

Abstracts

ABUSCH Tzvi (Brandeis University)

Fortune and misfortune: some observations on the sufferer's plaint in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*

Wednesday, July 23rd, 17.30-18.00, lecture hall 211

Some observations on the grammatical and poetic form of *Ludlul* Tablet II, 12-32 and on the literary history of the passage.

ADALI Selim (Bilkent University)

The Anatolian and Iranian frontiers: analyzing the foreign policy of the Assyrian Empire under Esarhaddon

Wednesday, July 23rd, 9.30-10:00, lecture hall 211

Workshop VIII. The Reign of Esarhaddon

Extispicy queries and letter correspondence between Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (680-669 BCE), and his advisors, diviners and scholars provide glimpses into the world of conception about foreign peoples, kingdoms, and their ability to threaten Assyrian interests on the Anatolian and Iranian frontiers. This paper seeks to elucidate ideas and conceptions expressed in these texts regarding what may be called "foreign policy," comparing these with information about political developments as they are known from the Assyrian royal inscriptions. The extispicy texts in particular are framed in a way that identifies potential political and military threats in given geographical areas. The scholarly letters complement this by voicing the concerns of scholars and king Esarhaddon in particular about real and potential enemies. The different models of foreign policy debated in the field of political science are employed for the analysis of foreign policy ideas held by the king and members of Assyria's political and religious elite, so far as the extant textual evidence allows. The competing models of foreign policy focus on different aspects of statecraft and its elements in the formation of policy, such as rational decision making in a geopolitical setting, the role of bureaucracies and organization rules, and interest groups. Esarhaddon maintained the Assyrian imperial tradition but there are also indications that the changing military and political landscape in Anatolia and Iran led to new policies that sought to build alliances to create more stable frontier zones to safeguard trade routes and core areas of Assyrian interest in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant. New policies were presented within the

garb of royal ideology, even during the exchange of letters and in the performance of divination to predict political and military affairs.

AHRENS Alexander, see **SOLLEE Alexander**, **Ekin KOZAL**, **Mirko NOVÁK**, **Alexander AHRENS** and **Susanne RUTISHAUSER**

AL-MAQDISI Michel (Mission archéologique syro-française de Ras Shamra - Ougarit)

L'architecture religieuse en Phénicie septentrionale

Tuesday, July 22nd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

Le développement des travaux de terrain dans la partie septentrionale de la Phénicie a permis de récolter d'importantes informations sur la nature de l'occupation de la région durant le premier millénaire et, surtout, de mettre en évidence plusieurs types de monuments liés à une activité religieuse.

Ainsi, les fouilles menées à Tell Sianu, à Tell Toueni et à Ras Ibn Hani ont livré les plans, presque complets, de petits sanctuaires et de temples dont l'étude a permis de renouveler nos connaissances sur cette catégorie de monuments, déjà connue sur plusieurs sites, notamment à Tell Sukas et à Amrith.

Les monuments appartiennent à trois types différents :

Un **premier type** est représenté par le sanctuaire à Amrith, taillé dans le rocher, dont les dimensions sont particulièrement importantes (la superficie atteint 2600 m²). L'une des fonctions spécifiques de ce temple est d'être le lieu de pèlerinages, autour d'un bassin à *naos* central, entouré de portiques. Le dieu principal qui y était vénéré était Melkart-Héraclès, dieu guérisseur.

Il représente le monument principal de toute la Phénicie du septentrionale. Une même position est attestée en Phénicie méridionale pour le sanctuaire d'Eshmoun à Boustan ech-Cheikh au nord-est de Sidon, comportant lui aussi un bassin, et que l'on peut considérer comme le pendant au Sud de celui d'Amrith.

Le **deuxième type** de monument comporte les bâtiments d'une superficie qui ne dépasse pas les 1200 m². Il est attesté sur les deux sites de Tell Sukas et de Tell Toueni. Il s'agit là du sanctuaire principal de la cité organisée autour d'un monument central,

disposant d'un podium ou d'une plateforme, entouré d'un temenos qui délimite l'espace sacrée à ciel ouvert souvent muni d'un autel, d'une plateforme cultuelle ou de plusieurs puits et de bassins qui servaient sans doute dans les rites de purification préalable à l'entrée dans la *cella* du temple.

Le **troisième type** architectural comprend les bâtiments dont les superficies varient entre 150 m² et 350 m². Il est attesté à Tell Sianu et dans la zone du port sud de Tell Sukas. Il s'agit de petits sanctuaires rattachés à un quartier spécifique de la cité. Ce type adopte souvent le plan d'un petit complexe religieux centré sur un monument principal, doté d'une cour comportant parfois une aire consacrée à des cérémonies de purification, ainsi que d'un autel qui devait contenir une représentation de la divinité ou son symbole.

Souvent, ces monuments sont construits à partir de matériaux simples similaires à ceux de l'architecture domestique. Ils sont parfois décorés d'éléments architecturaux sculptés comme des corniches ornées de merlons ou à gorge égyptienne. La présence de gargouilles engagées dans la maçonnerie, de petits *naos* crénelés munis de merlons, de fûts quadrangulaires couronnés de double gorge égyptienne, de larmiers est également attestée.

Ce qui est remarquable, c'est que ces monuments avec ceux trouvés dans la partie méridionale du pays ne relèvent pas à un schéma commun et que les variations sont assez nombreuses à l'exception du bâtiment central. En fait, le temple, qui comporte le plus souvent une *cella* précédée d'une *anti cella*, dessine un plan hérité de la tradition syrienne des III^e et II^e millénaires av. J.-C.

ANNUS Amar (Freie Universität Berlin; Gerda Henkel Stiftung, M4HUMAN Fellow)

The motifs of the Adapa myth in exorcistic literature

Wednesday, July 23rd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

The *Exorcist Manual* lists a number of works associated with the art of *āšipu*. The first entry is SIG₄, the incantations and rituals related to the building of a temple or house. In the related incantation of the cosmological content, "The First Brick", the brick god Kulla is created in

the beginning of time by Ea as the first among seven craftsmen deities. These primordial craftsmen represented the tradition alternative to the seven antediluvian sages, found in other texts of *āšipūtu*, such as *Bit Mēseri*. Adapa was created by Ea as the first in the primordial succession line, just like Kulla. The similarities with the brick god do not end here, because Kulla was exorcised from the temple or house, when completed and sent off in a boat just like the witch in anti-witchcraft rituals, also belonging to the repertoire of exorcist. The symbolism of the water immersion or sprinkling is important in very many genres of the exorcistic literature, for which Adapa's falling into sea served as the primeval prefiguration. In the incantations of difficult births, also performed by exorcists, the boat motif is used as a simile for a baby to be born. The Adapa myth represents the exorcistic version of the flood story, in which the journey of the soul to this world and back to the world of the dead or heaven is narrated.

ANOR Netanel (Freie Universität Berlin)

The diviner and his client in the ritual of extispicy

Wednesday, July 23rd, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

The act of extispicy played a major role in Ancient Babylonian society and knowledge about it was considered part of elite scholarship. Much of what we know about the roles of the diviner and his client stem from technical literature, such as omen series, reports of extispicy and rituals. Although big proportions of those texts are well reconstructed, the distinction between the different participants in this act is not always clear. The reason for that is that the agent of the verbs describing the different actions is hardly ever explicitly mentioned. The cases in which those verbs are represented by a logogram are especially confusing, because formally speaking, without a syllabic spelling it is impossible to determine which of the two participants is meant as the subject of the sentence. This paper will offer some solutions to this problem. It will bring evidence to show that, in ritual texts, the logographic spelling should generally be regarded as the second person singular, which refers to the diviner. It will also show that this kind of texts always chose the

syllabic spelling for the third person singular in order to avoid confusion and stress that it is an act made by the client.

AVILA Mark (École biblique et archéologique), **Uri GABBAY** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), **Marcel SIGRIST** (École biblique et archéologique)

The darker side of Nintur

Tuesday, July 22nd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

From a private collection comes a fragment [H. 13 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 2 cm] consisting of the upper right hand portion of a tablet originally containing six columns, of which only three are now partially preserved on either side, written in Old Babylonian Sumerian. Due to the many lacunae, the narrative on the obverse is largely irretrievable but ostensibly treats of the god Ninurta. The reverse, however, has fared better and provides a substantial amount of connected text; although the identification of its genre (or genres) remains conjectural, it includes part of what may be a cult song concerning the Enlil's temple in Nippur. In the bottom corner of the first two columns, two sections clearly set off from the rest of the text begin with the phrase *ki du-du e₂ kur-ra-kam* and *ki du-du ki ur₃-ra-kam*, respectively. The first of these two sections preserves twenty-three consecutive lines and is thus the most complete part of the entire tablet that survives. It features a trope of sorts in which the goddess Nintur is depicted as *not* killing, followed by a sequence of negative statements describing a situation in which other events are likewise said *not* to be taking place. These lines are reminiscent of a comparable description found in *Enlil in the Ekur* (*d en-lil₂ sud-ra₂-še₃*, otherwise known as *Enlil A*) that contains a similar disclaimer regarding Nintur and also continues with a series detailing the abeyance of specific activities. This short paper will discuss the fragmentary text and its curious mythologem of (the suspension of) the birth goddess Nintur's darker side - her role as killer. These efforts are dedicated to Professors Piotr Michałowski and Piotr Steinkeller and hope to join in a fitting tribute rendered to these two preeminent Assyriologists.

BÁCSKAY András (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

Phylacteries against fever

Friday, July 25th, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 116

Although references to the amulets against fever are rare in the magical-medical text corpus (cf. Schuster-Brandis 2008, no. 109, no. 130 and no. 130.a), but we have several prescriptions for phylacteries. The majority of the related texts is attested on two collected tablets (BAM 315 col. I. 28-42; AMT 63 2+AMT 19, 1 col. ii) and four excerpted tablets (BAM 147 reverse // BAM 148 reverse; K 2581 obverse, BM 42272). In my presentation I would like to focus on the structure and the parallel passages of these prescriptions in the light of an unpublished tablet from the British Museum.

BAKER Heather D. (Universität Wien)

A measure of fortune: investigating social inequality in first millennium BCE Mesopotamia

Thursday, July 24th, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 211

In any given society, ancient or modern, the prevailing degree of social inequality is one factor that potentially affects the fortune of individuals. In fact, social inequality is currently a hotly debated issue on account of the perceived injustice of increasing differentials in wealth and income levels and the social problems these entail. There has been a corresponding upsurge in interest among scholars of the ancient world in these issues, and especially in the problem of determining the level of social inequality in a particular ancient society (or city). Measuring levels of ancient social inequality based on material culture remains is not straightforward (Smith 2014), though of course for the Ancient Near East we also have abundant written documentation that assists us in distinguishing different social strata and evaluating their relative levels of status and wealth. Nevertheless, determining social inequality remains problematic because of the difficulty in estimating the relative proportions of the ancient population made up by the various groups at different levels of wealth. Whether we are dealing with archaeological remains or historical evidence, or both, a central problem is the representativeness of our data. In a recent study I attempted, using both textual and archaeological data, to correlate Neo-Babylonian

houses of known size with specific sectors of the population, thus arriving at a well-contextualised range of dwelling sizes across the social spectrum (Baker, in press). The present paper builds on this work to further investigate some of the the issues involved in studying levels of social inequality in the cities of first millennium BCE Mesopotamia.

References:

Baker, H. D. (in press), "House size and household structure: quantitative data in the study of Babylonian urban living conditions," in H. D. Baker and M. Jursa (eds), *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History: Methodology and Practice* (Oxford).

Smith, Michael E. (21 April 2014), "The one percent and the ninety-nine percent in ancient cities"

(<http://wideurbanworld.blogspot.co.at/2014/04/the-one-percent-and-ninety-nine-percent.html>)

BALZA Maria Elena (Università di Pavia; Université de Limoges)

KBo 6.28+ and the 'concentric invasion' of the Hittite land

Tuesday, July 22nd, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

Based on some hints contained in Hittite sources one of the main problems confronting the Hittite kings was the protection of the frontiers. Some texts seem in fact to suggest that the Hittites felt surrounded by pressing hostile forces and potential enemies.

Strongly walled towns, watch-posts erected in strategic places and a constant watch along the borders were in place for the protection against this threat and the survival of the state (Beal 1995). The Middle-Hittite *Instructions for the BĒL MADGALTI*, the 'Commander of the Border Guard' (Pecchioli Daddi 2003), as well as some other texts, establish therefore a series of provisions aimed at the maintenance of the city walls and the control of the borders. Nevertheless, the military frontiers and the man-made defenses sometimes failed, and when they did, enemies were able to penetrate into the inner country, subvert the cosmic order established by the king on behalf of the gods, and attack, destroy and burn the Hittite

towns. This dark scenario is well illustrated by KBo 6.28+KUB 26.48 (CTH 88), a document from the time of Hattusili III but referring to the period before his grandfather Suppiluliuma. The first part of this text (Ro 6-15), shaped as a sort of ‘historical memory’, describes the so-called ‘concentric invasion’ (‘konzentrische Invasion’, Carruba 1977: 141), a devastating attack on several fronts characterized by a ‘circular’ disposition of the enemies, experienced by the Hittite land before the rise to power of Suppiluliuma. After a gap of some lines, the text then records an exemption decree promulgated by Hattusili III on behalf of the ^{NA4}*hekur P/pirwa*. Beyond the literary topos of the ‘one against many’, where the inner country stands alone against numerous and diverse enemies (Liverani 1990, 115ff.), this text can also provide useful information on Hittite territorial policies at the end of the Middle Hittite period.

The paper seeks to offer an analysis of KBo 6.28+ that pays special attention to textual clues concerning the Hittites’ mental perception of border areas and buffer zones. It will also seek to offer some considerations on the possible connection between the two parts of the text, on the importance of the historical events recorded in the document, and on their role in the shaping of the political landscape. References:

- Beal, R. (1995), “Hittite Military Organization,” in: J. Sasson et alii (eds), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. I, New York, 545–554.
 Carruba, O. (1977), “Beiträge zur mittelhethitischen Geschichte I,” *SMEA* 18, 137–174.
 Liverani, M. (1990), *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.*, Padova.
 Pecchioli Daddi, F. (2003), *Il vincolo per i Governatori di Provincia*, Pavia.

BARJAMOVIC Gojko (Harvard University)

Fiddling with fortune: a new incantation from Kültepe and the spread of literacy

Friday, July 25th, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 211

Most incantations from Mesopotamia come out of unprovenient contexts or compilatory works that offer little direct information about their function in daily life. An exceptional convergence of archaeological and textual data at the site Kültepe in Central Turkey

allows a growing number of incantations found in houses belonging to Assyrian merchant families settled there to be connected directly to their users. The Old Assyrian incantations come out of utilitarian contexts and appear to have been written or commissioned by individuals living in those houses. Although they are by structure and topic a part of Mesopotamian folklore tradition, they are composed in the Assyrian dialect and seemingly adapted to the concrete situation for which they were produced. Their contents and distribution in the archives are used to investigate notions of tradition, education and literacy in the colony. The paper examines textual variation, ductus and scribal errors to address the question of who wrote these tablets, why they were found in private commercial archives (and not, say, in the possession of a local expert), who composed and performed the incantations, and what their purpose may have been.

BARUCHI-UNNA Amitai (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Esarhaddon's prayer in the inscription AsBbA and the *mīs pî* ritual

Wednesday, July 23rd, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 211

Workshop VIII. The Reign of Esarhaddon

The prayer of Esarhaddon, incorporated in the inscription labeled AsBbA, is the first prayer in an Assyrian royal inscription that is presented as a verbatim citation. The aim of this paper is to delineate the historiographical background for this innovation in a genre usually described as routine and formalistic. In light of an analysis of the patterns of describing the king's 'historical' prayers in Assyrian royal inscriptions, I analyze Esarhaddon's prayer from the aspects of its content, context and possible linkage to prayers outside of the royal inscriptions. In particular, I examine the possible relations between the prayer in this inscription and an Akkadian prayer from the *mīs pî* ritual designated to be performed during the last phases of the process of making a divine image. The whole analysis suggests that the royal prayer had been part of an early stage of such a ritual and was available to the royal scribes for whom it served as a source material for the Esarhaddon inscription.

BEAULIEU Paul-Alain (University of Toronto)
BM 45690 (*King of Justice*) in historical-legal context
 Tuesday, July 22nd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

BM 45690 is a Neo-Babylonian literary text praising the activities of a king in the legal sphere. The text originally spread over six columns, but only part of the tablet is preserved and the name of the king who is the subject of the composition is lost. When he published the text in 1965 W. G. Lambert identified him as Nebuchadnezzar II, but subsequent commentators have made an alternative case for Nabonidus. Setting this issue aside, the present paper will concentrate instead on the historical-legal context of BM 45690, specifically on the two trial procedures depicted in the text: one involving the river ordeal, and the other one a formal oath by the god Šamaš taken by stepping into a magic circle. Analyzing similar procedures recorded in everyday legal texts, the paper will argue that BM 45690 records actual attempts at legal reform. Thus, although the text has been routinely classified as mere literary propaganda, it arguably reflects serious legal thinking and testifies to the extensive state building effort that characterizes the Babylonian empire in the sixth century.

BECKMAN Gary (University of Michigan)
Man's fate: divine responsibility for human welfare in Hatti
 Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

To the mind of a participant in the Hittite culture of the Late Bronze Age, success or failure in life was ultimately the result neither of individual or collective human effort nor of blind chance, but of the decisions of the gods. I will explore this conception through a discussion of *para hand(ant)atar*, 'providence', and consideration of the function of the LAMMA, 'tutelary deity'. Of course the fortune or misfortune of the king of Hatti had ramifications for the entirety of society.

BIELIŃSKI Piotr (University of Warsaw)

Tell Arbid in north-east Syria – a third millennium BCE shrine and its surroundings

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 216

Since 2005 Polish-Syrian archaeological mission in the southern part of the Tell Arbid site was exploring a fragment of the third millennium BCE city quarter. The uncovered remains can be dated to the Ninevite 5 and Early Dynastic III periods (Early Jezireh II – IIIb). Among architectural units exposed there the most interesting one is a single roomed shrine which was at least three times rebuilt. In best preserved phase unearthed up till now the “Southern Temple,” as it is labeled, was divided in two parts by a partition wall. From this phase came an altar with a fireplace in front of it also discovered in the *cella*. In front of the temple building was erected a huge mud brick terrace composed of at least three steps. Except the front façade from all other side this temple was surrounded by several structures of different functions. One of them is another small single roomed building which most probably could also have been used as a sanctuary. “The Southern Temple” complex shows in its arrangement traits present in sacral architecture of different sub-regions of the Syrian Djezireh of this period.

BILGIN Tayfun (University of Michigan)

Circle of the king: hierarchy in Hittite administration

Tuesday, July 22nd, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 211

Hittite documents reveal numerous officials, who were active in various roles below the king, but we have no records which would provide us with clear evidence for the rules which must have governed the hierarchical structure encompassing these positions. Therefore, any attempt to reconstruct rules of hierarchy requires the collection and analysis of clues from documents of various genres. An obvious source for information is found in the official state documents that incorporate a variety of high-level government officials as witnesses. Extant documents of this type can be separated into two groups: (1) about three dozen so-called Land Donation Texts of the Old Hittite and Early Empire periods,

which on average list only about three or four high officials as witnesses, and (2) the two Tarhuntašša Treaties (CTH 105.A-B) and the Šahurunuwa Text (CTH 225) of the Late Empire period with their long witness lists. Although the texts in the first group are spread over a longer period of time, they are useful in comparing certain high-ranking offices, holders of which repeatedly appear among the witnesses. The second group provides a more focused chronological approach since all three texts date to the period of Hattušili III-Tudhaliya IV and multiple officials appear in two or all three of the witness lists. A closer analysis of these witness lists suggests that the hierarchical relationships of the officials depend more on the individual himself than the office he occupies.

BLOCH Yigal (University of California, Berkeley)

The dates of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku

Thursday, July 24th, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku are two enigmatic rulers of the Middle Assyrian period. The Assyrian King List records the duration of their reigns as *tuppišu*, adding that Mutakkil-Nusku was a brother of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, fought him and exiled him to Babylonia. Recently, Heather Baker has demonstrated, based on Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian business and administrative documents, that the meaning of the term *tuppišu* in a chronological context is “one year.” According to this interpretation, the reigns of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku lasted one year each, and given the sequential ordering of the kings in the Assyrian King List, their reigns should have followed the reign of their father, Aššur-dān I (ca. 1133 BCE). On the other hand, Helmut Freydank proposed a different interpretation of the term *tuppišu*, as an adverb meaning “moreover, in addition, further,” etc. According to Freydank’s interpretation, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku were de facto regents during the reign of Aššur-dān I, and Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur was active already at the beginning of the reign of Aššur-dān I (in the 1170s BCE).

A literary text, known in Assyrian and Babylonian copies dating to the first millennium BCE, presents itself as a letter written by a Babylonian king to his Assyrian counterpart; according to the content of the letter, the addressee should be identified as Mutakkil-Nusku (hence the text can be called the “Mutakkil-Nusku Letter”). This text was published a decade ago by Jaume Llop and Andrew George. Although the text is literary, it reflects, at least, the Babylonians’ perception of their own history, and it may be based on actual diplomatic correspondence of the 12th century BCE.

The “Mutakkil-Nusku Letter” mentions activities of both Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku (although the latter is not called by name), and reflects a conflict between the two brothers, in which other Assyrian dignitaries were apparently involved. All the players on the Assyrian political scene sought support from the king of Babylonia.

The present lecture will argue that the historical context reflected in the “Mutakkil-Nusku Letter,” accompanied by the evidence of other sources concerning the reign of Aššur-dān I, suggests that the author of the letter should be identified with Itti-Marduk-balātu, the second king of the Second Isin Dynasty in Babylonia. It will be argued that in the framework of Babylonian chronology, the regnal dates of Itti-Marduk-balātu should be fixed as 1135–1128 BCE. Consequently, the “Mutakkil-Nusku Letter” suggests the chronological placement of the reigns of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku ca. 1133 BCE.

BONNETERRE Daniel (Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières)

Finding the good genius in your bowl

Tuesday, July 22nd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 211

As demons, geniuses or amulets protect from evil or injury, hemerologies have taught us that some food (especially plants, fruits, edible animals or fishes) could also protect, bring good fortune, carry an energy or simply announce gloomy days. In several instances, the food is more than a mere nutrient or an economic agent, but rather a significant symbol, a metaphor, which intervenes ritually to devote a change. Through a careful reading of

the texts, especially in the Mari Archives, I intend to identify and present the role played by wine, pomegranates, truffles and locusts.

BONZANO Simone (Freie Universität Berlin)

A game for the throne: Urartian fortresses as a mean to develop the social landscape

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

Tuesday, July 22nd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 116

Looking the Urartian landscape (first millennium BCE) from above, we see an intricate pattern of different fortified sites strategically placed around a far more complicate web of main routes, secondary roads and mountains paths. Those fortresses are by far the most recognizable aspect of ‘what was the Urartian civilization’, together with the famous hydraulic waterworks. They were defensive structures yet something more: markers of the ‘royal power’, social and political control points and perspective economic nodes. Structural and intra-site aspects aside (that will be not the matter of this discussion), Urartian fortresses seems to have been part of a complex state formation process held by the Urartian kings with the perspective aim to mold the once chaotic Nairi region in a peculiar yet functional regional state among the Eastern Anatolian Highlands. It was indeed a complex aim due the morphology of the region and the specific anthropology of the highlands where local resilience and fragmentation were common. This paper aims to describe the inner use of the fortress as ‘social objects’ inside the developing of the Urartian kingdom. Starting from the indeed scarce written sources and using cutting-edge landscape modelling on the ‘Urartian cradle’, the Lake Van Region in Turkey, the development of this specific social agency has been observed in the early years of Urartu (particularly under Ispuini and Minua between the ninth and eighth century BCE). The goal has been to describe the use Urartian kings made of the fortresses in order to grab, reinforce and hold the throne in the Eastern Highlands.

BRAMANTI Armando (Sapienza – Università di Roma; Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)

Rethinking the writing space: anatomy of some Early Dynastic signs

Wednesday, July 23rd, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

I will discuss in this paper the possibility of a different approach to some paleographic issues with the help of some well-defined evidence from an Early Dynastic administrative archive from lower Mesopotamia.

Our modern perception of the cuneiform artifacts and script is very distant from that of the ancient Mesopotamians. I will follow the work of the scribe(s) in the more technical aspects, trying to position—wherever possible—the wedges in the original order, rebuilding the signs from the point of view of the writer himself.

The wedges appear to be engraved in a non-conventional manner, suggesting a redefinition of the writing space – the virtual square in which every sign is placed. This assumption will lead to some considerations on the dualisms left-right, up-down, inside-outside, beginning-end, in an attempt to answer to the same old question: how did they write cuneiform?

BRISCH Nicole (University of Copenhagen)

Feeding the gods: ritual and divinity in Old Babylonian Nippur

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

This paper will be a short presentation of my ongoing research project on the full publication of the ‘Sattukku’ archive, excavated in Nippur during the fourth and fifth postwar seasons and previously studied by M. Sigrist (BiMes 11, 1984). The texts will serve as a starting point for a study of the Mesopotamian ritual of ‘Feeding the Gods’ and its socio-economic and religious importance. Themes that will be explored revolve around questions of ritual and divinity on the one hand, and religion and economy on the other.

CAMMAROSANO Michele (Universität Würzburg)
Their styli before our hands: cuneiform scribes in 3D
 Wednesday, July 23rd, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

Cuneiform scripts and scribal hands are characterized both by the use of specific sets of sign forms and variants, and by more subtle features like shape and slant of wedges, patterns of wedge constellations, script density and layout. Because of their inherent three-dimensional nature, the latter features are best investigated on 3D models of the original tablets. Based on a theoretical framework for the metrological investigation of cuneiform script, the paper will present selected case-studies in order to explore how a mixed approach combining computer-aided data processing and traditional palaeography can improve our understanding of writing technique(s) and contribute to the identification of joins and scribal hands.

CHARVÁT Petr (University of West Bohemia in Pilsen)
The origins of the LUGAL office: temple, palace, or simply good fortune?

Thursday, July 24th, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 116

In spite of a long research tradition, the origins of the office of the LUGAL, conventionally translated from Sumerian as “king,” are still shrouded in mystery. Only recently has the volume of published source material allowed a deeper insight into the emergence of this foremost office of the Sumerian states. The present author will summarize the evidence available and survey the information currently available, both from written sources and from archaeology. He will assess the relations between the LUGAL office and the institutions designed conventionally as “palace” and “temple.” He will then present a hypothesis as to how the LUGAL office assumed the form present in classical Sumerian texts.

ÇİFÇİ Ali (University of Liverpool)
The construction of URUs (City?) and É.GALs (Fortress) by the Urartian kings

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 216

Urartian royal inscriptions mention various building projects, in particular URUs (City?) and É.GALs (Fortress) that undertaken by the kings. Urartian rulers often claim that these buildings or the creation of new cities and citadels usually took place in previously uninhabited, uncultivated or abandoned landscapes and how they transform the entire landscape through cultivation of new agricultural lands, plantation of orchards, vineyards or construction of water facilities. Most of these construction projects were in the Lake Van basin and the Ararat Valley and were created between the late ninth and mid-seventh centuries BCE. This paper aims to examine the construction of URUs (City?) and É.GALs (Fortress) that mentioned in Urartian royal inscriptions and relevant archaeological evidence in order to assess the role of the monarch in such building projects.

CINGOLO Maria Stella (Sapienza – Università di Roma)

Some remarks about the Old Babylonian libanomancy texts

Monday, July 21st, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop IV. Divination Masked by Religion?

My paper deals with libanomancy, an Old Babylonian divination practice based on the watching of *qutrēnu* (which is the aromatic burnt offering) that is usually regarded, along with lecanomancy and extispicy, as one of the deductive – inductive divination classes (corresponding to the ritual solicited omens).

First, I am going to display the lack of an advanced and scientific erudition stage by referring to the Old Babylonian libanomancy *compendia*, according to the levels in protasis and apodosis contents, in the relationship between protasis and apodosis, and also in lexicon and syntax.

Next, I am going to propose the contextual references of the aromatic burnt offering within other rituals texts (such as prayers and *namburbû* texts) and also its regular execution in the everyday deity cult. The assumption that the divination practice described in libanomancy texts could be contextual to the starting phase of every kind of rituals underlines the religious frame of this mantic practice. And in this case, a redefinition of second millennium libanomancy could be suggested as well as one among the deductive – spontaneous divination classes (that is the spontaneous observed omens).

CLEGG Sarah (University of Cambridge)

Capturing the standards: economy and measuring systems in the third millennium BCE

Thursday, July 24th, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 116

The economic situation of third millennium Mesopotamia is an issue of intense debate. Especially contested is the matter of the 'private', domestic economy, the very existence of which is even occasionally questioned. This paper will attempt to show how more light can be shed on this issue through the close examination of capacity systems. In this paper, I will trace the existence of single capacity system through the third millennium and will endeavor to show how this single system, and others like it, can be used not just to prove the existence of a domestic economy, but also to discuss some aspects of its nature.

COGAN Mordechai (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

A fresh look at the composition and editing of the Khorsabad annals and summary inscription

Monday, July 21st, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 116

Following upon a series of investigations of the annal inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, in which I studied the techniques employed by the Assyrian royal scribes in composing and editing these texts, I began an investigation of another corpus, with similar parameters, in order to examine whether the findings held true beyond the Ashurbanipal texts. The corpus selected was the Sargon annals and summary inscription from Khorsabad that were composed a year or so prior to completion of the construction of Dur Sharruken in 707 BCE. Multiple copies of both of the types of Khorsabad texts are extant, as they were engraved on the walls in many of the rooms of Sargon's palace. This fortuitous circumstance permits not only the reconstruction of many damaged sections of the texts, but also the study of their composition. Contrary to the expectation that inscriptions composed at the same juncture in time would be identical, all these inscriptions are not the very same. There are four copies of the summary inscription and though all four stem from a single master text, they diverge in their manner of writing, making it clear that two different copies were prepared. The five copies of the

annals, on the other hand, represent at least two (or perhaps three) recensions of a single master text that differ from each other not only in writing, but more significantly in compositional matters, e.g., the interchange of equivalent phrases; the rearrangement of story elements; inclusion of short and long descriptions of the same event. Several suggestions will be put forward that might account for this plurality, from both the practical as well as the editorial spheres.

COHEN Yoram (Tel Aviv University)

Sheep anatomical terminology in the *Šumma Immeru* omens series and additional texts

Monday, July 21st, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop IV. Divination Masked by Religion?

The *Šumma Immeru* omens are concerned with the behavior of the sacrificial animal, before and at the time of its slaughter, and immediately following its killing. The omens of the series observe the general behavior of the animal, as well as the appearance of its particular body parts. This paper will concentrate on a few anatomical body parts mentioned in the omens, some of which are obscure to modern scholarship. It will aim to explicate their meaning, and on that base, explain more about the procedures of the Mesopotamian science of divination.

COHEN Yoram (Tel Aviv University)

Who's who in the "House of Ur-Meme": reconfiguring Old Babylon literature and Ur III historical sources

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

It has long been recognized that Old Babylonian literary compositions contain Sumerian and Akkadian personal names, some of which can be identified or associated with historical figures of the Ur III period and the early Old Babylonian Isin and Larsa dynasties. The purpose of this paper is to follow this trail of literary characters featuring in Old Babylonian school compositions and re-consider Ur III historical sources. In the process of this demonstration, it will

be also argued that the “House of Ur-Meme” was not as monolithic and perhaps not as influential as previously thought.

COLOMBO Noemi (Italy)

Inanna in the good and bad graces of Gilgamesh

Monday, July 21st, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 211

In those days, in those ancient days, when Inanna and the fisher Adagbir have not yet brought down the House of Heaven on earth, there was a young virgin woman walking alone, wandering for true love and new marvelous adventures; she saw on Euphrates River a tree all alone, the beautiful *huluppu*-tree. She loved it, she desired it, she took the tree with pure feet and with purely she grew up it; but the attractive tree was soon occupied by three powerful figures: the eagle made the nest among its branches, the Lilith spirit within its trunk, and, finally, the snakes with its litter took its roots. Inanna was very afraid about it and asked for help to her brother, the young hero Utu. Utu, recalling her how many times she faced troubles in the past, refused to help her. Then Inanna asked to Gilgamesh the warrior, her brother, who, instead, listened to her sister and kindly offered his help to her. Gilgamesh forced the frightening invaders to escape, cut the tree and finally prepared a marvelous bed for her sister Inanna. Inanna was dreaming of who could share those beautiful bed with her in nights of full love and to mercy her brother Gilgamesh, allowed him to take the roots of the *huluppu* to make the *mekku* and the *pukku*, the drum that called up the young man to action, to the fierce battles. We know that this story goes on following the salvaging of the *mekku* and *pukku* by Enkidu in his journey to the netherworld, as the wild, civilized hero, the very new friend of Gilgamesh, offered himself to act in favor of his friend.

In another, also well known text of the Semitic language tradition, Gilgamesh met the wild, new civilized, powerful young Enkidu—created by the god themselves to counterbalance the power of Gilgamesh—right during the day in which he is going to take wife. Enkidu attacked Gilgamesh believing, as they had told him, that Gilgamesh after had married Istaran, was going to exercise the right to take the women he wanted. Enkidu won the competition but recognized the superiority of Gilgamesh and declared himself

servant of Gilgamesh and bowed to his willingness. Curiously this scene reminds an Old-Babylonian tablet that tells the story of *šaltum*, the antagonist of Inanna created by the gods to counterbalance her power. It happens the same, the wild, powerful, longhaired woman attacked Inanna and won the competition and after bowed to her willingness. If it was a piece of theatre we may expect that the next scene deals with Gilgamesh coming back to his own life, marrying Istaran and living in happiness forever. Not at all, after the intense fight against the foreigner Enkidu we see Gilgamesh insulting Inanna who, instead, was kind with him. Gilgamesh, both in the version coming from Emar as in the version of the *epopea classica*, hurts her, recalling her that everything and everybody she had loved in her life has had a bad fate. Gilgamesh mentions also Dumuzi, her unlucky shepherd and husband, the man whom Utu himself convinced Inanna to marry instead of the farmer she had preferred in her first interests in loving matters. Maybe because of Inanna was raped by Sukalletuda, the gardener son of Igisigisig, and violated even by An, she obtained, thanks to the An himself, the Bull of Heaven as instrument of vengeance against Gilgamesh. Unfortunately Gilgamesh and his new friend Enkidu succeeded in killing the celestial creature, deserving punishment for this huge sacrilege. I wonder, why Gilgamesh changed so much in his dealing with her sister Inanna between the Sumerian and the Akkadian tradition? And why we have two different traditions? The latter depicting Inanna as a femme fatale who wants to seduce Gilgamesh, and having been refused, taken by fury *howl* for vengeance; the other and more ancient one showing Inanna facing Gilgamesh who pretends to establish justices and fix rules in Inanna's proper realm, usurping her functions?

CORO Paola (Università Ca Foscari Venezia)

Careers in Seleucid Uruk: the case of women

Thursday, July 24th, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 211

Women are frequently mentioned in documents from Seleucid Uruk. They appear in the contracts as sellers and buyers and they are also mentioned as neighbours in the description of properties; sometimes they were particularly active from an economic point of view (the case of Belessunu in the prebendary market is instructive in this

sense). A substantial number of unpublished contracts from Seleucid Uruk, appertaining to the tablets collection of the British Museum, mention women. On the basis of both already published texts and the newly available evidence, the proposed paper aims at exploring the characteristics of women's role in the transactions: a topic which, as recently observed (see lastly Langin-Hooper and Pearce), presently lacks a comprehensive investigation.

CRISOSTOMO Jay (University of California, Berkeley)

'Recount for me the Spell of Nudimmud' ... yet again

Monday, July 21st, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 211

The present paper offers a new interpretation of the so-called "Spell of Nudimmud" parenthesis in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (136-55). Rather than a "Babylonian Babel," the short section establishes how Enki facilitated the contest between Uruk and Aratta by enabling communication in a single language between the combatants. For the scribes copying the story during the Old Babylonian period, the episode vindicated the preeminence of Sumerian over all other languages.

When S. Kramer first discussed the episode in 1943 as a parallel to the famous biblical "Tower of Babel" story, he established the basic interpretation: the story depicts a confusion of languages, an etiology for multilingualism. Kramer's initial premise of a "Babylonian Babel" remains the standard interpretation. B. Alster was the first to postulate an alternative, contrasting interpretation. Rather than a distant past, the "Spell of Nudimmud" described an idyllic future, when all the languages of the world would be reduced to one language. Other than occasional proponents, most notably H. Vanstiphout, Alster's suggestion has not found much support.

I propose that the "Spell of Nudimmud" section should be understood as essential background for the narrative, rather than an etiological insert or the idealism of a distant future. The three paragraphs of the episode represent synchronic, narrative time from different points of view. In support of my argument, I discuss the pragmatic role of the Sumerian discourse marker *u d - b a* "on that day," here setting the episode within the context of the narrative. The section thus describes how Enki expedited the debates that immediately follow the account.

Since the narrative is written in Sumerian, and because the point of the story is the superiority of Uruk, representative of all Sumer, the Old Babylonian scribes who copied the composition would have recognized the importance of Sumerian over all other languages. The “Spell of Nudimmud” episode is, thus, neither a “Babylonian Babel” nor a “Sumerian Utopia,” but a narrative device that underscores Sumerian as the language par excellence.

DALIX Anne-Sophie (Université Paris Sorbonne Abou Dhabi)

Pierre Bordreuil et les études nord-ouest sémitiques

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

Le 13 novembre 2013, Pierre Bordreuil nous quittait brutalement. Chercheur prolifique, il lègue une impressionnante production scientifique, s’adressant à tous types de public. Par sa diversité et sa variété, cette mosaïque d’études constituées autour de cinq domaines principaux (épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique, glyptique, histoire, phénicologie, ougaritologie) s’avère difficilement à classer, sans risquer d’être réducteur. Car, comme Pierre Bordreuil aimait à les qualifier, ses recherches portaient sur le « monde péri-biblique », un monde clivant les frontières disciplinaires et chronologiques, l’ayant amené à sillonner la Palestine, le Liban, la Syrie et la Transjordanie des 2^e et 1^{er} millénaires avant J.-C. Aussi cette communication tentera-t-elle de retracer les grandes lignes de la carrière de Pierre Bordreuil et de mettre en lumière les innovations de sa démarche scientifique, en insistant plus particulièrement sur les études ayant trait à Ougarit dont il a été un fervent promoteur.

DE GRAEF Katrien (Universiteit Gent)

The importance of being the son of one’s sister. Power and heterarchy in the Sukkalmah regime

Thursday, July 24th, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 211

Workshop VI. Beyond Hierarchies: Heterarchy and Gender

The structure of the so-called Sukkalmah regime, which was implemented by the Šimaškian kings in the early second millennium BCE, was no doubt based on the vertical or hierarchical relationships

with the King as central and highest authority under whom two Sukkalmahs each ruled over a part of the vast Šimašġian territory, and with further down, smaller and local administrators, such as Sukkals and Teppirs, supervising smaller territories or cities, under the authority of their Sukkalmah and the King.

However, when we have a closer look at the functioning of this stratified system and especially at the individuals holding these positions and being promoted from the lower to the higher positions, we see that particular characteristics contributed to their status and power, thus making lateral or heterarchical relationships as important as vertical or hierarchical relationships. As such, some rulers legitimated their power by stating that they were the son of the sister (*ruhu šak*) of a preceding ruler, rather than being the son of a preceding ruler. The presence of the sister as a link between a preceding and new ruler suggests the importance of the brother-sister relationship, which is also apparent in the documentary tablets, and might even allude to an (ancient?) matrilineal lineage.

This paper investigates the power structures within the Sukkalmah Regime, both local and national, the interconnection between hierarchical and heterarchical relationships within the system and the possible underlying duality between local, Elamite, and foreign, Semitic, traditions and values.

DE RIDDER Jacob Jan (Universität Leipzig)
Chronological and regional developments in Middle Assyrian
 Thursday, July 24th, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

Middle Assyrian archives are spread over a large geographical area, where colonies were founded in newly conquered territory with its own existing scribal traditions and a native population with a different, often Hurrian, background. This brings about the suggestion of the development of local scribal traditions and dialectal differences. In this paper we discuss in how far small irregularities might represent such features in the rather uniform system of Middle Assyrian cuneiform. This will be done by discussing the peripheral archives in a chronological frame, by

studying the trends in orthographic and grammatical irregularities. A new attempt to describe these regional features is made possible by the publication of younger archives that cover the 12th/11th centuries BCE, such as the Giricano archive and royal inscriptions from vassal kingdoms, such as the kingdom of Māri in the Ḫabur region. On first glance it would appear that such irregularities are rare because administrative documents were mostly not written by locals, but rather by Assyrian settlers. Letters on the other hand are usually written elsewhere than the place they were found and are therefore often not a good source for local variation. Fortunately, we will see that we can find glimpses of local traditions of grammatical developments not attested in the heartland. Therefore the peripheral archives are beneficial for a better understanding of the continual development of the Assyrian dialects but also for the transition from Old Assyrian to Neo Assyrian.

DELNERO Paul (Johns Hopkins University)

Divination and religion as a cultural system

Monday, July 21st, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop IV. Divination Masked by Religion?

Mesopotamian divination is frequently accorded a place in histories of scientific thought in large part because of the rationality and logic of the hermeneutic principles that inform the relations between the protases and apodoses of divinatory omens, as well as the systematic manner in which omens covering a wide range of natural phenomena are compiled in omen compendia of different types. While it is widely acknowledged that divination in Mesopotamia was deeply rooted in religion, and that it derived much of its efficacy and its conceptual framework from the religious system in which it was embedded, divination is nonetheless typically studied as if it were a supplement to Mesopotamian religion, and not as an integral part of it. Although distinguishing the scientific from the religious aspects of divination in this way allows divination to be examined independently as both a scientific and a religious practice, it has the consequence of underemphasizing the extent to which divination was part of a cultural system, in which not only religion and science, but also fundamental conceptions of the place of humanity in the cosmic and

political world order, converge. In this paper, the cultural function of divination will be reconsidered by examining how the scientific and religious aspects of divination come together through lamenting, which was performed both as a response to ominous events identified through divination and as a religious practice intended to reaffirm and rectify the relationship between humanity and the gods.

DROMARD Benjamin (Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, ArScAn HAROC)

Made men: rich slaves of the Egibi

Thursday, July 24th, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 211

Studies of slavery in Mesopotamia during the first millennium BCE has been mainly focused on slavery as an object, existing in and by itself, leaving aside most of its links with the socio-economic structures of the Mesopotamian society. Dandamaev's work on slavery in Babylonia from the Neo-Babylonian Empire to the Seleucid period was seminal, as he produced a veritable catalogue of the sources available for such a study, with a critical analysis of the traditional historiography on the subject which categorized most Near-Eastern societies as slave-based economies. But much remains to be done, and the uses of slavery and its ambiguities in the Babylonian society still need to be clarified.

My presentation will attempt, through the study of several biographies of slaves present in the archives of the Egibi family, to put a light on the ways for some slaves to obtain social ascension and economic prosperity in the private sector of the economy, which may appear at first sight as a contradiction with the status of such individuals. These slaves served as intermediaries for the administration of agricultural fields, commercial enterprises for the Egibis as well as being money lenders, tax collectors and developing their own financial wealth. The heterogeneity and richness of sources render possible a long-term study of the lives of such slaves.

I will try to show the use by the Egibi of these slaves as their agents, rather than using free people in such positions. I will also try to see how the social position of the Egibis was a real advantage for their slave agents in everyday and in difficult situations (in legal and criminal procedures, as a prime example), as their socio-economic power was not happily received by everyone in their social

environment. As the Egibis were not a “traditional” economic force in Babylonia and could be described as “nouveaux riches” – this could not have happened without some forms of social resentment from other parts of society, sometimes readable in the sources available to us, and of which the Egibi slaves were victims at times. The study of their social elevation could also serve for the history of the socio-economic evolution of Babylonia.

ERNST-PRADAL Françoise (UMR 8167 LESA Paris)

Paléographie des textes hourrites syllabiques de Ras Shamra/Ougarit, suite

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

Wednesday, July 23rd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 116

Toujours dans l’optique de présenter les différents syllabaires co-existants des tablettes mises au jour à Ras Shamra/Ougarit, la 59^{ème} RAI de Gand a été l’occasion d’exposer et d’analyser la paléographie des tablettes musicales hourrites. Les résultats obtenus ont montré que ces tablettes avaient vraisemblablement été rédigées par au moins cinq scribes et que leur syllabaire appartenait au fond commun des graphies idéo-syllabiques des scribes d’Ougarit tout en se distinguant de celui des autres textes hourrites découverts sur le tell.

Ce sont ces autres textes hourrites syllabiques que nous allons examiner lors de la 60^{ème} RAI à Varsovie, en continuant, par la méthode des catégories, de mettre en évidence les caractéristiques des signes qui les composent. Ces caractéristiques seront ensuite mises en perspective avec les différents syllabaires d’Ougarit dans l’espoir d’y trouver des pistes intéressantes susceptibles d’apporter un nouvel éclairage sur la place encore mal perçue de la culture hourrite dans la capitale du royaume.

ERNST-PRADAL Françoise (UMR 8167 LESA Paris)

Pierre Bordreuil, un professeur de terrain

Tuesday, July 22nd, 15:10–15:30, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

En 1991, Pierre Bordreuil ouvrait à l’Institut catholique de Paris, sur la demande du directeur de l’Ecole des Langues de l’Orient Ancien,

le premier cours de langue et civilisation ougaritique en France à s'étendre sur trois années universitaires. Il en a assumé la charge jusqu'à sa retraite en 2004, date à laquelle il a passé le flambeau au brillant successeur qu'il avait formé.

S'il fallait, pour être accepté dans son cours avoir déjà de sérieuses connaissances en hébreu ou en arabe et en akkadien, une fois admis, l'étudiant apprenait alors l'ougaritique directement sur les tablettes, par le biais de moulages, avant d'être entraîné dans l'histoire, ancienne et contemporaine, sur les routes de l'Orient, de ses sites remarquables, de ses missions archéologiques et de ses musées.

Bien moins connues que ses activités scientifiques, ce sont ces deux facettes, enseignement et voyages en Orient, de celui qui fut mon professeur avant de devenir un collègue et un ami, qui seront évoquées, en quelques images et anecdotes.

FELIU Lluís and Jordi VIDAL (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Fortifications as civic monuments: the case of second millennium Syria

Tuesday, July 22nd, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

The study of the cuneiform sources related to city walls shows that, besides being a military defensive structure, the city walls were conceived as real civic monuments with a strong symbolic character.

Our study focuses on second millennium Syrian sources, particularly those of Mari, El-Amarna, Ugarit and Emar. These texts reflect the city wall in its symbolic aspect. In the Mari texts, the idiom used to "fortify a city" is literally "to make a city" (*ālam epēšum*, see Durand, LAPO 17, 290). In the Zukru-Festival from Emar we find the city wall as a religious space. We can also find the city wall with human attributes: the wall in relation to physical strength (EA 147) and the wall related to human anatomy (KTU 1.14 ii 21-22 and par.). Its civic aspect is also reflected in the identification of the city wall as home (KTU 1.40). With this evidences we may conclude that the city walls were constructed with a double purpose: (1) to protect their citizens and (2) as a symbolic element to identify the community and its political and economic power with the land.

FIJAŁKOWSKA Lena (University of Łódź)

Misfortune and legal remedies against it in Late Bronze Age Syria

Tuesday, July 22nd, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 211

Late Bronze Age legal texts from Emar and Ekalte offer many examples of personal as well as general misfortune. Best known are of course cases of indebtedness, usually caused by war and resulting inflation and famine, often forcing the unfortunate to enter into various forms of debt service. However, a closer look at the documents reveals also other instances of (sometimes permanent or recurrent) bad luck, from dowries misappropriated by dishonest family members, through unhappy, but well contract-secured marriages, to sudden poverty due to some personal failure. The aim of the paper is to find out what legal remedies were available in such situations. Trial was usually the most obvious, but certainly not the only one; it turns out that legal systems of Late Bronze Age Syria were more complicated, but also more practical than it would seem at first sight, and usually offered several ways out of a difficult situation.

FINCKE Jeanette C. (Netherlands)

The oldest Mesopotamian astronomical treatise: *enūma anu enlil*

Monday, July 21st, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop IV. Divination Masked by Religion?

Every phenomenon of the sky, even the barely visible, was regarded a sign given by the gods to the king to indicate future events, to enable him to take appropriate preventative action before the events actually occurred, with the help of rituals if needed. Therefore, the experts were obliged to ceaselessly and meticulously observe the sky, and they must have diligently maintained daily diaries listing the phenomena of the sky, observed at day and at night, similar to the Late Babylonian astronomical diaries. During the second half of the second millennium BCE, the experts collected and organised the rules for the interpretation of these observed phenomena, i.e. the omens, in a series called *enūma anu enlil* in order to produce a tool for the easier identification of the phenomena and their interpretation.

Over time their observation of the sky led to an understanding of the course of the planets and of recurring phenomena such as

eclipses, and the experts even began to calculate future occurrences of such periodic phenomena, thus establishing the mathematical astronomy. In their professional life, the “scribes of *enūma anu enlil*”, i.e. the astronomers, were occupied with both celestial omens and astronomical calculations, which demonstrates the utmost significance of divination for astronomy. Thus, although celestial divination is deeply rooted in religious belief and the omen series still considered phenomena that were based entirely on intellectual considerations (instead of on actual observations, which were later reinterpreted to match with actual occurrences), the series *enūma anu enlil* can without doubt be regarded the oldest astronomical treatise of Mesopotamia.

FRAHM Eckart (Yale University)

Turning the wheel of fortune: interpretations of omen apodoses in Assyrian and Babylonian commentaries and letters

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 211

The apodoses of Mesopotamian omens provide important insights into perceptions of fortune and misfortune among the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, both in politics and in everyday life. They address themes such as military victory and defeat, royal succession, illness and death, the acquisition and loss of wealth and good reputation, success through political patronage, family dynamics, and divine favor.

From the Old Babylonian period onwards, Mesopotamian omens had been collected in compendia of varying length. By the first millennium BCE, these compendia had developed into serialized handbooks that were by and large no longer subject to editorial changes. Instead, Babylonian and Assyrian scholars began to write commentaries on them. Most of the intellectual effort invested by the commentators went into explaining and reinterpreting the protases of the omens in question, which were often quite technical, especially in the case of astrological and extispicy treatises. But occasionally, commentators would also examine the apodoses, and so did scholars who sent letters about ominous events to the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.

This paper will analyze some of the hermeneutical strategies used by the ancient commentators to explore omen apodoses, and

establish what were the main goals of their interpretative work. Most of the comments are philological in character, but a few address political, psychological, or social concerns and help us better understand the norms and values of the political elites and the less privileged classes in first millennium Mesopotamia.

GABBAY Uri, see **AVILA Mark**, **Uri GABBAY** and **Marcel SIGRIST**

GARCIA-VENTURA Agnès (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Assessing the application of heterarchy to the analyses of textile workforce in Presargonic Lagash

Thursday, July 24th, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 211

Workshop VI. Beyond Hierarchies: Heterarchy and Gender

The analysis of hierarchical relationships is one of the common issues in studies concerning the organisation of work, workforce and job categories. Often the first step is to look for specific Sumerian or Akkadian words that help us to reconstruct a set of job categories from top to bottom and/or from bottom to top.

However, when analysing the overseers of weavers in Presargonic Lagash, following Fumi Karahashi's research results, we realise that these female occupations are not labelled using same hierarchical terms that appear in the case of males. This is especially interesting since female and male personnel develop in some cases same professions, despite not being identified with the same terms. To interpret this fact, in this communication I will develop a proposal on how to apply a specific theoretical approach to data presented in Fumi Karahashi's communication ("Overseers of weavers in Presargonic Lagash: E₂-mete and her colleagues"). In addition, I will complete the picture referring to some Ur III examples.

I will reflect on the different use of specific terms for personnel of both sexes. I suggest taking into account not only hierarchical but also heterarchical relationships as they were probably perceived and registered in the texts. In so doing, I intend to prove that taking into account the sex of a person, the construction of gender roles and heterarchies yields a more complex picture of the management of workforce in these third millennium BCE administrative texts.

GARFINKLE Steven J. (Western Washington University)
Trade, tribute, and state formation in Ur III Mesopotamia
 Tuesday, July 22nd, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

This paper uses the rich archives of the Ur III period (2112–2004 BC) to examine the connections between socio-economic success and state formation in early Mesopotamia. The creation of a kingdom that encompassed previously independent city-states required the formation of new notions of community and new pathways to elite status. Investigations of this process are indebted to the work of Piotr Michałowski and Piotr Steinkeller, whose examinations of the organization and strategic growth of the Ur III state are the foundation on which current work must be built.

My investigation focuses on economic evidence for centralized authority under the Third Dynasty of Ur, along with a re-examination of the strategic military goals of the kingdom. I will illustrate the extent to which the growth of the state was a cooperative endeavor with property owning households. I will also look at the growth of centralized legal and military authority in order to identify the manner in which the royal household sought to embed larger notions of community in early Mesopotamian society. In this context, the military adventures of the Ur III kings will be explained as a phenomenon best understood not as a conquest of the periphery, but as a pursuit of wealth and status.

GAUTHIER Paul (University of Chicago)
Ritual and administration in the Middle Assyrian Kingdom
 Thursday, July 24th, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

The past decade has seen the publication of an abundance of new texts dealing with temple ritual in the Middle Assyrian Kingdom. Despite this wealth of new information and many insightful comments on particular texts, there has been no systematic study of the Middle Assyrian ritual system as a whole. In my paper I will fill part of this gap by reconstructing the dates of the major festivals of

the Assyrian cultic calendar. To do this I will draw on the preparations for various festivals and rites described in administrative documents. In particular, I will focus on the texts of the M 4 archive, whose activities were closely linked to the broader ritual calendar. The archives indicate that there were two major monthly festivals, one of which was important enough for the king to attend in person. The records also indicate that great pains were taken to celebrate festivals at full size in times of shortage.

I will then show that we can find traces of two important yearly festivals on the calendar, one of which involved deceased ancestors. The second was the largest festival of the year. Furthermore, I will argue that in the early years of Tukulti-Ninurta I a general settling of accounts was connected with the second festival until the cultic calendar drifted so far out of alignment with the seasons that this became impossible. This deformation of purely secular administrative activities to the religious calendar exemplifies how a careful study of the Middle Assyrian ritual calendar is essential for understanding the rationale for much of its administrative activity and the close integration of temple ritual and government activity.

GELLER Markham (Freie Universität Berlin)

The Mašmaššu as patient

Wednesday, July 23rd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

The opening passage of *Utukkū Lemnūtu* incantations Tablet 3 (probably the first tablet of the Old Babylonian series) provides for the Mašmaššu to protect himself from disease as he visits his patient at home, which is essentially what happens in the *Diagnostic Handbook* Tablet 3 (the first tablet of medical symptoms). A reference to these same incantations in relation to diagnosis also occurs in a Neo-Assyrian letter, further confirming the idea that *Utukkū Lemnūtu* incantations were especially relevant to the diagnostic role of the exorcist vis-à-vis the patient and these incantations were intended primarily for healing, as a compliment to medical prescriptions.

GESTOSO-SINGER Graciela (Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina)

Fortunes and misfortunes of messengers and merchants in the Amarna letters

Tuesday, July 22nd, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 211

The Amarna Archive is considered a privileged source for the study of the role of messengers and merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Messengers can be documented in an important spectrum of activities, such as bearers of messages, mediators of communication, carriers of goods, merchants, escorts of royal brides and their dowries, carriers of greeting-gifts, witnesses to legal process and transactions, informants, and spies. The complex diplomatic and economic contacts included political alliances and the exchange of gifts between the Great Kings through an intricate chain of messenger-merchants who traveled between the various courts. In general, messengers and merchants created the conditions for interstate relations to flourish. Furthermore, the treatment of messengers could serve as an index of the relations between states. At departure, kings and priests practiced rituals, omens, and prayers in order to guarantee a safe journey for their messengers. Upon arrival, messengers and high foreign emissaries were received in festivals dedicated to the king's investiture, military victories, alliances with neighboring countries, or the inauguration of a temple or palace. Feasting served as a symbol of power and a tool to reinforce the king's authority, in which the messengers served as important pieces in the political game, not always protected by the laws of "hospitality." The Amarna Archive reveals that some envoys were welcome and granted hospitality, food, lodging, banqueting, and gifts-giving, but others were unwelcome, and their expeditions were impeded and threatened by robbery, bureaucracy, taxes, detentions, abuse, and even death.

GODDEERIS Anne (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven; Universiteit Gent)

Crisis? What crisis? Property speculation and redemption under the reign of Samsuiluna

Friday, July 25th, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 211

After the political turmoil between Samsuiluna's seventh and 11th regnal year, Babylonia is immersed in a serious economic crisis.

Elisabeth Stone has identified a sharp increase in property transfers and a distinct drop in the prices of real estate and temple prebends in Nippur during his 11th and 12th regnal year.

A thorough investigation of the private archives from the reign of Samsuiluna excavated in Nippur shows that the crisis continues for some years after Samsuiluna 11. Chains of transmission—series of title deeds pertaining to the same piece of property—show how properties sold during the crisis years may be redeemed 10 to 20 years later. Thus, some individuals are in a position to take advantage of the crisis, but after the crisis, some descendants attempt to restore their family estates to their former glory.

GORRIS Elynn, see **TAVERNIER Jan and Elynn GORRIS**

GRABOWSKI Maciej (University of Warsaw)

Babylon's city walls and their use as burial sites during the Parthian period

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

Most of Babylon's monumental fortifications bear evidence of the so-called "late," in some cases - undoubtedly Parthian period, burial practices. Although the custom of burying dead in the brick massif of city walls was occasionally practiced throughout Mesopotamia during the first millennium BCE (e.g. Assur), we are not sure why the remains of Babylon's monumental city walls, some of which were quite remote from the core of the diminished Parthian settlement, provided so attractive site for the disposal of dead for generations of the city's inhabitants during the last centuries of its existence.

It is most probable that some of the burials in city walls or in their direct vicinity were made as early as during the Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian period, when the fortifications were still intact. Yet most of the burials of the Parthian period, including various types of sarcophagi and brick tombs, which were encountered both on the outer as well as the inner city wall, were made after the walls had fallen into ruin, e.g. the extensive cemetery on the so-called

Ostschenkel of the inner city wall. In combination with textual sources, both cuneiform and classical, the evidence of mortuary practices may be used to study the late history of Babylon's fortifications, and to examine their cosmological significance for the local community.

GRIES Helen (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

An attempt to reconstruct the temple of Assur

Wednesday, July 23rd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 216

The lecture deals with the temple of Assur in Assur, mainly in the Neo-Assyrian time. Assur was not only the name of the city, but also the name of the city god and the state. After Assyria had become a superpower in the second half of the second millennium BCE, the god Assur was responsible for the well-being of the whole Assyrian empire. The temple complex of the god Assur, which was investigated by the expedition of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft between 1903 and 1914, was the biggest and most important temple of the city.

The Neo-Assyrian temple is not well preserved, because of the destruction by the Medes in 614 BCE, looters and subsequent erosion, as well as other disturbances due to later occupation of the area. For the first millennium BCE on the other hand, a lot of information is recorded in royal inscriptions and other written sources. Focusing on the function of the different parts of the building and its importance for the cult, this lecture will first present and evaluate the archaeological finds (architecture and objects in their context) and then consider how the archaeological sources may be reconciled with the textual sources. Based on this information, an attempt will be undertaken to reconstruct the main sanctuary of city of Assur.

GROß Melanie (Universität Wien)

The fate of the enemy: Neo-Assyrian policy relating to foreign elites

Monday, July 21st, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 116

This paper aims to investigate Neo-Assyrian strategies in dealing with the ruling houses that were defeated in the course of territorial expansion and conquest. The liquidation or at least

weakening of foreign dynasties was a central issue here. This was achieved especially by the murder of key members or their deportation perhaps entailing the retention of political hostages at the Assyrian court, as has been discussed in recent years by Zawadzki (1995) and Radner (2012). On the basis of a comprehensive collection of the accounts in the royal inscriptions I will analyse the fate of defeated kings and their households, and of other rulers such as those of the Arab tribes. Taking into account the propagandistic character of the inscriptions and their formulaic language, I will discuss the treatment of the different people who made up these foreign elites, including the ruler, the ruler's relatives, other members of the ruling class, as well as court personnel. In order to evaluate these acts, also the political history of the foreign entity and its stance towards Assyria is relevant. As well as allowing for the prevailing political circumstances, this examination takes account of the fact that each king operated according to his personal style of governance. This study also aims to compare the basic composition of foreign ruling houses with the Assyrian royal household. Since they are portrayed through the lens of the Assyrians, I will discuss whether the written descriptions are owed to the actual characteristics of the individual elites, or are rather reflections of the Assyrian royal household, or a combination of the two.

GUINAN Ann (University of Pennsylvania)

Fortune and misfortune in equal measure

Tuesday, July 22nd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 211

In order to be effective divination has to straddle two separate positions. It needs an external frame of reference with meanings that are stable and shared. At the same time, in order to speak to an individual or a specific situation it needs to resonate with singular significance. As a result, divinatory meaning is mutable, flexible, and reversible. Not only can a reading signify differently to different individuals within the same belief system, meanings can easily reverse to the opposite. Although we do not have access to the practice of divination in action, this mutability can be observed in the sources.

HESS Christian W. (Freie Universität Berlin)

The Kings' Speech: grammatical patterns in Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions

Thursday, July 24th, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

The development of Standard Babylonian as a literary language is conventionally dated to the second half of the second millennium BCE. The process in both Babylonia and Assyria is closely connected to the archaizing emulation of literary Old Babylonian as a standard of cultural expression, with both Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian relegated to the role of substrate interference. The Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions from Aššur-uballit I to Aššur-bēl-kala are often seen to represent some of the earliest examples of this development.

At the same time, numerous differences have been noted both within individual monumental texts and within the period, most notably in the shift from Middle Assyrian to Middle Babylonian as underlying dialect. The paper will thus examine the interaction of various linguistic registers in the composition and transmission of the royal inscriptions, including contemporary and earlier dialects as well as features usually associated with more narrowly literary texts. It will be argued that functional registers embedded within the structures of inscriptions could independently reflect characteristic features, while the development of overall patterns in the language of the inscriptions can then be connected with the construction of both internal and external audiences in the history of Assyria.

HEEßEL Nils P. (Universität Würzburg)

About the fortune – or ill fortune – to have children

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 211

Abundance of children was generally considered to be a good fortune in Ancient Mesopotamia. Having offspring not only meant many helping hands in the household and at work, but also that one had an heir, was looked after when growing old, and had someone to provide for the *kišpu*-ritual of remembrance when deceased. In the light of the importance of children for the lives of

Babylonian and Assyrian people, it is surprising that this topic has not yet been found to play a major role in the vast divinatory literature, which usually concerned itself with almost every aspect of life.

However, this gap in the available sources can now at least be partially closed with a yet unpublished fragment of an omen text from Nineveh, which treats various subjects. Among them one section addresses the question how the fact that a person has a given number of sons or daughters affects his life. The text is presented in the lecture and put into context of cuneiform literature reflecting on the importance of children. Finally the question is assessed to which divinatory text group or even text series this fragment might belong.

ITO Sanae (University of Helsinki)

The reconciliation of Assurbanipal with Babylon in ABL 926

Monday, July 21st, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 116

Assurbanipal pursued the Babylonian policy of Esarhaddon, his father. This is well indicated by the event that Assurbanipal succeeded in returning the statue of Marduk, which Esarhaddon restored but failed to send back, to Babylon. The chronicles record that Marduk and the gods of Babylon left Assur and entered Babylon in the second month of his first regnal year, 668 BCE.

This study examines a fragmentary undated Neo-Babylonian letter, ABL 926, from Assurbanipal to the Babylonians that clearly indicates his reconciliatory policy towards Babylon. The letter is not dated, but it was probably composed at the very beginning of his reign. In the letter, Assurbanipal tries to convey his full respect for Babylon using literary expressions, ideological phrases, and intertextuality. The letter bears a long introductory part with an extended introductory formula, but the body of the letter is not preserved. In the introductory part, Assurbanipal immediately affirms that he will maintain Babylon's privileged status (*kidinnūtu*). Secondly, he stresses his devotion to Marduk, his trust in Zarpanitu from his childhood, his royal qualities such as truthfulness and righteousness, and the good fate destined for him by the great gods. Finally, he elaborates on the prosperity of his reign. It is worth noting that several parallel phrases in the letter are found in other

genres of texts such as a hymn and his royal inscriptions. The letter was motivated by careful political considerations.

JAKOB Stefan (Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg)

One epic or many? New discoveries from the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I

Thursday, July 24th, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

The narrative about the conflict of the Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233–1197 BCE) with his Kassite adversary Kaštiliaš IV from which the Assyrian emerge victoriously, first came to the attention of modern scholars in 1929, when the fragment of a three column clay tablet was unearthed in the ruins of Nineveh. Over time, several new parts could be added. Until now, however, only one half of the original epic is known. In recent years a larger number of epical fragments have been identified in the body of texts from the Assyrian capital Assur to be explored by the Assur Project in Heidelberg. Some of them can be directly assigned to passages of the *Tukultī-Ninurta Epic* that are already known. Several other cases where a possible connection remains to be proven, raise questions as to whether there was in fact only one single attempt to record the deeds of Tukultī-Ninurta in the form of an epic. That is what this paper tries to answer.

JEFFERS Joshua (University of Pennsylvania)

New evidence for the use of a non-intercalated lunar calendar during the reigns of Aššur-rēša-iši I and Tiglath-pileser I

Thursday, July 24th, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

There has been an effort in recent scholarship to re-evaluate the calendrical system employed in Assyria during the Middle period. Some scholars have suggested that Assyria was using a non-intercalated lunar calendar before the reign of Tiglath-pileser I rather than the traditionally assumed intercalated luni-solar calendar. The

publication of hundreds of new Middle Assyrian economic documents over the past decade has given rise to three tablets from the end of Aššur-rēša-iši I's reign and the beginning of Tiglath-pileser I's reign that specifically address this issue. These texts provide direct evidence for the use of a purely lunar calendar for all facets of administration in the Middle Assyrian period, particularly in regard to the length of the Assyrian eponymate and the king's official regnal years. They also show that a non-intercalated lunar calendar continued to be used even into the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. The results of these data may justify a revision in Tiglath-pileser's conventional absolute regnal dates as well as those of the Old and Middle Assyrian kings prior to his reign.

JIMENEZ Enrique (Yale University)

“Why do you weary yourself to compete with me?” Winning arguments in Babylonian disputation poems

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 211

The Babylonian disputation poems were, when collected by W. G. Lambert in his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (1960), a very fragmentary corpus surviving in only a few damaged pieces. Today, over fifty years later, the image remains essentially the same, but several new members of the genre have come to light. The most important of these is an unpublished, well-preserved tablet from the Yale Babylonian Collection, which contains the previously poorly attested poem *Palm and Vine*. Another important addition is a sizable manuscript of the *Series of the Poplar*, which doubles the amount of text known for this series. Such discoveries, which will be briefly presented here, invite a reappraisal of some of the motifs that appear in all Babylonian disputation poems.

This paper will focus on one such aspect, namely the rhetorical strategies used by the contestants for winning arguments. In these poems each character tries to establish the superiority of his lot both by predicating his own attributes and by scorning his rival's. The advantages that each contestant puts forth allow a direct insight into the socioeconomic context of the poems. It will also be argued here that the verses in which the rival's claims are refuted are closely paralleled by verses in other Babylonian dialectic poems, such as the *Theodicy*: not only do they use an equally sophisticated language and

a similar metric structure, but they also share identical formulae and expressions.

Consideration of each contestant's rhetorical strategies thus reveals information about the *Sitz im Leben* of these texts. In addition, it casts new light on the intertextual connections between this genre and other Mesopotamian literary texts, and it hints at the existence of a language register that could be called "Babylonian eristic mode."

JOHNSON Justin Cale (Freie Universität Berlin)

Scribe and scholar, physician and exorcist

Wednesday, July 23rd, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Recent discussions of levels of literacy in the Old Babylonian period raise the possibility that one can distinguish ordinary scribes (*d u b - s a r*) from individuals that have delved into the depths of the scholastic tradition (*d u m u e₂ - d u b - b a - a*, "son of the Edubba"). Yet it remains unclear how these native designations of levels of literacy interact with specific professions. Was scholasticism limited to professions such as the exorcist and the cult singer, or was it possible for someone who had mastered the full curriculum to choose to specialize in medicine? In this talk I first summarize what is known about the activities of the *d u m u e₂ - d u b - b a - a* in both literary and non-literary texts, and then ask how, precisely, these levels of literacy intersect with the distinct professions.

JULOUX Vanessa (École Pratique des Hautes Études)

How to define relation between 'Anatu and Ba'lu: answer by absence of proofs

Thursday, July 24th, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 211

Workshop VI. Beyond Hierarchies: Heterarchy and Gender

The aim of this paper is to determine whether there is heterarchy between the two main entities – traditionally referred to as gods, why should they not be considered here as masks behind which

historical figures are hiding? – ʿAnatu and Baʿlu in the myth *Baʿlu Cycle* by the scribe ʾIlimilku of Ugarit, a kingdom in northern Syria, which probably dates back to the last quarter of the Bronze Age.

The starting point of my investigation was a simple but central question: are there hierarchical relationships between ʿAnatu and Baʿlu? Whether evidence of them can be found or not, it is necessary to investigate why and how hierarchical relationships are present or on the contrary absent in the universe of this fiction in question which could be influenced by the Ugarit complex society.

Owing to the lack of evidence, proceeding by elimination of hierarchical elements is a more reliable approach than looking for heterarchical relations from elements such as socioeconomics, societal control or rituals (Brumfiel 1995) which are not valid for analyzing the two protagonists of the *Baʿlu Cycle*.

One has first to take in consideration that the cuneiform alphabetic text of the *Baʿlu Cycle* is in places so fragmentary as to limit its understanding, which has unfortunately encouraged speculation.

ʿAnatu is a female entity who behaves as a male in her social life. The hypothesis I first made in late 2013 is that the relationship between ʿAnatu and Baʿlu should be one of stepmother to stepson. ʿAnatu has a strong personality and an apparent power which might be compared to that of Aḥamilku – the queen of Ugarit and daughter of the king of Amurru who sent two of her sons into exile. In her dialogues with ʾIlu, ʿAnatu speaks with authority, even offhandedness, ignoring protocol; she appears to be fighting to establish Baʿlu as king instead of ʾIlu's male descents. In a way, except for his warlike temperament, Baʿlu ultimately appears reserved in his politics, as showed by his lack of implication in the deontic power of the kingdom which he covets and from which ʿAnatu is absent, and less well sough-out, maybe with a tendency to impulsivity.

The relations between ʿAnatu and Baʿlu will be analysed by focusing on their 'everyday' interactions, especially in terms of hierarchy (or lack of it) in each relevant situation.

JURSA Michael and Reinhard PIRNGRUBER (Universität Wien)
Diplomatics and palaeography of Neo- and Late Babylonian
archival documents

Wednesday, July 23rd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

The principal interest of our palaeographic research is to identify the standard (or most common) sign forms during various sub-periods in the centuries between the rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire and the disappearance of cuneiform script, as well as the respective developments of the individual signs. Additionally, we aim to try and establish the presence of peculiarities linked to geographical origin, archive, and, in particular cases, scribes or bureaus. Our contribution to the workshop will consist of a discussion of methodological and practical issues relevant for palaeographic studies in general in form of a case study of a small sample of tablets. In particular we will address the need for objectification and formalized descriptions based on a standardized terminology, and the interrelation between the several developmental stages of different signs on the one hand and other extrinsic features such as tablet shape and format on the other.

KARAHASHI Fumi (Chuo University)

Overseers of weavers in Presargonic Lagash: E₂-mete and her colleagues

Thursday, July 24th, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 211

Workshop VI. Beyond Hierarchies: Heterarchy and Gender

In 1961 Maurice Lambert published a seminal article on the Lagashite textile workshops during the times of Lugalanda and Urukagina (“Recherches sur la vie ouvrière: les temps de Lugalanda et Urukagina” in *ArOr* 29, 422–443). About twenty years later Kazuya Maekawa (1980) addressed a similar topic in a wider framework including both Presargonic and Ur III periods (“Female Weavers and Their Children in Lagash: Pre-Sargonic and Ur III” in *ASJ* 2, 81–93). Their excellent studies together with that of Deimel (1929) have laid the foundation for research on the workings of the Presargonic Lagashite textile industry and have shed light on female

textile overseers. Building upon their discussion, this paper revisits questions concerning the roles and functions of these women and aims to give to them the full credit that it seems to me has been overdue.

KATZ Dina (Netherlands)

Fortune and misfortune in the career of Enmerkar the king of Uruk
Monday, July 21st, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 211

In Sumerian traditions of the third millennium and Early Old Babylonian period Enmerkar has a positive image. Two milestones in Sumerian history are ascribed to him, the founding of Uruk and the invention of the cuneiform script. However, in the Akkadian Cuthean legend of Naram-Sin his image is rather negative. This literary work, which was transmitted since the Old Babylonian period into the first millennium, gave Enmerkar a bad name for generations. Yet, it seems that his old merits were not completely forgotten forever. In this paper I address the different treatments of Enmerkar's image, and suggest possible reasons for the changing attitudes.

KERTAI David (University College London)

Reconstructing a Neo-Assyrian royal banquet
Monday, July 21st, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 116

Celebrations of the Assyrian Empire's successes will have often included banquets. Unfortunately, our information about such events is quite limited, though arguably more extensive than our knowledge about how the court handled misfortune. While Assyrian seals frequently show single individuals sitting at a table, larger banquets are depicted only rarely. The best known banquets are shown on the reliefs from Sargon's royal palace in Khorsabad. The reliefs are only fragmentarily known and do not show the entire banquet. A comparison with other banquet scenes suggests that they reflect a standardised activity. None of the known scenes shows a complete banquet, but taken together one can reconstruct the complete scene. This allows us to reconstruct the missing parts of Sargon's reliefs. This reconstruction will be used to discuss the specific nature and purpose of Sargon's banquets, its relation to the other types of scenes shown in the same rooms, and the correlation between the reliefs and rooms they were depicted in.

KLEIN Jacob (Bar-Ilan University)

The concept of 'misfortune' in Sumerian wisdom literature

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 211

It has long been observed by students of Sumerian proverb literature that the beginning of the second collection contains a section of 13 proverbs (SP 2.2-14) with the head-word *n a m - t a r* "fate," referring to human conditions of ill fate or misfortune; and this is followed by a section of 21 proverbs with the head-word *u k u r 3* "poor man," "beggar," dealing with the miserable conditions of the economically poor. This clearly indicates that Sumerian practical wisdom in general (or at least the editor of this particular collection) considered poverty a major symptom (or one of the major symptoms) of ill-fate, misfortune, usually determined for a person from his birth, to stay with him during his entire lifetime.

The present paper examines the references to fate, on the one hand, and poverty, on the other hand, in Sumerian wisdom literature (adducing occasional parallels from other literary genres), with an attempt to determine the inherent relationship between these two existential and social concepts. Among others, attention will be given to the 'secular' (i.e. purely social) attitude versus the religious attitude toward poverty and the poor.

KNAPP Andrew (Eisenbrauns)

The murderer of Sennacherib, yet again

Wednesday, July 23rd, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 211

Workshop VIII. The Reign of Esarhaddon

At the 26th meeting of the *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, in 1979, Simo Parpola read a paper that was widely cited and accepted in the following years. The paper, entitled "The Murderer of Sennacherib," investigated a fragmentary tablet that implicated Arad-Mullissu, the firstborn son of Sennacherib, in the latter's murder. Parpola, and many after him, then absolved Sennacherib's younger son and successor, Esarhaddon, of any involvement in the heinous crime. Parpola's reading and interpretation of the text are reasonable, and I do not attempt to debunk his argument. But I do contend that this evidence is not as overwhelming as has often been suggested, and that a counternarrative in which Esarhaddon was

involved in the regicide remains plausible. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to revisit this issue, focusing on evidence suggesting Esarhaddon was the perpetrator. Drawing on Esarhaddon's own royal inscriptions (the apologetic introduction to Nineveh A in particular), other pertinent texts, and the overall history of the period, I present six lines of evidence, with the goal being to marshal together the entire case against Esarhaddon in a single place. I conclude that, although we still lack a smoking gun to remove all doubt, the preponderance of evidence still points to Esarhaddon's guilt.

KOLIŃSKI Rafał (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

Misfortunes of Yasmah-Addu, the king of Mari

Friday, July 25th, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 211

Yasmah-Addu, son of Samsī-Addu, installed as a dependent king in Mari by his father in the year of Riš-Šamaš or Ibni-Addu (REL 185 or 186), inherited the city and the title of the Great King after the death of his father at the end of the year of Ṭab-šilli-Aššur (REL 197). However, he did not enjoy this status for long, as soon he was ousted from the city by Zimri-Lim. There is however a lot of uncertainty about the chronology of his demise. Jean-Marie Durand, Dominique Charpin and Nele Ziegler advocated very strongly a reconstruction which allowed Yasmah-Addu only a few months tenure in Mari on the base of the Mari archives, against earlier views, assigning Yasmah-Addu a six years long period of rule. An analysis of the evidence from Tell Leilan allows for another plausible reconstruction, allowing Yasmah-Addu a period of one-and-half or two years of the independent rule.

KONSTANTOPOULOS Gina (University of Michigan)

"O, your name" – the Sumerian šir-na m-ér im-ma hymns and the invocation of gods on behalf of the king

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 211

Among the different rubrics found on Sumerian hymns is šir-na m-ér im-ma, which has the proposed translation of "song of adjuration." This rubric is poorly attested in Sumerian texts: presently, we only have two texts which may belong to this group:

the Old Babylonian hymns Iddin-Dagan D and Shulgi S. Neither text is complete, and Shulgi S is in particularly poor shape, preserved presently only in five fragmentary sources. This paper examines these two texts, revisiting Iddin-Dagan D, preserved on the large tablet Ash 1937 646, in light of the recent addition of UM 29-13-704, as well as presenting a preliminary translation of the fragments comprising Shulgi S.

The link between the two texts is the shared attestation of the phrase *a mu-zu*, translated as “o, your name,” an exclamation that accompanies a list of deities whose power and protection each text invokes on behalf of the king. Each of these short sections within the text opens with the deity’s name, and following lines of epithets to that particular deity, closes with an admonition against an enemy that threatens the king. This study both reevaluates the two hymns themselves, but also the manner by which a particular set of deities were invoked to help bolster the power of each respective king.

KOUBKOVÁ Evelyne (Charles University Prague)
Fortune and misfortune of the eagle in the *Myth of Etana*
 Monday, July 21st, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 211

The paper deals with the myth of Etana from ancient Mesopotamia. The main problem of interpretation lies in linking different parts of the text together. Therefore my aim is to inquire in possibilities of understanding the myth as a whole. By viewing it structurally, I present its motives as interconnected through the main character. As Etana is becoming the king throughout the whole myth, he has to relate himself to the godly as well as to the natural sphere. His healing of an eagle represents a new healthy relationship with nature. The eagle, a symbol of pregnancy, becomes domesticated and helps Etana to get an offspring. Their flight to heaven, then, represents Etana’s acquiring of godly blessing, e.g. his acquisition of royal insignia. His becoming a king and getting an offspring appears, in fact, to be the same turning point of the story, viewed from different perspectives.

KOZAL Ekin, see **SOLLEE Alexander**, **Ekin KOZAL**, **Mirko NOVÁK**, **Alexander AHRENS** and **Susanne RUTISHAUSER**

LANGA-MORALES Carlos (Universität Münster)

Die Organisation und die Vernetzung der Festungen und Militärsiedlungen in der Ur III Zeit auf dem Zagros-Gebirge nach den Feldzügen unter Šulgi und Amar-Suena

Tuesday, July 22nd, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

Following the article by Frayne (SCCNH 10, 141-202) on the military campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena, I intend to analyse the results of these campaigns. This means the military framework that first Šulgi and then Amar-Suena created in the Zagros mountains in order to hold this region and put a containment area between the threat of the Amorites and the core country.

Groupings of fortresses of both Šulgi's and Amar-Suena's time are ordered hierarchically, based on the geographical nature of the area and on the military conditions. It is possible to derive this organisation from the animals delivered to Puzriš-Dāgan by the military personnel, along other sources. In the delivery documents there is a high officer who registers the records as overseer and other officers—generally they are of the same or lower rank than the overseer—who deliver the animals. The prosopographical analysis of these officers allows us to understand the networking between settlements as well as their development in the time. This framework is completed with help of the workers lists from the fortresses and military settlements that allows us to have a partial view of the internal organisation itself.

[Der Vortrag wird auf Deutsch gehalten werden / The paper will be given in German]

LASSEN Agnete Wisti (Yale University)

Sealing the Old Assyrian *waklum*-letters

Friday, July 25th, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 211

The Old Assyrian *waklum*-letters have been the subject of a number of studies, both in terms of contents, orthography and glyptic imagery. A question that has not been addressed, however, is how these letters were sealed, and how the seals relate to the characteristic orthography of the letters. This paper argues that

orthography, sealing patterns, and seal imagery set the *waklum*-letters apart from other groups of Old Assyrian texts and instead explicitly reference Babylonian traditions.

LEVAVI Yuval (Universität Wien)

Betting on the right horse – loyalty in the early years of the Neo-Babylonian Empire

Friday, July 25th, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 111

The transition from the Neo-Assyrian to the Neo-Babylonian period in the last third of the seventh century BCE was neither peaceful nor was it secured for quite some time. A contemporary well-educated Babylonian was probably well acquainted both with the glory tales of ancient past (Old/Middle Babylonian periods), as well as the (quite recent) Babylonian uprisings against the Assyrian empire, and the toll it took on Babylonia. During the uncertainty which followed the death of Assurbanipal, the question of loyalty to the latest rebel Nabopolassar did probably pose itself for most members of the Babylonian elite; especially in the southern part of the land, birthplace of the Chaldean uprising.

We will address the issue by focusing on the official letters from the Eanna temple archive in Uruk. Some thirty of these letters can now be firmly dated to the reign of Nabopolassar; they were written by state and temple officials, as well as by the king himself and the crown-prince. Following his coronation in 626 BCE, Nabopolassar appointed new and loyal officials in Uruk, and thus their letters naturally present us with a pro-Babylonian point of view (we have no letters from the time of the temporary Assyrian recapture of southern Babylonia). However, the excitement regarding the newly liberated Babylonia, and perhaps also the uncertainty of the period, is clearly reflected in texts, and can help us get a deeper understanding of the time.

LINKE Julia (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

Royal (?) symbols for strength and safety: the Urartian kings and the foundation of fortresses

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

If we look at the land of Urartu, especially the core areas around lake Van, the most prominent feature of the Urartian architecture is the fortress, usually situated on high mountains and thus visible from great distance. Still, concerning Urartian fortresses, we have a big problem concerning the inscriptions, as we are – until now – unsure if the term É.GAL in the Urartian building inscriptions is referring to a palace in a narrower sense (as it is the case in the Mesopotamian inscriptions) or if the Urartians used the term in a broader sense, with the meaning “fortress,” commonly comprising a palace building.

In my paper I want to take a closer look at the inscriptions that speak of the erection of an É.GAL and especially at their find contexts that might tell us more about the semantic field of É.GAL in Urartian. In a second step I want to reveal a ruling dynasty’s interest in the foundation of fortresses and to describe the part fortresses act in the representation of royal power – even if the kings would not specifically name their foundation in their royal inscriptions.

LLOP Jaume (Freie Universität Berlin)

Relation between text and format in the Middle Assyrian archival texts

Thursday, July 24th, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

The relationship between the physical characteristics of a tablet and its contents has still not been thoroughly studied for the Middle Assyrian archival documentation. In the present paper, a classification of the existing types of Middle Assyrian archival tablets is undertaken. In addition, we will attempt, to establish a relationship between the physical characteristics of a tablet and the text-type. The question whether this relationship can be applied to sites other than Assur, implying a standardization in the production of tablets according to their content, will be also explored.

LOKTIONOV Alexander (University of Cambridge)

Shaping fortunes, crossing boundaries, changing identities: what is really happening in the *Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince?*

Monday, July 21st, 17.30-18.00, lecture hall 211

This paper shall investigate Mesopotamian attitudes to fortune through an analysis of one highly unusual composition of the Neo-Assyrian period: *The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince*. In this fragmentary work, we encounter a prince who has somehow offended the gods of the Underworld, and then faces a very stern trial during a complex dream sequence. Although released, a series of threats from Nergal means that the prince cannot consider himself safe, and his ultimate fortune remains in the balance even as the work draws to a close.

This composition provides an important insight into beliefs about the nature of fortune change, the deities involved, and how the process of divine accusation and punishment was perceived by the literate elite. Action contributing to fortune change is found happening both among the living and in the Underworld, and both during sleep and wakefulness. A wide range of often unconventional deities are involved, including gods perhaps brought in from abroad. When all this is added to the possibility that the prince may represent a genuine historical figure (such as Aššurbanipal), the web of complexity is tangled yet further.

This paper can propose no definite answers, but it shall put forward a tentative framework for understanding some perceived mechanisms of fortune/misfortune generation by both human and divine agents. These observations might then prove applicable to other works of Mesopotamian literature, as well as shedding new light on the interplay of influences leading to the creation of new texts among Neo-Assyrian literate elites.

LÖNNQVIST Minna (Mardin Artuklu University)

Climate change, the Martu wall and the fall of Ur

Thursday, July 24th, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 116

The problem of the end of the third millennium BCE climate change has been a topic of archaeological investigations in Upper Mesopotamia in recent decades. Generally it has been seen as the period of drought. But how the Upper Mesopotamian drought and flooding affected the Lower Mesopotamian social stability? The impact of climate change on social instability is especially discussed in this paper from the archaeological and

ethnoarchaeological point of views in order to elucidate the ancient situations in Syro-Mesopotamia. The end of the third millennium BCE has been traditionally seen as the time of the movement of nomadic people, such as Amorites or Tidnum nomads. The Sumerian city of Ur faced constant attacks of these nomadic tribes so that the wall known as “the Martu wall” was erected to keep the Tidnum away. Was the drought the reason for these nomadic movements? Was the wall the materialization of change? We even know the extent of the wall. The environmental and archaeological studies carried out at Jebel Bishri in Central Syria by the present author have elucidated the impact of recent expanding desertification from the Arabian Desert by the ongoing climate change and effecting the life of the present pastoral nomads in the region. The region has often been associated with the Amorite and their mountain in cuneiform literature. In the case of drought the present Bedouins had moved their tents to the Jezira in Mesopotamia. God Martu/Amurru, the apparent personification of the people, appears as a mountaineer and conqueror in the ancient cuneiform texts. The Amorites had been Sumerian vassals at the region of Jebel Bishri. The spread of the Amorites in Mesopotamia meant the empire building of the people, who formerly had been tent dwellers or village people in steppes or desert regions. The coeval fall of the Sumerian civilizations, although not finally the deed of the Amorites, was the time of their large-scale sedentarization and urbanization. Former pastoral nomads, who had been vassals of Sumerians, gradually became overlords and city-dwellers building a new civilization with new laws in Mesopotamia.

ŁAWECKA Dorota (University of Warsaw)

Who were the tribute bearing people on the Standard of Ur?

Thursday, July 24th, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 116

The interpretation of the famous Standard of Ur, one of the most celebrated Sumerian objects is still in some details controversial. In my contribution I will concentrate on the lower registers of the “peace” panel, where a group of people (starting with the person with a sheep, on the left side of the middle register), leading animals and carrying bags or heavy backpacks is depicted. Those

people are usually taken as Sumerians carrying war trophies or as inhabitants of the northern Babylonia, of the Kish area. They definitely look different from typical Sumerian appearance. Detailed analysis of their characteristic clothes and headdresses, compared with the scenes shown on cylinder seals and other finds points in my opinion convincingly to the piedmont or mountain zone somewhere to the north-east of Sumer as their homeland area. It will be argued that the accompanying animals, despite their rather schematic rendering, might represent northern species. Such a conclusion is consistent with the first interpretation (yet rather intuitive and partially based on wrong premise) of the Standard by Leonard Woolley. Seemingly contradictory is the representation of the few people similarly dressed on the "war" panel of the standard. However this contradiction disappears, if we consider them not as allies, but as wounded enemies flying away from the victorious Sumerian army.

MAIOCCHI Massimo (University of Chicago)

From stylus to sign: a sketch of Old Akkadian palaeography

Wednesday, July 23rd, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

The corpus of Old Akkadian inscriptions has increased enormously in recent years. Nevertheless, framing the available evidence within a chronological grid is often a difficult task. This is because very few tablets are dated with year names, and even when they are, they may not contain information relevant to a precise dating. In addition, a comprehensive sign list and syllabary for the Sargonic period is still missing. Because of these issues, attribution of tablets to a sub-phase of the Sargonic period (Early, Middle, Classical, and "Late") largely remains an impressionistic affair, based on preconceptions and personal opinions. Taking basic prosopographical information as a starting point of the discussion, the paper aims to pinpoint relevant features in the development of the Old Akkadian script, in order to help scholars in the difficult task of structuring the valuable historical information contained in the texts within a relative chronology.

MAKINSON Martin (Université de Genève)

The importance of Til Barsip province under Esarhaddon

Wednesday, July 23rd, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 211

Workshop VIII. The Reign of Esarhaddon

It is quite clear that Esarhaddon focused particularly on Til Barsip province and on the Syrian upper Euphrates, both at the inception of his reign, following Warad-Mullissu's murder of his father Sennacherib in 681 BCE, and in his later years. The area had specific importance as a center of Assyrian authority and power, and gradually became another imperial core, a "new heartland" of sorts. This was concomitant with the popularization amongst Assyrians of the cult of Sin of Harrân as a supra-national god. The *pihâtu* of Til Barsip became once more the focus of Esarhaddon's attention when an event whose magnitude has drawn little attention, the Sâsiya rebellion, shook the foundations of this "inner frontier" of the Assyrian Empire. Esarhaddon's decorative program as evidenced at the Til Barsip palace, his stelae – propaganda and news of repression visible to all, since in the Lower City – his selective destructions of insurgency foci threatening his power, the multi-ethnic and cultural composition of an economically expanding province of vital importance, all will be spoken of by referring to both old and new evidence from Til Barsip, the Harrân region and Tell Shioukh-Burmarina, some of this evidence excavated and published by the paper's author himself.

MARF Dlshad (Universiteit Leiden; Salahaddin University, Kurdistan)

Ancient fortifications and architectural ruins in the land of Lullubi and the province of Zamua/Mazamua (preliminary report on field work)

Tuesday, July 22nd, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

The mountainous area between the Lower Zab and Sirwan rivers during the third, second and first half of the first millennium BCE

was called in the ancient records the land of Lullubi, and (sometimes by the Assyrians) as the province of Zamua/Mazamua.

This area is very rich in archaeological sites and ruins, but some parts of it not surveyed yet. Since the last decade I have observed several architectural remains and fortifications not previously recorded. Architecture and pattern of these ruins are different from the local known Sassanian architecture or the fortifications of the Kurdish principedoms during the Islamic, Medieval and later periods. All of these fortifications and architectural ruins are built with stone, some with massive stones, at one of the sides of the gate of one of the passes in this mountains area. All of them face south-southwest, i.e. against the Mesopotamian/Assyrian campaigns to the mountainous area of the Northern Zagros. Rivers or springs are always close by, and some of them are near a source of Iron.

This paper describes these ancient fortifications and architectural ruins and strategic locations, these ruins are surely date from ancient periods. The presenter will refer to the ancient records, especially the Assyrian records precisely which deal with architectural activities in that area and which refers to the toponyms, and fortifications of the land of Lullubi and the province of Zamua/Mazamua which mentioned in the Assyrian records, in attitude to identify them and their surroundings where possible.

MARCHESI Gianni (Università di Bologna)

Caesar at Umma: interpreting UD.MUD.NUN in Early Dynastic texts

Tuesday, July 22nd, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

This paper focus on the mysterious term UD.MUD.NUN, which occurs in a number of date formulas in Pre-Sargonic documents from Umma and Zabala, in connection with the name of a ruler of Umma. Various interpretations have been suggested in the past, but none of them is convincing. However, an Early Dynastic literary text from Abu Salabikh provides us with the key to this puzzle: UD.MUD.NUN appears to have been an ancient, perhaps legendary,

king of Umma, whose name was revived by a later ruler of the city, who used it as a sort of royal title.

MATOŤIAN Valérie (CNRS UMR5133 Archéorient)

De l'alphabet cunéiforme aux divinités d'Ougarit : une recherche au sein de la mission de Ras Shamra

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14:25–14:50, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

Pierre Bordreuil intégra la mission de Ras Shamra au début des années 1970, avant de faire partie de celle de Ras Ibn Hani quelques années plus tard. Il consacra dès lors une partie de son activité scientifique à l'étude de la civilisation ougaritique, et plus spécifiquement à celle des textes en ougaritique, s'intéressant tout autant à l'alphabet, qu'aux textes poétiques, épistolaires ou administratifs. Des documents relatifs à la matière archéologique, inédits, choisis en raison de leur résonance avec des études récentes de Pierre Bordreuil (iconographique religieuse, texte RS 94.2401, alphabet) seront présentés en hommage aux découvertes réalisées par ce chercheur, qui fut l'un des piliers de la mission de Ras Shamra, au cours des cinquante dernières années.

MATUSZAK Jana (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen)

Don't insult Inana! Divine retribution for offence against common decency in the light of new textual sources

Wednesday, July 23rd, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 211

The Sumerian literary compositions associated with the Edubba'a – the so-called school dialogues, the debates between women, and the texts more directly reflecting the daily routine of the Sumerian 'schools' – are commonly described as being remarkably secular in outlook. The late B. Alster (*Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* I xviii et passim), for instance, spoke of a "completely secular attitude toward social behaviour" in the Sumerian proverbs and admonitional texts.

This paper challenges the view that in Old Babylonian society, as represented by Sumerian proverbs, didactic, and admonitional texts from the early second millennium BCE, the gods had little or no say in questions of morality, manners, and conduct.

My discussion concentrates on a hitherto largely unknown literary composition on the grave consequences of the overbearing and thus blasphemous misbehaviour of an unnamed woman. While the insults (or reproaches!) that the likewise anonymous male speaker of the text hurls at her in the first part of the text resemble those used in literary debates between schoolboys and women, the second part of the composition refers to the misbehaviour as an insult to Inana. Eventually, it is Nissaba, the patron deity of the Edubba'a, who soothes Inana's wrath and settles the matter.

Although the fact that the misconduct of a woman is judged an 'abomination' to Inana is so far unique in the (yet to be precisely defined) 'corpus of Edubba'a literature', it agrees with certain Sumerian proverbs found in the OB collections. Further, a general survey of related literature will illustrate both the role Inana and Nissaba seem to play in the education of young women, and, more generally, the significance of gods in matters of common decency.

MAY Natalie Naomi (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Exorcists and "physicians" at Assur: more on their duties and interfamily relationships

Wednesday, July 23rd, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

The paper will present a study into interfamily relations between dynasties of scholars at the city of Assur. Basing on the genealogies restored from colophons, the interconnections of the families of "physicians" and exorcists will be explored with the help of mapping of the scholarly texts and the documents associated with the scribal families. I will also look at the patterns of apprenticeship against the background of the interaction between scribal dynasties. Some examples of utilisation of the particular scholarly expertise for the needs of Ashurbanipal's library will be investigated as well. Apparently, the duties of exorcists were not restricted by their scholarly specialisation, but they could hold other offices at the temples of their affiliation at least. Summarising the above mentioned information will shed new light on the ways of functioning and carrier development of an Assyrian scholar.

MAYAH Bahaa (Vice-minister of Archaeology, the Republic of Iraq)
Challenges to archeology in the Middle East and responsibility of international society

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 216

(no abstract was submitted)

MCCAFFREY Kathleen (United States)

Gendering for fortune and misfortune: gender transition rituals of the Ancient Near East

Friday, July 25th, 12.00-12.30, auditorium

We classify babies as male or female on the basis of genitalia in our society, requiring no ritual to confirm gender identity. Since gender was not always aligned with sex in the gender taxonomy of ancient Mesopotamia, other criteria (including behavior, rank, age, profession, and/or sexual activity/position) had to be taken into consideration. Initial gender status, usually normative, was conferred through a basic rite performed in infancy, but the same ritual could be repeated later in life to transition an individual to a different gender. Gender reassignment rituals could be performed for reasons of personal choice or imposed as a punishment; they also warded against evil and prepared individuals for specialized occupations. This paper defines the basic gender assignment rite and demonstrates that it functions as a subcomponent in more complex rituals performed across the ancient Near East to impose or avert misfortune.

MESKHI Anna (Gori University)

Sumerian metrology, Sumerian beer, and Kartvelian languages

Thursday, July 24th, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 116

The paper continues a series of works devoted to the revival of the old theory on Kartvelian and Sumerian genetic relations and goes to prove the author's view on the pre-Sumerian status of Kartvelian languages.

The centerpiece of the lecture is the linguistic and culturological examination of one of the basic units of Sumerian metrology – *si la*, and the name of Sumerian beer *ka š*. The analysis is performed in conjunction with Kartvelian material, which, similar to my previous

studies, offers complete etymology of both terms. Namely, the study retrieves the Kartvelian origin of the Sumerian *sila* and *kaš*, reconstructs their original phonetic configurations, defines their semantic characteristics (synonymy, polysemy), and the initial cultural context. Differently put, every step of the analysis—phonetic, morphemic, lexical, syntactic, and finally, cultural—demonstrates the power of Kartvelian material to explain Sumerian language units belonging to various periods of its development, especially those recorded in the remotest and most complex archaic Sumerian texts. The results of the linguoculturological examination of the terms (*sila*, *kaš*) are verified against Gudea Cylinder B (Column I) where lines 8–12 provide additional confirmatory evidence for the uncovered origin of the examined items; namely, the Kartvelian evidence retrieves four possible beer brewing “recipes” from the text.

The etymology of the two Sumerian culture words (*sila*, *kaš*) strengthens the results of my research revealing the functions of Kartvelian languages as the “standard of comparison”, the decipherer of the Sumerian lexicographic formula (the sign S is read R when it means M), and the Addressee of the Sumerian message, while modern Assyriology is only the Receiver according to the Theory of Communication. Therefore, it is time for mainstream Assyriology to change its attitude of neglect and rejection of Kartvelian languages and culture and include them in Near Eastern Studies.

MICHAŁOWSKI Piotr (University of Michigan)

The ritual foundations of Mesopotamian civilizations

Friday, July 25th, 12.30-13.00, auditorium

Due to the hard work of many Assyriologists, a tremendous amount of textual information on Mesopotamian rituals has come to public attention in recent years. Much of the recently published documentation derives from the first millennium BCE, but although one can trace some of the second and first millennium scholarly redactional activity that created the late ritual series, there are many indications that much of this material has roots in earlier times. One can posit that the paucity of third and early second millennium ritual texts is due to specific cultural forces and not the result of a lack of discovery. Literary and administrative texts, however, as well as

archaeological information, testify to a plethora of ritual activity in early times. In this paper I shall attempt to propose a unified vision of the central place of ritual in Mesopotamian cultures.

MICHEL Cécile (CNRS, Nanterre)

Lettre à Pierre (Bordreuil)

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14:25–14:50, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

Pierre Bordreuil, dont la vie fut riche en découvertes scientifiques et rencontres variées, mena en parallèle des recherches sur la Bible et les mondes péri-bibliques. Spécialiste renommé d'Ougarit et aussi des inscriptions phéniciennes et araméennes, il contribua activement à la diffusion des résultats de la recherche auprès du grand public. Cette lettre à Pierre n'a pas prétention à être une véritable communication, il s'agit plutôt d'un témoignage d'amitié et de souvenirs dans la préparation des Débuts de l'Histoire.

MIGLUS Peter A. (Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg)

Searching for fortune and misfortune in the Ancient Near East with archaeological methods

Monday, July 21st, 12.00-12.30, auditorium

Orientalists and archaeologists searching for answers about fortune or misfortune of individuals, families, societies or nations in the Ancient Near East can rely on very different sources, methods, and even definitions of the terms proposed by the title of the 60th RAI. The basic question that arises is in which category these terms should be understood, in their material or nonmaterial meaning. The discussion could be easy, if one agrees that fortune means wealth and misfortune poverty, but the nonmaterial meaning is rather wide, depending on philosophical, ethical, religious or emotional context. Another problem is the existing evidence which can be used for tracing fortune and misfortune. While for philologists different sources such as wisdom literature, omens and other religious texts, as well as private letters and notices are available, giving them a lot of direct answers even on a highly philosophical and ethical level, archaeologists must content themselves with a sort of "silent" evidence, which can lead to hazardous interpretations. The lecture

will examine concepts and notions of fortune and misfortune concerning the past in relation to general and specific archaeological methods. It will evaluate scientific statements referring to this topic, and discuss historical events and developments, mentioning also examples of fortune and misfortune in archaeological research.

MIKOŁAJCZAK Tytus (University of Chicago)

The accounting tablets in the Persepolis Fortification Archive: correlations between seals and text contents

Friday, July 25th, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 111

The accounting tablets in the Persepolis Fortification Archive (509–1493 BCE), that is, documents from Categories V and W, are secondary records, including lists, summaries and digests of transactions previously recorded in primary memoranda or intermediate summaries. The seals impressed on these tablets were rarely used on tablets with Fortification texts of other categories. Hence, these seals constitute a distinct group, and the functional relationships between these seals and the associated texts differ from the relationships in other kinds of Fortification documents. Texts on accounting tablets sealed with a particular seal not only refer to the same commodities and geographical locations, but often conform to similar patterns of contents and text structure. In addition, the use of the most frequently occurring seals used on accounting tablets seems to reflect the main organizational elements of the office which produced the accounts. The present paper will show how correlations between seals and text contents improve understanding of the administrative system reflected by the accounting tablets in the Persepolis Fortification Archive.

MILLER Jared (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München) and **Willemijn WAAL** (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München)

A paleographical approach towards the tablet fragments of the storerooms of Temple I of Hattusa

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

The project Rekonstruktion der Archive des Großen Tempels von Hattusa/Boğazköy (Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich) aims

to reconstruct the tablet collections of the storerooms of Temple I, one of the most important archives of the Hittite capital Hattusa, by combining archeological, philological, diplomatic, prosopographical and paleographical data. The paleographical part of the research consists of a detailed study of sign forms per fragment of some 50 key signs in order to get a grip on the different scribes at work and to facilitate the grouping and joining of tablets. This paper will discuss the methodology involved and present some preliminary results.

MLADENOV Kiril (St. Kliment Ohridski University, Sofia)

The conquest of Egypt and the substitute king rituals of Esarhaddon in 671 BCE

Wednesday, July 23rd, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 211

Workshop VIII. The Reign of Esarhaddon

It is believed that Esarhaddon was a pious and superstitious ruler, who suffered from many diseases. He paid attention to every sign or omen in every location of the empire, often turning to his scholars for an advice.

An interesting case from his reign is the organization of substitute king rituals. Some of them were performed in the same year, when he made his greatest political achievement – the conquest of Egypt.

In the paper I will try to analyze the need for these rituals, and the situation of the empire during and immediately after the campaign in Egypt. Furthermore, it will be illustrated what an impact the events had on Esarhaddon.

“The need” (dictated by politics or by medicine) is the main topic, which will be scrutinized in the paper. A question is raised whether there was such a need, or we can interpret the facts primarily with the strong religious tradition of the Ancient Near East. In order to find a solution, we have to assess the health condition of the king and the stability of his position on the throne in Nineveh. This will be exemplified by the so called conspiracy of Sasi and his associates.

MONTI Luciano Esteban (Università degli Studi di Udine)

The misfortune of Kumarbi: did it reflect shifts in Hurrian society?

Monday, July 21st, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 211

It has been widely argued that mythological narratives cannot be understood as a direct projection of the reality of the society that

creates them. Nevertheless, we may still dig into the tales, attempting to elucidate some aspects reaching beyond the letter of the texts themselves.

In the so-called *Kumarbi Cycle* we find a general theme, throughout the different texts that form the composition, regarding the quest of Kumarbi to annihilate Teššub in order to regain the power he had lost as the main deity of the Hurrian pantheon. The conjunction of several events ends with an unfortunate and distressing result generating the misfortune of Kumarbi and the consolidation of the Storm-god.

This well known story, already analysed from the classical perspective as the struggle between order and chaos (Chaoskampf), between the celestial and the netherworld, between righteous and villainous deities, among others, might represent the so-called “tip of the iceberg” of a more complex and deeper problem (understood in a *longue durée* perspective) of Hurrian society. Unlike Hittite syncretism, Hurrian religious thought – most probably influenced by the Mesopotamian model – was articulated and shaped according to rather solid rules which regulated the pantheon and determined the relationships among the deities. Thus, mythological texts may present the reflection of the pantheon, and in its turn the pantheon may reflect, although not directly nor immediately, the complexities and singularities of a given society.

In this light, our proposal for reading the Kumarbi cycle aims to go beyond the straightforward narrative of the myth and its classical interpretation, and focus instead on what the Hurrian pantheon may indicate regarding Hurrian society and the changes that occurred in its midst. Specifically, Kumarbi’s misfortune regarding the loss of the main seat in the pantheon could point to possible shifts within the overall Hurrian religious (and possibly social) structure.

MORELLO Nathan (Università di Udine; Reallexikon der Assyriologie, München)

Borders and frontiers: Assyrian territorial policies and the role of fortifications in the southern Levant

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

Frontiers and fortifications are closely interconnected in the history of Assyrian empire both as concepts and in practice. For some time, historians, philologists, and archaeologists have offered various definitions of borders and/or frontiers of the Empire, sometimes preferring one term to the other. An analysis of Assyrian territorial policies demonstrates the application of different approaches to different areas, depending on military, political, economic, and cultural strategies. Among these different “frontier theaters,” the Southern Levant remains one of the most complex. At the same time, the large amount of archaeological data contrasts with a paucity of textual sources, making a reconstruction of the general picture often difficult. The paper will review the long history of research on the area and suggest a reconstruction of both the perception and management of the territories. This reconstruction will then provide the basis for possible new approaches in order to open new avenues of research.

MOUKARZEL Kabalan (St. Kliment Ohridski University, Sofia)
Fortune and politics: Nabopolassar’s campaign in 615 BCE and his alliance with Media

Friday, July 25th, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 111

The present paper aims at an investigation of the preconditions and the particular reasons for the conclusion of the Medo-Babylonian alliance against Assyria in 614 BCE in historical perspective. The basic source used in the research is the information from a tablet belonging to the series of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicles – BM 21901, where the main events of the period are described.

Nabopolassar’s campaign against Assyria in 615 BCE had a key importance for the political decisions of the Neo-Babylonian ruler. Its description in tablet BM 21901, obverse, lines 16–22, is studied in details from military and political point of view against the background of the late seventh century BCE. The numerous twists of the campaign, its goals, and its results on the battlefield, predestined to a great extent the subsequent actions of the belligerent countries in Mesopotamia.

The role of the coalition between Media and the Neo-Babylonian kingdom as a regional political factor in the Near East is also

analyzed. The creation of the alliance is considered as the most successful foreign policy act of the Neo-Babylonian king, used as an instrument for the realization of the Babylonian interests in Mesopotamia and in some neighbouring areas.

Some problems set by the text of the tablet are also given attention, as well as specific opinions in scholarly literature concerning different questions directly related to the topic of the paper.

MÜLLER Gerfrid G. W. (Universität Würzburg; Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz)

3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie: a pilot project for the computer-aided analysis of cuneiform script

Wednesday, July 23rd, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

“3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie“ is a joint project between the University of Würzburg, the Technical University of Dortmund and the Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz. It aims at developing an innovative framework for the palaeographical study of cuneiform script, based on computer-aided analyses of wedge impressions performed on high resolution 3D models of cuneiform tablets. Such an approach makes it possible to perform systematic researches according to well-defined parameters and discrete quantities, thus supporting traditional palaeographical methods in the classification of scripts and scribal hands. The paper will present the concept of the project both from the methodological and technical perspective, illustrating the potential of 3D techniques and script metrology within the realm of cuneiform studies.

MYNÁŘOVÁ Jana (Charles University in Prague)

Egyptians and the cuneiform tradition. On the palaeography of the Amarna documents

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

Ever since K. Riemschneider’s lecture “Who Taught Babylonian to the Egyptians?” (1976) the theory of a possible Hittite background for the Egyptian experience in cuneiform writing has been widely

accepted and elaborated by other scholars (see especially Beckman 1983, Wilhelm 1984). In recent years several essential studies of the Amarna material have been published, significantly advancing our understanding of the corpus, and including a discussion on the production and origin of the tablets, as well as more general conclusions as far as the functioning of the system is concerned. Among these the provenance study of Y. Goren, N. Na'aman and I. Finkelstein (2004) takes a fundamental position. The language of the Egyptian Akkadian corpus has been studied by M. Müller (2010) and Z. Cochavi-Rainey (2011) and a palaeographic study on the Amarna letters from Ḫatti by E. Devecchi (2012) was published only recently. In light of this, it is the aim of this paper to re-evaluate the original proposal of Riemschneider and others, taking into consideration the results of the latest studies based on the palaeographical analysis of both the epistolary and the school texts admittedly originating in Egypt and comparing these results with the palaeographical study of the Hittite corpus as well as those of the school texts brought to Amarna from the outside.

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NOVÁK Mirko, see **SOLLEE Alexander**, **Ekin KOZAL**, **Mirko NOVÁK**, **Alexander AHRENS** and **Susanne RUTISHAUSER**

NOWICKI Stefan (University of Wrocław)

Aššur as a donor of fortune and misfortune to Assyria and neighbouring lands

Monday, July 21st, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 116

The aim of this paper is to discuss literary means used in Assyrian royal inscriptions to show the role of Aššur in the Assyrian policy towards and against neighbouring countries as both rewarding and punitive god. Since his will is especially visible in Esarhaddon's inscriptions, they will build a textual basis of this paper. The literary means used in these sources will be compared with those preserved in the inscriptions of his predecessors and successors. According to Assyrian propaganda the terrestrial king was only a governor of a much more powerful king—Aššur—and he was obliged to act in accordance to his sovereign's will. This will was depending on the behaviour of the inhabitants of neighbouring lands, or Assyrians, towards Aššur. Interestingly, although Assyrian king was considered (and officially considered himself) a governor of Aššur, not all of his deeds were made on behalf of the god. Assyrian royal inscriptions, being not only historical and propaganda but also literary texts, contain promises of rewards and portents of punishment, connected with specific deeds undertaken by people and their rulers. Such information can be gathered in the form of catalogue of actions and their aftermaths. Such catalogue can help in showing similarities and differences in the image of Aššur as the real Assyrian ruler in various periods, as well as in drawing the development of this image from the third millennium to the end of Assyrian empire.

NURMIKKO Terhi (University of Southampton)

Computed tomography for cuneiform tablets

Wednesday, July 23rd, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

This paper outlines a nascent interdisciplinary research project where computed tomography (CT) is used to carry out a non-

invasive digital analysis of cuneiform tablets, culminating in the production of high resolution 3D-images. The project aims include assessing the possibility of answering questions related to stylus morphology, order of wedge writing and the identification of possible idiosyncrasies in the script or the objects themselves.

This research will contribute to an existing group of earlier projects for the 3D visualization of cuneiform tablets, but is in a position to do so with equipment capable of higher resolution and image processing quality (please see below). The project is supported by an interdisciplinary team of experts ranging from senior academics and cuneiform specialists, to staff at μ -VIS at the University of Southampton, a world-leading dedicated multidisciplinary centre experienced in combining CT and archaeological sciences.

The five complementary scanning systems at μ -VIS enable a wide range of sample sizes (up to 1.5 x 1 x 1m) and resolution (down to ~200nm). The equipment, capable of bulk imaging multiple objects simultaneously, solves issues related to the perceived time-consuming nature of 3D scans and the processing, editing, searching and comparative analysis of minor stylistic differences as captured in the imaging data is possible at an advanced level. Different objects will be scanned at separate resolutions, allowing for the identification of the optimum resolution for capturing the cuneiform script. The aim is to maximise the benefits to be reaped from the virtual replica for research and educational purposes alike.

OUYANG Xiaoli (Fudan University, Shanghai)

Place value notations in the Ur III period: unexpected evidence from marginal numbers in administrative records

Tuesday, July 22nd, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

The use of the sexagesimal place value notation (hereafter SPVN) is one of the most striking features of cuneiform mathematics. The earliest attestations of a systematic use of the SPVN are found in a small set of Ur III mathematical texts, in particular the seven reciprocal tables from Nippur and Girsu. In addition to this

mathematical corpus, traces of positional notations appear in about two dozen Ur III administrative texts. These notations are located outside the main text, on edges and bottoms of columns, or in special boxes inserted in the main text. My collaborator Christine Proust and I refer to this kind of notations as “marginal numbers” because of their location on the tablets. Their other designations include “marginal notes,” “mathematical notations,” and “scratch calculations.” Several scholars have observed the phenomenon of marginal numbers, but no one has conducted a systematic study of them to date.

These marginal numbers testify to diverse practices with positional notations and sexagesimal factors in administrative context during the Ur III period. A close analysis of the evidence reveals a diversity of graphical systems for what has been considered until now as a uniform notion of the SPVN. Thus, in addition to the SPVN fully developed during the Old Babylonian period, we identify other systems that we label as “partially sexagesimal place value notation” (hereafter partial-SPVN). The numerical notations of the partial-SPVNs reproduce the structure of the corresponding metrological notations, with the same factors and the same use of the $\text{A}\check{\text{S}}$ -sign for representing the units g ur and g u . The partial-SPVNs also adopt visual means for identifying the order of magnitude of different digits, such as a space between the digits corresponding to the unit g in and the digits to the unit $\check{\text{e}}$. In short, the partial-SPVNs do not appear to be floating, while the SPVN does. The partial-SPVNs convert fractions of a measurement unit into an integer number of a sexagesimal sub-unit. This transformation would facilitate subtractions of measurement values with fractions.

This diversity of place value notations reflects computational methods that vary according to the operation (multiplication, reciprocal, addition, subtraction), the context (administrative or mathematical), and the archaeological provenience (Nippur, Puzriš-Dagan, Umma, Girsu).

The foregoing observations concerning the SPVN and the partial-SPVNs may lead to a reconstruction of the process of calculation behind the Ur III administrative records. Some of the steps in the calculation process seem to have taken place external to the tablet, as no trace of their details occurs on the tablet. The

marginal numbers thus provide evidence of an intermediate step, which converts quantities noted in the main text into the input of an external device where calculations are executed, or conversely, converts the output of the device into quantities noted in the main text.

(Acknowledgements: The research for this presentation was conducted in collaboration with Christine Proust, within the framework of the project “Mathematical Sciences in the Ancient World” (<http://sawerc.hypotheses.org/>) funded by the European Research Council (Grant Agreement No. 269804). Our joint article will appear in the forthcoming book *Cultures of Computation and Quantification*.)

PANAYOTOV Strahil (BabMed Project)

Cuneiform spotlight of the Neo- and Middle Assyrian signs

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

The paper will introduce a simple mathematical system for ordering and tracing cuneiform signs. It combines the Neo- and Middle Assyrian signs, which are taken from existing sign lists. It offers mathematical model, which can be learned in five minutes, and provides an opportunity to define each sign. Using the system one can trace signs in seconds on paper and also in digital files as InDesign, PDF, FileMaker, etc. The paper will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such a system and its particular convenience for cuneiform-beginners.

PANAYOTOV Strahil (BabMed Project)

Psychosomatic problems of the Babylonian patient

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Marten Stol published an exhaustive paper on ‘Psychosomatic Suffering’ 15 years ago, in AMD 1. The present talk aims to carry on but in a slightly different direction, analyzing case studies of

illnesses caused by ghosts, in texts published by JoAnn Scurlock in AMD 3.

The term ‘psychosomatic illness’ remains an elusive concept in modern medicine. It could apply to diseases in which malfunction of an organ is associated with or due to psychological problems. The present paper will use the general term ‘psychosomatic’ to describe a selection of medical conditions suffered by patients in Mesopotamia, which on the one hand show physical (somatic) symptoms, but on the other hand show psychological indications. The question posed is whether a patient in Mesopotamia could have had psychological issues which were thought to lead to physical suffering. Medical texts do not provide a clear answer and much is left to assumption, since correct identification of such an ancient illness is hardly feasible. However, commentary texts could potentially provide exceptionally useful information on background causes of the patients symptoms, which otherwise cannot be explained in other texts genres. It will be argued that each therapeutic prescription—the combination of magico-medical treatment and/or incantations—could provide additional clues to understanding the nature of a disease and it’s cause(s).

PAOLETTI Paola (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

The lexical texts from Ebla: palaeography and sign identification in the Early Dynastic period

Wednesday, July 23rd, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

Since their sensational discovery in 1975/76 the about 15.000 texts from the Early Dynastic Palace G (24th century BCE) of Ebla have contributed to add and extend our knowledge about the culture and history of Syria and north Mesopotamia. In particular the Eblaitic lexical corpus, which has its seeds in the Mesopotamian lexical lists shows explicitly how cuneiform spread out from Mesopotamia to Syria. The Eblaitic texts, together with the Old Akkadian ones, represent moreover “the earliest evidence for the adaptation of cuneiform to languages other than Sumerian” and at Ebla they served both as inventories of signs for learning cuneiform as well as a kind of dictionary for Sumerian. Nevertheless, while the lexical

lists at Ebla can be presumed to have had an educational function, the royal archives of Ebla feature very few “typical” school texts, like the ones from Babylonia. Furthermore the glosses and the Mesopotamian parallels of the lexical lists of Ebla provide an important help for the identification of signs and their various values, so that the work on a sign list of the lexical corpus of Ebla paves the way for these kinds of achievements. With the support of the Archaeological Expedition to Tell Mardikh/Ebla of the University of Rome - La Sapienza and of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München the final stages of the work on the sign list of the lexical corpus of Ebla with some of its insights will be presented in this talk.

PAPPI Cinzia (Universität Leipzig)

Twin cities: the territorial dynamics of paired fortresses in Assyria

Tuesday, July 22nd, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

Modern historical and anthropological studies have highlighted the distinction between natural and other types of boundaries in the territorial dynamics of empires. The Euphrates has often served as a prime example for this distinction in its dual role as an economic and cultural bridge as well as an ideological dividing line between east and west. Both Assyrian sources and modern studies still tend, however, to discuss rivers in terms of political and military boundaries. The lack of distinction is particularly sensible in cases where the Assyrian sources describe the construction of river strongholds, mostly twin or paired. Archaeological and textual evidence shows the existence of two lines of fortresses located on both river banks in several areas both within and on the borderlands of the Assyrian empire, most notably several Assyrian foundations on the Euphrates and at Idu and Zaqu on the Lower Zab. The paper will review the evidence for such paired fortresses in Assyria and explore the historical and geographical contexts within which they are attested. The goal is to establish patterns of economic, cultural, and ideological roles they played in the expansion and maintenance of imperial infrastructures.

PARYS Magalie (Lille 3 Université)

Introduction to mental illness through a Neo-Assyrian medical text

Friday, July 25th, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 116

The intervention will deal with the topic of mental illness in Ancient Mesopotamia. The purpose is to prove that in the same way there was a medicine that treated the physical body, there was also a medicine specialized in mental illness. Many texts point in this direction, and we will study a representative Neo-Assyrian text of this kind of care. It will be the main point of the intervention, and we will try to analyze the structure and the vocabulary of this kind of text. We will focus primarily on symptomatology, being attentive about the problem of overinterpretation in the reading of symptoms. We also want to insist on the problem of superimposing of ancient and modern concepts, and we would like to propose an approach which is to understand the Mesopotamian way of thinking through the use of multiple disciplines. The study of the treatment is also a very interesting point to learn how Mesopotamians wanted to overpower the nature and the gods' will. Some reflections by how it was received by the patient will be proposed.

PFOH Emanuel (National University of La Plata; National Research Council, Argentina)

Prestige and authority in the Southern Levant during the Amarna Age

Tuesday, July 22nd, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 211

During the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 BCE) the whole region of Syria-Palestine was under a virtually permanent foreign presence—mostly Egyptian and Hittite—ruling over the local petty kingdoms and principalities. The political scene of the Syro-Palestinian petty kings, especially reflected in the Amarna correspondence (14th century BCE), was conditioned by their personal subordination to the Egyptian and the Hittite power. Accordingly, the political manoeuvrability of these 'kings' was essentially limited to a context and situations where personal ability in the 'local game' between peers was the main political capital; a game of accusations of treason and competition to prevail and be the most loyal subject to the

foreign overlord (especially in regard to the Palestinian kinglets and the Egyptian Pharaoh). As a matter of fact, the small kings of the Southern Levant did not exert an absolute power within society. On the contrary, their authority seemed to be quite fragile and often challenged by other social elements and political players, both external and internal. In this paper, a characterization of the Syro-Palestinian socio-political structure is offered, sketching the nature and the dynamics of power in local society.

PIENTKA-HINZ Rosel (Universität Marburg)

The colours of fortune and misfortune

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 211

If there is white fungus in the middle of a man's house, that house will be closed up. If a house's canopy is red, the hand of a god will affect that house. If green scorpions that have wings fall into a man's house, that city will be abandoned. If a man opens a well and its water is black, he will acquire wealth. If black ants are seen killing multicoloured ones in their habitual path - uprising. If a bright red demon is seen in a man's house, that house will be dispersed. The decipherment of Ancient Near Eastern colour symbolism reveals a mixture of metaphorical interplay and precise observations of natural occurrences - let's show one's colours!

PIRNGRUBER Reinhard, see **JURSA Michael** and **Reinhard PIRNGRUBER**

RAGGETTI Lucia (Freie Universität Berlin)

Tricks to enter the court: an early Medieval retrospective on the image of power

Wednesday, July 23rd, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Obtaining the favour of the king and the mighty has always been a compelling issue. In case a sovereign has the power to take fortune and life away, it is better to prevent any possible discontent by any means. Moreover, the court is a competitive environment, in which one has to beware of slander and animosity. In early Medieval

Arabic collections of recipes and books on talismans there are many instructions on how to meet this particular need. These materials show a close resemblance with late Babylonian incantations sharing the same purpose, and this opens the floor to several questions about the transmission and survival of textual relics into much later texts.

ROBSON Eleanor (University College London)

Between prebendary priesthood and private practice: evidence from the archives of Neo-Babylonian *āšipus*

Wednesday, July 23rd, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

In this paper I will explore the archival evidence for the position of *āšipus* in Babylonia in the first millennium BCE. On the one hand there is clear evidence for prebendary status within temples, at least at some times and in some cities. On the other hand, at least some *āšipus* must have taken private patients, at least some of the time. I shall present the data for both sides of the story, as well as comparative material from *kalûs*, in order to reconcile them. The resultant picture is, unsurprisingly, not uniform across the whole of first-millennium Mesopotamia but it begins to shed some light on the multiple means by which healing professionals supported themselves and served their clientele and communities.

ROUILLARD-BONRAISIN Hedwige (L'École Pratique des Hautes Études)

Pierre Bordreuil et le Pays d'Ougarit

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

(no abstract was submitted)

RUTISHAUSER Susann, see **SOLLEE Alexander**, **Ekin KOZAL**, **Mirko NOVÁK**, **Alexander AHRENS** and **Susanne RUTISHAUSER**

SALLABERGER Walther (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Developing procedures to handle the Sumerian lexicon

Tuesday, July 22nd, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

Among the textual traditions from antiquity, the corpus of cuneiform texts written in Sumerian stands out for its enormous size, its diversity in genres and its temporal extension. For the scholars working on Sumerian texts it is self-evident that no dictionary of Sumerian is available and so one harks back to word lists from Deimel to the e-PSD as auxiliary means, search in the secondary literature for pertinent discussions and use collections from file-cards to the digital corpora. And indeed, with these means Sumerology is flourishing for more than one century now.

While preparing a “Sumerian Glossary” based on a defined corpus of texts together with Pascal Attinger, the difficulties to handle the Sumerian lexicon have become evident. Every preliminary discussion based on a few examples is shortly overcome by the pure mass of data to be handled. After more than a decade of corporate work on the “Glossary” and approaching the completion of a word-list for a corpus of ca. 6,000 administrative and legal documents from the Old Sumerian to the Isin period, it is appropriate to reflect on the peculiarities of the Sumerian lexicon and to present some procedures to handle it in a dictionary project.

SANDOWICZ Małgorzata (University of Warsaw)

The ultimate misfortune: the end of the Neo-Babylonian empire once again

Friday, July 25th, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 111

In the beginning of the month of *tašritu* 539 BCE, the Persian army under Cyrus the Great entered Babylonia and within weeks put an end to a state with a history of a thousand years. An unusually rich body of sources lets the months preceding this *Blitzkrieg* to be reconstructed in remarkable detail, revealing a fascinating picture of a state on the eve of an invasion. The present paper will add new documents to this body of evidence, providing a closer look at the operations undertaken by two Babylonian temples in the face of the

anticipated invasion. The texts will also bring new light to bear on the interim politics of the last indigenous Babylonian king Nabonidus.

SCHMIDHUBER Christoph (University of Cambridge)
Re-usage of dedicatory and commemorative objects in Mesopotamia: new evidence from curses and other textual data
 Thursday, July 24th, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 116

Not only humans, but also Mesopotamian material culture could suffer a very unfortunate fate. Whereas physical mutilation in the form of symbolic violence (or more specifically Iconoclasm) against different forms of material culture received increasing scholarly interest during the last years, their re-usage (recycling of different body parts, secondary inscriptions or change of context) has only been dealt with in a few promising case-studies. In this talk I will give a brief overview of the archaeological and textual evidence of instances of re-usage and recycling in the third and second millennia BCE and I will propose a range of motivations behind such actions. I will show that similar material consequences could be the result of various intentions, ranging from signalling domination over another group to acts of reverence.

The main focus of this talk are Mesopotamian attitudes towards acts of re-usage, as expressed in curses at the end of (royal) inscriptions. These curses offer valuable insights into actions that ought to be prevented, many of them associated with re-usage.

The overall aim of this talk is to underline the spectral nature of the reception of Mesopotamian dedicatory and commemorative objects in antiquity, ranging from their destructions as icons representing a political or social group to their re-usage as raw materials for new objects.

SCHMIDTCHEN Eric (Freie Universität Berlin)
On impurity and diagnosis
 Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Diagnostic texts are, especially in the first millennium, a separated tradition in comparison with the therapeutic text corpus. Often there is confusion in evaluating the symptomatology of both 'genres' in the light

of inquiries for the history of medicine and science. Is there a crucial difference within the emic epistemological system(s) between therapy and diagnosis in Mesopotamia? It is conspicuous that the usual beginning of the protasis format within therapeutic texts (*diš na*) does not refer to the patient in the same way as does the *Diagnostic Handbook*, which uses the expression *diš gig*. Together with the first subseries of that compilation, which consists mainly of terrestrial omens in the *šumma ālu*-type and the fact that diagnoses of diseases play a minor role in the *Diagnostic Handbook*, I argue that this format draws special attention to the status of the patient. The term *gig* qualifies the reading of the following ‘signs’ on the sick human body in a narrow context, as a special state of impurity of the patient. Furthermore it seems that the factor of impurity could be connected with the diagnosis ‘hand of DN’ which otherwise seldom occurs within the therapeutic texts, and if then only in connection with certain kinds of diseases (cf. especially skin diseases and forms of epilepsy) or diagnosed practices like witchcraft and the breaking of an oath.

SCHNEIDER Bernhard (Universität Innsbruck)

The Post-Kassite period within the Ekur of Nippur

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 216

This paper will present some of the results (work in progress) of the PhD Thesis concerning the construction history of the Ekur of Nippur. The presentation will combine the old records of the 1889–1900 campaigns with the results of the post-WWII seasons within the Ekur temple precinct.

The focus chosen hereby is laid on the Post-Kassite period, a time span, thought in general, to be full of discontinuity and misfortune. The aim of this paper is to shed some light on a seemingly more stable part of the period.

SCHRACKAMP Ingo (Freie Universität Berlin)

Urukagina and the history of Lagash

Thursday, July 24th, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 116

The ca. 2000 texts from Lagash provide the most important corpus of the ED IIIb/Presargonic period. Among the rulers of the first dynasty of Lagash, Urukagina of Lagash enjoys special importance, since he was a contemporary of Enshakushana, Lugalzagesi and

Sargon during the “Proto-Imperial period,” and sources from his reign were the basis for the influential “Temple State” theory. Nevertheless, his origin, background, legitimacy, reforms, chronology and history remain a matter of debate. Thus, the present talk provides a review of the current state of research.

SCHREIBER Marvin (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The ‘stone, plant, and wood’-schema in Late Babylonian astro-medicine

Friday, July 25th, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 116

One feature of the astrological medicine in the second half of the first millennium BCE is the use of substances from three categories of nature (plants, stones, trees) in connection with parts of the (micro)-zodiac and months.

This paper aims to present the different systems of the ‘stone, plant and wood’-schema. First there was the great list on the micro-zodiac-tablets, well known from the Gestirndarstellungstafeln once published by E. Weidner in 1967, but there was also a second list in connection with the 12 signs/months in general.

Another group, where the system appears, are the so called Kalendertexte. Here we have again two variants, one was produced with the micro-zodiac-tablets and has nearly identical combinations, but instead of the zodiac, they are connected with the 360 days of the schematic calendar. The other group of calendar texts had only twelve options and made use of a system of secret names (Decknamen).

All lists could in addition be combined with medical texts, like SA.GIG or *muššu’u*, or special rituals.

The second point is to show that the relation system was not arbitrary, and that there were fixed connections between the material and the signs (you can sometimes find the contrary in the literature).

SCURLOCK JoAnn (Elmhurst College)

Just in case: rituals for “Entering the palace” or perversion of justice?

Friday, July 25th, 11.30-12.00, auditorium

Among the corpus of ancient Mesopotamian magical texts are to be found a series of rituals which are, as they themselves tell us, designed to help a litigant win his legal case. These “Entering the palace” rituals

had a specific public use, and that was to be performed for an official literally entering the palace for appointment to public office. In this context, the idea was to protect him from possible slander which could cost him not only his job but his life. Private individuals had equally cogent reasons for pre-trial stress. The advantages of being guaranteed a win in a legal case are fairly obvious to us but, in a very face to face society where personal reputation was essential for success in business, winning in the court of public opinion could be as important as staying on the right side of the law. Successful practice of corrective rituals, then, had the potential of reversing fate and of turning misfortune into fortune, as indeed is promised in the introductory formulae. Like love magic with which there is actually some not insignificant overlap, "Entering the palace" spells clearly tiptoe the line between socially accepted and socially sanctioned magical practices and occasionally fall off the edge into what was known as "Binding of the Mouth", and "Perversion of Justice". It is this latter, dark side, that will be explored in this paper.

SCURLOCK JoAnn (Elmhurst College)

Mesopotamian medicine: religion or science?

Monday, July 21st, 15.00-15.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop IV. Divination Masked by Religion?

In this paper, we shall begin by divining the real (as opposed to ideological) differences between the two extremes of Religion (with a capital R) and Science (with a capital S). As with all extremes, everything not used to define one of the extremes may be expected to fall somewhere in the middle. It is still interesting to note where in the middle (and closest to which pole) they may fall. Armed with this theoretical underpinning we shall be able, without the prior prejudice that all too often mars these discussions, to assess from this perspective ancient Mesopotamian medicine and divination on the one hand and Hippocratic medicine on the other.

SHARLACH Tonia (Oklahoma State University)

Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur

Tuesday, July 22nd, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

This paper pays homage to the contributions of Professors Steinkeller and Michalowski on the history of the Third Dynasty of Ur, most particularly with regard to the figure of Šulgi. Though we habitually contemplate the last decade of Šulgi's reign due to the predominance of textual evidence from that portion of his long reign, most of Šulgi's important innovations and reforms occurred earlier. This paper, therefore, concentrates on the first 35 years of Šulgi's reign.

One characteristic of the Ur III state in its fully-fledged phase (from about Šulgi 40 on) was a division of power and governance between two centers of power, Ur and Nippur. But was this also characteristic early in Šulgi's reign? What was the role of Ur *via-à-vis* Nippur prior to the official establishment of the crown administration at Puzriš-Dagan?

SHIBATA Daisuke (University of Tsukuba)

Hemerology, divination and Ili-padâ's illness

Thursday, July 24th, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

The lecture presents a letter from a Middle Assyrian archive from Tell Taban. The letter appears to have been written on the occasion of an illness of Ili-padâ, a well-known figure in the late 13th and the early 12th centuries BCE, during his stay in the Land of Mâri. The letter concerns the schedule for medical treatment, divination and hemerology, suggesting the usual steps undertaken when preparing for a medical treatment in Ancient Mesopotamia, first finding an appropriate date for divination, then conducting divination concerning medical treatment, and finally the medical treatment itself. Examining the letter, a single case of 'fortune and misfortune' in the Middle Assyrian period will be discussed.

SHUKE Anastas (Alb-Science Institute)

Fortune on the origins and development of the copula

Thursday, July 24th, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 116

The most basic and useful verb in many languages is the verb "to be." It must have been the same with Sumerian too. Its fortune would have been fixed from the beginning. The copula would have

passed through numerous “misfortunes” of morphophonological changes and development, even though it is a verb of frequent use, thus expected to have more stability. Now, we might only have the good luck of re-discovering its long journey through fortune and misfortune in the Ancient Near East, and maybe in Europe.

From a philosophical point of view, being a verb of most frequent use in its 3.sg. form, the copula is expected to be spoken and/or written with short words of few, simple, unless the simplest, phones/phonemes or syllables in any language. Also, we might assume that root/stem for all persons would be part of the 3.sg. For Sumerian, supposed to have had a long phonetic development before the invention of its cuneiform script but assumed without inflection of verbs yet, the copula root/stem might have been spoken with the simplest phone – the a – and written with the simplest cuneiform sign – the aš sign (except its meaning one), followed by suffixed pronominal element, completing the inflected form.

The disagreement about morphology reflected in the copula paradigm and homonymity which leads to ambiguity, make necessary a further study. The enclitic form –am₃ seen as 3.sg. copula, can replace 1.sg. or 2.sg. personal pronouns, who do not actually replace a noun, being substantives themselves. Their absence means there can be no expressed/visible subject in the sentence and/or a different word-order. Copula homonymic spelling A.AN with the sign for rain –šeĝ₃ makes possible the reading aš for the nominalization suffix. Also, from etymological/graphic division of the sign A in aš+še(ĝ), by the equation water “is/equals rain”, aš can have the meaning “is,” while the second part of A sign represents graphically the rain. The first part aš=“is” is responsible for the function of nominalizing, the second registers the concept of water through that of the rain, [A]=[is rain]. The pronominal element, probably 1.sg., might be expressed through its phonetic values me or mû.

The presence of sign for God, would tell us to analyse the formal phonetic and philosophical parallelism of the A.AN signs to the well-known writing on the Christ icon – O.ON, meaning “I am.” That would suggest the possible same meaning for the enclitic copula –a m₃ /-A.AN.

The “fortune” in similarities of expected heteronymous paradigm of Sumerian copula with that of main comparative IE languages,

helped to arrive to the conclusion that enclitic copula $-am_3 / -A.AN$, with reading $a-mû$, might represent the 1.sg. inflected form of the verb ‘to be,’ with the respective 1.sg. personal pronoun expressed by the suffix $-û$. The $-a-ne$, considered 3.sg. personal pronoun, might be the inflected form of 3.sg. copula, where $a-$ ($aš-$) represents 3.sg. is and root/stem of the verb “to be.” The suffix $-ne$ might be used with the meaning of 3.sg. personal pronouns.

SIGRIST Marcel, see **AVILA Mark**, **Uri GABBAY, Marcel SIGRIST**

SIMON Zsolt (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Why did Paskuwatti’s patient fail in the matrimonial bed?

Friday, July 25th, 11.00-11.30, auditorium

According to general assumption, the famous Hittite ritual of Paskuwatti (CTH 406) is intended to cure impotence. Nevertheless, J. L. Miller recently argued in a detailed paper that it instead represents an antidote against (passive) homosexual behaviour (Paskuwatti’s ritual: Remedy for impotence or antidote to homosexuality? *JANER* 10 [2010], 83–89). However, most parts of the ritual cited in the discussion can be reconciled with both interpretations (taking away the symbols of femininity and replacing them with those of masculinity; the interpretation of *saklai-*; the metaphor of the yoke). Moreover, they even allow a third interpretation: frigidity.

One passage resisted both commentators. The patient is found under very unfortunate conditions: “this mortal is one of faeces and urine” (*nu=wa kās tantukesnas DUMU-as saknas siehunus*, KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.8 i 35–36) and neither of the proposed alternatives can explain why this should be so. If taken literally, this description points to the incontinence of the patient. Though this condition can affect people of all ages, it is more common in older adults. The old age of Paskuwatti’s patient can indeed explain the incipit of the ritual describing that he was unable to father children and that he was “not a man vis-à-vis a woman”. This explanation not only fits the passages discussed but is also coherent with the observation that the correlation between age and fertility was not entirely clear to the Hittites, as the famous case of Hattusili III’s sister indicates.

SOLLEE Alexander (Universität Bern)

Neo-Assyrian concepts of fortification

Tuesday, July 22nd, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

The major cities of the Neo-Assyrian Empire were not only home to impressive palaces and temples, but they were also equipped with strong fortifications. The city walls were not only meant to keep out potential enemies, but by demonstrating Assyria's power to any approaching person, they served an ideological purpose, as well. However, military efficiency was just as crucial, since, over its entire history, the empire repeatedly faced internal and external threats and could not have afforded to lose any of its urban centers which were essential to maintaining control over the various provinces or geographic regions associated with them.

The study of Neo-Assyrian fortifications relies on evidence provided by archaeological excavations, the study of Assyrian reliefs and information from cuneiform texts. Even though these sources help us reconstruct the appearance of the town defenses, the question of why the individual fortification systems were built in a specific way cannot be addressed by these means alone. Remote sensing offers an opportunity to view the course and placement of the city walls within their topographical context. Furthermore, geographical information systems (GIS) offer a tool to illustrate the distribution of the strongly fortified Assyrian towns, thereby allowing us to recognize patterns and functions of regional fortification systems during the Neo-Assyrian period.

SOLLEE Alexander (Universität Bern), **Ekin KOZAL** (Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi), **Mirko NOVÁK** (Universität Bern), **Alexander AHRENS** (Universität Bern), **Susanne RUTISHAUSER** (Universität Bern)

Archaeological research at Sirkeli Höyük: preliminary results of the latest excavations (2012 & 2013) and their implications

Wednesday, July 23rd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 216

Sirkeli Höyük is an ancient settlement located 40 km east of Adana on the left bank of the Ceyhan River in Plain Cilicia. The main

mound covers an area of approximately 300×400 m and rises to a height of ca. 30 m above the level of the surrounding plain. Due to its strategic location overlooking a road that crosses the Misis mountains, Sirkeli Höyük always played an important role within Plain Cilicia. J. Garstang's (1936–1937), B. Hrouda's (1992–1996) and H. Ehringhaus' (1997) excavations have shown that the site was occupied from the fourth to late first millennium BCE. Since 2006, a new Swiss-Turkish team is investigating Sirkeli Höyük again. Due to modern excavation techniques and an interdisciplinary approach, the architectural and material remains that have been uncovered by the new excavations have yielded much new information. Apart from a more precise pottery sequence, the new project has discovered an extensive lower town surrounded by an elaborate double city wall. The paper will summarize the results that have been gathered since 2006, with particular focus on the campaigns 2012–2013, and aims to show how they may contribute to the understanding of the cultural developments in this region.

STADHOUDERS Henry (Universiteit Utrecht)

Towards an edition of the *Li'bum* disease texts

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Among the hosts of disease names that populate the vast body of cuneiform texts commonly labeled “medical” the one called *Li'bum* has enjoyed scholarly attention on repeated occasions. A long and well preserved text dealing with it was fully edited in 1939, which in point of fact is a sequence of exorcistic therapies that aim to drive the illness out of the patient's body, revealing its nature and symptoms in mere glimpses: Meier, ZA 45. A great many more references to the disease have since been identified in the cuneiform record, as the pertinent clay tablets became scholarly available: Köcher, BAM; Labat, TDP & Heeßel, BAD. Their number is bound to increase, if only because unpublished tablets are known to exist. Despite the multitude of textual data on the disease, a comprehensive study that brings together these scattered materials, published as well as

unpublished, in a full, up-to-date edition has yet to appear. The need for a synthesis of the kind was already suggested in 1987 by the Assyriologist Altmeister of the day W. von Soden in an off-topic remark on a newly published tablet stressing the importance of those portions of the document, that deal with our disease but had remained unedited beyond the hand-copy format – and still are, one might add: *AfO* 34 (1987), p. 71a, commenting on Van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction*, Pl. 1. Whereas his wish has still to be fulfilled, the accumulated evidence for the disease did not go unprocessed altogether, as several brief studies have since been produced which add significantly to our understanding of what the *Li'bum* condition would have been about: Scurlock, *Diagnoses*, 29–32; Stol, in *Disease in Babylonia*, 11–15. Neither of these scholars deals at any length with the unpublished material, although sundry details thereof are touched upon. All in all, given the increased wealth of data vis-à-vis the lack of a comprehensive edition, von Soden's urge for an in-depth treatment of the *Li'bum* texts would appear to have become the more pressing today. Meanwhile, the present speaker has embarked upon this project, starting with the investigation of the small group of unedited artefacts that is currently known to be in the possession of the British Museum. Since he has not got to the bottom of their every mystery yet, he hopes for the Warsaw P&P Workshop to create a seminal ambiance for studying these texts in colloquy with specialists who are eager to share their insights with the less enlightened.

STEINERT Ulrike (Freie Universität Berlin)

Looking for clients in the Mesopotamian ritual texts

Wednesday, July 23rd, 9.00-9.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Although the individual identity of the clients treated by Mesopotamian healers is largely effaced from the Babylonian medical texts, some ritual texts nonetheless contain hints about their potential or envisaged patients. These hints are often generalized so as to fit large sets of possible clients, yet they sometimes also refer to the social situation of clients and the environment in which they

lived. References to contextual factors such as these are often crucial in terms of the efficacy of particular rituals. The Egalkura-rituals represent a rewarding case study for the social analysis of clients. The talk will focus on the Egalkura incantations, especially on descriptions of patients' problems and anxieties. It aims to situate the social setting of these rituals within the court, and to identify the envisaged patients as members of the élite, especially members and employees of the royal court.

STEINKELLER Piotr (Harvard University)

Luck, fortune and destiny in ancient Mesopotamia – or how the Sumerians and Babylonians thought of their place in the flow of things

Monday, July 21st, 11.00-11.30, auditorium

It seems fair to make a generalization that the concepts of "luck" and "fortune," at least as independent, self-generating phenomena, were essentially alien notions to ancient peoples. Even Aristototele, who did believe in the existence of luck, and was particularly interested in the case of people who are consistently lucky, in the end conceded that luck must be divinely inspired or, in other words, that its source lies in the supernatural realm. The idea that "luck" and "fortune" are bestowed upon us by divine forces, through a mechanism called "fate" or "destiny," appears to be universal, surviving, if only in a residual form, to the present time. Modern Poles talk of *szczęście*, "good fortune," and its opposite *nieszczęście*, "bad fortune," without usually realizing that these words originally meant "portion" (*część*), that is, the share that deities or some other supernatural agents allot to each individual (usually at birth) as his or her destiny.

Therefore, in this paper I will talk of destiny, specifically as it was imagined and thought about in ancient Mesopotamia. Major Sumerian and Akkadian terms and concepts related to destiny will be examined, as will be the relationship between destiny and the various forms of divination and future prediction. Finally, my paper will review the question of whether the Mesopotamian system was deterministic – meaning that destiny was immutable – or whether destiny could be manipulated by humans, through recourse to magic or other means.

STĘPNIOWSKI Franciszek (University of Warsaw)

“Islands in the Stream” – riverine fortresses and forts of the Assyrian Empire

Tuesday, July 22nd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 116

Workshop VII. Beyond Military: Fortifications and Territorial Policies in the Ancient Near East

The adequate defense and control of the peripheral areas of the Empire, in the vicinity of – or delimited by – rivers, required special means and structures. One of them is constituted by fortresses and forts located in the rivers; while quite many of such structures are attested on the palace reliefs, fewer – mentioned in the texts, the archaeological evidence is scarce. In the following presentation an overview of these “Islands in the Stream” shall be undertaken, with some attempts to answer/hypothesize the following problems: specific engineering, material and building techniques, with links to architectural traditions other than this “Assyrian” proper; layout and sizes, resulting in specific local functioning (from small sentry posts to larger military bases) and defensive quality; troops stationing here; other possible functions, besides these strictly military ones, such as locations of administrative offices, dispatch harbors for riverine transport, and others. Finally, their links to coastal fortified settlements should be considered, and – last but not least – their supposedly striking, impressive appearance in the landscape.

SVÄRD Saana (University of Helsinki)

On heterarchy, gender and Assyriology

Thursday, July 24th, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 211

Workshop VI. Beyond Hierarchies: Heterarchy and Gender

This brief presentation discusses the meaning of the concept “heterarchy” in Assyriological context and the reasons why it is a useful concept for the study of gender.

It begins by outlining the history of the concept. This is followed by an introduction to my own work, which perceives heterarchical relations as a three-dimensional web of power relations. This kind of power is always present in interactions between individuals, regardless of their relative status. It exists outside formal chains of

command but at the same time encompasses them. Viewing power as heterarchical allows for a many-sided understanding of relationships between individuals.

Connecting heterarchy to gender is especially fruitful if one subscribes to the view that gender should not be studied in isolation of other social factors. By looking at heterarchical power relationships one can see gender as one of the many factors that influence an individual's life.

The presentation concludes with a brief introduction to the four upcoming papers of the session.

TARASEWICZ Radosław (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)
Crisis in Uruk in the light of the texts concerning animal breeding
 Friday, July 25th, 11.00-11.30, lecture hall 111

Agriculture and animal husbandry were the most important and inter-dependent parts of the Babylonian economy. Any disturbances within one clearly affected the other. In this paper, I investigate the material concerning animal husbandry from the Eanna archive of Uruk. This is extremely diverse material in thematic terms. There are administrative documents of the "tabular sacrifice records" variety, but also trial records and other related documents. This material has been dated to time of the end of Cyrus and the first four years of Cambyses. This relates to the period of crisis in agriculture recently presented by K. Kleber. The collected documents allow us to formulate the thesis that the crisis also affected animal husbandry.

TAVERNIER Jan (Université catholique de Louvain) and **Elynn GORRIS** (Université catholique de Louvain)
The fortunate Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak
 Monday, July 21st, 14.00-14.30, lecture hall 116

In the stela of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, one of the late Neo-Elamite kings, an expression "Halqatash" is three times attested. In all likelihood this refers to a proper name, rather than to an epithet to *sunki* "king". The paper will thoroughly discuss the person behind this name as well as his relation to the Elamite king and his role in the stela of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak.

TAYLOR Jon (British Museum)

The rules of writing cuneiform: wedge order in Neo-Assyrian and beyond

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 116

Workshop II. Current Research in Cuneiform Paleography

For over a century now, scholars have noted the possibility and desirability of observing the order in which the individual wedges within a sign were inscribed. It was not until 1996 that the first systematic study was published, in the form of Sallaberger's analysis of the Tell Beydar texts (*Subartu II*). Recent work by the speaker has determined the exact order in which almost every wedge was inscribed in over 100 Neo-Assyrian signs, with a very high degree of confidence. Based primarily on inscriptions from Nimrud, this paper sets out the principles by which Neo-Assyrian scribes composed their signs. These principles are contextualised against a wider study of cuneiform writing from the third to the first millennium, shedding light on some of the consistencies and variations in the "rules" of writing cuneiform.

TÖYRÄÄNVUORI Joanna (University of Helsinki)

The royal adoption scene in Ugaritic and Biblical texts

Tuesday, July 22nd, 12.00-12.30, lecture hall 211

Several Biblical texts (2 Sam. 7, Pss. 2, 89) seem to refer to the symbolic adoption of the king by the monarchic divinity. The background for this concept has been sought in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions and in Egyptian texts, particularly in the so-called *Myth of the Procreation and Birth of the King* and the *Decree or Blessing upon Ramesses*. These Biblical texts also seem to share an affinity with the much discussed portion of the *Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, KTU 1.1 IV 13-25, in which the father of the gods, El, seems to proclaim the name of Yamm, the Sea, possibly extending a blessing upon his kingship. It is my intention in this paper to discuss the ways in which the Ugaritic text can give us insight into the Biblical texts, but also how the Biblical texts can help us make sense of the important but unfortunately broken Ugaritic text.

TSOUPAROPOULOU Christina (Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg)

The materiality of Amar-Suena's misfortune: of seals, foundation deposits and administrative changes

Thursday, July 24th, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 116

In this paper, I will tackle the thorny issue of the transition of government from Amar-Suena to Šu-Sin. I will discuss briefly what is generally known about Šu-Sin's attempts to eliminate Amar-Suena's memory and move on to discuss the materiality of misfortune on the micro level – I will look at changes in administration that reflect that something was wrong in the final years of Amar-Suena's reign, and corroborate that with administrative changes in the first years of Šu-Sin. I will also elaborate upon those royal inscriptions and seals 'dedicated' to Amar-Suena.

I use the notion of materiality to challenge assumptions about what texts can tell us. I will not deal with the material aspect of texts, nor with the text support itself. But I will discuss changes that are evident in the manipulation of the text support on the one hand, that is the sealing practice, and on the other the content of the text, that hides important insights about the network of people that operated at the state government and their material manifestation.

TYBOROWSKI Witold (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

***Idū/kišrum* variability in the Old Babylonian contracts of hire and its consequences**

Friday, July 25th, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 211

It is noteworthy that in the Old Babylonian contracts especially of hire there are two terms expressing the payment the worker or his master was to receive. This is not to be compared to any other contracts where the payments and other dues are expressed always by one notion (e.g. *šibtum*, *terḫatum*). It is also significant that the way the rent fee was called was not connected with the social status of the hiring (slave, free man) or the means in which it was paid (barley, silver) as it was suggested by some scholars. Further, there are no links between the name of the payment and the kind of job the labor was to perform (agriculture, other) as one might suppose. Finally it did not result from temporal change at the intermission between third/second millennia BCE as one may infer from the extant source material.

In fact, the Old Babylonian *idū/kiṣrum* variability goes deeper, to the purpose of the hire in the very general sense and it shows two different kinds of hire in the economic life in the period. As a result the two notions have different meanings, *idū* 'wages', *kiṣrum* 'rent fee' which is to be applied to two various kinds of transactions.

ULANOWSKI Krzysztof (University of Gdańsk)

"Shamash, great lord, whom I am asking, answer me with reliable 'Yes'." The impact of divination on the result of war

Monday, July 21st, 17:00-17:30, lecture hall 111

Workshop IV. Divination Masked by Religion?

Divination is a salient characteristic of Mesopotamian civilization. The Neo-Assyrian kings ask the gods about the possibility of planning and waging war ('Does your great divinity [Shamash] know it?'). The kings need total confidence that their weapons and army will prevail. In the questions concerning a campaign, the king asks the gods about the strategies he should use. The specific military decisions and strategies were thought to have been handed down as oracles from heaven. In a series of queries to Shamash (and Adad), the course of battle was determined by the gods and *bārû* priests were responsible for proper communication with them. The seriousness with which the divination was treated can be seen in the whole Mesopotamian legacy and is presented in the *Legend of Naram-Sin*. Naram-Sin (2254-2218 BCE) did not comply to the divine words heard during extispicy and this act of disobedience gave rise to a series of military defeats and was detrimental to the entire kingdom. Later, Shulgi boasts of using extispicy to determine not only cultic matters, but also the military actions. The Mari prophetic texts predicted and recalled the later Neo-Assyrian divinatory texts. Not only the structure but also the content and main points were very similar. It was impossible and extremely dangerous to go on campaign without consulting oracle, the assurance of the gods' favor, and conviction of the final victory. The role of the divination and *bārû* priests who deciphered the omens were decisive for the outcome of the war and determined the difference between victory or defeat.

VAN DE PEUT Lidewij (Freie Universität Berlin)

The rhetorics of proverbs: solving misfortune in Hittite prayers

Wednesday, July 23rd, 14.30-15.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop V. Patients and Patronage: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and Their Clients (BabMed)

Though many Akkadian and Sumerian proverbs are known from proverb collections from Mesopotamia and are cited in texts, such as letters and epics, the function of the use of proverbs in specific contexts is another matter. Among the Hittite tablet collections in Hattuša, no such collections of Hittite proverbs have been found. However, in Hittite prayers proverbs seem to have been used occasionally in the pleas to the addressed deities. In these texts they seem to have been employed to strengthen the argument of the supplicant, that is, as rhetorical strategies.

VAN SOLDT Wilfred (Universiteit Leiden)

The travelling queen of Ugarit

Tuesday, July 22nd, 14:00-14:25, lecture hall 216

Workshop IX. *In Memoriam* Pierre Bordreuil

Pierre Bordreuil has published a large part of the texts found at Ugarit and one of his most recent works was the publication of the texts found in 1994 (RSO 18). Among these is a letter sent by the queen of Ugarit who gives an itinerary of her journey to Cilicia. In RSO 18 several suggestions were put forward for the identification of this queen and why she went on this long trip. As an homage to Pierre Bordreuil, another attempt will be made in this paper to find out who this queen was and why she went to Anatolia.

VANDORPE Lieselot (Universiteit Gent)

Shouldering a silent burden: name as a stigma for Old Babylonian slaves?

Friday, July 25th, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 211

This paper focuses on slaves in the Old Babylonian Sippar text corpus. This paper endeavours to establish whether the presence or absence of the expression MU.NI.(IM), after a slave's name is meaningful. When present it seems to stress the fact that this (now) is

the slave's name. In this light it is argued that the presence of the expression MU.NI.(IM) in certain administrative and legal documents, may imply a name change. This paper will present evidence of the practice of name change for people becoming slaves, a practice that is well known for Babylonians acquiring a new professional/social identity (such as certain priests, see D. Charpin in *Le Clergé d'Ur* and M. Tanret, *The Seal of the Sanga*). An attempt will be made to establish in how far slave names were different from the 'normal' onomasticon (complementing the studies by J. Stamm, R. Harris and M. Stol) and to which slaves this applies.

VIANO Maurizio (Tel-Aviv University)

The fortune of wisdom literature in the Ancient Near East: the case of Vanity Theme

Wednesday, July 23rd, 16.00-16.30, lecture hall 211

Under the label Vanity Theme are comprised short Sumerian wisdom compositions reflecting on the vanity of mortal life. More generally these belong to the genre of "critical wisdom" as opposed to the traditional father-son instructions. Vanity theme compositions have a long textual history from the Old Babylonian period, when they were composed, until the first millennium, the time of their latest attestations. During the Late Bronze Age these texts spread outside the borders of Mesopotamia reaching Emar and Ugarit in Syria, where some of the best preserved sources were recovered. This paper explores the reason of such a fortune and of the dissemination of Vanity Theme compositions in the cuneiform culture.

VIDAL Jordi, see **FELIU Lluís** and **Jordi VIDAL**

VON DASSOW Eva (University of Minnesota)

How to get credit and avoid foreclosure in Arraphé

Tuesday, July 22nd, 9.30-10.00, lecture hall 211

Among the distinctive legal instruments developed in Late Bronze Age Arraphé, represented mainly by the archives found at Nuzi, one of the most common and most peculiar is real-estate adoption. In this type of contract, a landholder cedes property rights to an

acquiring party by “adopting” him or her and bequeathing the property as an “inheritance share” in exchange for a “gift” of consumable goods, while however often retaining the obligation for *ilku*-duty on the property. This phenomenon has attracted a variety of explanations, generally predicated either on the assumption that *ilku*-bearing land was held by royal grant, therefore a legal fiction was necessary to evade a supposed prohibition on land sale, or on the theory that rights to land were the property of lineage groups and therefore could be alienated only through the fiction of creating a familial relationship. However, since the state enforced the contracts in question, clearly there was no prohibition to evade, and if the idea was to keep property in the family by adopting mortgagees, these contracts could not serve that purpose. More recent proposals interpret real-estate adoption either as straightforward land sale or as an instrument to transfer title without possession, invoking the Hurrian ethnicity or prehistory of Arrapḫean society and law to explain this divergence, either atavistic or innovative, from Mesopotamian legal practice. I propose an explanation that requires none of the assumptions that previous ones do. Real-estate adoption was a legal instrument that immunized transfer of property rights from edicts of debt remission (Akkadian *andurāru*, Hurrian *kirenzi*) by utilizing the mechanism of adoption rather than sale, while preserving the landholder’s status as citizen of the state, which was secured by the obligation to perform *ilku*.

The archives of Arrapḫe attest that *andurāru* edicts were issued in this realm, as they also were in contemporaneous Ḫana, represented by tablets from Terqa, and even in the realm of Emar, as indicated by a lone attestation from Ekalte. In the land of Ḫana, transactions in property or persons were immunized from debt-remission edicts by the clause *našbum ša lā baqrim u lā andurārim*, “irredeemable, not subject to contestation or remission.” In the kingdom of Arrapḫe, the more elaborate mechanism of real-estate adoption was invented to secure mortgages against annulment by *andurāru*.

WAAL Willemijn, see **MILLER Jared** and **Willemijn WAAL**

WASSERMAN Nathan (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Coup de foudre... The fortunes and misfortunes of love: a new love dialogue

Wednesday, July 23rd, 17.00-17.30, lecture hall 211

An unpublished love dialogue from the Old Babylonian period, kept at the Oriental Institute of Chicago, is presented and thematically discussed. New literary motifs, which were hitherto unknown, are outlined and analyzed in the wider context of Akkadian Love Literature.

WIGGERMANN Frans (Universiteit Leiden)

The chronology of Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad

Thursday, July 24th, 11.30-12.00, lecture hall 111

Workshop III. New Sources and Insights on the Middle Assyrian Period

The tablets from the Middle Assyrian *dunnu* Tell Sabi Abyad contain important information on the period between the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I and the accession of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. On the basis of the sequence of stewards (Mannu-ki-Adad, Buriya, Tammitte) and the Aba-la-idi archive from Assur a number of eponyms can be dated precisely. Some of the dated tablets have a bearing on the date of the fall of Hattusa.

WISNOM Selena (University of Oxford)

Blood on the wind and the tablet of destinies: intertextuality in *Enūma Eliš*

Monday, July 21st, 16.30-17.00, lecture hall 211

Enūma Eliš is one of the most complex and important poems in Babylonian literature. It invokes material from a wide range of texts, borrowing motifs from earlier poems and re-shaping them towards its goal of elevating Marduk and Babylon over Enlil, Ninurta, and their city Nippur. Literary allusions form a vital part of this competitive strategy. In particular, allusions to the Anzû poem invite us to compare the protagonist of *Enūma Eliš*, Marduk, with the protagonist of *Anzû*, Ninurta. However, the way that *Enūma Eliš* deploys these allusions has been called inept and

clumsy on the grounds that the motifs stand out and do not fit seamlessly into the narrative. This talk will examine two of the most prominent motifs related to the *Anzû* poem: the blood on the wind that announces Marduk's victory, and the tablet of destinies, which Ti'āmtu fastens to Qingu's chest when she appoints him commander of her army. A closer analysis will reveal that these motifs have been much better integrated than is usually recognised and make many subtle contributions to the ideology and literary merit of *Enūma Eliš*.

WOODS Christopher (University of Chicago)

Economic forecasting at Uruk? The earliest evidence for contingency tables

Tuesday, July 22nd, 10.00-10.30, lecture hall 111

Workshop I. Sumerian Workshop in Honour of Professor Piotr Michałowski and Professor Piotr Steinkeller

Utilitarian necessity is a familiar mantra in discussions of the invention of writing in Mesopotamia. The vast majority of the proto-cuneiform corpus, after all, consists of administrative texts, their existence connected to a growing bureaucracy itself a reflection of the leaps in socio-economic complexity that were hallmarks of the Late Uruk period. But beyond the basic understanding that writing facilitates bookkeeping—the ability to permanently record expenditures and income at an individual, micro-economic level—the broader economic contexts of these texts and the agendas of the institutions that commissioned them are a much less explored area of inquiry, particularly as concerns our earliest textual evidence. This paper proposes that evidence for economic planning and forecasting can be plausibly gleaned from the archaic cuneiform texts. Indeed, complex calculations attested in Uruk III texts can be shown to be the functional equivalents of modern contingency tables, a foundational building block of predictive, statistical modeling. This evidence bolsters the assertion made increasingly in recent years that one of the principal driving pressure behind the invention of writing in Mesopotamia was not simply bookkeeping, but bookkeeping for the purpose of economic prognostication.

ZAWADZKI Stefan (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)
Finis Assyriae: The fall of the Assyrian state or the fall of the Assyrian civilisation?

Monday, July 21st, 11.30-12.00, auditorium

The discovery of Nabopolassar' s Chronicle by Cyril J. Gadd, and its publication in 1923, marks the beginning of serious research into the circumstances of the fall of the Assyrian empire, which for several centuries (especially from the middle of the eighth century BCE to its fall in the years 614–609 BCE) exerted a profound influence on the countries and peoples of the so-called Fertile Crescent. Although there has been a general consensus in answer to the fundamental questions about the external and internal reasons for the fall of Assyria, assessing the ramifications of the fall of Assyria is by no means clear. The point is whether the fall of Assyria only means the collapse of the state, or the end of Assyrian civilisation - in other words, whether the elements of Assyrian heritage that survived the collapse of the state relate to the core of Assyrian civilisation. Discovering an answer to these questions would be possible if the most important elements of Assyrian civilisation were to be defined.