THE INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

64th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale

Assyriologique Internationale

12th Melammu Symposium

July 16-20, 2018

Abstracts

Ahmed, Kozad M. *(University of Sulaimani)*

The Cuneiform Collection of the Sulaimaniya Museum: A Short Review of the Inscriptions

The Sulaimaniya Museum, the second largest in Iraq, houses many objects bearing cuneiform inscriptions. Large part of the collection consists of tablets of various contents, which are still unpublished.

The presentation is aimed to present a short overview of the collection, focusing on genres and chronology. The collection including groups of tablets belonging to specific private archives provides valuable information about the society, the economy and the administration of specific regions of the Ur III period. Further, a group of Old Babylonian letters presents an interesting addition to the rich repertoire of its kind.

Other objects, such as stelae, bricks, cylinder seals and a unique pair of large golden ear-rings bearing cuneiform inscriptions are of special importance in this regard. Each piece adds new information to our knowledge about ancient Mesopotamia.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Alaura, Silvia and Bonechi, Marco *(Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA), CNR, Roma)*

Dreaming of an International Discipline: Archibald H. Sayce, Cosmopolitanism and Assyriology at Oxford

A recent study of the unpublished papers of Archibald H. Sayce kept at The Queen's College and other Oxford institutions has disclosed an impressive collection of documents which, inter alia, illustrates his cosmopolitan attitude towards Assyriological studies during the late Victorian and Edwardian era. Of partiocular interest in his correspondence are the letters that Sayce received from prominent German colleagues such as Friedrich Delitzsch, Fritz Hommel, Paul Haupt and Eduard Meyer before and after his appointment to the first Oxford chair of Assyriology in 1891. The aim of this paper is to highlight some of the main topics dealt with in these letters, against the background of the changing relationships between the British and German orientalist milieux before the First World War.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Alexandrov, Boris *(Moscow State University)*

On Wh-questions in Old-Babylonian

Interrogative sentences have already been subject of special analysis in the literature on Akkadian linguistics (e.g. Buccellati 1996: 420; Deutscher 2007: 137—148; Cohen 2013; Kouwenberg 2017, § 22.12.—22.13, 26.16.—26.24.). However, some problems still remain, and one of them concerns the word order in this type of sentences. The corpus of Old Babylonian letters (AbB 1—14) shows almost equal distribution of clause-initially moved ex-situ interrogatives and their in-situ counterparts. This is per se an interesting fact, but what strikes most is that 96% of wh-ex-situ sentences contain why-questions (ana mīnim and byforms). The paper will address the question of why's predominance in clause initial ex-situ position. One of the possible explanation for the

fact is based on the assumption that some types of why-questions are based generated in CP or left periphery of the clause, that is can occur only in clause initial position.

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 # S14 – Grammar

Alivernini, Sergio *(Orientální ústav: Akademie věd České republiky = Oriental Institute: The Czech Academy of Sciences)*

The management of earthmoving linked to hydraulic works in Southern Mesopotamia at the end of 3rd millennium BCE

The role of irrigation management in the development of the first urban societies in Mesopotamia is still an important topic of discussion among philologists, archaeologists and historians. Since the mid-twentieth century, the development of Mesopotamian civilization has been seen as being intrinsically linked to the building of water-related infrastructure (dams, channels, etc.) to "tame" the environment. Although the importance of wetlands and marshes in the development of prehistoric communities in the Ubaid period has been emphasized by Oates and above all, more recently, by Pournelle, there is no doubt that, from the third millennium B.C., the region of Sumer had became an important area for the production of cereals, and crops, irrigated by artificial canals, had probably gained ground when compared to the wetlands. Earthwork projects and the building of reservoirs, dams and canals are closely related to the management of irrigation; several Ur III texts describe the building and repairing of canals or their components. These works would have required the use of different materials (in accordance to the typology of the facilities to be built) but the most important was definitely the earth. This paper is aimed at showing which officials were involved in earthworks during the Ur III period. Moreover, the paper will study also the practical procedure used by these officials, to prepare and to complete, step by step, an earthwork for water-related infrastructures.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Allred, Lance *(Museum of the Bible, Washington DC)*

Royal Veneration Names in Late Third and Early Second Millennium Mesopotamia

The onomasticon of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods includes a number of theophoric names that serve to venerate the deified king. In some cases—particularly with the Ur III kings Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin—the name are unusual and do not conform to normal naming patterns of the period. Several factors make it clear that people who

bore such names changed them to venerate the king when he ascended to the throne. Thanks to digital databases such as the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI), the Late Old Babylonian Personal Names Index (LOB-PNI), and the Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts (BDTNS), among others, it is now possible—at least in some instances—to track some individuals who made these name changes.

This paper will highlight some of these people and speculate on some of their motivations for doing so. In particular, I will argue that in many cases, people taking on royal veneration names were foreigners in the court, such as messengers and diplomats. I will also look at broader examples of name changes in the ancient Near East among those in the royal court to further shed light on this phenomenon.

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Anor, Netanel *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

Yaakov Peremen and the Notarikon: a Case of Anti-Sumerist Revival in Mid-Twentieth Century Palestine

This presentation will focus on the person of Yaakov Peremen, a poet and patron of the arts, who was also active as a self-taught Assyriologist in Tel Aviv of the 1940's and 1950's. Peremen dedicated most of his scholarly efforts to promote his ideas concerning the cuneiform script and its origins. To his understanding, the sources, accepted at that time by the scientific community as Sumerian, were not written in a language other than Akkadian but were rather an alternative cryptic system to write the same language, a system he associated with the Kabalic Notarikon. In this respect Peremen saw himself as following Joseph Halevy's approach, namely that Sumerian was never a spoken or "natural" language. Like Halevy, whom he saw as "the great Paris professor", Peremen understood the Sumerian sources to represent a priests' code, which like hieratic in Egypt, was used by a distinct class of scholars in temples. Peremen, however, took this theory one step further by describing these sources as the origin of the Notarikon, an esoteric method to approach Jewish writings, mainly for magical purposes.

Peremen's figure, however, was not at all esoteric in the cultural and political scene of the Hebrew society in its formative phase. His ideas echoed in the heart of the young Zionist establishment, as his work was acknowledged and even celebrated by influential figures of the time, such as Joseph Klausner, Philip Korngruen, Yom-tov Levinsky and Avigdor Hameiri. Peremen ideas can therefore be seen as an interesting case of mediation and then deviation of the achievements in Assyriology in a more local context, as most of Peremen's publications were published in the Hebrew language and were directed to the cultural milieus of the Hebrew Renaissance. This presentation will hence offer an outline of Peremen's Notarikon and will seek to investigate the ideological and historical background enabling his unusual ideas. Special attention will also be given to the implication of these ideas on questions of identity of the Hebrew speaking community in contemporary Palestine.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Anor, Netanel *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

Babylonian Seers as Medical Practitioners

This Presentation will focus on the role of the seer *(bārû)* as medical practitioner in the ancient Babylonian society. It will discuss the cases in which this expert used the oracle techniques at his disposal in order to offer diagnosis and prognosis to his clients. The attention here will be given to passages from the seer's professional literature which deal with the destiny of the patient *(marṣu)*. As it happens protases which mention suffering patients are common among the variety of omens genres related to oracle. For example, an omen dealing in its protasis with a part of the liver called *bāb ekallim*, "the palace gate," can state, in its apodosis, "the patient, during his illness, he will die." The fact that prognosis was a common purpose for oracle is made explicit by a passage from the seer's manual, *multābiltu*. There it is said: "If you perform an extispicy for the well-being of the patient ... and there are two paths *(padānu)*, the calmed patient who ate bread and drank water will relapse to his illness and die." The manual continues as following: "If you perform (the extispicy) concerning the 'hand of the god' (a disease), he (the patient) will live until the day that was appointed for him, but after that day, he will die." It has recently been pointed out that this passage, as well as other passages from the extispicy literature are, in fact, allusions to the Babylonian Diagnostic Handbook, which meant that seers were well acquainted with the literature of other professionals, that of the medical practitioners. The fact that many names of disease, known also from the ancient medical literature, appear in extispicy-omens apodoses points towards a fruitful interaction between these two bodies of knowledge. Hence, the talk will discuss the three following questions:
1. What were the methods that allowed seers to offer prognosis and diagnosis to patients?
2. To what level were seers acquainted with the ancient medical literature and which type of use were they making of it?
3. What were the measures taken after having offered prognosis or diagnosis and were seers then communicating this information to other healing expert?
 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Anthonioz, Stéphanie *(Université catholique de Lille)*

Enūma eliš and the Priestly Narrative: Influences and Divergences

Enūma eliš and the Priestly narrative (found in the books of Genesis to Leviticus) are often compared. However, no systematic analysis of such a comparison has ever been done so that the influence of the one over the other or its independence are best assumed. This contribution aims at proposing such an analysis with two special lines of analysis, a structural comparison (concerning the narratives and their trajectory) and a thematic one (with special attention to the themes of creation, the flood and the sanctuary). It will propose few cases of particular dependence and argue that not only scribal practices were shared during the exilic period but also traditions and religious dogmas.
 # S16 – Akkadian Literature

Arbøll, Troels P. *(Københavns Universitet = University of Copenhagen)*

A microhistorical Study of the Neo-Assyrian Healer Kişir-Aššur

Over recent decades, important studies have enhanced our knowledge of the education and careers of first millennium BCE scholars and scholarship in general. Yet, coherent groups of texts written by a specific individual with a certain purpose in a particular context have only rarely been investigated. My dissertation, **Medicine in Ancient Assur: A Microhistorical Study of the Neo-Assyrian Healer Kişir-Aššur**, provides the first detailed analysis of a single *āšipu*-exorcist's education and practice in ancient Mesopotamia. The work investigates how the exorcist Kişir-Aššur from the so-called "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters" in Assur was educated, how he practiced his craft, and how he produced and organized his knowledge. By analyzing 66 texts securely assigned to Kişir-Aššur and allocated to six specific phases of his career, ranging from "junior apprentice" *(šamallû şeḫru)* to "exorcist of the Aššur temple" *(mašmaš bīt Aššur)*, the study provides a holistic analysis of an ancient healer's profession.

This paper will outline the background and framework of the dissertation in order to discuss Kişir-Aššur's education. The talk will focus primarily on Kişir-Aššur's *šamallû şeḫru*-phase, particularly on the possible role of treatments for snakebites, scorpion stings, and a horse illness in relation to his training of physiological knowledge and practical skills.

 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Arroyo, Ana *(Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)*

New Working Hypothesis for Written Transmission of Hittite Rituals

It is well known that Hittite magical rituals were written and copied through centuries. To explain how those rituals found their way into written form several hypotheses have been proposed, but none of them have been accepted as a general model since that of dictation was contested. At the present stage of the research, we still lack a general model that explains how each ritual was recorded in written form for the first time, how scribes learnt this type of religious knowledge so deeply as to compose their own rituals, and how this kind of knowledge reached Ḫattušaš' tablet collections. On the basis of some lists of persons and other textual data the proposed talk will offer a new working hypothesis to answer all those three questions: the collaborative work between scribes and specialists.

 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Averbeck, Richard E. *(Trinity International University)*

Historical Cultural Reception and Transformation of Mesopotamian Creation Traditions

Ancient Mesopotamian creation traditions are known from texts in Sumerian and Akkadian, and from iconographic sources. Sumerian traditions tend to highlight Enlil's separation of heaven from earth, sometimes referred to as the Enlil/Nippur tradition. This is the primary background for the so-called "three level universe" that appears in Ugaritic and the Hebrew Bible (see also Egypt). It finds its way through the ANE world into later traditions, largely through the influence of the Hebrew Bible in Christian

(western) and Islamic (eastern) cultural heritage. The three level universe is, in fact, a most natural way for humans anywhere and anytime to speculate about creation and the cosmos. Although different cultures have configured it in diverse ways, from ancient to modern times, people have experienced their world primarily on three levels: what is above us, what is below us, and where we live, in between the two.

Akkadian traditions naturally bear the same three level universe into their speculations, but also highlight the creation by battle motif. We find both of them, for example, in Enuma Elish. This is often referred to as the Enki/Eridu tradition. This element of the Mesopotamian creation tradition is also part of our ongoing cultural heritage from the ANE through the Leviathan serpentine motif in Ugaritic and the Hebrew Bible and from there into western and eastern cultural traditions up until today.

Both the three level universe motif and the creation by battle motif are transformed in their journey from the original Mesopotamian cuneiform world through the larger ANE world overall, and into later civilizations. Some of these transformations are traceable to religious, cultural, philosophical, and/or scientific variations the traditions encounter through ancient and modern history. The paper will engage with the important recent discussions of science and philosophy in ancient Mesopotamia.

 # S16 – Akkadian Literature

Avetisyan, Hayk and **Bobokhyan**, Arsen *(Yerevan State University)*

Urartu vs. Etiuni: The Power of Written Sources and the Importance of Archaeological Legacy

Investigations of last years reveal multiple layers within Urartian state and society. It becomes clear that the Urartian state consisted of various cultural and ethnic elements, the bearers of which, however, could share similar value systems, which, with their clear mountainous nature, strived to immitate the lowland way of life and through it created a distinct elite and corresponding administrative structure. The representatives of this elite belonged to one of the ethnic groups of the highland zone between the Taurus and the South Caucasus – the Urartians, which spread in all directions of the mentioned region. In atmosphere of more than two hundred years long (the 8th and the 7th centuries BC) coexistence of the Urartian elite and local cultural groups in various sub-regions, preconditions for their real symbiosis were created. The present paper aims at presenting the mentioned process, according to recent archaeological works conducted in north-eastern regions of the spreading of Urartian kingdom (the land Etiuni, which mostly corresponds with modern Armenia). Particularly the dichotomy between written and archaeological sources concerning the problem of Urartu will be considered on theoretical niveau.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Bach, Johannes *(Helsingin Yliopisto = University of Helsinki)*

A Transtextual Reading of the 'Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince' (SAA 3, 32)

The text SAA 3, 32 has been treated from lots of different angles since its first edition in the 1930s by Wolfram von Soden. Since then, a row of theories on the text's origin and purpose have been proposed. This presentation will not aim at offering a new

general interpretation of that remarkable piece of Assyrian literature, but rather focus on its inter- and transtextual components. After a short overview of its contents I will discuss the UWV's various connections to other literary texts, first and foremost to the Gilgamesh epic and the so-called God Type Texts (edited by Köcher). Finally, the talk will offer a new way of interpreting a specific aspect of the text that deals with the features of dMūtu ("Death") by comparing the UVW's method of portraying this divine entity with a modern poetic concept pertaining to the representation of the unknown.
 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Bachvarova, Mary Radoslavova *(Willamette University)*

"Come from Wherever You Are": Methods of Borrowing and Methodology in Comparative Studies of Greek and Near Eastern Religion

Much work has been done discovering and analyzing parallels between Greek and Near Eastern literature, but very little attention has been devoted to why and how the parallels developed, and methodological discussions about comparative analysis have been primarily focused on how to determine whether a set of parallels is unique enough to prove borrowing. Some arguments have been made for the so-called "Orientalizing Period" (750-650 BCE) as the time for transfer of literary motifs, as this is the earliest that direct contact between Assyrians and Greek-speakers can be proven, but this creates serious problems for explaining borrowings into the Homeric corpus, at least for those scholars who do not follow a late date (after Hesiod) for the texts. However, another approach now beginning to be utilized is interested as much in the means of transfer as in its results, and it accepts that direct transfer from Akkadian to Greek is not the most likely route of transfer, at least for motifs that show up in the earliest Greek authors. Thus, among the issues that must be addressed is how the repeated transfer from one language to another was carried out. In this contribution, I use one particular type of verbal art, the "come from wherever you are" invocation, which was both a means of transfer and the thing transferred, using the Hurro-Hittite evocations from Hattusa (CTH 483, 484, 716), Hurrian incense prayers from Ugarit (RS 1.034 + 1.045, 24.285, 1.007, 24.278), Sappho (Fragments 2, 35 and the testimony provided by Menander Rhetor 334.26-32), and Rg-Vedic prayers (e.g., 1.108). Focusing on "where," "why," "when," "who," and "how" moves us from simply citing parallels to understanding the push-pull factors that caused the constituents of verbal art to move across languages and space in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. In this case, we can discuss what the popularity of this type of verbal art tells us about how gods were imagined to be situated in the supralocal social systems of their worshippers, and how that conception drove the transfer both of gods and of the means to move them.
 # S01 – Cultural Transfer: Religion

Bácskay, András *(Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem = Pázmány Péter Catholic University)*

Scientific Glosses in Mesopotamian Therapeutic Texts

The glosses inscribed between the lines of cuneiform texts or on the edge of the tablet belong to the most widely attested and oldest exegetic and philological methods of the textual scientific tradition in Mesopotamia. My presentation deals with a specific group

of the glosses, namely glosses which was written in the so called therapeutic texts. In consideration of the huge amount of therapeutic prescriptions, the number of prescriptions included glosses is small. My corpus includes 125 glosses attested in 108 prescriptions and in 51 cuneiform tablets. Although the relevant percentage of the glosses in the therapeutic texts could have motivated the more intensive research into this topic, a monographic publication of the glosses in therapeutic texts or at least the systematic database of the sources is still a desideratum in the literature and only short discussions about individual glosses on a single therapeutic texts can be found sporadically in the literature. In my lecture I would like to provide the formal and functional characteristics of this text material.

 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Badalyan, Miqayel *(Head of the "Karmir Blur" branch of the "Erebuni" Historical & Archaeological Museum-Reserve)*

A preliminary Report on the 2016-2017 Excavations of Odzaberd (Tsovinar)

Odzaberd is located on the south-eastern shore of lake Sevan (Republic of Armenia). According to cuneiform inscription situated on the north-west cliff of the fortress, here the Urartian monarch Rusa I built a fortress after the Storm God (Teišeba). The settlement consists of a citadel, the fortress, and the outer town. The excavations of 2016 focused on the outer town, located south of the fortress. In this area, two rooms dated to the post-Urartian period (end of VII century-VI century B.C.) have been excavated. According to the deep sounding done in Room 01 it became clear that the above-mentioned rooms were built on the bases of VIII-VI cc. B.C. structures.

In 2017 the fieldwork mainly was focused on the eastern part of the fortress (areas D1, D2, E, G). Based on our preliminary observations, here were fixed structures and different occupation layers dating from the VIII/VII centuries B.C. to the Medieval period. We believe that during the post-Urartian period the settlement was an important center in the region. In these times, the local imitation of pottery and mud-brick superstructure traditions are visible. Hopefully, the C14 samples sent for analysis will give a more precise dating.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Baker, Heather D. *(University of Toronto)*

Introducing the MTAAC project: Machine Translation and automated Analysis of Cuneiform Languages

This paper presents the work of MTAAC, an international collaborative project involving Assyriologists, Computational Linguists and Computer Scientists from Toronto, Frankfurt and UCLA. The project is funded for two years (2017–2019) by SSHRC (Canada), DFG (Germany) and the NEH (USA) through the Trans-Atlantic Platform Digging into Data Challenge, a program that supports research projects that explore and apply new "big data" sources and methodologies to address questions in the social sciences and humanities. MTAAC is developing methods and tools for the automated analysis and machine translation of cuneiform texts in transliteration, using Ur III Sumerian documents as a test corpus. These documents were chosen because of the relatively high degree of standardization of their contents, which makes them

particularly suitable as a test case for the application of machine translation and automated analysis. The project uses Linked Open Data to formalize and make available the results of the automated data extraction, and its working method, code, and results are all being made available in open access on the web. This ensures that our working method can be replicated and modified as necessary, to facilitate the application of machine translation to other ancient language corpora. At this halfway point in the project's duration, the paper reviews our progress to date as well as the remaining challenges and future prospects.

 # S18 – New Approaches in ANES

Baker, Heather D. *(University of Toronto)*

Neo-Assyrian Personal Names in Context: Onomastic Research Using the PNA Dataset

Personal names have long been cited as evidence in studies of Neo-Assyrian society and culture. For example, several studies by Ran Zadok use the linguistic derivation of personal names as a proxy for the ethnic background of the name-bearers (e.g. Zadok 1997). Also, Simo Parpola has studied Aramaic and Akkadian name-giving in the family context as a means of investigating the Assyrian ruling class (Parpola 2007). The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire includes some 7,369 lemmas (personal names), comprising a very rich resource for onomastic research—all the more so, since it provides the possibility of researching personal names in combination with other information about the named individuals, such as profession, status, place of origin, and textually attested context(s), to name but a few. The names reflect a variety of linguistic backgrounds (Akkadian, Aramaic, Phoenician, Moabite, Hebrew, Arabic, Egyptian, Greek, Iranian, Hurrian, Urarṭian, Anatolian, and Elamite) and these, too, can be factored into research involving the onomasticon. With the ongoing compilation of the PNA database, research into naming practices is greatly facilitated since it becomes possible to retrieve information using multiple variables, including non-onomastic criteria such as the data fields that relate to biographical information and/or to the written sources in which those individuals are attested. This paper presents some preliminary results of this ongoing work as a way of demonstrating the usefulness of the PNA dataset for integrating onomastic research into the study of Neo-Assyrian society.

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 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Ballesteros Petrella, Bernardo *(University of Oxford)*

Ištar and Aphrodite: reassessing a Gilgameš Epic parallel in Homer

The well-known parallel between Ištar's ascent to Heaven in the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš (Tablet VI) and Aphrodite's ascent to Olympos in Homer's Iliad (Book 5) deserves reconsideration.

The similarities between the two scenes are currently treated as a (indeed the) demonstrated case of Homeric imitation of an Akkadian source. Yet this widely accepted model has in fact downplayed the indigenous and traditional context of the Greek passage at issue, and unduly simplified the assessment of the legacy of Akkadian epic. The heuristic potential of the parallel is exhausted in the mere recognition of an imitation (where, moreover, the borrowing itself is questionable). This leaves little space for improving our contextual and historical appreciation of both sides of the comparison, and of the cross-cultural phenomenon.

The present contribution will show that a direct influence of the Mesopotamian poem on the Iliad is an unnecessary hypothesis: the parallels, it is argued, are best explained as part of a vast stream of tradition encompassing the ancient Near Eastern and Greek literary production. Indeed, the poetic patterns shared by the two scenes under examination can be analysed across further Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hittite and early Greek sources. Only this broader picture can support an historically and exegetically productive comparative criticism.

This broader picture will permit us to focus on how a shared type-scene was deployed in each literary tradition, thereby enhancing our understanding of the compositional techniques at work in Mesopotamian and Eastern Mediterranean narrative poetry. At the same time, it may help us to propose more nuanced hypotheses to explain the similarities historically.

 # S13 – The Epic of Gilgamesh & Beyond

Barjamovic, Gojko *(Harvard University)*

Production, Trade and Consumption of Wine in Middle Bronze Age Anatolia

The Assyrian merchant records from Kültepe contain the first clear textual references to the production and trade in wine in Anatolia. Being mainly commercial in nature, they provide some information about origin and trade patterns, as well as occasional hints to the making, consumption (ritual, stylized, festive) and storage of wine. This paper presents a case study of how this textual evidence can be linked to a growing material and pictorial record, as well as recent archaebotanical studies, to form a broader picture of the earliest relatively welldocumented case of production, trade and consumption of wine in the region.

 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Barmash, Pamela *(Washington University in St. Louis)*

The Nature of the Legal Authority of the Laws of Hammurabi and Its Later Reflexes

Scholars have tussled over whether Hammurabi issued the law collection that bears his name as legislation modifying existing law, as a summation of royal decrees, or as a

collection of judicial decisions, whether of the king or a judge. At most, this approach has yielded mesmerizing hints but no definitive evidence. However, the question that must be examined is whether an approach that seeks to assign a relationship between the Laws of Hammurabi and legal records accurately and effectively illuminates the nature of the legal authority of the Laws of Hammurabi. There is no reason for law to be limited to the logical application of a discrete set of standardized rules, and debating whether the Laws of Hammurabi was legislation or a recapitulation of royal decrees or judicial verdicts is misplaced. The nature of the authority of the Laws of Hammurabi was not based on the king's authority and dominion but on the nature of scribal activities in the legal realm. During scribal training, students did copy law collections and model court cases and contracts and wrote legal exercises, and many scribes worked as legal professionals. This instilled a sense of justice in them, and the conflicting rulings they may have learned and their experience in legal matters helped them to think through competing examples of what constitutes justice and to weigh the variables in specific disputes. The interpretive flair that a scribe exhibited in composing the Laws of Hammurabi allowed the scribe to demonstrate expertise in legal reasoning and decision-making and to articulate what he deemed fair and just. This methodology continued outside of Mesopotamian for more than a millennium after Hammurabi. Statutes were composed on a repertoire of traditional cases in the Hittite Laws and biblical law, even though the royal inscription format was no longer used, and may have served as a model for Greek and Roman law.

 # S02 – Ideology & Authority

Bartash, Vitali *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Animalized Children: Minors (a m a r - g a b a) in the Ekur Temple in Nippur ca. 2250 BC

A group of published and unpublished "ration lists" record the remuneration of children in the Ekur temple household in Nippur. They are dated to the reign of king Naram-Suen. The minors appear as a m a r - g a b a "breast-calves" in these documents.

This paper pursues two related aims. The first is to clarify the socioeconomic context of the remuneration of these minors in the Ekur. The second objective is to clarify why the scribes implemented the terminology of animals to record these minors.

Relying on related designations of minors in 4th-3rd millennia BC archival records from southern Mesopotamia, the author explains the phenomenon of "animalizing" of children as an attempt by the emerging state to supplement the traditional kinship terminology with a new means to describe its human resources: the age grades.

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Bartelmus, Alexa and **Christiansen**, Birgit *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Creating Open-access Urartian and Elamite Text Corpora

This paper will present recent research that has been carried out on the digitization of first-millennium-BC Urartian and Elamite texts, work conducted as part of the Munich Open-Access Cuneiform Corpus Initiative (MOCCI), with the aim of broadening the accessibility of the written sources of those ancient Middle Eastern polities to a larger

audience. The presentation will comprise three parts: (1) project reports; (2) responses from invited respondents; and (3) a steered, open discussion. Christiansen will talk about her work on Urartian inscriptions written on a rock surface and a variety of stone objects, a corpus of 255 texts published by Mirjo Salvini in his Corpus dei testi urartei. Bartelmus will report on her work on Neo-Elamite inscriptions. This joint paper will also address the problems and challenges of lemmatizing (linguistically tagging) the texts of these lesser known Near Eastern languages, translating them into readable and intelligible English, and creating open-access informational web pages that are aimed at making the history, culture, and languages of the Elamites and Urartians more accessible to scholars, students, and members of the general public.

 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Battini, Laura *(Collège de France)*

Horses and dogs: two special animals?

In the ancient Near East, animals have often been used as a model in artistic and literary creations. They are represented everywhere: in the glyptic, in the round, in painting, in ceramics, in terracotta, in bas-reliefs, in statuary. They are represented using different techniques, such as bas relief, round, intaglio, incision, drawing, and different materials, such as stone, terracotta, inlays, metal, faience.

They have always been of great importance not only for agricultural work, transport or food but also for the enjoyment of men. It is however, the wild animals that are the most represented for their fascinating character and symbolic meaning. The scribes on one side and the law-makers on the other made a distinction between wild animals (akk. nammašu / nammaštu) and domesticated animals (akk. būlu "herd") which allows us to understand what they meant by "domesticated". For the laws, the domesticated animal is the animal used in agricultural work, par excellence the ox, sometimes also the donkey and the horse and occasionally the animals chosen for consumption as pigs, goats, sheep. Popular proverbs and omens give information on the presence of other domesticated and wild animals in the city (the dog protects the potters' workshops, keeps foxes out of the city gates and can enter the master's house, pigs chase lost wolves out of the streets and clean up urban waste).

The domesticated animal par excellence is the farm animal and the order in which the domesticated animals are quoted in the lexical lists (sheep, goat, ox and donkey) and represented in art perfectly reflects the subsistence economy where caprids were more important than cattle. But the archaeological data (burials) and certain iconographic representations (man surrounding an animal with his arm) show that it is not the caprid that the men of Mesopotamia were passionate or fascinated about. It is rather the equids and the dogs that seem to have a special status, and to merit real affection.They are the only two animals that are entitled - like the man - to a burial. Sometimes they are even buried with men. They are the only two that accompany man to war and to hunting, two very real but also highly symbolic actions. Starting from these two animals, my communication explores the relationship with man. But there are other animals - wild this time - that have fascinated men to the extent of attributing to them actions and human gestures at least in the artistic representations.

 # W01 – Animals and History

Beckman, Dan *(Princeton University)*

From Sennacherib to Xerxes: On a Possible Assyrian Source of Achaemenid Demand for "Earth and Water"

Herodotus records a series of instances in which the Achaemenid Persian king, or his representative, makes a demand of earth and water from a potential future subject (Histories 4.126, 5.17, 5.73, 6.48-9, 7.32, 7.16). There is general agreement amongst scholars that giving earth and water was a symbolic gesture of submission to the King. However, there is not agreement about the precise meaning of these specific symbols, nor on the source of the ritual. An Iranian or Persian source has often been assumed (e.g., Orlin 1976, Balcer 1995, Herrenschmidt and Lincoln 2004), as has a Lydian source (Munn 2006). In this paper I will demonstrate that these explanations fail, as they do not fit all of the evidence. I then offer a new interpretation, namely, that the ritual has its roots in the Neo-Assyrian period, when it represented the violent conquest of a city. Rung 2015 and Rollinger 2013 have demonstrated Assyrian influence on the Achaemenid conception of empire and geography. Building on their work, I discuss Sennacherib's claim to have presented the dust of a defeated Babylon as an offering to Aššur, and his use of water in the destruction of that city (RINAP 3/2 168:36b-47; 223:50b-54a). The Achaemenid demand for Earth and Water arose from a need for an ideologically sound method of claiming rule over the distant Aegean and Balkan regions, where outright military conquest was unlikely. During the preparations for his Scythian campaign (c. 513 BCE), Darius feared the type of defeat that had befallen Cyrus the Great in Central Asia, but also, as a usurper, he could not lose face by not confronting the enemies of the realm. The Mesopotamian scribal community was able to offer their Iranian rulers the unified pair of Earth-and-Water, the collection of which served as a venerable symbol of conquest. Adopted by the Achaemenids, this ritual "gift" no longer celebrated a military victory, but instead was intended to avoid violence altogether, and portrayed the subjects as voluntary. My argument offers an explanation for one of the more enduring images from Herodotus' Histories, while also emphasizing the impact of the cuneiform literary tradition on Achaemenid ideology and practice.
 # W08 – Ancient Iran and the Heritage of the Ancient Near East

Beyer, Wiebke *(Universität Hamburg)*

Teaching: from Parent to Child(?)

While the Old Babylonian period provides an abundance of school material, the Old Assyrian sources about teaching and school life are very low. In Aššur and Kaneš only very few texts were unearthed which could probably be considered as teaching material. Michel (2008) suggested, that Assyrian children of the first known generations of merchants received scribal education in Aššur. But with the settling in Anatolia, later generations probably developed a scribal education in Kaneš/Anatolia as well.

This paper is based on T. Davis (2007, 260) assumption, that individual handwriting is the result of practise, creativity, and imitation. In case of the Old Assyrian students it implies that their handwriting resembles to some extent the handwriting of their teacher. Based on case studies I will try to answer the question, whether it is possible to trace scribal education with the aid of palaeography – and whether the Old Assyrian children learned writing within their families.

Bietak, Manfred *(Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften)*

Near Eastern Temples in the Eastern Nile Delta and the spiritual Roots of the Hyksos

Several Ancient Near Eastern temples of different type were excavated by the speaker at Tell el Dab'a, ancient Avaris, capital of the Hyksos. They were constructed already during the late Middle Kingdom by a community of immigrants from the Near East. Distribution maps of these different kinds of temples cluster in northernmost Syria and in northern Mesopotamia giving unexpected information where the spiritual roots of the elite in Avaris might have come from. It seems also that specific types of temples were gender-related in respect to their divine patrons.

 # S17 – Contact Zone: Levante

Bjøru, Øyvind *(University of Texas at Austin)*

Semantic Transitivity and the Akkadian verbal Stems

In this paper, I will use recent advances in transitivity theory to show how each of the Akkadian verbal stems can be seen as performing a quite specific function in terms of semantic transitivity.

The derived verbal stems in the Semitic languages are commonly explained in one of two ways: 1) in terms of diathesis, with each stem being ascribed a core grammatical voice, to which exceptions are mere variations, or 2) by means of a more or less exhaustive list of otherwise disparate syntactic and semantic functions. Both of these approaches are inadequate in that they either give too much weight to emblematic voice distinctions (passive, reflexive, causative, etc.), or fail to account for what allows varied syntactic and semantic categories to be expressed by the same morphological form. I will show that configurations of three parameters of the Agent (and Patient), viz. volition, instigation, and affectedness can elucidate both oppositions and overlaps within the system. In doing so, I mount a critique of N.J.C. Kouwenberg's work on the D-stem in particular and partly rehabilitate A. Goetze's interpretation of the D-stem as factitive, as opposed to a causative Š-stem, recasting and developing the argument in terms of semantic transitivity.

 # S14 – Grammar

Blasweiler, Joost *(Leiden Universiteit)*

Evidence to place Purušhanda at Acemhöyük

According to the archaeological excavations the artefacts and buildings at Acemhöyük are characteristic of a large royal city during the 18th century BCE. Many silver, copper and lead ingots, as well as a total of 55 crucibles have been found at the site. Thousands of bullae indicate the trade activities in the city. Letters and seal imprints of officials and royals of Mari reveal the trade relations, which Mari had with Purušhanda and Acemhöyük. Several seals imprints also indicate the trade relations which kings of Mama, Carchemish and Upper Mesopotamia had with Acemhöyük. Many bullae of Assyrian merchants of the karum of Kanesh were found in the Sarikaya palace at Acemhöyük. According to the OA texts the royal city of Ulama was an average trade

city; and its kings were vassals of the king of Kanesh after ca. 1770 BCE. The site of Karahöyük-Konya also reveals numerous trade activities, but do not indicate the royal trade relations with North Syrian kingdoms. Neither its trade relations with Kanesh revealed in the OA texts, nor in artefacts. If we combine these archeological results with historical Hittite texts of the Old Kingdom of Hattusha (CTH13 and CTH19), it becomes obvious that the royal city Purušhanda was located at Acemhöyük until it was destroyed by a king of Hattusha.

I will also describe the relation with the land of Pedassa and the city Paršuhanda/Parašhanda.

 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Bobokhyan, Arsen and **Avetisyan**, Hayk *(Yerevan State University)*

Urartu vs. Etiuni: The Power of Written Sources and the Importance of Archaeological Legacy

Investigations of last years reveal multiple layers within Urartian state and society. It becomes clear that the Urartian state consisted of various cultural and ethnic elements, the bearers of which, however, could share similar value systems, which, with their clear mountainous nature, strived to immitate the lowland way of life and through it created a distinct elite and corresponding administrative structure. The representatives of this elite belonged to one of the ethnic groups of the highland zone between the Taurus and the South Caucasus – the Urartians, which spread in all directions of the mentioned region. In atmosphere of more than two hundred years long (the 8th and the 7th centuries BC) coexistence of the Urartian elite and local cultural groups in various sub-regions, preconditions for their real symbiosis were created. The present paper aims at presenting the mentioned process, according to recent archaeological works conducted in north-eastern regions of the spreading of Urartian kingdom (the land Etiuni, which mostly corresponds with modern Armenia). Particularly the dichotomy between written and archaeological sources concerning the problem of Urartu will be considered on theoretical niveau.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Böhme, Sabine *(Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin)*

Anthroposophical Concepts Included: Walter Andrae's Installation of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

In 1930, Walter Andrae, the incoming head of the Ancient Near Eastern Department, opened the first completely installed galleries exhibiting architectural finds from Babylon in the southern wing of the Neubau on the Berlin Museum Island (today's Pergamon Museum). These included Babylon's Ishtar Gate, the Processional Way, and the palace throne room panel composed of ancient and modern glazed bricks. Andrae was well prepared for the task. As a trained engineer he had long worked under Robert Koldewey on the excavations at Babylon, Fara, and Ashur. His drawing talents were exceptional, well demonstrated in his sketches of excavation camp life and comic strips with ancient Near Eastern figures. By 1936, Andrae had given the Ancient Near Eastern display its final shape, with additional galleries devoted to Uruk and Babylon, Ashur, Commagene, and many others.

As deeply as Andrae respected the tradition of German Oriental archaeology—whose legacy he had helped to secure during the Weimar Republic—he believed that scholarly research as well as its presentation to the public would have to explore new paths. Among successive generations of Near Eastern archaeologists in Germany, it was an open secret that Andrae was a dedicated follower of anthroposophy, a spiritual movement founded by Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925). This paper explores the extensive archival and published sources documenting Andrae's introduction of anthroposophical concepts in designing the museum's ancient Near Eastern displays.
W16 – The Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art

Boivin, Odette *(University of Toronto)*

To Seal or not to Seal, or making sure there is nothing rotten in the Palace of the Sealand

The sealing of administrative texts has a long history in Mesopotamia, dating as far back as the period of emergence of such texts. The practice evolves more or less in parallel for legal, administrative, and epistolary purposes, not unlike the use of a signature. Most traces left by the administrative use of seals in institutions were ephemeral and are lost to us, in particular door and container sealings, which were probably quickly recycled. But several large groups of sealed tablets have been preserved, often a subset of larger institutional archives in which other tablets are not sealed.

The patterns of sealing habits, even in institutional administrative archives that present a high degree of standardisation, do not always appear to be fully regular. Also, they have been less studied than other aspects of these sources, perhaps because the study of such habits falls between diplomatics and sigillography.

A palatial archive dating from the reign of two kings from the first dynasty of the Sealand in mid-2nd millennium Babylonia (published in CUSAS 9) presents an interesting case study for sealing patterns. Indeed, texts dealing with various resources were retrieved, probably issued from a number of internal services, of which roughly a quarter are sealed. In this paper, I will examine the sealing habits of the administrators involved in conjunction with other recording operations, such as copying the text or adding the name of officers, and endeavour to identify elements that guided the administrative decision to seal a document. Parallels with other archives will also be brawn in order to position the Sealand I palatial sealing practice within a larger tradition.
S19 – Babylonia

Bonechi, Marco *(Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA), CNR, Roma)*

The Logic underlying the Spellings. How the Ebla acrographic lexical List EBK-a is structured?

In 1975 dozens of cuneiform lexical lists were found in the Archive L.2769 of the royal Palace G of Ebla (Tell Mardikh – Syria). Besides more common typologies with Mesopotamian parallels (e.g. thematic lists, practical vocabularies, 'word lists'), the numerous lists starting with é š - b a r - k i n₅ (EBK) stand out because they are unparalleled. The EBK can be unilingual (Sumerian) or bilingual (Sumerian – Semitic),

and many of them are remarkably long, given that they range from around 1200 to 1500 entries. Their ultimate origin and the modalities of their formation are still debated, but the acrographic principle informing them has been recognized long ago. Also the occasional interpolation of thematic sections (e.g. measures, animals, professions) is evident.

The main Sumerian EBK sources are eight. Among them, EBK-a (TM.75.G.2422+ = *MEE* 4 115+ = *MEE* 15 1-5+) is particularly important since it is the only manuscript displaying the entries in the same order adopted in the four sources of the Ebla Bilingual Lexical List. In fact, in the eight main Sumerian sources the order of the sections and also the order of the entries differ, a feature interpreted as sign of a work in progress. The reasons of the success of the recension to which EBK-a and its four bilingual associated sources belong have never been deeply investigated, although practical efficacy in both the school and the working places of the administrative scribes should be assumed. The aim of the present paper is to open a discussion on the arrangement of the sections of EBK-a, in order to detect if, behind superficial and local structuring criteria, the editorial choices of the scribes were also governed by a deepest and narrative logic, based on key-words rather than on key-signs.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Bonechi, Marco and **Alaura**, Silvia *(Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA), CNR, Roma)*

Dreaming of an International Discipline: Archibald H. Sayce, Cosmopolitanism and Assyriology at Oxford

A recent study of the unpublished papers of Archibald H. Sayce kept at The Queen's College and other Oxford institutions has disclosed an impressive collection of documents which, inter alia, illustrates his cosmopolitan attitude towards Assyriological studies during the late Victorian and Edwardian era. Of particular interest in his correspondence are the letters that Sayce received from prominent German colleagues such as Friedrich Delitzsch, Fritz Hommel, Paul Haupt and Eduard Meyer before and after his appointment to the first Oxford chair of Assyriology in 1891. The aim of this paper is to highlight some of the main topics dealt with in these letters, against the background of the changing relationships between the British and German orientalist milieux before the First World War.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Borrelli, Noemi *(Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")*

Water environments in Ur III Lagaš: from natural setting to economic resource

The integration of local resources and products into the state-run flow of income was a key point in the economic agenda of the Ur III policy. Beside the emphasis on the agricultural production at large and on local irrigation systems, this also included the exploitation of other water environments, such as marshes, wetlands, and riverine areas, which were peculiar to some of the southern provinces, particularly in Ĝirsu/Lagaš. The management of these ecological niches apparently involved either

their requalification in pastures and arable lands or the direct exploitation of food supply there available: fish and fowl. Often neglected, these latter were as present in the Sumerian cultural landscape as in the contemporary economic output of the province.

This paper aims to show, through the analysis of the textual record, how this economic manoeuvre dealt with the local landscape and with the pre-existent networks of authority in the province of Ĝirsu/Lagaš. Specifically, it will address the following issues: how these "waterscapes" influenced the administrative geography of the region, which were the locations where these activities took place, and in what capacity the people in charge of them were absorbed in the socio-economic network of the Ur III society.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Bramanti, Armando *(Sapienza Università di Roma / Consejo Superior de Investigationes Científicas, Madrid)*

Chronological and Geographical Liminality in Early Mesopotamian Palaeography: The Case of Umma and Adab

In 1922 A. Deimel published his Liste der Archaischen Keilschriftzeichen, commonly known as LAK. After almost a century, this is still the standard sign list for Early Mesopotamian texts. In recent years, the corpus of Early Dynastic and Sargonic documents has increased enormously, especially after the publication of hundreds of tablets deriving from the neighboring regions of Umma and Adab.

Due to these circumstances, there is renewed interest in the compilation of sign lists and syllabaries of third millennium cuneiform – some works have been announced and their publication is expected in the next years, as in the case of Early Dynastic Ebla (P. Paoletti) and Early Dynastic Fara (E. Zeran). Some first preliminary modern studies of Early Mesopotamian palaeography have been already produced by, among others, M. Such-Gutiérrez, M. Maiocchi (Adab), A. Bramanti, and P. Notizia (Umma). The growing interest in the field of cuneiform palaeography was also endorsed by the organization of recent international workshops (60th RAI – Warsaw, 64th RAI – Innsbruck) and symposia (Leiden 2009).

Within this framework, and following in the footsteps of the available literature, it is time to reconsider the concept of chronological and geographical liminality in the third millennium, in an attempt to answer the following question: to what extent is palaeography a diagnostic tool for shedding further light on the origin of a text? The corpus of documents from the regions of Umma and Adab provide a case study to test the potentiality of this approach, while navigating along the placid banks of the Tigris on a voyage from the Early Dynastic to the Sargonic times.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Breger, Gil *(University of California, Berkeley)*

Ziqpu-stars and *Ziqpu*-time: Between Observational and Schematic Astronomy

Astronomers in Mesopotamia used a group of stars, called ziqpu, to indicate and measure time at night. How exactly this was accomplished is unknown. One possibility

is that they were directly observed as they culminated in the night sky. Evidence for this observational practice lies in their very role of telling time as well as in MUL.APIN, which gives instructions on locating them in the skies. Another possibility, however, is that the ziqpu-stars were a part of a scheme that allowed astronomers to determine the culmination of a ziqpu-star overhead without directly observing it, by employing other means, such as a water clock. In my talk, I will explore the evidence for both these possibilities, and consider the practical aspects of using ziqpu-stars in relation to time.

 # W09 – Stars and Constellations in Babylonian Astronomy

Brosius, Maria *(University of Toronto)*

The Continuity of ANE Traditions in the Achaemenid Period

Recent scholarly contributions to the study of Achaemenid history have enabled us to identify significant political and cultural links between Achaemenid Persia and its ANE predecessors, Elam, Assyria and Babylonia in both the written and the archaeological evidence. This paper addresses the question how the results of this scholarship affect our understanding of the early Achaemenid empire, perhaps allowing us to imbed it more deeply into the ANE, and thereby continuing ANE aspects of kingship, ideology, and religion.

 # W08 – Ancient Iran and the Heritage of the Ancient Near East

Brown-deVost, Bronson *(Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)*

Reading SpBTU III 72 as Florilegium

E. von Weiher described SpBTU III 72 as a collection of citations from various incantations texts, and line 14 had previously been considered a commentary on Maqlû. Upon a more careful reading, W. Farber has argued briefly that the text represents a speculative theological work (ZA 79[1989]: 232–236). His analysis of the text provided a more grounded interpretation, yet only explored its genre as far as it might relate to Mesopotamian commentary literature. I intend to expand upon this suggestion with a more detailed comparison of SpBTU III 72 to other similar compositions in order to better describe its genre and place within the literary tradition.

SpBTU III 72 has limited similarities to the commentary texts, and the arrangement of citations in it differs from what is commonly found in excerpt tablets. Rather than copying a several blocks of material from famous compositions, it appears to utilize small citations which are taken at will from various works. Yet all the excerpted lines deal with similar themes, or at least relate to a similar development of thought. The collocation of these quotations serves as vehicle for theological reflection on the eqation of Anu (and his consort Antu) with Enlil (and his consort Ninlil)—an exegetical tool with marked similarities to the so-called florilegia genre that developed in Greek and later Western literature as well as briefly at Qumran.

 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

Oriental Despotism: A Concept and its Consequences for Research on Ancient Near Eastern Societies

In both past and present-day research on the origin, structure and effectiveness of political configurations, Near Eastern forms of rule are usually presented as the prime examples of precursors to autocratic rule. These pre-existing categories and narratives are then presupposed as an interpretive framework in the face of the overwhelming complexity of the textual and archaeological record, leaving the potential of these materials for an innovative, longue durée comparative approach unfulfilled.

An example to the point is the concept of Oriental Despotism that had considerable effect and influence on the study of Ancient Near Eastern societies, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries CE. The paper will trace the historical origins of the concept and show under which conditions and to what effect the negative image associated with the concept of despotism was put in place. In a second step the paper will discuss the consequences of its implementation as a socio-economic model in Assyriology in terms of history of science.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Castelluccia, Manuel *(Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l'Oriente)*

Urartian Metalwork: Features, Origins, Problems

Metalwork artifacts constitute one of the most distinctive features of the Urartian Kingdom, whose metal objects are widely found in museums and private collections throughout the world. Urartian craftsmen were probably more prolific in their production of bronze objects than those of any other culture of the ancient Near Eastern.

In recent decades many important publications have been dedicated to the study of Urartian metalwork and have furnished a detailed picture of the general outlines of Urartian art.

However, it is well known among specialists that most of these objects come from plundered sites, whether tombs or settlements – and some are probably even forgeries. Too often the description of such artifacts is associated with a phrase such as "said to come from . . .", which usually proposes various hypotheses of provenance.

The aim of this contribution is to analyze the Urartian metalwork production, identifying the main types, features and the sources of inspiration by taking into consideration only those of certain and recognized provenance.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Charpin, Dominique *(Collège de France)*

Excavations at Ur (2017): New Epigraphic Discoveries

This paper will present the numerous epigraphic data from the 2017 excavations at Ur:

- American team: AH area 3 (archives of a Babylonian general named Abisum), AH area 4 (OB school texts and Ur III tablets)
- Munich team: house of Sin-nada, intendant of the Ningal temple

Chopra, Murtaza *(The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Meaningful Astronomical Terms: An Interpretation of the "Lunar Six"

The expression "lunar six" was first used by Sachs in the general presentation of Late Babylonian astronomical texts he gave in 1948. These items, namely, NA, ME, ŠÚ, GI_6, NA, and KUR, point to lunar phenomena, two of which occur around the moon's disappearance at the end of the month, with the other four occurring before and after the full moon. The astronomical meaning of the "lunar six" was already well-established at the time of Sachs' publication, though scholars have devoted many pages since then to the precise description of these phenomena, and especially to understanding the way the "lunar six" were measured and what these measurements help to accomplish. For example, Lis Brack-Bernsen has argued quite strongly that the measurement and determination of the "lunar six" played a leading role in the development of mathematical astronomy in Achaemenid and Seleucid Babylonia, even if other scholars have not followed her on this matter. While "lunar six" measurements from as early as the Neo-Assyrian period give us access to the Mesopotamian study of the moon's behavior, no literal interpretation, however, of the Sumerian and Akkadian terms for these items has been established. Indeed, it is only in the last decades that the social and linguistic aspects of Mesopotamian astronomy have become points of emphasis for modern scholar.

In this presentation, I propose a unified interpretation of the "lunar six" terms. I characterize this interpretation as unified because I developed my understanding of these terms not only through separate inquiries into each item, but by considering the "lunar six" as a system and taking their mutual relations in to account. Moreover, I will endeavor to show that analyzing the names of technical astronomical terms does not have to be limited to the philological realm, and can yield important insights that help us understand the principals that guided the creation of Mesopotamian scientific knowledge. I will conclude by sharing a problem I have encountered in literally interpreting the "lunar six" term NA, my resolution of which strengthens the hypothesis that choices like those between Sumerian and Akkadian names for terms are intentional and meaningful.

S09 – Cultural Transfer: Science

Christiansen, Birgit and **Bartelmus**, Alexa *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Creating Open-access Urartian and Elamite Text Corpora

This paper will present recent research that has been carried out on the digitization of first-millennium-BC Urartian and Elamite texts, work conducted as part of the **Munich Open-Access Cuneiform Corpus Initiative (MOCCI)**, with the aim of broadening the accessibility of the written sources of those ancient Middle Eastern polities to a larger audience. The presentation will comprise three parts: (1) project reports; (2) responses from invited respondents; and (3) a steered, open discussion. Christiansen will talk about her work on Urartian inscriptions written on a rock surface and a variety of stone objects, a corpus of 255 texts published by Mirjo Salvini in his **Corpus dei testi urartei**.

Bartelmus will report on her work on Neo-Elamite inscriptions. This joint paper will also address the problems and challenges of lemmatizing (linguistically tagging) the texts of these lesser known Near Eastern languages, translating them into readable and intelligible English, and creating open-access informational web pages that are aimed at making the history, culture, and languages of the Elamites and Urartians more accessible to scholars, students, and members of the general public.
S11 – Digital Humanities

Clayden, Tim *(University of Oxford)*

The archaeology of Kassite Period texts

The paper presents a comprehensive review of the sites from which Kassite Period texts have been excavating noting the different contexts, contents, date ranges and geographical distribution plotted against date with a short commentary on each issue. Also presented is a similar comprehensive review of the sites from which stamped bricks of the Kassite Period have been found and contrasting the two data sets noting the occasional mismatch between the appearance of stamped bricks and texts of the Kassite Period at given sites. The paper will also discuss one odd feature of the archaeology of Kassite period texts - that of only two data sets having appeared on the antiquities market in contrast to the numbers of tablets from almost every other period of Mesopotamian history that have been illegally excavated and why this might be.
W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Collins, Paul *(Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)*

Synthesizing Ancient Assyria through Plaster and Paint

When Assyrian royal palaces were uncovered by European explorers in the mid-nineteenth century, the ancient visual imagery was fitted into a chronological sequence that serialized the artistic progress of civilization. Yet Victorian reconstructions of the past called for a coherence that such archaeological remains failed on their own to provide. In museums, however, it was possible to achieve an almost seamless display of antiquity through the use of full-scale plaster casts that helped to close chronological gaps and also synchronized works from across cultures: the reproductions had the power to turn chaotic realities into seemingly coherent narratives. As with Greek and Roman monuments, singularity and originality were prized and a select number of Assyrian sculptures were cast in plaster and distributed to museums around the world. Alongside the perceived aesthetic value of this Assyrian art, its reception was also shaped by the architectural role of the Assyrian sculptures, which were often arranged in museums to provide a setting for smaller objects and models displayed in cases. It was through full-scale, three dimensional fragments that an emerging global history of monuments could be experienced both spatially and simultaneously. Indeed, new casting techniques invented in the mid-nineteenth century made the diffusion of huge building fragments possible. Since casts also provided an opportunity to add color to ancient monuments, Assyria was also incorporated into scholarly debates over polychromy, where its monuments were paralleled or contrasted with the art of other ancient cultures. The result was a synthesized Assyria in which the monumental architectural exteriors and interiors of the palaces were reconstructed in plaster and

reproduced in print as integrated examples of a distinct but complete and diverse exoticism, helping to establish a notion of an otherwise rather nebulous "Orient."
 # W16 – The Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art

Cooley, Jeffrey L. *(Boston College)*

ÉŠ.GÀR ᵐi-ša-ᵈia-hu-ú: The Book of Isaiah as a Mantic Series

It is increasingly accepted that the book of Isaiah had its genesis in divinatory practice, namely, as oracles ostensibly from the eponymous prophet offered to Judean kings for guidance under precarious geopolitical circumstances (e.g., de Jong 2007). Most scholarship on the growth of the book considers the development of Isaiah as hindsight literary qualification in the light of continually novel historical circumstances, thus resembling similar explanations of the development of other biblical books such as those of the Pentateuch (thus, e.g. Williamson 1994, Stromberg 2010) or the composition of so-called ex eventu prophecies from other ancient Near Eastern texts (e.g., the Šulgi Prophecy, the Marduk Prophecy).

Here I augment redaction-critical appoaches concerning Isaiah's formation in light of two considerations. The first is the increased willingness over the last couple of decades within biblical studies to characterize Judean prophets, like Isaiah ben Amoz, as diviners alongside their ancient Near Eastern counterparts (most recently, Stökl 2012 and Nissinen 2017). The second is the fact that our earliest evidence of interpretation of the biblical book in both its developing (e.g., Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, Hag 2:14) and final forms in later periods (at Qumran and in the New Testament) shows that, whatever its history of growth was, like its mantic genesis, it was mantically received: though Jewish interpreters understood the book as the product of the original 8th century prophet, it was nonetheless interpreted as oracularly relevant for novel situations. Thus, in both its presumed origin and in its final reception, the book was a tool of divination.

Since the best documented models of functioning, growing, and "canonical" divinatory texts from the ancient Near East are, of course, the Babylonian mantic series, such as Enūma Anu Enlil and Šumma Ālu, in this working paper, I reconsider the redactional problem of the biblical book in terms of its mantic origins and continual divinatory reuse and broaden the comparative enterprise beyond strictly prophetic texts (cf., Sanders 2017).

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Coppini, Costanza *(Università degli Studi di Udine)*

Cracking the Code of a Terra Incognita: the Pottery Production in the Region of Koi Sanjaq (Iraqi Kurdistan) in the 2nd Millennium BC

The Archeological Survey of Koya (ASK) Project, conducted since 2015 by the University of Innsbruck, has the aim to investigate the developments of the regional settlement patterns of the region of Koi Sanjaq/Koya in Iraqi Kurdistan. The region, located between the valley of the Tigris and the foothills of the Zagros, represented historically a crossroads between Mesopotamia and West Iran. The archaeological evidence of the survey, in combination with the textual sources, e.g. the archives of Šušarra, the modern Shemshara, the royal correspondence of the Mari kings, and later the Assyrian

records, reveals a rising density of settlements from the Middle Bronze Age onwards. Furthermore, the spatial analysis, together with investigations of the surface collections, highlighted the local character of this region, usually considered a terra incognita. This paper has the aim to present the Middle and Late Bronze Age evidence, gained in the past field-seasons of the ASK project, focusing on the morphological and technological characters of the ceramic productions. The data, compared to those of the neighbouring regions, will provide a missing link in the archaeological landscape of Northern Mesopotamia. This will allow the association of the Koya region to the ceramic regions that are already known in Northern Mesopotamia and will confirm the identity of the Koya region as a link area enclosed by the Lower and the Upper Zab.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Coppini, Costanza and **Morandi Bonacossi**, Daniele *(Università degli Studi di Udine)*

The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project: settlements and landscape in the Bronze and Iron Ages

The presentation will deal with the results of the survey campaigns of the 'Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project', an interdisciplinary project carried out since 2012 by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Assyria of the University of Udine. The archaeological survey is carried out in Iraqi Kurdistan, in the area that is delimited by the Zagros foothills and the Tigris River, encompassing the fertile plain to the north-east of Nineveh, i.e. the Land behind Nineveh, which was intensively settled and played a crucial economic and cultural role in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The transformations that affected the landscape are reflected in the settlements pattern of the region, as well as in the presence of the important Assyrian irrigation system connected to the agricultural exploitation of the fertile Nineveh plain. The survey results that will be presented will illustrate the development of settlements pattern and their changes throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, thus giving hints about the emergence and formation process of territorial powers and empires in the region.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Cotticelli-Kurras, Paola *(Università di Verona)*

Schreibfehler im Fokus: die anatolischen Schriftsysteme des II. Jahrtausends im Vergleich

Der Vortrag behandelt die anatolischen Schriftsysteme aus dem Blickwinkel der "Fehler", ausgehend aus der "Fehlertypologie für die hethitische Keilschrift" (Cotticelli-Kurras 2007), ferner Busse 2015), mit dem Ziel, sie zu vertiefen, die Fehler der "phonetischen"-Schrift von denen der logographischen Schrift (in all den "Logo"-Variationen) womöglich zu trennen. Ferner werden die Fälle untersucht, bei denen wir nicht wissen, ob die zugrunde liegende Worte hethitisch oder sonst gelesen wurden, und schließlich diese Typen mit den Fehlern bei der Hieroglyphenschrift verglichen.
 # W17 – Heritage in Transmission: Adoption and Adaptation of Writing Systems

Da Riva, Rocío *(Universitat de Barcelona)* and **Wasserman**, Nathan *(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Divine Love Lyrics: New Edition, New Perspectives

Divine Love Lyrics (DLL) form a thematically coherent corpus of some fifty 1st millennium texts, stemming from Assyria and Babylonia. These texts – first studied by W. G. Lambert in 1975 – were probably related to religious rituals celebrated in and around the temple of Eturkalamma in Babylon. Building on Lambert's ground-breaking work, our project will systematically tackle these difficult texts, of which more were discovered, and present them in a book-form, including a complete edition, philological commentary and thematic introduction.

The texts describe complex rituals and ceremonies involving Marduk, his wife Zarpanitu and Marduk's lover, the formidable Ištar-of-Babylon. This corpus is variously connected to the disparate and chronologically far-reaching category of compositions dealing with divine love, from the Old Akkadian to the Hellenistic times. This particular group, however, offers something substantially different, even unique: more than love per se, the topic of these texts is amorous and sexual jealousy. One might more aptly call them "Jealousy Lyrics" – but we maintain Love Lyrics, in order to avoid terminological confusion. The feelings of the betrayed Zarpanitu are verbalized through salacious and offensive language, and sexual activities are described in an unprecedentedly vivid way. Indeed, the language of the texts is exceptional: it is direct, blunt, but at the same time metaphorical and highly poetic. The literary qualities of the corpus would constitute one of the main topics in our project.

Another topic is that of gender. There is no question that the DLL texts should be analyzed from this perspective too, as parts, if not all, of this corpus may have belonged to "women's rituals," which allowed for the expression of female sexual desire within a predominantly patriarchal society.

A third and no less important question in the study of this corpus is its elusive performative aspect. We argue that the turbulent emotional story of the divine triangle of Marduk, his wife Zarpanitu and his lover Ištar of Babylon, was enacted in public in different locations in the city of Babylon.

The project is a joint research project of the University of Barcelona (Da Riva) and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Wasserman).

 # S16 – Akkadian Literature

Dan, Roberto *(Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l'Oriente)*

The Armenian Highlands during the Iron Age: An Overview

The Iron Age in the Armenian Highlands was strongly marked by an increasing hierarchical political organization, which started from chiefdoms (Nairi, Uruaṭri, Etiuni), proceeded to the formation of a state (Bia/Urartu) and ended with annexation to an empire (Achaemenid). This presentation is intended as an evaluation and analysis of the impact of the increasingly hierarchically complex political organization, which characterized this territory during the Iron Age. A particular focus is on the formation process of the state of Bia/Urartu, its development, and its cultural inheritance during

the post-Urartian period up to the beginning of the Achaemenid presence in the Armenian Highlands.
 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Danthine, Brigit *(Universität Innsbruck)*

The Iron-Age Settlement of Anaqizli Tepe (Chors) in Nord-West Iran

In 2016 the University of Innsbruck together with ICAR and RICHT started excavations at Anaqizli Tepe north of the modern village of Chors in north-west Iran within the project "The Spread of Urartu". The surface ceramic of the hill proofs a continuous settlement sequence from the Middle Bronze to the Iron IV Ages. The major aim of the archaeological investigation is set on the Iron Age settlement to enlighten the dichotomy and interaction between the local settlement and the fortresses Bastam located 12 km north-west of Chors. On the basis of a detailed stratified sequence a settlement ceramic-typology will be worked out in order to be compared both with the fortress ceramic-typology established at Bastam by the German excavations and with the local development based on the results of for example Hasanlu, Kordlar Tepe and Dinkha Tepe.
 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

De Breucker, Geert *(Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)*

Theophrastus, the Peripatetic School and the Transfer of Babylonian Knowledge

In a fragment ascribed to Theophrastus (ca. 370-287 BC) this author very likely alludes to the Mesopotamian tradition of the fish-*apkallu*, which would be the oldest attestation in Greek texts. Elsewhere in his extant writings Theophrastus provides information on the date cultivation in Babylonia.

In this paper I would like to present what Theophrastus writes about Babylonia and investigate how he could have had access to this information. Furthermore, I would like to elaborate on the wider context of the Peripatetic school and its scholarly activities.
 # S09 – Cultural Transfer: Science

De Ridder, Jacob J. *(Universität Leipzig)*

Numerals and their Patterns in Akkadian

Semitic languages are known for their system of, mostly, trilateral roots which are used as a skeleton to build various verbal and nominal forms. Using this system, nouns can be derived from verbs which are generally labelled as deverbal. The opposite is also possible; verbs and other nouns can have their origin in another substantive. These statements are also true for cardinal numbers, which act as a source for several derived adjectives, adverbs and verbal forms. In this paper we will look at the situation in Akkadian while comparing the system of denominal numbers with other Semitic languages. There will be a focus on ordinal numbers, which have a relatively complex morphology in Akkadian as there are differences between the two main dialects: Babylonian and Assyrian. In addition, the morphologic ordinal number can also be used in different functions such as when they refer to fraction or collective numbers. In addition to basic nominal patterns, Akkadian can further modify nouns by the addition

of suffixes such as the nisbe. These augmented patterns change the function of the modified noun into an adjective or adverb. This paper will also discuss how these suffixes are used on the various denominal forms of the numbers.
 # S14 – Grammar

Debourse, Céline *(Universität Wien)*

The Misuse of Sources in the Study of the New Year's Festival

The New Year's Festival is the best-known Mesopotamian ritual, both within the field of Assyriology and outside of it. It has sparked many discussions, but consensus about its meaning, purpose, and influence on other traditions has never been reached. Yet, the study of the festival is problematic not only in that sense; so, too, is the fact that the festival's course of events as it is accepted today was reconstructed by means of many sources of diverse nature and from different places and periods of origin. Furthermore, chronology is rarely taken into account, which results in the fact that the reconstructed festival is a virtual and not an actual one. It is especially troubling that barely any attempts at dating the ritual texts (Racc.)—the most important sources— have been undertaken, and even though those texts are only known from Hellenistic tablets, it is taken for granted that they are merely copies of an older original.

Primarily based on a study of the literary themes exhibited by the New Year's Festival texts, and secondarily supported by linguistic considerations, I argue that these texts are creations of the Hellenistic period. As such they are clearly embedded in their Hellenistic literary context in Babylon (and beyond). However, establishing a late composition date for the New Year's Festival texts does not render the study of the festival any easier—to the contrary. The source material must be reconsidered; an endeavour in which a source's date and place of origin, but genre as well should be taken into account. I hope to bring the misuse of sources in the study of the New Year's Festival to light by disentangling the web of—wrongly—forged interconnections that it presents today and submitting each source to historical criticism. That will enable us to consider the New Year's Festival in Mesopotamia as the historically developed phenomenon that it is.
 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Delnero, Paul *(Johns Hopkins University)*

Knowing without Understanding: Sound and Meaning in the Experience of Sumerian Ritual Laments

One frequently asked question about Sumerian cultic laments is how the content of these texts, which had a very long tradition of ritual performance spanning over two millennia, could have been understood, when they are written in a language that few, if any, of the participants in rituals involving the texts could read, speak, or comprehend. Although there are countless religious traditions that utilize texts written in languages which many adherents do not understand, but are nonetheless aware of the content of the texts through other means, the question can also be considered from the perspective of how the meaning of ritual texts is often secondary to the other sensory modes by which they are experienced in ritual contexts, including hearing and sound. In this paper, the interface of sound and meaning in the performance of

Sumerian ritual laments will be considered by examining the types of writings that occur in a large group of phonetically written sources for the laments, and the function of these sources in the performing and experience of the laments in rituals.
 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Devecchi, Elena *(Università degli Studi di Torino)*

Towards a diplomatics of Middle Babylonian archival documents

In recent years, increased attention has been devoted to cuneiform diplomatics, understood as the study of the relationship between the tablets' extrinsic, physical features and their intrinsic, intellectual ones. A more intense application of this discipline to the ancient Near Eastern documentation had been repeatedly encouraged by scholars in the field, but only recently has diplomatics come to be generally recognized as an indispensable tool for understanding archival practices, since the choice of recording certain sets of information according to certain conventions can be directly linked to the interests and intentions of the texts' users.

This paper will address such issues by providing a taxonomy of the Middle Babylonian documents from the Rosen collection kept at Cornell University, based on a combined analysis of the tablets' aspect, content and archival function. By identifying the peculiar features of these sources, this study will not only reveal how data were handled and stored by the local administration which produced them, but will also set the necessary premises for an effective comparison with the textual tools used by the scribes working at Nippur, the major administrative centre of the area.
 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Dhahir, Ishtar *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

The Archive of Šāt-Eštar: Unpublished Ur III Administrative Documents from the Iraq Museum

The Third Dynasty of Ur lasted for nearly a century (2112-2004 BC). Five Sumerian kings ruled this dynasty and their reigns witnessed prosperity in all aspects of life; political, administrative, economic, architectural, artistry and literary. Thousands of Ur III cuneiform texts were scattered in several museums and private collections over the world, all of them came out of illegal excavations that had been done in several Mesopotamian cities and sites such as Lagash (Tel Al-Hiba), Umma (Jokha) and Puzriš-dDagan (Drehem). The Iraq Museum also contains some of Ur III cuneiform texts that came from scientific excavations; the rest of these texts had been part of an unknown digging. This study is based on some Ur III unpublished texts. The texts were confiscated in the beginning of this century, bearing a female name called "Ša-at-eš-tár". The aim of this study is to collect the archive of this person and to know her position in the administrative and economic situation in Sumer. The primary study of these texts that have been chosen from the Iraq Museum and other published texts raise several questions about Ša-at-eš-tár, i.e., who is Ša-at-eš-tár, what position did she play and where? What was her position, and in what kind of business did she participate? In which year of king's rule did she precisely appear? In terms of geography, why did she appear in a certain location without the other during the Ur III period? In conclusion, I will attempt to understand the relationship of Ša-at-eš-tár with other characters

appearing in Iraq Museum texts and other publication texts, e,g. Loding, D., Economic Texts from the Third Dynasty of Ur, UET IX 1976, David, I.O., A. Rudolf, H.M., The GarŠana Archives, CUSAS 3, Maryland 2008. In addition , these questions should be answered after studying the published and unpublished texts from the Ša-at-eš-tár archive.

 # S03 – Sumer & Elam

Di Ludovico, Alessandro *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

A Geographical Perspective on the Reign of the Third Dynasty of Ur

In the 21st century BCE the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur developed a new political entity in Mesopotamia. This led to deep changes in the organisation of the communication network and the arrangement of the administrative structures of the region. From the archaeological and environmental points of view there are quite few clues to reconstruct and outline the general frame of such a system.

In this contribution the author wants to introduce the main issues related to the understanding of Ur III settlement and infrastructural systems. This serves to sketch the basis for dealing with the geography of the ancient Ur III kingdom from the point of view of archaeological data, including, as far as it is possible, the most important information related to cultural life.

 # S06 – Landscapes

Dubovský, Peter *(Pontificium Institutum Biblicum)*

Mesopotamian Synchronistic Historiography and its Connections with the Bible

The main problem concerning the transmission of Assyrian ideology regards the knowledge of cuneiform script in the peripheries of the Assyrian Empire. The recovered cuneiform documents suggest that Akkadian was used in Syria-Palestine rarely and mainly for economic transactions. This study will focus on the Assyrian annals and epigraphs carved on the walls of the royal palaces. I will analyze the signs, syntax, and vocabulary occurring in the inscriptions carved on the palace walls. By comparing the cuneiform script from the 9th and 7th centuries BCE I will argue that there was an intentional effort in the 7th c. BCE to make the Assyrian royal propaganda that was carved on the walls available even to the ambassadors who had limited knowledge of Akkadian.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Edmonds, Alexander Johannes *(Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen)*

On the Trail of Na'id-Šīḫu: Reconstructing a Zagrosian Epic

In this paper, the so-called 'Epic of Na'id-Šīḫu', an eight-line excerpt from an otherwise obscure heroic epic written as a schoolboy exercise found on a tablet found at modern Sultantepe, is considered in the light of three other literary fragments which have been published but generally overlooked until now. From an overlapping of characters, tropes, style, and historical and geographical settings within these three texts, it may be demonstrated that these undoubtedly belong to the same composition.

The resultant fragmentary work, set in the Kassite world but likely composed in the Early Iron Age, transmitted in both Standard Babylonian and Late Babylonian versions, contains various episodes within an epic campaign by an unnamed Mesopotamian ruler to the Zagros featuring a retainer of his called Naʾid-Šīẖu (or perhaps Naʾid-Šīpak). These are of considerable interest, as the extant passages do not entirely conform to the tropes of better-known examples of Akkadian epic literature. The figure of the king, in particular, lacks many of the attributes which might be expected of him, while the sheer wealth of subaltern characters within the piece is also remarkable. These are discussed and a broader contextualisation for this fragmentary work presented.
 # S02 – Ideology & Authority

Elayi, Josette *(Centre national de la recherche scientifique)*

The Assyrians seen by the Phoenicians

The abundant Assyrian sources, especially the official inscriptions and the correspondence, tell us about the vision that the Assyrians had of the subject peoples, at least of some of them. Conversely, we are less well informed about the way in which the people they dominated saw them. This article discusses the Phoenicians' view of the Assyrian occupiers during the various periods of the Assyrian conquest. The Phoenician sources, heterogeneous, scattered in space and in time and limited, alone provide little information likely to answer our problematic. But the behaviors and the reactions that the Phoenicians showed towards the Assyrians, analyzed through all the available non-Phoenician sources, previously decrypted, make it possible to get an idea of the vision that they had of them. This vision was not uniform: it was differentiated according to the cities, in particular those of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and Arwad, according to the individuals or the groups in contact, according to the socio-political contexts and according to the considered periods. It allows us to better understand how the image (images) of the Assyrians, which has (had) been transmitted to us through the centuries, was (were) constituted.
 # S17 – Contact Zone: Levante

Emelianov, Vladimir *(St Petersburg University)*

Woldemar Georg Schileico: Unknown and Unpublished Works of a Russian Sumerologist

The paper is devoted to the unpublished works by W.G. Schileico, as well as to his Russian works published during the I World War and still unknown to colleagues outside Russia. It also deals with the big corpus of letters of Western colleagues to Schileico (1911-1929). The articles on the amulet against Lamashtu and on the letter of the Assyrians to the supporters of Shamash-shumukin were found in the archive of the Academy of Sciences. An article about Lu-Enna's letter to Enentarzi was found at the Department of Manuscripts of the Russian National Library. The paper will be accompanied by scholarly comments and illustrated with photographs from the archives. Also we'll trace some problems in Schileico's publications before the I World War (some corrections and additions to Old Sumerian texts from Russian collections).
 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Ermidoro, Stefania *(Newcastle University)*

The Origin of a Discipline: Layard and the First Assyriologists

This paper sets out to explore A.H. Layard's role in the rediscovery of the Assyrian material culture and cultural history, through a study of archival documents. Thanks to his ability to copy cuneiform inscriptions, the invaluable possibility to get first-hand material at Nineveh and Nimrud, and his intuition in understanding many cultural aspects of the ancient Assyrian civilisation that he discovered, Layard became a pivotal figure in the rising discipline. During and after his years in the Near East, he was also able to create a broad international network of Assyriologists and philologists of ancient languages, who considered him an influential colleague. My paper will present several unpublished manuscripts that attest Layard's contribution to the deciphering process of the cuneiform script, particularly in the light of his connections with Botta, Rawlinson and Hincks. Layard's role in the development of the Assyriological discipline will also be proved through an overview of the letters that reached him from scholars all over Europe. Archival documents, moreover, show that Layard contributed to disseminating the knowledge of the ancient Assyrian culture among non-scholars, particularly through the gifts of inscriptions and copies of cuneiform texts to members of his family, friends and public institutions. In my presentation, I will show not only manuscripts from the well-known Layard Papers currently kept at the British Library in London, but also documents from the "Layard Collection" of the Newcastle University. This archive, still unpublished, is the object of the research project that I am carrying out thanks to a British Academy fellowship.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Espak, Peeter and Sazonov, Vladimir *(Tartu Ülikool = University of Tartu)*

The Origin of Estonian Ancient Near Eastern Studies (19th century and first Half of 20th Century)

Although Estonia is a small European country with a population of only 1.3 million, there is a long tradition of Oriental Studies at the University of Tartu. When in 1632 the first Estonian university was estab¬lished in Tartu (Dorpat) in the Swedish province of Livonia, which was called Academia Gustaviana (in German, Universität Dorpat, today's University of Tartu), then already Hebrew was initially taught there, followed by Arabic, Aramaic, Sanskrit and other Oriental languages. Estonian Assyriology has its roots in late 19th century when orientalists and scholars in the field Old Testament started teaching Akkadian and Aramaic languages at the University of Tartu. In the 19th century, several Baltic Germans who lived in Estonia showed their interest for cultural Legacy of Ancient Near East - especially Egypt, but also Persia, Syria, etc. One of the first was Otto Friedrich von Richter (1791-1816). Despite his short life (he sadly died at the age of 24) von Richter can be considered to have been an important researcher in Oriental studies, especially in Egyptology and Nubian studies. In 1814 von Richter began his famous voyage to the Middle East where he gathered an impressive collection of Oriental manuscripts, hieroglyphic texts and artefacts (including some Egyptian mummies, statuettes and scarabs). He also kept his diary. Together with another

traveler, Sven Fredrik Lidman, von Richter hoped to present the results of their joint research to the public in Europe and Russia upon their return. Unfortunately, on the 31st August 1816 von Richter fell victim to a serious disease, most likely dysentery or cholera and died.

Alexander von Bulmerincq (1868-1938) and Otto Emil Seesemann (1866-1945) were the fist in Tartu who taught Akkadian language and also dealt with research in the field of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. The most prominent Orien¬talist in Estonia in the field of Ancient Near Eastern studies in the 20th century were theologians Arthur Võõbus (1909-1988) and Uku Masing (1909-1985). Masing taught Ancient Near Eastern History, Religion, but also Akkadian, Hebrew, Sumerian and other languages in Tartu in the 30ies. In 1940 when the of Soviet occupation of Estonia started, the Theological Faculty of the University of Tartu was closed as a remnant of kulak and capitalist criminal way of thinking which should have no place in the new social system liberated from the chains of religion and exploitation. After the Soviet army reoccupied Estonia in 1944, A. Võõbus managed to escape to Germany, and after to the USA where he became the foremost authority in Syriac studies in Chicago. Collection of manuscripts photographed by him in the Middle East are still studied and systematized up to this date. Masing remained in occupied Estonia and was prohibited to teach or conduct any public activities during the Soviet period.

However, he managed to send out to the west several of his scholarly works in German and English published in Germany, France, USA, Czechoslovakia, etc. His topics published in international journals included the Old Testament, comparative religion, folklore, comparative linguistics, and even the religion of Çatal Hüyük.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Evans, Jean M. *(Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago)*

Representing Mesopotamia in the Earliest Galleries of the Oriental Institute Museum

Although the early European reception of Mesopotamia in the British Museum, the Musée du Louvre, and later the Vorderasiatisches Museum has been an important topic of research, the manner in which that reception framed the collections of American institutions has received little attention. By the early twentieth century, the University of Chicago already possessed a collection of Mesopotamian artifacts as well as an impressive array of plaster casts. For the opening of the Oriental Institute Museum in 1931, however, specific additional casts were acquired by James Henry Breasted, founder of the Oriental Institute and its first director. In this way, the collections of London, Paris, and Berlin dominated the earliest Mesopotamian galleries in the Oriental Institute Museum.

The Oriental Institute could capably amass a largely unsurpassed archaeological collection through early twentieth-century fieldwork in Iraq, but the canonical Mesopotamian monuments had already been established. If western European museums disseminated the notion of canonical Mesopotamian monuments, the Oriental Institute Museum perpetuated and reinforced that canon by foregrounding three-dimensional reproductions in the Mesopotamia galleries. That monuments typically lacked the datasets yielded by systematic archaeological excavation was in no way discordant with the research agenda of the Oriental Institute, because

Mesopotamian monuments yielded information—textual, aesthetic, and anthropological—that could be located externally to archaeological data. Reproductions were not only important tools of research, but they also contextualized the Oriental Institute's new archaeological collections within an established canon of Mesopotamian monuments.
 # W16 – The Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art

Fadum, Marina, **Fick**, Sabine, and **Gruber**, Carina *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Life in ancient Egypt: A Human-Animal Studies Perspective

In the world of ancient Egypt the web of relationships between humans and animals was not limited to the categories of companion- and production animals but also exerted a complex and significant influence on concepts of god / gods / the divine. Observations of animal behaviour were incorporated into religious beliefs and pictures. This lead to a modification in behaviour towards at least some individual animals. This phenomenon is considered through the findings of two Diploma theses: the first on the cat; the second on the dog and jackal.

The Cat in Ancient Egypt

The first paper examines the representation of the cat in ancient Egyptian society. A human-animal perspective (e.g. the concept of animal agency) is selectively applied. The study relates four categories to the situation of cats in ancient Egypt: The cat as production animal; as a pet; as a goddess (e.g. Bastet/ Sachmet); and as an "Osiris" (an animal mummy). The four categories represent several aspects of human-animal relationships. Archaeological finds have provided evidence of such relationships between humans and cats dating from the Old Kingdom and earlier. Through the study of animal mummies, an animal perspective can be gained on realities of religious practice in ancient Egypt. The four categories are shown to be useful in shedding more light on this less researched area of Egyptology.

Dog and Jackal in Ancient Egypt

The second paper applies similar methodology to consider how the human-dog relationship in ancient Egypt differs from the human-jackal relationship. Instruments in the form of categories are adopted. These include: the dog as guardian and assistant; the dog as companion; the dog as sacrificial animal; and the dog as mummified animal. Similarly, they include: the jackal as a wild animal; and the jackal as a deified animal. The last category is divided between the canine deities Anubis, Chontamenti, Upuaut/Wepwawet, and Duamutef. A human-animal studies perspective is found to provide valid contributions to research in this area of Egyptology.
 # W01 – Animals and History

Fantalkin, Alexander *(Tel Aviv University)*

Archaeological Investigation of Ashdod-Yam (Asdudimmu) on the Israeli Mediterranean Coast

Three seasons of excavation at the coastal site of Ashdod-Yam (Asdudimmu in the Neo-Assyrian sources) have been conducted recently, discovering substantial remains from

the 8th-7th centuries BCE. In this presentation I will present this new data in relation to the geo-political situation in the southern Levant during the period of Neo-Assyrian domination and the Egyptian interlude that followed the Assyrian withdrawal from the area.

 # S17 – Contact Zone: Levante

Fick, Sabine, Fadum, Marina and Gruber, Carina *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Life in ancient Egypt: A Human-Animal Studies Perspective

In the world of ancient Egypt the web of relationships between humans and animals was not limited to the categories of companion- and production animals but also exerted a complex and significant influence on concepts of god / gods / the divine. Observations of animal behaviour were incorporated into religious beliefs and pictures. This lead to a modification in behaviour towards at least some individual animals. This phenomenon is considered through the findings of two Diploma theses: the first on the cat; the second on the dog and jackal.

<u>Cat in ancient Egypt:</u> The first paper examines the representation of the cat in ancient Egyptian society. A human-animal perspective (e.g. the concept of animal agency) is selectively applied. The study relates four categories to the situation of cats in ancient Egypt: The cat as production animal; as a pet; as a goddess (e.g. Bastet/ Sachmet); and as an "Osiris" (an animal mummy). The four categories represent several aspects of human-animal relationships. Archaeological finds have provided evidence of such relationships between humans and cats dating from the Old Kingdom and earlier. Through the study of animal mummies, an animal perspective can be gained on realities of religious practice in ancient Egypt. The four categories are shown to be useful in shedding more light on this less researched area of Egyptology.

<u>Dog and Jackal in ancient Egypt:</u> The second paper applies similar methodology to consider how the human-dog relationship in ancient Egypt differs from the human-jackal relationship. Instruments in the form of categories are adopted. These include: the dog as guardian and assistant; the dog as companion; the dog as sacrificial animal; and the dog as mummified animal. Similarly, they include: the jackal as a wild animal; and the jackal as a deified animal. The last category is divided between the canine deities Anubis, Chontamenti, Upuaut/Wepwawet, and Duamutef. A human-animal studies perspective is found to provide valid contributions to research in this area of Egyptology.

 # W01 – Animals and History

Fincke, Jeanette C. *(Universiteit Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten)*

The Great Star List – Understanding the Meaning of Stars

"The Great Star List and Related Texts" is a project funded by the Israel Science Foundation that Wayne Horowitz and I are currently conducting. This star list equates stars / constellations with gods and other stars / constellations followed by equations or explanations of other phenomena, structures and units relevant for a precise description of celestial events. Several exemplars add a section with word

commentaries. The preserved exemplars come from various Assyrian and Babylonian centres and date from the Neo-Assyrian until the Late Babylonian periods, but most of the exemplars were found in Nineveh.

In my paper I shall present an overview on the structure of this important star list and demonstrate its significance for divination based on selected sections. I shall further highlight individual entries that demonstrate the widespread transmission of the knowledge subsumed in this list.

 # W09 – Stars and Constellations in Babylonian Astronomy

Fischer, Georg *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Esteem and Irony – Primeval History's Use of Ancient Near Eastern Motifs

Genesis 1–11 share common motifs, especially with the epic of Gilgamesh and the Atramhasis epic. The biblical creation stories, the flood narrative and the "Tower of Babel" episode display familiarity with these works and raise the question of how to interpret it. The use of those sources is a sign of their relevance; critical features, however, are to be noted, too, and show a different worldview.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Fischer, Sebastian *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

Zur Paläographie der hurritischen Emar-Texte

Der Vortrag gibt einen Überblick über die paläographischen Merkmale der hurritischen Emar-Texte. Das Korpus selbst kann vor allem aufgrund zweier unterschiedlicher Syllabare, die verwendet werden, weiter differenziert werden. Welche Unterschiede in den Zeichenformen auftauchen und welche Aussagekraft diese haben, wird diskutiert und schließlich wird auch der Frage nachgegangen, ob die minimalen Varianten bei einzelnen Zeichen in einer der beiden Untergruppen für unterschiedliche Schreiber sprechen oder ob diese Varianten im Bereich einer Schreiberhand liegen.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Frahm, Eckart *(Yale University)*

The Protagonist of the Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince

One of the most enigmatic literary-religious texts from the Neo-Assyrian period is the so-called Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince. It is known from only one manuscript, excavated in 1909 in a small library in Ashur (N6). The text has been discussed several times, but a comprehensive modern edition is still missing. Recent studies have explored potential links with apocalyptic literature, the text's "mystical" dimensions, and the possibility that it was influenced by Egyptian models. This paper will focus on two central issues for which no consensus has yet been reached: the date of the text and the identity of its protagonist. Not least because of the damaged state of the tablet, no firm answers can be given, but some suggestions will be put forward.

 # S16 – Akkadian Literature

Franke, Sabina *(Universität Hamburg)*

Die Bedeutung des sogenannten "Edelsteingartens" im Gilgameš-Epos Tf. IX, 172-196

Auf seiner Reise zu Utanapištim gelangt Gilgameš in eine glänzende und ungewöhnliche Landschaft, die häufig als "Edelsteingarten" oder "garden of the gods" verstanden wurde. Ihre Bedeutung und Funktion wird bis heute diskutiert. Im Vortrag wird eine neue Interpretation vorgeschlagen, die sowohl den Kontext als auch rezente archäologische Untersuchungen einbezieht.
 # S13 – The Epic of Gilgamesh & Beyond

Freedman, Immanuel *(Freedman Patent)*

The Intellectual Heritage of Babylonian Astronomy: Music of the Spheres

Babylonian mathematical astronomy appears founded on an understanding of iterated maps—a technology utilized by modern methods of non-linear dynamics capable of describing deterministic chaos.

The iterated maps appear to model visibility phenomena such as first or last appearance using Poincaré sections describing close recurrence in position among the stars in terms of sidereal ecliptic longitude. Babylonian astronomers were careful to define stable one-dimensional periodic maps addressed by terminating sexagesimal fractions and partitioned according to resonances, which strongly suggests at least empirical knowledge of mode-locking for which the simplest rationals have the largest steps in winding number.

Although the "music of the spheres" is widely associated with Kepler's musical expression of planetary angular velocities in Harmonices Mundi (1699) and Plato's cosmic harmony in Timaeus (ca. 360 BCE), musical intervals based on 5-limit just intonation appear in Babylonian mathematical astronomy whose cuneiform texts comprise predictions for years SE 15-150 with few exceptions (ca. 295/396-160/161 BCE according to the Seleucid Empire).

The longitudes of Babylonian Normal Stars are well-described by a model in which the ratio of successive longitudes is either 16/15 (minor second) or 8/5 (perfect fifth plus a minor second).

As noted by Aaboe in 1964, many System A models are based on zones for which a fundamental angular frequency is related to the others by regular 5-limit fractions based on superparticular ratios i.e., first order resonances. The just intervals expressed in Babylonian astronomy include minor semitone, minor whole tone, major whole tone, minor third, major third, perfect fourth, perfect fifth and diapason. The range of angular frequencies may be clipped to robustify the model by eliminating rarely-observed extreme values, while the zigzag functions of System B models are shown to be lifts of circle maps including the tent map.

The paper concludes by applying mathematical methods of Babylonian astronomy to a modern problem of cardiac arrhythmia based on chaotic circle maps that describe the competition of two natural pacemakers for control of the heart.
 # S09 – Cultural Transfer: Science

Gabriel, Gösta *(Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)*

Introduction: Early Bureaucracy and the Principle of Least Effort

The very first artefacts of writing are the outcome of the complex administration in late 4th millennium BCE Uruk in Southern Mesopotamia. Max Weber describes bureaucracy as the most efficient and rational mode of organizing a society/polity, which suggests that these characteristics would also have an impact on the textual output of bureaucratic practices.

Accordingly, the preliminary case study investigates the early administrative record, approaching the question of why the archaic cuneiform signs look as they do. What is the pragmatics of their design? In a first step, the paper focuses on the process of producing signs. Following Adam Falkenstein's observation of sign transformation between Uruk IV and Uruk III, George Zipf's linguistic principle of least effort is applied to the early documents. The paper explores which of their features can be explained through this principle and which do not. In a second step, the approach is broadened to the principle of least collaborative effort by Herbert H. Clark and Susan E. Brennan. This framework does not only consider the production of signs, but also their reception and interpretation.

In the end, not all graphemic phenomena can be explained through these approaches. However, they highlight which aspects are based on efficiency and which ask for a different kind of explanation.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Gabrieli, Silvia *(Università degli Studi di Padua)*

Enūma Eliš: A Glorious Past and a Curious Present

This paper will briefly describe how the Epic of Creation was transmitted during the 1st millennium BCE, and later also during the first centuries of our Era, both to Babylonian and Assyrian scholars and to a wider audience, even of non-Mesopotamian origin. In the second part the paper will focus mostly on how the epic is transmitted nowadays outside academia, in specific case studies taken from modern day music and comics.

How was knowledge of the Enūma Eliš transmitted in the past? How is it possible to transmit the knowledge of the poem nowadays? Starting from these two questions, the proposed paper aims at highlighting several different strategies which were used in ancient and modern times to promote the dissemination of knowledge regarding the Babylonian Epic of Creation. Wanting to focus mostly on the modern day approach, we will analyze very briefly how ancient scholars (Babylonian and Assyrian ones) studied it, mostly through copies and peculiar texts, such as commentaries and "recensions", and even "counter- texts." The Enūma Eliš was not a product only for intellectuals, it could be known also to a wider audience, thanks to the so called "performance" of the Babylonian Akītu Festival of the month of Nisannu, during which the text served as the "sacred book" of Marduk's theology and it was read (or recited?) aloud. After the conquest of all the Ancient Near East by Alexander the Great, it seems that the text lost its appeal and appeared only in reinterpretation of the mythical tale by Berossos (4th cent. BCE) or by Eudemus of Rhodes (4th cent. BCE) and, later, also by Damascius (6th

cent. CE). It seems that the knowledge of the text got lost in time until Smith's recovery and translation of the ancient fragments of the Epic in 1875-1876.

Nowadays the modern transmission of the Enūma Eliš happens both inside and outside academia; particularly we will examine some cultural products, from very peculiar fields, such as comics and music. The aim of this second part will be to analyze what the contemporary "popular" perception of the poem is, now that the text has been almost completely reconstructed in its written form and it is available almost for everybody to read.

 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Galil, Gershon *(University of Haifa)* and **Schattner-Rieser**, Ursula *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Symbolism, Symbolic Acts and Magic in Ancient Near Eastern Cultures

Symbolic acts are well known in ancient Near Eastern cultures. The prophetic books in the Bible are full of symbolic acts (see e.g., Jeremiah 19, 1–2, 10–11; 2 Kings 13:15–19 and more). Dozens of symbolic acts are described and depicted in ancient Near Eastern art and literature; a few examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia will suffice. The first is the Egyptian execration texts, attested from the Old Kingdom until the Late Period (747–332 BCE). These texts now number in excess of 1,000 exemplars mostly from cemeteries. They were first written on figurines of bound foreign rulers, but later also on potsherds which were subsequently and ceremonially destroyed. The breaking of the figurines and the pots inscribed with the names of the enemies was a symbolic act intended to be a sympathetic magic that would affect the kings and the kingdoms named on these execration texts. The Mesopotamian examples are related to rituals against the Lamaštu. These terrifying female demons (depicted as lion-headed creatures with dog's teeth, donkey's ears, and eagle's talons), attack infants and women before, during and after childbirth. Rituals against *lamaštu* include destruction of a figurine representing her, crushing of amulets showing her, and stabbing to death with a thorn a figurine that replaced her. The paper will present a new epigraphic text from Jordan (8th century BCE), and a few Aramaic magical texts from Qumran, e.g., Tobit and other magical texts.

 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Garcia-Ventura, Agnès and **Vidal**, Jordi *(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)*

Strengthening Ties: assessing the Presence of Spanish Scholars in international Conferences devoted to Ancient Near Eastern Studies (1945-1983)

The end of the Second World War in May 1945 was a turning point for Spanish foreign policy. Indeed, if between 1940 and 1945 Franco's Spain had cultivated international relations with Italy and Germany, from 1945 onwards Spain was trying hard to improve its relations with the Allied nations by stressing its neutrality during the war conflict. In this context the academia was regarded as a useful tool to enhance international ties with the Allied nations as proof the increase, even if discreet in a post-war period, of

funding available for Spanish researchers for stays abroad and the increment of the presence of these scholars in international conferences. In this communication we concentrate on the latter, that is, on the participation of Spanish scholars in international conferences from 1945 to 1983 (the year when the journal Aula Orientalis was launched), putting the focus on the situation of ancient Near Eastern studies at that time. To do so we will pay special attention to the participation of Spanish scholars at both the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, a meeting conceived and created immediately after the end of Second World War, and the Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, which may be considered as forerunner of the Rencontre. To pursue this analysis in this communication we will use two main sources. On the one hand the proceedings and the "compte rendu" of the Orientalistes conference and of the Rencontre respectively which were published in academic journals at that time. On the other hand we use some archival documents which help us to complement and to better understand the previously mentioned reports. In doing so we aim not only to be able to give the clues to partially reconstruct a page of the history of Assyriology, but also to proof the value and relevance of secondary literature and archival documents as sources to approach the intellectual reception of ancient Near Eastern traditions in the modern world.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Gavagnin, Katia *(Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)*

The Late Bronze/Iron Age in the Southern Caucasus: Problems of Definition and new Data from Shida Kartli (Georgia)

The main problem for the Late Bronze/Iron Age in the South-Caucasian region is represented by the difficulty in distinguishing, in material culture, what may be the effect of chronological developments from what might be attributed to different contemporary cultures (Lchaschen-Tsitelgori, Samtavro, etc.), in a general situation, which appears to be characterised by a very strong continuity especially in ceramic production. This long span of time is thus still difficult to subdivide into chronological sub-phases, as there is, indeed, no clear definition of different Late Bronze/Iron Age cultural horizons. Recent excavations carried out by the Georgian-Italian Shida Kartli Archaeological Project at the sites of Natsargora and Aradetis Orgora give us the possibility to re-examine the local sequences and to attempt a definition of different phases of Late Bronze/Iron occupation. The paper will introduce the general problems of the period's periodization and present the Late Bronze/Iron Age sequence from the two sites.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Gertzen, Thomas L. *(Moses Mendelssohn Zentrum für europäisch-jüdische Studien, Potsdam)*

The Babel-Bible Controversy and "Wissenschaft des Judentums"

At the beginning of the 20th century, Berlin witnessed a conflict between the representatives of the young discipline of Assyriology on the one hand and, on the other, of Protestant theology and clergy. In several lectures addressed to the wider public Friedrich Delitzsch postulated that the study of cuneiform texts would

marginalize the importance of biblical sources and scholarship, since many Old Testament texts could be traced back to Babylonian precursors. He was initially supported by Emperor Wilhelm II – who was himself extremely interested in ancient cultures – which rendered the controversy political. This confrontation and challenge to established beliefs must be understood primarily as an attempt by Delitzsch – a "furious orientalist" (SUZANNE MARCHAND) – to promote Oriental studies to the detriment of theology.

The Babel-Bible Controversy has been dealt with extensively, but some aspects, however, remain to be scrutinized more closely – for example the reactions of German Jewry, particularly considering the parallel development of "Wissenschaft des Judentums" and the denominational background of scholars within German (oriental) academia. In this context, Delitzsch's anti-Semitic publications, beginning in the 1920s, must be considered in contrast to the relative indifference of (some) scholars with a Jewish background towards the controversy.

The lecture is going to explore this particular field of research outlining future perspectives for a conference, sponsored jointly by the Moses Mendelssohn Center for European-Jewish Studies, Potsdam, the Berliner Antike-Kolleg, and the Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the Free University, Berlin in 2019.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Giessler, Julia *(Universiteit Leiden)*

A New Case of Cattle Theft from the Eanna Archive

Huge flocks of livestock from various temples pastured in the hinterland of Mesopotamian cities, where not only beasts of prey, but also human predators posed a threat to their survival. Although a thirtyfold penalty for theft of "divine property" *(makkūr ilī)* could be invoked, Late-Babylonian records from the Eanna archive prove that hunger, poverty and greed were sometimes strong enough for people to risk an attempt. Those who tried to get their hands on a piece of Ištar's and Nanāya's flocks were especially challenged by the star-shaped brand *(kakkabtu)*, which marked these deities' ownership and counted as valid proof in court. Except for the unblemished sacrificial animals that remained out of reach, namely in the safety of a fattening stable, only meager newborn ones could be found unmarked, whereas the precious adults used for breeding or ploughing were marked permanently with the star-symbol that put casual observers on the alert all too easily: Even the temple's own shepherds were detained, when trying to leave the city with animals wearing the star-mark. One thief however used a hitherto unknown method to avoid the inevitable accuse of temple theft for a while. His allegedly pioneering idea, attested on an unpublished tablet from the British museum, may in fact have been a common way to obliterate the impact of the temples' ownership-marks in cases of legal purchase.

 # S19 – Babylonia

Giusfredi, Federico *(Università di Verona)*

The Goddess Iyaya and her alleged Post-Hittite Survival

The name of the Hittite or Luwian goddess Iyaya is attested in a few cult inventories from the Late Hittite imperial age (e.g. KUB 38.1+, KUB 38.10+, KUB 38.26+, etc.). This

divine figure is consistently described as a sitting woman, and among her attributes are statues or figurines of animals, a few paraphernalia and a hood or a veil. In the present paper, I will examine the attested occurrences in which the goddess is described and critically address a few specific issues, in particular her alleged relationship with the male god Santas (cf. Beckman 2009) and the recently – albeit only cursorily – hypothesized survival of her name (and cult?) in a very late phase of the cultural history of Roman Cilicia (Mastrocinque 2007; but cf. already Rutherford 2017).

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 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Glenn, Anna *(Johns Hopkins University)*

Offering, Prayer, and Divine Blessing in Sumerian Hymns

The corpus of Old Babylonian Sumerian hymns to deities, the majority of which were undoubtedly composed to be sung or recited during religious ceremonies, represents an important segment of the documentation reflecting the liturgy and ritual practice of this period. However, the task of restoring these hymns to their original performative contexts proves to be a difficult and often extremely speculative one, and the dearth of ritual procedural texts dating to this period leaves us relying largely on the content of the hymns themselves to theorize when and why a particular hymn or type of hymn might have been performed.

In this paper, I consider one of the exceptional cases in which an Old Babylonian hymn seems directly to refer to its own ritual setting: namely a *širgida*-hymn to the goddess Sud that describes a supplicant bringing prayers and offerings to the goddess and exhorts her to accept his gifts. With this as a starting point, I will examine the themes of prayer, sacrifice, and divine blessing in the *širgida* corpus as a whole, and will consider how these topics might be tied to the incorporation of such hymns into larger ritual ceremonies, as well as their place in the broader system of Old Babylonian temple and cult.

 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Goddeeris, Anne *(Universiteit Gent)*

Let's Wander Slowly through the Fields: Facts and Fiction in the Old Babylonian Nippur List of Field Names (OB Nippur Ura 5: 1-160)

As a rule, Babylonian and Assyrian knowledge is formalized in extensive lists, lexical lists forming the most extensive type. The compilation of these lists – sometimes leaving out obvious items, as well as including impossibilities – raises much questions.

A comparison between the field names mentioned in the Old Babylonian documentary texts from Nippur on the one hand, and those listed in the corresponding section of Old Babylonian Nippur Ura (Old Babylonian Ura 5: 1-160) on the other, reveals interesting parellels and deviations. Besides actual geographical names in the Nippur region, the list also includes fictituous variants of these names and some entries record technical and administrative terminology. Thus, we can identify some of the mechanisms at work in the redaction of OB Nippur Ura 16.

 # S08 – Geography

Goldwasser, Orly *(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Alphabets as "Disruptive Technology" in the Ancient Near East

tba

 # W17 – Heritage in Transmission: Adoption and Adaptation of Writing Systems

Goncalves, Carlos H. B. *(Universidade de São Paulo)*

Using Social Network Analysis on the Archive of Nūršamaš: a Study of an Old Babylonian Community

The archive of Nūršamaš is an Old Babylonian archive from the region of the Diyala, exhumed from a location that is not exactly known and presented by an antiquities dealer to the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad. Most of its 121 documents are loan contracts of silver, barley and emmer. In these documents, there are around 400 different people who are identified by their names. They appear as witnesses and borrowers, besides Nūršamaš, who is always the lender. Some individuals are additionally identified by the name of their fathers or by their profession.

In the 1960s, Fauzi Reschid described eleven groups of witnesses that appeared together in different documents from this archive. The immediate historiographical implication of this finding is that the archive may carry traces of the actual relationships among the people registered in the documents. Based on the analysis of patterns of recurring groups of personal names, Reschid's description matches the well-known fact that in most communities there are people that prefer to do things together.

I enlarge this analysis by introducing computer-dependent methods. I propose a partition of the whole community into sub-communities through the application of a graph algorithm for what is known as class modularity. Informally speaking, a sub-community is a set of people that in general establish relationships among themselves rather than with people from outside the sub-community.

The first consequence of this method is that each group identified by Reschid, with a very few individuals excepted, is entirely contained in a sub-community, showing that sub-communities extend the original concept of recurrent groups.

This procedure permits furthermore the identification of relationships that would be difficult to detect by traditional methods. Specifically, I will deal with individuals that linked the different sub-communities, that is to say, individuals that may have had greater circulation in the larger context. Preliminary results indicate that a number of such individuals were identified by their professions in the documents, providing thus a concrete instance where being recognized as someone with a profession is a factor of social circulation.

Finally, the presentation will also include the relevant information about the computer assisted methods that were employed, as well as considerations on their strengths and limitations.

 # S18 – New Approaches in ANES

Görke, Susanne *(Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz)*

Die palaischen Texte aus Hattusa

Neben hethitischen, hurritischen, luwischen und akkadischen Texten wurden in den Archiven der hethitischen Hauptstadt Hattusa auch Texte in Palaisch gefunden, einer dem Hethitischen verwandten indogermanischen Sprache, die im Lande Pala nordwestlich von Hattusa beheimatet gewesen sein dürfte. Diese nennen häufig den palaischen Hauptgott Zaparwa (heth. Ziparwa), der an der Spitze des palaischen Pantheons stand, für das die Texte verschiedene Brot- und Fleischopfer bezeugen. Auch ein Mythos, der den hethitischen Mythen von verschwundenen Göttern ähnelt, ist überliefert. Die Texte lassen häufig eine stark verkürzte Schilderung, sowohl der Ritualhandlungen als auch der palaischen Rezitationen, erkennen; für letztere konnten besonders im Zuge der Arbeit innerhalb des eDiAna-Projekt von David Sasseville maßgebliche Fortschritte im Verständnis erreicht werden. Für Ritualhandlungen wie das Löschen von brennendem oder glimmenden Holz mit Flüssigkeiten (siehe KUB 32.117+ Vs. II 11' – CTH 752) lassen sich Parallelen in anderen hethitischen Ritualen finden, z.B. dem der Ambazzi CTH 391, allerdings wird dabei meist Wasser und nicht, wie im palaischen Text, Wein genutzt. Eine Untersuchung der in den palaischen Texten genannten rituellen Handlungen und ihre Einordnung in die hethitische Ritualistik verspricht Aufschlüsse über die Entwicklung hethitischer Rituale in den verschiedenen Landesteilen sowie den Stellenwert der palaischen Texte.

Da das Korpus der palaischen Texte bislang keiner grundlegenden Untersuchung unterlag (O. Carruba, Das Palaische. Texte, Grammatik, Lexikon, StBoT 10, 1970, legte nur 12 Texte in Umschrift vor), wird diese in einer linguistisch-philologischen Zusammenarbeit in Angriff genommen. Dabei soll neben den palaischen Textgruppen CTH 750 „Festritual für die Gottheit Zaparwa", CTH 751„Palaisches Ritual mit Brotopfersprüchen", CTH 752 „Palaische Hymne und Mythos", CTH 753 „Festritual mit palaischer Rezitation", CTH 754 „Palaische Fragmente" auch CTH 643 „Fragmente, nennend Gott Ziparwa" in Betracht gezogen werden. Auch das Verhältnis zum 12. und 13. Tag des AN.TAḪ.ŠUMSAR-Festes, an denen Feste für Ziparwa stattfanden, sowie zum achten, neunten und zehnten Tag des nuntarriyašḫa-Festes (vgl. dazu H. Marcuson, The Festival of Ziparwa and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and nuntarriyašḫa- Festivals, AoF 38, 2011, 63-72) sollte einer erneuten Prüfung unterzogen werden.

In dem Vortrag werden das Projekt der Publikation palaischer Texte vorgestellt und erste Ergebnisse präsentiert.
 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Greco, Angela *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

A neglected source of prosperity: Marshes' resources and the role of the 'enku' in the III Mill. BC Southern Mesopotamia

Recent studies have underlined the importance of marshes in the economic landscape of Southern Mesopotamia in the fourth and third Millennium BC. If, on the one side, documentation offers abundant evidence for marshes' natural products, on the other one, mentions of marshes as place of provenance of incoming commodities are quite few. This might be due to several factors, among them, to the fact that in economic texts the information about the provenance of incoming commodities can be simply replaced by the name of agents who had to supply specific commodities. The role of intermediary agent between marsh resources and state or provincial institutions may have been played by the 'enku(d/r)', a profession attested from the beginning of the cuneiform tradition, traditionally translated as 'inspector of the fishery' or 'tax collector'.
 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Groß, Melanie and **Waerzeggers**, Caroline *(Universiteit Leiden)*

The "Prosopography of Babylonia" Open Access Database

The database "Prosopography of Babylonia: 620–330 BCE" is currently being developed at Leiden University within the framework of the ERC project "Persia and Babylonia: Creating a New Context for Understanding the Emergence of the First World Empire". Thousands of cuneiform texts have survived in archives of Babylonian families and temples (c. 620–330 BCE). These sources offer valuable data for socio-historical research but their potential is difficult to exploit so far. The Leiden project wants to contribute to their accessibility by creating an online prosopography, designed to provide information about attested individuals in Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods based on a questionnaire. As an open access database it will (along with other online databases) be an effective research tool for specialists and also contribute to a better insight into the cuneiform material for non-specialists. Moreover, it provides the flexibility and durability required by the ever on-going publication of the corpus.

While parts of the database are still under construction, data entry has begun in February 2018. This lecture discusses the structure of the database, the range of data systemized in the database and its envisaged contribution to the field of "new digital prosopography".
 # W06 – *Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies*

Gruber, Carina, Fick, Sabine, and Fadum, Marina *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Life in ancient Egypt: A Human-Animal Studies Perspective

In the world of ancient Egypt the web of relationships between humans and animals was not limited to the categories of companion- and production animals but also exerted a complex and significant influence on concepts of god / gods / the divine. Observations of animal behaviour were incorporated into religious beliefs and pictures. This lead to a modification in behaviour towards at least some individual animals. This phenomenon is considered through the findings of two Diploma theses: the first on the cat; the second on the dog and jackal.

Cat in ancient Egypt: The first paper examines the representation of the cat in ancient Egyptian society. A human-animal perspective (e.g. the concept of animal agency) is selectively applied. The study relates four categories to the situation of cats in ancient Egypt: The cat as production animal; as a pet; as a goddess (e.g. Bastet/ Sachmet); and as an "Osiris" (an animal mummy). The four categories represent several aspects of human-animal relationships. Archaeological finds have provided evidence of such relationships between humans and cats dating from the Old Kingdom and earlier. Through the study of animal mummies, an animal perspective can be gained on realities of religious practice in ancient Egypt. The four categories are shown to be useful in shedding more light on this less researched area of Egyptology.

Dog and Jackal in ancient Egypt: The second paper applies similar methodology to consider how the human-dog relationship in ancient Egypt differs from the human-jackal relationship. Instruments in the form of categories are adopted. These include: the dog as guardian and assistant; the dog as companion; the dog as sacrificial animal; and the dog as mummified animal. Similarly, they include: the jackal as a wild animal; and the jackal as a deified animal. The last category is divided between the canine deities Anubis, Chontamenti, Upuaut/Wepwawet, and Duamutef. A human-animal studies perspective is found to provide valid contributions to research in this area of Egyptology.

 # W01 – Animals and History

Guinan, Ann K. *(Penn Museum)*

Syphilography, Sexology, and Assyriology

In his 1891 translation, Alfred Jeremias claims that Izdubar (Gilgamesh) is suffering from leprosy when he arrives at the ocean at the end of the world. Before he returns to Uruk the ferryman is directed to take him to a place where he can be magically cleansed and cured. Jeremias' translation of the cleansing in Tablet XI (Jeremias, p. 28; George, p. 718-720, lines 247-272) triggered the interest of Viennese Dermatologist and Syphilographer, J.K. Proksch. Writing in the May 1, 1891 edition of Monatshefte für Praktische Dermatologie, Die Syphilis bei den alten Babyloniern und Assyriern: eine historische Skizze, Proksch surmises that the "painful and revolting" disease Izdubar was suffering from was not leprosy, but syphilis. In the initial stages leprosy looks like syphilis and syphilis was the plague of the time. Not only did Proksch reinterpret Jeremias' translations, he re- read the epic for sexual content and extracted the key passages. Proksch introduced the sexual passages of the epic to two fields of 19th

century sexual research. His work was disseminated to American and French Syphilographers, on the one hand, and to German and Austrian Sexologists, on the other.

The possibility that Gilgamesh had syphilis, of course, has no modern validity and Syphilography no longer exists as a distinct academic discipline. Nevertheless, the connection between Gilgamesh and syphilis is more than an odd piece of historical miscellany. Early Sexologists saw an irresistible vehicle for social commentary and incorporated the passages into a discourse on ancient Near Eastern sexuality that continued well into the 20th century.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Gunter, Ann C. *(Northwestern University)*

The Greek Paradigm in Early Histories of Mesopotamian Art

Given the universal museum settings in which Near Eastern antiquities were housed and displayed following their nineteenth-century rediscovery, and an aesthetic framework dominated by classical antiquity, Greek art (and above all, Greek sculpture) dominated the criteria by which their aesthetic value, and thus their art historical significance, were judged. Greek art provided a paradigm for the ideal subject matter (the human figure), developmental sequence (the growth and triumph of naturalism), and most desirable characteristics (beauty and movement). The qualities Mesopotamian art possessed, and those it lacked, were equally determined by detailed comparison with the "perfect" art of ancient Greece. Indeed, to a significant degree, the sculpture, paintings, and architecture of the ancient Near East—while regrettably absent the associated names of individual masters—emerged as "art" through their service as precursors of Greek art.

A focus on the historiographic paradigm of Greek art in histories of Mesopotamian art in the late nineteenth century elaborates the parallel developmental framework adopted for constructing successive artistic phases designated as "primitive," archaic," and "classical." This framework even extended to explicit analogies with sequences established for the history of Greek art. What qualities or features characterized these successive phases? How was the aesthetic vocabulary of Greek art introduced to Mesopotamian monuments, which often differed significantly in material and scale? In their deployment of categories of "fine" and "decorative" arts, and their focus on works in western European collections, these early histories profoundly shaped the historiography of ancient Near Eastern art well into the twentieth century.

 # W16 – The Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art

Günther, Sven *(Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations: Northeast Normal University, Changchung)*

Trick and Treat? Theoretical Approaches to Forms and Formulas in the Studies of Ancient Near Eastern Documents, and Beyond

Forms and formulas matter, in lists, decrees, administrative and legal documents but also in other genres of documentary sources. They create a specific narrative that can, and has to, be read in the different frames it anchors in. To access what they narrate, and from whom and to which audience(s), one has to extract these forms and formulas

as well as to reveal the specific regulatory frames with which they are connected. The paper shall offer the theoretical framework of the workshop papers by analyzing, and comparing, different characteristics of these forms, in Ancient Near Eastern documents, and beyond, in Egyptian, Greek and Roman documentary sources, to illustrate the necessity of examining these sources not only from a quantitative but also a qualitative perspective.

 # W02 – Narrative of Forms and Formulas or Forms and Formulas of Narrating? New Approaches to Standardized Elements in Documentary Sources

Gysembergh, Victor *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

The "Chaldean" Theory of Comets as Stars

In the 1980s, three observations of Halley's comet were identified in the Astronomical Diaries, opening the way to further identifications of cometary observations (provisional list by R. Chadwick, "Identifying Comets and Meteors in Celestial Observation Literature", 1993). This breakthrough invites renewed discussion of Greek and Roman sources ascribing to the "Chaldeans of Babylon" a theory similar to the modern understanding of comets. According to these, late Babylonian astronomy conceived of comets as orbiting stars with constant periods, and was able to predict the return of comets. In my paper, a philologically accurate reconstruction of this theory will be offered; arguments will be made for the reliability of the Greek and Roman sources' claim. Furthermore, it will be argued that the Greek and Roman sources point to a very late development of the "Chaldean" cometary theory, probably in the 1st c. BCE; this suggests that astronomical activity in Babylonia at this time was not restricted to observation, but was in a position to produce new theories. The accuracy of the claim to cometary predictions will be assessed on the basis of the available cometary observations in cuneiform texts. The context in which the new theory of comets emerged, the interaction with Greek astronomers, and the spread of the theory in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean will be investigated.

 # W09 – Stars and Constellations in Babylonian Astronomy

Haidler, Sebastian and **Pappi**, Cinzia *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Between Assyria and Adiabene: Cultural Transitions in the Valley of the Lower Zab

The expansion policy of Assyria has been mainly focused, during its early stages, on the border with Babylonia along the valley of the Lower Zab. The physical transfer of the royal capitals, combined with new political and economic interests, shifted the focus on the regions included between the Upper Tigris and Upper Zab Valleys, and, later, to the western provinces. The 7th century BCE, sees the Assyrian core territories, consisting mainly of the regions of Nineveh, Erbil, and a small part of the hinterland of Assur, going through a flourishing period, characterized by infrastructural improvements related to the productivity and super-regional connectivity. However, the region of the Lower Zab, not directly connected to the border with Urartu and Mannea, became a large internal periphery, characterized by an small range agricultural economy, which persisted for centuries also after the collapse of Assyria in 612 BCE, as shown by the archaeological investigations conducted at Satu Qala and in the surrounding region of Koi Sanjaq/Koya.

Recent typological analysis, conducted on the ceramic collections, combined with the radiocarbon data, confirmed the resilience of Assyrian production, noted already somewhere else, but revealed also some possible indicators for this transitional phase, to be applied in a regional context. This paper is aimed to discuss the the stratified Late Assyrian, Post Assyrian/Achaemenid, and Hellenistic results of Satu Qala, contextualized in their wider political and economic developments, given by the latest field-seasons of the Archaeological Survey of Koi Sanjaq/Koya (ASK) project.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Hawley, Robert *(École Pratique des Hautes Études)*

The different cuneiform alphabets of the 13th century BC, and their (occasional) passage from socially marginal experiments to institutionalized 'official' status

The Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th century BC seems to have been the stage for a certain amount of locally concentrated, yet culturally audacious graphic experimentation and innovation with the alphabetic principle, especially with respect to the more conservative and firmly established prestige writing systems (such as Mesopotamian cuneiform), and the scholarly languages with which they were often associated (Sumerian, Babylonian and Hurrian, for example), all of which had already been actively used locally for several centuries. After a brief survey of the diverse sources, this paper will explore some of the parameters of the rise and ultimate social validation of alphabetic writing on the eastern Mediterranean seaboard in the 13th century BC, and the concomitant (relative) decline of other writing systems which had previously been in use.
 # W17 – Heritage in Transmission: Adoption and Adaptation of Writing Systems

Heinsch-Kuntner, Sandra *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Khovle Gora at the Time of the Kingdom of Urartu (9th-7th century BCE)

The site of Khovle Gora represents one of the key sites to study the development of the ceramic material culture in Shida Kartli from Late Bronze to Iron Ages. A fundamental aspect in Muskhelishvili`s works on the material of Khovle Gora constitutes the sudden appearance of red wares in the assemblages of Levels IV-III ascribed to an emergent Late Urartian influence in the 6th century BCE. The paper will present the results of the Georgian-Austrian excavations conducted in Early Iron Age settlements by comparing the ceramic material from the fortified settlement on top of the main mound of Khovle Gora with that from the settlement located immediately to the east. The focus is set on the question whether and to what extent relations can be drawn to the material culture of the contemporaneous Lchashen-Metsamor horizons in Armenia (LM-5/6) characterised by Urartian influence and the Lchashen-Tsitelgori horizon in Georgia in order to reassess its chronological setting in Shida Kartli.
 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Helle, Sophus *(Aarhus Universitet)*

Weavers and Dreamers: The Representation of Authorship in cuneiform Cultures

Authorship is not a particularly characteristic aspect of cuneiform cultures, since their literary texts were for the most part anonymous. However, it is also in cuneiform cultures that one sees the very earliest named authors, such as Enheduana, Kabti-ili-Marduk, or Esagil-kin- apli. These figures constitute the first steps towards the now pervasive notion of literary authorship. As a nascent concept, cuneiform authorship is thus among the most significant aspects of the ancient Near East's intellectual heritage. I argue that in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian cultures there were particularly influential figurations of the literary: the "weaver", who arranged anew the tangled threads of tradition, and the "dreamer", who received their text from a god at night-time. These figures do not reflect the historical reality of cuneiform authorship, but should rather be seen as the most important social narratives about authorship in the ancient Near East.

Examining each of the two figures in turn, I show that both reflect a view of the author as standing in a medial position between the actual origin of the text (either a god or a distant past) and its final form, forcing us to rethink the relation between tradition and newness. Further, both reveal an ideal of the author, not as e.g. a performer or an ecstatic, but specifically as a scholar and priest: intelligent, pious, and steeped in tradition.

Finally, I discuss whether it is appropriate to refer to these figures as "authors". Both figures involve the "author" receiving the text from elsewhere and then reworking it – a poor match for our modern notion of the author as an original creator. But while they may not be authors in the modern sense of the word, this view of authorship as "receiving-and-reworking" is in fact the most common view of authorship in the majority of pre-modern cultures.

 # S20 – Scribes & Authors

Herles, Michael *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

At the northern Border of Urartu: Investigations at Oshakan and in the Lori Province (Armenia)

The Urartian hegemony took the political control over a region in the southern part of the modern Republic of Armenia from the 8th century BC onwards. The site of Oshakan (located in the province of Aragatsotn) is seen as a border fortress in the northern part of the Urartian empire. A settlement and a necropolis are documented in the surrounding area as well. The new investigations in the necropolis uncovered tombs which can be dated to the 11.-9. century BC. This period predates the Urartian conquest of the region and the tombs can be considered as relics of the local population; in this case of the Etiuni, a conquered people known from the Urartian royal inscriptions. A small tower called Pokr Blur in the south of the fortress might be dating in the same period.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Hernáiz Gómez, Rodrigo *(Philipps-Universität Marburg / Universitat de Barcelona)*

Investigating Variation and Change in the Old Babylonian Language: New Perspectives

In 1945 Goetze published 'The Akkadian dialects of the Old-Babylonian Mathematical Texts', an article that suggested the existence of designated dialectal areas in OB Mesopotamia, and fostered further analyses to assess this hypothesis: "It seems promising to ask whether the classification derived from business documents and letters is also applicable to the mathematical texts, and whether perhaps a study on them can furnish criteria for positing additional sub-classes." (Goetze 1945, 146). Nevertheless, despite many later analyses of individual archives and peripheral areas (e.g. Mari or Susa), the nature, extent and significance of the orthographic and linguistic variation for most of the core OB textual record is still underdeveloped. At the general level of Akkadian, Worthington observes: "The knowledge which Assyriology possesses about Akkadian orthography and textual change is neither systematised nor efficiently pooled: with rare exceptions, [note 9: Goetze 1945. MW] insights achieved are not widely taken note of and reapplied to new sources, but left to languish in inconspicuous footnotes." (Worthington, 2012, 2-3).

In the last decades, the advantages of applying digital tools and techniques to data recovered from past societies have become a corner-stone for new approaches to the so-called social sciences. In the field of linguistics, for example, the creation and analysis of text corpora has shed light on processes of language variation and change as they interweave with diastratic and diatopic variables. Nevertheless, could we stretch the scope of such techniques to endeavour into the study of ancient languages without losing fundamental robustness?

In this contribution, some of the methodological issues of the study of orthographic and linguistic variation in an annotated corpus of Old Babylonian letters will be discussed. This will include some of the pitfalls derived from textual and extra-linguistic sources, and some of the outcomes from the corpus-based analysis that suggest a link between textual nuances and the fluctuating sociolinguistic landscape of the Old Babylonian period.

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 # S14 – Grammar

Hiepel, Ludger *(Universität Münster)*

Die Institutionalisierung der Altorientalistik an der Universität Münster: Die Berufung von Hubert Grimme, die Gründung des Orientalischen Seminars und die Ausdifferenzierung in selbständige Seminare und Institute

HUBERT GRIMME (1864-1942) vertrat 1911-1929 als erster Professor für Semitische Philologie und Altorientalische Geschichte an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität in Münster den Alten Orient in Lehre und Forschung. Auf seine Initiative hin konnte zum 1. April 1913 das Orientalische Seminar gegründet werden, das bereits 1919 drei Abteilungen umfasste: A. Alter und islamischer Orient, B. Christlicher Orient und C. Indo-iranischer Orient. Mit der Ernennung von FRIEDRICH SCHMIDTKE (1891-1969) zum planmäßigen außerordentlichen Professor wurde eine neue Abteilung für Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients geschaffen. Im Oktober 1963 – mittlerweile war WOLFRAM FREIHERR VON SODEN (1908-1996) zum ordentlicher Professor in Münster berufen worden – wurden die vormals mittlerweile fünf Abteilungen des Orientalischen Seminars selbständige Seminare: das Ägyptologische Seminar, das Altorientalische Seminar, das Seminar für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft und das Seminar für Indologie. Bereits 1962 war das eigenständige Seminar für Ostasienkunde eingerichtet worden.

Im Vortrag sollen diese Entwicklungen und ihr wissenschaftshistorischer Rahmen beleuchtet werden, wobei ein Schwerpunkt auf den Beginn der Institutionalisierung gelegt wird. Eine besondere Rolle spielt zudem auch das Verhältnis zur Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät in Münster, da es die Professoren dieser Fakultät waren, die vor Einrichtung der genannten Professur für Semitische Philologie und Altorientalische Geschichte in der Philosophischen und Naturwissen-schaftlichen Fakultät die orientalischen Sprachen in ihrer Fakultät gelehrt hatten. Mit FRIEDRICH SCHMIDTKE war ferner ein katholischer Priester berufen worden, der mit seinem Buch „Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan" 1934 auf den vatikanischen Index der verbotenen Bücher gekommen war.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Hoffmann, Susanne and **Krebernik**, Manfred *(Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)*

Gods, Names, Asterisms – How to Visualize MUL.APIN's Constellations?

The first tablet of MUL.APIN begins with a long list of names of asterisms (most of them constellations, some single stars) which are associated with certain deities. Our investigation is based on the text as reconstructed by Hunger and Pingree (1989) and currently re-edited by Hunger and Steele. Our presentation aims at conceptualizing and visualizing the Babylonian sky based on a careful re-reading of the text and discusses the problems of some conventional translations. Furthermore, the deities linked to asterisms will be examined more closely than in the past. The resulting textual interpretations have led to new suggestions, which are illustrated via a 3D model and compared with previous visual representations of asterisms. The combination of a philological approach with astronomical computation holds potential for improving our understanding of Babylonian uranography and its historical development.

Homan, Zenobia *(University of London)*

Mittani Palaeography

This paper will address the currently known Mittani archives, namely the Mittani Amarna Letters, the so-called Assyro-Mittanian documents found at Boghazköy, and all other un-grouped Mittani tablets. Particularly this last group is difficult to access and document, and remains relatively under-published.

The archives were studied via a digital humanities approach, creating and utilising an image database with over 50 000 entries. It includes code to cross-compare and find correlation, leading to statistically satisfying answers which are so rare in the often still subjective study of palaeography. This paper will specifically focus on describing Mittani sign-forms and variations, which has ultimately also resulted in a complete sign-list of Mittani cuneiform. Hopefully the list will be useful for archaeologists currently excavating in the Middle East, scholars of Middle Assyrian and associated script-groups, and those interested in cuneiform palaeography in general.

The study of Mittani palaeography ties in with an important discussion that runs as a red thread through the Current Research in Palaeography workshop: what are signs, sign-forms and variants; are we using the right vocabulary; and can we more clearly define these terms?

W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Howard, J. Caleb *(University of Cambridge)*

The Process of Producing the Room I: Recension of the Standard Inscription of Ashurnasirpal II in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud

The Standard Inscription of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud/Kalḫu (RIMA 2.0.101.23) is extant in over four hundred manuscripts, mainly on the orthostats that lined the walls of the Northwest Palace. It has long been known that certain manuscripts of the Standard Inscription from Room I contain a distinct recension of this composition. Previously, the identification of this distinction depended largely on a single variant between two geographical designations in the summary of Ashurnasirpal's conquests, namely, the variation between EN ^{kur}NI-RIB *šá bi-ta-ni* (and orthographic variants) and *a-di* ^{kur}Ú-*ra-ar-ṭí* (RIMA 2.0.101.23, l. 9). On the basis of collation of over two hundred manuscripts of the Standard Inscription (directly or through photographs), it can be shown that in fact this variant co-occurred with five other unique variants in at least twenty manuscripts of the Standard Inscription. Moreover, a further fifteen variants occur in a unique combination in these same manuscripts. These observations further substantiate the identification of the variation between EN ^{kur}NI-RIB šá bi-ta-ni (and orthographic variants) and *a-di* ^{kur}Ú-*ra-ar-ṭí* as evidence of recensional development, by scholars such as S. M. Paley and A. F. Conradie. Since these manuscripts are all from Room I of the Northwest Palace (when their primary contexts can be determined), I call this text-form the I Recension. Having isolated these twenty manuscripts, which contain a common recension of the Standard Inscription, it is possible to subdivide them on the basis of further patterns of shared variants. Like the variants which distinguish the I Recension, different combinations of I Recension manuscripts each share common

patterns of unique variants, as well as multiple variants in a pattern which is unique to these subgroups. On this basis, it is argued that the I Recension was originally produced in a master copy (containing most or all of the I Recension diagnostic variants), which was reproduced in multiple intermediate copies (containing most or all of the [combinations of] variants unique to the subgroups of I Recension manuscripts). Each one of these intermediate copies was, in turn, used to copy a discrete set of extant manuscripts (reliefs in Room I), transferring both the unique variants of the I Recension and the unique variants of the intermediate copy to those reliefs. I suggest that these intermediate copies were used as a means of making the process of copying the hundreds of manuscripts of the Standard Inscription on reliefs in the Northwest Palace more efficient.

 # S05 – Assyria

Huang, Ami *(University of Chicago)*

Much cattle, much care: Middle Babylonian herding contracts from Nippur

Herding contracts are well-attested throughout Mesopotamian written history. Drawn up between livestock owners and the individuals to whom the animals were entrusted, these contracts were legally binding documents, sealed by the liable party as acknowledgement of their acceptance of the contract terms. As such, these documents can furnish us with important information about not only livestock management but also the relationship between the two parties.

In this paper, I will discuss the known Middle Babylonian herding contracts from Nippur and their institutional nature, thereby situating them within a wider administrative framework. These texts have received relatively little treatment in the field, despite the prevalence of livestock in the Kassite economy. I will highlight and analyze significant differences between these herding contracts and those attested from other periods. The discussion will touch upon the contracts' formal aspects, their legal stipulations, and the parties represented in the text and sealings.

 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Hulínek, Drahoslav *(Slovenský archeologický a historický inštitút)*

Archaeological Project SAHI Tell Jokha in South Iraq

Since 2016, one of the most important projects in the history of Slovak archaeology takes place in the Southern Mesopotamia. It is the archaeological project SAHI - Tell Jokha. This project is researching an important site where, according to the current state of scientific research, in the 3rd millennium BC, dominated Sumerian settlement. As far as the history of the activities of Slovak archaeologists abroad is concerned, this can be one of their most important achievements. The first season of this project took place in 2016, from November 3 to December 17. The extensive Slovak-Iraqi archaeological research at the Tell Jokha in Al-Rifai district in Dhi Qar province finished its second season at the end of 2017, It took place from October 19, 2017 to December 17, 2017. The research is carried out by Slovak archaeological and historical Institute - SAHI, in cooperation with the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage (SBAH) – Iraq. The Tell Jokha site can almost certainly be considered the Sumerian royal city of Umma.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Hussein, Laith M. *(University of Baghdad)*

Tell Harmal *(Šaduppûm):* Texte und Archive

Die Ausgrabungen in Šaduppûm beweisen, dass die altbabylonische Stadt von einer Mauer umschlossen war und über ein Verwaltungsgebäude, einen Haupttempel und andere kleine Tempel, Privatwohnhäuser und Werkstätten verfügte. Šaduppûm gilt als Verwaltungszentrale eines Regierungsbezirks des Staates von Ešnunna. Bislang wurden nur ein Drittel der insgesamt 3000 entdeckten Tafeln publiziert und bearbeitet.

Aus verschiedenen Veröffentlichungen geht hervor, dass Šaduppûm wegen der großen Getreidemengen, Felder- und Flurnamen, kultivierten Landparzellen, Speicher und Bewässerungsbodenbau eine landwirtschaftliche Gesellschaft darstellte.

Die Texte aus Šaduppûm enthalten aber auch eine ganze Reihe von Schultexten. Lexikalische Texte enthalten Auflistungen von verschiedenen Gegenständen (wie Holzarten und Bäume, Grünpflanzen, Gefäße, Gegenstände aus Rohr, Vögel, Wolle oder Gewänder), Silbenalphabete, Götter- und geographische Listen sowie Listen von Personennamen.

Die größte Textgruppe mit insgesamt 263 Tontafeln stammt aus Raum 252 und ist weitgehend administrativen, zum Teil aber auch mathematischen Inhalts. Im Raum 133 fand man 103 Texte, darunter viele Briefe (Archiv des Tutub-māgir). Im Raum 520, in dem 43 Texte gefunden wurden, entdeckte man vermutlich das Familienarchiv von Mudadum, Sohn des Mašum, das vor allem Tafeln über Immobilien enthielt. Insgesamt wurden in dem „Serai" 298 Tontafeln gefunden. Sie verteilen sich auf 18 der insgesamt 25 Räume, wobei die Mehrzahl an nur zwei Stellen, in den Räumen 5 und 11, gefunden wurde.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Hutter, Manfred (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn)

Der Gott Ea in hieroglyphen-luwischen Texten

Vor zweieinhalb Jahrzehnten hat A. Archi eine kleine Untersuchung zu Ea in den hethitischen Texten des 2. Jahrtausends vorgelegt, in der er die Vermittlung dieses mesopotamischen Gottes nach Kleinasien und seine Rolle in der Religionsgeschichte des Hethiterreiches zeigte. Auf dieser Untersuchung und der Rolle Eas im 2. Jahrtausend in Anatolien aufbauend, analysiert der Vortrag die Rolle Eas im 1. Jahrtausend, wie sich diese in den hieroglypschen-luwischen Texten zeigt. Die Fragestellung, die im Mittelpunkt des Vortrags steht, ist dabei, in welcher Weise – bezugnehmend auf das Thema „Intellectual Heritage" – sich die Rolle Eas im 1. Jahrtausend als Kontinuität oder Transformation gegenüber dem 2. Jahrtausend in Anatolien bestimmen lässt und in welcher Weise es – zusätzlich zu den bereits im 2. Jahrtausend aus Mesopotamien importierten Traditionen – im 10. bis 8. Jahrhundert auch zu nun erstmals übernommenen Traditionen aus Mesopotamien gekommen ist, die das Profil des Gottes verändern. Genauso ist die unterschiedliche Einbettung Eas in die verschiedenen lokalen Panthea (Nordsyrien, Karkemiš, Tabal) sowie seine Verbindung mit Kubaba zu beachten. Dabei werden Prozesse der kontinuierlichen Bewahrung sowie der Neuerung in der Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens der ersten drei Jahrhunderte des 1. Jahrtausends v.Chr. sichtbar.

 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Hutter-Braunsar, Sylvia *(Universität zu Köln)*

Herrschaft durch Emotion: Fallbeispiele aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum

Die Herrscher des hethitischen Reiches im Anatolien des 2. Jts. v. Chr. legitimierten sich hauptsächlich religiös, indem sie ihre Beauftragung zum Herrschen auf göttlichen Willen zurückführten, und ihre Untertanen waren anscheinend so gut wie rechtlos, wenn sie nicht der weitverzweigten Herrscherfamilie angehörten. Untersuchungen darüber, wie die Herrschaft tatsächlich ausgeübt wurde, fehlen fast zur Gänze bzw. scheinen auf Grund der überlieferten Texte fast unmöglich.

Allerdings scheinen sich durch neue Forschungsansätze (history of emotions) neue Perspektiven in dieser Hinsicht aufzutun:

Bereits beschrieben wurden sportliche Wettkämpfe, Scheinkämpfe und andere Inszenierungen im Rahmen von Ritualen, die den aktiven wie passiven Teilnehmenden durch die Wiederherstellung der herrschenden Autorität nach einem inszenierten Chaos die königliche Macht und die geltenden sozialen Strukturen immer wieder vor Augen führten (A. Gilan, Kampfspiele in hethitischen Festritualen - eine Interpretation. Fs Haas 2001, 113-124).

In den Feldzugsberichten schilderten die Könige (wie beispielsweise Mursili II.) auch die Selbstunterwerfung von Gegnern, die durch Angst vor physischer Gewalt und Zerstörung des Eigentums bedingt ist. Ob diese Angst bewusst geschürt wurde oder nur auf Erfahrungswerten und „Mundpropaganda" beruhte, können wir den hethitischen Texten nicht entnehmen; allerdings ist es bezeichnend, dass im Palastbauritual CTH 414 erwähnt wird, dass die Götter den König mit Augen eines Adlers und Kräften des Löwen ausstatteten. Im selben Ritual wird eine Beschwörung rezitiert, die den König unter anderem mit „Furchtbarkeit (nahsaratt-)" ausstatten soll. Und in einer althethitischen Anekdotensammlung (CTH 8) werden Verfehlungen einzelner Hofangestellter dem König gegenüber als warnende Beispiele erzählt, aus denen eine harte Bestrafung der Schuldigen resultiert.

Der Vortrag soll untersuchen, inwieweit die hethitischen Textzeugnisse Auskunft darüber geben können, ob und wie Emotionen durch die hethitischen Könige als Instrument der Herrschaft eingesetzt wurden.

 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Jáka-Sövegjártó, Szilvia *(Universität Heidelberg)*

Safeguarding by Enhancing: Sumerian intangible cultural Heritage in the Old Babylonian Period

Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and preserved for future generations. Intangible cultural heritage consists of non-physical aspects of a culture, including oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe as well as traditional craftsmanship. Being in a sense ephemeral, intangible cultural heritage is more difficult to preserve than physical objects.

The safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is a twofold challenge. On the one hand, the continuity of practice and its transmission should be secured. On the other hand, intangible components of a culture might be fixed in any medium and thus turned into

tangible information objects. These objects are characterized by their negligible intrinsic value, they acquire significance only in relation to their content.

In my talk I will focus on the intangible cultural heritage in Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period. I will argue that the withdrawal of the Sumerian language from everyday use initiated safeguarding strategies aiming to preserve the legacy conveyed by the language.

One of these strategies was the formalization of education through the establishment of the Edubba'a, a priest-run institution mainly responsible for the transmission of the Sumerian language. As it will be demonstrated, this institution was also responsible for the identification, documentation, enhancement and promotion of the Sumerian intangible cultural heritage.

As a complementary strategy, the number of information objects increased significantly in form of clay tablets not intended for long-term preservation. These knowledge repositories came into existence within the aforementioned institutional context.

In my talk I will concentrate on two processes relevant for the preservation of the Sumerian intangible cultural heritage. First I will prove that the continued proficiency in the Sumerian language resulted in the ongoing development of the material during the Old Babylonian period. Secondly, translations, though quite exceptional in the written corpus, served for promoting and sharing the heritage of a community with outsiders, namely with the Akkadian speaking community. As I will argue, a significant contribution of this Akkadian-speaking community learning Sumerian is also perceptible in the literary discourse of the Old Babylonian period which manifests in new literary forms applied for traditional themes.

 # S15 – Sumerian Literature

Jursa, Michael and **Pirngruber**, Reinhard *(Universität Wien)*

Cuneiform palaeography in 1st millennium BCE Babylonia

The creation of the online sign-list LaBaSi (visit https://labasi.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/), currently recording about 12,000 allographies of a sample of ca. 200 standard signs and covering the most important Late Babylonian sites (including Uruk, Sippar, Borsippa and Babylon), allows for an investigation of the development of cuneiform writing during the first millennium in unprecedented detail. Our presentation aims at providing a first assessment of the material gathered so far, with a particular focus on both developments over time and regional variations. We will also give a brief introduction to the setup and navigability of the site in order to explain our approach and our methodology. We will conclude with an outlook as to the potential of the site in helping to identify individual handwritings.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Kapełuś, Magdalena *(Uniwersytet Warszawski = University of Warsaw)*

Ignacy Radliński et les debuts d'assyriologie en Pologne

En 1877 Ignacy Radliński a édité à Varsovie deux petites brochures « Król Asur-bani-pal i jego biblioteka » [« Le roi Assur-bani-pal et sa bibliothèque »] (publié comme l'édition de la rédaction de Biblioteka Warszawska) et « Napis pamiątkowy króla Meszy Przekład

z hebrajskiego » [« L'inscription commémorative du roi de Mesha. La traduction de l'hébreu »]. Le travail de 45 pages sur Assurbanipal contient la description de l'histoire de Ninive, la résidence royale de ce roi et également l'histoire de la dynastie néo-assyrienne. L'auteur ajoute dans son texte les fragments de chroniques royales de cette époque. Cela présente les premières traductions de l'assyrien en polonais et en plus de l'original, car Radliński a fait l'effort pour apprendre l'écriture cunéiforme (qu'il appelait « clouâtre » ou « de clous ») pour connaitre les secrets de la langue assyrienne.

Radliński a écrit son diplome en russe « Le système des langues sémitiques d'après Renan et des découvertes plus récentes en cunéiforme » publié en octobre 1879 à Petersburg. Ses analyses sans doute trop détaillées pour un lecteur russe ou polonais mal préparé mais leur niveau a été comparable avec celui de chercheurs européens. Il est vrai qu'en ce temps l'appartenance de la langue assyrienne à la famille des langues sémitiques a été déjà évidente pour tous les chercheurs en Europe sauf peut-être pour Ernest Renan (« Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques ») qui d'ailleurs encore en 1863 a hésité d'inclure l'assyrien à cette famille des langues. Néanmoins, personne n'a jamais auparavant tenté d'écrire un travail synthétique sur la philologie sémitique. Le petit œuvre de Radliński a fait donc un large écho en Europe. Le célèbre assyriologue français Jules Oppert lui a écrit comme suit : « Je suis un peu en retard avec vous pour vous remercier de l'envoi de votre savant écrit sur la langue assyrienne dans ses rapports originaux avec les langues sémitiques. J'y trouve autant que la difficulté de la lecture peut me le faire voir, un solide savoir, une bonne critique et honnête esprit de retrouver la vérité. Je vous remercie aussi de la façon bienveillante, dont vous avez mentionné mon nom, et je serai très heureux si je pouvais être utile à vous et à vos études […] » (Lettre du 10 Février 1881. Bibliothèque Publique à Varsovie, rkps. Akc. 16.).
 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Karbotly, Ahmad *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

Toponyms Localizations for the Third Millennium Northern Syria: Nirar, Burman, Lumnan, Luban, Arugadu in the Region around Ebla – Tell Mardikh (Syria)

There are many toponyms mentioned in the Ebla texts but so far, even after more than 40 years of studies, very few of them are identified with modern sites. In my PhD dissertation, discussed some months ago in Rome, I tried to identify some of these toponyms: Nirar, Burman, Lumnan, Luban, Arugadu. These cities are among the closest allies of Ebla. Using the references to these sites quoted in the Ebla published and unpublished texts (put at my disposal by prof. M.G. Biga) and my experience of field work in several excavations in Syria in the region around Ebla, I propose some possible identifications for these sites.
 # S06 – Landscapes

Kellner, Angelika *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Time is Running: Ancient Greek Chronography and the Ancient Near East

In the second half of the 5th century BC lists of eponymous secular and sacred officials, which reached back into the Archaic period (ca. 800-500 BC), were published from

various cities in Greece. This is usually understood to mark the beginning of a new literary genre, namely chronography. The fragmentary state of these works poses a serious challenge when trying to draw conclusions about content and form. It remains unclear for example, whether all chronographic texts were written as annalistic reports of events. The presentation will offer a discussion of the most essential evidence in order to gain an impression of ancient Greek chronography, foremost the Athenian Archon list and the written histories of Athens (Atthidography).

In a next step, the paper addresses the wide spread assumption that ancient Greek chronography was highly influenced by similar writings from the ancient Near East and will thus deal with the interesting aspect of possible adoption and adaptation. In particular, this concerns the question, if the Neo-Assyrian Limmu list might have served as a blueprint for the Athenian Archon list. Even though the poor preservation of ancient Greek chronography impedes comparison, an inquiry will attempt to consider parallels and differences with Neo-Assyrian texts and Babylonian chronicles. Recent research has provided new results and insights into the study of chronicles in Greece and Mesopotamia. Therefore, researching this topic anew is of particular importance.

 # S17 – Contact Zone: Levante

Kerekes, Miklós *(İstanbul Üniversitesi = Istanbul University)*

The influencing Factors of the Neo-Assyrian Provincial System of Anatolia

At the first sight the Neo-Assyrian provincial system can be seen as a highly uniformed and standardized structure. But the system was not as stable as it seems; it was changing and constantly influenced by several factors. Anatolia was always a kind of border and a changing and expanding scene for the Assyrians. So this region (actually for the research, present-day Turkey) gives a perfect chance to investigate the expansion of the provincial system. This expansion, and constant change in the mean time, was always influenced by several factors. Time is one of the most evident one; as the frontier of the empire expanded, the same province must have had a different role as a border or a core state. Also, the Assyrian rule must have had a different level of influence in a province under a few decades or hundreds of years. The ethnical background of a region can be another factor. For example if a region had belonged to the Empire during the Middle Assyrian period, and even had former Assyrian population, it must have been a more solid base for a newly formed state. Also, the local population (Aramean, Luwis, Hurri or others), and their culture (Aramean, Syrio-Hittie, Hurrian etc.) might have had an effect. To incorporate a city-state or a region ruled by a semi-nomadic tribe required different approaches. Finally, the geography is also an inevitable factor. A mountainous terrain or a lowland require different solution from the centre to form a functioning province.

 # S05 – Assyria

Kitazumi, Tomoki *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

Archibald H. Sayce: seine Leistungen innerhalb der Altorientalistik aus Sicht der damaligen und heutigen Indogermanistik

Archibald H. Sayce, der erste ordentliche Professor der Assyriologie an der Universität Oxford, war ein Universalgelehrter. Seine Forschungstätigkeit erstreckte sich über die

Disziplinen der Altorientalistik, Bibelwissenschaft (die ja damals noch die Assyriologie als Unterkategorie hatte), Klassischen Philologie, Ägyptologie und schließlich der Vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, in der er unter der Leitung von Friedrich Max Müller sein Wissen vertiefte. Noch immer existiert keine umfassende Zusammenstellung seiner Werke innerhalb und außerhalb der Fachwelt, und dementsprechend liegt bislang keine adäquate Bewertung seiner Leistungen als Wissenschaftler vor.

Um diesem Forschungsbedarf zu begegnen, liegt der Schwerpunkt meines Beitrags auf Sayces Leistungen um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert, und zwar unter Berücksichtigung der altorientalistischen Forschungsgeschichte Großbritanniens. Aus Sicht des damaligen und heutigen Wissensstandes der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft werden seine Arbeiten, besonders im Bereich der Altanatolistik, die in letzter Zeit bemerkenswerte Fortschritte verzeichnen konnte, evaluiert. Dabei handelt es sich natürlich nur um einen winzigen Teil seiner äußerst vielfältigen Forschungstätigkeit.

Es stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern Sayces indogermanistische Kenntnisse zu seinem Verständnis und seiner Erforschung des Alten Orients – sei es positiv oder negativ – beitrugen. Wie hat er „die Hethiter" betrachtet? Warum scheiterte letztendlich seine Entzifferungsmethode der hethitischen Sprache, während stattdessen dieses Verdienst Bedřich Hrozný gebührte? Wie hat sich dann sein Bild der Hethiter nach der Entzifferung ihrer Sprache geändert? Worin bestehenseine Leistungen bei der Entzifferung des Hieroglyphenluwischen, und wie „richtig" hat er geraten? Es wird der Versuch unternommen, die Bedeutung seines indogermanistischen Wissens für die Altorientalistik aufzuzeigen.

Am Ende des Vortrages wird eine (provisorische) Liste der Publikationen Sayces vorgestellt.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Klein, Jacob and **Sefati**, Yitschak *(Bar-Ilan University)*

On the Two Principal Meanings of the Sumerian Term l u g a l

Already the Akkadian lexicographers realized that the common ancient Sumerian term l u g a l has two major meanings: A more general and primary meaning "lord"/"master", and a more specific, secondary meaning "king". Accordingly, they translated this word by two Akkadian words: *bēlum* and *šarrum* respectively. While the former meaning has a general socio-legal connotation, the latter is a specific political title. This is a common knowledge, and in most cases it is easy to choose between these two translations. However, in certain texts of literary-poetical nature this term is used in a somewhat ambiguous context, and it is not easy to determine its exact meaning. The main purpose of this paper is to reexamine the usage of this term in literary-poetic texts, where the context is ambiguous and not unequivocal; to examine the various translations that were chosen or preferred by former Sumerologists; and to try to suggest certain rules which might facilitate to determine the correct meaning of the term in these contexts. A major context, in which the meaning of l u g a l may be ambiguous is when it is juxtaposed with the political-religious epithet en "lord"/"en priest". These contexts will be examined with particular attention, taking into account the origins of these epithets and the semantic changes which they underwent during the third millennium BCE.

Klinkott, Hilmar *(Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel)*

The Siege of Cities: Transfer of poliorketics from Mesopotamia to Greece?

In a recent article Norbert Kramer (Kramer 2017, 84-88) states the fact, that the siege of cities seemed to be a part of royal representation and ideology in Achaemenid time comparable to other major projects. The capacity and competence of the Great King to organize and manage these kinds of projects obviously follows a quite older, Assyrian and Babylonian tradition to demonstrate the royal legitimacy. In that respect it becomes evident that the siege of cities or: the illustration of the besieging is missing in classical Greek texts and pictures. The aspect of military technics, so to say the poliorketic in military practice as well as in a scientific sense seem to lack in classical Greece, but is a prominent theme in Hellenistic time. Between Homer's siege of Troy and Alexander's siege of Tyrus a poliorketic development achieved in Greece and Macedonia which seem to be supported by Achaemenid influences. Pictorial representations from Achaemenid Asia Minor, for example from Mysia and Lycia, may confirm this theory. If the assumption is correct that poliorketic knowledge swept from older Babylonian traditions to Greece operated by the Achaemenid empire we have to ask in consequence: In which time, by whom and in which situation this mediation particularly took place? And what does it mean for the character of city fortification and Greek besieging technics?

The goal of my paper is to illustrate the transfer of polioketic knowledge from Mesopotamia to Greece in detail, to define the historical context of its enforcement and to explain its consequences for a new, Greek military approach.

 # S04 – Cultural Transfer: Material Culture

Kompatscher, Gabriela *(Universität Innsbruck)* and **Mattila**, Raija *(Suomen Lähi-idän instituutti = Finnish Institute in the Middle East)*

Human Animal Studies and the Ancient Near East: Introduction

Gabriela Kompatscher and Raija Mattila will give an introduction to the workshop in two parts: The first part will consist of an overview of the prerequisites, principles, policies, methods, tasks and interdisciplinary approaches of Human-Animal Studies. Subsequently, pioneers, theories and challenges of the Historical Animal Studies will be presented in order to point out the many opportunities and chances a new perspective on animals in history can offer like, for example, feminist history did by making visible women and their significance in historical processes and taking their perspective. A short look at Human-Animal Studies in the Classics will close this part.

The second part will discuss Human Animal Studies and the Ancient Near Eastern material. Human Animal Studies have in the past years drawn attention to the role of animals in the ancient sources. Much of the discussion so far has evolved round literary sources, including animals in fables, myths, and omen texts. In this workshop we wish to concentrate on real animals and their role in Ancient Near Eastern texts and history. The viewpoint will be animal-oriented history that sees animals as agents, as co-designers of our past, and studies how animals were working in our past and how they shaped it. The workshop aspires to make Human Animal Studies better known among

the researchers of the Ancient Near East and to contribute to the Human-Animal Studies with the help of the extraordinary richness of the Near Eastern sources.
 # W01 – Animals and History

Konstantopoulos, Gina *(Helsingin Yliopisto = University of Helsinki)*

The Reception of Mesopotamia: From Victorian Spectacle to Science Fiction and *Snow Crash*

From the nineteenth century to the modern day, the place of Assyriology within popular culture has often been eclipsed in comparison to the more widespread popularity of Egyptology. Despite this, there are a number of instances where Mesopotamia held considerable popular attention. One particularly famous spike of public interest is tied to the first excavations of the mid-nineteenth century, whose finds captured the Victorian imagination, with full-page spreads in the Illustrated London News detailing the exciting "Nimroud Sculptures." Although the nineteenth century and early twentieth century fixated upon either Biblical links or archaeological finds, Mesopotamia's presence in popular culture during the latter half of the twentieth century was increasingly connected to texts and language, particularly Sumerian. Furthermore, while the reception of Mesopotamia in the Victorian period was, in many ways, an orientalist fascination with the past, the reception in more modern popular culture shifted to look forward, inventing past histories as well as new science-fiction futures. This paper considers the modern reception of Mesopotamia, focusing in particular on its appearance in science fiction, as exemplified by the use of Sumerian in Neal Stephenson's 1992 cyberpunk novel Snow Crash, perhaps the most in-depth appearance of the language in modern science fiction. Snow Crash draws strongly on Mesopotamian mythology, and features Sumerian as essentially the fundamental programming language for humanity as whole. This paper will analyze the shift in the reception of Mesopotamia in popular culture, considering how its representation in more modern contexts reflects equally modern and distinct perspectives on the ancient world.
 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Kozuh, Michael *(Auburn University)*

On Meat, Mesopotamia, and Modernity

In Human-Animal and Food studies, the longue durée history of meat tends to follow a predictable if understandable trajectory. It begins with the domestication of animals, stops briefly in the purity laws of the Hebrew Bible and sacrifices of Classical antiquity, shifts to medieval Christendom and early-modern Europe, and then fills the majority of its pages with factory farming and the commodification of meat in 19th and 20th century Western world. Despite some criticism (Fudge 2004), this trajectory takes modernism as the starting point in creating what Vialles (1994) calls the "ellipsis between animals and meat"—that is, the cultural, economic, and even spiritual processes that disassociated a slaughtered animal from its edible parts. Explanations for this modern disassociation range from the rise of urbanism and industrial capitalism (Cronon 1992) to the start of scientific food monitoring (Rixon 2000) and even the metonymy of gender violence (Carol 2010). In particular, some research posits an economic and

administrative culture, intimately tied to modern capitalism and the administrative state, that effectively turned animals into lifeless, faceless numbers (Fitzgerald 2010, Scott 1998, White 2012).

This paper argues that Human-Animal studies, as well as Agricultural and Food historians, should turn their attention to elite meat consumption in ancient Mesopotamia, as it both challenges and complements their world-historical models. Through a system of prebendal distribution, first millennium BC Mesopotamian temples followed a routinized and statutory routine for the distribution of sacrificial lambs by cuts of meat: for example, a shoulder went to the king, another shoulder to the priests, the kidneys to the butcher, a hock to the fuller, and so on. We know that up to 4,300 lambs per year entered some Babylonian temples as animals and many exited as predetermined cuts of meat.

In addition, Mesopotamian administrative culture strongly anticipates another characteristic of slaughterhouse modernity: a dispassionate, bureaucratic, and impersonal relationship to the animals themselves. Indeed, what is most striking about cuneiform animal management texts is their banality, as they exhibit simple binary classifications (e.g., sheep vs. goat, male vs female, young vs old), lack attention to animal breeds, characteristics, or individual attributes, use basic administrative modeling, and take a generally mundane and routinized approach to animal management.

In the end, I explain the parallels between Mesopotamia and modernity in three ways: first, an ancient understanding of the temple, like the modern slaughterhouse, as a place of enhanced purity and regulation, which mitigated fears of meat divorced from its source; second, shared cultural norms that prize urbanity and sophistication, in which the disjunction between animals and meat is part of larger systems where the ability both to segment and coordinate multiple processes takes on cultural distinction; and, finally, the simple need to deal with animals at scale, where administrative efficiency tends to flatten out and decolorize distinctions that take precedence in smaller scale, more intimate relationships.
 # W01 – Animals and History

Kraus, Nicholas *(Yale University)*

Scribal Education in Sargonic Mesopotamia

This paper will present an overview of the program of scribal education during the period of Sargonic hegemony in Mesopotamia (c. 2350-2150). This will include an outline of the different topics found in the school tablets, the structure and methodology of education, as well as the goals of an education in the scribal arts at this time. In addition to that, it will touch upon the language of instruction and propose a setting where scribal education was performed. Ultimately this research will show that education at this time had a close relationship with the administrative institutions of the empire, and that the goal of education was to produce a competent bureaucrat.
 # S20 – Scribes & Authors

Krebernik, Manfred *(Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)*

The Relationship between Language and Early Writing

Cuneiform writing in its fully developed stage was glottographic, i.e. it represented words and phrases of natural languages. The cuneiform system was, however, not created for this purpose. It started ca 3300 BC as an advanced administration technique based on older sign and communication systems serving similar purposes (seals, tokens, numerical notations). The cuneiform signs seem to have been conceived as representations of objects, quantities, functionaries and operations rather than as representations of lexemes and sounds. The earliest, assumedly "object-oriented" phase of cuneiform is often called "proto-cuneiform". The ensuing evolution of glottography, and in particular phonography, implies, however, that a certain relationship between writing and language preexisted or became established. In my presentation, I would like to take a closer look at the evolution of cuneiform glottography and its implications, among them the much-debated problem of the language(s) behind the archaic texts.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Krebernik, Manfred and **Hoffmann**, Susanne *(Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)*

Gods, Names, Asterisms – How to Visualize MUL.APIN's Constellations?

The first tablet of MUL.APIN begins with a long list of names of asterisms (most of them constellations, some single stars) which are associated with certain deities. Our investigation is based on the text as reconstructed by Hunger and Pingree (1989) and currently re-edited by Hunger and Steele. Our presentation aims at conceptualizing and visualizing the Babylonian sky based on a careful re-reading of the text and discusses the problems of some conventional translations. Furthermore, the deities linked to asterisms will be examined more closely than in the past. The resulting textual interpretations have led to new suggestions, which are illustrated via a 3D model and compared with previous visual representations of asterisms. The combination of a philological approach with astronomical computation holds potential for improving our understanding of Babylonian uranography and its historical development.

 # W09 – Stars and Constellations in Babylonian Astronomy

Kroll, Stephan *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Notes on Urartian Architecture

In the Urartu euphoria of the last century some features were labeled Urartian though this attribution today looks doubtful. Not all rock-cut tombs within the territory of Urartu were in fact constructed by Urartians; in the same way stepped rock-cut tunnels belong to a later period. Some city walls surrounding an Urartian site belong to a later period too. And some sites in NW-Iran called Median by Kleiss/Kroll are not Median at all but Hellenistic. Domestic architecture partly was of so poor quality that excavators at Hasanlu or Bastam questioned if it could be Urartian.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Kryszat, Guido *(Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)*

A new Look on Assyrian History in the late 3rd and early 2nd Millennium

During the last decade the discussion on how to interpret and understand the first part of the Assyrian Kinglist and henceforth early Assyrian history has experienced a kind of renaissance. Unfortunately with only a few exceptions new articles were written by people without true insight into Old Assyrian realities. This appears to be a flawed methodical approach. This paper tries to do justice to the above mentioned realities and attempts to give a complete (as far as possible) picture of the period in question with a particular view of some Old Assyrian "peculiarities" that have been neglected so far, e.g. the Pantheon and the eminently connections Assyrian culture has to the lands in the West and Northwest.

 # S05 – Assyria

Kubiak-Schneider, Aleksandra *(Independent)*

Hymns in Stone. The Palmyrene "He whose name is blessed forever" and its ancient origins

169 Palmyrene inscriptions, qualified as votive dedications, contain an Aramaic formula "He whose name is blessed forever". They date mostly on 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Previous research focused rather on the identification of the "Blessed Name" than on the meaning of the whole expression and its place in the local cults. The study conducted to my Ph.D. brought into the light a connection between this cultic formula and Mesopotamian prayers and hymns. This paper will focus on the link with Babylonian and Assyrian religious traditions, which is very striking in case of the presented material. First of all, the Palmyrene epigraphic material, in the aspect of their language and expressions, and will be put side by side with the Akkadian evidence. For Palmyra I have chosen a few examples, like: PAT 1558, PAT 1911 and PAT 1928. Concerning the Akkadian hymns and prayers, I concentrate on Ludlul Bel Nemeqi, shuilla prayers to Marduk, Nabu and Nergal and Great Hymn to Ishtar. Second of all, I will try to answer the question of the category of the inscriptions: are they simply the votive dedications or are they short, personal, hymns towards a merciful deity? Furthermore, it would be also interesting to pose the question: why particularly Palmyra, and not the other places in the Roman Near-East, shows such strong parallels with the Mesopotamian religious traditions?

 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Kuntner, Walter *(Universität Innsbruck)*

The Occupation Sequence of the Central Fort of Aramus and the Lchashen-Metsamor Horizon

The fortress of Aramus represents one of the biggest Urartian fortresses in nowadays Armenia. It was founded by Argishti I. in the context of the foundation of the royal capital at Erebuni and of the military expansion of the kingdom of Biainili to the region of Lake Sevan. The Armenian-Austrian excavations at Aramus revealed a continuous occupation defined on the basis of the constructional maintenance of the Central Fort

from the 8th to 3rd century BCE. The ceramic material associated to the occupation is consistently characterised by Lchashen-Metsamor ceramic culture traditions, thus displaying a strong continuity of the local culture despite the origin and function of the foundation of the fortress and the more than one-century-long use by the kings of Biainili. The paper will focus on the ceramic material of the Late Urartian levels Aramus III and II and questioning its chronological significance for the understanding of the Biainili-Urartu relation.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Laneri, Nicola *(Center for Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies: School of Religious Studies)*

Divine Statues and Icons: Consecrating and venerating the cultic Image in the Ancient Near East

'Things' and 'mind' are closely related in how we perceive the world and construct our cognitive schemata, because, as stated by numerous scholars interested in materiality, objects engage with us and they are transformed by our relationship with the outer world but also with the supernatural world. In fact, religious beliefs are built upon a spiritual (inner) domain that is physically engraved into the material presence of the divine in the objects and the natural elements and phenomena that surround us. As a consequence, as stated by David Morgan and colleagues, we have to «regard sacred things as tools with handles for both the human user and a non-human one (i.e., the supernatural) … it is the simplest version of a network: three agents engaged in a dynamic set of relations that redefine the scope of each» (Morgan, Plate, Stolow, Whitehead 2015).

In particular, it is the physical representation of the divinity in the world of the devotees (i.e., the statue or the iconic representation) that become central for developing forms of religious beliefs. This is especially the case of polytheistic ancient religions in which the statue gave 'life' to the deity. In the case of ancient Mesopotamia, as posed by Oppenheim (2013: 166), the deity was considered present through his/her iconic representation.

In fact, only in mythological stories the gods are located in cosmological places, otherwise their image (statue) represents them on earth and when the image travels theirs essence travels with them. The icon had a double function: to represent the divinity in the sanctuary in which sacrifices were enacted and to travel within the landscape for specific ceremonies. In order to reach this status, the ancient Mesopotamian statue of a deity was brought to life after its creation through the ritual of the 'washing of the mouth' (i.e., *mîs-pî* ritual, Walker and Dick 2001) and, as mentioned in later Seleucid texts from Uruk, it was kept alive by its feeding with two meals a day. At the end of its life, the statue was buried in a votive place (usually under the temple's floors as is the case of Early Dynastic statues, Evans 2012).

This paper will thus investigate the importance of the materiality of the divine essence through its representation in statues and other forms of visual representation with a specific focus on the ritual of the washing of the mouth in the ancient Mesopotamian tradition.

 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Lang, Martin und **Meßner**, Reinhard *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Forms of Speech and Literary Patterns in Rituals and Prayers from the Cuneiform World and in Early Christianity

Certain forms of speech and literary patterns of prayers and ritual texts of cuneiform sources and Christian material from the Late Antiquity seem to be strikingly similar. This applies e.g. to the introductions of incantations and to the Epiclesis, a peculiar form of Christian prayer which probably emerged in Syria. The authors try to follow the traces of its tradition history. The possible origin of summoning a divinity to "stand" or to "enter" and to reveal something has its documentable origins in the early 2nd millennium BCE in a special kind of prayer being an integral part of a procedure of divination.

 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Lassen, Agnete Wisti *(Yale University)*

Sealing Practices in the Kassite and Middle Assyrian periods

Clear differences are discernable between Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian sealing practices and, albeit with some exceptions, these continue into the Kassite and Middle Assyrian periods. While there is some use of Babylonian practices in Old and Middle Assyrian documents, it is still possible to define, in general terms, an Assyrian practice and a Babylonian practice. As has been successfully argued for the late Old Babylonian period, use practices can directly influence glyptic design: in the Old Babylonian period the practice of only stamping the seal legend into the tablet or envelope led to a simplification of the design and a heavy emphasis on the inscription. This presentation will explore Kassite and Middle Assyrian sealing practices and if the practice of rolling seals parallel with the inscription, as was the Assyrian practice, was connected to the 90 degree rotation of the seal legend observed in some Middle Assyrian and Kassite seals.

 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Lauinger, Jacob *(John Hopkins University)*

The Statue of Idrimi as a Locus of Religious Action

The inscribed statue of Idrimi from Alalah (modern Tell Atchana) offers one of the earliest narrative accounts from Late Bronze Age Syro-Anatolia and thus has been frequently utilized in reconstructions of the history of that period. The statue's place in the religious life of LBA Alalah has received less attention, though a scholarly consensus generally holds that the statue played a role in an ancestor cult. This paper attempts to deepen our understanding of the Idrimi statue in this regard by combining archaeological, art historical, and textual perspectives in order to approach the statue as a locus of religious action.

 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Licheli, Vakhtang *(Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)*

Pre – Urartian Innovation in Eastern Georgia

The second half of the 2nd millennium BC. and the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. is marked with an important changes in the Caucasus. Researches that were held in the latest times revealed totally particular innovation that radically changed cultural and political history of this period.

These are two inscriptions unearthed on Grakliani Gora (Eastern Georgia), which date 10th century BC. The scripts found on Grakliani Gora are earlier almost two centuries, than the earliest Urartian inscriptions that were known before. These scripts are complied with two different written language systems.

On the 3rd terrace, remains of small building was unearthed (6 X 2,7 m). Massive clay construction - altar attached to West wall of the building was revealed with scattered fragments of different size ceramic vessels. There are three signs ("A inscription") on the north corner of the altar.

In the central part of the building 0,5 m distance from northern wall small size(0,55 X 0,40 m) clay altar was revealed, which according to the plan has shape of dish with rounded angels and raised sides. Ash remains are observed in this small area. Presumably south part of altar was elevated and accordingly altar was attached to northern wall. It was placed on clay pedestal. On forehead of the pedestal there is an inscription. Length of the inscription ("B inscription") is 0,8 m and height – 0,007 m.

At East corner of the pedestal burnt log (d = 12 cm) was shown which indicates that additional, special construction was arranged for this altar inside the temple interior and accordingly we can assume that this altar was of great significance. This wooden log was used as a short column supporting clay stele with engraved information on it and the sheep's head's clay sculpture on the top.

Grakliani inscription is the earliest on the territory of Caucasus.

 # W10 – The Spread of Urartu

Linder, Nadia *(Universität Wien)*

Continuity in Change: Hermeneutic Principles of Old Babylonian Diri "Oxford" in the Light of the 4th and 3rd Millennium Lexical Lists

Writing has in the West long been seen as a secondary system, purely sub- servient to language (cf. DE SAUSSURE, Course in General Linguistics). The cuneiform writing system, antedating such Aristotelian notions, demonstrates that the written word can be more than merely the notation of sounds.

The Old Babylonian period constitutes a key point in the history of Mesopotamian cuneiform writing, one during which a scribal curriculum was instituted, to keep Sumerian traditions alive and facilitate the training of scribes. The revolutionary aspect of this and the changes as compared to the 3rd millennium are often emphasised (cp. VELDHUIS 2014, History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition).

In this presentation it will be demonstrated that the Old Babylonian lexical list Diri "Oxford", a reference text of advanced scribal education in Nippur, utilises a complex network of interactions and relations between lemmata to establish the internal structure of the text. The principles of these have been established in the 4th and 3rd

millennium (cp. WAGENSONNER 2010, "Early Lexical Lists Revisited. Structures and Classification as a mnemonic device").

Focusing on the Sumerian of the text, it can be shown that within Old Babylonian Diri "Oxford", a wide array of association principles was used. The sign order is established using principles of Identity and Similarity - on the graphemic level, the phonetic level, and the semantic level. The preliminary research from my dissertation shows that the hermeneutic principles employed by cuneiform scholars in commentary texts of the 1st (cf. FRAHM 2011, Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries) and late 2nd millennium (cf. LENZI 2015, "Scribal hermeneutics and the twelve gates of Ludlul bel nemeqi") were already mostly in use in the Old Babylonian period, drawing on the knowledge of the scribes of the preceding 3rd and 4th millennium.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Liu, Changyu *(Zhejiang Normal University, Jinhua)*

Forms and Formulas: U_8+HUL_2 and u_8 gukkal in Ur III Sources from Drehem

Among the administrative documents issued by the Puzriš-Dagan organization (modern Drehem) dating to the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112-2004 BC), the term "female fat-tailed sheep" which is indicated in Sumerian, forming either U_8+HUL_2 or u_8 gukkal, occurs in different Ur III documents. This study aims to discuss the occurrence and frequency of the two different forms and formulas of terminology in Drehem texts during different dates, and try to find out the reason why the ancient scribes chose either than the only one and why they differentiated the documentation, by the comparation of images of their cuneiform tablets.

 # W02 – Narrative of Forms and Formulas or Forms and Formulas of Narrating? New Approaches to Standardized Elements in Documentary Sources

Llado, Alexandra *(Universitat de Barcelona)*

Feeding and Management of Wild Animals in Mesopotamia: The Case of the Lion According to Ur III Administrative Texts

The Third Dynasty of Ur (2110–2003 BC) is known as one of the periods best represented in administrative sources. Among the 97,000 published texts, a high proportion of documents include references to wild animals.

Officials of the Neo-Sumerian administration not only kept records of cattle and other domesticated animals, but of the management of wild and exotic fauna including stags, gazelles or bears, whose impact on the Sumerian economy is well documented. Some of these documents shed light on the ways these animals were cared for in this particular period.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the particular case of the lion. A corpus of over forty texts, originating from the centers of Puzriš-Dagān, Irisaĝrig, Ĝirsu and Umma, allows us to reconstruct some aspects of their care, including how they were managed, how they were feed, and by whom. We will also compare this case study with other animals for which we do not have this specific kind of information.

 # W01 – Animals and History

Machinist, Peter *(Harvard University)*

Paul Haupt: Between Two Worlds: Assyriology and Biblical Studies

Paul Haupt was one of the leading voices in the early history of Assyriology in Germany, and while he continued his Assyriological interests after his permanent move to the United States and Johns Hopkins University, his focus shifted to the study of the Hebrew Bible as well as to a myriad of concerns for education, scholarly organizations, and even international politics. This paper will look at Haupt's work before and after his move to Johns Hopkins, inquiring into the significance of his Assyriological contributions and the reasons for and consequences of his shift in focus to biblical and related work.
 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Maejima, Reiko *(Universität Wien)*

Keigo Harada and the Babylon Society in Japan in the early Years of the 20th Century

The birth of Assyriology in Japan took place at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Babylon Society organized by Keigo Harada was the biggest Assyriological association before World War II and had a pivotal role in the history of Assyriology in Japan. The Babylon Society was an absolutely private organization. Keigo Harada was a lawyer, he did not belong to any academic institution, like universities or museums, and most of the members were also lawyers or politicians. The Babylon Society was funded privately. Moreover, Keigo Harada put forward his own theory of the origin of Japanese, which was "Japanese came from Babylon". This association was clearly accounted for by the modernization and the international relations around Japan. However, no previous study has investigated the background of the private association and its own theory.

This paper analyses the relationship between the purpose of Babylon Society by Keigo Harada and Japanese political and social situation in the early years of the twentieth century. First it gives a brief overview of the history of Babylon Society. The second part deals with Keigo Harada's theory of the origin of Japanese. Finally it will demonstrate that the international relation with European countries brought a feeling of inferiority to some elite groups of Japanese and Harada's theory and Babylon Society arise from this feeling.
 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Manasterska, Sara *(Uniwersytet Warszawski = University of Warsaw)*

Nouns and Cases: an Analysis of Neo-Assyrian Letters

In his famous grammar W. von. Soden wrote that in the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian period the case system of Akkadian underwent a change that eliminated the accusative ending -a, resulting in a dual-case system of nominative-accusative and genitive (von Soden 1952: 80-81). This observation has been assumed to be essentially correct, although it can be neatly complemented with the observation that in the instances where the object may be difficult to differentiate from neighbouring nominal forms and needs to be emphasised for clarity, it can be preceded by the preposition ana used as a nota accusativi (Parpola 1984: 205, Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 77). However, a

detailed analysis of Neo-Assyrian nouns and their cases is still pending (the history of research on cases in Neo- and Late Babylonian is summarised by Streck 2014). The following paper is an attempt to rectify this situation by presenting a detailed account of the nouns in the Neo-Assyrian letters. The nouns will be classified according to their endings, and on the basis of the verb by which they are governed and its syntactic and semantic function. The presence or absence of any statistically significant distribution patterns of nominal endings will be crucial in establishing whether the heretofore generally assumed paradigm of Neo-Assyrian declension is correct.

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 # S14 – Grammar

Manning, Sean *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Modern Stereotypes about the Orient and Perceptions of Achaemenid Swords

Readers of the Landmark Arrian, Daniela Agre's study of a very interesting grave from Thrace, or Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones' sourcebook on the king and court in Achaemenid Persia would be entitled to believe that Achaemenid soldiers used curved swords or scimitars, and that these swords looked foreign to Greek eyes. However, the philological, archaeological, and artistic evidence provides many arguments against these propositions. This paper will examine that evidence, and ask whether stereotypes that orientals wield curved blades still shape modern perceptions of the ancient Near East.

Most references to ancient scimitars or =Krummsäbel= are based on Greek texts using the words =akinakes= or =kopis=, and on depictions of easterners in Attic Red Figure vase painting. While Late Babylonian texts describe all swords and daggers with generic terms such as =patru= (GIR2 AN.BAR), the classical sources can be combined with the sculptures at from Persepolis and western Anatolia and archaeological finds from sites such as Deve Hüyük, Kalapodi, and various kurgans on the steppes. In monumental art, forms of weapons were part of the language which distinguished the 'Elamite' or 'royal' costume with its flowing robes and the 'Median' or 'cavalry ' outfit with its trousers and hood, and assigned figures to specific subject nations. Moreover, the Greek terms can be examined within the broader context of Greek vocabulary, and modern translations or definitions can be compared to usage by ancient writers. The Iranian loanword =akinakes=, for example, can be identified with a very specific form of weapon, and seems to be used consistently by Greek writers.

Translations and generalizations exist in a context, and part of that context is a thousand-year tradition that the non-Christian, non-European Other uses curved single-

edged swords. This stereotype emerged during the middle ages amongst changes in theology and encounters with the steppes, and intensified in the early modern period when European merchants and soldiers encountered warriors in distant parts of Eurasia and curved swords were fashionable in the Islamic world. Some translations are easier to understand as examples of this tradition than as deductions from ancient sources. The choice to quote an old translation or trust the interpretations in an old handbook comes with a risk of promulgating the assumptions and stereotypes which lie behind such works.

 # S04 – Cultural Transfer: Material Culture

Marchesi, Gianni *(Università di Bologna)*

Back to the Sumerian Problem: The Issue of the Language behind the Proto-Cuneiform Texts

It is often stated that the proto-cuneiform writing of the Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods in Mesopotamia stemmed from an earlier accounting technique that used small clay or stone objects of various shape – the so-called tokens – to represent commodities and to record economic transactions. In addition, some scholars argued that the proto-cuneiform graphemes did not represent words and phrases, but rather realia and actions. Finally, while the majority of scholars think that proto-cuneiform was invented by Sumerians, some are rather skeptical about this and observe that there is no compelling evidence for attributing this invention to Sumerians. On the contrary, a number of data would support the view that Sumerians were newcomers in the Mesopotamian alluvium and that they arrived after the invention of writing.

As I see it, proto-cuneiform is a complex semiotic system that has very little in common with the system of tokens. More importantly, the former is demonstrably glottographic from its very beginning. In fact, three important features of later cuneiform writing are already found in proto-cuneiform: the polyphonic character of signs, the use of phonetic complements, and the application of the rebus principle. A closer look at the texts reveals that they are probably written in Sumerian and that Sumerians were already there. Contrary to what is often repeated, not only Sumerian words but also bona fide Sumerian personal names consisting of Sumerian sentences can actually be identified in these early texts.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Markl, Dominik *(Pontificium Institutum Biblicum)*

The Rhetoric of Power in Esarhaddon's Succession Treaties and in Deuteronomy

Previous studies (esp. by Hans Ulrich Steymans, Eckart Otto and Bernard Levinson) have shown the close similarities between Esarhaddon's Succession Treaties (EST, 672 bce) and some texts in Deuteronomy (especially Deuteronomy 13 and the curses of Deuteronomy 28). The discovery of an almost intact copy of EST at Tell Tayinat in 2009 (edited by Jacob Lauinger) has strengthened the historical plausibility of the exposition of a copy of EST in Jerusalem and its direct influence on an early version of Deuteronomy. The present paper will compare the use of rhetoric of power in EST and

in Deuteronomy, focusing on four areas. First, the general address of a public audience by an authoritative voice in second person and the exceptional appearance of a voice in first person plural in commissive speech acts; second, metatextual references to and authorizations of the written document (the adê and the "book of the torah" respectively); third, instructions concerning the transgenerational transmittance of the document's normative content; and fourth, the role of deities in the rhetoric of power. In all four areas, the analysis will show both structural analogies and differences. While EST is a document of immediate written rhetoric of power used as a means of imperial politics, Deuteronomy's employment of similar techniques is transformed to a higher level of complexity through its embedding into a larger literary complex.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Mattila, Raija *(Suomen Lähi-idän instituutti = Finnish Institute in the Middle East)* and **Kompatscher**, Gabriela *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Human Animal Studies and the Ancient Near East: Introduction

Gabriela Kompatscher and Raija Mattila will give an introduction to the workshop in two parts: The first part will consist of an overview of the prerequisites, principles, policies, methods, tasks and interdisciplinary approaches of Human-Animal Studies. Subsequently, pioneers, theories and challenges of the Historical Animal Studies will be presented in order to point out the many opportunities and chances a new perspective on animals in history can offer like, for example, feminist history did by making visible women and their significance in historical processes and taking their perspective. A short look at Human-Animal Studies in the Classics will close this part.

The second part will discuss Human Animal Studies and the Ancient Near Eastern material. Human Animal Studies have in the past years drawn attention to the role of animals in the ancient sources. Much of the discussion so far has evolved round literary sources, including animals in fables, myths, and omen texts. In this workshop we wish to concentrate on real animals and their role in Ancient Near Eastern texts and history. The viewpoint will be animal-oriented history that sees animals as agents, as co-designers of our past, and studies how animals were working in our past and how they shaped it. The workshop aspires to make Human Animal Studies better known among the researchers of the Ancient Near East and to contribute to the Human-Animal Studies with the help of the extraordinary richness of the Near Eastern sources.

 # W01 – Animals and History

Matuszak, Jana *(Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)*

Humour in Sumerian Didactic Literature, or: Schadenfreude as a Pedagogical Tool

The Sumerian didactic disputations and diatribes have often been described as 'humoristic' compositions, but the exact nature of the underlying humour has not been investigated so far. Bearing in mind the difficulties of identifying and correctly interpreting humour in ancient works of literature, an attempt at a systematic study of humour in Sumerian didactic disputations and diatribes will be made. The study will focus on a selection of relevant texts, namely the disputation between scribes known

as 'Dialogue 1' or 'Two Scribes,' the disputation between women known as 'Dialogue 5' or 'Two Women B,' the Diatribes B and C (also known as 'Engardu the Fool' and 'He is a Good Seed of a Dog,' respectively), as well as the hitherto unpublished diatribe against a woman entitled 'Ka ḫulu-a.' Since all these compositions are characterised by an abundance of insults, one aim of the investigation is to determine if and how these insults could have had a humoristic effect. In this context, the ancient 'Sitz im Leben' of the compositions will also be taken into consideration. While it is evident that these texts were studied at school, and probably had next to no relevance outside of it, at least the disputations potentially could have been performed on stage. Hence, the presence of an (imaginary or potential) audience will be included in the discussion of humour in Sumerian didactic literature.

 # S20 – Scribes & Authors

May, Natalie Naomi *(Independent)*

An Ideal City in the Ancient Near East: from the Earliest Time to Late Antiquity

The paper treats the concepts of an ideal city from their emergence in Mesopotamia and Syria through to Late Antiquity. I will scrutinize the notion of the ideal city analysing and comparing both written and archaeological sources. The use of mathematics for city construction as well as its esoteric numerological application will be discussed. Possible channels for transcultural conveyance of architectural ideas and skills will be suggested.

 # S04 – Cultural Transfer: Material Culture

McCaffrey, Kathleen A. *(Independent)*

Was the Bird in the Hand or in the Bush? Double Messaging in Gilg. VI 48-50, Emar 25

Worthington has recently suggested a new reading of a line in the Gilgamesh Epic Flood Story that can be read on two levels. This paper proposes that sections of the sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic are also written on two levels using wordplay conventions that were developed and refined over many centuries. Complex wordplay that communicates secretive aspects of Mesopotamian religion helps to explain why Assyrian scribes were reluctant to abandon the cuneiform writing system.

Using the example of the three-line bird bridegroom tale, together with a fourth line from the earlier copy from Emar that did not make it into the canonical composition, several literary devices will be identified that were used by Mesopotamian poets to create hidden words. The technical review will define categories of puns created with homonyms, similarly articulated sounds, and altered word boundaries. The subtext revealed by this set of procedures clarifies why Gilgamesh refuses Ishtar's proposal.

 # S13 – The Epic of Gilgamesh & Beyond

Meijer, Michèle Louise *(Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)*

Through the Gates of Hell and Back Again. On the Question of Influence between the Cults of Ištar and Greek Cybele

During recent excavations in the ancient Greek city of Hierapolis in western Asia Minor, archaeologists located the Plutonium mentioned by the classical writers Strabo and Pliny the Elder: a subterranean cave emitting deadly vapours and therefore in ancient times considered to be an entrance to the Netherworld. Strabo and Pliny report about the cave that while birds and bulls that are led into it drop dead immediately, the galli priests of Cybele, 'who are eunuchs', can enter unharmed. The archaeologists soon discovered that the deadly vapours described by these ancient writers are still active: several birds flying near the opening of the cave died. A recent report furthermore reveals that the deadly vapour is in fact a high CO_2 concentration and explains how the galli priests might have found a way to circumvent the danger while performing their ceremonies. To an Assyriologist this story about devotees of a goddess who can enter the Netherworld unharmed sounds familiar. In the text Inanna/Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld, Ištar's devotees go down to the Netherworld to save the goddess, who is trapped there. In my paper, I first discuss the similarities between the cults of Ištar and Cybele with respect to these trips to the Netherworld based on textual and material sources. Next, I address the question often asked in such comparative enterprises between Greek and Mesopotamian cultures: are we dealing with influence or merely with similar but independent developments due to the Aegean-Asian cultural continuum? Other similarities between Ištar and Cybele's devotees, such as a non-binary gender identity and the performance of loud music and war dances, have been noted before but remain largely unexplained. Taking into account these other similarities as well as circumstantial evidence of possible intermediaries and cultural interaction in the area, I argue that influence is the most likely explanation for these similar instances of going through the Gates of Hell... and back again.
 # S01 – Cultural Transfer: Religion

Meßner, Reinhard and Lang, Martin *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Forms of Speech and Literary Patterns in Rituals and Prayers from the Cuneiform World and in Early Christianity

Certain forms of speech and literary patterns of prayers and ritual texts of cuneiform sources and Christian material from the Late Antiquity seem to be strikingly similar. This applies e.g. to the introductions of incantations and to the Epiclesis, a peculiar form of Christian prayer which probably emerged in Syria. The authors try to follow the traces of its tradition history. The possible origin of summoning a divinity to "stand" or to "enter" and to reveal something has its documentable origins in the early 2nd millennium BCE in a special kind of prayer being an integral part of a procedure of divination.
 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Middeke-Conlin, Robert *(Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte)*

Planning a canal maintenance project during the reign of Hammurabi

YBC 12273 is an unprovenanced tabular administrative document in which volume excavated and labor expended in a canal widening project are estimated. Calculation of labor works as expected: volume multiplied by a labor coefficient produces man-day's labor. This is similar to the mathematical tradition as witnessed in texts like YBC 07164. However, the production of volume is not so straightforward. First, while numbers in the labor calculation of columns 4-6 appear with measurement units and express magnitude, numbers in the volume calculation of columns 1 through 3 appear without measurement units, rendering them ambiguous to the modern observer. Second, depth in column 2 is stated before width in column 3, which breaks from the order of calculation in mathematical texts like YBC 07164. Finally, in the first two multiplied rows, length multiplied by depth and then width produces half of the stated volume. Why is this? Why is there a difference between columns 1 through 3 and columns 4 through 6? Can value be associated with the numbers in columns 1 through 3? Why do these calculations seem to differ from the mathematical tradition? This presentation answers these questions as it examines YBC 12273, and in the process shed light on mathematical practice in a professional environment, how this can differ from mathematical practice in a scholarly text, and then how a project planned by an administrator could both reflect reality and differ from reality. In so doing, new light is shed on how mathematical practice could affect planning in the Old Babylonian economy.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Monamy, Elisabeth *(Archeomuse)*

The Elixir of Life. An intellectual Heritage?

When talking about the ancient Near East or Mesopotamia, archaeologists and assyriologists focus on the newest discoveries in cuneiform writings, or on architectural remains from different times and their modern destructions, small finds as jewelry, but also pottery or weapons and latest discoveries where excavations are possible. The daily life of ancient times is quite well known and can be reconstructing in the meantime. And still some aspects of the daily life are less studied or have been studied by scattered scholars. These works got very few response and hearing in the scientific community. One of these topics is nourishment. Food as sacrifice is known from texts or even from images. Food as burial gift was found during excavations. Food as nutrition is either found in shape of remains in pottery or listed in ration lists. One could think that food did not have a prevailing role as it has had in later times or even today. Showing its power through serving up doesn't seem to be of a concern in Mesopotamia. Or at least it was not considered as important to be mentioned in texts, letters and other written documents. Rare are the mentions what was made from the grain, barley and wheat rations. Our knowledge about daily food is very narrow. What could we answer to the question of lay persons about typical Mesopotamian food? Is there anything like "typical" Mesopotamian food we could compare to for example typical

Austrian food? Did Babylonians or Assyrian feel this need to distinguish themselves form "others" by their cookery, as we know it from later times and even nowadays? In this talk, food as part of the ancient Near East culture will be presented under the aspect of identity.

 # S04 – Cultural Transfer: Material Culture

Monroe, Willis *(University of British Columbia)*

Illustrating the Patterns of the Heavens in Cuneiform and Later Sources

Babylonian astronomical and astrological methods and precepts were long acknowledged by later cultural traditions in the history of their own scientific craft. Primarily these references took the form of a reference to the Chaldean astrologer or through oblique usage of a particular mathematical constant. Howver, an important component of later astrological and astronomical texts were the illustrations and diagrams added to them by copyists. The diagrams clarified the complicated methods for predictive astronomy but also illustrated complex systems of association between zodiac signs and other forms of knowledge, e.g. medicine. The use of diagrams is a very specific reception of a source text, where the reconfiguration of text into a visual form both adds and subtracts meaning through its conversion.

Cuneiform texts, in comparison, contain very few diagrams and illustrations of celestial topics. However, a tradition of circular diagrams and other illustrations does exist from the Neo-Assyrian down to the Hellenistic period. This talk will examine the progression of these diagrams in context with other forms of celestial illustration and seek to place the development of diagramatic processes in context with later (non-cuneiform) forms of astronomical and astrological diagrams. Crucially, there seems to be a progression of descriptive diagrams based on celestial geography that progresses to a analytic form of diagram where material from neighboring traditions is incorporated into diagrams in order to place it within the context of astronomical cycles. For instance, the Neo-Assyrian circular diagrams are primarly related to the position and order of stars and constellations in the sky, while later diagrams begin to incoporate the zodiac, finally a late circular diagram uses a circle to describe birth omens. This progression of diagrams will be compared with the practice of diagrams from later textual traditions to investigate the use of celestial paradigms in the description of related phenomena through illustration.

 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Morandi Bonacossi, Daniele and Coppini, Costanza *(Università degli Studi di Udine)*

The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project: settlements and landscape in the Bronze and Iron Ages

The presentation will deal with the results of the survey campaigns of the 'Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project', an interdisciplinary project carried out since 2012 by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Assyria of the University of Udine. The archaeological survey is carried out in Iraqi Kurdistan, in the area that is delimited by the Zagros foothills and the Tigris River, encompassing the fertile plain to the north-east

of Nineveh, i.e. the Land behind Nineveh, which was intensively settled and played a crucial economic and cultural role in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The transformations that affected the landscape are reflected in the settlements pattern of the region, as well as in the presence of the important Assyrian irrigation system connected to the agricultural exploitation of the fertile Nineveh plain. The survey results that will be presented will illustrate the development of settlements pattern and their changes throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, thus giving hints about the emergence and formation process of territorial powers and empires in the region.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Morello, Nathan *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

The *Ancient Records of Middle Eastern Polities (ARMEP)* Map Interface: its current Uses and future Prospects

ARMEP 1.0's interactive map interface, which was made public in December 2017, displays the find spots of about 6,700 ancient texts, all of which were written in the Akkadian and Sumerian languages and in cuneiform script. Most of these inscribed artifacts were discovered in modern-day Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, while others originate from Egypt, Iran, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia. This paper will demonstrate ARMEP's current functionality and outline features to be implemented in version 2.0, which is to be released later this year. The current, in-development and planned functionality of the map interface will be highlighted through examples from the recently completed corpus of Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online (RIAo).

 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Mori, Lucia *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

"Water and power": what is left? An introduction to the Waterscapes workshop

Water and its lack is certainly among the main concerns of the contemporary world and water crisis has been indicated as the main risk of higher concern of our modern times in a ten years perspective, in the "Global Risk Report" of the World Economic Forum in 2016. Sustainability and water management are currently perceived as crucial challenges the modern times have to face and thus, the research and preservation of hydro-cultural landscapes rooted in the past, especially in arid countries, has received a lot of attention in the past years.

The ancient Near East represents undoubtedly a rich field of research as far as ancient systems of water management are concerned, and a field providing fervid stimuli for theoretic discussion on the crucial "water and power" relation. The present paper is meant as an introduction to the Waterscape workshop, and aims at presenting different developments in the debate on models dealing with ancient near eastern water systems from the hydraulic society depicted by Wittfogel in 1957 to the more fragmented and multi-disciplinary perspectives of the contemporary researches.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Moskaleva, Anastasia *(St Petersburg University)*

Crime and Punishment in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions

The military campaigns of the Assyrian kings were an urgent need for the existence of the country. The Assyrian economy directly depended on the annual successful conquest and looting. In their inscriptions Neo-Assyrian kings reported in details about the campaigns and the conquests of the territories which were hostile to Assyria. Carefully studying the descriptions of those military deeds, we can not only trace the chronology of the events described, but also make assumptions about the reasons of those military conflicts and their consequences for the conquered territories. In some cases, Neo-Assyrian kings such as Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal said that there had been "ḫiṭṭu" - "crime, sin" committed against them. And the "criminal" – "bēl ḫiṭṭi" had to be punished in a certain way. Akkadian dictionaries and reference books give several synonyms of the word "ḫiṭṭu" (such as annu (arnu), gillatu, gullulte), often offering the following translation - "sin, fault, crime" and simultaneously "punishment". In this report there would be observed the following questions: how the term "ḫiṭṭu" was used and in what situations this word was met especially in the royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings; where this term comes from and in what kind of texts it was mostly used in previous periods; what the similarities and differences between the synonyms of this term are found in the context of royal inscriptions. The report also will consider the specific use of the term "bēl ḫiṭṭi" and its interpretation as a "violator of the vassal treaty or an oathbreaker". Another aspect of terminology associated with "ḫiṭṭu" is the use of words in its interpretation, which have the opposite meanings for the crime and the punishment, which could often be found in the legislative texts and the texts of adê-treaties.
 # S02 – Ideology & Authority

Mühl, Simone *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Excavations at Gird-i Shamlu 2015–2016: A Bronze Age and Late Chalcolithic Site in Southern Kurdistan

The site of Gird-i Shamlu is situated in the center of the Shahrizor Plain in Halabjah province, Iraqi Kurdistan. Its archaeological remains show that this site offers significant information on the archaeological material and history of the 2nd millennium BC. The Middle Bronze Age layers at the site are characterized by the discovery of a new ceramic form, the so called Shamlu pottery, which is named after this site and represents an intrusive element amongst the region's material culture. This pottery follows layers with pottery types known from old Babylonian contexts in Mesopotamia. Changes of the settlement system as well as in ceramic production together with historical information might indicate movement of people between the Iranian Highland and the Mesopotamian lowland. During the latest season in autumn 2016 excavations in the lower town of Shamlu have revealed Early Bronze Age structures and artifacts datable to the Akkadian and Early Dynastic periods. The early 3rd millennium BC architecture was destroyed by a fire and revealing finds of a local pottery tradition with a prolonging Late Chalcolithic repertoire that mixes with eastern Mesopotamian and North West Iranian Early Bronze Age key types.

The paper will summarize the results of the 2015 and 2016 excavations and discuss the implications of these results on our understanding of the regional modes of interaction between eastern Mesopotamia and the western Zagros during the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Müller, Gerfrid G. W. *(Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg / Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz)* and **Pirngruber**, Reinhard *(Universität Wien)*

Small samples, big variations: strategies to identify scribes

Techniques to identify groups of textes written by the same scribe have been proven to be successful with larger samples of Hittite library tablets. These clusters are generated from geometric features of wedge imprints of cuneiform characters which are detected by the Cuneiform Analyser (developed by Fisseler, Cammarosano, Müller and Weichert).

The contribution will present a comparative study of the handwritings of two well-known scribes in the service of the Eanna temple of Uruk during to the 'long sixth century' between the reign of Nabopolassar and the revolts against Xerxes in 484 B.C., Nādin, son of Bēl-ahhē-iqīša and Gimillu, son of Inanna-zēru-iddin. It is based on two samples of about forty legal and administrative texts each. These texts pose a challenge because they are less carefully written and therefore have a greater variation of characters. At the same time, the documents are comparatively short.

We discuss strategies to deal with these obstacles using autoptic analysis of attested allographs of selected standard signs and computer-aided metrology.
 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Mumcuoglu, Madeleine *(Hebrew University Jerusalem)*

Recessed Opening: The Reception History of a Sacred Architectural Symbol from the Prehistoric Near East until Today

Recessed openings received scant attention in studies of ancient Near Eastern architecture and iconographic representations. The earliest examples of recessed openings were uncovered in Late Prehistoric sites, dated to fifth and fourth millennia BCE Mesopotamia. The motif was likewise overlooked in research into later Greek, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Gothic architecture. The spread of recessed opening to Classical, Hellenistic Greece and Roman architecture is a significant development, as recessed openings entered into the Classical world from the civilizations of the ancient Near East. The motif was then adopted into Christian architecture in Byzantine, Romanesque and Gothic churches during the fourth to the 13th centuries CE and appeared in Islamic art. The impetus for our own investigation into this feature arose during excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa, a 10th century BCE Iron Age site in Israel, when a stone building model was uncovered with three recessed doorframes around a central door. We soon realized that the phenomenon was surprisingly pervasive. Our study documents the surprising history of recessed openings from their emergence in the ancient Near East to their representation in contemporary architecture. Second, we

seek to offer explanations for the cultural continuity of this phenomenon for some 6,500 years. Although the economy, technology, demography, social organization, settlement patterns, religion, burial customs, iconographic styles etc. underwent immense changes during this time, the concept of recessed openings remained intact and was never abandoned. What is the secret of the remarkable durability and vitality of recessed openings? We integrate cognitive and semiotic studies to explore how this phenomenon fulfilled very basic needs in cultic architecture and perceptions of the sacred.

Nonetheless, despite the immense changes that occurred during those 6,500 years in the economy, technology, demography, social organization, settlement patterns, religion, burial customs, and iconography etc., the concept of recessed openings was never forgotten or abandoned.

 # S04 – Cultural Transfer: Material Culture

Murai, Nobuaki *(Universiteit Leiden)*

Studies in the *aklu* documents of the Middle Babylonian period

This research deals with the Middle Babylonian aklu texts. In these documents several expenditures of agricultural products are labeled as aklu. The products issued were intended for several purposes like banquets, offerings, fodder for animals, provisions for caravans, etc. The aklu activities are attested for at least 135 years (1350 BCE, Burna-Buriyaš year 10, to 1216 BCE, Adad-šuma-uṣur year 1). The aklu documents are known from at least four areas in Babylonia: Nippur and its environs, Das Archiv des Speichers (South), Ur (South) and Dur-Kurigalzu (North).

In most cases the content of an aklu text is relatively simple so it is difficult to figure out exactly what a document means. The photos of the aklu texts and the seal impressions on them can be consulted at the website of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative.

The aklu documents are studied using the seal impressions found on them. By comparing the seal impressions on one group of texts with other groups, we can understand the aklu expenditures from a different point of view. In addition, we can deepen our knowledge employing a prosopographical study of the documents from Dur-Enlilē. The aklu documents are furthermore investigated according to several categories like seal references, year, month, day, key persons, professions, commodities, place names, and other notes found on the texts.

In the aklu documents we find artisans like brewers, millers, oil-pressers, and shepherds who prepared the commodities. However, the persons supervising these artisans do not seem to have sealed the documents. Instead, certain administrative officials sealed the documents, meaning that the aklu activities reflect administrative affairs. The royal family was involved in the aklu activities because some commodities (for example beer or flour) were issued for the coming and going of the king (elē šarri and arād šarri). Also, the offerings often attested in the aklu documents imply that the temples were somehow concerned with the aklu expenditures. Some persons who sealed the aklu documents belonged to prominent Akkadian families, like the family of Enlil-kidinnī and the family of Enlil-nīšu. Therefore, the aklu activities seem to have been administered by these prominent Akkadian families, whereas Babylonia was ruled by Kassite kings in the Middle Babylonian period.

 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Mynářová, Jana *(Univerzita Karlova)*

Amarna texts from the Northern Levant. The Qatna Palaeography in Context

The publication of some important cuneiform corpora from the Late Bronze Age Levant over the past decade has drastically changed the perspective taken towards issues pertaining to the acquisition and adaptation of cuneiform writing in the so-called peripheral areas. This development can especially be observed following the current research in cuneiform palaeography. The meetings in Leiden (2009) and Warsaw (2014) already demonstrated the potential of cuneiform palaeography for our understanding of the process of writing, the composition of the respective texts, and many other aspects. It is striking that the most complete tool for the study of one of the principal "peripheral" cuneiform corpora of the second millennium B.C., the Amarna corpus, remains to this day the sign list of O. Schroeder, published already in 1915. In 2012 a new project dedicated to the digital epigraphy and palaeography of the Amarna tablets started at the Charles University in Prague. In this presentation, I will present some results of the paleographic research conducted in this project. The paper intends to investigate possible common sources for a cuneiform palaeography of the Northern Levant with special attention given to the corpus of documents from Qatna (mod. Tell Mishrifeh, EA 52–56, EA 57?). The results will be set into a more general frame of cuneiform writing in peripheral areas of the Late Bronze Age.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Nabel, Jake *(The Getty, Getty Research Institute)*

From Anarchy to Family: Roman-Persian Relations and their Near Eastern Foundations

To judge from bodies of evidence like the Amarna letters, the interstate system of the Late Bronze Age was indelibly shaped by kinship: relations among the greater and lesser powers of the eastern Mediterranean were underpinned by bonds of parentage, brotherhood, and marriage between their ruling dynasties. What became of this dynamic once the ancient world reached a new balance of power between Rome and the empires of ancient Iran? In this paper, I argue that kinship persisted as a mode of engagement between the Roman emperors and their Iranian counterparts from the first century BCE until late antiquity. My analysis is intended to fill a gap in the literature on Roman-Persian relations, which remains overly focused on anarchic relations between the two empires rather than the cultural framework that shaped engagement between their ruling dynasties.

 # W08 – Ancient Iran and the Heritage of the Ancient Near East

Nadali, Davide et alii *(Sapienza Università di Roma / Università di Perugia)*

The Shape of Water: How Landscape and Environment Affected and Changed the Morphology of Tell Zurghul in the ancient State of Lagaš

A complex system of ancient river channels and marshes in proximity of the sea heavily characterized the landscape of the ancient State of Lagash, at the downstream sector of the Mesopotamian Plain (southern Iraq), from mid-5th to 2nd millennium BC. The

diachronic landscape changes that can be analysed thanks to the integration of geological and geomorphological analyses (through both remote sensing techniques and targeted field surveys) and archaeological investigations show how this "waterscape" definitely influenced the shapes of settlement and the organization of ancient societies from a cultural, economic and biological point of view.

Recent excavations at Tell Zurghul in southern Iraq are giving the possibility to test, in the field, the presence of water: ancient cuneiform sources, from the mid-3rd millennium BC, show the intense programme of the rulers of the State of Lagash in managing water through the construction of canals and the regulation of marshes characterized by marine water due to the proximity of the sea. In this respect, human actions (such as the digging of canals) and the variations of natural conditions (such as, for example, the geomorphic response to the mid-Holocene climate changes of the fluvial-and-marshes system at the lower sector of the Mesopotamian Plain) are recognizable in the field and they explain the morphology of the site in the past and the changes it suffered even in the present: water in fact is doubtless a fundamental resource for suitable conditions of formation and growth of a urban centre, but it also limits the possibility of extending occupation on the entire surface (as for example the exploitation of lands for agricultural purposes).

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Nash, Dustin *(Muhlenberg College)*

Assyriology and the Allosaurus: Inverse Rhetorical Strategies Concerning the 'Past' at the Creation Museum and Ark Encounter

The Creation Museum and the affiliated Ark Encounter, both located in northern Kentucky, are the premier Young Earth Creationist public attractions in the world. Operated jointly by the parachurch apologetics ministry AiG ("Answers in Genesis"), the expressed goal of these facilities is to convince visitors that the Bible accurately records the natural history of our planet. Thus they present artifacts, dioramas, interactive video displays, and placards to argue that science supports the biblical description of God's creation of the cosmos and a global flood. Most scholarly attention regarding these depictions of the past have focused on their portrayal of dinosaurs and the assertion that these "terrible lizards" cohabited with humans. Yet, while paleontology presents a clear challenge to the chronology that the Creation Museum and Ark Encounter advocate, so does Assyriology. Despite this similarity, the present paper will show that the facilities deploy strikingly different rhetorical strategies in their representation of dinosaurs versus ancient human societies of the Near East. More specifically, a focused analysis of how these Young Earth Creationist attractions utilize Sumerian and Akkadian sources, representations of cuneiform writing, and ancient Mesopotamian material culture (especially artistic representations of the Uruk period) in comparison to that of dinosaurs reveals consistent boundaries of silence and justification. Thus, while significant textual space is devoted to explaining an alternative dating for geological strata, the archaeological and textual evidence of ancient Mesopotamian history is left almost entirely unexamined. This suggests that expectations of visitor unfamiliarity regarding ancient Near Eastern history and literature has structured the rhetoric of both attractions, allowing them to legitimate

the cultural memory of the past that they construct through the strategic appropriation of information drawn from the field of Assyriology without devoting space to its critical examination.
 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Neumann, Hans *(Universität Münster)*

Altorientalistik in der DDR im Spannungsfeld von Kontinuität und Wandel

Ausgehend von den Nachkriegsverhältnissen in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone (1945-1949) wird unter Berücksichtigung der jeweiligen spezifischen institutionellen und wissenschaftspolitischen Rahmenbedingungen, unter denen in der DDR Altorientalistik im Hochschulbereich und außeruniversitär betrieben worden ist, ausschnittsweise versucht, die Entwicklung der DDR-Altorientalistik insbesondere an den Universitäten und an der Akademie der Wissenschaften von 1949 bis 1989 sowohl unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Weiterführung bestehender Traditionen als auch mit Blick auf gesellschaftshistorisch wie auch personell begründete Kontinuitätsbrüche vor allem in den 1960/70er Jahren nachzuzeichnen und wissenschaftsgeschichtlich zu analysieren.
 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Neuville, Louise *(Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne)* and **Young**, Marie *(Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne / Universität Heidelberg)*

Scribal Interest for the Past: Late Babylonian Copies of Ancient Royal Inscriptions

Copying played a fundamental role in the transmission of Ancient Mesopotamian knowledge. Thanks to this essential practice Mesopotamian scribes could preserve their documentary collections, by a regular refreshment of the written media without affecting the content of the text.

The main purpose of this practice was to ensure the preservation of scholarly and literary collections. Sometimes, however, scribes also copied ancient texts which have sunk into oblivion for centuries or even millennia before being rediscovered. The royal inscription from the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC, which were copied by Babylonian scribes in the 1st millennium BC are undoubtedly the best examples of this practice.

The colophons of these documents recording the glorious deeds of ancient kings indicate that they were often copied from stelae or bricks which come from happy discoveries during the renovation of monumental buildings.

This paper aims at studying the interest of 1st millennium BC scribes in the accounts of old kings 'exploits, by relying on a corpus of inscriptions from Babylon, Borsippa, Uruk, Ur, and Sippar. It will focus on the status of theses copies, their addressee, their chronological distribution, the nature of their content, as well as on the scribal milieu which produced them. Material issues will also be addressed, especially the kind of medium and layout, in order to identify similarities and/or divergences.
 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Nováček, Karel *(Palacký University Olomouc)*

A Christian Landscape of Adiabene

Since the synode at Ctesiphon (410 AD), Christians in Sasanian Empire started to develop their territorial organization and to build numerous new structures purposed for practicing of religion, now formally recognized. This making of Christian landscape in North Mesopotamia got another impetus by expansion of monastic movement iniciated by Abraham of Kashkar in the 550s. The cenobitic reform of the ‚Nestorian' monasteries paved the way for their important socio-economic role which characterized monasteries until the middle Islamic period. With use of the most recent data collected by ongoing large survey projects in Iraqi Kurdistan, the paper will present mostly archaeological view on settlement structure and built environment of the region of Adiabene (Hdayab) during the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods. Particular attention will be paid to monastic settlements and their hypothetical transformation from dayrā (semi-eremitic settlements) to ʿumrā (walled monastic houses).
 # S08 – Geography

Novotny, Jamie *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)* and Watanabe, Chikako E. *(Osaka Gakuin University)*

Ashurbanipal's Lion Hunt seen from the Lions

The royal lion hunt played an important role in the artistic scheme of bas-reliefs which once decorated the walls of the palace built by Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (the so-called "North Palace"). The hunting scenes were displayed in Rooms C, S and S1 (fallen into Room S), as well as in the Ascending Passages A and R. Room C was devoted solely to the theme of the king hunting lions and in that set of reliefs Ashurbanipal appears four times riding on a chariot, but using different weapons to kill his prey. Interpretation of the scene has been suggested by Weissert (1997: 344–345) based on textual evidence that matches the number of lions and lionesses depicted in the enclosed arena scene. The present paper focuses on the representation of the animals depicted in Ashurbanipal's hunting scenes, in which the lions are illustrated with a subtle difference which has not attracted much attention so far. Textual evidence is sought to find an explanation for different types of lions.
 # S05 – Assyria

Novotny, Jamie *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*, Tinney, Steve *(Penn Museum)* and Robson, Eleanor *(University College London)*

Oracc Workshop

The Oracc workshop will be in two parts. In the first, plenary session Steve Tinney and Eleanor Robson will introduce the new mobile-friendly Oracc website and ask for feedback on it. Steve will also talk about developments with the Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (ePSD2) on Oracc.
In the second part we will hold three parallel break-out groups. Jamie Novotny will run a session on "Getting started with your own Oracc project". Steve will lead a group on

"Sharing your data with Oracc". Eleanor will host a hands-on workshop on editing and lemmatising cuneiform texts with Nammu. There may also be a session on re-using Oracc data.
 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Olien, Catherine V. *(Northwestern University)*

Classifying Ancient Cyprus in Paris and London in the Late Nineteenth Century

The 1860s and 1870s saw a rush of European archaeological activity on the previously little-explored island of Cyprus. As the excavated material made its way back to the collections of western Europe, scholars struggled to understand what they took to be a new and puzzling preclassical antiquity, yet which manifested connections to multiple, more familiar ancient Mediterranean cultures. My paper explores how the aesthetics of Cypriot sculpture determined general perceptions of ancient Cyprus and its place in museums and art historical surveys. I am interested in the tensions that emerged as scholars sought to label Cypriot art in contemporary terms. How did the discovery of this sculpture—neither "Greek," nor "Oriental," nor fully independent—challenge nineteenth-century scholars and institutions? What solutions did individuals propose to the difficulties of classifying and displaying this striking artistic tradition? Why did Britain and France—both keen to acquire Cyprus as strategic outpost in the eastern Mediterranean—develop such different views on the island's ancient material culture, with Cypriot antiquities considered "Oriental" at the Louvre but "Greek" at the British Museum? What effect did Cypriot politics and scholarship have on the development and professionalization of the disciplines of archaeology and art history more broadly?
 # W16 – The Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art

Oselini, Valentina *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

Beyond the River: extent and borders of the ceramic regions to the east and west of the Tigris, during the 2nd millennium BC

Groups of vessel types can identify wide ceramic regions and smaller ceramic provinces, which are the mirror of the incidence of different cultural traditions. It is possible to notice that different groups of vessel types characterized the regions to the east and west of the Tigris river during the 2nd millennium BC. On one side, at the west of the Tigris, the ceramic tradition reflects the wide expansion of the Khabur Ware, both in the Middle Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. On the other side, at the east of the Tigris and, more precisely, in the area between the Diyala and the Lower Zab, we can talk about a properly Mesopotamian cultural tradition as explained by Armstrong and Gasche in 2014. The aim of this contribution is to highlight points of contact between the two areas through the analysis of common pottery types. Moreover, the main purpose of this investigation is the understanding of what kind of extension the ceramic regions had, and where we can identify their borders.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Otto, Adelheid *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Excavations at the South Mound of Ur: first results of the German team

In spring 2017, a team of the LMU Munich joined the excavations at Ur, which are directed by Prof. Elizabeth Stone (Stony Brook University). Our main aim was to get insight into the structure and use of the South Mound. Woolley had investigated the South Mound only in the area AH, where he had excavated the famous Old Babylonian domestic quarters. Our methods applied were a geophysical survey on the one hand, and the partial excavation of one particular house at the southernmost end of the city. Tablets and sealings enable to date the occupation precisely within the Isin-Larsa period. They attest also that the house was occupied by the family of an elite person, the manager of the Ningal temple, until the time when Warad-Sîn became installed at Larsa.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Otto, Eckart *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

The Intellectual Heritage from the Neo-Assyrian Empire to the Achaemenides in the Western Reception History of the Book of Deuteronomy

The lecture presents case studies in the reception of motives of Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenide royal ideologies in the Book of Deuteronomy and their impact via the Christian reception of this book on western political theories of legitimation of political power and human rights.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Ouyang, Xiaoli *(History Department, Fudan University, Shanghai)*

The Narrative and Formula of the Temple Treasury Accounts from Ur III Umma

This study targets a group of about fifty temple treasury records identified in the Umma corpus from Mesopotamia during the Ur III period (c. 2112-2004 BC). The majority of the records contain the hallmark Sumerian phrase mu-DU + divine names, which means "delivery for god so-and-so." An analysis of their contents as well as their structure and formulas can distinguish several different kinds of records, such as receipts, withdrawals, and checklists. Such distinction may reveal the managerial procedure that oversees the movement of the treasury items in the temple households of the Umma province. It is also possible to compare the movement of the treasury items with that of the silver revenue in the provincial economy. This comparison might shed new light on the competition between the king and the Umma governor for control of luxury items in the Umma province.

 # W02 – Narrative of Forms and Formulas or Forms and Formulas of Narrating? New Approaches to Standardized Elements in Documentary Sources

Ouysook, Peerapat *(University of Cambridge)*

Ideology and Administration in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon

The sizable corpus of inscriptions composed in the name of Nebuchadnezzar II (NBK), King of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (605–563 BCE) offers rich opportunities for studying the socio-cultural dynamics during his reign. Following the recent achievements in interpreting the Neo-Babylonian primary sources by Rocio Da Riva and Michael Jursa's team in Vienna, my paper investigates the workings of the political and religious ideologies within the world he once lived, on the strength of NBK's inscriptions.

A starting point is establishing a chronological sequence for NBK inscriptions, a classic issue in the studies of the NBK corpus because of the historical ambiguity imposed by the lack of a written dating as well as the archaeological context. So far, the only attempt was made by Stephen Langdon in 1912, but his theory has long been disproved. My suggested sequence is created by integrating multiple 'external sources', i.e. archaeological data and the textual sources belonging to the corpus of the administrative texts in temple archives. For the archaeology I rely on Olof Pedersén's review of Koldewey's excavation report. Combining this with the texts from the Eanna Temple archive, we can generate chronological anchor points. For instance, when both data sets are combined, we obtain a relatively concrete historical reference for the construction of the North Palace: at least between NBK's 19th to 29th regnal year.

This chronological sequence introduces a new dimension into the analysis of the inscriptions, making it possible to look into the historical development of the corpus, especially with the inscriptions from Babylon. This yields insights into the intellectual and political history of NBK's reign.

 # S19 – Babylonia

Overmann, Karenleigh A. *(Universitetet i Bergen)*

Writing system transmission and change: A neurofunctional perspective

Complex systems like literacy and numeracy emerge through multigenerational interactions of brains, behaviors, and material forms. In such systems, material forms—writing for language and notations for numbers—become increasingly refined to elicit specific behavioral and psychological responses in newly indoctrinated individuals. These material forms, however, differ fundamentally in things like semiotic function: language signifies, while numbers instantiate. This makes writing for language able to represent the meanings and sounds of particular languages, while notations for numbers are semantically meaningful without phonetic specification. This representational distinction is associated with neurofunctional and behavioral differences in what brain activity and handwriting contribute to literacy and numeracy. In turn, neurofunctional and behavioral differences place written representations for language and numbers under different pressures that influence the forms they take and how those forms change over time as they are transmitted across languages and cultures.

 # W17 – Heritage in Transmission: Adoption and Adaptation of Writing Systems

Pagé-Perron, Émilie *(University of Toronto)*

The Scribes of Adab

Old Akkadian society has been studied extensively from multiple angles. However, with the significant recent increment in published administrative texts of the period, and with the development of Social Network Analysis techniques geared to addressing Assyriological questions, the social network of Mesopotamian cities should be fully re-examined wherever possible in order to expand our understanding of social history and local management models of this period, especially taking into account whole corpora and in a comparative perspective between the different provinces.

To address one facet of this challenge, my paper explores the implications of the multiple roles held by scribes in the city of Adab, and the extent of their social influence. Specifically, through applying traditional and Social Network Analysis techniques to the Adab social network, I study the circles in which the dub-sar of Adab operated (under their various titles), and their reach within the city's network. Even though these men played a role both in the the ensi's affairs and in the temple spheres, this talk focuses on their relationship with the temple. To support this investigation, I employ graph theory to analyze the network's sub-structures and examine at centrality measures. The use of computational methods makes it possible to understand the scribes' respective ego networks in their wider context, it offers statistical results for scrutiny, and it fosters research reproducibility and data reuse.

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Palermo, Rocco *(Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)*

A Rebooted Landscape. The Hellenistic Period in the Heartland of Assyria:
New Evidence from the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

In the last decade, numerous archaeological projects have started in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. They are all contributing to the rediscovery of a virtually terra incognita, opening up a crucial region to new investigative methods. In this scenario, the scholar community is also witnessing a re-assessment of critical periods for the history of the Ancient Near East. Among these, the Seleucid Empire (4th – 1st c. BCE) offers interesting insights into the formation and development of imperial control. This phase precisely coincided with a significant enlargement of the socio-political and economic life when different traditions merged in a trans-regional framework that shaped the ancient world from the Mediterranean to Central Asia. Whereas the impact of these dynamics have been studied for the urban contexts, the countryside and rural landscape still remain uncharted. And yet, the success and failure of the Seleucid Empire largely depended on its ability to create – and develop – a productive and connected countryside, which generated a high diversity system of occupation. At one end of the spectrum the known colonial foundations (i.e. Arbela), while at the other end the wide array of rural settlements and small villages that dotted the landscape.

In this sense, this paper aims to explore the impact – and lack thereof -Seleucid imperial power on the highly fertile, though fragile steppe lands of North Mesopotamia. It builds on the examination of two sets of data from the Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey (Harvard University) and the Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project (University of Udinde), respectively operating in the plain of Erbil and in the area east of the Upper

Iraqi Tigris. With the support of spatial analyses, archaeological data, and historical narratives, I aim to demonstrate how these very recent archaeological operations have challenged past ideas of periphery, hybridity, and colonization, embedding this part of North Mesopotamia within the larger framework of the globalized and connected Hellenistic world.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Palmero Fernández, Mónica *(University of Reading)*

Revising the Myth of Continuity: the Cult of Inanna/Ishtar in the third Millennium BC

In this paper, I shall discuss a common assumption made about the interpretation of Mesopotamian religion and cult: that of the continuity of cult. Incorporating Judith Butler's notion of performativity, I shall examine how the (re)production of spaces and the acts of worship (material performance) on the one hand, and the discursive (ideological) narrative on the other ground each other in the co-construction of religion and the negotiation of power in relation with the figure of the goddess Inanna/Ishtar during the late Early Dynastic period.
 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Pappi, Cinzia and Haidler, Sebastian *(Universität Innsbruck)*

Between Assyria and Adiabene: Cultural Transitions in the Valley of the Lower Zab

The expansion policy of Assyria has been mainly focused, during its early stages, on the border with Babylonia along the valley of the Lower Zab. The physical transfer of the royal capitals, combined with new political and economic interests, shifted the focus on the regions included between the Upper Tigris and Upper Zab Valleys, and, later, to the western provinces. The 7th century BCE, sees the Assyrian core territories, consisting mainly of the regions of Nineveh, Erbil, and a small part of the hinterland of Assur, going through a flourishing period, characterized by infrastructural improvements related to the productivity and super-regional connectivity. However, the region of the Lower Zab, not directly connected to the border with Urartu and Mannea, became a large internal periphery, characterized by an small range agricultural economy, which persisted for centuries also after the collapse of Assyria in 612 BCE, as shown by the archaeological investigations conducted at Satu Qala and in the surrounding region of Koi Sanjaq/Koya. Recent typological analysis, conducted on the ceramic collections, combined with the radiocarbon data, confirmed the resilience of Assyrian production, noted already somewhere else, but revealed also some possible indicators for this transitional phase, to be applied in a regional context. This paper is aimed to discuss the the stratified Late Assyrian, Post Assyrian/Achaemenid, and Hellenistic results of Satu Qala, contextualized in their wider political and economic developments, given by the latest field-seasons of the Archaeological Survey of Koi Sanjaq/Koya (ASK) project.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Pataï, Véronique *(Musée du Louvre)*

The professional Practice of the Scribes of Nuzi, a prosopographical Investigation

Approximately 6 000 tablets were discovered in Nuzi and nearly 300 scribes produced this documentation. In order to tame this large corpus, I created a methodology for the prosopographical investigation of the scribes of Nuzi through the study of 12 scribes who worked for a woman, Tulpun-naya. Thanks to several criteria such as the contacts of the scribes (employers, witnesses, judges), the cities where they are active, their writing styles or even their seals and, in some cases their handwriting, it was possible to reach a more precise understanding of their professional practices. The scribes in question wrote only a small number of tablets for Tulpun-naya, 37 tablets, but they were employed by other persons and thus, the corpus analyzed comprises 460 tablets in total.

The prosopographical study of these scribes highlighted the presence of many homonymous scribes. The creation of a database including the corpus of each scribe allowed to compare the scribes and to solve most of the cases of homonymy. Furthermore, by comparing the above criteria in the database it was possible to bring to light the delivery of scribal instruction between scribes of a same family through several generations. Once the corpus of each scribe was defined, it was possible to identify the period during which they practiced their professions. In the absence of any dating information, the presence of members of wealthy Nuzian families in the documents written by the scribes allowed to place the texts in a relative chronology.

Research entailing social network analysis methods applied to the information collected in this Nuzi database are envisaged. A collaboration with James Hearne, a professor at the Computer sciences department of the Western University is in progress and could certainly help define more precisely the chronology of the individual corpora of each scribe.

Overall, this paper both highlights the findings resulting from the analysis of the corpus of the scribes employed by Tulpun-naya as well as the important challenges brought by homonymy and the lack of dating information.

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Paulus, Susanne *(University of Chicago)*

Palace or Temple? – Origin and purpose of the "granary archive" in Kassite Nippur

The "granary archive" from Nippur (approximately 1334–1245 BCE) is likely the largest known Kassite archive. Therefore, it is surprising that there is no consensus on the institution behind those texts. The earliest studies characterized it as a temple archive, while more recent ones link the texts with the household of the šandabakku, the governor of Nippur. The institutional origin of those texts has important consequences for our understanding of the social and economic processes documented in hundreds of tablets. Furthermore, it is relevant for comparative studies of Mesopotamian archives, where usually a distinction is made between the categories of "temple" or "palace". In this paper I will approach the origin and purpose of the "granary archive" using economic and legal texts, but also letters. Methodologically I will explore

comparative economic transactions in different text types to build information on officials active in the household, in combination with traditional approaches like prosopography, diplomatics, and sigillography.
 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Pearce, Laurie *(University of California, Berkeley)*

Assyriology, Digital Humanities and Reproducible Research

Assyriology, grounded in traditional philological research methods, sits squarely in the humanities. Through frequent and close interactions with cuneiform tablets, autograph copies, and photographs, scholars draw conclusions from evidence offered by grammatical analysis, lexicography, linguistics, and epigraphy — as well as the more elusive but finely honed sense of the internal workings of a corpus, archive, or manuscript tradition. On the vanguard of the digital humanities movement, some Assyriologists have adopted, employed, and created digital tools and methods not only to streamline repetitive tasks, but to explore new vistas and advance new research agendas. Methods drawn from computational text analysis and social network analysis methods offer not only the appeal of graphic representations, but also the possibility of quantifiable and reproducible results. As humanities disciplines embrace the tools and methods of social science, they are challenged to document ever more precisely the heuristics and workflows of their research.

Teams of Assyriologists and specialists in information and technology services at the University of California, Berkeley and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München are collaborating in the development and application of digital tools to reconstruct and document heuristics Assyriologists apply in their research and to demonstrate the reproducibility of their conclusions. With tools such as those at home in Natural Language Processing and computational representations of historical astronomical phenomena, the teams, with an eye toward explicit documentation and replication of the scholarly model, are jointly exploring the complete corpus of Neo-Assyrian administrative and scholarly letters and astrological reports published in the State Archives of Assyria series, which Parpola in the 1980s assigned to distinct scholarly dossiers and specific imperial reigns on the basis of orthographic variants, datable astronomical events, and references to datable historical events (such as the building of Dūr-Šarrukīn) chronological markers. This paper will present the initial results of the UCB-LMU collaboration.
 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Pecha, Lukáš *(Západočeská univerzita = University of West Bohemia)*

The Collective and Individual Legitimacy of the Royal Power (The Heritage of Ancient Traditions in the Old Babylonian Royal Ideology)

This paper deals with the royal ideology of the First Dynasty of Babylon and its links to the traditions of earlier dynasties in Mesopotamia (Early Dynastic period, Akkadian period, Ur III period). The ideology of the royal power in ancient Mesopotamia, which is reflected by the contemporary official monuments (especially by royal inscriptions as well as by iconographic sources), was result of a complex development that reached back to the very beginnings of the Mesopotamian statehood. Regardless of specific

features of individual periods and regions in Mesopotamia, the legitimacy of the royal power was, in principle, always based on the presumption that the king was placed in his office by deities. In the course of the Mesopotamian history, we can basically distinguish between two models in which the legitimacy of the royal power was linked either to the royal family as a group of persons or to the particular king as an individual. In the first case, we can speak of the collective legitimacy, whereas the second model can be characterized as the individual legitimacy. The royal ideology of the First Dynasty of Babylon emphasizes the legitimacy of the royal power with respect to a particular king, not to the ruling family, and therefore it can be viewed as an example of the model of the individual legitimacy. The paper describes this dominant feature of the Old Babylonian royal ideology and tries to compare it with the ideological concepts of some other states in Mesopotamia.
 # S02 – Ideology & Authority

Peyronel, Luca and **Vacca**, Agnese *(Università degli Studi di Milano)*

Italian Excavations at Tell Helawa/Aliawa in the South-west Erbil Plain, Kurdistan, Iraq

The project of the Italian Archaeological Expedition in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (MAIPE, University of Milan) investigated, since 2013, two sites – Tell Helawa and Aliawa – located in Erbil Plain, 28 southwest of Erbil. During 2013-2015, field surveys were carried out at both sites allowing to establish the main archaeological sequences. Helawa and Aliawa show alternate periods of occupation: while Helawa appears a substantial prehistoric site abandoned in the course of the Late Chalcolithic 3, and resettled during the Late Bronze Age, Aliawa shows a main occupation dating to the Early and Middle Bronze Age, whereas during the Hellenistic, Parthian and Islamic Period the site was probably occupied by a fortress/fortified stronghold.

The 2016 excavations at Helawa allowed to pinpoint the proposed sequence, revealing a Late Chalcolithic 2-3 multi-layer occupation uncovered on the high mound and in the lowest extension of the site to the north-east, where a later Middle/Late Bronze Age sequence is also documented. Aim of this paper is to present and discuss these evidence within a regional framework of analysis, focusing on the developments and the local trajectories in the Trans-Tigris area, which will be compared with data from surveys and excavations carried out in the Syrian and Iraqi Jazirah.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Pfälzner, Peter *(Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen)*

A new Middle-Assyrian Provincial Capital in Northern Mesopotamia: Excavations at Bassetki

Excavations in Bassetki, which are jointly carried out by the University of Tübingen and the Directorate of Atiquities of Dohuk (directed by Peter Pfälzner and Hasan A. Qasim), have in the third season of 2018 yielded important results on the history of Northern Mesopotamia in the Middle-Assyrian period. Parts of an administrative building have been touched by the excavations. In the only so far excavated room, an archive of the Middle-Assyrian period was discovered, yielding 93 cuneiform texts. The building was destroyed which led to the in-situ deposition of a well-preserved inventory.

Furthermore, levels of the Neo-Assyrian period, the Mittani-Period, and the Ninevite V-Period have been uncovered which demonstrate that the site has been in use as an urban centre from the beginning of the third millennium BC until the mid of the first millennium BC. During the Early and Middle Bronze Age, the city saw its largest expansion. Through a geomagnetic prospection the layout of the large lower city could be detected. Additionally, an extra-urban area was prospected and subsequently excavated, which yielded a cemetery and a street. The city seems to have been connected to an interregional road system, particularly during the period of the Old-Assyrian trade between Mesopotamia and Anatolia.
 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Pfoh, Emanuel *(Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas / Universidad Nacional de La Plata)*

The Need for a Comprehensive Sociology of Knowledge of Ancient Near Eastern Studies

During the nineteenth century, the professional practice of ancient Near Eastern studies was implicitly or explicitly related in some way to the imperial activities of Great Britain, France and the German empire in the "Middle East"—a geopolitical term in itself also charged with cultural connotations and situational perceptions. While nowadays much of the former imperial and colonial attitudes have been shaken off from ANE scholarship—especially since 1960s and 1970s, in the aftermath of the post-colonial processes in Southwest Asia and the rest of the so-called Third World—there are still conceptual remnants in the field of the previous Western appropriation of the Middle East as a cognitive map and its most ancient past, both in material and symbolic ways. In effect, the key issue in this situation is the importance played by ANE intellectual heritage as claimed especially by the modern Western tradition and how such a heritage has influenced trends in modern ANE studies. This paper calls for establishing a serious and comprehensive study of the conditions by which institutional knowledge about the ANE is manufactured as an international discourse (through universities, academic meetings, research projects, media and popular culture, etc.), touching upon issues of national memories, cultural heritage and religious identities, as well as past and current politics in the Middle East. Furthering such an approach may indeed contribute, firstly, to grasp a clearer understanding of the concept of ANE intellectual heritage in the modern West, and secondly, to provide current ANE scholarship with critical epistemologies, with a scholarly self-awareness precisely of how knowledge is produced and reproduced, where this knowledge is made and located, for what purposes, and which are the potential political implications—in the face of the current political situation in the Middle East—of such a research.
 # S18 – New Approaches in ANES

Phillips, Monica L. *(University of Chicago)*

O, House! The Invocation of Temple Names in the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns

As with many Sumerian literary compositions, most of our evidence for the Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns originates in various Old Babylonian curricular contexts.

This makes the deeper significance and meaning of the composition difficult to grasp. Was it copied in schools as an intellectual endeavor, an exercise in complex word play and esoteric scholarly knowledge? Or, did it have a ritually significant background that was important to the clergy in whose homes it was found? And if so, is this background still accessible via the nature of the text itself? In this paper, I argue that the names and epithets that comprise this text did far more than elucidate the character and nature of each temple. Rather, they acted as vessels of meaning that made tangible the essence of the temples of southern Mesopotamia. The text invokes these names and epithets as ritual acts, establishing and maintaining the liminal nature of the temple space by substantiating the connection between the physical and divine spheres and infusing the temple with power and authority.
 # S15 – Sumerian Literature

Piccin, Michela *(Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations: Northeast Normal University, Changchun)*

The Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon: A "Patchwork" Text

In 672 BC the ageing King Esarhaddon, worried about the fate of the Kingdom, developed a strategy for his succession. One son, Assurbanipal, would become the next king of Assyria; under him, his older brother, Šamaš-šumu-ukin, would become king of Babylon. To ensure his will, the King wrote a lengthy text, the so-called Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty. It describes in detail the many actions his subjects needed to observe, ensured by a long list of terrifying curses for anyone who dared to break their oath. This paper analyzes the phraseology of the various narrative sections from which the treaty is composed. Such analysis highlights how it is made up of small segments, each of which is complete in itself, integrated into its overall design, thereby creating a "patchwork" text.
 # W02 – Narrative of Forms and Formulas or Forms and Formulas of Narrating? New Approaches to Standardized Elements in Documentary Sources

Pirngruber, Reinhard *(Universität Wien)* and **Müller**, Gerfrid G. W. *(Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg / Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz)*

Small samples, big variations: strategies to identify scribes

Techniques to identify groups of textes written by the same scribe have been proven to be successful with larger samples of Hittite library tablets. These clusters are generated from geometric features of wedge imprints of cuneiform characters which are detected by the Cuneiform Analyser (developed by Fisseler, Cammarosano, Müller and Weichert).

The contribution will present a comparative study of the handwritings of two well-known scribes in the service of the Eanna temple of Uruk during to the 'long sixth century' between the reign of Nabopolassar and the revolts against Xerxes in 484 B.C., Nādin, son of Bēl-ahhē-iqīša and Gimillu, son of Inanna-zēru-iddin. It is based on two samples of about forty legal and administrative texts each. These texts pose a challenge

because they are less carefully written and therefore have a greater variation of characters. At the same time, the documents are comparatively short.

We discuss strategies to deal with these obstacles using autoptic analysis of attested allographs of selected standard signs and computer-aided metrology.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Pirngruber, Reinhard and **Jursa**, Michael *(Universität Wien)*

Cuneiform palaeography in 1st millennium BCE Babylonia

The creation of the online sign-list LaBaSi (visit https://labasi.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/), currently recording about 12,000 allographies of a sample of ca. 200 standard signs and covering the most important Late Babylonian sites (including Uruk, Sippar, Borsippa and Babylon), allows for an investigation of the development of cuneiform writing during the first millennium in unprecedented detail. Our presentation aims at providing a first assessment of the material gathered so far, with a particular focus on both developments over time and regional variations. We will also give a brief introduction to the setup and navigability of the site in order to explain our approach and our methodology. We will conclude with an outlook as to the potential of the site in helping to identify individual handwritings.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Pongratz-Leisten, Beate *(New York University: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World)*

The Cultic Topography of the Assyrian *akitu* Festival

tba

 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Prieto Vilas, Ignacio *(Universidad Complutense Madrid)*

"Pozo Moro" (Spain): The Orientalizing monumental complex and the Ancient Near Eastern cultural influence in the Mediterranean 'far West' (Iberian Peninsula)

1971, the finding during farming works of some ashlar blocks carved with bas relief scenes led to archaeological field work in an Iberian necropolis in the province of Albacete (Spain). A monumental complex was exhumed and identified as the first use of that location.

It consisted in a temenos made of an adobe wall of uncertain height, acting as a peribolos, surrounding a pavement of small white pebbles forming the shape of an ox-hyde. At the center of that temenos there was this building, a cuadrangular ashlar blocks' monument that included a cremation grave. The peribolos had only one entrance so it also was the exit once the visitor had finished the walk around the building. A huge amount of limestone blocks laid on the ground evidencing their original position according to the height of the building when it was erected.

The study of the pseudoisodomy of the stone blocks and other architectonic characteristics and elements helped to reconstruct it at the National Archaeological Museum (1980) as a five meters high building with two architectonic bodies. Three

steps were the base of this tower that had four lion-shaped sculptures acting as the architectonic corners of the monument. Many blocks were also carved with bas-relief scenes, acting as an iconographic frieze, that showed a mythological narration along the four sides of the building following, as we propose, a right-to-left sequence. A cavetto cornice above torus separated the first body of the building from the second, that started with other four lion-shaped sculptures as its corners.

Some blocks carved with high relief scenes, very badly preserved, belonged to this second body that ended with another caveto cornice above torus and some stepped ashlars. As a working hypothesis the top of the monument was firstly supposed as a pyramidion but our latest research lead us to think that the top of the building had a rounded finish.

The stylistic realization of the whole iconographic program soon was identified as deeply influenced by neohittite or siriohittite art and we defend an interpretation of the narrative sequence of the iconographic program identifying the scenes as singular episodes from different but intimately linked mythological cycles from Ancient Near Eastern religions. The selection of this episodes (mythemes), seen as a whole sequence, show a narration of heroization and divinization to honor the deceased person for whom the monumental complex was built. Its message is related to the legitimation of divine kingship of the deceased person and his lineage.

In our opinion, the narration follows an order where we find at first the representation of the Goddess in her holy garden, then the feat of the Hero, the episode of his death, his descent to the Netherworld, the fight against the monster after his "renaissance" and, finally, the Sacred Marriage with the Goddess.

Some of the scenes have been studied by distinguished scholars such as Kempinski, Rundin or Kennedy but, from our point of view, with no definitive conclusions.

Our latest researches, included in our Ph.D. Thesis, shed new light on the metrology, modulation and other architectural aspects of this Mediteranean spread type of monuments, including the work of masons and artisans that link it to the phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula since the 9th. Century BP. We also offered a new reconstruction proposal that served as the model for the new re-erection of the orientalizing building that nowadays can be seen at the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid. Also, the iconographic program represented in the monument has to be seen as a mythological narration of deep Near Eastern roots, through the phoenician sieve, that arrived to the Iberian Peninsula with the phoenician and canaanite colonization and that served to the particular interests of the orientalizing iberian elites with their own interpretations and influence in the religious beliefs.

 # S04 – Cultural Transfer: Material Culture

Puértolas Rubio, Laura *(Lettres Sorbonne Université)*

How to Bewitch Someone: Bewitching Techniques according to Incantations in the Hittite and Luwian Ritual Texts

The purpose of this paper is to examine the incantations of anti-witchcraft ritual texts from Hittite Anatolia, focusing on those which describe bewitching techniques. The importance of this testimony resides in its uniqueness. No witchcraft rituals have been preserved from the Hittite kingdom given that witchcraft was severely punished by the

Hittite laws. Consequently, these anti-witchcraft incantations constitute the most direct testimony about bewitching techniques.

Through a philological and contextual analysis I will study the process of bewitchment, which presents a high variety of techniques. For instance, the manipulation of anthropomorphic figurines representing the bewitched, rites of analogical magic and curses. I will also examine the reasons why the Hittites included such incantations in anti-witchcraft ritual texts and the role they play in the ritual. Furthermore, the study of incantations in both Hittite and Luwian languages will show the specificities of distinct local traditions and the different ways in which ancient Anatolians conceived of witchcraft.

 # S12 – Anatolia & its Culture

Puljiz, Ivana *(Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen)*

How to identify a dunnu settlement? New excavations at a rural site in Northern Mesopotamia

The dunnu institution is a characteristic feature of the Middle Assyrian period. In recent studies, this institution was investigated from a historical and philological point of view. However, we have only limited archaeological data concerning the structure and organisation of dunnu settlements. This raises the question on how these settlements can be archaeologically identified and what distinguishes them from ordinary villages or farmsteads.

This paper aims at contributing further information on this research topic by presenting the preliminary results from the 2017 excavations at the rural site of Muqable III, where a joint Kurdish-German mission revealed parts of a settlement dating to the Middle Assyrian period. The exposed features include parts of two buildings one of which contained a rich inventory of objects. Being located in the Duhok province of Iraqi-Kurdistan and only 5 km away from the regional centre of Bassetki, a strong connectedness between Muqable III and Bassetki may be assumed. Therefore, the excavations at Muqable III offer not only the opportunity of studying the structure of a small rural settlement, but also have the potential of illuminating the organisation of the Middle Assyrian countryside in the hinterland of Bassetki.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Ramazzotti, Marco *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

Complementary Grammars for the Atlas of the Ancient Near East (AANE) Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, Historical Geography and the Modern Geographies of the Pasts

In the present contribution, we intend to trace a history of the Earth starting from the topological centrality of the Babylon and debating thematically, from the protohistoric to historical periods, some of the ancient Near Eastern spatial perceptions mainly inspired by the so called mythopoeic thought. Indeed, to select, detail, and integrate some figurative and textual aspects of the ancient Mesopotamian spatial perceptions is important to define different perceptual maps of the landscapes. Moreover, the transformations of these cognitive maps through the millennia can be used to record the distances between modern geographies (based upon an artificial translation of both

natural and anthropic features) and the ancient perceptions of space and time, mainly inspired by cosmic geographies. The epistemic framework of the Atlas of the Ancient Near East (AANE), a Great Athenaeum project of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Sapienza University of Rome, started in 2016. It would support, in a multidisciplinary way, the encoding, the analysis and the simulation of the ancient Near Eastern settlements and landscapes integrating the complementary grammars of the mythopoeic, historical and digital approaches.

 # S06 – Landscapes

Rattenborg, Rune *(University of Durham)*

Forget About Mesopotamia: Untangling the Many Locations of the 'Land Between the Rivers'

It seems today a travesty to reiterate what exactly we mean by 'Mesopotamia'. The evident tautological qualities of Greek *mésos* ('middle, in between') and *potamós* ('stream, river') often rules out any further elaboration as to its origins, semantic consistency through time, or the assumed unproblematic nature of its current application. Yet names of regions are not stable markers, the more so because their delineation may be defined according to a complex and far from converging set of attributes rarely related to physical borders alone. We assign to regions more than just absolute spatial demarcations and ecological particularities, but also ethnic, cultural, infrastructural, and ideological, embedded in notions of centrality and relationality.

In this talk, I consider the changing use and meaning of 'Mesopotamia' as another name for the drainage of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers in present day Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. This talk augments upon, and alters, Bahrani's thoughtful critique of Mesopotamia as a vehicle of Orientalism and British colonial discourse (Bahrani 1998), by focusing more specifically upon what, exactly, 'Mesopotamia' has been used to designate through all of its recorded history. By reviewing the meanings of Mesopotamia from the 2nd millennium BCE until present day, it is argued that current usage of Mesopotamia is largely a product of spatial taxonomies founded, more or less by accident, during the First World War (Rattenborg in press). As such, the term holds a potential for conceptual confusion and for obscuring patterns of past social organisation visible in current research.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Rattenborg, Rune *(University of Durham)*

A Clay Tablet, a Spreadsheet, and a Spy Satellite Walk Into a Bar: Building Data Sets for Large-Scale Statistical Analysis from Administrative Cuneiform Texts

The increasing digitisation of the cuneiform corpus has unleashed an array of exciting computational methods for philological and historical research, ranging from standard text markup and tagging to large-scale data mining, formal network analysis and 3D-imaging and automated translation. Interrelating and ordering more diverse nodes of information for substantive, computer-aided historical research remains cumbersome, however, as it often requires more interpretive efforts at the interface between analogue text and digital rendering. Yet the coupling of the primary text and relevant

information not present in the text itself, not to mention the insights that cuneiform specialists themselves can bring to the formative stages of data generation, certainly holds huge potential for taking digital humanities applications to cuneiform sources even further.

Starting from a preoccupation with quantitative data as found in administrative cuneiform texts, this paper will first provide a review of previous attempts at converting and using data from this particular type of document in computer-aided analyses (e.g. Kerestes 1982, Stepien 1996, Jaworski 2008, Tenney 2011) and highlight obstacles in the initial interpretation and conversion of information from the text into a suitable digital format. Secondly, I present and discuss in more detail a versatile data structure for the ordering and querying of quantitative and qualitative data from administrative cuneiform texts, capable of maintaining the level of factual resolution found in the original text while at the same time allowing for large-scale dynamic analyses of a wide range of variables, and compatible both with statistical analyses and integration with GIS (Rattenborg 2016). Finally, I draw up some key areas of interest for future large-scale comparative and diachronic analyses of this type of documentation, and demonstrate the potential of large-scale exploratory data analyses as applied to the presented data set.

 # S08 – Geography

Ratzon, Eshbal *(Tel-Aviv University)*

Jewish Time in the Astronomical Book of Enoch and Mesopotamian Astronomy

It has long been known that the Astronomical Book of Enoch (AB) uses Mesopotamian astronomical knowledge. Among the Mesopotamian texts researchers have highlighted as influencing AB are MUL.APIN and Enuma Anu Enlil XIV, which were both composed hundreds of years prior to AB. The earliest versions of the Aramaic Astronomical Book (AAB) were composed during the fourth to the third centuries, though except for the concept of the zodiac, its authors do not seem to have had any knowledge of the advanced mathematical astronomy developed in Babylonia at this time. In this paper, I will demonstrate that a new understanding of the time units used in the AAB demonstrates that their astronomy was more accurate than previously thought, and was influenced by Neo-Babylonian astronomical texts as well. However, unlike their Babylonian peers, they used seasonal time units, dividing each day and night into 14 seperate parts. This first division of the day into hours in Judean culture was an original creation of the Jewish Aramaic astronomers who authored the AAB, and who may have been influenced by the Egyptian concept of seasonal hours. Their aim in this development was both theological – to develop a Jewish time system based on the number seven – and astronomical – to represent astronomical accuracy with their limited mathematical skills.

 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Reculeau, Hervé *(University Of Chicago)*

Of canals big and small: Landscapes of irrigation in the Euphrates valley
(Mari, 18th c. BCE)

Being located in a semi-arid environment, Bronze Age Mari (Tell Hariri, Syria) was dependant on irrigation agriculture for its subsistence. Over the past decades, there has been much debate on the nature of large-scale irrigation in Mari, with a specific focus on the dating of archaeological remains of massive canals still present in the Middle Euphrates valley —with proposals ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Ummayad Caliphate. Text-based studies, on the other hand, have highlighted the very detailed (if often difficult to interpret) information that cuneiform tablets found in the 18th c. BCE Palace of the Kings of Mari offer for the study of ancient irrigation, especially when combined with archaeological, geomorphological and ethnographic evidence. The focus was here also primarily on the three major canals whose names are preserved in the cuneiform documentation: the Išîm-Yahdun-Lîm, Ḫabur, and Mari/Ḫubur canals. Textual evidence on Mari irrigation is however not restricted to large-scale irrigation of winter cereals on the alluvial terraces of the Euphrates valley, and a careful examination allows us to distinguish much more complex patterns of irrigation and agrarian practices — and the landscapes they shape. In this paper, I will discuss the evidence pointing to the parallel use of large and small-scale irrigation for both winter and summer crops, as well as to the exploitation of a multiplicity of water sources alongside perennial rivers (Euphrates and Habur), such as wells, wādīs, oxbow lakes and humid depressions.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Reichel, Clemens *(University of Toronto)*

To Bake or Not To Bake: The Blessing (and Potential Curse) of Eternalized
Data Storage

In ancient Mesopotamia, clay tablets were the most commonly used material for writing purposes. Easily made and reasonably robust once dried out, tablets provides a perfect medium for intermediate data storage. Their long-term survival, however, was ultimately limited by environmental factors, notably their eventual susceptibility to humidity / water. As a result, those tablets that required long-terms storage were generally baked to make them more resilient. A well-attested phenomenon, the procedures employed during tablet baking in antiquity remain poorly documented and hence understudied. Few facilities in which the baking of tablets took place were ever positively identified. Ancient conflagrations during which tablets were unintentionally baked as well as modern-day conservation procedures (baking tablets in the field or in museums without recording their original state), moreover, often make it impossible to determine if a tablet actually had been baked in antiquity or not. As a result, the rationale for baking tablets that are often quoted by scholars are based more on logic and common-sense arguments than on empirical observations.

During the excavations at the Palace of the Ruler in Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, a "chancellery" with kilns to bake tablets had been discovered but was not recognized as such. Using previously unpublished field

records and textual data this paper will look at the technological as well as administrative procedures that governed this facility and show the significance that it held for the highest level of Eshnunna's administration. By looking at the distribution of baked tablets from this palace and from elsewhere it will, moreover, show the challenges and procedures that had to be put into place to manage and ultimately dispose of classified data that had been committed to an almost indestructible medium for record-keeping.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Ristvet, Lauren *(University of Pennsylvania)*

Materiality, Performance and Politics: Achaemenid Rituals and Empire

The paradox of the large size, long duration, but limited material remains of Achaemenid imperialism has led to divergent views of this empire, with several archaeologists emphasizing the empire's small impact outside of its Iranian heartland. Such treatments contrast with historical views of the empire, which emphasize its power and longevity. This paper will focus on the Achaemenid material remains that we have of provincial sites in eastern Iran, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, and the Levant and argue that they are related to ritual performance. Tulip bowls, censers, palaces, gardens, and wall paintings, were key material participants in ritual and political practice in Persian capitals. Attention will be given to the sensory experience of these rituals, as they can be inferred from material and texts, particularly the senses of taste, smell, and touch. Bodily practices were critical to the experience of the empire in the provinces, and played an important role in its maintenance.

 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Robson, Eleanor *(University College London)*

Introducing the Nahrein Network for the sustainable development of history, heritage and the humanities in post-conflict Iraq and its neighbours

What can antiquity, history, and heritage contribute to rebuilding lives and livelihoods shattered by decades of war and terror in the Middle East?

The AHRC GCRF-funded Nahrein Network (2017–21), based at University College London, the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, and the University of Kurdistan Hewlêr (Erbil), aims to provide viable answers to this pressing question through collaborative research and reflective practice. Its partners include the Universities of Baghdad and Mosul, Basrah Museum, and UNESCO Iraq, as well as the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, the Council for British Research in the Levant, the British Institute at Ankara, and the Iran Heritage Fund.

In this talk I will outline the five major aims of the Network, from better understanding the current situation to delivering real improvements in the prospects of people in Iraq. I will also explain the operation of its Visiting Scholars scheme and Grants Fund programmes, which are open to applicants until 2020. I will also reflect on the challenges of working at the intersection of aid and research and ask how the intellectal heritage of the ancient Near East can be reclaimed as local as well as international property.

 # S01 – Cultural Transfer: Religion

Robson, Eleanor *(University College London)*, **Tinney**, Steve *(Penn Museum)*, and **Novotny**, Jamie *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Oracc Workshop

The Oracc workshop will be in two parts. In the first, plenary session Steve Tinney and Eleanor Robson will introduce the new mobile-friendly Oracc website and ask for feedback on it. Steve will also talk about developments with the Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (ePSD2) on Oracc.

In the second part we will hold three parallel break-out groups. Jamie Novotny will run a session on "Getting started with your own Oracc project". Steve will lead a group on "Sharing your data with Oracc". Eleanor will host a hands-on workshop on editing and lemmatising cuneiform texts with Nammu. There may also be a session on re-using Oracc data.

 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Roche-Hawley, Carole *(Le Centre national de la recherche scientifique)*

Theoretical Knowledge and Practical Applications of Archaizing Paleography in the Cuneiform World

Paleographic lists existed already in the early second millennium in Babylonia. Cuneiform scribes, of the 2nd and 1st millennium, were able to read and reproduce older inscriptions, even those dating from the 3rd millennium. In this paper, I propose a comparison between such theoretical knowledge, as it was taught in Mesopotamian and peripheral schools, and practical applications of such knowledge, for example in copies made by intellectuals in order to preserve ancient inscriptions, or in ancient forgeries, such as the cruciform monument.

The topic I would like to extend in this paper is a comparison of this "scholarly knowledge" with the actual use of archaizing signs in some texts. Did the scribes employ "old fashioned" sign forms for making "old fashioned" looking inscriptions? Did they use such knowledge in order to read and understand actual older texts that they were copying? How did they use such paleographic knowledge for display purposes, for the propaganda needs of kings, for example? Would such allow them to proclaim their own belonging to the long sweep of Mesopotamian history (for example, a known inscription of Šamšī-Adad seems to have been "inspired" by a much earlier one from Šamšī-Adad I)? Or allow Assyrians to be perceived as legitimate in Babylonia (cf. the Babylonian inscriptions of Essarhaddon)?

 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Rojas, Felipe *(Brown University)*

Assyriology before Assyriology

Disciplinary histories are invented traditions. Many modern academic disciplines, including Assyriology (but also archaeology), trace back their roots to the early modern period, specifically to the mid 19th century AD. This paper concentrates on a period in

the history of Assyriology that is usually neglected or treated only summarily by disciplinary historians: namely, that between the end of the cuneiform tradition and the re-decipherment of cuneiform by European intellectuals. My principal purpose is to question how pre-modern and non-European engagements with cuneiform texts, monumental reliefs, and inscribed ruins should contribute (or not) in a more expansive and inclusive history of the discipline, one in which the sources of intellectual achievement concerning ancient Mesopotamia are not only Europe and America. Through short-case studies I aim to challenge traditional monogenetic accounts of Assyriology. I shed light on both the intensity and the diversity of ancient and medieval interests in Mesopotamian realia as well as on how local communities on the ground at different times incorporated such artifacts into their own local histories. I argue that the history of Assyriology may profitably look to moments before the nineteenth century AD and to places other than Europe and America in an effort to understand how people around the world have understood and explained the rich material and textual legacy of Mesopotamia and neighboring regions.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Roßberger, Elisa *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Cult of Thrones: Reconciling visual and textual Evidence for figuratively adorned Thrones, Daises, and Platforms in Ur III to Old Babylonian Mesopotamia

Year names, royal inscriptions, and administrative records testify to the great expenditures invested into the manufacture and figurative design of divine thrones and daises during Ur III and Old Babylonian times. A more modest form of materialization were clay miniatures of thrones with richly decorated backs typically found in the contemporary archaeological record. I suggest that we should also take an enigmatic group of terracotta plaques into account when discussing thrones and related furniture in combination with figurative art. I argue further, that the stool depicted on these plaques carries a bust-like royal image and represents a potent physical locus of religious practice. The circulation of clay replications picturing this distinctive image-furniture arrangement throughout Old Babylonian Mesopotamia attests to its iconic status which continued in abbreviated form into later periods.

 # W05 – Archaeological and Textual Perspectives on Ritual and Religion

Rudik, Nadezda *(Univerzita Hradec Králové)*

The Words of Ningirim and their Grammar

Only a few hundred years separate the invention of cuneiform from the emergence of the first Sumerian literary texts known to us from the archives of Fara, ancient Šuruppak, and Tell Abu Salabikh. Some of them have been interpreted as incantations, i.e. texts aimed at restoring (or preservation) of the initial world order through a spoken word. These incantations are an integral part of Mesopotamian religious practices. They were regarded as the words of the gods themselves. Each incantation refers to the remote past when the gods walked the earth and an issue addressed in a particular incantation occurred for the first time. It was believed that this mythical time held the solution to the problem that had arisen.

The corpus of the earliest Sumerian incantations datable to the Early Dynastic (pre-Sargonic) period is comprised of 27 tablets with 74 incantations written on them (George, A. Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schoyen Collection, CUSAS 32, 2016; Rudik, N. Die Entwicklung der keilschriftlichen sumerischen Beschwörungsliteratur von den Anfängen bis zur Ur III-Zeit. Doctoral thesis, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Online publication: https://www.db-thueringen.de/receive/dbt_mods_00026243). Most of these tablets were excavated at Fara (Šuruppak) and Tell Mardikh (Ebla) in Syria. With rare exceptions, they are labeled "the words/spells of Ningirim" (in a special rubric in the text), so the tablets appear to be the medium of record (and to storage) of the deity's words.

This paper aims at exploring the ways in which the deity's words were transmitted via cuneiform writing. The correspondence between the language and the way linguistic features (nominal and verbal morphology and syntax) are recorded will be examined and evaluated.

The order of signs and their function, as well as the cuneiform as means of communication between humans and gods (human-divine interactions) will be investigated.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Rumor, Maddalena *(Case Western Reserve University)*

At the Origins of Plant Taxonomy: Evidence for a Shared Method in Theophrastus and Babylonian Scholarship

When we think of the first scientific developments in botany and pharmacology, we usually think of Theophrastus (ca. 370 - ca. 287 BCE), who, for many good reasons, earned the epithet "Father of Botany". His treatise, the *Historia plantarum* (including one book on medicinal plants, ca. 300 BCE), is considered the earliest fully-surviving example of Pre-Linnaean plant taxonomy. But to what degree are the principles and reasoning behind this remarkable achievement an **exclusive** product of Greek culture and the Peripatetic school to which Theophrastus owed so much?

In this talk, I will argue that the specific method adopted by Theophrastus to think about and systematize information regarding medicinal plants, is to be related, to a surprising level of detail, to the same conceptual method devised by Assyro-Babylonian academics half a millennium earlier, as evinced from an analysis of their work on plants *Šammu šikinšu*. The implications of this finding are multifold. For example, it suggests the distinct possibility that Theophrastus' formal application of standard rules in the description and identification of plant elements (as from *Hist. pl.* IX) developed within the same normative tradition common to *Šammu šikinšu*. It also seems reasonable to assume that such a tradition would have more likely circulated through formal (and technical) education than through casual communication.

 # S09 – Cultural Transfer: Science

Sahala, Aleksi et al. *(Helsingin yliopisto = University of Helsinki)*

Gods without Borders: A language technological Analysis of Neo-Assyrian Texts

Digital humanities approaches, specifically social network analysis and language technology, have thus far been fruitfully applied to studies of social networks and lexical data in Mesopotamian studies. Such a quantitative perspective not only brings up new ways to understand and visualize the data, but also offers a firm basis for the traditional philological and qualitative research methods. One of the goals of the Digital Humanities team of the Center of Excellence in Ancient Near Eastern Empires at the University of Helsinki is to further develop and apply digital humanities approaches to Mesopotamian data and to provide the Assyriological community with open-source tools that may be used for quantitative analysis of the Akkadian text material.

The aim of this paper is to present some of our preliminary work with applying these approaches to the 5,000 lemmatized Neo-Assyrian texts of the Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus (Oracc). Earlier case studies have focused on Akkadian nouns and verbs and have demonstrated the effectiveness of language technological approaches to creating semantic fields for terms. This paper continues this work through studying the use of divine names to test the potential of these methods on a category that is well-attested but distinct from nominal or verbal forms in both form and character. By compiling the lexemes and other gods closely associated with divine names, we are able to extract the collocates, and thus, to identify the prototypical semantic fields for the divinities attested in the texts.

In this paper, we focus on Pointwise Mutual Information (PMI), a statistical measure of association generally used in information theory and computational linguistics, which has already yielded promising results on the semantic analysis of Akkadian nouns and verbs, such as sisû "horse" and verbs of seeing. In applying this method to the attestation of divine names in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus, we are able to more efficiently and precisely examine the semantic fields of the deities and their connections to each other, allowing us to establish and visualize the connections between the divinities of the Neo-Assyrian pantheon and to better conceptualize their characteristics.

 # S18 – New Approaches in ANES

Sallaberger, Walther *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Approaching the Divine in Early Bronze Age Mesopotamia

One of the most enduring questions in the discussion of Mesopotamian religion is how the individual could have approached the deity in the temple. The ubiquitous presence of deities the Mesopotamian societies seemingly stand in contrast to enclosed temple precincts with their sacrificial cult, which convey an impression of restricted access to the divine. This contribution will concentrate on Southern Mesopotamia in the Early Bronze Age (third millennium BCE) in order to provide the historical unity necessary for a social and cultural discussion of religious practices. First, I will focus on the modern scholar's approach to the divine in order to describe better the role of deities in their world. Various ways of how the individual interacted with the gods in their temples will be treated in the second part of this paper.

Sassmannshausen, Leonhard *(Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen)*

Kassitische Siegelungspraxis aus dem Blickwinkel von Babylon

Die kassitische Siegelungspraxis unterscheidet sich deutlich von der spaetaltbabylonischen. Innerhalb der Kassitenzeit sind ebenfalls Entwicklungen festzustellen. Am Beispiel der unpublizierten Tontafeln aus Babylon wird im Vergleich mit anderen Fundorten gezeigt, welche Tafeln gesiegelt wurden und welche nicht, sowie wie und von wem gesiegelt wurde.

 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Sazonov, Vladimir and Espak, Peeter *(Tartu Ülikool = University of Tartu)*

The Origin of Estonian Ancient Near Eastern Studies (19th century and first Half of 20th Century)

Although Estonia is a small European country with a population of only 1.3 million, there is a long tradition of Oriental Studies at the University of Tartu. When in 1632 the first Estonian university was estab¬lished in Tartu (Dorpat) in the Swedish province of Livonia, which was called Academia Gustaviana (in German, Universität Dorpat, today's University of Tartu), then already Hebrew was initially taught there, followed by Arabic, Aramaic, Sanskrit and other Oriental languages. Estonian Assyriology has its roots in late 19th century when orientalists and scholars in the field Old Testament started teaching Akkadian and Aramaic languages at the University of Tartu. In the 19th century, several Baltic Germans who lived in Estonia showed their interest for cultural Legacy of Ancient Near East - especially Egypt, but also Persia, Syria, etc. One of the first was Otto Friedrich von Richter (1791-1816). Despite his short life (he sadly died at the age of 24) von Richter can be considered to have been an important researcher in Oriental studies, especially in Egyptology and Nubian studies. In 1814 von Richter began his famous voyage to the Middle East where he gathered an impressive collection of Oriental manuscripts, hieroglyphic texts and artefacts (including some Egyptian mummies, statuettes and scarabs). He also kept his diary. Together with another traveler, Sven Fredrik Lidman, von Richter hoped to present the results of their joint research to the public in Europe and Russia upon their return. Unfortunately, on the 31st August 1816 von Richter fell victim to a serious disease, most likely dysentery or cholera and died.

Alexander von Bulmerincq (1868-1938) and Otto Emil Seesemann (1866-1945) were the fist in Tartu who taught Akkadian language and also dealt with research in the field of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. The most prominent Orien¬talist in Estonia in the field of Ancient Near Eastern studies in the 20th century were theologians Arthur Võõbus (1909-1988) and Uku Masing (1909-1985). Masing taught Ancient Near Eastern History, Religion, but also Akkadian, Hebrew, Sumerian and other languages in Tartu in the 30ies. In 1940 when the of Soviet occupation of Estonia started, the Theological Faculty of the University of Tartu was closed as a remnant of kulak and capitalist criminal way of thinking which should have no place in the new social system liberated from the chains of religion and exploitation. After the Soviet army reoccupied Estonia in 1944, A.

Võõbus managed to escape to Germany, and after to the USA where he became the foremost authority in Syriac studies in Chicago. Collection of manuscripts photographed by him in the Middle East are still studied and systematized up to this date. Masing remained in occupied Estonia and was prohibited to teach or conduct any public activities during the Soviet period.

However, he managed to send out to the west several of his scholarly works in German and English published in Germany, France, USA, Czechoslovakia, etc. His topics published in international journals included the Old Testament, comparative religion, folklore, comparative linguistics, and even the religion of Çatal Hüyük.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Schattner-Rieser, Ursula *(Universität Innsbruck)* and **Galil**, Gershon *(University of Haifa)*

Symbolism, Symbolic Acts and Magic in Ancient Near Eastern Cultures

Symbolic acts are well known in ancient Near Eastern cultures. The prophetic books in the Bible are full of symbolic acts (see e.g., Jeremiah 19, 1–2, 10–11; 2 Kings 13:15–19 and more). Dozens of symbolic acts are described and depicted in ancient Near Eastern art and literature; a few examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia will suffice. The first is the Egyptian execration texts, attested from the Old Kingdom until the Late Period (747–332 BCE). These texts now number in excess of 1,000 exemplars mostly from cemeteries. They were first written on figurines of bound foreign rulers, but later also on potsherds which were subsequently and ceremonially destroyed. The breaking of the figurines and the pots inscribed with the names of the enemies was a symbolic act intended to be a sympathetic magic that would affect the kings and the kingdoms named on these execration texts. The Mesopotamian examples are related to rituals against the Lamaštu. These terrifying female demons (depicted as lion-headed creatures with dog's teeth, donkey's ears, and eagle's talons), attack infants and women before, during and after childbirth. Rituals against *lamaštu* include destruction of a figurine representing her, crushing of amulets showing her, and stabbing to death with a thorn a figurine that replaced her. The paper will present a new epigraphic text from Jordan (8th century BCE), and a few Aramaic magical texts from Qumran, e.g., Tobit and other magical texts.

 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Schneider, Bernhard *(Universität Innsbruck)*

The Construction History of the Ur III Ekur at Nippur

The vast amount of unpublished material from the expeditions of 1889-1900 at Nippur in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology stayed mostly inaccessible for archaeologists. Through correlating this newly accessible data with the already published results of the post World War II expeditions, new insights concerning the construction history of the Ekur temple of Enlil can be reached. Through the help of the photos, plans, diaries of the consecutive excavators Peters, Haynes and Hilprecht, which, although sometimes sketchy, add in many instances clear evidence to the more recent excavations.

The focus will be laid on the construction program during the rule of the Third Dynasty of Ur initiated by Urnamma the founder of this dynasty. Hereby a revised and refined sequence of construction will be presented. It can be shown that an extended lifetime of this temple up until at least the Old Babylonian period has to be considered. That even the following Kassite builders tried to incorporate parts of this original construction into their new building project throws light on the aspect of cultic tradition of this Mesopotamian main sanctuary which was also considered to be the center of the gods assembly. This long tradition has its roots in the Early Dynastic period and runs at least until the Seleucid period.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Schrakamp, Ingo *(Freie Universität Berlin)*

The irrigation network of the ED IIIb/Pre-Sargonic city-state of Lagaš: Technical, administrative, socio-economic and legal aspects

The earliest evidence for fully-developed irrigation networks and their cuneiform terminology dates from the Early Dynastic IIIb/Presargonic period and stems from the Sumerian city-state of Lagaš (ca. 2475-2315 BC) which included the four major cities of Girsu, Lagaš, Nigen and Guabba and covered an area of approx. 3000 km². Cuneiform sources pertaining to irrigation include royal inscriptions and administrative texts from the archive of the household of the ruler's wife (e2-mi2) or the temple of Bau (e2 dba-u2), respectively, which managed subsistence agriculture and is considered to represent a typical temple household. They demonstrate that the city-state of Lagaš maintained a four-level irrigation network which was establish by Urnanše upon the unification of the state and included primary canals, secondary canals, field canals, regulators, distributors, and reservoirs. As their cuneiform terminology reflects a recent development, the texts probably testify to one the earliest complex irrigation systems in Southern Mesopotamia. Moreover, they demonstrate that construction and maintenance of the irrigation network were organized on two levels. Large irrigation projects, such as excavation of major canals or the construction of regulators, were conducted by the ruler, who drew on the corvée troops mobilized by the temples of the state. The temples were primarily responsible for the maintenance of lower-level or local irrigation structures, such as dikes and distributors, located at their landed property.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Scurlock, JoAnn *(Elmhurst College)*

From SA.GIG to Ovid's Metamorphoses: Transformation and Diffusion of the ancient Mesopotamian Commentary

Far from being the pointless mind game designed to create a sense of group solidarity among a scholarly elite that cognitive linguistic theory would have us imagine, ancient commentaries were a window by which the scholarly community of late Antiquity generally sought to discern ultimate truths. Giving heed to Socrates' warning in the Cratylus, those Muslim commentators who were heirs to this tradition, despite firm adherence to monotheism, rose above the common believer's search for single answers

to difficult questions. Or to put it differently, what the commentary tradition discovered over the course of its long history was the fact that, in this world, absolute certainty can be achieved only through multiplicity, since having four or five ways of understanding a given passage is as close as the ephemeral human mind can reach to that eternal truth which is God.
 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Sefati, Yitschak and Klein, Jacob *(Bar-Ilan University)*

On the Two Principal Meanings of the Sumerian Term l u g a l

Already the Akkadian lexicographers realized that the common ancient Sumerian term l u g a l has two major meanings: A more general and primary meaning "lord"/"master", and a more specific, secondary meaning "king". Accordingly, they translated this word by two Akkadian words: *bēlum* and *šarrum* respectively. While the former meaning has a general socio-legal connotation, the latter is a specific political title. This is a common knowledge, and in most cases it is easy to choose between these two translations. However, in certain texts of literary-poetical nature this term is used in a somewhat ambiguous context, and it is not easy to determine its exact meaning. The main purpose of this paper is to reexamine the usage of this term in literary-poetic texts, where the context is ambiguous and not unequivocal; to examine the various translations that were chosen or preferred by former Sumerologists; and to try to suggest certain rules which might facilitate to determine the correct meaning of the term in these contexts. A major context, in which the meaning of l u g a l may be ambiguous is when it is juxtaposed with the political-religious epithet en "lord"/"en priest". These contexts will be examined with particular attention, taking into account the origins of these epithets and the semantic changes which they underwent during the third millennium BCE.
 # S15 – Sumerian Literature

Selz, Gebhard *(Universität Wien)*

The puzzling logogram and bilingualism as hermeneutical mover

Starting point of this contribution is the observation that already at a very early stage of writing (3rd mill.) the plurilingual Mesopotamian environment incited some rather unexpected interpretation of the so-called logograms. It will be further argued that sign interpretation in cunjunction with (Sumerian) homophonies and phonetic similarities (puns) must be considered as major hermeneutic tools, which provided the foundations for Mesopotamian reasoning and consequently her cultures. In a final part, it will be argued that such observations on the Near Eastern writing systems might also considerably improve our understanding of Mesopotamia's intellectual heritage.
 # W17 – Heritage in Transmission: Adoption and Adaptation of Writing Systems

Selz, Gebhard *(Universität Wien)*

Writing and Reasoning; the Problem of Intellectual Systematization in Early Sumer

In the last decades, numerous studies addressed problems connected with the evolution of Cuneiform writing. The system is usually described as a combining visual (iconic) and phonetic (linguistic) properties, resulting in a mixed logographic

(ideographic) / phonetic (glottographic) script. Research on this system has focused so far on various aspects of sign formation and on the mixture of semantic and graphic organizational principles attested in the early lexical tradition. In this contribution I will concentrate on the principles of reasoning which can be uncovered in this early script. Applying results from the study of semantic priming and conceptual blending, I will argue that the advantages – and the persistence - of the mixed writing system is related to its linguistically grounded suitability for transmitting various sorts of intellectual endeavors.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Sharlach, Tonia *(Oklahoma State University)*

Over the Mountains: The Movement of Goods, People and Ideas between Mesopotamia and Elam in the 21st century BC

We have long known that—for a brief while in the 21st century B.C.—a shaky peace existed between the Third Dynasty of Ur and the kingdoms to the east—including Elam, Marhashi, Shimashki and so on. The primary motivation in Mesopotamia may well have been related to trade, especially in metal and stones. This paper will consider whether the importation of livestock into Mesopotamia was another key commodity.

We have long known that the peace was in part maintained by the exportation of princesses as brides to eastern potentates. This paper suggests that brides from the east were also imported into the royal house of Ur. In addition, princes moved frequently between lands, and this paper considers the role of the prince Šu-Enlilla, who criss-crossed the border repeatedly over twenty years.

Finally, we shall consider whether we can find evidence for any cultural transfers, or transfers of ideas, on either side of the border.

 # S03 – Sumer & Elam

Shayegan, M. Rahim *(University of California, Los Angeles)*

On the Continuity of Ancient Near Eastern Practices in Late Antique Iran

A number of cases studies are offered on the continuity of Ancient Near Eastern traditions and practices well into post-Hellenistic and late antique Persia. Among themes investigates are: the king's exalted, but not divine, nature; royal titulatures(s); and heterographic writing practices.

 # W08 – Ancient Iran and the Heritage of the Ancient Near East

Shibata, Daisuke *(University of Tsukuba)*

A Middle Assyrian manuscript of a therapeutic treatise "Prescriptions of Adapa"

The excavations at Tell Taban (Syria) unearthed one nearly complete Middle Assyrian tablet, which is basically a duplicate of Neo-Assyrian **BAM 209** from Assur, a manuscript of the third tablet of the therapeutic series, *šumma amēlu šer'ān kišādišu ikkalšu šugidimmakku*. My paper will examine the textual history of the therapeutic treatise, analysing the new **Middle** Assyrian manuscript and its duplicates from the first

millennium. I will conclude discussing the Babylonian-Assyrian scholarship in the Assyrian periphery during the second millennium.
 # S01 – Cultural Transfer: Religion

Sollee, Alexander E. *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Built on solid Foundations: The Development of Neo-Assyrian Fortifications

The kings of the Neo-Assyrian Empire were great builders. They commissioned the construction of magnificent buildings of monumental proportions. This did not only include palaces and temples, but also massive fortifications that surrounded and protected the royal residences. The manner in which Assyrian architects designed and arranged their city walls and gates was not radically new, however. Considering the long history of warfare and military developments in the Ancient Near East, they could build on a solid foundation of existing knowledge on how to construct defensive systems. Nevertheless, certain aspects and details make the fortifications of the Neo-Assyrian royal residences stand out amongst comparable Ancient Near Eastern structures. This paper intends to show how Assyrian architects took older or foreign concepts and reconfigured them to convey Assyrian ideology to inhabitants and visitors of the grand residences in the heartland through the appearance of the fortifications. By doing so, the paper will demonstrate that the development of Neo-Assyrian defensive architecture formed an important part of the intellectual heritage of the Ancient Near East.
 # S05 – Assyria

Stadhouders, Henry *(Universiteit Utrecht)*

A Vixen Eating the Yoke-Band: Circumpolar Star Lore in Cuneiform and a Scholion on Hesiod

After presenting a hitherto unknown incantation prayer to Ibila-Emaḫ, which the speaker managed to reconstruct from unpublished tablets in the British Museum, and an attempt to answer the question of where to plot this astral deity on the map uranographically, he will concentrate on a Byzantine scholion to Hesiod's Opera et dies that would appear to have preserved some scraps of heritage from cuneiform star lore, enabling us to establish the identity of the elusive mul.mu.bu.kéš.da (Nīru raksu).
 # W09 – Stars and Constellations in Babylonian Astronomy

Steele, John *(Brown University)*

The Names of the Signs of the Zodiac: Development and Variation

The development of the zodiac as a uniform division of the path through which the Sun, Moon and planets move into twelve equal parts was a key event in the history of Babylonian astronomy. Previous studies of the development of the zodiac, which took place in the late fifth century BC, have primarily concentrated on the concept of the equal divisions and the norming of the zero point of the zodiac relative to stars. However, the development of the zodiac also involved the creation of a way to name the zodiacal signs. In this presentation I examine the names that were used for the signs of the zodiac, and in particular their chronological and geographical variation within Babylonia.

Stratford, Edward *(Brigham Young University)*

Chirography and Old Assyrian Literacy

If palaeography is the study of forms of writing for the purposes of dating and verification, then the promising avenues in Old Assyrian palaeography must be considered something slightly different. Ultimately, the most useful reasons for studying the forms of writing is as a window into the breadth and practice of literacy in Old Assyrian society and those interacting with its members. It is widely held (and not rejected here) that literacy was widespread among merchants and their families. But there are opportunities to both confirm and enrich such claims. In this paper I will return to the idea of conducting chirographical analysis on tablets as part of a project to study literacy 'from the ground up'. If the term chirography is unusual, the practice of such inquiry already has had it precedents in the study of the Old Assyrian tablets. I will discuss the aims of such an endeavor and the methods by which it can and cannot be pursued. In the process I will provide a progress report on the Tablet Ninjas project, a project to crowdsource indexing photographs of cuneiform tablets down to the sign, and the relation of the TabletNinjas project to both the ongoing Old Assyrian Research Environment project and a project to source the clays of the Old Assyrian tablets through portable X-Ray Fluorescence technology. The combination of these project offers the possibility of fleshing out authorship and hands of individual tablets as a way toward substantiating prevailing opinions about literacy in the Old Assyrian period.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Strootman, Rolf *(Universiteit Utrecht)*

Memories of Persian Kingship in the Hellenistic World

The Seleukid Empire is often seen as a successor state of the Achaemenid Empire. But there is in fact nothing in the Seleukids' self-presentation to suggest that they themselves thought so, too. On the contrary, in the third century BCE, their attitude towards the Achaemenids (as well as Alexander, for that matter) was one of damnatio memoriae. Yet, because of repeated intermarriage with (non-Achaemenid) Iranian dynasties and the large-scale recruitment of Iranian troops for the imperial armies, the Seleukid Empire was to a large extent an Iranian polity. This was not lost on their enemies, the Ptolemies and later the Romans, who in their propaganda presented the Seleukids as the "New Persians." Perhaps in reaction to this, the memory of Persian kingship attained a more positive slant in the context of the gradual "vassalization" of the Seleukid Near East. This is expressed for example by the Persianism of (former) vassal dynasties such as the Fratarakā of Persis and the Orontids of Kommagene.

 # W08 – Ancient Iran and the Heritage of the Ancient Near East

Such-Gutiérrez, Marcos *(Universidad Autónoma Madrid)*

Der Beruf s u - s i (- i g) im 3. Jahrtausend

Der Beitrag wird den Beruf s u - s i (- i g) behandeln, der ziemlich selten in den Texten des 3. Jahrtausends nachweisbar ist und Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten bereitet hat. s u - s i (- i g) i s t traditionell als „Abdecker", oder „Tierschinder" übersetzt worden;

jedoch zeigen die Texte, dass su-si(-ig) eigentlich mit der ersten Stufe der Berarbeitung der Tierhäute beschäftigt war. Diese erste Stufe der Behandlung der Felle war die Säuberung der Häute (kuš zalag/dág) bzw. die Enthaarung, die duch das Eintauchen der Häute in eine Mischung aus Milch und Mehl stattfand. Die Tätigkeit der su-si(-ig) wurde anscheinend, zumindest seit der Altakkadischen Periode, allmählich von der Lederarbeiter (ašgab) übernommen worden. Dies und die Tatsache, dass er im Gegensatz zu den meisten Handwerkern ausserhalb der bewohnten Zentren arbeitete, kann erklären, warum su-si(-ig) nicht nur im 3. Jahrtausend, sondern auch in der ganzen schriftlichen Überlieferung Mesopotamiens so selten bezeugt ist.

 # S03 – Sumer & Elam

Tarasewicz, Radosław *(Universytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu = Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań)*

Method of Sheep Feeding in the Temple Household at Sippar

Tending animals was a part of the temple economy in Ancient Mesopotamia. The practice concentrated on obtaining the proper number of usually young specimens for offerings. The care over the herds, consisting of sheep and goats, cattle and ducks, was taken by the Neo-Babylonian temples, like Eanna in Uruk or Ebabbar in Sippar. Turtledoves and pigeons provided for offerings were caught and only occasionally fed. Horses and donkeys had their own role in the temple household but they were never sacrificed as offerings.

Tending animals by the Neo-Babylonian temple was undertaken either by the fattening house (*bīt urê*) or by the shepherds (*rē'ûs*) of the household. The structure and internal organisation of these two departments of animal husbandry have been described in previous studies.

My attention is focused only on two, very important aspects the fattening house organisation that have not been discussed in greater detail in previous literature. The method of barley fodder distribution throughout specifically and firmly fixed periods and the sheep relocation within established feeding groups (*rabû*, *tardennu* and *šalšu*). Our full knowledge about these comes from the records concerning distribution of barley for fodder for the animals.

 # W01 – Animals and History

Tavernier, Jan *(Université catholique de Louvain)*

Gastronomical Heritage: Greek and Roman authors on Mesopotamian Beverages

This paper discusses the various Greek and Roman accounts on Mesopotamian beer and wine. Greek and Roman historians, physicians and geographers have left us descriptions on both wine and a drink they call zythos in Greek and zythum in Latin (also attested in Egypt) and which is generally considered to be beer. The paper will present the various accounts and will arrange them in categories such as reports on drunkenness, reports on medical aspects of both Mesopotamian drinks or basic descriptions of beer and/or wine. It will also discuss how Greek and Roman concepts may have influenced the reports on Mesopotamian alcoholic beverages.

Taylor, Jonathan *(British Museum)*

Seal Inscriptions of the Kassite period

The inscriptions on Kassite period cylinder seals are unusually interesting. While earlier seal inscriptions are typically short, naming the owner and giving limited information about them, Kassite examples often don't identify the owner, instead taking the form of prayers. They can be difficult to read because of their individuality, the carving of the cuneiform signs, and especially the learned way in which they exploit the sophistication of the writing system. This presentation offers an overview of the corpus, highlighting scribal conventions and the nature of the objects. It also introduces a new collaborative website providing access to all published Kassite seal inscriptions, the Corpus of Seal Inscriptions of the Kassite period.
 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Thomas, Ariane *(Musée du Louvre)*

The Louvre Museum as a Case Study for the Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art in France

Since the opening of the Assyrian Museum in 1847, the Louvre displayed ancient Near Eastern art. Through a history of the collection's display—what was exhibited and how—as well as the structure of its publications, we can elaborate the early reception of ancient Near Eastern art and its impact over a period of many decades. The early publications on ancient Near Eastern objects after they arrived in France help us to better understand how they were viewed at the time and how they were classified in the hierarchy of ancient art, notably between Egyptian art and Greek art. This paper will deal with the history of the ancient Near Eastern art galleries in the Louvre, examining the way these objects and/or their reproductions (casts, etc.) were shown and labeled not only in the museum but also in specific shows like the universal exhibitions. This study also considers related courses offered at the École du Louvre and the publications devoted to the Louvre collections.
 # W16 – The Early Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Art

Tinney, Steve *(Penn Museum)*, **Robson**, Eleanor *(University College London)* and **Novotny**, Jamie *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Oracc Workshop

The Oracc workshop will be in two parts. In the first, plenary session Steve Tinney and Eleanor Robson will introduce the new mobile-friendly Oracc website and ask for feedback on it. Steve will also talk about developments with the Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (ePSD2) on Oracc.

In the second part we will hold three parallel break-out groups. Jamie Novotny will run a session on "Getting started with your own Oracc project". Steve will lead a group on "Sharing your data with Oracc". Eleanor will host a hands-on workshop on editing and

lemmatising cuneiform texts with Nammu. There may also be a session on re-using Oracc data.
 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Touillon-Ricci, Mathilde *(British Museum)*

Crafting cuneiform: a palaeographic and material approach to writing practices in the Ur III period

The Third Dynasty of Ur thrived on a large-scale administrative structure powered by cohorts of functionaries. In just over the 100 years that the Dynasty ruled, the scribes produced vast quantities of administrative documents, some 120,000 of which survived until today and now form one of the largest cuneiform corpora. This wealth of documents constitutes an exceptional material for the study of writing practices in the Ur III period.

Writing is a product of the hand as much as of the mind; not an innate ability, it is a learned and practised skill, a combination of rules and standards performed by individuals. Based on a claim found in Šulgi B that the King established new schools in Ur and Nippur, it has been hypothesised that schooling and writing underwent major reforms under Šulgi's reign.

By contrasting datasets drawn from the administrative production of selected sites including Umma, Ur and Girsu, this paper interrogates the material aspects of writing with respect to sign variants, writing sequence and text layout, and the relationship between inscribed artefacts and writing practices. This study of idiosyncrasies and traditions in cuneiform during the Ur III period aims to address the extent to which writing reflects the context in which it was performed and how its palaeographic and material features do vary or conform over time and across sites.
 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Turri, Luigi *(Università di Verona)*

Refugees and displaced People in northern Lebanon in the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC: textual Data and archaeological Evidence

During the Late Bronze and Iron Ages the area of present-day Lebanon was famous for its prosperous coastal cities and their ability to build commercial ties with both neighbouring and faraway lands, but very little is known of the low-lying inner plains or mountain regions. Idrimi's "autobiography" recounts that refugees – probably fleeing from the Hittite devastation in northern Syria – found shelter in Ammiya, while Rib-Adda's letters complain about the habiru that dwell in the area and who are threatening his cities. Another letter dating to the time of Tiglath-pileser III, that testifies to the presence and activities of Assyrian officials in Phoenicia, mentions some people that may have been moved to northern Lebanon by order of the Assyrian king. The lecture analyzes these and other texts in the light of the preliminary results of the new survey conducted in the Koura and Tripoli area by the Northern Lebanon Project, a mission conducted by the University of Udine and the Lebanese University.
 # S17 – Contact Zone: Levante

Turri, Luigi *(Università di Verona)*

Gilgamesh on the Couch

After almost two thousand years of oblivion, his rediscovery at the end of the 19th century led to Gilgamesh's resurrection, and – as it had been in the Ancient Near Eastern world – he quickly once more became part of the collective imagination. That was because the themes of the epic are universal and its imagery is somehow shared by the entire world, so it is not strange that subjects like the complex relationship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu or the fear of death appealed to the founders of psychoanalysis, Freud and Jung. The latter in particular found deep inspiration in the figure of Gilgamesh: he used him to explain his idea of the collective unconscious and theory of archetypes and even portrayed him in one of his central works, the so-called Red Book. The lecture aims to outline the relationship between Gilgamesh and psychoanalysis.

 # S13 – The Epic of Gilgamesh & Beyond

Tyborowski, Witold *(Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu = Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)*

Scribal Invention in the Old Babylonian legal Texts

It has been considered for very long time that the Old Babylonian legal texts of varius types had been drafted as very standard deeds, which do not show much of author's invention and one can hardly find any studies which aimed at showing particular features of such document in the history of Assyriology. The view might have been based on the common assumption that such texts were of strictly practical character, so they had been drafted according to formulars which determined their shape.

However, closer analysis of various kinds of legal texts from this period shows that apart from the general standard form, in several cases there appear clauses and expressions which were products of scribe's invention who included them in documents because in their opinions they could express some details or settlements which were not articulated by the standard version of the document. As a result it points out to the creativity of the scribes rather then their sense of usefulness only.

In this paper I want to discuss some examples of this phenomenon in order to make an introduction to a wider discussion on the role of scribes in the notary's practice of the Old Babylonian period. The examples discussed in the paper come exclusively from ordinary legal texts which shows that they are not deprived from traces of intellectual effort.

 # S20 – Scribes & Authors

Vacca, Agnese and **Peyronel**, Luca *(Università degli Studi di Milano)*

Italian Excavations at Tell Helawa/Aliawa in the South-west Erbil Plain, Kurdistan, Iraq

The project of the Italian Archaeological Expedition in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (MAIPE, University of Milan) investigated, since 2013, two sites – Tell Helawa and Aliawa – located in Erbil Plain, 28 southwest of Erbil. During 2013-2015, field surveys were carried out at both sites allowing to establish the main archaeological sequences.

Helawa and Aliawa show alternate periods of occupation: while Helawa appears a substantial prehistoric site abandoned in the course of the Late Chalcolithic 3, and resettled during the Late Bronze Age, Aliawa shows a main occupation dating to the Early and Middle Bronze Age, whereas during the Hellenistic, Parthian and Islamic Period the site was probably occupied by a fortress/fortified stronghold.

The 2016 excavations at Helawa allowed to pinpoint the proposed sequence, revealing a Late Chalcolithic 2-3 multi-layer occupation uncovered on the high mound and in the lowest extension of the site to the north-east, where a later Middle/Late Bronze Age sequence is also documented. Aim of this paper is to present and discuss these evidence within a regional framework of analysis, focusing on the developments and the local trajectories in the Trans-Tigris area, which will be compared with data from surveys and excavations carried out in the Syrian and Iraqi Jazirah.

 # W12 – Current Archaeological and Epigraphic Research in Iraq

Vacín, Luděk *(Univerzita Hradec Králové)*

BL contra Delitzsch: On B. Landsberger's Cultural Background, Motivation for the Study of Assyriology, and the Personal Roots of His "Eigenbegrifflichkeit"

"Seit Beginn meiner Studien entschlossen meine Lebensarbeit der Assyriologie zu widmen, habe ich mich in alle Zweige der Keilschriftphilologie eingearbeitet…" How did it happen that a graduate from a grammar school in Austrian Silesia wanted to become an Assyriologist from the start? What kind of cultural background, early education, and intellectual influences drove him to devote his life to the research on the cuneiform cultures? Why did he choose Heinrich Zimmern as his mentor straight away? Does the still very influential and controversial climax of his early work, the inaugural lecture on the "conceptual autonomy of the Babylonian world," have anything to do with his cultural identity and the incentives behind his decision to study Ancient Mesopotamia? Actually, what was the decisive impulse? Those are some of the questions that remained unanswered in all works on the life and career of one of the most brilliant Assyriologists. Using various barely accessible materials from the first half of his life, it is now possible to offer insights into the making of the "scholar of a stature rarely encountered," whose achievements remain as fundamental for the discipline half a century after his death as they were in his lifetime.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Válek, František *(Univerzita Karlova)*

Cultural Transfer in the Light of Seth, Baʿal and their Relationship

Egyptian Seth and Semitic Baʿal were closely connected, especially during the Late Bronze Age. Sometimes scholars think there was even a syncretistic deity, the so-called Seth-Baʿal. Although Baʿal was surely not the only foreign deity that found its way into the Egyptian religion, his position seems to be special. No other Syrian deity was as closely tied with its Egyptian counterpart as Baʿal was with Seth. However, the situation is complex and deserves further investigation in order to determine specific implications of these deities' relationship.

First, one must establish in which contexts the gods should be taken as separate and in which contexts (if ever) they were indeed fused. But the question is not only whether

there were Seth, Baʿal and Seth-Baʿal as a third deity, or if Baʿal existed in the eyes of Egyptians as a mere manifestation of Seth. Influences that went both ways, to Egypt and back to ancient Syria, can reveal many interesting aspects of both cultures. How did these cultures view each other? Who was a foreigner for them and how did this concept change in time? Did Semites see Baʿal connected with Seth in the same manner as Egyptians did?

In sum, the relationship of Baʿal and Seth will serve as a lens to look at the cultural transfer between ancient Syria and Egypt, the perception of otherness in these ancient cultures, and the notion of divine syncretism will be problematized.

 # S17 – Contact Zone: Levante

Van De Mieroop, Marc *(Columbia University)*

Of Babylonian Grammatology

The paper will examine Jacques Derrida's concept of différance as it applies to cuneiform writing. It will argue that the two principles it contains – to differ and to defer – are applicable on two levels. In the syntagm meaning is only revealed when it has been read in its entirety – as Derrida claims is the case in every form of writing. But also on the paradigmatic level full understanding is achieved only when the entire paradigm has been completed. The paper will demonstrate these principles as they are in evidence in the later periods of Mesopotamian history, before applying them to the earliest periods of cuneiform writing. It hopes to show that they are an integral aspect of the Mesopotamians' ideas on writing from the moment of script invention.

 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Van De Peut, Lidewij E. *(Leiden Universiteit / Freie Universität Berlin)*

The Rise and Fall of the Hymn in Hittite Literature

Hymns praise a deity by describing his or her qualities. This paper examines the reception of Mesopotamian hymns in Hittite Anatolia. Whereas in Babylonian literature hymns occur in many different text genres and almost seem to be omni-present, in Hittite Anatolia they do not have such a prominent place. This paper argues that the hymn was initially foreign to the Hittites and that the originally Mesopotamian hymn was not very successful in Hittite literature.

The Hittites came in contact with hymns of praise only after Sumerian and Akkadian examples were brought to Anatolia from Babylonia. Hittite scribes studied Akkadian (and Sumerian) hymns and made a selection to keep in their tablet collections. The first attestation of a Hittite hymn in a Hittite context occurs in the Middle Hittite Prayer of a king (CTH 374), but the same hymn was probably also part of the earlier Prayer of Kantuzili (CTH 373) though it is not preserved in this text. It is an adaptation of a Babylonian hymn (and prayer) to the Sun-god Utu/Šamaš, which combines Mesopotamian and Anatolian motifs. From that moment on hymns start to occur in Hittite prayers as part of their introduction, but they never became an obligatory element of the prayers, nor did they find their way into other text genres. In fact, with the passing of time, the hymns became shorter and shorter, and they eventually seem to disappear from the Hittite literature once again.

Van Der Toorn, Karel *(Universiteit van Amsterdam)*

Echoes of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle in Papyrus Amherst 63

Though written in Demotic characters, Papyrus Amherst 63 contains traditional Aramaic songs, complaints and narratives that go back to the Aramaic-speaking communities in Persian Egypt. Among them is a group of Syrians from Hamath. They venerated Bethel and the Queen of Heaven. The Syrian section of the Amherst papyrus (columns 6-11) contains several ritual songs to Bethel. They picture Bethel as a storm god on the model of Baal. The similarities between them are not fortuitous since the papyrus shows that several mythological themes from the Baal Cycle—such as the defeat of Yamm and the building of Baal's palace—have been transferred to Bethel. This paper explores the profile of Bethel in the Amherst papyrus and demonstrates the connection with Ugaritic literature.

 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Vanderhooft, David S. *(Boston College)*

Babylon as Cosmopolis in Judean and Achaemenid Perspectives

The city of Babylon, and especially its legendary Hanging Gardens and mammoth defensive architecture, captured the imagination of Greek writers. Yet Judeans and Persians likewise acknowledged the city's cosmic associations. In the Judean tradition, the ʿîr ûmigdāl, "city and tower," of Babylon (Genesis 11) occupy a preeminent position in reflection about Babylon's cosmic aspect, but even quotidian references in other texts show a relatively high degree of familiarity with and speculation about the city, especially by comparison with all other non-Israelite cities. Meanwhile, a joint Italian-Iranian archaeological expedition has recently uncovered the remains of a monumental gateway to the west of the Persepolis plateau that they conclude dates from before the era of Darius, from the earliest period of Achaemenid rule. The new discoveries, especially their architectural and decorative parallels, have implications for understanding the Persian affirmation of Babylon's cosmic aspect. The contrasts between Judean textual refractions of Babylon's image and Achaemenid architectural ones illumine distinctive, pre-Hellenistic, ways of accommodating the heritage of Babylon.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Verderame, Lorenzo *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

Sea and Seascape in IIIrd Millenium Mesopotamia

In this paper I will analyse the geo-political evolution of the Persian Gulf coast and the impact this had on ancient Mesopotamian mythological thought. In the "Land between the two rivers", the crucial role of watercourses caused the gradual displacement of sea to a marginal and marginalizing function. The earlier state formations of the IIIrd millennium BCE had risen on the shores of the sea, and the Sumerian city-states were part of a network of intense cultural and commercial exchange that connected the cultures of the Persian Gulf with those of the Indian Ocean and, most probably, with

those of the East Africa coast as well. Later on, the crisis that hit the region and the shift of power towards the territories of the north condemned this area to abandonment. The neglect of canal systems in Sumer caused the formation of marshes that hindered direct access to the sea. All this process of transformation finds an echo in the mythical and cosmological thought. The lagoon, the sea, and overseas lands (Dilmun) are the main scenarios of the oldest Sumerian literature, whereas in later composition this waterscape is marginal, if not absent. If the sea had been a key means of communication, it now becomes a limit. The expression "from the Lower Sea to the Upper Sea", in fact, is used by the Mesopotamian rulers to refer to the borders of the known world. The hendiadys marks two geographical limits, the Persian Gulf, on the one hand, and the Mediterranean sea or the lake of Van, on the other. In the cosmological view the world is encircled by a sea or better a river of "bitter waters". Therefore, the sea is not anymore at the center of the political and mythological geography, but at its margins.

 # W14 – Waterscapes: Perspectives on hydro-cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Near East

Verderame, Lorenzo *(Sapienza Università di Roma)*

One Name, many Identities: Perspectives and Approaches in the Study of Prosopography in Neo-Sumerian Sources

Prosopography has been and is still today a key strategy to analyze Neo-Sumerian documents. The creation of large online databases such as BDTNS and CDLI, has favored the management of large amounts of data and indeed have stimulated the study of Neo-Sumerian history and economy. Although both databases and computer analysis software have enormously increased the potentiality of quantitative analysis of documents, prosopography still remains a crucial problem in Neo-Sumerian studies.

In this paper I deal with some theoretical aspects of the question. I discuss classical topics of the prosopographical study of Neo-Sumerian corpora as well as new ones derived from a better understanding of administrative practices and from social sciences. On the one hand, I explore writing variants and abbreviations of names (hypocoristics) or when, how, and why the patronymic and/or the title is added to identify a person. On the other, I deal with some theoretical questions raised by anthropological studies, such as the use of kinship terms for hierarchical relationship outside the family (fictive or pseudo-kinship), that may open new interpretative perspectives.

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Vidal, Jordi and **Garcia-Ventura**, Agnès *(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)*

Strengthening Ties: assessing the Presence of Spanish Scholars in international Conferences devoted to Ancient Near Eastern Studies (1945-1983)

The end of the Second World War in May 1945 was a turning point for Spanish foreign policy. Indeed, if between 1940 and 1945 Franco's Spain had cultivated international

relations with Italy and Germany, from 1945 onwards Spain was trying hard to improve its relations with the Allied nations by stressing its neutrality during the war conflict. In this context the academia was regarded as a useful tool to enhance international ties with the Allied nations as proof the increase, even if discreet in a post-war period, of funding available for Spanish researchers for stays abroad and the increment of the presence of these scholars in international conferences. In this communication we concentrate on the latter, that is, on the participation of Spanish scholars in international conferences from 1945 to 1983 (the year when the journal Aula Orientalis was launched), putting the focus on the situation of ancient Near Eastern studies at that time. To do so we will pay special attention to the participation of Spanish scholars at both the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, a meeting conceived and created immediately after the end of Second World War, and the Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, which may be considered as forerunner of the Rencontre. To pursue this analysis in this communication we will use two main sources. On the one hand the proceedings and the "compte rendu" of the Orientalistes conference and of the Rencontre respectively which were published in academic journals at that time. On the other hand we use some archival documents which help us to complement and to better understand the previously mentioned reports. In doing so we aim not only to be able to give the clues to partially reconstruct a page of the history of Assyriology, but also to proof the value and relevance of secondary literature and archival documents as sources to approach the intellectual reception of ancient Near Eastern traditions in the modern world.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Vilela, Andréa *(Université de Lyon)*

Of Dogs and Medicine in Mesopotamia and Beyond: Gula's Inheritance

In many ways, traditions from Ancient Mesopotamia have had an impact not only on neighbouring civilizations, but also on those that succeeded them. This can be seen with literary texts like myths, but such a situation can also be found elsewhere in more peculiar ways. It is the case with some aspects of medicine or, more exactly, aspects of a symbolic vision of medicine. Indeed, we find from early periods in Mesopotamia a clear association between the medicine goddess Gula and one specific animal, the dog. This is attested in all kinds of sources, from iconography to texts, and also through archaeological evidence. How such an association came to be, deserves to be given some thought. Indeed, cuneiform sources often depict dogs in a very negative way, presenting them as aggressive and dangerous, well aware of their role as a vector for diseases such as rabies. In the present work, we will focus on how such an animal could be associated with a goddess like Gula and medicine in general. To do so, we will work on a large scope of texts such as incantations, hymns and ritual descriptions related to the symbolic utility of the dog on this matter. We will then see how the relationship dog/medicine can be found in neighbouring civilizations in a way that leads us to think that a transfer occurred from Mesopotamia and was then assimilated in other cultural systems.

 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Wabinek, Livio *(Università degli Studi di Firenze)*

Abbreviations, lines and clay tablets: how to write a KIN oracle, how to manage the space

The goal of this proposed study is to analyse the impact of the layout and the space arrangement in a specific literary genre, the Hittite KIN oracle text, as well as its possible influence on other textual typologies. According to the epigraphic sources found in Hattusa/Bogazkoy, the set-up of an oracular teblet seems to be the result of two main factors: the conscious and abundant use of abbreviations in writing, on the one hand, and the organization of lines, paragraphs and columns previously inscribed on the other. To do this, some specific features of the KIN tablets, such as size and text-lines as well as its function and pecularities, will be presented in light of new considerations deriving from an exhaustive study of the KIN divination system.

The analysis of these elements, taken individually and together, will underline some specific features of the KIN oracle tablet, as developed in part in my PhD dissertation. At the same time, this approach may shed new light on some of the possible ways to write other cuneiform texts.

Waerzeggers, Caroline and **Groß**, Melanie and *(Universiteit Leiden)*

The "Prosopography of Babylonia" Open Access Database

The database "Prosopography of Babylonia: 620–330 BCE" is currently being developed at Leiden University within the framework of the ERC project "Persia and Babylonia: Creating a New Context for Understanding the Emergence of the First World Empire". Thousands of cuneiform texts have survived in archives of Babylonian families and temples (c. 620–330 BCE). These sources offer valuable data for socio-historical research but their potential is difficult to exploit so far. The Leiden project wants to contribute to their accessibility by creating an online prosopography, designed to provide information about attested individuals in Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods based on a questionnaire. As an open access database it will (along with other online databases) be an effective research tool for specialists and also contribute to a better insight into the cuneiform material for non-specialists. Moreover, it provides the flexibility and durability required by the ever on-going publication of the corpus.

While parts of the database are still under construction, data entry has begun in February 2018. This lecture discusses the structure of the database, the range of data systemized in the database and its envisaged contribution to the field of "new digital prosopography".

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies

Wagensonner, Klaus *(Yale University)*

YBC 4615: Sign list, sign inventory, or advanced "exercise"?

Lists of signs and sign forms can be traced back as far as the Uruk period and appear until the early 2nd millennium BC again and again in the textual record. The Old Babylonian period saw many novelties in the lexical tradition. Among these is the compilation of several extensive sign syllabaries, which eventually were standardized

and copied until the end of cuneiform culture in Mesopotamia. Sign lists and word lists are still in a relative flux in the first half of the 2nd millennium and exhibit many local traditions. A hitherto unpublished tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection stands in the tradition of sign lists, but presents a complete inventory of signs known in this period. A peculiar feature of this text is its layout. The approx. 450 individual sign forms preserved on this tablet are not presented in the expected tabular arrangement of lexical texts, but rather as running text. The paper addresses this so far unparalleled text and discusses the organization of its "entries". In doing so it aims to contrast the evidence from other (mostly contemporary) sign lists and syllabaries, such as Ea.
 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Wagensonner, Klaus *(Yale University)*

The Development of Classification in the early History of Cuneiform Writing

There is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action, and speech" (G. Lakoff, Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things (1987): 5) – This statement by George Lakoff is applicable to languages and scripts alike. Ancient writing systems such as cuneiform use elements in their repertory in order to flag categories. At first glance, the number of signs used to categorize or classify seems limited and less intrusive, in particular when compared to hieroglyphic writing in Egypt. Flagged categories or classifiers are, nevertheless, already present in the earliest texts at the end of the 4th millennium and are systematically included in the corpus of (thematic) word lists. The distinction between noun phrase and classified term is often unclear, as is an answer to the question whether classifiers were realized in the speech act or not. The paper will address some of these issues by sketching the early history of classifiers.
 # W04 – Spoken Words and More: The Early History of the Transmission of Meaning through Cuneiform Writing

Wainer, Zackary *(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The 3600 Psalms of "David's Compositions" and the Mesopotamian Sexagesimal Number System

The portion of 11QPsª in the Dead Sea Scrolls labeled by Sanders as "David's Compositions" has been the subject of much scholarly inquiry over the years. In between passages praising David and his deeds, this section of 11QPsª includes a list that enumerates the psalms and different types of songs associated with David. Though scholars have offered various justifications for the numbers connected to the different songs listed in "David's Compositions," most agree that the quantities associated with these songs are related to the calendar at Qumran. Conversely, there is no consensus for the rationale behind the 3600 psalms ascribed to David in "David's Compositions." While some have tried to connect these 3600 psalms to the 150 psalms in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible and the gematriah of David's name, the number of priestly divisions in 1 Chronicles 24, or the traditional number of canonical books in the Hebrew Bible, others have argued that a lexical connection or calendrical considerations are the key to understanding the number of psalms in "David's Compositions."
This paper contends that the 3600 psalms in "David's Compositions" are best appreciated in light of the sexagesimal, or base-60, number system that came to the

Levant from ancient Mesopotamia. After briefly recounting the distinct rationales offered by various scholars for the 3600 psalms in "David's Compositions," I will focus on some of the different Mesopotamian cultural vestiges known from the Dead Sea Scrolls, including the sexagesimal number system. I will then argue for the significance of a sexagesimal number system, and more importantly, the Mesopotamian cultural ideas inscribed within this numerical system, for understanding the implications behind the 3600 psalms in "David's Compositions." In order to best theorize this phenomenon, I will conclude with an examination of other instances of ideas connected to numbers or number systems being transferred within the course of cultural contact in the ancient world. This communication not only solves an important crux in Dead Sea Scrolls research with an idea from the Mesopotamian cultural mileau, but provides another example of the transmission of cuneiform culture to the Jewish Levant, and Qumran in particular, by the end of the first millennium BCE.

 # W03 – The Transmission of Cuneiform Culture in the Near East from the Death of Alexander to the Rise of Islam

Wasserman, Nathan *(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)* and **Da Riva**, Rocío *(Universitat de Barcelona)*

Divine Love Lyrics: New Edition, New Perspectives

Divine Love Lyrics (DLL) form a thematically coherent corpus of some fifty 1st millennium texts, stemming from Assyria and Babylonia. These texts – first studied by W. G. Lambert in 1975 – were probably related to religious rituals celebrated in and around the temple of Eturkalamma in Babylon. Building on Lambert's ground-breaking work, our project will systematically tackle these difficult texts, of which more were discovered, and present them in a book-form, including a complete edition, philological commentary and thematic introduction.

The texts describe complex rituals and ceremonies involving Marduk, his wife Zarpanitu and Marduk's lover, the formidable Ištar-of-Babylon. This corpus is variously connected to the disparate and chronologically far-reaching category of compositions dealing with divine love, from the Old Akkadian to the Hellenistic times. This particular group, however, offers something substantially different, even unique: more than love per se, the topic of these texts is amorous and sexual jealousy. One might more aptly call them "Jealousy Lyrics" – but we maintain Love Lyrics, in order to avoid terminological confusion. The feelings of the betrayed Zarpanitu are verbalized through salacious and offensive language, and sexual activities are described in an unprecedentedly vivid way. Indeed, the language of the texts is exceptional: it is direct, blunt, but at the same time metaphorical and highly poetic. The literary qualities of the corpus would constitute one of the main topics in our project.

Another topic is that of gender. There is no question that the DDL texts should be analyzed from this perspective too, as parts, if not all, of this corpus may have belonged to "women's rituals," which allowed for the expression of female sexual desire within a predominantly patriarchal society.

A third and no less important question in the study of this corpus is its elusive performative aspect. We argue that the turbulent emotional story of the divine triangle

of Marduk, his wife Zarpanitu and his lover Ištar of Babylon, was enacted in public in different locations in the city of Babylon.

The project is a joint research project of the University of Barcelona (Da Riva) and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Wasserman).

 # S16 – Akkadian Literature

Watanabe, Chikako E. *(Osaka Gakuin University)* and **Novotny**, Jamie *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Ashurbanipal's Lion Hunt seen from the Lions

The royal lion hunt played an important role in the artistic scheme of bas-reliefs which once decorated the walls of the palace built by Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (the so-called "North Palace"). The hunting scenes were displayed in Rooms C, S and S1 (fallen into Room S), as well as in the Ascending Passages A and R. Room C was devoted solely to the theme of the king hunting lions and in that set of reliefs Ashurbanipal appears four times riding on a chariot, but using different weapons to kill his prey. Interpretation of the scene has been suggested by Weissert (1997: 344–345) based on textual evidence that matches the number of lions and lionesses depicted in the enclosed arena scene.

The present paper focuses on the representation of the animals depicted in Ashurbanipal's hunting scenes, in which the lions are illustrated with a subtle difference which has not attracted much attention so far. Textual evidence is sought to find an explanation for different types of lions.

 # S05 – Assyria

Weiershäuser, Frauke *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Oracc, Royal Inscriptions and the Text Alignment Tool

Currently the two LMU Munich-based and MOCCI-hosted Oracc projects Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online (RIAo) and Royal Inscriptions of Babylonia online (RIBo) present annotated (lemmatized) editions in only transliteration and translation, together with complete glossaries of Akkadian and Sumerian words and proper names. However, in the not-so-distant future, the most important compositions in these two text corpora, as well as in other MOCCI-based projects (e.g., State Archives of Assyria online [SAAo]) will also be accessible to scholars, students, and members of the general public via a LMU Munich-designed text alignment tool. This as of yet unnamed open-access web interface will make photographs (and hand-drawn facsimiles) of original cuneiform texts (both the words and individual cuneiform signs) of these important ancient sources fully searchable and will link words in the Akkadian or Sumerian text directly to their counterparts in transliterations and translations. This paper will give an overview of the planned functionality of this innovative analytical tool and will highlight its potential for future Assyriological research.

 # S11 – Digital Humanities

Wilhelmi, Lisa *(Universität Heidelberg / Freie Universität Berlin)*

Bi-graphic Competence - The "Akkadian Texts from Boğazköy" as evidence for the purpose-related use of a distinct type of script

The appearance of the Akkadian texts from Ḫattuša/Boğazköy sits uncomfortably within palaeographic research into the texts from the Hittite capital, as ductus and sign forms of manuscripts from this group are often, but not always, difficult to reconcile with the evidence from contemporary texts in Hittite language. It has often been proposed that the evidence of a different type of script must therefore be due to the employment of foreign scribes for the composition of texts for international correspondence in Akkadian language.

The designation 'Akkadian texts from Boğazköy' is problematic in itself and clarification of the corpus examined for the purposes of any type of research is vital: In order to establish a delineated corpus with a common origin, purpose and tradition it is therefore taken to include all those texts that were composed in Ḫattuša in Akkadian language including manuscripts that were found elsewhere (like Ras Shamra/Ugarit for example) but excluding texts that were sent to Ḫatti from other centers and kept in the Hittite archives, whether as copies or originals.

Close examination of the characteristics of the language and the orthographic conventions of this corpus shows a level of interference of elements from the native language and writing practices associated with texts in Hittite language that points towards an association of the 'authors' of the Akkadian texts with the scribal circles of the Hittite chancellery. Thus, the distinct type of script exhibited by a number of the texts in Akkadian language suggests that the additional qualification, so-to-speak, of this particular group of scribes was not limited to the composition of texts in two languages but included bi-graphic training. The fact that some Akkadian language texts from the Hittite archives do in fact show contemporary Hittite ductus further complicates the situation, and it is clear that the individual circumstances of any given text and its history of composition and transmission need to be taken into account when establishing the parameters for the actual application of the distinct type of script to manuscripts.

 # W13 – Current Research in Cuneiform Palaeography 2

Winitzer, Abraham *(University of Notre Dame)*

Toward Leo Oppenheim's Dead Civilization and Stream of Tradition

The history of the study of ancient Mesopotamia has understandably turned first to the consideration of the earliest phases of that discipline, especially those devoted to the modern decipherment of its languages and literatures, and next to the deliberations that followed, concerning Mesopotamia's connection to or independence from related subjects and areas in the ancient Near East. But the story does not end there. For the era that ultimately conceded "a conceptual autonomy" to this world saw further developments in terms of this world's modern historiography, which prove no less fundamental to its current conception. The voice most responsible for these developments was that of A. Leo Oppenheim, who insisted to portray Mesopotamia as a "dead civilization," essentially severed from all proximate and later traditions, and who urged Mesopotamia's definition according to the metaphor of a "stream of

tradition," an image conveying an impersonal transmission of this civilization's literary expression.

In this paper I will revisit Oppenheim's thinking about these matters and consider their coherence and merit. In so doing I will pay special attention to a notable evolution in this regard, and entertain ideas about what may account for it. This contextual reading of Oppenheim, I will suggest, serves as a valuable corrective not only of the understanding of Oppenheim himself but also of the manner by which his ideas are evoked in framing current historical analysis and debates.

 # S10 – Towards a History of Assyriology

Winitzer, Abraham *(University of Notre Dame)*

World Literature as a Source of Israelite History? The Legacy of Gilgamesh in Ezekiel 16

The place of ancient Near Eastern literary sources in the construction of Israel's story is, of course, indisputable – and a foundation of the modern study of the Hebrew Bible. Most typically, however, this concerns the "prologue" to Israel's later presentation of a more normative historiography, including the Primeval History's reliance on Mesopotamian belletristics and the depiction of Israel's covenant with its deity with respect to Near Eastern treaties and law codes. When it comes to "real" history writing, things are different. Naturally, in this arena, too, the Bible's reliance on traditions external to Israel is often detectable; but whether these reflect written sources is another issue altogether. This raises an interesting question: were external perspectives of no consequence when it came to Israelite historiography, or can one point to evidence suggesting that Biblical historiography also made use of sources from outside Israel? The following strives to offer one example of this by turning to the history of Israel as told in Ezekiel 16 and the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh Epic. I will argue that a specific portion of this celebrated text was employed in discernible ways to augment the depiction of Israel's history in Ezekiel 16 and thus to transform it to its current standing. At least in this instance, I will suggest, stories from the broader world served to frame Israel's incomparable history.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Wisnom, Laura S. *(University of Cambridge)*

Reading the Signs: the Liver as a Manuscript in Ancient Mesopotamia

Divination from animal entrails was considered one of the highest branches of scholarship in ancient Mesopotamia. While the concept of 'reading the signs' is found across various cultures, in Mesopotamia this metaphor has a special importance, as the materiality of the liver strongly resembles the medium and methods of cuneiform writing.

The liver was called the 'tablet of the gods', and treated as a manuscript that could be read in a literal as well as metaphorical sense. Not only does the liver itself look like a fresh clay tablet, but the natural creases which occur on the organ's surface form cuneiform wedges – the building blocks of the Mesopotamian writing system. In the omen series that contains the interpretations of these signs, many entries can be found

that describe features in the forms of cuneiform characters. This paper examines how the material features of the liver exerted a strong influence on Mesopotamian divinatory thought and interpretation, perhaps revealing the origin of the metaphor of reading the signs.

 # S07 – Ritual, Magic & Medicine

Worthington, Martin *(University of Cambridge)*

Filming The Poor Man of Nippur

In May 2017, Cambridge Assyriology filmed The Poor Man of Nippur. Funding was secured from The Philological Society, The London Centre for the Ancient Near East, The Thriplow Charitable Trust, St John's College Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, The CHW Johns Fund for Assyriology in the University of Cambridge, The Judith E Wilson Fund, and The Henry Sweet Society.

The parts were acted out by members of the Cambridge Mesopotamian community, chiefly Undergraduate and MPhil students, using costumes hired from the National Theatre. Leading speaking roles went to students who had the story as one of their 'set texts' for the year. Locations were in Cambridge and environs.

The project was produced by Kathryn Stevens and Martin Worthington, and directed by Martin Worthington. The music was supplied by Stef Conner, well known in Mesopotamian circles for her album The Flood. Rachel Tookey was video editor.

The film will be launched open-access online in Autumn 2018. A preview screening for members of the Rencontre will take place. In this paper, which will be easier to follow for those who have seen the film, I will discuss some of the project's aims, and what we learned from pursuing them. Namely:

First, the project was an exploration of innovative teaching methods—not only for those directly concerned, who found themselves interfacing with an ancient language they had not experienced previously, but also in the sense that the film is a resource that can be used in Akkadian-teaching worldwide.

Second, it was a step in the direction of launching Performance Studies for Babylonian narratives (an area where we lag far behind Classics and other disciplines). Staging the story brought up questions and challenges which are not usually considered when dealing with sources in print form.

Third, the project is one of several public outreach initiatives launched by Cambridge Assyriology, of which another is the launch of a conference on Egyptology and Assyriology as University subjects, for students who are choosing what to study at University (http://tinyurl.com/EgMesConf). It is hoped that the film, together with an accompanying documentary, will do something to stimulate public interest in the study of ancient languages; and also, The Poor Man of Nippur lending itself especially well to this, make ancient Mesopotamian cultures seem less 'alien.'

 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Yamada, Shigeo *(University of Tsukuba)*

Landscape of Tabatum as seen in the Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Taban

Japanese excavations of Tell Taban undertaken in 2005–2006 uncovered 26 Old Babylonian cuneiform tablets and inscribed envelopes. The study of these documents

has revealed that after the death of Hammurabi of Babylon, the city of Tabatum (Tell Taban) was placed under the control of the king Işi-Sumuabi who ruled the middle Euphrates and Habur areas from Terqa (Tell Ashara). It has also become known that a person called Yasim-Mahar was nominated by the king to be a "mayor" (sugāgum) representing the local society of Tabatum. Furthermore, the documents demonstrate the cultural affinities of Tabatum with Terqa, the princepal city of its suzerain state, implying some of them were the common cultural heritage of the Amorite kingdom of Mari.

This paper deals with three letters sent from the king Işi-Sumuabi to Yasim-Mahar to consider the landscape of Tabatum from topographical and political-social viewpoints. It discusses the topography of Tabatum, focusing on the word salahum that appears in the letters as an important element of urban organization of Tabatum, and argues that the salahum meanes the flock, rather than a topographical concept. Then, I will consider the political-social landscape in and around Tabatum, while paying attention to the reference to the Sim'alite tribe in one of the letters and discussing the tribal connection between the residents of Tabatum and the royal family of Terqa, as well as the former Amorite kingdom of Mari.

 # S08 – Geography

Young, Marie *(Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne / Universität Heidelberg)* and Neuville, Louise *(Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne)*

Scribal Interest for the Past: Late Babylonian Copies of Ancient Royal Inscriptions

Copying played a fundamental role in the transmission of Ancient Mesopotamian knowledge. Thanks to this essential practice Mesopotamian scribes could preserve their documentary collections, by a regular refreshment of the written media without affecting the content of the text.

The main purpose of this practice was to ensure the preservation of scholarly and literary collections. Sometimes, however, scribes also copied ancient texts which have sunk into oblivion for centuries or even millennia before being rediscovered. The royal inscription from the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC, which were copied by Babylonian scribes in the 1st millennium BC are undoubtedly the best examples of this practice.

The colophons of these documents recording the glorious deeds of ancient kings indicate that they were often copied from stelae or bricks which come from happy discoveries during the renovation of monumental buildings.

This paper aims at studying the interest of 1st millennium BC scribes in the accounts of old kings 'exploits, by relying on a corpus of inscriptions from Babylon, Borsippa, Uruk, Ur, and Sippar. It will focus on the status of theses copies, their addressee, their chronological distribution, the nature of their content, as well as on the scribal milieu which produced them. Material issues will also be addressed, especially the kind of medium and layout, in order to identify similarities and/or divergences.

 # W15 – (Mis)use of Sources: Ancient and Modern

Younger, Lawson K. Jr. *(Trinity International University: Divinity School)*

The Identification of the Deity Aramiš/Aramis of Qarnē/Qarnīna/Qarnayim

Until 2012, a deity named Aramiš/Aramis was primarily known through a theophoric element in personal names and a fragmentary mention in the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty. The deity's identity remained a mystery. But with the discovery of the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty from Tell Taʾyinat, an association with the city of Qarnē/Qarnīna/Qarnayim came to light. This paper will propose an identification of this deity based on the available data found in the personal names, toponymy, and iconography.

 # S01 – Cultural Transfer: Religion

Zanetti, Edoardo *(Sapienza Università di Roma / Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Hydraulic Reports and Landscape Reconstruction in Ĝirsu (Ur III)

In the ancient times, the natural events of the water's action gave birth to an engineering approach ante litteram. Since the III millennium BC the "engineer before the engineers" has studied in Sumer in order to avoid the tragic episodes of rivers braking their banks, the digression of the riverbed and also erosion phenomena. Then, during the Ur III period, the writing system has imposed a specific planning model for the maintenance interventions. Especially for the Preliminary Hydraulic Reports the geographical coordinates were indispensable to organize the construction and operation phase. At the same time, the description of the landscape focused the main interactions between the works and the context. The proposal is based on the case study of Ĝirsu (Ur III) and on the data of my PhD.

 # S06 – Landscapes

Zgoll, Annette *(Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)*

An unusual Mesopotamian concept of the afterlife, and the 'afterlife' of this concept in other ancient cultures

Imaginations of life after death are mostly gloomy and intimidating, according to Ancient Near Eastern sources. However, there are some rare, more positive perspectives to be found. It is important to analyse these, and to investigate the 'afterlife' of these positive ideas in other ancient cultures.

 # S01 – Cultural Transfer: Religion

Ziegler, Nele *(Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique)*

Die Osttigrisregion in altbabylonischer Zeit

Die Regionen östlich des Tigris bis weit in die Täler des Zagros sind in der schriftlichen Dokumentation des 2. Jahrtausends gut bezeugt. Der Vortrag soll erste Resultate des deutsch-französischen ANR-DFG Forschungsprojekts (HIGEOMES/TEXTELSEM) zur historischen Geographie vorstellen.

 # S08 – Geography

Ziemann, Marcus D. *(The Ohio State University)*

The Revelatory Journey Motif in the Iliad and the Epic of Gilgamesh

In my paper I will argue that Book XXIV of the Iliad responds to and subverts key themes found in Tablets X and XI of the Epic of Gilgamesh. While there has been a great deal of scholarship devoted to the influence of Gilgamesh on the Iliad, there has been little to none that recognizes the correspondences between the two passages.

In the two epics, Priam's journey to Achilles' tent and Gilgamesh's journey over the waters of death to Uta-napishtim have been classified as metaphorical katabaseis (journey to the underworld). However, the Iliad subverts the action in Gilgamesh in that the old man (Priam) goes on the journey rather than the heroic young man (Gilgamesh). Once Gilgamesh reaches Uta-napishtim, he is unable to stay awake to prove he is worthy of immortality; on the other hand, Achilles has been awake a preternaturally long time when Priam arrives at his tent. Moreover, when Gilgamesh falls asleep, Uta-napishtim puts out (uneaten) loaves of bread to show him that he (Gilgamesh) is unworthy of immortality and so inherently different from him (Uta-napishtim). But before Priam leaves Achilles' tent, the two men break bread as a symbol of their commonality.

This last point highlights the main contrast between the two scenes. When Gilgamesh arrives at the edges of the world, he expects to find immortality, but Uta-napishtim tells him the story of the Flood and informs him that his own immortality was a one time dispensation from the gods. While Gilgamesh presents the two characters as fundamentally dissimilar, the Iliad does the opposite. After Priam's arrival, Achilles realizes the common humanity that he and Priam share. He and Priam are the same.

This paper will fit into a larger project in which I argue that the Homeric poet made knowing and purposeful use of Gilgamesh in composing the Iliad. I will argue in it that the Greek poet's literary allusions to Mesopotamian literature were part of a response to the Assyrian Empire and the formation of Greek identity.

This important scene in the Iliad has influenced directly and indirectly countless works of literature in the Western tradition. A journey in which a character receives a revelation can be found in works from Cicero's De re publica to Dante's La divina commedia to Torquato Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata. Lying behind all of these works of literature is Gilgamesh's journey to Uta-napishtim.

 # S13 – The Epic of Gilgamesh & Beyond

Zimmermann, Lynn-Salammbô *(University of Oxford)*

Imaging Kassite Seals

In this talk I will first present current work on imaging and cataloguing Kassite seals and seal impressions that I have undertaken within the frame work of the SIANE ("Seals and their Impressions in the Ancient Near East") project, a subproject of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI), then I will briefly discuss the importance of seals and seal impressions for the study of Kassite officials.

The SIANE project, led by Jacob L. Dahl, Oxford, aims to improve the ways cylinder seals are captured, and to catalogue all seals and seal impressions for the free online dissemination through the webpages of the CDLI. Together with collaborators at the University of Southampton the project has build and tested an innovative kit for

capturing cylinder seals and I have assisted with imaging the collections of seals in Oxford and the Bibliotheque nationale de France (BnF), in Paris. Our aim is to capture data that is useful both for traditional art-historically driven studies and for IT driven research. We use three different techniques when imaging cylinder seals: a structured light approach producing a very fast but high definition topographical map of the surface of the seal; traditional photography producing flattened views of the entire surface of the seal, and a portable light microscope to document the carving technique of the seals.

At least 400 physical seals from the Kassite period have survived to our time. In comparison, more than 12000 tablets exist from the same period, with 90% of the textual documents coming from Nippur. Out of this number of tablets ca. 700 Kassite period letters survive. It has long been realised that the identity of the letter writers is difficult to establish, similarly, few of the persons mentioned in the seal impressions can be identified beyond doubt in the textual record. In the second part of this talk I will discuss attempt to link both types of sources, to show how cylinder seals may help us improve our knowledge about Kassite officials.

 # W11 – Kassite Administration: Texts, Seals and Sealing Practices

Zsolnay, Ilona *(University of Chicago)*

The Sulky and Abusive Nature of the Gods: Permutations of *Erra and Išum* in the Hebrew Bible

In my article "The Inadequacies of Yahweh: A Re-examination of Jerusalem's Portrayal in Ezekiel 16," I contend that Ezekiel's Yahweh brutally attacks his city-wife Jerusalem in order to force the city to cling to him as an abused spouse will cling to their abuser. I argue that Yahweh does this out of a gross sense of insecurity. In the conclusion of the piece, I muse that Yahweh's hot temper seems more in line with those of the great Greek gods Zeus and Hera or the Mesopotamian gods of war Ištar and Erra than those of a deity of an exiled people. In this session of the RAI, devoted to the transmission of ancient Near Eastern intellectual heritage through biblical text, I will consider my observation that Ezekiel's Yahweh (at least in this chapter) is not unlike Ištar or Erra. He is defensive, abusive, and very much a martial deity. Like Ištar and her actions against the mountain Ebih when it did not bow down to her awesomeness, the response of Ezekiel's Yahweh to Jerusalem's perceived disrespectfulness is to devastate. Erra, a deity of peace (through war) responds with similar violence on an unsuspecting (and seemingly impertinent) Babylon. The focus of this talk will be the transmission of the ancient Near Eastern themes of enslaved humanity, city devastation, and cultic upheaval as depicted in Sumerian texts, their reinterpretation in the late Babylonian epic Erra and Išum, and the resonances of this poem's Deity of Peace in the Hebrew Bible.

 # W07 – Intellectual Traditions of the Ancient Near East Transmitted through the Hebrew Bible

Zsombor, Földi *(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)*

Prosopography of Old Babylonian Documents: The View from Larsa

Prosopographical research on Old Babylonian documents is not as far advanced as comparable studies on Neo-Assyrian sources are. There are a number of factors that account for this difference: the lack of collated text editions, the poor publication rate of Old Babylonian archival texts in general and the wide geographical and chronological range of the Old Babylonian documents are only some of them.

The paper presents some methodological questions and observations that result from prosopographical studies on the archival sources from Larsa and its neighbourhood. In contrast to the contemporary material from Northern Babylonia (especially Sippar), the study of these documents offers a series of particular difficulties, especially by lacking secure identification – such as the individuals' paternal names – far too often. For this reason, the importance of seal impressions, the proper reconstruction family trees based on inheritance division contracts and other legal documents will be emphasized. Some particular phenomena such as the problem of the so-called 'double filiation', the potential influence of political events to name-giving practices and the role of the king's name in onomastics will also be discussed.

 # W06 – Methodological Developments in Prosopographical Studies