402
Photograph / Copy: pp. 204–205
Bibliography: Hawkins 2000: 423, pl. 235 (photograph, copy, discussion)
Otzen 1990: 276, AramSig 1 (photograph, copy, partial edition)
Riis and Buhl 1990: 90, 93 Fig. 46 (photograph, copy, discussion)
Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

None given. Three otherwise unexplained lines on one side of the bulla seem to have been impressed by a stylus suited for writing cuneiform. These strokes may very tentatively be interpreted as the remains of cuneiform wedges, though it remains unclear.

For a discussion of the cursive Luwian hieroglyphic inscription, see Hawkins 2000: 423. According to Hawkins, no identifiable signs can be read. Note that the photographs available to Hawkins did not allow him to notice the numerical notations on an area between two regular sides. Furthermore, Mark Weeden (personal communication) has informed me that, with the current state of knowledge, the Luwian inscription should still be considered unintelligible.

For the Aramaic text on one of the two stamp seal impressions, see Otzen (1990: 276 AramSig1), who reads: ʾ⌜ḎṄ⌝LR⌜Ṁ⌝. The personal name *ʾdnlrm* is well known and can be interpreted as "Indeed, the lord is exalted" (Gzella 2014: 105).

Translation

None given.

Commentary

General commentary: The content of the Luwian text is unclear, although the new discovery of the numerical markings suggests that the bulla was related to items delivered in bulk to Building III. Several similar bullae were recovered, especially from Building V (Riis and Buhl 1990: 89–96).

The bulla contains two oval stamp seal impressions. One shows a horned(?) being standing upright with outstretched arms facing the viewer. Next to this being's legs are two bearded individuals facing left and right, of which the one facing right may hold a knife. To the right of the head of the upright being is a roaring lion. The seal contains Hittite-Luwian elements, such as the lion, and it may have belonged to the individual responsible for writing the cursive Luwian hieroglyphs. The second seal impression seems to illustrate a cow with a calf underneath. The impression also contains Aramaic letters above the cow, which likely spell out the name of the owner (see above). The motif of a cow or bull, as described by Otzen (1990: 277 AramSig 1, 279 AramSig 2), may have been either the symbol of the governor of Hamath in the Aramaic period or an important official. At least three graffiti contain this name, and two of these specify that the person was "governor of the house of the king" (7A293a and 7A538, *skn bjt mlkh*; ibid.: 275–277). If these attestations represent the same person, it is possible a person with this name was governor of the city Hamath under an Aramaic ruler.

A similar stamp seal with another name can be found on the bulla 8A198 (Building V, room J). Hawkins (2000: 422, pl. 233) suggested that this seal may have contained the name of the owner in cursive hieroglyphic Luwian, as well as his title, namely *á-la*ʔ*-ni*ʔ SCR[IBAʔ], "Alani the Scribe". This bulla apparently tallies up sheep (see Otzen 1990: 279 AramSig2; Riis and Buhl 1990: 90, 94 Fig. 47).

In general, the bullae from Hamath cannot be definitively linked to the Hittite rather than the Aramaic period of Hamath's history (Hawkins 2000: 403). The same is valid for Text 5, although it was recovered in the same destruction layer as the other, and presumably older, tablets from Building III.

Maqlû and Other Incantations

Among the texts excavated at Hamath are two copies of *Maqlû* Tablets IV and VI, edited here as Texts 6 and 7. I have based my composite editions of *Maqlû* IV and VI on Abusch's edition from 2016 and consulted the relevant photographs and hand drawings of individual tablets to check select readings.[146] A new edition of the prayer to Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk is also included, which was previously published by Læssøe (1956). In addition, this section contains the editions of three texts partially related to the series *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007) and Sag̃-gig (Schramm unpublished), Texts 9–11. It cannot be excluded that these three fragments once originated from the same tablet, although a reconstruction cannot be proposed at present.

No. 6: Maqlû Tablet IV

Most of the obverse and a fragment of the reverse from a large tablet in Babylonian script. The manuscript is a duplicate of *Maqlû* IV, and it has been dubbed ms yy to fit into the existing edition by Abusch (2016), supplemented by additional fragments edited by Schwemer (2017). The tablet is single-columned and appears to have had long lines, often spanning two individual lines of *Maqlû* IV known from other mss. The division of canonical lines are occasionally marked with three vertical wedges on top of one another, which function as a verse divider, similar to that originally observed by Læssøe (1956: 60) in his edition of Text 8. Ms yy_1 duplicates the lines 20–73 and ms yy_2 duplicates approximately 95–118 of *Maqlû* IV. As a result of this division of lines, ms yy_1 must have been the obverse of the original tablet, and ms yy_2 was likely part of the reverse. The text contains a number of mistakes, most notably the persistent writing ZI.RU.KU_5.DA on the obverse of yy_1 (see commentary). These various problems in the text suggest an inexperienced copyist, possibly an advanced student.

Museum no.: 6A344
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III
N16, Room B nos. 11–13 (6A344/I)
N16, Room B no. 15 (6A344/II)
Length / Width / Thickness: 6A344/I: 116 / 64 / 29 mm
6A344/II: 52 / 51 / 25 mm
CDLI no.: P525400
Photograph / Copy: pp. 205–207
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

Sigla	Museum no.	Provenience	Columns
yy	= 6A344	Ḥamā (Building III)	1
yy_1	= 6A344/I	(Bab.)	
yy_2	= 6A344/II		
P	= K 2956	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
G	= K 2454+2984+3178+7616(+)2976	Nineveh (Ass.)	2

146. Particularly the hand drawings edited in Schwemer 2017. Additional new manuscripts of *Maqlû* are enumerated in Schwemer 2022.

G_1	= K 2454+2984+3178+7616		
V	= K 3483(+)Rm 388(+)548	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
V_1	= K 3483		
V_3	= Rm 548		
EE	= K 8057+DT 232	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
d	= K 5376+8629+13445	Nineveh (Bab.)	2(?)
f	= VAT 13672	Aššur (Ass.)	1(?)
m	= A 7876	Assyrian (non-Nin.)	6
y	= BM 34077 (Sp 174)	Babylon(?) (Bab.)	2(?)
dd	= BM 40726 (81–4–28, 271)	Babylon(?) (Bab.)	1(?)
δ	= BM 36618 (80–6–17, 348)	Babylon(?) (Bab.)	Excerpt

Ms yy_1 obverse

20 yy_1 1'a ⌜*a-na* EDIN⌝ [*ki*]-*di*[*m*] →
P i 20' [ ]-⌜*e*⌝ *tap-qí-d*[*a-*]-⌜*ni te*⌝
G_1 i 5' *a-na* EDIN *ki-di u na-me-e tap-qí-da-in-*⌜*ni te*⌝
V_1 i 14' [ ] *u n*[*a-*]

V_1 *Break*

21 yy_1 1'b [ ]
P i 21' [ ] *tap-qí-da-*⌜*in-ni te*⌝
G_1 i 6' ⌜*a-na*⌝ BÀD *ù sa-me-ti tap-qí-da-in-ni te*

22 yy_1 2'a *a-na be-let* EDIN *u ba-*⌜*ma*⌝-[*a-ti*] →
P i 22' [*-q*]*í-*⌜*da-in-ni te*⌝
G_1 i 7' ⌜*a-na*⌝ d*be-let* EDIN *u ba-ma-a-ti tap-qí-da-in-ni te*

23 yy_1 2'b [ ]
P i 23' [.N]E KI.⌜UD⌝.BA \ [*tap-qí-d*]*a-*⌜*in-ni te*⌝
G_1 i 8' *a-na* UDUN *la-ap-*⌜*ti*⌝ NINDU KI.NE KI.UD.BA *ù nap-pa-ḫa-ti* KI.MI[N] *te*

24 yy_1 3'a NU.MEŠ.MU *ana* ÚŠ *tap-qí-da* : →
P i 24' [ ] ⌜*te*⌝
G_1 i 9' NU.MEŠ-*ia a-na* lúÚŠ *tap-qí-da te*
m v 1' [*-q*]*í-*⌜*da te*⌝

P *Break*

25 yy_1 3'b NU.MEŠ.MU [ ]
G_1 i 10' NU.MEŠ-*ia a-na* lúÚŠ *ta-ḫi-ra te*
m v (*Line 25 and a number of additional lines are not copied in this ms, or they exist in a broken part, see Abusch 2016: 116 note 14*)

26 yy$_1$ 4'a NU.MEŠ.MU KI ÚŠ <*tu*>-*uš-ni-*⌜*la*⌝ : →
G$_1$ i 11' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *it-ti* ^{lú}Ú[Š] *t*[*uš-n*]*i-il-la te*
m v 2' [ ]-⌜*la te*⌝

27 yy$_1$ 4'b NU.MEŠ.MU [ ]
G$_1$ i 12' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina* ÚR ^{lú}[ÚŠ *tuš-ni-i*]*l-la te*
m v *N/A*

28 yy$_1$ 5'a NU.MEŠ.MU *ina* KI.M[A]Ḫ ÚŠ *taq-bi-*⌜*ra*⌝ →
G$_1$ i 13' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina* KI.⌜MAḪ ^{lú}⌝Ú[Š *ta*]*q-bi-ra te*
m v 3' [Ú]Š ⌜*taq-bi*⌝*-ra* ⌜*te*⌝

29 yy$_1$ 5'b [ ]
G$_1$ i 14' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *a-na gul-gul-la-ti tap-qí-da te*
m v *N/A*
dd obv. 1'[ ]⌜x⌝[ ]

30 yy$_1$ 6'a NU.[M]EŠ.MU KI ⌜É.GAR$_8$ *tap-ḫa-a* :⌝ →
G$_1$ i 15' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina* É.GAR$_8$ *tap-ḫa-a te*
V$_3$ i 1' [ ] *t*[*ap-ḫ*]*a-*[ ]
m v 4' [ ] *t*[*ap-ḫ*]*a-a te*
dd obv. 2'[.M]U *ina* É.GAR$_8$ *te-e*[*p-ḫa-a*]

31 yy$_1$ 6'b ⌜NU.MEŠ⌝.M[U]
G$_1$ i 16' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina* I.DIB *tuš-ni-il-la te*
V$_3$ i 2' [ ] *tuš-ni-il-la t*[*e*]
m v *N/A*(?)
dd obv. 3'[.M]U *ina as-kup-pat tuš-ni-i*[*l-*]

32 yy$_1$ 7'a ⌜NU.MEŠ⌝.MU <*ina*> *bi-*⌜*ʾi-i* *šá* BÀD *tap-ḫa-a*⌝ [(:?)] →
G$_1$ i 17' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina* *bi-ʾi* *šá* BÀD *tap-ḫa-a te*
V$_3$ i 3' [-ʾ]*i* *šá* BÀD *tap-ḫa-a te*
m v 5' [BÀ]D *tap-ḫa-a t*[*e*]
dd obv. 4'[.M]U *ina* *bi-ʾi-i* *šá* BÀD *te-e*[*p-ḫa-a*]

33 yy$_1$ 7'b [ ]
G$_1$ i 18' NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina ti-tur-ri taq-bi-ra-ma* *um-ma-nu ú-kab-bi-su te*
V$_3$ i 4' [ ] ⌜*ti*⌝*-tur-ri taq-bi-ra-ma* \ [*u*]*m-ma-nu ú-kab-bi-su te*
m v 6' [ ] ⌜*ú-kab*⌝*-b*[*i-*]
dd obv. 5'[.M]U *ina ti-tur-ra taq-bi-ra-ma* *um-m*[*a-*]

34
yy$_1$ 8’ ⌜NU.MEŠ⌝.MU *ina bu-re-<e> šá* ^{lú}⌜AZLAG⌝ [( )] PÚ BAD⌝-[*a*]
G$_1$ i 19’ NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina bu-re-e* *šá* ^{lú}AZLAG PÚ *tap-ta-a* *ta*[*q-b*]*i-ra te*
V$_3$ i 5’ [ ]-*ia* *ina bu-re-e* *šá* ^{lú}AZLAG \ [P]Ú *tap-ta-a* *taq-bi-ra te*
m v 7’ [*t*]*a*[*q- t*]*e*
dd obv. 6’[ ] *bu-*⌜*re*⌝*-e* *šá* ^{lú}AZLAG ⌜PÚ *tap*⌝-*t*[*a*]

35
yy$_1$ 9’ [N]U.[MEŠ.M]U *ina* ŠÌTA *šá* LÚ.NU.GIŠ.⌜KIRI$_6$⌝ [P]Ú BAD-[*a*]
G$_1$ i 20’ NU.MEŠ-*ia* *ina* ŠÌTA *šá* LÚ.⌜NU⌝.GIŠ.KIRI$_6$ PÚ *tap-ta-a* *t*[*aq- -r*]*a* ⌜*te*⌝
V$_3$ i 6’ [ ]-*ia* *ina* ŠÌTA *šá* LÚ.NU.GIŠ.KIRI$_6$ \ [P]Ú *tap-ta-a* *taq-bi-ra te*
m v 8’ [ ] ⌜*taq-bi*⌝-[*r*]*a* ⌜*te*⌝
dd obv. 7’[*ra*]-*a-ṭi šá* LÚ.[N]U.[G]IŠ.KI[RI$_6$]

36
yy$_1$ 10’ [NU.MEŠ.M]U *l*[*u šá* ^{gi}]^{š}ŠINIG *lu* *šá* ^{giš}EREN *l*[*u*$^{?}$]
G$_1$ i 21’ NU.MEŠ-*ia* *lu-u* ⌜*šá* ^{giš}ŠINIG⌝ *lu-u* *šá* ^{giš}⌜EREN⌝ *lu-u šá* Ì.UDU
V$_3$ i 7’-8’a [-*i*]*a* *lu-u šá* ^{giš}ŠINIG ⌜*lu*⌝-*u* *šá* ^{giš}EREN $^{8’}$ [ ] →
m v 9’a [ ] →
dd obv. 8’[^{gi}]^{š}[Š]INIG *lu*(-)⌜x⌝[ ]

37
yy$_1$ 11’a [ ] →
G$_1$ i 22’ *lu-u* *šá* DUḪ.L[ÀL *l*]*u-*⌜*u šá*⌝ DUḪ.ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
V$_3$ i 8’b [ ]-*u* [DU]Ḫ.LÀL ⌜*lu*⌝-*u šá* DUḪ.ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
m v 9’b-10’a [*l*]*u* ⌜*šá* DUḪ⌝.LÀL $^{10’}$ [ ] →
dd obv. 9’ [*š*]*á* DUḪ.L[ÀL]

dd *Break*

38
yy$_1$ 11’b [ESI]R ⌜*lu*⌝-*u šá* [ ]
G$_1$ i 23’ *lu-u šá* E[SIR *lu-u*] *šá* IM *lu-u* *šá* NÍG.LAG.GÁ
V$_3$ i 9’ [I]M ⌜*lu*⌝-*u* *šá* NÍG.⌜LAG.GÁ⌝
m v 10’b [*l*]*u* ⌜*šá*⌝ NÍG.LAG.GÁ

39
yy$_1$ 12’ [-*i*]*a*$_5$$^{?}$ [(*u*) *l*]*a-ni-i*[*a*]
G$_1$ i 24’ NU.MEŠ *muš-*[*šu-la-ti š*]*á* ⌜*pa*⌝*-ni-ia* *u la-ni-ia* *te-pu-šá-ma*
V$_3$ i 10’ [ ] ⌜*te-pu-šá*⌝-[ ]
m v 11’-12’a [ ] *u l*[*a-n*]*i-ia* $^{12’}$ [ ] →

V$_3$ *Break*

40
yy$_1$ 13’a [(:?)] →
G$_1$ i 25’ [UR.G]I$_7$ *t*[*u*]-⌜*šá*⌝*-ki-la* ŠAḪ *tu-šá-ki-la*
m v 12’b [ ]-⌜*ki-la*⌝ [Š]AḪ ⌜KI⌝.MIN

41 yy$_1$ 13'b MUŠEN *t[u-šá-ki-la*]
G_1 i 26' MU[ŠEN] ⌜*tu*⌝*-šá-ki-la ana* ÍD ŠUB-*a*
m v 13' [Í]D [*ta-a*]*d-da-a*

42 yy$_1$ 14'a NU.MEŠ.⌜MU *a-na la*⌝*-*[*m*]*a*[*š-t*]*i* [DUMU.MUNUS] ⌜^{d}⌝*A-nim tap-q*[*í-da* (:?)] →
G_1 i 27' NU.MEŠ-*ia a-na la-maš-ti* DUMU.MUNUS ^{d}*A-nim* \ *tap-qí-da te*
m v 14' [*l*]*a-maš-ti* DUMU.⌜MUNUS ^{d}⌝[ ] *tap-qí-*⌜*da te*⌝

43 yy$_1$ 14'b [ ]
G_1 i 28' NU.MEŠ-*ia a-na* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *tap-qí-da te*
m v 15' [*a-n*]*a* ^{d}GIŠ.BAR *tap-q*[*í-d*]*a te*

44 yy$_1$ 15'a NU.MEŠ.MU *it-ti* ÚŠ *tu-*⌜*uš*⌝*-ni-la* : →
G_1 i 29' A.MEŠ-*ia it-ti* ^{lú}ÚŠ *tuš-ni-*⌜*il*⌝*-*[*l*]*a te*
m v 16' [ ] ^{lú}ÚŠ *tuš-*⌜*ni*⌝*- il*⌝*-la te*

45 yy$_1$ 15'b A.[MEŠ-]
G_1 i 30' A.MEŠ-*ia ina* ÚR ^{lú}ÚŠ *tuš-ni-*[*i*]*l-la te*
m v 17' [Ú]R ^{lú}ÚŠ *tuš-ni-il-la te*

46 yy$_1$ 16'a {*ina*} A.⌜MEŠ⌝*-e-a ina* KI.MAḪ ÚŠ *taq*$^{?}$*-*⌜*bi*$^{?}$⌝*-ra* :⌝ →
G_2 ii 1 [K]I.MAḪ ^{lú}ÚŠ *taq-bi-ra* ⌜*te*⌝
m v 18' [K]I.MAḪ ^{lú}ÚŠ *taq-bi-*⌜*ra*⌝ *te*

47 yy$_1$ 16'b *ina* [ ]
G_2 ii 2 [x x x x K]I$^{?}$*-tì* A.MEŠ-*ia taq-bi-ra t*[*e*]
m v 19' [ ] KI-*tì* A.MEŠ.MU *taq-bi-ra te*

48 yy$_1$ 17'a *ina* MURUB$_4$ KI-*tim*$^{?}$ A.M[E]Š-*e-a taq-bi-*[*r*]*a* [(:?)] →
G_2 ii 3 [(x x x x) K]I-*tim* A.MEŠ-*ia taq-bi-ra* [ ]
m v 20' [ ] KI-*tim* A.MEŠ.MU *taq-bi-ra te*
y ii 1' [ ] ⌜*te*⌝

49 yy$_1$ 17'b [ ]
G_2 ii 4 [*mu-š*]*i* A.MEŠ-*ia taḫ-ba-a* [ ]
m v 21' ⌜*ina*⌝ I[GI (DINGIR.MEŠ *šá*?) *mu-š*]*i* A.MEŠ.MU *taḫ-ba-a te*
y ii 2' [ ]-⌜a_4⌝ *te*

50 yy$_1$ 18'a KURUM$_6$ *a-na* ^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ *ta-ad-*<*di*>*-na* : →
G_2 ii 5 [(x x x x x) ^{d}GI]Š.GÍN.MAŠ *ta-ad-di-na* [ ]
m v 22' ⌜x x⌝[(x x)]⌜x⌝ *a-na* ^{d}GIŠ.TUK *tap-qí-da te*
y ii 3' [*ta-di*]*n-nu te*

51 yy$_1$ 18'b [ ]
G_2 ii 6 [-*l*]*e-e* *ta-ḫi-ra-in-ni* [ ]
m v 23' ⌜*a-na a*⌝-[*ra-a*]*l*-⌜*le*⌝-*e* *ta-ḫi-ra-in-ni te*
y ii 4' [-*ḫ*]*i-ra-ʾi-in-nu te*

52 yy$_1$ 19'a ZI.RU.KU$_5$.DA *ana* IGI ^{d}30 →
P ii 1' ⌜ZI.KU$_5$⌝.[ ]
G_2 ii 7 [ ] *ana pa-ni* ^{d}30 [ ]
m v 24' ⌜ZI⌝.K[U$_5$]. ⌜RU.DA⌝ *a-na* IG[I] ^{d}30 *te*
y ii 5' [*a*]*na* IGI ^{d}30 *te*

53 yy$_1$ 19'b ZI.RU.K[U$_5$.DA]
P ii 2' ZI.KU$_5$.[ ]
G_2 ii 8 [ ] *ana pa-ni* ^{d}*Šul-pa-*⌜*è*⌝-[ ]
m v 25'a [K]I.MIN *ana* IGI ⌜^{d}*Šul*⌝-*pa-è* →
y ii 6' [ZI.KU$_5$.RU.D]A-⌜*a*⌝ *ana* IGI ^{d}*Šul-pa-è-a te*

54 yy$_1$ 20' ZI.RU.⌜KU$_5$⌝.DA *ana* IGI MUL.UD.KA.DU[Ḫ.A (:)] →
P ii 3' ZI.KU$_5$.R[U.]
G_2 ii 9 [M]UL.UD.KA.D[UḪ.]
m v 25'b KI.MIN *ana* IGI MUL.UD.KA.DUḪ.A
y ii 7' [ZI.KU$_5$.RU.D]A-*a* *ana* IGI ⌜MÚL⌝.UD.KA.DU[Ḫ].A ⌜*te*⌝

55–56 yy$_1$ *Ms omits either line 55 or 56, as the break can only hold one of them; 55–56 are attested in mss P, G_2 (only line 55 before it breaks off),* ***m*** *(v 26'a = line 55, line 56 appears to have been omitted) and y.*

57 yy$_1$ 21'a ⌜ZI.RU⌝.KU$_5$.DA *ana* IGI MUL.MAR.GÍ[D.DA] →
P ii 6' ⌜ZI.KU$_5$⌝.R[U.]
m v 26'b KI.MIN *ana* IGI MUL.MAR.GÍD.DA *te*
y ii 10' [ZI.KU$_5$.RU.D]A-*a* ⌜*ana* IGI MUL.MAR.GÍD.DA *te*⌝

58 yy$_1$ 21'b [ ]
P ii 7' ⌜ZI.KU$_5$⌝.[ ]
m v 27'a [K]I.⌜MIN *ana* IGI MUL⌝.GÍR.TAB →
y ii 11' [ZI.KU$_5$.R]U.⌜DA⌝-*a* *ana* IGI MUL.GÍR.TAB ⌜*te*⌝

59 yy$_1$ 22'a ⌜ZI.RU⌝.KU$_5$.DA *ana* <IGI> MUL.⌜SIPA⌝.Z[I.] →
P ii 8' Z[I.]
m v 27'b ⌜KI⌝.MIN *ana* IGI MUL.SIPA!.ZI.AN.⌜NA⌝
y ii 12' [ZI.K]U$_5$.[R]U.[D]A-*a* *ana* IGI MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA ⌜*te*⌝

60 yy$_1$ 22'b [ ]
P ii 9' [ ]
m v 28' ⌜KI.MIN⌝ *ana* IGI M[U]L.EN.TE.⌜NA.BAR.ḪUZ⌝ *te*
y ii 13' [ZI.K]U$_5$.RU.⌜DA⌝-*a* *ana* IGI MUL.EN.TE.EN.⌜NA⌝.BAR.ḪUZ ⌜*te*⌝

61 yy$_1$ 23' ZI.RU.⌜KU$_5$.DA⌝ *šá* M[U]Š ^{d}NIN.[ ]
P ii 10' [ ]
m v 29' [K]I.MIN *šá* MUŠ ⌜^{d}NIN.KILIM PÉŠ.ÙR.RA PÉŠ⌝.<TUR> ⌜*te*⌝
y ii 14' [ZI.K]U$_5$.RU.DA-*a* *šá* MUŠ *šik-ku-ú* *a*[*r-r*]*a-b*[*u*] ⌜*pe-ru*$^{?}$*-ru-tú te*⌝

62 yy$_1$ 24' ZI.RU.KU$_5$.⌜DA⌝ *ša* ^{giš}ER[EN]
P ii 11' [ ] x [ ]
m v 30' [K]I.MIN *šá* ⌜^{giš}EREN x⌝[x x (x)]⌜x *šá*⌝ *r*[*u*$^{?}$]-⌜*ḫe*$^{?}$⌝-*e*
y ii 15' [ZI].KU$_5$.[R]U.DA-*a* [ ]

63 yy$_1$ 25' *ina* NINDA.ḪI.A *ú-k*[*u*]*l-*⌜*tu*⌝*-u* <NÍG>.SA.SA.[ḪI.A]
P ii 12' [-*ku*]*l-*⌜*tu*⌝ GU[RUN]
m v 31' [*mi*]*m-ma šum-*⌜*šú*⌝ *t*[*u-šá-ki-la*]*-in-ni* ⌜*te*⌝
y ii 16' [*ina a*]*-ka-lu* *ú-kul-tum* GURUN [ ]

64 yy$_1$ 26'a *ina* A.MEŠ GA KAŠ GEŠTI[N] ⌜*taš-qa*⌝*-i*[*n-ni*] →
P ii 13' [.ME]Š$^{?}$ ⌜GA$^{?}$⌝ KAŠ G[E]ŠTIN *ta*[*š*]*-q*[*a-in-ni*]
m v 32' [(*ina*)] ⌜A.MEŠ⌝ G[A$^{?}$ *-q*]*a-a-in-*⌜*ni*⌝ *t*[*e*]
y ii 17' [*ina*] ⌜A⌝.MEŠ [ ]
δ obv. 1 ⌜*ina* A⌝.MEŠ G[A$^{?}$ *ka-ra*]*-n*[*i*]$^{?}$ *taš-qa-*[*'i-in-ni*]

65 yy$_1$ 26'b [ ]
P ii 14' [ ] ⌜A.MEŠ *u* NAGA⌝ *tu-ram-*⌜*me*⌝*-k*[*a-in-ni te*]
m v 33' [*-i*]*n-*[ ]
y ii 18' [*traces*]
δ obv. 2a *ina* A.MEŠ <*u* NAGA(?)> *qar-n*[*a-ni* TU$_5$*-'i-i*]*n*$^{?}$*-*[*n*]*i* →

m, y *Break*

66 yy$_1$ 27'a *ina*$^{?}$ Ì.GIŠ *tap-šu-šá-in-ni* →
P ii 15' [ ] Ì.[ ] *tap-šu-ša-i*[*n-ni te*]
δ obv. 2b *ina* Ì.GIŠ *tap-šu-*[*-'*]*i-i*[*n*$^{?}$*-*]

67 yy$_1$ 27'b *ina* ⌜*šu*⌝-[ ]
P ii 16' [ ]-⌜*la-a*⌝-*ti tu-še-bi-la-*[*te*]
δ obv. 3 ⌜*ina*⌝ *šu-bu-la-a-*⌜*ti tu-še*⌝*-bi-la-*⌜*'i-in*⌝*-n*[*i*]

yy$_1$ *Divergence from the four other mss (P, G, d, δ), where yy$_1$ obv. 28' contains lines 69–70 in Maqlû. Clearly, ms. d – a Nineveh manuscript in Babylonian script – is not uniform either, as several lines do not fit the other mss in the surviving lines (see Abusch 2016: 119 note 25)*

68 yy$_1$ 29' *ina* IGI DINGIR LUGAL IDIM NUN *t*[*u-*]
P ii 17' [ ] *u* NUN *tu-šá-áš-kin-a-a-i*[*n-ni*]
d ii 5' [ID]IM *ù* NUN [ ]
δ obv. 4 *ina* IGI ⌜DINGIR.MEŠ⌝ LUGAL IDIM *u* NUN *tu-šá-áš-ki-na-'*[*i-in*]-⌜*ni*⌝

69 yy$_1$ 28'a *ina* IGI *ti-ri* *man-za-z*[*i*] →
P ii 18' [-*z*]*a*$^{?}$-⌜*zi*⌝ *u* KÁ É.GAL K[I.MIN]
G$_1$ ii 1' *ina* I[GI]
d ii 1' [*ma-a*]*n-*⌜*za-zi*⌝ [ ] ⌜KÁ.É.GAL⌝ *t*[*u-šaškinā'inni*]
δ obv. 5 ⌜*ina* IGI⌝ [*t*]*i-ru* *man-za-za* *u* KÁ É.G[AL (KI.MIN?)]

70 yy$_1$ 28'b [ ]
P ii 19' [*tap-pe*]-⌜*e*⌝ *u* ⌜*ki-na*⌝*-at-ti* ⌜KI⌝.M[IN]
G$_1$ ii 2' *ina* IGI *ib-r*[*i*]
d ii 4' [-*p*]*u-ú ù ki-na-at-ti t*[*u-šaškinā'inni*]
δ obv. 6 ⌜*ina* IGI⌝ *ib-ri tap-*⌜*pu-ú u*⌝ *k*[*i-*]

δ *End of excerpt*

71 yy$_1$ 30' *ina* IG[I] AD AMA ŠEŠ NIN DA[M]
P ii 20' [NI]N ⌜DAM DUMU⌝ *u* DUMU.MUNUS ⌜KI.MIN⌝
G$_1$ ii 3' *ina* IGI AD *u* AMA ŠE[Š]
d ii 3' [N]IN D[A]M DUMU DUMU.MUNUS *t*[*u-šaškinā'inni*]

yy$_1$ *Omits line 72*

73 yy$_1$ 31' [*e*]-⌜*li* *a-mé-ri-ia*⌝ [ ]
P ii 22' ⌜UGU⌝ [ ]-⌜*ia*⌝ *t*[*u*]-*š*[*a*]*m-ri-*⌜*ṣa*⌝*-in-ni*
G$_1$ ii 5' UGU *a-me-ri-ia* *t*[*u-*]
d ii 6' [*r*]*i-ia* [ ]

yy$_1$ *Nothing on the photograph can be identified with certainty as the remains of wedges following obv. 31'*

Ms yy$_2$ reverse

yy$_2$ 1'' [...]⌜x⌝[...]

yy$_2$ 2'' [...]⌜x⌝[...]

yy$_2$, **f** *Dividing line*

95 yy$_2$ 3''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 1 [ÉN *ner-ti-ia ka*]*š-šap-ti-ia* ⌜*ku*⌝-[ ]
f obv. 11' [*ku*]-⌜*šá-pa*⌝-*ti-*⌜*ia*⌝

f *Breaks off*

96 yy$_2$ 3''b *šu-qu-ki* ⌜*šá*⌝ A[N]
G$_1$ iii 2 [A]N-*e šu-pul-ki* ⌜*šá*⌝ [*qaq-qa-ri*]

97 yy$_2$ 4''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 3 [x x x x] ⌜x⌝ kur-*ki šá* SU.B[IR$_4$.KI]

98 yy$_2$ 4''b [ ] ⌜ki⌝ *u šá p*[*i-*]
G$_1$ iii 4 [x x x x x] *šá p*[*i*-x]

99 yy$_2$ 5''a [-*k*]*i šá* AN-*e* →
G$_1$ iii 5 [x x x x]⌜x⌝ ḫar-*ki šu-qu-*⌜*ki*⌝ *šá* A[N-*e*]

100 yy$_2$ 5''b *šu-pul-k*[*i*]
G$_1$ iii 6 [-*k*]*i šá qaq-qa-*[*ri*]

101 yy$_2$ 6''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 7 ⌜x⌝[x x x x x]-⌜*ki*⌝ *šá* SU.BI[R$_4$.KI]

102 yy$_2$ 6''b [ ]⌜x⌝-*ki*? *šá* ud-⌜x⌝[x (x)]
G$_1$ iii 8 *ma*-[x x x x] *šá* [x x x]
d iii 1'a [ ] →

103 yy$_2$ 7''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 9 *a-na*[*p*]-⌜*pa-su*⌝-*nu-ti* ⌜x⌝[x x x (x)]
d iii 1'b-2'a ⌜*a-nap-pa-as*⌝-*s*[*u-*] 2' [ ] →

104 yy$_2$ 7''b *a-sa-ma-ak-šú-nu-t*[*i*]
G$_1$ iii 10 *a*-[*s*]*a-am-ma-ak-šú-nu-ti k*[*i*(-)x x x (x)]
d iii 2'b [ ] →

105 yy$_2$ 8''a [BIL.G]I *qa-mì-i* →
G$_1$ iii 11 ⌜*a*⌝-*šak-kan-šú-nu-ti ana pi-i* ⌜d⌝[ ]
d iii 2'c-3'a ⌜*a*⌝-*šak-kan-šu-n*[*u-*] 3' [ ] →

106 yy$_2$ 8''b-9'' *qa-*⌜*li-i*⌝ *k*[*a-*] 9'' [*-d*]*u šá* munus U[Š$_{11}$.]
G$_1$ iii 12 ⌜*qa*⌝-*li-i ka-si-i k*[*a-*] \ *šá* munus UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MEŠ T[U$_6$ ÉN]
d iii 3'b [*ka-ši-d*]*u šá kaš-šap-a-*[*ti*]

yy$_2$, G$_1$, d *Dividing line*

107 yy$_2$ 10''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 14 ÉN *šá* dUTU-*ši man-nu* AD-*šú m*[*an-nu* AMA-*šú*]
d iii 4'a [ ]

108 yy$_2$ 10''b [*man*]-⌜*nu*⌝ NIN-*su-m*[*a š*]*u-*⌜*ú da*⌝-[ ]
G$_1$ iii 15 *man-nu a-ḫat-su-ma š*[*u-*]
d iii 4'b [*š*]*u-ú da-a-*⌜*a*⌝-[*nu*]

109 yy$_2$ 11''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 16 *šá* dU[TU-*š*]*i* d30 ⌜AD⌝-*š*[*ú*]
d iii 5'a [ ] →
y iii 1' [dNI]N.GAL ⌜AMA⌝-[*šú*]

110 yy$_2$ 11''b ⌜d⌝TIR.AN.NA [NI]N-⌜*su-ma šu*⌝-*ú* [ ]
G$_1$ iii 17 dTI[R.]
d iii 5'b [.N]A NIN-*su-ma šu-*[ ]
y iii 2' [ ]⌜x⌝ *u šu-ú da-a-a-*[*nu*]

111 yy$_2$ 12''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 18 dUTU *k*[*iš-pi ú-ḫal-laq*]
EE iii 1' dU[TU]
d iii 6'a [ ] →
y iii 3' [*r*]*u-ḫe-e ú-pa-áš-*[*šar*]

112 yy$_2$ 12''b [dT]IR.AN.NA ⌜*ú*⌝-*ḫap-pe* KEŠDA.M[EŠ]
G$_1$ iii 19 *ù š*[*i-*]
EE iii 2' *ù* ⌜*ši-i* d⌝T[IR?.]
d iii 6'b [.N]A *ú-ḫap-pe r*[*ik-*]
y iii 4' [ ].NA *ú-ḫap-pe rik-*[*si*]

113 yy$_2$ 13''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 20 *kiš-pi* [ ]
EE iii 3' *kiš-pi ú-ḫal-la*[*q*]
d iii 7'a [ ]
y iii 5' [*-la*]*q*$^{?}$ *ru-ḫe-e ú-pa-á*[*š-šar*]

114 yy$_2$ 13''b [*-t*]*ú a-mat* ḪUL-*tú ú-šá-bi*[*l*]
G$_1$ iii 21 *ip-šú b*[*ar-*] \ ⌜*ú*⌝-[(?)]
EE iii 4' *ip-šú bar-t*[*um*] \ *ú*-[(?)]
d iii 7'b [INI]M ḪUL-*tì ú-š*[*ab-*]
y iii 6' [Ḫ]UL-*tì ú-šá-ab-bal* {*ana*} IM ⌜*te*⌝ É[N]

yy$_2$, G$_1$, EE, d, y *Dividing line*

115 yy$_2$ 14''a [ ] →
G$_1$ iii 22 ⌜ÉN⌝ [ ]
EE iii 5' ÉN *ip-pu-šá-*[*ni*]
d iii 8'a [ ] →
y iii 7' [*-n*]*i i-te-né-ep-pu-šá-n*[*i*]

G$_1$ *Breaks off*

116 yy$_2$ 14''b [ ]⌜x *ḫa*⌝*-bi-gal-bat-*⌜*a*⌝*-t*[*ú*$^{?}$]
P iii 1' [ ] *e-la-m*[*a-*] \ [*-b*]*i-gal-bat-a-t*[*ú*]
EE iii 6' *gu-ti-e-ti* ⌜*e*⌝-[ ]
d iii 8'b-9'[*-t*]*i*$^{?}$ ⌜*e*⌝*-la-*[ ] $^{9'}$ [ ]
y iii 8' [*e*]*-la-ma-a-tum ḫa-bi-gal-bat-a-t*[u_4]

117 yy$_2$ 15''a [ ] →
P iii 2' [*-r*]*a*[*t* KU]R *i-rak-ka-sa-a-ni rik-si*
EE iii 7' *ma-rat* KUR *i-r*[*ak-*]
d iii 9' [*-r*]*ak-ka-s*[*a-*] *r*[*ik-*]
y iii 9' [ ] ⌜*i*⌝*-rak-ka-sa-ni rik-*⌜*su*⌝

118 yy$_2$ 15''b [ ]⌜x⌝ *p*[*iṭ*$^{?}$]-⌜*ru*$^{?}$⌝-[ ]
P iii 3' 6 KEŠDA-*ši-na* 7 *piṭ-ru-ú-a*
EE iii 8' ⌜6⌝ [K]EŠDA-*ši-n*[*a*]
d iii 10' [ ] →
y iii 10' [ ] 7 *pa-ṭi-ru-ú-a*

yy$_2$ *Breaks off*

Translation

Ms yy$_1$ *obverse*

1' [You have handed me over] to the open country, the [cou]nt[ryside and the steppe, ...],
2' [you have handed me over] to the divine mistress of the steppe and the open count[ry, ...],
3' you have handed figurines of me (i.e., my images) over to a dead man : [you have betrothed] figurines of me [to a dead man],
4' <you> have laid figurines of me down with a dead man : [you have laid] figurines of me [in the lap of a dead man],
5' you have buried figurines of me in the gra[v]e of a dead man [: ...],
6' you have sealed up figurines of me *in*$^{!}$ a wall : [you have laid] figurines of m[e under a threshold],
7' you have sealed up figurines of me <in> a drainage opening of a wall [: ...],
8' you have opened a hole in a reed mat of a fuller (and therein) [buried] figurines of me,
9' you have opened a [ho]le in a gardener's irrigation channel (and therein) [buried] figurines of me,
10' [figurines of m]e, whet[her o]f tamarisk, or of cedar, o[r of tallow],
11' [or of wax, or of sesame pomace, or of bitu]men, or of [clay, or of dough],
12' [figurines, representations of m]y$^{?}$ [face and m]y [f]orm [you have made and]
13' [you have fed (them) to dog(s), fed (them) to pig(s)], yo[u have fed (them) to] bird(s), [you have cast (them) into a river].
14' You have hand[ed over] figurines of me to L[am]a[št]u, [daughter of] Anu, [...],
15' you have laid figurines of me down with a dead man : [you have laid my] water [in the lap of a dead man],
16' you have buried my water in the grave of a dead man : [you have buried my water] in [...(?) of the netherworld],
17' you have buri[e]d my water in the middle of the netherworld, [(:) ...],
18' you have given a ration to Gilgameš : [...],
19' *zikurudâ*-magic in the presence of the moon (*Sîn*), *zikur*[*udâ*-magic in the presence of Jupiter (*Šulpae'a*)],
20' *zikurudâ*-magic in the presence of Cygn[us (*Nimru*), ...],
21' *zikurudâ*-magic in the presence of Ursa Ma[jor (*Ereqqu*), ...],
22' *zikurudâ*-magic in <the presence> of Ori[on (*Šitaddaru*), ...],
23' *zikurudâ*-magic by means of a s[nak]e, a mon[goose, a *perurūtu*-mouse],
24' *zikurudâ*-magic by means of ced[ar wood, ... *of spittle*].
25' [You have fed me] bread, fo[o]d, (and) fruit,
26' you have given [me] water, milk, beer, (and) win[e] to drink, [...],
27' you have salved me with oil, [you have sent me] g[ifts].
28' [You have caused me to be in bad repute] before courtier, attenda[nt, and the palace gate],
29' y[ou have caused me to be in bad repute] before god, king, noble, (and) prince,
30' [you have caused to be in bad repute] before father, mother, brother, sister, wif[e, son, (and) daughter],
31' [you have made me sickening] to the one who beholds me.
32' [...]

(*The manuscript breaks off*)

Ms yy$_2$ reverse

1''-2'' [...]

3'' [Incantation: My murderess, my witch, my sorceress]. Your height is that of the hea[vens, your depth is that of the netherworld],

4'' [... is that of Subartu ...], and that of [...],

5'' [... yo]ur [height] is that of the heavens, yo[ur] depth [is that of the netherworld],

6'' [... your ... is that of Subartu], your[?] [...] is that of [...].

7'' [I am smashing them like ...], I am driving the[m] away *li*[*ke*[?] ...]

8''-9'' [I am placing them in the mouth of Gir]ra, the burner, the scorcher, the b[inder, [9''] the vanquish]er of wi[tches].

10'' [Incantation: Of the Sun, who is his father, who is his mother, wh]o is his sister? [H]e is the ju[dge].

11'' [Of the sun, Sîn is his father, Nikkal is his mother], Manzât is his [sist]er – He [is the judge].

12'' [Šamaš destroys the witchcraft, releases the spittle, and she, M]anzât, breaks the bonds.

13'' [(So) I destroy the witchcraft, I release the spittle], I have caused [the wind] to carr[y off sorcery, rebellio]n, (and) evil word.

14'' [Incantation: They perform sorcery against me, they keep on performing sorcery against me. The Gutean women, the Elamite women], the Hanigalbatean wom[en],

15'' [the daughters of the land are securing bindings against me. Six are their bindings, seven are my un]doi[ngs].

(*The manuscript breaks off*)

Commentary

Ms yy$_1$ obv. 2': It is unclear if the scribe forgot the divine determinative for the goddess Bēlet-ṣēri or purposefully omitted it. On omitting divine determinatives, see, e.g., Nissinen and Parpola 2004: 201–202.

4': Both here and in an instance below (yy$_1$ obv. 5'), the scribe did not write a lú-determinative for the dead man.

The scribe seems to have forgotten the expected <*tu*> of <*tu*>-*uš-ni-*⌜*la*⌝. Presumably, the scribe made a mistake here, as in several other lines (e.g., ms yy$_1$ obv. 15').

6': The line in ms yy$_1$ provides KI (*itti*) instead of the expected *ina* in mss G$_1$ and dd. Whether this should be interpreted as an awkward reading, such as "place (*ašru*) of the wall", or a mistaken preposition is unclear, although the latter is preferred here.

7': The scribe seems to have forgotten the expected preposition <*ina*>. In general, this scribe often forgets single wedge signs.

For *bī'u* as "drainage opening" or "sewage opening" in connection to ritual figurines, see CAD B: 297; CMAwR 1: 156, 285, 345; Arbøll 2019: 21.

8'-9': Ms yy$_1$ provides the new variant writing BAD-[*a*] for *tap-ta-a* in mss G$_1$ i 19'-20', V$_3$ i 5'-6', **m** v 7', and dd obv. 6'.

10': There seems to be room in the break for *šá* before the determinative ^{giš}.

Regarding the preserved *lu* in this line, it looks like a winkelhagen (*u*) has been written into the final vertical wedge. However, this may simply be a break.

12': There is almost no room in the second break, but [*u*] is expected, based on parallel passages.

13': Abusch (2016: 117) reads [U]R.G[I_7] in the duplicate ms G_1 i 25', but I can only see the final stroke of GI_7 on the photograph on CDLI.

15': The scribe of ms yy_1 has likely made a mistake, writing NU.MEŠ.MU instead of A.MEŠ-*ia*, as in ms G_1 i 29'.

16': An unnecessary {*ina*} was erroneously added by the scribe at the beginning of the line. The sign has been disregarded in the translation above.

The scribe chose the writing *-e-a* of the first person singular pronominal suffix. A similar writing is attested in other manuscripts of *Maqlû*, e.g., Schwemer 2017: 72.

It is unclear how the preserved passages in the various mss relate to one another in *Maqlû* IV line 47. My translation tries to accommodate the preserved words, but it is unclear if obv. 16' in ms yy_1 was identical to the preserved lines in the duplicate mss.

17': This line adds the new specification that the water of the patient had been buried "in the middle of the netherworld" (*ina* $MURUB_4$).

18': Ms yy_1 now clarifies that a ration ($KURUM_6$) was provided for Gilgamesh in this line. None of the available manuscripts that preserve parts of this passage preserve the beginning of the line. However, note that ms **m** v 22' does have remains of signs, which suggest that the simple writing $KURUM_6$ was not the sole sign before *ana* ^{d}*Gilgameš*. It is possible that this manuscript contained a phonetic rendering.

19'-24': In these lines, the scribe persistently produced the same mistake, spelling *zikurudû* as $ZI.RU.KU_5$.DA. The scribe seemingly misunderstood the Sumerogram, perhaps thinking of the rarely abbreviated form ZI.KUD.DA (e.g., Maul 1994: 183 line 14). Alternatively, the scribe may have made a slightly more meaningful mistake, if he intended to reference *zīru* "hate magic" in the spelling *zi-ru*. However, this type of magic is ordinarily spelled ḪUL.GIG.

20'-21': It is unclear if the broken part of ms yy_1 20' contained *Maqlû* IV line 55 or 56, but one of these must have been omitted from the present manuscript.

22': The scribe forgot an <IGI>, which is attested in all other mss.

24': Ms yy_1 shows that line 62 in *Maqlû* IV must read *ša* ^{giš}ER[IN], which the traces in ms **m** v 31' confirm, based on Schwemer's copy (see Abusch and Schwemer 2009: 58–59). These traces in ms **m** were previously read *šá* ⌜*pa*$^{?}$-*ag*$^{?}$-*ri*$^{?}$ x⌝. The reading here is therefore entirely new.

For a possible reading of the second half of this line, see comments in Abusch 2016: 119 note 22.

24'-25': The scribe diverges from the pattern of writing two lines of *Maqlû* onto a single line. Instead, he only writes the equivalent of one line of *Maqlû* IV, where the preceding and following lines contain two separate lines, as in other mss.

25': The duplicate manuscripts P ii 12' and y ii 16' preserve GURUN, although this cannot be the case in ms yy_1. A possible reconstruction of the visible SA-SA might be a mistakenly written form of the much rarer <NÍG>.SA.SA.[ḪI.A] for *mutḫummu*, a word for "fruit". The CAD (M/2: 298) shows that the word was considered a synonym to *inbu* in at least one instance.

27': It is unclear if the line begins with a number of vertical and oblique wedges or if the tablet is damaged. The sign *ina* is expected, though the tablet appears to have a smaller NI inscribed. This issue cannot be resolved at present.

There is an upper wedge above the second sign, which cannot be accounted for. It has been ignored in the edition, although it is featured on my copy.

28': It is unclear if yy_1 obv. 28' also held line 70 of *Maqlû* VI, or if the line may have been skipped.

28'-29': Ms yy_1 has *Maqlû* IV 68 as obv. 29' and 69–70 as obv. 28'. Such a minor diversion from the standardised version is also found in other mss, e.g., the Babylonian Nineveh ms d col. ii 1'-6' (= *Maqlû* IV lines 69, 72, 71, 70, 68, 73).

28'-30': Although ms yy_1 does not preserve the verbal form *tušaškinā'inni*, other manuscripts of *Maqlû* IV show it should be reconstructed. My translation of this verbal form differs slightly from Abusch (2016: 321) and I follow CAD Š: 154.

30'-31': Here ms yy_1 skips line 72 of *Maqlû* IV.

31': Unclear if the line incorporated line 74 as well.

Ms yy_2 rev. 3'': For the reconstruction of the line in ms G_1 iii 2, see Abusch 2016: 122 note 40.

3''-4'': It is unclear if there was a dividing line after these two lines as between 2''-3''. It might be a supporting line (see ms yy_2 rev. 5''-6''), as the scribe(s) copying the Hamath manuscripts of *Maqlû* IV (Text 6) and VI (Text 7) inscribed very clear horizontal supporting lines. Occasionally, as in this case, some of these seem to demarcate introductory lines of incantations (cf. Text 7 ms xx_3 obv. 4''-5'').

5'': Abusch's suggested reconstruction at the beginning of ms G_1 iii 6 is now confirmed by ms yy_2 (see Abusch 2016: 122 note 43).

6'': The final visible sign, /ud/, may have been intended as a /pi/ with the final horizontal wedge missing, similar to the poorly preserved duplicate passage in ms G_1 iii 4.

7'': I follow Abusch's translation of the verbal form *asammakšunūti* (Abusch 2016: 322), although the exact nuance is unclear from the examples offered by the CAD (S: 109–110), AHw (1017) and CDA (314).

8'': Ms yy_2 confirms Abusch's reasonable and informed reconstruction "the burner" *qāmî*, stated in relation to Girra (Abusch 2016: 322).

10'': The *ma* in NIN-*su*-[*ma*] likely had dirt in the sign, as is the case with several other signs on the photograph, but water may have smoothed the surface at some point and formally removed the sign.

11'': There may be traces of the [NIN], although it is unclear (see above in yy_2 rev. 10'').

12'': Ms yy_2 produces the variant writing KEŠDA.M[EŠ] instead of ms d iii 6' and y iii 4' *rik*-[*si*].

13'': Ms yy_2 has a phonetic writing of the INIM in ms d iii 7', namely *a-mat*.

Additionally, ms yy_2 appears to end in a preperite verbal form *ú-šá-bi*[*l*] instead of ms y iii 6': *ú-šá-ab-bal* and the partly preserved *ú-š*[*ab-*...] in ms d iii 7'.

14'': The remains before ⌜*ḫa*⌝-*bi-gal-bat*-⌜*a*⌝-[*tú*(?)] must be the end of the expected *e-la-ma-a-tum*. Sadly, the remains in ms yy_2 are unclear at this point.

No. 7: Maqlû Tablet VI

Fragments of a larger tablet in Babylonian script, partly blackened by fire. Only the obverse is preserved, except for a few signs on the reverse. The manuscript is a duplicate of *Maqlû* Tablet VI (Schwemer 2017: 38–39; Abusch 2016: 149–162). It is single-columned, and, as Text 6, appears to have had long lines that often span two individual lines of *Maqlû* VI in other mss (see below). Several visible and distinctive horizontal lines, spanning the entire width of the tablet, do not appear to have demarcated individual incantations. Instead, they may have functioned as supporting lines for the scribe, who failed to properly incorporate the signs written onto the supporting line with the actual stroke.

The relevant lines are duplicated almost exclusively in NA manuscripts from Nineveh. The text seems to share some features with *Maqlû* VI manuscript **m** (A 7876). Schwemer (2017: 53) states that nothing is known about this tablet, although it appears to have been written by an Assyrian scribe in the Sargonid period

outside of Assurbanipal's scriptoriums. The text once contained all nine tablets of *Maqlû* (see Abusch and Schwemer 2009). To incorporate Text 7 into current analyses of *Maqlû*, it is here given the siglum xx, and the edition below centres on the new fragments from Hamath.[147]

The various fragments of *Maqlû* VI ms xx are edited as ms xx_1 (= 6A350a+b), xx_2 (= 7A626), xx_3 (= 6A335) and xx_4 (= 6A350c). Only ms xx_2 has a preserved obverse and a reverse; the other mss are only preserved on a single surface. Ms xx_1 is parallel to *Maqlû* VI 1–8, the obverse of ms xx_2 runs parallel to *Maqlû* VI 32–59, ms xx_3 preserves *Maqlû* VI 92–116 and the reverse of ms xx_2 likely contains *Maqlû* VI 151–155. Furthermore, as the excavators catalogued ms xx_4 together with ms xx_1, it may also belong to the Hamath manuscript of *Maqlû* VI, although the exact passage remains uncertain. It is possible that it was part of the colophon or comes from the middle of the tablet. Ms xx_3 is particularly important, because it demonstrates that the hypothesised gap in *Maqlû* VI line 113' between lines 112 and 114'' does not exist. Instead, line 114'' (= ms F_1 iii 1') is the first line of the incantation following line 112. Thus, the line count from 114'' onwards should be lowered by one (cf. Abusch 2016: 160), and it should no longer be regarded as uncertain in terms of missing lines in between.

Finally, a word on my proposed reconstruction of the original tablet is in order. While the main preserved parts of ms xx_1 and xx_2 are clearly the obverse of the tablet, it is less certain whether ms xx_3 should be reconstructed at the end of the obverse or the upper part of the reverse. However, collation of the final fragmentary line of the manuscript shows slight curvature of the lower edge, suggesting that the fragment was part of the lower part of the obverse.

Museum no.: 6A335(+)6A350(+)7A626
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III,
N16, Room A no. 5 (6A335),
N16/N17/O16/O17(?), Room B-D (6A350/I+II),
N16/N17(?), Room A-B (7A626)
Length / Width / Thickness: 6A335: 60 / 61 / 17 mm
6A350/I: 42 / 17 / 11 mm
6A350/II: 20 / 16 / 6 mm
7A626: 53 / 39 / 21 mm
CDLI no.: P525394
Photograph / Copy: pp. 208–215
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 190–191 (discussion)

147. In a letter from O.E. Ravn to J.P.E. Pedersen dated 28th May 1937, Ravn suggested that the terminology in 7A626 was known from texts concerning witchcraft, such as *Maqlû*. However, this observation was never noted in any publications, and the letter was only rediscovered after I had identified and edited the fragments of Text 7.

Transliteration

Sigla	Museum no.	Provenience	Columns
xx	= 6A335(+)6A350(+)7A626	Ḥamā (Building III)	1
xx_1	= 6A350/I+II	(Bab.)	
xx_2	= 7A626		
xx_3	= 6A335		
xx_4	= 6A350 (c)		
E	= K 2391	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
F	= K 2420+2446(+)2595+2978+2982	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
F_1	= K 2420+2446		
F_2	= K 2595+2978+2982		
X	= K 5254+17013(+)6979+13241(+) 8060(+)12912(+)12925+15978(+) 13322(+) 13349	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
X_1	= K 5254+17013		
X_3	= K 8060		
X_4	= K 12912		
X_6	= K 13322		
X_7	= K 13349		
PP			
PP_2	= Bu 89–4–26, 127	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
EEE	= K 19907	Nineveh (Ass.)	2(?)
b	= K 3665(+)13264	Nineveh (Bab.)	1
b_1	= K 3665		
b_2	= K 13264		
m	= A 7876	Assyria (non-Nin.)	6
PP	= K 15032(+)Bu 89–4–26, 127	Nineveh (Ass.)	2
PP_1	= K 15032		
A single line is preserved in a duplicate of the Ritual Tablet line 112':			
D	= K 2385+3331+3584+3645+7274 7586+8033+11603	Nineveh (Ass.)	2

Ms xx obverse

1 xx_1 1 ⌜ÉN⌝ $^{d+}$EN.LÍL SAG.⌜DU⌝.MU [ ]
E i 1 ÉN $^{d+}$EN.LÍL SAG.DU.MU *pa-nu-u-a* ⌜u_4⌝-[*mu*]
X_1 i 1 ÉN $^{d+}$EN.LÍL SA[G].D[U. *p*]*a-nu-u-a* u_4-*mu*

2 xx_1 2a ⌜^{d}⌝*uraš* DINGIR *gít-ma-*⌜*lu*$_4$⌝ *la-mas-sat pa-n*[*i-ia*] →
E i 2 ^{d}*uraš* DINGIR *gít-ma-lu la-mas-sat pa-n*[*i-ia*]
X_1 i 2 ^{d}*uraš* ⌜DINGIR *gít-ma*⌝*-lu* ⌜*la*⌝*-mas-sat pa-ni-ia*

3 xx_1 2b [ ]
E i 3 GÚ.MU *ul-lu* *šá* ^{d}*g*[*u*]-*l*[*a*]
X_1 i 3 GÚ.M[U *u*]*l*$^{?}$-*l*[*u*] *šá* ^{d}*gu-l*[*a*]

4 xx_1 3a Á^{II}-*a-a* *gam-lu* *šá* ^{r}d^{1}30 ^{d}MAR.TU →
E i 4 Á.MEŠ-*a-a* ^{d}*gam-lum šá* ^{d}30 ^{d}MAR.T[U]
X_1 i 4 Á.M[EŠ-] ^{r}d^{1}M[AR].T[U$^{?}$]

5 xx_1 3b [ ]
E i 5 ŠU.SI.MEŠ-*ú-a* GIŠ.ŠINIG GÌR.PAD.DU DINGIR-*ú-t*[*i*]
X_1 i 5 ŠU.SI.M[EŠ]

6 xx_1 4a [*l*]*a ú-šá-sa-ni-qa ru-ḫe-e* <*ana*> *z*[*u-*] →
E i 6 *la ú-šá-as-na-qa ru-ḫe-e a-na zu-um-r*[*i-ia*]
X_1 i 6 *la ú-*^{r}*šá*^{1}*-a*[*s-*]

7 xx_1 4b [ ]
E i 7 ^{d}*lugal-edin-na* ^{d}*la-ta-rak* GABA.M[U]
X_1 i 7 ^{d}*lugal-ed*[*in-*]

8 xx_1 5 [*ki*]*n*$^{?}$*-ṣa-a-a* ^{d}^{r}*mu*^{1}*-u*[*ḫ*$^{?}$*-r*]*a*$^{?}$ G[ÌR$^{II?}$*-a-a*]
E i 8 *kin-ṣa-a-a* ^{d}*mu-úḫ-ra* GÌR^{II}*-a-a šá* LAḪ$_4$*-k*[*a*] \ *ka-li-ši-na* ^{udu}*làḫ-r*[*i*]
X_1 i 8 *kin-ṣa-a-a* ^{d}*m*[*u-*] \ *ka-li-š*[*i-*]

xx_1 *Break of approximately 12 lines*

32 xx_2 1'a [*ki-m*]*a* ^{r}*si*^{1}-[*ri*] →
F_2 i 8' *k*[*i-ma si-r*]*i* É.GAR$_8$ *liš-ḫu-ḫu kiš-pu-šá*
b_2 i 4' [ ] *kiš-pu-šá*
PP_1 i 6'[-*ḫ*]*u kiš-pu-šá*

33 xx_2 1'b [ ]
F_2 i 9' *š*[*á* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.M]U *lip-pa-ṭir* KEŠDA ŠÀ-*bi-šá*
b_2 i 5' [ ] ŠÀ-*bi-šá*
PP_1 i 7' [KE]ŠDA ŠÀ-*bi-šá*

xx_2, F_2, b_2, PP_1 *Dividing line*

34 xx_2 2'a ÉN ^{šim}GÚR.GÚR-*ma* [^{š}]^{i}[^{m}]→
F_2 i 10' ÉN ^{š}[^{im}GÚR].GÚR-*ma* ^{šim}GÚR.GÚR
b_2 i 6'a [ ] →
PP_1 i 8' [^{š}]^{im}GÚR.GÚR

35 xx_2 2'b [ ]
F_2 i 11' ^{šim}⌜GÚR.GÚR⌝ [x (x)]⌜x⌝ KUR.MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ *qud-du-šu-ti*
b_2 i 6'b [.ME]Š KÙ.MEŠ *qud-du-šu-tú*
PP_1 i 9' [.ME]Š *qud-du-šu-ti*

36 xx_2 3'a TUR.MEŠ *ter-ḫi šá e-né-*⌜*e*⌝-[*ti*] →
F_2 i 12' TUR.MEŠ ⌜*ter*⌝-*ḫi šá e-né-ti*
b_2 i 7' [NIN].DINGIR.RA.⌜MEŠ⌝
PP_1 i 10' [ ] ⌜*e*⌝-*né-ti*

37 xx_2 3'b [ ]
F_2 i 13' TUR.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠE.Ù.S[U]Ḫ$_5$.MEŠ *šá qa-aš-da-a-ti*
b_2 i 8' [*-á*]*š-*⌜*da-a*⌝-*t*[*i*]
PP_1 i 11' [*-d*]*a-a-ti*

b_2 *Break*

38 xx_2 4' *al-ka-nim-ma šá* UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.M[U]
F_2 i 14' *al-ka-nim-ma šá* ^{lú}U[Š]$_{11}$.ZU.MU *u* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MU \ *dan-nu* GAZ-*a* KEŠDA-*sa*
PP_1 i 12' [.Z]U.MU *u* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MU \(?) [ ] ⌜KEŠDA⌝-*sa*

PP_1 *Break*

39 xx_2 5' *u mim-ma ma-la ip-pu-šu n*[*u-tir*]
F_2 i 15' [*m*]*im-ma ma-la te-pu-šá nu-tir a-na* IM

xx_2, F_2 *Dividing line*

40 xx_2 6'a ÉN *e* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MU *e-l*[*e-*] →
F_2 i 16' [^{mu}]^{nus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MU ⌜*e*⌝-*le-ni-ti-ia*$_5$
X_3 i 1' ⌜ÉN⌝ [ ]

41 xx_2 6'b [ ]
F_2 i 17' [ ] ⌜*la*⌝ *taš-ku-ni tu-qu-un-tu*
X_3 i 2' ⌜*a*⌝-*bu* ⌜*la*⌝ *t*[*aš-*]

42 xx_2 7'a *am-me-ni ina* É-*ki i-qat-tu*[*r*] →
F_2 i 18' [ ] *ina* É-*ki i-qat-t*[*u*]*r qut-ru*
X_3 i 3' *am-me-ni ina* É-[ ]

43 xx_2 7'b [ ]
F_2 i 19' [*-ki*]*m*$^{?}$-*m*[*a*$^{?}$ (^{šim}GÚR.GÚR Ú?)] ⌜BÚR$^{?}$-*ti*$^{?}$⌝
X_3 i 4' *a-šap-pa-rak-kim-m*[*a*]

44 xx_2 8' *ú-sap-pa-ḫu kiš-pi-ki* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*tar*ˀ]
F_2 i 20' [ ]-⌜*ki*⌝
X_3 i 5' ⌜*a*⌝-[*s*]*ap-paḫ kiš-pi-ki* ⌜*ú*⌝-*t*[*ar* (INIM.MEŠ-*ki ana* KA-*ki*)]

F_2 *Break* (= *end of column?*)

X_3 *Dividing line*

45 xx_2 9'a *la-am* ^{d}*Nin-gír-su i-na* KU[R] →
F_1 ii 1 [ ]-*su ina* KUR *il-su-u* ^{d}*A-la-la*
X_4 ii 1 [ÉN] ⌜*la*⌝-*am* ^{d}*Nin-gír-su ina* KUR *il-su-u* ⌜^{d}⌝[ ]

46 xx_2 9'b [ ]
F_1 ii 2 [-*l*]*u*ˀ-*u a-na na-kás* ^{giš}ŠINIG
X_4 ii 2 [*la-am* G]URUŠ *i-lu-u* *{na}* *ana na-kás* ^{g}[^{iš}]

47 xx_2 10' [*a*]*t-ti-man-nu* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU *šá ana* NENN[I]
F_1 ii 3 [.Z]U *šá ana* NENNI A NENNI *tu-kap-pa-ti* NA$_4$.MEŠ
X_4 ii 3 [*at-ti-man-n*]*u* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU *šá ana* NENNI A NENNI *tu-*[ ]

48 xx_2 11'a *tuš-te-ni-*ʾ*e-e* ḪUL-*tim* →
F_1 ii 4 [ ]-⌜*e*⌝ *le-mut-ta*
X_4 ii 4]-⌜ʾ*e*⌝-*e le-m*[*ut-*]

49 xx_2 11'b *a-z*[*i*ˀ-]
F_1 ii 5 [*a-zi-qa-kim-m*]*a* GIM IM.SI.SÁ IM.MAR.TU
X_4 ii 5 [ ] ⌜IM⌝.SI.SÁ I[M.]

50 xx_2 12'a *ú-sap-paḫ* IM.DIRI-*ki* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*ḫal-laq*] →
F_1 ii 6 [IM].DIRI-*ki ú-ḫal-laq u*$_4$*-um-ki*
X_4 ii 6 [-*k*]*i ú-ḫal-*⌜*laq*⌝ [ ]

51 xx_2 12'b [ ]
F_1 ii 7 [*ù mim-ma ma-la*] *te-pu-ši ú-tar a-na* IM
X_4 ii 7 [-*š*]*i ú-ta*[*r*]

xx_2, F_1, X_4 *Dividing line*

52 xx_2 13'a ÉN *un-du* ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU *ú-ka*[*š-*] →
F_1 ii 8 [ ] ^{munus}UŠ$_{11}$.ZU *ú-kaš-šip-an-ni*
X_4 ii 8 [ ].Z[U]

X_4 *Break*

53 xx_2 13'b [ ]
F_1 ii 9 [*raḫ-ḫa-t*]*um ú-re-eḫ-ḫa-an-ni*
X_6 ii 1' [ ]-⌜*re-eḫ-ḫa*⌝-[ ]

54 xx_2 14'a ⌜DÙ[!?]-*pí-iš*⌝-*tu iš-bu-*⌜*šu*⌝ SA[ḪAR].Ḫ[I.A] →
F_1 ii 10 [-*t*]*um iš-bu-šu* SAḪAR.ḪI.A GÌR[II]-⌜*ia*⌝
X_6 ii 2' [SAḪA]R.ḪI.A GÌR[II]-⌜*ia*⌝

55 xx_2 14'b [ ]
F_1 ii 11 [*muš-te-pis*(?)-*t*]*um il-qu-ú* GIŠ.MI *ina* É.G[AR_8]
X_6 ii 3' [GI]Š.MI *ina* É.GAR_8

56 xx_2 15'a [d]MÚŠ EN ÉRIN.MEŠ ⌜d⌝[ ] →
F_1 ii 12 [E]N ÉRIN.ḪI.A [d]*É-a* EN NAM.[MEŠ]
X_6 ii 4' [ ]-*a* EN NAM.MEŠ

57 xx_2 15'b [ ]
F_1 ii 13 [d*Asal-lú-ḫ*]*i* EN *a-ši-pu*-[ ]
X_6 ii 5' [ ] ⌜*a*⌝-*ši-pu-ti*

58 xx_2 16'a [x]⌜x TE-*sa*⌝ *t*[*ir*?-] →
F_1 ii 14 [ ] TE-*sa tir-ra* INIM-*sa ana* K[A-]
X_6 ii 6' [-*s*]*a ana* KA-*šá*

59 xx_2 16'b [ ]
F_1 ii 15 [*e-pi*]*š-tum ù muš-te-piš*-[*tum*]
X_6 ii 7' [ ]-*piš-tum*

xx_2 *Break of approximately 17 lines*

92 xx_3 1''a [ ] →
F_2 ii 5' GIM Ú.IN.NU.UŠ *ina ú-šal-li*
m vii 25'a ⌜GIM Ú⌝.IN_6.ÚŠ *ina* ⌜*ú-šal*⌝-*li* →

93 xx_3 1''b [[ú]K]I.KAL *ina a-ḫ*[*i*]
F_2 ii 6' GIM Ú.KI.KAL *ina a-ḫi a-tap-pi*
m vii 25'b GIM Ú.KI.KAL *ina a-*⌜*ḫi*⌝ *a-*[*t*]*ap-p*[*i*]

F_2 *End of column*

94 xx_3 2''a [ ] →
F_2 iii 1 GIM NUMUN GIŠ.ESI *ina a-ḫi tam-tim*
m vii 26'a ⌜GIM⌝ NUMUN GIŠ.⌜ESI *ina a-ḫi*⌝ [*t*]*am-tim* →

95 xx_3 2'' b [^{d}KASKA]L.KUR *šá ba-l*[*i-ḫe-e* (x x x)]
F_2 iii 2 *e šá* ^{d}KASKAL.KUR-*e* ⌜*e*⌝ *šá* ^{d}KASKAL.KUR-*e*
m vii 26'b *šá* ^{d}KASKAL.KUR *šá ba-li-ḫ*[*e*]-⌜*e*?⌝

96 xx_3 3'' a [ ] →
F_2 iii 3 *nar-qa-ni a-na qaq-qa-ri*
m vii 27'a ⌜*nar-qa ana qaq*⌝-*qar* →

97 xx_3 3'' b [*tu*]-*na-sis-a-ni qi*[*m-mat-ku-nu*]
F_2 iii 4 *šá tu-na-sis-a-ni qim-mat-ku-nu ia-a-ši*
m vii 27'b *šá tú-na-si-sa-ni qim-mat-ku-nu* [ ]

xx_3, **m** *Dividing line*

98 xx_3 4'' [*p*]*a-**{*da*}**-da-*[ ]
F_2 iii 5 ^{d}ÍD SAG.DU.MU KI.A.⌜^{d}⌝ÍD *pa-da-at-ti*
EEE iii 1' [ ].⌜A⌝.⌜^{d}⌝Í[D]
m vii 28' ÉN ⌜^{d}⌝[Í]D S[A]G.DU.MU KI.A.⌜^{d}⌝[Í]D ⌜*pa*⌝-*d*[*a-*]

99 xx_3 5'' [ZU]-*ú qé-reb-*[ ]
F_2 iii 6 GÌR^{II}-*a-a na-a-ru šá mam-ma* [N]U ⌜ZU⌝-*ú qé-reb-*[*šá*]
EEE iii 2'[-*m*]*a* NU Z[U-]
m vii 29' ⌜GÌR^{II}-*a-a na-a*!*-ri*⌝ *šá mám-ma la* ZU-*u* ⌜*qé*⌝-*re*[*b-*]

100 xx_3 6'' [ ] *tam-tim* DAGAL-*tim r*[*it-ta-a-a*]
F_2 iii 7 Ú.AN.ḪÚL.LA KA.MU *a-ab-b*[*a ta-ma-t*]*a* DAGAL-*tum* ⌜*rit*⌝-*t*[*a-*]
EEE iii 3'[ ] ⌜*a*⌝-*ab-ba ta-m*[*a*?-]
m vii 30' AN.ḪUL.LA ⌜KA-*ia*⌝ *a-ab-ba ta*$_5$*-amtu* < > *rit-ta-*⌜*a*⌝-[*a*]

101 xx_3 7'' a [PEŠ$_{10}$.^{d}Í]D KÙ SU →
F_2 iii 8 GIM ^{d}Í[D] ⌜SAG⌝.DU.MU G[IM]
EEE iii 4'[.M]U GIM KI.A.^{d}Í[D]
m vii 31' ⌜GIM ^{d}ÍD⌝ SAG.DU.⌜MU GIM⌝ P[E]Š$_{10}$.^{d}ÍD KÙ *qim-m*[*a-ti*]

102 xx_3 7'' b <GIM> AN.ḪÚL ^{ú}IGI-*lim š*[*am-*]
F_2 iii 9 GIM ⌜^{ú}⌝[ ]
EEE iii 5'[ḪÚ]L? ^{ú}IGI-*lim ša*[*m-*]
m vii 32' ⌜GIM ^{ú}⌝ḪA.⌜LU.ÚB ^{ú}⌝IGI-*lim* ⌜*šam-mu*⌝ BÚR-*t*[*e*]

103 xx_3 8'' [ ]⌜x⌝ IZI PEŠ$_{10}$.^{d}ÍD *mu-qa-di-šat* A[N]-⌜*e*?⌝
F_2 iii 10–11a *meš-r*[*e-*] *ina* [ ]
EEE iii 6'-7' [ ]-⌜*ú*⌝-*a eb-*[ ] 7' [PE]Š$_{10}$.^{d}ÍD *ú-*[*q*]*ad-di-šá* A[N-]
m vii 33'-34'a *m*[*eš*]-⌜*re-tu*⌝-*u-*⌜*a eb*⌝-*ba ina*? ⌜x x⌝ I[Z]I P[E]Š$_{10}$.^{d}Í[D] 34' ⌜*ú-qad-di*⌝-*šá* AN-⌜*e/ú*?⌝ →

104 xx$_3$ 9'' [*-te*]-*bi* Á^{II}-*a*-⌜*a*⌝
F$_2$ iii 11b \ [ ]
EEE iii 8' [ ]⌜x⌝-*te-bi* ⌜Á-*a*⌝-[ ]
m vii 34'b[ ]

105 xx$_3$ 10'' [*tu*$^{?}$]-*na-ṣar* *kib-si*
F$_2$ iii 12 ⌜d⌝[ ]
X$_7$ iii 1' ⌜d⌝IN[ANNA$^{?}$]
EEE iii 9'[*-n*]*a*$^{?}$-⌜*aṣ*$^{?}$⌝-*ṣar* ⌜*kib*⌝-*s*[*i*$^{?}$]
m vii 35' d⌜15⌝ ⌜x la⌝ ti ⌜x x⌝[ ]

F$_2$ *Break of approximately 13–14 lines*

X$_7$, EEE, **m** *Dividing line*

106 xx$_3$ 11'' [*ap-pa-ši*]*š at-taḫ-líp* *a-ta-pir*
X$_7$ iii 2' ÉN dÍ[D] \ *ah-ḫ*[*a-*(*li-ip*?)]
EEE iii 10' [ ] ⌜*a*$^{?}$-*ta*$^{?}$⌝-*p*[*ir*$^{?}$]
m vii 36'-37'a ÉN dÍD *a-k*[*u*]*l al-ti ap-p*[*a-ši*]*š* [ ] $^{37'}$ *a-ta-pí-ri* →

107 xx$_3$ 12''a [ ] ku ^{túg}BAR.SI →
X$_7$ iii 3' dÍD MU$_4$.M[U$_4$]
EEE iii 11'[ ]⌜x⌝[ ]
m vii 37'b d⌜Í⌝D *al*$^{?}$⌝-[*la-biš*(?)]

EEE *Breaks off*

108 xx$_3$ 12''b dÍD NINDA.ḪI.A A.MEŠ DIRI
X$_7$ iii 4' dÍD NINDA.ḪI.[ ]
m vii 38'a ⌜dÍD⌝ NINDA.⌜ḪI⌝.A *u* A.MEŠ DU$_8$ →

109 xx$_3$ 13''a [ZAG].DU$_8$ ⌜I⌝.DIB →
X$_7$ iii 5' d⌜Í⌝D^{giš}I[G$^{?}$]
b$_1$ iii 1 d[ ]
m vii 38b'-39'a dÍ[D] $^{39'}$ ZAG.DU$_8$⌝ I$^{?}$.⌜DIB⌝ →

110 xx$_3$ 13''b dÍD ^{giš}IG KÁ.MU *at-ta-ma*
X$_7$ iii 6' dÍD ⌜giš⌝[ ]
b$_1$ iii 2 ⌜d⌝[ ]
m vii 39'b dÍ[D]

111 xx_3 14'' [*-a]n-ni ia-ši*
X_7 iii 7' ⌜dÍD⌝ [ ]
b_1 iii 3 dÍ[D]
m vii 40' dÍD ⌜*par*!?(mu)-*sik-ku*⌝ [ ]

X_7 *Break*

112 xx_3 15'' [ ]⌜x⌝ *ru-ḫu-ú šá na-di-ti a-a il-pu-tú*!(šú)-*in-ni ia-š*[*i*]
b_1 iii 4 ⌜x⌝[ ]
m vii 41' ⌜A?⌝.MEŠ ⌜x⌝ te meš ⌜x⌝[ ]

b_1 *Break*

m *End of column*

xx_3 *Dividing line*

113 xx_3 16'' [*e-le-n]i-ti-ia*$_5$ <*ti*>-*de-e ul ti-de-e*
D iii 6 ÉN *e* munusUŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MU *e-le-ni-ti-ia* ZU-*e* ⌜*ul*⌝ ZU-*e*
F_1 iii 1' [x x x x x x (x x)]⌜x x⌝ [x x (x)]

114 xx_3 17'' [*ana-ku an-na*]-*ṭal ana-ku la-nu-*⌜*uk-ki i*⌝-*de*
F_1 iii 2' [*l]a-nu-uk-ki* ⌜*i*⌝-[ ]

115 xx_3 18'' [ ] ur? ⌜AN?.TA? x⌝ [x x]⌜x⌝[x] ⌜*qaq-qa*⌝-*r*[*i*?]
F_1 iii 3' [*ina* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá*] ⌜AN⌝-*e* BARAG.<MEŠ> *šá qaq-q*[*a-*]

116 xx_3 19'' [ ]⌜x⌝[ ]
F_1 iii 4' [x x x x] PEŠ$_{10}$.dÍD DUMU.MUNUS DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.M[EŠ]

xx_3 *Break near the lower edge*

Ms xx reverse

xx_2 o' [ ]

xx_2, F_2 *Dividing line*

151 xx_2 1'a ÉN ⌜x⌝[ ] →
F_2 iv 16 [ÉN] ⌜*e*⌝ munusUŠ$_{11}$.ZU.MU *e-le-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝-*ia*$_5$
b_1 iv 1 ÉN *e kaš-šap-ti-ia*$_5$ ⌜*e*⌝-*le-n*[*i-t*]*i-ia*$_5$

152 xx_2 1'b [ ] →
F_2 iv 17 [*šá* G]IN.<MEŠ>-*ki kal* KU[R].KUR
X_7 iv 1' [.KU]R
PP_2 iv 1' [ ] ⌜GIN.MEŠ⌝-*k*[*i*]
b_1 iv 2 *šá* GIN.MEŠ-*ki* *ka-li ma-ta-a-ti*

153 xx_2 1'c [(BAL.MEŠ *kal* KUR.MEŠ)]
F_2 iv 18 [-*t*]*a-nab-lak-ka-ti* *kal* KUR.MEŠ-*ni*
X_7 iv 2' [-*n*]*i*
PP_2 iv 2' [*ta-a*]*t-ta-nab-lak-ka-*⌜*ti*⌝ [ ]
b_1 iv 3 *ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti* *kal* KUR.MEŠ

154 xx_2 2'a *ana-ku* [ ] →
F_2 iv 19 [*ana-ku i-de*]*-e-ma at-ta-kil* *ta-ka-lu*
X_7 iv 3' [-*l*]*u*
PP_2 iv 3' [ ]-⌜*de*⌝*-ma at-ta-kal* ⌜*ta*⌝-[ ]
b_1 iv 4 ⌜*a*⌝*-na-*⌜*ku i-de-e-ma at-ta*⌝-[*k*]*al* ⌜*ta*⌝*-ka-lu*

X_7 *Breaks off*

155 xx_2 3' ⌜*ina*⌝ Ù[R.MU]
F_2 iv 20 [*ina* ÙR.MU *ma-ṣar*]-⌜*tú*⌝ *ina* KÁ.MU *az-za-qa-ap ki-din-nu*
PP_2 iv 4'-5' [ ].⌜MU *ma*⌝-[ ] 5' [.M]U *az-za-q*[*áp*?]
b_1 iv 5 [ ] *ki-di-nu*

xx_2 *Breaks off*

Exact position in the score uncertain

xx_4 1'' [...] ⌜ru⌝

xx_4 2'' [...]⌜x x⌝

xx_4 3'' [...] ( )

xx_4 4'' [...] ⌜pu?⌝-u(*or damage*)-ú

xx_4 5'' [... t]u-ú

xx_4 *Breaks off*

Translation

Obverse

Ms xx$_1$

1 Incantation: Enlil is my head, [my face is (roaring) daylight],
2 Uraš, the perfect deity, is the tutelary goddess of [my] face, [...],
3 my arms are the crook of Sîn and Amurru, [...],
4 they shall [n]ot allow spittle to reach [my] b[ody, ...],
5 my [s]hins are Mu[ḫr]a, [my] f[eet, which continually wander, are the whole flock, ...]

(*Break*)

Ms xx$_2$

1' [May her witchcraft disintegrate lik]e the pla[ster of a wall, ...].

2' Incantation: *kukru*-aromatic, [*kukru*-ar]oma[tic, ...],
3' the small *terḫu*-vessels of the *en*-priestess[es, ...],
4' come to me and [break the strong bond] of m[y] warlock [and witch],
5' and whatever they perform w[e turn into wind].

6' Incantation: Ha! My witch, [my] de[ceiver ...].
7' Why is [smoke] risin[g] from your house? [...],
8' with which I am dispersing your witchcraft, t[urning (your words back to) your (mouth)].
9' Before Ningirsu [called out the *alāla*-song] in the lan[d, ...],
10' [w]hoever you are, witch who [collects stones] against so-and-s[o, the son of so-and-so],
11' who seeks out evil, I b[low against you like the north-west wind],
12' I scatter your cloud, I d[estroy your storm, ...].

13' Incantation: When the witch bewit[ched me, ...],
14' the sorceress gathered the du[st of my feet, ...],
15' O Tišpak, lord of troops, divine [Ea, lord of fates, ...],
16' [*strike*(?)] her cheek, t[urn her word back to her mouth, ...]

(*Break*)

Ms xx$_3$

1'' [..., like g]rass from the [canal] ban[k],
2'' [..., you of the Bal]iḫ, you of the Bal[iḫ],
3'' [..., you who] shook [your] ha[ir out at me].

4'' [Incantation: The Divine river is my head, sulphur my p]hysiqu[e],
5'' [my feet are the river whose] interior [no one know]s,
6'' [the *anḫullû*-plant is my mouth, Ocean], the vast sea, is [my] h[ands],
7'' [like the Divine river, my head (is pure), like] pure [sulph]ur (my) body (is pure), <like> *anḫullû*-plant (and) *imḫur-līmu*-plant, the pl[ants that release],
8'' [my limbs are pure in/at ...] the fire of sulphur that purifies the he[ave]ns,
9'' [... *I/you*(?) rai]se my arms,
10'' [Ištar... *you*] protect my track.

11'' [Incantation: Divine river, I have eaten, I have drunk, I have salve]d [myself], I have clothed myself, I have donned a headdress,
12'' [Divine river, I have dressed myself, ...] a turban. Divine river, I have *filled* (*you*) *with* food and water,
13'' [Divine river, the door, ... the door]jamb (and) threshold slab, Divine river, you are the door of my gate,
14'' [Divine river, *a turban*(?) ...] at/for me,
15'' [water ...] may the sorcery of the *nadītu*-priestess not *affect* me.

16'' [Incantation: Ha! My witch], my [decei]ver, whether you know or not,
17'' [*I am watch*]*ing*, I know your form,
18'' [by the gods] from above, [the shrines of] the eart[h],
19'' [...]
(*Break*)
Reverse
Ms xx$_2$
o ' [...]

1' Incantation: [Ha! My witch, my deceiver, ...]
2' I [know and have gained full confidence (in my abilities to hold you off) ...]
3' [I have set up a watch] on [my] ro[of, a divine protective symbol at my gate.]
(*Break*)
Unplaced fragment (perhaps part of a colophon?)
Ms xx$_4$
1'''-5''' [...]

Commentary

Ms xx$_1$ obv. 1: For *ūmu* as (*roaring*) daylight as well as a leonine monster, see Abusch 2016: 337 note 1; Wiggermann 2007: 111 and note 7; ibid. 2011: 315–316.

2: Abusch (2016: 337) translates *lamassatu* as "the pupil(s)", although this is typically written *lamassat īni* (Fincke 2000: 19, 21, 220, 223, 229). The word ordinarily refers to a "protective spirit" or "titular goddess" (ibid.; CAD L: 60; AHw: 532; CDA: 177), and, when referring to the pupil, it may refer to the hazy image observed therein when someone looks into it. Seeing as Uraš is feminine (Horowitz 1998: 231), it is not unreasonable to simply translate the word as "tutelary goddess" in *Maqlû* VI, despite the deity having been labelled as an *ilu* earlier in the line.

3: For *gamlu* as "crook", see Schwemer 2017: 21 note 50; Ambos 2013: 153–154; Ambos and Krauskopf 2010; Wiggermann 1992: 61; CAD G: 34–35; AHw: 279. It is also used as an exorcising tool, and it represents a crooked stick, which could be used as a hook or thrown in some instances. It is mainly made of wood, often specified as *e'ru*-wood, though it could also be made of various types of metal (e.g., CAD G: 35; SpTU I nos. 56–57).

4: Ms xx$_1$ provides the writing *ú-šá-sa-ni-qa*, which implies the verbal form is a preterite ŠD-stem. This writing differs from the Š-stem present verbal form found in mss E and partially preserved in X$_1$, namely *ú-šá-as-na-qa*. Furthermore, a ŠD-stem is not attested for *sanāqu*, and it must be considered a mistake (see CAD S: 145; AHw: 1022). Presumably, this was simply a Š-stem with an odd writing. The scribe likely forgot the single wedge sign <*ana*>, which is preserved in ms E col. i 5.

It is unclear if the final partially visible sign was a *z*[*u*-...], implying a phonetic spelling of *zumrīya*, or a Sumerogram S[U].

5: In *Maqlû* VI 8 ms E i 8, the word *laḫru* is mentioned. Abusch (2016: 337 and note 3) interprets this as the "heavenly flock" of sheep, referring to the planets and stars. While the term *bibbu*, "wild sheep", is used for planets and stars (CAD B: 217–219), the word *laḫru* does not seem to be used generally in this context as an overarching term.

Ms xx_2 obv. 2': The final sign in ms b_2 i 6': *qud-du-šu-tú* is likely the sign /ud/, although there may have been one additional oblique wedge, making the sign look slightly like a *-te*.

5': It appears that the scribe wrote a present third masculine plural form of *epēšu*, instead of what appears to be a preterite second person common plural form in ms F_2 i 15'. However, it is not impossible that ms F_2 intended a present form here as well, albeit in the second person common plural (cf. Abusch 2016: 338).

7': The "smoke rising" (*qutru iqattur*) may relate to the actions witches were believed to make to induce witchcraft. Actions of witchcraft are occasionally the same as those performed in anti-witchcraft, e.g., performing rituals for Šamaš (CMAwR 1: 6). In the present context, the witch may have employed fumigation or incense to attract certain deities (see Arbøll 2020: 95 and note 101 with general references), although this preferably should have been written *qutrinnu qutturu*.

8': Unlike ms X_3 i 5', ms xx_2 obv. 8' provides the writing *ú-sap-pa-ḫu*. Several interpretations are possible, and the verbal form could be a D-stem third or first person singular present form with a subjunctive ending or a third plural present form. I have chosen the former interpretation in the first person singular.

8'-9': Unlike other mss of *Maqlû* VI, ms xx_2 has no dividing line between the end of the incantation ending in obv. 8' and the following recitation beginning in obv. 9'. Furthermore, the beginning of ms xx_2 9' does not begin with ÉN. This is interesting, as ms xx_2 has dividing lines between incantations elsewhere on the ms and it introduces incantations with ÉN. Whether this means that the two incantations were considered as a single one in this manuscript at the time the text was copied, or if the scribe made a mistake, is uncertain.

10': The fact that the witch collects stones might indicate that she was performing some of the same actions with magical stones as those of other anti-witchcraft rituals. See also ms xx_2 7' above.

11': Ms xx_2 provides the form *tuš-te-ni-'e-e* for a Dtn-stem of *še'û*. Abusch (2016: 339) reconstructed [*taš-tene*]*''ê*, which is a Gtn-stem present second person feminine singular verbal form.

For the second half of obv. 11' in ms xx_2 (= *Maqlû* VI line 49), only *a-z*[*i*$^{?}$-...] remains, suggesting that Abusch's reconstruction is correct (Abusch 2016: 339).

On the CDLI photograph of ms X_4 ii 5 (= *Maqlû* VI line 49), there may be slight remains of the top of two or three wedges in the partially damaged space, but I cannot see the signs read by Abusch (2016: 155). This does not exclude that they may have been there once.

Regarding the restored translation "north-west wind", which is fully preserved in a parallel manuscript, I follow Abusch (2016: 339).

12': Ms xx_2 demonstrates that Abusch's reconstruction of the beginning of *Maqlû* VI line 50 is correct (Abusch 2016: 155).

14': Although the line is difficult to read in ms xx_2, it is reasonable to emend the available wedges to read ⌜DÙ!?*-pí-iš*⌝*-tu*. However, this reading remains tentative.

15': Ms xx_2 demonstrates that the initial deity addressed in this line should be Tišpak (^{d}MÚŠ) instead of Nergal, as already suggested as an alternative reconstruction by Abusch (2016: 155 note 14).

16': Although not read in the transliteration above, it is possible that the opening of the line read [SÌG$^{?}$/*maḫ$^{?}$-ṣ*]*a$^{?}$*. However, there is insufficient room for these signs at the beginning, which is why I have preferred to keep this word unread.

Ms xx_3 obv. 4'': It seems the scribe chose to write the incipit of the incantation on a single line, with considerable space between the individual signs.

This line contains an erasure, and the following line 5' is written very close to it. The scribe possibly misjudged the spacing between lines due to one or more mistakes here. For another possible erasure, see the commentary to xx_3 obv. 16''.

4''-12'': For another parallel to these lines, also included in the present edition, see the *Maqlû* VI fragment ms EEE copied by Schwemer (2017: pl. 91), which was not included in Abusch 2016.

7'': Ms xx_3 provides SU (*zumru*) "body" instead of *qimmatu* "hair of the head" in ms **m** vii 31'.

The scribe likely forgot the sign <GIM> attested in other mss representing *Maqlû* VI line 102.

Instead of the plant ḪA.LU.ÚB in ms **m** vii 32', ms xx_3 provides AN.ḪUL. As noted by Abusch (2016: 159 note 23), ḪA.LU.ÚB may be a mistake for AN.ḪÚL.LA.

8''ff.: The line corresponds to *Maqlû* VI 103, and from here on ms xx_3 preserves badly damaged lines that consist of otherwise poorly known or entirely unknown passages of *Maqlû* VI. The manuscript shows that it is now possible to circumvent the subdivision of lines into 105A and 105B in order to make sense of this section of *Maqlû* (cf. Schwemer 2017: 84). For the new reconstruction, see the edition above.

8'': The beginning of the line is broken in ms xx_3. The last part of the line refers to the "fire of sulphur" as the "purifier of heaven", a passage otherwise not known verbatim from *Maqlû*. Furthermore, D-stem *qadāšu* as a participle is not listed with any examples in AHw (891), CAD (Q: 46–47) or eSAD.

In terms of the new reconstruction of this line, the tentative reading *ina$^{?}$* in ms **m** vii 33' may imply that the previous sentence continued into the following passage. Furthermore, ms xx_3 obv. 8'' shows that the text in ms **m** should be read differently. The remaining wedges in the manuscript, copied by Schwemer (Abusch and Schwemer 2009: 58–59), actually support the new reading I[Z]I P[E]$Š_{10}$.^{d}Í[D], which must be considered correct for *Maqlû* VI line 103.

10''-11'': There is no clear dividing line between these two lines, although they represent two different incantations in the standardised version of *Maqlû*. The imprinted line seems to be a supporting line, much as the one found between individual lines directly preceding ms xx_3 obv. 10'' (cf. ms xx_2 obv. 8'-9').

11'': The second of the three final verbal forms is not identical to the line in ms X_7 iii 2', which preserves *ah-ḫ*[*a-*(*li-ip*?)]. Ms xx_3 has a N-stem first person singular perfect of *ḫalāpu at-taḫ-líp*.

12'': The final sign is DIRI and not the expected DU_8 as in ms **m** vii 38', representing *Maqlû* VI line 108. Although the scribe may have written it unintentionally or as a mistake, it must be read as *malû* "to fill", presumably with "food and water" in the accusative, i.e., "to fill with food and water". A translation based on ms xx_3 has been proposed above. Regardless of the sign, both the translation of DIRI and DU_8 in mss xx_3 and **m** in the present context is difficult.

13'': The first part of the line corresponds to *Maqlû* VI 109. Ms **m** vii 39', however, appears to have KEŠDA as the second word. Ms xx_3 reads I.DIB, and the partly visible ⌜KEŠDA⌝ in **m** vii 39' might be read I$^{?}$.⌜DIB⌝, thus making ms **m** vii 39' similar to xx_3 obv. 13''. This reading is preferred here, although it requires collation. It is difficult to make proper sense of what is written, seeing as the line continues in *Maqlû* VI 110 with ^{d}ÍD, and we would expect a verbal form or an independent personal pronoun. It cannot be excluded that the scribe made a mistake and misunderstood the ending.

In ms X_7 iii 5', the line opens $^{d\lceil}$ÍD$^{\rceil}$ ^{giš}I[G$^{?}$ ...]. This line fits much better with the beginning of the next line, as shown in ms xx_3 14''. However, it is possible that both lines once mentioned ^{giš}IG.

In *Maqlû* VI line 110, Abusch (2016: 159 note 26) suggests reconstructing ^{d}ÍD *q*[*ú*$^{?}$-*ul-ma*(?)] in ms X_7 iii 6'. This reconstruction remains uncertain, and it is difficult to make proper sense of the few remaining wedges after ^{d}ÍD.

15'': The *nadītu* refers to a type of priestess, which in other instances is not evaluated in a negative light (CAD N/1: 63–64). However, the *nadītu* is also enumerated as a cause of witchcraft in *Maqlû* III line 43 (Abusch 2016: 307).

The reading of the final verbal form is uncertain, but *il-pu-šú*$^{!}$-*in-ni* is the best possible interpretation of the available wedges at present. Furthermore, the preterite form fits the vetitive. The verb *lapātu* is also used in various contexts in *Maqlû* II line 159, III lines 147 and 150, and VII line 155 (Abusch 2016: 70, 102–103, 186). For the translation of *lapātu* as "affect, attack", see CAD L: 87–88.

15''-17'': These lines in ms xx_3 correspond to the lines termed 112, 113' and 114'' in the edition of *Maqlû* VI by Abusch (2016: 160). Abusch (ibid.: 160 note 29) argues that approximately 5 lines of text are missing between lines 112 and 114'', after the column in ms **m** vii ends and ms F_1 iii 1' resumes, and the incipit in 113' attested in RT 112' is supposedly located somewhere among these lines. However, ms xx_3 demonstrates that there is no gap in the text at this place, and the incipit actually comes directly after line 112 in 113 continuing the text uninterrupted in 114. Thus, ms F_1 iii 1'-2' are actually *Maqlû* VI 113–114 and pick up directly where ms **m** vii 41' ends. Thus, the presumed line 113' must be removed, and the line count subsequently lowered by one to account for an uninterrupted text.

16'': The line [*e-le-n*]*i-ti-ia*$_5$ <*ti*>*-de-e ul ti-de-e*, likely also found in RT 112' (= *Maqlû* VI 113) as the vague ZU-*e* $\lceil$*ul*$\rceil$ ZU-*e*, may have confused the copyist, as he forgot the sign <*ti*>. Perhaps he misunderstood the sentence as [*e-le-n*]*i-ti mu-de-e ul ti-de-e*. Furthermore, there may have been an erased sign in the writing *ti-**{x}**-de-e*. However, this is uncertain, even upon collation of the original tablet, and the possible *{x}* has been disregarded in the edition above.

17'': The reconstruction [*ana-ku an-na*]*-ṭal* seems plausible, considering the use of *naṭālu* with *lānu* in *Maqlû* VII lines 56 and 64 (Abusch 2016: 173–174, 350–351).

As a duplicate to *Maqlû* VI line 114, Abusch (2016: 160 note 31) suggests two reconstructions for ms F_1 iii 2', namely [... *b*]*a-* or [*ul-l*]*a-nu-uk-ki*. Ms xx_3 17'' illustrates that the line did not hold a *ba-* instead of *la-*, and, furthermore, the ms shows that there was no *ul-la-*. The writing *la-nu-u*[*k-k*]*i* is interpreted here as a form of *lānu* with a locative-adverbial ending and a pronominal suffix, although this does not make for easy interpretation nor translation (cf. Abusch 2016: 116 line 115'' and note 35). Perhaps the line should be translated: "I know (what is) in yo[ur] form", although I have omitted the locative-adverbial ending from the translation above. The noun *lānu* is used in connection to witches elsewhere in *Maqlû*, e.g., Tablet IV ms yy_1 obv. 14'.

18'': Little sense can be made of the available signs in the preserved part of the line. AN.TA seems to be written. Perhaps it is possible to read [*nu*]*-ur* $\lceil$AN$^{?}$.TA$^{?}\rceil$.[MEŠ$^{?}$] $\lceil$x$\rceil$ "[the li]ght of the upper w[orld]" (see CAD E: 78), but this would make the line in ms xx_3 different from F_1. The final word must be *qaqqari*, though the second to last sign looks like MEŠ. The composite translation of this line is tentative because of the fragmentary nature of all available mss.

19'': Although only traces remain, this line is crucial because it is located on a slightly curving line on the original reconstructed tablet. Thus, this line must mark the beginning of an edge of the manuscript, and, by extension, fragment xx_3 should perhaps be placed on the obverse of the reconstructed text.

It is unclear how this relates to the line division of the reverse of this manuscript, although ms xx_2 contains remains of one of the last parts of *Maqlû* VI.

Ms xx_2 rev. 1': In order to accommodate the proposed reconstruction, ms xx_2 rev. 1' should hypothetically have held three lines of text from *Maqlû* VI, namely lines 151–153. Although this remains tentative, this is possible if line 153 was not written phonetically, as in mss F_2 iv 18, PP_2 iv 2' and b_1 iv 3. It could have been written, e.g., BAL.MEŠ *kal* KUR.MEŠ.

Ms xx_4 1''-5'': Almost nothing remains except for the end of some lines, and it is uncertain where the piece belongs among the fragments representing *Maqlû* VI. Regardless, it was excavated together with the two fragments (6A350/I+II) representing the beginning of *Maqlû* VI, and it was labelled under the same excavation number, namely 6A350, which I have designated 6A350/III, to differentiate the fragment from the others. Considering the odd spacing on the fragment, one could speculate that it derives from a colophon, if, that is, it is from the same tablet as the other fragments of *Maqlû* VI.

5'': The final oblique wedge may have been part of the preceding *-ú*.

No. 8: Prayer to Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk

A tablet in Babylonian script, blackened by fire, with the obverse preserved and the reverse completely broken.[148] It is difficult to determine the thickness of the original text, since it is impossible to reconstruct several loose, uninscribed fragments from both the inside of the tablet and the reverse of the manuscript. The text contains a prayer to Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk against the evil (omen) caused by observing a snake. The incantation was used to remove such evil omens, possibly in a *namburbi*-ritual context (Maul 1994: 300–303). However, the prayer was also included elsewhere, in the context of the "mouth washing" *mīs pî* ritual (Walker and Dick 2001: 131–135, 148–149 ms N). Whether or not the reverse contained any writing is uncertain, although Seux (1976: 352) argued that ritual instructions could have been found there. The text contains a number of "verse dividers", which consist of three smaller vertical wedges on top of one another. Similar dividers occur in Text 6, and the scribe(s) of Hamath apparently used these when the scholarly texts edited here were copied.

Museum no.:	6A343+6A345
Provenience:	Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room B no. 14
Length / Width / Thickness:	188 / 110 / 21 mm
CDLI no.:	P525399
Photograph / Copy:	pp. 216–217
Bibliography:	Foster 2005: 648–649 (translation)
	Walker and Dick 2001: 19, 20, 28, 129, 131–135, 148–149, 263, *mīs pî* tablet 3 ms N (edition)
	Al-Rawi and George 1995 (discussion)
	Maul 1994: 300–303 (edition)
	Mayer 1976: 382 (discussion)
	Seux 1976: 352–354 (translation)

148. The preserved surface of 6A343+ is flat, which is why it is reconstructed as the obverse of the original tablet. However, as no complete text with scholarly material has survived in its entirety from Hamath, we do not know whether the reverse was curved on individual tablets or not. Thus, it cannot fully be ruled out that the preserved surface was actually the reverse of the original manuscript.

Caplice 1974: 7 and note 3, 18 no. 8 (translation and discussion)
Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)
Læssøe 1956 (copy and edition)
Læssøe 1955: 26 note 54 (discussion)

Transliteration

Obverse

1 [ÉN ^{d}]˹*É*˺-*a* ^{d}UTU *ù* ^{d}*Asal-lú-ḫi* DINGIR.˹MEŠ˺ GAL.[MEŠ]
2 [*da-i*]-*nu di-nu šá* AN-*e ù* KI-*tim mu-*˹*šim*˺-*mu* [NAM.MEŠ]
3 [*pa-r*]*i-su* EŠ.BAR *mu-šèr-bu-ú ma-ḫa-z*[*i*]
4 [*mu-ša*]*r-ši-du pa-rak-*[*k*]*a mu-ki-nu giš-*[*ḫ*]*ur-r*[*a*]
5 [*mu-u*]*ṣ-ṣi-ru* GIŠ.[Ḫ]UR.MEŠ *mu-ús*!(is)-*si-*˹*qu*˺ *is-qé-*[*e-ti*]
6 [*pa-q*]*î*?*-du eš-re-e-*[*t*]*i* : *mu-ub-bi-bu šu-luḫ-*[*ḫa*]
7 [*mu*]*-du-ú te-lil-t*[*i* N]AM.MEŠ *šá-a-mu* {ru} GIŠ.ḪUR.ME[Š]
8 [*uṣ*]*-ṣu-ru šá* ŠU^{II}*-ku-*[*nu*]*-ma* : *ši-mat* ˹*ba*˺*-la-ṭ*[*u*]
9 ˹*at*˺-[*t*]*u-nu-ú-ma ta-š*[*i*]*m-*˹*ma*˺ [GI]Š.Ḫ[UR.MEŠ] *ba-la-ṭ*[*u*]
10 ˹ *at*˺*-tu-nu-ú-ma tu-uṣ-*[*ṣa-ra* EŠ.BAR.MEŠ] *ba-la-ṭu at-t*[*u-nu-ú-m*]*a*
11 *ta-p*[*a*]*r-*[*r*]*a-sa* : *šá* DINGIR *u* ˹^{d}˺[*Ištar*] ˹*ta-*x˺-[(x) *k*]*a-liš pa-rak-ku*
12 *at-tu-nu-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ GA[L.ME]Š *muš-te-*˹*ši*˺*-ru*
13 EŠ.BAR AN-*e ù* KI-*tim* [*n*]*ag-bi ta-ma-t*[*i*]
14 INIM-*ku-nu ba-la-ṭu* [*ṣ*]*i-it pi-ku-nu šá-l*[*a-m*]*u*
15 *e-piš pi-k*[*u-n*]*u b*[*a-la*]*-ṭu-um-ma* : *ka-bi-*˹*is*˺ *qé-reb* AN-*e*
16 *ru-qu-t*[*i a*]*t-tu-*˹*nu-ma*˺ : *mu-nak-ki-ru lum-nu*
17 *šá-ki-*[*nu d*]*u-un-qu* : *mu-pa-áš-ši-ru* Á.MEŠ GISKIM.MEŠ ḪUL.MEŠ
18 MÁŠ.G[E$_6$.MEŠ *par-d*]*a-a-*˹*ti*˺ NU DÙG.GA.MEŠ : *mu-šal-li-tu q*[*é*]*-*˹*e*˺ *lum-nu*

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19 [*a*]*-na-ku* ˡ[^{ú}SANGA.MA]Ḫ : *šá par-ṣi* : *el-lu-ti š*[*á*] *e*[*ri-d*]*u*$_{10}$
20 [*a*]*d-di* A.M[EŠ *qaq*]-˹*qa-ri uḫ*˺*-lil-ku-nu-ši* : ˹^{giš}˺[GU.Z]A.MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ
21 ˹*a*˺-[*n*]*a a-šá-*˹*bi-ku*˺*-nu* **ad*-*di* : TÚG.ḪUŠ.A ˹*eb*˺-[*bu*]-˹*tú*˺ *a-qiš-ku-nu-ši*
22 [*ri*]*k-sa* [*a*]*r-ku-us-ku-nu-ši* : *ni-qa*!(ru)-˹*a*˺ *el-la aq-qí-ku-nu-ši*
23 [^{d}]^{ug}A.[D]A.GUR$_5$ *na-áš-pu az-qup-ku-nu-ši* [GE]Š.TIM *u* KAŠ.SAG
24 [*a*]*q-qí-ku-nu-ši* : *áš-šú par-ṣi* ˹*šá*˺ ˹DINGIR˺.[MEŠ *ra-bu-t*]*im šuk-lu-lu*
25 [GIŠ.Ḫ]UR *šu-luḫ-ḫa šu-te-š*[*u-ru it-t*]*i-*˹*ku*˺*-nu ba-šu-*˹*ú*˺
26 ˹*i*˺*-na* UD-[*m*]*i an-ni-i* ˹GUB˺.[MEŠ-*ni*]*m-ma a-na ṣa-al-*[*mi a*]*n-ni-i*
27 [*šá*] ˹*i*˺*-na ma*[*ḫ-r*]*i-ku-nu i*[*z*?*-za*(?)*-z*]*u* : *šim-tú ra-biš* [*ši-m*]*a-a-šú*
28 [*pi*]*-i-šu a-n*[*a m*]*a-ka-l*[*e-e-š*]*u* : GEŠTU^{II}*-šú a-na na-áš-mé-*[*e*] ˹*liš-šá-kin*˺
29 [LÚ] *šu-ú k*[*i-i* AN-*e l*]*i-*˹*lil*˺ : *ki-i* ˹KI˺*-tim l*[*i-bi-ib*]
30 [*ki*]*-i qé-r*[*eb*] ˹AN-*e*˺ [*l*]*i-im-mir*
31 [*l*]*i-šá-nu* [*le*]*-mut-t*[*im a-n*]*a a-ḫa-ti li-iz-zi-zu*

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32 [*a-n*]*a-ku* NENNI ˹A˺ [NENN]I ARAD-*ku-nu pal-ḫa-ku ad-ra-ku ù*
33 [*š*]*u-ta-d*[*u*]*-ra-ku ana* ḪUL MUŠ

Rest of obverse uninscribed

Reverse completely broken away

Translation

Obverse

1 [Incantation:] O Ea, Šamaš, and Asalluḫi, great gods,
2 [who ju]dge cases for heaven and earth, who decree [destinies],
3 [who] pass judgement, who make the shrine[s] great,
4 [who] found sanctuaries, who establish the pla[n],
5 [who] draw the [d]esigns, who apportion the lot[s],
6 [who] take care of the shrines : who keeps the cleansing rit[es] pure,
7–8 [who] know purification, (in) yo[ur] hands (is) to decree [de]stinies (and) to [d]raw the designs :
8–9 You [a]lone or[d]er the fate of good healt[h],
9–10 you alone pl[an] the de[sign] of vigo[ur],
10–11 yo[u] al[one] pa[s]s the [verdicts] of life : of god and [goddess], you [... a]ll (their) throne daises,
12–13 you alone are the grea[t] gods, who administer a just verdict for heaven and earth, for [s]prings and seas,
14 your word is vitality, your utterance is we[ll b]eing,
15–16 y[ou]r speech is l[if]e itself : you alone tread the centre of the distant heavens : (You are) those who eliminate evil,
17–18 who bring a[bout w]elfare : who dispel evil signs and portends, [fri]ghtening and bad drea[ms] : who cut through the evil th[re]ad.

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19 I am the [*šangammāḫ*]*u*-exorcist : of the sacred rites (lit.: rites : sacred) o[f] E[ridu].
20–21 [I] have poured wat[er] out, I have purified the [gro]und for you : I have set up pure [thr]ones for you to sit on : I have presented you with pu[r]e red garments,
22 I have set up [off]ering arrangements for you : I have poured out a pure libation for you,
23–24 I have set up an *adagurru*-libation vessel of *našpu*-beer for you, [I] have poured a libation of [w]ine and fine beer for you. : Because (the power) to complete the rites of the [gre]at god[s] (and)
25 to properly carry [out] the [p]lan of the purification rites rests [wi]th you,
26 stand [with m]e on this day, and for [th]is *shap*[*e*]
27–28 [which] *st*[*ands*?] bef[or]e you : grant him majestically a destiny that his [mo]uth ma[y e]at : that his ears might hear.
29 [Let] that [man] become pure li[ke heaven] : let him [become clean] like the earth,
30 [le]t him shine [li]ke the inner[most] of heavens.
31 Let the [e]vil [t]ongue stand [a]side!

---

32 I am NN son of [N]N, your servant. I am afraid, I am gloomy, and
33 I have been [f]orced into f[e]ar. Against the evil of a snake.

Commentary

General comments: Duplicates of this incantation with further references for partial duplicates can be found in Foster 2005: 645–651; Walker and Dick 2001: 128–153, *mīs pî* tablet 3 mss. C (K. 2969+Bu 91–5–9,220), D (K. 5754+10132), J (Sm 290 = Maul 1994: 300–303 ms. B; Læssøe 1955: 26 note 54 and pl. III 10), O (IM 124645 = Al-Rawi and George 1995), Q (Sm 1414 = Maul 1994: 300–303 ms. C, 541), and R (PBS 12/1 no. 7). I have chosen not to incorporate the duplicate passages in the edition or the commentary, as this has been done on several occasions referenced directly above. For the original

commentary on this text, see Læssøe 1956: 61–62 note 6, of which there are several general observations that I have not included below.

Obv. 1: For the trinity Ea, Šamaš, and Asalluḫi, see Walker and Dick 2001: 53 note 43.

4: The final signs are read *giš*-[*ḫ*]*ur-r*[*a*] in accordance with Walker and Dick (2001: 131 ms N line 9 and note 13). As rightfully pointed out, the final signs, previously read as *qí/qé* and ⌜*e*⌝ or *š*[*u*] by Læssøe (1956: 62 *is-qé-*⌜*e*⌝-[*ti*]), Seux (1976: 352 note 3 *is-qí-š*[*u-un*]) and Maul (1994: 301 ms. A line 4), are clearly a *ḫur* on the original (cf. obv. 7), likely followed with the beginning of a *r*[*a*] (cf. obv. 11).

5: The sign transliterated as *ús*! is an *is*, as pointed out by Seux (1976: 352 note 5) and Maul (1994: 301 ms. A line 4). The scribe presumably made a mistake and wrote the simpler form *is* over *uš* (cf. Walker and Dick 2001: 132 ms N line 10).

6: Læssøe (1956: 62) transliterated [*mu*]-*kin*$_7$. However, the duplicate passages show that the line should probably be reconstructed [*pa-q*]*i*$^?$*-du* (cf. Walker and Dick 2001: 132 ms N line 10 and note 14; Maul 1994: 301 ms. A line 6; Seux 1976: 352 note 6). The sudden appearance of a G-stem participle among the numerous D- or Š-stem participles in these lines must have nuanced the passage.

Maul (1994: 301 ms. A line 6) read the final three signs in this line and line 25 as a Sumerogram ([Š]U.LUḪ.[ḪA]), although it could also have been read by scribes as the Akkadian word *šuluḫḫu*.

7: [*mu*]-*du-ú* is clearly an otherwise unattested variant, see the duplicate manuscripts edited in Walker and Dick 2001: 132 ms N line 11 and note 15.

Regarding the superfluous {ru}, a reading [N]AM.MEŠ *šá a-mu-ru* is technically possible, although it makes little sense in the context (Maul 1994: 301 note 8). However, the scribe likely misunderstood what the text stated and intended this reading (Læssøe 1956: 64).

7, 9, 10, 23: In these lines, Læssøe (1956: 62) reconstructed line dividers, namely [: N]AM.MEŠ (obv. 7), *ta-š*[*im-ma* : …] (obv. 9), *tu-uṣ*-[*ṣa-ra* : …] (obv. 10), [: GE]Š.TIN (obv. 23 with the updated reading of Læssøe's [: GI]Š.DIN). However, only obv. 9 and 23 seem to have sufficient room in the break for such markers. While dividers may have been present, since the text divides here in other manuscripts, I have chosen not to include these in the reconstructions here.

7–11: From [N]AM.MEŠ at the beginning of obv. 7 to *ta-p*[*a*]*r-ra-sa* : at the beginning of line 11 is omitted in the duplicate manuscripts, see Walker and Dick 2001: 132 lines 12–15.

8–10: The word *balāṭu* is written with a final *u* vowel, although the sentences require a genitive.

9–10, 12, 15, 16: See Læssøe (1956: 64) regarding the addition of the particle *-ma* in these lines, which adds restrictive force.

10: Walker and Dick (2001: 132 ms N line 15) suggest reconstructing [EŠ.BAR.MEŠ] instead of [EŠ.BAR] (cf. Læssøe 1956: 62). There is enough room for such a reconstruction, and I have followed it here.

Regarding the final wedge belonging to *-m*]*a*, it appears on the side of the tablet. The photograph does not show this side, although a less clear scan will be made available on CDLI where it can be checked.

11: While Læssøe (1956: 64) tentatively read [*Ištar*] and ⌜*ta*⌝-*ḫ*[*a-ṭa*, the initial reading is attested in all duplicate manuscripts, see Walker and Dick 2001: 132 line 16. The alternative reading by Læssøe must be considered a suggestion, although this is also taken up by Walker and Dick. I have read ⌜*ta*-x⌝-[(x)], but the remains look like *ta*-PA. Borger (2004: 332) does not list a reading such as *ḫaṭa* for the sign PA, but this could be a tentative reading: *ta-ḪAṬA*.

12–13: For the translation of these lines, see also Foster 2005: 648; Walker and Dick 2001: 148; Læssøe 1956: 63; CAD N/1: 109.

13: Læssøe (1956: 64) regarded his reading *ta-ma-t*[*um*] to be conjectural, but this word is preserved in the duplicate manuscripts (Walker and Dick 2001: 132 line 18).

14–18: These lines are not included in the duplicate manuscript (see Walker and Dick 2001: 133 ms N lines 19–25).

15: As noted by Læssøe (1956: 64), one would expect *ka-bi-su*. As in obv. 5, it is unclear if the scribe made a mistake here.

16: The scribe made a mistake, presumably on account of the *tu* previously written in the line, and inscribed the *ki* with a superfluous initial wedge.

17: The *un* of [*d*]*u-un-qu* is read *un*$^{!}$ by Læssøe (1956: 62) and Walker and Dick (2001: 133 ms N line 22). However, an identical writing of the sign *un* is preserved in Text no. 7 ms xx_2 obv. 13'.

19: Læssøe (1956: 65) read the second word of the line as *š*[*á pi-i-šu el-l*]*u* and the ending as <...> ⌜*i*⌝-[*du*]-*u*, although he noted the initial reading was conjectural. Maul (1994: 302 note 9) considered this suggestion uncertain. As argued by Walker and Dick (2001: 133 ms N lines 25–27 and note 17), the line should be read ^{l}[^{ú}SANGA.MA]Ḫ ... *e*[*ri-du*]$_{10}$, which is supported by the remaining wedges. For this line, see also Seux 1976: 353 notes 12–13.

Læssøe (1956: 65) suggested removing the second divider, because he saw these as verse dividers in a manuscript copied from or applied in accordance with information provided during dictation. Maul (1994: 302 note 10) argued that the additional divider in this line may have marked *šá par-ṣi* as a variant writing in relation to the word in the break. However, it may also have served to demarcate the spellings *par-ṣi* and *el-lu-ti* so that the copyist knew these were distinct words.

My translation of this line follows Al-Rawi and George (1995: 227), and, as a result, it differs slightly from Foster (2005: 648), Walker and Dick (2001: 149), and Læssøe (1956: 63).

20: Læssøe's (1956: 62) reconstructed writing A.M[EŠ KÙ.MEŠ] cannot fit in the broken space, see Walker and Dick 2001: 133; Maul 1994: 302 note 11.

Læssøe's suggestion regarding [^{giš}GU.Z]A.MEŠ, which he considered conjectural (ibid.: 65), is supported by the duplicate passages (see Walker and Dick 2001: 133).

21: The *eb* of the reading ⌜*eb*⌝-[*bu-t*]*u* was suggested by Walker and Dick (2001: 133 ms N line 30). Although TÚG.ḪUŠ.A is not written with the expected plural marker MEŠ, the adjective indicates that it should be read in the plural nonetheless.

22: After [*ri*]*k-sa*, Walker and Dick (2001: 133 ms N line 30) read <KÙ>. However, no sign is preserved either before or in the break that precedes [*a*]*r-ku-us-ku-nu-ši*.

As in lines 5 and 7, the scribe also made a mistake in this line and wrote *ru* instead of the expected *qa*.

23: The reading GEŠ.TIM can be used for GEŠTIN in various contexts (e.g., CMAwR 3: 61 ms b line 2), and this reading was also suggested by Læssøe (1956: 62) and Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 32).

The final SAG in KAŠ.SAG is missing one of two vertical wedges in the middle of the sign. The scribe presumably forgot this, as he was reaching the edge of the tablet.

24: Læssøe's (1956: 62) reconstruction [*ra-bu-t*]*im* is considered plausible because there is easily room in the break for two large signs, although Walker and Dick's (2001: 134 ms N line 33) reading [GAL-*t*]*im* fits better with the spelling practices of the tablet. However, the scribe otherwise does not leave large blank spaces between signs. Maul (1994: 302 and note 12) read A[N-*e ù* KI-*t*]*im* and Seux (1976: 353 note 17) read *šá* A[N-*e u* KI]-*tim*.

25: The signs read [GIŠ.Ḫ]UR were read ⌜x⌝ by Læssøe (1956: 62), ⌜ù?⌝ by Maul (1994: 302 ms. A line 25) and Seux (1976: 354 note 18), and [GIŠ.Ḫ]UR? by Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 34). The original tablet clearly shows the sign ḪUR, cf. obv. 7.

26: Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 35) read the initial part as u_4-[*m*]*e*, although it was read UD-[*m*]*i* by Maul (1994: 302 ms. A line 26) and Læssøe (1956: 62). The suggested *me* is not clear, and, in my opinion, it must be read as an [*m*]*i*.

The reconstructed *mi* of *ṣa-al-*[*mi*] was suggested by Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 35) instead of Læssøe's (1956: 62) *ṣa-al-*[*li*], which was followed by Maul (1994: 302 ms. A line 26: *ṣa-al-*[*li?*]; cf. Caplice 1974: 18 note 1). However, it provides the problem that, unlike other examples of this recitation, the present text does not relate to an image of a divinity or other persons. Thus, *ṣalmu* makes little sense in this context. A translation "body, bodily shape, stature, likeness" could be a useful nuance in this connection (see CAD Ṣ: 85).

27: While other editors have suggested the uncertain reading G[UB? x (x) x]-⌜*šá*⌝ (see Walker and Dick 2001: 134 ms N line 35; cf. Maul 1994: 302 ms. A line 27; Læssøe 1956: 62), the final sign seems to be -*z*]*u*. Thus, the initial sign could be read *i*[*z?*], and, by extension, the break may have held a form of the expected verb *izuzzu*, as otherwise indicated by GUB.

The ending of the line can now be read [*ši-m*]*a-a-šú* with certainty. Previously, Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 36) suggested reconstructing a final -[*šú*] over Læssøe's (1956: 62) reading.

28: The reading [*m*]*a-ka-l*[*e-e-š*]*u*, as suggested by Læssøe (1956: 62), is preferred over Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 36) *ma-ka-l*[*e-e*] x. Alternatively, is could be read [*m*]*a-ka-l*[*e-e*]-*š*[*ú*].

The ending of this line can, with relative certainty, be reconstructed as *na-áš-mé-*[*e*] ⌜*liš-šá-kin*⌝ (cf. Maul 1994: 302 ms. A line 28; Læssøe 1956: 62). Walker and Dick (2001: 134 ms N line 37) suggested the reading *na-áš-m*[*é liš*]-⌜*šá?-kin?*⌝. However, there is enough room for one additional sign, which my reading reflects. For another example of the writing of KIN at Hamath, see, e.g., Text no. 12 ms A col. i 5'.

29: All duplicate manuscripts preserve the writing DINGIR (Walker and Dick 2001: 135 and note 21), although the suggestion by Læssøe (1956: 62) followed by Maul (1994: 302) of a reconstructed [LÚ] is better, as the text deals with snakebite and a human victim.

29–30: The writings *kī* in these lines are written *kīma* in all duplicate manuscripts (cf. Walker and Dick 2001: 135 ms N lines 39–40).

31: We would expect [*le*]-*mut-t*[*um*], but the remains of the final sign look more like *t*[*im*].

References to the evil tongue are regularly found in various incantations (e.g., Collins 1999: 250–253, 243–249), and the motif likely refers to slander (CMAwR 1: 6). Caplice (1974: 18 note 2) regarded the statement as a reference to cultic silence (see also Reiner 1965: 247–251).

32–33: These lines are marked off from the two other sections of the prayer, presumably because they are added to support the concrete purpose of the incantation on this tablet. As stated by Læssøe (1956: 65), the formula consisting of these three statives is regularly found in *namburbi*-rituals (see, e.g., Maul 1994: 139, 141, 242, 251, 272, 280, 297, 302, 316, 320, 340, 387, 404, 406, 435, 447, 469, 487). For different translations of the three stative forms, see, e.g., Walker and Dick; Maul 1994: 303; Læssøe 1956: 65; CAD A/1: 109.

No. 9: Tablet with Bilingual Incantation

Right side of a tablet in Babylonian script, blackened through fire. The surface is partly damaged and writing is only preserved on one side. When Building III was burned in 720 BCE, the manuscript must have fused together with a fragment from another text or some bitumen. As a result, what may originally have been the reverse appears to exceed the original outline of the tablet. The tablet also contains bubbles, confirming that it has clearly been exposed to immense heat. Only the obverse contains writing, and nothing is preserved on the reverse.

It is unclear if the manuscript represents a single text or two separate ones. At least the lower, and better-preserved, half of the tablet contains lines recording a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual text, which is a partial duplicate to lines 33–37 of *Muššu'u* I inc. 1 (Böck 2007: 93–111), which is also found in the series Sag̃-gig I lines 65–74 (Schramm unpublished: 18–19). It remains uncertain if 6A354 is an exact duplicate of this particular incantation, and duplicate lines are discussed in the commentary. As Texts 10–11 also contain partial duplicate passages to *Muššu'u*/Sag̃-gig, it is possible that Texts 9–11 once belonged to the same tablet. Furthermore, the mistakes found in the present manuscript, especially in connection to the copyist's Sumerian proficiency, suggest that the tablet was likely a school text.

Museum no.: 6A354
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room D no. 18
Length / Width / Thickness: 77 / 42 / 23 mm
CDLI no.: P525401
Photograph / Copy: pp. 218–219
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

Obverse[?]

o' [(*broken*)] (*blank space*) [(*broken*)]

1' [...]˹x x(?)˺[x x x] ˹du˺
2' [...]˹x˺ ga[l] ˹x˺[x x] be
3' [...]˹x ka[?]˺ šá ˹áš[?]˺[x x (x) a]n[?]
4' [...]˹x˺[x x (x)]˹x˺
5' [(*completely broken*)]
6' [(*completely broken*)]
7' [...]-˹x x (x)˺-[x]
8' [...] ˹*i-šas*˺-*si*

9' [...] ˹ba˺-ni-in-g̃ar
10' [... *i*]*š*[?]-˹*tu é*˺-*kur it-taṣ*-˹*ṣu*˺

11' [...] ˹ù˺-{ba}-ub-du$_{11}$

12' [...]-˹un!?˺-za {ì-íb} a-<na> ì-íb-gi$_4$-g[i$_4$[?]]
13' [... *i-d*]*e* ˹*mi*˺-*na-a* ˹*i*˺-*pa-šaḫ*
14' [... m]u-˹un˺-na-na-íb-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$]

15’ [… *i*]*p-pal*
16’ […]⌜x⌝[( )]
Reverse? completely broken

Translation

Obverse?

1’-6’		[…]
7’	(Sumerian)	[He entered the house to Enki, his father, (and) he (now) says to him:]
8’	(Akkadian)	[He entered the house to his father, Ea, and] he says:
9’	(Sumerian)	“[My father, head illness] *has been removed* [*from* the Ekur]”.
10’	(Akkadian)	[My father, *di’u*-illness] has come out [f]rom the Ekur.”
11’	(Sumerian with the Akkadian imbedded in the line?)	[Twice] he said:
12’	(Sumerian)	“[I do not kn]ow [what can be done for that man], wh<at> should I reply?
13’	(Akkadian)	[I do not kn]ow [what I can do for this man], what will give him rest?”
14’	(Sumerian)	[Enki] ans[wers his son Asalluḫi]
15’	(Akkadian)	[Ea an]swers [his son Marduk]:
16’		“[…]”

Commentary

Obv.? 0’-1’: It is unclear if the line is a ruling on the original tablet or a support line.

1’-6’: The lines are too broken to properly reconstruct or place in the context of the partial duplicate from *Muššu’u* and Sag̃-gig. It is also uncertain if they belong to the same text and in what language they are written.

2’: The second visible sign could also be I[D], DU[MU] or T[UR], although the context is uncertain, and thus the reading remains tentative.

The final sign could be the end of [T]I, although this remains unclear.

3’: The fourth sign could also be the sign DA or ID.

7’-15’: The preserved end of these lines consists of a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual text, which to some extent appears to be a duplicate of lines 33–37 of the first incantation of *Muššu’u* I (edition in Böck 2007: 101–102) and approximately the same incantation found in the series Sag̃-gig I lines 66–74 (Schramm unpublished: 18–19; see also Wu 2001: 40–42). I have edited duplicate passages in the commentary below, and these have been read from CDLI photographs or via copies when available.

7’-8’: These lines likely preserve the ending of line 33 in *Muššu’u* I inc. 1 edited below, and we would therefore expect mu-un-na-an-dé-e in obv.? 7’. The designations for the mss and line numbers follow Böck (2007: 91), and the corresponding texts can be found in Böck’s study (note that Böck’s ms B is actually K 4840). Schramm (unpublished: 18–19) edited the same manuscripts as Böck, and his readings have been checked as well:

6A354 obv.? 7': [ ]-⌜x x (x)⌝-[x]
33 A obv. 49: a-a-ni ^{d}en-ki-ra é-a ba-ši-in-ku$_4$ gù mu-⌜un⌝-na-an-da-⌜a⌝
B obv. 4': [ ]-ra [ ] gù mu-un-na-an-dé-⌜e⌝
F rev. 5: a-a-ni ⌜^{d}⌝e[n-]-ra é-a ba-ši-in-ku$_4$ gù mu-un!-na-an-⌜dé⌝-e
I obv. 2: [ ]-in-ku$_4$ gù mu-un-na-an!(na)-dé-e
L obv. 13: é ^{d}en-ki-ra é-a ba-ši-in-ku$_4$ gù mu-un-an-dé-⌜e⌝
6A354 obv.? 8': [ ] ⌜*i-šas*⌝-*si*
A obv. 50: *a-na a-bi-šu* ^{d}*É-a a-na* É *i-ru-um-ma i-*⌜*šas-si*⌝
B obv. 5': [ ] ⌜É *i*⌝-*ru-um-ma i-šas-si*
I obv. 3: [*-r*]*u-um-ma i-šá-as-si*

7': According to the parallel lines, we should expect to read [mu-un]-⌜an!?-dé?⌝-[e?], however, it is unclear if these signs were actually inscribed on 6A354.

8': I have read the third visible sign as ŠEŠ, though it is a bit unclear on the tablet. The sign is possibly covered with dirt.

9'-10': Almost nothing is preserved of obv.? 9', but the two lines seem to preserve Sumerian and Akkadian language. Because obv.? 7'-8' and 11' appear to be parallel to *Muššu'u* I inc. 1 lines 33 and 35, it is reasonable to assume obv.? 9'-10' contains *Muššu'u* I inc. 1 line 34. However, obv.? 9' is not a complete duplicate to the line in *Muššu'u* I inc. 1 (see below). The other mss all preserve nam-ta-è "has come out from" in this line. However, the verb g̃ar with -ta- could become "to remove", and although this is not written or preserved explicitly in 6A354, a nuance of the original meaning was presumably meant:

6A354 obv.? 9': [ ] ⌜ba⌝-ni-in-g̃ar
34 A obv. 51: a-a-gu$_{10}$ sag-g[i]g ⌜é⌝-kur-ta nam-ta-⌜è⌝
B rev. 1: [ ]-kur-ta nam-ta-è
F rev. 6: [a]-a-g[u$_{10}$ gi]g é-kur-ta nam-ta-è
I obv. 4: [-t]a nam-t[a-]
L obv. 14: a-a-gu$_{10}$ sag-gig! é-kur-ta nam-ta-è
6A 354 obv.? 10': [*i*]*š*?-⌜*tu*! *é*?⌝-*kur it-taṣ-*⌜*ṣu*⌝
A obv. 52: *a-bi di-'u ul-tu é-k*[*u*]*r it-ta-ṣa-a*
B rev. 2: [ ]-*tu é-kur it-ta-ṣa-a*
I obv. 5: [ ]⌜x⌝[ ]
L obv. 15: *a-bi di-ḫu iš-tu é-kur it-ta-ṣa-a*

10': Although I consider the reading of the final verbal form to be certain, it is also possible to read *it-taš-*⌜*ku*⌝-[*un*]. However, this would require the presence of a broken sign on the side of the tablet quite removed from the other signs, as a stretch of uninscribed surface is preserved before the break.

11': A verbal form ù-ba-ub-du$_{11}$ of /dug/ "to speak" does not appear to be attested, and it must be considered a mistake (see ePSD2). The sign read BA may also have been a slightly damaged ŠU, although this does not help understand what is written here. I have chosen to remove the BA as a mistakenly written sign, because the scribe clearly made several mistakes in the Sumerian lines of this text. The line is likely a duplicate to line 35 of *Muššu'u* I inc. 1, and presumably it also contained the Akkadian imbedded in this single line, as in the other parallel mss:

6A354 obv.? 11': [ ] ⌜ù⌝-{ba}-ub-du$_{11}$
35 A obv. 53: a-rá min-kam : *a-di ši-na iq-bi-š*[*um-ma*] ⌜:⌝ aš ù-ub-da
B rev. 3: [-*šu*]*m-ma* : aš ù-ub-da
F rev. 7: ⌜a⌝-rá min-k[a]m : *a-di ši-na qí-bi-šum-ma* : aš ù-ub-du$_{11}$

12': The sign read un!? may have been sa? or perhaps a nun!. See also the preserved UN in obv.? 14'. It is unclear if the writing a-<na ba>-ni- should be reconstructed instead of a-<na> ì-íb-. The scribe may simply have misunderstood a-na and copied a-ni íb-.

12'-13': The scribe appears to have made several mistakes in this line by adding the conjugation prefixes ì-íb without a verbal form and forgetting the <na> of a-na in front of the verb. Presumably, the scribe was confused due to the many identical signs written in the line.

The writing -za! for -zu is attested in other unrelated texts, see ePSD2.

These lines record Sumerian and Akkadian text largely duplicated in *Mušš̌u'u* I inc. 1 line 36:

6A354 obv.? 12': [ ]-⌜un!?⌝-za {ì-íb} a-<na> ì-íb-gi$_4$-g[i$_4$?]
36 A obv. 54: ⌜a⌝-na íb-ak-a na-bi nu-un-zu [a]-na ì-íb-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
B rev. 4: [-z]u a-na ba-ni-íb-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
F rev. 8: {⌜x⌝} a-ni íb-ba-ak-a na-bi nu-zu : (*Akk.*) : a-na ⌜íb⌝-g[i$_4$-]
6A354 obv.? 13': [*i*-]⌜*de* *mi*⌝-*na-a* ⌜*i*⌝-*pa-šaḫ*
A obv. 55: *mi-na-a e-pu-uš* LÚ *šú-a-tú* *ul* ⌜*i*⌝-[*d*]*e ina* *mi-ni-*⌜*i i*⌝*-pa-áš-šaḫ*
B rev. 5: [*u*]*l i-de ina* *mi-ni-i i-pa-áš-šaḫ*
F rev. 8: *mi-na-a i-pu-uš a-me-lu* *šú-ia-tim* *ul i-de* *mi-na-a* ⌜*i*⌝*-pa-áš-šaḫ*

14'-15': The second NA is presumably a mistake for NI, as this is found in all the parallel manuscripts (see below). These lines record Sumerian and Akkadian text largely parallel to *Mušš̌u'u* I inc. 1 line 37:

6A354 obv.? 14': [m]u-⌜un⌝-na-na-íb-g[i$_4$-]
37 A rev. 56: ⌜d⌝en-ki dumu-⌜ni⌝ ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
B rev. 6: [ ]-ḫ[i] mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
F rev. 9: ⌜d⌝[e]n-ki dumu-ni ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi : (*Akk.*) : mu-un-na-n[i- -g]i$_4$-gi$_4$
6A354 obv.? 15': [*i*]*p-pal*
A rev. 57: ^{d}⌜*É-a*⌝ DUMU-*šú* ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ip-pal*
B rev. 7: [^{d}]A[M]AR.UTU *ip-pal*
F rev. 9: ^{d}*É-a ma-ra-šú* ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ip-pal*

16': It is unclear if this line records Sumerian or Akkadian writing, and whether it is parallel to any of the lines following *Mušš̌u'u* I inc. 1 line 37. The remaining wedge may be part of ⌜a?⌝. It is noteworthy that *Mušš̌u'u* I inc. 1 line 38 in ms. A rev. 60 ends ra-ab-taḫ-a, which may indicate this line was originally written in 6A354 obv.? 16'.

No. 10: Fragment with Incantations Mentioning Marduk and Asalluḫi

A small fragment of a larger tablet in Babylonian script. The preserved lines contain two separate incantations. The first recitation was likely longer than the lines preserved, but the second incantation was clearly only two lines long. It is uncertain whether the fragment originated in a two-columned tablet, such as the medical text edited as Text 12, or the lines were long, as in the *Maqlû* manuscripts Texts 6 and 7. Considering the few signs preserved in the final two lines, the length of individual lines on the original tablet may have been greater than the fragment suggests. The text partly overlaps select lines in *Mušš̌u'u* IV inc. 3 lines 62–65

(Böck 2007: 160), which are also found in Sag̃-gig VII lines 61–64 (Schramm unpublished: 97). As with Texts 9 and 11, it is unclear if Text 10 originated with these on a single tablet.

Museum no.: 6A339
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room A no. 8
Length / Width / Thickness: 24 / 23 / 4 mm
CDLI no.: P525396
Photograph / Copy: pp. 218–219
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

Obverse?

1' [...]⌜x x⌝[(*ca. seven signs missing*)]
2' [...a]n? na ( ) [x x x (x)]
3' [...] ⌜d*tu*⌝-*tu lis-su-*⌜*ú*⌝ [x x (x)]
4' [... d*en-bi-l*]*u-lu* d*šà-zu* dS[IRSIR]
5' [... (*iqbûnim-ma*) *a-na/ana*]*-ku ad-di* TU_6.É[N ( )]

6' [(ÉN?) ...] ⌜*í*⌝-*gì-gì* d*Asal-lú-ḫ*[*i* x (x)]
7' [... T]U_6?.ÉN [( )]

8' [...]⌜x⌝[x x (x)]

Reverse? completely broken away

Translation

Obverse?

1' [...]
2' [...] (*too broken for translation*) [...]
3' [... (*at the command of*)] Tutu may they (i.e., the evils) depart [...],
4' [... Enbil]ulu, Šazu (and) M[arduk],
5' [..., *they (i.e., the gods) recited it, and*] I [mysel]f cast (it). Incantation formula.

6' [...] (of) the Igigi-gods, Asalluḫ[i ...],
7' [... Incanta]tion? formula.

8' [...]

Commentary

Obv.? 2': The second visible sign could also be a DU or something similar.

3': Tutu is described as a god of Borsippa in, e.g., the prologue of Hammurapi's laws (Roth 1995: 78), and Tutu is one of Marduk's 50 names in *Enūma Eliš* VII lines 9–14: "Tutu is he, who accomplishes their renovation, [10] let him purify their sanctuaries that they may repose, [11] let him fashion an incantation that the gods may rest, [12] though they rise up in fury, let them withdraw. [13] He is indeed exalted in the assembly of the gods, his [fathers], [14] no one among the gods can [equal] him" (Lambert 2013: 124–125). A "river of Tutu" is also known (ibid.).

3'-5': Considering the row of divine names, namely Tutu followed by Šazu, the broken passages may have contained various divine names for Asalluḫi and Marduk, similarly to the enumerated names in An = *Anum* (see Lambert 2013: 159; Litke 1998: 89–95). Furthermore, partially similar duplicate passages are found in *Muššu'u* IV inc. 3 lines 62–65 (Böck 2007: 160), as well as in Sağ-gig VII lines 61–64 (Schramm unpublished: 97). The relevant lines have been edited below following the mss and edition by Böck (2007) and checked via photographs or hand copies (except for the unavailable ms D). Furthermore, I have compared this with Schramm's unpublished edition of Sağ-gig, which includes the same manuscripts. The relationship between the bilingual incantation in Text 9 and the Sumerian spells in Text 11, all connected to *Muššu'u*/Sağ-gig, may indicate that the present tablet was related to similar incantations:

62 D rev. 7: [ ] *šá* ^{d}*tu-tu li-is-su-*⌜*ú*⌝ *li-re-qu lid-da-pí*-TA *li-tal-k*[*u*]
(cf. Schramm unpublished: 97, *lid-da-bi-ru li-tal-l*[*a-ku*]
E rev. 3': [ ] ⌜*te*⌝*-e šá* ^{d}⌜*tu-tu li*⌝*-is-su-ú li-re-qu l*[*id-*]
H rev. 13: *ina* IGI *te-e šá* ⌜^{d}⌝[ ]
I rev. 6': [ ]-⌜*e*⌝ *šá* ^{d}*tu-tu li-is-*[(*break of uncertain length*)]
63 D rev. 8: [Z]I AN.NA ḪÉ.PÀD ZI ⌜KI⌝.A ⌜ḪÉ⌝.P[ÀD]
E rev. 4': [MÁŠ.ḪU]L.DÚB ZI AN.NA ḪÉ.PÀD ZI KI.A [ ]
H rev. 14: [(*unclear if this line was moved in and present on the ms*)]
64 D rev. 9: [*a*]*n-ni-ti š*[*i-*]
E rev. 5': [É]N$^{?}$ ÉN *an-ni-tu ši-pat* ^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}ASAL.LÚ.ḪI ⌜^{d}⌝[ ]
H rev. 15: ⌜ÉN⌝ *an-ni-tú* ÉN *šá* ^{d}[ ]
I rev. 7': [ ] ⌜ÉN⌝ ^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{d}ASAL.LÚ.Ḫ[I (*break*)]
65 D rev. 10: [(*traces*)]
(cf. Schramm unpublished: 97)
E rev. 6': ⌜^{d}⌝SIRSIR : ^{d}*tu-tu* ^{d}ḪÉ.GÁL *u* ^{d}NIN.GÌRIM *iq-bu-nim-*[*ma*]
H rev. 16: *ù* ^{d}NIN.GÌR[IM]
I rev. 8': [^{d}N]IN.GÌRI[M (*break*)]

6A339 shares many phrases found within *Muššu'u* IV inc. 3 lines 62 and 64–65, although it does not contain line 63 according to the preserved text. The preserved signs on 6A339 obv.$^{?}$ 3' spell out line 62 almost verbatim. Furthermore, 6A 339 obv.$^{?}$ 4'-5' list several of the same deities found in lines 64–65, and it is possible that the spell ended in the same manner as *Muššu'u* IV inc. 3. It is worth noting that the end of this spell in *Muššu'u* and Sağ-gig, which is otherwise not preserved in the available mss, could be reconstructed according to 6A339, namely *ad-di* (cf. Böck 2007: 160; Schramm unpublished: 97).

Tutu and Šazu are also mentioned together in the bilingual incantation *Muššu'u* VII/a, in which they are described as follows: "Tutu, who obliterates black magic by his chant, Šazu, the god who extinguishes the enemy" (Böck 2007: 241–249 lines 7–8; see Lambert 2013: 157–158). This incantation also mentions Enbilulu (see below). Considering the focus on witchcraft in some of the Hamath texts, it is possible that this small fragment belongs to the same category. The two names Tutu and Šazu are also mentioned as synonyms in an anti-witchcraft *šu'illa*-prayer to Nabû (CMAwR 2: 341–349). The names Enbilulu, Asalluḫi, Sirsir, and Šazu also occur in a fragment concerning stations of the journey to the Akītu house (Lambert 1997: 79–80).

4': The partly preserved sign at the beginning of the line is similar to the completely preserved following sign. A possible reading is another name for Marduk, namely [^{d}*En-bi*]-*lu-lu*, who is elsewhere sup-

plied with the epithet "who repulses the foe" (*mu-né-'i ir-ti lem-ni*, Lambert 2013: 126, 151, 153, 157–158, 314–315). Alternatively, it could be read [*ṣu-l*]*u-lu* related to protection (cf. CMAwR 2: 334). None of these suggestions are particularly well attested in the incantation literature.

The divine name Šazu ("knower of the heart") is Marduk, as stated in *Enūma Eliš*. In Tablet VII, among the so-called 50 names of Marduk, the eighteenth name is described as follows in lines 35–40: "Šazu, who knew the heart of the gods, who saw the reins, [36] who did not let an evil-doer escape from him, [37] who established the assembly of the gods, who rejoiced their hearts, [38] who subjugated the disobedient, he is the gods' encompassing protection. [39] He made truth to prosper, he uprooted perverse speech, [40] he separated falsehood from truth" (Lambert 2013: 126–127). The name may be related to the River Ordeal and equated with Asalluḫi, but Šazu could also function as a midwife (ibid.: 484–485). Šazu is also mentioned in anti-witchcraft texts (e.g., CMAwR 2: 342, 346; CMAwR 1: 118, 120).

The final sign must have been ^{d}S[IRSIR], a name for Marduk that is associated with sailors and trouble with the sea, known from the pantheon of Eridu, and occasionally mentioned alongside Ea (Lambert 2013: 128–129, 134, 151, 156, 246–247, 255, 486–487 with further references).

5': The first sign in the line is likely a *ku*$^{?}$. The proposed reconstruction is based on an example in Abusch and Schwemer (2011: 118, 120), although their text ends with the verbal form *ušanni* and not *addi*. Alternatively, the first part might have read [*qā ana pî-k*]*i*$^{?}$ *ad-di* TU$_6$.É[N], "I have put a [(muzzle of) thread in] your [mouth] (cf. CMAwR 1: 362–363).

6': As a less attractive alternative to the reading ⌜*í*⌝-*gì-gì*, the second sign could represent MIN "ditto", referring to something mentioned previously in the line. Considering that divine names could be written as ^{d}DN-^{MIN} in, e.g., An = *Anum*, it cannot be ruled out that another divine name preceded Asalluḫi (see Lambert 2013: 151). However, the reading ⌜*í*⌝ seems certain, and thus, the proposed reading above is preferred.

6'-7': These lines seem to make up a brief incantation. We would expect partial duplicate passages to appear in series like *Muššu'u* and/or Sagˇ-gig, but a suggestion concerning possible duplicate passages cannot be identified at present.

No. 11: Fragment with Two Sumerian Incantations

Fragment of the lower right corner of the obverse(?) of a larger tablet in Babylonian script. The fragment preserves lines from what appears to have been two individual pieces of texts, which were presumably both incantations (e.g., obv.$^{?}$ 4'). The preserved writing indicates that the two pieces of text were in Sumerian. As discussed in the commentary, the manuscript seems partially to duplicate incantations known from *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007: 134) and Sagˇ-gig (Schramm unpublished: 33, 57). Considering that the final line of the fragment ends midsentence, the manuscript should likely be considered a school text.

It is possible that this text and some of the fragments edited as Texts 9–10 belonged to the same tablet prior to the destruction in 720 BCE. However, they are edited individually because no sound reconstruction can be offered at present.

Museum no.: 6A341
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room B no. 16
Length / Width / Thickness: 27 / 26 / 16 mm
CDLI no.: P525397
Photograph / Copy: p. 220
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

Obverse?

1' [...]⌜x (x) x⌝
2' [... ḫ]é-<en>-⌜si-sá⌝-e-{ne}
3' [... z]a-a-ke$_4$!
4' [... *ku-um*?-*m*]*a* TU$_6$.⌜ÉN⌝

5' [... g]ú-sa-a
6' [... i]m-ta-du$_7$-⌜du$_7$⌝
7' [... na]m-ta-è
8' [... n]am-ta-⌜è⌝

Lower edge

9' [... na]m?

Reverse? *completely broken away*

Translation

Obverse?

1' [...]
2' [... sho]uld lead him right.
3' [...] (it) is [y]our (doing).
4' [... (it is) *you*]*rs*. Incantation formula.

5' [(*Head illness*?) ...] (it is) *in* the tendon of the [ne]ck.
6' [(*Head illness*?) ... (*with venom*?) i]t gores.
7' [It has] come out [(*from*) ...],
8' [it] has come out [(*from*) ...],

Lower edge

9' [...] (*ends midsentence*?).

Commentary

General commentary: These various incantations, apparently exclusively in Sumerian, seem to partially duplicate the Sumerian lines of various Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual incantations in Sag̃-gig and Muššu'u. The examples discussed below are from Sag̃-gig III lines 1–9, IV lines 107–109, and V lines 3–5 (Schramm unpublished: 33, 57, 64), as well as Muššu'u I inc. 1 lines 54–55 and Muššu'u III inc. 1 lines 1–5(?) (Böck 2007: 104–105, 134). I have quoted the relevant passages below from the editions by Böck and Schramm, and I have checked Böck's readings via the available photographs and hand copies.

As in other manuscripts from Hamath, it is difficult to determine if a horizontal line was intended to divide entries, or instead simply indicates a supporting line for the scribe. Thus, the clear line copied between obv.? 2' and 3' was likely a supporting line, as obv.? 2'-3' must have been part of the same entry.

Obv.? 2': As evidenced by the possible duplicate passages below, the scribe made a mistake in this line, intending to copy ḫ]é-<en>-⌜si-sá⌝-e, but misremembering or mistakenly copying ḫ]é-⌜si-sá⌝-e-{ne}. There appears to be a superfluous vertical wedge between ḫ]é-⌜si⌝, which could indicate that the

scribe had intended to write an additional sign. However, it is unclear if the superfluous vertical wedge after ḫ]é- was actually part of the initial horizontal wedge in -⌜si⌝- with the remains of a vertical wedge incorporated into it.

2'-4': Partially duplicate the end of *Muššu'u* I inc. 1 lines 54–55, supplied in the edition below with 6A341 obv.? 2'-4' for comparison on the basis of Böck's edition (2007: 104–105). These lines are also found in Sag̃-gig I lines 107–110 (similar phrases are also included in Sag̃-gig IV lines 107–110, see Schramm unpublished: 57), and Schramm (ibid.: 21–22) makes use of the same mss as Böck, and her sigla are followed here. Schramm's collations of ms A have been included:

Muššu'u I inc. 1

6A341 obv.? 2': [ḫ]é-<en>-⌜si-sá⌝-e-{ne}

54 A rev. 82: dDam-gal-nun-na si ḫé-en-si-⌜sá⌝-[e]

C rev. 4: [ ] si ḫé-en-s[i]

F rev. 27: [ ] (*Akk.*) : si ḫé-na-si-sá-⌜e⌝

A rev. 83: d*Dam-ki-na liš-te-š*[*er*]

C rev. 5: [*-n*]*a liš-t*[*e-*]

F rev. 27: ⌜d⌝*Dam-ki-an-na liš-te-šer*

6A341 obv.? 3': [z]a-a-ke$_4$!

55 A rev. 84: dAsal-alim-nun-na dumu-sag̃ abzu-ke$_4$ [š]a$_6$-[g]a [zí]l-[-l]e-[b]i za-a-[ ]

C rev. 6: [ ] dumu-sag̃ abzu-ke$_4$ ša$_6$-ga zíl-z[íl-]

F rev. 28: [-n]a dumu-sag̃ abzu-ke$_4$ sig$_5$-ga z[í]l-zíl-bi za-a-[ ]

6A341 obv.? 4': [*-m*]*a* TU$_6$.⌜ÉN⌝

A rev. 85: dAMAR.UTU *mar reš-tu-ú šá ap-si-*⌜*i*⌝ *b*[*u- -m*]*u-*⌜*qu*⌝ *ku-u*[*m-*]

C rev. 7: [ ]*-tu-ú šá ap-si-i bu-un-nu-u du-um-mu-q*[*u*]

F rev. 29: [ ]⌜x *reš*⌝-[*t*]*u-ú šá ap-si-i bu-un-nu-ú dum-mu-qa ku-um-m*[*u*]

Although there is a visible line between obv.? 2' and 3' of 6A341, the possible duplicate passages presented above would place obv.? 3'-4' as part of the first incantation. However, if 6A341 obv.? 1'-4' is a possible duplicate passage of the edited lines from *Muššu'u* and Sag̃-gig above, this would indicate that the otherwise Sumerian lines on 6A341 would have (occasionally) included Akkadian, because obv.? 4' must have represented such a line. This may imply that the Akkadian was also preserved somehow in 6A341, and, if so, then the [...*-m*]*a* would have been part of an Akkadian phrase, such as [*ku-um-m*]*a* (see CAD K: 479–480).

5'-lo.e. 9': We would like to see the next incantation on 6A341 reflected in the following spell from Sag̃-gig. However, obv.? 5'-6' is at best partly reflected in Sag̃-gig V lines 3–5, presented below in composite transliteration on the basis of Schramm's unpublished manuscript (Schramm unpublished: 64), with the passages relevant for 6A341 underlined:

3: sag̃-gig gú-sa-(a) gig lú-ra šà/šu-mu-un-g̃á-g̃á (cf. obv.? 5')

4: *di-'u-u mu-ru-uṣ da-ad-da-ni ana* LÚ*/a-me-lu iš-šá-kin-ma*

5: sag̃-gig a-g̃i$_6$-a-gin$_7$ mu-un/in-du$_7$-du$_7$-dè (cf. obv.? 6')

Although clearly not a duplicate, 6A341 shares the sentiment of these sentences, with the phrases from the incantation directly following Sag̃-gig IV lines 107–110 in an incantation directly after the partial duplicate in 6A341. However, obv.? 6'-8' is not reflected in the following lines in Sag̃-gig V. There is actually a better candidate for a possible duplicate found in *Muššu'u* III inc. 1 lines 1–5 (Böck 2007: 134), which is also part of Sag̃-gig III 1–9 (Schramm unpublished: 33). I have provided Böck's edition of the relevant Sumerian lines from *Muššu'u* III inc. 1 below, with the relevant lines

from 6A341 added into the edition for comparison (the Akkadian lines from *Muššu'u* have been omitted as these do not seem to have been copied in the Hamath manuscript):

Muššu'u III inc. 1 lines 1–5 (= Sag̃-gig III 1–9, following the mss provided by Böck 2007: 133, which are also listed by Schramm unpublished: 32–33)

6A341 obv.? 5': [ ] ⌜gú⌝-sa-a

1 A obv. 1: [ ]-⌜àm gú!⌝-s[a]-à[m]

D obv. 1: ÉN sag̃-gi[g g]ú-⌜sa?⌝-[àm : ...] (*Akk.*) : gú-sa-a

G obv. 1: ⌜ÉN⌝ s[ag̃]-gig gú-sa-à[m]

6A341 obv.? 6': [i]m-ta-du_7-⌜du_7⌝

2 A obv. 3: [-b]i-ta $uš_{11}$ im-ta-⌜du_7⌝-d[u_7]

D obv. 2: sag̃-gi[g : ...] (*Akk.*) : $uš_{11}$ im-ta-du-du

G obv. 2: ⌜sag̃-gig⌝ igi-bi-ta (*Akk.*) [ ]

6A341 obv.? 7': [na]m-ta-è

3 A obv. 5: [-t]a : (*Akk.*) : n[am-]

D obv. 3: sag̃-gi[g] ⌜é⌝-[kur-ta : ...] (*Akk.*) : na[m]-⌜ta⌝-è

G obv. 3: sag̃-gig é-kur-ta (*Akk.*) [ ]-t[a-]

6A341 obv.? 8': [n]am-ta-⌜è⌝

4 A obv. 6: [-t]a : (*Akk.*) : nam-t[a]

D obv. 4: é [^{d}en]-líl-lá-ta : (*Akk.*) ⌜: nam⌝-[t]a-è

G obv. 4: é ^{d}en-líl-lá-ta (*Akk.*) nam-ta-⌜x⌝ (Final wedge on Böck's copy does not appear to be part of ud in è nor part of the beginning of du_6 for e_{11})

6A341 lo.e. 9': [na]m? (*ends midsentence?*)

5 A obv. 7: [ ] kur šà-ta!(ba) nam-ta-e_{11}-⌜dè⌝

D obv. 5: kur-⌜ra⌝ kur šà-ta : (*Akk.*) : nam-⌜ta-e_{11}⌝-dè

G obv. 5: kur-ra ⌜kur⌝ šà-ta (*Akk.*) nam-ta-⌜e_{11}⌝-[ ]

6A 341 obv.? 6' [i]m-ta-du_7-⌜du_7⌝ is not preserved in the manuscripts edited by Böck (2007: 134). However, upon collation of the photograph on CDLI of ms A (= K 8831), this manuscript actually preserves this phrase, although in a damaged section. Still, neither [i]m-ta-du_7-⌜du_7⌝ nor im-ta-du-du correspond to the Akkadian written in ms A obv. 4: *i-⌜sa-làḫ⌝*. 6A341's [na]m-ta-è in obv.? 7' is preserved in at least one possible duplicate manuscript of *Muššu'u* III inc. 1 line 3 (not in Böck's edition, but copied in the hand drawing on pl. VIIIa). As argued in Chapter 9, it is plausible 6A341 was a school text, and, by extension, it is not surprising that lo.e. 9' ended midsentence.

5': There appears to be a small vertical wedge after g]ú- and a small *Winkelhaken* at the beginning of -sa-. Both these wedges may have been added inadvertently, and they are regarded as superfluous.

7'-8': See also other incantations with partially similar lines ending in nam-ta-è, such as the Sumerian lines in a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual incantation in *Muššu'u* I inc. 1/Sag̃-gig I lines 1–4 (see Böck 2014: 83; Oshima 2014: 253; Böck 2007: 94, 101; Schramm unpublished: 12) and a Gula incantation (Geller 2005: 90).

8': The NAM appears to be written with fewer wedges than the sign in 6A343 obv.? 7.

Lo.e. 9': The remains of a sign are visible in the break to the left, although it seems unlikely that there are any signs written after these wedges. There are no further visible wedges on the edge on the photograph. What the purpose of this line may have been remains unclear, although it seems to have been cut off midsentence.

Medical and Omen Texts

No. 12: Medical Tablet with Prescriptions for Treating Ear Illnesses

Four fragments of a large two-columned tablet in Babylonian script with symptom descriptions and medical prescriptions for treating problems of the ear. Col. i-ii on the obverse are preserved, and a single fragment likely belongs to part of col. iii on the reverse. The entries partly duplicate symptom descriptions and prescriptions known from other manuscripts, but the text is not a direct duplicate to known tablets from other libraries, e.g., Assurbanipal's libraries in Nineveh. For references and editions of texts with ear problems related to the present text, see Steinert 2018: 223; Scurlock 2014: 367–387; Heeßel 2010: 52–55; Geller 2009; Scurlock and Stephens 2008; Geller 2007: 12–13, 18; Scurlock 2006: 377–424, 637,664; Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 203–206; Heeßel and Al-Rawi 2003; Labat 1957; Thompson 1931; see also examples in CAD U-W: 365–366.

Museum no.:	6A293(+)6A294(+)6A336(+)6A338
Provenience:	Ḥamā, level E,
	Outside Building III, N16 (6A293)
	Outside Building III, N16 (6A294)
	Building III, N16, Room A no. 2 (6A336)
	Building III, N16, Room A no. 4 (6A338)
Length / Width / Thickness:	6A293: 42 / 38 / 17 mm
	6A294: 44 / 30 / 15 mm
	6A336: 65 / 61 / 17 mm
	6A338: 60 / 40 / 22 mm
CDLI no.:	P525392
Photograph / Copy:	pp. 221–227
Bibliography:	Fugmann 1958: 190–191 (discussion)
	Ingholt 1940: 115 (discussion)

Transliteration

Sigla	Museum no.	Provenience	Columns
A	6A293(+)6A294(+)6A336 (+)6A338	Ḥamā (Building III)	2
A_1	6A336		
A_2	6A293		
A_3	6A338		
A_4	6A294		

Obverse col. i

Ms A_2

1' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x-meš?˺

2' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x˺

3' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)] pad

4' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*) r]u?

5' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x˺

6' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]

7' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x˺

8' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x˺

(*Breaks off*)

Ms A_1

o'' [...] ˹x(?)˺[(x x)]

1'' [...]˹x˺ [(x)]

2'' [...] ˹NA BI?˺

3'' [...]˹x x x˺

4'' [...]˹x˺ bi-˹šá˺-ti GU_7.MEŠ

5'' [...]˹x˺ [N]AG.MEŠ U_4.7.KAM GUR.GUR-*šú*

6'' [DIŠ] NA ˹GEŠTU GÙB˺-*šú* IM *iš-biṭ-ma* DUGUD

7'' [N]A BI *aš-rat* ^{d}30 KIN.KIN-*ma ina* U_4.6.KA[M]

8'' [S]I[G_5]? IGI *ana* TI.LA-*šú* Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN ˹sígˀ˺ÀK[A]

9'' [NIG]IN-*mi* Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN SUD *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-[(*an*)]

10'' ˹Ì˺.BUR ˹*el*?˺-*la ana* SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB-*di* [(x)]

11'' [NINDA] ˹GU_7-*šú*˺ KAŠ {*ina*} NAG-*šú ú-maṭ-ṭ*[*a*]

12'' [U_4.x.KAM] ˹GUR˺.GUR-[*šú*]

13'' [(x x x x x x)]˹(x) x x x˺[(x)]

(*Breaks off*)

Ms A_3

1''' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x-*ma*?˺

2''' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]

3''' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x˺

4''' [(*ca. 12 signs missing*)]˹x-*šú*?˺ GAR

(*Breaks off*)

Obverse col. ii

Ms A_2

1' LUGUD *ina* GEŠTU?˹II˺-*šú* E[$_{11}$!?(DU$_6$.DU) ...]

2' ŠE.GA *ina* ˹U_4˺.3.KAM *u*[*l*? ...]

3' NA BI *aš-rat* ^{d}*Nin-u*[*rta*? KIN.(KIN?) ...]

4' *ana* TI.LA-*šú* LAG ^{mun}*e*[*me*!*-sal-lim* ...]

5' Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN SUD *ana* ŠÀ [...]

6' ^{túg}NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL ^{síg}[...]

7' *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-*an* [...]

8’ NE-*ra* GU$_7$.M[EŠ … NA]G?

9’ [U$_4$].7.KAM […]

10’ [(x x)] ⌜x (x)⌝[…]
(*Breaks off*)
Ms A$_3$
1’’ ⌜Ì.GIŠ? x x⌝[…]
2’’ Ì.GIŠ šim[GIG? …]
3’’ ⌜*ana*⌝ ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* [GAR …]
4’’ ⌜*ana*⌝ SAG.DU-*šú* Š[UB? NINDA GU$_7$.MEŠ]
5’’ KAŠ NAG!.MEŠ ⌜x?⌝[…]

6’’ DIŠ NA GEŠTU ZAG-*šú* I[R …]
7’’ LUG[U]D DAB ni ⌜x⌝[…]
8’’ NA BI *aš-rat* ⌜d⌝[(DN) KIN-*ma* …]
9’’ *ana* TI.LA-*šú* túg[G]AD[A? …]
10’’ Ì.GIŠ EREN Ì.⌜GIŠ⌝ Š[UR?.MÌN …]
11’’ Ì.GIŠ GI DÙG.GA *ana* SA[G?.DU-*šú* (ŠUB) …]
12’’ úḪAR.ḪAR *ina* KAŠ NAG.MEŠ ⌜U$_4$⌝.[x.KAM (GUR.GUR-*šú*)]

13’’ ⌜DIŠ NA GEŠTU GÙB⌝-*šú* IR TUKU-*ma* […]
14’’ [x x x] ⌜NA? BI? x⌝[…]
(*Breaks off*)
Reverse col. iii
Ms A$_4$
1’ […]⌜x x⌝[(x x x)]
2’ [… sígÀ]KA ⌜NIGIN⌝-[*mi* (x x)]
3’ [… *ina lib-b*]*i* GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-*a*[*n*]

4’ [… sígÀK]A NIGIN-*mi*
5’ [… Ì.GI]Š ŠUR.MÌN *ana* SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB

6’ [… KAŠ.S]AG NAG.MEŠ

7’ [… GUR].GUR-*šum*

8’ […] *ana qer-bi-nu*
9’ […]⌜x⌝ GÚ?-⌜*ma*⌝
10’ [… S]IG$_5$ GÁL-*šú*
11’ [… NIGI]N-*m*[*i*?]
12’ […] ⌜ŠUR.MÌN⌝
(*Breaks off*)
Reverse col. iv completely broken away

Translation

Obverse col. i

Ms A_2

1'-8' [...]

(*Breaks off*)

Ms A_1

0''-1'' [...]

2''-3'' [...], that man [...],

4'' [...] he continually eats ...,

5'' he continually [d]rinks [...], he repeats this for seven days.

6'' [If] a man's left ear is stricken by wind and (feels) 'heavy',

7''-8'' that [m]an continually seeks out the sanctuary of Sîn, and he experiences good fortune for 6 days. To cure him:

8''-9'' You [wra]p cypress oil in a tuf[t] of wool, you sprinkle (it) with cypress oil, you place (it) in the middle of his ears,

10'' you place pure oil from a bowl onto his head,

11'' his ability to eat [bread] and drink beer will be restricte[d],

12'' he repeats this [for x days].

13'' [...]

(*Breaks off*)

Ms A_3

1'''-4''' [...], you place [... (*in the middle of his ears*?)]

(*Breaks off*))

Obverse col. ii

Ms A_2

1'-2' (And if) the pus in his ears flo[ws$^{!?}$ *out* (lit.: down) (*something*?)] is favourable, on the 3rd day [(*it/he is*)] not [...],

3' that man [(continually?) seeks out] the sanctuary of Ninu[rta$^{?}$ ...],

4' to cure him: Lump of *e*[*mesal*]-salt, [...],

5' you sprinkle with cypress oil, [you place (it)] in the middle of [his ears],

6' a soiled rag, *woollen* [...],

7' you place in the middle of his ears, [...],

8' he c[ontinually] eats a *hot meal*, [and he drin]ks [...],

9' for seven [days (he repeats this)].

10' [...]

(*Breaks off*)

Ms A_3

1'' Oil of [...],

2'' oil of [*kanaktu*(?)]-aromatic, [...],

3'' [you place (it)] in the middle of his ears, [(*a type of oil*?)]

4'' you p[lace?] onto his head, [(he continually eats bread)],
5'' he continually drinks! beer, [...].

6'' If a man's right ear [has] swe[at, (and) ...],
7'' it holds p[u]s, [...],
8'' that man [(*continually*?) *seeks out*] the sanctuary of [(DN) ...],
9'' to cure him: a [l]ine[n] cloth? [...],
10'' cedar oil, cy[press] oil, [you ...]
11'' oil of "sweet reed" [you place] onto [his] he[ad?, ...]
12'' he continually drinks *ḫašû*-thyme in beer, [(he repeats this) for x] days.

13'' If a man's left ear has sweat, and [...]
14'' [...], that man [...]
(*Breaks off*)

Reverse col. iii
Ms A$_4$
1' [...]
2' You wrap [... in flee]ce,
3' you place [... in the midd]le of his ears.

4' You wrap [... in fl]eece,
5' [...], you place [oi]l of cypress onto his head.

6' [...], he continually drinks [be]er.

7' [... (*for x days*) he re]peats this.

8' [(If a man) ...] on the inside,
9' [...] *the neck*, and
10' [...] there is [(*something which is*) go]od (for him),
11' [you wra]p [... in ...].
12' [...] cypress,
(*Breaks off*)

Reverse col. iv completely broken away.

Commentary

A$_2$ col. i 5'-6': It is unclear if there is a line missing between col. i 5'-6'. If so, the scribe left the end of this line blank (see ms A$_4$ col. iii 4' and 9').

A$_1$ col. i 4'': According to the available signs, I assume this is an unexpected phonetic writing of the substance *billatu*, which is to be eaten. However, this requires a severe emendation of the second sign, producing the unattractive spelling *bi-lá*$^{!?}$*-ti*.

A_1 col. i 5'': It is unclear which fluid was to be imbibed, though the remains of the single visible wedge could be part of the sign A. Prescribing water (A) to be imbibed would be peculiar, as this is generally not recommended in most of the available prescriptions for problems of the ear.

The writing GUR.GUR must represent a D-stem of *târu* "to do again, repeat". One would expect an intensified stem, and, as the Š-stem is rarely attested, the writing must represent a D-stem (cf. CAD T: 278).

A_1 col. i 6'': To be stricken or blasted by wind (IM *iš-biṭ*) followed by the Sumerogram DUGUD was proposed by Labat (1957: 116) as the reading in AO 6774 col. iv 6', which concerns the right ear (see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 203, 715 note 122). However, Geller (2009: 31) has shown that this line contains an erasure in the manuscript, and he emended the reading. Still, it is difficult to make proper sense of the preserved reading, partly because the verb *emēru* "to swell", interpreted by Geller as the verbal root behind the form *im-mer-ru*, seems to be attested irregularly (e.g., CAD E: 148; AHw: 214). Based on the manuscript presented here, IM *iš-biṭ* appears to be the intended reading in this phrase in such prescriptions, and it seems plausible that the copyist behind AO 6774 misunderstood or miscopied the line. Thus, ŠUB may easily be a mistake for É/*biṭ*. "Wind blasting" is attested in prescriptions dealing with skin ailments and sores, and it is a relatively common description (see Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 91–92, 95–96, 211, 343, 453–454, 698 note 29, 721 notes 98 and 100). Geller's edition of AO 6774 col. iv 6'-8' is provided for comparison. I have collated it from his hand copy:

iv 6': DIŠ NA GEŠTU^{II} ZAG-*šú im-*mer$^{!}$*-ru-ma* DUGUD *ana* [TI-*šú*]
iv 7': *ina* SA$^{!}$ GÚ-*šú* ^{síg}ÀKA NIGIN-*me* Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN SUD
iv 8': *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-*an* Ì.GIŠ BUR KÙ *ina* SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB-*šú*
iv 9': NINDA GU_7 KAŠ NAG *ú-maṭ-ṭa* UD.4.KÁM GUR.GUR-*šú*

Several elements are identical to the prescription in ms A_1 col. i 6''-11''. Most importantly, the opening line was roughly the same, even though it specifies the "right ear" in AO 6774 and the left in ms A_1. Ms A_1 obv. 7'' and part of 8'' are, however, not attested in AO 6774. Still, the text from ^{síg}ÀKA largely fits with the text in ms A_1.

The sign DUGUD designates "to be heavy" *kabātu* and it can be found in many varied medical prescriptions. In these contexts, the word may designate that an ailment either weighs heavily upon a person's physical abilities (i.e., designating severity), is bothersome, is painful, or that use of a part of the body is difficult. In other prescriptions in the partially similar medical manuscript BAM 503, e.g., col. ii 54', the patient's hearing (*neš-ma-a*) is described as difficult (DUGUD). The medical term DUGUD/*kabātu* has not received much attention, and I will examine the meaning and use of the term elsewhere.

A_1 col. i 6''-12'': Several entries on BAM 503 col. iii preserve similar instructions for seeking out the temples of deities (see Scurlock 2014: 376–377; Thompson 1931: 13–15). The relevant prescriptions are transliterated in full below for comparison. I draw on Scurlock's edition, although I have avoided reconstructing more than necessary. All readings have been collated via the photograph of BAM 503, available via CDLI (P400233), and via Köcher's copy (1980: pls. 107–117).

BAM 503 col. iii 48'-51'

col. iii 48': DIŠ NA GEŠTU ZAG-*šú ina* KÚM ⌜x⌝[(x x x) NA BI *aš*]-*rat* ^{d}UTU : ^{d}30 KIN-*ma*
col. iii 49': DUG_4.GA *u* GIŠ.TUK GAR ⌜x⌝[(x x x ^{mun})*e*]*me-sal-lim ina* Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN
col. iii 50': ⌜Ì.GIŠ ^{šim}GIG⌝ S[UD (x x x x x) Ì.BUR *e*]*l-lam ana* SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB-*di*
col. iii 51': [(*broken space, ca. seven signs*) U_4.x.KÁ]M GUR.GUR-*šum-ma* TI

BAM 503 col. iii 52'-56'

col. iii 52': [x x x x x x x]⌜x⌝ NA BI *aš-rat* ^{d}*Nin-urta* KIN-*ma*

col. iii 53': [(*ca. seven signs missing*)]⌜x⌝ ^{mun}*eme-sal-lim* ⌜x (x) x x ^{šim}⌝GIG

col. iii 54': [(*ca. 8 signs missing*) Ì.BU]R *el-lam ana* [SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB-*d*]*i*

col. iii 55': [(*ca. 8–10 signs missing*) ^{ši}]^{m}LI [(x x x x)]

col. iii 56': [U_4.x.KÁM GUR].⌜GUR-*šum-ma*⌝ TI

BAM 503 col. iii 57'-60'

col. iii 57': [(*ca. 10 signs missing*)]-*šú* NA BI *aš-rat* ^{d}UTU KIN-*ma*

col. iii 58': [(*ca. 10 signs missing*) ^{šim}L]I SÚD ^{sígi}ÀKA NIGIN-*mi ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-*an*

col. iii 59': [(*ca. 10–12 signs missing*)] *ina* NINDA ZÍZ.A.AN GU_7 MIN

col. iii 60': [U_4.x.KÁ]M GUR.GUR-*šú-ma* TI

BAM 503 col. iii 61'-63':

col. iii 61': [(*ca. 10 signs missing*) K]IN-*ma* 7 ITI SA_6.GA IGI-*mar*

col. iii 62': [... *ana* ŠÀ GEŠT]U[^{I}]$^{I?}$-*šú* GAR Ì.BUR *el-lam ana* SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB-*di*

col. iii 63': [(*ca. 11 signs missing*)] U_4.7.KÁM GUR.GUR-*šum-ma* TI-*uṭ*

As pointed out by Geller (2009: 32 note 9), the partially broken entry in BAM 503 col. iii 61'-63' may have been similar to the instructions in AO 6774 col. iv 6'-8' quoted above, and in the first line col. iii 61' the text preserves a passage with individual elements similar to ms A_1 col. i 7'-8'.

BAM 503 col. iii 64'-67'

col. iii 64': [DIŠ (*ca. 10 signs missing*) G]IG UD.DA GIG NA.BI ZI.GA

col. iii 65': [(*ca. 10 signs missing*)]⌜x⌝ SIG_5 IGI-*mar ana* TI-*šú*

col. iii 66': [(*ca. 10–12 signs missing*)] ⌜Ì⌝.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN *ana* SAG.DU-*šú* ŠUB-*di*

col. iii 67': [(*ca. 10 signs missing*) U_4.x.KÁ]M GUR.GUR-*šum-ma* TI-*u*[*ṭ*]

BAM 503 col. iii 72'-74'

col. iii 72': [DIŠ NA GEŠTU x-*šú*] ⌜IR⌝ *ana qer-bi-nu ip-ḫu*[*r-ma*] ⌜LUGUD$^{?}$ x-ni$^{?}$ x x LÚ⌝ NE GÁL-*šú* NA BI

col. iii 73': [*aš-rat* DN K]IN-*ma* ⌜SIG_5 IGI-*mar*⌝ *ana* TI-*šú* ⌜GADA⌝ *ta-ṣ*[*a*]*p-pir* Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN Ì.GIŠ EREN SUD *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-*an*

col. iii 74': [x x x x] ⌜*a-na* SAG⌝.DU-*šú* ŠUB *an-*⌜*nu-u*$^{?}$⌝ K[ÚM$^{?}$] ⌜GU_7⌝ MIN ^{ú}ḪAR.ḪAR *ina* KAŠ NAG MIN U_4.7.KÁM GUR.GUR-*šum-ma* TI

BAM 503 col. iii 75'-78'

col. iii 75': [DIŠ NA GEŠTU] GÙB-*šú* ⌜IR⌝ *ana qer-bi-nu ip-ḫur-*⌜*ma*⌝ LUGUD ŠUB-*ni* NA BI *aš-rat* ^{d}*Iš$_8$-dar* KIN-*ma* SIG_5 IGI-*mar*

col. iii 76': [x x]⌜x x⌝ *ša-šú ḫal-qam* IGI-*mar ana* TI-*šú* ⌜Ì.GIŠ ^{giš}⌝[E]REN Ì.GIŠ {Ì.GIŠ} ^{giš}ŠUR.MÌN Ì.GIŠ ^{šim}BA[L]

col. iii 77': [Ì.GIŠ GI] DÙG.GA Ì.GIŠ ^{šim}⌜GIG⌝ ^{sígi}ḪÉ.ME.DA SUD *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU-*šú* GAR Ì.GIŠ ^{šim}GIG *ana* S[AG.DU-*šú*]

col. iii 78': [ŠUB] *bu-úḫ-ra* GU_7 MIN KAŠ NAG MIN U_4.7.KÁM GU[R.GUR-*šum-ma* TI]

Several of the elements preserved in most of these prescriptions are reminiscent of A_1 col. i 6''-12'', such as the reference to visiting a specific deity's temple to gain good fortune (see below), as well as the instructions to place pure oil onto the patient's head, eat and drink substances, and repeat it for a number of days. Yet, none of the entries in BAM 503 duplicate the prescription in ms A_1, and all the diagnoses are different. Furthermore, several of the ingredients listed differ from ms A_1. As dis-

cussed below, several of these elements are also preserved in other prescriptions from Hamath Text 12.

A_1 col. i 7''-8'': A specification of days alongside the phrase SIG_5 IGI occurs in this prescription. Scurlock (2014: 385) translates SIG_5 IGI-(*mar*) as "he will have good fortune" (cf. BAM 503 col. iii 61' SA_6.GA IGI "he will experience improvement", Scurlock 2014: 385; see also the translation of SIG_5 IGI by Thompson 1931: 15 as "he shall see good fortune (health)"). Presumably, SIG_5 should be read as the substantive *dumqu* "good fortune" or perhaps *damiqtu* "favour, good will, luck" without a phonetic complement (CAD D: 64–67, 73–74; CDA: 55). Furthermore, the sign IGI is regularly supplied with the phonetic complement *-mar*, indicating that the verb is *amāru* in the sense "to see divine favour" or "experience favour" (e.g., CAD A/2: 9).

A_1 col. i 8'': The first visible wedges partially support the expected reading SIG_5, although there is some doubt.

The final wedges appear to form the sign ŠID, which is used to write ÀKA.

A_1 col. i 9'': For this line, see also the prescriptions from BAM 503 quoted in the commentary to ms A_1 col. i 6''-12'' above, and, e.g., BAM 503 col. iv 3 (Scurlock 2014: 377): ... ^{síg}ÀKA NIGIN Ì.GIŠ ŠUR.MÌN SUD *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú* GAR-*an* ...

A_1 col. i 10'': The writing Ì.BUR *el-lam* is attested in several prescriptions for the ears, see, e.g., BAM 503 col. iii 54' and 62' (Scurlock 2014: 376). The *šaman pūri* is described as "a high quality oil used in ritual anointing" in the CAD (P: 527), although *pūru* simply refers to "a shallow bowl or platter" (ibid.: 526). The signs following BUR in ms A_1 appears to be ⌜*el*?⌝-*la*, although there may be a vertical wedge missing in the sign EL, and it cannot be ruled out that the sign may have begun as an IL. However, there is little breakage in this particular area, so I would not expect a missing wedge. As it is typically written *el-lam*, the line in ms A_1 is uncertain.

A_1 col. i 11'': For the restoration of this line, see the prescription from AO 6774 quoted in the commentary to ms A_1 col. i 6'' above.

It is unclear if the *ina* was added as a mistake, or if the scribe intended a phonetic complement to KAŠ^{aš}. I have chosen to remove it in the transliteration above, although the latter interpretation cannot be ruled out.

A_1 col. i 12'': For the reconstructed [U_4.x.KAM], see AO 6774 quoted in the commentary to ms A_1 col. i 6'' above. The choice of reconstructing KAM over KÁM is because the Hamath manuscripts seem to favour KAM in ms A_2.

The reconstructed final -[*šú*] is based on the writing in A_1 col. i 5'' above.

A_3 col. i 1''': The final sign does not look like *-ma*, and could perhaps be read ⌜ḪUR?⌝. However, the correct reading remains uncertain.

A_3 col. i 4''': The *Winkelhaken* in the suggested *-šú* would be placed unusually high. If the wedges do not belong to *šú*, it is also possible the final sign should be read PAD or $KURUM_6$.

A_2 col. ii 1'-10': It is not entirely clear where this fragment should be placed in the reconstructed text. It was located in either obverse col. ii or reverse col. iii and seems to begin midsentence. On the photograph, the fragment appears to have an edge at the top, but, upon closer inspection, I believe it is not the top or bottom edge, but instead a clean cut on the fragment. One would expect the first line of a column to begin with a new entry, although the final line of, e.g., BAM 503 col. iii 79' ends midsentence (Scurlock 2014: 377).

A_2 col. ii 1': The final wedges have tentatively been read E[$_{11}$!?]. At least one comparable passage related to ear infections also mentions certain conditions involving pus (LUGUD = MÚD.BABBAR) with the

writing E_{11}, see, Scurlock 2014: 372 line 56'. Scurlock (ibid.: 382) translates this as "if the pus which is in his ears comes out". The writing E_{11} ordinarily refers to the antonyms (*w*)*arādu* and *elû* "to go down" and "to go up". Fluids are occasionally described with *arādu* as "to flow down", which must have the nuance "flow *out*" of the ear here (see CAD A/2: 217). However, most fluids from the ear would eventually turn downwards once out of the orifice, so perhaps that is what is meant. Other examples relating to the movement of *šarku* in connection to the ear include ŠUB-*ni*, DÙ-*ni*, DU-*ak*, and *i-ṣar-ru-ur* (Scurlock 2014: 373 col. ii line 72', 374 col. iii 12, 377 col. iii 75' and 79'). It is not impossible that the final wedges should be read as DÙ$^{?}$-*ni*$^{!}$. However, none of the readings fit the available wedges well. In fact, what can be seen on the photograph seems to suggest the otherwise contextually unattested reading *ina er*-[*ši-šu/šú*] "in his bed". This issue cannot be resolved at present.

A_2 col. ii 2': The interpretation of this line is uncertain. ŠE.GA must refer to *magru/magir* "favourable", and it likely belongs together with something broken in col. ii 1'. The following part of col. ii 2' may designate that this [...] is favourable on the 3rd day, or perhaps the whole phrase refers to something favourable, which is not [(*something*)] on the 3rd day. It is unclear if the sign read as ⌜U$_4$⌝ was actually the sign ⌜ITI⌝ "month" (cf. photograph). Maybe an IGI should be restored after the reading *ul*$^{?}$ [IGI] to mirror the phrase discussed above in A_1 col. i 7'-8'.

A_2 col. ii 3'-4': The patient is advised to seek out Ninurta's temple in a similar prescription in BAM 503 col. iii 52'ff. (see above; Scurlock 2014: 376). Because roughly half of each prescription is missing, it is unclear if BAM 503 col. iii 52'-56' can be considered a duplicate. It is possible that the sign before MUN in BAM 503 col. iii 53' was [LA]G, which may suggest it could be a duplicate. The partially reconstructed "lump of *emesal*-salt" is certainly used in other ear prescriptions, such as BAM 503 col. ii 64' (Scurlock 2014: 373): ... LAG ^{mun}*eme-sal-lim*. However, this prescription is otherwise not a duplicate.

A_2 col. ii 6': A soiled cloth/rag (^{túg}NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL, *ulāpu lupputu*) is also used in BAM 503 col. i 29' and 30', which otherwise does not duplicate the present prescription (see Scurlock 2014: 370). Generally, the word appears in a variety of prescriptions in which it was used as a bandage for a patient, in an ointment, and for fumigation (see CAD U-W: 71–72). It was also referenced in omens (see CAD U-W: 71), and it is featured in Lamaštu incantations and rituals (Farber 2014: 150–51, 164–67, 190–91, 206, 310–11). Regarding its use in Lamaštu rituals, Steinert (2016: 247 note 44) argues that the *ulāp aštammi lupputu* "cloth *from* a tavern, soiled" should be interpreted as a "(bloody) menstrual bandage", in reference to women of the taverns (cf. Farber 2014: 165 lines 12–13). In the edition of Ur_5-ra in MSL 10 (136 line 304) the Sumerogram ^{túg}NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU$^{!}$.LÁL is rendered as MIN (= *ú-la-pu*) *da-me* "blood cloth", and in another lexical manuscript as a piece of clothing(?) *zu-nu* (= *sūnu*?) equated with *u*-[*la-pu*] (ibid.: 142 line 79; see also the commentary in SpTU I: 37 no. 28 rev. 4'-6'). In the so-called Practical Vocabulary from Assur (Landsberger and Gurney 1958: 331 line 298), the Sumerogram is equated with *su-na-bu*, which is a term only known from lexical texts related to *sanābu* "to tie", and it must relate to bandaging cloth used in prescriptions. As stated in AHw (1439), the writing NÍG.DÁRA was related to "ein Gewebe" (*uṣû*) originating from the word to "come out" (*waṣû*), likely originating in the observation of fluid originating from wounds. In a version of Uruanna from Assur, the entry [UZ]U KA_5.A "fox flesh" is equated with ^{túg}NÍ[G.D]ÁRA.ŠU.LÁL (*CT* 37 pl. 26 col. i 17; see also the LB medical commentary *BRM* 4 no. 32 line 6 edited in Scurlock 2014: 342, 344; Geller 2010: 168, 171). The "flesh of a female fox" (UZU ^{munus}KA_5.A) is also eaten in a prescription for a problematic birth (*AMT* 67,1 col. iv 20). Scurlock (ibid.: 380) translates the references to "soiled rag" in BAM 503 as *sikillu*-plant, although her basis for this suggestion is unclear.

However, in BAM 307, a partial commentary on plant names from the N4 text collection in Assur, the equation ^{túg}NÍG.DÁRA.ŠU.LÁL with ^{ú}SIKIL is found in rev. 23. Thus, it is clear that a "soiled rag" could also refer to a plant. In a manuscript with prescriptions and incantations from Sultantepe, the passage ^{túg}NÍG.DA[RA.Š]U.LÁL$^{!}$(me) NÍG.GIG$^{!?}$(nab) $^{lú\lceil}$AŠGAB$^{?\rceil}$ "a soiled rag, the taboo of the leatherworker" seems to be preserved (*STT* 2 no. 281 col. iv 17–18).

A_2 col. ii 8': It is unclear whether ms A_4 was part of the obverse of the original tablet, or if it was located on the reverse, and so corresponds to the lower part of col. iii. I prefer the latter interpretation here. If part of the reverse, ms A_4 would make the slightly visible NAG on the side belong to the upper part of col. ii, and, if correct, it might belong at the end of this line, as it fits with the content continuing with instructions for eating in col. ii 8'.

The proposed reading NE-*ra* for the hot dish *buḫru* does not seem to be attested with certainty elsewhere. The sign NE can stand for *baḫru*, which may have been misinterpreted in connection to the associated name of the dish.

A_2 col. ii 8'-10': It is unclear how these lines are subdivided by horizontal lines on the actual tablet. There appears to be two lines between col. ii 8'-9', although one may simply be a supporting line upon which the signs are meant to be attached. Regardless, there also seems to be a line between 9'-10'. However, ms A_2 col. ii 9' must have belonged to the prescription in col. ii 1'-8'.

A_3 col. ii 2'': The oil of ^{šim}GIG is also used in prescriptions for the ear in BAM 503, e.g., col. iii 50' and 77' (Scurlock 2014: 376–377).

A_3 col. ii 4'': As in several other examples in the Hamath manuscript, it seems plausible that the broken part of the line should be reconstructed with [NINDA GU_7.MEŠ], as col. ii 5'' continues with KAŠ NAG$^{!}$.MEŠ. However, ms A_2 col. ii 8' has NE-*ra* GU_7.ME[Š].

A_3 col. ii 5'': The sign read NAG$^{!}$ appears to be GU_7, but, as the substance to be imbibed is "beer" (KAŠ), the sign must be emended.

A_3 col. ii 6''-8'': These lines may be a partial duplicate to BAM 503 col. iii 72'-73' (Scurlock 2014: 376). The sign IR in this context represents the word *zūtu/zu'tu* "sweat, exudation", which is used in relation to humans and horses. Clearly, the word designated a fluid different from *šarku* "pus". In BAM 503 col. iii 72' and 75', it is also used with the verb *paḫāru* "to gather". However, it is also possible to reconstruct I[R TUKU-*ma*] or something similar.

The suggested reading DAB after LUGUD would result in the sentence containing the verb *kullu*. This verb is attested in connection to the ear and pus in, e.g., BAM 3 col. iv 20, although it is written phonetically and not as a Sumerogram. The same applies to another prescription in BAM 503 col. ii 58'-60'. However, this does not account for the remaining visible signs in the line. Alternatively, the line could read ŠUB$^{!}$-*ni*, although the sign does not really appear to be ŠUB. A similar writing may be attested in BAM 503 col. iii 75' quoted above. This interpretation does not provide a suitable explanation for the phonetic complement *-ni*.

A_3 col. ii 7'': The signs after DAB could be read Ì.$^{\lceil}$GIŠ$^{?\rceil}$, though this reading does not produce a more meaningful passage.

A_3 col. ii 9''ff.: The ingredients in this prescription appears to be a mix of those listed for the "right" and "left" ear in BAM 503 col. iii 72'-78' (see above; Scurlock 2014: 376–377).

A_3 col. ii 13'': On the photo, it appears as though the heads of two vertical wedges are visible after GEŠTU and before GÙB. These have been ignored on the copy, as it cannot be ascertained if shadows on the photograph provide a wrong impression. Nonetheless, there is too much space between these two signs, considering how close the remaining signs in the line are written.

The partially visible GÙB looks very similar to ŠÀ in ms A_3 col. ii 3''.

The final visible sign(s) are unclear, although they may resemble either a broken U[R] or a TUK followed by a *-ma*. It is unclear if there is a horizontal wedge above the sign, which would make each of these suggestions impossible. Furthermore, prescriptions for the ears do not regularly seem to specify TUKU (*išu* or *bašû* Š) or UR (*bâšu*).

A_4 col. iii 3': One would expect *ana* ŠÀ GEŠTU^{II}-*šú*, but the remaining wedges do not support ŠÀ. Hence, the proposed reading remains uncertain.

A_4 col. iii 6': KAŠ.SAG can be read as *šikaru* "beer" and *šikaru rēštû* "first quality beer".

A_4 col. iii 8': The phrase *ana qerbēnu* seems to be fixed, and it is spelled like this in various texts (see CAD Q: 210–211).

A_4 col. iii 9': The signs in this line are very difficult to read on the photograph, mainly because the number of wedges cannot be determined accurately. It is possible that the two(?) entirely visible signs could be GÚ$^{?}$-$^{\lceil}$*ma*$^{\rceil}$ for "neck" or GU$_4$.GIŠ$^{?}$ for *alap nīri*, together with some additional readings. Presumably, the line was part of the diagnosis, and, thus, any mention of an ox would be peculiar. Still, if one regards the suggested reading as the most probable, it would also be reasonable to reconstruct ÉLLAG. The signs could also be read muš/šir-$^{\lceil}$*ma*$^{\rceil}$ and the final sign might even be DU$_6^{?}$/dul$^{?}$. One wonders if a textile such as ^{túg}BAR.DUL was meant.

A_4 col. iii 10': For a possible partial duplicate with an uncertain context, see BAM 503 col. iii 72' quoted above (Scurlock 2014: 376). The problem is how to interpret the present phrase in ms A_4, as it is difficult to make proper sense of the writing SIG$_5$ GÁL-*šú*.

No. 13: Fragment with Šumma izbu Omens

Lower left corner of a large tablet in Babylonian script with "malformed foetus" (*Šumma izbu*) omens. The manuscript was likely broken directly before or after the attack on Hamath in 720 BCE. It was presumably dropped when an attempt was made to remove the manuscript from Building III, landing alongside another piece of a tablet or some bitumen, which melted together when Building III was burned by the Assyrians (see also Text 9). No direct parallels to the series *Šumma izbu* can be identified, and, considering the diverse topics covered on these few lines, the manuscript may have been a school text with extracts of individual lines. For the most recent edition of the series *Šumma izbu*, see De Zorzi 2014. It is unclear if the tablet may have mirrored the layout found in other 2nd millennium BCE omen texts found in northern Mesopotamia and the periphery (George 2013: 105), but it is clear that lines spanning more than one line were indented significantly.

Museum no.: 6A342
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building III, N16, Room B no. 10
Length / Width / Thickness: 55 / 30 / 25 mm
CDLI no.: P525398
Photograph / Copy: p. 228
Bibliography: Fugmann 1958: 191 (discussion)

Transliteration

Obverse?

1' [B]E ⌜*iz-bu*⌝ [x] ⌜*u*? *na-ḫi-ra-šu*?⌝ [...] \ KUR *mit-ḫa-ri*[*š* (*iḫalliq*?)]

2' BE *iz-bu ina* UGU SAG.DU-*šú* ⌜LUL⌝ GAR u_4-⌜*mi*?⌝-[*šú*? ...]

3' BE *iz-bu* MIN 2 ÉLLAG.MEŠ *ina* 15 1 *ina* 150 GAR ⌜x⌝[...]

4' BE *iz-bu ṣer-ri-tú* GAR LUGAL *ana* LUGAL ⌜x⌝[...] \ LU[G]AL ⌜GAL? *šar*/KU_4?⌝ giš⌜GU.⌜ZA⌝ [...]

5' ⌜BE *iz-bu* KA⌝ [x (x)] ⌜GAR? LUGAL x⌝[...]

Reverse completely broken away

Translation

Obverse?

1' [I]f a malformed foetus' [...] and? its? nostrils [..., (then) ...] the land [(*will go*?)] completel[y (*to ruin*?)].

2' If a malformed foetus has a LUL-shaped (cuneiform grapheme) on top of its head, (then) [*his*] days [...].

3' If a malformed foetus "ditto", it has 2 kidneys on the right and 1 on the left, (then) [...].

4' If a malformed foetus has whiskers, (then) the king [*will* ...] to a(nother) king, (*and/or*?) the great king [*will* ...] the king of the throne (alt.: the great king will enter (and) [...] the throne).

5' If a malformed foetus has the mouth of a [...], (then) the king [...].

Commentary

Obv.? 1': The sign read as *u*? may have belonged to the broken sign directly before it, although this is uncertain. The available broken space of approximately one sign could have been [KA-*šú*], which would fit the following ⌜*u*? *na-ḫi-ra*⌝-*š*[*u*?]. Alternatively, the broken sign between *iz-bu* and what appears to be *u* could be a number. Similar examples of this are attested in relation to nostrils in various entries with broken apodoses in the series, see De Zorzi 2014: 416, 466, 535, 616–617, 651, 675–677, 680, 684–685.

A pronominal suffix *-šú* is expected after the possible reading *na-ḫi-ra*, but the sign appears to be a *šu*. This sign is rarely used in similar omen texts during this period for the third person singular pronominal suffix, although it does occur (e.g., Leichty 1970: 93 line 49').

The sign read as *mit* could perhaps also be NU or a crude KÚR. None of the readings improve the interpretation. For the suggested reconstruction of the apodosis, see examples in CAD M/2: 134.

2': It is unclear how to interpret the sign after SAG.DU-*šú* and before GAR. It is clearly the sign LUL. As the sign only offers limited readings as a Sumerogram, one possibility is to interpret the sentence as a reference to the shape of a cuneiform sign on top of a man's head. Such protases are not attested elsewhere in *Šumma izbu*, but they do occur in extispicy (Frahm 2010: 100–114; see Koch 2000 and 2005), as well as physiognomic omens (Frahm 2010: 114–130; see Böck 2000). At least one entry in an extispicy text provides the name of a sign followed by a GAR (Frahm 2010: 112), although all relevant entries for comparison in physiognomic omens are phrased differently. Following the interpretation of the malformed foetus having a LUL-shaped grapheme on top of its head, the broken apodosis might have had a positive/negative impact extracted from the meanings of the sign LUL. A less plausible alternative to the proposed reading could be that the scribe forgot a sign and meant to write KA_5.<A> GAR, "If a malformed foetus has a fox on top of its head". If this was the case, he must have made a mistake, and intended to write "If a malformed foetus has the head of a fox".

Omens with foetuses having features of a fox are attested (e.g., De Zorzi 2014: 469 line 26, 476 line 64, 485 line 109, 528 line 3, 529–30 line 11, 532 line 28, 814, 830 line 31').

It is not clear if the final two visible signs represent the word "day" *ūmu*, or if the second sign was another sign and perhaps spelled out something different. If the word *ūmu* was meant, the apodosis likely defined the man's days as short or long.

3': For other omens concerning a malformed foetus' kidney(s), see De Zorzi 2014: 468–469, 547, 569, 578, 733, 736; Leichty 1970: 162, 164. None of the available entries seem to duplicate that preserved in the manuscript edited here. At least two examples describe the left/right kidney as open (BE-*ma*, see ibid.: 164 lines 79' and 83'). Note that at least one entry concerning the nostrils, which was discussed in a related entry in line 1' on the Hamath tablet edited here, discusses the number found on the right and left side of the *izbu* (see De Zorzi 2014: 677).

The final sign is only partly visible and it resembles ⌜MEŠ?⌝, though the exact reading remains unclear.

4': Omens concerning a malformed foetus' whiskers are attested (e.g., De Zorzi 2014: 538, 677–678; Leichty 1970: 95, 145), although these are ordinarily written *ṣi/ṣir-ri-ta/ti*. For the meaning of the word, see AHw: 1091; CAD Ṣ: 137.

The final partly visible sign could be read G[A]B[A!?], although it could as easily be a GIŠ or a MA, and the exact reading remains uncertain. For an example of a *Šumma izbu* apodosis with GABA.RI-*šú* "his opponent", see, e.g., Leichty 1970: 35 line 46. A slightly related apodosis concerning either an "enemy" or a "king" bringing tribute in connection to a protasis involving "whiskers" occurs in *Šumma izbu* Tablet XII 29–30 (Leichty 1970: 145). An alternative could be LUGAL *ana* LUGAL ⌜giš?⌝[GU.ZA? x (x)].

It is unclear how to interpret the signs in the indented line below obv.? 4'. The initial signs appear to have been LUGAL GAL?, a phrase attested in *Šumma izbu*, albeit rarely (De Zorzi 2014: 778 line 78', 853). The following sign could be SAR with various readings, including the phonetic reading *šar* for "king" in the construct state. However, the written sign might be interpreted instead as KU_4. The reading "to enter" for KU_4 is attested several times in *Šumma izbu*, e.g., De Zorzi 2014: 428, 876, 879–880, 883–884. However, it does not appear to be used in connection to kings. It is possible that the scribe misunderstood the sentence and intended to copy LUGAL <*ana* É>.GAL KU_4 ^{giš}GU.ZA […] "a king will enter <into the pal>ace (and) [*seize*(?)] the throne", although this phrase is not attested directly in *Šumma izbu*. An alternative reading could be LUGAL ⌜MAR?.TU?⌝ ^{giš}GU.⌜ZA⌝ […] "the king of the Westland […] the throne". The phrase LUGAL MAR.TU is attested in *Šumma izbu*, though not in this exact context (see De Zorzi 2014: 748–750 lines 1 and 20', 677 line 28).

There are no direct parallels to this line concerning a throne in *Šumma izbu*, although several omens mention the royal throne and who will seize it (e.g., De Zorzi 2014: 547 line 134', 572 line 54', 575 line 68', 506 line 5, 611 line 14, 613 line 29, 699, 705 line 38, 923 line 4; Leichty 1970: 84, 107, 122–123, 178, 204).

5': The sign read "mouth" (KA) could also be read "nose" (KIR_4). For omens concerning a malformed foetus' mouth or nose, see, e.g., Leichty 1970: 143–147.

Other Texts and Inscribed Objects

The seven items in this section all differ from the previous manuscripts, in that they are not cuneiform tablets in the strict sense. The objects include a clay tablet with cylinder seal impressions containing a cuneiform legend (No. 14), a bead with an engraved cuneiform inscription (No. 15), a number of seals with cuneiform legends (Nos. 16–19), and a ring with engraved cuneiform signs (No. 20). At least two further stamp seals with inscriptions composed of unclassified signs in an uncertain script were recovered from cremation burials dating to ca. 1200–925 BCE (Riis 1948: 159). These items are not included here. Scarabs functioning as stamp seals (Riis 1948: 157–158), as well as a ring (ibid.: 159), all with Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions, were also recovered from the cremation burials dated between ca. 1200–800 BCE.

No. 14: Clay Tablet with Cylinder Seal Impressions

Clay tablet covered with multiple impressions of a single cylinder seal with a cuneiform legend. The seal also depicts numerous versions of the same bird. Although the tablet resembles a clay envelope, it is unlikely to have contained a document (Riis and Buhl 1990: 86). The text was discovered in a layer of destruction on a staircase in Building I leading to Room A. Thus, Riis and Buhl (ibid.) proposed that the text was originally buried in a wall or something similar, from which it may have fallen out during the destruction of the citadel in 720 BCE. If so, the text must be older than the time of destruction.

Museum no.: 5A1
Provenience: Ḥamā, level E, Building I, P16, staircase leading to Room A
Length / Width / Thickness: 80 / 50 / 20 mm
CDLI no.: P525387
Photograph / Copy: p. 229
Bibliography: Riis and Buhl 1990: 85–86 no. 143 and Fig. 42 (photograph and edition)

Transliteration

1 *i-ri-a-du*
2 ARAD ^{d}IM

Translation

1 Iri-Addu,
2 servant of Adad

Commentary

1: The name Iri-Addu appears to be a mixture of Hurrian and Semitic, with reference to Adad (= *Addu*), see Schwemer 2001: 42; Mompeán 1999: 27–28. The name is rarely attested, but it is known from Alalaḫ (ibid.). Thus, it is entirely plausible that a similar hybrid name would appear in the Hamathite cultural melting pot.

No. 15: Agate Bead with a Cuneiform Inscription

Agate bead with three lines of poorly preserved cuneiform writing within a frame, from a cremation burial dated ca. 1075–925 BCE. The burial contained the remains of a female adult and an infant (Riis 1948: 250). Among other grave goods were a cylinder seal (no. 16 below), a scarab, several rings, beads, an amulet, bones and three game pieces (ibid.). Some of these objects originally appear to have been part of a necklace belonging to the deceased (see reconstruction on pl. xx). It seems that Texts 15–16 were part of this necklace because of the ornate nature of the inscribed stones. In accordance with the inscription, the bead must be considered Kassite (see below). The signs are shallowly carved, and the text is very difficult to make out. How the bead made its way to Hamath is uncertain.

Museum no.: 6A191
Provenience: G XII 15
Length / Diameter: 24 / 14 mm
CDLI no.: P525391
Photograph / Copy: pp. 230, 232
Bibliography: Riis 1948: 35 Fig. 22, 161 no. 17, 166 no. II A 17, 250, pl. 6 G XII.3. no. 15 (photograph and edition)

Transliteration

1 ⌜*U*⌝-*ba*?-⌜*ri*!?⌝-*ú* SAG ⌜UDU⌝
2 *Ka-dáš-man-tur*$_7$*-gu*
3 LUGAL ŠÁR?

Translation

1 Ubāru, the "head" of sheep (of)
2 Kadašman-Turgu,
3 the king of the world.

Commentary

1: The name Ubāru "stranger, foreign resident" is attested in many periods, and in a number of MB texts it is spelled, e.g., *U-bar-rù* (BE 17/1 nos. 39 obv. 1 and 40 obv. 1), *U-bar-rum*, *U-bar-ru*, *U-bar-ri* and *U-bar-šu* (see CAD U-W: 11). At Nuzi, one also finds the variants *Ú-bá-ru* and *Ú-ba-ri-ia* (ibid.). The uncertain reading of the name here, however, does not appear to reflect the attested variants of this name. Perhaps the final *ú* should be emended to *šu* or *ia*, which would produce a regular spelling of *Ubāru*. The second sign is not *bar*, instead somewhat resembling a *ba*, although the reading is tentative. The third sign is not a *ri*, but neither is it a *ru* or *ra*. We would expect a sign beginning with /r/.

The last part of the line must be a title. Ordinarily, one would expect *ša rēši* when referring to an official. The present writing must reflect a title pertaining to a similar meaning, although it seems unusual.

2: The spelling of this particular king's name with *tur*$_7$ seems peculiar in relation to attested spellings, but this is clearly the sign incised.

For the Kassite king Kadašman-Turgu (ca. 1281–1264 BCE) of Babylonia, see Brinkman 1976–80; Sassmannshausen 2004; Boese 2009.

3: The reading ŠÁR is uncertain due to one wedge being placed a substantial distance from the other three visible ones. However, it does not appear to represent the sign KIŠ, as suggested by Riis (1948: 166). Although there is breakage in the line, it is unclear if there was originally one or two signs following the LUGAL. However, it is most likely that the signs spelled the title *šar kiššati*.

No. 16: Cylinder Seal of Amethyst

Cylinder seal of amethyst from a cremation burial originating ca. 1075–925 BCE. The seal is carved in imitation of Kassite seals, but was likely produced in Syria (Riis 1948: 153). The seal contains two figures, namely a supplicant with a raised arm facing a resting lion, which is situated underneath the moon and a star/the sun(?). The inscription is partly legible, and the signs are imitative in style. They appear as a combination between traditional forms and more imaginative hieroglyphs of some sort. The seal was excavated in the same burial as Text 15 above and was presumably part of the same necklace as the inscribed bead (see reconstruction on pl. xx).

Museum no.: 6A187
Provenience: G XII 15
Length / Diameter: 40 / 18 mm
CDLI no.: P525390
Photograph / Copy: pp. 231–232
Bibliography: Ravn 1960: 92–93 no. 110 (discussion)
Riis 1948: 153–154, 250, pl. 6 G XII.3. no. 15 (discussion)
Ingholt 1940: 76 and note 10, pl. XXV no. 2 (photograph and discussion)

Transliteration
None given.

Translation
None given.

Commentary
General commentary: The pseudo-hieroglyphic shapes of the cuneiform signs are in some instances surprisingly similar to the assumed fictitious archaic sign forms found in some NA sign lists from Nimrud (CTN 4 nos. 229 and 235; note that CTN 4 no. 229 provides the values of fictitious signs in NB writing, and not in NA sign forms; see Michel 2011 for a recent discussion and a new join; Radner 2009: 225–226 note 26 with further references). Still, Riis and others proposed that some sign forms imitate hieroglyphs of various sorts (Riis 1948: 154; see Ravn 1960: 93).

1: The initial sign here and in line 3 must be DINGIR, likely indicating a divine name. As proposed in Riis' publication, it seems plausible that Ištar should be mentioned in, e.g., the first line, as the cylinder seal depicts her animal, namely a lion (Riis 1948: 154). However, the proposed reading: "Ichtar, souveraine ..." remains uncertain (see ibid.). Note that Ravn (1960: 93) proposed ^{d}INNIN GAŠAN (Ravn read AN.NINNI$_6$.GAŠAN) "Ištar, the divine lady". This reading, however, does not account for the sign between the possible readings INNIN and GAŠAN. The sign is uncertain, but could perhaps be NIN?

4–5: The final sign in the cylinder seal legend line 4 and second to last in line 5 are generally identical to the sign found in CTN 4 no. 229 col. i 5' read DI. Yet, a proper reading of the lines cannot be proposed.

6: The initial sign is clearly a BU, although the reading of the remaining line is uncertain.

No. 17: Cylinder Seal of Carnelian

Carnelian cylinder seal found in a cremation burial originating from ca. 925–800 BCE. The style of the seal is Kassite (Ravn 1960: 78; see Riis 1948: 150). Depicted on the seal is a standing figure with a raised hand, a square cross, possibly a star, a resting antelope and a sitting dog. The grave in which it was excavated likely belonged to a female adult, and other items in the grave include various shards, fragments of bracelets or rings for ankles or hands of iron, bronze fragments of rings or pins(?), a fragment of a gold plaque, fragments of iron pins, a cylinder seal fragment, a scarab, beads, an amulet with the image of Iris, two amulets with the image of Sekhmet, an unspecified amulet, a bone button (or similar object), a stone spindle, a bone plaque fragment, various pieces of bone, and four game pieces (Riis 1948: 226).

Museum no.: 5B176
Provenience: G VIII 101
Length / Diameter: 44 / 12 mm
CDLI no.: P511662
Photograph / Copy: p. 233
Bibliography: Ravn 1960: 78–80 no. 87 (edition)
Riis 1948: 150–152 and Fig. 188, pl. 4 G VIII.3. no. 101 (photograph and edition)
Ingholt 1940: 76 and note 9, pl. XXV no. 1 (photograph and discussion)

Transliteration

1 *e-ṭe-ru ša* ^{d}UTU
2 ⌜*šu-zu*⌝*-bu ša* ^{d}AMAR.UTU
3 *ki ṭa-a-ab pu-ú ù* SAG
4 *ma-an-nu i-ša-na-an-ki*
5 ^{d}NIN-É.AN.NA

Translation

1 To spare (is the domain) of Šamaš.
2 To save (is the domain) of Marduk.
3 How good is (your) mouth and head?
4 Who can rival you?
5 O Lady of (the temple) Eanna.

Commentary

1–2: As pointed out by Ravn (1960: 80), these two lines are exclamations, although it is unclear if the *ša* designated a genitive or should be read as the relative pronoun.

3: The initial *kī* can be translated as both the preposition "like" and the interrogative adverb "how?". The latter was favoured by Ravn (1960: 78), and it is followed here as a rhetorical question.

5: Nin-Eanna is the "Lady of (the temple) Eanna" and this title belongs to Ištar who resides in the Eanna in Uruk, see Krul 2018: 10, 13, 55, 69, 259.

No. 18: Cylinder Seal of Haematite

Fragmentary haematite cylinder seal found in a cremation burial originating from ca. 925–800 BCE. The style of the seal has previously been deemed partially Old Babylonian (Riis 1948: 150), although Ravn later labelled the seal as Hurrian (Ravn 1960: 93). It depicts a sitting deity facing a standing (deified?) personage (Šamaš?), behind whom is a bearded man. Something broken may be depicted above the bearded man. Between the seated and standing figures is a human head, possibly accompanied by a broken illustration of a person. The grave likely belonged to a male adult. Among the other grave goods were a jar, a curved iron sword, three bronze arrowheads, and two curved iron ankle bracelets or rings (Riis 1948: 225).

Museum no.: 5B178
Provenience: G VIII 57
Length / Diameter: 21 / 15 mm
CDLI no.: P525388
Photograph / Copy: p. 233
Bibliography: Ravn 1960: 93 no. 111 (edition)
Riis 1948: 32 Fig. 19, 144, 150–151 Fig. 187, pl. 4 G VIII.4. no. 57 (photograph and edition)

Transliteration

1 [x]⌜x⌝-SUKAL.MU
2 [x m]uˀ x ⌜x⌝
3 [x (x)] aš

Translation

1 […]-sukkallī
2–3 …

Commentary

1: The first visible wedges appear to end in a triangular form with a vertical final wedge. Ravn (1960: 93) proposed that this could be a partly visible NI, although this does not explain the final vertical wedge unless it was a word divider. Following Ravn's suggestion, the name could be reconstructed Ilī-sukkallī, which is attested elsewhere. However, the name does not appear to have been on the partly preserved line on the seal (ibid. with references).

2: Little sense can be made of this line despite its many visible wedges. The ending of the line may resemble a SUḪUR, although the beginning of the wedges does not. Ravn (1960: 93) tentatively proposes ⌜li⌝, which is not impossible, although it presents other problems. I have chosen not to read the two signs due to the uncertainty.

3: It is difficult to determine if this part of the tablet was intended to represent a line of writing in the legend, or if it only slightly resembles a long horizontal wedge AŠ and should be considered part of the motif. Although previous editors have not taken this to be part of the cuneiform legend,

and despite it making little sense when added, I have chosen to keep it as part of the legend in the edition above, because it does appear to be part of it.

No. 19: Bronze Seal with Traces of Writing on Both Sides

Bronze stamp seal with what may have been a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on one side and possible remains of cuneiform writing on the other (Riis 1948: 131 and Fig. 165). However, the object is very poorly preserved, and the interpretation of the scripts should be considered uncertain. The seal was excavated in a cremation burial from around ca. 1200–1075 BCE. It was discovered in the burial urn of an unknown individual together with some beads (ibid.: 237).

Museum no.: 5E2
Provenience: G VIII 479
Width / Diameter: 15 / 29 mm
CDLI no.: P525389
Photograph / Copy: p. 234
Bibliography: Riis 1948: 131, 140, 237, pl. 5 G VIII.8. no. 479 (photograph, drawing and description)
Ingholt 1940: 74 and note 8 (discussion)

Transliteration
None given.

Translation
None given.

Commentary
General commentary: Nothing can be read of the remains, which may or may not represent cuneiform characters (see photograph and drawing in Riis 1948: 131). For an interpretation of the possibly Hieroglyphic Luwian signs, see ibid., which presents an interpretation by Hrozný. Little can be added due to the object's state of preservation.

No. 20: Ring with a Cuneiform Inscription

Silver ring decorated with cuneiform signs. It is possible that these engravings were only meant to be decorative, and the signs may therefore represent a pseudo-cuneiform inscription (see below). As suggested by Riis (1948: 128), the ring may have been cut off at the broadest end, and the original object may have held more writing. The ring was excavated in an urn containing a cremation burial of a male of uncertain age, various ceramic sherds, two bronze arrowheads, a bronze fibula, fragments of a bronze bowl and a bead (ibid.: 254 no. 156). The grave was dated to ca. 1200–1075 BCE (ibid.: 202).

Museum no.: 6B869
Provenience: G XII 156
Length / Diameter: 11 / 15 mm
CDLI no.: P525403
Photograph / Copy: p. 234
Bibliography: Riis 1948: 127–128, pl. 6 G XII.10. no. 156 (copy and description)

Transliteration

1 *bi-bi-*⌜*i*!?⌝

Translation

1 Bibî.

Commentary

1: The ring may preserve the name of its original owner, namely someone called Bibî. A name Bibi/Bibî is attested in older sources, albeit rarely, though PNA 1/II: 342–343 records a number of NA personal names spelled, e.g., *bi-bi-i* or *bi-bi-ia/iá*. Alternatively, the signs may be an attempt to imitate the sign forms bi-bi DUM[U!?], although the signs may also simply be imitative in style and represent gibberish for decorative purposes. A speculative suggestion might be that the line preserves the name of the owner of the ring, Bibi, who was the son of a name broken off the ring prior to the burial. However, the final sign does not look completely like *i* or DUMU. Ravn cautiously suggested the reading DUMU.BI to Riis (1948: 128), but this cannot be corroborated.

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Indices

Numbers by themselves refer to page numbers; numbers following n. refer to a footnote on the relevant page; numbers following n. and connected with + refer to several footnotes on the same page.

Concordance of excavation numbers, edited texts, and collections

Excavation no.	Text no.	Collection
N/A	4	Formerly private (Šišaklī)
4A608	3	Syria
5A1	19	Syria
5B176	16	NMD
5B178	17	NMD
5E2	18	Syria
6A187	15	NMD
6A191	14	NMD
6A293(+)6A294(+)6A336(+)6A338	12	Syria
6A334	1	NMD
6A335(+)6A350(+)7A626	7	NMD (6A350) and Syria (6A335, 7A626)
6A337	2	NMD
6A339	10	NMD
6A341	11	Syria
6A342	13	Syria
6A343+6A345	8	NMD
6A344	6	Syria
6A354	9	Syria
6A383	5	NMD
6B869	20	NMD

General Index

Index of Persons and Personal Names

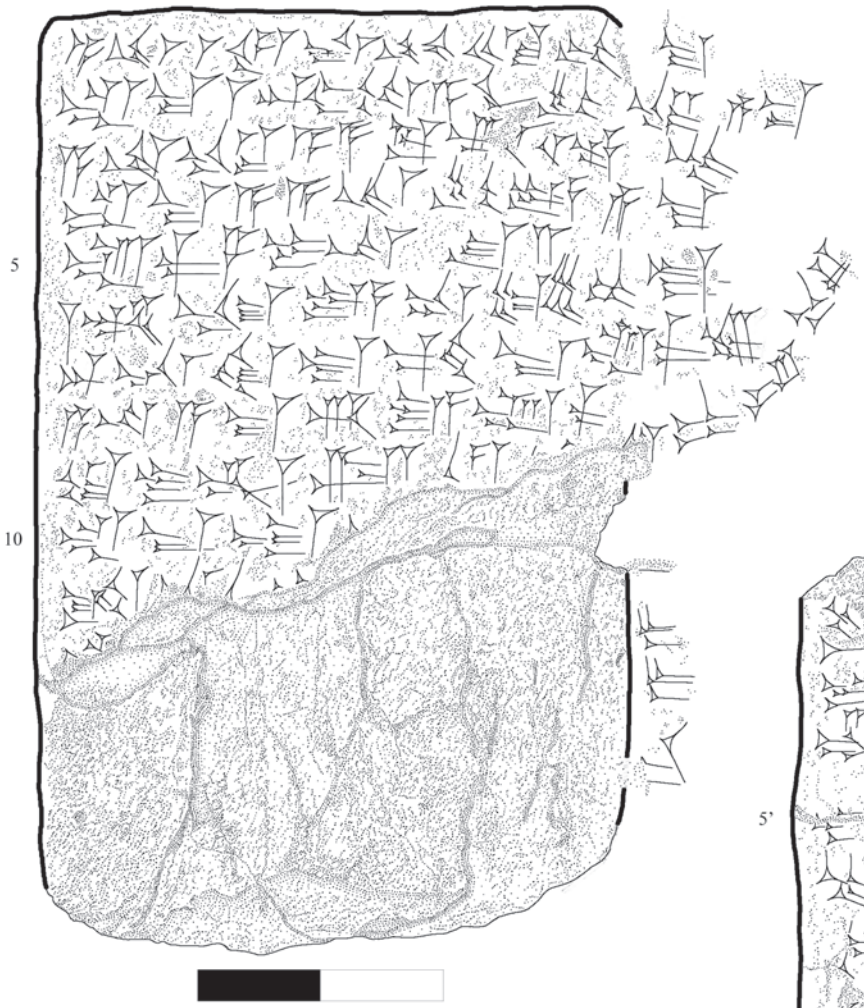
Index of Divine Names

Index of Toponyms, Ancient and Modern

Index of Select Akkadian and Sumerian Words and Phrases Discussed

Plates

Text 1. Photograph: S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll



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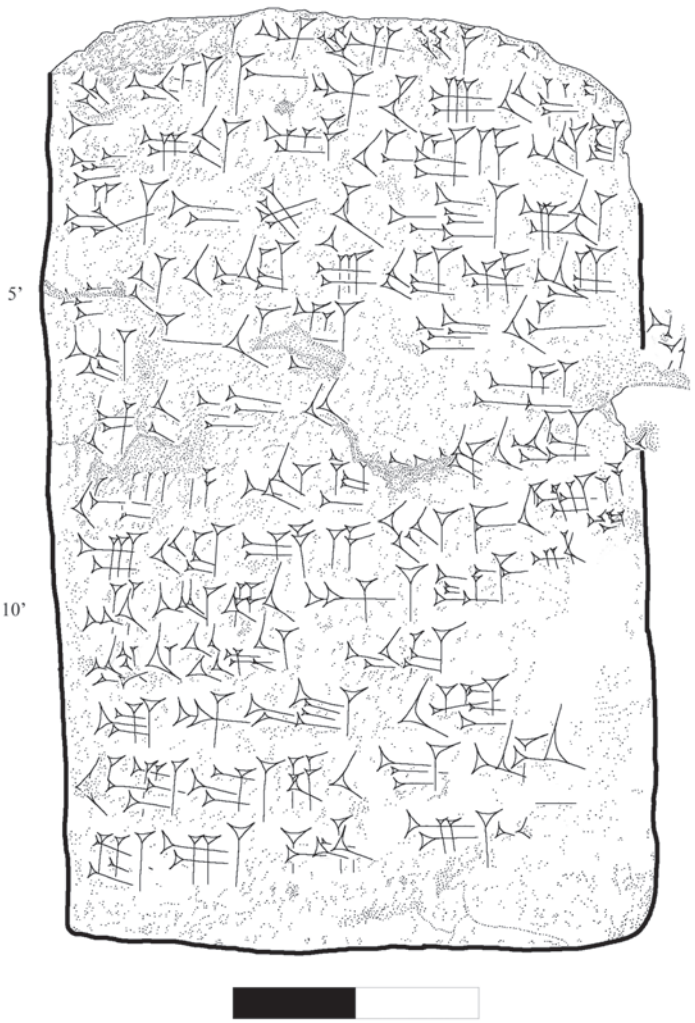
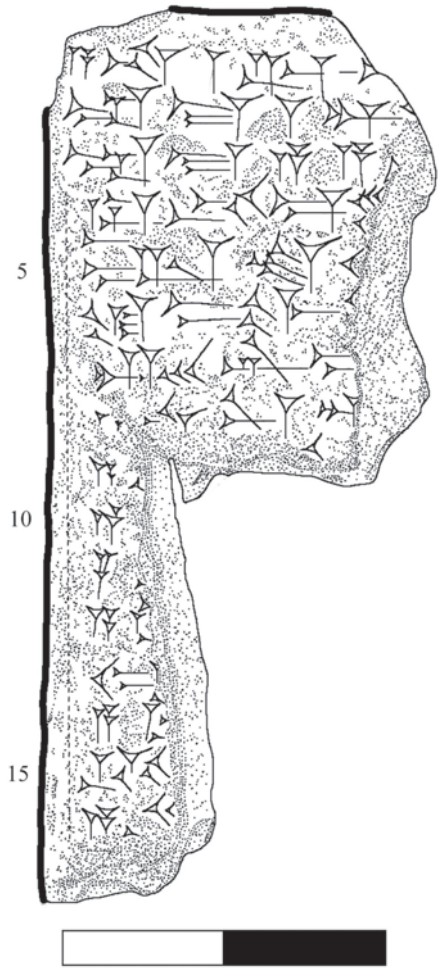


Text 1. Reverse

Text 2. Photograph: S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll



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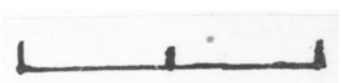
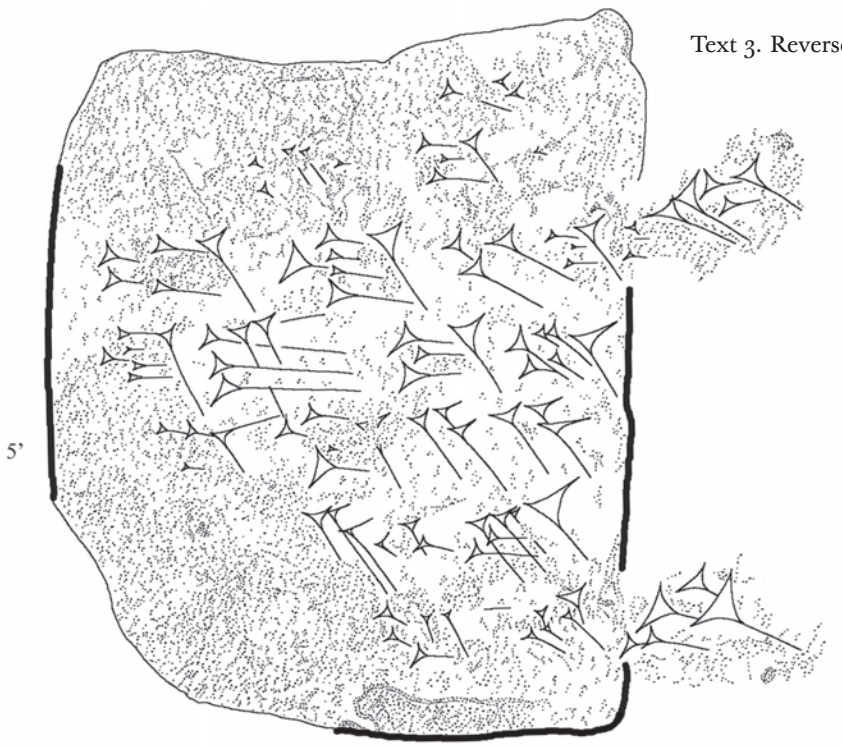


Text 3. Photograph 2145, 2146, 2147, NMD

Text 3. Obverse

Text 3. Reverse



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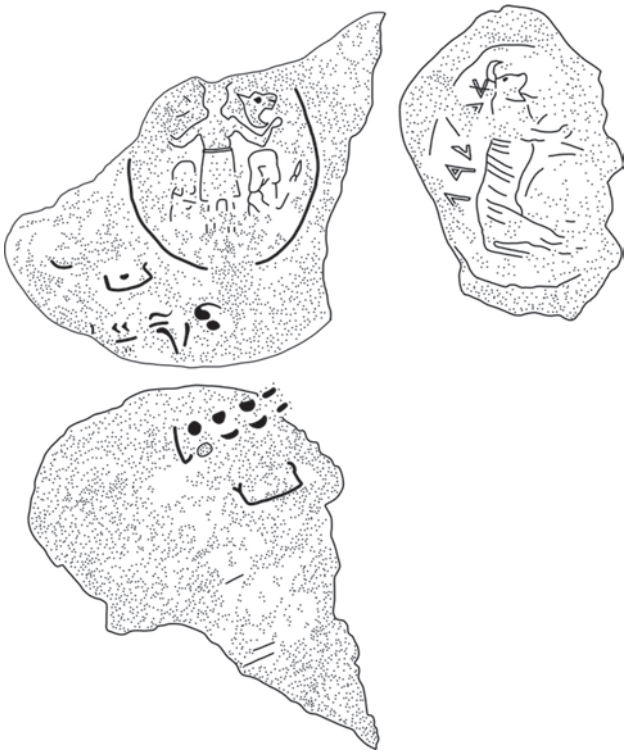
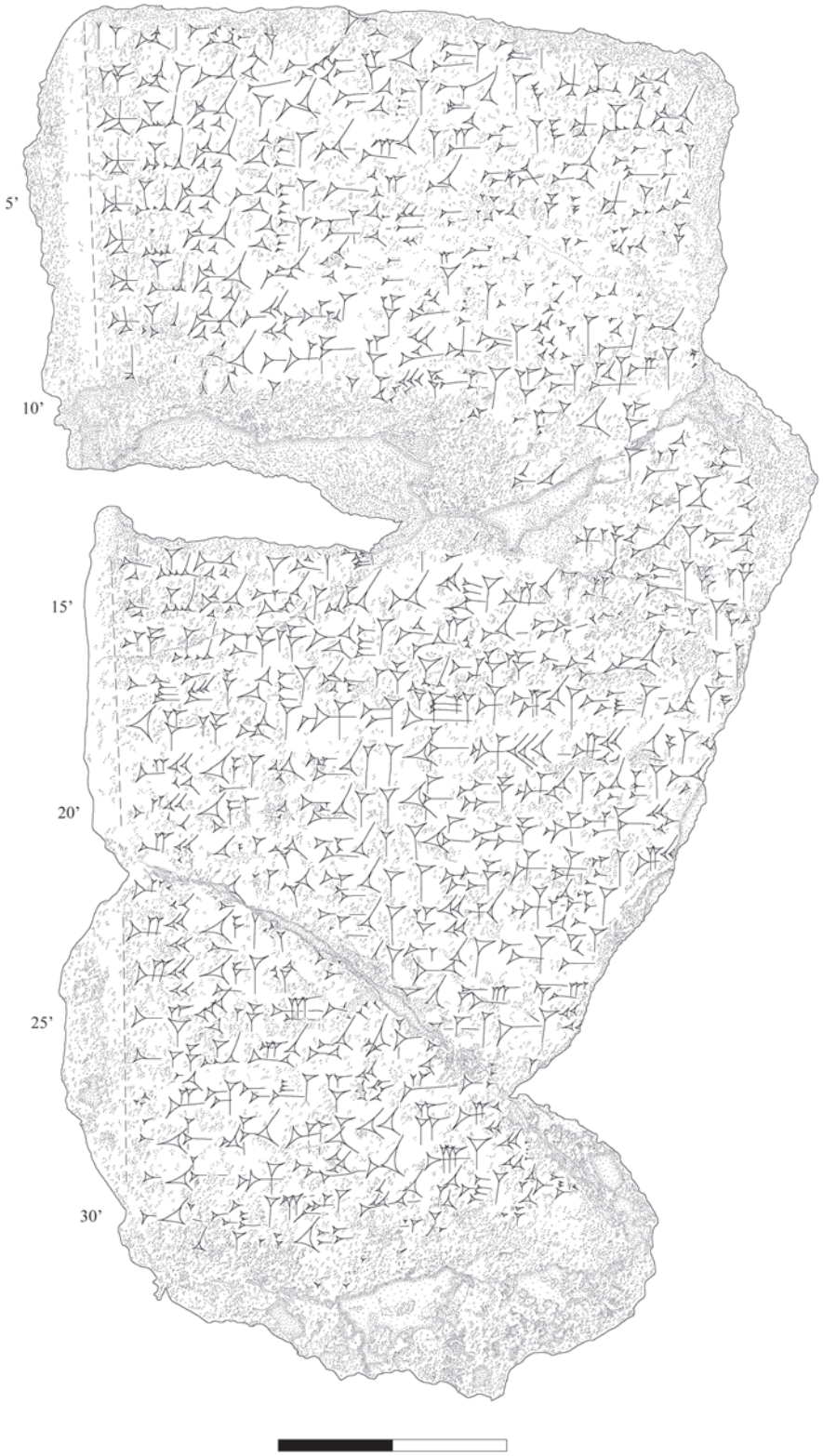
Text 5. Photograph:
S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll



Text 5.

Text 6. Ms yy_2

Text 6. Photograph 3764, NMD



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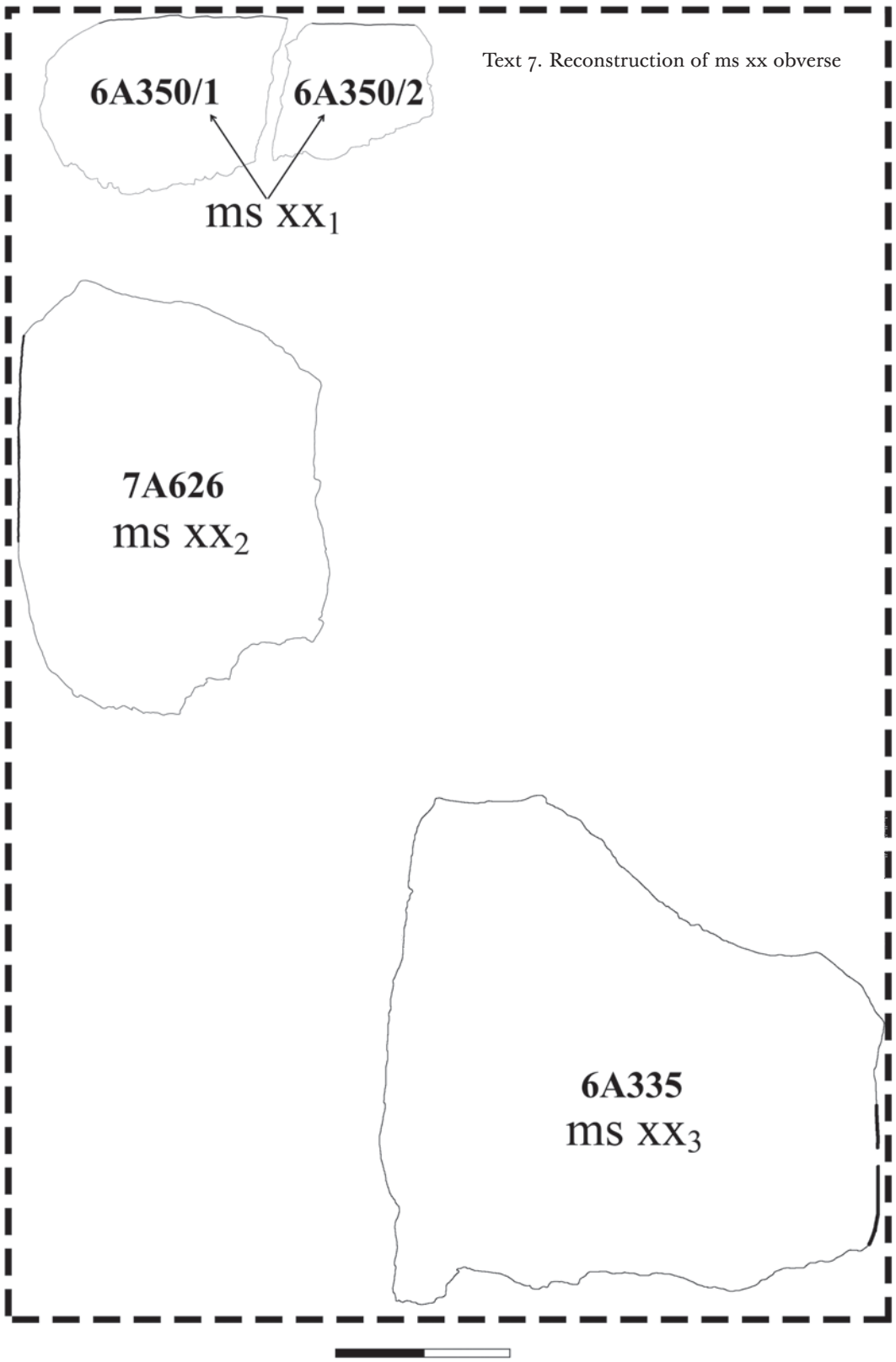
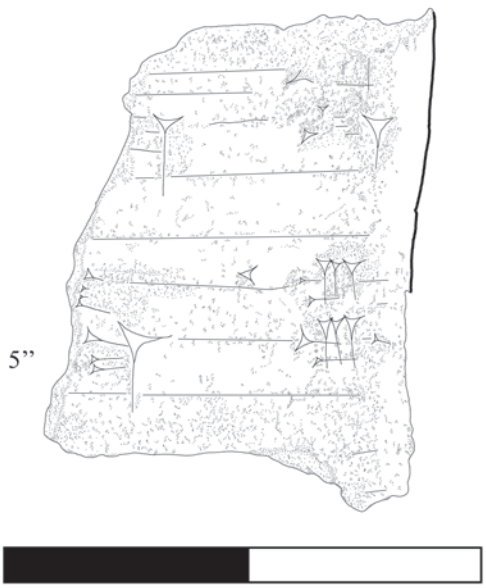


Text 7. Reconstruction of ms xx obverse

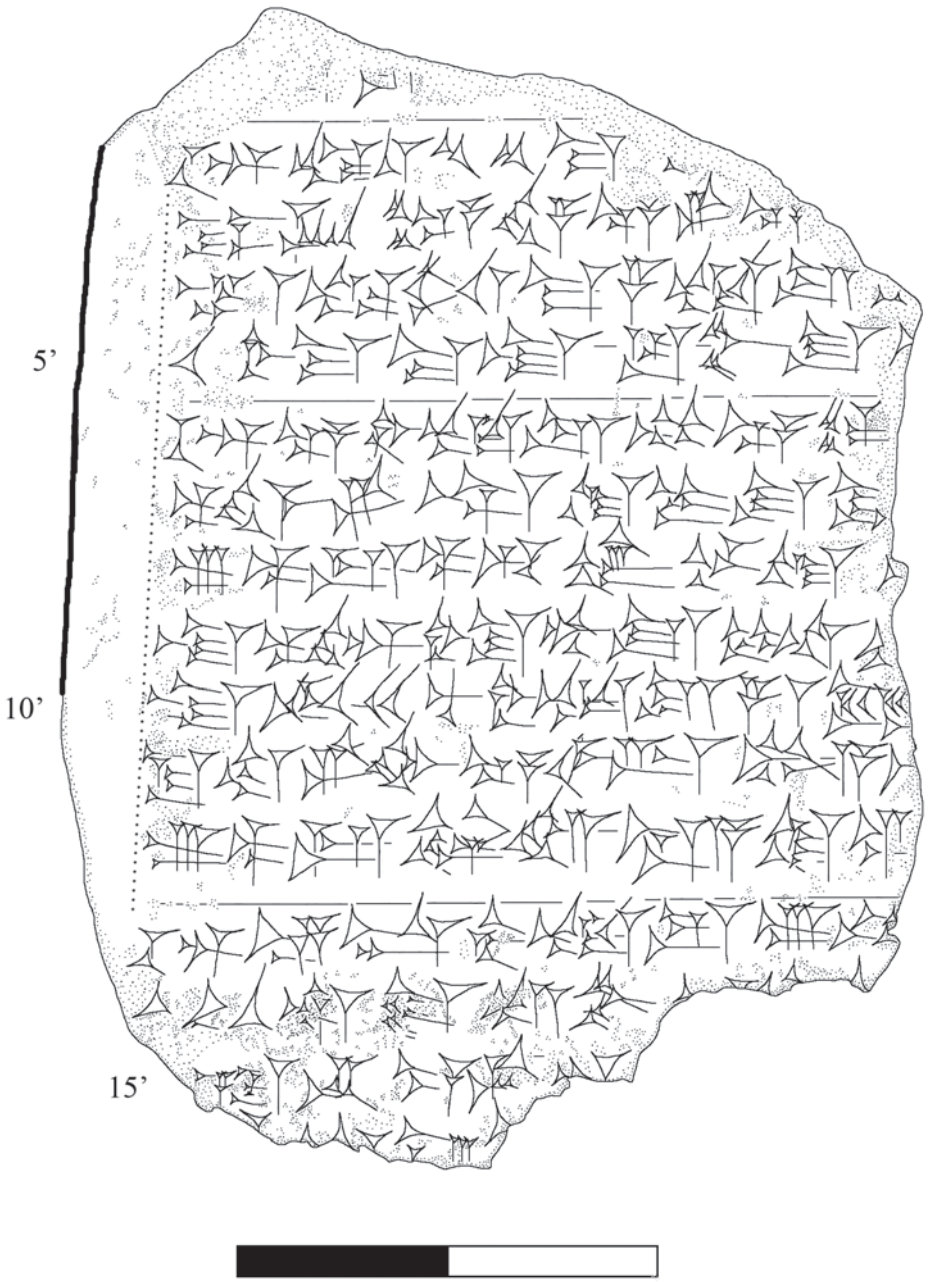
Text 7. Photograph 6353, NMD, mss. xx_1 and xx_4



Text 7. Ms xx_4

Text 7. Ms xx_1

Text 7. Photograph 4544, NMD, ms xx_2 obverse

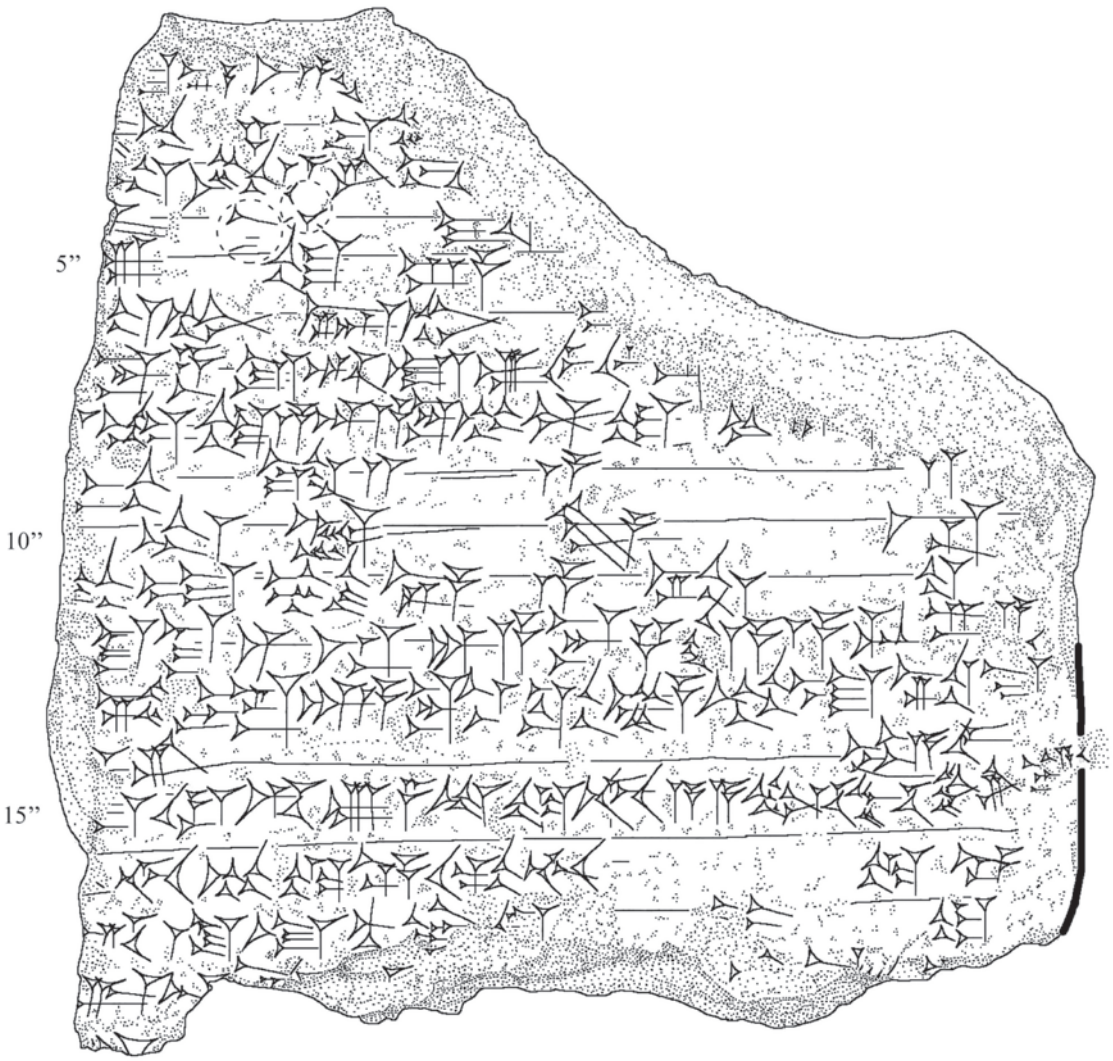


Text 7. Ms xx_2 obverse

Text 7. Photograph 4576, NMD, ms xx_2 reverse

Text 7. Ms xx_2 reverse

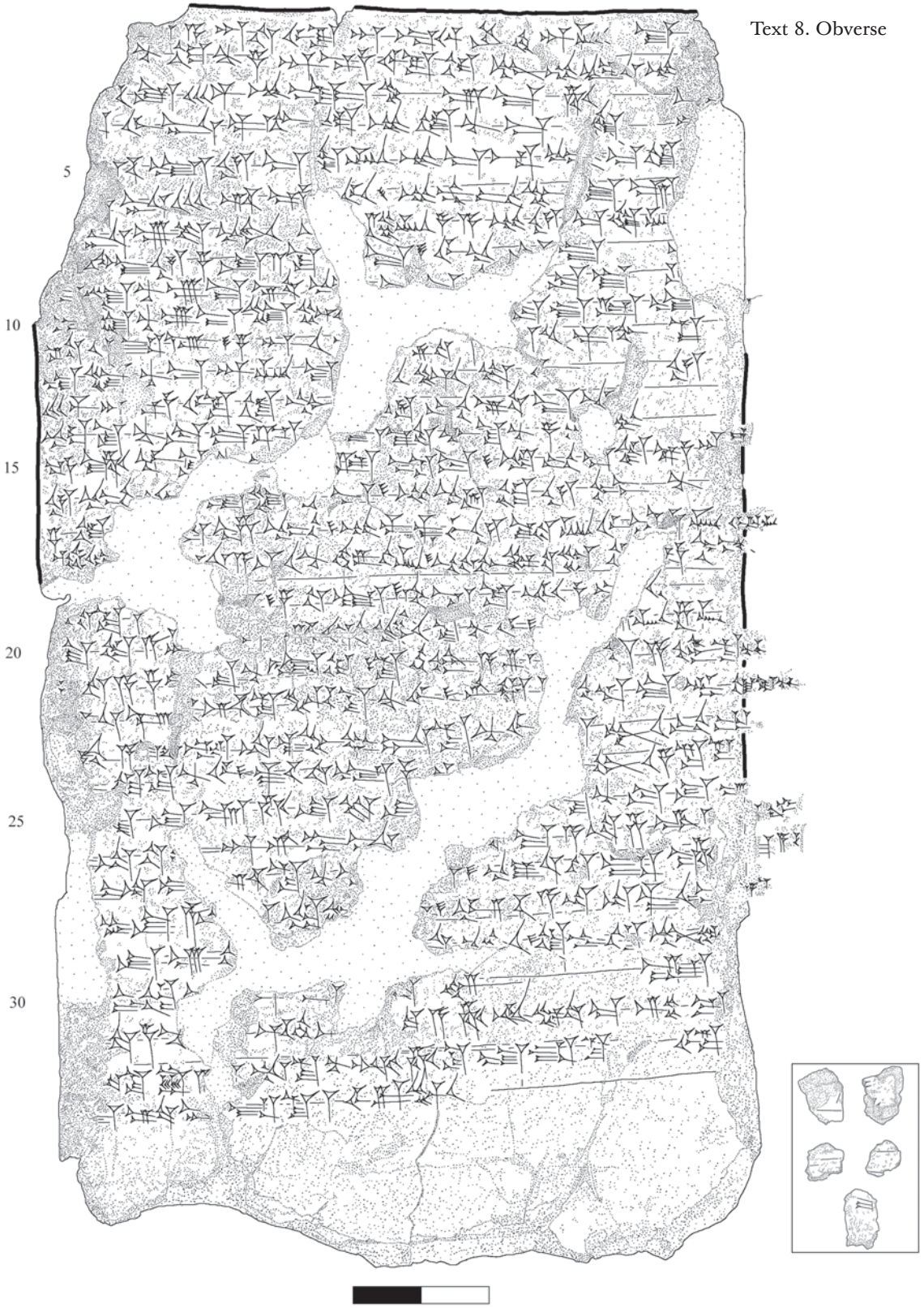
Text 7. Photograph: S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll, ms xx_3 obverse



Text 7. Ms xx_3 obverse
A dotted circle indicates an erasure

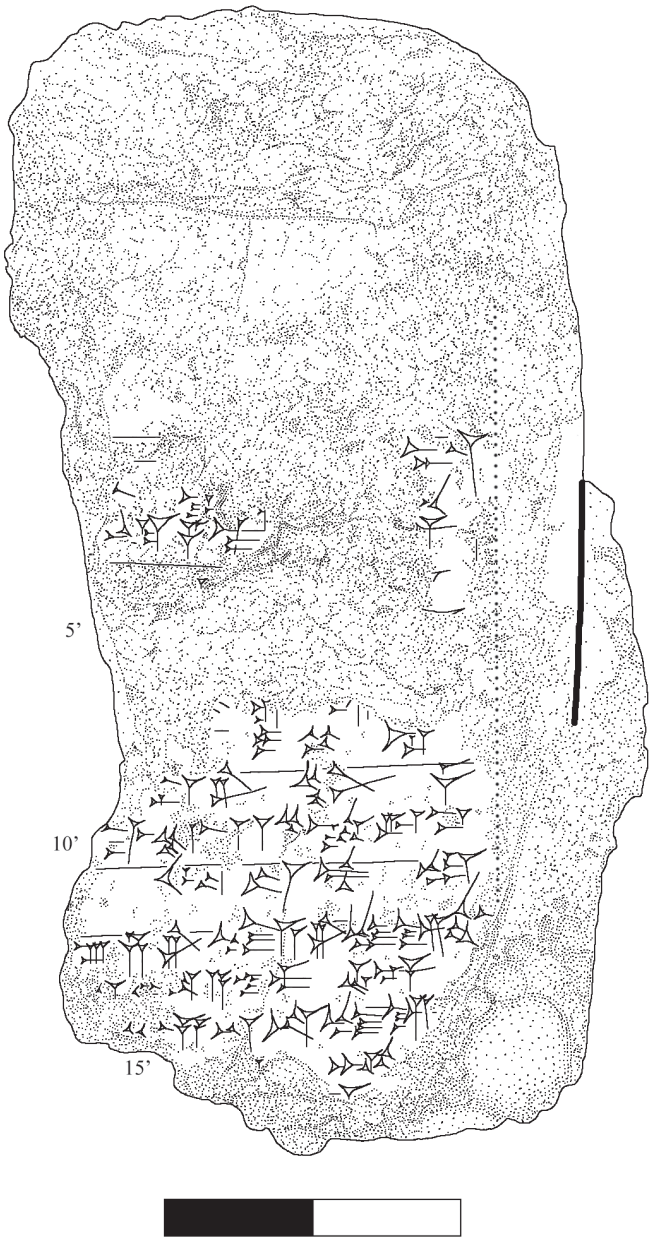
Text 8. Photograph:
S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll

Text 8. Obverse



Text 9. Photograph: S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll

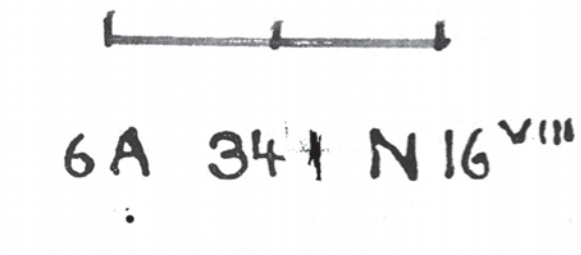
Text 10. Photograph: S. Greve and T.P. Arbøll

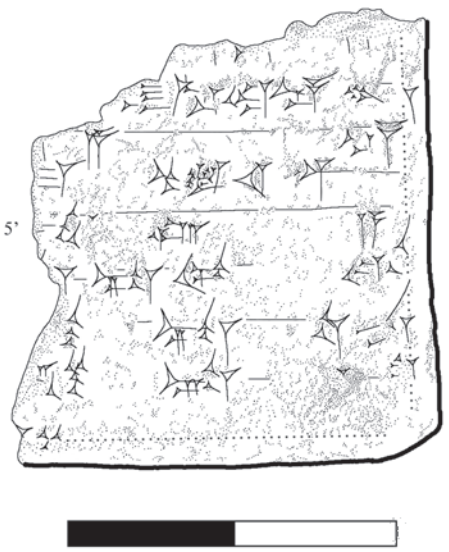


Text 9. Obverse?

Text 10. Obverse?

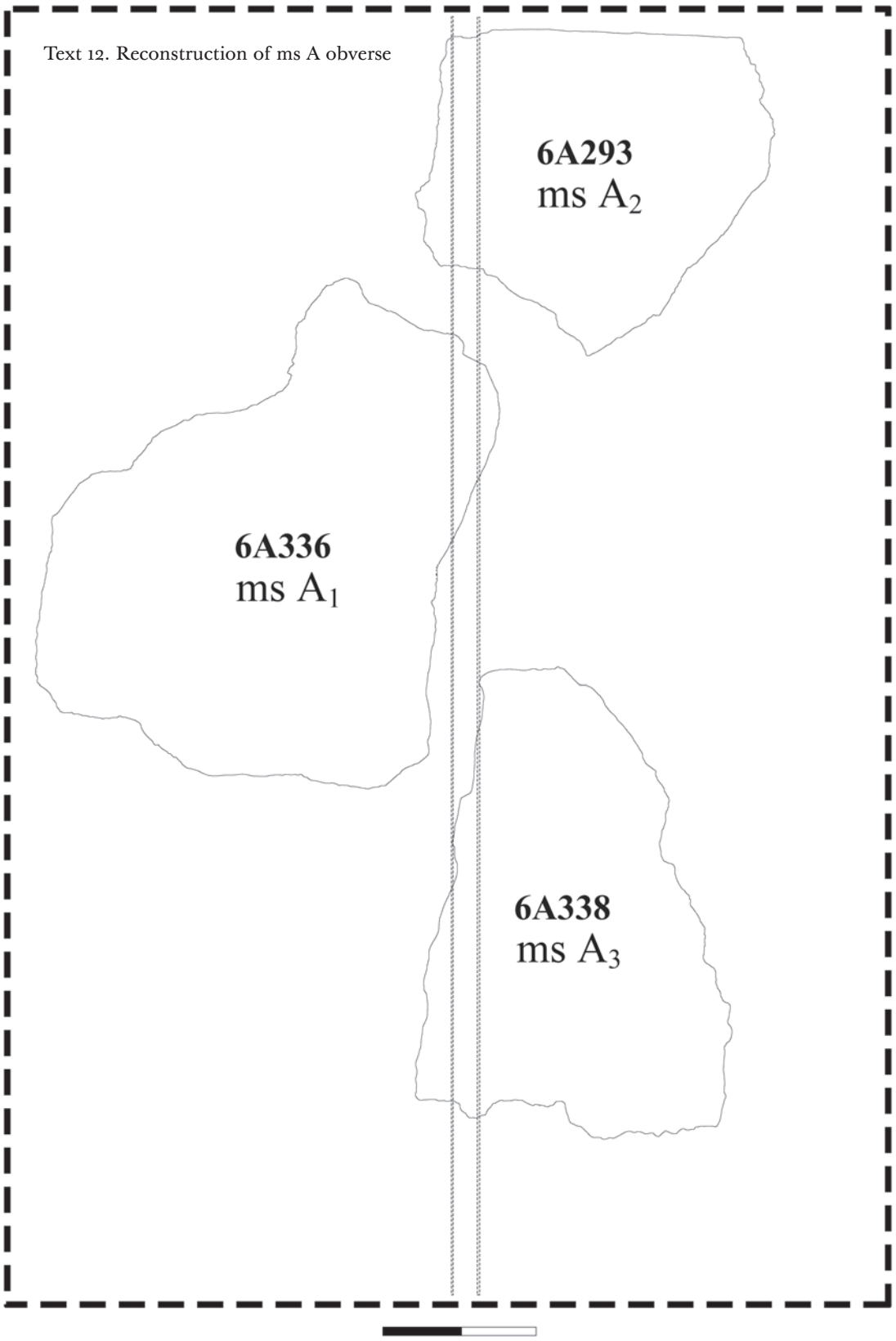
Text 11. Photograph 3654, NMD





Text 11. Obverse?

Text 12. Reconstruction of ms A obverse



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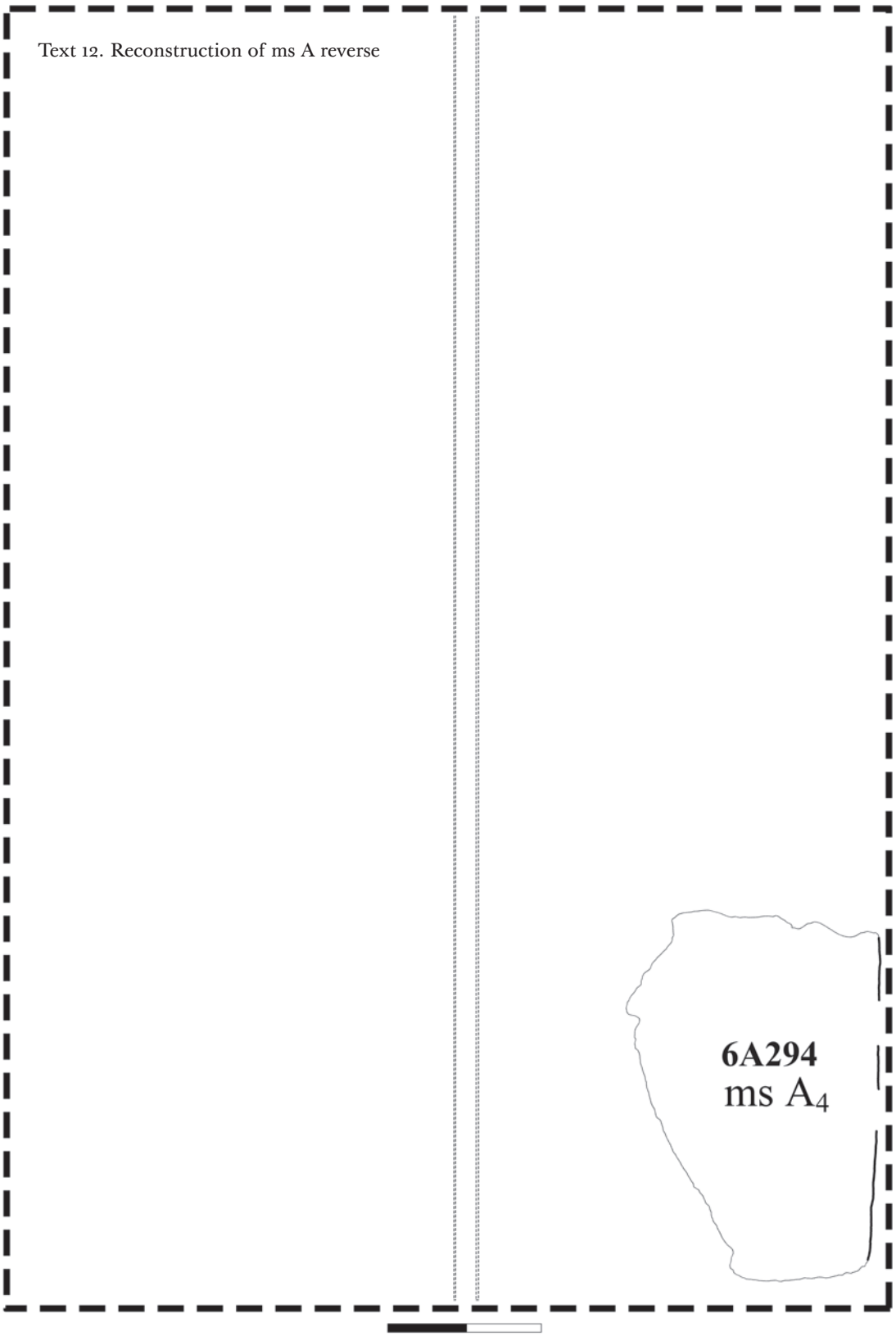

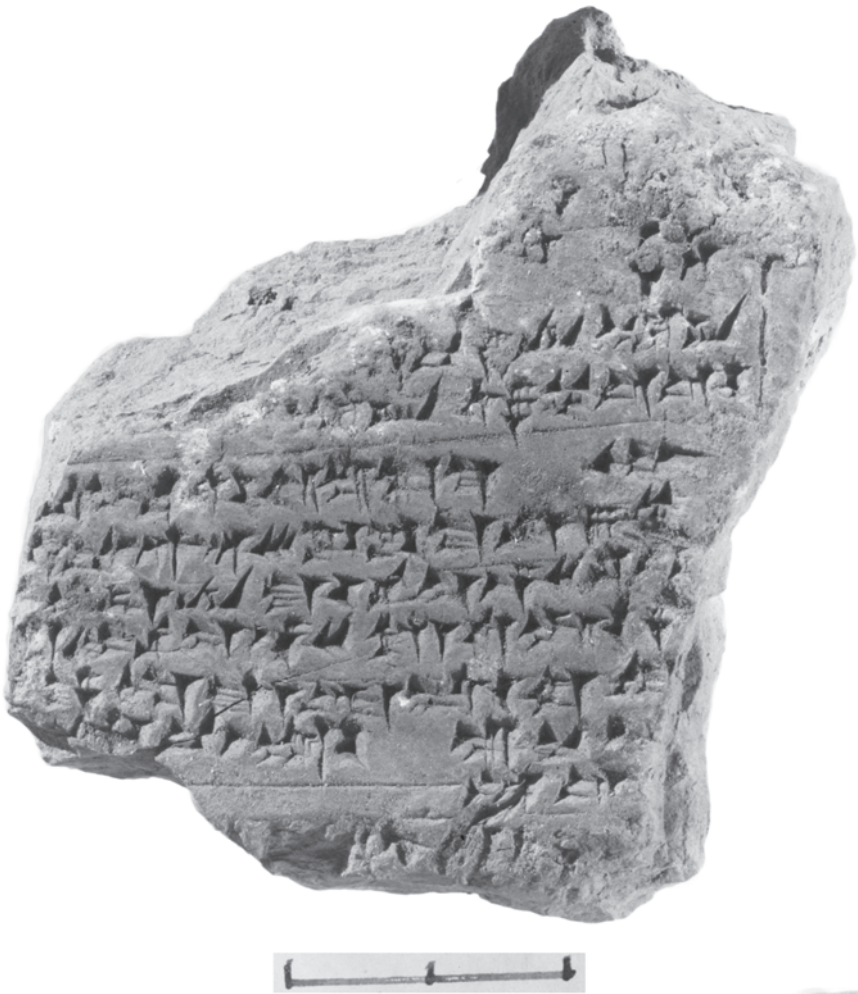

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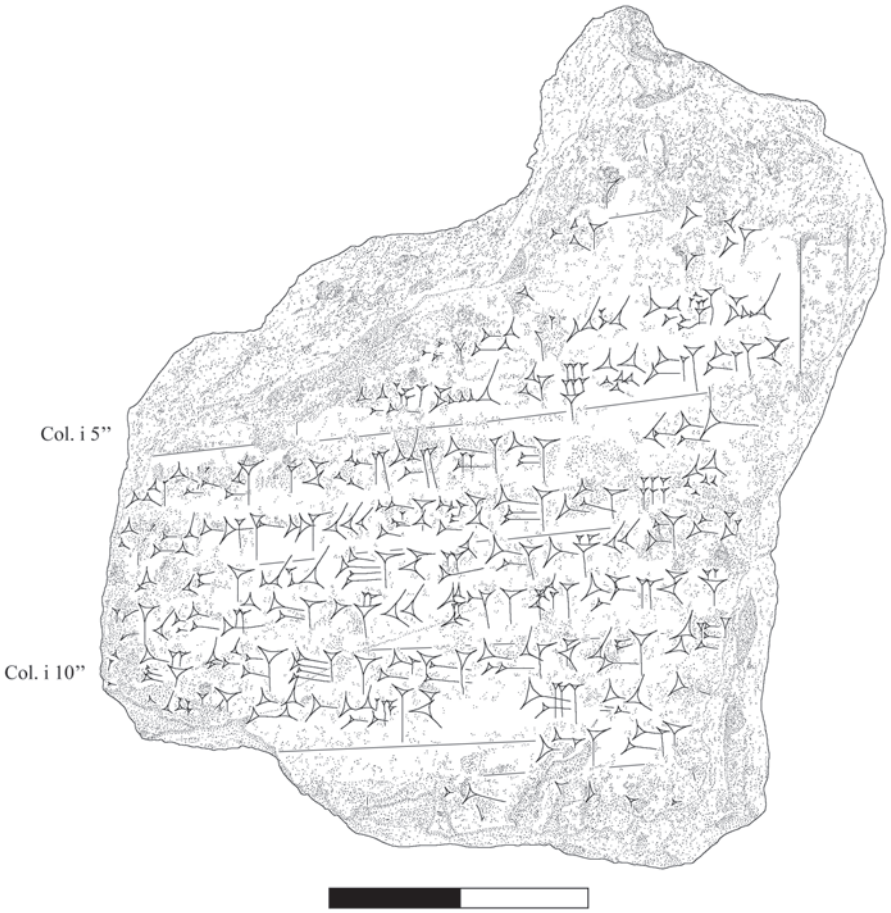
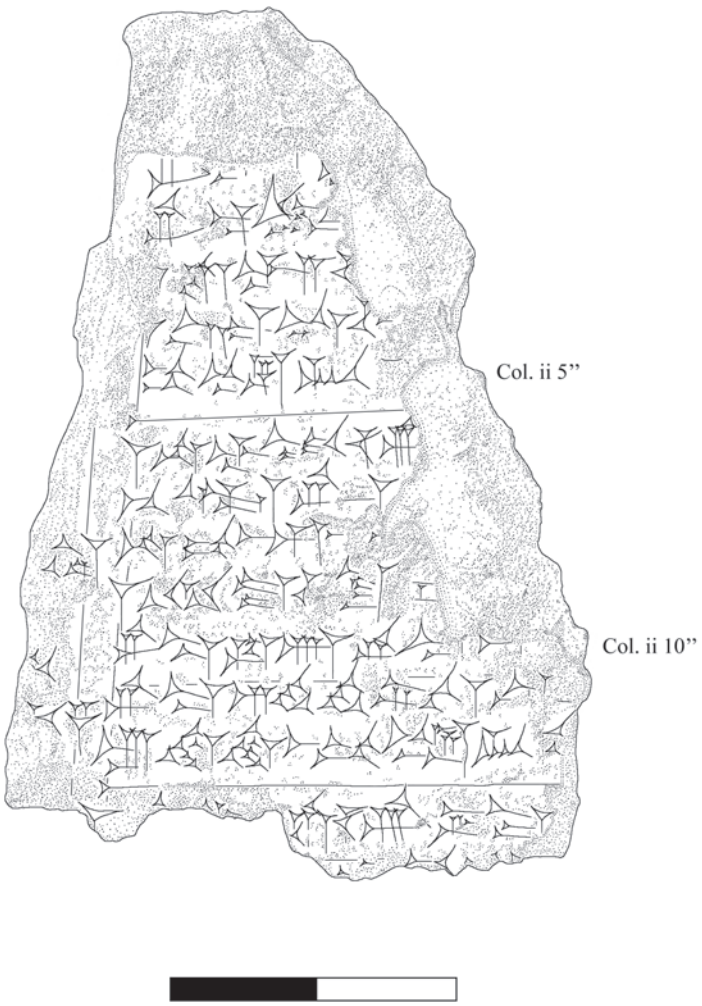
Text 12. Photograph 3613, NMD ms A_2



Text 12. Ms A_1

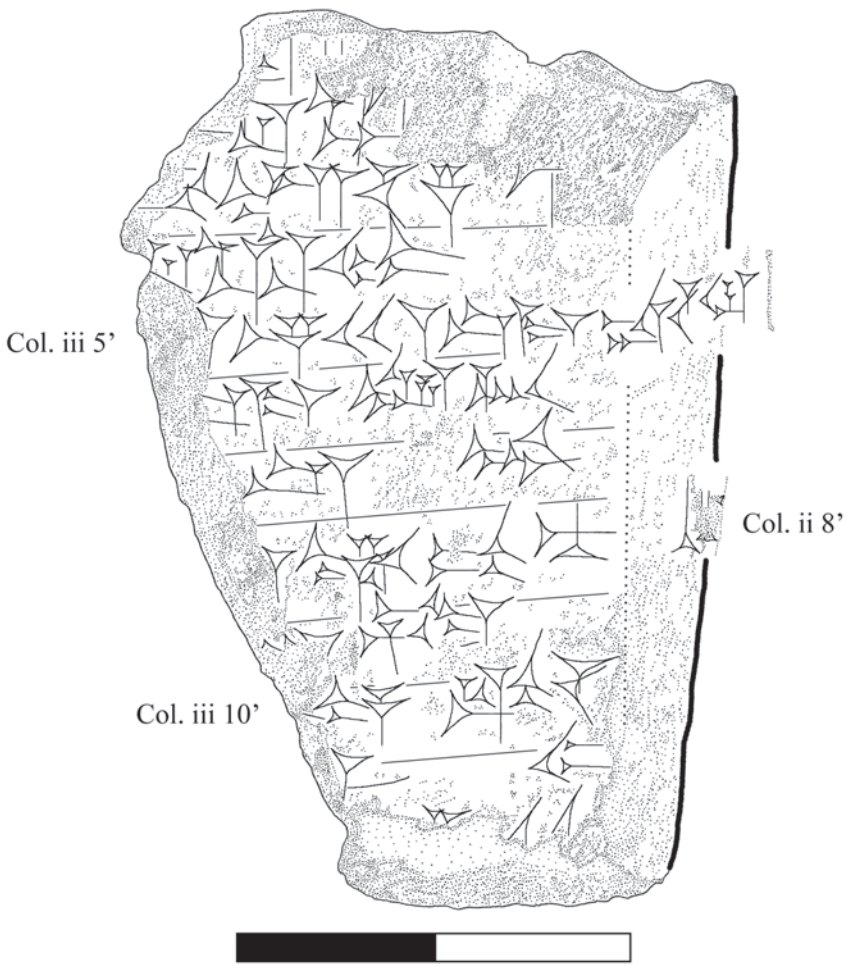
Text 12. Ms A_2

Text 12. Photograph 3641, NMD ms A_3



Text 12. Ms A_3

Text 12. Photograph 3615 and 3616, NMD ms A_4



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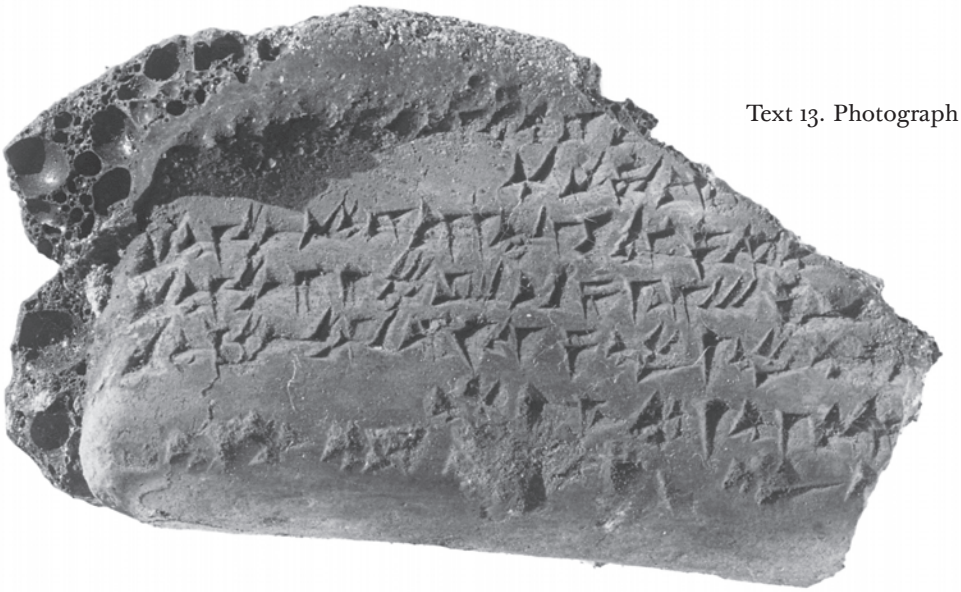

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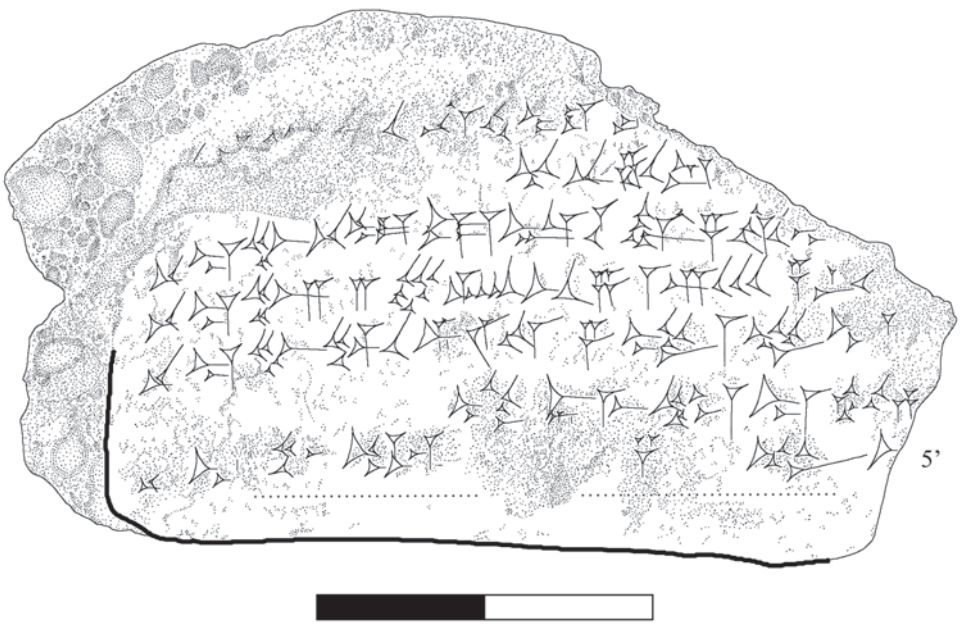

Text 13. Obverse[2]

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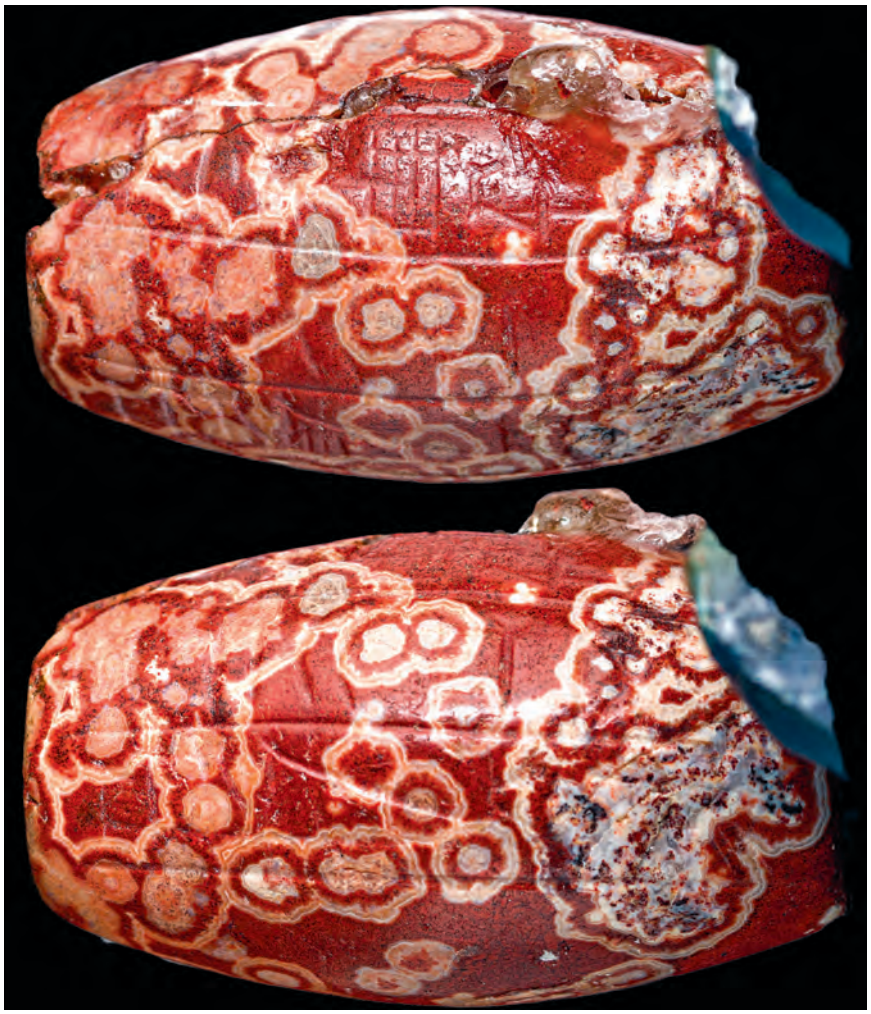

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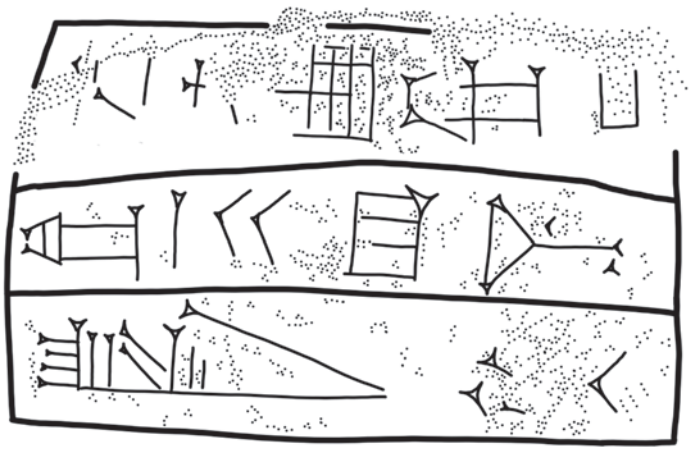
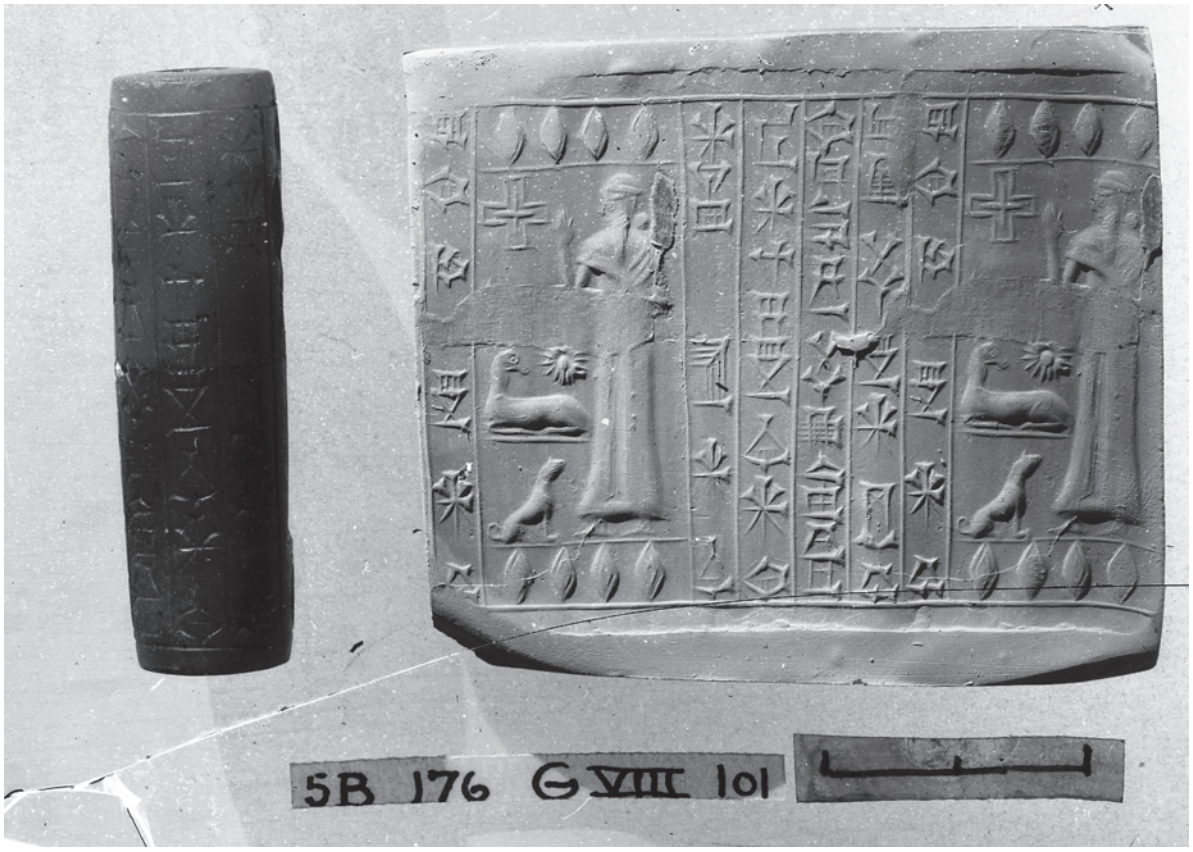


Text 15

Text 16. Photograph 3842, NMD

Text 15 and 16. Photograph: A. Mikkelsen and J. Lauridsen

Text 17. Photograph 3153, NMD



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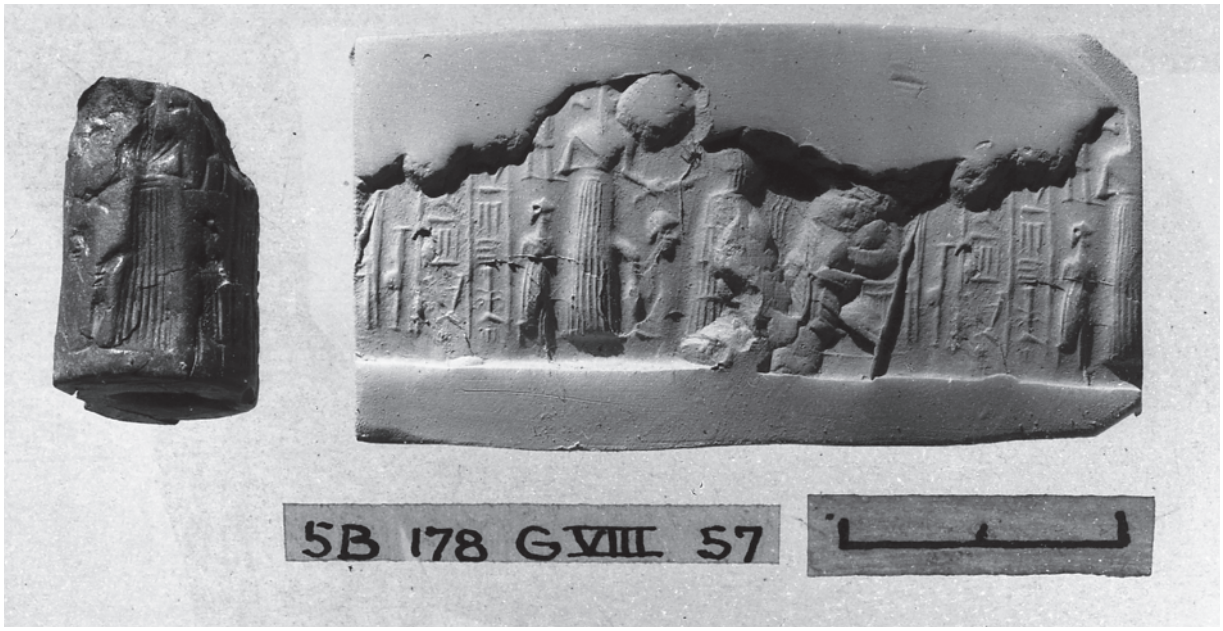
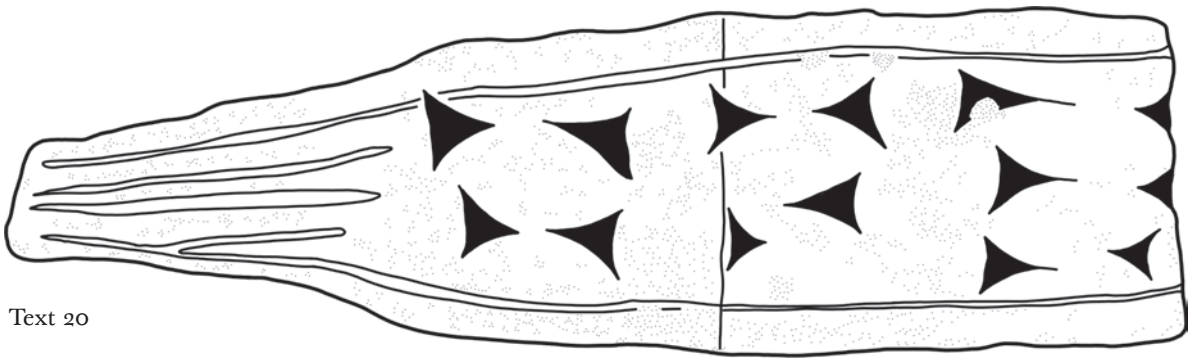


Text 19. Photograph 3397 and 3398, NMD

Text 20. Photograph: T.P. Arbøll



Text 20