

Abhandlung

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New Inscribed Bricks of Takil-ilissu, King of Malgûm

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Abstract: In this paper, we publish some remarkable brick inscriptions of Takil-ilissu, king of Malgûm, which were recently found during a survey that led to the identification of Malgûm, the capital of an independent kingdom in the Isin-Larsa period. The bricks come from Tulûl al-Fâj, the site that has been identified as ancient Malgûm. Besides adding new details about Takil-ilissu, a relatively little-known ruler; these inscriptions are noteworthy for containing unusual words, expressions, and clauses.

1 In Search of Malgûm

In this paper, we report on some outstanding epigraphic finds from an archaeological survey that began in 2017 in an area to the east of the Euphrates. The survey was conducted by an Iraqi team (henceforth: the Team) under the direction of Abbas Al-Hussainy (University of Al-Qadisiyah). The

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Correction note: Correction added after online publication July 21, 2023: The interpretation of the term *kisûm* changed from “outer wall” to “retaining wall” throughout the text.

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project began after the Iraq Museum entrusted Al-Hussainy with studying and publishing a number of alleged Marad bricks. However, among those bricks was one that clearly did not come from Marad and bore the inscription “Palace of Imgur-Sîn, king of Malgûm.”¹ This brick was brought to the archaeologists who were excavating at Jemdet Nasr, under the direction of Roger J. Matthews, by a boy in 1988, and was published by R. de Boer (2013b). Because it was believed to have come from somewhere in the vicinity of Jemdet Nasr, the decision was made to explore the tells to the east of that site in hopes of identifying the ancient city of Malgûm,² which was the capital of an important independent kingdom in the first part of the Old Babylonian period.

The Team first surveyed a site called al-Ahemer (الاحيمر; see Fig. 1),³ in the Shahimiyah (الشحيمية) area, which provided three inscribed bricks: one with an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, one with a Pahlavi inscription, and a third one, with an inscription that is no longer readable. However, al-Ahemer is almost certainly the source of the inscribed brick Takil-ilissu 1.⁴ This gave the Team confidence that they

¹ In consideration of the standard reading of this geographical name as “Malgium”, even in the most recent literature, we must stress that spellings supporting this reading, such as *ma-al-gi-um* or the like, are not attested. In fact, the toponym in question was Ġalgi'a or Ġalgu'a in Sumerian, and Malgû(m) in Akkadian (see Al-Hussainy [e. a.] forthcoming; cf. Wilcke 2017, 737 f., n. 3; Ozaki [e. a.] 2021, 28, n. 1).

² This research was part of Al-Hussainy's efforts to map the archaeological sites of central Babylonia and to study the ancient environment and landscape of that region. The University of Al-Qadisiyah's projects include the Arahtum survey as well as collaborations on a number of international survey projects such as QADIS (see Marchetti [e. a.] 2019) and FARSUP (Fara Regional Survey Project; see Otto [e. a.] 2018).

³ UTM zone 38S 505713E 3607425N.

⁴ This brick was reported as coming from “Aḫymer” (Speleers 1925, 115), which has been misidentified as Kiš (modern al-Uhaymir), because



Fig. 1: Satellite imagery of al-Ahemer

were on the right track and that al-Ahemer was situated somewhere within the territory of the ancient kingdom of Malgûm. The Team then decided to explore a group of tells, collectively called Tulûl al-Fāj (تلول الفاج), about 5 km south of al-Ahemer.⁵ Tulûl al-Fāj is the site that members of the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, who recently claimed to have identified the ancient city of Malgûm, refer to as “Tell Yassir” (Jawad [e. a.] 2019 and 2020).⁶

of the similarity of the modern names of the two sites (see Sollberger/Kupper 1971, 282; Kutscher 1988, 301; Frayne 1990, 671; Gubel/Overlaet 2007, 86). Note that the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire in Brussels also house several tablets that are similarly labeled “Ahi/ymer” (see, e. g., Zimmern 1918, 50 f.; Speleers 1925, 25 f. and 28; Spada 2021, 284, n. 4). However, at least one of these tablets – the legal text O.179 = Speleers 1925 no. 238 – probably comes from al-Uhaymir, since it records the swearing of an oath by Zababa (rev. 2), the city-god of Kiš.

⁵ From 2018 onwards, Tulûl al-Fāj was also visited several times by an Italian expedition of the University of Venice, led by Lucio Milano. The results of that survey of the site have not yet been published.

⁶ But note the concerns with this identification that were raised by Mohammed (2021, 63–66).

Thus Tell Yassir is identified in the most recent literature as the site of ancient Malgûm (see, for instance, Földi 2020; Ozaki [e. a.] 2021; Steinkeller 2022). However, the site in question, as noted above, consists of several tells; Tell Yassir is just one of them (see Jawad [e. a.] 2020, 68, fig. 2).⁷ In cadastral maps from 1935, the group of tells to the south of the Shahimiyah area are collectively called Tulûl al-Fāj. This is also the name by which they were (collectively) registered by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in 1950.⁸ Accordingly, we shall refer to this group of tells as Tulûl al-Fāj.

During the Tulûl al-Fāj survey, in early 2019, the Team found approximately fifty inscribed bricks bearing inscriptions of rulers of Malgûm (some known, others previously unknown). All but two of these inscriptions were made

⁷ It is often difficult to determine the geographic footprints of ancient settlements. This can complicate the task of assigning modern names to them (see Al-Hussainy [e. a.] 2019, 59).

⁸ Accordingly, it is not true that “the presence of the ancient site was not previously known to the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage” (Jawad [e. a.] 2020, 67).

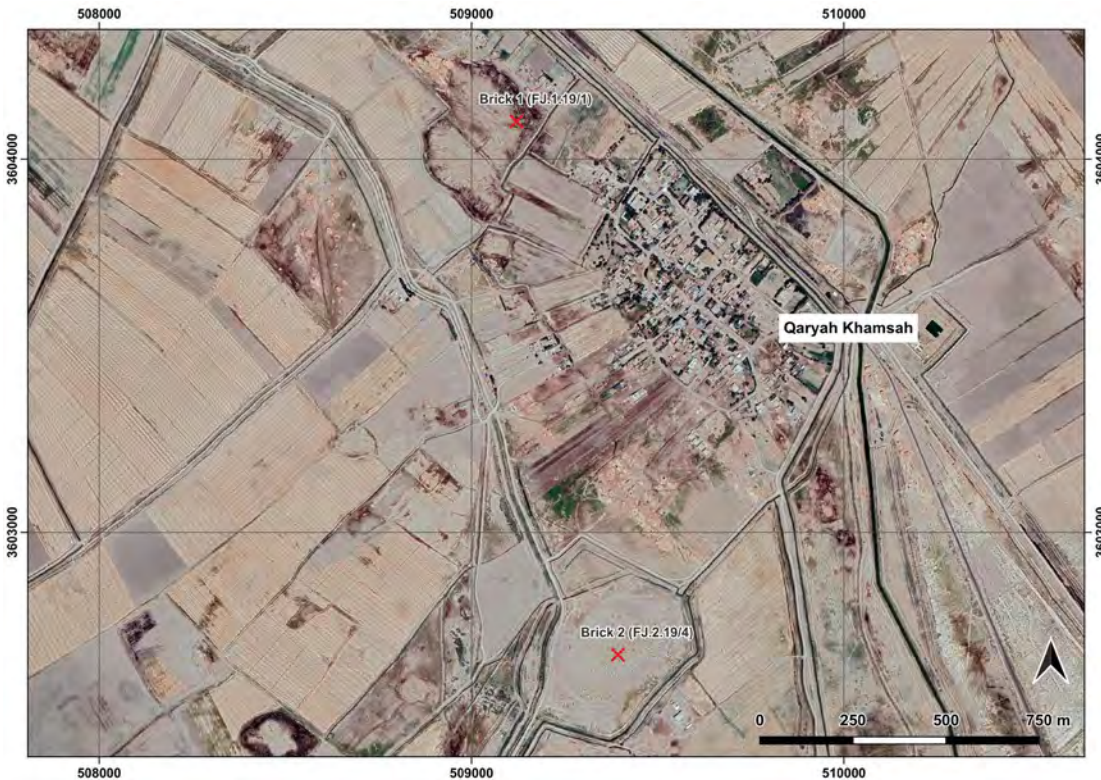


Fig. 2: Satellite imagery of Tulûl al-Fāj showing the findspots of Brick 1 (FJ.1.19/1) and Brick 2 (FJ.2.19/4)

with stamps. The two non-stamped inscriptions are texts of Takil-ilissu, a king of Malgûm known previously from other inscribed bricks. These two new bricks of Takil-ilissu, which we publish here, were found in different places, respectively to the northwest and to the south of the modern “Village 5” (Qaryah Khamsah), a settlement dating to Saddam Hussein’s presidency (see Fig. 2). Brick 1 (FJ.1.19/1;⁹ 35×35×8 cm; Fig. 3) bears two inscriptions of Takil-ilissu, one stamped on the upper surface,¹⁰ and one written by hand on one of its lateral surfaces (to the right of the stamped inscription).¹¹ Whereas the stamped text was previously attested (although only partially), the handwritten text is completely new.¹² Brick 2 (FJ.2.19/4;¹³ 22×14×8 cm) also bears a lateral handwritten

inscription of Takil-ilissu (preserved only in part), which is very similar, but not identical, to Takil-ilissu 1. This brick was possibly in situ; it may originally have been part of a wall in a temple complex consisting of a *temenos* and two buildings, located just to the northwest of what may have been a palace (see Fig. 4).¹⁴ If this is correct, then the temple complex in question is most likely the Enamtila (é-n a m-ti-la), the temple of Ea and Damkina that is mentioned in the brick inscription.¹⁵

2 Takil-ilissu

Although Takil-ilissu is the king of Malgûm who left us the most inscriptions and the longest ones, he remains an obscure figure.¹⁶ This is because the political events of his

⁹ Findspot: UTM Zone 38N 509121E 3604101N.

¹⁰ Which Walker (1981) calls “the face” (of the brick).

¹¹ That is, “down to the edge”, according to Walker’s (1981, 11) terminology. See also Hallo (1982, 114).

¹² It is very unusual to encounter two different inscriptions, one stamped and one handwritten, on the same brick. We only know of one other example, BM 90761 (Išme-Dagān), on which, however, the stamp is illegible (Walker 1981, 35). On our brick, the stamped inscription refers to the palace of Takil-ilissu, whereas the handwritten inscription celebrates the construction of architectural features of what was presumably the main gate of the temple of Eštar.

¹³ Findspot: UTM Zone 38N 509407E 3602707N.

¹⁴ The entire area has been thoroughly looted, but the distribution of looting pits appears to coincide to some extent with the layout of such alleged building structures (a tentative possible reconstruction is shown in Fig. 4).

¹⁵ For the Enamtila (“House of Life”), the temple of Ea and Damkina in Malgûm, see George (1993, 131, no. 850).

¹⁶ Oshima/Wasserman (2021, 279) speculated that Takil-ilissu originated in a priestly circle, mainly because he “describes liturgical practices with a precision expected of priests, not kings”.



Fig. 3: Brick 1 (FJ.1.19/1)

reign are entirely unknown.¹⁷ In fact, Takil-ilissu's inscriptions only note his pious acts and building activities, following the tradition of Sumerian royal inscriptions. The new inscriptions published in this paper are no exception in this regard: they deal with the construction of certain architectural features of gates, and with the erection of the retaining wall of a temple (see below).

There is also some information about cultic practices and about the deities who were worshipped in the time of Takil-ilissu (see, especially, Wilcke 2017, 739–745; cf. Charpin 2006, 139). Whereas Ea and Damkina, Eridu's divine couple, were the city-gods of Malgûm (Kutscher 1988, 303, § 5), the sky-god Anum, called *šar ilī / šarrum ša ilī rabūtim**, “king of the (great*) gods” (Takil-ilissu 2: 9. 72*), appears to have been situated at the top of the local pantheon. Anum was worshipped in the Emaš (é-maš), the temple of Eštar as An(n)unītum, “She of battle”, and as Ulmašītum, “She of the Ulmaš(-temple)” (that is, as warlike Eštar and Eštar of Akkad, respectively; see Takil-ilissu 2: 1–48; cf. Wilcke 2017, 739 f.). To these two forms of Eštar, we can now add a third one, “Eštar, the mistress of the Ayakkum” (= Eštar of Uruk),¹⁸ whose shrine is alluded to in one of the new inscriptions (Takil-ilissu 4; see below).

Then there is the controversial question of the dating of Takil-ilissu. Based on a comparison of Takil-ilissu's texts with the only preserved inscription of Ipiq-Eštar (RIME 4, E4.11.1.1),¹⁹ a ruler of Malgûm who is known to have ruled at the same time as Ḫammu-rāpi of Babylon (Charpin 2004, 330; van Koppen 2005, 177 f.), Edzard (1957, 160) suggested that Takil-ilissu predates Ipiq-Eštar.²⁰ Edzard's arguments were rightly challenged and rejected by Kutscher/Wilcke (1978, 100, n. 25). More recently, Kutscher (1988, 301), comparing the phraseology and style of Takil-ilissu's texts with those of other OB royal inscriptions, argued for dating Takil-ilissu's “*probably* in the second half of the 19th century BC, and, *in any case*, no later than the beginning of Hammurapi's reign” (text in *italics* ours). In this connection, note especially the curse formula “may (the god) so-and-so, the ... (= divine epithet)” / “may (the gods) so-and-so and so-and-so” *lū rābiš lemuttīšu (...)* *ana dāriātīm/dārētīm* “be the bailiff of his misfortune (...) forever” that Takil-ilissu (see below, Takil-ilissu 1 in Appendix A) shares with Yaḫdun-Lim of Mari (RIME 4, E4.6.8.1: 77 f.) and Šamši-Adad I (RIMA 1 A.0.39.1: 132–135; cf. Charpin 1984, 63 f., no. 11: 11'-13'), which suggests that all three were at least rough contemporaries of one another. We should also note Charpin's (2004, 330,

17 This may also explain why Takil-ilissu did not get a dedicated entry in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.

18 *Ayakkum* is an Akkadianized form of Sumerian *E(y)ana(k)* (é-a n-n a), the name of Eštar's temple in Uruk (see below, comm. to Takil-ilissu 4: 2).

19 See also van Koppen (2005, 173–175); Wilcke (2017, 747–749); Waserman (2020, 152 f.).

20 “Nehmen wir die Sprache als datierendes Moment zu Hilfe, so können wir die Inschrift des Takililišu als die ältere bestimmen. Die Inschrift Ipiqēstars enthält eine Reihe von Fehlern, die des Takililišu ist fehlerfrei abgefaßt”.

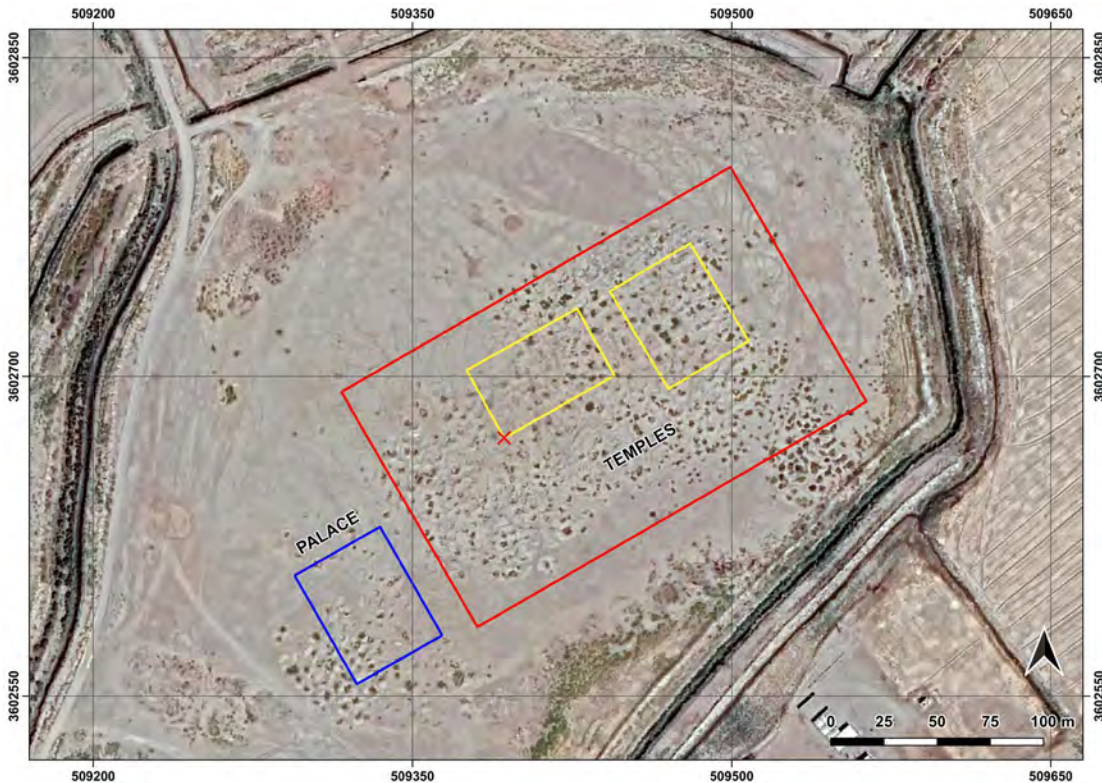


Fig. 4: Satellite imagery showing the findspot of Brick 2 (FJ.2.19/4) and the alleged area of the Enamtila-temple complex

n. 1723) unsupported assertion that “Takil-iliššu (sic!) ... occupa le trône de Malgium avant Ipiq-Eštar”. On the other hand, Wilcke (2017, 746 f.) thinks that Takil-ilissu may have ruled after Samsu-iluna’s 26th regnal year on the grounds that one of Takil-ilissu’s bricks found at Isin may (according to Wilcke) attest Takil-ilissu’s control of Isin, a political fact – if true – that would only have been possible after Samsu-iluna 26 (cf. Kutscher/Wilcke 1978, 100–102). It should be noted, however, that no reference to the city of Isin is found in any of Takil-ilissu’s inscriptions (including the one on the brick from Isin). Nor is there any other evidence to support the hypothesis that Malgûm freed itself from the yoke of Babylon after Samsu-iluna 26 and extended its own dominion as far as Isin.²¹ The evidence we do have, in fact, suggests the opposite: that Babylonian control of Malgûm, which was established by Ḥammu-rāpi toward the end of his long reign (Charpin 2004, 330; van Koppen 2005, 178 f.), continued much later than the rule of Samsu-iluna (Kraus 1958, 75–81; Finkelstein 1961, 95; *pace* Kutscher/Wilcke 1978,

21 In this connection, it should also be noted that Takil-ilissu’s brick from Isin was found in the rubble of a MB house (Frayne 1990, 672; Wilcke 2018, 51), and so, it was certainly reused. We can reasonably assume that the brick in question was brought to Isin sometime after the death of Takil-ilissu for the purpose of being reused (cf. Mohammed 2021, 66).

99). Another piece of evidence also points to an earlier date for Takil-ilissu: Takil-ilissu’s father, Ištaran-asu, appears among the early rulers of Malgûm who are attested in the post-Ur III texts from Irisaḡrig (see Ozaki [e. a.] 2021). These rulers include Nūr-Eštar, Šu-Kakka, Nabi-Ililil (“Nabi-Enlil”), Šu-Amurru, Imgur-Sîn, and Ištaran-asu. Since the order of the first four rulers (who presumably ruled mostly in the 20th century BCE) is certain,²² and since Imgur-Sîn’s father was one Ilī-abī (who was not a king himself, his name lacking the divine determinative that marks all the kings of Malgûm; see de Boer 2013b),²³ it is tempting to suppose that Ištaran-asu was the son and the successor of Imgur-Sîn. Whether or not this proves true, the presence of Ištaran-asu among the group of early rulers of Malgûm supports a 19th-century BCE dating of Takil-ilissu.

22 Šu-Kakka, Nabi-Ililil (“Nabi-Enlil”), and Šu-Amurru formed a direct line of descent, while Nūr-Eštar, who appears to have reigned immediately before Šu-Kakka, was presumably the first independent ruler of Malgûm and the founder of the dynasty (see de Boer 2013a; Ozaki [e. a.] 2021).

23 It is possible that one of the defeats suffered by Malgûm in its wars with Larsa in the years Gungunum 19 and Sîn-iddinam 5 (see Kutscher 1988, 302 f.) brought the dynasty of Nūr-Eštar to an end and initiated the lineage of Imgur-Sîn. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that this new lineage was in the family line, with Imgur-Sîn being a brother or a nephew of his predecessor on the throne.

3 Brick 1 (FJ.1.19/1), Inscription A = Takil-ilissu 3 (Figs. 5–6)



Fig. 5: Takil-ilissu 3

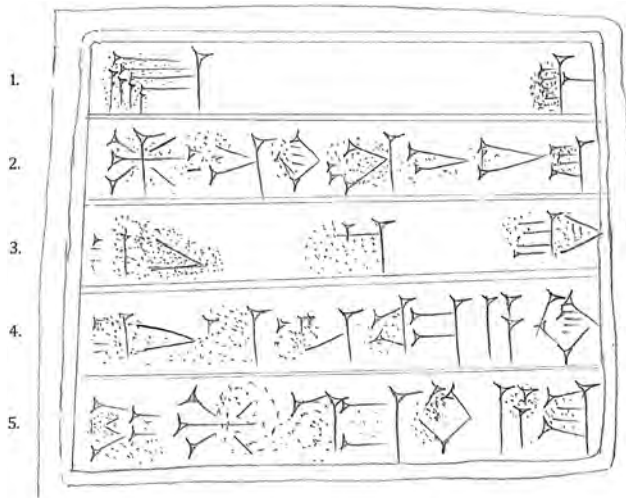


Fig. 6: Takil-ilissu 3 – handcopy by J. Jawdat

1. é-gal
2. ʔta-ki-il-i-lí-su
3. ʔlugal kala¹-ga
4. ʔlugal ġá-a¹-gu₇(KA)-a^{ki}
5. dumu ʔdištaran¹-a-su

(1–2)Palace of Takil-ilissu, (3)mighty king, (4)king of Ġalgu'a (= Malgûm), (5)son of Ištaran-asu.

Commentary:

The same inscription also occurs on another brick from Tulûl al-Fāj (Jawad [e. a.] 2019, 81, Yis_T14; 91, fig. 37; Jawad [e. a.] 2020, 83, no. 8), in which, however, only a few signs are still readable. This new exemplar preserves the entire inscription and allows us to correct previous attempts at restoring the text (Jawad [e. a.] 2019, 70; Jawad [e. a.] 2020, 83).

Because two other inscriptions of Takil-ilissu were previously known (i. e., Takil-ilissu 1 and 2; see n. * above), this new inscription was called Takil-ilissu 3 (Jawad [e. a.] 2020, 83).

We assume that the text is written in Sumerian, although the possibility that it is a Sumerographically-written Akkadian text cannot be completely ruled out.²⁴ In this connection, the lack of notation of the Sumerian double genitive postposition in lines 4 and 5 should be noted.²⁵ On the other hand, the use of Sumerian Ġalgu'a, instead of Akkadian Malgûm, for the city's name supports the hypothesis that the inscription is, in fact, in Sumerian, although it should be noted that the sign complex ĠÁ.AL.GU₇.A is also attested in Akkadian texts as a logogram for Malgûm.²⁶ A more persuasive argument for regarding the underlying language of this inscription as Sumerian is that in all other Takil-ilissu inscriptions, which are definitively written in Akkadian, the king's title appears as LUGAL *dan-nu-um* LUGAL *ma-al-gu-um*^{ki}/*gi-im** (Takil-ilissu 1: 2–3* [see Appendix A below]; Takil-ilissu 2: 2–3; Takil-ilissu 4: 5–6* [see below]).

Line 2: For the archaizing name *Takil-ilissu*, see Stol (1991, 195 f.).²⁷ Here note that *Takil-ilissu* does not mean “trusting to (-iš) his god” (Jacobsen 1937–39, 364, n. 4) or “Der auf seinen Gott vertraut” (Kutscher/Wilcke 1978, 102); it means: “He trusts in his god” – *ta-ki-il* being not a participle,²⁸ but an active stative. Cf. the fPN *Šiyāš-taklāku* (*ši-ia-aš-tāk-la-ku*), “I trust in her” (Durand 1997, 651, col. iv 32).

Line 4: The KA sign here should be considered a defective writing of GU₇(= KA×NINDA) (Wilcke 2017, 738, n. 3; see also Mittermayer 2006, 123 f., 312).

²⁴ Thus Jawad [e. a.] (2020, 83).

²⁵ An accurately written Sumerian text should read: lugal ġá-a¹-gu₇-a^{ki}-ka / dumu ʔištaran-a-su-ka. On the other hand, omissions of grammatical elements are not uncommon in Sumerian texts of the OB and earlier periods.

²⁶ See CH iv 12 and duplicates (Oelsner 2022, 144 f.); TIM 2, 9: 22'. 30' (Kutscher/Wilcke 1978, 97 f.; Cagni 1980, 16 f.); etc.

²⁷ For the realization of {il.iš.šu} as /ilissu/, see Streck (2006, 239 f. and 246 f.).

²⁸ Thus also Sollberger/Kupper (1971, 338) and Krebernik (1997, 139, n. 72).

Line 5: The name of Takil-ilissu's father has also been transcribed as *Ištar^an-asû*, but there is no evidence for such alleged long vowels.²⁹ It is more likely that the name in question is *Ištaran-asu*, “Ištaran is a healer”, with *asu* being

the predicative state of *asûm* (from Sumerian a-zu plus the nominative ending *-um*).³⁰ Ištaran-asu was also a king of Malgûm, as the surfacing of two year-names of his in recently published texts attests (see Ozaki [e. a.] 2020, 33).

4 Brick 1 (FJ.1.19/1), Inscription B = Takil-ilissu 4 (Figs. 7–13)



Fig. 7: Takil-ilissu 4



Fig. 8: Takil-ilissu 4 – handcopy by J. Jawdat

²⁹ In this connection, also note that the interpretation of *Ištaran* as a Semitic name containing the Akkadian suffix {*ān*} (Lambert 1969, 103) is far from certain, indeed improbable (the name *Ištaran* more likely originated in some Transtigradian, non-Semitic, milieu; see Wiggermann 1997, 42–44).

³⁰ Cf. personal names of the type *fDN-asât*, “(the goddess) So-and-so is a (female) healer”, such as *ba-ú-A.ZU(a-^a)at* (CUSAS 36, 38: 15; 56: 1*); *nin-kar-ra-ak-a-sa-at* (Sigrist/Gabbay 2014, 300, no. 11 rev. 2), etc. For the translation of *asû(m)* as “healer”, rather than “doctor” or “physician”, see Sibbing-Plantholt (2022; especially, 208–245).



Fig. 9: Takil-ilissu 4, lines 1–9



Fig. 10: Takil-ilissu 4, lines 10–17

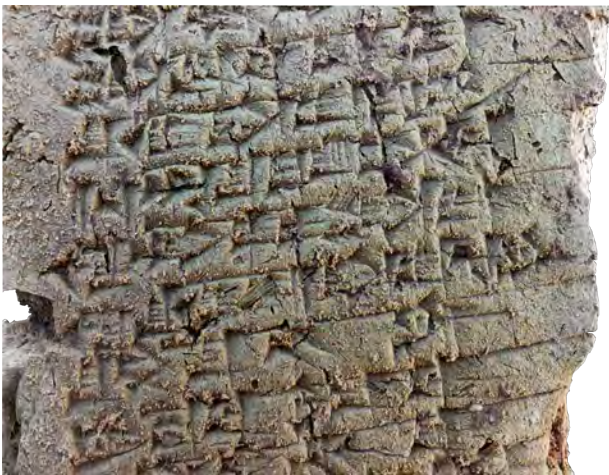


Fig. 11: Takil-ilissu 4, lines 18–24



Fig. 12: Takil-ilissu 4, lines 24–30



Fig. 13: Takil-ilissu 4, lines 30–35

1.	<i>a-na</i> ^d INNANA	<i>ana Eštar</i>
2.	<i>be-le-et</i> É.AN.NA	<i>bēlet Ayakkim</i>
3.	<i>be-el-ti-ia</i>	<i>bēltiya</i>
4.	^d <i>ta-ki-il-i-lí-su</i>	<i>Takil-ilissu</i>
5.	LUGAL <i>dan-nu-um</i>	<i>šarrum dannum</i>
6.	LUGAL <i>ma-al-gi'(ZI)-im</i>	<i>šar Malgûm</i>
7.	DUMU ^d <i>ištaran-a-su</i>	<i>mār Ištaran-asu</i>
8.	<i>ma-ka-a-tim</i> ša ESIR.ĤÁD.RÁ.A	<i>makâtim ša kuprim</i>
9.	ù SIG ₄ .AL.ÛR.RA	<i>u agurrim</i>
10.	<i>sí-ma-at ba-bi-(im) ra-bi-(im)</i>	<i>simat bābi(m) rabi(m)</i>
11.	<i>ša ma-aṭ-(ṭa)-al-ši-na</i>	<i>ša maṭ(ṭ)alšina</i>
12.	<i>a-na ta-ab-ri-a-tim wa-ás-mu</i>	<i>ana tabriātim wasmu</i>
13.	<i>a-na ba-la-ti-ia e-pu-uš</i>	<i>ana balāṭiya ēpuš</i>
14.	<i>ša šu-mi ša-aṭ-ra-am</i>	<i>ša šumī šaṭram</i>
15.	<i>i-pa-aš-ši-tú-ma</i>	<i>ipaššitūma</i>
16.	<i>šum-šu i-ša-aṭ-ṭa-ru</i>	<i>šumšu išaṭṭaru</i>
17.	<i>li-il-bi-ir</i>	<i>libir</i>
18.	<i>li-id-di-^fiš¹-ma</i>	<i>liddišma</i>
19.	<i>šu-mi ša-aṭ-ra-am</i>	<i>šumī šaṭram</i>
20.	<i>a-na aš-ri-šu lu ú-ta-ar</i>	<i>ana ašrišu lū utār</i>
21.	ù <i>aš-šum ás-pa-li-ia</i>	<i>ū aššum aspaliya</i>
22.	ù <i>šu-mi-[i]a ša-aṭ-ri-im</i>	<i>u šumiya šaṭrim</i>
23.	<i>šu-up-šu-^fṭi¹-im</i>	<i>šupšūtim</i>
24.	^{lú} GUB.BA ^{munus^f} GUB ¹ .BA	<i>muḥḥâm? muḥḥutam?</i>
25.	<i>ú-ša-aḥ-ḥa-zu</i>	<i>ušaḥḥazu</i>
26.	<i>a-wi-lum šu-ú lu LUGAL lu GUDU₄</i>	<i>awilum šū lū šarrum lū pašišum</i>
27.	<i>lu ša i-na a-wi-lu-tim</i>	<i>lū ša ina awilūtim</i>
28.	<i>šu-ma-am na-bu-^fú¹</i>	<i>šumam nabû</i>
29.	^d INNANA <i>be-le-et</i> ^f É ¹ .AN.NA	<i>Eštar bēlet Ayakkim</i>
30.	<i>ez-zi-iš li-ke-el-^fmī¹-šu</i>	<i>ezziš likkelmišu</i>
31.	<i>er-re-tam le-mu-ut-tam</i>	<i>erretam lemuttam</i>
32.	<i>li-ru-ur-šu</i>	<i>līruršu</i>
33.	^d NIN.ŠUBUR ^f SUGAL ₇ ^f É.AN.NA	<i>Ilabrat šukkal Ayakkim</i>
34.	<i>ši-pi-iṭ na-pi-iš-ti-šu</i>	<i>šipiṭ napištišu</i>
35.	<i>it-ti</i> ^d INNANA <i>li-iq-bi</i>	<i>itti Eštar liqbi</i>

(1)For Eštar, (2)the mistress of the Ayakkum, (3)my mistress, (4)(I,) Takil-ilissu, (5)mighty king, (6)king of Malgûm, (7)son of Ištaran-asu, (13)for (the sake of) my life, built (8)gate towers (made) of dry bitumen (9)and baked brick, (10)something appropriate to the great gate, (11)the view of which (= the towers) (12)is worthy of admiration. (14–15)The one who erases my written name and (16)writes his (own) name – (17)even if it (= the construction) becomes dilapidated (and) (18)he renews it, (19–20)he must (in any case) bring my written name back to its (original) place – (21)or, because of my curse (22–23)and in order to cause the erasure of my written name, (24–25)incites a *madman* (or) a *madwoman* (to do it), (26)that man, be he a king or an anointed priest (27–28)or (anyone) who is called by name among mankind – (29–30)may Eštar, the mistress of the Ayakkum, frown at him furiously (and) (31–32)curse him with a malevolent curse; (33–35)may Ilabrat, the vizier of the Ayakkum, with Eštar pronounce his capital sentence.

Commentary:

Line 2: For *Ayaku(m)* as the Akkadian equivalent of Sumerian *E(y)ana(k)* (é - a n - n a), the former being a loanword from the latter, see Beaulieu (2002).

Line 8: For *kuprum*(ESIR.ĤÁD(‘UD’).RÁ(‘DU’).A) and its rendering as “dry bitumen”, see Stol (2012, 49–55).

Lines 8–13: Cf. Takil-ilissu 2: 39–42, *makâtim ša agurrim / māniāt kisallim / simat ilūtīša / ana balāṭiya ēpušma*, “for

(the sake of) my life, I built *m.* made of baked bricks, which ... the courtyard, something appropriate to her divinity.” See also *ibid.* 63–65, *bitam liḫit / makâtim liddiš / tamliam limallîma*, “even if he examines the temple, renews the *m.*, (and) fills in the terrace”. The dictionaries substantially agree in translating *makûtu(m)* as “pillar” (AHw. 591b; CAD M/1, 143; CDA 192b; see also George 1992, 353 f.). However, there are no attestations of pillars or columns in connection with doorways or courtyards in the archaeological record of OB temples (Miglus 2008, 510, § 2.3). More likely, the term *makûtu(m)* denotes the pilasters projecting from temple walls,³¹ found along the walls of façades and courtyards.³² But if in Takil-ilissu 2: 63–65 (see above), *makûtum* may have been used to designate the pilasters of the courtyard, in our passage, the architectural elements “the view of which is worthy of admiration” and that are related to the great gate of a temple of Eštar³³ can hardly be anything other than the ornamental towers that usually flank temple entrances (see Damerji 1987, 74–95). On the other hand, it is also possible that such gate towers were regarded as larger pilasters and, therefore, that the term for “pilaster”, *makûtu(m)*, was used to refer to them as well (cf. George 1995, 183, n. 52).

Line 11: We owe the emendation of the text and the interpretation of *ma-aṭ-(ṭa)-al-* as a *mapras* form of *naṭālu(m)*, “to look”, to Werner Mayer. For the *mapras* stem in Akkadian, see Streck (2002, 223–235). The term *maṭṭalum*, which does not appear in the dictionaries, also occurs in OBTRimah 305: 15 (*ma-aṭ-ṭá-lu*), although with a slightly different meaning (see Deller/Mayer 1984, 114; and Streck 2002, 233 with n. 98).

Lines 14–20: See Appendix B below.

Lines 17 f.: From the available photographs, it is impossible to judge whether the fourth sign in line 17 is DA or IŠ. For the reading *li-id-di-iš¹-ma*, however, see the comment to Takil-ilissu 1: 25 in Appendix A below. This passage appears to be elliptical. Since aging or becoming old is unlikely to be said of a “written name”, the subject of *libbir* and the object of *liddiš* should be the construction referred to in the previous lines:³⁴ either “the gate towers” (*makâtum*), treated as a

collective (singular),³⁵ or “the great gate” (line 10), of which the towers were part.

Lines 21–23: The preposition *aššum* governs both *aspaliya* and *šumiya šaṭrim šupsuṭim*. Note the new attestation of the rare term *aspalum* (which does not appear in the dictionaries), from Sumerian *Áš-ba la*, “curse” (see GSF 181). The same word also occurs in a letter from Mari (Guichard 2004, 19 f. and 22, lines 73 and 74; see also *ibid.*, 25, comm. to line 73). The spelling with the *Áš* sign in our text suggests that this Sumerian loanword should be reconstructed not as *ašpalum* (as per Guichard, loc. cit.) but rather as *aspalum*, since /aš/ is consistently written with the *Aš* sign in the Malgûm texts,³⁶ whereas *Áš* stands for /as/.³⁷ Accordingly, *Áš* in Sumerian *Áš-ba la* should also be read as *ás* not *áš* (cf. GSF 181, n. 324).

Line 24 f.: We owe the identification of the sign DU to Antoine Cavigneaux (see DU in line 8). Our translation assumes that *muḫḫûm* and *muḫḫûtum* do not have the usual meanings here of “ecstatic” (lit. “the crazed/possessed one”) and “woman ecstatic”, but rather denote persons who, like ecstasies, are possessed or out of their mind. In this connection, see Ee. IV 88 (Lambert 2013, 90), *maḫ-ḫu-tiš i-te-mi ú-sá-an-ni ṭè-en-šá*, “she (= Tiāmat) became like a woman ecstatic, she lost her reason” (CAD M/2, 177a). A comparison for the presumably special usage of *muḫḫûm* and *muḫḫûtum* in our text is provided by two later *kudurru* inscriptions (Paulus 2014, 460–464, MAI I 5; 575–580, MŠZ 1) that list various categories of persons who could be used to circumvent curses. These include a person who is referred to as *zabbu* (MAI I 5 ii 17; MŠZ 1 i 46), another term for “ecstatic” (see AHw. and CAD Z s.v.), but which in these texts signifies something like “insane person” (see Reschid/Wilcke 1975, 57; Paulus 2014, 225 with n. 85; and 579). For an alternative interpretation (less likely, in our opinion), note the use of ^{lu}GUB.BA as a logogram for *muzzazum*, “one who stands (to serve), one who is on duty”, in VS 16, 144 rev. 1–4, [*šum*]-[*m*]a AGA.ÚS^[mes] / *ḫa-aš-ḫa-a-[t]a / a-na ḫur-saḡ-kalam-ma šu-pur-ma / 10 ^{lu}GUB.BA *li-it-ru-ni-kum*, “if you need soldiers, write to Ḫursag-kalama (= Kiš) so that they will bring you ten men on duty” (Frankena 1974, 92 f.; CAD Š/1, 442b). Comparable passages in Akkadian royal inscriptions from the OB period usually have a generic *šaniam*, “another, someone else” (RIME 4, E4.6.8.2 [Yaḫdun-Līm of Mari]: 130 f.; E4.19.1.1 [Iddin-Šin of Simurrum]: 30–33; Ismail/Cavigneaux 2003, 152, [‘Dādūša*

31 Usually called “buttresses”, but see George (1995, 182 with n. 48; and 183, n. 51).

32 See, for instance, the reconstruction of the temple of Eštar Kititum by Hill [e. a.] 1990, frontispiece.

33 Because of the dedication to Eštar at the beginning of the inscription, the “great gate” mentioned in line 10 is likely to have been the main gate of a temple of Eštar in Malgûm, which was presumably different from the Emaš of An(n)unītum and Ulmašitum (see above). In this connection, see George (1993, 81, 240).

34 In this connection, also note the well-attested coupling of *labāru(m)* and *uddušu(m)* with reference to restoration works of dilapidated building structures (see, e. g., CAD L, 14a and 16a).

35 Cf., however, *makâtim* (pl.) *liddiš* in Takil-ilissu 2: 64.

36 See *i-pa-aš-ši-tú-ma* (line 15), *aš-ri-šu* (20), *aš-šum* (21), *aš-ta-ak-ka-an-šum-ma* (Takil-ilissu 2: 18), *ú-ša-aš-ki-in-šum* (*ibid.*: 24), etc.

37 See *wa-ás-mu* (line 12), *sá-ás-ka-a-am* (Takil-ilissu 2: 51), and *wa-ás-ma-am* (*ibid.*: 55).

Stele] xvi 3 f.; etc.), as the object of *ušaḥḥazu*. An exception in this regard is found in a draft text from Mari, which presents, instead, *nakrūtīm aḫiūtīm*, “foreigners

(and) strangers” (Charpin 1984, 63, no. 11: 5’–7’). This new inscription of Takil-ilissu provides a further variant for the *ušaḥḥazu* clause in curse formulae.

5 Brick 2 (FJ.2.19/4) = Takil-ilissu 5 (Figs. 14–15)



Fig. 14: Brick 2 (FJ.2.19/4) = Takil-ilissu 5

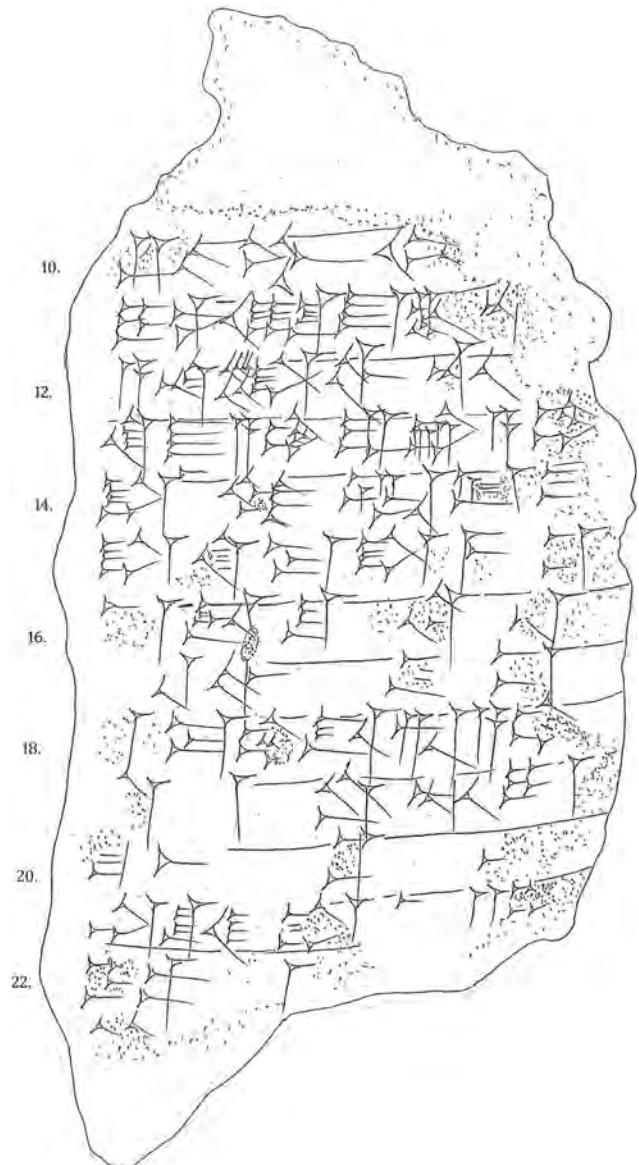


Fig. 15: Takil-ilissu 5 – handcopy by J. Jawdat

1.	[^d ta-ki-il-ì-lì-su]	[Takil-ilissu]
2.	[LUGAL dan-nu-um]	[šarrum dannum]
3.	[LUGAL ma-al-gi-im]	[šar Malgîm]
4.	[DUMU ^d išțaran-a-su]	[mâr Išțaran-asu]
5.	[i-nu-ma ^d é-a]	[inûma Ea]
6.	[^d dam-ki-na]	[Damkina]
7.	[a-na re-ú-ut ma-al-gi-im]	[ana re ² ût Malgîm]
8.	[šû-mi ib-bu-ú]	[šumî ibbû]
9.	[i-na KA-šû-nu el-li-im]	[ina pišunu ellim]
10.	iq-bu-ni[m-ma]	iqbûni[mma]
11.	i-nu-mi-šû é- ¹ nam-ti-la ¹	inûmišû Enamtila
12.	a-na li-wi- ¹ ti-šû ¹	ana liwītīšû
13.	¹ ki ¹ -sa-a-am ra-bi-a-a[m]	kisâm rabia[m]
14.	¹ ša ¹ SIG ₄ .AL.ÛR.R[A]	ša agurri[m]
15.	¹ ša ¹ ki-ma ša-me- ¹ e ¹	ša kîma šamê
16.	¹ iš ¹ -da-šû ki- ¹ na ¹	išdāšû kînā
17.	[a]l-wi-šû-ma	[a]lwīšuma
18.	[š]u-ma-am da-ri-a-am	[š]umam dāriam
19.	[š]a ¹ šar ¹ -ru-ti-ia	[š]a šarrūtīya
20.	¹ lu ¹ aš-ku- ¹ un ¹	lū aškun
21.	¹ ša ¹ šû-mi ša- ¹ aṭ-ra-am ¹	ša šumî šaṭram
22.	i-pa-[aš]- ¹ ši-ṭū ¹ -[ma]	ipa[š]šītū[ma]
23.	¹ šum ¹ -[šû i-ša-aṭ-ṭa-ru]	šum[šû išaṭṭaru]
	(rest broken)	

[⁽¹⁾Takil-ilissu, ⁽²⁾mighty king, ⁽³⁾king of Malgûm, ⁽⁴⁾son of Išțaran-asu – ⁽⁵⁾when Ea (and) ⁽⁶⁾Damkina ⁽⁸⁾called my name ⁽⁷⁾for the shepherdship of Malgûm,] ^(9–10)they spoke to me [with their pure mouth and,] ^(11a)at that time, ^(17a)I surrounded ^(11b)the Enamtila ⁽¹²⁾along its (entire) perimeter ⁽¹³⁾with a great retaining wall ⁽¹⁴⁾(made) of baked brick, ^(15–16)the foundations of which are as firm as heaven, ^(17b)and so ⁽²⁰⁾I *did* establish ⁽¹⁸⁾the eternal fame ⁽¹⁹⁾of my kingship. ^(21–22)The one who erases my written name [and ⁽²³⁾writes his (own)] name ^(24 ff.)[...]

Commentary:

Lines 1–8: Restored after Takil-ilissu 1: 1–8 (see Appendix A below). The two texts seem entirely parallel except for lines 9–10 of Takil-ilissu 5 as compared with lines 9–11 of Takil-ilissu 1.

Lines 9 f.: Cf. Takil-ilissu 1: 9–11 (see Appendix A below).

Lines 11–23: = Takil-ilissu 1: 12–24 (see Appendix A below).

Line 13: For the translation of *kisûm* as “retaining wall”, see the comment to Takil-ilissu 1: 14 in Appendix A below.

Appendix A. Takil-ilissu 1 (= RIME 4, E4.11.2.1; Fig. 16)



Since the above reconstruction of Takil-ilissu 4 is largely based on Takil-ilissu 1 and there is room to improve certain details of the RIME edition of the latter inscription, a new treatment is offered here.

For a possible provenance of this brick from Tell Ahemer, near Malgûm (Tulûl al-Fâj), see above, Section 1 with n. 4. It should be noted, however, that the ultimate origin of the brick in question was almost certainly the same as that of the Takil-ilissu 5 brick, that is, the precinct of the Enamtila-temple in Malgûm.

Previous bibliography is listed by Frayne (1990, 671). Additional literature: Seminara 2004, 290 f. (translation); Charpin 2006, 145 (study); Gubel/Overlaet 2007, 86 (photo, study); Oshima/Wasserman 2021, 278 f. (study).

Fig. 16: MRAH O.265 = Takil-ilissu 1 (Creative Commons CC BY – MRAH/KMKG)

1.	^d ta-ki-il-i-lí-su	Takil-ilissu
2.	[L]UGAL dan-nu-um	[š]arrum dannum
3.	[L]UGAL ma-al-gi-im	[š]ar Malgûm
4.	DUMU ^d ištaran-a-su	mār Ištaran-asu
5.	^r i ¹ -nu-ma ^d é-a	inūma Ea
6.	^r d ¹ dam-ki-na	Damkina
7.	[a-n]a re-ú-ut ma-al-gi-im	[an]a rē'út Malgûm
8.	[š]u-mi ib-bu-ú	[š]umī ibbū
9.	^d é-a-ma be-li	Eama bēlī
10.	^r i ¹ -na KA-šu el-li-im	ina pišu ellim
11.	[i]q-bi-a-am-ma	[i]qbiamma
12.	i-nu-mi-šu é-nam-ti-[l]a	inūmīšu Enamti[l]a
13.	a-na li-wi-ti-šu	ana liwītīšu
14.	[k]i-sa-a-am ra-bi-a-am	[k]isâm rabiam
15.	[š]a SIG ₄ .AL.ÛR.RA	[š]a agurrim
16.	[š]a ki-ma ša-me-e	[š]a kīma šamē
17.	[i]š-da-šu ki-na	[i]šdāšu kīnā
18.	[a]l-wi-šu-ma	[a]lwīšuma
19.	[š]u-ma-am da-ri-a-am	[š]umam dāriam
20.	ša šar-ru-ti-ia	ša šarrūtīya
21.	lu aš-ku-un	lū aškun
22.	ša šu-mi ša-aṭ-ra-am	ša šumī šaṭram
23.	i-pa-aš-ši-tú-ma	ipaššītūma
24.	^r šum ¹ -šu i-ša-aṭ-ṭa-ru	šumšu išaṭṭaru
25.	[li-i]l-bi-ir li-di-iš-ma	[li]l ir liddišma
26.	[šum-š]u ša-aṭ-ra-am	[šum]ī šaṭram
27.	[a-na aš-r]i-šu la ú-ta-ar-ru	[ana ašr]īšu lā utarru
28.	[LÚ] ^r šu ¹ -ú lu LUGAL lu EN lu ^r GUDU ₄ ¹	[awilum] šū lū šarrum lū enum lū pašišum
29.	[lu ša] i-na a-wi-lu-tim	[lū ša] ina awilūtim
30.	[šu-m]a-am na-bu-ú	[šum]am nabū
31.	[^d] ^r é ¹ -a ^d dam-ki-na	Ea Damkina
32.	[i-š]i-sú li-sú-ḥu	[iš]issu lissuḥū
33.	ze-ra-[š]u li-il-qú-tu	zērā[š]u lilqutū
34.	^d ARA SUGAL ₇ .MAḤ ša ^d é-a	Usmûm šukkalmāḥum ša Ea
35.	lu ra-bi-iš le-mu-ut-ti- ^r šu ¹	lū rābiš lemuttīšu
36.	ša la na-ka-ri-im	ša lā nakārim
37.	a-na da-ri-a-tim	ana dāriātīm

(¹)Takil-ilissu, (²)mighty king, (³)king of Malgûm, (⁴)son of Ištaran-asu – (⁵)when Ea (and) (⁶)Damkina (⁸)called my name (⁷)for the shepherdship of Malgûm, (⁹)Ea himself, my lord, (¹¹)spoke to me (¹⁰)with his pure mouth and, (^{12a})at that time, (^{18a})I surrounded (^{12b})the Enamtila (¹³)along its (entire) perimeter (¹⁴)with a great retaining wall (¹⁵)made of baked brick, (^{16–17})the foundations of which are as firm as heaven, (^{18b})and so (²¹)I *did* establish (¹⁹)the eternal fame (²⁰)of my kingship. (^{22–23})The one who erases my written name and (²⁴)writes his (own) name, (²⁵)even if it (= the construction) becomes dilapidated (and) he renews it but (^{26–27})he does *not* bring my¹ written [name] back to its (original) place, (²⁸)that [man,] be he a king or a high-priest or an anointed priest (^{29–30})[or (anyone) who] is called by name among mankind – (^{31–32})may Ea (and) Damkina uproot his root (and) (³³)pick up (i. e., destroy) [his] seed; (^{34–35})may Usmûm, the grand vizier of Ea, be the bailiff of his misfortune, (³⁶)which cannot be countermanded, (³⁷)forever.

Commentary:

Line 14: For Sumerian *ki-sá-a* / Akkadian *kisû(m)*, see, most recently, GSF 617 with n. 1736 (including relevant literature); and Oshima/Wasserman (2021, 278). Usually translated as “retaining/supporting wall” or the like (CAD K, 429b; Kutscher/Wilcke 1978, 127; Frayne 1990, 671; Seminara 2004, 291; cf. Jacobsen 1937–39, 364 with n. 12: “brick mantle”; Sollberger/Kupper 1971, 254: “mur de parent”; George 1993, 121: “abutment wall”), the term *kisûm* in the present passage is now interpreted, instead, as “outer wall” by Oshima/Wasserman (loc. cit.), who infer this meaning from a possibly related literary passage. In our view, however, the new attestation of *kisûm* brought by Oshima and Wasserman in no way proves that this term means “outer wall”; therefore, we stick to the traditional interpretation.

Lines 22–27: See Appendix B below.

Line 25: Previously read *[li-d]a-pi-ir li-di-da-ma* (Jacobsen 1937–39, 365 with n. 13; Kutscher/Wilcke 1978, 127; RIME 4, E4.11.2.1: 25) but to be corrected as *[li-i]l-bi-ir li-di-iš-ma*, as in CAD E, 30b. Regarding the former, see above, Takil-ilissu 4: 17; regarding the latter, note (as one of the reviewers pointed out) that the DA sign in the preceding line (in the writing of *i-ša-aṭ-ṭa(ΔA)-ru*) is clearly different from the penultimate sign in this line. See also above, comm. to Takil-ilissu 4: 17 f. with n. 34.

Lines 26 f.: For the emendation of *šumšu*, “his name”, into *šumī*, “my name”, see the partially parallel passage Takil-ilissu 2: 66 f. (see Appendix B below, Ex. 1), which shows that Takil-ilissu’s name is meant here.

Line 28: See Oshima/Wasserman (2021, 279 with n. 83).

Line 32: Cf. Charpin (2006, 145).

G. Marchesi**Appendix B. The Person Who Is to Be Cursed in Takil-ilissu Inscriptions**

The known inscriptions of Takil-ilissu are characterized by long curse formulae, as is also true of inscriptions of other contemporary rulers (Kutscher 1988, 301, § 3.1.1). However, Takil-ilissu’s are distinguished by the peculiar way in which the person who is to be cursed is referred to. In fact, in all

of them, the sections dealing with the person to be cursed display similar very complex syntactical structures (which are without parallels in the inscriptions of other rulers), as the following table highlights:

Tab. 1: Parallel segments in the sections dealing with the person to be cursed in Takil-ilissu inscriptions

Ex. 1 = Takil-ilissu 2: 59–67	Ex. 2 = Takil-ilissu 1: 22–27	Ex. 3 = Takil-ilissu 4: 14–20
59 <i>ša temmenī ukkašu</i>	22a <i>ša</i>	14a <i>ša</i>
60 <i>šumī šaṭram</i>	22b <i>šumī šaṭram</i>	14b <i>šumī šaṭram</i>
61 <i>udapparūma</i>	23 <i>ipaššitūma</i>	15 <i>ipaššitūma</i>
62 <i>šumšu išaṭṭaru</i>	24 <i>šumšu išaṭṭaru</i>	16 <i>šumšu išaṭṭaru</i>
63 <i>bītam lihīt</i>	25a <i>[lil]bir</i>	17 <i>lilbir</i>
64 <i>makātim liddiš</i>	25b <i>liddišma</i>	18 <i>liddišma</i>
65 <i>tamlīam limallīma</i>		
66 <i>šum Takil-ilissu šarrim</i>	26 <i>[šum]ᵀ (text: [šumš]u) šaṭram</i>	19 <i>šumī šaṭram</i>
67 <i>ana ašrišu lā utarru</i>	27 <i>[ana ašr]išu lā utarru</i>	20 <i>ana ašrišu lū utār</i>

Ex. 1: ⁽⁵⁹⁾The one who takes away my foundation inscription, ⁽⁶⁰⁾removes my written name and ⁽⁶¹⁾writes his (own) name, ⁽⁶³⁾even if he examines the temple, ⁽⁶⁴⁾renews the *pillasters*, (and) ⁽⁶⁵⁾fills in the terrace but ^(66–67)does *not* bring the name of Takil-ilissu, the king, back to its (original) place, ...

Ex. 2) ^(22–23)The one who erases my written name and ⁽²⁴⁾writes his (own) name, ⁽²⁵⁾even if it (= the construction)

becomes dilapidated (and) he renews it but ^(26–27)does *not* bring my^l written [name] back [to] its (original) place, ...

Ex. 3) ^(14–15)The one who erases my written name and ⁽¹⁶⁾writes his (own) name – ⁽¹⁷⁾even if it (= the construction) becomes dilapidated (and) ⁽¹⁸⁾he renews it, ^(19–20)he must (in any case) bring my written name back to its (original) place – ...

As it can be seen, these three passages largely conform to the same pattern: each consists of two (Exs. 2–3) or three (Ex. 1) relative clauses, followed by two (Exs. 2–3) or three (Ex. 1) concessive-conditional clauses with precative verbal forms.³⁸ These are connected asyndetically and are, in turn, connected through *-ma* with the following clause, which presents a present-future form of the verb *târum* D in association with the morphemes *lā* (Exs. 1–2) or *lū* (Ex. 3). The only grammatical differences among the three passages consist in the contrasting *lū* (Ex. 3) vs. *lā* (Exs. 1–2) and indicative (Ex. 3) vs. subjunctive (Exs. 1–2) verbal forms.

The last clauses in Exs. 1–2 could be taken as relative clauses (as per Wilcke 2017, 745), but that they are not is suggested by both the lack of the relative pronoun, *ša*, and by the presence of the enclitic particle *-ma* after *limalli* (Ex. 1) and *liddiš* (Ex. 2), which points to a connection between the last clauses in Exs. 1–2 and the concessive-conditional clauses that immediately precede them.³⁹ More likely, *lā utarru* is an example of the negative asseverative, which in the OB period was mostly constructed with the so-called subjunctive marker *-u* (see, e.g., Cohen 2005, 19–28, 48, 57).⁴⁰ The negative asseverative was presumably used to put special emphasis on the negation (which we express in our translation through the use of *italics*) so as to emphasize the depravity of this action on the part of the person to be cursed, even were he to perform such good deeds as those noted in the preceding clauses.

As for the use of *lū* with the present-future in Ex. 3, it should be noted that this usage is very unusual outside promissory oaths (Cohen 2005, 22, 57). The passage in question suggests that *lū* plus present-future denotes a kind of obligation – an interpretation that finds support in RIMA 1, A.0.40.1001 (Puzur-Sîn): 39–47, “the one who removes my name and this stele of mine – may Assur, lord of his city, make his name and his offspring disappear from the city and the country entirely” *ù na-r[u]-a¹-i a-nàm / a-na aš-ri-šū-ma / lu ú-ta-ru* “and this stele of mine must (in any case)

be brought back to its (original) place” (cf. Kouwenberg 2017, 643).

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³⁸ For the concessive-conditional precative, see Cohen (2005, 144–160; 2012, 90–93).

³⁹ The *ša* in line 59/22 is unlikely to govern *utarru* in line 67/28, given the three/two non-relative clauses that occur in between them, especially since these clauses cannot be regarded as parenthetical owing to the *-ma* (for which, see Cohen 2000, 220–222: ‘*-ma* of sequence’) that connects them with the following *šum* PN / *šumī* ... *lā utarru* clause.

⁴⁰ Cohen (2005, 20 f.) denies that the *-u* suffix of the asseverative is the same morpheme as the *-u* suffix of the subjunctive, but note the negative asseverative forms with the archaic subjunctive marker *-na* in Gabbay/Samet 2022, 62 f., col. iv 2'. 9'. 22' f. (also see *ibid.*, 65, comm. to iv 1'–2').

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