

MESOPOTAMIANS AND MESOPOTAMIAN LEARNING AT ḪATTUŠA

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In the Near East of the second millennium B.C., high culture was Mesopotamian culture. Excluding of course those of Egypt and her Syrian and Palestinian dependencies, all civilized peoples borrowed the cuneiform system of writing and basic forms of expression from the Akkadian-language culture of Mesopotamia, which had itself taken over the greater part of its components from the Sumerian society which it succeeded. During the second millennium, diplomatic correspondence—even that of Egypt—was carried out utilizing Akkadian as a *lingua franca*.¹

In all periods and locations, the mastering of cuneiform was accomplished through the copying of texts by students—beginning with simple syllables, moving on to lexical texts, and culminating in literary pieces and specialized handbooks of divination.² The advanced curriculum of the Akkadian-speaking Babylonian and Assyrian students featured texts in the now-dead Sumerian language, which were often poorly understood. Similarly, when the Hittite scholar learned the cuneiform writing system for expressing his own Indo-European language, he copied texts in Akkadian, and to a much lesser extent

1. See A. Goetze, CAH³ 2/2 270-71; V. Korošec, RIDA 22 (1975) 47-70; and, in general, G. Kestemont, *Diplomatique et droit international en Asie occidentale (1600-1200 av. J.C.)* (Louvain, 1974).

The substance of this paper was presented to the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Austin in March 1982. I have benefited from the comments made by my audience at that time, as well as from discussions with R. Biggs, J. A. Brinkman, B. R. Foster, H. G. Güterbock, W. W. Hallo, H. A. Hoffner, B. Bryant, S. Košak, and R. Beal. My research into lexical questions was facilitated by access to the files of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, for which I express my gratitude to the editors of the Project, Professors Hoffner and Güterbock.

Abbreviations employed here are those listed in Friedrich-Kammenhuber *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*² (Munich, 1975ff.) pp. 13-33.

2. On the Mesopotamian school curriculum and educational methods, see A. Sjöberg, *Studies Jacobsen* pp. 159-79. Although Sjöberg (p. 160 with n. 4) feels that the É.DUB.BA.(A) came to an end with the Old Babylonian period, there was almost certainly a school—of whatever organization—at Ḫattuša; see K. Bittel, *Hattusha* (New York, 1970) p. 16. Of the two passages from Hittite texts adduced by Sjöberg, the Akkadian-language KUB 29 58++ (CTH 811) certainly represents Mesopotamian tradition—note the non-Boghazköy spelling *tup-PI* in i iv—but ABoT 65 is a Middle Hittite letter from Mašat, and its mention of É.DUB.BA.A (rev. 8) must reflect Hittite reality.

concerned himself with Sumerian.³ It must be stressed that the adoption of cuneiform implied the borrowing of an entire cultural tradition,⁴ and that, conversely, scribal education was the means by which that tradition was transmitted, both to the native Mesopotamian and to the foreigner.

Within that area receptive to Mesopotamian culture⁵ known to Assyriologists as the “periphery,”⁶ the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša remains the most important site. Not only do the archives of the Hittite kings constitute the largest single repository of material, but they contain the earliest-attested exemplars of several “canonical” Mesopotamian texts.⁷ It has generally been maintained that the greater part of the borrowing of Mesopotamian culture by the Hittites took place through intermediaries—Northern Syrians during the Old Kingdom, and Hurrians in later times.⁸ In regard to this latter period, A. Kammenhuber has claimed that after the early years of the Old Kingdom the Hurrians formed a “barrier” between the Hittites and the Assyrians and Babylonians, and that direct contact, and thus direct cultural borrowing, was possible again only after the destruction of the state of Mittanni by Šuppiluliuma I in the mid-fourteenth century.⁹

However, development of criteria for the dating of Hittite tablets on the basis of their script, and secondarily by grammatical features,¹⁰ has provided us with a method by which to test this viewpoint. Figure 1 presents a selection of the sign forms most important for dating tablets

3. For an appraisal of the low level of competence in Sumerian displayed by the native scribes of the Boghazköy texts, see Hoffner, *JAOS* 87 (1967) 302-303, and for an evaluation of their rather greater proficiency in Akkadian, see W. von Soden, *StBoT* 7 1-7.

4. A striking parallel to this phenomenon is provided by the important place of the adoption of the Latin alphabet within the Westernizing program of Atatürk and other Turkish reformers; see B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (2nd ed.; New York, 1968) pp. 276-79.

5. Thus far the following sites have yielded literary or scholarly texts of third or second millennium date: Susa and Nuzi in the east; Emar, Ebla, Qatna, Ugarit, Ras ibn Hani, and Alalakh in Syria; Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, Gezer, Aphek, and Ta'anach in Palestine; Amarna in Egypt, and Kültepe-Kaneš and Boghazköy-Ḫattuša in Anatolia.

6. For this concept see R. Labat, *Syria* 39 (1962) 1-27, and H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger (eds.) *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (Berlin, 1982).

7. For example, the collections of teratological omens and of potency incantations—see K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9 6-7.

8. So Goetze, *CAH*³ 2/2 202 270-71. See also Güterbock, *CHM* 2 (1954) 383-93.

9. *THeth* 7 60ff. See also Or NS 45 (1976) 137, and *Acta Ant* 22 (1974) 158ff.

10. On these criteria, see the discussion of E. Neu and C. Rüster, *FsOtten* pp. 221-42, and the summary and references given by Košak, *AnSt* 30 (1980) 31-39. Not all scholars, however, agree with this approach to ordering the material. The strongly dissenting view of Kammenhuber and her students is best presented in S. Heinhold-Krahmer et al., *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie*, *THeth* 9 (Munich, 1979), and by Kammenhuber herself, *FsDiakonoff* (Warminster, 1982) pp. 150-59.

from Boghazköy.¹¹ I have designated the final column as “chancellery” script, as well as Late Hittite, since the shapes here¹² first appear at ʕattuša

FIGURE 1

Comparison of Sign Forms

SIGN	i Old Hittite ^a	ii Middle Hittite ^b	iii Egyptian ^c	iv Late Hittite ^d =“Chancellery”
AK				
IK				
EN				
URU				
ʕAR				
LI				

- a. from StBoT 20 col. i
 b. from StBoT 20 col. vi
 c. from VAS 12
 d. from StBoT 20 col. x

11. Neu, StBoT 21 2 n. 6, urges caution in the use of these graphic criteria, which have been developed in relation to Hittite-language texts, for the dating of Akkadian-language tablets. However, these criteria should prove to hold in general for all material inscribed at ʕattuša by natives, and in any case, they may certainly be applied to the colophons of foreign-language texts written by Hittite scribes.

12. Note that these forms also correspond to the younger shapes illustrated for the Middle Babylonian period by Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne* (Paris, 1959); see already H. Otten, StBoT 20 xi. I. Hoffman, THeth 9 109f., questions this analysis of the background of the Late Hittite sign shapes, preferring to postulate an origin in Mittanni. In particular, she claims that the Late Hittite LI-sign is unattested in the Middle Babylonian syllabary. See, however, the penultimate shape under LI in the list of Babylonian forms at Amarna, VAS 12 p. 77, and especially the sign as it appears in the copies of N.615, a Middle Babylonian letter from Dilmun published by Goetze in JCS 6 (1952) 143 (obv. 18, rev. 11, 14), and a Middle Babylonian letter from Dur-Kurigalzu presented by Gurney, Iraq 11 (1949) 149 (No. 13:6). KBo 18 177(:3) (+?) 177a(:4), a fragmentary list of objects which may have come from Babylonia—see Güterbock's comment in the table of contents p. vii—also displays this shape.

in the hand utilized for Akkadian-language diplomatic materials,¹³ and only later gradually find their way into the script employed for Hittite texts. The application of the dating criteria to the Mesopotamian material from the Boghazköy archives yields the periodization illustrated in Figure 2.

Although some of the business documents of the *kārum* Ḫattuš may have been written by native Anatolians,¹⁴ the use of the cuneiform system of writing was confined in this period to the commercial sphere dominated by the Mesopotamian traders.¹⁵ The Old Assyrian script is strikingly different in sign shapes and sign values from that employed in documents of the earliest Hittite kings and cannot be ancestral to the script of the Old Hittite texts.¹⁶

The seventeenth century witnessed the borrowing from a Syrian scribal center¹⁷ of a script more like that of the earlier Old Akkadian period than those of contemporary Assyria or Babylonia.¹⁸ The most important Mesopotamian elements attested in Old Hittite texts and in compositions whose originals may be postulated for this period are traditions concerning

13. I cite here only two Akkadian-language diplomatic texts from the reign of Šuppiluliuma I which show this hand and which cannot be later copies: a letter from Šuppiluliuma to a pharaoh, found at Amarna (EA 41 = CTH 153), which even in the poor hand-copy available (H. Winckler and L. Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna, Mitteilungen aus dem orientalischen Sammlungen* [Berlin, 1889-90] no. 18) clearly displays the Late Hittite forms of LI (obv. 1, 26, rev. 4), IK (obv. 13), and AK (rev. 10, 14, 15), and the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Niqmadu II of Ugarit (RS 17.340 = CTH 35 [copy in PRU 4/2 48-49]), which bear the impression of the seal of the Hittite Great King as well as Late Hittite shapes of LI (obv. 1, 4, 16, and so on), URU (obv. 3, 5, and others), IK (obv. 7, 9), and AK (rev. 5).

14. See Otten, *MDOG* 89 (1957) 68-79.

15. For the possibility that a scribal school existed at the *kārum* Kaneš, see M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies, Mesopotamia 4* (Copenhagen, 1976), 53 n. 19. No literary texts have been uncovered for the *kārum* Ḫattuš.

16. The script (and language) used in the inscription of the lost original of the Anitta text remains the subject of debate; see Neu, *StBoT* 18 132-35.

17. Both O. R. Gurney, cited by C. Bermant and M. Weitzman in *Ebla: A Revolution in Archaeology* (New York, 1979) p. 176 with n. 27, and E. Laroche, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia, Serie 38/3* (1978) 747, have suggested Ebla as the source of the Old Hittite script. However, the single Old Babylonian letter thus far found at Ebla (published by J.-R. Kupper, *Studi Eblaiti* 2/4-5 [1980] 49-51) shows sign shapes significantly different from the Old Hittite forms; note especially IŠ, TA, and GUD. The only other second-millennium epigraphic find yet made at this site is the statue of Ibbit-Lim (see G. Pettinato, *AAAS* 20 [1970] 19-22), whose monumental script cannot be employed for comparison here.

18. See Th. Gamkrelidze, *ArOr* 29 (1961) 406-18.

FIGURE 2

Chronology of Mesopotamian Material at Boghazköy

<i>Period/date</i>	
Old Assyrian (19th cent.)	
about 40 documents from <i>kārum</i> Ḫattuš (CTH 833)	
Old Kingdom (c. 1680-c. 1500)	
Sargonic traditions (ref. to Sargon in CTH 4; Akk. source of CTH 311?) Akk. forerunner to Hymn to Adad (CTH 313) Akk. translations of Hittite historical texts (CTH 4, 6, 7, 19) Akk. formulae of land grants (CTH 221-22)	
Middle Kingdom (c. 1500-c. 1380)	
direct Mesopotamian	Hurrian mediation
Birth omens (CTH 538-40) Liver models (CTH 547) <i>tirānu</i> oracles (CTH 551) Akk. forerunners to Hittite Prayer of Kantuzzili (CTH 373) Prisms of Naram-Sin (KBo 19 98 and 99)	References to Sargonic kings and contemporaries in ritual KUB 27 38 Unabridged liver oracle KBo 16 97
Empire (c. 1380-c. 1190)	
direct Mesopotamian	Hurrian mediation
Lexical texts (CTH 299-309) (S*, diri, erim.ḫuš, Ḫḫ, izi, ká.gal, proto-lú, OB lú, OBGT) Hymns (CTH 312, 314, 792, 794, 795) Divination (CTH 531ff.) Incantations (CTH 800-806) (including Sumerian/Akkadian bilinguals) Medical texts (CTH 808-811) Wisdom literature (CTH 315, 316, 814) and so on	Gilgamesh (CTH 341) Kumarbi cycle (CTH 343-36) Other myths and sagas (CTH 361-65) Oracles (CTH 774, and so on)

the Old Akkadian Sargonic kings,¹⁹ and the lost forerunner of a hymn to the Storm-god (CTH 313).²⁰ Note also that the Old Hittite monarchs employed the Akkadian language even in their royal inscriptions²¹—Hittite versions are also known for these texts— and that most domestic grants of land are heavily Akkadographic in formulation.²²

For the Middle Kingdom²³ and Empire periods of Hittite history, two paths must be recognized by which Mesopotamian culture reached Central Anatolia: direct importation from Assyria and Babylonia, and transmission via Hurrian intermediaries. This latter route is indicated by the presence of Hurrian vocabulary in the texts and/or the presence in the Boghazköy archives of Hurrian-language versions of the relevant compositions. By the direct path arrived the Akkadian forerunners of the Prayer of Kantuzzili (CTH 373),²⁴ omen and oracle material provided with Hittite translations which are Middle Hittite in language and script (CTH 538-40, 547,²⁵ 551), and two literary prisms presenting an epic of Naram-Sin in Akkadian language²⁶ but Middle Hittite or possibly even older script (KBo 19 98 and 99).²⁷ Hurrian-mediated material of definite Middle Hittite date²⁸ consists of the ritual KUB 27 38, which mentions several members of the Sargonic dynasty in a Hurrian-language context,²⁹ and the liver oracle

19. See Güterbock, JCS 18 (1964) 1-6. Suspicion that many of the details of the Hittite-language Naram-Sin texts (CTH 311, see Güterbock, ZA 44 [1938] 49ff.) are of Anatolian invention has been allayed by the publication of an Old Babylonian text from Mari mentioning many of the same enemies of the Akkadian ruler; see A. K. Grayson and E. Sollberger, RA 70 (1976) 103-28.

20. See Güterbock, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 38 (1978) 128, and compare JAOS 78 (1958) 237-45.

21. See Güterbock in W. Röllig (ed.), Neues Handbuch der Literatur-Wissenschaft 1 (Wiesbaden, 1978) 217f.

22. On this group of documents (CTH 221-22), see now D. F. Easton, JCS 33 (1981) 3-43, with earlier bibliography listed p. 3 n. 2.

23. The Middle Hittite period of the language is not coterminous with this rather artificial division of Hittite history, but extends well into the reign of Suppiluliuma I; see Neu, StBoT 25 xix.

24. See Güterbock, JAOS 78 (1958) 237-45, and JNES 33 (1974) 323-27.

25. Note especially the bilingual liver model KUB 37 223.

26. Since KBo 19 99, which is four-sided, cannot be part of the same prism as the probably six-sided KBo 19 98, and since little can be understood of its few fragmentary lines of text, it is uncertain whether this piece too deals with the Mesopotamian king. Note that space considerations and traces, as well as context, do not permit a reading *Na-ra-a[m-^eEN.Z]U* in line 7' of side b; see below for my interpretation of this line. For the sake of convenience, however, I have employed the name of Naram-Sin to refer to both of these prisms throughout this paper. (See now KBo 27 1 for a fragmentary prism which may be related to KBo 19 99.)

27. Note especially the cramped spacing and the "stepped" ID- and DA-signs.

28. V. Haas, Sumer 35 (1979) 401, also considers that the earliest Hurrian texts from Boghazköy are Middle Hittite in date.

29. For analyses of this important text, see Kammenhuber, ActaAnt. 22 (1974) 166-69, and Or NS 45 (1976) 139-41; Haas and H. J. Thiel, AOAT 31 46-47; and Güterbock, RIA sub Kumarbi (§4).

KBo 16 97,³⁰ which features unabbreviated writings of many Hurrian technical terms.³¹

Directly-imported material in the Empire period is plentiful and diverse, including even many Sumerian-Akkadian bilinguals.³² These Mesopotamian texts are found both in Middle Babylonian script—for example, KUB 37 55 and 69³³—and in a Hittite hand. Most notable among the Hurrian imports are the Gilgamesh epic (CTH 341) and the myths of the Kumarbi cycle (CTH 343-46),³⁴ which have fragmentary Hurrian versions at Boghazköy, as well as some omen and oracle material.³⁵ It is interesting to observe that the Hurrians left no mark on, and presumably were therefore not involved in the transmission of, either hymns or lexical lists, although at Ugarit and Emar the lexical texts are Hurrian-derived.³⁶

Of particular importance in evaluating this material is the colophon to the previously-mentioned prism of the Naram-Sin epic, KBo 19 99, side b:

ŠU ^mḪa-ni-ku-i-li DUB.SAR
DUMU ^aA-nu-LUGAL.DINGIR.MEŠ [D]UB.SAR ^rBAL.BI^r
IR ^aEn-bi-lu-lu ^rÉ^r.A^r ^aNIN^r[.MAḪ^r]

^aNIN.É.GAL ^aA-nim ^aIM ^rd1[]

5'. ^aA.MAL ^aAš-šur ^aḪa-[]

^ax [x].GAL ^uI-na-ar-x[]

na-ra-a[m] ^arḪé^r-bat^r ^ad1[]

(By) the hand of Ḫanikuili, the scribe, son of Anu-šar-ilāni, the scribe, its translator^r,³⁷ servant of Enbilulu, Ea^r, Nin[maḪ^r], Nin-egal, Anu, Adad, [. . .], A.MAL, Aššur, Ḫa[. . .], [. . .]gal, and Inar, beloved of Ḫebat^r, [. . .]

30. For the date of this text, see Otten, StBoT 11 35 n. 2.

31. On this terminology, see Laroche, RA 64 (1970) 127-39, especially 138f.

32. See J. Cooper, ZA 61 (1972) 1-22, and ZA 62 (1973) 62-81.

33. R. Biggs informs me that it is often possible to distinguish imported from native tablets by a cursory visual examination of their clays.

34. Although it is customary to refer to the Story of Appu (CTH 360) as Hurrian in background—see, for example, Friedrich, ZA 49 (1950) 214ff.—the text shows no Hurrian personal names or vocabulary to support this judgment. The Hurrian-language fragment mentioned by E. Forrer, ZDMG 76 (1922) 188, has never been identified. In view of this uncertainty, I have omitted this composition in the present context.

35. Especially interesting is the fragment KUB 29 12, which has Akkadian-language *šumma izbu* material in the right-hand column and a Hurrian-language text in the left. Unpublished divinatory texts from Hittite-controlled Emar on the Euphrates reveal a Mesopotamian-Hurrian-Hittite amalgam; see Laroche in J. Margueron (ed.), *Le moyen Euphrat* (Strasbourg, 1977) pp. 241-44. The untangling of the direct and the Hurrian-mediated streams of tradition among the Boghazköy extispicy texts must await further study.

36. See Laroche in H. Cazelles and A. Feuillet (eds.), *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 53 (1979) 1359.

37. From examination of a photo, H. Güterbock has confirmed for me that ^rBAL.BI^r is the

Noteworthy here in addition to the patronage of the scribe by both Mesopotamian and Anatolian deities (Enbilulu, Anu, Aššur, and so on, as well as Inar and Ḫebat) is the Akkadian name of his father, Anu-šar-ilāni. While this personal designation may possibly have been the *nom de plume* of an Anatolian steeped in Mesopotamian culture,³⁸ the language of the prisms KBo 19 98 and 99 is not the “barbarisches Schreiber-Akkadisch”³⁹ usually found in products of scribal schools of the periphery.⁴⁰ We also possess no further evidence for the assumption of pseudonyms by the scribes of the Hittite capital.⁴¹ It therefore seems best to regard the bearer of the name Anu-šar-ilāni as a genuine Mesopotamian, probably a Babylonian,⁴² residing at Ḫattuša.

most likely reading of the end of KBo 19 99 side b 2'. I have tentatively interpreted BAL as an abbreviated form of the more usual EME.BAL = *ta/urgumannu*, “interpreter, translator” (see I. J. Gelb, *Glossa* 2 [1968] 93-105 and von Soden, *AHW* 3 1329). If this rendering is correct, the “translation” here implied might be one of the Hittite-language pieces dealing with Naram-Sin; see CTH 321.

38. As suggested by Hoffner, *Or NS* 49 (1980) 319.

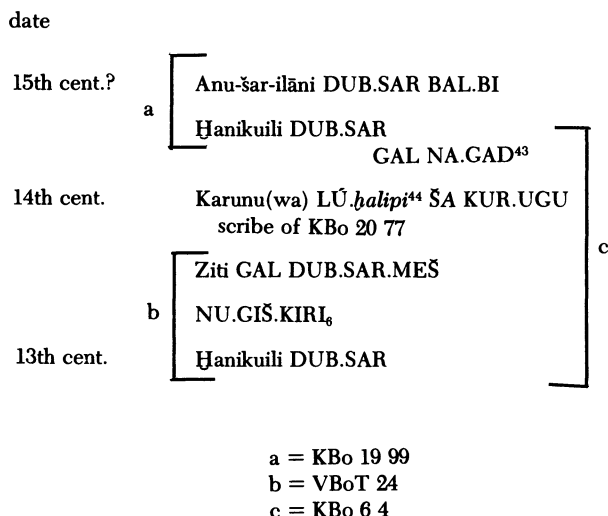
39. So characterized by B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954) 48.

40. For Boghazköy Akkadian, see still Labat, *L'akkadienne de Boghaz-köi* (Bordeaux, 1932) and now J. Durham, “Studies in Boğazköy Akkadian,” (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976 [unavailable to the writer]).

41. We must also consider whether the designation DUMU *Anu-šar-ilāni* refers not to parentage but to membership in a scribal guild founded by a person of this name. See W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957) 1-14, but note that evidence for such professional associations and/or families dates only from a later period, and that Anu-šar-ilāni does not appear among the known scribal “ancestors.”

42. R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 2 (Berlin, 1975) 217, tentatively proposes that the scribe was an Assyrian, and the name Anu-šar-ilāni is indeed attested as that of the father of a *limu* of the Middle Assyrian period (KAJ 47:32); see C. Saporetti, *Onomastica Media-assira* 1 (Rome, 1970) 89. However, it seems more likely that Babylon, which had wide-ranging foreign contacts in the Amarna period (see immediately below) was the home of this expert rather than Mittanni-dominated Assyria. For the occurrence of the name type DN-šar-ilāni among Babylonians of the period, compare Adad-šar-ilāni, Babylonian ambassador to Ḫatti (figure 4, I.1) and see A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period* (New Haven, 1912) p. 71 (Ea-šar-ilāni) and p. 106 (Marduk-šar-ilāni).

FIGURE 3

Descendants of Anu-šar-ilāni

In Figure 3 I have reconstructed from the colophon of KBo 19 99 and those of three other tablets (KBo 6 4, KBo 20 77, and VBoT 24) the line of descendants of Anu-šar-ilāni.⁴⁵ In the colophon of the parallel version of the Hittite Laws (KBo 6 4), the scribe Ḫanikuili is said to be

43. For NA.GAD = Akkadian *nāqidu*, “herdsman,” see CAD N/1 333-35, and AHw 2 744. Although Friedrich, HG 61, renders GAL NA.GAD of this colophon simply as “Oberhirt,” there is some unclear evidence that the cognate West Semitic *nōqēd* performed some sort of religious function; see M. Bic, *Vetus Testamentum* 1 (1951) 293-96, and A. Murtonen, *Vetus Testamentum* 2 (1952) 170-71.

44. Friedrich, HG 60f., interprets this title as an Akkadogram, and von Soden, AHw 1 312, includes it as a hapax, putting forth the anachronistic translation “Ankläger, Staatsanwalt,” on the basis of an uncertain etymology. However, KBo 4 12 rev. 6, where Aliḫḫešni, son of Mittanamuwa, is given the designation LÚ.ḫa-li-pi-en, spelled here with case ending, demonstrates that the word is Hittite; see Goetze Hatt. 44f., 118. A final attestation for this obscure office is KUB 31 64 ii 7: [ṽ]Ḫa-ni-i-š LÚ.ḫa-li-pi[-].

45. While there is no proof that the Ḫanikuili of the colophon of the prism is the same individual as the first ancestor mentioned in that of KBo 6 4, this name is not common at Ḫattuša—the only other attestations known to me are KBo 10 34 iv 16 (colophon: ŠU ṽḪa-ni-ik-ku-DINGIR.LIM DUMU ṽNU.GIŠ.KIRI₆) and the thirteenth-century tablet KUB 40 110:5 (ṽḪa-ni-ik-ku-DINGIR.LIM-š, unclear context, but quite possibly also referring to our scribe)—this is not an unreasonable assumption. ṽḪa-ni-ku-i-li, 1371/u:1, mentioned by Otten, IM 17 (1967) 58 n. 10, is unavailable to me.

DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ[-ŠU] ŠA ^mKarunuwa . . . U DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU-ma ŠA ^mḪanikuili. This plural Sumerogram is not found elsewhere in the Hittite corpus in reference to a single person, but it may well serve here as a substitute for the more usual ŠĀ.BAL indicating indefinite remote ancestry. Therefore, while we may be certain that the earlier Ḫanikuili was an ancestor of Karunuwa, and the latter in turn a forebear of Ziti, we do not know how many generations might have intervened in either of these cases.

KBo 6 4 is itself a late text, inscribed during the reign of Tuḫaliya IV or that of Arnuwanda III⁴⁶—let us say about 1220 B.C. Allowing thirty years for each of the *minimum* of four generations⁴⁷ separating the two Ḫanikuilis, we arrive at a latest possible date of about 1340 for Ḫanikuili I and the writing of KBo 19 99. While even a mid-fourteenth-century date would fall within the last years of the Middle Hittite stage of the language,⁴⁸ the rather archaic script of the prisms, as well as the probable lengthening of the genealogy discussed above, suggests a prior date. Ḫanikuili I, therefore, must be placed before the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, and his ancestor Anu-šar-ilāni early in the Middle Hittite period, or perhaps even before.

In connection with the presence of a Mesopotamian at Ḫattuša, we recall a passage from the letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil of Babylon (CTH 172):

Say t[o my brother] concerning the physician whom my brother dispatched here: “When they received the physician, he accomplished many [go]od thin[gs]. When disease seized him, I exerted myself constantly on his behalf. I performed many extispicies for him, but when his (appointed) day [. . .] arrived, he died. . . . I would in no way have detained the physician!”

Sa[y (further) to my brother:] “When they received an incantation priest and a physician during the reign of my brother Muwatalli and detained them [in Ḫat]ti?, I argued with him, saying ‘Why are you detaining them? Detaining [them] is not correct!’ And should I now have detained the physician? [Of the for]mer [experts] whom they received here, perhaps the incantation priest died, [but the physician] is alive—the

46. See O. Carruba et al, *ArOr* 33 (1965) 1. M. Salvini, *Vicino Oriente* 3 (1980) 165, assigns Ḫanikuili II to the reign of Arnuwanda III.

47. For this figure, see M. Rowton, *JNES* 17 (1958) 100-102, and *CAH*³ 1/1 203-204. See also D. Henige, *Journal of African History* 12 (1971) 371-89.

48. See above, note 23.

woman whom he married is a relative of mine—and proprietor of a fine household? [If he should sa]y: ‘I will go (back) to my native land!’ let him arise and go! [. . .] Would I have detained a great physician of Marduk?’⁴⁹

Mentioned here are two medical missions sent from Babylon to the Hittites, one in the time of Muwatalli and another during the reign of Ḫattušili. Although the chief expert of the latter group had soon died, a member of the earlier party had established a household in Ḫatti, and was apparently still living⁵⁰ at the time of the writing of KBo 1 10. It is probable that Anu-šar-ilāni was also an expert on loan from the Babylonian government, and that he similarly made himself at home in Ḫatti: he sired children, instructed them in his craft, and thereby founded a scribal family.⁵¹ It is to Babylonian experts like Anu-šar-ilāni, who would naturally have been employed chiefly in composing Akkadian-language diplomatic material—like KBo 1 10 itself⁵²—that the introduction of Middle Babylonian sign forms into the “chancellery” script, and ultimately the Late Hittite syllabary, must be attributed.

49. KBo 1 10 rev. 34ff.:

34. *um-ma-¹a¹ a-na[^a ŠEŠ-ya-ma] aš-šum LÚ.a-si-i ša ŠEŠ-ú-a iš-pu-ra LÚ.a-sa-a ki-i il-qu-ú-ni*

35. *na-pti-še-¹e-¹[ti ba-na-]¹a-¹ti i-te-te-pu-sú ù GIG ki-i i-pa-da-aš-šu a-na UGU-šu a-ta-na-aḫ bi-ra-šú ab¹(text: AD)-te-te-er-ri*

36. *ù UD-¹ma¹ x [x x] x ki-i ik-šu-da mi-i-it . . .*

. . . .

41. . . . LÚ.a-sa-a a-na-ku ka-lu-ú-ma-ku ak-ta-la-ma-ku

42. *¹um-ma-¹[a a-na ŠEŠ-ya-m]a un-du i-na ŠEŠ-ya Mu-a-at-ta-al-li LÚ.a-ši-pa LÚ.a-sa-a il-qu-ú-ni*

43. *¹ù¹ [i-na KUR Ḫa-a]t-ti¹ ik-lu-šu-nu-ti a-na-ku ad-da-ab-ba-aš-šu um-ma-a am-mi-ni ta-ka-la-šu-nu-ti*

44. *[x x x x x] ¹a-na¹ ka-le-e ú-ul pá-r-šu ù i-na-an-na-a a-na-ku LÚ.a-sa-a ak-ta-la-ma-ku*

45. *[x x um-ma-ni ma-a]ḫ-ru-ti ša il-qu-ú mi-in-du-ma LÚ¹.a-ši-pu mi-i-it*

46. *[x x LÚ.a-su-ú b]a-¹li-¹ṭ SAL ša i-ḫu-zu ŠA NUMUN-ya ši-i ù ¹É¹ ba-¹na-a ša-bi-it*

47. *[ù šum-ma i-qa-ab-bi um-ma-]¹a¹ a-na KUR-ti-ya at-tal-la-ak li-it-bi-ma li-it-ta-lak*

48. *[x x x x x x x x LÚ].a-sa-a ra-ba-a ša ⁴AMAR.UTU ak-ta-la-ma-ku*

See the collations published in KUB 4 pp. 49b-50a, and the treatment of this passage by A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1967) p. 145.

50. For an analysis of this situation, see H. M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3 97-98.

51. For such lineages, see Laroche, *ArOr* 17 (1949) 10-13, and del Monte, *Vicino Oriente* 3 (1980) 164-66.

52. It was presumably in the service of the Hittite diplomatic corps that KUB 4 93, a list of the *limu*'s of Aššur-uballiṭ I, was compiled or imported. See O. Schroeder, *AfO* 1 (1923) 54.

FIGURE 4

Mesopotamians in Hatti

I. Babylonians

1. Adad-šar-ilāni, ambassador to court of Ḫattušili III (NH 204)
2. Anu-šar-ilāni, scribe (KBo 19 99 colophon)
3. Enlil-bēl-niše, ambassador to court of Ḫattušili III (NH 233)
4. Tawananna, third queen of Šuppiluliuma I (NH 1316.2)
5. *āšipu* at court of Muṣili II? (KBo 16 99 ii 8ff.)
6. *āšipu* and *asū* at court of Muwatalli (KBo 1 10 rev. 42ff.)
7. *āšipu* at court of Ḫattušili III (KUB 3 71 i 8ff.)
8. daughter-in-law of Puduḫepa (KUB 21 38:47ff.)

II. Assyrians

1. Amurru-ašari(d), ambassador to court of Tuṭḫaliya IV (NH 56)
2. Bēl-qarrad, ambassador to court of Ḫattušili III (NH 224)
3. Dada-Aššur, father in fragmentary KUB 48 113:8
4. Iya-Aššur, proprietor of household in KUB 51 33 i 15'
5. Mašeruya, scribe in Hittite service (NH 766)
6. Nabu-našar, scribe in Hittite service (NH 869)
7. Šilli-Aššur, ambassador to court of Tuṭḫaliya IV (NH 1199)
8. envoys ill-treated in reign of Urḫi-Tešub (KBo 1 14 rev. 15f.)
9. "men of Assur" discussed in letter of Maša to King (KBo 9 82)
10. detained ambassador mentioned in letter from Dur-Kurigalzu⁵³

53. Gurney, *Iraq* 11 (1949) 139, 148 n. 10:

14. [DUMU *šip-ri*] ša LUGAL KUR Aš-šur ša a-na KUR Ḫat-ti
15. [il-]i-ku-ú-ma 3 MU.MEŠ ka-lu-ú
16. [ú-maš-š]i-ru-šu-ma a-na KUR Aš-šur it-ta-aḫ-sa
17. [ú DUMU *šip-r*]i ša LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti it-ti-šu
18. [. . .] i-te-ti-iq

[The envoy] of the King of the land of Assur who [we]nt to the land of Ḫatti and was detained for three years—they have [rele]ased him and he has returned to the land of Assur. [And the envo]y of the King of the land of Ḫatti passed over [. . .] with him.

It is uncertain whether this unfortunate emissary is the same individual as any of the three Assyrian diplomats listed by name in Figure 4.

Figure 4 lists all Mesopotamians now known to have actually been present in Ḫatti.⁵⁴ These persons are of three types: in addition to the expected diplomatic emissaries from the Mesopotamian states (I.1 and 3; II.1, 2, 7, 8, and 10) and experts of the sort already noted—categories whose membership was naturally overlapping—there were also marriage partners for members of the Hittite royal family.

The union of Šuppiluliuma I and a Babylonian princess is well known,⁵⁵ but at least one other Mesopotamian girl married into the Hittite court. In the Hittite-language draft of a letter to Ramses II of Egypt, Queen Puduḫepa writes:

The daughter of Babylonia (and) [the daughter] of Amurru whom I, the Queen, took for myself—were they not indeed a source of praise for me before the people of Ḫatti?—It was I (who) did it—and I took (each) daughter of a Great King, though a foreigner, as daughter-in-law.⁵⁶

Of the two princesses mentioned here, “the daughter of Amurru” is known from the treaty of Ḫattušili III with Bentešina (CTH 92) to have married the prince Nerikkaili:

[. . .] My son Nerikkaili has tak[en a]s his wife the daughter of Bentešina of the land of Amurru, [while I] have gi[ven] the (Hittite) [pr]incess Gaššuliyawiya to the land of Amurru, to the

54. From unpublished sources add also *Ilu-tukulti*?, in *Mst* 75/56 (mentioned by S. Alp, *Belleten* 173 [1980] 30), and *Mār-ešre* = DUMU.UD.XX.KAM, *Mst* 75/14, 75/19, 75/104 (Alp, *Belleten* 173 [1980] 28-29). [I owe the observation that these last two forms are variants of the same name to H. Hoffner. Is this furthermore the same individual as the scribe *Maršeruya*, II.5 here?]

55. See Goetze, *CAH* 3 2/2 13, and also Kammenhuber, *THeth* 7 22-23 on the later, rather unpleasant, career of this woman.

56. KUB 21 38:47ff.:

47. SAL.LUGAL-aš-za *ku-t-e-eš* DUMU.SAL KUR URU.Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš
[DUMU.SAL KU]R URU.A-mur-ri-ya da-aḫ-ḫu-un
48. na-at-mu A-NA LÜ.MEŠ KUR URU.Ḫat-ti pi-ra-an Ū-UL im-ma [w]a-al-
li ya-tar Ū-UL ku-it e-eš-ta
49. na-at-¹kán¹ am-mu-uk i-ya-nu-un nu-za a-ra-aḫ-zé-¹nu-¹un ŠA LUGAL.GAL
DUMU.SAL AŠ-ŠUM SAL.É.GE₄.A da-aḫ-ḫu-un

See W. Helck, *JCS* 17 (1963) 91. KUB 21 38:54f. informs us that this traffic in brides was reciprocal:

54. . . . na-at A-NA LUGAL KUR URU.Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš im-ma
55. ḫa-an-da-an-*<<za>>* ¹Ū-¹UL-za ŠA LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR URU.Ḫat-
ti LUGAL KALAG.GA DUMU.SAL DAM+(text: SAL)-an-ni da-a-aš

And they [the marriage arrangements] were indeed settled in regard to the King of Babylonia. Did he not take the daughter of the Great King, the King of Ḫatti, the mighty king, for marriage?

royal house, to Bentešina [f]or marriage.⁵⁷

The identity of the husband of the Babylonian princess remains for the moment uncertain, although the possibility that Tutḫaliya IV followed the example of his ancestor Šuppiliuma in taking a Mesopotamian bride must be entertained.⁵⁸

Among the technicians, we may note in particular the Assyrian scribes Maršeruya and Nabu-našar, who add personal Akkadian-language post-scripts to their work in the service of the Hittite crown. Relevant here also is a passage from a letter dispatched by the official Kaššu to the king:

But when the tablet was [inscrib]ed in the town [of . . .], then
the scribe w[ho wrote the tablet] to me—he [wrote] in
Akkadian, [and] I did not un[derstand it].⁵⁹

While the restoration and translation of these lines are uncertain, the presence here of the words “tablet,” “scribe,” and “in Akkadian” (*pabili*) makes it likely that this is another instance of the use of Akkadian by a scribe active in Ḫatti.

Interesting in this context is the appearance of Akkadian-language (URU.*pabilili*) incantations within the body of a series of Hittite rituals for the goddess IŠTAR-Pirinkir (CTH 718).⁶⁰ No colophons have been preserved for this group of texts, but all seem from their script to be of Late Hittite date. The sometimes obscure Akkadian of these passages⁶¹ must be laid to the account of a non-native speaker,⁶² but it may well have been inspired by Mesopotamian incantations, possibly imported to Ḫattuša by

57. KBo 1 8:18ff.:

18. ‘ . . . ’ DUMU-ya =Ne-ri-iq-qa-DINGIR-lim DUMU.SAL =ZAG.ŠEŠ ša KUR
URU.A-mur-ri

19. [a-n]a DAM-ti-šu li-iq-[qī’ ū’ a-na-ku DUMU].SAL LUGAL ‘Ga-aš-šu-li-ya-
ú i-e i-na KUR URU.A-mur-ri i-na É LUGAL a-na =ZAG.ŠEŠ

20. [a-n]a DAM-ti-šu at-t[ā-din-šu]

See E. Weidner, PD 2 = BoSt 9 128f.

58. It is presumably this woman whose illness is the subject of the oracular inquiry KUB 65 rev. 27: [. . .] ŠA DUMU.SAL KUR Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš GIG-an-za.

59. KBo 18 54:14ff.:

14. ṬUP-PU-ma ma-aḫ-ḫa-an UR[U’ . . . a-ni-y]a²-an e-eš-ta

15. nu-mu LÚ.DUB.SAR ku-i[š ṬUP-PA ḫa-at-ra-a-it]

16. nu-za pa-bi-li-<li’> an-[da’ ḫa-at-ra-a-it na-at-za]

17. Ū-UL ša-a[g-ga-aḫ-ḫu-un]

My attention was originally drawn to this letter by a lecture given by H. Güterbock at Yale University during the academic year 1970-71. For a different analysis of this text, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mesopotamia* 13/14 (1978/79) 203ff.

60. See Laroche, *BiOr* 21 (1964) 321, and R. Werner, *Or NS* 34 (1965) 381.

61. See Goetze, *JCS* 18 (1964) 94ff.

62. See already H. Ehelolf, *MDOG* 75 (1937) 62 n. 1.

foreign experts, such as those texts represented by CTH 803-806. Note also DUB.SAR *pabilili*, "Babylonian scribe," mentioned in the fragmentary line iv 12 (part of the colophon?) of KBo 3 21, a Hymn to the Storm-god translated from Akkadian (CTH 313).⁶³

Two men with Assyrian names who were well integrated into Hittite society may have entered Ḫatti as scribes or other experts: Iya-Aššur is the proprietor of a household furnishing supplies for the spring festival of the Storm-god of Zippalanda, and the son of Dada-Aššur participates in the festival described in the fragmentary KUB 48 113.⁶⁴ More clear is the case of the Assyrian ambassador Bēl-qarrad, who is attested in the colophon of an Akkadian text (KUB 37 210) found at Boghazköy as the father of a scribe bearing the good Hittite name GUR.LUGAL-*ma*.⁶⁵ This is certainly a situation parallel to that of Anu-šar-ilāni and his son Ḫanikuili. Once again a quotation from the lengthy letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil is relevant. The former chides the latter concerning an interruption of diplomatic contact:

Say to my brother—because my brother has written to me about my cutting off my messengers: "Because the Aḫlamu are hostile I have cut off my messengers."—What is this that you, my brother, have cut off your messengers on account of the Aḫlamu? Is the might of your kingdom small, oh my brother? Or has perhaps (your vizier) Itti-Marduk-balātu spoken evil words (about me) before my brother, as a result of which my brother has cut off (his) messengers? . . . [Only if two kings] are hostile do their messengers not travel continually between them. Why have you cut off [yo]ur [messengers]?⁶⁶

63. Cf. iv 5: [URU.K]Á.DINGIR.RA. This text has now been edited by A. Archi, *Or NS* 52 (1983) 20-30.

64. Note line 5': ŠA LUGAL É.GAL *Kar-ga-miš*.

65. An individual named Bēlu-qarrad (=hier. *Ba-lu-kar'-dá*) appears also in an unpublished text from Emar; see Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981) 10.

66. KBo 1 10:36ff.:

36. *um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ya-ma ša ŠEŠ-ú-a iš-'pu-¹ra um-ma-a ša DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ya ap-ru-su*

37. *ki-i Aḫ-la-mu-ú na-ak-ru DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ya ap-ta-ra-as mi-nu-ú a-ma-tu₄*

38. *ki-i ŠEŠ-ú-a aš-šum Aḫ-la-me-i DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ka tap-ru-su šar-ru-ú-ut LUGAL-ti-ka*

39. *ŠEŠ-ú-a ši-ib-ri-ta ú pí-qāt It-ti-⁴AMAR.UTU.TIL.LA a-ma-a-ti la-a ba-na-a-ti*

40. *a-na pa-ni ŠEŠ-ya id-da-bu-ub ú ŠEŠ-ú-a DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri aš-šum an-ni-ti ip-ta-ra-as*

53. *'x x x x x¹ x na-ak-ru DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-šu-nu-ú a-na a-ḫa-miš ú-ul it-ta-na-al-la-ku*

54. *[x x x DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-k]a am-mi-ni tap-ru-us*

Again, see the collations in KUB 4 pp. 49b-50a, and cf. Oppenheim *Letters* pp. 140-41.

This admonition of the Hittite ruler, taken together with the fairly substantial list of Mesopotamians in Hatti just examined, suggests a constant exchange of messengers and experts among the great powers of the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁷ Indeed, numerous pieces of the diplomatic correspondence between the Hittite rulers and their Mesopotamian counterparts have come to light in the Boghazköy excavations: CTH 171, 173, 175, 177, 187.2 (with Assyria) and CTH 172, 174, and 178 (with Babylonia).⁶⁸ Therefore we must conclude that *direct* contact between Hatti and Mesopotamia began earlier than the date of 1350 postulated by some scholars,⁶⁹ that this contact was more regular than previously supposed, and that it was indeed instrumental in the development of the Late Hittite script.

A significant corollary to these observations concerns the date and source of the introduction of cuneiform writing into Egypt, where it was employed by the native scribes of the Amarna archive. A comparison of columns ii and iii of Figure 1 readily reveals that the Egyptian script bears a great formal similarity to the Middle Hittite hand, and indeed a number of years ago the late K. Riemschneider tentatively proposed that the Hittites taught the Egyptians to read cuneiform.⁷⁰

Four additional points support this hypothesis:

1. What other group could have been the source of Egyptian knowledge of this writing system? It is unlikely that the Egyptians would have stooped to borrow it from one of their Syrian or Palestinian vassals, and in any case none of the hands displayed on the Amarna letters from these areas is as close to the Egyptian as is the Middle Hittite.⁷¹ This leaves the other great powers of the Late Bronze Age: Assyria, Babylonia, and the Hurrian state

67. For Egyptian-Hittite contacts, see E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* (Opladen, 1976), especially pp. 31-63, and for the presence of envoys of Hatti and Babylon at one another's courts, see H. Klengel, *ArOr* 47 (1979) 88-89.

68. A fragment of a Hittite letter was found at Dur-Kurigalzu; see T. Baqir, *Iraq* 8 (1946) pl. 18 fig. 13. Although the caption identifies this piece as "addressed to a king of the Hittites," the first three lines read: [. . .] x LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *Ha-at-ti* / [. . . LUGAL.]GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR *Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš* / [. . .] *qi-bi-ma*. Since it was usual in correspondence between equals to give the name of the sender before that of the recipient, this letter was more probably dispatched by the Hittite ruler. Unfortunately, little beyond the heading and greetings formulae of this missive have been preserved.

69. See above, p. 98 with n. 9.

70. Unpublished presentation delivered to the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Philadelphia in the spring of 1976, unfortunately not heard by the writer.

71. See the list compiled by Schroeder, *VAS* 12 75-94. A perusal of the many variants displayed in this chart reveals how misleading it is to refer, as does Laroche, *Annali Pisa* 744-45, to a unified "Amarno-Syrian" system of cuneiform.

of Mittanni. The scripts of Assyria and Mittanni differ in several important points of shape⁷² and sign value⁷³ from the Egyptian, and the hand of contemporary Babylonia has already been identified as the forerunner of the Late Hittite—column iv in Figure 1—and thus is excluded.

2. There are several significant points of contact between the Egyptian and Hittite repertoires of scholarly material. Both “academies” possessed texts dealing with the Sargonic kings of Mesopotamia,⁷⁴ and with the Hurrian hero Kešši,⁷⁵ as well as similar lexical lists.⁷⁶

3. The Egyptians were capable of writing in Hittite, as is demonstrated by the exchange of letters in this language between the Pharaoh and the West Anatolian ruler Tarḫundaradu of Arzawa (EA 31-32 = VBoT 1-2). These pieces must be dated early in the history of the Amarna archive,⁷⁷ that is, to the Middle Hittite period.

4. We are informed about a particular historical occasion on which this exchange of “technology” could have occurred. A prayer of Muršili II tells of a treaty between the Hittites and the Egyptians which was violated by his father.⁷⁸ Scholarly opinion differs as to whether this agreement⁷⁹ was concluded early in the reign of Šuppiluliuma I or in a previous reign,⁸⁰ but it must in any case be dated to the Middle Hittite period. The treaty called for the transfer of the entire population of the northern Anatolian town of

72. Compare especially the Mittanni shapes of URU, LA, LI, IK, AK, EN, ŠAR, UŠ, and ḪAR with the Egyptian forms.

73. All three of these scripts have introduced the regular distinction between the series of signs for VḪ and for V^c, a differentiation not found in Egyptian cuneiform or the pre-Empire Hittite Akkadian system.

74. Amarna: EA 359 and 375ⁱ; Boghazköy: CTH 310, 311, and so on.

75. Amarna: EA 341 (see Borger HKL 1 239 and literature cited there); Boghazköy: CTH 361.

76. The preserved corpus of lexical material is considerably greater for Boghazköy—see CTH chapter 4 part A—than for Amarna. However, S* (EA 379, CTH 299), diri (EA 373, CTH 300), and á = A = *nâqu* (EA 351, CTH 306.A44^p) have been discovered at both sites.

77. See L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 4 (1956) 330; Heinhold-Krahmer, THeth 8 50-53; and C. Kühne, AOAT 17 98.

78. KUB 14 8:13ff. and duplicates, edited by Goetze, KIF 1 (1929) 208-11, and translated by him, ANET² p. 395. A new edition of this prayer is given by H. Winkels, “Das Zweite Pestgebet des Mursili” (diss. Hamburg, 1979).

79. The fragments grouped as CTH 134 probably represent copies of the “Kuruštama Treaty.” One of them, KUB 40 28, may be of Middle Hittite date, but its small size precludes a definite judgment.

80. On this question see Kühne, AOAT 17 90 n. 456 with bibliography, and Houwink ten Cate, BiOr 20 (1963) 274f.

Kuruštama⁸¹ to Egyptian-controlled territory in Syria. Surely a few experts might also have travelled south at that time.

It is most important to recognize that this transmission would thus have taken place in the Middle Hittite period, before, or contemporary with, the arrival of Mesopotamians and the Middle Babylonian script at Ḫattuša. We thus have a correlation of two important transferrals of knowledge, the Hittites passing on their own older, indirect, knowledge of Mesopotamian writing and culture, while at the same time receiving a new, direct, infusion of that same culture.

81. For this town and its location, see G. del Monte, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes* 6 (Wiesbaden, 1978) 229.