



Climb the Wall of Uruk...

*Essays in Honor of Petr Charvát
from his Friends, Colleagues and Students*



FAKULTA FILOZOFICKÁ
ZÁPADOČESKÉ
UNIVERZITY
V PLZNI

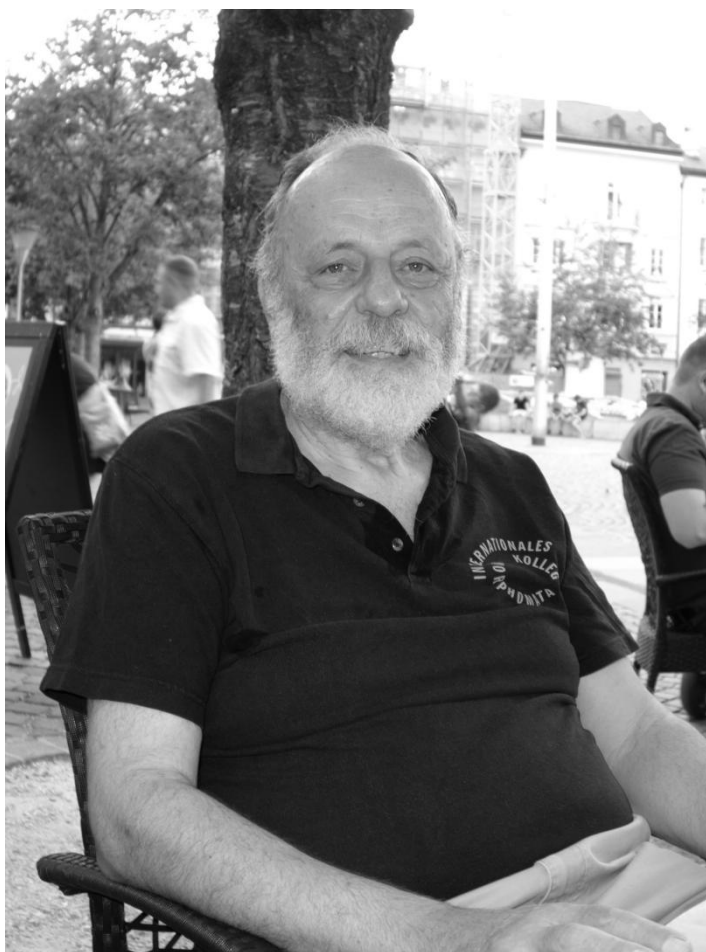
Climb the Wall of Uruk...

Essays in Honor of Petr Charvát
from his Friends, Colleagues and Students

Edited by
Kateřina Šašková

2020
Západočeská univerzita v Plzni
Plzeň

ISBN 978-80-261-0954-9
Západočeská univerzita v Plzni 2020



Foreword

When I was asked ten years ago to make a contribution to the previous anthology in honor of Petr Charvát, it surprised me that my dear teacher and colleague – always full of energy and excited about new research goals – was already celebrating his 60th birthday. Ten years have passed and Petr, having lost none of his enthusiasm, just celebrated his 70th birthday on January 12th, 2019.

Petr's scholarly interests are extremely wide-ranging. He studied Archaeology and History (1967–1968) and Assyriology and Archaeology (1969–1973) at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. Two years later (1975), he received the title of PhDr. in Egyptian Archaeology at the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology at the same university, and in 1980 was awarded a Ph.D. in Medieval Archaeology. In these multiple disciplines, he has published several monographs and a large number of studies recognized not only in his homeland but also in foreign scholarly circles. In 1995 he received his habilitation in Slavic Archaeology, and in the same year was awarded the title of DrSc. In 2011, he was appointed Professor of Czech and Czechoslovak history. From 1975 to 1990, he worked at the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic since 1992) in Prague, and later, from 1990 to 2005, at the Oriental Institute of the same institution. His international influence is reflected in his research stay at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia (2003–2004) as well as memberships in the International Coordination Committee for the Safeguarding of the Cultural Heritage of Iraq (2004–2011), Associated Regional Chronologies of the Ancient Near East (2006–2011) and Internationales Kolleg MORPHOMATA (2011–2012). Petr Charvát also participated in archaeological expeditions in Egypt (1974), Sri Lanka (1982–1984), Iraq (1989), Lebanon (1996) and Turkey (1997 and 1999). In addition to his purely research-based activities, he lectures at several university departments, of which the Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the Faculty of Arts at the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen has been his home institution since 2006.

Petr is no less an impressive figure in interpersonal relations. He is always friendly, willing to help, energizing and spirited. Therefore, this book celebrates not only Petr Charvát's numerous scholarly achievements, but also his kind personality and humanity.

Dear Petr – we wish you all the best and many fruitful years filled with enthusiastic research to come!

Pilsen, Czech Republic

July 2nd, 2019

Kateřina Šašková

Table of Contents

Pavel Čech

The Peak of Formalism: Quotation and Direct Speech
in the Correspondence of Mari 1

Pavel Král

Hic sunt leones – There are Lions in Assyria 13

David Rafael Moulis

Extraneous Influences and Origins of the Sacred Architecture
in the Iron Age Judah..... 21

Stefan Nowicki

The Role of Aššur in the Religion of Assyrian State 37

Lukáš Pecha

Royal Epithets in the Old Babylonian Inscriptions..... 53

Kateřina Šašková

Three Cuneiform Texts from the Department of Middle Eastern Studies
of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen 71

Hana Šubrtová

The Role of ^dBa-ba₆ and ^dNanše during the First Dynasty of Lagaš..... 99

Věra Týdlitátová

Giants in the Old Jewish Tradition 107

Šárka Velhartická and Pavel Žďárský

The Architect Jaroslav Cukr 115

Petr Zemánek

Ahi atta, Trust Me: Pragmatics of Business Relations in the ICK4
Old Assyrian Corpus..... 137

Indices 147

The Peak of Formalism: Quotation and Direct Speech in the Correspondence of Mari

Pavel Čech

Abstract

To use a hyperbole, any cleaning lady was able to write or at least read a letter in Mari. How did they achieve this? They used a variety of aids on the lexical, semantic, and even phonological level. The task of this article is to review these aids, with particular reference to introducing direct speech. A number of adverbial expressions were used for this purpose, containing a surprising frequency of the nasal sounds *m* and *n*. The system used in Mari challenges the validity of previous diachronic studies on this subject.

Keywords: Royal correspondence, Direct speech, Letter writing, Old-Babylonian, Mari.

During his speech “Was Akkadian Lingua Franca of the Ancient Near East?” at the 2017 Prague conference on “Understanding Each Other in Antiquity”, one of the speakers, Krzysztof J. Baranowski from Toronto, defended the rather logical but at the same time rather absurd thesis that learning the alphabetic Semitic script (of no more than 30 characters) was more difficult and demanding than learning the logo-syllabic cuneiform script (over one hundred characters – some of them polyvalent – on the very basic level of everyday administrative use). And, therefore, learning any syllabographic script in general is easier than learning an alphabetic one. His stance cannot, of course, be successfully defended, though it can be well understood: Firstly, he undoubtedly took into account that the basic unit of speech is a syllable, while its phonemic analysis needs a higher level of abstraction.¹ And, pushing it straight to the desired conclusion – the more abstraction, the more complications! Alas, it ignores the very heavily loaded second bowl of scales, i.e. the sheer quantity of characters to be learned, their multivalency, the problem of consonant cluster representation, and, last but not least, their non-intuitive complex visual shape while leaving aside the fact that the ancient West Semitic “alphabetic” script is actually a syllabic one.²

The second *faux pas* of the same lecture³ presented itself in the claim that we cannot study the circumstances of direct speech in ancient languages (which is, *an sich*, a defensible axiom) because their scripts and ways of writing lack the

¹ I can still remember the mysterious feeling while decoding some 40 years ago that the impersonal entities marked with the letters “L” and “A”, when put together, form the well-known syllable “LA”.

² GELB 1952: 148–153.

³ Devoted to the heavily discussed problem of the right terminology for the Akkadian language of the Amarna period. See already BARANOWSKI 2011.

ability to capture it. This is a very naive explanation, grounded maybe in his rather narrow, Amarna-based experience with Akkadian. Outside of this specific corpus of interlanguage, the situation is quite different. Of course, the scribes lacked – for better or worse – the paratextual elements we like so much: quotation marks, interpunction, smilies etc. Nevertheless, they invented and commonly, even mechanically, used a different repertoire of signs to signal the quoted passages beyond any shadow of a doubt. To highlight its use, I shall limit myself to the Mari correspondence of the Old Babylonian period, probably the period of the greatest cuneiform literacy ever.⁴ And, from within, to the “prophetic corpus”, which was studied in detail and best meets the requirements for precise direct speech capture, because it usually contains words of men, women and gods that were sometimes destined to be the subjects of further mantic examination (usually *tērtum*). The texts are quoted according to (and the translation usually follows) the user-friendly edition of Roberts 2002. For the correspondents, the mother tongue was, as a rule, Amorite (or even Hurrian). The letters are, however, written in the *lingua franca* of the time, i. e., in Old Babylonian. It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to Petr, whose language performance in the *lingua franca* of the 3rd millennium (BCE as well as AD) is legendary and who devoted much of his skills to the strengthening of understanding among Czech academics.

The basic particle introducing direct speech in all periods of Akkadian was **nm* and its derivatives (*enma* / *umma/ā(mi)* / *-mi* / *mā*), usually etymologized with a little help from Biblical Hebrew: either as a cognate of the frozen particle *hinnēh* “look!” or of the even more frozen noun *nē’um* “Declaration”. Frankly speaking, both cases try to explain *obscurum per obscuram*. The famous W. von Soden took the first possibility seriously into account. Problems arose when he tried a diachronic and geographic differentiation: “statt aB *umma x-ma* heisst es aB in Māri *ummāmi*, mB *ummā*...” (GAG 121b), because in the correspondence of Mari, all the three forms mentioned (*umma x-ma*, *ummāmi* and *ummā*) are well documented side by side. Also his statement in the part devoted to syntax, “Eingeleitet wird diese in der Prosa meist durch *umma*..., an dessen Stelle... auch das enklitische *-mi* treten kann”, is problematic because both markers can appear together in the form of the already mentioned *ummāmi*.

A similarly deficient explanation on the linguistic level was presented by DEUTSCHER (2007) in the most detailed discussion of direct speech in Akkadian to date. Diachronically, he distinguishes four phases of the grammaticalization of *umma*:⁵

- i) *umma PN-ma*
‘PN said...’

⁴ CHARPIN 2010: 13–16.

⁵ DEUTSCHER 2007: 89.

- ii) PN *iqbi umma šū-ma*
‘PN spoke and said’
- iii) PN *iqbi umma*
‘PN said, saying’
- iv) PN *išme umma*
‘PN heard:’

According to him, *umma* i) “stands on its own and alone carries the speech meaning”, then ii) “the *umma* clause is now semantically reduced, but it still functions as a ‘finite’ independent clause, because the speaker is identified in the clause (by the element *X-ma*). In stage (iii), *umma* no longer carries the identity of the speaker...” Finally (iv), it “has been extended beyond the contexts of speech”. Alas, already in its first stage, the etymology of *umma* is shrouded in mist and, moreover, it replaces the earlier, well-attested Old Akkadian *-mi*. And, as in the last example, in Mari we find the clauses i) to iv) standing side by side. Deutscher simply “improved” his material to suit the common rules of grammaticalization (semantic bleaching, phonetic erosion = uniformization, morphological reduction, cline, etc.).

“All theory is gray, my friend. But forever green is the tree of life”. Instead of trying to make some system out of this seemingly chaotic situation, let us turn to the classic example of Mari prophetic correspondence, the message of Itur-Asdu to king Zimri-Lim (Nr. 2 in Roberts’s edition). Some of von Soden’s and Deutscher’s opinions are questioned by this single text alone. Direct speech is introduced by variations on the basic theme of *umma*: *umma* PN/personal pronoun(+relative social status)-*ma* (according to the emendation) in l. 22 (Deutscher’s stage i)), with different forms of *qabû* in ll. 2–4 (the introductory frozen formula) and 33 (Deutscher’s stage ii)), and with the “classic” Mariote *kīam iqbēm ummāmi* in ll. 8f, 16f, 23f (Deutscher’s stage iii). We can easily invalidate the rest by turning to other letters. Roberts’ Nr. 3 begins with PN *ina suttīša kīam iṭṭūl ummāmi* (“PN saw in her dream as follows: ”), in accordance with Deutscher’s iv).⁶ And Robert’s Nr. 5 starts the letter with a double *ummā*, hence with the “Middle Babylonian” form, according to GAG 121b.

1	<i>ana bēlīya</i>	To my lord
2	<i>qibīma</i>	speak:
3	<i>umma Itur-Asdu</i>	Thus says Itur-Asdu,
4	<i>waradkāma</i>	your servant:
5	<i>ūm ṭuppi annēm ana šēr</i>	"On the day I sent this my tablet
6	<i>bēlīya ušābīlam</i>	to my lord,

⁶ Among the other examples of stage iv), one even includes the same verbal root *šemû* “to hear”: *kīam ešme ummāmi ana ramānīšu ištānarrar* “Thus I have heard them say, ‘By himself he keeps moving around’” (ROBERTS 20: 25f).

7	<i>Malik-Dagan awīl Šakka</i>	Malik-Dagan, a man of Šakka,
8	<i>il(i)kamma kīam iqbēm</i>	came to me and spoke to me as follows:
9	<i>ummāmi ina šuttīya</i>	'In my dream,

14	<i>ana bīt Dagan ērumma ana Dagan</i>	I entered the temple of Dagan, and to Dagan
15	<i>uškēn ina šukēnīya</i>	I bowed down. When I bowed down,
16	<i>Dagan pīšu iptēma kīam iqbēm</i>	Dagan opened his mouth, and he spoke to me as follows:
17	<i>ummāmi šarrānu ša Binyamina</i>	'Have the kings of the Benjaminites
18	<i>u šabūšunu</i>	and their armies
19	<i>itti šabīm ša Zimri-Lim</i>	made peace with the army of Zimri-Lim,
20	<i>ša ilēm</i>	which came up
21	<i>islimū</i>	here?'
22	<i>umma anāku(ma) ul islimū</i>	I said, 'They have not made peace'.
23	<i>ina panī wašīya kīam iqbēm</i>	Before I went out, he spoke to me as follows:
24	<i>ummāmi mārē šipri</i>	'Why do the messengers of
25	<i>ša Zimri-Lim</i>	Zimri-Lim
26	<i>kayaniš maḥrīja ana mīnim lā wašbūma</i>	not sit before me continually?

32	<i>inanna alik aštaparka</i>	Now go, I have sent you.
33	<i>ana Zimri-Lim kīam taqabbi umma attāma</i>	To Zimri-Lim you will speak as follows:
34	<i>mārē šiprika ana šērīya</i>	'Send your messengers to me
35	<i>šupram</i>	
 ""
40	<i>annītam awīlum šū ina šuttīšu iṭṭulma</i>	This is what that man saw in his dream
41	<i>u ayāšim idbubam</i>	and told me.
42	<i>inanna anumma ana šēr bēlīya aštapram</i>	Now then, I have written to my lord.
43	<i>warkat šutti(m) annītim bēlī</i>	Let my lord decide the background of this
44	<i>liprus</i>	dream.
45	<i>šanītam šumma libbi bēlīya</i>	Moreover, if it pleases my lord,
46	<i>bēlī ṭēmšu gamram</i>	let my lord place his complete record
47	<i>maḥar Dagan liškun</i>	before Dagan

50	<i>awīlum ša šuttam annītam</i>	The man who told me this dream

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 51 | <i>iqbēm pagram ana Dagan</i> | is offering a <i>pagrum</i> -sacrifice to Dagan, |
| 52 | <i>inaddinma ul aṭrudaššu</i> | so I did not send him, |
| 53 | <i>u aššum awīlum sū taklu</i>
<i>šarrassu u sisi(k)tašu</i> | and because that man is trustworthy, |
| 54 | <i>ul elqi</i> | I did not take his lock of hair or his hem.” |

Leaving the content beside for a moment, it is not easy to keep track of who is quoting whom. Beginning with the first line, the messenger is requested to tell the recipient (the king) that the sender (i.e., Itur-Asdu) tells him that a certain Malik-Dagan, a “man of Šakka”, told him that Dagan had told him that he should tell something to the king. There is ordered direct speech (of Malik-Dagan) in direct speech (of Dagan) in reported direct speech (of Malik-Dagan) of direct speech (of Itur-Asdu) in a message that shall be transmitted orally to the king! How do we ensure that all the levels of reported direct speech will not be mixed, poorly separated, or assigned to the wrong person? Moreover, how do we do it when writing a letter is a skill expected of a broader circle of collaborators, not just of the narrow group of palace and temple scribes?

Perhaps a metalinguistic cause is responsible for the seemingly chaotic situation? Partially, the spatial distribution of the dispatchers? Nr. 2 was sent by Itur-Asdu, Zimri-Lim’s close collaborator and governor of Mari and, later on, Saggaratum (Deutscher’s stage i)), Nr. 3 by a certain lady Ayala, and Nr. 5 by the respondent (*āpilum*) of the sun god Šamaš from Sippar in Babylonia proper. It is in full agreement with historical linguistics that the language spoken (and written) in the centre of the geographical distribution of Akkadian (undoubtedly Sippar in our case) is more progressive than that of the western periphery. On the other hand, with more and more “confusing” prophetic letters, and taking into account possible, even probable, idiosyncrasies of individual scribes, such an explanation gradually loses its explanatory power. Will the search for another criterion bring better results?

Perhaps the scribe was careless? In l. 17, there’s an instance of dittography, on some occasions it seems that he skipped a sign, specifically in *il-⟨li-⟩kam-ma* (l. 6), *um-ma a-na-ku-⟨ma⟩* (l. 22), *wa-ar-ka-at šu-ut-ti-⟨im⟩* (l. 43) and *sí-sí-⟨ik⟩-ta-šu* (l. 53). The second example bears directly on our case. On the other hand, one omission in every 13 or so lines isn’t all that bad; moreover, they can be explained quite easily as different, slightly aberrant writings: the West Semitism *ilka* instead of *illik*, the loss of mimation in *šutti*, the assimilation of the syllable-closing consonant analogically to forms like *kakkabu* in **sisittu*. Nevertheless,

we should take the findings seriously and “play with the cards that we hold in our hands”!⁷

How did the scribes and messengers orient themselves when reading such a letter? Partially lexically, of course. In structuring the message, the temporal adverbs (especially *šanītam*) are of the utmost importance. They preferably appear at the beginning of a new line, and the basic visual orientation in the letter structure is therefore a comparatively easy task. Cf., e.g., the already mentioned Roberts 5, when the dispatcher carefully separates past, present, and future (near the end, the dispatcher formulates an expected question of the king and carefully separates it by standard means):

34 <i>panānum inūma ina Mari wašbāku</i>	Formerly when I lived in Mari,
35 <i>āpilum u āpiltum mimma awātam</i>	I reported to my lord whatever word
36 <i>ša iqabbūnim ana bēlīya utār</i>	the male or female respondent said
	to me.
37 <i>inanna ina mātim šanītim wašbāku</i>	Now that I am living in another
	country
38 <i>ša ešemmu u iqabbūnim</i>	shall I not write to my lord what
	I hear
39 <i>ana bēlīya ul ašappar</i>	and what they say to me?
40 <i>šumma uram šeram hiṭṭum ittabši</i>	If in the future any loss occurred,
41 <i>bēlī kām ul iqabbi ummāmi</i>	would not my lord say,
42 <i>awātam ša āpilum</i>	“Why did you not write the word
	that the respondent
...	...
44 <i>lā tašpuram anumma ana šēr</i>	said to you? ” Now I have written to
<i>bēlīya</i>	my lord.
45 <i>tašpuram bēlī lu īde...</i>	Let my lord know...

A negative rhetorical question in the same letter comes from the mouth of the god Adad of Kallassu. It is, moreover, another instance (though partially reconstructed) in the Mari corpus of Nr. iv) in Deutscher’s attempted diachronic overview – the connection of *umma(mi)* with a non-speaking verb:

13 <i>ina tērētim Adad bēl Kallassu</i>	By oracles Adad, the lord of
	Kallassu,
14 <i>izzaz ummāmi ul anāku</i>	steps forth, saying: “Am I not
15 <i>Adad bēl Kallassu ...</i>	Adad lord of Kallassu...? ”

⁷ The analysis of direct speech marker(s) *mā* in Neo-Assyrian by WORTHINGTON 2005 is exemplary.

In the identification of direct speech, verbal forms of *qabû* (or, less often, *dabābu*) play a similar role. In our first example, there are as many forms of *qabû* as there are speakers. Starting with the imperative directed at the messenger in the first line, continuing with the perfective forms of ll. 8, 16, 23, 51, and even one durative when quoting “in real time” the instructions of Dagan (l. 33). In each but the last occurrence, *qabû* is introducing direct speech. Contrary to it, *dabābu* “to tell” on l. 41 indicates the termination of (the leading) direct speech. A subtle linguistic hint is the language change of the god Dagan, who, speaking about the Amoraitic tribal group of Benjaminites, uses the “Amoraitic” forms *istū* instead of the ordinary Old Babylonian *ištu* “from” (l. 29) and *islimū* instead of *išlimū* “they made peace” (l. 21).⁸ However, this doesn’t account for the last Amoraitism in l. 53, *awīlum sū*.

Nevertheless, it would hardly be enough in decoding the more complex cases. With the graphemes of basic nasal syllables *ma* and *an / na*, the morphonological level comes into play. They also have – in addition to their common, syllabographic use in transcribing the text of the message – the mission of segmenting the text according to the change of the speaker(s). Why these signs, exactly? One cannot but remember the humorous story of the first Ugaritic lesson at Brandeis University, told by then-student Prof. J. H. Hunt and quoted by M. S. SMITH (2001: 79):

The first day of Ugaritic... [Professor] Dwight [Young] handed out xerox copies of the cuneiform of the snake text UT 607 [KTU 1.100]. I have never seen this script, so I assumed that he would distribute some additional materials for the class. Much to my discomfort..., Dwight returned to the desk... and said, “Mr. Hunt, will you begin reading?” I looked at the paper before me, upon which was written an incomprehensible series of symbols and, trying to buy time, muttered, “Um.” At this, Dwight complimented me and wrote the word *um*, “mother,” the first word of UT 607, on the blackboard. He then turned to the other new student and said, “Now Mr. Stapleton, would you continue?”

Evidently direct speech quite often starts (and ends) with vague nasal tones, transcribed in (works of) fiction as “um, ehmm...,” and so forth. An additional advantage of using MA and NA is their nearly exclusive use as syllabograms. They are therefore not overloaded with multilevelled possibilities of interpretation. Either they have their basic syllabic value, or the syllabic value is secondary to their hypertextual message.

⁸ To be sure, the transmission of the Akkadian *š* through *s* is quite a traditional marker of the Mari corpus. In the prophetic texts collected by Roberts, cf., e.g. show the relative particle *sa* instead of *ša* (Nrs. 3: 8; 6: 29), *salīmātum* (20: 11; < *šalāmu*) and even the verbal form *esme* instead of *ešme* (15: 10).

As the beginning of direct speech is marked by different *m*-words, after the end of direct speech, *n*-words regularly occur: its end is signaled by the nasal *n*, which is usually “lexicalized” in the discursive by-forms *annîtam*, *inanna*, and *anumma* (outside of the specific context of direct speech markers, deictic pronoun “this”, temporal adverbs “now” and “here”). They can appear either separately, or two or even all of them bound closely or loosely together, always in this sequence. The first discourse signal immediately follows the end of direct speech (at least on the textual level). A few examples:

annîtam (exceptional; Roberts 4: 60f):

annîtam āpilum ša Adad bēl Ḫalab maḥar Abūḫalim iqbēm

“This is what the respondent of Adad, the lord of Aleppo, said here before Abūḫalim.”

inanna (rare; Roberts 6: 9f):

inanna niqum ša bēlīya ina šalāmim ana ālim ikšudam

“Now the sacrifice of my lord in peace at the city has arrived.”

anumma (exceptional; Roberts 3: 15–20):

ina iṣṣūrē ḫurrim warkassa aprusma naṭlat anumma šārassa u sisiktaša ušābilam

“With (divination) by partridges I examined her case, and she has seen (this vision). Now her lock of hair and her hem I have sent.”

annîtam + *inanna* (Roberts 20: 20–22):

annîtam iqbēm inanna pagarka uṣur

“This is what she said to me. Now guard yourself.”

annîtam + *anumma* (Roberts 1: 17’–20’):

annîtam āpilum iqbēm anumma šārat āpilim u sisiktašu ana bēlīya ušābilam

“This is what the respondent said to me. Now the lock of hair of the respondent and the hem of his garment I have sent to my lord.”

inanna + *anumma* (Roberts 6: 22–25):

inanna anumma etqam ša qaqqadīšu u sisiktašu ana šēr bēlīya ušābilam

“Now then the lock of his head and his hem I have sent to my lord.”

annîtam + *inanna* + *anumma* (quite rare; Roberts 7: 24–26, cf. Roberts 2: 40–42 above):

annîtam awīlum šū iqbēm inanna anumma ana bēlīya aštāpram

“This is what that man said to me. Now then, I have written to my lord.”

Similar non-adverbial usage of temporal deictic adverbs is almost universal and, at least in the most known examples, bound with the same phonemic quality! Cf., e.g., Latin “nunc”, English “now”, German “nun”, Czech “yni” etc.⁹

The distribution of both forms of direct speech marker, (*kām iqbēm*) *ummāmi* versus *umma* PN-*ma*, is dependent on rather strict formal rules. The person of the speaker-to-be can be introduced either before the first one (sometimes at some length) or, very briefly, inside the second one. This happens in the introductory, usually second line by name and relative social status (*abika*, *waradkāma*, *amatkāma* etc.); later on, either by name or by personal pronoun. The chosen form is therefore discourse driven, with two possibilities. When introducing a more or less new speaker, often with the necessity to explicate his status, motivation, ethnic and social background, and much more, the first form is the only one possible. When the speaker is already rather known to the addressee, the second form is preferable. In the Roberts corpus, beside the prevailing *šūma* “he:” (the only possibility according to Deutscher), we find its female equivalent *šīma* (Roberts 20: 10), the first (*anākūma*, 11: 18 etc.) and second (*attāma* 2: 33) person singular, and even the plural *šunūma* (11: 13, 19, 40).

The frozen introductory form appears in the second form every time and therefore meets the expectation that only people already known to the king will have the courage / will be allowed to write to him.

Despite these understanding-fostering rules, the corpus of thousands of letters is not a monolith. Unquestionably, there was enough room for various idiosyncrasies. According to some,¹⁰ it is even the liveliest cuneiform corpus. Among the 57 letters that constituted our working material, the correspondence with court ladies deserves mention. Zimri-Lim’s favourite (though not primary) wife Shibtu, the superstitious daughter of Yarim-Lim, the king of Ḫalab, sometimes used a kind of shortened, intimate versions (that would probably be placed in the Neo-Babylonian period by Deutscher). Instead of introducing the implied Zimri-Lim’s direct speech by an expression like *šumma bēlī kām iqbēm ummāmi* “should my lord say the following:”, the change of speaker and of the reported direct speech to the implied direct speech is limited to simple *ummāmi* (Roberts 11: 27). Similarly, her report translated as “Šelibum fell into an ecstatic trance, and Annunitum said”, is rather compressed: *Šēlebum immaḥumma Annunītum-ma*. And the priestess Inibshina addresses the king, her relative, repeatedly (Roberts 20,21) with an endearing “to my star” (*ana kakkabī*).

⁹ As laid out in LYAVDANSKY 2010.

¹⁰ “We should keep in mind that the transfer of information during the Mari age was so rampant that these peripatetic Amorites could be rated among the most garrulous people of antiquity” (SASSON 2001: 331); “In these lines, the mere beginning of the letter, there was more history than I had found and taught in my years as instructor of Mesopotamian history” (HEIMPEL 2003: xi).

Form for a quick understanding of Mari letters

Header

Addressee	<i>ana</i> PN1 <i>qibîma</i>
Dispatcher	<i>umma</i> PN2(+hier.)- <i>ma</i>

Body of the letter

Overall situation at home	gods are <i>šalmū</i> , district is <i>šalim</i> , etc.
Main message	(<i>šanîtam</i>)
background	<i>ana bēlîya ašpuram</i> , etc.
quotation	PN3 (<i>illikamma</i>) <i>kîam iqbê m ummāmi</i>
schedule	<i>panānum</i>
	... <i>inanna</i>
	... <i>uram šēram</i>
next quotation	<i>umma</i> PP- <i>ma</i>
end of quotation	<i>annîtam</i>
	... <i>inanna</i>
	... <i>anumma</i>
end of particular message	<i>bēlî lu îde</i>

Secondary message(s)	<i>šanîtam</i>
(possibly with a background and/or quotation, schedule...)	

Conclusion

personal matters	<i>bēlî ana XY ušur; šulum bēlîya</i> , etc...
consignment	<i>XY ana šēr bēlîya ušābîlam</i>

Bibliography

- BARANOWSKI, K. J., 2011. *The Ugaritic Vocative in Light of the Akkadian of Ugarit*, in: *Ugarit-Forschungen* 43, 7–12.
- CHARPIN, D., 2010. *Writing, Law, and Kingship in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia*. Chicago.
- DEUTSCHER, G., 2007. *Syntactic Change in Akkadian: The Evolution of Sentential Complementation*. Oxford.
- GELB, I. J., 1952. *A Study of Writing*. Chicago.
- LYAVDANSKY, A., 2010. *Temporal Deictic Adverbs as Discourse Markers in Hebrew, Aramaic and Akkadian*, in: *Journal of Language Relationship* 3, 79–89.
- ROBERTS, J. J. M., 2002. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays*. Winona Lake.

- SASSON, J., 2001. *On Reading the Diplomatic Letters in the Mari Archives*, in: Durand, J.-M. / Charpin, D. (Ed.), *Amurru 2*. Paris: ERC, 329–338.
- SMITH, M. S., 2001. *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century*. Peabody (MAS).
- VON SODEN, W., 1995. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* [Analecta Orientalia 33]. Roma.
- WORTHINGTON, M., 2005. *Clause Grouping in Neo-Assyrian on the Evidence of the Direct Speech Marker mā*, in: *Orientalia* 75/4, 334–358.

Hic sunt leones – There are Lions in Assyria

Pavel Král¹

Abstract

Lions lived in ancient Mesopotamia, a fact which we now know thanks to written and iconographic sources. This paper is focused on the habitat of lions and other wild animals. The Assyrian landscape had many components that varied in character, including steppe. This was an uncultivated part of the Assyrian countryside where lions lived. Thanks to archaeological surveys of the landscape, we have information not only about Assyrian cities, but also about settlement density and distribution. We can find some large areas without any traces of settlement activities, and therefore we can consider them to be uncultivated regions; thus, we expect that these zones can be marked with the inscription “*hic sunt leones*”.

Keywords: Archaeology, Assyria, Countryside, Landscape, Lions, Steppe.

Introduction

This paper is focused on the segment of the Assyrian landscape which did not belong to the area controlled by people, but which was a habitat of wild animals. The people of ancient Mesopotamia saw lions as one of the symbols of the uncivilized landscape ruled by chaos. The phrase “*hic sunt leones*” refers also to old maps, which used it for marking unexplored areas.² This paper deals with the parts of landscape with no clear evidence of settlement activities. To us they seem to be merely white sites on the map of Assyria, and therefore we can mark them with the words – *Hic sunt leones*. It is possible to recognize these territories because archaeologists use satellite images of the landscape. This paper draws mostly from the information acquired for the territory around Nineveh, one of the most important Assyrian cities.

The title of this paper can be interpreted in two ways and, similarly, the text of the paper can be divided into two parts with two topics. The first one shortly describes the presence of real lions in Mesopotamia. The second part deals more in detail with unsettled areas, especially in written sources and then in archaeological sources, as these parts of the landscape were the habitat of real lions.

¹ I would like to dedicate this paper to my great teacher and master Prof. Petr Charvát, Dr.Sc. who has shed light upon Mesopotamian history thanks to his lifelong work.

² LOMIČ / RYVOLOVÁ 2019, BLÁHA 2011: 58.

1. Lions in Mesopotamia

Lions were common in Mesopotamia. Their presence in the plain along the Euphrates and Tigris was recorded throughout the ancient history of Assyria and Babylonia. Some mentions of lions occur in written sources from southern Mesopotamia. For example the Code of Hammu-rabi (§266) describes a situation in which a lion killed livestock in a shed. It is considered that a greater quantity of lions lived in the area of the middle Euphrates and also in Assyria. The lions there were a threat more than in Babylonia and some texts mention lions attacking people. The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal writes in his inscriptions about events that happened after his accession to the throne. It had been raining more than in other years, the greenwood and the thicket of reed had become more bushy, and many lions dwelled there. They were killing not only the wildlife, but attacking the animals of shepherds, who became desperate. The lions even spilled the blood of the people and therefore the king Ashurbanipal took action against them (Fig. 1). He killed many of them during a hunt and he even caught a couple of them alive. There were some kings who kept the lions in special parks.³

We can also find the motif of lion hunts in Neo-Assyrian reliefs. Iconographic sources show that images of lions were quite frequent. We can find them on cylinder seals, vessels and even in front of the entrances to some temples. It should be mentioned that the lion was also an important religious symbol.⁴



Fig. 1: Ashurbanipal kills a lion.⁵

³ HEIMPEL 1987–1990: 81–82.

⁴ BRAUN-HOLZINGER 1987–1990: 88–91.

⁵ PROSECKÝ et al 1999, 44.

2. Assyrian landscape

2.1. The rural landscape

For many decades archaeologists focused their attention on large cities, royal palaces, temples and their immediate hinterland. Assyriologists also focused on kings, state administrations, literature or the religion of the inhabitants of ancient Mesopotamia. There are only few studies that are concerned with the countryside. Nevertheless, some of them offer us a detailed and colorful image of Assyrian villages and their surroundings.

Frederik Fales gathered and interpreted Akkadian terms that label the components of the Assyrian landscape. The picture is quite the opposite of monotonous. People lived not only in cities; they also inhabited some greater villages, which in Akkadian are called *ālu*, i. e. which means town as well. Smaller hamlets were called *kapru* in Akkadian, which were mostly farmsteads inhabited by one or two larger families. Both mentioned types of settlements were not only clusters of houses. There were some bare plots, rubble, waste lands, gardens, storehouses, corrals and other farm buildings. There were also many roads leading to the fields or to other hamlets, and in places the landscape was intersected by long-distance trade routes. Also, there were often some water sources in the villages or in their surroundings, as people settled not only along large rivers, but also spread into the surroundings plains. In some cases it was possible to use natural water resources such as springs, brooks, pools or small lakes. People were able to build their own water sources such as canals, water wells, ponds or dams, as their life depended on a reliable supply of water. The landscape around the villages was used for cultivation of grain and other agricultural crops. People in some hilly parts of Assyria even cultivated vineyards. Part of the ground was probably used as wild land. These properties could serve as grassland for sheep and goats, and possibly also for cattle, donkeys and horses. However, real meadows could be found in the countryside as well. The terrain of Assyria was quite rugged. Cuneiform texts contain references to hills, mountains and lowlands in addition to mentions of river valleys. Two terms deserve our special attention here: the Akkadian words *ṣēru* and *madbaru*, which mean uncultivated land in the open countryside, steppe or the desert.⁶

The term *madbaru* occurs in texts in connection with desert tribes or the regions where there was a water shortage, making it impossible even for wild animals to live there. In this case, we can understand the term as a desert. The same expression also occurs in the description of the surrounding areas of the River Balikh, and thus in this case it more probably bears the meaning of a steppe. One Assyrian king even built the city Dūr-Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlī-uṣur there.⁷

⁶ FALES 1990: 98–142; KRÁL 2016: 77–79.

⁷ OPPENHEIM et al. 1977: 11–12.

The term *šēru* has more meanings, for example – back, on top of, or towards. Nevertheless, the primary meaning in connection with the landscape is hinterland, back country, open country, fields, plain or steppeland.⁸ We can find mentions of arable grain fields, houses with gardens or pasturages in this type of landscape. The steppe was also a habitat for wild animals and various plants.⁹ The Code of Hammu-rabi shows us that lions may have lived in the steppe. The paragraph 244 contains the phrase “*If a man hires an ox or an ass and a lion kills (it) in the open country (it is the owner’s loss only).*”¹⁰ The text uses the term *šēru* for the home of lawless persons and nomads. It was not a safe place as well because it was haunted by demons.¹¹ The term also sometimes means just an area outside the city.¹²

2.2 Empty landscape?

A couple of projects have been focused on the Assyrian landscape since 2012. One of them is called the Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey (EPAS), which investigates the settlement history around the Assyrian city of Arbela, today’s Erbil. New archaeological sites have been identified thanks to the use of declassified satellite spy photographs from the 1960s (CORONA pictures) and modern satellite images. They were subsequently explored directly in the field.¹³

The same methodology has been used in many other projects that began in the year 2012. The ‘Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project’ (LoNAP) surveys the landscape north-eastward of Nineveh.¹⁴ The Upper Greater Zab Archaeological Reconnaissance (UGZAR) is focused on the history of settlement in the region situated between these two aforementioned projects.¹⁵ The methodology of these surveys is unfortunately not suitable for the investigation of the immediate hinterland of Nineveh because of the political and security instability in this region. However, this area was surveyed at least via satellite photographs (CORONA and Google).¹⁶

The latter-mentioned survey has provided us with very interesting results regarding the exploitation of the landscape. We are able to identify some areas without traces of settlement. This can be influenced by the limitations of work with satellite images, but it seems that we can regard those areas as uncultivated wild countryside. The largest region without traces of settlements is placed in the

⁸ OPPENHEIM et al. 1962: 138.

⁹ OPPENHEIM et al. 1962: 143–144.

¹⁰ OPPENHEIM et al. 1962: 145.

¹¹ OPPENHEIM et al. 1962: 145–146.

¹² OPPENHEIM et al. 1962: 148.

¹³ UR et al. 2013: 94; Erbil (Kurdistan Region of Iraq) [online].

¹⁴ The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project Blog [online].

¹⁵ Upper Greater Zab Archaeological Reconnaissance [online].

¹⁶ KRÁL 2016: 1–10.

middle of the area of the survey, i. e. westward of the modern city of Mosul. The unsettled zone is triangular in shape, it spans 370 km^2 and its longer side is 45 km long (Fig. 2., Area A). The terrain there is very hilly. The second area with a remarkable absence of settlements occurs in the south-eastern part of the surveyed region. This zone has app. 160 km^2 , but it is only 5–8 km wide (Area B). The area has the shape of a horseshoe and it stretches from Calah to the north and then turns back to the south along the Khazir River. Some zones however couldn't be documented because of the modern buildings in these places. We can find one surprisingly unsettled area in the plain near the ridge of Jebel Bashiqa eastwards of Mosul. There is only one small tell (0.35 ha) within a district of 90 km^2 (Area C) The same situation is in a dense settled plain which stretches to the northwest from the confluence of the Tigris and Great Zab. One of such places has proportions of $7 \times 12 \text{ km}$ (ca 65 km^2 , Area D). Its edges served probably as agricultural hinterland for the surrounding settlement, because the area is intersected by relicts of radial networks of routes, but the centre of the area seems to be untouched by human activities. Another zone with sporadic relicts of settlements was recognised in the primarily hilly landscape westward from the confluence of the Tigris and Great Zab (90 km^2 , Area E) and also westward from Khorsabad, ancient Dūr-Šarrukēn – $9 \times 9 \text{ km}$ (70 km^2 , Area F) and $8 \times 7 \text{ km}$ (56 km^2 , Area G).¹⁷ All the above mentioned areas could be countryside described as steppe or wilderness. Wild animals may have been present there, as human settlements were several kilometres away.

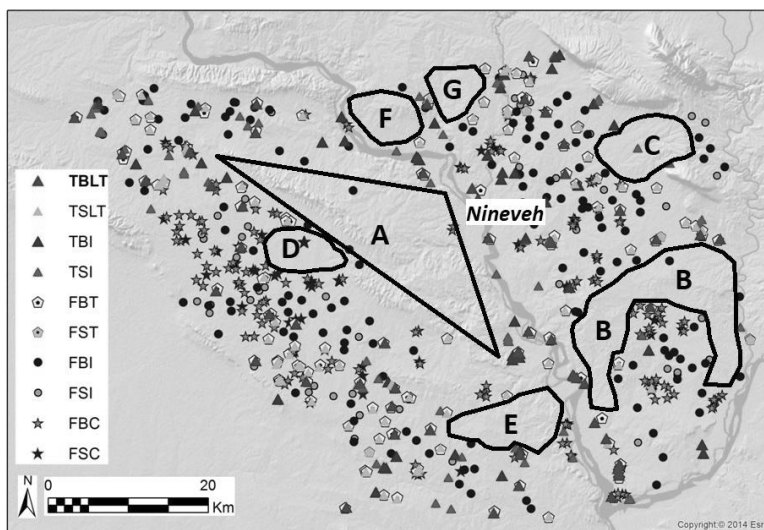


Fig. 2: Unsettled areas around Nineveh.¹⁸

¹⁷ KRÁL 2016: 177–179.

¹⁸ Based on KRÁL 2016: 299.

2.3. Changing of the landscape over time

We must keep in mind that the relationship between the deserted land and areas inhabited by people changed throughout the centuries depending on the changes of settlement patterns. There are two important and very distinctive settlement patterns that are typical for the agricultural plains of northern Mesopotamia.

The first one is characteristic for the Early Bronze Age, when settlements were nucleated on large tells with lower towns. These sites were at the top of the settlement hierarchy. In the landscape, some smaller towns in the distance of 10–15 km from the main centres could also be found. A couple of small villages or hamlets may have been somewhere nearby (Fig. 3). All the mentioned types of settlements were surrounded by intensively cultivated fields. We know this thanks to the scatters of sherds which came to the fields around the settlements during manuring. The main centre and the smaller town also had a radial network of hollow ways that led 3–5 km away from the tell. These hollows are relicts of routes used by people and animals going to the fields and pastures. We suppose that the area behind the limits of the farmland was a steppe.¹⁹ This settlement pattern broke down around the beginning of the second millennium BC, when many of the settlements were abandoned.²⁰

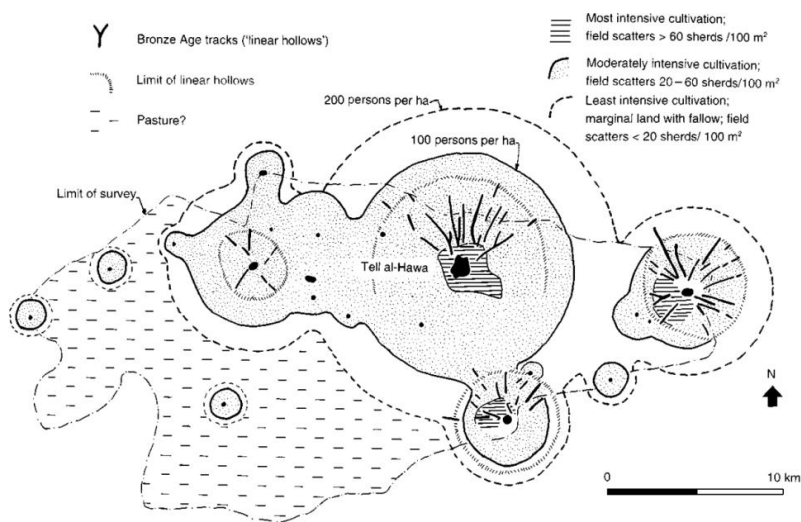


Fig. 3: Early Bronze Age settlement structure.²¹

¹⁹ WILKINSON 2000: 237–238.

²⁰ WILKINSON et al. 2004: 193.

²¹ WILKINSON 2000: 238.

The second typical settlement pattern is connected with the Neo-Assyrian period (Iron Age). The landscape was full of small rural villages and hamlets which occurred even in areas where no settlements were located before. This probably happened on purpose. One inscription of Assyrian king Adad-nārārī contains a mention of the foundation of 10 towns and more than 300 villages in the province of Rasappa.²² King Sennacherib writes in his inscription about almost 500,000 resettled people, and most of them had to live in the area of Nineveh.²³ This shows us that there were zones of non-settled land and it was possible to use it for resettling people. If lions lived around Nineveh, their habitat became smaller because of many small rural settlements dispersed throughout the landscape.

Conclusion

Thus, the question is “where did the lions live?” They occurred more often in northern Mesopotamia and posed a danger there for animals and even people. The steppe and open uncultivated land seems to be the habitat of lions in Assyria. Thanks to cuneiform texts, we know that lions dwelled in greenwood and thickets of reed. The archaeological survey of the landscape showed that even the core of Assyria contained the areas that were probably non-settled. Although some of those zones could be used as fields and pastures, they were an open land and wildlife could live there. We know the population density in the Assyrian heartland was high in the Neo-Assyrian period, but the lions lived in the countryside at that time as well.

We can conclude this paper with the statement that we are able to recognize a couple of areas around Nineveh with no relicts of human settlement activities. There are no tells or visible flat sites; sometimes even no hollow ways. We can thus describe this area on the map using the Latin phrase – *Hic sunt leones*. And in all probability, lions really lived there.

Bibliography

- BLÁHA, J., 2011. *Aesthetic Aspects of Early Maps: Inspiration of Notes by Univ. Prof. Karel Kuchař*, in: Ruas, A. (Ed.), *Advances in Cartography and GIScience*. Volume 1: Selection from ICC 2011, Paris. Berlin, Heidelberg, 53–71.
- BRAUN–HOLZINGER, E., 1987–1990. *Löwe. B. archäologisch*, in: Edzard, D. O. (Ed.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*: Band 7 / Libanukšabaš – Medizin. Berlin, New York, 88–94.
- Erbil (Kurdistan Region of Iraq). [Online]. <https://scholar.harvard.edu/jasonur/pages/erbil> [Accessed January 12, 2019].

²² WILKINSON et al 2005: 37–39.

²³ RADNER 2011: 327.

- FALES, F. M., 1990. *The Rural Landscape of the Neo-Assyrian Empire: A Survey*, in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 4, 81–142.
- HEIMPEL, W., 1987–1990. Löwe. A. I. *Mesopotamien*, in: Edzard, D. O. (Ed.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*: Band 7 / Libanukšabaš – Medizin. Berlin, New York, 80–85.
- KRÁL, P., 2016. *Krajina v zázemí asyrských metropolí*. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Archaeology. Pilsen.
- LOMIČ, V./ RYVOLOVÁ, S., 2019. HicSuntLeones.info. [Online]. <http://www.hicsuntleones.info/> [Accessed October 30, 2018].
- OPPENHEIM, A. L. et al., 1962. *The Assyrian Dictionary*: Vol. 16/Š, Part I. Chicago.
- 1977. *The Assyrian Dictionary*: Vol. 10/M, Part I. Chicago.
- PROSECKÝ, J. et al, 1999. *Encyklopedie starověkého Předního východu*. Praha.
- RADNER, K., 2011. *The Assur-Nineveh-Arbela Triangle: Central Assyria in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, in: Miglus, P./ Mühl, S. (Ed.), *Between the Cultures: The Central Tigris Region in Mesopotamia from the 3rd to the 1st Millennium BC*, *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* 14. Heidelberg, 321–329.
- The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project Blog. [Online]. Udine. <http://lonapblog.blogspot.com/p/i.html> [Accessed January 12, 2019].
- Upper Greater Zab Archaeological Reconnaissance. [Online]. Poznań. <http://archeo.amu.edu.pl/ugzar/indexen.htm> [Accessed January 12, 2019].
- UR, J., 2013. *Ancient Cities and Landscapes in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq: The Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey 2012 Season*, in: *Iraq* 75, 89–117.
- WILKINSON, T. J., 2000. *Regional Approaches to the Mesopotamian Archaeology: The Contribution of Archaeological Surveys*, in: *Journal of Archaeological Research* 8/3, 219–267.
- WILKINSON, T. et al., 2004. *From Nucleation to Dispersal: Trends in Settlement Pattern in the Northern Fertile Crescent*, in: Cherry, J./ Alcock, S. (Ed.), *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*. Oxford, 189–205.
- 2005. *Landscape and Settlement in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 87, 23–56.

Extraneous Influences and Origins of the Sacred Architecture in the Iron Age Judah

David Rafael Moulis

Abstract

The description of the Solomon's Temple was the only (written) source of the Iron Age sacred architecture in the Kingdom of Judah. Important remains and artefacts were excavated during the second half of the 20th century and early 21st century by biblical archaeologists in Israel. According to these finds it is possible to reconstruct origins of architecture and distinguish it between basic long-room and broad-room types. The Iron Age broad-room temple was discovered at Tel Arad and it refers back to the Bronze Age dwellings. An Iron Age building model was found at Khirbet Qeiyafa in this millennium and it is the first material evidence of some elements known from the biblical description of the Solomonic long-room (megaron) type of the temple. It had parallels in the region of Anatolia and Northern Syria at Tell Tayinat and Ain Dara. The similar, not identical architectural style was unearthed at Tel Moza near Jerusalem during the salvage excavation season 2012–2013 and it is again excavated from 2019. This article presents each of the relatively new unique finds from Judah and explains where the inspiration for the builders or architectures is visible.

Keywords: Judah, Iron Age, Architecture, Temples, Israel, Shrine.

Introduction¹

The sacred architecture in the Kingdom of Judah could be represented by various kinds of structures. It means for example a cult room (a public or private room that is used for cultic activities) a temple (a large single room or multi-roomed structure with neighboring courtyards and open spaces), a temple complex (a mix of temples and cultic rooms) and a shrine (a separate structure which represented a house of deity or its symbol).² Basically we have only two approaches how to understand the planning of these building. The first source is textual evidence from biblical records describing Solomon's Temple. The second source is archaeological evidence based on results from sites such as Tel Arad, Tel Be'er Sheva, Tel Lachish, Tel Moza and Khirbet Qeiyafa.

¹ This paper was written as a part of the project GAČR. GA19-06582S: "Cult in Transformation: Iron Age I–IIC Interactions and Continuity on the Border Zones of Late Canaan, Philistia, Israel, Judah, and Beyond".

² ZEVIT 2001: 123–124.

If we would like to reconstruct an architectural plan of the temples in Judah, the first option we have is to use the description of the Solomon's Temple in the 1 Book of Kings (6–7). The question is, what is the origin of the text, and when was it written and edited. Some minimalist scholars claim, that the Temple in Jerusalem was not built at all and the description of the temple was only imaginary.³ Other scholars believe that the Temple was built at the time of King Solomon, but the text (the 1 Book of Kings) was written, according to Liverani, during the Persian period, so we cannot also date the construction of the Solomon's Temple.⁴ The problem with this structure is that not even a single stone from Solomon's Temple has been found on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. We are able to use only the biblical text, but no direct evidence could help us to decode the situation in the capital city of the kingdom.

In order to understand and reconstruct the cultic system in Judah, the archaeological data from various sites is used. According to Avraham Faust, the public cultic activity in Judahite and Israelite shrines and temples was exceptional. One of the main examples is the temple at Arad. There are only a few remains of Iron Age shrines in the Kingdom of Judah. The rituals were practiced in an easier system.⁵ But why do we have from the last decades more and more findings which indicate public cultic findings? I do not believe that in every single village or city was something which it is possible to call a (official) temple. The mosaic is slowly changing step by step, and it is uncovering how the temples were incorporated into the ancient cultic system in Judah.

If temples or shrines existed in almost every single city, or if this phenomenon was rather the exception and temples were only in the few most important cities of the Kingdom of Judah, will be a task for the next years of archaeological research. From the last decades, we have three discoveries from Judah, that changed the view on the form of the temples there. The first is a building model from Khirbet Qeiyafa, the second is a Moza temple and the third is an Arad temple. One of the oldest signs of cultic activities in the Judean region which could be identified is 30 km southwest of Jerusalem at Khirbet Qeiyafa.

Khirbet Qeiyafa shrine models: the first evidence of Judahite sacred architecture?

At Khirbet Qeiyafa, three cultic rooms from the Iron Age II period (for the chronology, see below) were discovered by team of archaeologists under Josef Garfinkel. The city has 5 Strata and for us the most important is Stratum IV (Early

³ VAN SETERS 1997: 45–57, SMITH 2006: 275–282.

⁴ LIVERANI 2003: 329.

⁵ FAUST 2019: 1.

Iron Age IIA – ca. 1000 BCE).⁶ This is the first phase with architectural remains and a fortified city as well.

Modified conventional chronology 2011 (Mazar)⁷	
Iron Age Ia	1200–1140/1130 BCE
Iron Age Ib	1140/1130 – ca. 980 BCE
Iron Age IIA	Ca. 980–ca. 830 BCE
Iron Age IIB	Ca. 830–732/701 BCE
Iron Age IIC	732/701–605/586 BCE

Cultic room G in Building C3 (excavated in 2010), cultic room J in Building D200 (excavated in 2011) and cultic room G in Building C10 (excavated in 2011–2013) are the only architectural remains connected to rituals at Khirbet Qeiyafa. All of them are relatively small simple rooms, together with adjoined rooms or courtyards, with installations like benches, standing stones, basins, offering table, basalt altar and rich assemblages of pottery objects (libation vessels, juglets, anthropomorphic vessel and shrine model).⁸ Cultic room G in Building C10 is the most important because of unearthened findings. Two shrine models from early tenth century BCE were found in it. One model is made of clay and the second one is an uncommon limestone model. At Khirbet Qeiyafa, no clay or metal figurine (a symbol of deity) were found, although they are known to be part of shrines of this type in Levant.

Regarding the clay model (11 x 16 cm), only the facade is decorated, with two columns and two lions below them, ribbons tied to the columns and four beams with rolled curtains above the entrance. On the top of the roof, there are fragments of three birds.⁹ In the case that they were doves, then they are similar to other models of shrine uncovered at Transjordan. They are dated to 10th to 8th century BCE. Small models were probably used in the domestic cult. Doves are an ancient symbol of peace and love and they were one type of offering. The lions and sphinxes as a base for columns were represented for example at the Ain Dara temple (see below).

The second model (21x 26 x 35 cm) is made from single block of limestone with remnants of red painting. Also, the facade – the doorframe of this model is well profiled by three recessed frames. A fourth frame extends to the top as an edge of the model or it is the fourth outer doorframe. Above the doorframes is a precise

⁶ GARFINKEL 2016: 38.

⁷ MAZAR 2011: 105–111.

⁸ GARFINKEL 2016: 84–89.

⁹ GARFINKEL 2016: 92–93.

row of rectangular elements divided into three parts (a similar element is also visible on the first model). According to Garfinkel, this is known as a triglyph and its combination with a recessed doorframe is typical for architecture of the ninth to seventh century BCE.¹⁰ Triglyphs are a well-known component of Doric architecture. At Khirbet Qeiyafa, it is the earliest example of stone-carved rectangular triglyphs, but the earliest rounded version of this protruding of roof beams is from Late Bronze Age Mesopotamian clay models (e.g. Emar, Tell Munbaqa), and then from Khirbet Qeiyafa, the first clay model in a group of three.¹¹ The recessed doorframe is a common architectural element known from the Near East connected to elite architecture, at first in temples only, then in palaces and tombs, for example, in the temple at Tepe Gawra from the fifth millennium BCE, and also later e.g. from Tell Brak, Ur, Mari, Tell Tayinat.¹² This shows the architectural development in Judah and the transition from Iron Age I to II, and the deep influence of the Mesopotamian architectural style.

We can sum up the finds from Khirbet Qeiyafa: no temple was discovered there at all and, after researching the remains of the three cultic rooms, there is no doubt to identify any clear common plans or parallels to the shrines that will be presented below. The model from Khirbet Qeiyafa does not mean that at the site a temple like model existed. However, it is possible to claim, that the biblical text (1 Kings 6:1–10) describes the door leading to the debir with the same architectural elements which were the part of the real temple construction.¹³

Temple plans and their influences on the Judah region

If we focus on the origin of the architectural style, we need to move our interest back a thousand years and go abroad to the ancient Israel/Canaan borders. The similarity between the remains of the Moza temple and description of the Solomonic Temple in the Bible is evident. But for tangible parallels, some scholars focus on the Assyria, Babylonia, Aegean regions and Anatolia. In northern Levant, two Iron Age temples were found at Tell Tayinat and Ain Dara (the Ain Dara temple was damaged in January 2018 during the Syrian war). The bases of the structures are a tripartite temple, which usually consists of three parts: an entrance hall (ulam), the main hall (hekal), and an inner sanctuary (debir). All these temples were built in long-room plans. The long-room plan means that the

¹⁰ GARFINKEL 2016: 93–94, GARFINKEL 2013: 135, 140.

¹¹ GARFINKEL 2013: 141–142.

¹² GARFINKEL 2013: 144.

¹³ GARFINKEL 2019: 2–3.

entrance is in the shorter, eastern wall. They are also known as a temple in antis, Syrian style, Anatolian style or megaron.¹⁴

The earliest megaron temples were found much earlier in the second millennium in northern Syria. Their inspiration came from Anatolia during the third millennium (it was an open portico with columns supporting a roof), while it disappeared during the second millennium.¹⁵ From the Early Bronze Age in Canaan there is evidence of small single broad-room temples (this will be discussed later, for example at Arad). Long-room temples are from the Middle and Late Bronze Age, for example at Tell Munbaqa and Emar (two temples were found at each site). Tell Munbaqa is on the east bank of the Euphrates and its temples have an additional room between the portico and the main hall, and part of it were two columns. Emar on the west bank of the Euphrates had two identical temples constituted of a long room, an unenclosed entrance hall and columns.

Two temples at Tell Tayinat were found in the Amuq valley in southeastern Turkey in 1936 and 2009. Both temples are long-room types. The first one from 1936 had three chambers in an east-west orientation (antechamber, main room, and Holy of Holies, with two columns and a pair of lions at the base and an absence of side chambers and its size is 11.75 x 25.36 m.¹⁶ The second temple that was discovered in 2009 is in a north-south orientation consisted of three rooms: an antechamber, with one column in front, a main hall and the Holy of Holies without any chambers on the sides with a size 9 x 21 m.¹⁷ Both temples were used at the same time as king's temples and they were turned to Assyrian temples. These temples could not have been the source, or inspiration, for the Solomonic and Moza temples because they were dated to the 9th century BCE (825–

¹⁴ Also a description of Solomon's Temple is a long-room type made up of ulam, hekal, debir, a side chamber and a pair of columns (Jachin and Boaz). 1 Kings: 6,2–10: "The house that King Solomon built for the LORD was sixty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and thirty cubits high. The portico at the front of the main hall of the temple was twenty cubits long, extending across the width of the temple and projecting out ten cubits in front of the temple. It also had narrow windows framed high in the temple. The chambers against the walls of the temple and the inner sanctuary, Solomon built a chambered structure around the temple, in which he constructed the side rooms. The bottom floor was five cubits wide, the middle floor six cubits and the third floor seven cubits. He also placed offset ledges around the outside of the temple, so that nothing would be inserted into its walls. The temple was constructed using finished stones cut at the quarry, so that no hammer or chisel or any other iron tool was heard in the temple while it was being built. The entrance to the bottom floor was on the south side of the temple. A stairway led up to the middle level, and from there to the third floor. So Solomon built the temple and finished it, roofing it with beams and planks of cedar. He built chambers all along the temple, each five cubits high and attached to the temple with beams of cedar."

¹⁵ FRITZ 1987: online.

¹⁶ SHAPIRA 2018: 33.

¹⁷ SHAPIRA 2018: 33, GARFINKEL 2019: 5.

720 BCE). Furthermore, they stood far away from Jerusalem. All architectural elements are simply for purpose, without symbolic meaning. For example, the columns of the first temple had a structural function and the second temple had only one column.¹⁸

The other monumental temple, at Ain Dara, in northwestern Syria (located ca. 80 km from Tell Tayinat) was dated to the second millennium. It was used in three phases from 1300 to 740 BCE. For this paper, phase III (9–8th century BCE) is important. The almost square 34 x 42 m large temple is decorated with basalt reliefs of the king on the throne, palm trees, god's image, statues, and a portico with famous big footprints of the deity's entrance. The orientation of the axis is southeast-northwest and there is no clear evidence if this means any symbolic or religious significance. Seemingly, Ain Dara temple and Solomon's Temple are the closest temples in similarity of their plan, but, despite the facts, most aspects are not in correspondence. For example, the dimensions, or the mentioned orientation of Ain Dara temple. At Ain Dara, four parts were identified: a portico (ulam), an antechamber, the main hall (hekal), and a chamber on a raised platform – the Holy of Holies. And a chain of side chambers was around three sides. The portico was roofed and supported by narrow columns. Outside of the temple there was the courtyard, next to the entrance there was a pool for ritual washing.¹⁹

All these sites have few differences between them (e.g. the dimensions are different), but the general plan has the same concept – the long-room style. The common elements are rectangular plans with an entrance in the middle of the shorter wall. Syrian-style temples do not signify any ethnic, geographical, religious aspects. The origin of the architectural plan visible at Moza and in biblical texts is rooted in Syria, and then influenced temples in Canaan during the second millennium.²⁰ At Hazor, which has only one room without an entrance porch, at Tell Kitan in Jordan Valley a small private sanctuary, at Shechem and Megiddo are large MBII temples with two towers out of the enclosed porch which were higher than the temple itself.²¹ Long-room temples were really common temples typical for this region before the existence of Kingdom of Judah. There, the only real Iron Age temples were found at Moza and Arad, while in Canaan during the Bronze Age at least one temple existed in each city.

Tel Moza: megaron temple

Tel Moza was important stratigraphic and economic settlement from the beginning of the 10th century BCE to the end of the Iron Age, that means the last days

¹⁸ SHAPIRA 2018: 34.

¹⁹ SHAPIRA 2018: 36–38.

²⁰ SHAPIRA 2018: 35, GARFINKEL 2019: 5.

²¹ FRITZ 1987: 38–49.

of the Kingdom of Judah in 586 BCE.²² Moreover, Moza was an administrative and cultic center during this period, which was supported by findings of the Building 500 from stratum IV. Greenhut and De Groot expected that it could be a possible cultic building, because of its east-west orientation, the presence of a bench inside, the anta, and two rows of columns, and a courtyard with installations in the eastern part.²³ Greenhut and De Groot's results were confirmed during the salvage excavations in 2012–2013, here, only 7 km northwest of the City of David. The Iron Age temple complex was found there. This important find was really a surprise for archaeologists because no one before had expected a temple at this periphery of Jerusalem. The temple complex is the best example where we can see the transformation of the ancient cult in Judah.

Due to its location at the edge of a slope, the southern parts had already been washed down the slope and it had eroded in antiquity, and later construction had already taken place there.²⁴ Some other parts of this large building were preserved and, from the year 2019, the temple is again being excavated by a team of archaeologists, under Shua Kisilevitz. The monumental Building 500 in Area B was identified as an Iron Age temple with a courtyard to the east and included an altar and stone installation. The stratigraphy of the building is not clear, but generally we know about two main phases (and also more subphases). The first one is dated to the early Iron Age IIa (early 9th century BCE) and the second to the 7th to 6th century BCE. We are not sure if Building 500 continued to be used in the second phase as a cultic center.²⁵

The long-room temple (Fig. 4) was built in an east-west orientation like other Middle Eastern temples. In front of the temple to the east, there are bases of columns (0.6 m in diameter) between the anta and the entrance to the temple. Stones were probably part of the portico leading to the large courtyard with an offering altar and a refuse pit and a cultic installation for presenting offerings during rituals.²⁶ Two columns are known e.g. from Ain Dara, Tell Tayinat, and Cyprus. Sometimes they had a constructional function, other times they were only decoration. Garfinkel claims that the front part of the temple was roofed according to his interpretation of a pottery shrine and building models.²⁷ The temple itself has a preserved size of 18x13 meters (without an additional chamber that could have existed on the southern side of the building). The walls were not built at right-angles, but we believe that the main hall was symmetrical. The wide entrance leads through the eastern wall to the main chamber. The northern

²² Greenhut / De Groot 2009: 217.

²³ Greenhut / De Groot 2009: 225.

²⁴ KISILEVITZ 2015: 150.

²⁵ KISILEVITZ 2015: 149.

²⁶ KISILEVITZ 2015: 150.

²⁷ GARFINKEL 2019: 8, 10.

wall is massive, and it was rebuilt to be a retaining wall against the slope. The inner parts of the northern and eastern wall were lined with benches built of field stones (the benches in temples were usually used for offerings).²⁸ Next to the northern wall, there is also adjoined a rectangular room (1.7 m wide and at least 5 m long – the end has not been excavated yet). According to Kisilevitz this could be one of more surroundings chambers next to the temple walls. In the chamber, the floor was not preserved, however, inside the main hall, there are two different elevations of the floors that indicates two parts of this space. That means the main hall and a chamber.²⁹ The western part has not been fully excavated, and it is still exposed (situation in 2019). This is the part of the temple where we can find the answers for understanding the inner room – the Holy of Holies, about the western wall and the final length of the temple.³⁰ We hope that “The Moza Expedition Project” will help us to understand what kind of structure is below the Iron Age II temple and if it is possible that we will see for the first time the development of the temple architecture during the Iron Age in the Kingdom of Judah.



Fig. 4: Tel Moza: the Iron Age temple
(the main hall, the courtyard and the offering altar).

²⁸ KISILEVITZ 2015: 150–151.

²⁹ KISILEVITZ 2015: 151.

³⁰ Author of this study is member of „Tel Moza Expedition Project“.

Currently we know that the Moza temple is to date a unique find and it exposed that the megaron temple was used and built in Judah close to ancient Jerusalem, where the archaeological remains of Solomon's Temple have not been found. The ancient tripartite style of the long-room (in antis) temple was found next to the huge silos as part of the administrative center. Due to presence of a minimum of one additional room on the side, the Moza temple could be described as a sub-type of Syrian temple plans. Its closest parallel could be visible at the Tell Tayinat temple.³¹

Tel Arad: a broad-room temple

During the excavation seasons in 1962–1966 a few temples were discovered by the team of Ruth Amiran in the lower Canaanite city of Arad. In Area T, some of the public buildings from the Early Bronze Age were identified as temples. Temples 1876, 1831, 1894. They are typical Early Bronze Age architecture, similar to dwellings – a broad room house, that means the doors are in the longer wall, in the case of temples in an eastern wall. In front of the main halls there are courtyards, that are limited by walls.³² The broad-room houses were characteristically for villages of shepherds or people caring about domesticated animals, that used large courtyard for animals, and it was a common part of their dwellings. The broad-room plan was connected to economic changes that occurred during the transition from the Chalcolithic period to the Early Bronze Age in Levant. The question now could be, what is the connection between the Bronze and Iron Age temples in Arad? The connection between Bronze Age dwellings and Iron Age temple will be presented below.

Tel Arad was one of the biggest Canaanite city states and it was abandoned at the end of the Early Bronze Age II. It was again occupied after more than 1,500 years during the 10th century BCE. The new settlement was a small open village (Stratum XII) that was built on the southeastern ridge of the Canaanite Arad. The village was transformed into a fortress during the 9th century BCE (Stratum XI).³³ In the next Stratum, according to Herzog, the Iron Age Judahite sanctuary with an offering altar in the courtyard was established and it existed until the end of Stratum IX. The whole temple complex was already buried in Strata VIII (late 8th century BCE). Arad was a small military city on the periphery of the Kingdom of Judah. In comparison to Moza, that stood not far away from the ancient center of Jerusalem, Arad was not under such strong control as Moza. That is why Arad is sometimes called by scholars as a border city, because it was one of the last cities between the Kingdom of Judah and Egypt.

³¹ KISILEVITZ 2015: 156.

³² AMIRAN 1978: 38–41.

³³ AHARONI 1968: 4–5.

The Arad temple was dated to the middle and the second half of the 8th century BCE.³⁴ The shrine operated for a very short period which was less than 50 years.³⁵

The temple area is described as a main room (hekal), a broad room and a small Holy of Holies (debir) with standing stones, and two incense altars in front of the Holy of Holies (Fig. 5). The well-preserved square stone altar made of field stones stood in the courtyard, and together with the added rooms, was surrounded by walls. This architectural plan is completely different in comparison with Moza temple and other Syrian style temples. The broad-room main hall is 10.5 m long and 2.70 to 3.10 wide. The small debir (1.2 by 1.2 m) was built in the middle of the western wall.³⁶ This is the description of a simple and relatively small temple itself.

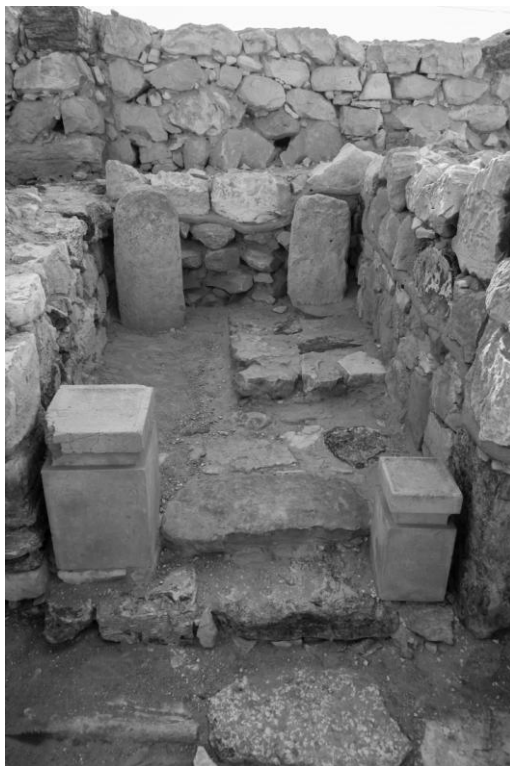


Fig. 5: Tel Arad: the Iron Age temple
(Holy of Holies with the standing stones and the incense altars).

³⁴ HERZOG 2002: 14, 50.

³⁵ HERZOG 2002: 50.

³⁶ HERZOG 2002: 56–58.

There is no monumental architecture at Arad and the temple copied the old Early Bronze Age style of broad-room buildings known from Arad and also from Jerusalem. The archaeologist, Aharoni, who excavated Arad temple, was influenced during his research by the Old Testament and that is why he thought that the size and plan of the hekal was inspired by the portable temples of the Israelites – the Tabernacle.³⁷ Modern scholars claim that the Arad temple with its courtyard was built according to what is known as four-room house (Israelite House). The open courtyard for worshippers, with corridor and chambers on the side could be a reference to the courtyard in four-room house, where all the members of the family were allowed to meet. The room for living was usually at the back – like the main hall and the small niche – the Holy of Holies at Arad temple. This is perfect example of a combination the old Bronze Age tradition of broad-room houses and Iron Age architecture. Local tradition met modern Iron Age style, unique, in the architecture of sacred buildings. An explanation of using the broad room as the temple may be a practical issue. It means that the worshippers in the courtyard were near the Holy of Holies, whereas at Moza, where was a much bigger separation between worshippers and the symbols of deity, caused by the long-room plan of the temple.³⁸ Arad temple is an authentic Judahite architectural temple form.³⁹

Be'er Sheva and Lachish – Judahite cultic centers

In these two ancient cities we have evidence of public cultic activities. Be'er Sheva is located at the borders of Negev. A large offering altar made of ashlar stones with cut horns in the corners on the top was excavated.⁴⁰ It was dismantled, and its stones were used for public buildings during 8th century BCE. Such a big offering altar could not stand alone without any sanctuary. There is no doubt that some official (royal) sanctuary existed in Be'er Sheva. The place where the temple was probably located in Stratum III is called Basement Building or Pillar House, and oriented east-west in Stratum II (Fig. 6). According to Herzog, the Judahite temple was dismantled at this site close to the city center stone by stone, as well as the altar, that could stand in the courtyard in front of the temple. Later, the Hasmonean temple with the same orientation was established at the same place, where the ancient shrine was dismantled.⁴¹ We do not have any archaeological evidence about the architecture of the presumed temple

³⁷ AHARONI 1968: 25.

³⁸ HERZOG 2002: 68.

³⁹ GREENSPAHN 1991: 127.

⁴⁰ AHARONI 1974: 4–5.

⁴¹ HERZOG 1981: 120–122.

at Be'er Sheva. Herzog in his study published a similar concept which was used in Arad, not far away from Be'er Sheva.⁴²



Fig. 6: Tel Be'er Sheva: the Basement Building, possible place of the Iron Age temple.

Another possible sanctuary is believed to have existed in Lachish in Shephelah, which was the second important military city in Judah during Iron Age II period. In 1968, the cultic assemblage was found in a small room – Cultic Room 49 by Aharoni. Forty six complete vessels, cultic stands, altars and other objects were found *in situ* in stratum V. Aharoni interpreted the room, of dimensions 2.3 by

⁴² HERZOG 1981: 121–122.

3.3 meters, as a small Iron Age IIa shrine.⁴³ After revision of this site during 1973–1994 Ussishkin saw a clear line of a circle pit, inside which a collection of cultic objects lay. The walls of Room 49 are not the walls of a single structure, but they were produced from more architectural remains from various periods. That's why, no doubt, that all the artifacts were buried in the pit that was dug here.⁴⁴ The question is, where this assemblage was used and where did it come from. The best resolution is that the artifacts were used in an official temple that was destroyed or dismantled during the Iron Age period and all the cultic objects were deposited and buried in the ground at around 760 BCE. At that time, the Palace C in Stratum III was erected over this pit. It is unthinkable that such an important city could have existed without any official cultic center – a temple.⁴⁵ No temples were discovered at these two sites, probably because of changes that occurred during 8th century BCE in Judah.⁴⁶ However, there is still a possibility that some future archaeological project will uncover other Judahite temple, and then there will be a better chance of understanding the sacred architecture in the Kingdom of Judah.

Conclusion

The finds from all the mentioned sites (Khirbet Qeiyafa, Tel Moza and Tel Arad) describe an architectural style known not only from the description of Solomon's Temple in biblical account, but, moreover, they are also known from various sites outside the Kingdom of Judah.

In the Kingdom of Judah, we can use for the research of architecture the archaeological evidence from only two sites, where such temples were found. Although we have cultic rooms, cultic corners, and gate shrines, there is no specific architecture style. Either we expect the presence of Iron Age II Judean temples at other sites like Lachish, Be'er Sheva and maybe others, but up to present we have only indirect evidence of their existence. In this paper we focused only on real archaeological remains and not deeply on the descriptions of the Solomonic Temple. In reality we have two temples, two different architectural plans, and two different origins. Moza temple is type megaron, or Syrian plan, with roots in the 3rd millennium, also called a long-room. Its base is a monumental building, divided usually into three parts (portico, main hall, inner shrine), then a courtyard with an offering altar is common, too. Some other variations are possible. For example, at Moza the five components were excavated: the bases of the columns, the forecourt, the main chamber, and the side chamber (and, hopefully, an unearthed inner sanctuary). It is not necessary for the separation between

⁴³ AHARONI 1975: 26–28.

⁴⁴ USSISHKIN 2004: 77.

⁴⁵ USSISHKIN 2004: 76.

⁴⁶ See more in MOULIS 2019: 167–180.

rooms to be a standard wall, but some kind of door or partition is possible. Sometimes there are chambers inside the temple – for staff, offerings and for ritual equipment. At Moza, we have temple which fits into this concept of Syrian architecture but there was no significance of something like central authority planning. Furthermore, each temple in Levant has a specific style. Until recently we were influenced in Judah only by biblical descriptions with our definitions and limits. However, Moza has some similarity with temples outside Judah, because there are no finds that show us something symbolic known from descriptions of the Solomonic Temple. Moreover, the Moza temple is one of the popular temples in Levant, which probably existed in important cities all over this region, also during Iron Age II period.

At Tel Arad the situation is different. This fortress was a local military city fort without influence, and I guess without any powerful control from the capital city of Jerusalem. At Arad, the small broad-room temple reflects the old local tradition of Early Bronze Age dwellings with courtyards interconnected with the Iron Age architecture of four-room houses. In spite of the fact that we are situated in the same kingdom almost at the same time (9th and 8th century), a unified style of sacred architecture in the Kingdom of Judah was not developed. This is not a surprise; we can have a look at the style of synagogues and churches. There is a basic common plan, but the rest usually depends on architects, local churches, necessities, and government, and it also reflects also the trends of the time.

Bibliography

- AHARONI, Y., 1968. *Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple*, in: BA 31, 1–32.
 — 1974. *The Horned Altar of Beer-sheba*, in: BA 37, 2–6.
 — 1975. Lachish V: Investigation in Lachish; The Sanctuary and the Residency. Tel Aviv.
 AMIRAN, R., 1978. Early Arad: The Chalcolithic Settlement and Early Bronze City I. Jerusalem.
 FAUST, A., 2019. *Israelite Temples: Where Was the Israelite Cult not Practised, and Why*, in: Religions 10, 1–26.
 FRITZ, V., 1987. *Temple Architecture: What Can Archaeology Tell Us about Solomon's Temple?*, in: BAR, 13, 38–49.
 GARFINKEL Y./ MUMCUOGLU, M., 2013. *Triglyphs and Recessed Doorframes on a Building Model from Khirbet Qeiyafa: New Light on Two Technical Terms in the Bible Descriptions of Solomon's Palace and Temple*, in: IEJ 63, 135–163.
 — 2019. *The Temple of Solomon in Iron Age Context*, in: Religions 10, 1–17.
 GARFINKEL, Y./ KREIMERMAN, I./ ZILBERG, P., 2016. *Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa: A Fortified City in Judah from the Time of King David*. Jerusalem.

- GREENHUT, Z./ DE GROOT, A., 2009. Salvage Excavations at Tel Moza: The Bronze and Iron Age Settlements and Later Occupation, IAA Reports 39, Jerusalem.
- GREENSPAHN, F.E., 1991. Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East. New York, London.
- HERZOG, Z., 1981. Temples and High Places in Biblical Times, Jerusalem.
- 2002. *The Fortress Mound at Tel Arad: An Interim Report*, in: TA 29, 3–109.
- KISILEVITZ, S., 2015. *The Iron IIA Judahite Temple at Moza*, in: TA 42, 147–164.
- LIVERANI, M., 2003. Israel's History and the History of Israel. London.
- MAZAR, A., 2011. *The Iron Age Debate: Is the Gap Narrowing? Another Viewpoint*, in: NEA 74, 105–111.
- MOULIS, D.R., 2019. *Hezekiah's Cultic Reforms according to the Archaeological Evidence*, in: Čapek, F./ Lipschits, O. (Ed.), *The Last Century in the History of Judah: The Seventh Century BCE in Archaeological, Historical, and Biblical Perspectives*. Atlanta, 167–180.
- SHAPIRA, D., 2018. *The Moza Temple And Solomon's temple*, in: BiOr LXXV, 26–48.
- SMITH, M.S., 2006. *In Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 6–7): Between Text and Archaeology. In Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, in: Gitin, S./ Wright, E.J./ Dessel, J.P. (Ed.), Winona Lake, 275–82.
- USSISHKIN, D., 2004. *A Synopsis of Stratigraphical, Chronological, and Historical Issues*, in: Ussishkin, D. (Ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, Volume 1, 50–122.
- VAN SETERS, J., 1997. *Solomon's Temple: Fact and Ideology in Biblical and Near Eastern Historiography*, CBQ 59, 45–57.
- ZEVIT, Z., 2001. *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches*. London, New York.

The Role of Aššur in the Religion of Assyrian State

Stefan Nowicki

Abstract

Among many systems of beliefs known from the ancient Near Eastern area, the cult of Aššur is one of the most significant. This is partially because this deity was worshipped by the most powerful kings in this area, but mostly because of its distinctness. Namely, a closer look at the Assyrian religion shows that one can barely find any details regarding the main god of the Assyrian Empire. For example, neither regular Aššur mythology (including cosmo- and theogony) nor his social background (family or court) seems to have been developed. In this article, this scarce amount of evidence will be presented and a few possibilities for the interpretation of this deity's origins will be discussed.

Keywords: Aššur, Assyrian religion, Tutelary deity, Personal god.

The aim of this article is to discuss the role of Aššur as a god in the world view of ancient Assyrians, with special regard to the official royal ideology. There are many Assyrian royal inscriptions where the god Aššur is mentioned, however the formulaic style of these texts often renders the conventional expressions and epithets used there as rather useless as the subject of research. Therefore, an available textual corpus is in fact quite scarce, which makes the detailed interpretation of the role of this main Assyrian deity and its supposed place in the outlook of ancient Assyrians to a large degree hypothetical. Aššur was clearly considered the most powerful among the gods and the real ruler of Assyria, but when trying to find any additional details about him, one finds himself on shaky ground. The following proposal of interpretation is based mostly on the fragments of Assyrian royal inscriptions, with some references to other Assyrian or non-Assyrian textual sources that could be helpful in building the cultural and religious context of the image of this main Assyrian deity.

This issue hitherto has been the subject of only few studies, as the worship of Aššur does not truly fit any other known systems of beliefs from the ancient Near East. Scholars who published the results of their research on the role of Aššur in the religious system as known from other ancient Near Eastern areas, especially Hans Hirsch and Simo Parpola, should be mentioned.¹ However, one must admit that the scope of research is drastically limited by the terse character of textual fragments which include the god Aššur, not to mention those in which any additional details regarding this deity are included. The scarcity of sources is also the basic reason for the lack of extensive discussion on this matter in scientific literature.

¹ See HIRSCH 1961, PARPOLA 2000.

Looking at the history of the cult of Aššur, one must admit that there are no other than Assyrian sources in which this deity is mentioned. It seems that Assyrians were the only group that worshipped this god from pre-writing times on. If there were any others, there is no trace of them in any textual sources known to us.

What is truly problematic is the lack of any texts regarding the Assyrian religion from the times before the Old Akkadian period. Moreover, southern domination over the Assyrian areas resulted in the scarce number of local sources until the fall of the Ur III state in the south. Even the only two kings from the first sections of the Assyrian King List (“kings who lived in tents” and “forefathers”), who are considered originally Assyrian by the most modern scholars (as all others are most probably the more or less fictitious ancestors of Šamšī-Adad I), namely Ušpia and Apiašal, who are hard to put in any chronological order, although it is generally agreed that their reigns should be dated somewhere between periods (i.e. before the Old Akkadian, between Old Akkadian and Ur III period or immediately after the fall of the Ur III empire).²

Paradoxically, while trying to describe the role and status of Aššur in the Assyrian pantheon, it is much more convenient, and easier, to write about differences between this deity and other gods in pantheons from the ancient Near East than trying to draw the image of this god as was seen by the ancient Assyrians. As Aššur was considered to be the main god of the Assyrian pantheon, it is reasonable to limit the scale of comparison to chief gods in Sumerian, Babylonian, Hittite, and Ugaritic systems of beliefs.³ One can start with the general description of the pantheon, into which Aššur does not exactly fit, especially because every divinity in the pantheon is clearly linked to one of the functions or social roles, if only there is enough data in available sources.⁴

In other ancient Near Eastern pantheons, we can quite easily find the main gods who do have special functions, which fit whatever key skills we might be looking for. In Sumerian mythology there is An, the god of heaven, and Enlil, ruler of the gods and the god of air. In Babylon we can find Marduk, the god of wisdom and sorcery, son of Enki, who, according to the *Enūma eliš* epic, was granted kingship after his victorious battle with Tiamat and her dark forces of chaos.⁵ In Ugarit there is Elil, who, although being a greybeard, formally rules the divine

² See YAMADA 1994: 18, n. 26, VAN DRIEL 1969: 3.

³ This limitation can be justified by two main factors – firstly, these are neighbouring lands (in geographical or cultural terms, or both), and secondly, all these cultures used the same Sumerian ideograms while writing about main deities (which sometimes makes the identification of particular gods quite difficult).

⁴ “kann man jede Gottheit eine Funktion oder soziale Rolle zuweisen, soweit die Quellen ein eigenes Profil erkennen lassen”, see SALLABERGER 2003–2005: 297b.

⁵ It should be mentioned here, that, as a matter of fact, Marduk had been granted these powers before his battle with Tiamat, although he should be considered the chief god only after his victory in battle.

family, and Baal, who has the powers of the thunderstorm and thus is considered to be the real leader of the gods.

On the above mentioned cultural background, the character of Aššur is difficult to determine. First of all, the lack of any details regarding this god is quite striking. For example, he has apparently no area of expertise. Moreover, we cannot find his social connections of any kind – family (including spouse⁶ or offspring), friends, or foes. Although being the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon, there is no known genealogy of him or even any tradition of his deeds as the primeval or creator god. Furthermore, there is also no known hierarchy of Aššur's domination in the form of any court or administrative headquarters of his (as e.g. his chancellors, generals, viziers or emissaries).

It should also be mentioned here that there are some textual fragments in which the features of Aššur are similar to other chief gods of Mesopotamian pantheons. One of such fragments can be found in Sennacherib's annals, where Aššur is described as the Great Mountain:

*^dAššur šadû rabû šarru-ut la ša-na-an ú-ša-at-li-ma-an-ni-ma eli
gimri a-šib pa-rak-ki⁷*

Aššur, the great mountain, has elevated for me the unrivalled king-
ship above all those who dwell in palaces

This expression resembles the Sumerian literary tradition of the god Enlil, who is very often described as the “great mountain”, e.g. in the cosmogonic text “Enki and the world order”:

Enlil, the Great Mountain, has commissioned you to gladden the
hearts of lords and rulers and wish them well⁸

which could be considered an attempt to introduce the god Aššur into the southern pantheon as its most powerful member.

There is also another interpretation of this epithet of Aššur: Lambert argues that this deity was originally identified with the mountain where the city of Aššur was built, and henceforth in the new political realm both were identified as one.⁹

Nevertheless, support for the first interpretation of the Assyrian king's attempt to introduce Aššur as the chief god into the traditional (i.e. Sumerian) pantheon can be found in the well-established practice of identification of the Assyrian king

⁶ The appearance of Mullissu as the wife of Aššur can be the direct result of Sennacherib's actions aimed at identifying Aššur with Enlil.

⁷ OIP II: 10–12; LUCKENBILL 1924: 23.

⁸ Enki and the World Order, 38–40. Translation according to BLACK et al. 1998–2006.

⁹ See LAMBERT 1983: *passim*.

with the god Ninurta.¹⁰ As it is known to us from Sumerian literary texts, this deity was considered to be the son of Enlil, which is literally expressed, for example, in the following text of *Ninurta's return to Nibru: a šir-gida to Ninurta*:

Created like An, O son of Enlil, Ninurta, created like Enlil, born by Nintur, mightiest of the Anuna gods, who came forth from the mountain range, imbued with terrible awesomeness, son of Enlil, confident in his strength, my sovereign, you are magnificent – let your magnificence therefore be praised.¹¹

Such a description of this deity thus goes in line with royal Assyrian ideology, both regarding the position of the Assyrian king as well as the role of Aššur in the Assyrian world order. The first is a member of the divine family and a strong warrior with no rival, while the latter is the most important god of the pantheon. Such composition results in a clear ideological message – Aššur is the supreme god (which, given the popularity of the cult of Enlil, can be applied in most ancient Near Eastern pantheons), and the Assyrian king is the executor of his will.¹² Furthermore, one should keep in mind that the epithet of “great mountain” used to describe Aššur was used in the inscription of Sennacherib, who tried to replace Marduk with Aššur in Babylonia¹³, and thus all literary means aimed at presenting Aššur as the powerful god of the southern pantheon fit perfectly into the goals of the royal ideology of Sennacherib.¹⁴

After summing up all of the data concerning Aššur, especially data included in the texts of royal inscriptions, one can still say very little (if perhaps anything) about him. Obviously, Aššur is considered to be the father of the gods, the foremost of them, and the most powerful. However, this seems to be everything, and thus, in general, he does not fit into the religious tradition of any Mesopotamian area, which, given the background of local traditions, seems a bit odd.

¹⁰ For more regarding the tradition of presenting the Assyrian king as the Sumerian god Ninurta, see MAUL 1991: *passim*.

¹¹ *Ninurta's return to Nibru: a šir-gida to Ninurta*, 1–5. Translation according to BLACK et al. 1998–2006.

¹² It should be mentioned here that there are multiple ways of interpreting the relationship between the Assyrian king and the god Aššur. For example Mario Liverani argues that the king of Assyria “acts in the name and stead of the god Assur, since Assur is precisely the hypostasis of the Assyrian kingship”, claiming *ipso facto* that there was no cult of Aššur before the institution of kingship was developed in Assyria. See LIVERANI 1979: 301. On the other hand, the Assyrian king is considered as someone in “a middle space between the human world and supernatural realm, although he was not divine himself”. See BROWN 2010: 9 n. 10.

¹³ What could result in something quite contrary to the original goal – the resemblance of the cult of Aššur to the one of Marduk. See e.g. NOVOTNY 2014: 107.

¹⁴ Regarding attempts made by the Assyrian scribes to replace Marduk with Aššur in the literary compositions of the Sennacherib's times, see e.g. GEORGE 1986: 143–144.

What is truly tempting in this context is the solution that Aššur himself is the ancient tutelary deity of the first Assyrian kings; unfortunately, however, no textual source describes him as such. Would it then be possible to reconstruct the assumed original function of this deity by comparing the role of Aššur with textual sources regarding other gods of royal families in the ancient Near East who were freshly introduced into the local pantheons?

To discuss the issue of the role of Aššur in the religious life of ancient Assyrians, let us take a look at the other deities that can be considered similar to him. To find such deities, we must go back in time, deep into the 3rd millennium BCE, to southern Mesopotamia, which was ruled by a new dynasty that came from the north-west – the Sargonids.

Around the 24th c. BCE, with the reign of Sargon of Agade, a new dynasty of Semitic origins came to power in the south. They brought with them a new state organisation, but also a brand-new deity (for the Sumerian cultural circle) called Ilaba. Unlike other members of the family of the gods, this god was not identified with any local or previous one, and was consequently described in all official texts as the personal deity of the king and his clan. Moreover, not being the member of any known pantheon, Ilaba went immediately to the top of the local one and was considered to be the most powerful of them.

Further similarities between Aššur and Ilaba can be found in terminology used to describe the political role of the king. In both states, the ruler is actually considered to be the “chief executive officer” of the highest deity. The Assyrian king acts as the “governor” of Aššur, not a decision-maker.¹⁵ This tradition in Assyrian royal inscriptions can be traced back as far as the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE, as this expression is used in the titulary of Erišum I (1974–1935 BCE):

*i-ri-šum ÉNSI^d a-šùr DUMU DINGIR-šu-ma ÉNSI^d a-šùr*¹⁶

Erišum, governor of the god Aššur, son of Ilušuma, governor of the god Aššur

The same situation can be encountered in the Old Akkadian period, as one of the members of the Sargonic dynasty, and the only deified one, Narām-Sîn (2254–2218 BCE), includes in his titulary the following titles:

¹⁵ See e.g. LAMBERT 1974: 104. It should be also noticed, that in the Old Assyrian period the power of the ruler of the city (ensí of Aššur) was probably limited to taking care of the temple of Aššur, while all other decisions must have been made together with the city assembly. See VEENHOF 2010: 53.

¹⁶ RIMA 0.33.2: 1–6. This fragment is also interesting because of the title of the father of Erišum as ÉNSI^d a-šùr. Ilušuma in his own inscriptions uses only the title ÉNSI a-šùr.KI, what can be also an additional proof for the identification of the god Aššur with the city of Aššur. Regarding the relationships between both of them see p. 18 ff.

Na-ra-am-^dEN.ZU (...) ÉNSI ^d*en-líl*, GÌR.NITA *il-a-ba*¹⁷

Narām-Sîn, the mighty (...) governor of Enlil, general of Ilaba

The title “general of Ilaba” is also repeated in column V, verses 18–22 of the same inscription, in the curse formula against anyone who might change the name in the inscription’s caption.¹⁸

In Assyrian royal inscriptions, at least from the times of Adad-nārārī I (1305–1274 BCE) we can find some fragments concerning the relationship between the god Aššur and the king in times of war. Aššur not only sends the king to battle, but also apparently equips him with his own weapon, which is so powerful that no enemies can withstand it in the fray of battle. This weapon plays a significant role in the following inscription of Adad-nārārī I, helping him in the conquest of some cities:

ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti šá* ^d*aš-šur* EN-*ia* (...) URU *ta-i-da* URU LUGAL-ti-šu (...) *ak-šud*¹⁹

I have conquered his capital city Taidu with the powerful weapon of the god Aššur, my lord

In another text made for Adad-nārārī I (although badly damaged), the weapon of the chief state god must have also played a significant role:

ina kakkē dan-nu-te šá aš-šur EN-*ia*

With the mighty weapon of Aššur, my lord²⁰

A very similar passus, although this time regarding Ištar, can be found in another inscription of Adad-nārārī I:

With the mighty weapons [which Ištar, my mistress] who goes before me [had given me...] ²¹

In later times, the weapon of Aššur was also considered one of the symbols of kingship, as it can be found in the following inscription of Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 BCE):

¹⁷ RIME 2.1.4.3: ii 16, 29–32.

¹⁸ FRAYNE 1993: 98.

¹⁹ RIMA 0.76.3: 21, 26–27, 30.

²⁰ RIMA 0.76.21: 9’.

²¹ GRAYSON 1987: 179.

e-nu-ma aš-šur EN *a-na pa-la-ḫi-šu ki-niš ú-ta-ni-ma a-na šu-šur*
SAG.GE₆.GA.A GIŠ.GIDRU GIŠ.TUKUL *ù ši-bir-ra id-di-na*²²

When Aššur truly chose me to revere him, and gave me the sceptre, weapon, and staff to shepherd the black-headed people

Looking into much earlier times, one can find that the transfer of a weapon was considered the transfer of power itself. In one of the inscriptions of Sargon of Agade, there is one particularly interesting fragment regarding Ilaba being promoted to the top of the local pantheon, which reads as follows:

The god Ilaba, mighty one of the gods – the god Enlil gave to him his weapon²³

This symbolism can also be proved by the year names of Narām-Sîn reign. The year of the coronation of the king is described as follows:

The year Narām-Sîn received a weapon of heaven/An from the temple of the god Enlil²⁴

During the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BCE), the weapon of Aššur is mentioned only once, in the context of the campaign against the *aḫlamû*-Arameans. According to the royal inscription:

um-ma-na-te-šu-nu ša i-na pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ša a-šur* EN-
*ia ip-pár-si-du*²⁵

Their troops, who fled in the face of the weapons of the god Aššur, my lord.

Furthermore, it can be found in the fragment of the inscription of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE), in which the king describes his actions after the submission of the ruler of the city Zanziuma. We learn from the fragment that the king was in the possession of the mighty weapons of Aššur:

ina taiiartī-ia a-na tam-di ša KUR *na-i-ri at-ta-rad*
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *aš-šur ez-zu-te ina lib-bi tam-di ú-lil*²⁶

²² RIMA 0.77.1: 22–25.

²³ FRAYNE 1993: 17.

²⁴ FRAYNE 1993: 85.

²⁵ RIMA 0.87.1:54–56.

²⁶ RIMA 0.102.2:58–59.

On my return I went down to the sea of the land Nairi. I have purified the fierce weapons of Aššur in the sea.

The same ritual activity is repeated in the fragment concerning another royal campaign. This time it was the source of Euphrates, where the Assyrian king purified the weapon of the god Aššur with water:

*a-na SAG ÍD e-ni ša ÍD.A.RAD a-lik UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-a aš-bat GIŠ.TUKUL aš-šur ina lib-bi ú-lil*²⁷

I went to the source of the Euphrates, made sacrifices to my gods, purified the weapon of Aššur in it

Such expressions concerning the weapon, which was used by the king in battle or belonged to great gods, are not limited only to Assyrian royal inscriptions. Similar fragments can be found in texts dated back to the Old Akkadian dynasty. For example, the founder of this dynasty, Sargon of Agade, writes in one of his inscriptions:

Sargon, king of Agade, was victorious over Ur in battle, conquered the city and destroyed its wall. He conquered Eninmar, destroyed its walls, and conquered its district and Lagaš as far as the sea. He washed his weapons in the sea.²⁸

The use of Aššur's weapons in battle is directly expressed by Shalmaneser III in another inscription:

*ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ez-zu-te šá^d aš-šur EN iš-ru-ka*²⁹

(I defeated them) with the fierce weapons, that god Aššur, lord, had given to me

Similarly, Sargon of Agade mentions in one of his inscriptions that it was the weapon of Ilaba that brought him victory in his campaign:

Sargon (...) conquered fifty governors with the mace of the god Ilaba³⁰

²⁷ RIMA 0.102.6: iii 41–42.

²⁸ FRAYNE 1993: 11.

²⁹ RIMA 0.102.1:57'–58'.

³⁰ FRAYNE 1993: 13. We can interpret similarly the fragment of the Narām-Sîn's inscription RIME 2.1.4.1: vi 4'–7', although this text is unfortunately incomplete.

Moreover, Narām-Sîn also admits that the weapon of Ilaba was of great use to him:

I swear, that Narām-Sîn, the mighty, did indeed truly capture them
and bring them in by the means of the mace of the god Ilaba³¹

It should also be mentioned here that although both Assyrian and Old Akkadian kings went to war after being inspired by their gods (or in fulfilling their god's requests and orders) and were allowed to unleash the power of divine weapons during battles, they were not accompanied by their authorities. Furthermore, there is no literary evidence that any of these deities have ever actively taken part in any military conflicts, terrestrial or divine (as opposed to e.g. Marduk, who personally defeated Tiamat's forces of chaos).

Moreover, there is another possible similarity between these two cults – the lack of any attempts to spread the cult among other peoples. In spite of extensive conquests carried on by the kings of Assyria as well as those belonging to the Old Akkadian dynasty, there is hardly any evidence of efforts to make their own cults popular in the population of the local inhabitants, except for one fragment of Narām-Sîn's inscription, which reads as follows:

(...) he smote the people whom the god Dagan had given to him
for the first time, so that they perform service for the god Ilaba, his
god³²

Given the roots of both cults in the belief of the patron deity, it seems reasonable that they were very tightly bound to its original, small cultural circle. Such a cult could spread only thanks to longer relationships with other peoples, as in the case of Assyria in the times of its long-term political domination in the whole region.³³

It should be clearly stated that the role of Aššur in known Assyrian royal inscriptions is quite ambiguous. It can be interpreted as an integral part of the local pantheon, as the tutelary deity of the king, as the patron god of the city, or as the city itself. In the previous section, the role of Aššur as a member of the Assyrian pantheon has been described, and in the following paragraphs I will attempt to discuss shortly each of the other possibilities while adding some references to non-Assyrian textual material that might aid in the interpretation of this issue. This ambiguity is not only connected to the context in which the god Aššur appears, but depends especially on the manner in which the word "Aššur" is written in known cuneiform texts.

³¹ FRAYNE 1993: 94.

³² FRAYNE 1993: 133.

³³ For more about the ways of spreading the Assyrian culture among the inhabitants of other areas, see e.g. PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2011: 110–111.

The first identity of the god Aššur is his “urban” manifestation. Many fragments of Assyrian royal inscriptions feature the city of Aššur described as a divine being – the name of the city (aš-šur.KI) follows the sign that determines its divinity – DINGIR, which results in “^daš-šur.KI” – the divine city Aššur. As a matter of fact, only three of such fragments are known. The first is included in the oldest credible fragment of inscription that mentions Aššur, which comes from the Ur III period (XXII c. BCE). This text is a foundation inscription written on a stone plaque that belongs to a man called Zarriqum, the governor/general of Aššur:

The temple of the goddess Bēlat-ekallim, his mistress, for the life of Amar-Sîn, the strong man, king of Ur and king of the four quarters, has Zarriqum, general of the divine city of Aššur [GÌR.ARAD ^da-šur.KI] his servant, for his life built.³⁴

Another two fragments of royal inscriptions that include the city of Aššur as the divine being can be found in the much more recent texts of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BCE)³⁵, and Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056 BCE)³⁶.

What is especially interesting is the age of the tradition of divine cities, which can be traced back in textual sources as far as the 3rd millennium BCE. This could be another clue connecting the Assyrian tradition of the divine city with the Old Akkadian period and culture. The tablets found in Adab, which are dated to the 3rd millennium BCE, mention three divine cities that were written in exactly the same way as Aššur in the fragments mentioned above. These three cities are Agade (^da-ga-dè.KI), Nippur (^dnibru.KI) and Ur (^duri.KI)³⁷. According to Such-Gutierrez, such names should not be interpreted as regarding the main city god, but concerning the divinity of the city itself³⁸.

In the period later than the Zarriqum inscription cited above, the name of the city of Aššur appears on the seal found in Kaniš. This seal belonged to a man called Šilulu, but this time the name of the city is written by the scribe without using any divine determinatives:

City of Aššur [^da-šur.KI] is king. Šilulu is a vice-regent of the city of Aššur [ÉNSI ^da-šur.KI] son of Dakiki, herald of the city of Aššur [URU ^da-šur.KI]³⁹

³⁴ RIMA 0.1003.2001. Translation according to GRAYSON 1987: 9.

³⁵ GRAYSON 1991: 74.

³⁶ GRAYSON 1991: 105.

³⁷ SUCH-GUTIERREZ 2005/2006: I 2 [3], 87 [25], 143 [35] respectively.

³⁸ SUCH-GUTIERREZ 2005/2006: 3 n. 14.

³⁹ RIMA 0.27.1.

One can also find an inscription dated to XIX c. BCE, from the reign of the historically proven king Šalim-aḥum, who boasts of laying the foundations of the Aššur's temple in Aššur. This text reads as follows:

Šalim-aḥum, vice-regent of Aššur [ÉNSI *a-šûr.KI*], son of Puzur-Aššur [*pû-zur₈-^da-šûr*], vice-regent of Aššur [ÉNSI *a-šûr.KI*]. Aššur [*^da-šûr*] requested of him a house, and he built a house for ever (...) The palace of Dagan [*^dda-gan*], its shrine, its temple area, its house of beer vats and storage area for (his) life and the life of his city, for Aššur [*^da-šûr*]⁴⁰

What seems especially interesting in this case is the ambiguous role of Aššur mentioned in the last sentence of this fragment. On one hand, the foundation of the temple could be done for the god Aššur, as it was him who had requested the new house from Šalim-aḥum. On the other hand, the final words of this text (*for the life of his city, for the god Aššur*) can point to the god Aššur as the city. If this assumption was correct, it would be further proof of the identification of the god Aššur with the city of Aššur, which was present at least in the earliest periods of the Assyrian kingdom.

At the end of this section, one additional text regarding both Aššur and the city should be mentioned. An inscription of Puzur-Sîn, who is otherwise unknown as an Assyrian ruler but can be dated somewhere after the reign of Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1808–1776 BC), and thus around the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE, calls the god Aššur the lord of the city, but not the city itself. This text can serve as a bridge between the god Aššur as the divine city and the god Aššur as the separate deity, who rules this area with the help of his governors – Assyrian kings:

(...) whoever removes my name and this monumental inscription of mine, may the god Aššur, the lord of his city [*^da-šûr be-el URU.KI-^ršû¹*], destroy his name, and his offspring from city and country entirely⁴¹

Exactly as in the instance of the divine weapons used by the king, in the case of Aššur as the god of the city, or the deity having special connections with the city, a similar fragment of the royal inscription can be found in the corpus of Old Akkadian texts. In one of his inscriptions, Narām-Sîn is described as the:

*mu-tár-rí ÉRIN URU il-a-ba₄*⁴²

⁴⁰ RIMA 0.31.1.

⁴¹ RIMA 0.40.1001: 39–44.

⁴² RIME 2.1.4.1: ii 10'–12'.

leader (lit. enlarger) of the troops of the city of Ilaba

The second feature of Aššur, discussed below is highly hypothetical, especially because of scarce textual evidence. Namely, it is possible that Aššur was the tutelary deity of Assyrian royal dynasty, or was at least considered to be one by the Assyrian rulers. Alas, there is no direct clue for this role of Aššur apart from two letters to this god written by Assyrian kings Sargon and Esarhaddon, and the value of these sources for our discussion is further depreciated by the very general nature of the fragments regarding Aššur. In Sargon's letter to Aššur, there is only one sentence that refers directly to the chief state god:

To Aššur, father of the gods, who dwells in É-ḫar-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra, his great temple, the most powerful, hail!⁴³

In the case of Esarhaddon's letter to Aššur things look much worse; namely, the beginning section of the letter is so badly damaged that any reconstruction is simply impossible. Thus, the only issue that can be discussed here is the existence of such letters within the corpus of royal inscriptions, as well as the cultural context of known texts of this genre.

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned here that this literary form, i.e. a letter to the god, is quite a normal way of communication between the worshipper and his tutelary deity. One of the best examples can be found in the following text, dated to the Old Babylonian period, which reads as follows:

To my lord Amurru, whose word is heard before Šamaš, speak: Thus says Ardum, your servant. You have created me among men, and you have made me walk along the street. Every year I prepare a sacrifice and offer it to your great divinity. Now the enemy has defeated me. Though I am a *muškenum* my brothers have not come to my rescue. If (it so pleases) your great divinity, raise me from the bed on which I am lying. I shall prepare an abundant sacrifice and come before your divinity. (...) Do not allow my nest to be torn asunder. Then I shall make those who see me speak highly of your friendly divinity⁴⁴

*ana bēlija^d Amurru ša ina maḥar^d Šamaš qibissu šamāt qibima
umma ardum waradkama ittamiṭi tabnannima sūqam tušēteqanni u
šattišša niqi'am alaqqekuma ana ilūtika kabittim ippuš inanna
nakru ikšudanni muškēnēkuma aḥḫū'a ul i'arriruni šumma ilūtika
rabūtum ŠA.RA.AM ina^{GIS} eršim nadāku diki'anni niqi'am taḥdam*

⁴³ Thureau-Dangin 1912: 3.

⁴⁴ van der Toorn 1996: 131.

*luḷqe'amma ana maḥar ilūtika lullikakku xxxxxxxx xxxx qinnī la
ipparra[rma] āmirū'a ana ilūtika banītim ušakrib⁴⁵*

Another example of the letter to the god in which the worshipper asks his deity for help against evil and wicked people can be found in the Old Testament textual corpus, namely in Psalm 109. Similarly to the Old Babylonian text mentioned above, an unjustly treated man asks the god to punish his opponents, and promises to give him praise, if he succeeded.

Although both royal letters to the god, coming from the ancient Assyria do not include any pleas, but military reports from the Assyrian king's campaigns against the enemies of Aššur, they could be considered similar to both pleading texts described above. The concluding line of both letters (Old Babylonian and Psalm 109) include the promises of giving praise to the god. Royal letters can play the role of such praise, after all military campaigns were successfully finished, what could be the sign of the support received from Aššur by the Assyrian kings. Therefore, given both above mentioned texts, there are some premises (although not well enough attested), that Aššur was originally a personal deity of the Assyrian royal dynasty.

The hypothesis of the role of Aššur as the tutelary deity of Assyrians from the times before any textual sources were created can be indirectly supported by the old argument between Julius Lewy and Albrecht Alt, which was briefly summarized by Moore Jr. Lewy concludes that, while the local pantheons are adopted by new immigrant groups, they still perform the cult of their ancestral/patron deities.⁴⁶ The opposite method of the development of the cult of Aššur, which not only remained unchanged but eventually attempted to replace other cults, points to its Assyrian genuineness. This originality of Aššur can be further proved by the contexts in which the name of this deity appears in Old Assyrian textual sources. Namely, it is not improbable that he is called a personal god, especially in contracts or personal names.⁴⁷

The system of Assyrian beliefs in its most developed stage during the Neo-Assyrian period was more henotheistic than polytheistic judging from contemporarily-known textual sources.⁴⁸ I must admit that there is also a strong temptation

⁴⁵ VAN SOLDT 1990: 85.

⁴⁶ CROSS Jr. 1962: 228.

⁴⁷ For more on the context of calling the name of Aššur in Old Assyrian texts, see HIRSCH 1961: 6–16. It is especially worth mentioning that the formula “May Aššur and the god of your father be witnesses” is quite a popular one, which makes the interpretation of Aššur as the god of “the author's father” possible. On the other hand, Aššur himself is not directly called the “god of the father” in any of such fragments, as his name appears only in the above-mentioned types of expressions, see HIRSCH 1966: 57, HIRSCH 1974/1977.

⁴⁸ There is also an opinion, albeit quite an isolated one, put forth by Parpola that the Assyrian system of beliefs was monotheistic, or very close to it. Regarding this point of view

to correlate this form of religiosity with the southern cult of Marduk⁴⁹, who was introduced as the chief god to the traditional pantheon of Babylonia (this could also be the reason why Sennacherib tried so hard to replace Marduk with Aššur in the southern part of the state), especially because it seems that in later periods Aššur's role in the Assyrian pantheon significantly expanded towards his absolute domination.⁵⁰ However, by looking closer at textual sources, one sees many differences that seem to prove the contrary. First of all, there is no known literary text that could possibly shape any Aššur mythology. Moreover, Aššur is apparently a god without any family connections, including a spouse, siblings, parents or even any offspring. He is also not identified or merged with any other deity (apart from the times of the strong anti-Babylonian activities of Sennacherib, including the textual layer of his royal ideology). Finally, there is also a lack of any proof of the cult of Aššur outside Assyria.

Nevertheless, it is easy to notice that the above listed features of the god Aššur can be considered in many ways to be similar to those of the gods that were unfamiliar to the Mesopotamian cultural circle and were introduced by the new groups of immigrant people. The oldest of them is the tutelary deity of the Old Akkadian dynasty – Ilaba. In later times the counterpart of the Assyrian chief god could have been the god Marduk before his identification with the local god, son of Enki, Asalluḫi. The final god whose cult developed outside of the Mesopotamian area could be the biblical Yahweh.

All four cults mentioned above can together serve as support in the attempt to draw the possible direction of the development of the personal deity in different stages and growing in quite different environments. The beginnings of this form of the cult can easily be traced in the case of Ilaba or Yahweh. The further change of its cult from a private to a public one is noticeable in both cases, but over the course of time the differences are more and more visible. The cult of Ilaba ends with the fall of the Akkadian dynasty, leaving us with only one temple of this deity, while the cult of Yahweh develops further, but in a completely different cultural and political environment. The cult of Marduk in turn grows in the same area as the one of Ilaba, but is much more strongly influenced by local Sumerian beliefs than the latter one. The cult of Aššur seems to be the most complex. Unfortunately, without any traces of its oldest stages of development, it is still dubious to identify it with the cult of the tutelary deities of the Akkadians, Amorites or Israelites.

see PARPOLA 2000: *passim*. However, such interpretation was strongly criticized by Hutter as being contrary to available textual sources – see HUTTER 2001.

⁴⁹ I do not mean here that the cult of Marduk was of southern origin, as it was most probably brought by the group of Amorites in the end of the 3rd millennium BCE who came from the eastern Mediterranean shore. What I mean is that the cult of this deity developed in the southern part of Mesopotamia, with its capital in Babylon, from whence most of our textual sources regarding these beliefs originate.

⁵⁰ See e.g. LEVINE 2005: 412.

If over the course of further research the aforementioned similarities between all these cults turn out to be more than a pure coincidence, it would create interesting possibilities for interpretation. There could have been two strong and different cultural centres in the ancient Near Eastern area. One of them would have been the southern Sumerian cultural circle, which strongly influenced the inhabitants of the territories along the Tigris and Euphrates. The second would have been the north-western Semitic centre, the members of which marched over the course of time, over and over again, to the highly developed Mesopotamian area in larger groups, bringing their own culture and religious system with them. Those of them who entered areas with strong Sumerian tradition merged their own beliefs with local ones, as was the case of Akkadians in the 24th century or Amorites a few centuries later. But those who settled in the areas far from the Sumerian core were able to strengthen and develop their own traditions and beliefs, as in the case of Assyrians or Israelites. In my opinion, all of these non-Sumerian cultures originated from the same time and area but emerged diversely because of different local conditions and historical circumstances.

Bibliography

- BLACK, J. A. et al., 1998–2006. The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. [Online] Available at: <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/> [Accessed 25 April, 2019].
- BROWN, B., 2010. *Kingship and Ancestral Cult in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud*, in: *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 10/1, 1–53.
- CROSS Jr., F. M., 1962. *Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs*, in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 55/4, 225–259.
- FRAYNE, D. R., 1993. Sargonic and Gutian Periods. *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods 2*. Toronto.
- GEORGE, A. R., 1986. *Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies*, in: *Iraq* 48, 133–146.
- GRAYSON, A. K., 1987. *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods 1. Toronto – Buffalo – London.
- 1991. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods 2. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- HIRSCH, H., 1961. *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion*. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 13/14. Graz.
- 1966. *Gott der Väter*, in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21, 56–58.
- 1974/1977. *Aššur und der Gott deines Vaters*. in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 25, 64.
- HUTTER, M., 2001. *Review: Barbara Nevling Porter (ed.), One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World (Transactions of the Casco*

- Bay Assyriological Institute. Vol. 1), [no place of publication given] 2000, 350 pp., ISBN 0-9674250-0-X, in: Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions 1/1, 188–192.*
- LAMBERT, G. W., 1974. *The Reigns of Aššurnāširpal II and Shalmaneser III: an Interpretation*, in: Iraq 36/1/2, 103–109.
- 1983. *The God Aššur*, in: Iraq 45/1, 82–86.
- LEVINE, B. A., 2005. *Assyrian Ideology and Israelite Monotheism*, in: Iraq 67/1, 411–427.
- LIVERANI, M., 1979. *The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire*, in: Larsen, M. T. (Ed.), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires*. Copenhagen, 297–317.
- LUCKENBILL, D. D., 1924. *The Annals of Sennacherib*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications II. Chicago.
- MAUL, S. M., 1991. *Wenn der Held (zum Kampfe) auszieht. Ein Ninurta-Eršemma*, in: *Orientalia* 60/4, 312–334.
- NOVOTNY, J., 2014. *“I did not alter the site where that temple stood”: Thoughts on Esarhaddon’s Rebuilding of the Aššur Temple*, in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 66/1, 91–112.
- PARPOLA, S., 2000. *Monotheism in Ancient Assyria*, in: Porter, N. B. (Ed), *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*. Transactions of the Casco Bay Assyriological Institute 1. Casco Bay, 165–209.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B., 2011. *Assyrian royal discourse between local and imperial traditions at the Hābūr*, in: *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 105, 109–128.
- SALLABERGER, W., 2003–2005. *Pantheon. A. I. In Mesopotamien*, in: Frantz-Szabó, G./ Hellwag, U. (Eds), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Berlin, New York, 294–308.
- SUCH-GUTIERREZ, M., 2005/2006. *Untersuchungen zum Pantheon von Adab im 3. Jt*, in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51, 1–44.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F., 1912. *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.). Texte Assyrien inédit, publié et traduit*. Paris.
- VAN DER TOORN, K., 1996. *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel. Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 7*. Leiden, New York, Köln.
- VAN DRIEL, G., 1969. *The Cult of Aššur*. Assen.
- VAN SOLDT, W. H., 1990. *Letters in the British Museum. Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung 12*. Leiden, New York, København, Köln.
- VEENHOF, R. K., 2010. *Ancient Assur: The City, its Traders, and its Commercial Network*, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53/1/2, 39–82.
- YAMADA, S., 1994. *The Editorial History of the Assyrian King List*, in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 84, 11–37.

Royal Epithets in the Old Babylonian Inscriptions

Lukáš Pecha

Abstract

The royal ideology of ancient Babylonia is reflected in texts of a representative nature, especially in royal inscriptions which include standard versions of the royal titulary. The study of the titles of the kings in the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 BC) shows that the epithets used by the authors of the royal inscriptions are related to various subjects: 1) the personal features of the king (his power, his outstanding physical, moral and intellectual abilities), 2) the king's relation to the deities who appointed him to his office, 3) the toponyms which had some special ideological value, and 4) the important ethnic groups (i.e. Amorites). In the course of Old Babylonian history, some shifts in the use of individual epithets can be observed, which were presumably related to the changes in the current political climate in Babylonia.

Keywords: Ancient Babylonia, Old Babylonian period, Babylonian state, Ideology, Royal inscriptions, Royal titulary.

The study of ancient Mesopotamian statehood has become a very promising branch within the field of Assyriology. The analysis of the methods used in the state administration as well as the ways in which royal power was represented in official documents can bring us valuable information concerning the very essence of the Mesopotamian concept of the state.¹

The titles which appear in representative texts (mainly in royal inscriptions) are undoubtedly an indispensable part of the ideology of royal power.² These titles, which were connected to particular rulers, belonged to the symbols of the royal office in the same way as the physical emblems of his power (crown, scepter etc.). With these titles, the rulers expressed the extent of their political power and the importance of their royal office. The epithets used by individual rulers were always selected very carefully, with regard to the current political conditions and the ideological and propagandistic message that was to be disseminated among their potential recipients. Therefore, over the course of the reign of a particular king, changes of his titulary could have reflected the changes of the contemporary political climate.

The aim of this article is to compare the titles used in the main political centres of Babylonia in the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 BC); i.e. Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. We will also describe in general the main features of the Old Babylonian

¹ For a general description of features of the Mesopotamian state, see SELZ 2008; SELZ 2011; cf. Also YOFFEE 2005.

² For a standard study devoted to the royal epithets, see SEUX 1967; for the Old Babylonian period, see mainly CHARPIN 2004: 233–234.

an royal epithets and outline the typology of these titles with regard to which elements may appear in them at this stage of Babylonian history.

Only inscriptions that were written in the name of individual rulers, not votive inscriptions of other persons that state the king's name, have been included in this study. For this reason, the numerous inscriptions of Kudur-mabuk, father of Warad-Sîn, king of Larsa, were not included. The goal of this study is not to give a complete overview of all the titles that are documented in the inscriptions of the rulers of these three states, but to present a typology of the main groups of epithets used in them. Also, the epithets occurring in those parts of the inscriptions that are too damaged and cannot be reconstructed with certainty were not taken into consideration.

The most complete form of the royal titulary is found in royal inscriptions. On the other hand, in year names, the titles of the respective king are usually not given, and often even his name is not mentioned in them (especially during the rule of the early kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon; e.g. "he conquered Kazallu").³ If the ruler is identified by his name in the year names, then he is usually referred to simply as "king" (LUGAL) without any additional epithets. Also, only sporadically (in the year names of Hammu-rabi and later), some of the royal epithets are included, but in a shortened version compared to the contemporary royal inscriptions.

Royal inscriptions (and thus also the titles used in them) of the rulers of Isin and Larsa are written in the Sumerian language, while during the reign of the First Dynasty of Babylon, bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian inscriptions begin to appear more widely. The Sumerian titles thus mostly have appropriate Akkadian variants.

Typology of the royal epithets⁴

1. Personal features of the king

The titles highlight his power as well as some other physical, moral and intellectual abilities that were viewed as essential from the point of view of the royal ideology.

³ Only from the year name for the 29th year of Hammu-rabi until the end of the reign of the First Dynasty of Babylon, almost all year names include the name of the king (MU RN LUGAL.E "year, (when) king RN..."). Exceptions to this rule are rare (cf. HORSNELL 1999, vol. II: 375, note 85).

⁴ Abbreviations: DN = divine name, GN = geographic name, RN = royal name, TN = temple name, B = Babylon, I = Isin, L = Larsa.

General designations with regard to the royal office

“mighty man” (nita kala-ga): Šū-ilīšu (I), Išme-Dagan (I), Zabāya (L), Abī-sarē (L), Sumu-El (L), Samsu-iluna (B) .

“the mighty one” (*da-an-nu-um*, *da-núm*): Abī-sarē (L), Samsu-iluna (B) .

“mighty king” (lugal kala-ga): Būr-Sîn (I), Enlil-bani (I), Ur-dukuga (I), Sîn-māgir (I), Damiq-ilīšu (I), Warad-Sîn (L), Ḫammu-rabi (B) , Samsu-iluna (B) , Abī-ešuḫ (B), Ammī-ditāna (B), Ammī-šaduqa (B).

“brave king” (lugal ur-sag): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“capable king” (LUGAL *le-yu-um*): Samsu-iluna (B).

“prince” (nun = *ru-bu-ú*): Warad-Sîn (L), Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“great prince” (nun gal): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“reverent youth who achieves his victory” (šul ní-tuk ù-ma-né sá-di): Nūr-Adad (L).

“eternal seed of kingship” (numun da-rí nam-lugal-la-ke₄ = NUMUN *da-rí-um ša šar-ru-tim*): Abī-ešuḫ (B).

Legal activity

“king who established justice in Sumer and Akkad” (lugal ni-si-sá ki-en-gi ki-uri-a i-ni-in-gar-ra): Lipit-Ištar (I).

“shepherd of righteousness” (sipa ni-gi-na; sipa ni-ge-na-ke₄; sipa ni-ge): Nūr-Adad (L), Sîn-iddinam (L), Warad-Sîn (L).

“who loves righteousness” (ni-ge-na ki-ág): Warad-Sîn (L).

Legitimacy of the king's power

“who was chosen in his city for the exercise of kingship” (nam-lugal an-da-ak-da-ni-še uru-na mu-un-suḫ-a): Sîn-māgir (I).

“the one whom his numerous people truly chose” ([...] x un šár-ra-né [zi-d]è-eš): Sîn-iddinam (L).

Care of the well-being of his subjects in the most general sense (i.e., the economic development, the construction projects, the overall political and social stability, the restoration of the normal order, of the cult etc.)

“who makes his troops rejoice” (ša húl-húl éren-a-na): Sîn-māgir (I).

“who settled his broad land in peaceful places” (ma-da dagal-la-na é-ne-ḫa bí-in-tuš-a): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who let bright daylight to come forth for the numerous people” (u₄ zalag-ga un-šár-ra-ba íb-ta-an-è-a): Samsu-iluna (B).

“reverent one, who keeps the troops safe” (ní-tuk šà-KA-gál éren šu-a gi₄-gi₄-a): Warad-Sîn (L).

“reverent one who never sleeps for the land” (ní-tuk ù-nu-ku kalam-ma): Warad-Sîn (L).

“true farmer” (engar zi): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“true shepherd of the black-headed people” (sipa zi sag-gi₆-ga): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“shepherd who listens (to the gods)” (sipa giš-tuk): Abī-sarē (L).

“farmer who piles up the produce in granaries” (engar nì-túm-túm guru₇ gú-gur-gur-re): Damiq-īlīšu (I).

“the one who has made the foundation of the throne of Larsa secure and re-gathered its scattered people” (lú^{giš} gu-za larsa^{ki}-ma suḫuš-bi mu-un-gi-né un ság-du₁₁-ga-bi ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a): Nūr-Adad (L).

“the one who restored the old boundary” (lú in-dub libir ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“the one who dug the Tigris, the broad river” (lúⁱ⁷ idigna i₇ dagal-la mu-un-ba-al-la-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who supplied good water, abundance without end for his city (and) land” (a du₁₀ hé-gál nì nu-til-le-da uru^{ki} ma-da-ni-šè im-mi-in-gar-ra-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“the one who built the great wall of Larsa” (lú bàd gal larsa^{ki}-ma mu-dù-a): Sîn-iqīšam (L).

“who caused Larsa, the ancient city, ... of heaven (and) earth, to have a noble name” (larsa^{ki} uru ul x an ki mu-maḫ bí-in-tuk): Sîn-iqīšam (L).

“who restores Lagaš and Girsu” (lagaš^{ki} girsu^{ki} ki-bé gi₄-gi₄): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who built the walls of the dilapidated cities” (uru šub-šub-ba-bi bàd-bi mu-dù-a): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who grandly set up great statues that call the great name of his royal office” (uru^{du} alam gal-gal mu-pà-da nam-lugal-la-ka-na gal-bi bí-in-su₈-ga): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who builds up the land” (kalam dím-dím-me = *ba-ni ma-tim*): Hammu-rabi (B).

“(the one) who renovated the temples of the gods” ((lú) é dingir-re-e-ne šu gibil bí-in-ak): Warad-Sîn (L).

“king who renovated the shrines of the great gods” (lugal bára-bára dingir gal-gal-e-ne šu gibil bí-in-ak-a = LUGAL *mu-ud-di-iš* BĀRA.BĀRA DINGIR GAL.GAL): Hammu-rabi (B).

“who renovated the cities of the gods of their lands and put Nanna and Utu in a good, peaceful residence” (uru^{ki} dingir ma-da-bé-ne šu gibil bí-in-ak-a ^dnanna ^dutu-bi ki-tuš hun-gá-du₁₀ mu-un-ne-gál-la): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who returned to the gods the regular offerings which had been taken from the sanctuaries” (sá-du₁₁ èš-ta ba-ba-a dingir-re-e-ne-er in-ne-éb-gur-ra): Ur-dukuga (I).

“who restored the rites of Eridu” (giš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a / ki-bé gi₄): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“wise one, who restored the old mes” (gal-an-zu me libir ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who restored the rites of the temples of the gods” (giš-ḥur é dingir-re-e-ne ki-bi-šè bí-gi₄-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“king who restored the rites of Ur and Eridu” (lugal giš-ḥur úri^{ki} eridu^{ki}-ga ki-bé bí-in-gi₄-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who restored the mes and rites of the Anuna gods” (me giš-ḥur ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who makes firm the foundation of the land for Utu” (suḥuš ma-da ge-en-geen ^dutu-ke₄): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“king who built Ebabbar, the temple of Utu” (lugal é-babbar é ^dutu-ke₄ mu-un-dù-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“the one who built Ebabbar, the temple of Utu” (lú é-babbar é ^dutu-ke₄ mu-un-dù-a): Sîn-iddinam (L).

Military activity

”who subdues the foreign lands for Utu” (kur gú gar-gar ^dutu-ke₄): Nūr-Adad (L).

“king who at the order of An and Enlil slew all people who became hostile to him” (lugal á-ág-gá an ^den-líl-ka-ta nigin lú-gú mu-da-ab-dù-uš-a giš-gaz-še bí-in-ak-a): Samsu-iluna (B).

“the one who binds the hands of all people who were disloyal” (lú an-da-gur-eš-a zà-til-ba šu in-ne-en-dù-a): Samsu-iluna (B).

“the one who made all evil troops disappear in the land” (lú érim-gál-la-ne-ne-a kala-ma ú-gu mi-ni-in-dé-a): Samsu-iluna (B).

Intellectual abilities

“the wise one possessing wisdom” (gal-zu géštu tuk-tuk): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who possesses intelligence” (igi-gál-tuk): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“perfect in true wisdom” (géštu zi šu-du₇): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

King's origin

“son born in Ga'eš” (dumu ga-eš^{ki}-e ù-tu-da): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“mighty heir who pleases the heart of his father very much” (ibila kala-ga šà-a a-na du₁₀-du₁₀): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who was purely created in the womb of the mother who bore me” (šà ama-ugu-mu-ta kù-ge-eš gùn-a): Warad-Sîn (L).

2. Deities

The titles point out to the deities who had some specific relation with the king (they appointed him to his office, gave him orders, showed him their support etc.).

Favour of the gods

“beloved by An, Enlil and Nanna” (ki-ág an ^den-líl ù ^dnanna-ke₄): Šū-ilīšu (I).

“beloved by Enlil and Ninisina” (ki-ág ^den-líl ù ^dnin-in-si-na(-ka-ke₄)): Enlil-bani (I), Zambīya (I).

“beloved by Enlil and Ninlil” (ki-ág ^den-líl ù ^dnin-líl): Enlil-bani (I).

“beloved by Nanna and Ningal” (ki-ág ^dnanna ù ^dnin-gal-ke₄): Iddin-Dagan (I).

“beloved by Nanna and Utu” (^dnanna ^dutu-bi ki-ág): Warad-Sîn (L).

“beloved by Sîn” (ki-ág ^denzu-na): Abī-sarē (L).

“beloved by Marduk” (ki-ág ^dAMAR.UTU = *na-ra-am* ^DAMAR.UTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“beloved by Šamaš and Aya” (ki-ág ^dutu ^dšè-ri₅-da-bi = *na-ra-am* ^DUTU ù ^Da-a): Samsu-iluna (B).

“beloved by Aya” (ki-ág ^dšè-ri₅-da = *na-ra-am* ^Da-a): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“favourite of Enlil” (še-ga ^den-líl-lá = *me-gir* ^D50): Ḫammu-rabi (B), Ammī-ditāna (B).

“favourite of Inana” (ša-ge DU-a ^dinana(ke₄) = *bí-bí-il li-i-ba eš₄-tár*): Lipit-Ištar (I).

“favourite of Ninisina” (še-ga ^dnin-in-si-na): Sîn-māgir (I).

“favourite of An” (še-ga an-na): Damiq-ilīšu (I), Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“favourite of Šamaš” (še-ga ^dutu = *mi-gi₄-ir* ^DUTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“favourite of the great gods” (*mi-gir* DINGIR GAL.GAL): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“king whose word finds favour with Šamaš and Aya” (lugal du₁₁-ga-ni ki ^dutu ^dšè-ri₅-da-ta še-ga = LUGAL *ša qí-bí-sú it-ti* ^DUTU ù ^Da-a *ma-ag-ra-at*): Samsu-iluna (B).

“prince beloved by the heart of Ninisina” (nun ša ki-ág ^dnin-in-si-na): Damiq-ilīšu (I).

“prince beloved by the heart of Inana” (nun ša ki-ág ^dinana-ke₄): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“youth whom Utu has truly chosen in his heart” (šul ^dutu ša kù-ga-ni-a zi-dè-eš bí-in-pà-da): Nūr-Adad (L).

“who was given broad wisdom and surpassing intelligence by Nudimmud” (gēštu dagal igi-gál-điri sum-ma ^dnu-đim-mud-ke₄): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who was granted a good reign, a long life, and abundance without end by Iškur, his god” (bala du₁₀ ti u₄-sù-rá ḫé-gál nì-nu-til-e ^diškur dingir-ra-ni): Sîn-iddinam (L).

King's piety and reverence in general or in relation to a specific deity

“the reverent one” (ní-tuk = *na-a'-du-um*; *pa-al-ḫu*): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“humble prince, who reverences Enlil” (nun sun₅-na ní-tuk ^den-líl-lá): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who listens to Enlil” (^den-líl-da giš-tuk = *še-mu* ^DEN.LÍL): Damiq-ilīšu (I), Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“who listens to Šamaš” (^dutu-da giš-tuk = *še-mu(-ú)* ^DUTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“youth who listens to the great mountain (i.e. to Enlil)” (šul giš-tuk kur-gal-la): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who listens to the great gods” (*še-mu* DINGIR GAL.GAL): Samsu-iluna (B).

“who contents the heart of Marduk” (*mu-ṭib liḫ-bi* ^DAMAR.UTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“who contents the heart of Marduk, his lord” (šà du₁₀-ga ^dAMAR.UTU lugal-la-ni = *mu-ṭi-ib li-ib-bi* ^DAMAR.UTU *be-li-šu*): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“who achieves the victory of Marduk” (*ka-ši-id ir-ni-ti* ^DAMAR.UTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“king whose deeds are pleasing to Šamaš and Marduk” (lugal ni-ak-ak-bi su ^dutu ^dAMAR.UTU-ra ba-du₁₀-ga = LUGAL *ša ep-ša-tu-šu a-na ši-ir* ^DUTU *u* ^DAMAR.UTU *ṭa-ba*): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“the one of the great mountain, Enlil” (lú kur gal ^den-líl-lá): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“shepherd beloved by Ninlil” (*re-’ú na-ram* ^DNIN.LÍL): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“shepherd beloved by Marduk” (sipa ki-ág ^dAMAR.UTU-ke₄ = SIPA *na-ra-am* ^DAMAR.UTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“shepherd favourite of Telītum” (kuš₇ še₂₁-ga DINGIR-zíḫ-ba-ke₄ = *re-’u-[ú] mi-gir te-li-[ti]*): Ammī-šaduqa (B).

“shepherd who contents his (i.e. Marduk’s heart)” (SIPA *mu-ṭi-ib li-ib-bi-šu*): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“shepherd who pleases the heart of Marduk” (sipa šà-du₁₀-du₁₀ ^dAMAR.UTU-ke₄ = SIPA *mu-ṭi-ib liḫ-bi* ^DAMAR.UTU): Ḫammu-rabi (B), Samsu-iluna (B).

“reverent shepherd, who reverences Enlil and Ninlil” (sipa ní-tuk ^den-líl ^dnin-líl): Sîn-iqīšam (L).

“reverent shepherd who goes at the side of Enlil, his lord” (sipa ní-tuk á ^den-líl lugal-a-ni-še ì-du-a): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“the humble one” (*áš-ru*): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“noble farmer of An and Enlil” (engar maḥ an ^den-líl-lá): Ur-dukuga (I).

“reverent prince who stands for his life at the house of his lord” (nun ní-te-ge₂₆ é lugal-ta-na-šè zi-ti-le-ni-šè gub-ba): Warad-Sîn (L).

“youth who seeks out the omens” (šul á-ág-gá kin-kin): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who stands daily in supplication and entreaty” (nam-šita_x (REC 316) a-ra-zu-e u₄-šú-uš-e gub-ba): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who stands daily uttering supplications and entreaties” (nam-šita_x (REC 316) a-ra-zu di u₄-šú-uš-e gub-ba): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who prays warmly to the great gods” (KA sì-si-ke dingir gal-gal-e-ne): Ḥammu-rabi (B).

“whose ardent prayer is noble” (KA sa₆-sa₆-ge-bi maḥ-a): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

Legitimacy of the royal power through appointing by a deity

“appointed by Enlil: (^den-líl-le gar-ra): Warad-Sîn (L).

“called by name by Nanna” (mu-pà-da ^dnanna): Sîn-māgir (I).

“called by a good name by Iškur” (mu-du₁₀-sa₄-a ^diškur-ra-ke₄): Nūr-Adad (L).

“king, whose name was called by An” (lugal an-né mu-ni mu-un-sa₄): Ḥammu-rabi (B).

“called by An” (gù-dé-a an-na = *na-bi-ù AN-nim*): Ḥammu-rabi (B).

“youth called by a good name by Nanna” (šul mu-du₁₀-sa₄ ^dnanna-ke₄): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who was given the scepter by Nanna” (gidri sum-ma ^dnanna-ke₄): Nūr-Adad (L).

“youth whom Utu, from among all his lands, truly looked” (šul ^dutu kur kilib-ba-ni-ta igi-zi mu-ši-in-bar): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“whom (Nanna) appointed (for) shepherdship of his nation” (nam-sipa kalam-ma-na mu-un-gar): Warad-Sîn (L).

“the one whom An has covered with the aura of kingship” (lú an-né me-lám nam-lugal-la mu-un-dul₅-la): Ḥammu-rabi (B).

“whose destiny was grandly decreed by Enlil” (^den-líl-le nam-a-ni gal-le-eš / gal-eš bí-in-tar-ra / bí-in-du₁₁-ga): Ḥammu-rabi (B).

“shepherd to whom Inana gave her favourable omen and help” (sipa ^dinana-ke₄ giškim sa₆-ga-ni nam-á-daḥ-a-ni in-ak-a-àm): Samsu-iluna (B).

King's personal relationship to a deity (as a spouse of a goddess; exclusively Inana, or as a son of a god)

“beloved spouse of Inana” (dam ki-ág ^dinana(-ka); dam ki-ág ^dinana-ka-ke₄): Išme-Dagan (I).

“spouse suitable for the shining knee of Inana” (dam me-te úr-kù ^dinana): Būr-Sîn (I).

“spouse chosen by Inana” (dam igi-il-la ^dinana): Zambīya (I).

“spouse chosen by the heart of Inana” (dam šà-ge pà-da ^dinana): Enlil-bani (I).

“spouse beloved by the heart of Inana” (dam šà ki-ág ^dinana): Sîn-māgir (I).

“spouse carefully looked upon by Inana” (dam igi-zi bar-ra ^dinana-ke₄): Urdukuga (I).

“son of Enlil” (*ma-ru* ^D*en-lil*): Lipit-Ištar (I).

“son of Dagan” (dumu ^dda-gan-na(-ke₄)): Išme-Dagan (I).

“first-born son of Iškur” (dumu-sag ^diškur-ke₄): Sîn-iddinam (L).

King designated as a god

“god of his nation” (dingir kalam-ma-na): Šū-ilīšu (I), Ḥammu-rabi (B).

Cultic activities performed by the king

“en priest of Uruk” (en unu^{ki}-ga): Išme-Dagan (I).

“favourite en priest of Uruk” (en še-ga unug^{ki}-ga): Ur-Ninurta (I), Enlil-bani (I).

“beloved en priest of Uruk” (en ki-ág unug^{ki}-ga): Enlil-bani (I).

“en priest suitable for Uruk” (en me-te unug^{ki}-ga = EN-um *sí-ma-at* UNUG-^{KI}): Lipit-Ištar (I).

“en priest suitable for Uruk and Eridu” (en me-te unug^{ki}-ga eridu^{ki}-ga): Enlil-bani (I).

“who is suitable for the office of en priest befitting Inana” (me-te nam-en-na ^dinana-ra túm-ma): Damiq-ilīšu (I).

“en priest suitable for the mes, for Uruk” (en me-a túm-ma unug^{ki}-ga): Būr-Sîn (I).

“who purifies the mes of Eridu” (me eridu^{ki}-ga kù-kù-ge): Enlil-bani (I).

“who purifies the mes and rites of Eridu” (me giš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga kù-kù-ge): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who purifies the mes of Ebabbar” (me é-babbar-ra kù-kù-ge): Nūr-Adad (L).

“who puts in order the rites of Eridu” (giš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga si-sá-sá): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who perfectly executes the mes of Lagaš and Girsu” (me šu du₇-du₇ lagaš^{ki} gír-su^{ki}-ke₄): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who perfectly executes the mes of Eridu” (me eridu^{ki}-ga šu-du₇-du₇): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who perfectly executes the mes and rites of Eridu” (me giš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga šu-du₇-du₇): Warad-Sîn (L), Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who perfectly executes the rites” (giš-ḥur šu-du₇-du₇): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who perfectly executed the rites and great lustration ceremonies” (giš-ḥur šu-luḥ gal-bi šu im-mi-in-du₇-a): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who greatly perfects the rites and pure lustration ceremonies” (giš-ḥur šu-luḥ kù-ga šu gal mu-du₇-a): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“*išippum* priest with clean hands for Eridu” (išib šu sikil eridu^{ki}-ga): Ur-Ninurta (I).

“who perfectly executes the offerings of the gods” (nidba dingir-re-e-ne šu-du₇-du₇): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“farmer who gives regular offerings for the gods of all the people” (engar sá-du₁₁ sum-sum-mu dingir un-dù-a-bi-šè): Sîn-māgir (I).

“the one who abundantly makes offerings for Eninnu” (lú nidba gu-ul-gu-ul é-ninnu): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who (makes) unceasing offerings to Lugal-gudua” (nidba nu-šilig-ge^d lugal-gú-du₈-a-šè): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who brings regular offerings to Eana” (sá-du₁₁ laḥ₅ é-an-na-šè): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“whose offerings are noble for the shrine Nippur” (nidba-bi maḥ-a èš-e nibru^{ki}-šè): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“suitable for the flowery bed” (ki-ná-gi-rin-na túm-ma): Sîn-māgir (I).

3. Toponyms

The standard title is “king of Sumer and Akkad”, sometimes (with some more powerful kings) also “king of the four quarters”, or “king who makes four quarters obedient”.

“king of Isin” (lugal i-si-in^{ki}-na): Iddin-Dagan (I), Išme-Dagan (I), Lipit-Ištar (I), Ur-Ninurta (I), Būr-Sîn (I), Enlil-bani (I), Zambīya (I), Ur-dukuga (I), Sîn-māgir (I), Damiq-ilīšu (I).

“king of Larsa” (lugal larsa^{ki}-ma): Gungunum (L), Abī-sarē (L), Nūr-Adad (L), Sîn-iddinam (L), Sîn-iqīšam (L), Warad-Sîn (L), Rīm-Sîn (L).

“king of Larsa, Uruk (and) Isin” (lugal larsa^{ki}-ma unug^{ki} i-si-in^{ki}): Rīm-Sîn (L).

“king of Babylon” (lugal KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}): Ḫammu-rabi (B), Samsu-iluna (B), Abī-ešuḫ (B), Ammī-ditāna (B), Ammī-šaduqa (B).

“king of Ur” (lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄; lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma; lugal úri^{ki}-ma: Šū-ilīšu (I), Iddin-Dagan (I), Abī-sarē (L), Sumu-El (L).

“king of Kiš” (lugal kiš^{ki}-a): Samsu-iluna (B), Ammī-ditāna (B).

“king of Sumer and Akkad” (lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri(-ke₄)): Šū-ilīšu (I), Iddin-Dagan (I), Išme-Dagan (I), Lipit-Ištar (I), Ur-Ninurta (I), Būr-Sîn (I), Enlil-bani (I), Zambīya (I), Ur-dukuga (I), Sîn-māgir (I), Damiq-ilīšu (I), Gungunum (L), Sumu-El (L), Sîn-iddinam (L), Sîn-iqīšam (L), Warad-Sîn (L), Rīm-Sîn I (L), Ḫammu-rabi (B), Abī-ešuḫ (B), Ammī-ditāna (B).

“king of the land” (lugal ma-da<-na>-ke₄): Išbi-Erra (I).

“king of the four quarters” (lugal an-ub-da-límmu-ba-ke₄ = LUGAL *ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im*): Išme-Dagan (I), Ḫammu-rabi (B), Samsu-iluna (B).

“king who makes four quarters obedient” (lugal an-ub-da límmu-ba gù-téš-a bí-in-si-ga; lugal gù an-ub-da límmu-ba-ke₄ téš-a bí-in-si-ga; lugal an-ub-da límmu-ba gù-téš-a íb-si-ga = LUGAL *mu-uš-te-eš-mi ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-im*) : Ḫammu-rabi (B), Samsu-iluna (B), Abī-ešuḫ (B).

“who makes the four quarters obedient” (ub-ta límmu-ba gù-téš-a si-ge): Ḫammu-rabi (B).

“governor of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš, and the land of Kutalla” (énsi úri^{ki} larsa^{ki} lagaš^{ki} ù ma-da *ku-ta-al-la*^{ki}-a-ke₄): Šillī-Adad (L), Warad-Sîn (L).

“governor of Utu” (énsi ^dutu): Warad-Sîn (L).

References to specific cities (mainly in connection with important local temples)

“provider of Nippur” (ú-a nibru^{ki}(-a)): Išme-Dagan (I), Šillī-Adad (L), Warad-Sîn (L).

“provider of Ekur” (ú-a é-kur-ra): Ur-dukuga (I), Warad-Sîn (L).

“provider of Ur” (ú-a úri^{ki}-ma): Nūr-Adad (L), Sîn-iddinam (L), Sîn-iqīšam (L), Warad-Sîn (L), Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“unceasing (provider) of Eridu” (muš nu-túm-mu eridu^{ki}-ga = *la mu-pa-ar-ki-um a-na ERIDU*^{KI}): Lipit-Ištar (I).

“true provider of Ur” (ú-a zi uri^{ki}-ma): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“true provider of the shrine Egalmah” (ú-a zi èš é-gal-mah-a): Damiq-ilīšu (I).

“true provider, who fills the courtyard of Egalmah with abundant things” (ú-a zi kisal é-gal-mah-a ni-nam-ḥe si-si): Zambīya (I).

“constant (attendant) of Ur” (sag-ús uri^{ki}-ma): Išme-Dagan (I).

“constant (attendant) of Nippur” (sag-ús nibru^{ki}): Damiq-ilīšu (I).

“who is daily at the service of Eridu” (u₄-da gub eridu^{ki}-ga): Išme-Dagan (I).

“who looks after Ebabbar” (sag èn-tar é-babbar-ra): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who looks after Girsu (and) the land of Lagaš” (sag èn-tar gír-su^{ki} ki lagaš^{ki}-ta/a): Warad-Sîn (L), Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“humble shepherd of Nippur” (sipa sun₅-na nibru^{ki} = *re-i-um pa-li-ih NIBRU*^{KI}): Lipit-Ištar (I).

“shepherd who offers everything for Nippur” (sipa ni-nam-íl nibru^{ki}): Ur-Ninurta (I).

“shepherd who makes everything abundant for Nippur” (sipa ni nam-šár-ra nibru^{ki}): Enlil-bani (I), Sîn-iddinam (L).

“shepherd who brings everything for Nippur” (sipa ni-nam-tùm nibru^{ki}): Ur-dukuga (I).

“shepherd who makes Nippur content” (sipa šà nibru^{ki} du₁₀-du₁₀; sipa šà du₁₀-du₁₀ nibru^{ki}-ke₄): Būr-Sîn (I), Sîn-iqīšam (L).

“shepherd who reverences Nippur” (sipa ní-tuk nibru^{ki}): Zambīya (I).

“shepherd who bears tribute for Nippur” (sipa gú-un kár nibru^{ki}): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“shepherd who makes everything abundant for Nippur” (sipa nì-nam-du₈-du₈ nibru^{ki}): Enlil-bani (I), Sîn-iddinam (L).

“true shepherd of Larsa” (sipa zi larsa^{ki}-ma): Sîn-iddinam (L).

“shepherd, provider for the temples of An and Enlil” (sipa ú-a é an^den-líl-lá): Sîn-māgir (I).

“shepherd who looks after Ekišnugal” (sipa sag èn-tar é-kiš-nu-gál): Warad-Sîn (L).

“shepherd who prays ardently for Nippur” (sipa KA sa₆-sa₆-ge nibru^{ki}): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“herdsman of Ur” (na-gada uri₅^{ki}-ma): Ur-Ninurta (I).

“farmer of Ur” (engar uri₅^{ki}-ma): Nūr-Adad (L).

“true farmer of Ur” (engar zi uri₅^{ki}-ma = *i-ka-ru-um ki-nu-um ša URI₅-ki-im*): Lipit-Ištar (I), Nūr-Adad (L).

“mighty farmer of Ur” (engar kala-ga úri^{ki}-ma): Būr-Sîn (I).

“farmer (who grows) tall grain for Ur” (engar še maḥ uri₅^{ki}-ma / úri^{ki}-ma): Enlil-bani (I).

“farmer who brings tall flax and grain for the shrine Duranki” (engar gu-maḥ túm še-maḥ túm èš dur-an-ki-šè): Zambīya (I).

“prince who reverences Nippur” (nun ní-tuk nibru^{ki}): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who is in awe of Ebabbar” (é-babbar-da ní-te-ge₂₆): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“who provides abundance for Ešumeša and Egalmah” (ḥé-gál du₈-du₈ é-šume-ša₄ é-gal-maḥ-a): Ur-dukuga (I).

“who makes everything abound for Egalmah” (nì-nam du₈-du₈ é-gal-maḥ-a): Sîn-māgir (I).

“who looks after the shrine Ebabbar” (sag èn-tar èš é-babbar-ra): Nūr-Adad (L), Sîn-iddinam (L).

“who reverences Ebabbar” ([lú] é-babbar-da ní-tuk): Warad-Sîn (L), Rīm-Sîn I (L).

“the one who reverences the shrine Ebabbar” (lú ní-tuk èš é-babbar-ra): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who makes first fruit offerings reach Ekišnugal” (nisag sar-re é-kiš-nu-gál-la): Nūr-Adad (L).

“favourite of Nippur” (še-ga nibru^{ki}): Warad-Sîn (L).

“who makes Ebabbar great” (é-babbar gal-gal-la-e): Rīm-Sîn I (L).

4. Ethnic groups

Allusions to the Amorite origin of the royal dynasty are found only rather rarely in some inscriptions of the kings of Larsa and Babylon.

“Amorite chief” (*ra-bí-an* MAR.TU; *ra-bí-a-nu-um* MAR.TU): Zabāya (L), Abī-sarē (L).

“king of all the Amorite land” (lugal da-ga-an ^{kur}mar-tu / ^{kur}mar-tu^{ki}-a): Ḥammu-rabi (B), Ammī-ditāna (B).

Conclusions

Some types of titles are abundantly attested throughout all of Old Babylonian history. For example, titles such as “mighty king”, “king of GN” etc. are obviously an essential part of the titulary of the Old Babylonian rulers.

The relation to gods generally plays a key role in the Old Babylonian royal epithets as, according to the Mesopotamian royal ideology, the institution of state itself was of divine origin and every Mesopotamian ruler was installed in his office by the gods. The epithets used by the rulers of all the three major Old Babylonian dynasties very frequently include references to deities, to their temples as well as to the cultic sphere in general. The kings constantly emphasize that the deities show them their favour (ki-ág DN “beloved by DN”; še-ga DN “favourite of DN” etc.), they also often mention their piety in relation to the gods, the support for major sanctuaries in various cities within their kingdoms (ú-a TN/GN “provider of TN/GN”; sag-ús TN/GN “attendant of TN/GN” etc.), as well as their participation in some cult activities (sometimes they are identified with specific temple offices, most frequently with that of the en priest). Less often, they suggest their close personal relationship with the deities (some of the kings claim to be sons of DN, or husbands of Inana), and in rare cases even call themselves deities (this is attested only by Šū-ilīšu of Isin and Ḥammu-rabi of Babylon).

The difference between the religion-related epithets of the dynasties of Isin and Larsa on one hand and of Babylon on the other lies mainly in the fact that the kings of Isin and Larsa often emphasize the material support provided to the temples, while in the inscriptions of the kings of Babylon we find only titles referring to their piety (usually with respect to a specific deity), whereas epithets related to the material support of temples do not occur there at all. The kings of Babylon frequently refer to gods in their titles, but these mentions are mostly those of the type “beloved by DN”, or “favourite of DN”, whereas there are no allusions to specific shrines. Also, unlike the rulers of Isin and Larsa, we do not

find references to cult activities performed by the rulers of Babylon or to temple offices held by them.

In the diachronic perspective, there are also some shifts in preferences of individual deities. The rulers of Isin and Larsa frequently highlight their reverence of Enlil and their support to his main sanctuary in Nippur.⁵ On the other hand, during the reign of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Enlil figures only rather rarely in the royal epithets. Ḫammu-rabi calls himself “favourite of Enlil” (*me-gir* ^{D50})⁶ and also a king “for whom Enlil has grandly determined his fate” (^den-lil-le nam-a-ni gal-le-eš bí-in-tar-ra),⁷ “whose destiny was grandly decreed by Enlil” (^den-lil-le nam-a-ni gal-eš bí-in-du₁₁-ga),⁸ and “who listens to Enlil” (^den-lil-da giš-tuk = *še-mu* ^DEN.LIL).⁹ Among the later Old Babylonian kings, only Ammī-ditāna is “favourite of Enlil” (*še-ga* ^den-lil-lá).¹⁰ Further, the inscriptions of the kings of Babylon completely lack any references to Nippur and its main temple Ekur. This is presumably due to the fact that at this time the importance of Nippur as a paramount religious centre was declining and, at the same time, Enlil as the main god of Nippur was gradually replaced by Marduk. This god’s rise to power was obviously connected to the contemporary political development of Mesopotamia, where Babylon started to become the prominent political centre.

Another striking contrast can be found in the use of the title “farmer” (*engar*). This epithet, which is connected mostly to the city of Ur, was quite popular especially with the rulers of Isin,¹¹ whereas the kings of Larsa used it less frequently.¹² On the other hand, the kings of Babylon did not include it in their titularies at all. Only Ḫammu-rabi, Samsu-iluna and Ammī-šaduqa are designated as “shepherds” (with various attributes) in some of their inscriptions. As a general feature, it can be stated that the titles referring to agriculture and the economy in the most general sense (maintenance of irrigation canals, construction projects etc.) were not preferred by the kings of Babylon.

In sum, we can define the main difference between two groups of the Old Babylonian royal epithets. The first group, which is relatively homogenous, is repre-

⁵ Enlil is referred to in the inscriptions of Šū-ilīšu, Lipit-Ištar, Enlil-bani, Zambīya, Ur-dukuga, Damiq-ilīšu (Isin), Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-iqīšam, Warad-Sîn, Rīm-Sîn I (Larsa). Nippur is mentioned in the inscriptions of Išme-Dagan, Lipit-Ištar, Ur-Ninurta, Būr-Sîn, Enlil-bani, Zambīya, Ur-dukuga, Damiq-ilīšu (Isin), Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-iqīšam, Šillī-Adad, Warad-Sîn, Rīm-Sîn I (Larsa), whereas the temple of Enlil (Ekur) figures in the epithets of Ur-dukuga, Sîn-māgir (Isin) and Warad-Sîn (Larsa).

⁶ E4.3.6.3.

⁷ E4.3.6.10.

⁸ E4.3.6.11.

⁹ E4.3.6.14 (Sumerian); E4.3.6.16 (Sumerian); E4.3.6.17 (Akkadian).

¹⁰ E4.3.9.1.

¹¹ Lipit-Ištar, Būr-Sîn, Enlil-bani, Zambīya, Ur-dukuga, Sîn-māgir, Damiq-ilīšu.

¹² Nūr-Adad, Rīm-Sîn I.

sented by the rulers of Isin and Larsa. Generally, the kings of Isin and Larsa gave more importance to cultic matters (especially to the support of temples). Maybe this is due to the fact that the royal ideologies of Isin and Larsa were more influenced by the heritage of the Ur III Dynasty, in which religious matters played an important role. On the other hand, the picture of the kings of Babylon was presumably linked more to the traditions of the Sargonic period.

Bibliography

- FRAYNE, D., 1990. Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods, vol. 4. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- HORSNELL, M. J. A., 1999. The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon, vol. I: Chronological Matters: The Year-Name System and the Date-Lists, vol. II: The Year-Names Reconstructed and Critically Annotated in Light of their Exemplars. Hamilton.
- SELZ, G. J., 2008. *Das babylonische Königtum*, in: Marzahn, J./ Schauerte, G. (Ed.), *Babylon. Wahrheit*. München, 105–138.
- , 2011. *Staat*, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 13. Berlin, New York, 23–32.
- SEUX, J.-M., 1967. *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*. Paris.
- YOFFEE, N., 2005. *Myths of the Archaic State. Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*. Cambridge.

Three Cuneiform Texts from the Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen

Kateřina Šašková

Abstract

The Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the Faculty of Arts at the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen acquired three clay fragments inscribed with cuneiform script several years ago. There is no doubt that these artifacts originate from the ancient Near East and can be dated to the era from the 3rd to 1st millennia BCE, the epoch of the efflorescence of Mesopotamian civilizations. However, the objects are so badly damaged that only several words or even signs can be identified with certainty on their surfaces. The aim of this study is to date these objects more accurately and, at least partially, reconstruct the texts that they bore.

Keywords: Clay cone, Brick, Akkadian, Sumerian, Royal inscription, Building inscription.

Introduction

Some time ago, the Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the Faculty of Arts at the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen acquired a set of artifacts from a private collection. Although these objects are of unknown provenance (or provenances), it is apparent that they can be considered to be Mesopotamian antiquities. The collection consists of four uninscribed objects,¹ two fragments of clay cones bearing a part of a cuneiform inscription (nos. 1 and 2), and a fragment of a brick inscribed with several partially broken cuneiform signs (no. 3). Even though the inscriptions are badly damaged, the following text will attempt to identify and date them by virtue of comparison with better-preserved evidence.²

¹ A clay fragment of a painted vessel, another clay fragment of a vessel with a protrusion, lid (perhaps) with a holder, a fragment of a clay animal figurine, and a piece of unknown clay object. These artifacts, however, will be studied elsewhere.

² Unless otherwise stated, the primary source of the cuneiform objects listed in this study is CDLI. Particular copies of these items under examination, however, are identified by their museum numbers. CDLI numbers occur only in cases in which the museum number is not listed or is unclear (e.g. unnumbered museum or private items). The numbering form of the composite inscriptions published in RIME, RIMA and RIMB volumes is in accordance with these printed books, whereas the numbering of CDLI is slightly different (e.g. RIME 3/1.01.06.04 instead of E3/1.1.6.4).

Fragment of a clay cone (no. 1)

General Remarks

The first fragment³ is an ending part of a clay cone of darker ochre color. It is fractured angle-wise and slightly thin. The state and the dimensions of the fragment are quite visible in Figure 7, Figure 8, and Figure 9.

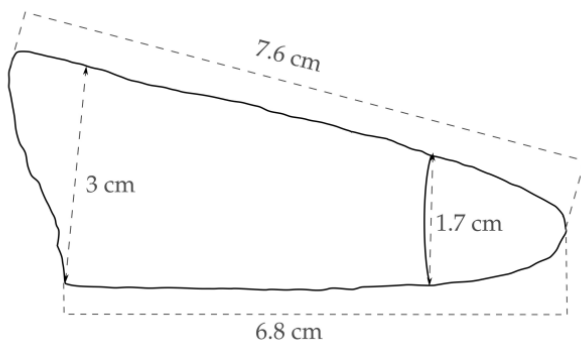


Fig. 7: Dimensions of fragment no. 1.



Fig. 8: Photo of fragment no. 1.

³ UWB 001 at CDLI.

The text

The fragment bears three lines of the text with mostly easily-legible signs. In regard to the type of the object, the length of the preserved text and its content, it is the second column of a Sumerian royal building inscription:

ii 1) [E ₂] NINNU AN IM//	[e ₂]-ninnu-anz//
ʾM ¹ I ʾU UD UD RA NI	ud ₂ ʾ ^{mu} ʾ ^{sen} -babbar ₂ ⁴ -ra-ni
ii 2) [M]U NA GAG	[m]u-na-du ₃
ii 3) [...]ʾMU ¹ ʾNA ¹ GI ₄	[...]ʾmu-na ¹ -gi ₄

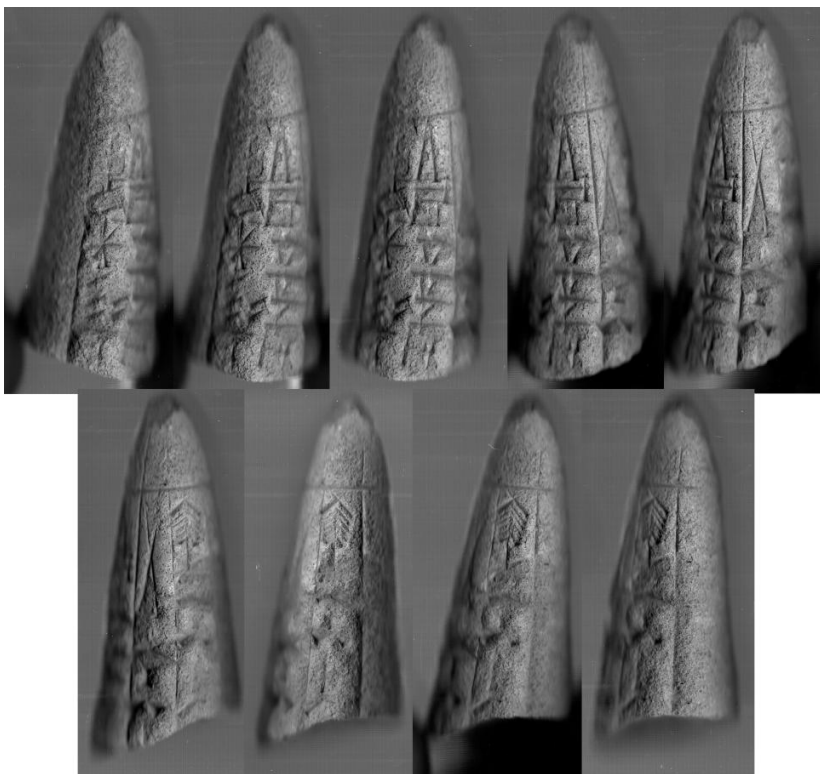


Fig. 9: Scanned images of fragment no. 1.

⁴ This is a transliteration of ETCSRI (e.g. the text Ur-Bau 04, l. 10), CDLI transliterates the name of the temple as e₂-ninnu-anzu₂^{mu}^{sen}-babbar₂, and RIME 3/1 as e₂-ninnu-AN.IM.MI.MUŠEN-bar₆-bar₆ (e.g. EDZARD 1997: 136).

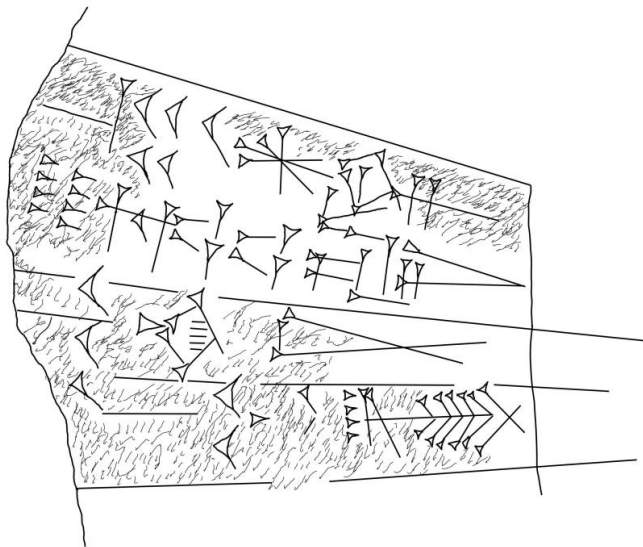


Fig. 10: Copy of fragment no. 1.

Unfortunately, the name of the specific ruler is not preserved, but the name of the god Ningirsu's temple with the epithet – e_2 -ninnu-anzud⁵_{mušen}-babbar⁵ – is a significant clue for the identification of the writer of this inscription, if, of course, this is not a new and still unknown text. Although we do not know the content of the first column, however, it is less probable.

Among the Sumerian royal texts, a relatively large number of inscriptions mention the temple Eninnu with this epithet. The texts date to the reign of Ur-Bau,⁶ his successor Gudea,⁷ the last ruler of the Second Dynasty of Lagaš Nam-

⁵ For the translation cf., e.g., EDZARD 1997: 18 (Eninnu, the White Thunderbird) and GEORGE 1993: 134 (House of Fifty White Anzû-Birds).

⁶ The text E3/1.1.6.4 (see the chapter Text E3/1.1.6.4 (Ur-Bau)), E3/1.1.6.5 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 18–19), and E3/1.1.6.6 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 20).

⁷ The texts E3/1.1.7.StB (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 30–38), E3/1.1.7.StD (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 40–42), E3/1.1.7.StF (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 46–48), E3/1.1.7.StI (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 51–53), E3/1.1.7.StP (see CDLI and Edzard 1997: 57–58), E3/1.1.7.StW (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 64), E3/1.1.7.CylB (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 88–101), E3/1.1.7.7 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 112–113), E3/1.1.7.37 (see the chapter Text E3/1.1.7.37 (Gudea)), E3/1.1.7.38 (see the chapter Text E3/1.1.7.38 (Gudea)), E3/1.1.7.39 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 137), E3/1.1.7.40 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 137–138), E3/1.1.7.41 (see the chapter Text E3/1.1.7.41 (Gudea)), E3/1.1.7.42 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 139–140), E3/1.1.7.43 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 140–141), E3/1.1.7.44 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 141–142), E3/1.1.7.45 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 142), E3/1.1.7.55b (see CDLI and EDZARD

maḥani,⁸ and unknown ruler of Lagaš,⁹ but only four of them may come into consideration in the matter of our fragment: Ur-Bau E3/1.1.6.4; Gudea E3/1.1.7.37, E3/1.1.7.38, and E3/1.1.7.41. Other texts do not correspond for various reasons – e.g. the medium, the wording, the length of the text, or the position of the passage mentioning the Eninnu temple within the text.

Text E3/1.1.6.4 (Ur-Bau)

The text E3/1.1.6.4 consists of 12 lines.¹⁰ It is attested in nearly five hundred copies¹¹ written on different types of objects, whereas the most common type is a clay cone.¹² Clay cones originate mostly from Girsu,¹³ but two of them may come from Sippar,¹⁴ and the others are of uncertain or unstated provenance.¹⁵ Unfortunately, I do not have the images of all the copies at my disposal, but thanks to CDLI, photos or at least autographs of 73 items are available. Photographed cones are varied in shape (broader or thinner body, more or less bold head), color and structure.

RIME 3/1 divides the composite text into two columns (9 + 3 lines),¹⁶ and it is therefore probable that this division is the most frequent. However, although D. O. Edzard in RIME 3/1 states that “*the inscription is arranged partly in one column, partly in two (9 + 3 lines)*”,¹⁷ there are more variants of arrangement among the copies of this inscription containing an image on CDLI. Just one copy represents a single column version, whereas the vast majority of copies bear an

1997: 149–150), E3/1.1.7.59 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 153), E3/1.1.7.87 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 172), E3/1.1.7.add101 (see CDLI, this text is missing in RIME 3/1), E3/1.1.7.add103 (see CDLI, this text is missing in RIME 3/1).

⁸ The text E3/1.1.12.2 (see CDLI and EDZARD 1997: 195–196).

⁹ The obverse of the tablet AO 70 bears a part of the damaged inscription consisting of three lines, but several lines at the beginning and end are missing (see CDLI and the text “Lagaš II Unidentified 1029add” on ETCRI, this text is missing in RIME 3/1). The last two lines of the preserved text correspond to the first two lines of our inscription; however, besides the fact that the third line is missing (and, therefore, the concordance with our text is uncertain), the medium is different, and there is a note at the end of the text on CDLI that several lines are missing. This text was therefore probably longer than our inscription.

¹⁰ See EDZARD 1997: 17–18 and CDLI.

¹¹ 490 copies according to CDLI, 455 copies according to EDZARD 1997: 17, and 445 copies according to ETCRI (text “Ur-Bau 04”).

¹² Two bricks (TG 3016 and TG 3144), one door socket (AO 100), and 487 clay cones (according to CDLI; 452 pursuant to EDZARD 1997: 17).

¹³ See EDZARD 1997: 17. CDLI lists 426 copies originating certainly or presumably from Girsu.

¹⁴ BM 82540 and BM 82541 according to CDLI.

¹⁵ 59 according to CDLI.

¹⁶ EDZARD 1997: 17–18.

¹⁷ EDZARD 1997: 17.

inscription divided into several variants of two-columned text. The layout of lines in particular copies whose images are available is as follows:

12 lines (one column)	1 copy ¹⁸
11 + 1 lines	1 copy ¹⁹
10 + 2 lines	1 copy ²⁰
9 + 3 lines	31 copies ²¹
8 + 4 lines	37 copies ²²
7 + 5 lines	1 copy ²³
? + ? lines	1 copy ²⁴

If our fragment is a copy of this inscription, then it belongs to the group of 9 + 3 line arrangement, which is the second most common arrangement among texts with an image on CDLI and the most frequent occurrence among CDLI transliterations of this text in general.²⁵

Copies of this type (at least those with a photo or an autograph) further vary by dividing the first and the third line. The first line of our inscription is parted as “e₂-ninnu-AN.IM/.MI.MUŠEN-babbar₂-ra-ni” which is the most common arrangement among the texts with an image on CDLI,²⁶ but there are two other

¹⁸ UM 86-35-270.

¹⁹ CBS 9141.

²⁰ CBS 9124.

²¹ VA 3121, VA 2598, VA 3120, BM 91063, BM 91065, BM 91066, CBS 9125, CBS 9126, CBS 9130, CBS 9131, CBS 9132, CBS 9136, MAH 15853, MAH O.23, OIM A1448, OIM A1451, OIM A1455, OIM A1540, OIM A1541, OIM A1465, OIM A1469, MM 0710.001, SM 1899.2.639, SM 1899.2.640, SM 1899.2.644, SM 1899.2.647, SM 1899.2.648, SM 1899.2.649, DUROM N 2449, CBS 9028, SM 1899.2.636.

²² BM 91062, BM 91064, Ashm 1942-168, FLP 2632, CBS 9123, CBS 9127, CBS 9128, CBS 9129, CBS 9133, CBS 9134, CBS 9135, CBS 9137, CBS 9139, CBS 9142, CBS 9185, MRAH O.511, IMJ 80.60.203, OIM A1480, OIM A1449, OIM A1452, OIM A1453, OIM A1456, OIM A1459, OIM A1460, NMS A.1948.414, SM 1893.5.42, SM 1899.2.637, SM 1899.2.638, SM 1899.2.641, SM 1899.2.642, SM 1899.2.643, SM 1899.2.645, SM 1899.2.646, Anonymous 388143, CBS 9184, BSNS C15930, ROM 2000.106.934.

²³ PUL Ex 0554.

²⁴ OIM A01489.

²⁵ When searching for the string “3. ki” (it is sufficient because there is no occurrence of a damaged third line of the second column, i.e., the string “3. [ki]” or “3. #ki”) on CDLI, the result is 448 copies of 487 items. The notes on these copies state that the transliterations are checked; however, the arrangement of the lines in columns is (according to the images) different in several cases (e.g. CBS 9128, CBS 9134, CBS 9135, CBS 9139, CBS 9142).

²⁶ The following texts have the same arrangement as our fragment: VA 3121, VA 2598, VA 3120, BM 91063, BM 91065, CBS 9125, CBS 9126, CBS 9132, OIM A1541, OIM A1465, OIM A1469, MM 0710.001, SM 1899.2.640, SM 1899.2.647, SM 1899.2.636.

variants: “e₂-ninnu-AN.IM.MI.MUŠEN/-babbar₂-ra-ni”²⁷ and “e₂-ninnu-AN.IM.-MI/MUŠEN-babbar₂-ra-ni”²⁸. The third line most frequently has the following arrangement: “ki-be₂ mu-na/-gi₄”²⁹. However, the third line of our text is not divided, which is attested only in a few copies on CDLI.³⁰ The most similar to our fragment – in the arrangement of lines as well as the position of particular signs – is the text BM 091065 and perhaps OIM A1469, if we can judge from the preserved legible part of our text. Both of them are of unknown origin.

Text E3/1.1.7.37 (Gudea)

E3/1.1.7.37 is the “*Gudea inscription of highest frequency*”³¹ and almost 1500 copies of this text are preserved.³² The text appears as an inscription on various objects,³³ but, again, the most frequent object type is a clay cone.³⁴ These cones originate from Girsu,³⁵ Adab,³⁶ Sippar,³⁷ Nigin,³⁸ Umma,³⁹ Puzriš-Dagan,⁴⁰ modern Maḏa’in,⁴¹ or they are of unknown/uncertain provenance.⁴² Concerning the availability of images of these copies, the circumstances are the same as in the case of the previous text (and also in the following ones). CDLI provides only

²⁷ The following texts have the arrangement “e₂-ninnu-AN.IM.MI.MUŠEN/-babbar₂-ra-ni”: CBS 9131, OIM A1540, SM 1899.2.649.

²⁸ The following texts have the arrangement “e₂-ninnu-AN.IM.MI/MUŠEN-babbar₂-ra-ni”: BM 91066, CBS 9136, MAH O.23, SM 1899.2.639, SM 1899.2.648.

²⁹ VA 3121, VA 2598, VA 3120, BM 91063, CBS 9125, CBS 9126 (the ending part of the line is broken, but there is a broad space between the strokes dividing the lines), CBS 9130 (the same case as the previous text), CBS 9132, CBS 9136, MAH O.23, OIM A1541, OIM A1465, MM 0710.001 (the line is damaged, but the space between the strokes dividing the lines is broad enough for two signs, one above the other), SM 1899.2.639 (the same case as the previous text), SM 1899.2.640, SM 1899.2.647, SM 1899.2.648, CBS 9028, SM 1899.2.636.

³⁰ BM 91065, BM 91066, OIM A1540, OIM A1469 (the line has a broken ending part, but the space between the strokes dividing the lines is too narrow for two signs, one above the other), SM 1899.2.649.

³¹ EDZARD 1997: 135.

³² 1490 copies according to CDLI, 1171 copies according to EDZARD (1997: 135).

³³ Stamped bricks, bricks, limestone block, diorite tablet, stone tablet, door sockets, clay cones (see EDZARD 1997: 135 and CDLI).

³⁴ 1130 copies according to EDZARD (1997: 135), 1419 copies according to CDLI.

³⁵ See EDZARD 1997: 135. CDLI lists 1074 copies coming certainly or probably from Girsu.

³⁶ See EDZARD 1997: 135. According to CDLI, OIM A1128 and probably also the text OIM A1129 originate from Adab.

³⁷ BM 91040, BM 91041, BM 91042, BM 91053, according to CDLI.

³⁸ VA 3062, according to CDLI.

³⁹ P274860, P274862, and perhaps also P257565, according to CDLI.

⁴⁰ P275044, P275048, according to CDLI.

⁴¹ EDZARD 1997: 135.

⁴² See EDZARD 1997: 135, and also CDLI.

a relatively small number of photos or autographs (only 332), and therefore the result of the following analysis is more of a suggestion than a firm conclusion.

RIME 3/1 arranges this text into two columns containing six and four lines;⁴³ however, the copies of this inscription are considerably varied in the arrangement of lines:

10 lines (one column)	163 copies ⁴⁴
10 (or ? + ?) lines	1 copy ⁴⁵
9 + 1 lines	2 copies ⁴⁶
8 + 2 lines	161 copies ⁴⁷

⁴³ EDZARD 1997: 136.

⁴⁴ P481945, NYPLC 459, NYPLC 153, NYPLC 416, Erm 5465, Erm 8122, Erm 8123, Erm 14401, Erm 14405, Erm 14406, Erm 14407, Erm 14410, Erm 14418, BNUS 373, MMA 86.11.271, MMA 45.90, MMA 86.11.269, MMA 86.11.273, MMA 86.11.275, P387689, P235783, KM 83.2.1, P257565, LoC 026, P272601, P272784, P273138, P273342, P273405, P273882, P274109, P274110, P274860, P274862, P315476, Kress 061, P370991, P370992, P370993, P370994, P387893, P387894, P387895, P387896, P387898, P387901, P387902, P387903, P387904, P387905, P387906, P387907, MS 1791/1, MS 4719, P235674, BM 88308, P388390, P275048, MAH 15851, P250421, P236003, P387839, P387840, P387841, P387897, P274865, P273329, WAM 48.1456, P469871, P423657, UMo 71.26, P429325, IMJ 70.051/0001, SM 1909.5.80, Alderfer 10, Hershey 11, P491478, X.3.325, X.3.327, X.3.328, X.3.329, MM 730.3, MB D11 V05, SM 2000.5.1, DUROM N 2442, MRAH O.5000, MRAH O.5001, FLP 2646.1, FLP 2646.2, FLP 2646.3, FLP 2646.4, FLP 2646.5, FLP 2646.6, FLP 2646.7, FLP 2646.8, FLP 2646.10, FLP 2646.11, FLP 2646.12, FLP 2646.13, FLP 2646.14, FLP 2646.15, FLP 2646.16, FLP 2646.17, FLP 2646.18, FLP 2646.19, FLP 2646.20, FLP 2646.21, FLP 2646.22, FLP 2646.23, FLP 2646.24, FLP 2646.25, FLP 2646.26, FLP 2646.27, FLP 2646.28, FLP 2646.29, FLP 2646.30, FLP 2646.31, FLP 2646.32, FLP 2646.33, FLP 2646.34, FLP 2646.35, FLP 2646.36, FLP 2646.37, FLP 2646.38, FLP 2646.39, FLP 2646.40, FLP 2646.41, FLP 2646.42, FLP 2646.43, FLP 2646.44, FLP 2646.45, FLP 2646.46, FLP 2646.47, FLP 2646.48, FLP 2646.49, FLP 2646.50, FLP 2646.51, FLP 2646.52, FLP 2646.53, FLP 2647, FLP 2648a, FLP 2648b, FLP 2649.1, FLP 2649.2, FLP 2649.3, FLP 2649.4, FLP 2649.5, P460998, P469868, P469869, P469870, SDMM 10101, P472728, P480146, DMNS A1410.8, P480995, P480996, ROM 910x209.633, P497966, MOA 4.24, SM 1899.02.620, P373763, P504425.

⁴⁵ OIM A1548. The text is severely damaged and only lines i 1–5 are preserved.

⁴⁶ Erm 14403, FLP 2646.09.

⁴⁷ VA 3118, BM 91049, BM 91051, BM 91052, BM 91067, OIM A1129, VA 2883, VA 2884, VA 2885, VA 2886, VA 2887, VA 3062, VA 3064, DUROM N 2450, ROM 910x209.579, Erm 05435, Erm 14402, Erm 14404, Erm 14414, Erm 14415, Erm 14416, Erm 14417, Erm 15630, Erm 15631, MAH 15852, MAH 16023, MAH 16024, P217968, LB 930a, LB 930b, LB 930c, MMA 86.11.270, MMA 86.11.276, MMUM 35526, MRAH O.241, MRAH O.22, P217965, P235994, KM 89488, P254342, P257549, Kress 002, P274120, P281694, Kress 029, Kress 031, P332663, P362914, Kress 068, P387842, P387899, P387900, OwenEL 005, MS 1791/2, P275044, P274864, NYPLC 103, CAJS 3, M.80.202.5, P128040, OIM A1464, CAJS 14, SM 1909.5.79, OIM A1481, OIM A1482,

7 + 3 lines	3 copies ⁴⁸
6 + 4 lines	2 copies ⁴⁹

If our fragment is a copy of this inscription, it belongs to the group of 7 + 3 line arrangement; however, the most common types of E3/1.1.7.37 are a one-columned text and two-columned text with 8 + 2 lines. Among the transliterations of this text on CDLI, the typical layout is 6 + 4 lines,⁵⁰ but this is probably caused by the fact that for the copies without an available image, the transliteration given by RIME 3/1 was used,⁵¹ and the arrangement of these copies is therefore uncertain. On the contrary, the type of 7 + 3 lines is in the absolute minority among the copies with an image available to me, and only two copies (of three) provide the second column. The fragment OIM A1483 is similar to our copy in the extension of the preserved text, but its body is broader and its peak is not very sharp. However, the second text, SM 1899.2.632, is as narrow and as sharp as our fragment. The lines of the second column are divided in the same way in both of them. The arrangement of the first line corresponds to our fragment, but the last line is divided.⁵² The first cone is of unknown origin, and the second one comes presumably from Girsu.

OIM A1484 + OIM A1486 + OIM A1488, OIM A1487, OIM A1490, OIM A1493, OIM A1494, OIM A1499, SM 1906.2.9, WCMA 20.1.32, P429763, OIM A1401, OIM A1403, OIM A1405, OIM A1406 + OIM A1417, OIM A1407, OIM A1408, OIM A1409, OIM A1411, OIM A1412, OIM A1418, OIM A1419, OIM A1421, OIM A1422, OIM A1423, OIM A1424, OIM A1425, OIM A1428, OIM A1430, OIM A1431, OIM A1432, OIM A1433, OIM A1434, OIM A1435, OIM A1436, SM 1909.5.78, OIM A1439, OIM A1440, OIM A1441, OIM A1450, OIM A1454, OIM A1461, OIM A1462, OIM A1463, OIM A1514, OIM A1546, OIM A1547, MM 710.004, MM 710.005, MU 4128, P453392, OIM A1128, P453412, NMS A.1907.698, CB 27, SM 1899.2.630, SM 1893.9.1, SM 1893.9.2, SM 1893.12.2, SM 1899.2.627, SM 1899.2.628, SM 1899.2.629, SM 1899.2.631, SM 1899.2.633, SM 1899.2.634, DUROM N 2443, DUROM N 2444, DUROM N 2445, DUROM N 2446, DUROM N 2451, DUROM N 2452, MRAH O.5002, FLP 2650.1, FLP 2650.2, FLP 2650.3, FLP 2650.4, FLP 2650.5, FLP 2650.6, P471651, P471653, P423694, BM 109929, P480687, P480994, ROM 967.287.72, DUROM N 2453, P498080, OIM A1447, Mihira 10, TCF 134-851, SM 1899.2.621, SM 1899.2.622, SM 1899.2.623, SM 1899.2.624, SM 1899.2.625, SM 1899.2.626, Ponsar 2, P507780.

⁴⁸WCMA 20.1.04 (the text is severely damaged with a broken part of the first column and a wholly lost second column, but it is visible that the last line of the first column is line 7: [n]i_g₂-du₇-e pa m[u]/-na-e₃), OIM A1483 (only second column is preserved), and SM 1899.2.632.

⁴⁹DUROM N 2456 and perhaps P388141.

⁵⁰In 1062 cases. See CDLI and search for the string “4. ki” (it is sufficient because there is no occurrence of a damaged fourth line of the second column, i.e., the string “4. [ki” or “4. #ki”).

⁵¹CDLI states “no atf (reconstruction)” in 1061 cases (e.g. Ist EŞEM 13039).

⁵²OIM A1483 bears a partly preserved text of the second column: (ii 1) [e₂]-ninnu-AN.IM/[MI.MU]ŠEN-babbar₂-ra-ni (ii 2) [m]u-na-du₃ (ii 3) [ki-b]₂ mu-na/-gi₄. SM

Text E3/1.1.7.38 (Gudea)

Only one copy of the text E3/1.1.7.38, a clay cone, is known. It bears the inscription of which the last three lines correspond to our text, but the error of a scribe occurs in the penultimate line (“mu-na-NI” instead of “mu-na-du₃”). Edzard,⁵³ CDLI, and ETCsRI cite the text composed of nine lines and divided into two columns (seven lines in the first and two lines in the second), but the website of The British states that the object BM 87235 is a “*clay cone of Gudea with nine and three lines of inscription*”.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, none of these sources provide an image, and therefore I cannot verify the similarity in the arrangement of columns and the division of line ii 1 in our text.

Text E3/1.1.7.41 (Gudea)

The text E3/1.1.7.41, on the other hand, is documented by numerous copies⁵⁵ written on various types of objects,⁵⁶ but the most common medium is a clay cone.⁵⁷ The cones originate mostly from Girsu,⁵⁸ but also from Lagaš,⁵⁹ Umma,⁶⁰ Eridu,⁶¹ or are of unknown provenance.⁶² CDLI gives the images of 63 items that show the following arrangement of the text:

11 lines (one column) 60 copies⁶³

1899.2.632 has survived in a better state, but it has a broken end, and the last signs of the lines in the second column are missing: (ii 1) e₂-ninnu-A[N.IM]/.MI.MUŠEN-babb[ar₂-ra-ni] (ii 2) mu-na-[du₃] (ii 3) ki-b[e₂ mu-na]/-gi₄.

⁵³ EDZARD 1997: 136.

⁵⁴ The British Museum 2019: Collection online (BM 87235).

⁵⁵ RIME 3/1 lists 357 copies (Edzard 1997: 138), and CDLI provides 411 exemplars.

⁵⁶ Door sockets, diorite tablet, stone tablets, bronze pegs with kneeling god, and clay cones (see EDZARD 1997: 138 and CDLI).

⁵⁷ 312 copies according to RIME 3/1 (EDZARD 1997: 138), 360 copies according to CDLI.

⁵⁸ EDZARD (1997: 138) states that the objects come from Girsu or unknown provenance. CDLI gives Girsu as the origin of 282 exemplars.

⁵⁹ Exs. VA 3060, VA 10946, VA 10947.

⁶⁰ Exs. P274861, P274863.

⁶¹ Ex. MOA 4.19.

⁶² See EDZARD 1997: 138, and CDLI.

⁶³ P388140, MMA 86.11.252, MMA 86.11.272, MMA 86.11.274, Ashm 1967-1501, CBS 9091, CBS 9093, CBS 9094, OIM A1413, BM 90882, BM 90883, BM 90888, BM 90889, BM 91045, BM 91047, BM 91048, Erm 07383, Erm 14412, Erm 14413, P273330, CULC 602, P274861, P274863, P390484, MOA 4.19, WCMA 20.1.01, WCMA 20.1.02, OIM A1522, OIM A1426, OIM A1427, OIM A1429, OIM A1442, OIM A1466, OIM A1521, OIM A1467, OIM A1468, OIM A1470, OIM A1472, OIM A1473, OIM A1474, X.3.129, X.3.130, X.3.131, MM 710.002, CAJS 15, OIM A1476, OIM A1477, OIM A1479, PUL Ex 555, DUROM N 2447, DUROM N 2455, P275035 (the arrangement is uncertain because the photo shows only one side of the cone), P471652, P480149, BM 90890, E.40-

9 + 2 lines

3 copies⁶⁴

As can be seen above, CDLI provides only a low number of images of the whole amount of copies and none of them have three lines in the second column. The search in all transliterations yields the same result, and the cones with a single column text entirely prevail.⁶⁵ The 8 + 3 line arrangement occurs among the copies of this text as well; however, this is a layout typical for other object types, not for cones.⁶⁶ Edzard applied this arrangement for the composite text in RIME 3/1,⁶⁷ but it is evident from the used terms “obverse” and “reverse” that the pattern was a two-sided object.

Conclusion

In the light of the previous analysis, I am, with some degree of doubt, inclined to the opinion that our fragment is a copy of the text E3/1.1.6.4 of Ur-Bau. Preserved copies of this inscription very often have the arrangement of a two-columned text with 9 + 3 lines, which means the same number of lines in the second column as in the case of our fragment. It should be borne in mind, of course, that of the 487 copies provided by CDLI, the images of only 73 items are available, which is roughly 15%. However, the high frequency of this layout is indicated by transliterations of particular copies on CDLI as well as by the fact that the same arrangement occurs in RIME 3/1. CDLI even shows two cones of basically the same position of every single sign in the second column as on our fragment.

The inscriptions of Gudea, on the contrary, seem to be less probable. The text E3/1.1.7.38 is documented by only one copy, which presumably has a different layout of lines. The text E3/1.1.7.37 appears on a large number of clay cones of various layouts, but the cones with three lines in the second column are perhaps in a minority. The text E3/1.1.7.41 is also represented by numerous cones; nevertheless, none of the copies available to me have three lines in the second column.

A second clue might be that our fragment is rather thin, and the thin cones appear more often among the Ur-Bau's cones, while the cones of Gudea are frequently thicker at the top and sharply thinning to the end. For both rulers, however, both thin and thick cones are known. The thickness usually but not always depends on

1907, P498079, X.3.185, X.3.193, Mihira 12 (the cone is severely damaged, so the arrangement is uncertain).

⁶⁴ VA 3060, BSNS C13691, P469872.

⁶⁵ 352 items of one-column text, four of 9+2 arrangement, four fragmentary.

⁶⁶ See CDLI: door sockets (exs. 001–008), diorite tablet (ex. 010), stone tablets (exs. 011–018), stone tablet (ex. 020), bronze foundation canephore figurines (exs. 021–042 and 044), alabaster tablet (ex. 045), limestone tablet (ex. add365), stone tablet (ex. add370).

⁶⁷ See EDZARD 1997: 139.

the maximum number of lines in one column, and the thick cones are typical for one-columned texts that are more common for Gudea.

Fragment of a clay cone (no. 2)

General Remarks

The second fragment⁶⁸ is an ending part of a clay cone of the same tint as the previous. For the state and the dimensions see Figure 11, Figure 12 and Figure 13.

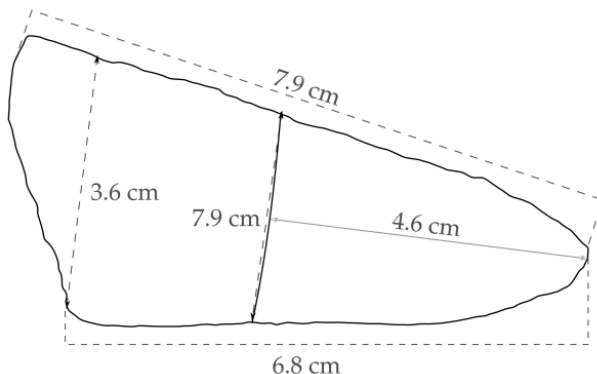


Fig. 11: Dimensions of fragment no. 2.



Fig. 12: Photo of fragment no. 2.

⁶⁸ UWB 002 at CDLI.

The text

The surface of the fragment is partially damaged, but it perhaps bore the text of nine lines, of which only the last (one or two) signs are unfortunately preserved, some of them only in part. Although it is the ending part, due to the higher number of lines it is probably a text written in one column.

- 1) [...] DU₁₀
- 2) [...] 'LA¹? KI
- 3) [...] 'NI⁶⁹
- 4) [...] A
- 5) [...] 'SI
- 6) [...] 'KI?
- 7) [...] 'x¹ [...] / KE₄
- 8) [...] 'x¹ 'KA¹ NI
- 9) [...] DU₃

It is quite difficult to specify the language and the type of the inscription, but taking into account the medium, the shape and the style of the script, the text is probably a Sumerian royal building inscription originating from the 2nd half of the 3rd millennia BCE. Among Sumerian royal inscriptions, only those naming the goddess Gatumdu end with the sign DU₁₀/DUG₃ in the first line. These inscriptions belong to the rulers Entemena, Gudea, and Ibî-Sîn, but the style of the script, the number of lines and the signs preserved in our text correspond only to the text E3/1.1.7.11 of Gudea⁷⁰ – unless, of course, it is not a new and unknown text.

⁶⁹ Based on a comparison of the characters in lines 8 and 9, it is more probable that the sign is NI, not the sign GAG, because the sign GAG would have a longer vertical wedge, and above this wedge would be the beginning of the upper long oblique wedge.

⁷⁰ Gudea names the goddess Gatumdu in the first line of several texts, but the others differ from our inscription. The last line of the text E3/1.1.7.11a expressly states that this text was written on the door; moreover, this inscription omits the seventh line of our text ([...] 'x¹ [...] / KE₄) (see EDZARD 1997: 116, and ETCSRI: Gudea 011a). The text E3/1.1.7.12 is written on a brick, and it omits the second line of our text ([...] 'LA¹? KI) (see EDZARD 1997: 116–117, and ETCSRI: Gudea 012). The text E3/1.1.7.13 is inscribed on the limestone tablet, and it differs in the signs of the seventh line (KA-NI instead of KE₄) (see EDZARD 1997: 117, and ETCSRI: Gudea 013).

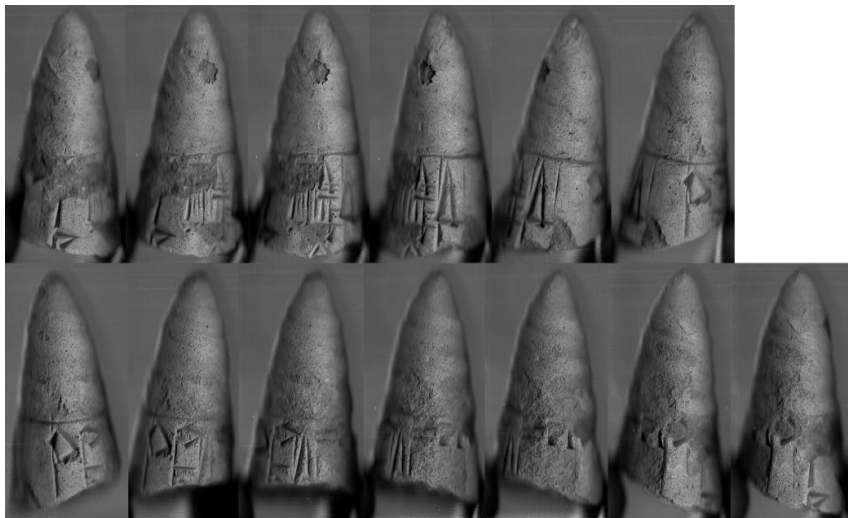


Fig. 13: Scanned images of fragment no. 2.

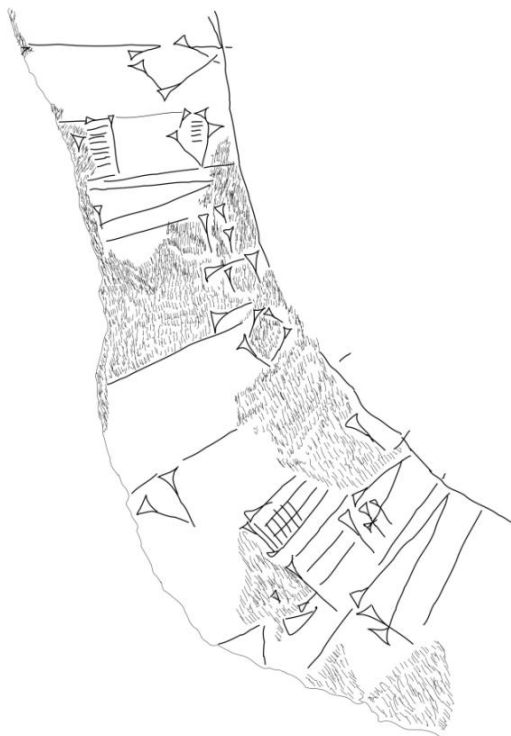


Fig. 14: Copy of fragment no. 2.

Text E3/1.1.7.11 (Gudea)

The text E3/1.1.7.11 has been preserved on dozens of objects,⁷¹ chiefly clay cones,⁷² but also bricks. Their origin is Girsu, or they are of unknown provenance.⁷³ CDLI provides a photo or a copy of only four items,⁷⁴ where the inscription is always composed of one column. I assume – because of the fragmentation of our fragment – that these copies are different in the partitioning of lines 7 and 8. However, they are also slightly different from one another. Line 7 of our fragment seems to be divided as “ur ^dga₂-tum₃-du₁₀/-ke₄”, but the same line of the copies given by CDLI is parted as “ur / ^dga₂-tum₃-du₁₀-ke₄”. Because the strokes separating line 8 of our text are too close together, this line is perhaps undivided. The same line of the texts WAM 48.1460, WAM 48.1461, and OIM A1496 has the arrangement of signs as “e₂-iri-ku₃-ga-ka/-ni”, and the same line of the text Ashm 1929-0777 as “e₂-iri-ku₃-ga/-ka-ni”.

Conclusion

Although our fragment is considerably damaged, it is most likely the copy of the text E3/1.1.7.11 of Gudea. No other short Sumerian text written on a clay cone ends with the sign DU₁₀ in the first line and this text in principle corresponds to the preserved signs on our fragment. The texts provided by CDLI have (probably) different partitioning of lines 7 and 8; nevertheless, CDLI shows only four images from 44 items, so I do not know the layout of the other copies. Moreover, some other inscriptions (e.g. Ur-Bau’s E3/1.1.6.4) demonstrate a certain degree of variability in a division of lines consisting of more signs.

Fragment of a brick (no. 3)**General Remarks**

The last fragment⁷⁵ is perhaps a part of a brick because its depth is too broad, and the signs are rather large in comparison with a tablet. Its state and dimensions are shown in Figure 15, Figure 16 and Figure 17.

The text

The identification of the text is problematic, as the fragment is relatively small and it contains just one complete and several partially preserved signs. The sur-

⁷¹ RIME 3/1 lists 47 copies (EDZARD 1997: 115), CDLI 50 copies.

⁷² 42 according to RIME 3/1 (EDZARD 1997: 115), 44 according to CDLI.

⁷³ CDLI lists 28 copies coming certainly or presumably from Girsu. See also EDZARD 1997: 115.

⁷⁴ Ashm 1929-0777, WAM 48.1460, WAM 48.1461, OIM A1496.

⁷⁵ UWB 003 at CDLI.

viving passage consists of four lines – presumably stamped, not manually written – somewhere from the middle of the inscription, but the considerable parts of the upper and the bottom line have been destroyed. The first line shows only remains of lower parts of (perhaps two) signs. The second consists of the rest of a sign ending with two oblique wedges forming a closed angle and the entire sign E_2 , followed possibly by the sign SAG . The third line probably contains the greater part of the sign E_2 and the beginning of the sign GI or ZI .⁷⁶ The last line comprises the remains of two signs.

- 1') [...] 'x x' [...]
 2') [...] 'x' E_2 'SAG' [...]
 3') [...] ' E_2 ' 'GI or ZI' [...]
 4') [...] 'x x' [...]

The full text, considering the size of the medium, was not very long, and was perhaps a standard or short royal building inscription. The script corresponds to the end of the 3rd or the 2nd millennium BCE, or eventually the archaising style of the 1st millennium BCE, which was in use in south Mesopotamia rarely among Neo-Assyrian but often among Neo-Babylonian rulers. It is probable that the text names two temples in lines 2' and 3', and the likely candidates are Esagil and Ezida due to the remains of the signs as well as the importance and the relationship of the gods Marduk and Nabû.

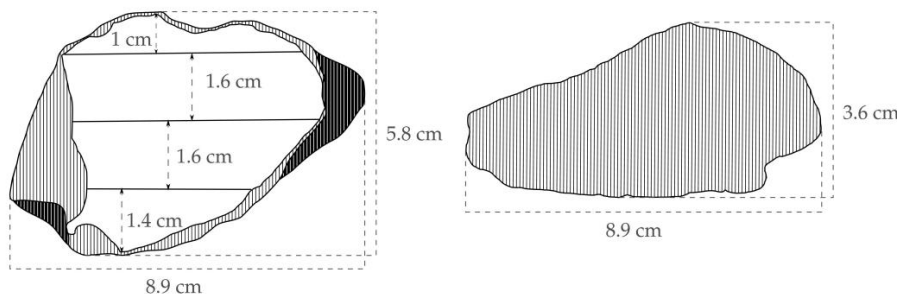


Fig. 15: Dimensions of fragment no. 3.

⁷⁶ RI could also be considered, but a lower angled wedge would probably be visible.



Fig. 16: Photo of fragment no. 3.



Fig. 17: Scanned image of fragment no. 3.

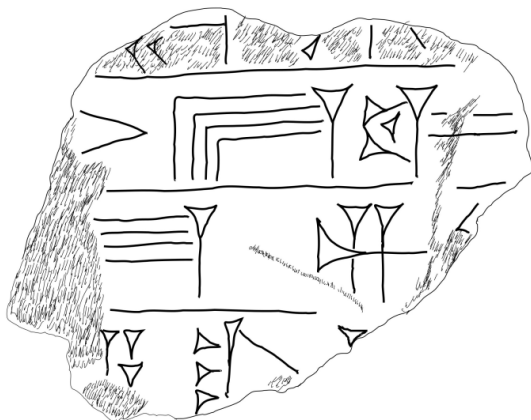


Fig. 18: Copy of fragment no. 3.

According to the structure of the object, its style, and preserved signs, the text is probably Neo-Babylonian. The reasons for this opinion are as follows: neither Sumerian nor Old Akkadian building inscriptions mention the name Ezida or Esagil at all.⁷⁷ During the Old Babylonian period, these temples occur very rarely in the texts,⁷⁸ and they appear close to each other in the only royal inscription E4.3.6.17 dated to the reign of Hammu-rabi. This text, however, is written on the limestone tablet and it is too long.⁷⁹ Even Kassite bricks, the photos or autographs of which I had at my disposal, do not match our fragment, because these texts practically never name Esagil and the signs and their positions are different.⁸⁰ The inscription BM 26295 of Marduk-šāpik-zēri of the Second Dynasty of Isin, written in archaising script, names Esagil and Ezida (ll. 5–6); however, the positions of the relevant signs as well as their forms are different, and, moreover, the text is a copy written on a clay tablet in the second half of the 7th century

⁷⁷ See, e.g., ETCsRI, FRAYNE 1998, FRAYNE 1993, EDZARD 1997, FRAYNE 1997, and NOVOTNY 2014.

⁷⁸ See FRAYNE 1990, and NOVOTNY 2014.

⁷⁹ FRAYNE 1990: 354–355, and CDLI (RIME 4.03.06.17 composite).

⁸⁰ See CDLI (bricks of the Middle Babylonian period including the Second Dynasty of Isin) and The British Museum (Kassite bricks). An inscription of Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina I recording the building of Ezida in Borsippa (VAT 4131) perhaps names Esagil and Ezida close together (ll. 7–8), but the text is too long (BRINKMAN 1976: 242, 247, 252; DELITZSCH, MESSERSCHMIDT and UNGNAD 1907: 23, no. 34). The inscription is preserved on a clay tablet; however, it is possible that it was originally inscribed on a brick (or door socket) like the majority of original Kassite building inscriptions, whereas clay tablets usually bear the later copies (BRINKMAN 1976: 63). The interesting thing is that Ezida is said to be a temple of the god Marduk, not Nabû.

BCE.⁸¹ The Assyrian inscriptions until the reign of Shalmaneser III do not contain the names Esagil and Ezida written both in one text.⁸² The texts of Shalmaneser III and his successors sometimes mention both temples (and rarely one close to another), but the length of the texts, their medium, their script, the distance between the names, or the position of signs differ from our fragment and its anticipated inscription.⁸³

Until the reign of Nabopolassar, only two Babylonian kings of the 1st millennium BCE name the temples Esagil and Ezida together in the same inscription; however, all of these texts differ from our fragment in various aspects.⁸⁴ During the

⁸¹ See CDLI (BM 26295); FRAME 1995: 47–48, B.2.7.2; and RIBo, text Marduk-šapik-zeri 2. The text concerns the reconstruction of the Ezida temple at Borsippa.

⁸² See GRAYSON 1987, GRAYSON 1991, GRAYSON 1996, and RIAo.

⁸³ Esagil and Ezida are mentioned in the inscription of Shalmaneser III engraved on the bronze gates at Imgur-Enlil (GRAYSON 1996: 25–32, A.O.102.5; Esagil: ll. v 6, vi 1, Ezida: ll. vi 2, 3), in the text of Bēl-tarši-ilumma dated to the reign of Adad-nārārī III (GRAYSON 1996: 226–227, A.O.104.2002, and The British Museum 2019: Collection online (BM 118888 and BM 118889); ll. 1 and 7), in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III (TADMOR and YAMADA 2011: 64–65; RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 24; l. 6), and in the Annals of Sargon II (FUCHS 1994: 154, l. 314; BOTTA and FLANDIN 1849: pl. 66). Numerous bricks of Sargon II originating from Babylon and Kiš bear the inscription designating the ruler as *zānin Esagil u Ezida* (FRAME 1995: 144–145, B.6.22.1; BECKMAN 1987: 2–3; ll. 8–9 in the composite inscription; see also CDLI). Esagil and Ezida also appear in two inscriptions of Esarhaddon (LEICHTY 2011: 273–277, nos. 134 and 135; CDLI (RINAP 4 Esarhaddon 134, RINAP 4 Esarhaddon 135); JORDAN and SCHOTT 1930: 58–60 and Taf. 29a (Nr. 24); l. 8 in both inscriptions). And finally, several inscriptions dealing with both temples are dated to the reign of Ashurbanipal. Some texts (written on prisms) originate from Nineveh and Kalḫu: Ashurbanipal 006 (RINAP 5; VAS 1, no. 82; ll. i 18' (Esagil) and i 47' (Ezida)), Ashurbanipal 007 (RINAP 5; KNUDSEN 1967: pls. XIV–XXIX or WISEMAN 1951: pl. XII; ll. i 17' (Ezida) and vii 44 (Esagil and Ezida)), Ashurbanipal 010 (RINAP 5; CDLI (BM 121006 + BM 127889); ll. i 21 (Esagil) and ii 5 (Ezida)), and Ashurbanipal 013 (RINAP 5; CDLI (BM 123425), The British Museum 2019: Collection online (BM 123410); ll. ii 17' and ii 24' (Ezida) and ii 12' (Esagil)). The inscription Ashurbanipal 023 (RINAP 5; The British Museum 2019: Collection online (124801,a–c); ll. 55 and 58 (Ezida), and 41 and 52 (Esagil)) is composed of epigraphs written on the stone slab found at Nineveh. The text Ashurbanipal Babylonian 12 was inscribed upon fragments of two clay cylinders, originating from Borsippa (RINAP 5; FRAME 1995: 215, B.6.32.13; WEIDNER 1939: Taf. XVI; FRAME 1991: 119; ll. 6 and 20 (Ezida), and 9, 14, 18 (Esagil)). The inscription Ashurbanipal Babylonian 13, also from Borsippa, is carved on the back and side part of the stone stele (RINAP 5; FRAME 1995: 217, B.6.32.14; LEHMANN-HAUPT 1892: Taf. XIII–XVI; ll. 33 (Ezida) and 8, 17, 28 (Esagil)). See also RIAo and RINAP.

⁸⁴ The text Nabû-šuma-iškun 1 is recorded on a clay tablet in Late Babylonian script (RIBo; FRAME 1995: 118–122, B.6.14.1; CDLI (W 22660/0); ll. i 14, rev. iii 34', rev. iii 36' (Esagil), and ii 7 and ii 17 (Ezida)). The inscription Nabû-šuma-iškun 2001 is written on a clay cylinder (RIBo; FRAME 1995: 123–126, B.6.14.2001; The British Museum 2019: Collection online (BM 33428); ll. i 8 (Esagil), i 22', ii 3, ii 21', ii 22', and ii 33' (Ezida)). The text Šamaš-šuma-ukin 3 is carved on the stone stele, and its script is con-

reign of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, the title *zānin Esagil u Ezida* and its later variant *muddiš Esagil u Ezida* became a standard epithet of the Babylonian kings, even without real work on these buildings,⁸⁵ and, therefore, the inscriptions naming both temples close to each other are relatively common. Many of these texts – which are of various length, style of signs, writing of individual words and division into lines – come from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. This king is also the most probable candidate for the author of our copy because the inscriptions of the other rulers differ in one or more ways.⁸⁶

temporary Babylonian (RIBo; FRAME 1995: 252–253, B.6.33.3; LEHMANN-HAUPT 1892: Taf. V–VII; ll. 7, 8, 33 (Esagil), and 13 (Ezida)). The inscription Šamaš-šuma-ukin 5, written on a clay tablet, uses the contemporary Babylonian script (RIBo; FRAME 1995: 256–257, B.6.33.5; CDLI (CBS 733+1757); ll. rev. 25 (Esagil), and 13, rev. 28 (Ezida)). The names of the temples are too far apart in these texts, and the media are not bricks. The text Šamaš-šuma-ukin 4 contains the string *ēpiš Esagil zānin Ezida* (l. 14); however, it is inscribed on two clay cylinders and its script is contemporary Babylonian (RIBo; see FRAME 1995: 253–255, B.6.33.4; and, e.g., LEHMANN-HAUPT 1892: Taf. VIII–X concerning the type of script; ll. 14, 16, 17 (Esagil), and 10, 14, 27 (Ezida)).

⁸⁵ See DA RIVA 2013: 3, 13.

⁸⁶ Nabopolassar uses the epithet *zānin Esagil u Ezida* in an inscription reporting the reconstruction of Marduk's *ziggurat* Etemenanki which is documented by two slightly different copies, CBS 9090 and BM 91090. Both of them are written in the archaizing script; however, compared to our fragment, the text is too long, the medium is a clay cylinder, and the names of the temples occur in the same line (DA RIVA 2013: 77–92, C31; RIBo, Nabopolassar 05; CDLI (CBS 9090) and The British Museum 2019: Collection online (BM 91090); l. i 16/18). Amēl-Marduk lists Esagil and Ezida close to each other only once. Although it is a brick inscription written in an archaizing script, the text is too short (only three lines) and the names of the temples appear in the same line (DA RIVA 2013: 106, B1; RIBo, Amēl-Marduk 01; KOLDEWEY 1913: 78, Abb. 50; l. 2). His successor Neriglissar, on the other hand, mentions both temples in the proximity several times, but these texts are mostly cylinder inscriptions that are longer than our expected text (DA RIVA 2013: 114–120, C21 (= RIBo, Neriglissar 01; The British Museum 2019: Collection online (BM 113233 and BM 32550); l. i 8); DA RIVA 2013: 120–124, C22 (= RIBo, Neriglissar 02; CDLI (BM 90913); ll. i 17 and i 29); DA RIVA 2013: 125–135, C23 (= RIBo, Neriglissar 03; RAWLINSON 1861: Pl. 67 (ex. 1); ll. i 2, i 18, ii 12 (ex. 1), ii 14–15 (ex. 6)); DA RIVA 2013: 140–143, C022 (= RIBo, Neriglissar 06; ll. i 7–8); DA RIVA 2013: 135–138, C011 (= RIBo, Neriglissar 08); l. i 6')). Four Neriglissar's bricks coming from Babylon bear the inscription written in the archaizing script, which names Esagil and Ezida. However, the text is composed of only three lines, the names of both temples are in the same line, and the sign before the first name differs from the preserved part of the equal sign on our fragment (DA RIVA 2013: 112–113, B1; RIBo, Neriglissar 04; CIS II/1 1889: 60 (no. 58); KOLDEWEY 1913: 79 (Abb. 51G); l. 2). Also the last Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus names Esagil and Ezida relatively often; however, his cylinder, tablet and stele inscriptions are too long (see SCHAUDIG 2001: 345–529, nos. 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.18, 3.3), and his shorter inscriptions, mostly written on bricks, differ from our fragment for various reasons (see SCHAUDIG 2001: 476, 2.21 (l. 4; the script is Neo-Babylonian, temple names are in the same line, and the medi-

Brick inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II

Because of Nebuchadnezzar's vigorous building activities in major Babylonian cities, multiple museums and private collections all around the world house plenty of bricks bearing his inscription. If the provenance is known, the bricks originate from the cities of Babylon, Ur, Larsa, Eridu, Borsippa, and Sippar. From the copies I have at my disposal via CDLI⁸⁷ and The British, I take into account only those naming Esagil and Ezida together and longer than four lines, because our fragment contains four preserved lines, whereas the first line is probably missing. Moreover, the three-line and four-line texts have a different position of signs, and the temple names are in the same line. Excluded are also fragments that are either illegible or too small, as well as fragments whose corresponding part has been completely broken away.

Documented brick inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II are mostly of the same wording – the name of the ruler, his title as the king of Babylon, the epithet *zānin Esagil u Ezida*, and filiation. The longer texts also append the information on the specific building project. On the other hand, however, the usage of signs in particular words of this constant text is quite varied. Words, including the names,

um is a clay tablet); SCHAUDIG 2001: 545–546, 4.2 (l. 2; the script is Neo-Babylonian; temple names are in the same line, and the medium is a stone bowl); SCHAUDIG 2001: 335, 1.1 (ll. 2–3; it is a brick inscription written in archaizing script, but the text is short, and the sign NIN before the name Esagil does not correspond to the partly preserved sign on our fragment); SCHAUDIG 2001: 335, 1.2 (l. 4; it is a brick inscription written in archaizing script, but the temple names are in the same line, and the signs in the following line do not correspond to the partly preserved signs on our fragment); SCHAUDIG 2001: 337–338, 1.5 (l. 2; it is a brick inscription written in archaizing script, but the text is short, temple names are in the same line, and the sign NIN before the name Esagil does not correspond to the partly preserved sign on our fragment; see, e.g., also CDLI (BM 90143, BM 90144, BM 90145, BM 90146, BM 90147, BM 90159, BM 90160, BM 90284)); SCHAUDIG 2001: 341–342, 1.8 (l. 2; it is a brick inscription written in archaizing script, but the temple names are in the same line, and the sign NIN before the name Esagil does not correspond to the partly preserved sign on our fragment; see, e.g., also CDLI (BM 90151, BM 90152, BM 90153)); SCHAUDIG 2001: 342–343, 1.9 (ll. 1–2; it is a brick inscription, but the script is Neo-Babylonian, the first temple name occurs in the first line, and the sign before Esagil is NIN; see also DONBAZ 1991: 11–12 or CDLI (P498477))).

⁸⁷ Texts found by searching “Nebuchadnezzar2” as the “Dates referenced” and “brick” as the “Object type”. Several bricks from the Archäologisches Institut und Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich not assigned to Nebuchadnezzar II on CDLI must be added to these (ZhArchSlg 1926, ZhArchSlg 1927, ZhArchSlg 1928, ZhArchSlg 1929, ZhArchSlg 1930, ZhArchSlg 1931, ZhArchSlg 1934, ZhArchSlg 1935, ZhArchSlg 5216, ZhArchSlg 5217, ZhArchSlg 5218, ZhArchSlg 5219, ZhArchSlg 5220, ZhArchSlg 5221), and some bricks from the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology at Toronto incorrectly classified as tablets (ROM 975.35.7, ROM 910x209.572, ROM 910x209.574, ROM 910x209.575, ROM 958.64.3, ROM 958.64.4).

are written logographically as well as syllabically,⁸⁸ even in syllabic writing, the same word may vary,⁸⁹ and several styles of some characters occur.⁹⁰

Although I am aware of the less-than-detailed accuracy of such a categorization, I have sorted the inscriptions plainly according to the count of their lines:

6 lines	25 copies ⁹¹
7 lines	87 copies ⁹²
13 lines	15 copies ⁹³

⁸⁸ E.g. KA₂.DINGIR.RA and *ba-bi-lu*; SAG.KAL, SAG and *a-ša-re-du*.

⁸⁹ E.g. *ba-bi-i-lu*, *ba-bi-lu*, and *ba-ab-i-lu*; *za-ni-in*, *za-nin*, and *za-ni-nu*.

⁹⁰ Especially the signs KA₂ and E₂.

⁹¹ SM 1954.3.3 (broken, but perhaps six-line inscription), BM 114281, KVM 32.1157 (partially poorly readable), UM 84-26-027, UM 84-26-047, UM 84-26-053, BM 90120, UM 84-26-129, BM 90121, BM 90122, BM 90123, BM 90124, BM 90125, BM 90126, BM 90137, BM 90138, BM 90139 (the inscription is smudgy, but the temples probably occur in the same line), BM 90155, BM 116732 (the brick has a considerably abraded surface, but the shape of signs E₂ seems to be different), BM 90307, BM 90312 (the corresponding part is broken), BM 90317, MAT 791, ZhArchSlg 1928, ZhArchSlg 1926.

⁹² MHBA 63.0004E, MHBA 80.0003E, KVM 32.1183, MS 1815/2, MS 1815/3, AUB 2679, AUB 5130 (partially broken away), MAH O.0012, HUJI 8083 (only parts of the first four lines preserved; it could also be a six-line variant), CBS 8619, CBS 8620, CBS 8626b, CBS 8627, CBS 8629, CBS 8630, KM 33672, KM 33699 (partially abraded), BNUS 1, P477976 (fragment), P461076, P461077, MS 1815/1, MU 2145, BM 90063, BM 90064, BM 137400, BM 137401, BM 90069, BM 90074, BM 90078, BM 90082, BM 137430 (the appropriate part is partially broken away), BM 137431 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), BM 90086, BM 137432, BM 137433, BM 137434 (too abraded), BM 137443 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), BM 137447 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), X.3.113 (heavily abraded), BM 90108, BM 90109, P498488 (the appropriate part is partially broken away), P498489 (hardly abraded), P388078, BM 90787 (hardly abraded), BM 138175, BM 90822, BM 90823, HATMP 1519, BM 90157, X.3.188 (hardly abraded, the corresponding part is partially missing), BM 98067, MAH O.0013, BM 100692, MAH O.0014, Lybrand 01 (partially broken away), SM 1892.1.3 (hardly abraded and partially broken away), TCF 191-3316 (only an autography is provided by CDLI), Higuchi 2, MM 1977:023b, UIOM 1601, MM 715.006, MM 715.007 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), ROM 912.032.000, IMJ B66.06.0917, MHM 14920, BM 90303, HUJI 8080 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), MCSC 001 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), BM 90313, BM 90314, BM 90315 (the corresponding part is partially abraded), BM 90318 + BM 90759, BM 90319, DUROM N 2274, BM 90320, MAT 792, VA 75, ZhArchSlg 1927, ZhArchSlg 1929, ZhArchSlg 1930, ROM 958.064.003, ROM 975.035.007, ROM 910x209.572 (the corresponding part is partially broken away), ROM 910x209.575 (hardly abraded), IMJ 87.056.0855 (fragment).

⁹³ P273331, P275049, P390485, BM 90111, BM 90112, BM 90113, BM 90114, BM 90115 (the corresponding part is too abraded, but it is perhaps the same as in the previous

Among Nebuchadnezzar's bricks provided by CDLI, only some copies of the seven-line variant correspond to our text. The six-line exemplars have a different shape of E₂,⁹⁴ or an inappropriate sign before the first E₂ (NU or NIN) or the temple names occur in the same line. In most cases, it is a combination of two of these inappropriate appearances. All of the thirteen-line texts have the sign NIN before the first temple name, and the sign E₂ has a different shape.⁹⁵ These texts, if the provenance is known, originate from Larsa.⁹⁶

The seven-line type of bricks, on the other hand, is the most numerous and variable. This category includes the items varying from our text in different ways, as other shapes of E₂ or KA₂,⁹⁷ syllabical writing of Babylon, the sign NIN before the first E₂, and smaller or larger shift of the signs to the right or left. However, several copies of this type are very similar: CBS 8626b from Ur, CBS 8629 from Ur, BM 137430 perhaps from Ur,⁹⁸ P498488 from Babylon, BM 90823 from Sippar, ROM 975.035.007, and ZhArchSlg 1930 from Babylon.

Some of the similar bricks are partially damaged or abraded, but the legible passages of all these copies have the same wording and use identical signs.⁹⁹ If our fragment is a copy of this inscription, then the whole text should be as follows:

texts, at least according to the transliteration on The British Museum (BM 90115)), BM 90116, BM 90117, BM 90118, BM 90119, P432104, Campalans 008, BM 90280.

⁹⁴ The front part of E₂ is lacking vertical strokes, or it is like a grid.

⁹⁵ The lowest horizontal wedge of E₂ is long and without a vertical stroke.

⁹⁶ See The British Museum 2019: Collection online concerning the individual texts.

⁹⁷ The front part of E₂ is sometimes without vertical strokes, or it is like a grid. The front part of KA₂ is sometimes without vertical strokes.

⁹⁸ See The British Museum (BM 137430).

⁹⁹ CBS 8626b : (1) ^dAG-ku-du-ur₂-[URI₃] (2) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{KI} (3) za-ni-in e₂-sag-il₂ (4) u₃ e₂-zi-da (5) IBILA a-ša-re-du (6) ša ^dAG-IBILA-URI₃ (7) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{KI}; CBS 8629: (1) ^d[AG-ku]-^ddu-ur₂-ri⁷-[URI₃] (2) [LUGAL] KA₂.DINGIR.⁷RA^{KI} (3) [za]-⁷ni⁷-in e₂-sag-⁷il₂ (4) ⁷u₃ e₂-⁷zi-da⁷ (5) ⁷IBILA⁷ a-ša-⁷re⁷-du (6) [ša] ^dAG-IBILA-URI₃ (7) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR. ⁷RA⁷ ^[KI]; BM 137430: (1) ^dAG-ku-du-[ur₂-URI₃] (2) LUGAL KA₂.^[DINGIR.RA^{KI}] (3) za-ni-in e₂-sag-[il₂] (4) u₃ e₂-⁷zi⁷-[da] (5) [...]; P498488: (1) [^dAG⁷-ku-du-ur₂-⁷ri⁷-[URI₃]] (2) LUGAL KA₂. DINGIR.RA^[KI] (3) za-ni-in ⁷e₂⁷-[sag-il₂] (4) ⁷u₃ e₂-zi-⁷da⁷ (5) IBILA a-ša-re-⁷du⁷ (6) ⁷ša⁷ ^dAG-IBILA-[URI₃] (7) [...]; BM 90823: (1) ^dAG-ku-du-ur₂-ri-URI₃ (2) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{KI} (3) za-ni-in e₂-sag-il₂ (4) u₃ e₂-zi-da (5) IBILA a-ša-re-du (6) ša ^dAG-IBILA-URI₃ (7) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{KI}; ZhArchSlg 1930: (1) [^dAG]-ku-du-ur₂-ri-[URI₃] (2) ⁷LUGAL⁷ KA₂.DINGIR.RA^[KI] (3) [za]-ni-in e₂-sag-il₂ (4) ⁷u₃ e₂-zi-[da] (5) ⁷IBILA⁷ a-ša-re-⁷du⁷ (6) ⁷ša⁷ ^dAG-IBILA-URI₃ (7) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR. RA^{KI}; ROM 975.035.007: (1) ^dAG-ku-du-ur₂-ri-URI₃ (2) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{KI} (3) za-ni-in e₂-sag-il₂ (4) u₃ e₂-zi-da (5) IBILA a-ša-re-du (6) ša ^dAG-IBILA-URI₃ (7) LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^[KI].

- 1) [^dAG-ku-du-ur₂-ri-URI₃]¹⁰⁰
- 2) [LUGAL] ^rKA₂.DINGIR^r.[RA^{KI}]
- 3) [za-ni]-^rin^r e₂-^rsag^r-[il₂]
- 4) [u₃] ^re₂-zi^r-[da]
- 5) [IBILA¹⁰¹] ^ra-ša^r-[re-du]
- 6) [ša ^dAG-IBILA-URI₃]¹⁰²
- 7) [LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{KI103}]

Conclusion

Fragment no. 3 shows only a few preserved signs, some of which are only partial. In regard to the proportions, it is probable that it is a fragment of a brick bearing a standard or short building inscription of some Mesopotamian ruler. Although the extant passage does not contain the name of any ruler, the comparison with the bricks provided by CDLI and The British Museum website suggests the king Nebuchadnezzar II as the most presumable author. It is perhaps the seven-line variant of his standard inscription comprising the name of the king, his title with the logographic writing of Babylon, the majestic epithet *zānin Es-agil u Ezida*, and the filiation with the name and the title of his father.

Bibliography

- BECKMAN, G., 1987. *Three Bricks from Yale*, in: Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 5, 1–3.
- BOTTA, P. É./ FLANDIN, M. E., 1849. Monument de Ninive III: Inscriptions. Paris.
- BRINKMAN, J. A., 1976. A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty. Materials and Studies for Kassite History. Chicago.
- CIS II/1, 1889. Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars secunda inscriptiones aramaica continens. Paris.

¹⁰⁰ The variants of other types of seven-line version texts are as follows: ^dAG-ku-dur₂-ri-u₂-šur (e.g. KVM 32.1183), ^dAG-ku-dur₂-ri-u₂-šur₂ (e.g. AUB 2679), ^dAG-ku-dur₂-ri-URI₃ (e.g. BM 90314), ^dAG-ku-dur₂-ri-u₂-šu-ur (e.g. BM 90082).

¹⁰¹ When the word *aplu* is written syllabically (*ap-lu*), the word *ašarēdu* is written logically (SAG.KAL). However, the syllabic writing appears only in the thirteen-line version (e.g. BM 90111, BM 90112, BM 90113). The full logographic writing occurs in the six-line variant (IBILA SAG.KAL; e.g. BM 90123, l. 4–5).

¹⁰² The variants of other types of seven-line version texts are as follows: ^dAG-IBILA-u₂-šur (e.g. BM 90063), ^dAG-IBILA-u₂-šu-ur (e.g. BM 90082).

¹⁰³ The syllabic variants of the name Babylon are as follows: *ba-bi-lu*^{KI} (e.g. ZhArchSlg 1927, ll. 2 and 7), *ba-ab-bi-lu*^{KI} (e.g. AUB 2679, l. 7), and *ba-ab-i-lu*^{KI} (e.g. MS 1815/3, ll. 2 and 7).

- DA RIVA, R. 2013. The Inscriptions of Nabopolassar, Amēl-Marduk and Nerglissar. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records. Boston – Berlin.
- DELITZSCH, F./ MESSERSCHMIDT, L./ UNGNAD, A. 1907. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, Heft I. Leipzig.
- DONBAZ, V., 1991. *A Brick Inscription of Nabonidus from Harran*, in: Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 9, 11–12.
- EDZARD, D. O., 1997. Gudea and His Dynasty. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods [RIME 3/1]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- ENGLUND, R. K./ RENN, J. (Ed.), 2019. Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative [CDLI]. [Online]. Los Angeles, Oxford, Berlin. <http://cdli.ucla.edu/> [Accessed January 17, 2019].
- FRAME, G., 1991. *Texts and Fragments*, in: Journal of Cuneiform Studies 43/45, 119–120.
- 1995. Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Babylonian Periods 2 [RIMB 2]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- FRAME, G./ GRAYSON, A. K./ NOVOTNY, J. et al. (Ed.), 2015–2017. The Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online (RIAo) Project. Official Inscriptions of the Middle East in Antiquity (OIMEA) Project. [Online]. München, Philadelphia. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/corpus/> [Accessed January 12, 2019].
- FRAME, G./ DA RIVA, R./ RADNER, K. et al., 2015–2017. The Royal Inscriptions of Babylonia online (RIBo) Project. Official Inscriptions of the Middle East in Antiquity (OIMEA) Project. [Online]. München, Philadelphia. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ribo/> [Accessed December 1, 2018].
- FRAYNE, D., 1990. Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early periods 4 [RIME 4]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- 1993. Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 2 [RIME 2]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- 1997. Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 3/2 [RIME 3/2]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- 1998. Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 1 [RIME 1]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- FUCHS, A., 1994. Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad. Göttingen.
- GEORGE, A. R., 1993: House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia. Winona Lake.
- GRAYSON, A. K., 1987. Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia B. C. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 1 [RIMA 1]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.

- 1991. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B. C., Part I. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 2* [RIMA 2]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- 1996. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B. C., Part II. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 3* [RIMA 3]. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- JORDAN, J./ SCHOTT, A., 1930. Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen: Nebst den inschriftlichen Quellen zur Geschichte Eannas. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Berlin.
- KNUDSEN, E. E., 1967. *Fragments of Historical Texts from Nimrud: II*, in: Iraq 29/1, 49–69.
- KOLDEWEY, R., 1913. Das wieder erstehende Babylon. Leipzig.
- LEHMANN-HAUPT, C. F., 1892. Šamaššumukîn, König von Babylonien 668–648 v. Chr. Leipzig.
- LEICHTY, E., 2011. The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4 [RINAP 4]. Winona Lake.
- NOVOTNY, J./ GRAYSON, A. K./ LEICHTY, E. et al., 2011–. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. [Online]. Philadelphia. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/> [Accessed January 1, 2019].
- NOVOTNY, J. R., 2014. RIME 1–4 Index of Gate, Palace, Temple, and Wall Names. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, The RINAP Project. [Online]. Philadelphia. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/namesindex/rime14indexofgatepalacetempleandwallnames/index.html> [Accessed January 17, 2019].
- RAWLINSON, H. C., 1861. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Bd. I: A Selection from the historical Inscriptions of Chaldaea, Assyria, & Babylonia. London.
- SCHAUDIG, H., 2001. Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik. Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Münster.
- TADMOR, H./ YAMADA, S., 2011. The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1 [RINAP 1]. Winona Lake.
- The British Museum, 2019. Collection online. [Online]. London. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx [Accessed January 12, 2019].
- WEIDNER, E. F., 1939. *Assurbânipal in Assur*, in: Archiv für Orientforschung 13, 204–218.
- WISEMAN, D. J., 1951. *Two Historical Inscriptions from Nimrud*, in: Iraq 13/1, 21–26.

ZÓLYOMI, G./ TINNEY, S./ BENCZIK, V. et al., 2014. Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions [ETCSRI]. [Online]. Philadelphia. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/corpus> [Accessed January 1, 2019].

The Role of ^dBa-ba₆ and ^dNanše during the First Dynasty of Lagaš

Hana Šubrtová

Abstract

This text is based on the assumption that not only gods but also goddesses played an important role in the everyday life of the citizens of ancient Mesopotamia. There is a special focus on the city state Lagaš/Girsu in the Early Dynastic period, during which the very high position of goddesses Baba and Nanše can be observed. Each of them played a different role in the local pantheon, which we can observe in diverse types of texts such as economic texts, royal inscriptions, heroic war inscriptions and religious texts. This short article tries to show that although the goddess Baba was the wife of Ningirsu, the head of the local pantheon, her role can be compared to other goddesses depending on the topic described in the inscription or document. The author of this article admits the possibility that our current view may be distorted by limited resources.

Keywords: Early Dynastic period, Lagaš, Girsu, Goddess Baba, Goddess Nanše, É.MÍ.

Both of these goddesses played an important role in Mesopotamia's long history and especially in the city-state Lagaš/Girsu – but can we trust all current available sources? This text is meant to be an initiative for future research and a theme for a closer look. I have tried to map the Early Dynastic period and the city state Lagaš/Girsu for many years of my studies, focusing on the diversities of the royal families of the Ist Dynasty from Lagaš as well a divine model in the local pantheon. The god Ningirsu and his wife Baba played the leading role in this pantheon, especially during the reign of the last three rulers of the aforementioned dynasty. This is also the first moment when we should ask “is this statement not affected by limited sources?” During the reign of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, we can find many notes about the god Ningirsu, and we are sure that he was considered to be a patron of this city state, not the goddess Baba, his wife. We will see below that female deities are mentioned more often in Lagaš/Girsu than we would expect, but with an emphasis on one goddess in a certain period. For now, let us discuss the wife of the local patron. We can deduce her important role from the written records of É.MÍ, the so-called “House of the Lady”, where a queen led the institution as its head. According to the many texts from the economy section of this house, we can confirm that É.MÍ was dedicated to the goddess Baba. There is an obvious parallel here with a queen who manages this institution dedicated to the wife of the main god of the pantheon. It should be noted that the house is known only from written sources, as the building has not yet been found. We can expect that this economic institution was situated near the cultic center of the goddess Baba in the capital city of the city state Girsu.

Here we could repeat the question about missing sources from previous periods and our wrong interpretation of the increasing reputation of this goddess. According to the aforementioned documents, based on the economic character we are able to date it to the reign of the last three rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, i.e. 24th century BC. The fact is that in older texts Baba is mentioned only rarely, although we would expect her presence more often, for example in the context of her husband Ningirsu, due to the importance of some sources (such as those listed below).

However, one fact stems from texts which are currently available – Baba held the highest position during the reign of the last ruler of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, Uruinimgina¹. During his reign, most texts dedicated to her are known, and moreover Uruinimgina is associated with this goddess. “Olives” will serve as an example. Olives are small objects of olive shape with short epithets where Baba is named as Uruinimgina’s Counselor = *šà-kúš* (Ukg 43); Mother = *ama* (Ukg 42); Hero = *ur* (Ukg. 44) or leader = *igi-du* (Ukg 47). Even though there are many notes about Baba in the end of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, we can find other names in older texts dated before the last three rulers instead of Baba, especially Nanše and slightly less Ninḫursag. Nanše is sometimes considered to be the most important goddess of Lagaš.

The first column of CIRPL 55: Ukg. 9, previously misinterpreted as Uruinamgina’s text, is in fact dated to the reign of his predecessor Lugalandā:

[la]gaš^{ki} šà-pa-da-^dnanše gidri-maḥ-sum-ma-^dnin-gír-su-ka [du]mu-tu-da-^[d]ba-ba₆...

(“[Lugalandā, ruler of] Lagaš, chosen by the heart of Nanše, to whom the noble reign was given by god Ningirsu, born by Baba, ...”).²

In this inscription we can see Baba and Nanše together. Even though there is another suggestive text about the origin of Lugalandā (Nik 23 XI 4 “*Nanše is mother of Lugalandā*”)³, we know today that during the reign of this ruler, his wife Baranamtara had strong influence in É.ÍÍ, which was dedicated to Baba.

However, Nanše’s temple and her center were situated in another part of the city state, in Nina-Sirara. We can find a note about her sanctuary in this town in “*A hymn to Nanše*”:

¹ Transcription Uru-KA-gi-na or Uru-inim-gi-na; there is still disagreement among scholars; the author of this text uses the transliteration Uruinimgina.

² STEIBLE 1982: 55.

³ BAUER 1998: 475.

e₂ sirara^{ki}-a a su₃-a-ni^{4,5}

Nanše – sister of Ningirsu – appears very often in the documents of the first rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagaš – Eannatum, Enanatum and Entemena, who led wars against Umma, the neighboring city state, for many years. Especially in descriptions dedicated to fighting and battles, Nanše is situated next to her brother together with another goddess Ninḫursag; on the contrary, Baba is almost absent in these texts. Why does his sister appear next to Ningirsu and not his wife? Baba is also not mentioned in such a crucial monument (crucial for the fighting between Lagaš and Umma) as Stele of the Vultures.⁶ The inscription dated to the reign of Eannatum talks about many deities listed in honor of victory over Umma in the fighting over a territory called Gueddena – which spread out between both city states. This monument is only partly preserved, but we can still consider it to be an awe-inspiring piece of art and a historic monument. In regard to the fact that the stele has not been fully preserved, could we assume that Baba may have been mentioned in a missing part of the text? This question seems irrelevant in this case, as repeating the names of other goddesses, for instance Ninḫursag, Inana, or Nanše appears in two parts: Surface / col.4, as well as Rev. / Col. 5/ (see short illustration below). These parts are not damaged and Baba does not appear in a single one of them. Therefore, we believe that at the time the Stele of the Vultures was written, Baba was not considered significant enough to be mentioned in such an important monument.

... 47–48 ga-zi gu ₇ -a	(Eannatum) fed rich milk
^d nin-hur-sag	by Ninḫursag
... 49–50 mu du ₁₀ sa ₄ -a	called a good name
^d inanna	by Inana
... 53–55 sza ₃ pa ₃ -da	chosen by the heart
^d nansze	of Nanše
nin uru ₁₆	the powerfull mistress ⁷

The Stele of the Vultures is and probably has always been considered an important artistic rendering of historical events and a milestone which was crucial at the time. Therefore, it is strange that the patron's wife, who helped strike victory and is depicted on the stele, is not mentioned in the text at all. Our private opinion relates to the global understanding of these goddesses. While Nanše and Inana were closer to people and to battles in mythology, Baba was considered a mother-goddess, the Great Mother who was far away from ordinary people and

⁴ Transliteration online: BLACK et al. 2006: A hymn to Nanše (Nanše A), c.4.14.1.

⁵ Translation online: BLACK et al. 2006: A hymn to Nanše (Nanše A), t.4.14.1.

⁶ Full text online: ENGLUND/RENN 2019: CDLI P222399.

⁷ Available *ibid.* Transcription according to CDLI.

earthly worries such as territory battle. On the other hand, Ninḫursag appears many times, and so does Inana. Inana, who belongs to the main astral triad of the Mesopotamian gods, took her own sacral place in Lagaš, the temple *ib-gal*. This temple was discovered by Donald P. Hansen and in part of the building there were foundation plugs stylized in figural form with inscriptions dated to the reign of Enanatum, again one of the first rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagaš. These things represent direct evidence of Inana's temple in Lagaš, unlike the temple of Baba, which has never been reliably found. Of course, according to written documents, we know that the main temple of Baba was situated in Girsu, as the very fragmentary text "*A hymn to Bau's beneficent protective goddess*" confirms:

a₂ ud-da eš₃ ġir₂-su₂^{ki} igi mu-ri-ib-du₈-am₃^{8,9}

However marginally, let us also mention the goddess Ninḫursag (also Ninḫursanga), who feeds Eannatum according to the Stele of the Vultures above. This goddess takes a strong place in Sumerian mythology as one of the mother-goddesses who also holds a position on the God List from Fara¹⁰. In the aforementioned text, she is one of the goddesses who influences success and the birth of the ruler Eannatum. Ninḫursag seems to be a real mother who gives him life-giving breast milk of divine origin. It is no surprise then that such a great warrior and hero grew up from this divine support and could tame the enemy's army. Another text dated to the reign of this ruler speaks about the maternal role of this goddess¹¹, in which Eannatum is situated to the right breast of Ninḫursag.

Let us have a look at a different but also interesting kind of text from ancient Lagaš/Girsu, where we can see names of goddesses – a cultic calendar. Although we can find many different local calendars over time periods of Mesopotamian history or through the changing reigns that are more or less complete, one of the oldest and relatively complete ones comes from the discussed period in Lagaš/Girsu. The term "cultic" is used for the calendar; however, we must take into account the different perception of the world back then. The connection between cults and agricultural and natural cycles was very close; also, our knowledge of the calendars comes from economic archives from Lagaš (example É.MÍ). Continuous development and changes are other aspects influencing our understanding of calendars; nevertheless, following the names of the months, holy days and celebrations is very interesting for the study of goddesses. We will

⁸ Transliteration: BLACK et al. 2006: A hymn to Bau's beneficent protective goddess (Bau A), c.4.02.1.

⁹ Translation: BLACK et al. 2006: A hymn to Bau's beneficent protective goddess (Bau A), t.4.02.1.

¹⁰ ENGLUND/RENN 2019: CDLI P010566.

¹¹ Ean.1 iv 24–29; for more on this text see SELZ 1995: 253.

now move to the study of this topic by B. Hruška¹². Individual months were very often linked to seasonal farming activities performed under the control of some deity. Goddess Baba and Nanše are not exactly balanced in the local calendar. Nanše's name appears in the 1st month in the name of the festival "eating of grain of the goddess Nanše"; the 2nd month (probably the same name of the festival as in the first month); perhaps the 6th month (a month when a fire was made nearby the cattle of the goddess Nanše); and the 9th month ("eating of malt" of the goddess Nanše and god Ningirsu).

Baba appears in the 3rd month ("wool removal of the goddess Baba"); however in this month also many festivals connected to Nanše were celebrated, for example when "grain with water was brought to the sheep of the goddess Nanše"; in the 4th month the main festival of Baba, i.e. "ezem Baba" which means "Festival of Baba", was celebrated, and finally this festival was moved to the 12th month during the reign of ruler Uruinimgina:

Months in which Nanše appears:

- I. buru_x-maš itu ezem-^dnin-gír-su-ka buru_x(GÁNA)-maš-ba, itu nidba-buru_x-maš-ka, **itu ezem-še-kú-^dnanše**, še-kin-ku₅-rá¹³
- II. ezem-^dlugal-uru-bar-ra, ezem-še-kú-^dnin-gír-su, **ezem-še-kú-^dnanše**¹⁴
- VI. gu₄-rá-izi-mú-mú/a-(^dnanše)¹⁵
- IX. **ezem munu₄-kú-^dnanše**, ezem munu₄-kú-^dnin-gír-su¹⁶

Months in which Baba appears:

- III. síg-^d**ba-ba₆**-e-ta-gar-ra / itu udu-šè-še-a-íl-la-^d**nanše**¹⁷
- IV. ezem-^dba-ba₆¹⁸

One fact should be noted here: *ezem ^dba-ba₆* was one of the largest festivals celebrated in Lagaš/Girsu.

Many studies deal with these individual goddesses throughout both the professional and non-professional world. Each of these goddesses had a degree of influence, which changed with the current ruler's preferences. Therefore, we find that the strength of their names' connotation differs according to year. This topic deserves much deeper research along many other lines as well. For example, the

¹² HRUŠKA 1995: 91ff.

¹³ HRUŠKA 1995: 91.

¹⁴ HRUŠKA 1995: 92.

¹⁵ HRUŠKA 1995: 95.

¹⁶ HRUŠKA 1995: 96.

¹⁷ HRUŠKA 1995: 92.

¹⁸ HRUŠKA 1995: 94.

line following other female deities in city state Lagaš/Girsu, such as the not yet mentioned Gatumdu, who was probably in kinship with Baba. Gatumdu is sometimes called “mother of Lagaš”. Other potential lines could be a comparison of the literary texts, especially hymns dedicated to these goddesses, royal inscriptions, military-artistic descriptions and royal inscriptions, which is really the minimum for this short text. In conclusion, we know that the position and role of the goddess Baba rose during the reign of the last three rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, which is documented by É.MÍ and especially under the reign of Uruinimgina at the end of this dynasty. Unlike Nanše or the briefly discussed Ninġursag, their influence had lost importance for the benefit of Baba. This situation changed with the end of this dynasty, but the return of Baba came again in the 22nd century BC thanks to the ruler Gudea. Then, in more recent history, interest in Baba declined, and during the 2nd millennium BC there was a rise in the number of texts mentioning Nanše (although the example from *A hymn to Nanše* also comes from Gudea’s reign).

We have thus attempted to explain in this short text that not only cultic texts are helpful for knowledge of the divine world in Sumer. This is the charm of ancient Mesopotamia: you can find many facts in a sphere where you would otherwise expect seemingly unearthly phenomena, but when such a close connection between the divine and the earthly world can provide much surprising information. Lagaš/Girsu may only be an example of the consistency between the economic household of É.MÍ and the earthly world via the ruler’s wife, in the war effort or in the cultic calendar. Another question concerns how well in fact we know this world and how much information is still hidden in undiscovered places or archives. Thousands of tablets have yet to be translated and many buildings and whole cities have not yet been discovered. We have to keep in mind that all our knowledge could be misrepresented and our concept and idea of the functioning of the ancient world may not be accurate.

Bibliography

- BAUER, J. 1998: *Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte*, in: Bauer, J./ Englund, R. K./ Krebernik, M. (Ed.): *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*. OBO 160/1, 431–585.
- BLACK et al. 2006: *A hymn to Bau’s beneficent protective goddess (Bau A), c.4.02.1*, in: *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature [ETCSL]*. [Online]. <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.4.02.1#> [Accessed May 17, 2019].
- BLACK et al. 2006: *A hymn to Bau’s beneficent protective goddess (Bau A), t.4.02.1*, in: *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*

- [ETCSL]. [Online]. <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.4.02.1#> [Accessed May 17, 2019].
- BLACK et al. 2006. *A hymn to Nanše (Nanše A), c.4.14.1*, in: The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature [ETCSL]. [Online]. <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.4.14.1#> [Accessed May 17, 2019]
- BLACK et al. 2006. *A hymn to Nanše (Nanše A), t.4.14.1*, in: The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature [ETCSL]. [Online]. [http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.4.14.1 #](http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.4.14.1#) [Accessed May 17, 2019]
- ENGLUND, R. K./ RENN, J. (Ed.), 2019. Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative [CDLI]. [Online]. Los Angeles, Oxford, Berlin. <http://cdli.ucla.edu/> [Accessed May 17, 2019].
- HANSEN, D. P., 1970. *Al-Hiba, 1968–1969, a Preliminary Report*, in: *Artibus Asiae* 32/4, 243–258.
- HRUŠKA, B., 1995. *Kultovní život starého Sumeru*. Praha.
- SELZ, G. J., 1995. *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš*. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 13. Philadelphia.
- STEIBLE, H., 1982. *Die Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*. Freiburger altorientalische Studien, 5/I,II. Wiesbaden.

Giants in the Old Jewish Tradition

Věra Tydlitátová

Abstract

Old Jewish texts, such as the Tanakh and Talmud, provide reports of curiously large people. These mysterious creatures and their tribes are mentioned under various names: Nephilim, Rephaim, the mighty men, Anakim, sons of Anak, Zuzim, Enim, Horites, or simply “giants”. However, the Jewish tradition of interpretation claims that old-time Israeli heroes were also very tall men. It was thought that once, in ancient times, people were great and strong, but over the course of time they became smaller and weaker. The most famous and popular of the biblical giants is undoubtedly Goliath. The Hebrew Bible also mentions a second Philistine warrior, the giant Ishbibenob. An interesting issue is the extent to which these reports reflect experience with dreaded enemies, or whether they reflect a response to prehistoric myths.

Keywords: Hebrew Bible, Talmud, Jewish tradition, Giant, Goliath, Nephilim, Rephaim.

1. Og, the King of Bashan

We can find an old report on a curious archaeological discovery in an ancient Jewish source. There is an interesting story in the tractate of Niddah in the Babylonian Talmud: “Abba Saul spoke: *“I was once a gravedigger. Once I was pursued a gazelle and I entered the thigh-bone of the corpse and pursued it for three parasangs but I did not reach the gazelle and the thigh-bone did not end. When I returned I was told that it was the thigh-bone of Og, King of Bashan.”*¹ The parasang is an ancient Iranian unit of itinerant distance used also in mishnaic times. One parasang is equivalent to 5762 m, which means that the giant bone was longer than 17 km. Og, the giant King of Bashan, who came from the mythic tribe of Rephaim, is one of the mysterious giants mentioned in the Old Testament.²

Deuteronomy refers to the King of Bashan in this way: *“For only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of the Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon? Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.”*³ This Bible text probably speaks of some natural or geological phenomenon known as a great stone or an iron sarcophagus, an alleged tomb of the mythical giant king of the Amorites. This ancient Semitic people are described as

¹ The Babylonian Talmud, Niddah 24b.

² See: SLIFKIN 2011: 117–129.

³ Deuteronomy 3, 11.

having “*height like the height of the cedars, and strong as the oaks...*”⁴ Deuteronomy tells us that the King Og was the last of the remnant of the Rephaim and that he ruled two cities: Ashteroth and in Edrei.⁵

Abba Saul’s story is similar to many rumors about giant bones or unusual rock formations, megalithic structures and other gigantic ancient monuments all over the world. People thought that these giants had existed since ancient times, as early as the pre-flood days. The giants were known as the Nephilim or Rephaim and have been described as “*the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.*”⁶ The people believed that it is possible to find their remnants. But there King Og is mentioned as living hero in some stories that happened in the ages after the flood, and there is a question regarding how this giant survived the destruction of all living things. “*And He blotted out every living substance which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl of the heaven; and they were blotted out from the earth; and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark.*”⁷ If all evil was destroyed by the flood, then why does evil still remain on the Earth today? The rabbinic parable explains this difficult ethical question with the story of the King Og. The Giant King of Bashan sat down on the edge of Noah’s ark. He asked for mercy and help and swore to Noah and his descendants that he would be their servant forever. Noah accepted his offer and pierced a window into the ark and gave him food daily.⁸ The Gemara in Talmudic tractates Niddah and Zevachim⁹ narrates that the waters of the flood were very hot and nobody could survive in the boiling water. But a miracle happened and the water on the sides of the ark cooled the entire ark, and the giant Og could also survive this worldwide devastation. So it happened that “*Og, King of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the giants*”¹⁰ and evil also survived the flood.

The King Og and his tribe Rephaim survived the flood and became famous as great warriors. According to the Midrash Genesis Rabbah, the powerful Og helped Abraham save Lot in the battle, but he did not have pure intentions. He thought that if Abraham were to fall in the fight, Og could get his wife Sarah. Og did not act honestly later either, when he attended a celebration in honor of the birth of Abraham’s son Isaac.¹¹ Og came to Abraham’s tent as an invited friend and ally, but when he saw that the little child was so small and fragile, he thought that he could crush the baby with his little pinky. God then reminded him of his

⁴ Amos 2, 9–10.

⁵ Deuteronomy 1, 4; Joshua 12, 4; Joshua 13, 12.

⁶ Genesis 6, 4.

⁷ Genesis 7, 23.

⁸ Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer 23, 8.

⁹ The Babylonian Talmud, Niddah 61a; Zevachim 113b.

¹⁰ Deuteronomy 3, 11.

¹¹ Genesis 21, 8.

promise during the flood and warned him that the descendants of this little child would be the cause of his destruction.¹²

Ancient Jewish tradition considers Og to be identical with Abraham's servant Eliezer, "*the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had,*"¹³ mentioned for example in the story of the search for Isaac's bride. Og is also identical to the son of the dreaded tyrant Nimrod in Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer: it is written: "*The steward of Abraham's household was his servant Eliezer, and whence was his servant? When (Abraham) went forth from Ur of the Chaldees all the magnates of the kingdom came to give him gifts; and Nimrod took his first-born (son) Eliezer and gave him to (Abraham) as a perpetual slave. When (Eliezer had thus) dealt kindly with Isaac, he set him free, and the Holy One, blessed be He, gave him his reward in this world, so that there should not be a reward for the wicked in the world to come; and He raised him to kingship, and he is Og, King of Bashan.*"¹⁴ Although the ruler Nimrod was a proud and dreaded sinner, his son is described as a very gentle and pious man. According to the tractate Yoma, the biblical words "*the elder of his house*"¹⁵ mean that Eliezer was an elder of the scholar's council. The word elder, in Hebrew "zaken," means a majordomo as well as the head of the academy. Eliezer supposedly explained the words of the Torah. His designation of Damascus means that he drew (dole) and gave drink (mashke) to others of Abraham's teaching.¹⁶ The Torah is represented here as living water and the one who studies the Torah draws this potion to the benefit of crowds.

The brave hero Eliezer also proved to be Abraham's loyal fighter: "And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as Dan."¹⁷ The name Eliezer has the same numerical value 318 as the number of Abraham's warriors, born in his own house, and each of them was initiated into the knowledge of the Torah. Rabbi Ammi bar Abba said: "Eliezer outweighed them all. Others say: 'It was Eliezer (oneself), for this is the numerical value of his name.'"¹⁸

These texts refer to the King of Bashan as a gentle hero, but in most cases King Og is described as a malicious ogre. His great army attacked Moses' people in the land of Edrei. In this almost hopeless situation, God said to Moses: "*Fear him not; for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt*

¹² Genesis Rabbah. 42, 8.

¹³ Genesis 24, 2.

¹⁴ Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer 16, 13–14.

¹⁵ Genesis 24, 2.

¹⁶ The Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 28b.

¹⁷ Genesis 14, 14.

¹⁸ The Babylonian Talmud, Nedarim 32a.

at Heshbon.”¹⁹ Then Moses and his warriors won the victorious battle and slaughtered all of Og’s army and occupied his land.²⁰ The Talmudic tractate Berakoth says that men are obliged to say berakha when they see a certain rock near the Dead Sea known as the “stone which Og, King of Bashan, wanted to throw at Israel.”²¹ The end of King Og was inglorious. When he saw the camp of Israel, he said. “How large is the camp of Israel? Three parasangs. I will go and uproot a mountain of the size of three parasangs and cast it upon them and kill them. He went and uprooted a mountain of the size of three parasangs and carried it on his head. But the Holy One, blessed be He, sent ants which bored a hole in it, so that it sank around his neck. He tried to pull it off, but his teeth projected on each side, and he could not pull it off.”²² Rabbi Shimeon ben Lakish, called Reish, explained this story with the words of the Psalm: “O my God; for Thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek, Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked.”²³ The Rabbi said: “Do not read, shibbarta (Thou hast broken), but shirbarta (Thou hast lengthened).” When Og was immobilized, Moses killed him: “The height of Moses was ten cubits. He took an axe ten cubits long, leapt ten cubits into the air, and struck him on his ankle and killed him.”²⁴

2. The Nephilim

The different species of giants are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible as well. The Nephilim are probably the most popular because they appear also in pop-culture and new-age sources as an archetype of enigmatic, perhaps extraterrestrial creatures. According to the Book of Genesis, the Nephilim are descendants of the sons of God and of the daughters of men. The word Nephimim is plural of the Naphal and it means Fallen, but this term is usually translated as a giant, so it is in the majority of the biblical translations, for example in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Samaritan Targum and also the King James Version.

The most important text can be found in Genesis: “And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives, whomsoever they chose. And the LORD said: ‘My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for that he also is flesh; therefore shall his days be a hundred and twenty years.’ The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same were the mighty men that were of old, the

¹⁹ Numbers 21, 33.

²⁰ Numbers 21, 25.

²¹ The Bayblonian Talmud, Berakoth 54a.

²² The Bayblonian Talmud, Berakoth 54b.

²³ Psalms 3, 8.

²⁴ The Bayblonian Talmud, Berakoth 54b.

men of renown.”²⁵ It is possible that this curious story was inserted into the biblical text later and that it is a very old extra-Israeli myth.

It is possible that the author of this narrative about the sons of God was not referring to the fallen angels, but wanted to warn Israel against contact with the powerful rulers and the kings who were called gods. This possibility is obvious if we see the term Nephilim in the Book of Ezekiel: *“And they that are inferior to the uncircumcised shall not lie with the mighty (gibborim) that are gone down (nophlim) to the nether-world with their weapons of war, whose swords are laid under their heads, and whose iniquities are upon their bones; because the terror of the mighty was in the land of the living.”*²⁶ Because the biblical text is not originally punctuated, we do not know for sure if we are to read *“gibborim nophlim”* (fallen heroes) or *“gibborim nephilim”* (strong Nephilim). In any case, Ezekiel’s version speaks of human fighters, not of mythical creatures.

Another account of the gigantic Nephilim is in the Book of Numbers. When Moses sent twelve spies to scout out the Promised Land, only two of them, Joshua and Caleb, returned and brought favorable news and some samples of huge fruits. The other scouts did not wish to go to Canaan because they were afraid of the powerful nations and tribes living there. They said: *“We are not able to go up against the people; for they are stronger than we.”*²⁷ These men reiterated the spurious horrible reports of the giants. *“And they spread an evil report of the land which they had spied out unto the children of Israel, saying: ‘The land, through which we have passed to spy it out, is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, who come of the Nephilim; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.’”*²⁸

In the latest interpretation of these biblical passages, the sons of God are interpreted as superhuman beings, fallen angels. From the 3rd century, we have rich apocalyptic literature such as the Enochic scriptures, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Jubilees, etc. In these scriptures, ancient angelology is elaborated in very picturesque details. The First Book of Enoch develops the motif of an angel rebellion in the story of two leaders, Semjaza and Azazel. Semjaza swore his companions tenaciousness in the battle and Azazel taught people to produce their weapons. When the Earth was covered with blood, four archangels asked God for intervention and defeated the rebellious angels. Midrash tells about the angels begging God: *“Give us Thy sanction, then, and let us descend among the creatures, and then Thou shalt see how we shall sanctify Thy name.”* *“Descend,” spake the Lord, “and dwell ye among them.”* God allowed them to descend among the people on the Earth. But the heavenly adventurers lost their self-

²⁵ Genesis 6, 1–4.

²⁶ Ezekiel 32, 27.

²⁷ Numbers 13, 31.

²⁸ Numeri 13, 32–33.

control: “As soon as they descended and beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to disport themselves with them, as it is said, ‘When the sons of Elohim saw the daughters of man,’ they could not restrain their inclination.”²⁹ When the sons of God with their human wives had begotten their children, the complications on the world multiplied: each of their descendants needed one thousand camels, one thousand horses and one thousand oxen for his daily food.³⁰ Both fallen angels had dreadful dreams about the great God’s punishment. Semjaza, in the book called Shemhazai, repented and suspended himself between Earth and heaven head downwards, but Azazel did not repent and continued to seduce men to sin with various adornments, brilliant dyes and luxury goods.³¹

3. The Anakim and Goliath

Another race of biblical giants are named Anakim, the sons of the giant Arba,³² the mysterious native inhabitants of Canaan, especially of the Qiryat Arba³³ (Town of Arba), later called the Hebron. These giants are mentioned in the Book of Numbers as the sons of Anak. Their names are Ahiman, Sheshai and Talmi.³⁴ Anak’s name is probably derived from the Hebrew term for a necklace and can designate people who wore striking amulets on their necks or long-necked people. When Israeli spies saw their spectacular figures, they were afraid and identified them with antediluvian Nephilim. Some of them had settled down in the Philistine cities after Joshua’s conquest of the Promised Land. They lived in the Gaza, the Gath and the Ashdod.³⁵ When King David struggled with the Philistine, he clashed with one of them: “*And Ishbubenob, who was of the sons of the giant, the weight of whose spear was three hundred shekels of brass in weight, he being girded with new armour, thought to have slain David.*”³⁶ Much more popular is the struggle of David and Goliath, the tall warrior of Gath, “*whose height was six cubits and a span.*”³⁷ Because Gath is mentioned as one of the towns in which Anakim lived, some commentators speculated that Goliath is also from the Anakim clan. Goliath is relatively small compared to other biblical giants, but he has become an archetype of brute strength defeated by faith and courage.

The Hebrew Bible mentions other Philistine giants; in addition to Ishbubenob and Goliath, there is Saph, also called Sippai:³⁸ “*And it came to pass after this, that*

²⁹ The Midrash of Shemhazai and ‘Azael. 25, 3–11.

³⁰ The Midrash of Shemhazai and ‘Azael. 25, 8.

³¹ The Midrash of Shemhazai and ‘Azael. 25, 11.

³² See: Joshua 14, 15; Joshua 15, 13.

³³ Joshua 15, 13; Genesis 35, 27; Joshua 21, 11.

³⁴ Numbers 13, 22.

³⁵ Joshua 11, 22.

³⁶ 2 Samuel 21, 16.

³⁷ 1 Samuel 17, 4–51.

³⁸ 1 Chronicles 20, 4.

there was again war with the Philistines at Gob; then Sibbecai the Hushathite slew Saph, who was of the sons of the giant."³⁹ Hero of Israel, David's nephew Jonathan, killed a warrior of Gath, a giant who had six fingers on each hand and on each foot.⁴⁰

Many giants, individuals and also nations and tribes are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible:

The Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim, the Zuzim in Ham, the Enim in Shaveh Kiriathaim, the Horites in the mountain on Seir, the Amalekites, the Amorites in Hazezon Tamar.⁴¹ Some of them are only numerous and powerful tribes and there is no rational reason to regard them as giant warriors. Despite this, according to the tradition, they were nightmarish monsters.

Remarks about extraordinarily tall people who lived in ancient days are problematic. As we saw, Moses was a very tall man too: "*The height of Moses was ten cubits.*"⁴² This is truly an admirable height – nearly 4.5 m. But Moses was not the only great Israeli. In the tractate Baba Bathra, we read about fantastic adventures of the ancient Jewish version of the more modern Sindibad the Sailor or Baron Munchausen. His name is Rabbah bar bar Hana and he narrated his journey with an Arab guide to the desert. The Arab offered to show him the dead Israelites who died during the forty years wandering on their way to the Promised Land.⁴³ Rabbah went and saw these giant dead men and they looked happy. "*They slept on their backs; and the knee of one of them was raised, and the Arab merchant passed under the knee, riding on a camel with spear erect, and did not touch it. I cut off one corner of the purple-blue Tallith.*"⁴⁴ When Rabbah cut off their Tsitsiyot, the ritual fringes, he could not move away. The Arab said to Rabbah: "*If you have, peradventure, taken something from them, return it; for we have a tradition that he who takes anything from them cannot move away.*"⁴⁵ I went and returned it; and then we were able to move away."

The Jews believed that people were great and strong once, but over the course of time they became smaller and weaker.

³⁹ 2 Samuel 21, 18.

⁴⁰ 2 Samuel 21, 20.

⁴¹ Genesis 14, 5–7.

⁴² The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth 54b.

⁴³ Numbers 14, 32.

⁴⁴ Numbers 15, 38; Deuteronomy 22, 12.

⁴⁵ The Babylonian Talmud, Baba Bathra 73b–74a.

Bibliography

- A Hebrew - English Bible According to the Masoretic Text and the JPS 1917 Edition. In: Mechon Mamre. [Online]. <https://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0.htm> [Accessed January 6, 2019].
- Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, in: Sefaria. [Online]. https://www.sefaria.org/Pir-kei_DeRabbi_Eliezer?lang=en&p2=Pirkei_DeRabbi_Eliezer.21.1&lang2=en [Accessed January 9, 2019].
- SLIFKIN, N., 2011. Sacred monsters: mysterious and mythical creatures of Scripture, Talmud and Midrash. Beit Shemesh.
- Talmud, 1977. Schottenstein Edition. New York.
- The Babylonian Talmud. Edited by Rabbi dr. Isidore of Jews' College London. [Online]. <http://www.come-and-hear.com/talmud/index.html> [Accessed January 7, 2019].
- The Midrash of Shemhazai and 'Azael*, in: Chronicles of Jerahmeel, by M. Gaster. 1899, at sacred-texts.com. [Online]. <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/coj/coj029.htm> [Accessed January 10, 2019].

The Architect Jaroslav Cukr

Šárka Velhartická and Pavel Žďárský

Abstract

Ing. arch. Jaroslav Cukr, the architect who travelled with Bedřich Hrozný to Syria during his archaeological expeditions in the 1920s, is known from only a few mentions in Hrozný's articles, which were written for the newspaper *Národní Listy*. From then on, his name appears in studies about Hrozný's life and work simply as "Architect Cukr"; however, no further information about his life was known until now. As our study proves, based on articles, letters and several archive records, Bedřich Hrozný was among the scholars of Oriental Studies to invite an expert in architecture to accompany him on his archaeological expeditions.

Keywords: Bedřich Hrozný, Architect Jaroslav Cukr, Sheikh Sa'ad, Czech Technical University in Prague, Alois Musil, Syria.

In Czech archaeological circles, Ing. arch. Jaroslav Cukr (1891–1982) is known for having collaborated with Bedřich Hrozný (1879–1952) during archaeological expeditions in the 1920s.¹ Readers of articles which Bedřich Hrozný was writing for the national newspaper *Národní Listy* about these expeditions, informing its Czechoslovak readership of their progress, would certainly have encountered the name Jaroslav Cukr. Although only few documents about the life of Jaroslav Cukr exist, based on these aforesaid articles, fragments of letters and several archive records – especially from the Czech Technical University (CTU) in Prague, where Cukr studied and later worked – we can safely state that Bedřich Hrozný was among the scholars of Oriental Studies to invite an expert in architecture to accompany him on his expeditions. Cukr – as an assistant at the Czech Technical University in Prague – had (as can be seen from the sources quoted below) professional knowledge of mathematics and geometry, as well as the history of architecture, geology and especially applied physics, civil engineering, statics and dynamics; Cukr had also attended courses on solid mechanics and chemistry, even studying practical drawing, model-making, etc.

¹ Our thanks in the search for archive materials go to PhDr. Jakub Doležal from the Archive of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic, PhDr. Renáta Purnochová from the National Archive, PhDr. Eva Dittertová, Director of the Náprstek Museum, Ms Jitka Vokolková, Mayor of Tři Dvory and Assoc. Prof. Bohumil Chalupníček.



Fig. 22: Passport of Jaroslav Cukr (1927).⁴

The decision made by Bedřich Hrozný, who was the Professor of Ancient History at Charles University in Prague at that time, to include an architect on the expedition was stressed by Czech archaeologist and science populariser PhDr. Karel Sklenář, DrSc., who highlighted a reference to the appointment in correspondence between the scholar of Oriental studies and traveller Professor Alois Musil (1868–1944) and the Slavist and archaeologist Professor Lubor Niederle (1865–1944).⁵ Alois Musil, who documented numerous locations in the Near East, always collaborated with architects, to whom he would give documentary materials obtained in the field. First, there was architect Alois Pallat (1854–1908) in Olomouc, whose floor plan of the desert castle Qusayr ‘Amra (the greatest of Musil’s discoveries) was published in the report for the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. While working at the university in Vienna, where Musil would meet with Hrozný, he collaborated with architects Max Kropf (1858–1940) and Alfred Castelliz (1870–1940). The reconstruction of al-Rusafa was carried out in Czechoslovakia by leading Czech architect Antonín Mendl (1890–1944), who worked with Musil’s materials in his habilitation thesis *Al-Rusafa* –

⁴ National Archive, Police Directorate for Prague II – general register, 1941–1950, sign. Z 1668/4, kart. 12 466, Ing. Jaroslav Cukr (Zukr), b. 28. 6. 1891.

⁵ SKLENÁŘ 1989: 380. Sklenář, however, drew upon only one of Musil’s letters; his understanding of the situation may have been inaccurate. Hrozný’s decision to acquire an architect was not prompted by Musil’s advice.

*Contribution to Urban and Sacred Civil Engineering of the Christian Orient.*⁶ By coincidence, Jaroslav Cukr was Mendl's colleague and later also his assistant at the Czech Technical University in Prague.

We may also cite a letter from Niederle dated 20 November 1923, in which Hrozný's preparations regarding his expedition to the Orient are mentioned:

"I will attend to Hrozný's request, which I found on your desk in Strahov. Unfortunately, the Academy does not have sufficient money. The request says 50,000 crowns in each class is needed and the journey is calculated at 250,000 crowns. However, in conversation with him, I learned that the sum was intended to cover the journey only, and that there were also several excavation permits involved (he wants to go somewhere to Orontes), so he would need 400,000 crowns in total. I do not know where he will find the required funds. The Ministry promised 100,000 crowns, the President provided 50,000 and someone else 20,000, and that is all. In class I of the Academy, he will not get more than 20,000 (10,000 more likely) and class III will not give even that. He wants to go in the spring and is looking for a young architect to help with the excavations."⁷

Musil reacted sceptically to Niederle's remark about a young architect in his letter from February 23, 1924, sent from London:

"I wish the greatest possible success to Hrozný, so that he becomes the leading Orientalist in our Czechoslovak Republic and does not have to constantly worry about being side-lined or remaining unrecognised. God forbid he catches malaria in Asia Minor. The disease would find his sturdy, and yet physically fragile frame the best breeding ground and his family would lose their bread-winner and we our first and best Assyriologist. I sent him a letter when I was in Cambridge.⁸ He responded in a rather formal way; he did not say a single word about his plans, so that I believe he neither needs nor wants my advice or recommendations. It is assumed that an architect with professional experience is vital during excava-

⁶ *Resáfa – příspěvek k městskému a sacrálnímu stavebnictví křesťanského Orientu*; Musil's documentation was used by Mendl during his lectures on medieval architecture at the Czech Technical University in Prague (MENDL 2004).

⁷ JÚNOVÁ MACKOVÁ / ŽĎÁRSKÝ / GECKO 2019: 91.

⁸ From Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA. Musil spent the summer of 1923 at Harvard University, where he took an intensive English language course so that he could proofread *Oriental Explorations and Studies*, published in the USA in English. In the autumn he sailed to London, where he stayed until summer 1924.

tions. If he manages to find one, he will surely be successful: since, if no ancient inscriptions are found, he will at least have some data for illustrating the old buildings. If he fails to find an architect with some experience of excavation, he will have to rely on finding some antiquities and monuments. If he fails to find any, the money and interest of others will be lost.”⁹

Bedřich Hrozný managed to raise the money for the expedition, and we learn from his account *The First Czechoslovak Research Expedition to the Orient*¹⁰ from April 1924 that he was granted two permits for archaeological excavation. The first was for the territory of what is now Syria (Sheikh Sa‘ad); shortly afterwards, he also obtained a permit from the Ankara (Angora) government to carry out excavation work near Kaisarie (Kayseri) in Turkey:

“I was granted the French permit to perform excavation work in Syria and Mesopotamia already in February in Prague; I decided to start with the excavations in Sheikh Sa‘ad and then move to Mesopotamia. While I was staying in Constantinople, I received from the Angora government the Kaisarie permit, the issuance of which was hastened by our Constantinople deputy Dr. Světlík.¹¹ Since the Angora government – in accordance with Turkish regulations applying to archaeology – granted me a period of 3 months to start excavation work near Kaisarie, I have had to give up the trip to Mesopotamia for the time being, and after excavations have finished in Sheikh Sa‘ad I will proceed to the dig near Kaisarie. Besides the author of these lines, architect Mr Jar[oslav] Cukr, assistant at the Czech Technical University in Prague, will be participating in this expedition. His task is primarily to draw plans and floorplans of the buildings we discover. In addition, architect Cukr will also take note of any extant Early Christian and Islamic architectural antiquities and buildings in the area where our expedition is going to work. There are few experts who have first-hand experience with these antiquities and buildings; that is the reason why this work is also very important. At the request of Dr. Obenberger,¹² Director of the Entomological Department of the National Museum in Prague, we will also be collecting beetles which have not yet been collected in the areas the expedition is travelling to. If other work and tasks allow, we will also observe

⁹ JÚNOVÁ MACKOVÁ / ŽĎÁRSKÝ / GECKO 2019: 95. Here it seems that Hrozný was well aware that the presence of an architect was necessary.

¹⁰ První výzkumná výprava čl. do Orientu, see HROZNÝ 1924a.

¹¹ JUDr. Rudolf Světlík (1869–1934), deputy of the Czechoslovak government in Constantinople from May 1920 (DEJMEK 2013: 226).

¹² Prof. Dr. Jan Obenberger, DrSc. (1892–1964).

the flora in these areas. As far as the excavation work is concerned, we will need a local manager who can deal with the workers, and also some gangers, and finally about 30–80 local workers. In Kaisarie it will also be necessary to pay and maintain a Turkish inspector of excavations, who will be assigned to our expedition by the Angora government. The land where we are going to carry out excavations will have to be rented from its owners; Turkish law says such land must be expropriated; however, I am encouraged that this will not be necessary. Workers' wages in Turkey, according to Halil Bey,¹³ are still about twenty times higher compared to the situation before the war; in Syria the situation is probably even less favourable. It will be decided on site where the expedition members will be accommodated, tents are the most probable option; we will also need to get hold of equipment for the entire camp – camp folding beds, tables, chairs, cabinets, kitchen utensils and tableware, tools needed for digging, etc. Some scientific equipment, including photographic and geographical equipment, has been purchased and other items were lent to our expedition in Prague. Unfortunately, all this has been and will be very expensive; even the funds our expedition now has at its disposal will not be sufficient to cover the aforesaid programme. Before the war, digging in Taannek in Palestine cost about 80,000 crowns;¹⁴ today, the same excavations would probably amount to some 800 thousand crowns. The Americans who carried out the excavations in Samaria had 66,000 dollars, i.e. about 2,000,000 crowns. I am afraid we will only be able to carry out the excavation work in Sheikh Sa'ad: the excavation works in Kaisarie we can expect to start, but probably not complete.”¹⁵

¹³ Halil Edhem Eldem (1861–1938), pioneer of archaeology in Turkey.

¹⁴ While working at the university in Vienna, Bedřich Hrozný took part in the expedition of Professor Ernst Sellin (1867–1946) in Ta'annek.

¹⁵ HROZNÝ 1924a.



Fig. 23: Archaeological excavations at Sheikh Sa'ad (Syria).¹⁶



Fig. 24: Archaeological excavations at Sheikh Sa'ad (Syria).¹⁷

¹⁶ Masaryk Institute and Archives of CAS, Archives of CAS, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný, carton 8.

¹⁷ Masaryk Institute and Archives of CAS, Archives of CAS, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný, carton 8.

Further descriptions of the expedition, e.g. the article *In the Biblical Land of Basan*,¹⁸ tell us about the excavation works in Sheikh Sa‘ad. Based on this article, we can see that Hrozný discussed the findings and architectural development of the buildings with architect Cukr, e.g. in regard to determining the sanctuary on the top of the mound:

“This very interesting building, which is covered in the Hauran style with long, narrow basalt ‘logs’, is probably of Early Christian origin; after the Islamic conquest, this Early Christian basilica was transformed into a mosque. The Early Christian building was probably built in the first centuries A.D. during the period of the Ghassanids. However, we discovered even older parts of a Greek sanctuary which had stood here before; in particular, its walls were oriented differently – facing east and north – lying under the Muslim floor tiles, with the Greek tiles placed about 70 cm below the Christian-Muslim tiles. According to my colleague architect Cukr, whom I believe is right, the oldest part of the Christian-Muslim sanctuary is its south-western part. Originally occupying the site of the Greek sanctuary was an Amorite shrine, the largest remnant of which is a huge, roughly 3-metre tall, basalt monolith, today placed in the Greek sanctuary niveau.”¹⁹

This text was written by Bedřich Hrozný when he was leaving Sheikh Sa‘ad on board the ship *Merano*, and he adds:

“We finished excavations on Wednesday, May 21, and we held a farewell party for our overseers and the best of the workers on the Sunday before. At this moment we, i.e. architect Cukr and myself, are on our way to Asia Minor, where we are going to excavate near the town of Kaisarie. I hope our excavation works will be at least as successful as our dig in Sheikh Sa‘ad.”²⁰

Hrozný reported to his readers on his stay in Kaisarie in a two-part article *In Kaisarie* also published in *Národní Listy*. The article includes the following passage:

“As I wrote about in the Educational Supplement of *Národní Listy* of June 15 this year,²¹ after finishing the excavations in Sheikh

¹⁸ Ve starozákonné zemi Basan, see HROZNÝ 1924b.

¹⁹ HROZNÝ 1924b.

²⁰ HROZNÝ 1924b.

²¹ See the second part of the article *Ve starozákonné zemi Basan* [In the Biblical Land of Basan], *Národní Listy* LXIV/164 (June 15, 1924): 9.

Sa'ad in Syria (south of Damascus) Mr. Cukr and I departed for Asia Minor to carry out digs near the town of Kaisarie... while enduring a long wait for the Turkish inspector to arrive from Angora, we studied ancient monuments in Kaisarie and its surrounds. I found and took photographs of or copied many buildings and monuments dating back to antiquity, among which was an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs. Architect Cukr focused on the Seljuq buildings in the area and wants to compile them into a monograph... We, i.e. architect Cukr and I, were the only foreigners in the Vilayets of Kaisarie and Sivas, and even far and wide beyond their borders; Doctor Clark,²² who has been living in Turkey for about twenty years and has completely acclimatised himself to local life, cannot be counted as a foreigner. Although, of course, we never behaved in a provocative manner, very often people shouted after us 'Giaour' (infidel) or threw stones in our direction. We never took any notice of such occasions at first; we attached no weight to them. However, a much stronger manifestation of the anti-foreigner atmosphere showed that underestimating such signs would be irresponsible and careless. On June 18 of the same year, I went for a five-day trip by car through Sivas to Tokat in north-eastern Asia Minor to take a look at Gümenek hill where the ancient Comana Pontica is located and where most probably was the capital city of Kizvadna. In these pages I am unable to give a detailed account of the very interesting – and not only from the point of view of research – excursion. The result of the trip, suffice to say, was my decision to file an application with the Angora government for a permit to carry out excavations in Gümenek, supposing, of course, I am able to raise the money necessary for the works. I returned to Kaisarie, where architect Cukr, to my great surprise, told me that on June 21, in broad daylight, a young Turk had made an attempt on his life using a revolver near the house of the *vali* [governor]. Fortunately, the first shot had missed its target and architect Cukr managed to avoid further gunfire by taking refuge in a nearby mosque, where the assassin did not dare continue with his murderous plan.²³

²² Dr. Ernest C. Clark, a protestant missionary of the American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions, see TOZKOPARAN 2014.

²³ Hrozný's note: "This unfathomable rumour turned the attempt on architect Cukr's life in Kaisarie into a robbery related to my person, which was confirmed even in *Berl[iner] Tageblatt*!"

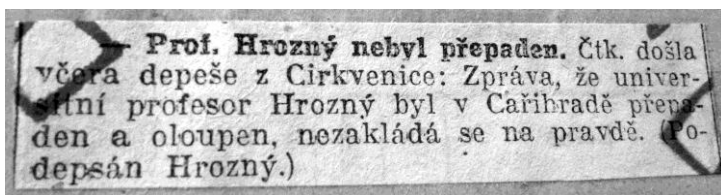
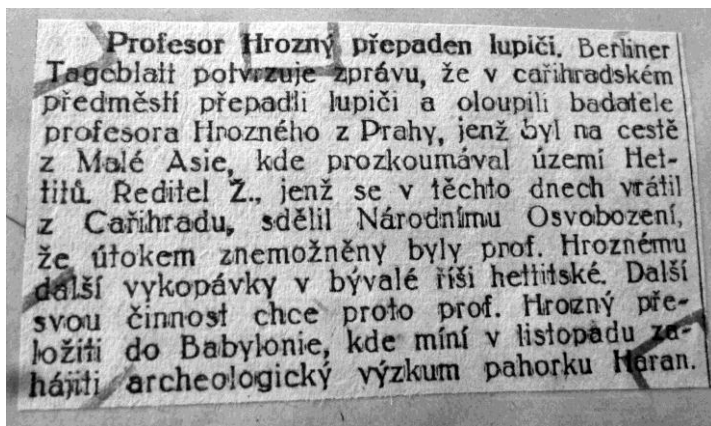


Fig. 25 and 26: Newspaper articles about the attack on Bedřich Hrozný.

This attack showed us clearly the danger of our situation; and it was obvious that we could not plan any further successful research work in Kaisarie in such troubled and life-threatening circumstances; therefore we decided, albeit reluctantly, to postpone the excavation work in Kül Tepe until a more favourable time and to leave Kaisarie. Our decision was justified by the subsequent audience with the *vali*. When we complained about not feeling safe in Kaisarie, *vali* Ali Vefa Bey replied that he believed we were most probably political spies and enemies of Turkey, that we wanted to compromise Turkey, and that, if we kept on claiming that the situation in Kaisarie was unsettled, we would be committed for trial. Naturally, our scientific curiosity fell short of desiring to know the insides of a Turkish prison, full of typhoid and other bacteria, nor did we want to be condemned to death as 'enemies of Turkey', or to long years of imprisonment. It was evident that we could not rely on Turkish local authorities which were supposed to protect us, so we left Kaisarie the following morning, on June 26.²⁴

²⁴ HROZNÝ 1924c. This story was mentioned by Hrozný in his radio lecture "Napříč Malou Asií" [Across Asia Minor], October 10, 1933.

It must be emphasised that the reports about this attack originated from architect Cukr, and no one else could have borne testimony to it. In addition, Hrozný was not present, and we cannot exclude the fact that architect Cukr was searching for a pretext to leave the expedition and return home. From the extant letters which Hrozný sent to Cukr, we do not know if the aforesaid predicament was the reason why architect Cukr decided to leave. However, the Police Directorate does have a copy of Cukr's 1927 application for a passport to Turkey. On the archaeological expedition at Kültepe in 1926, Hrozný was accompanied by architect Václav Petraš (1899–?). Subsequently, however, Hrozný gave up any further expeditions as they were very expensive and malaria threatened his health. Both architects who accompanied him on his archaeological expeditions are referred to in his outline autobiography, written for the magazine *Venkov* in 1931.²⁵

Architect Jaroslav Cukr's name is also mentioned by Czech doctor and founder of the Czechoslovak hospital in Baghdad, Vlasta Kálalová (1896–1971):

“Architect Cukr, who cooperated with professor Hrozný on excavations in Asia Minor, found out on my behalf how to get to Baghdad across the desert. When he returned from Aleppo, he brought me the address of a garage which was organizing automobile transportation along the Euphrates for a mere tenth of the sum charged by a British company for a ride through Damascus. This information was highly encouraging, I have to say. Nevertheless, Professor Hrozný looked at me strangely when we were introduced to each other, and shook his head: ‘How can you embark on such a journey? How could your parents let you go? You cannot be much older than twenty-three!’ In my thoughts, I, too, shook my head: did he really think you could finish your studies of medicine at the age of twenty? I’d already followed up my studies with three years’ hospital practice – but anyway, I felt offended by his remark. After all, I was wearing longer skirts than was considered fashionable at that time because I wanted to look more staid.”²⁶

We can learn more about Jaroslav Cukr from papers in the estate of Bedřich Hrozný, although they raise more questions than answers regarding his fate. One letter from Jaroslav Cukr sent to Hrozný in 1929 survives, as do four draughts/copies of letters which Hrozný sent to Cukr. One can understand why certain documents about Cukr's trip to Syria were kept by Hrozný – the declaration of a permit for architect Cukr to transport a gun and a document confirming

²⁵ HROZNÝ 1931: 3 (“...enabled me to carry out excavations in three places in the Orient in 1924 and 1925 in cooperation with architects J. Cukr and V. Petraš”).

²⁶ See <http://lidemesta.cz/archiv/cisla/5-2003-11/prvni-kroky-na-cestech-za-snem-%E2%80%93-ceskoslovenskou-nemocnici-v-bagdadu.html>.

that Cukr was accompanying Hrozný, i.e. documents which Hrozný would have had in his possession as the head of the expedition, and which were therefore filed away amid his own documents. Nonetheless, there are also letters written by Hrozný to Cukr – probably returned to sender (address unknown), as well as letters sent to Cukr by the architect Petraš and his colleagues from the CTU (who reassured Cukr as follows: “We read assiduously the articles of Professor Hrozný published in *Národní Listy* and rejoice in your successes,” or “And we are proud when we read your name in *Národní Listy* – it is very much as though they were writing about us.”) as well as other addressees. In the case of some of these letters, they were probably part of Hrozný’s estate because they were used as scraps on which to make notes due to a lack of paper. The last document is a postcard – a Christmas card sent by Hrozný to Cukr in 1948, which was definitely posted (evidenced by a post office stamp).

Bedřich Hrozný to Jaroslav Cukr, Daraa, April 2, 1924²⁷

Dear Mr Architect,

Please buy me a cork tropical hat in Beirut the size of which corresponds to the size of the attached paper strip (measured inside my hat). I thought I would be able to buy one in Damascus, but none were available.

I hope you will manage to get to Daraa on Tuesday or Wednesday and to continue from there to Sheikh Sa‘ad. Mr Virolleaud will advise you best.²⁸ It will be possible to send you a carriage or car to the station in Ezra.

Before then, I hope that we will soon be able to start the excavations in Sheikh Sa‘ad. I want to begin in about 5 places and to get down as far as the sanctuary of Job, through the tiles and deep under the ground, so that we can also get under the sanctuary, which I believe is important.

There is going to be much work in Sheikh Sa‘ad, there are many stones.

I look forward to seeing you soon. Yours truly,

Doctor B. Hrozný.

Daraa, April 2, 1924.

P.S. Be sure to organise matters so that you can take a tour around Damascus and Beirut.

²⁷ Náprstek Museum Archive, collections related to Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 5/7–12].

²⁸ Charles Virolleaud (1879–1968), French orientalist and archaeologist.

Bedřich Hrozný to Jaroslav Cukr, Crikvenica, August 8, 1924²⁹

Dear Mr Architect,

I was very surprised to hear of your returning home. I do understand, though: you cannot do otherwise. I am afraid, however, that you will never set foot in the Orient again; my wife says you will certainly not!

Last week I sent 2,400 Italian liras from Rijeka to Franta[?], so that he can also buy the Greek relief but I am not sure if the sum is sufficient. I am expecting a letter to Constantinople. Transportation has not been included.

On Tuesday 12 we are leaving, and I am going through Belgrade to Constantinople; from where I am going to Beirut on August 21. The address then remains Beyrouth, poste restante, until I send a new one.

Perhaps I will need the device and Solomon's notes in Mesopotamia. Please, can you arrange things in such a way that it will be possible to collect everything I need now in Constantinople.

Please write to me to Constantinople and let me know for sure whether you will go to Syria and Mesopotamia or not. I hope it will be possible for you; Syria is not as dangerous as Turkey.

I sent the article to *N[árodní] L[isty]*. Apparently, I reported the news that "I was robbed" – untrue; who could actually have made such a mistake?

Please be careful when talking about the expedition. And please make sure the crate is delivered to number 96 Veleslavínova Street at my expense; or better still, as they may treat it poorly there, to Vofechovka.

I hope your mother gets well soon.

Yours truly,

Doctor Bedřich Hrozný.

As far as the division in Syria is concerned, it is absolutely new! In "Syria" a passage was published last year from the negotiations on the peace treaty and with Palestine suggesting that the division would be permanent!

Crikvenica, August 8, 1924.

Do not write here anymore. The Constantinople address is the Kohout.³⁰

²⁹ Náprstek Museum Archive, collections related to Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 5/7–13].

³⁰ Reference to Hotel Kohout in Constantinople.

Bedřich Hrozný to Jaroslav Cukr, August 25, 1924³¹

Dear Mr Cukr,

I am writing in a hurry since I have very little time.

I took the device, etc; I will have more soon. I am sending you the key, to make sure it does not get lost here.

I am glad you are coming; however, wait for my next message so that you do not have to wait here for long and spend too much money. As soon as I have the exact date for you to travel and, above all, more details about the excavation site, I will let you know straight away, so that you can arrange everything and arrive in time.

Mesopotamia is rather troubled these days (they have arrested a governor there and killed about 10 soldiers!); I do not know if Weygand³² will be willing to support my plans. If that is the case, then the new hill would be left, and that would take a little[?] longer.

Greetings from Floni[?].

Tomorrow I am taking the steamboat "Milano" to Beirut; I will be there on Friday evening in a week's time.

I hope your mother gets well soon. I have already paid Mr W. for the expenses related to the crate.

Yours truly,

B. Hrozný.

August 25, 1924

Lovpoli[?]

Adr. Beyrouth, Syria, poste restante.

Jaroslav Cukr to Bedřich Hrozný, 1929³³

Dear Professor!

July[?] 6, 1929.

Thank you very much for your kind invitation, which I received with gratitude.

I am afraid I will not be able to join you because there will be an inspection for a certificate of occupancy at that time.

³¹ Náprstek Museum Archive, collections related to Bedřich Hrozný [s. n.].

³² Maxime Weygand (1867–1965), French military officer; between 1923 and 1924 he was the High Commissioner in Syria.

³³ Náprstek Museum Archive, collections related to Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 5/1–63].

I appreciate and value your invitation the more as it has come at a time when the academic world remembers the excellent results of your work in the field, where you occupy a leading position on the international stage.

I remember the difficult path you followed to successfully complete your undertakings and shake your hand with sincerest wishes of good health and further success.

I hope your gracious wife and you will kindly forgive me, and I remain your deeply indebted,

Architect Cukr

Bedřich Hrozný to Jaroslav Cukr, Prague, January 2, 1946³⁴

Merry Christmas!

and a Happy New Year

1946 from

Prof. Dr. B. Hrozný and family

Václav Petraš to Jaroslav Cukr, October 16, 1925³⁵

October 16, 1925

I am sending you a heartfelt note instead of the letter I promised, and which I would advise you not wait upon. Our work has continued smoothly; however, now, when it has been shortened to 9 hours and wages reduced, more than half of the workers have left, which is very unfortunate. There seems to be a continuing accumulation of these “pleasant” things. We will not regret leaving Kara Höjuk. It is a pity that I was twice unable to track you down when I was staying in Bohemia.

I look forward to seeing you soon, V. Petraš

From the various registries, we learn that Jaroslav Jan Cukr was born on June 28, 1891, in Prague, at house no. 185 in Žižkov. His birth is documented in the record of his baptism³⁶ – he was baptised in Saint Procopius Church in Žižkov on

³⁴ Náprstek Museum Archive, collections related to Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 5/7–1]. Address: Pan arch. ing. Jar. Cukr Žižkov, Jeseniova 7.

³⁵ Náprstek Museum Archive, collections related to Bedřich Hrozný [Ar.Hroz. 5/7–7]. Address: Pan arch. ing. J. Cukr, asistent na vys. škole architektury při čes. vys. učení technickém v Praze II. Karlovo nám. č. 19. Tchecoslovaquie.

³⁶ See the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages of the parish office of Saint Procopius Church, entry made on July 7, 1891, p. 46 (ŽKP N5, N 1891–1893, Žižkov:

July 7, 1891 by Josef Houžvička. According to the registry, his father was František Cukr (1863–?), the owner of the house no. 185 in Žižkov. He was born in the town of Kolín, son of Josef Cukr, a local tailor, and Anna née Jakubcová from Česov in the Jičín district. His mother was Marie (1868–?) from Dobročovice in the Český Brod governorship; she was a daughter of the farmer Karel Zyma from Stupice and Anna, née Brtková, from Dobročovice.³⁷

Jaroslav Cukr studied at the Realschule in Žižkov and finished his studies there by passing his school leaving exam (July 2, 1909) before studying at the Czech Technical University (1909). In the Czech Technical University archive, there is an extant document of his *First state exam record* in the field of *civil engineering*, dated April 19, 1913 (signed by Prof. Ing. Dr. Josef Petřík [1866–1936], Prof. Ing. Jan Záhorský [1872–1951], Prof. RTDr. et RNDr. Cyril Purkyně [1862–1937], Ing. Bohumil Chalupníček [1868–1935], and others). The exam consisted of the following subjects: *Foundations of Advanced Mathematics, Descriptive Geometry and Drawing, Physics, First Level Geology, Statics and Dynamics, Solid Mechanics* and the *Foundations of Graphic Statics – Science / Drawing*. Based on his student file, we know that during his studies he also passed exams in geology, technical physics, graphic statics, statics and dynamics, railway machinery construction, architectural drawing, history of architecture, civil engineering, solid mechanics, Gothic architectural history, hand drawing, live object drawing, technical chemistry, construction engineering, general mechanical technology, general study of machinery, ornamental drawing, clay model making, heating and ventilation of buildings, industrial engineering, construction mechanics, construction and rail law, etc. He passed his second state exam on April 1, 1922.³⁸ Before the commencement of his archaeological expeditions, as well as after, architect Cukr is recorded among the employees engaged in the Programme of the Czech Technical University in Prague³⁹ for the years 1923–1924, 1924–1925, 1925–1926 and 1926–1927 (address Jeseniova 7, Žižkov).

<http://katalog.ahmp.cz/pragapublica/permalink?xid=D8613613F3074C68AB8660BD4CE784C6&scan=50#scan50>). Compare records of the Police Directorate in Prague (National Archive, Police Directorate I, records, box 68, picture 116), where the merchant and house owner František Cukr's original address is Tři Dvory and Marie Zimová's Kolín: <http://digi.nacr.cz/prihlasky2/index.php?action=link&ref=czarch:CZ-100000010:874&-karton=68&folium=116>.

³⁷ His godfather was Jan Zima, a teacher in Nedvězí, and the witness was Josefa Novaková¹, wife of Jan Novák, innkeeper in Labská Týnice.

³⁸ Specified in the document about the appointment, see the Archive of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic, Collections of the Office of the President of the Republic, inventory no. 1364/B, file. 249, sign. O 21541/45, Cukr Jaroslav, born on June 28, 1891, appointment in 1945.

³⁹ I. e. Program českého vysokého učení technického v Praze.

Fig. 27: Record of Cukr's first state examination, Archive of Czech Technical University, Prague.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Archive of the Czech Technical University in Prague, “Česká vysoká škola technická, zápis o první státní zkoušce z odboru pozemního stavitelství č. 290, 1913 (19. 4.)”.

Further information can be retrieved from the biographical data stored in the Office of the President of the Republic Archive,⁴¹ which is only indicative, however, owing to inaccuracies regarding dates (e.g. the date of the expedition with Hrozný is given as 1927). Ing. Cukr absolved his military service between July 26, 1914 and October 28, 1918, and then between July 3, 1919 and February 10, 1920 (no further details).⁴² In 1922 he was a substitute assistant, and between 1922 and 1926 an assistant professor at the Faculty of Architecture at the Czech Technical University.

By the academic year 1923/1924, Jaroslav Cukr was assistant professor to Professor Josef Fanta (1856–1954), Professor of Architecture for Early Christian and Medieval Architecture (appointed August 8, 1909) at the Department of Architecture II in Charles' Square in Prague. By the following academic year, however, Fanta had left the now vacant position (he retired in 1926), to be subsequently replaced by architect Antonín Mendl, who had hitherto occupied the position of Design Engineer at the department. The situation was unchanged in academic year 1925/1926. One year later, Cukr was still listed in the Programme of the Czech Technical University; however, Cukr was replaced by Ing. arch. Otakar Štěpánek (1898–1973) in the position of Mendl's assistant.⁴³

Between 1926 and 1927 Jaroslav Cukr was already listed among the employees of the company O. Jenáček in Prague. An example of his work at the time was Cukr's architectural design for the Sokol gymnasium in Náchod,⁴⁴ which came second in a competition behind the winning project of architect Milan Babuška (1884–1953).⁴⁵

⁴¹ Archive of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic, Collections of the Office of the President of the Republic, inventory no. 1364/B, file. 249, sign. O 21541/45, Cukr Jaroslav, born on June 28, 1891, appointed in 1945.

⁴² In accordance with the *Schematismus československé branné moci* [Schematisation of the Czechoslovak Defence Forces] in 1924 (p. 387) Jaroslav Cukr is listed in Technical Services, Reserve Civil Engineer-Officers, Ing. Lieutenants. In 1927 in *Pořadní listina důstojníků stavebnictva v záloze* [List of Reserve Civil Engineers-Officers] (*Schematismus*, p. 801) he was ranked among the Engineer-Lieutenants of the construction services together with the entry "Bratislava January 1, 1918". The *Vojenské zemské stavební ředitelství* [Military Construction Directorate] was located in Bratislava, where Cukr probably served and was promoted – in Cukrová Street [sic!] – to the rank of lieutenant.

⁴³ Although Mendl was still the substitute teacher for this position, he was already an associate professor. He was awarded the degree on December 19, 1925. His aforementioned cooperation with A. Musil on the al-Rusafa plans contributed to this promotion.

⁴⁴ CUKR 1927.

⁴⁵ There were 10 designs in the competition, and the winner Babuška was awarded 5,000 crowns; the other entries failed to meet the design requirements. See *Stavba: měsíčník pro stavební umění* [Construction: Monthly Journal of Construction Art], 1926–1927, year 5, p. 146.



Sokolovna v Náchodě. Hlavní průčelí. II. cena. Ing. arch. Cukr.

Fig. 28: Cukr's architectural design for the Sokol gymnasium in Náchod.⁴⁶

After 1928 Cukr became a contractual architect of the Ministry of Public Works, and from 1929 he was a commissioner at the Ministry (after 1931 a head commissioner of the Ministry), and after 1937 the department counsellor. In the Ministry of Public Works he collaborated with architect Jan Feigl (1894–?) and architect Jan Sokol (1904–1987), to name but two. Sokol had fond memories regarding his early time at the Ministry, especially due to the presence of two former assistants of leading architects of the famous National Theatre generation, even though the work was not well paid and the career prospects were poor: “A few architects were working here in lowly positions with the hope of avoiding promotion, owing to their clerical incompetence, caused by education and presumed unreliability. I was in the office with two of them; both were commissioners of the Ministry of the lowest rank. I had met them before, and the atmosphere in our secluded cubbyhole was very friendly; we were so cramped there, sitting at our three tables. They were older than me – Jan Feigl, Balšánek’s former assistant,⁴⁷ and Jaroslav Cukr, who used to be Fanta’s assistant. They were good and merry friends and helped me with their experience, advice and especially their gallows humour, with which they observed and commented on their hard-working and successful colleagues. I was grateful to them both, during times which I found particularly hard...”⁴⁸

Cukr's passport applications from 1931 and 1936 confirm that he was the head commissioner of the Ministry and also listed him as a reserve first lieutenant. His

⁴⁶ CUKR 1927: Sokolovna v Náchodě. *Architekt SIA* 26/56.

⁴⁷ Professor Antonín Balšánek (1865–1921).

⁴⁸ SOKOL 2004: 144.

applications also relate to the possibility of travelling to all European countries, including the USSR; the purpose specified is research and study.

On July 31, 1942, architect Cukr as a “second-degree” Jew, i.e. having Jewish ancestry, was made redundant; he returned to his office, however, soon after the war ended, on May 22, 1945 and was promoted with retrospective effect back to 1943. The document proving the appointment of Ing. Jaroslav Cukr as head counsellor of the 3rd salary scale in the technical staff of the Ministry of Transport (with effect as of October 28, 1943)⁴⁹ is dated November 22, 1945, with an additional note regarding architect Cukr’s activities during the occupation: “not-promoted; as a second-degree half-breed Jew prematurely dismissed” and also that “his national, government and political reliability” was “confirmed”. The reason for his return to the office was as follows: “Since he is a dutiful official, who is well versed in the field of civil engineering, his promotion is proposed with retrospective effect from October 28, 1943 with respect to the fact that he was significantly aggrieved in his employment rights and entitlements as a second-degree half-breed Jew.”⁵⁰

A record dated to 1948 says that Ing. Jaroslav Cukr was appointed a counsellor of the Ministry with effect from April 1, 1947 and ranked in 2nd salary scale (dated October 2, 1948, i.e. “appointment related to 1947 as of April 1, 1948”).⁵¹ We have no knowledge of any further documents definitively relating to architect Jaroslav Cukr.⁵² Ing. arch. Jaroslav Cukr died after a long illness on Thursday 4th of March 1982. The funeral took place on the 11th of March at 13.30 in a main hall of Strašnice Crematorium in Prague.⁵³

⁴⁹ The document says that he was promoted to the 4th salary scale on August 1, 1937.

⁵⁰ Archive of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic, Collections of the Office of the President of the Republic, inventory no. 1364/B, file. 249, sign. O 21541/45, Cukr Jaroslav, born on June 28, 1891, appointed in 1945.

⁵¹ Archive of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic, Collections of the Office of the President of the Republic, inventory no. 2081/11, file. 485, sign. 212211/48, Cukr Jaroslav, born on June 28, 1891, appointed in 1948.

⁵² Dr. Jakub Doležal from the Archive of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic states: “Apart from everything already mentioned, I also came across a copy of application of a Jaroslav Cukr, address Prague, Nerudova 963, regarding the admission of his daughter Zdeňka to the Institute for Teaching. The application no. R 14200/33 was filed with the Office of the President of the Republic on May 19, 1933 and an official letter was sent to the Ministry of Education. Due to the lack of information, however, I cannot confirm whether this is just a coincidence of someone else with the same name or not. The same applies to an application made by a Jaroslav Cukr, address Prague, třída SNB 3, regarding the keeping of a garden, filed in 1952 (sign. 604472/52). Another document related to this person was filed in 1967” (e-mail message of February 18, 2019).

⁵³ The information is from his wife Pavla Cukrová, *Lidová demokracie*, March 9, 1982, vol. 38, n. 57, p. 6.

Bibliography

- CHARVÁT, P., 2015. *Archeologický výzkum Bedřicha Hrozného na Šech Sa'adu v Sýrii / The Archaeological Investigation by Bedřich Hrozný at Sheikh Sa'ad in Syria*, in: Velhartická, Š. (Ed.), *Bedřich Hrozný a 100 let chetitologie / Bedřich Hrozný and 100 Years of Hittitology*, 149–154.
- CUKR, J., 1927. *Sokolovna v Náchodě*, in: *Architekt SIA* 26/56.
- DEJMEK, J., 2013. *Diplomacie Československa. Díl II. Biografický slovník československých diplomatů (1918–1992)*. Praha.
- HROZNÝ, B., 1924a. *První výzkumná výprava čl. do Orientu*, in: *Národní Listy* LXIV/96 (6. 4. 1924), 9.
- 1924b. *Ve starozákonné zemi Basan, I.–II.*, in: *Národní Listy* LXIV/158 (8. 6. 1924), 9; *Národní Listy* LXIV/164 (15. 6. 1924), 9.
- 1924c. *V Kaisarii. I.–II.*, in: *Národní Listy* LXIV/220 (10. 8. 1924), 9; *LXIV/234* (24. 8. 1924), 9.
- 1931. *Vlastní životopis v kostce*, in: *Venkov* XXVI/1 (1. 1. 1931), supplement.
- 1933. „*Napříč Malou Asii*“. *Český rozhlas*, 10. 10. 1933.
- JŮNOVÁ MACKOVÁ, A./ ŽĎÁRSKÝ, P./ GECKO, T., 2019. *Korespondence Aloise Musila I. Alois Musil a počátky Orientálního ústavu v korespondenci „otců zakladatelů“*. Praha.
- MENDL, M., 2004. *Alois Musil a Antonín Mendl, náhodná spolupráce*, in: *Věstník Historicko-vlastivědného kroužku v Žarošicích* 13, 74–76.
- MEYNERSEN, F., 2015. „*V archeologické zemi budoucnosti*“. *Bedřich Hrozný a sochařská díla z období pozdního helénismu a římského císařství z Šech Sa'adu v jižní Sýrii / „Im archäologischen Zukunftsland“*. *Bedřich Hrozný und die späthellenistisch-kaiserzeitlichen Bildwerke aus Sheikh Sa'ad in Südsyrien*, in: Velhartická, Š. (Ed.), *Bedřich Hrozný a 100 let chetitologie / Bedřich Hrozný and 100 Years of Hittitology*, 161–168.
- MUA, A AV ČR, Estate of Bedřich Hrozný.
- SKLENÁŘ, K., 1989. *Z Čech do Pompejí. Příběhy a objevy českých archeologů ve světě*. Praha.
- SOKOL, J., 2004. *Moje plány. Paměti architekta*. Praha.
- SOUČKOVÁ, J., 1979. *Bedřich Hrozný, Život a dílo. K 100. výročí narození*. Katalog výstavy. Praha.
- 2015. *Sto let chetitologie / Hundert Jahre Hethitologie*, in: Velhartická, Š. (Ed.), *Bedřich Hrozný a 100 let chetitologie / Bedřich Hrozný and 100 Years of Hittitology*, 63–80.
- TOZKOPARAN, N., 2014. *Sivas amerikan hastanesi*, in: *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi / Journal Of Modern Turkish History Studies* XIV/28 (2014-Bahar/Spring), 81–102.
- VELHARTICKÁ, Š. (Ed.), 2015a. *Bedřich Hrozný a 100 let chetitologie / Bedřich Hrozný and 100 Years of Hittitology*. Praha.

- VELHARTICKÁ, Š., 2015b. *Orientalista Bedřich Hrozný – rozluštitel chetitského jazyka ve světle nově objevených dokumentů / The Orientalist Bedřich Hrozný – the Hittite Language Decipherer in the Light of Newly Discovered Documents*, in: Velhartická, Š. (Ed.), *Bedřich Hrozný a 100 let chetitologie / Bedřich Hrozný and 100 Years of Hittitology*, 11–54.
- 2017. *Bedřich Hrozný, the Decipherer of the Hittite Language*, in: Doğan-Alparslan, M./ Schachner, A./ Alparslan, M. (Ed.), *The Discovery of an Anatolian Empire / Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğunun Keşfi. A Colloquium to Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Decipherment of the Hittite Language* (November 14th and 15th, 2015; Istanbul Archaeological Museum – Library), Istanbul, 87–94.

***Ahi atta*, Trust Me: Pragmatics of Business Relations in the ICK4 Old Assyrian Corpus**

Petr Zemánek

Abstract

In this paper, problem solving in texts written by ancient Assyrian traders within the Assyrian Trade Network (20th – 18th centuries BCE) is studied. The core phrase, *ahī atta* (“you are my brother”), together with possible variations, is investigated in terms of the contexts in which it appears in the ICK4 Old Assyrian corpus. The data suggests that at least within this corpus, the main function of the phrase is pragmatic and serves to establish an elevated level of mutual trust or increased attention in situations of special interest to the sender of the tablet.

Keywords: Old Assyrian, Business correspondence, Problem solving, Pragmatics.

Introduction

This article deals with one of the means of gaining trust in trade in ancient Anatolia and western Mesopotamia. The data on which our observations are based were taken from the corpus of cuneiform tablets from the city of Kültepe (ancient Kanesh), which were unearthed during Bedřich Hrozný’s excavations in the middle of the 1920’s. The corpus, also known as the ICK4,¹ primarily contains business correspondence between participants in the exchange of goods within the so-called Assyrian Trade Network.

The Assyrian Trade Network and the ICK4 corpus

This commercial network has attracted great interest among a number of scholars, as the phenomenon seems – at least from a modern point of view – beyond the scale for a society existing four millennia ago. For the rise, existence and fall of trade in Anatolia at the beginning of the second millennium BCE, one can refer to a number of studies.²

The region where our “actors” resided, i.e. central Anatolia and its center in Kanesh, was a zone of intensive trade.³ At the same time, there are good reasons to suppose that trade itself was not restricted to this area only; we have evidence in our texts of the exchange of goods (and silver) with the Mesopotamian region

¹ The publication is part of the *Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kultépé* [sic], where the Kanesh texts are published.

² Cf. LARSEN 1976 and recently e.g. BARJAMOVIC et al. 2012: 55–73; HERTEL 2013: 12–13; LARSEN 2015: 68–72 or PALMISANO 2017.

³ Cf. BARJAMOVIC 2005.

as well. This would mean that the whole area of ancient Assyria together with its Anatolian colonies must be taken into consideration,⁴ with implications on the estimates of the distances and time necessary to surpass them with oxen as the basic means of transport. In any case, the extent of trade could be measured in the hundreds of kilometers.

Within this network, the trade of metals (silver, copper, gold, and tin) as well as agricultural products (barley or wool) was well established. The amount of goods that was transported across the area was significant. The whole enterprise, however, lasted for a limited time. According to Palmisano,⁵ the chronological division consists of two major phases, the first one between 1950 and 1835 BCE, when the whole system was established in permanent agencies in Northern Syria and Anatolia, and the second one between 1832 and 1718 BCE, starting with the resettling of Kanesh by the Assyrians and ending with the collapse of the system.

The corpus of cuneiform tablets for this analysis is based almost exclusively on those published in HECKER et al. 1996. The edition contains several types of documents, including personal letters and legal documents, but the vast majority is made up of business correspondence. Altogether, there are 340 letters (those without any significant text were omitted from the sample) that form the corpus for the current study. Chronologically, our data belong to the beginning of the first phase.

The participants in trade were rather numerous – surprisingly many individuals participate in the network. If the number of persons named in the ICK4 is taken from a maximalist perspective,⁶ there were more than one thousand people involved. This is certainly unrealistic; one has to admit a great deal of ambiguity of individual names. Behind these names, one has to – at least in some cases – expect several persons – e.g., the index in HECKER et al. 1996 suggests 11 individuals behind the name Šu-Ištar; at the same time, some of them could designate the same person, some of them different individuals.⁷ Even in such a case, the number of participants is at least in the hundreds, even in the case of our rather

⁴ Cf. BARJAMOVIC 2017 for the arguments for a maximalist concept of the Assyrian trade network.

⁵ PALMISANO 2013: 767.

⁶ The maximalist way would mean taking every instance of a person with some further specification, such as „father of X“ or „son of Y“, and names without such specification as representation of distinct persons, i.e., instances such as Šu-Ištar, Šu-Ištar son of X and Šu-Ištar father of Y would necessarily describe three persons.

⁷ The disambiguation is not always easy or even possible. There is, however, a considerable effort in this direction, starting from ICHISAR 1981 and LARSEN 1982, via BAMMAN et al. 2013 for the name Innāya, and so far probably ending with the analysis by ANDERSON 2018.

small sample: for a more detailed outline of the whole system, cf. appendices in ANDERSON 2018.⁸

For our goal, which is the analysis of communication between tradesmen, we can limit the scope of individuals acting as either senders or addressees of the letters. However, even the number of the senders of the letters (where explicitly preserved or reconstructed) is rather high. If we were to try to analyze the senders from the heads of the letters, we would come to numbers sixty or higher. It cannot be claimed that the correspondence covered only a few major tradesmen; on the contrary, the number of senders was relatively high and the number of letters sent by individual tradesmen was not – even in the case of Imdī-ilum (one of the few prominent tradesmen), the number of letters is below ten. This means that the formulations still come from a wide circle of individuals. This can be seen as positive for our analysis, as it will somewhat broaden the scope and also diminish the impact of individual styles and temperaments of individual persons taking part in the discourse. In other words, our sample is rather diverse and does not represent the language use of just a few persons and, as such, it should reflect the common usage of language means at that time within the community of tradesmen.

Regarding the geographical extent and the number of people involved in the trade, one has to assume that there were certainly also issues that the participants had to face, and many of those simply could not be solved personally, “face to face”, as the participants were dispersed over wide areas of the whole network. Many of them travelled very frequently⁹ and in a number of cases it was impossible to meet in person; however, these cases demanded a solution. For a number of issues, correspondence served as a medium for settling the causes of a lack of confidence and reinstating trust.

The fact that not everything went smoothly is visible in the texts themselves. LARSEN (1971) analyzed a number of cases where the tradesmen asked each other not to listen to gossip and slander.

A way of settling problems

Most of the correspondence is quite to the point, and its style can be described as instructional. It consists of announcements (e.g. on the goods that had been purchased or sold, on their quantity and prices, etc.) or instructions (e.g., on selling or buying the goods, sending them, etc.). It is obvious that tablets also served as a type of confirmation of business transactions. However, the situation is not

⁸ In his dissertation, a list of all the persons mentioned in the whole corpus of Old Assyrian texts that is available (app. 23,000 tablets) offers app. 2,500 individuals. The list is based on an automatic disambiguation of the individuals in the texts.

⁹ For a description of their mobility, cf. HIGHCOCK 2018.

always perfect, and neither is the speech smooth at all times. The abovementioned study by LARSEN (1971) is a good example.

One of the very common phrases that appears in the correspondence, is *ahī atta* ‘you are my brother’. It has been shown before¹⁰ that this formula is not connected with a family model, but rather with the way of expressing social hierarchy and collegial relations within a network. Within the formula, the ‘brother’ is only one of the metaphorical usages, the real position within the social hierarchy is obviously achieved through a (possible) combination with such names as *abu* ‘father’, *bēl* ‘lord’, *ebru* ‘colleague’ etc.¹¹ Even the god of brotherhood (*ilu ahhūtīm*) can be invoked.¹²

In the following, some examples with a slightly broader context are given to present the pragmatic usage of the phrase (the examples come from Hecker et al. 1996; the numbers indicate the tablets and lines):

- 444:31ff a-ḫi a-ta [be]-li a-ta ... lá tù-ša-ar a-d[i] a-lá-kà-ni
 you are my brother, my lord, do not let anyone go ...
- 476:9ff a-ḫu-ú-<a> a-tù-nu šu-ma a-na i-ta-a[ṭ-lim] i-ba-ši
 you are my brothers, when a cash sell is possible ...
- 539:10ff a-ḫu-a a-tù-nu a-na ... e-ṭá-ri-im
 you are my brothers, save (me)
- 562:12ff a-ḫi a-ta a-pu-tum i-ḫi-id-ma šé-bi₄-lam
 you are my brother, please, take care (and) send ...

The examples suggest that the context of this phrase is specific and the usage of the phrase is to a great deal pragmatic. All of the phrases above are accompanied by some type of request. In the data used by LARSEN 1971, similar phrases are accompanied by requests not to listen to gossip and slander and maintain trust in the sender.

Contextual analysis of *ahī atta*

In the following, we will concentrate on the analysis of the propositional neighborhood of this type of phrase, namely in what context these phrases are used. The procedure that has been chosen takes into account both lexical elements and the meaning of the phrases in a direct neighborhood of the central phrase in order to ascertain the pragmatic content of the idiom. However, the central point is the

¹⁰ ANDERSON 2018: 90–92.

¹¹ Using the word for “son” is rare in this context, for an example cf. ANDERSON 2018: 91 and fn. 157 for a possibly ironic or sarcastic tone of the passage in question.

¹² Cf. HECKER et al. 1996: 50.

noun, which suggests the vicinity of the two participants in the dialogue in order to see the phrase in the context of other usages of the word *ahu* “brother”.

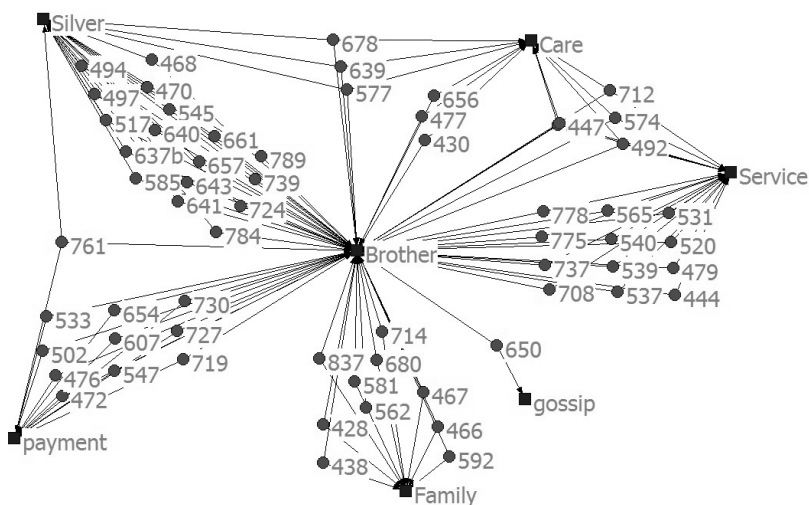


Fig. 29: Representation of relations between the *ahu* (“Brother” in the graph) and concepts bound to the lexeme. The numbers stand for the tablet numbers according to ICK4; multiple occurrences are omitted. All of the graphs were produced with UCINET software.¹³

For the first type of investigation, concepts bound to the occurrences of *ahu* were examined. The propositions in relation to that phrase were divided tentatively into six categories, which resulted from the texts of the letters. The first category is connected with the concept of a family, which is derived from the prototypical meaning. The most numerous category, however, includes some handling of silver, which can certainly be expected in business correspondence in a society where silver serves as money. The other categories include payment (such as good price, best achievable price, payment due), a related category to silver, some type of a service required from the addressee (e.g., sending goods, coming somewhere, help/advice in the palace circles), gossip, and a demand for the careful handling of business relations. It is interesting that there is also an interconnection between some of the concepts, namely silver and care, and care and service. No such interconnection can be observed for the concept of family.

Although the generalizations on such a rather small corpus cannot be too conclusive, the visualization in Fig. 29 shows a strong correspondence of the *ahu* lexeme with business-oriented communication. In these cases, we can observe the

¹³ <https://sites.google.com/site/ucinetsoftware/home>.

presence of the *ahī atta* phrase or its variations. The contexts are strongly pragmatic and imply situations where an increased amount of trust is required.

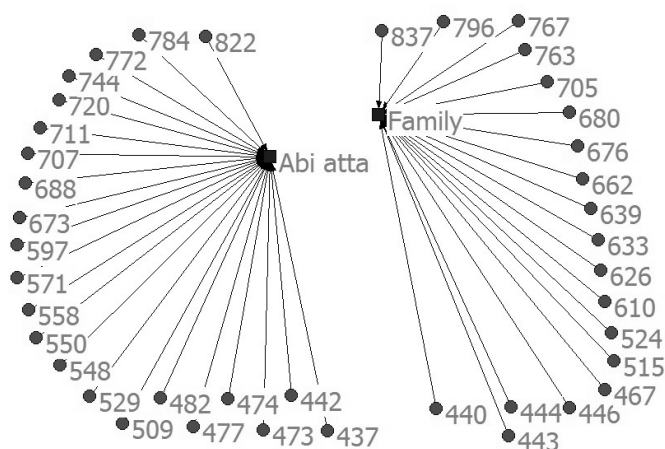


Fig. 30: Representation of the relations between the usages of “father” in the metaphorical phrase *abī atta* and in its meaning as a parent. Multiple occurrences on one tablet are omitted.

The distinction between the metaphorical usage of family member names and the real, parental meaning of such names can be demonstrated on the occurrences of the word *abu* “father” in the corpus. In Fig. 30, the visualization clearly shows a lack of relation between the two usages of the word – the two sets are disjunctive – there is no usage of *abu* as a family relation in the phrase *abī atta*. The context is then the basic tool for distinguishing the metaphoric usage from the prototypical (parental) one; however, from the frequency of both types, it is obvious that there is not a great prevalence of either of the two types.

The interconnection of brother, father and lord can also be observed in one of the central concepts, namely “care”. Such concepts as payment, service or gossip must be determined rather subjectively upon the individual reading of the texts; in this case we can follow the occurrences of a single lexical unit, as all the instances of “care” in the corpus are represented by the verb *naḥādu* “to be attentive, careful” or its derivatives. Fig. 31 shows that *naḥādu* is used mostly in connection with pragmatic connotations (altogether, there are 19 occurrences with the brother/father/lord, and only 6 occurrences without such a context, where only proper care is demanded).

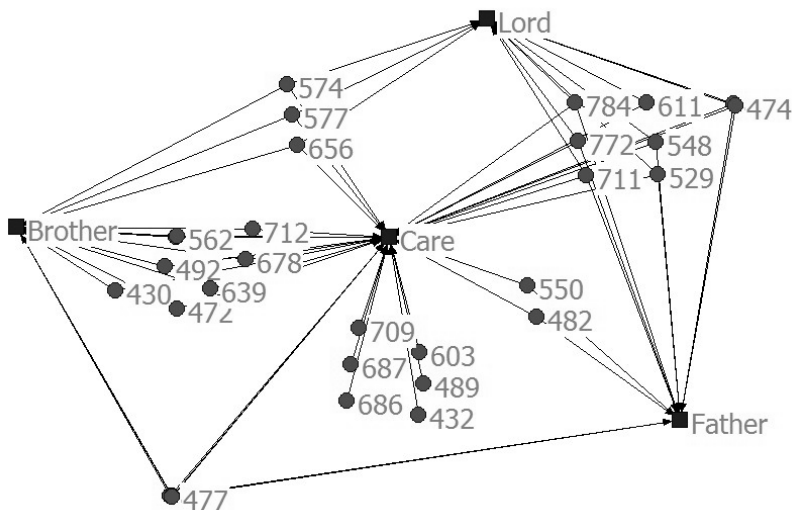


Fig. 31: The representation of the word *nahādu* “to be attentive, careful” and its relations to concepts of brother, father and lord. Multiple occurrences in one tablet are omitted.

The way the three terms (brother, father, lord) pair in the texts is certainly of importance. In one case, even the illogical connection of one person being one’s father and brother at the same time occurs, which only stresses the metaphorical nature of the utterance.¹⁴ Certain reflection of a social distance can be seen in the frequency of “brother + lord” co-occurrences (3 times), and the rather more expected connection of “father + lord” (7 times). Such types of sequences are clearly usable for the estimates of the social distances between the participants, but can also reflect the intensity of the requests or appeals.

Conclusions

Our data suggests that the principal type of usage of the phrase *ahī atta* and its variations with father, lord or colleague is pragmatic. The usage is followed by some type of request or excuse, suggesting that the addressee behaves fairly to the sender, or vice versa, that the sender is not cheating or misbehaving in any other respect towards the addressee. The usage is connected with a demand of increased care or attention, especially in transactions asking for an elevated level of trust between the participants in the dialogue.

¹⁴ HECKER et al. 1996: 68–69, text I 477. In this case, *ahī atta* is directly linked with *nahādu*; then, at the end of the letter, we find *abī atta* (directly linked with *nahādu*, too), obviously as an intensification of a demand.

The formula certainly reflects the hierarchical position of the sides, mainly in the cases when we witness connected usage of family terms, such as “brother + lord” or “father + lord”, in which the speaker is certainly admitting a lower status in the dialogue. However, the phrase itself serves mainly for drawing attention to some type of transaction where mutual trust plays a higher role.

Acknowledgments:

The presented work has been carried out within the project “Analysis, description and archiving of aggregate information on properties of cultural heritage artifacts and usage of such data in restoration, conservation and research” supported by the program of applied research and development of national and cultural identity (NAKI) of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic – grant no. DG16P02M022.

Bibliography

- ANDERSON, A., 2018. *The Old Assyrian Social Network: An Analysis of the Texts From Kültepe-Kanesh (1950–1750 B.C.E.)*. Boston.
- BARJAMOVIC, G., 2008. *The Geography of Trade: Assyrian Colonies in Anatolia, c. 1975–1725 BC and the Study of Early Interregional Networks of Exchange*, in: Derksen, J. G. (Ed.): *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian period*. PIHANS 111, OAAS 3, 87–100.
- 2017. *A Commercial Geography of Anatolia: Integrating Hittite and Assyrian Texts, Archaeology and Topography*, in: Weeden, M./Ullmann, L. Z. (Ed.), *Hittite Landscape and Geography*, 311–318.
- BARJAMOVIC, G./HERTEL, T./LARSEN, M.T., 2012. *Ups and downs at Kanesh Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period*. Old Assyrian Archives, Studies, Volume 5. Leiden.
- BAMMAN, D./ANDERSON, A./SMITH, N.A., 2013. *Inferring Social Rank in an Old Assyrian Trade Network*, in: *Digital Humanities 2013*, 101–105.
- HERTEL, T., 2013. *Old Assyrian Legal Practices: Law and Dispute in the Ancient Near East*. Leiden.
- HECKER, K./KRYSZAT, G./MATOUŠ, L., 1996. *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag*. Praha.
- HIGHCOCK, N., 2018. *Assyrians Abroad: Expanding Borders Through Mobile Identities in the Middle Bronze Age*, in: *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 4/1–2, 61–93. (<https://doi.org/10.1515/janeh-2017-0016>)
- ICHISAR, M., 1981. *Les archives cappadociennes du marchand Imdilum*. Paris.
- LARSEN, M.T., 1971. *Slander*, in: *Orientalia* 40/3, 317–324.
- 1976. *The Old Assyrian City-state and its Colonies*. Copenhagen.

- 1982. *Your Money or Your Life! A Portrait of an Assyrian Businessman*, in: Postgate, J. N. (Ed.), *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*, 215–45.
 - 2015. *Ancient Kanesh. A Merchant Colony in Bronze Age Anatolia*. Cambridge.
- PALMISANO, A., 2013. *Computational and Spatial Approaches to the Commercial Landscapes and Political Geography of the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, in: Feliu, L./ Llop, J./ Albà, A.M./ Sanmartín, J. (Ed.), *Time and History in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona. 26-30 July 2010*, 767–783.
- 2017. *Drawing Pathways from the Past: the Trade Routes of the Old Assyrian Caravans Across Upper Mesopotamia and Central Anatolia*, in: Kulakoglu, F./ Barjamovic, G. (Ed.), *Movement, Resources, Interaction. Proceedings of the 2nd Kültepe International Meeting. Kültepe, July 26-30, 2015. Studies Dedicated to Klaas Veenhof*, 29–48.

Indices

1 Personal names

- Abba Saul, 107, 108
Abī-ešuh, 55, 64
Abī-sarē, 55, 56, 58, 64, 67
Abraham, 108, 109
 Abram, 109
Abram. *See Abraham*
Abuḥalim, 8
Adad-nārārī I, 42
Adad-nārārī III, 19, 89
Ahiman, 112
Amar-Sîn, 46
Amēl-Marduk, 90
Amiran, Ruth, 29
Ammi bar Abba, Rabbi, 109
Ammī-ditāna, 55, 59, 64, 67, 68
Ammī-ṣaduqa, 55, 60, 64, 68
Anak, 107, 111, 112
Apiašal, 38
Arba, 112
Ardum, 48
Ashurbanipal, 14, 89
Aššur-bēl-kala, 46
Ayala, 5
Azazeel, 111, 112
Babuška, Milan, 132
Bašánek, Antonín, 133
Baranamtara, 100
Bēl-tarši-ilumma, 89
Brtková, Anna. *See Zymová, Anna*
Būr-Sîn, 55, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68
Caleb, 111
Castelliz, Alfred, 117
Chalupníček, Bohumil, 115, 130
Clark, Ernest C., 123
Cukr, František, 130
Cukr, Jaroslav, 115, 116, 117, 118,
 119, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128,
 129, 130, 132, 133, 134
Cukr, Josef, 130
Cukrová (née Jakubcová), Anna, 130
Cukrová (née Zymová), Marie, 130
Cukrová, Pavla, 134
Cukrová, Zdeňka, 134
Dakiki, 46
Damiq-ilīšu, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 64,
 65, 68
David, 27, 112, 113
Eannatum, 101, 102
Eldem, Halil Edhem, 120
 Halil Bey, 120
Eliezer, 109
Eliezer, Rabbi, 109
Enanatum, 101, 102
Enlil-bani, 55, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,
 68
Entemena, 83, 101
Erišum I, 41
Esarhaddon, 48, 89
Fanta, Josef, 132, 133
Feigl, Jan, 133
Franta[?], 127
Garfinkel, Josef, 22, 24
Goliath, 107, 112
Gudea, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85,
 104
Gungunum, 64
Halil Bey. *See Eldem, Halil Edhem*
Houžvička, Josef, 130
Hrozný, Bedřich, 115, 117, 118, 119,
 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127,
 128, 129, 132, 137

- Ḥammu-rabi, 14, 16, 54, 55, 57, 59,
 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 88
 Ibbi-Sîn, 83
 Iddin-Dagan, 58, 64
 Ilušuma, 41
 Imdī-ilum, 139
 Inibshina, 9
 Innāya, 138
 Isaac, 108, 109
 Ishbibenob, 107, 112
 Išbi-Erra, 64
 Išme-Dagan, 55, 62, 64, 65, 68
 Itur-Asdu, 3, 5
 Jakubcová, Anna. *See Cukrová, Anna*
 Job, 126
 Jonathan, 113
 Joshua, 111, 112
 Kálalová, Vlasta, 125
 Kisilevitz, Shua, 27, 28
 Kropf, Max, 117
 Kudur-mabuk, 54
 Lipit-Ištar, 55, 59, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Lot, 108
 Lugaland, 100
 Malik-Dagan, 4, 5
 Marduk-apla-iddina I, 88
 Marduk-šāpik-zēri, 88
 Mendl, Antonín, 117, 118, 132
 Moses, 109, 110, 111, 113
 Munchausen, Baron, 113
 Musil, Alois, 115, 117, 118, 132
 Nabonidus, 90
 Nabopolassar, 89, 90
 Nabû-šuma-iškun, 89
 Nammaḥani, 75
 Narām-Sîn, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47
 Nebuchadnezzar II, 90, 91, 93, 94
 Neriḡlissar, 90
 Niederle, 117, 118
 Nimrod, 109
 Noah, 108
 Novák, Jan, 130
 Novaková, Josefa, 130
 Nūr-Adad, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64,
 65, 66, 68
 Obenberger, Jan, 119
 Og, 107, 108, 109, 110
 Pallat, Alois, 117
 Petraš, Václav, 125, 126, 129
 Petřík, Josef, 130
 Purkyně, Cyril, 130
 Puzur-Aššur, 47
 Puzur-Sîn, 47
 Rabbah bar bar Hana, 113
 Rasappa, 19
 Reish. *See Shimeon ben Lakish,*
 Rabbi
 Rīm-Sîn I, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 68
 Samsu-iluna, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62,
 64, 68
 Saph, 112, 113
 Sippai, 112
 Sarah, 108
 Sargon II (of Assyria), 48, 89
 Sargon of Agade, 41, 43, 44
 Sellin, Ernst, 120
 Semjaza, 111, 112
 Shemhazai, 112
 Sennacherib, 19, 39, 40, 50
 Shalmaneser I, 42
 Shalmaneser III, 43, 44, 89
 Shemhazai. *See Semjaza*
 Sheshai, 112
 Shibtu, 9
 Shimeon ben Lakish, Rabbi, 110
 Reish, 110
 Sibbecai, 113
 Sihon, 109
 Sindibad the Sailor, 113
 Sîn-iddinam, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61,
 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Sîn-iqīšam, 56, 60, 64, 65, 68
 Sîn-māḡir, 55, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66,
 68
 Sippai. *See Saph*
 Sklenář, Karel, 117
 Sokol, Jan, 133
 Solomon, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 33
 Solomonic, 21, 24, 25, 33, 34
 Sumu-El, 55, 64
 Světlík, Rudolf, 119

Šillī-Adad, 64, 65, 68
 Šilulu, 46
 Šalim-aḥum, 47
 Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, 89, 90
 Šamši-Adad I, 38, 47
 Šelibum, 9
 Štěpánek, Otakar, 132
 Šū-ilīšu, 55, 58, 62, 64, 67, 68
 Šu-Ištar, 138
 Talmai, 112
 Tiglath-pileser I, 43, 46
 Tiglath-pileser III, 89
 Ur-Bau, 73, 74, 75, 81, 85
 Ur-dukuga, 55, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Ur-Ninurta, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Uruinimgina, 100, 103, 104

Ušpia, 38
 Vefa Bey, Ali, 124
 Virolleaud, Charles, 126
 Warad-Sin, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Weygand, Maxime, 128
 Yarim-Lim, 9
 Zabāya, 55, 67
 Záhorský, Jan, 130
 Zambīya, 58, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Zarriqum, 46
 Zima, Jan, 130
 Zimová, Marie, 130
 Zimri-Lim, 3, 4, 5, 9
 Zyma, Karel, 130
 Zymová (née Brtková), Anna, 130
 Zymová, Marie. *See Cukrová, Marie*

2 Divine names

Adad
 Adad of Aleppo, 8
 Adad of Kallassu, 6
 Amurru, 48
 An, 38, 40, 43, 58, 59, 61, 66
 Annunitum, 9
 Anuna, 40, 57
 Asalluḫi, 50
 Aššur, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50
 Great Mountain, 39, 40
 Aya, 59
 Baal, 39
 Baba, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104
 Bau, 102
 Great Mother, 101
 Bēlat-ekallim, 46
 Dagan, 4, 5, 7, 45, 47, 62
 Elil, 38
 Elohim, 112
 Enki, 38, 39, 50
 Enlil, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 68
 Great Mountain, 39, 60
 Gatumdu, 83, 104

 mother of Lagaš, 104
 God. *See Yahweh*
 Great Mother. *See Baba*
 Great Mountain. *See Aššur and Enlil*
 Holy One. *See Yahweh*
 Ilaba, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50
 Inana, 59, 62, 67, 101, 102
 Ištar, 42
 Iškur, 59, 61, 62
 Ištar. *See Inana*
 Lord. *See Yahweh*
 Lugal-gudua, 63
 Marduk, 38, 40, 45, 50, 59, 60, 68, 86, 88, 90
 mother of Lagaš. *See Gatumdu*
 Mullissu, 39
 Nabû, 86, 88
 Nanna, 57, 58, 61
 Sîn, 58
 Nanše, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104
 Ningal, 58
 Ningirsu, 74, 99, 100, 101, 103
 Ninḫursag, 100, 101, 102, 104
 Ninḫursanga, 102
 Ninḫursanga. *See Ninḫursag*

Ninisina, 58, 59
 Ninlil, 58, 60
 Nintur, 40
 Ninurta, 40
 Nudimmud, 59
 Šin. *See Nanna*
 Šamaš. *See Utu*
 Telitum, 60, *see also Inana (Ištar)*

Tiamat, 38, 45
 Utu, 57, 58, 59, 61, 64
 Šamaš, 5, 48, 59, 60
 Yahweh, 50
 God, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 118
 Holy One, 109, 110
 Lord, 25, 110, 111

3 Ethnic names and toponyms

Adab, 46, 77
 Aegean, 24
 Agade. *See Akkad*
aḫlamû-Arameans. *See Arameans*
 Ain Dara, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27
 Akkad, 55, 64
 Agade, 41, 43, 44, 46
 Akkadian, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 15, 38, 41,
 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 54, 68, 71,
 88
 Akkadians, 50, 51
 Aleppo, 8, 125
 Ḥalab, 8, 9
 al-Rusafa, 117, 132
 Amalekites, 113
 American. *See USA*
 Ammon, 107
 Amorites, 9, 50, 51, 53, 107, 109, 113
 Amorite, 2, 7, 67, 122
 Amuq, 25
 Anakim, 107, 112
 Anatolia, 21, 24, 25, 137, 138, *see*
 also Asia Minor
 Anatolian, 25, 138
 Angora. *See Ankara*
 Ankara, 119
 Angora, 119, 120, 123
 Arab, 113
 Arad. *See Tel Arad*
 Arameans
 aḫlamû-Arameans, 43
 Arbela, 16
 Erbil, 16
 Ashdod, 112

Ashteroth Karnaim, 113
 Ashteroth, 108
 Asia Minor, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125,
 see also Anatolia
 Assyria, 13, 14, 15, 19, 24, 37, 45,
 49, 50, 138
 Assyrian, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 25,
 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45,
 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 86, 89, 137,
 138, 139
 Assyrians, 37, 38, 41, 49, 51, 138
 Aššur, 39, 41, 45, 46, 47
 Babylon, 38, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57,
 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69,
 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94
 Babylonia, 5, 14, 24, 40, 50, 53
 Babylonian, 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 38, 48,
 49, 50, 53, 54, 67, 68, 86, 88,
 89, 90, 91, 107
 Baghdad, 125
 Balikh, 15
 Bashan, 107, 108, 109, 110, 122
 Be'er Sheva, 21, 31, 32, 33
 Beirut, 126, 127, 128
 Beyrouth, 127, 128
 Belgrade, 127
 Benjaminites, 4, 7
 Beyrouth. *See Beirut*
 Bohemia, 71, 129, *see also Czech*
 Republic and Czechoslovak
 Republic
 Borsippa, 88, 89, 91
 Bratislava, 132
 British, 91, 94, 125, *see also English*
 Calah. *See Kalḫu*

- Cambridge (in Massachusetts), 118
Canaan, 24, 25, 26, 111, 112
 Canaanite, 29
Chaldees, 109
Charles' Square in Prague, 132
Comana Pontica, 123
Constantinople, 119, 127
Crikvenica, 127
Cyprus, 27
Czech Republic, 144, *see also*
 Czechoslovak Republic and
 Bohemia
 Czech, 2, 9, 115, 117, 118, 119,
 125, 130, 131, 132
Czechoslovak Republic, 118, *see also*
 Czech Republic and Bohemia
 Czechoslovak, 115, 119, 125, 132
 Czechoslovakia, 117
Czechoslovakia. *See Czech Republic*
Český Brod, 130
Češov, 130
Damascus, 109, 123, 125, 126
Dan, 109
Daraa, 126
Dead Sea, 110, 111
Dobročovice, 130
Doric, 24
Duranki, 66
Dūr-Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlī-ušur, 15
Dūr-Šarrukēn, 17
 Khorsabad, 17
Eana, 63
Ebabbar, 57, 63, 65, 66, 67
Edrei, 108, 109
Egalmah, 65, 66
Egypt, 29
Ekišnugal, 66
Ekur, 65, 68
Emar, 24, 25
English, 9, 118, *see also British*
Enim, 107, 113
Eninmar, 44
Eninnu, 63, 74, 75
 House of Fifty White Anzû-Birds,
 74
 White Thunderbird, 74
Erbil. *See Arbela*
Eridu, 57, 62, 63, 65, 80, 91
Esagil, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94
Ešumeša, 66
Etemenanki, 90
Euphrates, 14, 25, 44, 51, 125
Ezida, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94
Ezra, 126
Fara, 102
French, 119, 126, 128
Ga'eš, 58
Gath, 112, 113
Gaza, 112
German, 9
Girsu, 56, 63, 65, 75, 77, 79, 80, 85,
 99, 102, 103, 104
Gob, 113
Great Zab, 16, 17
Greek, 122, 127
Gueddena, 101
Gümenek hill, 123
Ham, 113
Hazezon Tamar, 113
Hazor, 26
Hebrew, 2, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113,
 see also Jew and Israel
Hebron, 112
Heshbon, 110
Hittite, 38, 123
Horites, 107, 113
Hurrian, 2
Hushathite, 113
Ḥalab. *See Aleppo*
Ib-gal, 102
Imgur-Enlil, 89
Isin, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61,
 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 88
Israel, 21, 24, 110, 111, 113, *see also*
 Judah, Hebrew and Jew
 Israeli, 107, 111, 112, 113
 Israelite, 22, 31
 Israelites, 31, 50, 51, 113
Italian, 127
Jebel Bashiqā, 17
Jerusalem, 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34
 City of David, 27

- Jew, 113, 134, *see also Hebrew, Judah and Israel*
 Jewish, 107, 109, 113, 134
 Jičín, 130
 Jordan Valley, 26
 Judah, 21, 22, 24, 27, 32, 33, 34, *see also Hebrew, Israel and Jew*
 Judahite, 22, 29, 31, 33
 Judean, 22, 33
 Kingdom of, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34
 Kaisarie, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124
 Kayseri, 119
 Kalhu, 89
 Calah, 17
 Kallassu, 6
 Kanesh, 137, 138
 Kaniš, 46
 Kül Tepe, 124
 Kultepe, 125, 137
 Kara Höyük, 129
 Kassite, 88
 Kayseri. *See Kaisarie*
 Kazallu, 54
 Khazir River, 17
 Khirbet Qeiyafa, 21, 22, 23, 24, 33
 Khorsabad. *See Dūr-Šarrukēn*
 Kiš, 64, 89
 Kizvadna, 123
 Kolín, 130
 Kültepe. *See Kanesh*
 Kutalla, 64
 Labská Týnice, 130
 Lagaš, 44, 56, 63, 64, 65, 74, 75, 80, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104
 Lachish, 21, 31, 32, 33
 Larsa, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 91, 93
 Latin, 9, 19
 Levant, 23, 24, 29, 34
 London, 118
 Madā'in, 77
 Mari, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 24
 Mediterranean, 50
 Megiddo, 26
 Mesopotamia, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 41, 50, 68, 86, 99, 104, 119, 127, 128, 137
 Mesopotamian, 9, 13, 24, 39, 40, 50, 51, 53, 67, 71, 94, 102, 137
 Mosul, 17
 Moza. *See Tel Moza*
 Náchod, 132, 133
 Nedvězí, 130
 Negev, 31
 Nephilim, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112
 Nigin, 77
 Nina-Sirara, 100
 Nineveh, 13, 16, 17, 19, 89
 Nippur, 46, 63, 65, 66, 68
 Nibru, 40
 Olomouc, 117
 Orontes, 118
 Palestine, 120, 127, *see also Philistine*
 Philistine, 107, 112, *see also Palestine*
 Philistines, 113
 Pilsen, 71
 Prague, 1, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134
 Puzriš-Dagan, 77
 Qiryat Arba, 112
 Town of Arba, 112
 Qusayr 'Amra, 117
 Rabbah, 107
 Rephaim, 107, 108, 113
 Rijeka, 127
 Saggaratum, 5
 Saint Procopius Church in Žižkov, 129
 Samaria, 120
 Samaritan, 110
 Samaritan. *See Samaria*
 Seir, 113
 Semitic, 1, 41, 51, 107
 Shaveh Kiriathaim, 113
 Shechem, 26
 Sheikh Sa'ad, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126
 Shephelah, 32
 Sippar, 5, 75, 77, 91, 93

Sivas, 123
 Strahov, 118
 Strašnice, 134
 Stupice, 130
 Sumer, 55, 64, 104
 Sumerian, 38, 39, 40, 41, 50, 51,
 54, 68, 71, 73, 74, 83, 85, 88,
 102
 Syria, 21, 25, 26, 115, 119, 120, 121,
 123, 125, 127, 128, 138
 Syrian, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34
 Šakka, 4, 5
 Taannek, 120
 Taidu, 42
 Tel Arad, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31,
 32, 33, 34
 Tel Be'er Sheva. *See Be'er Sheva*
 Tel Moza, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,
 29, 30, 31, 33, 34
 Tell Brak, 24
 Tell Kitan, 26
 Tell Munbaqa, 24, 25
 Tell Tayinat, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29
 Temple Mount, 22, *see also*
 Jerusalem

Tepe Gawra, 24
 Tigris, 14, 17, 51, 56
 Tokat, 123
 Toronto, 1, 91
 Town of Arba. *See Qiryat Arba*
 Transjordan, 23
 Turkey, 25, 119, 120, 123, 124, 125,
 127
 Turk, 123
 Turkish, 119, 120, 123, 124
 Ugarit, 38
 Ugaritic, 7, 38
 Umma, 77, 80, 101
 Ur, 24, 38, 44, 46, 57, 64, 65, 66, 68,
 69, 91, 93, 109
 Uruk, 62, 63, 64
 USA, 118
 American, 123
 Americans, 120
 Vienna, 117, 120
 Vořechovka, 127
 Zanziuma, 43
 Zuzim, 107, 113
 Žižkov, 129, 130

4 Index of things

A hymn to Bau's beneficent
 protective goddess, 102
 A hymn to Nanše, 100, 104
 agriculture, 68
 agricultural, 15, 17, 18, 102, 138
 alabaster, 81
 altar, 23, 27, 31, 32
 incense, 30
 offering, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33
 Amarna period, 1, 2
 American Board of Commissioners
 For Foreign Missions, 123
 Amoraism, 7
 Amos, 108
 angel, 111
 angelology, 111
 archangel, 111
 fallen, 111, 112

animal, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 29,
 71
 antechamber, 25, 26
 ants, 110
 archaeology, 13, 91, 119
 archaeological, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22,
 29, 31, 33, 107, 115, 119, 121,
 125, 130
 archaeologist, 13, 15, 21, 22, 27,
 31, 115, 117, 126
 archangel. *See angel*
 architecture, 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 31,
 33, 34, 115, 118, 130, 132
 architect, 34, 115, 117, 118, 119,
 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 129,
 130, 132, 133, 134

- architectural, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31, 33, 119, 122, 130, 132, 133
- history of, 115, 130
- army, 4, 102, 109, 110
- soldier, 128
- troops, 43, 48, 55, 56, 58
- ass, 16
- Assyrian King List, 38
- Assyrian Trade Network, 137
- Assyriology, 53
 - Assyriologist, 15, 118
- axe, 110
- Baba Bathra, 113
- bacteria, 124
- barley, 138
- basalt, 23, 26, 122
- basilica, 122
- basin, 23
- bedstead, 107
- beetle, 119
- bench, 23, 27, 28
- Berakoth, 110, 113
- Berliner Tageblatt, 123
- Bible, 107, 110, 112, 113
 - biblical, 2, 24, 50, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 122
 - King James Version, 110
- bird, 23
- black-headed people, 43, 56
- block, 77
- Boaz, 25
- bowl, 1, 91
- Brandeis University, 7
- brick, 71, 75, 77, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94
 - stamped, 77, 86
- bronze, 18, 80, 81, 89
- Bronze Age, 21, 26, 29, 31
 - Early, 25, 29, 31, 34
 - Late, 24, 25
 - Middle, 25, 26
- canal, 15, 68
- canephore, 81
- cattle, 15, 103, 108
- cedar, 25
- Chalcolithic period, 29
- Charles University in Prague, 117
- chemistry, 115, 130
- chisel, 25
- Christian, 118, 122
 - Early Christian, 119, 122, 132
- Christmas, 126, 129
- Chronicles
 - 1 Chronicles, 112
- church, 34, 129
- clay, 23, 24, 71, 72, 75, 77, 80, 81, 82, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 130
- Code of Hammu-rabi, 14, 16
- cone, 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85
- copper, 138
- CORONA, 16
- crown, 53
- crown (currency), 118, 120, 132
- cult, 21, 23, 27, 37, 38, 40, 45, 49, 50, 55, 67, 68
 - cultic, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 31, 32, 33, 62, 67, 69, 99, 102, 104
- cylinder, 89, 90
- Czech Technical University in Prague, 115, 118, 119, 130, 131, 132
- dam, 15
- Dead Sea Scrolls, 111
- debir, 24, 25, 30
 - Holy of Holies, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31
- Deuteronomy, 107, 108, 113
- diorite, 77, 80, 81
- dollar, 120
- donkey, 15
- door, 83
 - door socket, 75, 77, 80, 81, 88
- dove, 23
- drawing, 115, 130
- dynamics, 115, 130
- Dynasty of Lagaš
 - First, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104
 - Second, 74
- Early Bronze Age, 18
- Early Dynastic period, 99
- economy, 68, 99

- economic, 26, 29, 55, 99, 100, 102, 104
- engineering, 115, 118, 130, 134
 - engineer, 115, 132
- Enki and the world order, 39
- Enochic scriptures, 111
- Enūma eliš, 38
- epithet, 37, 39, 40, 53, 54, 67, 68, 74, 90, 91, 94, 100
- Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey (EPAS), 16
- Ezekiel (Book of), 111
- farmer, 56, 61, 63, 66, 68, 130
- festival, 103
 - eating of grain of the goddess Nanše, 103
 - of Baba, 103
- figurine, 23, 71, 81, *see also statue*
- First Book of Enoch, 111
- First Book of Kings, 22, 24, 25
- First Dynasty of Babylon, 54, 68
- First Dynasty of Lagaš. *See Dynasty of Lagaš*
- flora, 120
- fortress, 29, 34
- four-room house, 31, 34
- gate, 89
- gazelle, 107
- Gemara, 108
- Genesis, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113
- Genesis Rabbah, 108, 109
- geology, 115, 130
- geometry, 115, 130
- Ghassanids, 122
- Giaour, 123
- goat, 15
- God List from Fara, 102
- gold, 138
- Google, 16
- Gothic, 130
- gymnasium, 132, 133
- hammer, 25
- Harvard University, 118
- Hasmonean, 31
- Hauran style, 122
- hekal, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31
- herdsman, 66, *see also shepherd*
- hieroglyphs, 123
- Holy of Holies. *See debir*
- horse, 15, 112
- Hotel Kohout, 127
- Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, 117
- iron, 107
- Iron Age, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34
 - Early, 23
 - I, 24
 - Ia, 23
 - Ib, 23
 - II, 22, 24, 28, 32, 33, 34
 - Ila, 23, 27, 33
 - Ilb, 23
 - Ilc, 23
- Islamic, 119, 122, *see also Muslim*
- Jachin, 25
- Joshua, 108, 112
- Jubilees, 111
- juglet, 23
- Kassite period, 88
- king, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 14, 15, 19, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, *see also ruler*
- kingship, 38, 39, 40, 42, 55, 61, 109
 - royal office, 53, 55, 56
- Late Babylonian period, 89
- libation, 23
- lid, 71
- lieutenant, 132, 133
- limestone, 23, 77, 81, 83, 88
- Lingua Franca, 1
- lion, 13, 14, 16, 19, 23, 25
- mace, 44, 45, *see also weapon*
- machinery, 130
- malaria, 118, 125
- mathematics, 115, 130
- medicine, 125
- Medieval, 132
- megaron, 21, 25, 26, 29, 33, *see also temple, long-room*
- mechanical technology, 130

- mechanics, 115, 130
- Merano (ship), 122
- merchant. *See trade*
- metal, 23, 138
- Middle Babylonian period, 3, 88, *see also Kassite period and Second Dynasty of Isin*
- Milano (steamboat), 128
- military, 29, 32, 34, 45, 49, 57, 104, 128, 132, *see also army*
- Mishna
 - mishnaic, 107
- model-making, 115
- mosque, 122, 123
- mother-goddess, 101, 102
- Muslim, 122, *see also Islamic*
- Náprstek Museum, 115, 126, 127, 128, 129
- Národní Listy, 115, 122, 126, 127
- National Museum in Prague, 119
- National Theatre generation, 133
- Nedarim, 109
- Neo-Assyrian period, 6, 14, 19, 49, 86
- Neo-Babylonian
 - dynasty, 90
 - period, 9, 86, 88, 90, 91
- nether-world, 111
- Niddah, 107, 108
- Ninurta's return to Nibru: a šir-gida to Ninurta, 40
- Numbers, 110, 111, 112, 113
- Numeri, 111
- O. Jenáček (company), 132
- offering, 23, 27, 28, 34, 57, 63
 - altar, 27, 29, 31, 33
 - first fruit, 66
 - table, 23
- Old Akkadian, 3, 45, 47, 88
 - dynasty, 41, 44, 45, 50
 - period, 38, 41, 46, 69
- Old Assyrian, 49, 137, 139
 - period, 41
- Old Babylonian, 2, 7, 49, 53, 54, 67, 68
 - dynasty. *See First Dynasty of Babylon*
 - period, 2, 48, 53, 88
- Old Testament, 31, 49, 107
- olive, 100
- omen, 61, 62
- Orientalist, 118, 126
- ox, 16, 112, 138
- pagrum*-sacrifice, 5
- palace, 5, 15, 39, 47, 141
- palm tree, 26
- parasang, 107, 110
- peg, 80
- Persian period, 22
- physics, 115, 130
- Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer, 108, 109
- plant, 16
- plaque, 46
- pond, 15
- pool, 26
- pottery, 23, 27
- priest
 - en, 62, 63, 67
 - išippum*, 63
- priestess, 9
- prince, 55, 59, 61, 66
- prism, 89
- prophetic, 2, 3, 5, 7
- Psalms, 49, 110
- rabbinic, 108
- railway machinery construction, 130
- relief, 14, 26, 127
- rite, 57, 63
- ritual, 22, 23, 26, 27, 44, 113
 - equipment, 34
- royal office. *See kingship*
- Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology at Toronto, 91
- ruler, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 47, 48, 53, 54, 67, 68, 69, 74, 75, 81, 83, 86, 89, 90, 91, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 109, 111, *see also king*
- Samaritan Targum, 110
- Samuel
 - 1 Samuel, 112
 - 2 Samuel, 112, 113
- sanctuary, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 68, 100, 122, 126, *see also temple and shrine*

- sarcophagus, 107
 Sargonic dynasty. *See Old Akkadian dynasty*
 Sargonic period. *See Old Akkadian period*
 scepter, 53, 61
 scribe, 2, 5, 6, 40, 46, 80
 script, 7, 83, 86, 89, 90
 alphabetic, 1
 archaising, 86, 88, 90, 91
 cuneiform, 1, 71
 Neo-Babylonian, 89, 90, 91
 syllabographic, 1
 seal, 46
 cylinder, 14
 Second Dynasty of Isin, 88
 Second Dynasty of Lagaš. *See Dynasty of Lagaš*
 Seljuq, 123
 Septuagint, 110
 sheep, 15, 103
 shepherd, 14, 29, 43, 55, 56, 60, 62, 65, 66, 68, *see also herdsman*
 shepherdship, 61
 shrine, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 33, *see also sanctuary and temple*
 gate, 33
 model, 22, 23, 27
 scholar, 37, 38, 100, 109, 115, 117, 137
 silo, 29
 silver, 137, 138, 141
 slab, 89
 slave, 109
 Sokol (association), 132, 133
 soldier. *See army*
 sorcery, 38
 spear, 112, 113, *see also weapon*
 sphinx, 23
 stamped brick. *See brick*
 stand
 cultic, 32
 statics, 115, 130
 statue, 26, 56, *see also figurine*
 stele, 89, 90
 Stele of the Vultures, 101, 102
 steward, 109
 stone, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 46, 77, 80, 81, 89, 91, 107, 110, 123, 126
 ashlar, 31
 field, 28, 30
 standing, 23, 30
 sword, 111
 synagogue, 34
 tablet, 3, 46, 75, 77, 80, 81, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 104, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143
 Tallith, 113
 Talmud, 107
 Babylonian Talmud, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113
 Talmudic, 108, 110
 Tanakh, 107
 Tel Moza Expedition Project, 28
 temple, 5, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 54, 57, 65, 67, 68, 69, *see also sanctuary and shrine*
 broad-room, 21, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34
 long-room, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, *see also megaron*
 of An, 66
 of Aššur, 41, 47, 48
 of Baba, 102
 of Bēlat-ekallim, 46
 of Dagan, 4
 of Enlil, 43, 68
 of Ilaba, 50
 of Inana, 102
 of Marduk, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93
 of Nabû, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93
 of Nanše, 100
 of Ningirsu, 73, 74, 75
 of Utu, 57
 Solomon's, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 29, 33, 34
 The British Museum, 80, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94
 The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project (LoNAP), 16
 The Midrash of Shemhazai and 'Azael, 112

- The Upper Greater Zab
 Archaeological Reconnaissance
 (UGZAR), 16
- throne, 14, 26, 56
- tin, 138
- tomb, 24, 107
- Torah, 109
- trade, 15, 137, 138, 139
 merchant, 113, 130
 trader, 137
 tradesman, 139
- triglyph, 24
- troops. *See* *army*
- Tsitsiyot, 113
- typhoid, 124
- ulam, 24, 25, 26
- University of West Bohemia in
 Pilsen, 71
- Ur III
 dynasty, 69
 period, 38, 46
 state, 38
- vali*, 123, 124
- Venkov, 125
- vessel, 14, 32, 71
 anthropomorphic, 23
 libation, 23
- Vulgate, 110
- weapon, 44, 111, *see also* *axe*, *mace*
and spear
 divine, 45, 47
 of Aššur, 42, 43, 44
 of Enlil, 43
 of heaven/An, 43
 of Ilaba, 44, 45
 of Ištar, 42
- well, 15
- West Semitism, 5
- wisdom, 38, 58, 59
- wool, 103, 138
- Yoma, 109
- Zevachim, 108
- ziggurat, 90

5 Sumerian terms and logograms

- a, 56, 103
- á, 60, 102
- a-a, 58
- á-ág-gá, 58, 61
- ak, 55, 57, 58, 62
- alam, 56
- ama, 58, 100
- an, 56
- an-ub-da, 64
- a-ra-zu, 61
- ba, 57
- ba-al, 56
- bād, 56
- bala, 59
- bára, 57
- buru_x-maš, 103
- da-ga-an, 67
- dagal, 56, 59
- dam, 62
- da-rí, 55
- dé, 58
- di, 61
- dím, 57
- dingir, 41, 44, 46, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63
- diri, 59
- dù, 56, 57, 58, 63, 73, 79, 80, 83
- du₈, 66
- düg, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 101
- dug₄, 56, 59, 61, 68
- dul₅, 61
- dumu, 41, 58, 62
- dumu-sag, 62
- é, 56, 57, 61, 66
- è, 56
- é-mí, 99, 100, 102, 104
- en, 42, 43, 44, 62, 63, 67
- engar, 56, 61, 63, 66, 68
- énsi, 41, 42, 46, 47, 64
- éren, 47, 55, 56
- érim, 58
- èš, 57, 63, 65, 66, 102

ezem, 103
 ga, 101
 gal, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 67, 68
 gál, 57
 gal-an-zu, 57, 58
 gar, 55, 56, 57, 61, 103
 ge-en, 57
 géštu, 58, 59
 gi, 56
 gí₄, 56, 57, 73, 77, 79, 80
 gibil, 57
 gidru, 43, 61, 100
 gir-arad, 46
 gi-rin, 64
 gir-nita, 42
 giš-gaz, 58
 giš-ḥur, 57, 63
 giškim, 62
 giš-tuk, 56, 60, 68
 gu, 66
 gú, 57, 58
 gù, 64
 gu₄, 103
 gu₇, 101, 103
 gub, 61, 65
 gù-dé, 61
 gú-gur, 56
 gùn, 58
 gur, 57, 58
 guru₇, 56
 gu-ul, 63
 gú-un, 65
 gu-za, 56
 ḥé-gál, 56, 59, 66
 ḥúl, 55
 ḥun-gá, 57
 ibila, 58, 93, 94
 id, 44, 56
 igi bar, 61, 62
 igi-du, 100
 igi-gál, 59
 igi-gál-tuk, 58
 igi-il, 62
 il, 103
 in-dub, 56
 išib, 63

itu, 103
 izi, 103
 ka, 61, 66
 kalag, 55, 58, 66
 kalam, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62
 kár, 65
 ki, 41, 46, 47, 56, 57, 59, 65, 77, 79,
 80, 83
 ki-ág, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 67
 kilib, 61
 kin, 61, 103
 ki-ná, 64
 kisal, 65
 ki-tuš, 57
 kù, 58, 59, 62, 63
 ku₅, 103
 kur, 43, 57, 60, 61
 kuš₇, 60
 laḥ₅, 63
 libir, 56, 57
 límму, 64
 lú, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 66
 lugal, 42, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61,
 64, 67, 93, 94
 ma-da, 56, 57, 64
 maḥ, 56, 61, 63, 66, 100
 me, 57, 63
 me-lám, 61
 me-te, 62
 mú, 103
 mu (1), 54
 mu (2), 56, 61, 101
 munu₄, 103
 mùš, 65
 na-gada, 66
 nam, 61, 68
 nam-á-daḥ, 62
 nam-en, 62
 nam-lugal, 55, 56, 61
 nam-sipa, 61
 nam-šár-ra, 65
 nam-šita_x, 61
 ne-ḥa, 56
 ni, 56, 65
 ni-ak, 60
 nidba, 63, 103

- nì-ge, 55
 nigin, 58
 nin, 101
 nì-nam, 66
 nì-nam-ḥe, 65
 nì-nam-il, 65
 nì-nam-tùm, 65
 nì-nu-til-e, 59
 nisag, 66
 nì-si-sá, 55
 nita, 55
 ní-te, 61, 66
 ní-tuk, 55, 56, 59, 60, 65, 66
 numun, 55
 nun, 55, 59, 61, 66
 pà, 56, 59, 61, 62, 101
 sá, 55
 sa₄, 61, 101
 sa₆, 61, 62, 66
 sá-du₁₁, 57, 63
 sag, 44
 ság, 56
 sag èn-tar, 65, 66
 sag-gi₆-ga, 43, 56
 sag-kal, 92, 94
 sag-ús, 65, 67
 sar, 66
 si, 65
 sì, 61, 64
 síg, 103
 sikil, 63
 sipa, 55, 56, 60, 62, 65, 66
 si-sá, 63
 siskur, 44
 su, 60
 sù, 59, 101
 su₈, 56
 suḥ, 55
 suḥuš, 56, 57
 sum, 59, 61, 63, 100
 sun₅, 59, 65
 šà, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 65, 100, 101
 šà-KA-gál, 56
 šà-kúš, 100
 šár, 55, 56
 še, 66, 103
 še-ga, 59, 62, 66, 67, 68
 šilig, 63
 šu, 56, 57, 63
 šu dù, 58
 šu du₇, 58, 63
 šub, 56
 šu-du₇, 63
 šul, 55, 59, 60, 61
 šu-luḥ, 63
 tar, 61, 68
 téš, 64
 ti, 59, 61
 til, 56
 tuk, 56, 58
 tukul, 42, 43, 44
 túm, 56, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66
 tuš, 56
 ù, 58, 64
 ù ku, 56
 u₄, 56, 59, 65, 102
 u₄-šú-uš, 61
 ú-a, 65, 66, 67
 udu, 44, 103
 ugu, 58
 ul, 56
 ù-ma, 55
 un, 55, 56, 63
 ur, 85, 100
 úr, 62
 ur-sag, 55
 uru, 42, 46, 47, 55, 56
 urudu, 56
 ù-tu, 58
 zalag, 56
 zà-til, 58
 zi, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 66, 101

6 Akkadian terms

abu, 9, 140, 142, 143

adi, 140

- aḥḥūtu*, 140
aḥu, 48, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143
alāku, 4, 5, 10, 44, 49, 140
ālu, 8, 15
amāru, 49
amtu, 9
ana, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 43, 44, 48, 49,
 60, 65, 140
anāku, 4, 5, 6, 9
annītu, 4, 8, 10
annū, 3
anumma, 4, 6, 8, 10
āpiltu, 6
āpilu, 5, 6, 8
aplu, 94
apputtu, 140
arba 'u, 64
ašarēdu, 92, 93, 94
ašru, 60
aššum, 5
atta, 4, 9, 137, 140, 142, 143
attunu, 140
awātu, 6
awīlu, 4, 5, 7, 8, 48
banū I, 49
banū II, 48, 57
bašū, 6, 140
bēlu, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 47, 48, 60, 140
biblu, 59
bītu, 4
dabābu, 4, 7
dannu, 42, 55
dārū, 55
dekū, 48
ebru, 140
edū, 6, 10
elēlu, 43, 44
eli, 39
elū, 4
enma, 2
enūma, 43
 inūma, 6
epēšu, 48
epištu, 60
ēpišu, 90
erēbu, 4
ernittu, 60
eršu, 48
eṭēqu, 48
eṭēru, 140
ezzu, 43, 44
gamru, 4
gimru, 39
ḥiṭṭu, 6
ikkaru, 66
ilu, 140
ilūtu, 48, 49
ina, 3, 4, 6, 8, 42, 43, 44, 48
inanna, 4, 6, 8, 10, 48
īnu, 44
inūma. *See enūma*
iššūr hurri, 8
istū. *See ištu*
išippu, 63
ištu, 7
 istū, 7
itqu, 8
itti, 4, 48, 59
izuzzu, 6
jāši, 4
kabittu, 48
kajāniš, 4
kakkabu, 5, 9
kakku, 42
kapru, 15
karābu, 49
kašādu, 8, 42, 48
kāšidu, 60
kīam, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10
kibru, 64
kīniš, 43
kīnu, 66
lā, 4, 6, 39, 49, 65, 140
lē'ū, 55
leqū, 5, 48, 49
libbu, 4, 43, 44, 59, 60
lu, 6, 10
-ma, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 39, 140
mā, 2, 6
madbaru, 15
magāru, 59
maḥru, 4, 8, 48, 49

maḥû, 9
māru, 4, 62
mātu, 6, 57
-mî, 2, 3
mîgru, 59, 60, 68
mîmma, 6
mînu, 4
muddišu, 57, 90
mupparkû, 65
muškênu, 48
muštešmû, 64
muṭîbu, 60
muttarrû, 47
na'arruru, 48
na'du, 59
nabû, 61
nadānu, 5, 43
nadû, 48
naḥādu, 140, 142, 143
nakru, 48
naparšudu, 43
narāmu, 59, 60
našāru, 8, 10
naṭālu, 3, 4, 8, 140
nîqu, 8, 48
pagru, 5, 8
palāḥu, 43, 65
palḥu, 59
panānu, 6, 10
pānu, 4, 43
parakku, 39
parāru, 49
parāsu, 4, 8
petû, 4
pû, 4
qabû, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 48
qaqqadu, 8
qibîtu, 48, 59
qînnu, 49
rabānu, 67
rabû, 39, 48
ramānu, 3
rē'û, 60, 65
rubû, 55
sa. *See* *ša*

simtu, 62
sisittu, 5
sisisittu, 5, 8
sû. *See* *šû*
sûqu, 48
ṣabātu, 44
ṣābu, 4
ṣêru, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 15, 16
ša, 4, 6, 7, 8, 42, 43, 44, 48, 55, 59,
 60, 66, 93, 94
 sa, 7
šadû, 39
šakānu, 4
šalāmu, 4, 7, 8
šalmu, 10
šanānu, 39
šanîtam, 4, 6, 10
šapāru, 4, 6, 8, 10
šarāku, 44
šarāru, 3
šarru, 4
šarrûtu, 39, 55
šartu, 5, 8
šattišša, 48
šemû, 3, 6, 7, 48, 60, 68
šêru, 6, 10
šî, 9
šibirru, 43
šipru, 4
šîru, 60
šû, 3, 4, 8, 9
 sû, 5, 7
šukênu, 4
šulmu, 10
šumma, 4, 6, 9, 48, 140
šunu, 9
šutlumu, 39
šuttu, 4, 5
tajjartu, 43
taklu, 5
tâmtu, 43
târu, 6
têrtu, 2, 6
ṭābu, 60
ṭaḥdu, 48
ṭarādu, 5

ṭēmu, 4
tuppu, 3
u, 4, 5, 6, 8, 43, 48, 59, 89, 90, 91, 94
ul, 4, 5, 6, 48
umma, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 48
ummā, 2, 3
ummāmi, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10
ummānu, 43
ūmu, 3
uru, 6, 10

wabālu, 3, 140
warādu, 43
wardu, 3, 9, 48
warkatu, 4, 5, 8
waṣū, 4
wašābu, 4, 6, 39
wašāru, 140
watū, 43
zāninu, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94

7 Hebrew terms

berakha, 110
debir, 24, 25, 30
dole, 109
gibborim, 111
hekal, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31
hinnēh, 2
mashke, 109
naphal, 110

n^eʾum, 2
nephilim, 111
nophlim, 111
shibbarta, 110
shirbabta, 110
ulam, 24, 25, 26
zaken, 109

Zusammenfassung

Der Band „Climb the Wall of Uruk...“ enthält zehn Studien, die sich mit verschiedenen Aspekten der Geschichte, Religion, Sprache und Kultur sowie der Entdeckung des Alten Orients befassen. Die Texte konzentrieren sich hauptsächlich auf das Gebiet des alten Mesopotamiens, aber einige von ihnen beschäftigen sich auch mit benachbarten Regionen wie Syrien, Palästina und Türkei.

Pavel Čech untersucht verschiedene Wege der Kennzeichnung der direkten Sprache in der akkadischen Korrespondenz, die in den Archiven der alten Stadt Mari entdeckt wurde, und überprüft die Gültigkeit der früheren Studien zu diesem Thema. Petr Zemánek untersucht die Geschäftsbeziehungen innerhalb des altassyrischen Handelsnetzwerks anhand der Daten, die aus der Textanalyse von Keilschrifttafeln aus der archäologischen Stätte Kültepe gewonnen wurden. Der Text von Stefan Nowicki konzentriert sich auf die Rolle der Hauptgottheit Aššur in der Religion und Königsideologie Assyriens. Hana Šubrtová beschreibt analogisch die Position der Göttinnen Baba und Nanše im frühdynastischen Lagaš. Lukáš Pecha analysiert im Detail die Titulatur der altbabylonischen Herrscher, die in den offiziellen Königsinschriften verwendet wird, unter Berücksichtigung des damaligen kulturellen und politischen Milieus. Der Beitrag von Pavel Král beschäftigt sich mit der Erforschung der ländlichen Landschaft sowie der unbewohnten Gebieten im alten Assyrien. Kateřina Šašková versucht drei auf Tongegenständen geschriebene fragmentarische Keilschriftinschriften zu identifizieren, die vor einigen Jahren vom Institut für Nahoststudien der Philosophischen Fakultät der Westböhmischen Universität in Pilsen erworben wurden.

Zwei Studien beziehen sich auf das alte Israel und Juda. Der Beitrag von Věra Tydlitátová handelt von Riesen – Helden der alten Zeit, mysteriösen Lebewesen und Stämmen – in der alten jüdischen Tradition. David Rafael Moulis untersucht die Sakralarchitektur im Juda der Eisenzeit, hauptsächlich aufgrund der Funde aus Khirbet Qeiyafa, Tel Moza, Tel Arad, Beer Scheva und Lakisch.

Šárka Velhartická und Pavel Žďárský beschäftigen sich mit dem Leben und Werk von Jaroslav Cukr, dem Architekten, der Bedřich Hrozný in den 1920er Jahren bei Ausgrabungen in Syrien begleitete.

Diese Studien sind dem Professor Petr Charvát, unserem Freund, Kollegen und Lehrer, anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstages gewidmet.

Climb the Wall of Uruk...

Kateřina Šašková (ed.)

Reviewed by:	prof. PhDr. Ladislav Bareš, CSc. PhDr. Jiří Prosecký, CSc.
Published by:	Západočeská univerzita v Plzni P.O.Box 314, Univerzitní 8, 306 14 Plzeň
Printed by:	pro DANTER - reklama a potisk, s.r.o. V Zátíší 810/1, 709 00 Ostrava - Mariánské Hory
Typeset and cover:	Kateřina Šašková
Photo used for the cover design:	Veronika Sobotková
Year of publication:	2020
Count of prints:	100
ISBN 978-80-261-0954-9	

This volume is an output of the project SGS-2020-002 Dynamics of changes in the Middle East and Africa.