

# RITUAL TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

PHILOLOGY, PRAGMATICS, AND CULTURAL HISTORY

Series edited by Jens E. BRAARVIG und Velizar SADOVSKI

Vol. 1:

*The Ritual Sphere in Cultic Texts and Practices  
from the Ancient and Early Medieval East*

ed. by Paola COTTICELLI-KURRAS and Velizar SADOVSKI  
with the editorial assistance of Alfredo RIZZA



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FROM THE ANCIENT  
AND EARLY MEDIEVAL EAST

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## PREFACE BY THE SERIES EDITORS

Philology and Religious Studies are intrinsically interconnected; no serious form of *Religionswissenschaft* – neither on a comparative and historical nor on a descriptive-synchronic level – is possible without a solid philological fundament. In the course of the last two or three decades, the philological study of ancient and classical texts, traditionally the very core of the humanities, has been either completely marginalized within university departments or, at some universities, even altogether banished from the academic portfolio. This tendency is partly due to general policies of higher education, but one can argue that it is primarily a consequence of trends within the humanities themselves.

In particular, the systematic shortening of programmes in classical languages (Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, classical Arabic and Chinese etc.) in the course of a reductionist university reform erroneously designated as “Bologna process” has been producing generations of specialists in religious studies chronically deprived of a direct contact with the primary texts of the spiritual movements and religious doctrines in question. While there is ample reason to lament this development, one must also take action to ensure the preservation and flourishing of the rich academic traditions within the different fields of philology and of the disciplines logically connected with it, such as philosophy, history of religions, social and cultural anthropology. Without these fields, which historically and conceptually lie at the very core of the study of human culture, the very existence of the humanities as a meaningful academic activity is at risk.

The newly founded series *Ritual Text and Contexts* aims to close this gap and to provide a suitable forum for the study of phenomena in the field of tension between the major domains mentioned above. The aim is to remove the blurred boundaries between the analytical study of linguistic monuments and their hermeneutic interpretation and to make sense of the hitherto no-man’s-land between the main subject areas. The spheres of primary interest will range from monographs dedicated to various case studies, via handbooks of comparative or contrastive character up to thematic conference proceedings like the first volume, *The Ritual Sphere*, which we would like to herewith introduce to its readers.

This monograph series is coming to existence thanks to an intensive cooperation between the Series Editors and the Scientific Committee, as parts of

the activities of the international *Multilingualism Research Group* (Vienna – Oslo – Rome), to whom belong all protagonists of this dialogue. Proceedings of the meetings (more than 30 as per 2020) of the *Multilingualism Research Group* are regularly published in four international monograph series: the first two volumes appeared at the ÖAW in Vienna in the series *Multilingualism and the History of Knowledge*, directed by four of the founders of the Multilingualism Research Group – Jens Braarvig for the Norwegian Institute of Philology, Mark Geller for the University College of London and the *Max Planck Institute for the History of Science*, Velizar Sadovski for the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Gebhard Selz for the University of Vienna. A further volume with the proceedings of the Berlin meetings in 2010 and 2011 has been published in the *Max Planck Studies in Multilingualism* under the title *Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Lingua Sacra* (Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge: Studies 11), Berlin: Editions Open Access, 2018, ed. by Markham Geller and Jens Braarvig. Three brand-new volumes – in honour of M. Mayrhofer and R. Schmitt, as well as the proceedings of the *Achaimenidika* Symposium of the Group in co-operation with the *DARIOSH* project (Naples/Viterbo) – are in preparation for print at the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

The Editors and the Scientific Committee of the monograph series *Ritual Texts and Contexts* express their joint conviction that this new scholarly framework will canalize the efforts not only of the members of the *Multilingualism Research Group* but of numerous scholars interested in the revival of the co-operation between philological and religious studies and will grant appropriate opportunities of preparing publications and concomitant scholarly meetings for many years ahead.

Oslo – Vienna, *Ferragosto* 2020

Jens BRAARVIG

Velizar SADOVSKI

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## INTRODUCTION BY THE VOLUME EDITORS

The present volume contains proceedings of the International Conference *The Ritual Sphere – texts, practices and institutions in a comparative linguistic and historical perspective* that took place in March 2016, convened by the University of Verona in co-operation with the *Multilingualism Research Group* (Vienna – Oslo – Rome) and the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. This publication appears thanks to the generous support of the University of Verona and its *Dipartimento di Culture e Civiltà*.

In the framework of this Conference, specialists in Sumerology, Assyriology, and Comparative Indo-European – in particular Indo-Iranian and Anatolian – Studies, discussed various linguistic, philological and religious-historical problems of cultic texts and practices, both intrinsically, i.e. in the specific context of the archaic cultural traditions in question, and especially in cross-cultural perspective: from the levels of ritual lexicon, text structures, composition of sacred texts (hymns, mantras, litanies, entire ceremonies), up to various levels of application of these texts in the everyday religious practice of the communities concerned and their implications for the history of ritual.

Specific themes and topics of the papers united in the present volume include: sacred royalty and the question of official rituals between self-reflection and self-aggrandizement (Adriano V. ROSSI); royal activities and meta-activities in the Ancient East between solemn sacrifice and political propaganda (Lorenzo VERDERAME); interrelations between medicine and magic, poetics and pragmatics of medical ritual, alias “how to heal with words” in Ancient Near East (Silvia SALIN); possibilities of reconstruction of ritual and textual traditions and/or forms of areal influence and osmosis of traditions, studied on the material of ritual words and actions applied by the Hittite king and the priest <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA (Paola COTTICELLI-KURRAS); ritual texts and organization of knowledge in Ancient Asian Cultures, esp. lists, catalogues and systems for classification of the universe in the form of litanies and liturgies (Velizar SADOVSKI); worship of Netherworld deities and a prosopographical, social and ethno-cultural glance at the various categories of persons involved therein: priests, exegetes, cultic attendants etc. (Ran ZADOK); linguistic and pragmatic strategies applied by Vedic poets to develop a ‘poetry of grammar’ in composing their ritual eulogies (Rosa RONZITTI); research into the social pragmatics of speech, incl. the linguistics of false speaking and verbal manipulation in the context of public talking as

social ritual (Flavia POMPEO), and, vice versa, research into foundational legends of temples and sanctuaries traditionally regarded as “pious frauds” that, however, turn out to be based on real contents in the light of the analysis of their ritual and theological background (Claus AMBOS), as well as the ritualization of the relationship between the royal institution in the period of the Hittite Empire and the deities of state cults, expressed in religious devotion and 'sacralization' of the sovereign as means to gain and keep hold of power, in a complex political situation characterized by struggles within the ruling dynasty (Clelia MORA).

The present volume unites eleven contributions of participants in our Conference – Claus AMBOS (Göttingen), Paola COTTICELLI-KURRAS (Verona), Clelia MORA (Pavia), Antonio C. D. PANAINO (Bologna/Ravenna), Flavia POMPEO (Rome), Rosa RONZITTI (Genoa), Adriano V. ROSSI (Naples), Velizar SADOVSKI (Vienna), Silvia SALIN (Verona), Lorenzo VERDERAME (Rome), Ran ZADOK (Tel Aviv). Two further papers presented at the same symposium – by Federico GIUSFREDI (Verona) and by Ela FILIPPONE (Viterbo) – have been submitted for print to a linguistic journal and a jubilee volume, respectively, due to previous obligations taken in the framework of their authors' third-party funded projects. From the very beginning of the initiative onwards, this scholarly co-operation has been enjoying extremely generous support from our home institutions, to which we would like to express our sincere gratitude.

For their enthusiasm and engagement in the intense intellectual contact, we are grateful to all authors involved and their home institutions. We are indebted to Alfredo RIZZA (University of Verona) for his precious editorial co-operation with regard to this volume. Moreover, we would like to underline the invaluable help we enjoyed for the part of the organizational committee of the Verona workshop, Federico GIUSFREDI, Alfredo RIZZA and Stella MERLIN DEFANTI, all three of them from the University of Verona.

We cordially thank *Hermes Academic Publishers* in Oslo and the Norwegian Institute of Philology, represented in both cases by Jens E. BRAARVIG and Amund BJORSNES, for the highly professional and personally very pleasant co-operation, but also for continuous scholarly inspiration, sincere friendship and active support in the course of our long-standing exchange of ideas – and in so many joint dialogues between Oslo, Verona, and Vienna.

Verona – Vienna, *Ferragosto* 2020

Paola COTTICELLI-KURRAS

Velizar SADOVSKI

# THE HISTORY OF THE CULT OF THE SKY-GOD ANU IN URUK: PHILOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Claus Ambos

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This article results from a talk given at the symposium “The ritual sphere and royal ideology in the Ancient Middle East: Texts, practices and institutions in a comparative linguistic and historical perspective” at Verona in March 2016.<sup>1</sup>

In the Ancient Near East, the ritual sphere was very often the temple, where a deity dwelled in the form of a cult statue among humans on earth and received care and feeding. In this contribution I will deal with the sanctuaries and the cultic topography of the city of Uruk in southern Babylonia.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Gene MCGARRY, who carefully read the manuscript and corrected my English. – The stimulus for the ideas on Uruk presented here was a lecture course on “Hellenism in Mesopotamia” I taught as Visiting Professor at Warsaw University in the summer semester 2011. I am grateful to the members of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Piotr TARACHA, Maciej POPKO (†) and especially Małgorzata SANDOWICZ, who provided support and assistance during my stay in Warsaw. From 2013-2017 my research on this topic has been conducted in the framework of a Heisenberg Fellowship funded by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft / DFG). I also want to thank Margarete VAN ESS from the German Archaeological Institute (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), who patiently answered many questions of mine. Some of the ideas presented here have been published already in German in 2013: C. AMBOS, Überlegungen pp. 59–63. Abbreviations in this article follow those given in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (RLA)* (the list of abbreviations is also available online at <http://www.rla.badw.de/>). See also R. BORGER, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur. Band I. Repertorium der sumerischen und akkadischen Texte*. Berlin 1967; R. BORGER, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur. Band II. Supplement zu Band I. Anhang: Zur Kuyunjik-Sammlung*. Berlin & New York 1975.

<sup>2</sup> It is not my aim to deal with a specific ritual of the temple cult of Uruk. An exemplary study in this respect has been done by Julia KRUL in her recent PhD thesis (Münster 2014), now published as *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Nocturnal Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 95. Leiden/Boston 2018.

In the course of the 3rd century BC, local officials performed substantial building work on the temples in Uruk. I will focus here on the sanctuary of the sky-god Anu and his wife Antu, the so-called *bīt rēš* or *rēš*.

According to a common opinion in secondary literature, the *rēš* temple was founded in a rather late period, in the 2nd half of the 1st millennium BC, perhaps only in Seleucid times.<sup>3</sup> The monumental dimensions of the *rēš* were achieved in 244 BC by a certain Anu-uballiṭ, on whom the Seleucid king himself had bestowed the Greek name Nikarchos. About 40 years later, in 202/201 BC, another Anu-uballiṭ, who bore the Greek name Kephalon, tore down the core building of the *rēš* along with the sanctuaries of Anu and Antu, which had consisted of mud bricks, and rebuilt it on a larger scale with fired bricks. Both builders left building inscriptions for posterity.<sup>4</sup>

The *rēš* temple existed until the Parthian period, when it was destroyed by a fire.

The inscription of Nikarchos contains interesting hints of how elements of the Anu theology were expressed through the layout and furnishings of the *rēš*. The inscription of Kephalon claims that the temple was founded in the distant past by an antediluvian sage, Oannes. Modern scholarship, assuming a rather late date for the foundation of the *rēš* temple, dismisses this claim as an expression of antiquarianism on the part of a fading civilization.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *ASJ* 14 (1992) pp. 54f. refers to the rise of Anu in Uruk during the Achaemenid period (on which see § 2 below), which culminated in the construction of the *rēš* temple in Seleucid times. P.-A. BEAULIEU, *RIA* 14 pp. 454f. draws attention to Anu's rise to prominence in Uruk in the 5th century BC, which eventually led to the building of the *rēš* sanctuary which dominated the landscape of the Hellenistic city. P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Fs. W.W. Hallo* p. 48 states that the rise of Anu that began in the 5th century BC was consummated with the final construction of the *rēš* in the Seleucid period. According to C. WAERZEGGERS, *Ezida* p. 115, and P.-A. BEAULIEU, *MARG* 16 (2004) pp. 315f. the *rēš* did not yet exist in the time of Nabopolassar (625–605 BC). For evidence that the roots of the Hellenistic *rēš* temple lie further in the past and indeed can be traced back to the pre- and protohistoric periods, see A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* pp. 8f. and the archaeological literature; see below, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription of Nikarchos is extant on a clay cylinder, YOS 1 52. For an edition, see A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* pp. 4f. The inscription of Kephalon is extant on several bricks. It has been treated by A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* pp. 6f. and J. VAN DIJK, *UVB* 18 pp. 47f. I am preparing a study of both inscriptions, along with a new edition of Kephalon's brick inscriptions, that will appear in a forthcoming book.

<sup>5</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *ASJ* 14 (1992) p. 68; A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) p. 160.

However, it can be shown that Kephalon's assertion concerning the antediluvian origin of the temple is not made up out of thin air.

## 2. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE AREA OF THE *RĚŠ* TEMPLE

First I want to present the archaeological evidence, which gives us many hints about the age of the sanctuary of Anu. The unique architectural history of this area can be divided into three phases: the construction of pre- and protohistoric monumental structures, which existed during the 4th millennium BC, followed by a very long gap or hiatus of more than 2000 years that shows no sign of further improvements, and finally the erection of the monumental sanctuary of Anu in the 1st millennium BC.<sup>6</sup>

From the 'Ubaid period to the Late Uruk (Uruk IV) or Ğamdat Našr (Uruk III) period, there existed a ziggurat.<sup>7</sup> Archaeologists have discerned 18 building phases. In its final form, the archaic ziggurat was about 15 m high. "Building B" from building level 7 is usually called the "White Temple" in scholarly literature. It has been dated by the carbon-14 method to about 3450 BC.<sup>8</sup> The White Temple has been assigned to the Late Uruk period (Uruk IV)<sup>9</sup> or to the Middle Uruk period (Uruk VIa).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> R. EICHMANN, *AUWE* 14 pp. 409–518; idem, *Frühe Großarchitektur* pp. 117f.; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 93–196. A very useful overview of the complicated architectural history of this area is given in KOSE's book in the form of a table on p. 133. See also A. KOSE, *Resch-Heiligtum* pp. 333–339; A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* pp. 4–29; E. HEINRICH, *Tempel* pp. 35–45 and 61–67, 301–304 and 327–331; idem, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 18 pp. 144f. on fig. 6; S. DOWNEY, *Religious Architecture* pp. 17–28; K. SZARZYŃSKA, *ASJ* 14 (1992) pp. 269f. A concise overview can now be found in M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 pp. 472–478.

<sup>7</sup> According to M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 p. 472, the archaic ziggurat stood from the late 'Ubaid period until the end of the Uruk period. D. SÜRENHAGEN, *HSAO* 8 pp. 6 and 170 does not think it likely that the archaic ziggurat survived beyond the Late Uruk period. – E. HEINRICH, *Tempel* pp. 61–63 and *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 18 pp. 144f. dated the archaic ziggurat from the 'Ubaid to the Ğamdat Našr period, between 4000 BC and 3000 BC. – The problems of stratigraphy and periodization are addressed by D. SÜRENHAGEN, *HSAO* 8. According to D. SÜRENHAGEN, *HSAO* 8 pp. 3–6 and 119, the existence of a Ğamdat Našr period with characteristic cultural traits, as postulated in earlier scholarship, is not convincing; in Uruk, the Early Dynastic period rather follows directly the Late Uruk period. Thus, Uruk III would already belong to the Early Dynastic period.

<sup>8</sup> R. EICHMANN, *Frühe Großarchitektur* pp. 117f.; M. VAN ESS, *Neue Radiokarbondatierungen* p. 363.

<sup>9</sup> E. HEINRICH, *Tempel* pp. 63–65 and *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 18 pp. 144f.

<sup>10</sup> D. SÜRENHAGEN, *HSAO* 8 pp. 143 and 172.

Carbon-14 dates from Uruk suggest that the transition from the Late Uruk to the subsequent Ğamdat Našr period occurred about or after 3300 BC (and thus earlier than assumed in previous scholarship).<sup>11</sup>

Close to this archaic ziggurat was another contemporary monumental archaic structure, the so-called “Ancient Terrace” (*Alte Terrasse*, as it was named by the German excavators), a large platform measuring 200,5 × 173,6-184 m, which originally stood at least 10,5 m high. The contemporary building (or buildings) on top of it was not preserved.<sup>12</sup> The Ancient Terrace has been dated to the Uruk IV and III periods (and thus, to the Late Uruk and Ğamdat Našr periods);<sup>13</sup> however, it has also been suggested that it was founded already at the end of the Uruk V period and left to decay during Uruk IV.<sup>14</sup>

What will be important for the further discussion of these edifices is the fact that they existed in any case until the second half of the 4th millennium; this is the time of the invention and early development of cuneiform writing (during the Late Uruk and the subsequent Ğamdat Našr period).

After this time, the area apparently lay waste for more than 2000 years. The archaic ziggurat and the Ancient Terrace became two large ruin hills (tells).<sup>15</sup> The first ruler to build there again after this long period was the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680–669 BC). Esarhaddon seems to have tried to restore the long-decayed archaic buildings. He removed the debris from the tell of the archaic ziggurat until he uncovered the remaining brick core, on which he erected a new ziggurat.<sup>16</sup>

Likewise, at the same time, building activities are attested at the Ancient Terrace. Here, as in the case of the archaic ziggurat, the debris of the tell was removed and the remaining core of the platform exposed. The terrace was then given a new retaining wall which in fact follows the alignment and orientation of the archaic structure. Esarhaddon’s nearby ziggurat is itself aligned with the Ancient Terrace. It seems, however, that the rebuilding of the Ancient Terrace was not completed. It has been supposed that this

<sup>11</sup> M. VAN ESS, *Neue Radiokarbondatierungen* pp. 362f. The carbon-14 age determinations from Uruk from the Uruk and Ğamdat Našr period are discussed in detail by M. VAN ESS & K.-U. HEUBNER, *ZORA* 8 (2015) pp. 10–37.

<sup>12</sup> E. HEINRICH, *Tempel* p. 36; R. EICHMANN, *AUWE* 14 pp. 517f.; K. SZARZYŃSKA, *ASJ* 14 (1992) p. 270; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 96–106.

<sup>13</sup> A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 96 and 133.

<sup>14</sup> D. SÜRENHAGEN, *HSAO* 8 pp. 168, 170, 172.

<sup>15</sup> J. SCHMIDT, *BaM* 5 (1970) p. 56 and *UVB* 26/27 p. 13; E. HEINRICH, *UVB* 9 p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> J. SCHMIDT, *BaM* 5 (1970) pp. 55f. and *UVB* 26/27 p. 13; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 p. 107.

structure would have supported a temple associated with the nearby ziggurat.<sup>17</sup>

There is a short building inscription of Esarhaddon from the ziggurat which, however, does not explain why Esarhaddon erected a building on the ancient ruins. Nor is the name of the temple preserved.<sup>18</sup>

Esarhaddon's work was apparently not pursued in the following generations. During the rule of the Chaldean dynasty, no building activities are attested in this area. In fact, the ziggurat built by Esarhaddon was so poorly preserved that archeologists could not assess whether it had simply decayed over the course of time or had actually been destroyed.<sup>19</sup> In the textual evidence from the Neo-Babylonian period, a temple called *bīt Anu* – “House of Anu” is mentioned.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, the goddess *Bēltu-ša-rēš*, “Lady of the *rēš*” is mentioned in the written sources.<sup>21</sup> This can be understood as indirect evidence for the existence of a *rēš* temple of Anu in

<sup>17</sup> E. HEINRICH, *UVB* 10 p. 30; A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* p. 9; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 107–109 and 187. A. KOSE, *Resch-Heiligtum* p. 334 draws attention to butts of walls whose strength indicates that they belonged not to private houses but rather to a 7<sup>th</sup>-century BC sanctuary that stood in the area later occupied by the Hellenistic *rēš* temple.

<sup>18</sup> The inscription is extant on a mud brick which was used in the ziggurat: R. BORGER, *Asarh.* pp. 77f. §51 (Uruk G); A. CAVIGNEAUX, *AUWE* 23 No. 319; G. FRAME, *RIMB* 2 No. 21 p. 191; E. LEICHTY, *RINAP* 4 pp. 280f. No. 139. On the archaeological context see E. HEINRICH, *UVB* 8 pp. 54f.; A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* p. 9. Cf. in general also G. FRAME, *Babylonia* p. 24. The inscription deals, however, with Esarhaddon's construction of the Eanna temple in Uruk. Since it is a mud brick (and not a fired brick), it is unlikely that it was re-used at some other time in the ziggurat. Rather, it seems that surplus bricks for Esarhaddon's building activities at the Eanna were diverted to the ziggurat. See E. HEINRICH, *UVB* 8 pp. 54f. and *Tempel* p. 331 (on fig. 417).

<sup>19</sup> J. SCHMIDT, *BaM* 5 (1970) p. 56 and *UVB* 26/27 p. 13. E. HEINRICH, *Tempel* p. 331 dated some restoration work to Esarhaddon's ziggurat to the Neo- or Late Babylonian period. As far as I know, however, Heinrich's dating has not been followed by other scholars. A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 p. 135 and *Resch-Heiligtum* pp. 333 and 336 states clearly that Esarhaddon's ziggurat was replaced with a new ziggurat only in Late Achaemenid or early Hellenistic times.

<sup>20</sup> A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* p. 8; P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* p. 330.

<sup>21</sup> A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* p. 8; P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* pp. 216–226. It should be noted that the goddess *Bēltu-ša-rēš* is perhaps attested already during the reign of Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib (704–681 BC), which is suggested by one of Sennacherib's royal inscriptions as emended by E. FRAHM, *Sanherib* p. 129 and M. LINSSEN, *Cults* p. 15 note 99 on D.D. LUCKENBILL, *Senn.* p. 87 l. 31. If this emendation is correct, the *rēš* temple existed already during Sennacherib's reign and Esarhaddon just pursued or resumed renovation activities at the archaic buildings, which had been begun in earlier times.

this period. This *rēš* sanctuary of the sky-god must have been the successor to a temple built by Esarhaddon or an earlier ruler over the ruins of the archaic edifice.

During the Achaemenid period, a substantial change in the cult topography of Uruk took place. Babylonian pretenders had fomented revolts against Xerxes, which were, however, crushed by the Achaemenids. These revolts had occurred in Babylon and northern Babylonia. Xerxes took punitive measures against the supporters of the rebellions, who were the urban elites connected to the Babylonian temples, where they held prebends and occupied important functions in the administration. These elites were now removed from their position and replaced by loyal partisans of Achaemenid rule.<sup>22</sup> Etemenanki, the ziggurat of the Marduk temple Esagil in Babylon, was deliberately damaged and left to decay.<sup>23</sup>

Uruk (and southern Babylonia) had not participated in these rebellions. Their repercussions, however, can be traced in this region too.<sup>24</sup> The Eanna temple of the goddess Ištar (Sumerian: Inanna) had been the main sanctuary of Uruk to date. Elites from Babylon and northern Babylonia who had held high functions in the temple administration of Eanna and its prebendary system lost their positions. The Eanna temple itself was fully decommissioned.<sup>25</sup> Eanna as the dwelling place of Ištar (and of another important goddess, Nanaja) was replaced by another temple, named É-iri<sub>12</sub>-gal or É-ěš-gal.<sup>26</sup> This monumental sanctuary existed at least from the 5th century BC onward. The cult of Ištar surrendered its preeminence to the rising cult of Anu. Important evidence for this development is provided by the theophoric elements in the local onomasticon.

<sup>22</sup> C. WAERZEGGERS, *AfO* 50 (2003/2004) pp. 150–173; J. OELSNER, *WZKM* 97 (2007) (= *Fs. H. HUNGER*) pp. 289–303; M. JURSA, *Transition* pp. 90f.; H.D. BAKER, *ZA* 98 (2008) pp. 100–116.

<sup>23</sup> A.R. GEORGE, *Xerxes and the Tower of Babel* pp. 471–480.

<sup>24</sup> K. KESSLER, *AoF* 31 (2004) pp. 237–262 and *AOAT* 330 pp. 283f.; H.D. BAKER, *Temple and City* pp. 183–208.

<sup>25</sup> It is true that in Seleucid times substantial building activities are attested at the ziggurat of Eanna. A temple in the Eanna precinct built by the Kassite king Karaindaš during the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BC remained in use during the Achaemenid period and was renovated in Seleucid times: A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 257–276; M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 p. 471. Nevertheless, Eanna's drastic loss of significance was not affected by these measures.

<sup>26</sup> A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* pp. 30–39; A.R. GEORGE, *House Most High* No. 270; S. Downey, *Religious Architecture* pp. 28–32; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 197–242; M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 pp. 483–485.



At the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, near the end of the 4th century BC, the *rēš* temple was already a well-established sanctuary, which makes it unlikely that it was newly founded at this time; in fact, this is a strong argument against a foundation in the Seleucid period, as some have proposed.<sup>27</sup>

It seems that in the early Seleucid period several isolated temples stood on the Ancient Terrace.<sup>28</sup> Later in the Seleucid period a single monumental temple was ultimately built by Anu-uballiṭ=Nikarchos. The sanctuary housed archives and a library that provide ample written evidence from Hellenistic times.<sup>29</sup> This Seleucid *rēš* temple was superimposed on the archaic Ancient Terrace.<sup>30</sup> Nearby, a monumental ziggurat built in Late Achaemenid or early Hellenistic times overlaid Esarhaddon's ziggurat, which itself overlaid the archaic ziggurat.

It is remarkable that builders in the 1st millennium BC evidently strove to establish a continuity between their temple and the archaic buildings.

This procedure recalls the efforts of temple builders, especially in the first millennium, to preserve the old ground-plan of a sanctuary during the reconstruction or renovation of the building. Esarhaddon affirms that he did not deviate even half a cubit from the old foundations when rebuilding the

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<sup>27</sup> A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 186f. The document H. HUNGER, *SBTU* I No. 128 = J. Oelsner, *Recht* pp. 134–137 shows that the Urukean exorcist Iqīšā, who was active during the reign of Philipp Arrhidaios, held a brewer's prebend at the *rēš* in 317 BC (the temple is explicitly referred to by the name *rēš*). This makes clear that the sanctuary must have had economic and administrative structures at this time. The colophon of the text H. HUNGER, *SBTU* I No. 94 refers to Iqīšā as "temple-enterer of Anu and Antu". H.D. BAKER, *Temple and City* pp. 189–191 cogently argues that given the decommissioning of the Eanna as the main temple of the city and Anu's rise to pre-eminence in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, one would indeed expect that a major sanctuary of Anu had already been established at this time and not in the Seleucid period, as is assumed sometimes in scholarship (see, e.g., note 3 here in this article and the literature cited by BAKER).

<sup>28</sup> M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 pp. 476–478.

<sup>29</sup> O. PEDERSÉN, *Archives and Libraries* pp. 209f. I refer also to the study on Babylonian libraries in the 2nd half of the 1st millennium BC by Ph. CLANCIER, *AOAT* 363, where Uruk and the *rēš* are treated in detail.

<sup>30</sup> The monumental Seleucid *rēš* temple was laid out with four-fifths of its footprint directly on the Ancient Terrace. Its builders found significant differences in elevation on what remained of the Ancient Terrace and thus had to perform some levelling to create a suitable construction site (which consisted of four platforms of different height). It is not clear whether these differences in elevation were part of the original design of the Ancient Terrace or rather the result of the building's decay: A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 96 and 106.

temple of Marduk in Babylon, Esaġil.<sup>31</sup> When reconstructing the sanctuary of Nabû ša ħarê in Babylon, the Assyrian ruler removed the debris in order to identify the underlying structures and renovated the decayed temple without changing the foundation platform by even a brick.<sup>32</sup> Esarhaddon states that he searched for the old foundations during other construction projects as well.<sup>33</sup>

The careful search for the old foundations of a temple is a topos which can be found also in the inscriptions of other rulers. The Babylonian king Nabonidus (555–539 BC) reports that while renovating the temple Ebabbar in Sippar, he reached the foundation laid by his distant predecessor Narām-Sîn, who had ruled “3200 years” before him, and that he meticulously rebuilt the sanctuary exactly on these old foundations.<sup>34</sup>

This pursuit of architectural continuity is in fact already attested in earlier periods. King Warad-Sîn of Larsa (1834–1823 BC) affirms in his report on the reconstruction of the temple of the goddess Ningal that he respected the old perimeter of the building.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, Esarhaddon’s handling of the ruins of the archaic edifices allows the conclusion that the king believed he was reconstructing an ancient temple, even if there is no written evidence extant which explains the motivation of the Assyrian ruler. We do not know the name of the sanctuary nor the god to whom it was dedicated. However, as already mentioned above, it is most probable that Esarhaddon’s temple bore the name *rēš* and was built for Anu. The archaeological evidence makes clear that Esarhaddon’s temple was a precursor of Anu’s Achaemenid-Hellenistic *rēš* sanctuary, and that, conversely, the construction of the Achaemenid-Hellenistic *rēš* temple was in fact a resumption of the work of Esarhaddon. The name of the goddess Bēltu-ša-rēš points to the existence of a temple

<sup>31</sup> R. BORGER, *Asarh.* pp. 21f. Episode 26; E. LEICHTY, RINAP 4 p. 198 III 41–46, p. 206 IV 37–V 1.

<sup>32</sup> E. LEICHTY, RINAP 4 p. 230 ll. 20–28.

<sup>33</sup> See G. FRAME, RIMB 2 p. 187 l. 13 (R. BORGER, *Asarh.* Uruk C pp. 77 and 75f.; E. LEICHTY, RINAP 4 p. 276): *esrētīšu ašte’i* – “I sought its (original) ground-plan” (cella of Nanaja in Uruk); cf. also G. FRAME, RIMB 2 p. 189 l. 15 (R. BORGER, *Asarh.* Uruk D pp. 77 and 75f.; E. LEICHTY, RINAP 4 p. 278): *ašrātīšu ašte’i* – “I sought its (original) emplacement” (of the cella of Nanaja).

<sup>34</sup> S. LANGDON, *NBK* pp. 224–227 II 47–65 = H. SCHAUDIG, AOAT 256 pp. 422f. I II 47–65 // 11 II 46–66 and 438f. Narām-Sîn reigned, according to our knowledge, ca. 2254–2218 BC. On the antiquarian and archaeological ambitions of Nabonidus see H. SCHAUDIG, *Fs. B. Kienast* pp. 447–497.

<sup>35</sup> D. FRAYNE, RIME 4 pp. 203f. ll. 14–21.

named *rēš* at least since the Neo-Babylonian period (if not already under Sennacherib), and an Anu temple in Uruk is mentioned in Neo-Babylonian sources.

One caveat should be noted regarding the alleged 2000-year hiatus in construction at the site of the *rēš* temple. Since the builders of the 1st millennium strove to uncover the archaic foundations in order to rebuild the Anu temple on them, it is possible that they destroyed evidence of building phases from the 3rd and 2nd millennium. Furthermore, modern archaeologists only rarely excavated whole rooms or larger spaces of the *rēš*. They rather dug trenches and tunnels alongside the walls in order to reconstruct the groundplan of the temple. Thus, they may have failed to discover structures from the 3rd and 2nd millennia.<sup>36</sup>

That the builders of the first millennium BC were indeed interested in uncovering the ruins of the pre- and protohistoric periods, and that they in fact believed them to be the relics of an ancient sanctuary, is not only inferrable from the archaeological record, it is also alluded to in Kephalon's building inscription from the Seleucid period.

### 3. THE ANTEDILUVIAN SAGE OANNES AS FOUNDER OF THE *RĒŠ* TEMPLE

In his building inscription from 202/201 BC, Anu-uballit=Kephalon refers to the history of the *rēš*:<sup>37</sup>

The foundation (*temennu*) of É-nam-en-na, the cella of Anu, and of É-gašan-an-na, the cella of Antu, of the *rēš*, which had been built by U'an...

The earlier builder U'an mentioned in this inscription is an antediluvian mythical sage, or *apkallu*. According to the Babylonian scholar Berossus, who lived in Seleucid times and wrote in Greek, this sage emerged, at the beginning of time, from the sea. He had the body of a fish but the head and the extremities of a human. During the day, he taught humans the knowledge and techniques of civilization, including how to build cities and temples, and the art of writing. Every night he returned to the sea. The Greek form of the name of this sage used by Berossus is Oannes. Oannes was active during the reign of the antediluvian king Aloros.<sup>38</sup> This ruler, whose name in Sumerian

<sup>36</sup> A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 93f. and *Resch-Heiligtum* pp. 333f.; M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 p. 476.

<sup>37</sup> The inscription of Kephalon is stamped on bricks. There are several different versions of various lengths. This quote is a conflated text..

<sup>38</sup> S.M. BURSTEIN, *Babyloniaca* pp. 13f.; G. VERBRUGGHE & J. WICKERSHAM, *Berossos* p. 44. On Berossus and his work see in general R. VAN DER SPEK, *Fs. M. Stol* pp. 277–318;

was Alulim and in Akkadian Ajjalu, was, according to Mesopotamian tradition, the first king ever to rule on earth after kingship had descended from heaven. According to Berossus, he reigned 430.000 or 432.000 years before the flood.<sup>39</sup>

When Kephalon attributes the foundation of the *rēš* temple to this antediluvian U'an/Oannes, he is claiming that it dates back to the beginning of civilization. Is there any truth to this statement? In fact, it can be shown that for the Mesopotamians, the very time in which the archaic buildings existed was the time before the flood.<sup>40</sup> The second half of the 4th millennium was the period of the invention of writing, and the texts produced during the early stages of the development of cuneiform were considered antediluvian by the Mesopotamians.

Thanks to the efforts of Oannes, humans from the time before the flood already knew the art of writing. Inscriptions dating to the antediluvian period were still known to the Mesopotamians in the 1st millennium BC. Berossus writes that Xisouthros, the Mesopotamian Noah, buried writings before the flood in order to preserve the knowledge they contained.<sup>41</sup> Reading these texts was nevertheless very difficult for humans of later periods, because they were written in a very archaic style. The Assyrian king Assurbanipal reports:<sup>42</sup> "I have examined the inscriptions on stone (dating) from (the period) before the flood." Assurbanipal apparently studied texts which were written in an archaic style and which he and other contemporary Mesopotamians believed to have been written in the time before the flood.

There exist lists with paleographic archaizing sign forms.<sup>43</sup> Among the so-called number syllabaries there is a text which uses archaizing sign forms alongside contemporary sign forms. This text also imitates the layout of

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J. HAUBOLD *et alii* (eds.), *World of Berossos*. On dating Berossus see J. BACH, *Ancient West & East* 12 (2013) pp. 157–180. On Oannes and Berossus and the antediluvian period see H. GALTER, *Fs. M. Schretter* pp. 269–301.

<sup>39</sup> S.M. BURSTEIN, *Babyloniaca* p. 19; G. VERBRUGGHE & J. WICKERSHAM, *Berossos* pp. 47 and 49; H. GALTER, *Fs. M. Schretter* pp. 292f.

<sup>40</sup> W.W. HALLO, Mesopotamia pp. 34–36 and *Gs. A. Sachs* p. 185 points out that the deluge, converted to our chronological system, would have occurred at the transition from the Ĝamdat Našr period to the Early Dynastic period and thus around 2900 BC (see, however, notes 7 and 11 above on problems of periodization and absolute chronology).

<sup>41</sup> S.M. BURSTEIN, *Babyloniaca* p. 20f.; G. VERBRUGGHE & J. WICKERSHAM, *Berossos* pp. 49f.

<sup>42</sup> M. STRECK, *Assurb.* p. 256 l. 18. This English translation is from *CAD H* p. 160.

<sup>43</sup> D.O. EDZARD, *RIA* 5 p. 560; P. GESCHE, *Schulunterricht* pp. 72–74; N. VELDHUIS, *Levels* pp. 79f. An example of a paleographic list with archaizing sign forms is CTN IV No. 229.

archaic texts by arranging the signs in cases, but not in lines and columns.<sup>44</sup> From Neo-Assyrian Kallû there is a text with historical content whose scribe tried to imitate the style of the archaic sign forms.<sup>45</sup>

It becomes clear that the period of the invention and early development of cuneiform writing along with the archaic texts produced in that period, were dated by the Mesopotamians to the time before the flood. With the help of paleographic lists they tried to read these texts or even to write texts in this style.

To return to Seleucid Uruk, the *rēš* temple and its ziggurat, as well as the earlier temple of Esarhaddon, were erected on the remains of structures which existed in pre- and protohistoric times until the second half of the 4th millennium, during the infancy of writing. And this period was for the Mesopotamians the time before the flood.

In fact, archaic tablets have been found by modern excavators in the area of the ziggurat, and we may assume that such texts had already been encountered by the ancient inhabitants of Uruk.<sup>46</sup> For the Mesopotamians of the 1st millennium BC, all these archaeological and epigraphical relics may in fact have been associated with Oannes and the time before the flood. Seen from this viewpoint, the report of Kephalon about a foundation of the *rēš* in antediluvian times should not be dismissed as antiquarianism or the like.

The name of the *rēš* temple has never been satisfactorily explained.<sup>47</sup> I assume that it refers to the foundation of the temple by Oannes at the beginning of time and that *rēšu*, literally “head”, has a temporal meaning here. Consequently I propose to translate the temple’s name as “Beginning”.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> L. PEARCE, *JAOS* 116 (1996) pp. 454f. note 8 (on text D) and p. 473 fig. 3.

<sup>45</sup> CTN IV No. 235; I.L. FINKEL, *NABU* 1997/1.

<sup>46</sup> M. GREEN & H. NISSEN, *Zeichenliste* pp. 48–50; R. ENGLUND, *OBO* 160/1 pp. 38 and 50f. with note 99 and fig. 14.

<sup>47</sup> A.R. GEORGE, *House Most High* No. 940 translates (*bīt*) *rēš* as “Head Temple”.

<sup>48</sup> On *rēšu* – “beginning” see *AHW* p. 975; *CAD R* pp. 285–287. Julia Krul kindly drew my attention to the fact that also P.-A. BEAULIEU, *MARG* 16 (2004) p. 317 proposes a meaning “the beginning” for the name of the *rēš* temple: “In fact the very name of the temple of Anu, the *Rēš*, simply means ‘the beginning.’ Whether or not this was the original etymology of the sanctuary’s name is irrelevant, since we can safely assume that the allusion was in any event unescapable.” Note, however, that BEAULIEU was not aware of the archaeological evidence of the building’s long history, which, as outlined here in § 2 and 3, gave a concrete rationale for the temple’s name. As in his contributions cited in note 3, also in *MARG* 16 (2004) pp. 313–317 BEAULIEU refers to Anu’s rise to preeminence in Uruk in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the subsequent construction of the *rēš*

#### 4. THE FURTHER HISTORY OF THE *rēš* TEMPLE ACCORDING TO THE URUKEAN TRADITION

The sage Oannes, the founder of the *rēš* sanctuary, was only the first in a long sequence of sages and scholars. The Mesopotamian tradition knew seven antediluvian sages (*apkallu*). After the flood, sages (*apkallu*) of human descent (*ilitti amēlūti*) and eminent scholars (*ummānu*) were active on earth.

A list of sages is extant in the ritual *bīt mēseri*.<sup>49</sup> It names seven antediluvian *apkallu* and four *apkallu* of human descent after the flood until the reign of king Šulgi (according to modern chronology, at the end of the 3rd millennium BC). Berossus in the first book of his *Babyloniaka* describes in detail the activity of Oannes. In his second book, which is dedicated to the history of Babylonia until the rule of Nabonassar (747–734 BC), he lists the kings reigning in this period. His list of the antediluvian rulers also includes the *apkallu* active in those days. Perhaps Berossus alludes to a post-diluvian sage as well.<sup>50</sup>

The tradition of a long sequence of sages and scholars was also known by the theologians of the cult of Anu during the Seleucid period. A text excavated in the *rēš* lists the sages and scholars from the beginning of civilization until the Hellenistic period.

This text is known in scholarly literature as the “Uruk List of Kings and Sages”.<sup>51</sup> Before discussing this text in greater detail, I present here a translation:

- 1 [At the tim]e of king Ajjalu:<sup>52</sup> U’ an (was) *apkallu*.
- 2 [At the tim]e of king Alalġar: U’ anduga (was) *apkallu*.
- 3 [At the tim]e of king Ammelu’anna: Enmeduga (was) *apkallu*.
- 4 [At the time of] king Ammegalanna: Enmegamma (was) *apkallu*.

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sanctuary. BEAULIEU argues that the Hellenistic scholars in Uruk, through an “exhaustive work of forgery and editing”, tried to provide “the new Anu religion” with a history reaching back to a distant past, and thinks that the name (or the connotations of the name) of the sanctuary was part of this strategy: *MARG* 16 (2004) p. 317. This argumentation seems unconvincing to me in light of what I have discussed above.

<sup>49</sup> R. BORGER, *JNES* 33 (1974) pp. 192–194; E. VON WEIHER, *SBTU* II No. 8; C. WILCKE, *Königsliste* pp. 128f.; H. GALTER, *Fs. M. Schretter* pp. 287f.

<sup>50</sup> Literature on Berossus and his work can be found in note 38. See on the possible post-diluvian sage S.M. BURSTEIN, *Babyloniaca* p. 21; G. VERBRUGGHE & J. WICKERSHAM, *Berossos* p. 53.

<sup>51</sup> W.20030/7. BaM Beih 2 No. 89; J. VAN DIJK, *UVB* 18 pp. 44–52 and pl. 27; A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) pp. 137–169.

<sup>52</sup> The colon here and in the following lines represents a *Glossenkeil*.

- 5 [At the time of] king Enme'ušumgalanna: Enmebuluĝĝa (was) *apkallu*.  
 6 [At the time of] king Dumuzi, the shepherd: Anenlilda (was) *apkallu*.  
 7 [At the time of] king Enmeduranki: Utu'abzu (was) *apkallu*.
- 
- 8 [After the deluge, in] the reign of king Enmerkar: Nungalpiriĝgal (was) *apkallu*,  
 9 [who] made [Ištar] descend [fro]m heaven into Eanna.<sup>53</sup> The bronze balaĝ  
 instrument,  
 10 [whose ...] ... were of Lapis Lazuli, according to the technique of Ninagal<sup>54</sup>  
 11 [he made. ...] ... The balaĝ instrument was placed before Anu..., the dwelling of (his)  
 personal god.
- 
- 12 [At the reign of] king [Gilgam]eš: Sîn-lēqi-unninni (was) *ummānu*.  
 13 [At the time of] king [Ibb]i-Sîn: Kabti-ilī-Marduk (was) *ummānu*.  
 14 [At the time of] king [Išbi]-Erra: Sidu, also known as Enlil-ibni (was) *ummānu*.  
 15 [At the time of] king [Abī]-ešuĥ: Gimil-Gula<sup>55</sup> and Taqīš-Gula (were) *ummānu*.  
 16 [At the time of] king [...]: Esaĝil-kīn-apli (was) *ummānu*.  
 17 [At the time of] king Adad-apla-iddina: Esaĝil-kīn-ubba (was) *ummānu*.  
 18 [At the time of] king Nebuchadnezzar (I.): Esaĝil-kīn-ubba (was) *ummānu*.  
 19 [At the time of] king Esarhaddon Aba-Enlil-dari (was) *ummānu*,  
 20 [whom the] Aḥlameans call Aḥuqar.  
 21 [...] ... Nikarchos (?).
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- 22 [Tablet of] Anu-bēlšunu, son of Nidintu-Anu, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni,  
 23 [lamentation]-singer of Anu and Antu, an Urukean. (Copied) by his own hand.  
 24 [Uru]k, 10th Ajjaru, year 147, Antiochos king.  
 25 The one who reveres Anu will not carry (the tablet) off!

As mentioned above, this text is known as the “Uruk List of Kings and Sages” in modern scholarship. In fact, at first glance it has the form of a list which is structured according to a clear schema. Most entries follow the pattern “At the time of king NN, NN was *apkallu* (or: *ummānu*)”. There are two exceptions to this pattern. The deeds of the *apkallu* Nungalpiriĝgal, a contemporary of king Enmerkar, are described in detail in a section

<sup>53</sup> Differently J. VAN DIJK, *UVB* 18 pp. 45 and 49 and A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) p. 142. These authors erroneously consider Ištar the subject of the clause and the *apkallu* the object, thus: “whom Ištar made descend from heaven into Eanna”. See for a correct translation P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* p. 113. The statement that this sage made Inanna/Ištar descend from heaven into Eanna during the reign of Enmerkar is also in *bīt mēseri* (see the literature cited in note 49).

<sup>54</sup> The god Ninagal is the divine smith.

<sup>55</sup> Thus A. LENZI; J. VAN DIJK reads Šū-Gula.

separated by lines from the preceding and following parts of the text (ll. 8–11). In the end, in l. 21, just a single name, apparently that of Nikarchos, is mentioned.

The text has been interpreted as a kind of genealogy. The scholars of Hellenistic Uruk considered themselves as professional descendants and heirs of the sages of a distant antediluvian past and established, with the help of this list, a genealogical connection to these sages.<sup>56</sup>

Indeed, the families of scholars from Uruk derived their origins from ancestors who had lived in the distant past. In Uruk, beginning in the Neo-Babylonian period there is attested a family that traced itself back to Sîn-lēqi-unninni, whom we have met as a contemporary of Gilgameš in the “Uruk List of Kings and Sages” (l. 12).<sup>57</sup>

But the ancestors of other scholars’ families are not mentioned in the Uruk list (as in the case of the families Ekur-zakir, Hunzû and Aḥu’ûtu).<sup>58</sup> A. LENZI assumed that in the scholars’ families of Uruk different versions of the list circulated, in which each family placed its own ancestor in a prominent position.<sup>59</sup>

I wonder, however, whether this text is not a genealogical list at all, but rather the matrix of a chronicle of Uruk, the cult of Anu and the *rēš* temple, as it was reconstructed by the scholars of the cult of Anu. Conspicuously, many persons listed in the text can be connected to important events related to Uruk, and also to the cult of the sky god and his sanctuary.

That the text is not just a list is clear from its very structure. The sage Nungalpiriġgal, a contemporary of king Enmerkar, is treated in a separate paragraph, where his activities are described in detail. These deeds had enormous consequences for the cultic topography of Uruk and the relationship of Anu and Ištar. Nungalpiriġgal brought Ištar down from Heaven to let her dwell in Eanna. As a consequence of this rededication, Nungalpiriġgal put a *balag*-instrument before Anu.<sup>60</sup>

This section of the Uruk List in fact alludes to a narrative which is well attested in the cuneiform tradition since the 3rd millennium BC. According to this tradition, the temple of Inanna/Ištar, Eanna, was originally a sanctuary

<sup>56</sup> A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) pp. 143–153.

<sup>57</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Fs. J. Oelsner* pp. 1–16; U. GABBAY, *HES* 1 pp. 240f. and 267–273.

<sup>58</sup> H. HUNGER, *BAK* pp. 17f.; W.G. LAMBERT, *JCS* 11 (1957) pp. 3f.

<sup>59</sup> A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) p. 162 with note 86.

<sup>60</sup> According to U. GABBAY, *HES* 1 pp. 92–102, the *balag* instrument was in the 3rd millennium BC a stringed instrument, but later, during the 2nd and 1st millennia, the term *balag* designated a kettledrum.



of Anu. At a later date, however, Ištar either took it away from Anu, or she received it as a gift from the sky god.<sup>61</sup> The name of the temple, Eanna, means indeed “House of An” or “House of Heaven”.

Thus, when Nungalpiriġgal made Ištar descend from heaven into Eanna, he committed a deed to the disadvantage of Anu. This fits well with the fact that the sage consequently placed a *balaġ* instrument before Anu. This instrument gave its name to a genre of songs called *balaġ*, which were sung to the accompaniment of this instrument. They were lamentations sung in the Sumerian sociolect called *emesal*. *Emesal*-laments served to calm the anger of the gods. These compositions were sung by the lamentation singer on specific occasions, e.g. when a bad omen had announced to mankind the anger of the gods. These songs were also performed prophylactically during the regular cult and the rituals of the cultic calendar to avoid any possible disturbances between the human and divine sphere.<sup>62</sup>

So, obviously, the anger of Anu was aroused because he had been deprived of his Eanna. This anger had to be calmed by laments presented to the angry deity.

With respect to the re-dedication of Eanna, there is an interesting feature in the layout of the text: The section which deals with the antediluvian rulers and sages is separated from the following post-diluvian era by just a single line, whereas the epoch which began after the rededication of Eanna is separated from the following period by two lines. Thus, for the Hellenistic scholars in Uruk, the rupture caused by this event must have been enormous.

Casting a quick glance over the other persons listed in the text, we can see that some of them stand out as having concrete connections to the *rēš* and the cult of Anu: We have already met U’an (Oannes) (l. 1) as the founder of the *rēš* temple, and Esarhaddon (l. 19) and Nikarchos (l. 21) as builders during the 1st millennium BC.

As for the other kings, sages and scholars mentioned in the text, it can be shown that many of them were active in Uruk and that some of them, at least, had a connection to the cult of Anu in Uruk. Their deeds are not described, but can be deduced from other sources.

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<sup>61</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* pp. 111–115. Among other sources, there is a Sumerian myth which has been interpreted by J. VAN DIJK, *Fs. R. BORGER* pp. 9–38 to the effect that Inanna steals Eanna from An. A. ZGOLL, *TUAT NF 8* pp. 45–55 interprets the myth differently: It describes the wedding of An and Inanna, and the goddess had asked for the Eanna as her morning gift.

<sup>62</sup> U. GABBAY, *HES 1* pp. 155–192.

The text lists Oannes and the six sages following him during the time before the flood. According to the Epic of Gilgameš, all seven antediluvian sages were indeed active in Uruk and laid the foundation of the city wall.<sup>63</sup>

After the flood, the text mentions Gilgameš and Sîn-lēqi-unninni. Sîn-lēqi-unninni was the author of the Standard version of the Epic of Gilgameš and lived in the 2nd millennium BC.<sup>64</sup> According to our text, he was assumed to have been a contemporary of Gilgameš himself. Gilgameš had been king of Uruk. He was credited with building the city wall of Uruk,<sup>65</sup> and he substantially structured the cultic calendar by introducing two New Year's festivals (in spring and autumn).<sup>66</sup> Indeed, even in Hellenistic times, two New Year's festivals were still observed in Uruk; in this period, Anu and his temple, the *rēš*, were the focus of the cultic performances.<sup>67</sup>

The scholar Taqīš-Gula, a contemporary of king Abī-ešūḫ of Babylon (1711–1684 BC), is mentioned in l. 15. He was considered the author of the work “Exaltation of Inanna”.<sup>68</sup> According to this text, the Eanna temple of Inanna/Ištar was originally Anu's, but he gave it to her as a gift (III 79f.). This composition was indeed well known in Hellenistic Uruk, and many copies of the text were found there.<sup>69</sup> The Anu theologians could evidently interpret the text in such a way that it confirmed the original preeminence of the Anu cult in Uruk.

In light of its focus on figures related to Uruk and the cult of Anu, the “Uruk List of Kings and Sages” seems to be the framework of a chronicle. Only in the case of Nungalpiriḡgal, however, is the respective historical event described. Otherwise the names of important figures are simply listed as keywords, which, however, would no doubt have triggered memories of characteristic Uruk-related events associated with their lives and activities. Thus the text is reduced, for the most part, to the form of a list of personal names.

<sup>63</sup> A.R. GEORGE, *Gilgamesh* I pp. 538f. I 18–21 and pp. 724f. XI 323–326.

<sup>64</sup> A.R. GEORGE, *Gilgamesh* I pp. 28–33.

<sup>65</sup> D. FRAYNE, RIME 4 pp. 474f. No. 4.

<sup>66</sup> A.R. GEORGE, *Gilgamesh* I pp. 568f. II 268f.

<sup>67</sup> M.E. COHEN, *Cultic Calendars* pp. 308f., 329f., 405f. and 427–437; M. LINSSEN, *Cults* pp. 72–78.

<sup>68</sup> See already J. VAN DIJK, *UVB* 18 p. 51. The work is edited by B. HRUŠKA, *ArOr* 37 (1969) pp. 473–522. A catalogue connects this work to Taqīš-Gula: W.G. LAMBERT, *JCS* 16 (1962) pp. 64f. and 71 (IV 6–9).

<sup>69</sup> Add to the texts mentioned by HRUŠKA E. VON WEIHER, *SBTU* II No. 28 from Uruk.

How should we understand the original cultic topography of Uruk according to the Anu theology? Did Anu originally own *two* sanctuaries in Uruk? One temple would have been the *rēš*, founded by Oannes before the flood. The other would have been Eanna, which was owned by Anu until it was given to or seized by Ištar after the deluge. It is striking that the builders of the 1st millennium BC put enormous resources into rebuilding the ruined archaic edifices in order to re-establish a major temple for Anu, but they did not reclaim Eanna for the sky god. Actually, as noted earlier, Eanna was even demoted and decommissioned in the Achaemenid period.

With regard to the status of the two sanctuaries, the building inscription of Anu-uballit=Nikarchos may give us some useful hints for our discussion.

##### 5. THE SYMBOLS OF ANU AT THE GATE OF THE *rēš* TEMPLE

The builder Anu-uballit=Nikarchos installed, according to his building inscription, at the outer face of the main gate of the *rēš* a golden bolt and a golden crown.<sup>70</sup> These are the characteristic symbols of the god Anu.

The crown is well attested as a symbol of Anu.<sup>71</sup> A bolt on the outside of a gate does not seem to be a very useful locking mechanism. But this bolt too is a symbol. In cuneiform literature, a so-called “bolt of the pure sky” is well attested.<sup>72</sup>

Such bolts are attached to the doors of heaven. The sun-god Šamaš has to unfasten it each morning when he opens the eastern door of heaven and begins his travel across the sky. This door, opening for the rising sun, is well attested in Mesopotamian art. There is also a separate door in the west, also equipped with a bolt, which is used by Šamaš in the evening at sunset.

The golden bolt at the main gate of the *rēš* refers to the role of Anu as lord of the doors of heaven and lord of heaven itself, and thus elevates the main gate of the *rēš* to the rank of a cosmic door of heaven. The main gate was directed towards the north-east (*šadû*). This direction was in fact

<sup>70</sup> YOS I 52 l. 14: *sik-kur* KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> AGA KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>. A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* pp. 4f. misunderstood the sign AGA, likewise *CAD Š/II* p. 376 s.v. *šibbu* B; also S. SHERWIN-WHITE, *JHS* 103 (1983) p. 158 and S. SHERWIN-WHITE & A. KUHRIT, *From Samarkhand to Sardis* p. 150 did not grasp the exact meaning. See, however, *AHw* p. 1226 s.v. *šibbu(m)* I 4) where W. von Soden takes the correct reading into consideration.

<sup>71</sup> U. SEIDL, *RIA* 3 p. 486.

<sup>72</sup> W. HEIMPEL, *JCS* 38 (1986) pp. 127–151; *CAD Š/II* p. 410 s.v. *šigaru*; Chr. WOODS, *JANER* 9 (2009) pp. 183–239.

associated in the Ancient Near East with sunrise.<sup>73</sup> So the main gate of the *rēš* is the very door Šamaš has to open every morning to start his journey over the sky. Since the gate, which grants access into the temple, is equated with the cosmic door, which grants access to the sky, the *rēš* is thus equated with heaven itself.

That a sanctuary of the sky god would be identified with heaven is comprehensible. But the equation of the *rēš* with heaven of course also recalls the temple name Eanna – “House of Heaven”. Thus, an association of Anu’s *rēš* temple with Eanna is hinted at, but not explicitly expressed.

So, how did those scholarly circles which pursued the promotion of Anu intend to configure the cultic topography of Uruk? Before dealing with this question I want to discuss another event in the history of the cult of Anu in Uruk that will help us to understand better some patterns in the development of the cult of the sky god, and consequently also the motives of its supporters.

## 6. NABOPOLASSAR’S INTERFERENCE WITH THE CULT OF ANU

We have already seen that the cult of Anu in Uruk suffered various setbacks during its long history, e.g. when Eanna was transferred from Anu to Ištar by the *apkallu* Nungalpiriġgal after the flood.

In much later times, during the reign of king Nabopolassar (625–605 BC), the founder of the Chaldean dynasty, who conquered the Assyrian empire, the cult of Anu suffered again a severe blow. The rites of the *rēš* temple were written down in a lengthy ritual handbook which is preserved in a copy made in Seleucid times. According to its colophon, this Seleucid copy ultimately goes back to a much older original. The original tablets had

<sup>73</sup> The Mesopotamian cardinal points are wind directions: *ištānu* – north-west wind; *šadū* – north-east wind; *šūtu* – south-east wind; *amurru* – south-west wind. See J. NEUMANN, *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society* Vol. 58 No. 10 (1977) pp. 1050–1055.

The sun rises due east only on the Spring and Autumn equinoxes; in Spring and Summer, the sun rises north of due east, in Autumn and Winter, the sun rises south of due east: W. HOROWITZ, *Cosmic Geography* p. 196. Due to this fact, north-east and south-east were also considered directions of sunrise in Ancient Mesopotamia. In Ešāġil in Babylon, there was a “Gate of Sunrise” (ká-<sup>d</sup>Utu-è-a) which opened to the north-east: A.R. GEORGE, *BTT* pp. 85–89. In his description of the gates of Nineveh, Sennacherib mentions that seven gates were directed towards the sunrise, that is south-east and north-east (*naphar 7 abullī šīt Šamaš / meḫret šūti u šadī*): D.D. LUCKENBILL, *Senn.* p. 112 ll. 84f. A variant mentions 8 gates: E. FRAHM, *Sanherib* p. 77 ll. 180f. See also B. PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, *BaF* 16 pp. 211–216.

been taken away by king Nabopolassar and brought to Elam. Later, they were rediscovered there by the high priest of the *rēš* in Seleucid times who copied them and brought (the copies) to Uruk.<sup>74</sup>

This statement is usually regarded as a pious fraud since some scholars believe that the *rēš* was founded only after Nabopolassar's reign.<sup>75</sup>

However, we should bear in mind that there actually *was* an older precursor of the *rēš* temple, erected by Esarhaddon in the 7th century BC. The name of this temple is not known from contemporary sources. Texts from the Neo-Babylonian period do in fact mention a sanctuary of Anu, but it is not referred to by its name, but rather as the *bīt Anu*, House of Anu. On the other hand, there is also attested at least since the Neo-Babylonian period (if not already under Sennacherib) a goddess named Bēltu-ša-rēš, Lady of the *rēš*. This suggests that there was a temple called *rēš* already during Nabopolassar's reign, and we may assume that Esarhaddon's sanctuary was in fact this earlier *rēš* temple of Anu. So the statement of the colophon should not be dismissed as a *pia fraus*.

Nabopolassar's hostile behaviour toward the cult of Anu fits well with the archeological evidence. As mentioned above in § 2, the ziggurat built by Esarhaddon was very badly preserved, in fact so badly that archeologists could not assess whether it simply decayed over time or was actually destroyed. This evidence suggests at least negligence, if not hostile action, on the part of Nabopolassar and the other rulers of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty.<sup>76</sup>

The decay or destruction of Esarhaddon's Anu temple may also explain why the goddess Bēltu-ša-rēš resided in the Eanna during the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>77</sup> It is a well-known fact that a deity whose temple had become uninhabitable could dwell temporarily in the sanctuary of another god.<sup>78</sup>

All this fits well with the general attitude of the Babylonian Marduk theology towards the old kings of the pantheon, Anu and Enlil. The Marduk

<sup>74</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *RAcc.* pp. 62–65 and 74–86; M. LINNSEN, *Cults* pp. 172–183; H. HUNGER, *BAK* No. 107.

<sup>75</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Fs. W.W. Hallo*, pp. 47f.; C. WAERZEGGERS, *Ezida* p. 115; A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) p. 160.

<sup>76</sup> It is not without a certain irony that the ziggurat of Babylon, Etemenanki, suffered the same fate during the reign of Xerxes, when it was deliberately damaged and left to decay. See above, note 23.

<sup>77</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* pp. 33 and 216.

<sup>78</sup> C. AMBOS, *Baurituale* pp. 52–61.

theology in fact aimed to debase both Anu and Enlil. An example: In the cella of Marduk in Ešaĝil were kept a crown as a symbol of Anu and a throne as a symbol of Enlil. Anu and Enlil were the traditional heads of the Mesopotamian pantheon, whereas Marduk had risen to the top of the pantheon only through a lengthy process during the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. When the high priest recited during the New Year's Festival in Babylon the epic of creation, *Enūma eliš*, the front part of the crown and the throne were covered. This covering expressed the supremacy of Marduk over Anu and Enlil.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, Anu's bolt of the skies was eliminated by the Marduk theology: According to *Enūma eliš*, it was Marduk himself who established the doors of heaven and attached the bolts on them.<sup>80</sup> So the sky-god Anu was deprived of control over the skies in favor of Marduk. Even worse, cultic commentaries allude to the fact that Anu was defeated and cruelly killed by Marduk.<sup>81</sup>

Nabopolassar apparently took measures against other cults in Uruk as well. He is said to have given away to Elam statues of various Urukian gods.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *RAcc.* p. 136 ll. 279–284; W. FARBER, *TUAT* II/2 p. 217; M. LINSSEN, *Cults* pp. 219f. and 228; A. ZGOLL, *Königslauf* pp. 23f.

<sup>80</sup> *Enūma eliš* V 9f.: W.G. LAMBERT, *TUAT* III/4 p. 588; Ph. TALON, *SAACT* IV pp. 57 and 95; Th. KÄMMERER & K. METZLER, *AOAT* 375 p. 229; W.G. LAMBERT, *Creation Myths* pp. 98f.

<sup>81</sup> A. LIVINGSTONE, *SAA* III p. 94 ll. 19'f. and 32'-34'; p. 96 ll. 17–23; p. 101 ll. 11f.; pp. 102–105 *passim*. See also A. LIVINGSTONE, *MMEW* pp. 151–154.

<sup>82</sup> A.K. GRAYSON, *ABC* p. 88 Chronicle No. 2 ll. 15–17. According to the chronicle, the cult images had been taken away as booty by the Assyrians when they conquered and sacked Susa. This occurred in the time of Assurbanipal. The king reports in his royal inscriptions that cult images were brought from Susa to Assyria: M. STRECK, *Assurb.* pp. 52–55 *Annalen* Col. VI 30–47; R. BORGER, *BIWA* pp. 53f. and 241 A VI 30–47 // F V 21–33; see also *BIWA* p. 84 l. 58. However, Assurbanipal also restored to Uruk a statue of Nanaja that the Elamites had carried off to Susa 1635 years earlier. The Assyrian king took this opportunity to bring back to Uruk the deities Ušur-amāssa and Urukajjītu as well: M. STRECK, *Assurb.* pp. 58f. (*Annalen* Col. VI 107–124) and pp. 220f. (K 3101a+); R. BORGER, *BIWA* pp. 57f. and 242 *Prisma* A VI 107–124. See also M. STRECK, *Assurb.* pp. 178–187 (K 2631+ ll. 12ff.); R. BORGER, *BIWA* pp. 83–85. According to variants, Nanaja was taken from Uruk to Susa 1535 or 1630 years before Assurbanipal. Further literature can be found in F. VALLAT, *Akkadica* 123 (2002) pp. 137–144, who deals with the historicity of Assurbanipal's statement, taking into account also Elamite sources. Perhaps it was these statues of Nanaja, Ušur-amāssa and Urukajjītu which Nabopolassar sent back to Elam: J. SCURLOCK, *Whose Truth* pp. 456ff.; A. FUCHS, *ZA* 93 (2003) p. 134.

This harsh treatment was certainly based on the fact that Uruk, as well as other cities in the south, had been an ally of Assyria against Babylon.<sup>83</sup>

## 7. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT OF ANU IN URUK: PATTERNS AND MOTIVES

### 7.1. *The rise of Anu during the 1st millennium: A pattern*

K. KESSLER has noted that in Achaemenid times, after the failed revolts against Xerxes (see above § 2), there is no evidence for a slow local development of the cult of Anu in Uruk. Rather, it seems that the royal administration conducted a swift reorganization.<sup>84</sup>

In the light of what has been described above, the rise of the Anu cult in Uruk at this time marked the resumption of a process that had begun centuries earlier in the 1st half of the 1st millennium BC, but was interrupted by the Chaldean dynasty.

If we look at the development of the cult of Anu in Uruk, we can in fact detect a clear pattern: When Babylon dominated Mesopotamia under the Chaldean dynasty, the cult of Anu evidently did not enjoy royal support and could not develop. But in the periods before and after the Chaldean dynasty, when Babylon could not exert its claim to supremacy over Babylonia, the cult of Anu flourished. And it is precisely during these periods that major construction projects associated with the Anu temple took place. During the time of the Chaldean dynasty, however, no construction is attested in the area of the *rēš* temple; indeed, as we have seen, the temple and its cult were even interfered with by Nabopolassar. The claim of Marduk, the god of Babylon, to kingship over the gods evidently ruled out the possibility of undertaking large-scale construction projects for the traditional head of the pantheon, Anu.

### 7.2. *The motive for Anu's promotion: Instauration and restoration*

The motive for Anu's promotion and the change in the cultic topography of Uruk was, I assume, a local theological agenda, which could only be implemented when political conditions were favorable. This agenda aimed to

<sup>83</sup> G. FRAME, *Babylonia* pp. 157–162.

<sup>84</sup> K. KESSLER, AOAT 330 p. 284.

restore the pantheon and cultic topography to their alleged original state, before they were altered in the course of time.

Thus, the key objectives of this agenda were instauration and restoration. The scholars of Uruk certainly had valid reasons for proceeding with this program. A mythological motif attested since the 3rd millennium BC and still known in Uruk during the Seleucid period deals with the relative status of Ištar and Anu in the city. According to this tradition, the main temple of the city, Eanna, had originally been Anu's, but was later given to or even usurped by Ištar. Consequently, Ištar became the main goddess of Uruk whereas Anu was demoted. As the "Uruk List of Kings and Sages" insinuates, Anu was angry over the loss of his Eanna, and his anger had to be calmed by the introduction of emesal-laments into his cult. The implementation of a pro-Anu theological agenda would have calmed the anger of the sky god in a sustainable and lasting manner.

The chief measure taken to re-instate Anu to the first rank and thus to pacify him was not, as one might have supposed, to reclaim Eanna from Ištar for the sky god. The scholars of Uruk rather focussed their attention on a monumental antediluvian ruin which was identified as an ancient sanctuary of Anu, founded at the beginning of time by the sage Oannes. This temple was rebuilt and given the programmatic name *rēš* – "Beginning", alluding to the foundation legend of the edifice.

Thus, the implementation of the agenda required neither Eanna nor its name. In fact, on the two occasions when this agenda was implemented, Eanna was treated quite differently each time.

### 7.3. *A short-lived instauration of Anu under Esarhaddon*

It is interesting that the moment when Esarhaddon built his precursor of the *rēš* temple corresponds to a period of extreme disaster in Babylon.

Esarhaddon's father, Sennacherib, had destroyed Babylon in 689 BC and razed its temples to the ground. After Sennacherib's death, Esarhaddon started to rebuild the city. This major and very expensive building project, however, gained momentum only after the conquest of Egypt. There, the Assyrians had taken immeasurable booty, which now served as a resource for the rebuilding of Babylon and for other building projects as well.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>85</sup> J.A. BRINKMAN, *Prelude* pp. 75f.; G. FRAME, *Babylonia* pp. 67–76; S. PARPOLA, *CRR* 26 pp. 179f. note 41. On the reconstruction of Babylon by Esarhaddon see M.P. STRECK, *AoF* 29 (2002) pp. 205–233.



The years when Babylon lay waste gave local cults, e.g. the cult of Anu in Uruk, the opportunity to develop without interference. And in fact, the cult of Anu profited very much from Babylon's weakness, because Esarhaddon engaged in temple building on a large scale. Anu's cult was supported by Esarhaddon not just in Uruk. The Assyrian ruler was also active in Dēr, where Ištarān or Anu rabû ("Great Anu") was venerated. Esarhaddon reports that he brought back Anu rabû and other exiled deities from Assyria to Dēr.<sup>86</sup>

As H. SCHAUDIG has demonstrated, Sennacherib and his successors had attempted to remove Marduk from his role as head of the pantheon and to reduce him to his role as Asalluḫi, the god of incantations.<sup>87</sup>

The reconstruction of Babylon by Esarhaddon is congruent with this policy. If we consider the Assyrian ruler's building activities as a whole, we see that he obviously aimed to decentralize power in Babylonia by conspicuously supporting ancient cult centres of major religious and ideological importance, in order to ensure the containment of the re-emerging capital.

An example of Esarhaddon's strategy is the city of Agade, which in the 3rd millennium BC had been the capital of a world empire when Babylon was still an unimportant town. During the reign of Esarhaddon, new construction was undertaken in the much reduced city and new inhabitants settled there. The goddess Ištar-of-Agade returned from her exile in Elam to her dwelling place.<sup>88</sup> While Babylon was still under reconstruction, Agade was the setting for performances of the ritual of the substitute king on behalf of Esarhaddon as ruler of Babylonia.<sup>89</sup>

Esarhaddon's re-building of a large antediluvian temple for Anu in Uruk was, I think, a clear signal to Babylon and Marduk, to show them their limits

<sup>86</sup> R. BORGER, *Asarh.* p. 84 l. 42 = E. LEICHTY, RINAP 4 No. 48 l. 94. See also G. FRAME, *Babylonia* p. 76. On Anu rabû see M. JURSA, *Iraq* 59 (1997) p. 108 on text No. 13. On Esarhaddon's activities in Dēr see also the letter S. PARPOLA, *LASEA* No. 277 = SAA X No. 349 rev. 11ff. Esarhaddon's successor Assurbanipal was active in Dēr too: E. FRAHM, *Fs. S. PARPOLA* pp. 51–64.

<sup>87</sup> H. SCHAUDIG, *OIS* 8 pp. 134–136.

<sup>88</sup> S. PARPOLA, *LASEA* No. 275 = SAA X No. 359 (a letter dating to 670 BC). See also G. FRAME, *Babylonia* pp. 73–75; A.K. GRAYSON, *ABC* p. 84 Chronicle 1 ll. 16–18 and p. 126 Chronicle 14 ll. 20–22. Nabonidus mentions building activities of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal in Agade: S. LANGDON, *NBK* p. 246 II 36–38; H. SCHAUDIG, *AOAT* 256 pp. 454f. and 463 (1 II 36'–40' // 2 II 37–45).

<sup>89</sup> S. PARPOLA, *LASEA* II p. xxv.

and to put them in their place. Anu was the traditional head of the pantheon, and Esarhaddon certainly chose to emphasize this role by reconstructing the god's monumental age-old sanctuary in Uruk. This message, it seems, was well understood in Babylon, because after the end of Assyrian domination, the kings of the Chaldean dynasty left the sanctuary's ziggurat to decay or even destroyed it.

Interestingly, Esarhaddon rebuilt the monumental antediluvian temple of Anu in Uruk without neglecting or even demoting the goddess Ištar. In fact, the Assyrian ruler was also involved in the maintenance of the Eanna.<sup>90</sup> Perhaps Esarhaddon's project of rebuilding the ancient sanctuary of Anu never saw completion. In any case, it had no lasting effect and was not carried on by the rulers of the Chaldean dynasty. It would have been interesting to see the outcome of Esarhaddon's agenda in Uruk, if the temple had been completed. Apparently, his program provided for two major temples in Uruk and intended to promote Anu while at the same time acknowledging Ištar's rank.

#### 7.4. *A long-lasting instauration of Anu under Xerxes*

After the failed revolts of Babylonian pretenders against Xerxes, there was a new opportunity for the instauration of Anu in his former glory. This project was certainly eligible for royal endorsement and sponsorship, since it was not just a matter of local importance, but, as mentioned above, it had an impact on the ideological and religious relevance of Babylon as well: By promoting Anu, both Uruk as well as the Achaemenid king could demonstrate that they no longer considered Marduk the head of the Babylonian pantheon. In fact, Xerxes damaged Etemenanki, the ziggurat of Marduk's temple in Babylon and left it to decay. This time the promotion of Anu was permanent. It coincided with Xerxes' disruptive intervention into the administrative and economic affairs of Eanna, in conjunction with his punishment of the Babylonian rebels and their supporters.

Was the decommissioning of Eanna just a by-product of Xerxes' measures? Did royal sponsorship only provide resources for the maintenance of one major sanctuary, which at that moment happened to be the temple of Anu? These questions bring us back to the problem of how the scholars of Uruk considered the original cultic topography of their city: Had both Eanna

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<sup>90</sup> G. FRAME, *Babylonia* p. 24 with note 80.

and the *rēš* originally been two sanctuaries of Anu, before the former was usurped by Ištar and the latter at some point allowed to fall into disrepair?

### 7.5. *The rēš temple as the original Eanna?*

To the scholars of Uruk, the antediluvian ruins rebuilt in the 1st millennium BC as the temple of Anu were evidently related to the original cultic topography of the city, prior to Ištar's takeover of the Eanna from Anu after the deluge. As I have tried to show above in § 5, Nikarchos in his inscription hints at the *rēš* temple as being a House of Heaven without, however, designating the sanctuary explicitly as Eanna. Given the fact that the topos that Eanna was originally Anu's but then taken over by Ištar, is attested from the 3rd millennium onwards and was still known very well in Seleucid Uruk, it is remarkable that Anu was not re-instated as the main god of Eanna, which was instead demoted and decommissioned.

I can offer only a speculative answer to this problem: Uruk consisted of two districts, namely Uruk proper, which centered around Eanna, and Kullaba, where the archaic buildings over which the temple of Anu was erected during the 1st millennium BC had been located.<sup>91</sup> Inanna is connected in some sources to Kullaba, and some pertinent texts have been interpreted in modern scholarship as referring to a transfer of Inanna's cult at some time from there to Uruk.<sup>92</sup> Can we connect this relocation of her cult from Kullaba to Uruk with Inanna's/Ištar's appropriation of Anu's temple, Eanna, as described in the "Uruk List of Kings and Sages" and other sources? If so, then the archaic buildings in Kullaba would have been the original Eanna of Anu. At some time, the temple in Kullaba was taken over by Inanna/Ištar and the cult site was consequently transferred to Uruk, where Eanna was situated in historical times. The original Eanna of Anu in Kullaba, however, was left to decay.

Perhaps the scholars of Uruk already had the same understanding of the cultic topography of their city and its transformation. In that case, when reconfiguring the original cultic topography, they would have directed their attention not to the historical Eanna in Uruk, but to Kullaba and the ancient ruins of Anu's temple there.

<sup>91</sup> R. ENGLUND, *RIA* 14 p. 447.

<sup>92</sup> K. SZARZYŃSKA, *Sumerica* p. 146 and *NIN* 1 (2000) pp. 66f.; P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* p. 114.

Interestingly, D. SÜRENHAGEN sees a connection between the abandonment of the archaic ziggurat in Kullaba (which he places at the end of the Late Uruk period), and the construction of a new cult center in the Eanna district in Uruk.<sup>93</sup> In fact, SÜRENHAGEN assumes a cultural rupture (*Kulturbruch*) between Uruk IV and Uruk III (and thus, between the Late Uruk period and the period usually named *Ĝamdat Našr*).<sup>94</sup> The buildings which existed in Uruk in the Eanna district were all more or less abandoned at the same time, at the end of the Late Uruk period, and new edifices were erected in the area according to a different architectural plan during the subsequent Uruk III period. It was during this phase of construction that the terrace from which the ziggurat of the historical Eanna temple evolved, was founded.<sup>95</sup>

#### 8. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE CULT OF ANU IN URUK?

Sometimes in scholarly literature it has been conjectured that the rise of Anu in the 1st millennium BC was due to foreign religious influences, such as the cult of the Persian god Ahura Mazdā during the Achaemenid period.<sup>96</sup> However, there is no evidence in the primary sources to support this view. P.-A. BEAULIEU has assumed that the Assyrian god Assur influenced Anu in Neo-Assyrian times and triggered his rise to preeminence in Uruk in subsequent periods.<sup>97</sup> However, for this theory too there is at best only circumstantial evidence, if not pure speculation.

In this respect, Esarhaddon's construction of a sanctuary for Anu in Uruk is interesting.<sup>98</sup> Can the Assyrian ruler's determination to build an Anu temple in Uruk be explained as a result of influence by the cult of Assur?

<sup>93</sup> D. SÜRENHAGEN, HSAO 8 p. 170. The idea that Eanna eclipsed the cult site at Kullaba was already expressed by J. Schmidt, *BaM* 5 (1970) p. 55.

<sup>94</sup> D. SÜRENHAGEN, HSAO 8 pp. 118f.

<sup>95</sup> M. VAN ESS, *RIA* 14 pp. 466–469; D. SÜRENHAGEN, HSAO 8 pp. 66f. note 67.

<sup>96</sup> E. FRAHM, *Tradition und Neuerung* pp. 99–104. P.-A. BEAULIEU *ASJ* 14 (1992) p. 55 is more reluctant; he mentions the possibility of an equation of Anu with Ahura Mazdā under Achaemenid influence, but thinks a local development of the Anu cult possible. P.-A. BEAULIEU, *MARG* 16 (2004) pp. 314f. thinks that “the new Anu religion may have emerged partly as a response to the new religious atmosphere of that age [the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC]”, referring to Ahura Mazdā and also to Yahweh. K. KESSLER, *AoF* 31 (2004) p. 253 does not think an influence by Ahura Mazdā likely.

<sup>97</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *SAAB* 11 (1997) pp. 55–73.

<sup>98</sup> As far as I know, BEAULIEU does not discuss this archaeological evidence nor does he seem to have been aware of it.

This seems rather implausible. Rather, Esarhaddon's building activities in Uruk were undertaken with direct reference to the history of the city, as he set out to renovate archaic buildings which were assumed to be the ruins of a temple of Anu founded by Oannes in antediluvian times. Thus, Esarhaddon conceived the temple he built in reference to a *local* tradition reaching to a distant past.

I do not think external influences on the cult of Anu need to be postulated, because all the prerequisites for its development in the 1st millennium were already present. Anu could in fact claim the title of king of the gods, and rightly so, even if a parvenu such as Marduk had usurped this position. Furthermore, the cuneiform tradition clearly stated that he was the original owner of the main temple of Uruk, and that the reconfiguration of the local pantheon with Ištar at its head was only a secondary development.

Thus, the instauration of Anu was prompted not by religious influences, but rather, as mentioned above, by the emergence of favorable political conditions.

#### 9. ANTIQUARIANISM IN HELLENISTIC URUK?

The orientation of the Anu theology, in so far as it can be reconstructed for the Seleucid period, towards the distant past has been labelled antiquarianism by P.-A. BEAULIEU. He defines antiquarianism as an artificial or even fabricated or (re-)invented revival of a past which is no longer correctly understood.<sup>99</sup> However, the worldview of the Hellenistic Urukeans was not very different from that of earlier Babylonians. To characterize the Seleucid Anu theology as antiquarian overlooks the fact, that the people of the 1st millennium BC in Uruk had the distant past virtually before their

<sup>99</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *ASJ* 14 (1992) pp. 68f.: "These theologians lived, however, in a self-contained world, deliberately oblivious to the surrounding culture which was increasingly non-Babylonian in character because of the admixture of Aramaic, Hellenic and other elements. Their antiquarianism also stems partly from a reaction to the confinement of Babylonian culture to specific areas of public life, chiefly the temple. As can often be observed in comparable situations, the preservation of the threatened, but once dominant, culture is achieved through its artificial and overstated reassertion. These cultural statements rarely fail to betray their artificiality nonetheless, usually because one can easily detect some elements in the culture which were misunderstood (due to their obsolete character) even by the intellectual elites in charge of their preservation." These ideas are pursued by A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) pp. 158–160. On Kephalon's mentioning of Oannes as founder of the *rēš* as evidence for antiquarianism, see P.-A. BEAULIEU, *ASJ* 14 (1992) p. 68 and A. LENZI, *JANER* 8 (2008) p. 160

eyes, in the shape of monumental buildings such as the Eanna temple or the city walls, or in the form of ruins such as the tells of the archaic buildings prior to their reconstruction by Esarhaddon. Urukeans' recourse to the past thus had a material *fundamentum in re*. In fact, already to the people of the 2nd millennium BC, the monumental buildings of Uruk seemed to be of great antiquity. In the Standard version of the Epic of Gilgameš by Sîn-lēqi-unninni, which can be dated to the 2nd millennium, the seven antediluvian sages are mentioned as builders in Uruk. When, at the end of the 2nd century BC, Anu-uballit=Kephalon refers to the antediluvian sage Oannes as builder of the *rēš*, he follows an already ancient tradition. If Kephalon is to be charged with antiquarianism, the same charge must be levelled at Sîn-lēqi-unninni.<sup>100</sup>

It should be noted that the Urukean scholars communicated with scholars rooted in the cuneiform tradition from other cities in Babylonia, but were also well aware of Greek and Aramaic culture.

The already mentioned exorcist Iqīšâ, who possessed a brewer-prebend in the *rēš* temple, participated in an intellectual exchange with scholars in other Babylonian cities. This is evident from the fact that his library included texts stemming from other cities as well as texts copied from originals which were from other cities.<sup>101</sup>

The *rēš* temple possessed quite innovative features, such as a Greek dedicatory or building inscription on the core building, erected by Kephalon in 202/201 BC. The inscription was written on glazed bricks which were situated on a relief frieze that circled the building directly under the edge of its roof, as in the case of a Greek peripteros.<sup>102</sup> Likewise, there is innovation in sepulchral architecture in Hellenistic Uruk. Near Uruk are three burial mounds (tumuli) of which at least two are from the 3rd century BC. It has

<sup>100</sup> P.-A. BEAULIEU, *MARG* 16 (2004) p. 317 note 28 seems to consider Kephalon's mention of Oannes as builder of the *rēš* as a literary reference to the Epic of Gilgameš: "This inscription [Kephalon's inscription with the mention of Oannes] echoes the opening lines of the famous Epic of Gilgameš which claim that the foundations of Uruk had been laid by the seven sages." As already mentioned, BEAULIEU was not aware of the archaeological evidence for the architectural history of the *rēš*, which gave a rationale for Kephalon's statement, as discussed above in § 2 and 3. Likewise, BEAULIEU does not explain how Sîn-lēqi-unninni's reference to the antediluvian past is to be reconciled with the verdict of antiquarianism in Hellenistic Uruk.

<sup>101</sup> E. FRAHM, *Tradition und Neuerung* pp. 91–99.

<sup>102</sup> W 16805, VA 14945; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 pp. 75 and 162–169; idem, *Resch-Heiligtum* pp. 337 and 339 fig. 59.8.

been suggested that members of the Urukean elite, perhaps even Nikarchos and Kephalon, were buried there. The grave goods show Hellenistic influence and the burial mounds are shaped according to the tumuli of Macedonian rulers in Aigai (Vergina). So there must have been knowledge of Macedonian burial customs in Hellenistic Uruk, and the local elites expressed, through their choice of burial monuments, their dual status as local rulers and as members of the elite of the Seleucid empire.<sup>103</sup>

From the main cella of another important sanctuary in Uruk, the Irigal or É-èš-gal, there is an Aramaic inscription of Kephalon.<sup>104</sup>

## 10. CONCLUSION

A monumental temple of Anu stood in Uruk for several centuries from the 1st half of the 1st millennium BC until the Parthian period. This sanctuary bore the name *rēš* – “Beginning”, because it was conceived as the reconstruction of an ancient temple that stemmed from the time before the flood and had been founded by the sage Oannes. The Anu temple from the 1st millennium was in fact deliberately erected over the ruins of much older archaic buildings, which had existed there in pre- and protohistoric times, from the late ‘Ubaid until the Late Uruk or Ğamdat Našr period.

Whether these archaic buildings had really housed a sanctuary of Anu is difficult to assess. The name of the sky god, written AN, is perhaps already attested in the earliest texts from the period of the invention of writing; however, the ambiguity of the writing system makes it difficult to grasp whether every attestation refers indeed to this deity.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>103</sup> H.D. BAKER, *Image of the City* pp. 52–56; F. PEDDE, *BaM* 22 (1991) pp. 521–535; idem, *Two Seleucid Tumuli* pp. 205–221; idem, *AUWE* 10 pp. 140–152; idem, *Grabhügel* pp. 330f.

<sup>104</sup> A. FALKENSTEIN, *Topographie* p. 31; A. KOSE, *AUWE* 17 p. 78 and pl. 113

<sup>105</sup> R. ENGLUND, *OBO* 160/1 pp. 70f. ENGLUND thinks it possible that in the earliest texts AN refers indeed to the sky god and notes that in this case he would be attested far more often than Inanna (written MUŠ<sub>3a</sub>). According to ENGLUND, AN is attested 485 times, MUŠ<sub>3a</sub> is attested 219 times. On attestations of the goddess Inanna in the earliest texts see P.-A. BEAULIEU, *Pantheon* pp. 103–105. Interestingly, P.-A. BEAULIEU, *MARG* 16 (2004) p. 317, in spite of postulating in Achaemenid and Hellenistic times a “new Anu religion” which fabricated its relationship to a distant past only through forgeries and the like, concedes that there may have been a certain truth to this claim: “But this was not without some historical basis. Ultimately, Anu may have been the most ancient god of Uruk, for there was a tradition that he had later been displaced by the goddess Ištar.” I hope to have shown in this article that there was a substantial material basis for this claim of a long

The building history of this area is certainly unique. Between the archaic buildings and the sanctuary of Anu of the 1st millennium is a hiatus or gap of more than 2000 years. The builders of the 1st millennium decidedly established a continuity with the much older archaic buildings by erecting the Anu temple on the ancient structures.

The very fact that the builders of the 1st millennium BC strove to renovate these buildings makes clear that there remained some meaning attached to this area and to the ruins, and that the Mesopotamians of these later periods were evidently well aware of the antiquity of these relics.

Apparently, the Mesopotamians of the 1st millennium BC (and presumably also of earlier periods) connected these archaic edifices to a well-attested mythological motif that dealt with the rank of Ištar and Anu in Uruk. According to this narrative, the main temple of the city, Eanna, had originally been Anu's, but had later been given to or even usurped by Ištar.

The reconstruction of the antediluvian sanctuary of the sky god was evidently part of a local religious agenda aimed at reconfiguring the pantheon and cultic topography of the city as they had been originally, before Ištar took over the Eanna from Anu. Interestingly, it was not the objective of the Urukean scholars to reclaim Eanna from Ištar in favor of Anu. Eanna was even allowed to be decommissioned after the failed revolts against Xerxes. The building inscription of Nikarchos from the *rēš* temple hints at the sanctuary being a House of Heaven, without explicitly naming it Eanna.

I assume that the ruins of the archaic edifices under the *rēš* temple were considered the original Eanna of Anu. Archaeological evidence allows the assumption that the archaic buildings over which the Anu temple was erected much later, were abandoned when a new cult center was founded in the area of Eanna. Uruk consisted of two districts, Uruk and Kullaba. Eanna was situated in Uruk, whereas the ruins of the archaic buildings, on which the Anu temple was superimposed in the 1st millennium, stood in Kullaba. Inanna is connected in Sumerian sources to Kullaba, and some pertinent texts have been interpreted in scholarship to the effect that her cult was transferred at some time from there to Eanna. We can now connect all these hints: The ruins of the archaic buildings in Kullaba were the relics of a sanctuary of Anu, which was at some time appropriated by Inanna. Then, the cult site was transferred to Eanna and the temple in Kullaba was left to

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history reaching into the distant past in the form of the pre- and protohistoric ruins on which the *rēš* was erected.



decay. The scholars of Uruk who wanted to re-establish the original cult topography of their city, thus focussed their interest on the archaic ruins in Kullaba, but not on the historical Eanna temple.

The kings of Babylon withheld patronage from this agenda or even opposed it, because Anu was the traditional head of the pantheon, a position which was also claimed by Marduk, the god of Babylon. Consequently, conditions for implementing the pro-Anu agenda became favorable when Babylon (and Marduk) could no longer exert their claim to preeminence in Babylonia. Thus it is only after the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in the 7th century BC, and again after the failed Babylonian revolts against Xerxes in the 5th century BC, that we see the project of reinstating Anu to the first rank in the Urukean pantheon implemented. Thus, the promotion of Anu was a lengthy process, pursued with tenacity and perseverance by its supporters over generations.

The rise of Anu during the first millennium BC has been attributed to external religious influences or assessed as an expression of antiquarianism. I see no evidence for external influence, and the label of antiquarianism does not seem justified to me. The instauration of Anu to the first rank in Uruk was in accordance with the history of the cultic topography of the city, as it was coherently presented in the cuneiform tradition.

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SPEECH AND ACTS OF KING AND PRIEST  
IN HITTITE RITUAL TEXTS:  
AN INDO-EUROPEAN HERITAGE?

Paola COTTICELLI-KURRAS

1. METHODOLOGY

The focus of my paper is the sacral sphere in the Hittite texts concerning the ritual speech and actions of the king and the main priest. I will compare some lexemes from selected passages with corresponding words or roots in other IE languages. The selected Hittite lexicon refers specifically to some acts and verbal contexts, when the king (sometimes together with the queen) and the priest celebrate certain gods in the appropriate places, with various instruments and together with (diverse) groups of people. The aim of this paper is to discern and analyze the semantic fields that concern the sacred sphere and to involve, on the one hand, the selected stems – gathered in the following onomasiological lists and the Hittite contexts where they occur – and, on the other hand, the IE roots reconstructable on the basis of the comparison of such lexemes within the IE languages.

Thus, starting from an onomasiological perspective, I try to outline – in a lexical framework – the semantic fields of the sacral sphere in Hittite. The main lexical tools I used are:

- BUCK 1949
- WEEKS 1985
- TISCHLER 1982
- MALLORY and ADAMS 1997, 2006
- KLOEKHORST 2008

In the following, let me first say a few words about the scholarly approaches employed in these dictionaries:

2. BUILDING SEMANTIC FIELDS THROUGH THE ETYMOLOGY

*2.1. Carl Darling BUCK*

The onomasiological organisation in BUCK's conception is going back to the structure of the well-known lexicon of DORNSEIFF 1934 (that originally was

planned as a semantic dictionary of Greek but had to constrain itself to German), organized in functional semantic groups. BUCK's lexicon did not include Hittite sources but provided the fundamental subdivisions in *Sachgruppen* by assigning an internal (sub-)organization to each semantic domain or group. For the sake of our research, we identified two chapters, 19 and 22. Chapter 19 contains the rubric: "Territorial, social, and political division, social relations," in which BUCK lists concepts concerning the domain of power: 'Queen' [19.33]; 'Emperor' [19.34]; 'Prince' [19.35]; 'Servant' [19.43]. Chapter 22 has the title "Religion and superstition." Moreover, Chapter 18, "Vocal utterance, speech, reading and writing", must be added for obvious reasons. Methodologically, we need to cross or combine some concepts of the mentioned groups, in order to obtain a statistically representative semantic field.

## 2.2. Johann TISCHLER's "Semasiological Index"

TISCHLER 1982 and 2008 based his "semasiological index" on the structure of DORNSEIFF 1934 but, on the one hand, he gave a more detailed articulation of the semantic domains and, on the other, he unified the fields 'Religion', 'Social institutions', and 'Speech' under the following supra-domain:

- 4.6. Mensch als Sozialwesen
- 4.6.2. Staat, staatl. Institutionen u. Repräsentanten
- 4.6.6. Menschliche Kommunikation
- 4.6.6.1. Sprache, Sprechen
- 4.6.8. Religion, Sitte, Recht: geistige Kultur
- 4.6.8.1. Religion
- 4.6.8.1.0. Gott, Gottheit, beten
- 4.6.8.1.1. Magie und Zauberei
- 4.6.8.1.2. Kultgebäude, Götterbilder u.ä.
- 4.6.8.1.2.1. Vergöttlichte Objekte
- 4.6.8.1.4. Opfer, Rituale, Feste.

## 2.3. David Michael WEEKS' Hittite vocabulary

WEEKS 1985 added a selected Hittite lexical material to BUCK 1949, using the same structure and numeration of the domains. Among the proposed domains, the following ones are of special interest for our research because of their lexical items. I have taken the lexical matrix operated by WEEKS as basis for a collection of the semantic sphere, integrating some concepts from TISCHLER 2008 as well as from MALLORY and ADAMS 1997 and 2006. Thus, in my study I shall

not discuss the etymologies given by WEEKS because I shall refer to KLOEKHORST 2008 for the discussion of etymologies proposed in the present-day scholarly debate.

In the following, I am presenting the structure of the onomasiological grid proposed by WEEKS, while providing his etymologies in the footnotes, in order to make his material – perhaps better known to Anatolianists and Indo-European historical linguists – immediately accessible also to historians of religions and other scholars who read the present interdisciplinary volume and are interested in the underlying linguistic information:

### 17. MIND AND THOUGHT:

From this domain, I consider the following sub-domains listing the main lexemes with etymological notes.<sup>1</sup>

#### 17.38 — EXPLAIN —

*arkuwai-* ‘plead, argue, explain oneself, make excuses’, etc., is to be compared with Lat. *arguō* ‘assert, accuse, prove’.<sup>2</sup>

#### 17.42 — CAUSE —

*uttar* (INIM) ‘affair, matter, thing’, etc., 9.90.

*memiya(n)-* ‘speech, word, thing, matter’, fr. *memai-* ‘speak’, 18.21.

### 18. VOCAL UTTERANCE, SPEECH, READING AND WRITING

#### 18.12 — SING —

*ishamiya-*, *ishamai-* ‘sing’ (SĪR-RU, ZAMĀRU), *ishamai-* ‘song’ (SĪR), *ishamatalla-* ‘SINGER’ (LŪSĪR, Akk. *zamaru*), all from an *\*ishama-*, from the same root as in *ishiya-* ‘tie, bind’ (9.16) and *ishiman(a)-*, *ishamin(a)-* ‘cord, line, rope’ (9.19). The semantic key to the connection lies in the sense of Gk. ῥαψοδός ‘weaver of songs’ (ῥάπτω ‘stitch together’) and Skt. *sūtra-* ‘thread; aphorism, rule, canon’, Gk. ὕμνος,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the footnote to this section (2.3), I also give some additions and, when necessary, further information about the terms quoted by WEEKS (for the sake of the right differentiation, the latter ones are always indicated within quotation marks).

<sup>2</sup> WEEKS refers for this term to “Laroche, *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses, Annuaire* 72 [1964–65]: 13–20; *RPh.* 42 [1968]: 242–43; von Schuler, *JCS* 22 [1968]: 4–5; Puhvel, *AI* 264, P 148–51”.

<sup>3</sup> WEEKS continues: “Thus while *\*sE<sub>2</sub>-(o)m-* > Hitt. *ishama-*, Ved. *sāman* - ‘song’, *\*sE<sub>2</sub>-oy-mo-* > Gk. (psilotic) οἶμος, οἶμη ‘song’, *\*sE<sub>2</sub>-oy-tos* > ON *seiðr* ‘line, rope; magic (spell)’ (*EHS* 178, T 378–80, P 394–95). The reduplicated *galgalinai-* is undoubtedly related to *galgalturi-* ‘cymbal, tambourine’ or other metallic musical instrument. Imitative origin seems likely (*EHS* 481); cf. Arm. *gel-gel-el* ‘trill, warble’ (N. Mkrtč’jan, *Acta Antiqua* 22 [1974]: 318, comparing also Hebr. *kilkel*, Arab. *qalqal/ḡalḡal*; T 467). Possibly of similar ultimate

## 18.13 — SHOUT, CRY OUT —

*halzai-*, *halziya-* ‘call out, shout, exclaim’, secondarily ‘proclaim, call on, summon, invoke; invite’.<sup>4</sup>

18.21 — SPEAK, TALK —<sup>5</sup>

*memai-* ‘speak’ with *memiya(n)-* ‘speech, word, matter, thing’, etc. and denom. *memanu-*, *memiyanu-* ‘cause to speak’, *te-/tar-* ‘say, speak’, cf. 18.22.

## 18.22 — SAY —

The suppletive Hitt. verb *te-/tar-* ‘say’.<sup>6</sup>

## 18.41 — CALL (SUMMON) —

*weriya-* ‘call, summon’,<sup>7</sup>

*halzai-*, *halziya-*,

*kalles-* ‘summon, invite’.<sup>8</sup>

## 18.42 — CALL (NAME) —

*lamniya-*, *lammaniya-* ‘name, call by name; appoint, assign’.<sup>9</sup>

origin Lith. *gaĩsas* ‘echo’, OCS *glagolũ* ‘word’, *glagolati* ‘speak’. <sup>LÚ</sup>GALA ‘SINGER’ covers <sup>LÚ</sup>*halli(ya)ri-* and <sup>LÚ</sup>*sahtarili-*, both of Hattic origin (P s.v.)”.

<sup>4</sup> It follows in WEEKS: “etc., as in Lat. *clāmō*, *calō* (: H. *kalles-*, 18.41); OIr. *gairm*, *gáir* [...]”.

<sup>5</sup> “*memai-* ‘speak’ (Luw. *mam[m]an[n]a-*), with *memiya(n)-* ‘speech, word, matter, thing’, etc. and denom. *memanu-*, *memiyanu-* ‘cause to speak’, compared with Ved. *mīmāti* ‘bellow’, OCS *mīmati* ‘stammer, mumble’, with original imitative origin (Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 140), and with ON *mál* ‘speech’ < \**ma-tlom* (Götze – Pedersen, *MS* 59).” A verb *lala(i)-* ‘speak (clearly)’, denom. from *lala-* ‘tongue; speech’ (4.26) is questionable; cf. *CHD* 3.25–26 and refs”.

<sup>6</sup> “The suppletive Hitt. verb *te-/tar-* ‘say’ preserves two ancient and sparsely attested usages within Indo-European. The stem *te-*, whose etymon IE \**dheE1-* is practically ubiquitous in the meaning ‘put; do’ (including Hitt. *dai-*), mirrors the semantic shift seen otherwise only in Slavic: OCS *děti* ‘put, say’, Slovene *dem* ‘I say’ (= Hitt. *temi*), ORuss. *dě* ‘he said’ (H. *tet*). *tar-*, on the other hand (1 pl. pres. *tarweni*, 3 pl. *taranzi*, part. *tarant-*, iter. *taraski-*, *tarsik[k]i-*), attests a basic verb ‘speak’, as shown by Lith. *tariù*, *tarti* ‘say’, *tarmē* ‘utterance’, thus indicating an important Baltic-Anatolian isogloss. Cf. Puhvel, *Gedenkschrift Kronasser* 183–84)”.

<sup>7</sup> It “matches Gk. εἶπω ‘speak, tell’ < IE \**Hwer-yo-*, from a variably suffixed root seen e.g. in Goth. *waúrd*, OE *word*, Lat. *verbum*, Lith. *vārdas* ‘name’; Avest. *urvāta-* ‘prayer’; Gk. ῥῆμα ‘word, phrase, speech’ (Sturtevant, *JAOS* 50 [1930]: 128; T 308–12 and refs.). Cf. *hurt-* ‘curse’, 22.24”.

<sup>8</sup> It “matches Gk. εἶπω ‘speak, tell’ < IE \**Hwer-yo-*, from a variably suffixed root seen e.g. in Goth. *waúrd*, OE *word*, Lat. *verbum*, Lith. *vārdas* ‘name’; Avest. *urvāta-* ‘prayer’; Gk. ῥῆμα ‘word, phrase, speech’ (Sturtevant, *JAOS* 50 [1930]: 128; T 308–12 and refs.). Cf. *hurt-* ‘curse’, 22.24”.

<sup>9</sup> (It “is comparable with Gk. καλέω, Lat. *clāmō* ‘call’, OE *hlōwan* ‘roar, low’ (*IEW* 548), with stem-final *-s* perhaps an extension parallel to OPruss. *kelsāi-* ‘read, sound out’ (Neu, *Anitta-Text* 88). Cf. T 465–66 and refs., *Stamm.* 197”.

18.43 — ANNOUNCE —

*tarkummai-*, Luw. *tarkummiya-*, evidently a loanword; cf. Akk. *targumānu* ‘interpreter’ (*HWb.* 214). *isiya(hh)-* ‘announce, betoken, reveal’; cf. 22.47 and P 409–13.

18.45 — BOAST —

*-za walla-*, with refl. *-za*; see *walla-* ‘praise’, 16.79.

## 19. TERRITORIAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS, SOCIAL RELATIONS

19.32 — KING —

*hassu-*<sup>10</sup>. Usually written LUGAL.

19.33 — QUEEN —

\**hassusara-* (SAL.LUGAL, now MUNUS.LUGAL), formed from *hassu-* ‘king’ with fem. suffix *-sara-* (T 210–11).

19.34 — EMPEROR —

Cf. LUGAL.GAL ‘great king’. 19.35

19.41 — MASTER —

*isha-*, *esha-* (EN, *BELU*, *BELTU*) ‘master, lord’, *ishassara-* ‘lady, mistress’ (GAŠAN), *ishizziya-* ‘be lordly, dominate’.<sup>11</sup>

19.42–19.43 — SLAVE; SERVANT —

The Hittite reading of İR (Akk. (w)*ardu*) ‘servant, slave, subject’ is unknown.<sup>12</sup>

## 22. RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION:

22.12 — GOD —

To the lexical descendants of IE \**dyew-*, \**deiw-o-* Hittite adds *siu-* (DINGIR), with variants *siun(i)-*, *siwann(i)-*, *siwant-* and adj. *siunalli-*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> “(CHD 3.37–39), denom. fr. *laman* ‘name’ (18.28) and hence analogous to Goth. *namnjan*, OE *nemnan*, NE *name*, Gk. *ὄνομαζω*”.

<sup>10</sup> “Rather than an unsupported link with *has-* ‘beget’” (in Sommer, *Hethitisches* II [= *Boghazköi-Studien* 7 (Leipzig, 1922)], p. 9, n. 2; *EHS* 251; etc.; cf. T 207), the source of *hassu-* is best sought via a reconstruction \**H<sub>1</sub>onsu-* (cf. *dassu-* < \**d<sub>1</sub>su-*), as in Polomé’s comparison with ON *áss* (pl. *Æsir*, Run. *a[n]su-*) ‘god’, Avest. *ahū* ‘lord’, Skt. *ásura-*, Av. *ahura-* (*Études Germaniques* 8 [1953]: 36–38; cf. Oettinger, *Eide* 24, n. 8”).

<sup>11</sup> “Etymology uncertain; suggested cognates have included Lat. *erus* < \**esH<sub>1</sub>o-* (from F. Ribezzo, *Rivista Indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità* 4 [1920]: 128), Arm. *išxan* ‘ruler, prince’ (P. Jensen, *ZA* 36 [1925]: 82), and Hitt. *ishiya-* ‘bind’ (E. Forrer, *ZDMG* 76 [1922]: 217), although cogent objections can be raised to all these. The most satisfactory solution is a source in Hattic *shap/w-*, *ashap/w-* ‘god’, collective *washap/w-*, linking further Luw. *washai-*, *washa(n)t-*, Hier.-Luw. *washa-* ‘master’ and possibly Pal. *pashullasas*, *washullatiyas* (Laroche, *RA* 41 [1947]: 77–78; T 372–77; P 385–90”).

<sup>12</sup> “Likewise <sup>LJ</sup>AMA.(A.)TU ‘house slave’, GEMÉ(-*assara-*) ‘female slave, maidservant’, SAG.GEME.İRMEŠ ‘servants’ (*HWb.* 265, 273, 278, 290)”.

## 22.13 — TEMPLE —

No compelling Indo-European etymology has been recorded for neut. *Ékarimmi-*, comm. *Ékarimna-* (É DINGIR[-LIM]).<sup>14</sup>

## 22.14 — ALTAR —

*istanana-* (ZAG.GAR.RA).<sup>15</sup>

It is a deverbal noun from the root *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-no-* as Gr. *\*stah<sub>2</sub>-l-no-* > *stāla* or *stēlla*. [GIUSFREDI 2010 proposed to analyse the formation as *\*sth<sub>2</sub>-no-*, i.e. as an adjectival derivation +*-no-* as substantival stem – P. C.-K.].

## 22.15 — SACRIFICE, OFFERING —

*ispanduzzi-* ‘libation (vessel)’, from *sippand-*, *ispand* ‘pour, libate’, 9.35.

*maltessar* ‘recitation, vow, votive offering’, verbal noun from *mald-* ‘recite; vow’ (22.17; CHD 3.132–35, 136–37).

## 22.16 — WORSHIP —

*hink-* ‘sacrifice’, primarily ‘hand over, surrender’, see 20.46 and 4.75.

*sippand-*, *ispand-* ‘pour a libation’, 9.35.

## 22.17 — PRAY —

*mūgāi-* matches Gk. μύζω ‘murmur’, Lat. *mūgiō* ‘bellow, roar, rumble, groan’.<sup>16</sup>

## 22.19 — HOLY, SACRED —

Hittite words corresponding most closely to the modern sense of ‘sacred’ or ‘holy’ are mainly those for ‘clean, pure’, in ritual context; thus *suppi-*, *parkui-*, 15.87.<sup>17</sup> The etymologies OCS *svetū*, Lith. *šveītas*, Avest. *spənta-* are cognate with Hitt. *kunna-* ‘right, correct’ etc., 12.41.

<sup>13</sup> “(= Lyd. *↑iuvali-* [GUSMANI, *Lyd. Wb.* 93]). Cf. also Luw. *Tiyaz* ‘sun, sun-god’ = H. *si-wat(t)-* ‘day’ (14.41). *HWb.* 194–95.” A separate stem, of obscure origin, is seen in Luw. *massani-*, *massana-*, Lyc. *mahāna-*, Hier. GOD-*ni/na-* (cf. Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6 [1979]: 107–8). On the many individual Hittite gods and the general aspect of Hittite religion see e.g. Gurney, *The Hittites* 132–69”.

<sup>14</sup> “Suggestions include OCS *chramū* ‘house’, Skt. *harmyā-* ‘palace, mansion’ < IE *\*gr̥m-*, *\*ghorm-* (Machek, *Die Sprache* 4 [1958]: 74) and Lat. *caerimonia* ‘holiness; reverence; sacred ceremony’ (Juret, *Vocabulaire* 8); also Arm. *xoran* ‘altar, tabernacle’ (Jahukyan, *Hayerenə* 157); see T 507–8. Agent noun <sup>LÜ</sup>*karimnala-* ‘temple servant’”.

<sup>15</sup> “(It) is probably from IE *\*stā-* ‘stand’, with nasal stem as in OCS *stanō*, Arm. *stanam*, Lat. *-stināre*, etc. ‘place, stand, (af)fix’ (IEW 1008) and *-no-* suffix, cf. Skt. *sthānam*, Av. *stāna-*, Lith. *stónas*, OCS *stanū* ‘stand(ing place)’; P 461–63. Lat. *āra-* matches H. *hassa-* ‘hearth’, 7.31”.

<sup>16</sup> “(Benveniste, *BSL* 33 [1932]: 140); IE *\*m(e)wg-or* *\*mūg-*, perhaps ultimately of imitative origin. *mald-*, *malda-* ‘recite’, also ‘vow, promise’ (CHD 3.132–35), compared with Lith. *meldžiū*, *melsti*, OCS *molsti* ‘beg’, *molitva* ‘prayer’, etc. (cf. *DSS* 1471) since Benveniste (*BSL* 33 [1932]: 133–35; cf. Laroche, *Prière Hittite* 8–13), may be the source of Arm. *mal-them* ‘wish, pray’ (Schultheiss, *KZ* 77 [1961]: 225)”.

<sup>17</sup> “From Lycian come the terms *kumaza* ‘ἱερεὺς’, *kumezi-* ‘θύειν’, *kumaha-* ‘κατιερώθη’, *kumehi-* ‘ἱερεῖον’, and *kumeziye* ‘βωμός’, corresponding to Luw. *kummai-* ‘sacred, pure’

## 22.24 —CURSE—

*hurt-*, *huwart-* ‘to curse’ (participle ‘accursed’, nominal form *hurta-*, *hurtai-* ‘a curse’).<sup>18</sup>

## 22.42 —MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, SORCERY—

*alwanzatar* (UH<sub>4</sub>-*tar*), *alwanzessar*, *alwanzahha-* ‘sorcery, witchcraft’, *alwanzena-*, *alwanzannas* LÚ-*as* ‘sorcerer’, *alwanzahh-* ‘bewitch’, all forms from a stem *alwanza-*.<sup>19</sup>

*uddaniya-* and *utnalliya-*, *uddanalliya-* ‘word magic’, denominative from the oblique stem *uddan-*, *utn-* (and suffixed *utnalla-*) of *uttar* ‘thing; matter; word, speech’ (9.90).

## 22.47 —OMEN—

*sagai-* (IZKIM, now GISKIM) fr. *sak(k)-* ‘know’, 17.17; cf. Ital. *presagio*, etc.<sup>20</sup>

*ariyassar* ‘oracle’, perhaps *ariya-*+ *assessar* ‘place, site’, arises from *ariya-*, *arai-* ‘consult an oracle’ (generally accomplished by the observation of omnia.<sup>21</sup> ‘To determine, find out’ by means of an oracle is *handai-*, primarily ‘arrange, set in order, set straight’ (cf. 16.73).

## 2.4. MALLORY and ADAMS

We specifically point out that *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Indo-European World* (MALLORY and ADAMS 2006) as well as in the *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (MALLORY and ADAMS 1997, henceforth: EIEC) displays an analogous onomasiological division. It is organized in similar semantic rubrics (PIE society, speech and sound, and

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(cf. Laroche, *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendues des séances* 1974: 723; *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6 [1979]: 98, 108–10)”.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> “(It) is analogous to OPruss. *wert-* ‘swear’, Lat. *verbum*, Goth. *ward*, NE word, from the IE root \**h<sub>1</sub>wer-* ‘speak (solemnly), declare’, etc. (*IEW* 1162–63), seen also in Hitt. *weriya-* ‘call, summon’ (18.41); cf. T 308–12. The preservation of the initial laryngeal in *hurt-* vs. its loss in *weriya-* is not easily explained, but may be comparable with *pe-hute* ‘take away’ vs. *u-wate* ‘bring’ (10.62)”.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> “Connection with Gk. ἀλώω ‘be beside oneself’ (E. Polomé, *La Nouvelle Clío* 6 [1954]: 45–55, adducing also Latv. *aluōt* ‘be distraught’ and Runic *alu*, a magical term) is supported with reservations in P 43–46, suggesting a base-meaning ‘possessed’; cf. also Puhvel, *JAOS* 97 (1977): 599”.

<sup>20</sup> “A verb *isiya-* ‘appear, be revealed’ is to find in the substantive *isiyatar* ‘sign, revelation’, and in the factitive verb *isiyahh-* ‘disclose, expose, reveal, announce; inform on’. The etymon may be IE \**edh-yo-* (cf. Skt. *āha*, Av. *āda* ‘spoke’, OPers. *azdā* ‘announcement’, possibly also Gk. ὄσσα ‘voice’ < \**odhyA<sub>2</sub>*), or alternatively \**E<sub>1</sub>eǵyo-*, with cognates in Gk. ἦ ‘he said’, Lat. *aiō* ‘affirm’, *prōdigium* ‘portent’, *Aius* (*Locūtius*); cf. P 409–13. An occasional alternate reading of IZKIM is H(it) *ilessar*, *ilissar*, *ilassar*, *elassar* ‘sign’, of unknown origin (P 357–58, T 355)”.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> “Cf. Gurney, *The Hittites* 156–60, probably related to Lat. *ōrō* (< *ōrāyō*) ‘address the gods’, *ōrāculum*; cf. P 136–38 and refs.”.

religion), basing on the common vocabulary, and referring to the attestation of the selected roots in the different IE languages.

In view of this work, in my analysis I added some other IE roots which play a role in the same semantic field, such as those chosen by Lyle CAMPBELL (2004: 391–392). Merely a part of them occurs in Hittite, too, so that in this presentation I choose only roots attested in the Hittite texts.<sup>22</sup>

The first concept is that of the sacred sphere, expressed by means of the root:

\**sakro-* ‘sacred’ (derived from \**sak-* ‘to sanctify’) [EIEC, 493; 2006: 411]. Hittite *saklai-* ‘rite, custom’, reconstructed by KLOEKHORST 2008: 700 s.v. as \**seh<sub>2</sub>-k-loi*, cf. further isoglosses: PIE \**seh<sub>2</sub>k-*/ \**sh<sub>2</sub>k-* > Lat. *sacer*, *sacerdōs*, *sācer* ‘worthy to be sacrificed’, Toch. B *sākre* ‘happy, blessed’, Lat. *sancio* ‘establish a law’, *sanctus* ‘sanctified’, Hitt. *šāklāi* ‘rite, custom’.

Another possible root is \**k<sub>1</sub>uen(to)-* ‘holy’ (e.g. Lith *šveñtas* ‘holy’, OCS *svęťь* ‘holy’, Av. *spənta-* ‘holy’) which is derived from \**k<sub>1</sub>eu(h<sub>1</sub>)-* ‘swell’, hence, ‘swollen (with some form of sacred force)’ according to MALLORY – ADAMS 2006: 413.

These words may be etymologically cognated with Hitt. *kunna-* ‘right’, for this comparison we point out Goth. *hunsī* ‘sacrifice’, and maybe Toch. B *kānts-* ‘right, firm’; see, however, KLOEKHORST 2008: 493, with rich discussion.

The sacrifice feast, on which the sacrificed animal was shared with the gods, seems to be denoted by PIE \**dapno-m* (< \**dh<sub>2</sub>ep-*) ‘sacrificial meal’, from \**dap-*, see Lat. *daps*, ON *tafn* ‘sacrificial animal’, Arm. *tawn* ‘feast’, maybe Hitt. <sup>LÜ</sup>*tappala-*<sup>23</sup> ‘a person responsible for court cooking’, Gr. *δαπάνη* ‘ostentatious expenditure’. KLOEKHORST 2008 does not list this lexeme in his lexicon, and, consequently, he does not consider it as an IE word.

The rituals contain a series of ritual actions, one of them being characterised by the following root:

\**spend-ti* ‘[to] sprinkle a libation’, *spendo*, *sipant*, ‘spondeo’. The root \**spend-* has the basic meaning of ‘to make an offering or perform a rite’, whence ‘to engage oneself by a ritual act’. Its Latin derivative *spondere* means ‘to promise’ (SPOUSE), it is clarified if we recall that a libation is the proper time to make a promise to the deity in expectation of a favor in return.

During the rituals, prayers and spells have been spoken. According to MALLORY – ADAMS 2006: 413, we have a Germanic-Hittite isogloss to support a vaguely understood expression \**h<sub>x</sub>olu-* or \**alu-* ‘±spell’. The corresponding

<sup>22</sup> The Hittite texts are quoted according to the bibliographical abbreviations in *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (HW<sup>2</sup>) 1975ff.

<sup>23</sup> Etymology from GAMKRELIDZE – IVANOV 1984: 701, see also TISCHLER 113f., DE VAAN, 2008: 161, s.v. *daps*.



Hittite lexeme *alwanzatar* means ‘witchcraft, spell’, and the Germanic forms, e.g. Runic *alu*, mean ‘spell’<sup>24</sup>, being more certainly associated with the supernatural. In EIEC, 362, it is quoted under the concept “MAGIC”.<sup>25</sup>

Oral prayers, requests to the deity, and other ritual utterances must have played a significant role in Indo-European religion. We have already mentioned the root:

\**meldh-* ‘pray’ [EIEC, p. 449]; KLOEKHORST 550f. Hitt. *māld-/ mald-* ‘to recite, to make a vow’ (Akk. *KARĀBU*). To this lexeme and its IE cognates see also under § 2.3; fn. 16, and § 4.2.

\**ǵ<sup>h</sup>ey-* ‘to pour a libation into the fire?’; MALLORY – ADAMS 2006: 393 quote Gk. *khé(w)ō*, Skt. *hótar* ‘priest’, Lat. *fundo*, Got. *giutan*, TochAB *ku-* ‘pour’. The Germanic word for ‘god’ (Engl. *god*, Germ. *Gott*, Got. *gub*, originally neuter) is often derived from this root (PIE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>u-tóm* ‘worthy of libation’), but it is equally possible to derive it from the quasi-homophonous root \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>eyH-* ‘call, invoke’ (Skt. *hávate*, OCS *zъvatī*, MALLORY – ADAMS 2006: 353f.; 409f.).

### 3. CULT FUNCTIONS IN OLD SOCIETIES

A specific range of functions in old IE societies is clearly sketched out by DOWDEN 2000: The authors of the most of them are the king/queen or royal couple or the priest. In the following I list the main actors with their functions:

- The ‘rememberer’ preserves traditions (narrative = myths; teaching (doctrine) or practice (rituals))
- The ‘advisor’ gives advices on the base of the tradition
- The ‘authority’, a variety of advisor characteristic for theocratic states, hears and arbitrates
- The ‘performer’ performs rituals in the light of the tradition
- The ‘validator’ is present for the ritual to be conducted with authority
- The ‘functionary’ carries out some functions such as song, dance, butchery
- The ‘warden’ maintains the accessories of religion (temples, bones, offerings, cult objects)
- The ‘interpreter’ analyses auguries (sky, dreams, sacrifices)

<sup>24</sup> In ON *ǫl-rūn* has the meaning ‘±myth’; as MALLORY – ADAMS 2006: 413 explicitly write, “the meaning of neither the Runic nor the Old Norse word is known very precisely but they have some sort of magical import”.

<sup>25</sup> POLOMÉ 1995: 248 initially proposed an etymological connection between Germanic *alu* and Hittite *alwanza* ‘affected by witchcraft’, which is, in turn, connected to Greek *aliō* ‘to be beside oneself’ and Latvian *aluōt* ‘to be distraught’. This etymology was later proven faulty and subsequently dropped by POLOMÉ, though he continued to suggest that a common semantic denominator connects these words with *alu*. See also fn. 19 above. – For Hitt. *alwanzatar* YAKUBOVICH 2008 proposed a newer etymology, according to the Hittite root \**alwanza-* could also be found in the Luwian adjective \**aliwanna/i-*, \**alunna/i-* which would mean ‘enemy, stranger’, much like the Latin *aliēnus*.

- The ‘showman’ has psychological power.

#### 4. THE SACRAL AND ROYAL SPHERE IN THE HITTITE SOCIETY

##### 4.1. Royal legitimation by the gods

As the Hittite texts inform us, the king was the highest priest in the society and presents himself as servant and priest before the god. Furthermore, he and the queen were chosen and appointed by the gods in their role as governors. The prince, too, is elevated to priesthood (see the edict Hattusili’s I) and the crown prince is elevated to the high rank of a priest called <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA.

- (1) Muwatalli’s II prayer to god Piḫšašši, KUB 6, 45 + obv. i 16–19:

DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> EN<sup>MES</sup> DUTU<sup>URU</sup> PÚ-na GAŠAN-YA Û DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> ḫūmanduš ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup> KÚ.BABBAR-ti EN<sup>MES</sup> LÚSANGA=(a)z kwedaš ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḫatti=mu=kan EN-UTTA ḫūmandaz kwižš memišten

Divine lords — Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and all the gods of the Land of Hatti, my lords — whose priest I am, who have conferred upon me, from among all others, the rulership over Hatti.<sup>26</sup> See also rev. 25–31.

- (2) Mursili’s II prayer KUB 14, 10 i 10–11:

kuitta=ya=wa=az ammuk ANA DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> (11) <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA kišḫat

Since I became SANGA-priest (11) of the gods.

- (3) Text about restauration of the cult in Nerik (Hatt. III) KUB 21, 11 rev. 5f. (Ünal, THeth. 4, 16f.):

nu=mu <sup>DU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Nerik (6) [LUGAL-un iyat <sup>P</sup>]uduḫipan=ma MUNUS.LUGAL iyat

The storm-god of Nerik [made] me (6) [king], then he made also [P]uduḫeba queen.

- (4) Rit. KBo 20, 18 + 25, 65 i 10 (OH, Neu, StBoT 25 Nr. 65):

ta=z DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-naš TÚG-an w[aš]š[i<sup>??</sup>-]x[-

He [the king] is wear[ing] the dress of the god.

- (5) Cult of Nerik KUB 58, 33 obv. iii 25ff. (Haas, KN 260ff.; Siegelová, Verwaltungspraxis 371<sup>6</sup>):

LUGAL-uš=za (26) TÚG DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> TÚG.GÚ.È.A aduplita (Siegelová l.c. A-DU-UP-LI-ta from ADUPLU) (27) waššiyazi

The king (27) wears (26) the deity’s garment, a shirt with an *adupli*-garment.

<sup>26</sup> Translation: SINGER 2002: 87.

We could find out an intersection of roots which testifies actions conducted both by the king and by the priest. So far as possible, I give a context to highlight the use of the lexical and semantic material in Hittite.

#### 4.2. Verbs of speech employed by the Hittite king and priest

A remark on the double function of King-Priest: Kings have a sacral power in the IE society. Ritual utterances were carried out by the king and/or the priest. For such ritual and sacral contexts, we can cite passages from the Hittite textual corpus: As we already saw, the king was the highest priest in the Hittite state. From this point of view, there was no difference between king and priest. In the Hittite society there were manifold types of priests with various designations (s. TAGGAR-COHEN 2006: 8–31 and 278). A highly relevant question is whether the king employs different speaking strategies as compared to those of the priest. I list the respective verbs with their contexts in alphabetical order:

##### 4.2.1. *ariya-* ‘to consult an oracle’

(6) Mursili’s II prayer KUB 14, 13 i 50–55

*nu ABU-[YA ] (51) arišket nu šumeš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> EN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ariyašešna[z] (52) [U]L uemiyat (53) [a]mmuqqa-šmaš ariškenun (54) nu šumeš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> EN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-YA ariyašešnaz (55) ammuqq=a UL uemiyanut*

[My] Father (51) consulted an oracle but he did not find (52) you, O gods my lords through the oracle, (53) I also consulted you repeatedly through the oracle, but (55) I could not find you, O gods, my lords, (54) through the oracle as well!

The etymology of this verb has been long discussed: LIV<sup>2</sup> connects *ari-ye/a-* with Gr. ἐπέω ‘to ask’ from a root *\*h<sub>1</sub>reh<sub>1</sub>-*, which seems semantically plausible. This means that *ariye/a-zi* must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>rh<sub>1</sub>ié/ó-*, for which compare e.g. *pariyanzi* ‘they blow’ < *\*prh<sub>1</sub>iénti*. Since GOETZE & PEDERSEN (1934: 47f.), this verb is often connected with Lat. *orāre* ‘to pray’. The latter word, however, is related to Gr. ὀρή ‘prayer’, which shows that the root must have been *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-*. For Hittite, reconstructing a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-* is difficult, since we would expect an outcome *\*\*har-* (unless we assume *o*-grade, but that is not likely in a *\*-iē/o-* verb, see KLOEKHORST 2008: 202).

4.2.2. *arkuwai-* ‘to make a plea’<sup>27</sup>

(7) Muwatalli’s II Prayer KUB 6, 45 iii 18f. (and dupl.; Singer, Muwat. Prayer 19)  
*nu kaša ammuk* <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL LUGAL-*uš* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA *ŠA* <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-*na* (19) *Ú*  
 DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> *humandaš nepišaš* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*i arkuīškimi*

Behold, I, Muwatalli the king, the priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, (19) and of all the gods in heaven, I make a plea repeatedly to the Sun-goddess.

KLOEKHORST 2008: 205f. s.v., indicates the IE cognate: Lat. *arguō* ‘to argue’, from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>orǵu-je/o-*.<sup>28</sup>

4.2.3. *arwai-* ‘to prostrate’

This etymology, too, is quite discussed. KLOEKHORST 2008: 213, s.v., states: “If the noun *\*aruua-* was an *\*o*-stem (as is indicated by the fact that the verb inflects according to the *hatrae*-class), it is quite possible that it reflects *\*Horuō-*, since *o*-stem words often have *o*-grade in the root. If we then consider that in front of *\*o* all three laryngeals were neutralized into *\*h<sub>1</sub>* (cf. Kortlandt 2004; Kloekhorst 2006b), we are able to reconstruct *\*h<sub>2</sub>orūo-*, an ablaut-variant of *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)rūeh<sub>2</sub>-* as seen in Gr. ἀρφά’.”

What is interesting with regard to our research objectives is that, in several IE traditions, prayers begin with a standard invocation to the deity. MALLORY – ADAMS 2006: 438 remind us of the formula PIE *\*k<sub>1</sub>lud<sup>h</sup>i moǵ* ‘hear me’ > Gk. κλῶθι μοι (e.g. Il. 5.115), Skr. *śrudhī me* ‘hear me’ (e.g. RV 8.66.12), cf. also κλῶθι θεά ‘hear, O goddess’ (Il. 23.770, Odysseus to Athena). Gods are then often called to come (down/close) to the sacrifice, e.g. in RV 1.1.5 (of Agni): *devō devébbhir á gamat* ‘the god may come here with the gods’, RV 1.21 *Vāyav á yāhi darśata* ‘Vāyu, come, o good-looking one!’.

<sup>27</sup> *Arku-* ‘to chant, to intone’ has another etymology, according to MELCHERT 1998 and KLOEKHORST 2008: 205. MELCHERT convincingly connects this verb with Skt. *arc-* ‘to sing’, Toch. AB *yark/yarke* ‘worship’ and Arm. *erg* ‘song’, reflecting a PIE root *\*h<sub>1</sub>erk<sup>w</sup>-*. This means that Hitt. *ārku-zi* / *arku-* must reflect *\*h<sub>1</sub>erk<sup>w</sup>-* / *\*h<sub>1</sub>r<sup>k</sup>w-*.

<sup>28</sup> Quoting KLOEKHORST 2008: 206: “See Melchert 1998c for a detailed description of the semantics of this verb and its separation from the verb *ārku-zi* / *arku-* ‘to chant, to intone’ (q.v.)”. He argues that since *arkuwae-* is attested in NS texts only, it is well possible that it goes back to an original *\*arkuue/a-zi* < *\*arku-ue/a-* (cf. *kappuue/a-zi* that in NH times has become *kappuuae-zi*). “Since the only cogent etymological connection is with Lat. *argu-* ‘to argue’, Melchert reconstructs *\*argu-je/o-*. Often, Lat. *arguō* is connected to the root for ‘white’, *\*h<sub>2</sub>er-* (e.g. Schrijver 1991: 67–8), however, which would demand that Hitt. *\*arku-ue/a-* goes back to *\*h<sub>2</sub>orǵ-u-je/o-* (loss of initial *\*h<sub>2</sub>* before *\*o*, cf. Kloekhorst 2006)”.

Other parts of the prayer may include a reminiscence of the past services done to the deity, or of the past favours the deity has done to the supplicant, and a detailed request, specifying what is desired from the deity. The preciseness of formulation of such requests is particularly developed in Roman prayers, both private and public.<sup>29</sup>

In the following context, we can read that the king is saying: ‘Lend an ear and listen to me, to my word:’

(8) Mursili’s II. First prayer KUB 14, 13 + obv. 17ff. (Lebrun, Prières 220f.)  
*kaša=šmaš<sup>m</sup>M[ur]šī-DINGIR<sup>LM</sup>[-iš IR-KUNU]* (18) <sup>LÜ</sup>SANGA-KUNU *arwānun*  
*nu=šmaš arwa[nun]* (19) *nu=mu ištama[nan]* (20) [*par*]a *ep̄ten* (20) *nu=mu*  
*ištamaš[ten]*

‘I, Mursili, your [servant] and (18) Sanga-priest have now pleaded my case before you and I prostrated before you, (19) now lend an ear (20) and listen to me, to my word’.

#### 4.2.4. *ḫalzai-* ‘to call’

(9) KBo 12, 18 iv 5f.  
 DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ŠA* KUR<sup>DIDL</sup> *uwatten* [(X)] (6) *ḫalziššai labarn[aš*

Gods of the countries come (X), (6) the *labarna* is calling.

(10) Festival KBo 19, 128 obv. iii 10ff. (Otten, StBoT 13, 8f.)  
*nu=uš=kan šippanduwanzi* (11) SUM<sup>HIA</sup>-*ŠU-NU* *humanduš=pat* (12) *ḫalzai*

(And all the gods that have been placed on the table before,) (12) he calls (11) them all by their names (10) to libate to them.

The large part of the subjects with this predicate consists in priest-titles or festival actors.

IE cognates: Got. *laþon*, ON *laða*, OE *laðian*, OHG *ladōn*, ‘to call, to summon, to invite’, from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-oj-*, *\*h<sub>2</sub>lt-i-*. In this case we have a German-Hittite isogloss, see KLOEKHORST 2008: 277.

#### 4.2.5. *išḫamai-* ‘to sing’

The most passages with *išḫamai-* occur with a priest as subject:

(11) Ritual from Iṣtanuwa KUB 35, 135+ iv 23f. (F. Starke, StBoT 30, 322 [T])  
 (in the tent) *nu=za PA-NI DIN[GIR<sup>LM</sup>]* (24) [*a*]zikkanzi *akkuškanzi* *ŠIR<sup>HIA</sup>*  
*išḫami[škánzi]*

<sup>29</sup> I am quoting here MATASOVIĆ 2010: 7f.

In front of the god, (24) they eat and drink they sing songs.

IE cognates: Etymologically, this verb is ultimately derived from the root *\*seh<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to bind’ (attested in Hitt. *išhai-i / išhi-* (q.v.)), and shows a root extension *-m-*. The formation *\*sh<sub>2</sub>em-* (not *\*\*seh<sub>2</sub>m-*, see below for argumentation) and the meaning ‘to sing’ must have been of PIE date already, as can be seen by Skt. *sāman-* ‘song, hymn’ < *\*sh<sub>2</sub>óm-en-*, according to KLOEKHORST 2008: 394.

Magic is the method of directly achieving one’s goals – without the intercession of a deity that needs to be persuaded – through magical deeds or incantations. In many languages, the magical action is seen as ‘binding’.<sup>30</sup> The corresponding Hitt. verb is *išhai-/ išhi* ‘to bind, to wrap; to obligate with, to impose upon’, which I derive from *\*sh<sub>2</sub>-óġ-eġ*, according to KLOEKHORST 2008: 391ff. PIE *\*soġto/eh<sub>a</sub>* (according to MALLORY –ADAMS 2006: 413f.; EIEC, 361f.) ON *seiðr* ‘band, belt’, Lith. *saitas* ‘bond, fetter’, from which we have NWelsh *hud* ‘magic’, ON *seið* ‘magic’, perhaps also TochB *nesait* ‘magic’.

The root *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-* ‘make, do’ may have been used in the technical sense of performing magical rites or composing incantations, cf. OIr. *cruth* ‘form’, Welsh *pryd* ‘form, time’, Lith. *kerėti* ‘bewitch, charm’ and the Ved. formula *vācam kṛ-*, according to EIEC, 362.

#### 4.2.6. *lamniya-* ‘to name, call by name, appoint’

(12) Instruction IBoT I, 36 i 30–31 (MH)

[*mān=an*] LUGAL-*uš=ma lamnizzi n=an=za parā piez[zi]*

But if the king appoints him, then he (the official) may dispatch him.

IE cognates: Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāman-*, Goth. *namo*, Gr. ὄνομα, Phr. *onoman*, Arm. *anun*, OIr. *ainm*, etc. ‘name’, from PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>néh<sub>3</sub>-m<sub>ṛ</sub>-*, according to KLOEKHORST 2008: 518.

#### 4.2.7. *-za mald-/ KARĀBU* ‘to recite, make recitations’: *-za malt-* ‘oath’

(13) IBoT I, 30 i 8

LUGAL-*uš kuwapi* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš aruwaizzi* LÚGUDU<sub>12</sub> *kišan maldi* (var. *memai* KUB 48, 13 rev. 9f.)

When the king prostrates himself before the gods, the GUDU-priest recites the following.

<sup>30</sup> From the numerous publications on this subject, here I would like to quote only FARAONE 1991, VERSNEL 1998, FARAONE 2001, and SADOVSKI 2013.

(14) Vow KUB 15, 1 ii 8ff. (J. de Roos, HettGel. 186)  
 MUNUS.LUGAL=*ma=za=kan ŠÀ Û<sup>TI</sup>* (9) 1 <sup>É</sup>*tarnuzan* ṛŠA<sup>1</sup> GUŠKIN (10) *A-NA*  
 D<sup>1</sup>ṚLUGAL<sup>1</sup>-*ma* URU<sup>U</sup>*Urikina IK-RU-UB*

The Queen made a vow while dreaming, (9) a golden *tarnuza*-building for the god Šaruma of the city of Urikina.

(15) KUB 5, 5 i 36  
*nu=za=kan karū maltaš*

[...] and he (His Majesty) has already made a vow.

IE cognates: Arm. *malt'em* 'to pray', OSax. *meldon* 'to tell', Lith. *maldà* 'prayer', *meldžiù* 'to pray', OCS *moliti* 'to ask, to pray'. PIE *\*móld<sup>h</sup>-ej* / *\*m<sub>l</sub>d<sup>h</sup>-énti*. The semantics of the reflexes in Germanic point to the conclusion that the original meaning was probably 'to utter a solemn prayer' or similar, like in Hittite, see KLOEKHORST 2008: 551.

#### 4.2.8. *mugai-* 'to invoke, to evoke, to entreat':

(16) Prayer to the sun-goddess of the earth KBo 7, 28 + 8, 92 rev. 3 (MH, R. Lebrun, Prières 83):  
*taknaš*] <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš kaša* SAG.DU-*za* LUGAL-*uš mukiški*z[i]

Sun-goddess of [the earth], see, the king in his own person invokes repeatedly.

(17) Mursili' II Prayer KUB 24, 2 obv. 12:  
*nu=tta kaša mukiškimi* <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫaršit* <sup>DUG</sup>*išpanduzit*

I am invoking you by means of bread and libations.

(18) Festival for Šauška of Ninive KUB 27, 16 iii 14f. (MH copy, CHS I/3–1 Nr. 35):  
*nu* MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>D</sup>IŠ<sup>TAR</sup> URU<sup>U</sup>*Ninuwa I-NA* UD 3<sup>KAM</sup> *kiššan* (15) ṛ<sup>mu</sup>*ḫ keškizzi*

The Queen (15) invokes repeatedly the Šauška of Ninive on the 3rd day as follows.

IE cognates: Lat. *mūgīre* 'to roar', Gr. *μυγμός* 'sigh', from PIE *\*mou̯g-o-je/o-*, for which a semantic link is provided by Hitt. <sup>GIŠ</sup>*mūkar*, an implement that makes noise to invoke the gods, 'rattle'. This would mean that we have to reconstruct a verbal root *\*meu̯g-* 'to make noise (in order to invoke the gods)' (of which the nouns *mūkēššar* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*mūkar* could be derived directly), which formed a noun *\*mou̯g-o-* 'invocation of the gods through noise', of which a verbal derivative *\*mou̯g-o-je/o-* yielded Hitt. *mūgae-zi* 'to invoke'; KLOEKHORST 2008: 555f.

4.2.9. *tē-*; *ter-*/ *tar-* ‘to speak, to say’:

(19) Ritual KBo 17, 1+ iv 11f. (OH, Neu, StBoT 25, Nr. 3):  
*mān* LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ašš*=*a taranzi ta DUMU*<sup>MES</sup> *parna paimi* (12)  
 [tak]u *natta*=*ma taranzi nu natta paimi*

When the king and the queen speak, then I go to the house of the Prince. (12) [I]f they say nothing then I do not go.

This verb has a suppletive paradigm: on the one hand, we find forms showing the stem *tē-* and, on the other, forms that exhibit the ablaut *ter-* / *tar-*. Since HROZNÝ 1915: 29 this verb is connected especially to OCS *děti* ‘to do, to say’ < PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-*, which has been generally accepted since. We would expect that in Pre-Hittite this verb showed an ablaut *\*d<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>1</sub>-* / *\*d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>-*, see KLOEKHORST 2008: 857f.)

IE cognates: Lit. *tar̃ti*, *tar̃yti* ‘to speak, to say’, Gk. *τετορήσω* ‘will say clearly’, from PIE *\*ter-* / *tr-enti* (see KLOEKHORST 2008: 870ff.).<sup>31</sup>

## 5. CULT FUNCTIONS OF THE ROYAL COUPLE AND THEIR RITUAL ACTIVITIES

5.1. *Generalities*

King and queen are the highest priests in the kingdom and the king was responsible for the cultic worship. TAGGAR-COHEN 446ff. states:

The king and the queen represent the Storm-god of Hatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna the author sees a parallel in the symbolic representation of the divine on earth through the priests and the priestesses in the KILAM festival, in Teteshapi-festival. Especially the *kurutawanza*-priest seems not to bow back to the king because of his symbolic value.

In the Hittite cult we can see male and female roles assigned also to the Royalty in the priesthood: king and queen, DUMU.LUGAL and NIN.DINGIR are all performers in the festivals, rituals, prayers and *omina*.

They conducted rituals to the god, especially during the festivals, but were not automatically considered to be divine because of this function. But even being humans, they possess a special status of purity. Furthermore, there is a

<sup>31</sup> For the following verbs I shall not quote textual passages: (1) Hitt. *wekk-* ‘to wish, desire, ask for’. Derivatives: *wewakk-i*. IE cognates: Skt. *vas-* ‘to wish, to want, to strive after’, Av. *vas-* ‘id.’, Gk. *ἐκόν* ‘voluntary’. (2) PIE *\*uék-ti* / *\*uk-énti* see KLOEKHORST 2008: 996f. for Hitt. *uer(ija)*- IE cognates: Gk. *εἶπω* ‘to speak’ see PIE *\*uerh<sub>1</sub>-t*, *\*urh<sub>1</sub>-je-ti*. KLOEKHORST 2008: 1002f.



deep connection between the priest and the royal function: The royal couple imposed the *išhiul*-obligations upon the priests that were a numerous and very privileged caste in the Hittite society. Their duty was to take care of the temple, seen as the house of gods. The gods were thought to be actually living in the temple, and they were represented by their statues, many of which were excavated at Hittite sites. Plundering the statue of a god was considered an evil omen. The priests were also responsible for various rites and sacrifices, and these had to be performed according to rigid prescriptions, in conditions of ritual purity. Pollution or impurity (Hitt. *papratar*) can spoil any ceremony, and had to be avoided, or remedied, by magical incantations. Most Hittite texts, especially the ones from the late periods (13<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), are instructions for the correct performance of seemingly endless rituals. The rites, rigidly prescribed, were not necessarily ascetic: most of the instructions end with the phrase “and then the priests eat and drink”, and there is one particular ritual in which the royal prince must sleep with twelve women (servants in a temple).

The royal couple was responsible for selecting the fields, all animals, houses and everything necessary for the needs of cult. Before performing the rituals, they announced in special prayers to have provided for the needs of the gods.

Divination was also part of the duties of both priests and the royal couple. There were several divinatory techniques: interpreting dreams, looking into a sacrificed animal’s liver, or examining how one of the temple’s animals had waned. The most of these techniques are attested in other Near Eastern religions of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.

## 5.2. *Cultic verbs related to the functions of king, queen and priest*

### 5.2.1. *aniya-* ‘to perform the ritual’

(20) Ritual of the ox KBo 24, 3 (+ 2000/u) iv 2 (MH; Beckman, Or. 59 [1990] 44)  
*mān* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI GU<sub>4</sub>-aš *aniu[r]* (3) *aniyanzi*

When the king, the queen and the old woman (3) perform the ritual of the ox [...].

### 5.2.2. *eku-laku-* ‘to drink’

(21) (*h*)*išuwa*-Festival KBo 39, 74+ ii 28f.  
 LUGAL-*uš* GAL-ŠU *ekuzi hūmanti=ya* (29) *akurwanna pianzi*

The king drinks the cup empty. And (29) they give everyone to drink.

– *akuwanna pai-* ‘to give sth. to drink’ (Kammenhuber / Archi, Mat.heth. Thes. 4, Nr. 5, 239ff.).

(22) Festival KBo 19, 128 vi 14ff. (Otten, StBoT 13, 16f.)

LUGAL-*uš* GUB-*aš* (15) *A-NA*<sup>LÜ.MEŠ</sup> *BE-LU-TIM* *akuwanna* (16) *kiššari pai*

The king, standing, (16) gives (15) the lord to drink (lit. ‘to the lord in the hand’).

### 5.2.3. *allappahh-* ‘to spit’

(23) OH Ritual KBo 17, 1+ i 36 (Neu, StBoT 25 Nr. 3)

LUGAL-*uš* ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*an* 3-Š[U *alla*]ppahh<sup>i</sup> MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*=*a* 3-ŠU *all*[ppahh<sup>i</sup>]

The king spits three times in front of the troop, the queen spits three times.

### 5.2.4. *aššanu-* ‘to take care’

(24) Festival of the month VS NF 12, 28 iv 6f. (S. Alp, Beitr. 123f.)

[*n=a*]š<sup>ta</sup> LUGAL-*uš* ħ<sup>É</sup>halantuwaš (7) [GAL<sup>H</sup>]<sup>LA</sup> *ašnuzi*

[And] there, in the ħ<sup>É</sup>alantuwa-building, the king (himself) (7) takes care of the [cups].

### 5.2.5. *ħuittiya-* ‘to pull’

(25) Festival KUB 11, 21 v 16f. s. under *lahuwai-*, ex. 28.

### 5.2.6. *irħai-* ‘to sacrifice in row’

(26) Festival KUB 20, 18 vi 7f. (Groddek, DBH 13, 33 T)

EGIR-*anda*=*ma* *kuiēš* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *A-NA* LUGAL [ ] (8) ZI-*anza ta apuš irħaizzi*

Then the king sacrifices in row to each god he wants.

### 5.2.7. *karp-* ‘to lift’

(27) Ritual of foundation KUB 29, 1 ii 30 (OH copy; Kellerman, RechRit. 14; Marazzi, VicOr. 5 [1982] 154)

[*mān*=*m*]*a* LUGAL-*uš* ĤUR.SAG-*i* *paizzi* GAL-*in* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*un* *kar<sup>a</sup>pzi*

[When] the king goes to the mountain, he lifts the cup to the Sun God.

5.2.8. *kuer-* ‘to cut, to hold out’

(28) (*h*)i $\dot{s}$ uwa-Festival KBo 33, 173(+) i 4ff. (with Dupl.; CHS I/4 Nr. 26)  
*namma* <sup>LU</sup>SANGA A[-NA LUGAL (<sup>UZU</sup>N)]G.GIG (<sup>UZ</sup>UŠĀ] (5) *para epzi n[=at=ka(n*  
*LUGAL-uš)]* (6) *arḫa kuirzi*

Further, the SANGA-priest holds out the liv[er] and the hea[rt] (5) [to the king], the king cuts (them) completely.

5.2.9. *lahuwai-* ‘to pour (out)’

(29) Festival KUB 11, 21 v 19f.  
 [LUGAL-uš GEŠ]TIN *šara* 3-ŠU *ḫuittiyazi* (20) [EGIR-ŠU=*ma*] 3-ŠU *lahuwai*

[The king] draws up the [wi]ne three times. (20). [Then] he pours it out three times.

5.2.10. *paršiya-* ‘to break (bread)’

(30) Festival KUB 51, 24 ii 9ff.  
 GAL [DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>] É.GAL 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŠA (10) 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA KU<sub>7</sub>  
 LUGAL-*i pai* (11) LUGAL-uš *paršiya*

The chief of the sons of the palace gives the king (10) one sour bread and one sweet bread (11), the king breaks the bread.

5.2.11. *paršullai-* ‘to crumble (bread)’

(31) Festival KBo 19, 128 rev. iv 6ff. (Otten, StBoT 13, 10)  
*namma=kan A-NA <X> NINDA-an NINDA.KU<sub>7</sub>=ya* (7) *piran arḫa teputtit* (8)  
*paršullaizzi*

Further, he crumbles all the warm bread and the sweet bread before the X (7f.) with the *teputt-*.

5.2.12. *sipant-* ‘to libate, to sacrifice’

(32) Festival of the month KUB 2, 13 iv 12f.  
 LUGAL-uš GAL-az <sup>D</sup>Ašgašepan <sup>D</sup>MUNUS.LUGAL (13) <sup>D</sup>Pirwan *ḫuppari šipanti*

The king libates to Ašgasepa, to the ‘Queen’ (13), and to Pirwa, from a cup into a goblet.

(33) Festival KBo 19, 128 i 37f. (Otten, StBoT 13, 4f.; D. Yoshida, THeth. 22, 132)  
*nu* 6 UDU 2 MÁŠ.GAL 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ LUGAL-uš (38) *A-NA DINGIR*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *šipanti*

6 sheep, 2 goats and 1 bull the king (38) sacrifices to the gods.

5.2.13. *purin dai-* ‘to put the lips’

(34) Thunderstorm ritual KBo 17, 74+ ii 29f. (OH (MH copy) Neu, StBoT 12, 20f.)  
 LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL LUGAL-*i* GAL-*in pai* (30) [LUGAL-*uš p|urin dai*

The TUKUL-man gives the king a cup. (30) [The king] puts his lips (on it).

## 6. CONCLUSION: WHAT ABOUT THE IE HERITAGE?

Regarding a possible IE heritage, we do not posit any original “ideology,” or mythopoetic “structure.” We believe we can know about the PIE religion only according to what the reconstructed fragments of PIE religious texts can teach us. Since the concept of ‘Proto-Indo-European’ is primarily a linguistic notion, our primary data are mythological *texts* attested in different IE traditions, and all conclusions are based on their comparison. On the base of the best matching etymologies we can sum up that most isoglosses of Anatolian sacred concepts are with the Germanic languages. Still, we see that the ritual practices have a strong parallel in Italic, esp. Latin religious institutions and practices, like the role of the king in performing rituals and in the interpretation of *omina*. The lexicon shows further correspondences with some Germanic languages in decisive nuances of meaning, especially about the terminology of the prayer, as we can see in the case of the verb *malt-*. This confirms the description of the Hittite lexicon by GUSMANI 1968: 72 as well as some observations by LEBRUN 1980: 414–465 in his commentary to the edition of the Hittite prayers. Germanic isoglosses are: *mald-*: *meldon*; *hueik-*: *weihs* / *weihan*: *consacrare*, together with a list of words from the agricultural sphere (GUSMANI 1968: 67f.).

Lexical parallels with Latin are found in the following roots: *ariya-* : *oraculum* and *orare*; *aruwai-* : *arves*; *ḫa-* : *omen*; *ḫašša-* : *ara*; *link-/lingai-* : *ligare*, *ob-ligo*, *re-lig-io*; *mugai-* : Umbrian *mugatu*; *šagai-* : *sagus*; *šaklai-* : *sacer*; *šarnink-* : *sarcire*; *šipant-* : *spondere*; *werite-* : *vereri*.

We find further parallels in the role of the Hittite queen and the Roman *regina sacrorum* and the *flaminica Dialis* (queen or priestess), respectively, and of the Hittite king and the Roman *rex* in the case of the sacrifice of a lamb and a ram during the festival at the beginning of the year. In the sacrifices we find another isogloss with the Italic languages, Umbrian *supa* ‘viscera of sacrificed animal’, Hitt. *šuppa-* ‘flesh of sacrificed animal’, cf. *šuppi-* ‘pure’ from IE < \**seyp-*.

Perhaps it is possible to reconstruct another verb, PIE \**h<sub>2</sub>oh<sub>3-</sub>* ‘to believe’ > Hitt. *ḫā-zi*, Lat. *ōmen* ‘omen, augury’; the semantics of the connection would work if the original meaning of \**h<sub>2</sub>eh<sub>3-men-</sub>* > Lat. *ōmen* was ‘the credible

(sign of the gods)’ (KLOEKHORST 2008: 262, as a formally possible etymology). Note that an alternative etymology derives Lat. *ōmen* from *\*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>-s-m<sub>ḡ</sub>-* (‘a sighting’, or ‘what is seen’, from the same root for ‘eye’, compare Gk. ὄμμα, Lat. *oculus* < transponate *\*h<sub>3</sub>e/ok<sup>w</sup>(e)lo-*) (see DE VAAN 2008, s.v. 427f.).

Again, some phraseological expressions like *arkuwar ešša-* ‘to make a plea’ or *mukuwar ešša-* ‘to make a vow’ or *aniya-* ‘to do/conduct a sacrifice or festival’ and *aniur* with Italian *fattura* ‘witchcraft’, could be compared with collocations of the root *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-* ‘to make, to do’ may have been used in the technical sense of performing magical rites or composing incantations, cf. OIr. *creth*, Welsh *prydydd* ‘poet’, OCS *čari*, Lith. *kerai* ‘magical charms’ and the Ved. formula *vācam kṛ-* (e.g. RV 10.71.2: *vācam akrata* “they [the poets] made the Word”).<sup>32</sup>

If we consider the etymology of the Hittite word for ‘king’, *ḫaššuš*, from *\*h<sub>2</sub>nsu-*, we can compare it with OIc. *áss* ‘(a type of) god’, Skr. *ásura-* ‘(ancient) god; (later:) demon’. It could be possible that this IE word originally referred to divine beings in their social aspect. In the Rig-Veda, the Asuras (Bhaga, Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman) are notably the deities belonging to the social sphere of existence (in contradistinction to the ‘cosmic’ *devas*).

Furthermore, I emphasize the incantations that have been preserved in a number of traditions. The Gaulish phraseological correspondences, for instance, have been discovered in a number of charms used for healing disjointed legs. The Atharva-Veda (4.12) heals disjointed legs by putting “marrow to marrow, skin to skin and flesh to flesh,” and the same procedure is applied in the OHG *Second Merseburg Charm*, where divine beings cure the leg of Baldur’s horse by joining *ben zi bena, bluot zi bluoda, lid zi geliden* ‘bone to bone, blood to blood, limb to limb.’ Finally, in the OIr. tale *Cath Maige Tuired* (34. 135–6) we read how the Irish physician Míach tried to rejoin the severed arm of the god *Núadu* by chanting *ault fri halt di, & féith fri féith* “joint to joint of it, and sinew to sinew.”

Similar incantations are found in Hittite, Latvian, and Russian. In the following, I quote a passage from a Hittite ritual:

(35) Ritual of the Tunnawiya KUB 9, 34 + ii 22ff.

[*kinun*=*an anniškimi kun*] UD.KAM-*an* 12 <sup>UZU</sup>ÚR<sup>HI.A</sup> (23) *ḫandami* SAG.DU-*aš*=*kan*

DAG.DU-*i ḫandanza tarraš*=*ma*=*kan* (24) *tarni ḫandanza* <sup>UZU</sup>GEŠTU-*aš*=*ma*=*kan*

<sup>UZU</sup>GEŠTU-*ni* KI.MIN (25) <sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.LU=*kan* <sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.LU-*ni* KI.MIN

<sup>32</sup> S. MATASOVIĆ, 2010: 8. He continues: “It has been argued that the visible sign of supernatural action was denoted by PIE *\*kewdos* > Gk. *kýdos*, OCS *čudo* (Gen. sg. *čudese*) ‘miracle’”.

Now I am treating him on this day, (23) I am arranging the 12 body parts (24): the head is assigned to the head, the throat is assigned to the throat, the ear to the ear, ditto, (25) the shoulder to the shoulder, ditto.

In the absence of specific etymological correspondences, they may have spread by diffusion, or simply be the result of chance – at any rate, there are several scenarios to envisage the notion of healing in an anthropological perspective.

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# RELIGION, KINGSHIP AND POWER IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE PERIOD

CLELIA MORA

## THE BEGINNING

From its origins in the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Hittite kingship had a close relationship with the gods. A passage by V. Haas on this issue seems very clear and appropriate: “Da die Institution des Königtums Teil des kosmischen Schöpfungsaktes ist, bzw. von den Göttern geschaffen wurde, um die kosmische Ordnung auf Erden zu erhalten, ist es auf Dauer, Kontinuität und Legitimität, im Hethitischen ‘auf Ewigkeit’, angelegt”.<sup>1</sup> The Hittite king was “chosen” by the gods, who loved and protected him. His role was therefore as an intermediary between the gods and the men: the texts inform us explicitly that the gods were the owners of the land (“The land belongs to the Storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the Storm-god. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Hatti”, CTH 821<sup>2</sup>). In the final part of the so-called Middle Hittite kingdom, during the reign of Tuthaliya II/III (Tasmisari), the ideology of kingship was influenced by Hurrian culture and religion.<sup>3</sup>

## THE IMPERIAL AGE

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Hittites reached their highest military power and territorial extension (see Fig. 1).

However, this was also a period of great change, problems, turmoil and disorder from political and social points of view. I will try to briefly summarise the main historical events and their consequences, after listing the Hittite kings (from the thirteenth century), with an indication of kinship:

Muwatalli II

Urhi Teššup / Mursili III (son)

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<sup>1</sup> HAAS 1999: 175.

<sup>2</sup> Translation: BECKMAN 1995: 530; for comments see also ARCHI 1979: 31 f.

<sup>3</sup> HAAS 1999; SÜRENHAGEN 2001.

Hattusili III (Muwatalli's brother, Urhi-Teshup's uncle), usurper  
 Tuthaliya IV (son)  
 Arnuwanda III (son)  
 Suppiluliuma II (brother).

- Reign of Muwatalli II:
  - transfer of the capital to Tarhuntassa (South–Central Anatolia), for religious reasons according to some interesting hypotheses<sup>4</sup> (but other forms of motivation have also been proposed);
  - the battle of Kadesh (between Hatti and Egypt).
- Reign of Urhi-Teššup/ Mursili III (Muwatalli's son and successor):
  - struggle between Urhi-Teššup and Hattusili (Muwatalli's brother) over sovereignty;
  - Hattusili's victory (and attempts to eliminate his opponents).
- Reigns of Hattusili III and his descendants (Tuthaliya IV, Arnuwanda III, Suppiluliuma II):
  - dynastic problems, many pretenders to the throne;
  - repeated, urgent requests to individuals and categories of officials for 'total loyalty' to the crown;
  - creation of a new special corps for the defense of the king;
  - concession of privileges and benefits to individuals, families and institutions of supporters vs. confiscation of goods belonging to advocates of the opposition;
  - from the social point of view: famines and demographic crises.<sup>5</sup>

### THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE

In this period, the concept of kingship seemed to differ from the previous periods, probably because of changes on the international scene and troubles on the domestic one. Links with the gods became stronger and theocratic characteristics were more accentuated. The royal role was moving gradually, from an intermediate level between the human and the divine dimension, to the divine level. Some evidence of this change can be found both in written and archaeological/monumental sources. We can find hints and clues of this transition in documents dating back to Muwatalli II and Hattusili III.

I. Singer, in a pioneering contribution,<sup>6</sup> compared and discussed the two "failed" reforms of Akhenaten (in Egypt) and Muwatalli, both characterised by the foundation of a new capital. The author does not argue that there was a direct influence between the two situations, but assumes that there was "a typical state-of-mind that motivated both innovative individuals to evoke

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<sup>4</sup> SINGER 2006.

<sup>5</sup> For discussion and details on these subjects and problems see GIORGIERI–MORA 2010, with bibliographical references.

<sup>6</sup> SINGER 2006.

previously unknown or unimportant hypostases of generic deities, to claim an exclusive relationship with them, and to vow to them eternal obedience”.<sup>7</sup> Muwatalli’s beloved god was the Storm God of Lightning (*piḥaššaššiš Tarḫuntaš*), to whom the new capital city Tarhuntassa was dedicated. As SINGER says, “The most eloquent textual tribute to his god is found in Muwatalli’s prayer to the Assembly of Gods, with the Storm-God of Lightning playing the role of the principal intercessor”;<sup>8</sup> in this prayer, the king uses special expressions and invocations that testify to the devotion and the intimate relationship between him and the god. But there is another, very interesting piece of evidence in the documents pertaining to king Muwatalli: some impressions of royal seals which bear the name of the king show his figure embraced by his god, in the so-called *Umarmungszene* (see Fig. 2).

As SINGER points out, “the same position is metaphorically described in Muwatalli’s great prayer to the Storm-god of Lightning: ‘Walk with me at my right hand side, team up with me as (with) a bull to draw! Ascend with me in a true Storm-godly fashion!’”<sup>9</sup> The scene of embracing, introduced during Muwatalli’s reign, was also adopted by his successors, on seals as well as on rock-reliefs; but it is interesting to note that later kings would be depicted wearing the same clothes of the god, although their figures would still be in the smaller size (see below).

The reign of Hattusili III marked a period of change in Hittite history. He was an usurper, who interrupted his brother’s dynasty by starting a new one. Probably due to a lack of political legitimation, this king was especially interested in religious legitimation: in his key-text, conventionally called “Apology of Hattusili”,<sup>10</sup> the king is presented as favoured by the gods and as their chosen one for the well-being of the people. During this king’s reign, a number of religious institutions received benefits and exemptions, probably because of the political role they played – in favour of Hattusili – during the conflict between Hattusili and his nephew Urhi-Teshup to take power. So these institutions became veritable power centres, provided with workers, cattle and properties.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> SINGER 2006: 41.

<sup>8</sup> SINGER 2006: 40 (for the edition of the text of the prayer: SINGER 1996).

<sup>9</sup> SINGER 2006: 40, with reference to SINGER 1996: 42, 68.

<sup>10</sup> OTTEN 1981.

<sup>11</sup> See in particular, DEL MONTE 1975; IMPARATI 1977; VAN DEN HOUT 2002; SINGER 2009; BALZA – MORA 2011.

A very important monument concerning this king is the relief of FRAKTIN (fig. 3), where the king and queen Puduhepa are depicted pouring libations to the deities. Regarding the topic in question, the most interesting aspect of the depiction is represented by the clothing of the king, which is similar to the clothing of the male god in front of him. This assimilation of the king to the god was quite unusual; for this reason it has been proposed that the relief was the work of Hattusili's successor, dedicated to his deceased parents;<sup>12</sup> as we know, in Hittite culture the king officially became god only after his death.

A further change in the ideology of kingship – in the direction of an accentuation of his religious aspects – occurred in the last period of the imperial age. Many interesting documents, including those of monumental character, date back to the reigns of Hattusili's successors, while their royal hieroglyphic inscriptions become widespread in the territory. First of all, we will examine some images of Tuthaliya IV depicted in divine clothing, bearing the pointed hat adorned with a horn and dressed as a warrior, represented in the same way as some male gods.<sup>13</sup> On some seals this kind of image of the king is represented in the characteristic *Umarmungsszene* (see Fig. 4);<sup>14</sup> on other monuments, however (cf. the *Umarmungsszene* in the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, relief no. 81), the king is dressed in a different way.

A stele/relief depicting king Tuthaliya (as the related hieroglyphic inscription indicates) was found during the excavations in the “Upper Stadt” at Hattusa.<sup>15</sup> The king is portrayed in warrior dress, with the horned, pointed hat. Some scholars interpret the figure as the representation of king Tuthaliya

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<sup>12</sup> MAYER-OPIFICIUS 1989.

<sup>13</sup> VAN DEN HOUT 1995; see also, more recently, DE MARTINO 2010: 90–91. Some reliefs depicting princes or dignitaries also present the figures of the patron imitating the figure of the king in divine garments. There are no elements that give us a definite date for these findings, but they are likely to date back to the end of the imperial period, or to the period immediately following. For a detailed analysis of these rock reliefs and related problems see BONATZ 2007: 121 ff., with other bibliographical references. On several issues related to this evidence cf. some works recently published, e.g.: SEEHER 2009, 2012; SIMON 2012; HARMANŞAH 2015.

<sup>14</sup> See below for different hypotheses: according to some scholars, these images could be posthumous; see however BECKMAN 2012: 605: “this explanation seems particularly unlikely in the case of the seal just mentioned, which was applied to an edict in which Tudhaliya set out the terms for the divorce of a vassal king (RS 17.159)”. BECKMAN made reference to the seal shown here, fig. 4.

<sup>15</sup> NEVE 1993, Abb. 100; SCHACHNER 2011, Abb. 93, pp. 192 ff.

IV, while others interpret it as king Tuthaliya I/II, deified after his death.<sup>16</sup> In my opinion, VAN DEN HOUT's (1995: 556–557) previous hypothesis, that the figure was the image of the later king Tuthaliya (IV), is still reliable, both because of its similarity to the representations of the king on seals (see above), and because of the information provided by the EMİRGAZİ altars inscription, where the king is quoted as the object of a libation (a privilege normally reserved to the gods in the Hittite religion).<sup>17</sup>

So it is worth reviewing the passage in question, i.e. §§ 33–37 of the EMİRGAZİ inscription (see Fig. 5).

I reproduce here the translation proposed by HAWKINS<sup>18</sup> for the quoted paragraphs:

33. (to) me, My Sun, Great King, Tudhaliya a *ri*[*tual* ...] in an undefiled spot let him give!
34. (He) who does not give a *ritual* to me,
35. him [may] the Stag-God of the Country, Mount Sarpa [(and) the goddess Ala ...].
36. (He) who does give a *ritual* to me,
37. may the Stag-God of the Country, Mount Sarpa (and ) the goddess Ala run before him with fullness (and) ANARASUHA-!

The key sign/word in the text is highlighted with an oval shape and interpreted by van den Hout, in the quoted article, as ‘Trankopfer’ (‘ritual’ in Hawkins’ translation). For now, this is a very interesting hypothesis that seems to be well supported by other iconographic evidence (see above) and by the context of royal ideology in this crucial period.

Another (unexpected) piece of evidence that supports the hypothesis seems to be an enigmatic relief on orthostat from Alalakh, which, according to the traditional interpretation,<sup>19</sup> represents the Hittite king Tuthaliya IV (the name is written on the monument) with other people. BONATZ (2007: 131 ff.) thinks,

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<sup>16</sup> Also because “der Bautyp des tempels 5 bereits im 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr. verwendet wurde” (SCHACHNER 2011: 192). For the hypothesis that a predecessor of Tuthaliya IV is represented, see BONATZ 2007: 119. The same type of doubt has raised the figure of a king Suppiluliuma represented on a wall of the ‘Kammer 2’ in Südburg, Hattusa: cf. BONATZ 2007: 119–121. According to BECKMAN (2012), the explanation of posthumous representations is unlikely: he thinks that the later kings have moved closer to the divine sphere and they were “not really a god, but much more than an ordinary man” (see also BECKMAN 2002, for Mesopotamian influence on Hittite kingship).

<sup>17</sup> VAN DEN HOUT 1995: 561–564; HAWKINS 2006, pp. 56–57.

<sup>18</sup> HAWKINS 2006: 56, with reference (p. 57) to VAN DEN HOUT 1995 “for the elucidation of this passage”.

<sup>19</sup> See WOOLLEY 1955: 241.

however, that “from an iconographic viewpoint, the main figure in the Alalakh relief cannot represent the Hittite Great King” and that “the greeting gesture is directed toward the over-large hieroglyphs of the name Tuthaliya. The Hittite king is thus not presented pictorially but pictographically in the form of the hieroglyphs of his name”. According to this interpretation, the depicted figures are a local ruler and members of his family/entourage. Quoting the EMIRGAZI inscription, BONATZ (*ibid.*) concludes by saying “Thus, one may assume that the Alalakh relief was also related to the concept of a political theology during the reign of Tuthaliya IV”.

During the reign of Tuthaliya IV, a reorganization of the local cults also took place, which testifies to the importance of religion in the politics (and the state management) of the period.<sup>20</sup> As PECCHIOLI DADDI (2006: 125) said, the documents containing inquiry reports “constitute solid evidence of this king’s will to rule methodically and incisively in the religious life of the country”. In addition, on the basis of a cult inventory of the city of Hurma – where special supplies for deities were linked to the royal cult and to the person of the sovereign – PECCHIOLI DADDI (2006: 126, 127) noted that “Tuthaliya, even though critical of his father, realised that ‘sacralization’ of the person of the king implied in the justificatory documents of Hattusili”.

In the same period (second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century BC), in the North Syrian area under Hittite political control, a particular figure is depicted on seals of the local kings and officials. It is a figure in a long dress, with a hat in the form of a calotte, a lituus and a winged disk over his head (see Fig. 6). On the seal from the Anatolian homeland, the figure is not represented. Different opinions have been proposed to explain the identity and the function of this enigmatic image. To sum up, I will mention the most famous suggestions, by LAROCHE (1956) and GÜTERBOCK (1993). According to LAROCHE, the figure could be the “matérialisation” of the royal title “My Sun”, while GÜTERBOCK thinks it is more likely that the figure represents the solar god. Laroche’s interpretation was presented again, more recently, by D. BEYER (2001: 341 ff.) in the edition of the seals from Emar: the motif was probably used to present the Hittite Great king to the north-Syrian population.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> It would take too long to examine this topic in detail: we just quote some recent thorough studies on the subject: HAZENBOS 2003; CAMMAROSANO 2012, 2013, with previous references.

<sup>21</sup> I think this interpretation is more likely. On this subject cf. also BONATZ 2007: 129; MORA 2004, 2006, where the fact that this figure is often present on North-Syrian seals belonging to people apparently not related to the court of Karkemish is stressed.

We can conclude this brief overview by highlighting that, starting especially from the reign of Hattusili III, there was an important change in the concept of Hittite kingship. Its religious basis became more important as did the theocratic nature of the monarchy; the sovereign was chosen by the gods to carry out a salvific plan in the interests of the country, the dominated territories and their inhabitants. The king was also personalised, which hadn't happened in previous periods; he started to be "identified" by a series of personal references and by his specific protective god. Evidence of this change can be found on reliefs, hieroglyphic inscriptions and seals;<sup>22</sup> some documents in cuneiform script, however, show a very problematic political and social situation, which the kings may have attempted to hide by celebrating the monarchy in a religious way.

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<sup>22</sup> For more details on this subject cf. GIORGIERI – MORA 1996; MORA 1999.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

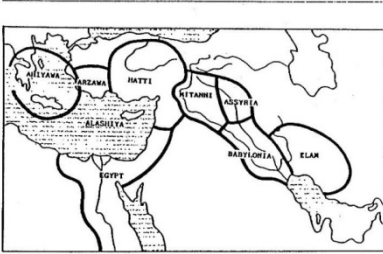


Fig. 3: The Near Eastern Political System ca. 1350 B.C.

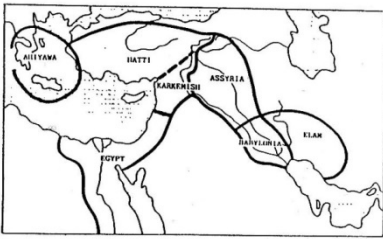


Fig. 4: The Near Eastern Political System ca. 1220 B.C.

Fig. 1 (LIVERANI 1990: 300)



Fig. 2 Impression of a royal seal of king Muwatalli (NEVE 1993: 149)

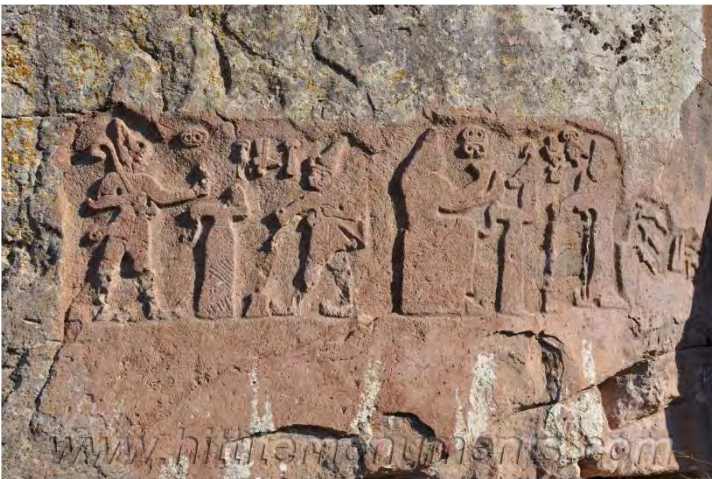
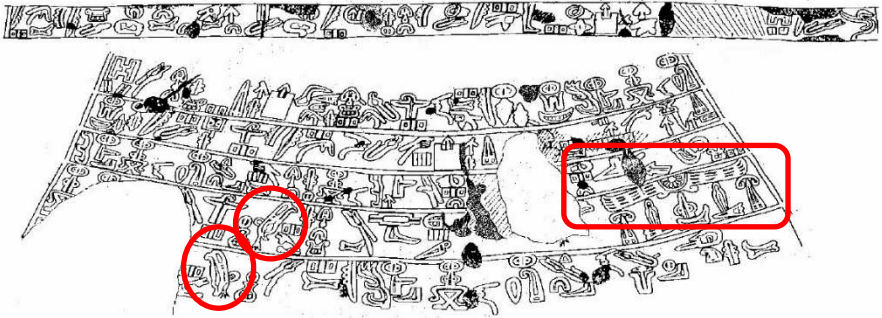


Fig. 3 Relief of Fraktin (BILGIN, *Hittite Monuments*)



Fig. 4 Seal of king Tuthaliya IV: impression on tablet from Ugarit (SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 24)



J. D. Hawkins 2006

Fig. 5 EMIRGAZI inscription, §§ 33-37 (HAWKINS 2006: 72, with addition of highlighters)



Fig. 6 Seal impression of Ini-Tešup, king of Karkemish (SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 35).



“MULTI-FUNCTIONAL” *PATERNITAS* AND MILLENARIANISM  
IN *WIŠTĀSP YAŠT* 1,3–5

Antonio PANAINO

The<sup>1</sup> *Wištāsp Yašt* is one of the most important young Avestan sources,<sup>2</sup> whose relevance has been fully recognized only in the recent years, after a fresh impulse given by KELLENS<sup>3</sup> and CANTERA<sup>4</sup> to the study of the ritual

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<sup>1</sup> I want to thank Dr. AMIR AHMADI (Monash University, Melbourne, Australia), Prof. Dr. PAOLA COTTICELLI (Università di Verona), Dr. CÉLINE REDARD (Université de Liège), and Prof. Dr. VELIZAR SADOVSKI (Institut für Iranistik, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), for their comments and remarks. In the present article I have adopted the new criteria of transcription proposed by MARTÍNEZ PORRO 2013 and CANTERA 2014: 321, n. 342 for the Avestan texts, in which the pattern of the Iranian mss. (in particular *-aō-* for *-ao-*) is preferred to the later one of the Indian codices.

<sup>2</sup> The *Wištāsp Yašt* (*Wyt.*) or *Wištāsp Sāst* “the Teaching of *Wištāsp*”, in 65 paragraphs, divided in 8 *fragards*, is based on materials taken, but not completely, from the *Widēwdād*, because it preserves Avestan sentences not otherwise attested. Notwithstanding the title, it is not a hymn, its compositional genre being different from that of the *Yašts*. The evaluation of this source should be revised taking into consideration some remarkable observations made by CANTERA with regard to its composition. In a ceremony of the same name the *Wištāsp Sāst* sections were intercalated in the Old Av. texts. According to DARMESTETER 1892, II: 663–664, the 8 *fragards* of the *Wištāsp Yašt* were just intercalated in the same places where those of the *Widēwdād* are recited in the framework of the *Widēwdād* ceremony. Thus, it is a variant of the liturgy denominated *Yašt ī Wīsperad* or simply *Wīsperad*, but in the *Wištāsp Yašt* liturgy two intercalations are missing with respect to the standard sequence of the *Wīsperad*; more precisely “there is no intercalated text between the *Vohuxšaθrā Gāθā* and the second *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti*, nor after V24 following Y. 54”, as noted by CANTERA 2013: 87–88; see the comparative scheme again in CANTERA 2013: 83). It is important to remark that this text has been transmitted according to two lines, one is that of the “pure” *Wištāsp Yašt*, or *Wištāsp Yašt Sāde* (*Wyt\_S*), the latter that of the *Pahlavi Wištāsp Yašt* (*Wyt\_P*) i.e. a version of the text accompanied by a Pahlavi translation. Cf. also MARTÍNEZ PORRO 2013.

<sup>3</sup> For a reconsideration of the Avestan Liturgy and of the importance the textual intercalations, see KELLENS 2007; 2010a; 2010b; 2011; see also REDARD – KELLENS 2013. KELLENS has mainly dealt with the intercalation of the *Wīsprad*, but we know that other liturgies were performed with the intercalation of texts from the *Widēwdād* and from the *Wištāsp Yašt*, which are particularly an object of investigation by CANTERA (see the following note).

intercalations embedded into the so-called “Long Liturgy” and of the deep underlying structure of the various ancient rituals, among whom that of the *Wištāsp Yašt* had a certain relevance.

In the present contribution I would like only to focus on a few stanzas of this text, which, in spite of the younger age of their composition and of the presence of evident syntactical and morphological corruptions, still preserve a number of very interesting contents, which deserve to be carefully investigated. Notwithstanding the presence of these “mistakes”, a careful analysis of the text shows that the grammatical problems seem to belong to a declining but still living phase of the language, and that they are not the result of a later textual patchwork performed when Avestan was already a dead language, or simply errors due to the sloppiness of the scribes.

Wištāsp Yašt 1,3–5.<sup>5</sup>

<p>1,3: <i>zaiiānte tanu.kəhrpa<sup>6</sup> dasa puθra</i></p> <p><i>θraiiō yaθa aθaurunō</i>  <i>θraiiō yaθa raθaēštārahe</i>  <i>θraiiō yaθa vāstriēhe.ḡsuiiaṅtō</i>  <i>aēuua tē puθrō jāmāspō.<sup>8</sup></i></p> <p><i>āfrīnəm kəṛənauuāhi</i>  <i>vaṅhiš vahištā.</i></p>	<p>“May ten sons be born (to you), in whose bodily shape<sup>7</sup> three (have that) of a priest, three (that) of a warrior, three (that) of a husbandman; (may) one son (be generated) to you (like) Jāmāspa. May you<sup>9</sup> perform the benediction; (we worship) the good ones, the best ones” (cf. <i>Yt.</i> 13,27).</p>
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<sup>4</sup> CANTERA 2010; 2012; 2013; 2014.

<sup>5</sup> WESTERGAARD 1852–54: 302. Cf. DE HARLEZ 1877, III: 94–95; DARMESTETER 1988, II: 329; 1892, II: 666–667. For the Pahlavi text see DHABHAR 1927: 186–187, and MOLÉ 1963: 351–352; for the literature see also SCHLERATH 1968, I: 264–265.

<sup>6</sup> I follow a suggestion kindly advanced by dr. AMIR AHMADI (personal communication), who assumes that *tanu.kəhrpa-* was a term of reference of the following attributions. GERSHEVITCH 1967: 181 fittingly remarked that the mss. contain two interesting glosses as *kəhrpa x’əuš* “your (= Vištāspa’s) own shape”, and *x’əuš* (manuscript L5; cf. Pahlavi translation *xwēš*). Cf. also FRISK 1934: 53, who, in his turn, considered this compound as “fraglich”.

<sup>7</sup> For a different solution, see WILHELM 1899: 267 [6]. According to this solution, the translation should be: “whose bodies are like your shape”.

<sup>8</sup> The Pahlavi text clarifies that this son should perform the benediction of his father; cf. MOLÉ 1963: 61, 351.

<sup>9</sup> WILHELM 1899: 267 [6]) assumes that *kəṛənauuāhi* was mistakenly written instead of a third person singular form, but cf. KELLENS 1984: 253, § 2.1.1., who notes that the primary ending is used with the thematic or thematized forms.

1,4: <i>aiiaska amahrka bauuāhi</i>	“May you be without any disease, without death
<i>yaθa pəšō.tanuš</i>	like Pəšō.tanū. <sup>10</sup>
<i>tīzuuantəm *bauuāhi<sup>11</sup> yaθa miθrəm</i>	May you be pointed <sup>12</sup> like Miθra!
<i>saōkauuantəm bauuāhi yaθa māñhəm</i>	May you be fiery <sup>13</sup> like the Moon!

<sup>10</sup> According to the later traditions (*Dēnkard* 9,16,150; cf. also *Dēnkard* 7,4,81; MOLÉ 1967: 58–59; *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 7,19–38, CERETI 1995: 143–144; PIRART 2008: 70–72), this man was the last of the seven immortal sons of Vištāspa (BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 897–898). It is to be noted that he was strongly involved in millenarian events: actually he will appear at the end of the tenth millennium, followed by one hundred and fifty righteous men, in order to destroy the temples of the idols (cf. DARMESTETER 1892, II: 638, n. 125). In the *Wižīdagīhā ī Zādspram* 35,4 (GIGNOUX – TAFAZZOLI 1993: 128–129, 176), Pēšyōtan is one of the seven immortal kings who correspond to the Amahraspand and cooperate for the final Renovation. In the *ZWY* 8,7–8, Pēšyōtan is the one who prepares the arrival of the first Sōšāns, Ošēdar (CERETI 1995: 145, 166). The Avestan designation of *pəšō.tanū-* cannot be associated to the apparently identical compound meaning “whose body is forfeit”, which usually concerns religious criminals, but, as PIRART 2008: 72–74; 2012: 106 (cf. MAYRHOFER 1977, n° 258) fittingly remarks, it could mean “de qui le tanū est large”. PIRART 2008: 72–74 has also suggested that *pəšō.tanū-* was not a name, but the denomination of this Mazdean hero, and reconstructed as his original name the one of *\*Pišīšīiūθna-* “aux gestes broyeurs”, from which he prefers to derive Pahl. *Pēšyōtan*.

<sup>11</sup> WESTERGAARD 1852–54: 302 edited *bauuāt*, but I do not see reasons for avoiding the restitution of *bauuāhi*; according to WILHELM 1899: 268 [7], the exchange between *bauuāhi* and *bauuāt* confirms that the composer was in troubles with the transmission of the text. I must thank Céline REDARD, who very kindly informed me about the additional data emerging from the *conspectus* of new mss. presently at disposal for a consultation. All these new mss. apparently support the reading of WESTERGAARD (*bauuāt*), but the presence of *bauuāt* in a context where the rest of the forms appear as *bauuāi* or *bauuāhi*, seems to point out to the relative antiquity of a mistake:

	Wyt_S			Wyt_P	
	5010	5020	5102	5105	5310
1.	bauuāi	bauuāi	bauuāi	Bauuāhi	bauuāi
2.	bauuāt	bauuāt	bauuāt	buiiāt	bauuāt
3.	bauuāi	bauuāi	bauuāi	Buuāhi	bauuāhi
4.	bauuāi	bauuāi	bauuāi	Buuāhi	bauuāi
5.	bauuāi	bauuāi	bauuāi	Buuāi	bauuāi

<sup>12</sup> DANESI 2014: 244 translates without any explanation the parallel occurrence attested in *Āfrīn ī Zardušt* 6 (but as *tīžinauuantəm*) as “hot-burning”, but I prefer to maintain the traditional relation, already established by BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 653–654, with *tīyra-*, in which *tīzi-* is interpreted as a standard Caland form (cf. CALAND 1892 and 1893).

*raōxšnəm \*bauuāhi yaθa āθrəm*  
*zaranumañtəm bauuāhi yaθa yaṭ*

May you be beaming like the Fire!  
May you be splendid<sup>14</sup> like what

*asti zaranumatō mašiiānahe.*

belongs to a golden humanity!”

1,5: *pasca araitiiā<sup>215</sup> x<sup>216</sup>tē*  
*yaθa yaṭ hazarəm yārəm*  
*vahištəm ahūm ašaōnəm*

“After a term for you like the one  
which (is of) thousand years,<sup>17</sup>  
(will attain) the best existence of the  
righteous ones,

- <sup>13</sup> The adj. *saōkauuānt-* is attested only with reference to the moon in *Yt.* 7,5 (cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1550: “Nutzen bringend, nutzvoll”), while for the meaning it is better to connect it with the semantic field of the verb *suc-* “to flame”.
- <sup>14</sup> See already WILHELM 1899: 268–69 [7–9]. A different interpretation of the syntactic distribution of the attributes appears in DANESI 2014: 224, but without the first part of the sentence; in any case it is important the comparison with the parallel lines of *Āfrīn ī Zardušt* 6 (cf. DARMESTETER 1892, II: 661).
- <sup>15</sup> WESTERGAARD 1852–54: 302 edited *araitiiāiō*; DE HARLEZ 1877, I: 94–95, and n. 1 ad p. 95 considered this form as 3<sup>rd</sup> person dual of the subjunctive (of an unspecified verb), referring to Sraōša and Rašnu, and translated: “Après cela (que les deux génies) qui conduisent au ciel te donnent pour mille ans le monde parfait des justes, brillant de toutes les splendeurs”. BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 187 claimed that this form and its variants were inexplicable. Contrariwise, DHABHAR 1963: 355, n. 1, on the base of the Pahlavi translation, *bowandag* “complete”, explained *araitiiāiō* as a nominal derivative of Av. *arāti-* “completion” (BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 192–193) of the verbal root <sup>2</sup>*ar-* “to set in motion” (cf. CHEUNG 2007: 165; KELLENS 1995: 9–10). Although the attestations of this stem are very dubious (cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 192–193, where it appears as a *hapax legomenon*), the possible links with the root *\*Har-*<sup>2</sup> are not far-fetched, and we might postulate a reading like *araitiiā<sup>2</sup> x<sup>2</sup>tē*, which is attested in the mss. tradition (ms. L5), but in the variant *araitiiā tō* (see the following note). In its turn, *ariatiiā* could be explained as a genitive singular of a feminine *-(n)ti-*stem, of a (present or aoristic) participial origin, but substantivized, and connected with one of the three roots *ar-* (cf. KELLENS 1995: 9–10) i.e. *\*aranti-/\*araiti-*. Cf. Av. *arəna-*, n., “Sichbewegen” (BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 187); see also DARMESTETER 1982, II: 667, n. 21. The initial part of the sentence was translated in the Pahlavi version as *pās az bowandag būdan čiyōn kē 1000 sāl* [...]; cf. MOLÉ 1963: 352: “Après avoir accompli mille années”. We may just recall that WILHELM 1899: 269 [9] took *ariatiiāiō* as a word probably meaning “Herrschaft”, but this explanation is only speculative.
- <sup>16</sup> I suggest to emend the (final) *tō* to *tē*, a mistake that can be easily explained as due to the assumption (made by the scribes) that the word was a stem in *-ta-* or something similar. It is to be noted that actually the Pahlavi translation considered *araitiiāiō* as a unique word, a piece of evidence that the presence of the enclitic pronoun was no more recognized.
- <sup>17</sup> The text has *yārəm*, which seems to be a clear corruption of a correct genitive plural; see already HUMBACH 1961: 110.



*raōcaṇhəm vīspō.x<sup>v</sup>āθrəm.*  
*ašəm vohūm.*

shining and full of all pleasures.  
*ašəm vohūm*”.

The passage of *Wyt.* 1,3 is very intriguing, because it apparently formulates the wish that the sacrificer, who in this framework is associated with *Vīštāspa*, might be given the good luck to obtain ten strong and beautiful sons, exactly similar to him. It divides this progeny in three different groups of three sons, plus one (the tenth). The first three sons would become priests, and the Pahlavi version clarifies that they should be like the Grand *mobed* *Ādurbād ī Māraspandān*; the following three ones would be warriors, like *Spanddād ī Goštāspān* (in the Pahl. version), and the last three would be husbandmen, like *Zaw ī Tahmāsp* (in the Pahlavi version).<sup>18</sup> This statement is confirmed by a parallel passage attested in a later, but significant, Avestan liturgical source like *Āfrīn ī Zardušt*<sup>19</sup> 5:<sup>20</sup>

*zaiiānte haca vō dasa puθra*  
*θraiiō [bauuāhi] yaθa aθaurunō*  
*θraiiō [bauuāhi] yaθa raθaēštārahe*  
*θraiiō [bauuāhi] yaθa vāstrieiehe.šfuiiañtō*  
*aēuua tē [bauuāhi] yaθa vīštāspāi.*<sup>21</sup>

“May ten sons be generated by you (pl.)!  
Three like (those) of a priest,  
three like (those) of a warrior,  
three like (those) of a husbandman;  
(may) one son (be generated) to you as  
(one was generated) to *Vīštāspa*”.

The parallel passage of *Āfrīn ī Zardušt* 4 is patently disturbed; in fact, if we take *Wyt.* 1,3 as the version closer to an earlier common *Vorlage*, we must observe that here the repeated insertion (4 times) of *bauuāhi* is clearly wrong, and probably derives from a source like *Wyt.* 1,4, which, in its turn, shows a very peculiar syntax with the logical subject in the accusative.<sup>22</sup> The

<sup>18</sup> MOLÉ 1962: 351, 352; DHABHAR 1963: 347 and 354. The same references are attested in the *Wištāsp Yašt* and in the *Āfrīn ī Zardušt* 5.

<sup>19</sup> The *Āfrīn ī Zardušt* is nothing but a sort of blessing, which, according to the Mazdean tradition, was recited by Zaruθuštra upon King *Vīštāspa*; this text, whose antiquity is questionable, was edited by WESTERGAARD 1852–54: 300–301, as *Yašt* 23, although it has nothing to do with the literary genre of the Avestan hymns.

<sup>20</sup> WESTERGAARD 1852–54: 301. Cf. DE HARLEZ 1877, I: 92; DARMESTETER 1882, II: 327; 1892, II: 661; for the Pahlavi text see DHABHAR 1927: 183. For a direct comparison between these two passages see already SCHLERATH 1968: II, 128.

<sup>21</sup> The Pahlavi text clarifies that this son should perform the benediction of his father; cf. MOLÉ 1963: 61, 351; DHABHAR 1963: 347.

<sup>22</sup> The presence of sentences like this with accusatives working as subjects with the verb “to be, to become”, should be analyzed anew in the framework of similar researches like the

*vō* of *Āfrīn ī Zardušt 5* (first line), in its turn, is probably the result of a misunderstanding, because it has been introduced irrespective of the logical subject of *zaiiānte*. On the other hand, if the syntax of *tē yaθa vīštāspāi* (“[may] one son [be generated] to you as [one was generated] to Vīštāspa”) were the correct one (or closer to that of an earlier correct version), we might wonder whether the text of *Wyt. 1,3* was right even in the case of a sentence like *tē puθrō jāmāspō*, literally meaning “(may) one son [nom.] (be generated) to you [like] Jāmāspa [nom.]”. In other words, we may want to consider if an alternative wording such as *tē puθrō \*jāmāspāi* (“*tibi puer <ut> Jāmāspāi [dat.]*”) or better *\*aēuuō tē puθrō <yaθa> \*jāmāspāi* “*unus tibi puer <ut> Jāmāspāi [dat.]*” in the light of *Āfrīn ī Zardušt 5: \*aēuuō tē <puθrō> yaθa vīštāspāi* “*unus tibi <puer> ut Vīštāspāi [dat.]*” would be possible. According to this alternative interpretation the sacrificer would have the last son like the one who was given, in the first case, to Jāmāspa, and in the second, to Vīštāspa, with both the pronouns (*tē*) and the names of the two Iranian heroes in the dative. Perhaps, the wish expressed was more simply to have an extraordinary son like Jāmāspa or Vīštāspa. In this case, we may postulate that *Āfrīn ī Zardušt 5* read as follows: *\*aēuuō tē <puθrō> yaθa \*vīštāspō* “(may) one son as Vīštāspa (be generated) to you”, or with a *dativus possessivus* “(let) you have a son like Vīštāspa”.

Leaving aside these problems we must face now a more intriguing question. Can this text be really adduced as evidence for the inter-changeability of social roles? I do not think so! Firstly, we must observe that the text has a sort of paradigmatic force, because it works as an example for a particular “prize” that can be given to an extraordinary sacrificer like Vīštāspa, to whom this ceremony was dedicated, and with whom the sacrificer is compared. We may also suggest that a ritual performance of this kind of liturgy had transformed the person acting as a priest (or better as one of the priests) in an incarnation of Vīštāspa himself, so that this final “prize” should be seen as a theoretical model, a sort of *adynaton*. However, it is noteworthy to emphasize that the highest *kauui-* of the Zoroastrian tradition, Vīštāspa, was considered so special that he assumed the function of a multi-functional hero, being at the same time a priest, a warrior and a husbandman, so that the syn-

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one developed by Michela CENNAMO 2011, where the spread of accusatives in “subject”-functions is studied with remarkable deepness, in particular with regard to the later phases of Latin. I have to thank Paola COTTICELLI for having kindly attracted my attention to the works by CENNAMO. A recent discussion of these anomalies with close regard to the Avestan syntax and the present passage has been offered by DANESI 2014: 244.

thesis of all these qualities would generate the most perfect son, a prototype of a supreme lord. This statement shows also the particular position attributed to the role of the *kauui-* in the Avestan framework,<sup>23</sup> and its social multi-functional significance, an evidence that should be taken into account in the discussion of the history of the *kauui-* functions. Furthermore, the present passage emphasizes the supreme role attributed to a social and religious authority as that of a person who might be easily associated with a man ritually comparable to the *kauui-* *Vīštāspa*.<sup>24</sup> In that moment, during the liturgy this person became and acted probably as the patron of the sacrifice, the *yājamāna-*, as in the Vedic context. Although we do not have many explicit documents about the role of the “patrons” in the Avestan liturgy, it would be useful to investigate if the *Wištāsp Yašt* liturgy was a particular form of ceremony in which social leaders, if ritually qualified, might play a certain liturgical role.

In any case, both texts confirm the same contents, i.e., that a good sacrificer (who in the *Wištāsp Yašt* acts like or as *Vīštāspa*), may expect the gift of ten superb sons, who are listed according to the three different functions. It is interesting to note the role of the last one among the ten sons (compared in one case to *Jāmāspa* and in the other to *Vīštāspa* himself), who is attributed with a superior power transcending those of the three specific categories. In other words, we can observe that the tenth son is a kind of “recapitulatory” person, who, arriving at the end of the full decimal sequence, actually underwrites and embodies the characters and the powers of all the previous ones. The Pahlavi text of *Wyt.* 1,3 insists on the powerful benediction given by *Jāmāsp*<sup>25</sup> on king *Goštāsp*, and formulates the auspices that such an

<sup>23</sup> See PANAINO (in press).

<sup>24</sup> On the image and representation of *Vīštāspa* (Pahl. *Goštāsp*) in the religious history of Iran, see SHABAZI 2002. Cf. MAYRHOFER 1977, n° 379.

<sup>25</sup> On the image and representation of *Jāmāspa-* (Pahl. *Jāmāsp*), a person of high rank in the entourage of the Avestan *Vīštāspa-*, brother of *Frašaōštra-*, in the religious history of Iran, see MALANDRA 2008, who in particular remarks that: “In contrast to his association with royal power, *Jāmāsp* was also thought to have exercised a priestly function, as seen in the passage from the *N.* 89: “He who strews the *barəsmān* according to these (rules) as righteous *Jāmāspa* used to strew (it), is a *ratufriš*” (*yō anu aēšqm barəsmā frastarənte yaθa ašauua jāmāspō frastarənaēta ratufriš*)”. — I think that here we observe another occasion of a ritual function attributed to a person who was not necessarily a priest, but who might assume priestly functions as well, probably as patron of the sacrifice. The passage from *Nērangestān* 71,1 (= 89) has been edited and translated by KOTWAL – KREYENBROEK 2009: 34–34 as follows: *yō anu aēšqm barəsmā \*frastərənte yaθa ašauua jāmāspō*

extraordinary son, who should be like Jāmāsp, might equally receive the benediction by Frašōstar (who corresponds to Fərašaōstra,<sup>26</sup> the brother of Jāmāspa himself in the *Gāθās*).<sup>27</sup> Use of triads follows a pattern, which is very frequent in the framework of Old Iranian mythology,<sup>28</sup> although this tradition has been the subject of a discussion concerning its potential opposition (I would say “integration”) with the numbers 4 and 10. This question has been raised in the context of problems related to the origin of the chiliadic scheme with 9,000 or 12,000 years.<sup>29</sup> Although it is not my intention to enter anew into this difficult subject regarding the history of ancient cosmology,<sup>30</sup> I would like to observe that even here a sensible numerical synthesis may be envisaged. The three triads are actually completed by a tenth person, and this shows that a triadic scheme is not a priori in contradiction with either decadic or tetradic one, in spite of the fact that in the present context the progression was asymmetric: 3, 3, 3, 1. A similar pattern appears in the case of the triplication of the original dimension of the earth by Yima:  $1/3 + 2/3 + 3/3$  plus, of course, the original dimension of the earth, equal to 1 or to  $3/3$ : then,  $3/3 + 1/3 + 2/3 + 3/3 = 9/3$ . The expansions take place three times, after 300, 600 and 900 years from the beginning of Yima’s rule, while the era of Yima lasts a millennium. Thus the numerological scheme in *Wyt*. 1.5 is not an oddity. In fact, in this little and corrupted passage we can find one of the very few explicit references to a millenarian scheme, which must be added to the other two occurrences attested in the Avestan sources: the first appears in

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*frastarənaēta ratufriš* “One who spreads the *barəsmān* with such skills as the righteous Jāmāspa would spread it, satisfies the Ratus”. The Pahlavi translation is also noteworthy: *Kē abar pad awēšān [kār ud dādestān] barsom frāz wistarēd ciyōn ahlaw Jāmāsp frāz wistarēd [hād kārawānīg ī \*ahlāy-iz būd u-š gāhāmbār be yašt] radīhā*. “He who spreads the *barsom* with such [duty and judgment] as righteous Jāmāsp would spread it [now he was a righteous traveller and also consecrated the *Gāhānbār*] acts in an authorised manner”. Cf. MAYRHOFER 1977, n° 196.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. MAYRHOFER 1977, n° 126.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. KELLENS – PIRART 1990: 262 (*dājāmāspa-*); 270 (*fərašaōstra-*); 307–308 (*vīštāspa-*).

<sup>28</sup> PANAINO 2004; 2014.

<sup>29</sup> There is a tantalizing discussion on the subject. See BENVENISTE 1929: 106–111; NYBERG 1931: 78–91, 231–239; MOLÉ 1959; BOYCE 1982: 234–127. On Zurvanism in Iran and the concept of time, see also the following studies: JUNKER 1923; SCHEFTELOWITZ 1926; 1929; VON WESENDONK 1931; SCHAEDEER 1941; ZAEHNER 1955; BIANCHI 1958; SCARCIA 1979; REZANIA 2010; PANAINO 2003; 2015.

<sup>30</sup> I have dealt with these problems in a recent contribution; see PANAINO 2018, PANAINO 2022b.

*Yašt* 9,10 (the Hymn to *Druuāspā*), the second one in the *Widēwdād-Sāde*<sup>31</sup> (between chapters 19 and 20 of the second *fragard*),<sup>32</sup> and again in the corresponding *Pahlavi Commentary*.<sup>33</sup> The presence of the scheme here, in the form of a sequence of ten sons, occurs not by chance, and confirms the diffusion of a chiliadic pattern already in Ancient Iran.

Coming back to the social role of *Vīštāspa* as protector of the priestly class, I would like to cite another passage from the *Wištāsp Yašt* 24,15:<sup>34</sup>

(15) [...] *vīspō hāuuanānō vīspō ātarəuuaxšahe vīspō frabarətaš vīspō ābərətō vīspō āsnāthrō vīspō raēθβiškarəhe vīspō sraōšāuuarəzahe* (16) *vīspō aθaurunō vīspō rabaēštārahe vīspō vāstriēhe fšuiiantō* [...] (18) [...] *θrātōtāmō* (19) *tē* [...] *vīštāspa* [...].

“(15) [...] you, O *Vīštāspa* [...], are the best protector [...] of every *hāuuanān-*, of every *ātarəuuaxša-*, of every *frabarətar-*, of every *ābərətar-*, of every *āsnātar-*, of every *raēθβiškara-*, of every *sraōšāuuarəza-*, of every *aθaruuān-*, of every warrior, of every husbandman [...]”.<sup>35</sup>

It is not this the place for a discussion of the role and functions of the assistant priests belonging to the full sacerdotal college,<sup>36</sup> but it is pertinent to our topic to underline that *Vīštāspa* was considered their best protector.

In conclusion, we can infer from these later passages that an ancient liturgy gave a prominent role to a person acting as *Vīštāspa*, and probably assuming the function of sacrificial patron of the ceremony, promising him as a reward for his ritual performance the prize of ten sons belonging to the

<sup>31</sup> BROCKHAUS 1850: 54. See PANAINO 2004.

<sup>32</sup> This passage was excised in GELDNER’s edition without any reference to its existence 1896: 9–10.

<sup>33</sup> REICHELT 1911: 139, for his part, did not refer to this text, but only to the phrases appended to *Widēwdād* 20 in some mss.; according to GELDNER, too (1881: 186; 1896: 10), it did not belong to the original text. Neither WOLFF 1910: 321–322 nor CANNIZZARO 1916: 16 refer to it; SPIEGEL (1853: 12) quotes it only in his edition of the Pahlavi translation (while, in the edition of the Avestan text, p. 9, the Avestan passage is absent). See PANAINO 2004.

<sup>34</sup> WESTERGAARD 1852–54: 304. For the Pahlavi version see below.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. DARMESTETER 1892, II: 670. The interpretation of this passage offered by HERTEL 1929: 165–166 takes *vīspō* as a correct nominative singular masculine and assumes that the sequence of the genitives is wrong. Actually, lists of the priests in genitive are not attested otherwise, and this kind of mistake is not simple to be explained. The Pahlavi version, which we will discuss later, is unfortunately of no help for a correct and definitive interpretation of the Avestan passage.

<sup>36</sup> A series of studies that I have dedicated to this subject include PANAINO 2021, PANAINO, 2022a.

three different strata of the society plus one, the tenth, who should assume a sort of eschatological and teleological function. This promise is a manifestation of the power attributed to a person, who, like Vīštāspa (and the other Gāthic persons directly or indirectly [i.e. by means of the Pahlavi translations] involved in this discussion, as Dējāmāspa/Jāmāspa and Fərašaōstra), was considered to be equally protector of priests, warriors and husbandmen. The last son, thus, should be like his father; a new, recapitulatory, leader and lord; and his action, connected with millenarian expectations, confirms a direct relation between the time of the world and the time of the liturgy in the Zoroastrian framework. In this respect the last son assumes and represents the function of the perfect son and sovereign, whose origins can be traced to the Indo-Iranian background, as shown by Proferes in a recent monograph.<sup>37</sup> With regard to the Iranian area, we can underline the fact that this pattern is confirmed by the evidence that in our source no emphasis is placed on the idea of primogeniture; on the contrary, it is the last and youngest son who is the most important, as it also happens with the three posthumous sons of Zoroaster, the last of whom is the Saōšiiants *par excellence* in Zoroastrian apocalypticism. We must also remark that in *Wyt.* 1,4, the “protector” to be blessed is compared with Pəšō.tanū, i.e. again the lost one of the seven immortal sons of Vīštāspa, who, in his turn, assumes a number of eschatological and millenarian functions.<sup>38</sup> Apparently, the present one is the only attestation of this Avestan denomination, and its occurrence here must be underlined. As Pirart has noted,<sup>39</sup> he is a fundamental protagonist of the eschatological and anti-daēvic progress of humanity; his birth is a prize for his father’s conversion as a fruit of his sacrifice, so that the presence of Pəšō.tanū in this precise context results extremely pertinent. In this case, we must also register a shift from the paternal dimension (the assimilation of the sacrificer with Vīštāspa) to the filial one (Pəšō.tanū), a fact that probably emphasizes the continuity of the living and heroic generations of the best Mazdeans, but also the weight given to the importance of the last son, in this particular case the last one among seven. Thus, the decimal pattern is crossed by a heptadic one.

It is also interesting to take into account the direct involvement in *Wyt.* 1,3 and in the parallel passage of *Āfrīn ī Zardušt* 5 of another primordial fi-

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<sup>37</sup> See PROFERES 2007.

<sup>38</sup> See n. 10 above.

<sup>39</sup> PIRART 2008: 73–74.

gure such as *Jāmāspa*, very prominent in the Mazdean apocalyptic literature,<sup>40</sup> an evidence that certainly underlines the importance of these textual formulas in the framework of millenarian speculations, and that confirms once more the fact that their presence all together in these three paragraphs of the *Wištāsp Yašt* was not due to a simple chance.

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<sup>40</sup> See AGOSTINI 2012; 2013.

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‘TO LIE’ BETWEEN MYTH AND HISTORY:  
SOME REMARKS ON THE MEANING OF THE OLD PERSIAN VERB  
*DURUJ-* IN THE LIGHT OF AVESTAN MYTHOLOGY

Flavia POMPEO

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to analyze the semantics of the Old Persian verb *duruj-*, usually translated as ‘to lie’, to deceive’.<sup>1</sup> In order to better understand the semantic nuances and the contextual meanings of the Old Persian verb and to offer a comprehensive – albeit concise – description, this paper is divided into two main sections. The first part is devoted to a brief overview of various cultural-historical aspects starting from Iranian mythology, which – as is known – is closely linked to the world of ritual. Here, a key Indo-Iranian origin myth, that of Yima/Yama, is a significant example of the importance given to ‘lying’. The Old Persian verb *duruj-* will then be briefly framed within the Ancient Near East scenario which, as recently shown, presents interesting similarities with Old Persian. The second part of the work reviews occurrences of the verb *duruj-* in the light of contemporary semantic theories, showing that the verbal Indo-Iranian root was probably characterized by a particularly fuzzy semantics, which likely caused the formal variation that can be observed in the ancient languages of the group (Avestan, Old Persian and Vedic).

2. ‘LIE’ AND ‘TRUTH’ IN THE ANCIENT IRANIAN WORLD

It is well known that the idea of the ‘lie’ is one of the core concepts of the ancient Iranian world: the forces of chaos are manifest in the Lie (*\*drugh-*, Avestan *druj-*, *draoga-/draoγa-* ‘the lie’, ‘the disorder’, Old Persian *drauga-*, Old Indian *druh-*, *drógha-*),<sup>2</sup> the cosmic deception, which threatens to disrupt all things and is the evil counterpart to *aša-* (‘the order’, ‘the right’; cf. PANAINO 2015: 236), Old Persian *rta-* (*arta-*) corresponding to Old Indian *ṛtá-* (see below). It is beyond the scope of this paper to review the discussion

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Antonio PANAINO and Velizar SADOVSKI for their very useful remarks and suggestions on this paper. The responsibility for any remaining shortcomings is mine alone.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SKJÆRVØ (2003: 397) and PANAINO (2015: 236).

regarding these fundamental concepts, which, according to KELLENS (2011), “underlay all aspects of the religion, including, ritual, and eschatology, and thus appears to have been the foundation of Mazdean dualism”.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, we will not evaluate the various interpretations proposed by eminent scholars, to whom the reader is referred.<sup>4</sup> As a necessary introduction to what follows, we will thus briefly observe that the Avestan *aša-*, with its corresponding Vedic form *ṛtá-*, belongs to the common Indo-Iranian tradition. There are three different means of interpretation: a) ‘truth’; b) ‘order’ as “cosmic, social, liturgical and moral order”; c) ‘organization’ or ‘lay-out’, as the “principle of cohesion of the universe” (KELLENS 1995a).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the Iranian scenario partly diverges from the Vedic one.<sup>6</sup> In particular, we can observe that, in contrast to the Vedic literature, where there are also the two terms *ṛtá-* and *ánṛta-*, in the Iranian texts *anarəta-* is opposed to *aša-* only once in *Y.* 12.4, while the ancient Indo-Iranian opposition between *\*ṛta-* and *\*druj<sup>h</sup>-* becomes systematic (PANAINO 2004: 83ff.). It is also notable that, as Panaino observes (2004: 91), the emphasis on the meaning of *druj-* ‘tromperie, mensonge’ is typical of ancient Iranian texts. Thus, Iranian *druj-* does not primarily express opposition to *aša-* intended as ‘order’, but carries forward “une idée indo-iranienne de la faute liée à la sphère sémantique de la parole”.

It is worth mentioning that in Achaemenid inscriptions the term *ṛta-* is never attested. There is only one possible well known exception in *XPh*, where the sequence *ṛtācā brazmaniya* occurs three times in a much discus-

<sup>3</sup> The semantic fields of the above-mentioned terms will be analyzed in more depth in a future study.

<sup>4</sup> Among others, see SKJÆRVØ (2003 and 2014), PANAINO (2004) and HAUDRY (2014). There is a huge body of literature devoted to various aspects of the religious, ethical and cultural concepts of ancient Iran, and Zoroastrianism in particular. Among others, in addition to the works quoted in this paper, we should mention the recent comprehensive *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* by STAUSBERG – VEVAINA (2015). Each chapter of the latter finishes with a list of extremely useful bibliographical references regarding the specific issue under discussion, and with critical remarks and suggestions for further reading. Moreover, the fact that the references from the individual chapters are also given at the back of the book means that we currently have up-to-date complete bibliography with regard to Zoroastrian scholarship.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the works previously mentioned, the reader is referred to KELLENS (1995a) and SCHLERATH – SKJÆRVØ, (2011) among others. Moreover, see the recent paper by MASSETTI (2013/2014 and the bibliographical references contained therein) for the etymology of *aša-/ṛtá-* compared with the Ancient Greek word ἀρετή.

<sup>6</sup> In this respect, the analysis in PANAINO (2004: 77–95) is particularly useful.

sed expression (*XPh* 41, 50–51, 53–54).<sup>7</sup> However, *ṛta*- forms part of the following Old Persian words: *ṛtāvan*- ‘selig’,<sup>8</sup> the anthroponym *Ṛtavardiya*- ‘durch die Wahrheit bzw. gemäß der Wahrheit wirkend’ and the royal name Artaxerxes, *Ṛtaxšaça*-, which literally means ‘dessen Herrschaft/Reich sich auf die Wahrheit gründet’ (SCHMITT 2014: 240–241).<sup>9</sup>

## 2.1 ‘To lie’ as a sin in the origin myth

As observed by Jean KELLENS (2000: 246), Yima is a hero of particular importance in Iranian origin myths and rites for several reasons. First of all, Yima partly shares two characteristics with Zarathustra. In fact, as written in *Yasna* 9.4, Yima – like Zarathustra and two other heroes – was born from the pressing of the *haoma* (Vedic *soma*), a plant of fundamental ritual significance. This was enacted for the first time by Yima’s father Vīuuaṅhant, ‘the one who shines far and wide’ (SKJÆRVØ 2012), as a reward for this sacrificial act.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, and just like Zarathustra, Yima had the special status of confidant of Ahura Mazdā, since “il est le seul homme dont Ahura Mazdā ait fait l’interlocuteur de ses «entretiens» (*frašna*)”.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. SCHMITT (2014: 240–242), s.v. *\*ṛta*- ‘Wahrheit’ and *ṛtu*- ‘rechte Zeit’. For a brief analysis and discussion on the interpretation of this expression, see SCHLERATH – SKJÆRVØ (2011) and the corresponding bibliographical references.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion on the meaning of this word, see, among others, GNOLI (1979).

<sup>9</sup> The importance of “not-lying” for the Persians has echoes in ancient Greek literature. In this respect, it is worth mentioning, for example, that Herodotus (I, 136) writes that παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εικοσαέτεος τρία μῦνα, ἰχνεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι, ‘They (*scil.* Persians) educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them only three things: riding and archery and *honesty* (lit. *speaking the truth*)’ (text and translation are taken from *Herodotus*, with an English translation by A. D. GODLEY, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1920). In a similar way Strabo (XV, 3.18) observes that ἀπὸ δὲ πέντε ἐτῶν ἕως τετάρτου καὶ εικοστοῦ παιδεύονται τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ ἰππάζεσθαι καὶ ἀληθεύειν, ‘From the age of five to twenty-four years they are taught to use the bow, to throw the javelin, to ride, and to speak the truth’ (the Greek text is from *Strabo*, ed. A. MEINEKE, *Geographica*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1877; the translation is from *The Geography of Strabo. Literally translated, with notes, in three volumes*. London, George Bell & Sons, 1903). As observed by Amélie KUHRT (2007: 629, n. 1), with regard to Herodotus’ passage, *ṛta*- should probably be understood “as learning [...], encapsulating the duties of subject to king and with them the maintenance of the social, political and moral order”. Other Greek texts on this topic are quoted and discussed in PANAINO (2004: 78ff.).

<sup>10</sup> On this anthroponym, see PANAINO (2014: 135, n. 330).

<sup>11</sup> KELLENS (2000: 246).

Furthermore, Yima and his deeds are extremely important from the perspective of reconstructing Indo-European mythology, a field that still today – as is well known – is characterized by much more uncertainty and grey areas than its actual linguistic reconstruction. As Jean KELLENS (2000: 243) observes, “même dans un domaine aussi soudé par la langue et la culture que le domaine indo-iranien, les mythes auxquels on peut sûrement assigner une origine commune sont très rares”. From this perspective, a major role is played by the myth of the Iranian Yima and the Indian Yama, i.e., the myth that can be best reconstructed as regards a common Indo-Iranian patrimony.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the two mythological figures are closely related and share many characteristics attributable to the ‘original’ hero, starting with their names that etymologically signify ‘twin’.<sup>13</sup> According to KELLENS (2012: 12), Yima and Yama have three main features in common: 1) both belong to “human mythology” (rather than that of the gods); 2) their deeds date back to the

<sup>12</sup> The literature on this mythical figure and the relationship with Yama, his Indian counterpart, is vast and heterogeneous. This is unsurprising, given the importance that Yima has in the Iranian mythological tradition, the intricacy of intercultural relations, and the complexity of the Iranian textual tradition. Here, in addition to the works quoted in this paper, we will limit ourselves to mentioning CHRISTENSEN (1934) and the recent work edited by AZARNOUCHE – REDARD (2012), which contains several interesting papers on various aspects of the “history” of Yima.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. KELLENS (2000: 242–243) and also HUMBACH (2004: 46), who quotes the Avestan word *yāma-* ‘twin’, and Middle Persian *jomāy* ‘twin’ from \**yama-āvyā-* ‘twin-’. The Pahlavi legend of the wedding between Jam and his sister Jamag in some way contributes to confirming the validity of the proposed etymology, as does the Vedic tradition. Furthermore, there is another Iranian pair of twins relating to the Indo-Iranian myth, that of Mašya and Mašyāne attested in the *Bundahišn* (PANAINO 2014 and 2015). It is notable that the existence of a female twin is one of the differences between the Iranian and the Vedic traditions, since only sources from the Sassanian period overtly mention Yima’s twin, while the Indian Yamī, the female twin of Yama, is already mentioned in the *RgVeda* (KELLENS 2000: 251, SKJÆRVØ 2012 and PANAINO 2014, among others). However, this situation is different, as demonstrated by PANAINO who has discussed this topic in depth (PANAINO 2014 and 2015). Indeed, he shows that Yima’s twin-sister and the theme of primordial incest are only apparently absent in the *Avesta*, and consequently constitute archaic components of the Indo-Iranian myth of Yima/Yama, despite the Indian sources being less clear in recognizing the incest between the twins. According to PANAINO, these motives can be detected in the complex – and in some aspects still obscure – relationship between Yima and the *daēnā-* in *Vd.* 2. 1–5. The *daēnā-*, which in Iranian texts of later periods has been interpreted as the “Mazdean Religion”, may be, in fact, the female double of Yima’s soul; the joining of the twins thus represents a sort of mystic union, that is, “the re-composition of the animical complex (*uruvan-* plus *daēnā-*)” (PANAINO 2014: 85ff.).



beginning of human history; 3) in some way, but only partially (see below), Yima can be considered as a “first man” since he lives “dans un monde encore modelable et qu’il va modeler”, while Yama is the first man since he is the first to die. Finally, we can add the both Yima and Yama are closely linked to sacrifice and death.<sup>14</sup>

However, despite the clear similarities between the two heroes – leading some scholars to hypothesize there was a common original Indo-Iranian mythical figure – there are also such considerable differences between Iranian Yima and Vedic Yama that we agree with most scholars in saying that they represent two distinct types of hero of origins.<sup>15</sup> To mention just one of the most important aspects, Yima, as hinted above, is unlike Yama in that he cannot be strictly considered the first man: in fact, according to the various textual sources, he belongs to somewhere between the fifth and the ninth generations of men.<sup>16</sup> Moreover – and this is the most important point for our analysis – Yima commits a sin three times,<sup>17</sup> losing the *x<sup>v</sup>arənah-* “le pouvoir sur l’abondance”<sup>18</sup>, and, what is more, his sin is strictly related to the *draoga-*, even if the exact details are not clear.<sup>19</sup> In this respect, it is useful to cite KELLENS (1997–1998: 746): “Il est à craindre que nous ne connaissions jamais dans toutes ses nuances la triple faute de Yima. [...] La faute de Yima est de toute façon une faute de parole. Il a dit une mensonge – ou prononcé le mot «mensonge» – dans une circonstance qui s’est reproduite trois fois”.<sup>20</sup>

Before continuing with the analysis of the myth, it is necessary to take the textual tradition into consideration. In this respect, most scholars agree that the Vedic myth is generally the more conservative one, and that the content of the textual sources is also more consistent than that regarding Yima.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, in the case of the Iranian hero the sources are so varied – and often in-

<sup>14</sup> In addition to the literature quoted above, see CANTERA (2012) and PANAINO (2014: 121–122) among others. KELLENS (2000: 244), in turn, observes that “Yima n’a pas de fonctions funèbres”.

<sup>15</sup> Cf., among others, KELLENS (2012: 11).

<sup>16</sup> KELLENS (2000: 244; 2012).

<sup>17</sup> On the importance and frequency of triadic patterns in the cycle of Yima, see PANAINO (1997 and 2012).

<sup>18</sup> KELLENS (2012: 14). On Yima and the *x<sup>v</sup>arənah-* see, among others, PIRAS (2017).

<sup>19</sup> In this respect, as observed by PANAINO (2014: 122), the motif of the ‘lie’ can be found in another Vedic figure, in the cycle of the Vasu Uparicara.

<sup>20</sup> The same observation occurs in a more recent paper (KELLENS 2012: 14).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. KELLENS (2000: 251–252; 2012: 14); PANAINO (2014). In turn, however, the tradition of the Indian myth is not wholly linear; see, for example, PANAINO’s remark on Vedic and later Hindu sources (2014: 141, n. 351).

consistent with each other – that rather than a single myth, we appear to be dealing with a “complex of myths”.<sup>22</sup> According to the majority of scholars, in fact, the Indo-Iranian mythological material underwent “a process of continuous re-elaboration”, in a “progressive zoroastrianization” of Yima’s cycles.<sup>23</sup> The cause of this process was most likely to have been the need for the cycle to be adapted to the Zoroastrian doctrine of the millennia,<sup>24</sup> “l’innovation philosophique décisive qui structure la pensée mazdéenne de l’Avesta récent” (KELLENS 2012: 14). In this context, Yima is the mythical figure that characterizes the first millennium.

In particular, it is worth noting that the most important texts concerning Yima’s deeds, *Widēwdād* 2 (V2) and *Yašt* 19, outline two very different scenarios. In fact, the first of these is essentially positive, while *Yašt* 19 focuses on Yima’s sin and its consequences, putting the hero in a very bad light.<sup>25</sup>

As for the ‘lie’, *Yt.* 19. 33–34, quoted below in (1), is the most interesting passage.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, despite not attesting forms of the Avestan verb meaning ‘to lie’, *Yt.* 19. 33–34 is noteworthy not only for the importance of its content, but also because the meaning of the word *draoga-* ‘false, deceptive’, which here seems to be an adjective and not a noun, appears to mean the same as *drauga-* in the Bīsotūn inscription. Just as OP *drauga-* denotes a “rebellion by a wrong claimant to the throne”, Yima’s sin consists of “his claim to be acknowledged

<sup>22</sup> The figure of Yima, with its many re-elaborations, spans the millennia of Iranian literature, from Avestan texts through to the Pahlavi tradition – which is of major importance since it includes translations, commentaries and exegetic texts – and on to Persian literature (among others, see SKJÆRVØ 2012 and the bibliographical references contained therein). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that, according to HUMBACH (2004: 45), “the names of the king of the Golden Age of mankind” (Middle Persian *Jam* and *Jamšēd*, New Persian *Jamšīd*) derive from Old Persian \**Yama* and \**Yama* \**xšaita* ‘majestic Yama’ or ‘bright Yama’, for which there is a corresponding Avestan expression, *Yima xaēta*. As HUMBACH notes (2004: 45–46), the Old Persian \**Yama* \**xšaita* has been reconstructed by GERSHEVITCH (1969: 245), who also quotes “Av. *Yimō xšāētō*”, on the basis of the anthroponym *Yamakšēdda* that occurs on an Elamite tablet of the Fortification Archive in Persepolis.

<sup>23</sup> PANAINO 2014: 122 and 141, n. 351.

<sup>24</sup> Cf., among others, KELLENS (2000: 252–253) and PANAINO 2014, whose opinions differ from the earlier proposals of CHRISTENSEN (1934) and DUMÉZIL, as observed by KELLENS (2012: 14).

<sup>25</sup> According to PANAINO (2014: 141, n. 351), the older patterns and versions are those of *Widēwdād*.

<sup>26</sup> The text and translation are taken from HUMBACH (2004: 50–51).

and worshipped as god, the creator and supreme ruler” (cf. HUMBACH 2004: 51). Interestingly, this interpretation is confirmed by Pahlavi texts.<sup>27</sup>

(1) *Yt.* 19. 33

*yejhe xšaθrāda / nōiṭ aotəm ājha nōiṭ garəməm / nōiṭ zauruua ājha  
nōiṭ mərəiθiuiš / nōiṭ araskō daēuuō.dātō / par<ō><sup>28</sup> anādruxtōiṭ / para ahmāt yaṭ  
hīm aēm / draoγəm vācim aṅhaiθīm / cinmāne paiti.barata*

‘[Yima] under whose reign / there was neither cold nor heat, / neither old age nor death, / nor the envy created by the daēvas / **owing to not-lying** / before he reproduced **the false speech** [suggesting to him] to strive after untruth’.

*Yt.* 19. 34

*āaṭ yaṭ hīm aēm / draoγəm vācim aṅhaiθīm / cinmāne  
paiti.barata veānəmənəm ahmaṭ haca xʻarənō / mərəyahe kəhrpa frašusaṭ*

‘when Yima had reproduced the **false speech** [suggesting to him] to strive after untruth, / the Glory, in the shape of a bird, flew away from him visibly’.

### 3. ‘TO LIE’ IN THE ACHAEMENID INSCRIPTIONS

The scenario changes when we consider the Achaemenid inscriptions, and the meanings of both the Old Persian noun *drauga-* and the verb *duruj-* appear to be strongly “political” concepts, as noted by various scholars.<sup>29</sup> Among them, for example, STAUSBERG (2002: 170) observes that the Achaemenids achieved a “‘Politisierung’ avestischer Konzeptionen” in the area of royal politics, adapting Younger Avestan religious-ethic concepts to it. This fundamental transformation mostly involved the idea of a godhead, Auramazda, and dualistic beliefs. Auramazda is re-conceptualized as a god who bestows sover-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. HUMBACH – ICHAPORIA (1998: 109–110) and HUMBACH (2004: 51–52).

<sup>28</sup> Regarding this correction of the transmitted form *para*, see HUMBACH – ICHAPORIA (1998: 109); HUMBACH (2004: 50, n. 11); see also HINTZE (1994: 186–187), who considers the transmitted *para anādruxtōiṭ* as a “logischer Fehler”. In a recent paper devoted to this expression, DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2017) is in agreement with BARTHOLOMAE (1904: col. 123a) but not with PIRART (1992). After having considered comparable expressions in Middle Iranian (especially in Middle Persian and Parthian), DURKIN-MEISTERERNST suggests that *para anādruxtōiṭ* is not a mistake, but the correct form, and probably an archaic relict. Indeed, he argues that a possible innovation is the deletion of the negation in the verbal sentence that follows, which would make the relationship between the two parts “illogical” (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2017: 97).

<sup>29</sup> See, among others, WIDENGREN (1965: 142ff.), GNOLI (1974), PANAINO (1986 [1987] and 1993: 71), CERETI (2002), STAUSBERG (2002), WIESEHOFER (2013), HAUDRY (2014), SKJÆRVØ (2003 and 2014), SCRIGNOLI (2018). In particular, on the compounds with °*druh-* and °*drogha-*, see SADOVSKI (2005: 535; 2017: 724–725 and 720 with n. 9).

eignty on the Achaemenid kings (above all, on Darius I; see below) and upholds it. The king, in turn, acts according to the god's wishes and through his favour (*vašnā Auramazdāhā* 'By the favour of Auramazda'), and has the task of maintaining justice and the correct political order.<sup>30</sup>

This leads us to the political adaptation of dualistic beliefs and to 'the lie/'to lie' (Old Persian *drauga-* and *duruj-*). Indeed, in the Achaemenid inscriptions, as observed by Gherardo GNOLI<sup>31</sup>, it is worth noting that, apart from meaning 'lie, falsehood', the noun *drauga-* has a special contextual or connotative meaning of 'betrayal', inasmuch as it generally refers to any attempt at rebellion or usurpation. The verb *duruj-*, in turn, denotes the activity of rebels and usurpers, who do not respect the divinely chosen authority of the Achaemenid king – Darius I in particular. This often constituted the greatest danger to his sovereignty. The king's fight against the 'lie' is thus politically charged, that is, it is a fight against any disloyal kings who follow the lie, and endanger the order and the peace of the empire.

### 3.1. 'To lie' in Ancient Near Eastern traditions: a brief overview

Interestingly, as WIESEHOFER (2013: 46) observes, the ruling ideology of Persian kings, while maintaining its own peculiarities<sup>32</sup>, was deeply rooted in Ancient Near Eastern traditions, particularly as regards "forms of ruler legitimization, especially in their religious foundation and in the royal commitment to justice and law that was necessary to gain legitimacy". In this respect, it is worth noting that the motif of 'lie', used in circumstances of rebellion in order to vilify the enemies of the king – and, at the same time, underline the sincerity of the ruler –, and justify any military reaction on his part, was quite widespread in the Ancient Near East. This state of affairs spanned nearly 2,000 years, as Beate PONGRATZ-LEISTEN (2002) demonstrates. In this respect, and referring the reader to her paper for the complete analysis, we will briefly review some of the most significant data, starting from the fact that the first occurrence of the motif of 'lying' in the sense of 'being rebellious' is in an inscription of Sargon of Akkade (second half of the third millennium B.C.), a text which can be considered "the ideological self-presentation of the kings"

<sup>30</sup> See, among others, STAUSBERG (2002: 170–174) and WIESEHOFER (2013: 48), who both provide a detailed analysis and bibliographical references.

<sup>31</sup> Gherardo GNOLI (1974: 68, fn. 63).

<sup>32</sup> A similar observation can also be found in GNOLI (1974) and PANAINO (1986 [1987]), among others.

(PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2002: 218).<sup>33</sup> This motif then occurs in the Old Babylonian epistolary literature of the second millennium B.C., in particular in the archives of Shemshāra (14<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), in the area of northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Interestingly, in some of the letters, the meaning of word ‘lie’ (*awātu sarru*) implies not only ‘speech’ but also treacherous action. Similar considerations apply, albeit in a different way, to the Amarna letters (14<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), as well as to Hittite royal inscriptions (second half of the second millennium B.C.) and treaties and to northeastern and northwestern Syrian historiography (8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) where a blending of religious arguments and the political context can be observed. These motifs were to strongly characterize Middle Assyrian and, in particular, late Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions; in the epic literature, the link clearly appears between the religious sphere and rebellion and the breaking of treaties, seen as an act of falsehood: political actions against rulers are transformed into sins against the gods (PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2002: 226ff.). It is worth mentioning that the “rhetorical device of the lie” is clearly employed in the inscriptions of Sargon II (8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), again to justify the repression of rebellion, where – and this is a significant element – the ideological link between the religious and the political dimensions (“the gods and the king as complementary elements”) acquires a special meaning. Strikingly, moreover, we find the motif of the ‘lie’ in the introductory section of the dedication for the palace of Esarhaddon (7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) at Nineveh – and this is an element that reminds us very closely of the Bīsotūn inscription and its historical-political context – regarding the king’s ascent to the throne, of which his legitimacy in the line of succession was, in fact, doubtful (PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2002: 229). In this inscription, the political, ethical and religious spheres are clearly linked, and the equivalence between falsehood, rebellion against the king and disobedience towards the god’s will is clearly made.<sup>34</sup>

In conclusion, we can observe that the motif of the ‘lie’ is widespread and spans a lengthy period of time, acquiring a particular impetus in the Achaemenid era.

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<sup>33</sup> Given the subject of this paper, an interesting point which deserves to be mentioned is that, unlike the Bīsotūn inscription text, the earliest Mesopotamian commemorative inscriptions involved an anonymous narrator and, consequently, were third person narratives. In the rare cases in which there is direct speech in the first person, it serves as a hint that what was said was false (SELZ 2019: 60).

<sup>34</sup> This concept of lie is also attested in the sections of the Old Testament which refer to the Achaemenid domination (PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2002: 239ff.).

### 3.2. 'To lie' in the Bīsotūn inscription

Bearing in mind the above, it is certainly no coincidence that all the occurrences of the verb *duruj-* are exclusively attested in the Bīsotūn inscription<sup>35</sup>, where it is found 25 times, both in the main text and in the legends that identify the so-called “liar kings” depicted on the rock relief.<sup>36</sup>

Indeed, the Bīsotūn inscription is unique and of the utmost importance for various reasons, starting with the fact that it is the only Achaemenid text which – with the exception of the fifth column – narrates historical events.<sup>37</sup> The content of the inscription can be defined as a sort of *res gestae*, listing accomplishments of the king (Darius I), its aim being to provide “a form of royal self-portrayal and propaganda” (WIESEHOFER 2001: 13) in a style

<sup>35</sup> As observed by SCRIGNOLI (2018: 140), all the Old Persian forms related to the root *duruj-* only occur in inscriptions of Darius I. In addition, we can observe that the only occurrence of a form of this root in inscriptions of other Achaemenid kings is found in *XPl* 13, inscription which is a near identical replica of *DNb*.

<sup>36</sup> At the time, the site where this monument was carved was significant for several reasons. Indeed, not only was the Bīsotūn mountain an important religious site for the ancient Iranian people, as conveyed by the Old Persian oronym *\*bagastāna*, which most likely means ‘place or stand of the god(s)’ (see SCHMITT 1991: 17; SCHMITT 1990a: 289–290), but it was in this area that one of the key events of Darius’s ascent to power took place: the assassination of Gaumata, the pretender to the throne (WIESEHOFER 2001: 13; SCHMITT 1990b: 299). Moreover, the monument was in a lofty position, clearly visible from the road that connected Susa to Ecbatana, despite being difficult to read as it was located on a cliff face about sixty meters above the spring-fed pool on the plain. It cannot be excluded that Darius’s decision to create a monumental rock relief was also influenced by the existence of a similar relief in north-western Iran, i.e., the triumphal monument of a king of the Lullubi tribes dating back to 2000 BC (an in-depth recent discussion on the relationship between the monument of Bīsotūn – considering both the relief and the type of text – and earlier models from the third millennium BC onwards is presented by ROLLINGER (2016), to whom the reader is also referred for bibliographical references; for a more general overview of this issue, see, among others, WIESEHOFER (2001, p. 13); SCHMITT (1990b: 299); finally, on the influence of Elamite royal inscriptions on the first phase of the monument, see ROSSI 2000, among others). Furthermore – as SCHMITT (1990b: 299) observes – Urartian kings also ordered rock inscriptions to be made.

<sup>37</sup> The literature on the Bīsotūn inscription is extensive and involves several research fields. For a detailed introductory description of the monument, the reader is referred above all to SCHMITT’s (1991) useful introduction to the edition of the Old Persian version and to the bibliographical references therein. See also SCHMITT (1990a; 1990b), LECOQ (1997, pp. 83–96), which also contains the French translation of the Old Persian inscription and mentions the Elamite, Babylonian and Aramaic variants, pp. 187–217), WIESEHOFER (2001, pp. 13–21 and p. 255 for bibliographical references) and BRIANT (2002, *passim*).

which, albeit reminiscent of the Assyrian Royal Annals, has some of the characteristics of oral poetry (HARMATTA 1982).

The specific historiographical characteristics of this monument have recently been investigated by Robert ROLLINGER (2014), who observes that the content of the first four columns can be best explained if we consider Darius’s urgent need, having usurped the throne of Teispids in several civil wars, to legitimize his rule by presenting an official, and as accurate as possible, version of the events which saw him as protagonist and which led to his rise to power. Indeed, the precision of the description and the attention to historical detail contribute to the truthfulness of the narrated events, and play a significant role in the strategy of legitimation of power that Darius had undertaken. Similarly, the lines devoted to genealogy and ancestors at the beginning of the first column are – as ROLLINGER observes (2014: 197) – part of Darius’s attempt at historical construction by legitimizing his rule through reference to the past, that is, through his predecessors. Finally, the dissemination of the content of the Bīsotūn inscription to the various regions of the Achaemenid empire in different languages also supports this drive for legitimization.

#### 4. ‘TO LIE’ IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY SEMANTIC THEORIES

Finally, reference to contemporary semantic theory with regard to the meaning of ‘lying’ can help us to better understand the semantics of Old Persian verb *duruj-*. It also highlights what, in my opinion, is a fundamental to its meaning: a marked vagueness.

The definition of *lying* has attracted much interest over the centuries, from the reflections of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle to the recent publication of *The Oxford Handbook of Lying* (MEIBAUER 2018), which takes an integrative approach. In the huge literature on the topic, “not surprisingly, many types of lying and deception have been identified, resulting in a number of taxonomies” (MEIBAUER 2018: 2). However – and this is also not unexpected –, there is no definition of lying that is unanimously accepted by scholars. Leaving aside the moral considerations and bearing in mind that lying is culture-specific, what is interesting here is that there is a close link between lying and deception. In fact, as is often noted in the literature on the topic in various disciplines (philosophy, psychology, linguistics, etc.), lying is a form of deception.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Note, however, that not all scholars agree on the need to involve deception in a formal definition of the lie (see, among others, CARSON 2010).

Obviously, semantic studies are of particular interest to us. In this research field, the meaning of lying appears complex, and is characterized by various components that are seen as relating to each other in various ways according to the specific semantic approach adopted. In this respect, it is no coincidence that the meaning of ‘lie’ has been discussed in terms of prototypical analysis as in COLEMAN – KAY’s (1981), widely recognized classic study, considered one of the cornerstones of prototype semantics. According to them (COLEMAN – KAY 1981: 28),

- “This gives us the following definition of a ‘good’ lie, where the speaker (S) asserts some proposition (P) to an addressee (A),
- (1) a. P is false.
  - b. S believes P to be false.
  - c. In uttering P, S intends to deceive A”.

The link between ‘lie’ and ‘deception’ is clearly made, since, as COLEMAN – KAY observe (1981: 28), “The prototypical lie, then, is characterized by (a) falsehood, which is (b) deliberate and (c) intended to deceive”.

In a work that critically discusses COLEMAN – KAY’s paper, Gaetano BERRUTO (2010) reassesses the contribution of the componential analysis of meaning, and examines the Italian words *mentire/menzogna* ‘to lie, lie’. He maintains that the meaning of these words undergoes variations depending on the particular conceptual representation that is activated in relation to a specific referent or a certain state of affairs. What is notable is that the semantic variation, according to BERRUTO, does not imply a different selection or choice of the semantic features (“*semi*”) involved in the meaning of a given word (“*semema*”). Indeed, the semantic components are always the same. What changes is the importance of the features, which are hierarchically organized in a different manner depending on the different conceptual representations. BERRUTO (2010: 28) schematically represents his analysis with the following formula<sup>39</sup>:

“‘mentire’ = /+asserzione, <-vero><sub>γ</sub>, <+consapevole><sub>α</sub>, <+per ingannare><sub>β</sub>/”.

Given this, and leaving aside any conflict between componential analysis and prototypical semantics, two points should be highlighted:

- 1) both approaches include the element of ‘deception’;

<sup>39</sup> Adopting the graphic conventions of Labov’s variational linguistics, BERRUTO indicates the variable features by placing them in curly braces (BERRUTO 2010: 28).



2) both approaches, albeit in different ways, start from the semantic variability of lying. Consequently, we could say that lying has a particularly ‘fuzzy’ meaning.

## 5. OLD PERSIAN DATA

Given these premises, we can now take into account the semantics of the Old Persian verb *duruj-*, usually translated as ‘to lie, to deceive’ (cf. KENT 1953: 191; SCHMITT 2014: 170, ‘(be)lügen, trügen’)<sup>40</sup>, which appears in the present stem of the verbal root *draug-* (Indo-Iranian *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>raug<sup>h</sup>-* ‘(be)lügen’, cf. SCHMITT 2014: 170; PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>reug<sup>h</sup>-* ‘trügen, täuschen’, cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>: 157).<sup>41</sup> This stem comprises the root *draug-* in zero-grade and the outcomes of the Indo-European suffix *\*-je/o-*; the endings are always active. Noticeably, the present stem is the only form of this root attested in Old Persian, if we exclude the participle. Particularly significant cognate verbal forms attested in other Indo-European languages are: Old and Young Avestan *draog-* ‘(be)lügen’ and especially the present stem *druža-* (< *\*druj-ja-*) in Young Avestan; Vedic *druh-*, from which the present stem *druhya-* is derived (SCHMITT 2014: 170); Old Saxon *bi-driogan* ‘trügen’, Old High German *triogan* ‘trügen’ (IEW: 276).

In order to better understand the meanings of the Old Persian verb, some important aspects of the cognate forms in Avestan and in Vedic need to be highlighted, if only fleetingly.

Starting with the Avestan data, which are relatively scarce, it is worth noting that Avestan texts, apart from an adjective deriving from a participle in Old Avestan, show verbal forms of the root *\*d<sup>(h)</sup>raug<sup>h</sup>-* only in the Young Avestan period. These have exactly the same formation as the Old Persian *durujiya-*: a present stem *druža-* (< *\*druj-ja-*) made up of the root in zero-grade and the outcomes of the Indo-European suffix *\*-je/o-*; moreover, this verb has only active endings.<sup>42</sup> KELLENS (1984: 120) defined this verb as ‘clairement d’un type hérité’. Avestan *druža-* can occur without any preverb or with the preverb *aīβi*, apparently without any difference either in meaning or distribution.<sup>43</sup> In the former case, it is found either in objectless constructions

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed analysis of morphosyntactic and the morphological aspects, see POMPEO (in press a).

<sup>41</sup> See also IEW (1959: 276, s.v. *\*dhreugh-*, ‘trügen, listig schädigen’).

<sup>42</sup> HOFFMANN – FORSSMAN (2004: 185); KELLENS (1984: 13 and *passim*).

<sup>43</sup> In this respect, a preliminary examination of Avestan data has shown that the occurrences of the simple verb with an accusative as a second argument are fewer (2) than those where an accusative occurs with a compound verb. Moreover, the occurrences with the simple

or with a second argument encoded by the accusative. When a second argument is expressed, the compound verb also presents an accusative.

As far as the semantics of this verb is concerned, there are various meanings attested in the literature: BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 768–769) translates Avestan *druža-*, as ‘lügen, belügen, betrügen, ‘bösllich, dolos handeln, (Jemandem) ein Arg antun’, while KELLENS (1984; 1995b: 32) translates *druža* as ‘tromper’, that is, ‘deceive’. It is worth noting that the accusative is mostly *miθrəm*, that is, the common noun which means ‘contract’, or the name of the god (*Miθra-*) who, according to THIEME (1975: 28), is the ‘contract’ personified: the god who ‘protects those who keep their contractual word and punishes those who break it’. Consequently, THIEME (1975: 26–28), in part agreement with BARTHOLOMAE (1904: 768), maintains that the expression *miθrəm dru-* is an Avestan idiom that means “‘to belie a contract’ (actually: ‘to show, by breaking a contract, the contractual vow one has given at the conclusion to have been a lie’ or ‘to turn into a lie’)”.

Turning now to Vedic, there is a greater quantity of data and a wider diachronic distribution. In fact, the forms of the root *druh-* are attested both in Vedic texts and in later linguistic stages, as a simple verb or with the preverb/particle *abhi*.<sup>44</sup> In particular, in the *Rig-Veda* texts we find verbal forms of the root stem *druh-* (simple or with *abhi*), such as the perfect *abhi dudróha* or the aorist *abhi druhan*. Once again, forms comparable with the Old Persian verb *duru-* are attested only at a later linguistic stage, in the post-Rigvedic texts, where we find forms of the verb *drúhya-ti*, which belongs to the fourth class. The formation of *drúhya-ti* is exactly the same as in Old Persian and Young Avestan, and, as in the other languages, it is found either in objectless constructions or with a second argument encoded by the dative (cf. SEN 1928: 36 and, in particular, KULIKOV 2012a: 565).

As far as semantics is concerned, there are various meanings attested in the literature for the root *druh-*: ‘deceive’, ‘lie’, ‘harm (‘to seek to injure’, SEN 1928: 136)’, and, according to KULIKOV (2012a: 564), ‘deceive, be/become deceitful’. The meaning of ‘harm’, as most scholars including THIEME (1973: 339–340) and DI GIOVINE (1990: 299) believe, is likely to be the re-

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verb are attested only in the *Yašt* 10, where there is also, however, the other type.

<sup>44</sup> Vedic *abhi* and Avestan *aifi* are both outcomes of an Indo-Iranian form *\*ab<sup>h</sup>i* which – as is known – expresses “directionality”, can have a transitivizing function (although to different degrees in the various languages; for Vedic, see KULIKOV 2012b; CASARETTO 2010), and can be compared with the preverb *bi-* of the Old Saxon verb *bi-driogan* ‘trügen’ mentioned above .

sult of a semantic change from the primary meaning of ‘deceive’, ‘lie’. Indeed, as observed by THIEME, also on the basis of comparative data, ‘we can be certain that at least in prehistoric times, the verb possessed a more specific, morally tinged signification’.<sup>45</sup>

Turning now to the internal diachronic perspective, and considering the later stages of Iranian languages, which have yet to be thoroughly investigated, a preliminary examination of the main dictionaries available reveals a heterogeneous scenario, since the various Middle Persian developments from the Old Persian *draug-* are classified as transitive or intransitive.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, from a brief examination of the Pahlavi texts, the meaning ‘to break a treaty’ seems to be the most widespread (*mīhr druxtān* ‘to break a treaty / a covenant’), while the meaning ‘to lie, deceive’ is very rare (Ela FILIPPONE, p.c.). Finally, in Modern Persian there are no verbal outcomes of this root.

Let us consider the Old Persian scenario. As already observed, the Old Persian material at our disposal is limited: the verb *duruj-* occurs 25 times in the entire corpus of Achaemenid inscriptions, and exclusively on the Bīsotūn monument.

However, despite the relatively small number of occurrences, three different constructions are documented for this verb: a) a ‘Nominative construction’ (18 occurrences), as in example 2;<sup>47</sup> these are always followed by another clause containing the verb form *aθanha*, meaning ‘he said, declared’; b) a ‘Nominative-Genitive’ construction, with only two occurrences (*DB* 1.38–39 e 3.80), as in example 3, where the genitive, which in Old Persian is a syncretic case, has a dative function; and (c) a ‘Nominative-Accusative construction’, again with only two occurrences, in examples 4a and 4b respectively. The three remaining occurrences (*DB* 3.89, 4.44–45, 4.49–50.) are forms of the participle in *-ta-* (example 5) with an adverbial or objective predicative complement function, which are not strictly relevant for the purposes of the present study.

- (2) *haṃ adurujiya avaθā aθanha*  
 ‘he lied; thus he said’ (SCHMITT 1991: *DB* 4.8)<sup>48</sup>;

<sup>45</sup> For a detailed morphological and morphosyntactic analysis, see POMPEO (in press a).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. MACKENZIE (1971); NYBERG (1974); DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2004).

<sup>47</sup> The occurrences of the nominative construction are: *DB* 4.8, 4.10–11, 4.13, 4.16, 4.18, 4.21, 4.24, 4.26–27, 4.29 in the main text; *DBb* 2–3, *DBc* 2–3, *DBd* 2, *DBe* 3–4, *DBf* 1–2, *DBG* 2–3, *DBh* 2–3, *DBi* 2–3, *DBj* 2–3 in the legends.

<sup>48</sup> The Old Persian text of the inscriptions of Behistun (Bīsotūn), Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis is quoted according to SCHMITT’s editions (1991; 2000). As far as the remaining inscriptions are concerned, we referred to the volume edited by SCHMITT (2009), which is the most recent edition and includes the entire corpus of the Achaemenid inscriptions. The

- (3) *haṃ kārahyā<sub>GEN</sub> avaθā adurujiya*  
 ‘He lied to **the people** thus’ (SCHMITT 1991: *DB* 3.80);
- (4a) *kāram<sub>ACC</sub> avaθā adurujiya*  
 ‘**To the people** thus he lied’ (SCHMITT 1991: *DB* 1.78),  
 cf. Kent (1953: 120), ‘thus he deceived **the people**’;
- (4b) *taya imaḥ kāram<sub>ACC</sub> adurujiyaša*  
 ‘because these (men) lied **to the people**’ (SCHMITT 1991: *DB* 4.34–35),  
 cf. Kent (1953: 131), ‘so that these (mn) deceive **the people**’.
- (5) *najšim ima vṛnavātaj, duruxtam maniyātaj*  
 ‘(and) this should not convince him, (but) he regards it as **false**’ (SCHMITT 1991: *DB* 4.49–50).

Leaving aside the sequences with the participle, it is worth mentioning that the remaining 22 occurrences show very little variation, something which might suggest a certain formulaic nature of this kind of expression, a phenomenon which is not rare in Achaemenid texts. Moreover, in the great majority of cases, the sequence with *duruj-* introduces direct speech. Another very interesting aspect is that both the genitive and the accusative express the entity to whom one lies or who is deceived, apparently without any difference. Finally, there is another element which, in my opinion, merits our attention. In occurrences where no second argument is expressed, the form of the verb *duruj-* is always followed by another clause that is juxtaposed and contains the verb form *aθanha*, meaning ‘he said, declared’. In cases where the Addressee is expressed with the verb *θa(n)h-*, it is always encoded by the genitive(dative), as with *kārahyā* in example 6.

- (6) *kārahyā<sub>GEN</sub> avaθā aθanha*  
 ‘**To the people** thus he said’ (SCHMITT 1991: *DB* 2.10).

The distribution of the different *duruj-* constructions (nominative construction vs. genitive and accusative constructions respectively) can be explained, as has been demonstrated (POMPEO in press b), on the basis of the different type of focus deriving from the different conceptualization of the event at a pragmatic and discourse level in the various sections of the inscriptions. Indeed, the mono-argumental construction (the “nominative construction”), where the focus is precisely on the action itself, is in “summary” sections of the inscription, characterized by a “list structure”, as well as in the extremely concise legends.

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English translations of the Old Persian texts, where possible, are also taken from SCHMITT’s editions (1991; 2000).

In contrast, the constructions with the genitive and the accusative occur in those sections of the text with content of a fundamental ideological and political importance. In these passages, the focus involves the whole event in all its components, including the Addressee of ‘lying’, which is encoded by the genitive or by the accusative. Moreover, in these occurrences, unlike those that attest the nominative construction, the forms of *duruj-* are never followed by forms of *θa(n)h-* ‘say’, coherent with focus on the specific event.

As far as the alternation between accusative and genitive construction is concerned, scholars who have considered this issue – in varying detail – have either limited themselves to translating the forms of *duruj-* with the accusative and the genitive as ‘deceive’ or ‘lie’ respectively, or have labelled the different constructions as ‘transitive’ or ‘intransitive’, or have interpreted this alternation as a case of stylistic variation (SCHMITT 2016: 106). They have not, however, provided a detailed account of the phenomenon. Neither the morphosyntactic level proper, nor its semantics, whether in synchrony or diachrony, have been considered.<sup>49</sup>

The hypothesis of a stylistic variation has been mainly based on: (a) the great similarity of the Old Persian contexts and (b) the information provided by the so-called ‘versions’ in Babylonian and Elamite. Indeed, the Babylonian and Elamite ‘versions’ do not mirror the differences in the Old Persian text. The various sentences are translated in roughly the same way, although the Elamite text shows a formal variation that is still not fully explained (POMPEO in press a).

Even though the scarcity of Old Persian documentation does not allow us to formulate a robust hypothesis, various elements suggest that the alternation between the Genitive and the Accusative constructions attested for *duruj-* can be explained as a consequence of the particularly *fuzzy* semantics of the verb considered here, and, possibly, of the PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>reyǵ<sup>h</sup>-*. Moreover, it is important to recall that, at a sentence level, this type of meaning is characterized by a low degree of semantic transitivity.<sup>50</sup>

The first point to consider is the particularly *fuzzy* meaning of ‘lying’ from the perspective of some contemporary semantic theories. As illustrated above (§ 4), bearing in mind that ‘lying’ is also culture-specific, various studies have shown that its meaning is complex, and that its various components interrelate in different ways, depending on how the specific conceptual representation is

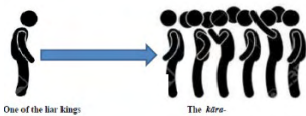
<sup>49</sup> However, interesting new results can also emerge from a more detailed analysis of the absolute use of *duruj-* (cf. POMPEO, in press b).

<sup>50</sup> Cf., in particular, the ‘interaction verb’ class, as formulated in BLUME (1998); see also POMPEO (in press a).

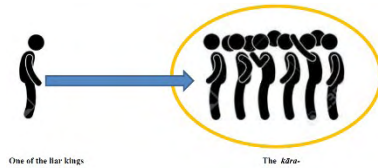
activated by a certain referent or state of affairs. Even though these analyses have been based on different semantic approaches, it is important to recall that the ‘deception’ component is often – if not always – present.

So what do the different meanings of ‘lie’/‘deceive’ imply at the level of the event in the Old Persian scenario? In short, we can say that at least two different conceptual representations of the event are at stake, as schematized in the figures below:

a) The genitive-dative scheme



b) The accusative scheme



Here the genitive-dative case represents a (human) Goal/Addressee of the ‘lying’, while the accusative case is the entity not only reached by the lie, but also, in some way, involved in the event and its consequences to a greater degree. In other words, the accusative represents the entity affected by the “deception”.<sup>51</sup>

Second, on the genealogical side, the comparison of Old Persian *duruj-* with Avestan and Vedic data – and possibly with the Old Saxon verb *bidriogan* – suggests that this Indo-European root was probably already characterized by both a high degree of semantic fuzziness and a low degree of transitivity from the earliest stages, the meaning likely alternating between ‘to tell a lie to someone’, and ‘to lie to someone having an effect on him/her’, that is, ‘to deceive someone’.<sup>52</sup>

In this respect, we should consider the following data:

(a) Avestan and Vedic cognate forms have exactly the same formation as the Old Persian *duruj-*, and, above all, their endings are always active;

<sup>51</sup> It is worth noting that there is another example of case alternation in the Old Persian inscriptions: this is with the verb *dar-* ‘hold, keep, dwell, stay, live’, which shows a variation between instrumental in DNb and locative in XPI. M.C. BENVENUTO (2012) discusses this largely – though not exclusively – from a cognitive and semantic perspective. This might confirm our hypothesis that case alternation with the same verb was possible in Old Persian.

<sup>52</sup> See POMPEO (in press a).

(b) in all three languages under consideration, the verbs are found either in objectless constructions or with a second argument expressed; in particular, the second argument is encoded by the accusative in Avestan, by the dative in Vedic, and by both cases in Old Persian;

(c) Young Avestan and Vedic evidence a strong tendency for this verbal root to form compounds with a directional preverb (Avestan *aifi* and Vedic *abhi*)<sup>53</sup>; in other words, the verbs underwent a process of formal redetermination.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that typological and genealogical comparative linguistic data, both from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, support this hypothesis. Indeed, similar alternations are mostly attested for verbs, which, just like *duruj-*, involve two animate entities and are characterized by a low degree of semantic transitivity.<sup>54</sup>

Prior to drawing conclusions, there is one other aspect to consider: the possibility of detecting a relationship between the ‘lie’ and the breaking of a contract in the Old Persian inscriptions. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, in Avestan the expression *miθrəm druj-* ‘to belie a contract’ is the expression in which this verb occurs more frequently. Furthermore, the meaning ‘to break a treaty’ (*mīhr duxtan*) seems to be the one that is most widespread in the Pahlavi texts.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, as far as Old Persian is concerned, SKJÆRVØ (2003: 384) observes that “[t]hose possessed by the Lie break the rules and the law and form contracts with others, leaving the king out, as in DB 3.25–28: *hauv hacāma hamiçiya abava*, which literally means: ‘he concluded contracts with (others) away from me’”. In fact, according to SCHMITT (2014: 189), the word *hamiçiya-*, usually translated as ‘rebel’ (noun) or ‘rebellious’<sup>56</sup>, can be traced back to the compound form *\*hama-miç-iya-*, which underwent haplology and is made up of the following elements: *hama-* ‘same’; *\*miç-* ‘contract’, comparable with Old Avestan and Young Avestan *miθra-* ‘contract’; the suffix *-iya-*.<sup>57</sup> The original meaning of the reconstructed form was “zum gleichen (Bündnis-) Vertrag gehörig, mit denselben Vertragsbindungen”. In contrast, on the basis of the Babylonian and Elamite terms that correspond to Old Persian *hamiçiya-*, DE BLOIS (2006: 49–51)

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also the Old Saxon verb *bi-driogan* ‘trügen’.

<sup>54</sup> POMPEO (in press a) and the bibliographical references contained therein.

<sup>55</sup> In addition, we should also mention the following compounds quoted in PANAINO (2004: 88): Vedic *drógha-mitra-*, m., ‘ami trompeur’ (which is a *hapax*; 10, 89, 12<sup>63</sup>); Avestan *miθrō.druj-* ‘qui trompe le pacte’ (*Yt.* 10, 2); Parthian *drwxtymyhr* ‘qui rompt le contrat’.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. SCHMITT’s (1991: 64) translation of the same passage: ‘that became rebellious from me’.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. SCHMITT (2014: 188–189, s.v. *hamiçiya-*) and references therein as well as SKJÆRVØ (2003: 428, n. 6).

proposes the meaning of ‘enemy’ and agrees with HERZFELD’s (1938) etymology (from \**miθ-ra-* with a *-ra-* derivative, cf. Old Persian *miθah-* ‘falsehood’, Avestan *miθō* ‘contrarily, wrongly’, etc.).<sup>58</sup>

Leaving aside the etymology of this word, which requires further in-depth analysis, what is interesting, in my opinion, is the textual distribution of *hamiçiya-* compared to that of the verbal forms of *duruj-* considered above. Indeed, with the obvious exception of the extremely concise legends, in any passage where there is a form of *duruj-*, *hamiçiya-* is always present, either before or after. The example (7) is a clear illustration of this:

(7) *utā navā xšāyaθiyā agrbāyam aīva Gaumāta nāma maguš āha haṃ adurujiya  
avaθā aθanha adam Brdiya ami haya Kūrauš puça haṃ Pārsam hamičiyam akunauš*

‘and [I] captured nine kings: One (was) a magus, Gaumāta by name; he **lied**; thus he said: “I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus”. He made Persia **rebellious**’ (SCHMITT 1991: DB 4.7–10).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, ‘lying’, as is known, is one of the core concepts of the ancient Iranian world. In this respect, the Iranian origin myth of Yima offers us a significant example, since the mythical hero commits a sin strictly related to the *draoga-* three times, thus losing the *x<sup>v</sup>arənah-*. In the inscription of Bīsotūn, in turn, the Old Persian verb *duruj-* expresses a political concept, since it denotes the activity of rebels and usurpers, who do not respect the divinely appointed authority of Darius I. In addition, the ruling ideology of Persian kings, while having its own particularities, was deeply rooted in Ancient Near Eastern traditions, where the motif of ‘lie’, used in circumstances of rebellion to vilify the enemies of the king and justify any military reaction on his part, was quite widespread. This state of affairs spanned a period of almost 2,000 years.

Moreover, from a linguistic perspective, in the light of some contemporary semantic theories together with the evidence examined in the last part of the paper, it can be deduced that the Old Persian verb *duruj-* (and, possibly, the PIE root \**d<sup>h</sup>reyǵ<sup>h</sup>-*) was characterized by a particularly fuzzy semantics and, at a sentence level, by a low degree of semantic transitivity. Conjointly, this pro-

<sup>58</sup> HERZFELD (1938: 184ff., 259–261). See also the interesting observations in Basello (2012: 95ff.).



duced the alternation between the Nominative-Genitive and Nominative-Accusative constructions.

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## ‘ESSERE CON’: POESIA DEL CASO STRUMENTALE NELL’INNO RV III 60

ROSA RONZITTI

1. Per “poesia grammaticale vedica” intendiamo una poesia costruita grazie allo sfruttamento di potenzialità presenti a tutti i livelli dell’analisi linguistica.<sup>1</sup> Alcune tecniche compositive che riteniamo peculiari dello “stile vedico” possono essere descritte come:

- 1) impiego di alternanze suffissali per la creazione di figure stilistiche, sintattiche e semantiche che valorizzano le categorie di *nomina agentis*, *actionis*, *instrumenti* etc. (NIEDERREITER 2001, RONZITTI 2006 e 2011);
- 2) parafrasi interfrasali, ovvero ripresa a poca distanza di medesimi contenuti con forme espressive diverse quale elemento di coesione testuale (RONZITTI 2011);
- 3) esibizione del paradigma nominale teonimico in principio di unità metrica (RONZITTI 2014).

Ne risulta una poesia catalogica, che ama variare su temi dati e si costruisce non solo e non tanto attraverso la narrazione, quanto piuttosto attraverso lo scioglimento di una ricchissima paradigmatica nella sintagmatica del testo: ciò in conformità con il genere testuale dell’eulogia, che privilegia lo schema dell’elenco rispetto a quello del racconto al fine di glorificare dio nel modo più completo possibile.

Ne sia esempio, tra gli altri, il modo in cui gli autori degli inni realizzano l’unità semantica ‘essere con’. Intendiamo: cosa succede quando occorre evocare congiuntamente, all’interno dello stesso inno, due o più divinità, una

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<sup>1</sup> Per evitare appesantimenti bibliografici segnaliamo in incipit alcuni indispensabili testi di carattere generale e fondante: per le divinità duali la monografia di GONDA (1973); per i suffissi apofonici *-vant-/mant-* il relativo capitolo della *Altindische Grammatik* (DEBRUNNER 1954: 871–894), che è preceduto dalla trattazione di BENDER (1910); per lo strumentale vedico WACKERNAGEL – DEBRUNNER 1929/1930: 54 ss.; per la relazione fra strumentale e aggettivi possessivi HAUDRY 1978: 45, 76, 81–82.

insieme con l'altra? La "coabitazione" fra più dèi può porre dei conflitti gerarchici e, in tal caso, come vengono risolti?

Nel nostro intervento (2016) avevamo proposto un primo schema esemplificativo delle strategie grammaticali messe in atto quando l'invocazione si rivolge a una coppia o a una pluralità:

'Essere con'	Modalità
Sintassi	1. Coordinazione (con o senza <i>ca</i> )
Morfologia flessionale	2. Desinenza di strumentale (con o senza <i>saha</i> )
Morfologia derivazionale	3. Teonimo + suffisso <i>-vant-/-mant-</i> o <i>-in-</i>
Composizione	4. Composto <i>dvandva</i> (sottocaso: duale ellittico) 5. Secondo membro di composto a valore comitativo ( <i>°sakha-</i> o <i>°pati-</i> )

Il quarto caso è il più semplice: le divinità sono due, e di eguale importanza; la lingua utilizza il composto *dvandva* o la coordinazione/giustapposizione, che risolvono il rapporto su un piano paritario, con possibili scambi di posto tra il primo e il secondo teonimo, come p. es. in V 62 *mitrāvaruṇā* (vocativo duale, 2a) e *varuṇa mitra* (vocativi singolari, 8c). Altrettanto semplice è la coordinazione, che pone i teonimi sullo stesso piano (p. es. I 2 5: *vāyav indras ca*). Il duale ellittico può implicare un problema di parità, in quanto un solo teonimo rappresenta anche l'altro della coppia: il membro mancante è integrato dalla morfologia flessiva (la desinenza del duale) e dalla conoscenza che il fedele ha della sfera religiosa.

Talvolta, invece, si dà il caso di una divinità sovraordinata, alla quale si accompagnano divinità minori, ancillari: qui il rapporto è asimmetrico e le scelte espressive possono mettere in rilievo il concetto di subordinazione degli altri all'uno celebrato in quel momento. Indra, per esempio, non sempre agisce da solo, ma si appoggia ai Marut (i vènti) o agli Ṛbhu (abilissimi artigiani divinizzati); tali schiere di aiutanti sono a loro volta protagonisti di qualche fatto notevole e troviamo ad esse dedicati anche inni autonomi. Tuttavia, quando il centro del *sūkta* è Indra, esse sbiadiscono e scompaiono, vivono in funzione di lui. Se l'attenzione deve essere focalizzata sul solo Indra, il momento dell'invocazione non porrà il dio principale e il suo séguito sullo stesso piano, si veda p. es. il tipo rappresentato da I 23 7:



*marúvantam havāmaha índram ā sómapīṭaye/  
sajūr gaṇéna tṛmpatu*

Invochiamo Indra provvisto dei Marut per la bevuta del soma,  
congiunto con la schiera gioisca!

Il nome dei Marut non si realizza grammaticalmente come sostantivo; è invece inglobato in una formazione aggettivale molto comune, quella che si costituisce con il suffisso possessivo *-vant-/-mant-* ‘provvisto di’ (le due forme sono allotropi): qui dunque la strategia applicata è la 3 (morfologia derivazionale), in virtù della quale si realizza l’insolita (dal nostro punto di vista) possibilità di concepire un dio come qualità di un altro, un Indra ‘marutato’.

Le cose si fanno ancora più interessanti quando diverse strategie cooccorrono nella stessa stanza: prendiamo ora un componimento per Agni. Ci troviamo al cospetto della principale divinità vedica, a cui le altre sono sottomesse. Il riflesso “grammaticale” di questo rapporto asimmetrico si vede in una strofe come VIII 103 14ab, che mette in campo Agni, i Marut e i Rudra:

*āgne yāhi marútsakhā rudrēbhiḥ sómapīṭaye*

O Agni, vieni con i Marut come compagni, insieme con i Rudra per la bevuta del soma!

La poesia della grammatica consiste qui nel giustapporre composizione nominale e morfologia flessionale per esprimere il medesimo contenuto semantico: in *marútsakhā* tale contenuto è veicolato dal secondo membro del composto possessivo, °*sakha-* (‘che ha un compagno nel tale dio’), in *rudrēbhiḥ* dalla desinenza di strumentale (comitativo) *-bhiḥ*. I due espedienti compaiono uno di séguito all’altro, senza soluzione di continuità, creando una *variatio* difficile da rendere in lingue sprovviste di analoghe possibilità composizionali e morfologiche.

In un *sūkta* dedicato agli Ásvin (VIII 35) tutti gli dèi sono invitati uno dopo l’altro a bere il soma ‘congiuntamente’ ai gemelli equini: teonimi allo strumentale si alternano a teonimi suffissati in *-vant-/-mant-*; fra questi si segnala la formazione *mitrāvāruṇavantā* ‘O (Ásvin) provvisti di Mitra e Varuṇa’ (VIII 35 13a), in cui lo *dvanda mitrāvāruṇa-* è trasformato in aggettivo.

2. Da questo punto di vista esiste un inno davvero esemplare, nel quale la grammatica è sempre al centro. Ci riferiamo a III 60. Dedicato a Indra, in metro *jagatī*, è attribuito a un “campione” di versificazione, Viśvāmitra, sulla cui tecnica compositiva torneremo in conclusione.

Il testo ha schietta natura eulogistica: vengono dapprima introdotti gli antenati del poeta (Uśij), poi le imprese degli Ṛbhu (la schiera aiutante), infine il vero protagonista, Indra, che balza in primo piano a partire dalla quinta strofe:

- 1a *ihéha vo mánasā bandhútā nara*  
 1b *uśtjo jagmur abhí tāni védasā*  
 1c *yābhir māyābhiḥ prátijūtivarpaṣaḥ*  
 1d *saúdhanvanā yajñiyam bhāgám ānaśá*

Qui e là, grazie al pensiero, grazie al lignaggio, o eroi,  
 grazie alla sapienza gli Uśij sono giunti a queste cose,  
 attraverso le abilità con le quali voi figli di Sudhanvan, che cambiate forma a ogni impulso,  
 avete ottenuto di partecipare al sacrificio.

- 2a *yābhiḥ śácībhiś camasāṁ ápiṁśata*  
 2b *yáyā dhiyá gám áriṇīta cármaṇaḥ*  
 2c *yéna hárī mánasā nirátaḥsata*  
 2d *téna devatvám ṛbhavaḥ sám ānaśa*

Attraverso le arti con le quali intagliaste la ciotola,  
 attraverso l'intuizione con cui tiraste fuori la vacca dalla pelle,  
 attraverso il pensiero con cui foggiate i due cavalli baî,  
 attraverso (tutto) questo, o Ṛbhu, avete ottenuto il rango divino.

- 3a *índrasya sakhyám ṛbhávaḥ sám ānaśur*  
 3b *mánor nápāto apáso dadhanvire*  
 3c *saudhanvanāso amṛtatvám érire*  
 3d *viṣtví sámībhiḥ sukṛtaḥ sukṛtyáyā*

Di Indra la compagnia gli Ṛbhu hanno ottenuto;  
 i rampolli di Manu si sono dati da fare come artigiani;  
 i discendenti di Sudhanvan hanno guadagnato l'immortalità  
 avendo lavorato con zelo, ben facenti con la buona azione rituale.

- 4a *índreṇa yātha saráthaṃ suté śácāṁ*  
 4b *átho váśānām bhavathā sahá śriyá*  
 4c *ná vaḥ pratimá sukṛtāni vāghataḥ*  
 4d *saúdhanvanā ṛbhavo vīryāni ca*

Con Indra viaggiate sullo stesso carro, insieme, quando il soma è spremuto.  
 Ora siete insieme alla gloria dei beni.  
 I vostri bei manufatti sono ineguagliabili, o viaggianti,  
 e le vostre gesta, o Ṛbhu, figli di Sudhanvan!

- 5a *índra ṛbhúbhir vājavadbhiḥ sámukṣitaṃ*  
 5b *sutám sómam á vṛśasvā gábhastiyoh*

- 5c *dhiyéṣitó maghavan dāsúšo grhé*  
 5d *saudhanvanébhīḥ sahá matsvā nṛbhīḥ*

O Indra, asperso insieme con gli Ṛbhu provvisti del premio,  
 fai piovere il soma spremuto dalle mani!  
 Mosso dall’intuizione, o generoso, nella casa dell’offerente  
 inébbriati insieme con i figli di Sudhanvan, gli eroi!

- 6a *índra ṛbhumān vājavān matsvehá no*  
 6b *asmín sávane śácýā puruṣṭuta*  
 6c *imāni túbhyaṃ svásarāṇi yemire*  
 6d *vratá devānām mánuṣaś ca dhármabhīḥ*

Indra, insieme con gli Ṛbhu provvisti del premio, inébbriati qui per noi  
 in questa bevuta, con la (tua) abilità, o molto invocato!  
 Questi recinti si sono uniti per te,  
 per volere degli dèi e per le leggi dell’uomo.

- 7a *índra ṛbhúbhīr vājībhīr vājáyann ihá*  
 7b *stómaṃ jaritúr úpa yāhi yajñīyam*  
 7c *śatám kétebhīr iṣirébhīr āyáve*  
 7d *sahásraṇītho adhvarásya hómani*

Indra, insieme con gli Ṛbhu vincitori del premio, qui gareggiando  
 avvicinati alla preghiera rituale del cantore.  
 [Vieni] con cento rinvigorenti desideri per il figlio di Āyu,  
 conoscendo mille strade, durante l’offerta del sacrificio!

Quello che intendiamo con ‘poesia della grammatica’ è subito chiaro: l’inno gira intorno al caso strumentale, che ha 29 manifestazioni, non poche per un componimento di 28 versi. Le funzioni attribuite al caso sono quella comitativa e di mezzo.<sup>2</sup>

In un primo gruppo (strofe 1ab) vengono elencate tutte le qualità che i predecessori del poeta hanno messo in atto per giungere ad ‘avere esperienza’ (*jagmur abhí*)<sup>3</sup> dei fatti divini *mánasā bandhútā védasā* ‘con

<sup>2</sup> Non sono invece presenti la funzione temporale e quella locale.

<sup>3</sup> Letteralmente ‘sono andati sopra’: *jagmur abhí* composto corrisponde, da un punto di vista concettuale e formale, ai tipi esaminati da BELARDI (1976) nel suo volumetto *Superstizio*: l’andare sopra o lo stare sopra sono infatti abituale metafora del ‘conoscere’ e dell’‘esperire’ in molte lingue indoeuropee. Epperò si noti che, alla luce di questo passo e di altri con *ābhi gam-* nella letteratura successiva, va rivista la recisa conclusione che in area indiana mancherebbe del tutto il modello localistico della conoscenza (BELARDI 1976: 94): forse esso non è espresso dalla radice di stato in luogo, ma sicuramente il moto ‘sopra a’ un luogo è percepito come un processo di appropriazione cognitiva, forse un

pensiero, lignaggio, sapienza'. Inizia poi un secondo gruppo (strofe 1cd e 2), altrettanto compatto e a quattro membri, in cui vengono sciorinate le capacità 'per mezzo delle quali' gli artigiani mitici hanno potuto agire: *yābhir māyābhiḥ, yābhiḥ śácībhiś, yáyā dhiyá, yéna ... mánasā*: ognuna di queste (peraltro espresse da sostantivi fondamentali del lessico vedico), all'incrocio tra magia e abilità artigianale, ha permesso agli Ṛbhu di prendere parte al sacrificio, intagliare una ciotola, ricavare una vacca dalla sua pelle, foggiare i due cavalli baī di Indra.

A conclusione di tale elenco, e prima che l'inno passi a introdurre la figura centrale del dedicatario, due ulteriori strumentali riprendono e riassumono i quattro precedenti: *śámībhiḥ ... sukṛtyáyā*. Ci viene fornita l'importante informazione che grazie 'alle energie' e al 'ben fare' gli artigiani, in origine evidentemente mortali, hanno ottenuto il *devatvám* 'rango divino'.

3. A partire dalla terza strofe, cinque incipit consecutivi e paralleli, scanditi dal poliptoto teonimico, danno forma a cinque diverse configurazioni del medesimo contenuto semantico 'Indra sta con gli Ṛbhu':

- 3a *índrasya sakhyám ṛbhávaḥ sám ānaśur*  
 4a *índreṇa yātha sarátham suté śácāṃ*  
 5a *índra ṛbhúbhir vājavadbhiḥ sámukṣitam*  
 6a *índra ṛbhumān vājavān matsvehá no*  
 7a *índra ṛbhúbhir vājībhir vājáyann ihá*

In 3a l'informazione è a carico di un'intera frase, in particolare del sintagma aggettivale *índrasya sakhyám*. Se si pensa che *sakhyám* corrisponde formalmente (a parte il genere grammaticale) a lat. *socium*, è chiaro che l'idea di compagnia promana già dal lessico: il soggetto grammaticale (*ṛbhávaḥ*) ha meno rilievo del genitivo con cui inizia la strofe (*índrasya*). In 4a *índreṇa* ha valore comitativo, rafforzato da *sarátham* (*sa- = cum*) e da *śácāṃ* (*śácā = cum*). 5a e 6a costituiscono un modo davvero brillante di variare le unità linguistiche: il valore di compagnia che in 5a grava sulla morfologia flessionale (*ṛbhúbhir vājavadbhiḥ*), in 6a, a parità di basi lessicali, sui suffissi comitativi *-mant-* e *-vant-*, tra di loro allotropi (*ṛbhumān vājavān*), con nominalizzazione massima della catena sintagmatica (Indra ṛbhuico, vājaico). Il verso 7a torna allo schema di 5a (strumentale teonimico + aggettivo), con la raffinata variazione tra il *vājavadbhiḥ* di 5 e il

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'imbattersi' della mente, secondo quanto suggerisce anche il parallelismo con il russo *najiti* 'andare sopra' = 'trovare'.

*vājībhir* di 7 (i suffissi possessivi *-vant-* e *-in-* sono attaccati alla stessa base nominale *vāja-* ‘forza, bottino, offerta’); a ciò si aggiunga il participio presente *vājáyan*, che rappresenta lo sforzo di raggiungere il premio:

*índra ṛbhúbhīr vājavadbhiḥ*  
*índra ṛbhumān vājavān*  
*índra ṛbhúbhīr vājībhir vājáyann.*

Iniziando l’inno seguente, Viśvāmitra continua a sperimentare lo stesso modulo retorico, che questa volta vede come protagonista e compagna del *vāja-* una divinità femminile, l’aurora (III 61 1a):

*úṣo vājēna vājīni ...*  
 O Aurora, con il premio, provvista di premio ...

È il verso che Jean Haudry cita come esempio di “instrumental possessif” (HAUDRY 1977: 80), nel quale la stessa base si presenta in due unità consecutive di fatto sinonimiche. Il poeta non interrompe quindi il suo discorso stilistico, ma lo porta avanti oltre i confini di un singolo componimento per proporre una figura leggermente diversa dalle precedenti e mostrando un’elevata consapevolezza dei valori semantici affidati alle singole unità morfematiche, che in vedico, si sa, sono ancora ben trasparenti e segmentabili.

4. Il rapporto tra divinità principale e secondaria/e può invertirsi: quando l’inno si rivolge agli Ṛbhu, allora è il nome di Indra che viene aggettivato (IV 33 3, autore Vāmadeva):

*púnar yé cakrúḥ pitárā yúvānā sánā yúpeva jaraṇā śáyānā/  
 té vājo víbhvām ṛbhúr índravanto mádhupsaraso no’vantu yajñám*  
 Coloro che resero di nuovo giovani i genitori, i quali giacevano vecchi come pilastri spezzati,  
 coloro che apprezzano il miele, Vāja, Vibhvan e Ṛbhu, benedicano il nostro sacrificio in compagnia di Indra!

La stupenda similitudine si riferisce a un atto prodigioso che mette insieme abilità artigianale, magia e medicina: il ringiovanimento dei genitori (si confronti con la *rémise en forme* del decrepito Cyavāna a cura degli Aśvin, vd. *infra*). La strofe rivela i nomi degli Ṛbhu (il primo è eponimo del gruppo) e il loro numero (tre). Qui Indra resta nella retroguardia ed è interessante osservare la coerenza degli usi ricorrenti: in tutta la raccolta

*indravant-* compare effettivamente sempre e solo in inni dedicati ad altri dèi ‘provvisi’ di lui.<sup>4</sup>

Abbiamo visto che la possibilità di trasformare un nome in aggettivo corrisponde, aristotelicamente, ad un passaggio da sostanza a qualità ed ha risvolti interessanti, come nella frase augurale *indravanto ’bhí śyāma* (I 105 19) ‘Che noi possiamo trionfare insieme con Indra!’: qui gli attori non sono figure divine, bensì i poeti e i loro clan, che si appropriano del dio grazie a un procedimento, per così dire, iconico: accordando l’aggettivo teonimico al proprio genere, numero e caso, auspicano che Indra diventi una qualità del loro trionfo.

In una strofe occorre il processo inverso e il nome è usato laddove ci attenderemmo un aggettivo (agli Ṛbhu, IV 37 5):

*ṛbhúm ṛbhukṣaṇo rayīm vāje vajīntamaṃ yūjam/  
īndrasvantaṃ havāmahe sadāsātamaṃ aśvīnam*

Den ṛbhu(gefertigten) Schatz, ihr Ṛbhukṣan’s, den im Kampfe siegreichsten Verbündeten den von Indra begleiteten rufen wir herbei den stets gewinnenden, der in Rossen besteht.

La traduzione di GELDNER (1951: I 468) riflette un’incertezza nella resa. A proposito di *ṛbhúm* lo studioso osserva: “Für ist kaum eine besondere Adjektivbedeutung (‘handlich’, Gr.[assmann] ‘wirksam’ anzunehmen. Eher ließe sich Bergaigne’s Ansicht (II, 407) hören, daß selbst als der begehrte Besitz gedacht sei”. Il BERGAIGNE (1883: *loc. cit.*) ritiene infatti “le mot *ribhu* comme une épithète de la richesse” e *ṛbhúm* ... *rayīm* sarebbe equivalente al più esplicito *ṛbhumād váyaḥ* ‘ricchezza ṛbhuica’ in I 111 2.

Il sintagma ‘ricchezza ṛbhu’ può allora essere interpretato in sincronia come un caso di derivazione zero, il contrario morfologico dei successivi *vajīntamaṃ* (‘provvista di bottino al massimo grado’), *īndrasvantaṃ* (‘provvista di Indra’), *aśvīnam* (‘provvista di cavalli’), nei quali il sēma ‘provvisto di’ è affidato a una manifestazione suffissale scoperta, duplice (-*in-*, -*vant-*) e graduata (*vajīntamaṃ*).<sup>5</sup>

5. A livello lessicale, radici che esprimono ‘unione’ e ‘compagnia’ affollano l’inno III 60: sono *sam* ‘con, insieme’ (preverbio/avverbio), *sa-* (prefisso, primo membro di composto), *sácā* ‘insieme’ (postposizione), *sáha* ‘insieme’ (preposizione), *sakhyá-* ‘amicizia’ (sostantivo). Appartengono in-

<sup>4</sup> Lo si trova infatti solo al plurale (e una volta al duale).

<sup>5</sup> Una ulteriore particolarità è che *īndrasvantaṃ* contiene la base *īndras-*, unica in tutta la raccolta, che implica un tema in sibilante mai attestato altrove.

vece alla sfera dell’attività artigianale e rituale i due termini femminili che allitterano con essi: *śácī* ‘forza, energia, potenza’ e *śámī* ‘zelo, fatica’.

In tutta la raccolta *śácī* e *śámī* occorrono quasi esclusivamente al caso strumentale, ricoprendo il ruolo di ausili divini.

Di *śácī* ci siamo occupati in occasione di un lavoro su *śákti-* ‘potenza’ (RONZITTI 2012), di cui esso è corradicale. Si evidenziava, in quello studio, un’interessante trafilata semantica secondo la quale alcuni nomi che nel *R̥gveda* si presentano come astratti di genere femminile vanno incontro, attraverso la storia della cultura indiana, a una progressiva concretizzazione e si trasformano in vere e proprie dèe dotate di una personalità autonoma (talvolta addirittura soverchiante). La storia di *śákti-*, da questo punto di vista, ha valore esemplare ed è sin troppo nota per essere ripercorsa qui:<sup>6</sup> vi è però un punto di contatto con il tema che affrontiamo. Dapprima tali termini astratti, il cui significato rientra nella sfera della ‘energia, aiuto, abilità’, sono semplici strumentali di mezzo/compania, come p. es. in X 134 3c:

*śácībhiḥ śakra dhūnuh̄ndra vísvābhir ūtībhir*

Con le potenze, o potente, scuoti [per noi i ristori], o Indra,  
con tutti gli aiuti!.

Indra appare circondato, anche dal punto di vista sintattico, da ‘forze’ e ‘aiuti’, che lo stringono al centro di un cerchio ideale e reale. L’immagine si presta e essere defigurata in un corteggio di donne divine accompagnatrici del loro signore: forzando la traduzione, *ūtībhir* potrebbe essere reso ‘con tutte le aiutanti’.

Lo stesso vale per lo strumentale plurale *śácībhiḥ*, che, se in III 60 2 riguarda l’intaglio di una ciotola, altrove serve a ripristinare il dono della giovinezza (I 117 13ab):

<sup>6</sup> Il parallelismo più calzante, da un punto di vista storico-religioso (nonché morfologico), ci sembra quello con la greca *μητις*: l’‘astuzia’, qualità mentale per eccellenza, è sposata da Zeus, che la ingoia per assicurarsi il potere (Esiodo, *Theog.* 886 ss.). Negli inni orfici Metis porta dentro di sé il germe di tutte le cose, racchiudendo sia il principio maschile sia quello femminile (DETIENNE – VERNANT, 1992 [1974]: 97 ss.). Da questo punto di vista i frammenti orfici più interessanti sono i numeri 87, 168 e 169 dell’edizione Kern, nei quali *μητις* viene chiamata *πρῶτος γενέτωρ*: non solo la concordanza è con il maschile *γενέτωρ*, ma di fatto il *nomen actionis* in -τι- diventa *nomen agentis*: un processo che si può osservare, già compiuto nel greco omerico, anche per la divinità *Θέτις*, lett. ‘il porre’.

*yuvāṃ cyāvānam aśvinā jarantam pūnar yūvānaṃ cakrathuḥ śacībhiḥ*  
 Voi, o Aśvin, il vecchio Cyavāna lo rendeste di nuovo giovane grazie  
 alle abilità.<sup>7</sup>

In III 60 6b lo strumentale singolare *śacyā* esprime la dote che facilita/accompagna Indra nella bevuta:

*asmīn śavane śacyā puruṣtuta*  
 In questa bevuta [inēbriati] con la (tua) abilità, o molto invocato.

Ora, secondo le modalità illustrate nella tabella iniziale, la lingua vedica mostra di poter formare con *śacī* composti che sono sinonimi tra di loro.

*śacīpati-* (11 attestazioni nella raccolta) presenta come secondo membro *°pati-* ‘signore, consorte, sposo’. Indra è chiamato *śacīpati-* quando si ricorda una gloriosa impresa da lui compiuta (p. es. il salvataggio di Kutsa in I 106 6), quando se ne deve propiziare una nuova (spaccare le fortezze dei nemici in VI 45 9), quando il fedele ha bisogno di essere soccorso (VIII 61 5). Va da sé che un siffatto composto si presta a un’interpretazione semanticamente “coniugale”: il ‘consorte della forza’, ovvero ‘il forzuto’ diventa in diacronia il consorte di una donna chiamata ‘Forza’. Nel *Ṛgveda* l’inno X 159, che è il vanto in prima persona di una donna orgogliosa di dominare il marito, viene attribuito dall’*anukramaṇī* (di epoca però seriore) a Śacī Paulomī, moglie di Indra. Tuttavia, né l’inno mezziona Śacī né vi sono indizi che questa sia l’interpretazione corretta e non piuttosto la retroproiezione di un mito epico alla fase ṛgvedica (nel *Harivaṃśa* Indra sposa effettivamente Śacī dopo averla rapita al padre, il demone Puloman).<sup>8</sup> Accogliendo il suggerimento del Monier-Williams (1899: 1048), potremmo ipotizzare che proprio da una rilettura semanticamente “piena” del composto *śacīpati-* sia sorto il mito della *śacī*-donna che si unisce a Indra in matrimonio.

Se ora passiamo a considerare il derivato *śacīvant-* ‘provvisto di *śacī*’, notiamo la sua equivalenza con il composto precedente. Dire ‘signore della forza’ e ‘provvisto di forza’ non implica una grande differenza, pur esprimendo il primo un concetto più gerarchico del secondo: *°pati-* e *-vant-*

<sup>7</sup> E si vedano ancora: il ‘buon artefice’ foggia il cielo e la terra con la *śacī* (IV 56 3); gli Ṛbhū creano da essa i due cavalli splendenti di Indra (IV 35 5); Indra, demiurgo primordiale, si serve della *śacī* per separare il cielo e la terra come un asse separa le ruote del carro (X 89 4).

<sup>8</sup> Datare un mito è sempre difficile; tuttavia, in questo caso specifico, vi sono indizi di una certa antichità: nel *Jyaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (ca. 900 a. C.) Śacī figura già come sposa di Indra, sebbene nulla si dica sulle circostanze dell’unione coniugale (cfr. JB III 199–200).



sono entrambi da intendersi come una sorta di lessicalizzazione/morfologizzazione del caso strumentale e possono cooccorrere (I 29 2ab):

*śiprin vājānām pate śácīvas táva dāmsānā*

O labbruto, *signore* dei bottini, *provvisto di forza*, tuoi sono i prodigi!<sup>9</sup>

La figura etimologica che unisce il vocativo dell’aggettivo *śácīvant-* al sostantivo strumentale plurale *śácībhiḥ* si fa vera e propria formula in unione con la radice verbale *śak-* ‘potere’ al tema desiderativo *śíkṣa-* ‘far potere’ = ‘aiutare’, ‘dare forza’:

I 62 12d *śíkṣā śácīvas táva naḥ śácībhiḥ*

Dài forza a noi, o provvisto di forza, con le tue forze!

VI 31 4c *ásikṣo ... śácya śácīvo*

Desti forza [alle dieci città] con la forza, o provvisto di forze!

VIII 2 15c *śíkṣā śácīvaḥ śácībhiḥ*

Dài forza, o provvisto di forza, con le forze!

Tutti i contesti sono indraici e ciò rafforza il legame, il binomio, tra principale divinità maschile (virile) e forze/energie femminili che completano la sua opera vittoriosa: il dio da solo non basta, non riesce a compiere le sue opere né ad aiutare i fedeli; la ripetizione del semantema ‘forza’ e del concetto di ‘unione’ propizia e attualizza un’impresa che altrimenti potrebbe non compiersi. Sono queste, a nostro avviso, le radici più antiche e profonde dello śaktismo indiano.

6. Siamo partiti dall’idea di una ‘poesia grammaticale’ e vorremmo in conclusione tornare su tale punto. Se confrontiamo l’inno III 60 con un altro inno di Viśvāmitra, III 42 (a Indra), notiamo che di nuovo l’attenzione verso la grammatica supera di gran lunga l’attenzione verso il contenuto.<sup>10</sup> Il testo di III 42 non esprime null’altro che il concetto ‘Indra viene invocato per bere il soma’, è, in altre parole, costruito sull’intreccio dei tre semantemi ‘Indra’, ‘bere’ e ‘soma’ che vengono combinati in unità sempre diverse (verbi coniugati, nomi verbali, forme libere e composte):

III 42 1 *úpa naḥ sutám á gahi sómam indra gávāśiram*

Vieni al nostro succo spremuto, o Indra, al soma misto con il latte!

III 42 3 *índram itthá giro māmācchagur iṣitá itáḥ/ ávyṛte sómapītaye*

Davvero le mie preghiere sono andate da Indra, inviate da qui, affinché torni per bere il soma.

<sup>9</sup> Il sintagma *vājānām pate* costituisce un tutt’uno: il genitivo plurale *vājānām* non è accentato così come il vocativo *pate* da cui dipende.

<sup>10</sup> Per maggiori dettagli si veda RONZITTI (2016).

- III 42 4ab *indram sòmasya p̄tāye stómair ihá havāmahe*  
 Invochiamo qui Indra per la bevuta del soma.
- III 42 7 *imám indra ... piba' ... sutám*  
 Bevi questo, o Indra, lo spremuto!
- III 42 8 *túbhyéd indra svá okyè sómam codāmi p̄tāye*  
 Te, o Indra, nella tua propria casa, invito a bere il soma.
- III 42 9ab *tvām sutásya p̄tāye pratnám indra havāmahe*  
 Invochiamo te, l'antico, o Indra, perché beva dello spremuto.

Come quest'inno sembra composto essenzialmente per rispondere alla domanda "In quanti modi si può dire che Indra beve il soma?", così III 60 sembra composto per evidenziare il caso strumentale nel doppio valore di mezzo e compagnia e per rispondere alle domande "Come gli Ṛbhu hanno ottenuto il rango divino?", "In quanti modi si può dire che Indra è in compagnia degli Ṛbhu?". È un fuoco d'artificio retorico il cui risultato, piuttosto sorprendentemente, si traduce in un autentico slancio teologico. Per un poeta vedico lodare gli dèi significa, prima di tutto, esplorare la grammatica della propria lingua.

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BUILDING RITUALS IN ACHAEMENID SUSA?  
SOME REMARKS ON THE FINAL LINES OF A<sup>2</sup>SA

Adriano V. ROSSI

Copious archaeological and textual evidence attests to the performance of foundation rituals in ancient Mesopotamia. This evidence provides diverse accounts of prayers, incantations, sacrifices, the deposition of foundation deposits, and other ritual acts that accompanied the construction of temples, palaces, etc.

A few publications are of particular importance to the study of Mesopotamian rituals from the first millennium BC. The first is Richard ELLIS' *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, the only comprehensive work on Mesopotamian foundation rituals, even if very schematic. ELLIS is primarily concerned with *foundation* deposits, but also attempts to illustrate a more complete picture of Mesopotamian foundation rituals by matching the archaeological evidence – as available at the end of the 1960s – with some of the ritual texts and building inscriptions.

One should remark that ELLIS was particularly forward-looking in his inclusion of some Achaemenid materials in his *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Many Assyriologists even of the today would not have done this, preferring instead to establish an absolute cut-off point in the ancient Near Eastern ritual experience at 539 BC.

Another major work is Claus AMBOS' *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*<sup>1</sup> This study is a philological analysis of the ritual texts and inscriptions describing foundation rituals from Assyrian and neo-Babylonian contexts. In many cases, the ritual texts presented by AMBOS also clarify some ritual aspects which do not appear in the archaeological record, and in a way AMBOS' study can be used as a companion to ELLIS' work in order to illustrate a more complete picture of foundation rituals performed in ancient Mesopotamia.

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<sup>1</sup> \*Much bibliographical and epigraphic material here reviewed has been collected in the framework of various Projects on Achaemenid linguistics and epigraphy funded by the Italian Ministry for Education (MIUR) since 2005 (*PRIN Projects*: 2005105580, 2007ZKPPSM, 2009JHSEE7, 2015RMKAFR, now DARIOSH Project).  
AMBOS 2004; supplement AMBOS 2013.

Anyhow, the present status of archaeological and textual record does not permit to complement the reconstructions now offered for the whole ANE with an Achaemenid Iran overview. Appendices 1 and 2 in BODA – NOVOTNY (2010), which, like those in ELLIS' *Foundation Deposits*, seek to provide additional information about major textual sources that mention, refer to, or describe some aspect of temple building, restoration, enlargement, or decoration (eighty-four texts included in *Appendix 1* and one hundred and sixteen sources included in *Appendix 2*) are some of the principal sources intended to be used as evidence for temple building and decoration in various periods, cultures, and text genres of the ancient Near East, but the inclusions in them of sources referred to Achaemenid Iran<sup>2</sup> remains unconvincing.

Examining the notions of 'foundation deposits' and 'foundation texts' in Achaemenid Iran,<sup>3</sup> Margaret C. ROOT (2010), author of a chapter in the mentioned collective book on *Temple Building Rituals*,<sup>4</sup> insisted on the fact that in the realm of foundation deposits/texts the Achaemenids drew explicitly and learnedly upon Mesopotamian (and Elamite) traditions of foundation deposit forms and rhetoric.

But what we call "foundation texts" – often no more than an archaeologist's convention<sup>5</sup> – in Achaemenid Iran are not associated with 'temples' in the commonly-understood sense. Moreover, the analysis of this assemblage of deposits/texts from an archaeological and symbolical-rhetorical standpoint demonstrates that what we call "Achaemenid foundation texts" were *not always* originally associated with the foundations of buildings as we know for Mesopotamia.

Since I am unable to survey here a major range of possible archaeological evidence for Achaemenid "foundation deposits" in Iran (in the form of votive objects not known to be directly associated with texts: e.g., bits of precious metal, seals, beads of semi-precious stones seeded within brickwork or interred in foundations etc.), I would only limit myself to comment the three core points as suggested by Margaret C. ROOT in this same connection:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Nos 7.1 to 7.8 in BODA – NOVOTNY 2010.

<sup>3</sup> ROOT 2010: 167: "The term "Iran" is used here to mean the Greater Heartland of Perso-Aryan culture as it had become embedded in the region of Median-Persian settlement from the eastern Zagros eastward by the early first millennium BC".

<sup>4</sup> BODA – NOVOTNY 2010.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. the paragraph "Foundation Deposits" in CURTIS – TALLIS 2005: 56–59.

<sup>6</sup> ROOT 2010: 167–169.

(1) The strips of gold and a split cornelian bead discovered under the paved terrace of the Sacred Precinct of Pasargadae in the surroundings of two stones interpreted as pedestals for ritual performances, were interpreted by David STRONACH<sup>7</sup> as a hoard buried there at some unknown time. Anyhow, as ROOT suggests,<sup>8</sup> the connection with similar practices both earlier and later than the Achaemenid Period may suggest different, possibly ritual, interpretations. Post-Achaemenid Seleucia-on-the-Tigris offers abundant evidence of deposits of bits of gold along with cornelian and agate heads sown in the brickwork and under the floor of official buildings.<sup>9</sup>

(2) In 1933, the Persepolis Platform was being excavated by Ernst HERZFELD, with Friedrich KREFTER appointed as the excavation architect. In mid-September 1933, KREFTER had noticed a depression in the north-western corner of the ‘Apadana’,<sup>10</sup> and thought the depression might indicate robbed foundation inscriptions. Following this line of reasoning, on 18 September 1933 he had the workers explore the north-eastern corner. KREFTER’s hypothesis was correct, as there was indeed a deposit box. The north-east deposit held a stone slab placed atop a square stone box and lid. Within the box were two inscribed metal plates,<sup>11</sup> one silver, one gold; each was inscribed with a parallel,<sup>12</sup> trilingual text, stating the geographical limits

<sup>7</sup> STRONACH 1978: 145 and fig. 73.

<sup>8</sup> ROOT 2010: 167–168.

<sup>9</sup> HOPKINS 1972, passim and ROOT 2010: 168 fn. 8–9. An Achaemenid Period banded agate cylinder seal excavated from Parthian brickwork of one such structure in Seleucia strongly points to an Achaemenid home-base; on this Seleucia finding and on the practice of sowing brickwork with semi-precious beads in the Ancient Near East cf. ROOT 2003: 249–283.

<sup>10</sup> SCHMIDT 1953: 70: “None of the inscriptions mention the word “Apadana,” which is commonly used in designating this building and which we too have adopted. Column inscriptions of Artaxerxes II (Memnon) at Susa use this term for a very similar hypostyle hall which he rebuilt on the ruins of an earlier apadana constructed by Darius I and destroyed by fire during the reign of Artaxerxes I [...]”; KUHRT 2007: 365 n. 2 to A<sup>2</sup>Sa: “The precise meaning of OP *apadana* is debated. It is usually taken to refer to the great columned audience halls of the royal complexes at Persepolis and Susa, and has become the conventional way of referring to them. But they are not so called by either Darius I or Xerxes”. See also SCHMITT – STRONACH 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Not ‘tablets’, ‘tables’ or ‘plaques’, as they are commonly described.

<sup>12</sup> The three versions are not ‘identical’ as stated by SCHMIDT 1953: 70 and subsequent editors (including e.g. recently SCHMITT 2009: 13, 119), but display the Babylonian variant *itti ilāni* “along with the gods” after the mention of the protector Ahuramazda who appears alone in the Old Persian and Elamite versions (note that SCHMIDT 1953: 70 fn. 2 correctly states, on the advice of George G. CAMERON: “Bab. adds ‘with the (other) gods’

of Darius state (DPH); six coins were found beneath the box. A similar discovery was made under the south-eastern corner, bringing to four the extant exemplars of DPH inscription (two gold and two silver plates).

The coins placed in association with the foundation plate deposits of the ‘Apadana’ in Persepolis<sup>13</sup> clearly point to “adaptive perpetuations and reinventions”<sup>14</sup> of the practice of votive deposition of numinous materials, of Near Eastern origin; all the more so, inasmuch as there was no real coin circulation at the time of the Achaemenid building in Takht-e Jamshid.

I find NIMCHUK’s interpretation on this point remarkably fitting: “I propose that Darius made deliberate choices of inclusion and exclusion for the deposits, expressing particular and conscious messages to select audiences. The deposits were meant to sanctify, legitimate and protect the king, the Apadana and the realm, as well as offer a lasting commemoration to Darius himself” (NIMCHUK 2010: 222).

(3) Richard ELLIS presented an interesting discussion of the linchpins depicted on the two ceremonial chariots appearing on the upper register of Wing A of each of the two ‘Apadana’ stairway façades. As he pointed out, the linchpins represented on these reliefs bear a striking resemblance to Early Dynastic foundation figurines in use about two thousand years before the Apadana reliefs were carved. Richard ELLIS suggested the likelihood that the Achaemenids had actually seen such figurines (perhaps coming across them in the course of building projects within their domains). They may, he noted, have modelled the linchpin representations on figurines discovered accidentally in this way.<sup>15</sup> Margaret C. ROOT posits that there was informed symbolic intent at work here in the deployment of this imagery specifically for the chariot wheels of the king and crown prince depicted in the sacral/ceremonial display of the Persepolis façades. The planners of the Achaemenid program should probably know something of the resonances and original building functions of these figurines.

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”). It is not sure that the variant is due to a real difference in the approach to the royal protection when using the Babylonian language, because the cuneiform signs of the last two lines of the Babylonian texts are unbelievably spaced in comparison with the signs of the other scripts.

<sup>13</sup> On the account of finding cf. SCHMIDT 1953: 70, 79, fig. 43; NIMCHUK 2010: 221–222; an overall evaluation is in ZOURNATZI 2003; also TAMERUS 2016: 247; MOUSAVI 2012:172–178 displays several previously unpublished photos of the discovery.

<sup>14</sup> ROOT 2010: 168.

<sup>15</sup> Especially on Early Dynastic examples cf. ELLIS 1966, *passim*; furthermore ELLIS 1968, figs. 3–8.



The practice of depositing tablets and texts of various materials is commonly said to continue into the Achaemenid period on the basis of the Mesopotamian patterns, even if in recent times a major emphasis on this kind of continuity has been put on Elamite traditions. A few inscribed tablets/tables/plates made of stone, clay, and precious metals can be assigned in fact to the reigns of different Achaemenid kings, even if only the gold and silver plates from the mentioned foundation deposits of Darius I at Persepolis were found *in situ*.

Besides tablets/tables/plates, however, as already mentioned above, bits of precious metals could also be interred within a building's foundations, either by strewing them among the foundations, as several Mesopotamian building inscriptions indicate, or by adding them to the material of the bricks themselves.

The inclusion of precious materials is one of the most common boasts in the neo-Assyrian and Babylonian building inscriptions that describe foundation deposits.

In addition, the use of coins in foundation deposits at Persepolis attests to the appropriateness of coins in the context of a strongly Assyrianizing tradition. Below each box with the gold/silver plates bearing the DPh inscriptions (see above) were discovered four gold coins and two of silver. The gold coins were Croesid staters while the silver coins were Greek: one Aeginetan, one Thracian and three Cypriot.

The use of Lydian and Greek coins is difficult to interpret. These coins may have been 'put into circulation' (not from the technical, monetary point of view) at Persepolis by Lydian and Greek craftsmen who are known to have worked at Persepolis. On the other hand, the coins may have been part of Darius' propagandistic program. Antigoni ZOURNATZI has argued that "the sum of the coins of the Apadana deposits could stand as symbols of Darius' control of important western sources of wealth and leading centers of western commercial/economic activity."<sup>16</sup>

Anyway ROOT's suggestion that the inclusion of coins in the Persepolis deposits had its formal precedent in Mesopotamian *Streugaben* deposits seems more pertinent to the point here. The inclusion of coins in the Persepolis deposits can be seen as expressions of this same interest in burying precious metals as foundation deposits, even if the new medium of the minted coin was used here.

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<sup>16</sup> ZOURNATZI 2003: 19.

A major difference with Mesopotamia is that for Achaemenid Iran we do not know anything about prayers, incantations, sacrifices that accompanied the deposition of foundation deposits.

Most probably, we will never have for Achaemenid Iran a major work as Claus AMBOS, *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*,<sup>17</sup> ie. a thorough philological analysis of a big complex of ritual texts and inscriptions describing foundation rituals. txt eliminato

In the textual appendix to AMBOS' updating of his book, viz. his 2010 contribution to a collective volume *Building Rituals from the First Millennium BC. The Evidence from the Ritual Texts*, a few Achaemenid texts are provided in paragraph 7 (§7.1 to §7.8), but none of them is dated after the end of the reign of Darius the Great. I would suggest now to shift our attention to the latest phases of the Achaemenid documentation, viz. the building activity of King Artaxerxes II in Susa.

The definition "Achaemenid 'foundation texts' from Iran" carries quite a bit of "fluidity in theory", just to use an expression suggested by Margaret C. ROOT. Presumably it could, e.g., refer to any text that alludes to a building or a building program. And/or it could refer to any text (no matter what its content) that has been found physically associated with a building, or more specifically, with the foundations of a building. Based on the challenges and idiosyncracies of the Iranian dossier, Margaret C. ROOT has developed two definitional parameters that conform to the following criteria: in order to be considered as a foundation text, (1) the text in at least one exemplar should be known *archaeologically* to have been interred in a foundation; and/or (2) the text in at least one exemplar should be presented in a physical format that echoes known Achaemenid foundation texts from building interments.

This framing does exclude certain Achaemenid texts that might arguably be included as foundation texts on the grounds of content referring to construction, patronage, and/or symbolical values of a building; typically, certain texts on column tori and the superstructures of building walls. As far as the inclusion of key material fitting criterion (2) goes, discussion bears on a crucial significance of what a foundation text can mean for the Achaemenids in Iran. ROOT wisely remarks<sup>18</sup> that this simultaneously opens up discussion on how we must deal with the problem of defining a temple or a sacred space in Achaemenid Iran; but since I have treated this last problem

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<sup>17</sup> AMBOS 2004.

<sup>18</sup> ROOT 2010: 169.

in a paper recently submitted to a Festschrift for Pierre LECOQ,<sup>19</sup> in connection with the OP hapax *ayadana*- occurring at lines sixty-three and sixty-four of the first column of the OP version of the inscription of Darius at Bisotun, and there is no space enough in the present contribution, I will limit myself to a case which may prove to be borderline between different ways of conceiving foundation deposits.

Even not being perfectly in line with Margaret C. ROOT's definition of 'foundation text' (which I anyway would not accept *in toto*), seen from the perspective of the complete absence of *ritual* texts in the surviving corpus of the texts from Achaemenid Iran, the wording of the final lines of the trilingual inscription A<sup>2</sup>Sa is particularly promising, since it contains (or might contain, as we shall see) the only written allusion in the whole Achaemenid epigraphic corpus to any dangerous entities at work in any building process.

The British archaeologist William LOFTUS, who was the first to dig at Susa in mid-Nineteenth Century, described the excavations of the epigraphs found in the *apadana* of the building reconstructed by Artaxerxes II in Darius' Palace with the following words: "in each of the two most northerly rows of the great phalanx, the two central square pedestals (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4) were or had been inscribed with trilingual cuneiform records. These were cut around the ledge, but the fall of the columns had so materially injured them that only one copy remained entire — written unfortunately in the language which is least known of the three".<sup>20</sup>

We have fragments of different copies on the four pedestals described above, and at least on three further supports (see below). Note that each set of inscriptions contained the same text in three languages: The Elamite version occupied the western side, the Persian faced towards the south, and the Babylonian pointed eastward; the fourth side was plain. LOFTUS<sup>21</sup> described the state of the texts as follows:

pedestal no. 1: Elamite text : "perfect"; Old Persian: "had lost the last two lines";  
Babylonian: "the whole of the central portion was destroyed by the fall of the bull-capital";

pedestal no. 2: "much damaged, having only fragments of the Persian and Babylonian copies still existing";<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> ROSSI 2016.

<sup>20</sup> LOFTUS 1857: 370. The four pedestals are marked as 1, 2, 3, 4 on the plan on p. 366.

<sup>21</sup> LOFTUS 1857: 371.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.: "It had been injured on some previous occasion, either by flaws or otherwise, because pieces of the same stone had been fitted in and secured with iron or lead, over

pedestal no. 3: “a few characters of the Persian alone remain”;

pedestal no. 4: “nothing is left but the basement slab to determine its former position.

There can, however, be little doubt that it was inscribed like the others, because these four columns mark the position of the principal façade”.

Roland KENT, who in his times did not read the fourth and fifth line of the OP version, as you may see below (in *Italic* are KENT’s reconstructions),<sup>23</sup> integrated the OP text<sup>24</sup> after the Babylonian version and after a similar inscription attributed to column bases with the name of the same king in Hamadan,<sup>25</sup> in a form not much different from the first modern edition by WEISSBACH:<sup>26</sup>

- l. 4. .... : vašnā : AM : Anah<sup>a</sup>ta : utā : M<sup>i</sup>θra : imam : apadāna : adam : akunām : AM : A  
 l. 5 nah<sup>a</sup>ta : utā : M<sup>i</sup>θra : mām : pātuv : hacā : vispā : gastā : utā : imam : tya : akunām :  
 mā : vijanātiy : mā : vināθayātiy

A major progress in reading the fragmentary parts of A<sup>2</sup>Sa was achieved with the publication by Marie-Joseph STEVE<sup>27</sup> of nine further fragments found by Roman GHIRSHMAN during the excavations in 1958–1963 (now in Susa Museum), evidencing at least three more fragmentary bases.<sup>28</sup> It was clear that at least two different layouts of the inscription – respectively six and seven lines for OP, the second of which is the best represented – had been produced, and Günter SCHWEIGER was able to single out in 1998 two further marble fragments repeating a different OP version of the same inscription.<sup>29</sup> It was consequently reinforced STEVE’s assumption that A<sup>2</sup>Sa was not only repeated on many of the column bases<sup>30</sup> of the so called

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which the inscriptions had been cut.”

<sup>23</sup> KENT 1953: 154; also pp. 111, 146, 113.

<sup>24</sup> KENT 1953 *ibid.*: “Note to A<sup>2</sup>Sa”.

<sup>25</sup> Copies of the three versions from different supports, now preserved in a very fragmentary state, in the British Museum, in private collections and in the ICHHTO deposits, cf. KNAPTON – SARRAF – CURTIS 2001: 102–105 and fig. 2a-c; the Babylonian and Elamite texts should be the subject of a separate study by C.B.F. WALKER, cf. KNAPTON – SARRAF – CURTIS 2001: 115 n. 17.

<sup>26</sup> WEISSBACH 1911: 122–125.

<sup>27</sup> STEVE 1975: 6–18; STEVE 1987: 88–94 and pl. xvi-xvii.

<sup>28</sup> Information due to Gian Pietro BASELLO, DARIOSH Project (see fn. 30 below).

<sup>29</sup> SCHWEIGER 1998, I: 138–139; II: 485–496; the new fragments cf. SCHWEIGER 1998, II: 493–496: Louvre inv. no. S<sup>b</sup>9796 and S<sup>b</sup>9799.

<sup>30</sup> Surely more than the four pointed out by LOFTUS, as a recent reconnaissance by G.P. BASELLO and J. CUNY on the Louvre fragments (Courtesy Musée du Louvre/DARIOSH Project) shows.

*apadana* of Susa, but was also on display in major spots of the monumental hall (or surroundings of it) in larger cuneiform characters.<sup>31</sup>

In A<sup>2</sup>Sa/OP l. 6<sup>32</sup> which, thanks to the new finds, is, apart from the very last word, now complete, we read at the end, immediately after the formulation “may Ahuramazda, Anahita and Miθra protect me from all evil”

ut : imm : ty : ak<sup>h</sup>una : ma : yat<sup>h</sup>um : ma : kyada : v<sup>+</sup>[++]it<sup>h</sup>[+]  
*uta imam taya akunā mā yātum mā kayādā vi[++]tu[+]*.

Both STEVE<sup>33</sup> and MAYRHOFER<sup>34</sup> connect the *uta*-clause with what precedes, and regard the *mā*-clause as independent, translating respectively:

... ainsi que ce que j’ai construit. (Puissent-ils) ne [provoquer(?)] ni dommage ni ruine ! (Steve 1975: 10; variant in Steve 1987: 90 : “et, ce que j’ai construit, qu’aucun maléfice ou destruction ne le ruinent”)

and

ebenso das, was ich geschaffen habe. Nicht soll Verfluchung(?), nicht soll Vernachlässigung (Verkommenlassen)[?] .... (MAYRHOFER 1978: 31);

Rüdiger SCHMITT on the contrary separates the final clause after *uta* as one can see in what follows.<sup>35</sup>

und das, was ich geschaffen habe, soll weder xxxx noch xxxx (zerstören?),

but he leaves the two nominals following the prohibitive particles untranslated.

Combining together all available versions, how is the concluding prohibitive clause to be constructed ?

The first to attract attention on the point was Oswald SZEMERÉNYI in his review of MAYRHOFER’s *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*.

MAYRHOFER seems to think – even if with some contradiction<sup>36</sup> – that *yātum* and *kayādā* are the morpho-syntactical subjects, while Steve assumes

<sup>31</sup> Steve 1975: 6.

<sup>32</sup> Or l. 5 in pentalinear exemplars, cf. STEVE 1975: 6; SCHMITT 2009: 191.

<sup>33</sup> STEVE 1975: 10.

<sup>34</sup> MAYRHOFER 1978: 30–31 § 7.1.1.

<sup>35</sup> SCHMITT 2009: 192.

<sup>36</sup> While MAYRHOFER’s reasoning in § 7.1.2 is intentionally noncommittal, he remarks in the *Register* (MAYRHOFER 1978: 49): “*ya-a-tu-* (etwa „Zauberei“ [av. *yātu-*]); °*tu-u-um* wohl Nsg. (?)”.

the divine entities to be the agents, and expressly states that the two nominal forms “sont très probablement des accus. m. sg.”.<sup>37</sup>

For the Babylonian version STEVE proposes to read as follows:

[u agašum **appadān** lā um]aḥḥiṣu lā uḥabbaluš.

STEVE (1987: 90) gives the following comment on the Babylonian verb *maḥāṣu* : “y-a-t<sup>u</sup>-u-m (*yātum*), mot nouveau, rapproché par Mayrhofer de l’avest. *yātu-* avec le sens de ‘magie, sorcellerie’ [...] L’accadien traduit ce substantif par un verbe *maḥāṣu* ‘frapper, tuer, nuire’. Il semble bien que la signification ‘magie, sorcellerie’ est primitive dans l’Avesta et ne résulte pas d’une évolution sémantique postérieure. L’acc. *Maḥāṣu* suggère d’ailleurs dans certains cas une action possible des démons. La traduction que nous proposons maintenant ‘maléfice’, en place de ‘dommage’, tient compte de cette éventualité. Peut-on avancer que l’émergence de ce terme avestique significatif dans un texte d’Artaxerxès II est un indice de zoroastrisme ? Si on fait entrer en ligne de compte le mot *kayādā*, autre terme avestique, qui accompagne *yātum* et la mention des divinités Anahita et Mithra, l’hypothèse ne peut être tout à fait exclue”.

On *kayādā*, STEVE (ibid.) remarks: “k-y-a-d-a (*kayādā*) > élam. *hiyada*. Autre mot nouveau qu’on retrouve dans l’avest. *kaiiada-*, désignant” l’indifférence religieuse”, considérée comme une faute, une action peccamineuse. Dans le cas présent cette acception paraît trop faible. La version accadienne emploie ici le verbe *habālu* qui a d’abord signifié ‘opprimer’ et a glissé vers ‘détruire’. C’est ce dernier sens qui été adopté par le CAD qui traduit ainsi notre passage ‘May (the gods) neither damage nor destroy what I have built’ (s.v. *habālu* A). L’équivalence, à l’époque moyen-perse, de l’avest. *kaiiada-* avec *kāstārīh/kastār* nous oriente également vers le sens fort ‘malfaisance, destruction’.”

No translation is given either in STEVE’s 1975 article or in his 1987 book; but his remark on the final part of the inscription and his further remarks in his 1975 (ibid., p. 11) and 1987 (p. 90) essays are sufficient to let us think that his understanding of the passage was really rather close to the wording

<sup>37</sup> STEVE 1975: 11, quoting epistolary discussion with M. MAYRHOFFER upon this point.

that SZEMERÉNYI attributes<sup>38</sup> to him : “and may (the gods) neither smash nor (otherwise) damage this apadān”.

The Babylonian version differs from the OP on two points: the OP has an additional phrase “that which I made/build”, and (more interesting) it has two nouns with a single verb where the Babylonian has two different verbs. SZEMERÉNYI is convinced that “the Akkadian quite clearly misrepresents the thought of the OP text”: it regards the gods as the potential agents of certain destructive acts, while the OP text apparently speaks of magical acts, not the acts of the gods. Put in another way, we could perhaps say that the Babylonian version represents the things according to the Mesopotamian view, not the Iranian one.

Who are then the agents who perform the destructive act expressed in the OP imperative/prohibitive  $v^{i[++]it^{i[+]}}$ ?

MAYRHOFER’s solution *also* – following STEVE’s tracks – looks for the agents in the prohibitive clauses, as it is clear not only from the fact that he has to take *yātum* for a mistake instead of nom. *yātuš*, but even more from its translation as “Verfluchung”, although in the light of the Av. evidence it is rather improbable that it has ever had any other meaning than “sorcery” (or the personified “sorcerer, magician”, see below). Since *yātum* appears both in STEVE’s A<sup>2</sup>Sa/OP line 3 and in A<sup>2</sup>Sa/OP line 5 in two different OP versions, it can be hardly considered as an error, and SZEMERÉNYI considers probable that it represents \**yātumā*, the nominative of an unattested stem *yātumant-* ‘Zauberei treibend, hexend, Zauberergerosse’ (a formation to be compared e.g. with OP *tunuvā*, the nominative of *tunuvant-*). This could in its turn suggest that *kayādā* also is an agent.<sup>39</sup> It could belong with Av.

<sup>38</sup> SZEMERÉNYI 1979: 59 refers to STEVE 1975, p. 16, but there only the “état actuel du text accadien de A<sup>2</sup>Sa” is given in transcription; the only translation given by the French scholar in his first essay is in STEVE 1975: 10, immediately after the transcription of the OP version of the inscription, refers to the OP text, and one has to complement it with STEVE’s remark at p. 18, ad l. 7: “La finale du texte accadien serait ainsi identique à celle de A<sup>2</sup>Ha : 5 *ù a-ga-šum a-[pa-da-an]*, different légèrement de la finale commune aux versions vieux-perse et élamite”. In any case, STEVE 1987: 90 clearly abandoned his early translation (STEVE 1975: 10: “j’ai fait (re)construire cette salle à colonnes. Qu’Ahuramazda, Anahita et Mithra me gardent de tout mal, ainsi que ce que j’ai construit. (Puissent-ils) ne [provoquer ?] ni dommage ni ruine ! ”; STEVE 1987: 90: “j’ai fait (re)construire cet *apadana*. Qu’[[Ahuramazda,] Anahita et Mithra me gardent de tout mal, et, ce que j’ai construit, qu’aucun maléfice ou destruction ne le ruinent”).

<sup>39</sup> And not an abstract, especially not such a “*colourless one*” (to quote SZEMERÉNYI’s biting comment) as proposed by MAYRHOFER (“(religiöse) Gleichgültigkeit” or “Vernachlässigung”).

*kaiiāda-* ‘sorcerer’ (?) but unfortunately neither the meaning nor the etymon of this word is altogether clear.<sup>40</sup> As to the morphology of our text, one should remark that only A<sup>2</sup>Sa/OP 3 has <kyada>, with final °ā, which might be the nom. sg., in parallel to *yātumā*; the fact that the Elamite transcript (apparently) transliterates the OP form may, or may not be significant in this connection. SKJÆRVØ (1999: 33) especially on the base of Y 61.1-3, where Av. *yātu-* and *kaiiāda-* co-occur,<sup>41</sup> presents A<sup>2</sup>Sa/OP 5-6 as a coherent parallel with the Avestan passages in which do appear “magicians and sorcerers, who are bent upon destroying the work of Order [...] precautions are taken against their activities in the building inscription of Artaxerxes II at Susa”.<sup>42</sup>

Chlodwig WERBA, who analyzes this inscription at length, maintains that Elamite *hi-ia-du*, because of his initial *hi-*, cannot render a reconstructed OP \**yātu-*, but must represent something like \**ha-yāt/θu-* which he considers “Reflex eines ap. Kompositums \**ha-yāt/θu-*” in the meaning of ‘mit/von gleichem Zauber’. Anyway, as Jan TAVERNIER comments,<sup>43</sup> this is unnecessary, and I would add, rather unlikely. This initial extra-syllable *hi* may represent the Elamite demonstrative, or may be a scribal error, or may represent an aspirated epenthesis — as it is not rare in the Elamite transcription of Iranian words having a vocalic Anlaut.

In conclusion, there remains the problem of the final verbal forms.

Most probably, we have in the OP text two agents with evil designs, and in this case the verb may well express something similar to the semantic valences of the two Akkadian verbs; SZEMERÉNYI proposes \**vikānītu* from \**vikāniyatu*. The comparison would then be with OP *vikan-* “destroy”,

<sup>40</sup> Rüdiger SCHMITT’s latest position on the word is as follows: “Die nur in A<sup>2</sup>Sa 6 in lückenhaftem Kontext bezeugte Form ist nicht sicher erklärt; Auffassung als NSf<sup>2</sup> ist aber wahrscheinlich, ebenso auch der Zusammenhang mit jav. *kaiiāda-* „Gleichgültigkeit, Nachlässigkeit” (vgl. Klingenschmitt 1968, 203; Mayrhofer 1978b, 30f.). Mit dem Nebeneinander von ebenfalls problematischem *yātum* (s. dort) und *kayādā* hat Skjærvø 1999a, 33 Y. 61, 3 *kaiiādanqma yātumatqma* „of sorcerers ... and magicians” verglichen. Sollte *yātum* in *yātumā* (Stamm °*mant-*) zu ändern sein, müsste auch NSm *kayādā* als Personenbezeichnung (wie jav. *kaiiāda-* „gleichgültig”) interpretiert werden” (SCHMITT 2014: 203).

<sup>41</sup> But Yt 10.2 has *kaiiāda-* alone, and Yt 8.44 *yātu-* alone, cf. SKJÆRVØ 1999: 33.

<sup>42</sup> SKJÆRVØ’s (1999: 33) translation (“May Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā, and Mithra protect me from all evil. And may no magician or sorcerer \*destroy this which I made!”) differs only slightly from his 2011 (p. 233) one (“Let Ahuramazdā, Anāhitā, and Mithra Protect me from the Foulness! Let no sorcerer or magician destroy this that I have made!”).

<sup>43</sup> TAVERNIER 2007: 40 (1.4.15.6).



continued e.g. in Parth. *wyg'nyd* ‘he destroys’.<sup>44</sup> Another possible conjecture would be that proposed by François DE BLOIS<sup>45</sup> reading <v<sup>i</sup>[id]it[<sup>u</sup>v]> from an inferred OP \**vi-dī-* ‘to inflict (injury on)’.

As for the Elamite final clause, WEISSBACH was hampered by his inability to check neither the original stone nor LOFTUS’ lithography, and he produced in a very tentative way the reading *te-man-ka-in* (with the annotation: “Lesung und grammatische Deutung dieser Worte ist unsicher”, Weissbach 1911: 124–125). HINZ (1973, p. 64) introduced the idea of an archaic echoing of the Middle Elamite final formula *anu ... melk-*, something as <an-nu ... me-ul-ka<sub>4</sub>-in> “er soll nicht abändern, verändern”, which was adopted by VALLAT (1977: 255). STEVE, who avoided to offer a reconstruction and translation in his 1975 article, insisted in 1987 (p. 92) that in NORRIS’ copy “on peut lire AŠ *te-man-ka<sub>4</sub>-in*”.<sup>46</sup> I discussed the matter with our DARIOSH Elamitologist Gian Pietro BASELLO, who kindly checked the very peculiar *ductus* of many characters throughout A<sup>2</sup>Sa; BASELLO reached the conclusion that there is no room for reading <me> followed by <ul>, but in my opinion <me> could be read in the two small horizontal wedges<sup>47</sup> following <da> in LOFTUS’ lithography (if it is correct<sup>48</sup>). I see anyhow a morphological problem in the verbal form (-*an*) which I can not explain.

In any case, the end of the inscription should mean, more or less:

“may [the gods] protect me, and that which I built, may that neither a sorcerer nor a *kayāda* destroy”.

A last remark concerns the actions performed in the rituals, about which nothing can be deduced for Achaemenid Iran from written documentation.

<sup>44</sup> SZEMERÉNYI 1979: 60.

<sup>45</sup> *Apud* SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000: 213, s.v. *oiçli-*.

<sup>46</sup> HALLOCK (1969: 761) enters the following item: “*temankan (?) (te(?)-man(?)-ka-in* A<sup>2</sup>Sa 5) mng. should be ‘(let them not) inflict.’ Pps. Conj III inf.; but if so the reading can hardly be correct”. SCHMITT (2010: 286) reads: <sup>h</sup>*te-man-qa-in* with the following remark: “Die Übersetzung muß sich im Zweifelsfall dem altpersischen Text anschließen; der Schluß des Textes ist unklar”. SCHMITT’s translation is: “Nicht soll ... ?, nicht ... ? ...?!” (SCHMITT 2010: 287).

<sup>47</sup> STEVE 1992: 129, no. 532 ME, column “achemenide/5”, with possible rotation.

<sup>48</sup> The originals of what NORRIS (1852: 163) calls “a fac-simile ... made from a paper cast which I found among those left at my disposal by Colonel Rawlinson” could possibly be kept at the Royal Asiatic Society Collections of Sir Henry Creswicke RAWLINSON BART (<http://royalasiaticsociety.org/list-of-the-ras-collections-of-sir-henry-creswicke-rawlinson-bart-1810-1895/>, kind information by G.P. BASELLO).

Anyhow, a series of substances connected to this kind of rituals are known from the Mesopotamian textual sources and, therefore, we can expect them to be part of actual building deposits, a circumstance which could be attested archaeologically. Of course, as remarked by Claus AMBOS, it would be impossible to find liquids, like e.g. the much mentioned oils, many years after they were poured into the foundations; there are, however, in Mesopotamia attestations of liquids being deposited in vessels left in the brickwork.<sup>49</sup> Disposing of dangerous magical substances by throwing them into a river at the time of the reconstruction of a building was common practice in Mesopotamian rituals. In the subsequent step of the building process, ie. the laying of the new foundations, such substances were deposited anew in the foundation trenches or between the joints of the first layer of bricks forming the new foundation structure.

BOUCHARLAT (2010: 409) inserts in his chapter on *Autres travaux de Darius et successeurs* two pictures of enlargements of a cross-section of two bricks. They display very clearly some mercury drops (eight in all are mentioned in the accompanying text) in the bricks of the first seven lower courses in the Western Wall of the portico of the Shaur Palace. Rémy BOUCHARLAT, who studied the issue, reproduced in an experimental way a mixture of clay and mercury, and realized that, three days after the drying process, the distribution of the mercury drops had exactly the same random distribution as in the Shaur Palace bricks.

Here are BOUCHARLAT's considerations:

Le dépôt était intentionnel comme le montra une expérience tentée à partir du kilogramme de mercure liquide recueilli 200 g furent déposés dans un trou ménagé dans une brique en fabrication et 200 g malaxés avec la terre d'une autre brique. Après séchage pendant trois jours, on observe que, dans le premier test, le mercure avait traversé la brique par les tissures qui s'étaient créées au séchage, tandis que, dans le second test, le mercure était réparti dans toute a brique sous forme de gouttes et de petites inclusions, comme dans les briques anciennes. Le mercure est obtenu par grillage de son minéral, le cinabre (sulfure de mercure), utilisé par ailleurs pour produire un pigment rouge vermillon, utilisé dans les peintures murales du même palais. [...]

La découverte de mercure dans le palais du Chaour montre que déjà sous les Achéménides on exploitait des mines de cinabre; les plus proches de Suse, d'après les données géologiques du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, sont situées près de Hamadan et en Azerbaïdjan, près de Takht-i Solaiman.

La présence intentionnelle de mercure dans le palais du Chaour ne peut s'expliquer autrement que par un rite de fondation. Ce rite intervient en général au début de la construction; on choisit de placer le dépôt dans les fondations elles-mêmes on dans un

<sup>49</sup> AMBOS 2010: 231.

angle de la construction, ou encore aux portes, mais les règles ne sont pas très précises. Ainsi au Chaour le dépôt est placé dans l'élévation du mur depuis sa base; en outre il n'est ni dans l'axe de la salle hypostyle, ni dans un angle, ni près d'une porte.

Quant aux matériaux utilisés dans les dépôts de fondation, on observe une grande diversité depuis des liquides, des aliments ordinaires mais symboliques (pain, bière) ou des objets divers, informes. Le mercure avait du moins l'intérêt d'être un matériau rare et d'aspect surprenant, ce qui peut expliquer cette utilisation rituelle, qui reste unique.<sup>50</sup>

Considering that most or all of the mentioned fragments have been found in the areas of Artaxerxes' palatial complexes, the joint evidence coming from both archaeological and epigraphic sources seems to suggest the answer to the question on how the Persian exorcists could keep the bad sorcery away from the Palaces: by scattering drops of mercury in the building materials.

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<sup>50</sup> BOUCHARLAT 2010: 408.



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THE CRAFT OF RITUAL ACTION  
(RITUAL FORMULAE AND RITUAL PRAGMATICS  
IN THE VEDA AND AVESTA, VI)

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1. In a series of thirteen papers from the last eleven years,<sup>1</sup> I have been systematically presenting Vedic and Avestan parallels of formulae, mantras and ritual practices. For historians of Old Iranian ritual nowadays it is virtually impossible to interpret Avestan sacred texts in isolation from their Old Indic counterparts. Just as archaic as the main liturgies in the Veda, the Avestan ritual, even after Zaraθuštra's radical innovations, is still deeply indebted to ancient Indo-Iranian ritual traditions,<sup>2</sup> in particular for what concerns the composition of complex litany structures of which consists the essential part of the Avestan Long Liturgy, esp. the Yasna and Vīsprad corpus.<sup>3</sup>

The comparison of litanies and ritual activities of various Soma rituals of the Veda and Haoma liturgies of the Avesta displays items of common origin and crucial ritual structures on various levels. Both the items themselves, i.e. the key concepts of ritual, and their syntagmatics – ritual formulae and phrasemes – show conceptual and formulative intra- and interdependencies that allow for detailed reconstructions not only of common technical terms and formulae but of entire Indo-Iranian ritual modules and paradigms regards both the sacred texts and what I call, with Jan HOUBEN,<sup>4</sup> their ritual pragmatics.

The results of such detailed comparison are astonishing: Entire ritual structures exhibit *systematic* correspondences both of individual *ritual modules* and in the *arrangement of the rites* within the Vedic and the Avestan liturgies, but

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<sup>1</sup> See SADOVSKI 2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2016, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2020, and forthc. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SADOVSKI 2018b.

<sup>3</sup> On its general characteristics, see CANTERA 2016a, 2016b, 2019, 2020b, PANAINO 2016 and in PANAINO – SADOVSKI 2007: 7ff., HINTZE 2007a, HUMBACH – FAISS 2010, SADOVSKI 2018a, 2018b and SADOVSKI, forthc. 1, KELLENS – REDARD, forthc., REDARD, forthc.; on the individual structures involved see KOTWAL – BOYD 1991, KELLENS 2006–2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, HINTZE 2004, 2007b, STAUSBERG 2004, CANTERA 2015, 2016c, 2020a, SADOVSKI 2009, 2012ab and forthc. 4, 5, REDARD, forthc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HOUBEN 2000a, HOUBEN 2000b.

also for what regards the structure and contents of sacred formulae on lexical, syntactic and stylistic level.

**2.** The Indo-Iranian background of such structures is obvious:

**2.1.** In the Vedic ritual, every sacrifice starts with *preparatory rites* containing a *samkalpa-* (preparatory declaration) and *opening rites* invoking (the) *Fire* (Agni) *before all other beings* (on the Avestan parallel to this Vedic notion, cf. CANTERA 2019).

**2.1.1.** As I showed in the Festschrift for Alexander LUBOTSKY (SADOVSKI 2018a), the Vedic text parallel to the Avestan *Ratu-* catalogue from the Long Liturgy comes from the RV apocryphs (*Khila*) and represents a ‘list of lists’ itself. The so-called *Ṛtuyāja-Praśādhya* 1–4 – from the RV-Kh.7,(1), ed. and tr. by MINKOWSKI 1991: 199ff. – contains (a) the list of *priests* elected and having to explicitly make their choice for their respective *functions* within the Haoma ritual (SADOVSKI, forthc. 3); (b) the ‘Fire list’ (SADOVSKI 2018a: 315ff.).

**2.1.2.** Before the *main sacrifices*, a series of *pre-sacrifices* (*pra-yāja-*) take place, together with pre-sacrificial litanies dedicated to the Fire in his various aspects and to other deities. The earthly Fire transforms to a transcendental one, its *aspects* being honoured by specific individual *names*. The numbers of pre-sacrifices and their litanies vary between 5 for the normal sacrifices, 9, 10 or 11 for the animal sacrifice whose *yāja-* formulae are called *Āprī-*, and 12 in the case of the *ṛtu-yāja-*s in which the originally 8 *grahas* have been increased to 12, in order to match to the idea of *ṛtávas-* as ‘ritual times’. Solid meal offerings precede (and follow) the main *Soma* sacrifice.<sup>5</sup>

**2.1.3.** The election of persons from the religious community to ‘priests-on-liturgical-time’ is fundamental, “making the choice” one by one, on the principle ‘the *right function* for the *right period* (*ṛtúnā*)’. They have *divine status* – cf. e.g. the *divyā(u) hotarā(u)* in the *Āprī-* liturgies (s. below) – for the duration of ritual; after the liturgy is over, they return to their *human* status: In the Veda we know rituals of election of “priests” called *ṛtv-īj-*, literally ‘those who act *ṛtúnā*, according-to-the-(right-)ritual-time-articulation/regulation/domain’, from *ṛtú-* ‘right arrangement; *right ritual time*’ (active), vs. *ṛtá-* ‘r/Rightness’ (resultative) :: adv. *ṛtayā*, and Av. *aša-* ‘id.; personified’ → adv. *ašaiia* ‘in accord with R.’. At the beginning of both the *Soma* and the *animal* sacrifice, we have the ritual of *ṛtvig-varaṇa-* ‘choice of *ṛtvij-s*’: priests being elected by the Yajamāna for the respective ritual functions and for the ritual period concerned.

**2.1.4.** In the ritual of *ṛtu-yāja-* we find the priest election on behalf of the Yajamāna in a rite initiated by the *Hotar* with the election of a *Prasāstar* priest

<sup>5</sup> SADOVSKI 2018a, 2018b and forthc. 1.



– *maitrāvaruṇa-*, one of the two “Divine Hotars” of ritual – who *orders* the individual *ṛtvīj-*s. During the choice of the priests, the *Hotar-/Prasāstar* explicitly assigns them divine names, endorsement and functions, by which they become *divine actants* of the ritual. Out main text is RV-Khila 5,7. The *Āprī-* litanies represent various (alternative) liturgical types, (later) incorporated in the solemn ritual or into ‘private rites’, and include *animal sacrifice*.

**2.1.5.** Versions of the RV *Āprī-* litanies are used in rituals with high cosmological relevance on theo- and anthropological level, of ‘demi-urgic’ and ‘oikonomic’ character. Such liturgies are expandable by including additional anterior and posterior modules, into several *Long Vedic liturgies* like *ahina-* and *sattra-* – which contain *nocturnal rituals* just as does the expanded Long Avestan liturgy that included *Vīdēvdād* intercalations and *nocturnal performance*.

**2.2.** Central aspects of these ritual forms are parallel to the Avestan Yasna: in its form as a combination of Old and Young Av. litanies.

**2.2.1.** It contains the preparatory rites of *para-gnā-* and *saṃkalpa-* (rites before the start of the Long Liturgy and Y. 0), including opening rites invoking the *Fire* before all other beings.

**2.2.2.** At the start, we have a series of *pre-sacrificial* litanies, incl. the ritual invitation “down”: *ni-VID-* in the caus. *niuuāēḍaiemi* “I invite ‘down’ [by ritual cataloguing/enumeration]”. The numbers, too, match those in the Vedas. — Like in Vedic, solid meal offerings preceding (and following) the main Soma sacrifice.

**2.2.3.** Like in Vedic, Avestan knows the election of persons from religious community to ‘priests-on-liturgical-time’, ‘MAKING THE CHOICE’ one by one in the name and as projection of the deities. This happens at the same *ritual time* as in Vedic: at the beginning of the core liturgy: Y. 11,8ff.; Y. 14. Priests are elected by “installation” and by presenting themselves choosing to be ‘ready’ for the respective ritual functions for the *rite-time* concerned.

**2.2.4.** After the *choosing* formula *fra-uuarāne* (Y. 12), an act of ‘personal auto-immolation’ of the priests follows (Y. 11,8f[.]), by which they becoming *divine actants* of the ritual. Like in Vedic, Avestan knows the transformation of the earthly fire to a transcendental one. Like the Soma, Haoma offerings contain pressures, mixing and ritual drinking of the liquid substance. Here, too, animal sacrifices are embedded into the complex ritual.

**2.2.5.** At the end, the Great sacrifice to the Fire brings it back to its earthly nature, and the liturgy is concluded by the Great sacrifice to the Waters. The Liturgies contain catalogues both of (theo-, cosmo- and anthropological) entities and, on a ritualist meta-level, of the canonized textual portions, seen as *ratu-*s ‘articulations, (ritual [sequence/time-]regulations, ritual (time) domains’ of

Aša, i.e. of ‘Rightness’, in the sphere both of the universal (demiurgical) Order and of the truth of creative speech acts. They are expandable by including additional anterior and posterior modules.<sup>6</sup>

3. The beginning of the Long Liturgy consists of specific *introductory* catalogues, listing the main theo- and cosmological aspects of the entire universe (first, Yasna “0” and then Y. 1–2): Catalogues of *All [Greatest] Ratus (ratauuō vīspe [mazišta]*), incl. Ahura Mazdā.

3.1. The Avestan Long Liturgy contains lists of *ritual time domains (ratu-* cf. Ved. *ṛtu-* ‘id.’) both at the start of the Yasna (and Visprad [3]) and at their end (Y. [71-]72): The introductory litanies address ritual time domains (*ratu-*) of the day (*asniia-*) (5 stanzas) • of the month (*māhiia-*) • of the year (*yāiriia-*) (both total 2 stanzas) • with character of *pairi-hāuuanis* (8 stanzas) and the seasonal *ratus sarədas* at Vr. 1 of the same formulaic and syntactic structure.

3.2. These rituals function in the same way as in the Vedic ritual *every sacrifice* starts with *preparatory rites* containing a *saṃkalpa-* (preparatory declaration):

“[After one has placed in a copper vessel *kuśa* grass, sesame and grains of rice,] one should formulate the *saṃkalpa-* facing north, starting with the year and ending with the wishes (regarding the ritual), [enumerating] altogether 23 items – mostly *Ṛtu-*, the right/rite times: • the year, • the half-year, • the month (*māsa-*), • the fortnight, and also the five parts of a traditional calendar, that means • the lunar day, • the weekday, • the lunar mansion, • the conjunction, • the half of the lunar day.”<sup>7</sup>

4.1. The lists opening the *Long Liturgy* are followed by the initial rites proper (Yasna 1–2), incl. (cf. the end of the first row of the Table) *praising formulae to the Fire*, styled as the ‘Son of Ahura Mazdā’. • Their counterpart at the end is a stanza about the post-ritual *return* of the Fire (Y. 71,23, the last-but-one row). Here, moreover, the *Srōš Drōn* is recited, the sacred text accompanying the solid meal offering in Y. 3–8). This part introduces Main Section ①, Y. 9–21 (s. SADOVSKI, forthc. 4 and CANTERA 2020).

4.2. The Vedic ritual contains similar *opening rites* invoking (the) *Fire* before all other beings. Before *the main* sacrifices, a series of *pre-sacrifices (pra-yāja-)* take place, together with pre-sacrificial litanies dedicated to the Fire in his various aspects and to other deities. The earthly Fire transforms to a transcendental one, its *aspects* being honoured by specific individual *names*. The numbers of pre-sacrifices and their litanies vary between 5 for the normal sacrifices, 9, 10 or 11 for

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in detail CANTERA 2016a, SADOVSKI 2018b and forthc. 1.

<sup>7</sup> So MICHAELS 2005: 46f.; on the Indo-Iranian background cf. SADOVSKI, forthc. 2.

the animal sacrifice whose *yājya*- formulae are called *Āprī-*, and 12 in the case of the *ṛtu-yāja*-s in which the originally 8 *grahas* have been increased to 12, in order to match to the idea of *ṛtāvas*- as ‘ritual times’. Solid meal offerings precede (and follow) the main ritual.<sup>8</sup>

**5.1.1.** At the beginning of the Yasna liturgy, the Hāitis (“chapters”) Y. 1–4 and 6–7 share a common structure with regard to their seven subsections:<sup>9</sup>

1. Introduction,
2. Daily *ratus*,
3. Monthly *ratus*,
4. Yearly *ratus*,
5. Textual *ratus*,
6. Dedication (except in Y. 1–2), with possible extensions,
7. Conclusion.

The concordance between these chapters has been established by Céline REDARD (forthc., Table 2.1, with my modifications) as follows:

Introduction		Y.1,1-2	Y.2,1-2	Y.3,1-4	Y.4,1-7	Y.6,1	Y.7,1-4
Daily <i>ratus</i>		Y.1,3-7	Y.2,3-7	Y.3,5-9	Y.4,8-12	Y.6,2-6	Y.7,5-9
Monthly <i>ratus</i>		Y.1,8	Y.2,8	Y.3,10	Y.4,13	Y.6,7	Y.7,10
Yearly <i>ratus</i>		Y.1,9	Y.2,9	Y.3,11	Y.4,14	Y.6,8	Y.7,11
33 <i>ratus</i>		Y.1,10	Y.2,10	Y.3,12	Y.4,15	Y.6,9	Y.7,12
Date	AM / Miθra	Y.1,11	Y.2,11	Y.3,13	Y.4,16	Y.6,10	Y.7,13
Textual <i>ratus</i>	Fire, Water, Plant	Y.1,12	Y.2,12	Y.3,14	Y.4,17	Y.6,11	Y.7,14
	Mantra	Y.1,13	Y.2,13	Y.3,15	Y.4,18	Y.6,12	Y.7,15
	Mountain, Aṣi	Y.1,14	Y.2,14	Y.3,16	Y.4,19	Y.6,13	Y.7,16
	Dahmā Āfriti	Y.1,15	Y.2,15	Y.3,17	Y.4,20	Y.6,14	Y.7,17
	Universe	Y.1,16	Y.2,16	Y.3,18	Y.4,21	Y.6,15	Y.7,18
	Lofty <i>ratu</i>	Y.1,17	Y.2,17	Y.3,19	Y.4,22	(Y.6,16)	Y.7,19
Dedication		—	—	Y.3,20–21	Y.4,23	Y.6,17–18	Y.7,20–21
Extension	Frauaṣi	Y.1,18	Y.2,17	Y.3,22	Y.4,24	Y.6,19	Y.7,22
All <i>ratus</i>		Y.1,19	Y.2,18	Y.3,23	Y.4,25	Y.6,20	Y.7,23
Conclusion		Y.1,20-23	—	Y.3,24-25	Y.4,26	Y.6,21	Y.7,24-28

<sup>8</sup> Cf. SADOVSKI 2018b.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. REDARD (forthc.): 86f.

**5.1.2.** The Vīsprad version of the Long Liturgy, starting with the first intercalation chapters Vr. 1–2, contains invocations of the *Ratus* in the ritual:<sup>10</sup> The *invocation formula* sounds “I dedicate the sacrifice, I fulfil it (for you,) o, Ratus of X and of Y”. It is to pronounce to following *groups of divine elements* from the Avesta, for which the Veda delivers strong parallels: (1) the dimensions of the ‘*Mental and the Material*’ als fundamental categories of Zoroastrianism to which in Vedic lists the fundamental Indian categories ‘Movable and Immoveable’ correspond. – (2) *Aquatic animals, those living in the earth*, “the flying ones, the ones living in freedom, the ones living on the pasture” – the Vedic parallel mentions “*Aquatic animals and Reptiles*”. – (3) the *Periods of time* (containing also a list of *Seasons*) – to them, in the Vedic catalogue correspond the lists of ‘*Places, Periods of time, Worlds*’. – (4) The unity of Ahura Mazdā and Zaratūštra, as *God and his Priest-Prophet/Seer*, with the *Priests* of Avestan ritual – its Vedic pendant is the list item “*Gods and Rsis/Seers*”. – (5) the parts of the [liturgical!] Avesta, the *Sacred Words applied as ritual formulae* (esp. the Gāthās) – as their correspondence, the Vedic list ends with *Brāhman, the Sacred Word applied as ritual formula* (!).

**5.2.** The Vedic sacrificial mantras addressed to the [33!] Vāstoṣpati, the Lords of the Dwelling(-Place) in the domestic ritual according to the Baudhāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra contain the same invocation formulae, distributed within 25 oblations. The ritual is accomplished in the middle of the house and pronounced to the same *groups of divine entities* as in the Avestan list: (1) *Earth, Intermediate Space, Sky*; (2) *Sun, Moon*; (3) *Asterisms/Naksatras*; (4) *Waters, Plants (Herbs) and Trees* (5) the *Movable and Immoveable*; (6) *Aquatic animals and Reptiles*; (7) *Places, Periods of time, Worlds*; (8) *Gods and Rsis*; (9) *classes of gods*: Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas; (10) Indra, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati; and, as culmination, (11) the *creative sacred word*, the *Brāhman*.

**5.3.** Thus this formulary “begins with the genius of the house and, after addressing important objects and beings that belong to the inanimate and animate world, ends with individual gods the last of which is, by way of climax, the “biunity” Prajāpati and Brahman (Prajāpati is there simply *sarvaṃ brahma*). – The parallels between the ritual catalogues and their individual items cannot be greater and follow, moreover, *in the same arrangement* (cf. the Table on the next page):

<sup>10</sup> Cf. SADOVSKI 2018a: 313–315.

Avestan list	Vedic list
(1) ● the ' <u>Mental and Material</u> '	(1) ● the ' <u>Movable and Immovable</u> '
(2) ● <u>Aquatic animals</u> , those <u>living in the earth</u> , etc.	(2) ● <u>Aquatic animals and reptiles</u>
(3) ● the <u>Periods of time</u> (+ list of Seasons)	(3) ● <u>Periods of time</u> , worlds
(4) ● Ahura Mazda and Zaraθuštra, <u>God and Seer</u> ; Priests of Avestan ritual	(4) ● the <u>Gods and Seers</u> (for priests of Vedic ritual s. RV[-Kh]).
(5) ● Gāthās, <u>Sacred Words as ritual formulae</u>	(5) ● <u>Brāhman, Sacred Word(s) as ritual formulae</u>

**6.1.** The *concluding catalogues* are another archaic layer in the Avestan 'Long Liturgy' that shows good Vedic parallels. The Avestan lists appear in a crucial position of the litanies of Yasna 71, after the rites dedicated to the Fire and the Waters:

<p>Y. 71,9  vīspā <u>āpō</u> xā paiti θraotō.stātasca yazamaide:  vīspā <u>uruuarā</u> uruθmīšca paiti varšajīšca yazamaide:  vīspamca <u>zam</u> yazamaide:  vīspamca <u>asmanəm</u> yazamaide:  vīspōsca <u>strāušca mānhəmca huuarēca</u> yazamaide:  vīspa <u>anayra raocā</u> yazamaide:  vīspamca <u>gam upāpamca upasamcamca</u>  frapṛerjātāmca rauuascarātāmca caṅraṅhācasca yazamaide</p>
<p><b>9.</b> We sacrifice to all <u>Waters, the ones in/of the springs</u> or <u>those that run in the 'stream' (courses of rivers)</u>,  we sacrifice to all <u>Plants</u>, the ones (that grow) <u>on branches/shoots</u> and the ones (that grow) <u>on roots</u>,  we sacrifice to the whole <u>Earth</u>,  we sacrifice to the whole <u>Heaven</u>,  we sacrifice to all <u>Stars</u>, the <u>Moon</u> and the <u>Sun[light]</u>,  we sacrifice to all <u>Beginningless/Infinite Lights</u>,  we sacrifice to every <u>Animal</u> [= all <u>Animals</u>], the ones <u>that live on/in the Waters (the aquatic ones)</u>, the ones <u>that live on the surface of the earth</u>, the ones <u>that move with the wing</u>, the ones <u>that circulate freely (living) in liberty</u>, and the ones <u>that follow (live on) the pasture / leash</u>.</p>

The next stanza resumes:

<p>Y. 71,20  imā apasca zəmasca uruuarāšca yazamaide:  imā asāšca šōiθrāšca  gaoiiaoiṭīšca maēθanīiāšca auuō.xʷarənāšca yazamaide:  iməmca šōiθrahe paitīm yazamaide  yim ahurəm mazdām</p>
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We sacrifice to these Waters and Lands and Plants (here); we sacrifice to these Places and Dwelling-Places and Pastures and Residences and Watering-Places (here) and we sacrifice to this Lord of the Dwelling-Place (here), Ahura Mazdā.

Then, the Time/Rtu Dimensions follow:

Y. 71,21

ratauuō vīspe mazišta yazamaide  
aiiara asniia māhiia yāiriia sarəda

‘We sacrifice to all the greatest Ratus: the ones of the Days, of the Day-Sections, of the Months, of the Seasons, of the Year(s) [...].

And then:

Y. 71,23

ātrəm ahurahe mazdā puθrəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide:  
haða.zaοθrəm haða.aiβiiānhanəm  
imaṭ barəsma ašaiia frastarətəm ašauuanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide:  
apəm naptārəm yazamaide:  
nairīm sanhəm yazamaide:  
taxməm dāmōiš upamanəm yazatəm yazamaide:  
iristanəm uruuənō yazamaide:  
yā ašaonəm frauuašaiiō

23. We sacrifice to the Fire, Ahura Mazdā's son, the one full of Rightness, Ratu of Rightness; we sacrifice to the bundle/Barəsmān here, provided with the libation and the girdle, deployed according to Rightness, who supports Rightness, Ratu of Rightness; we sacrifice to Apəm Napāt/the Grandson of the Waters; we sacrifice to Nairiia Sanha; we sacrifice to the aggressive yazata Damōiš Upamana; we sacrifice to the Uruuans of the dead, which are the Frauuašis of those full of Rightness.

The culmination of the list comes with the sacrifice to of the Creator god at the end:

We sacrifice to the High Ratu, who (is) Ahura Mazdā.

**6.2.** The very same elements of the Universe appear in the same order in the Veda, in the *conclusive litanies* of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā 22:

VS. 22,24

prācyai diśe svāhā-  
-arvācyai diśe svāhā  
dākṣiṇāyai diśe svāhā-  
-arvācyai diśe svāhā  
pratīcyai diśe svāhā-  
-arvācyai diśe svāhā-

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Hail to the Eastern Region!  
Hail to the hitherward Region!  
Hail to the Southern Region!  
Hail to the hitherward Region!  
Hail to the Western Region!  
Hail to the hitherward Region!

<p>-ādīcyai diśé svāhā-  -arvācyai diśé svāhā-  -ūrdhvāyai diśé svāhā-  -arvācyai diśé svāhā-  -āvācyai diśé svāhā-  -arvācyai diśé svāhā //</p>	<p>Hail to the Northern Region!  Hail to the hitherward Region!  Hail to the Upward Region!  Hail to the hitherward Region!  Hail to the Downward Region!  Hail to the hitherward Region!</p>
<p>VS. 22,25  adbhyāḥ svāhā  vārbhyaḥ svāhā-  -udakāya svāhā  tīṣṭhantībhyaḥ svāhā  srāvantībhyaḥ svāhā  syāndamānābhyaḥ svāhā  kūpyābhyaḥ svāhā  sūdyābhyaḥ svāhā  dhāryābhyaḥ svāhā-  -arṇavāya svāhā  samudrāya svāhā  sarirāya svāhā //</p>	<p>25  Hail to waters!  Hail to floods!  Hail to water!  Hail to standing waters!  Hail to flowing waters!  Hail to trickling waters!  Hail to well waters!  Hail to spring waters!  Hail to streaming waters!  Hail to the foaming sea!  Hail to the ocean!  Hail to the deep!</p>
<p>VS. 22,26  vātāya svāhā  dhūmāya svāhā-  -abhrāya svāhā  meghāya svāhā  vidyōtamānāya svāhā  stanāyate svāhā-  -avasphūrjate svāhā  vārṣate svāhā-  -avavārṣate svāhā-  -udrām vārṣate svāhā  śighrām vārṣate svāhā-  -udgṛhṇatē svāhā-  -ūdgṛhītāya svāhā  pruṣṇatē svāhā  śikāyatē svāhā  prūṣvābhyaḥ svāhā  hrādūnībhyaḥ svāhā  nīhārāya svāhā //</p>	<p>26  Hail to wind!  Hail to mist!  Hail to vapour!  Hail to cloud!  Hail to cloud lightning!  Hail to cloud thundering!  Hail to it bursting!  Hail to it raining!  Hail to it pouring!  Hail to it violently raining!  Hail to it swiftly raining!  Hail to it holding up!  Hail to it when it has held up!  Hail to it sprinkling!  Hail to it drizzling!  Hail to its drops!  Hail to thunderbolts!  Hail to hoar frosts!</p>
<p>VS. 22,27  agnāye svāhā  sómāya svāhā-  īndrāya svāhā  pṛthivyāi svāhā-  -antārikṣāya svāhā  divé svāhā  digbhyāḥ svāhā-</p>	<p>27  Hail to Agni!  Hail to Soma!  Hail to Indra!  Hail to Earth!  Hail to Firmament!  Hail to Sky!  Hail to Regions!</p>

-āśābhyaḥ svāhā- ūrvyāi diśē svāhā- -arvācyai diśē svāhā //	Hail to Quarters! Hail to the Upward Region! Hail to the Downward Region!
VS. 22,28 nākṣatrebhyaḥ svāhā nakṣatṛīyebhyaḥ svāhā- -ahorātrēbhyaḥ svāhā- -ardhamāsēbhyaḥ svāhā māsebnhyaḥ svāhā ṛtūbhyaḥ svāhā- -artavēbhyaḥ svāhā saṃvatsarāya svāhā dyāvapṛthivībhyāṃ svāhā candrāya svāhā sūryāya svāhā rāśmībhyaḥ svāhā vāsubhyaḥ svāhā rudrēbhyaḥ svāhā- -ādityēbhyaḥ svāhā marūd̥bhyaḥ svāhā vīśvebhyo devēbhyaḥ svāhā mūlebhyaḥ svāhā śākhābhyaḥ svāhā vānaspātībhyaḥ svāhā pūṣpebhyaḥ svāhā phālebhyaḥ svāhā- -ōśadhībhyaḥ svāhā //	28 Hail to the lunar asterisms! Hail to those connected with the lunar asterisms! Hail to Day and Night! Hail to the half-months! Hail to the months! Hail to the Seasons! Hail to the Season-groups! Hail to the Year! Hail to Heaven and Earth! Hail to the Moon! Hail to the Sun! Hail to his rays! Hail to the Vasus! Hail to the Rudras! Hail to the Ādityas! Hail to the Maruts! Hail to the All-Gods! Hail to roots! Hail to branches! Hail to forest trees! Hail to flowers! Hail to fruits! Hail to herbs!
VS. 22,29 pṛthivyāi svāhā- -antārikṣāya svāhā divē svāhā sūryāya svāhā candrāya svāhā nākṣatrebhyaḥ svāhā- -ādbhyaḥ svāhā- -ōśadhībhyaḥ svāhā vānaspātībhyaḥ svāhā pariplavēbhyaḥ svāhā carācarēbhyaḥ svāhā sarīsrpēbhyaḥ svāhā //	29 Hail to Earth! Hail to Firmament! Hail to Sky! Hail to Sun! Hail to Moon! Hail to lunar asterisms! Hail to waters! Hail to herbs! Hail to forest trees! Hail to creatures that swim! Hail to things moving and stationary! Hail to things that creep and crawl!

**6.2.1.** These mantras and their counterparts from the TS. 7,5,1–10 occur at the edge between the conclusion of the ritual *Gavām Ayana* and the beginning of the continuation of the *Horse Sacrifice*.



**6.2.2.** In the course of the enumerative cataloguing of the Universe that we just observed in the conclusive litanies of the VS. 22,25ff., categories expand into species, increasing the volume of the list but not changing its basic principle:

VS. 22,25	VS. 22,27	VS. 22,28
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Floods!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Water!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to standing <u>Waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to flowing <u>Waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to trickling <u>Waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to well <u>Waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to spring <u>Waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the foaming <u>Sea!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Ocean!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Deep!</u></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Agni!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Soma!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to Indra!</li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Earth!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Firmament!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Sky!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Regions!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Quarters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the Upward <u>Region!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the Downward <u>Re- gion!</u></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hail to the lunar asterisms!</li> <li>Hail to those connected with the lunar asterisms!</li> <li>Hail to <u>Day</u> and <u>Night!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>half-months!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>months!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>Seasons!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>Season-groups!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>Year!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>Heaven and Earth!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>Moon!</u></li> <li>Hail to the <u>Sun!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>his rays!</u> [...]</li> <li>Hail to the <u>All-Gods!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>roots!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>branches!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>forest trees!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>flowers!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>fruits!</u></li> <li>Hail to <u>herbs!</u></li> </ul>
VS. 22,28 (cont.)	VS. 22,29	VS. 22,30
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Heaven and Earth!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Moon!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Sun!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>his rays!</u> [...]</li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>All-Gods!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>roots!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>branches!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>forest trees!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>flowers!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>fruits!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>herbs!</u></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Earth!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Firmament!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Sky!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Sun!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Moon!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>lunar asterisms!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>waters!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>herbs!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>forest trees!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>creatures that swim!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Moving and the Stationary</u> [creatures]!</li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Creeping and Crawling</u> [creatures]!</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ ... Hail to <u>Vivasvān!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>trooping one!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Troop's Lord!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Superior!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Overlord!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Strength!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Samsarpa!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to the <u>Moon!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Light!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>Malimlucha!</u></li> <li>▪ Hail to <u>him who flies by day!</u></li> </ul>

**7.** In both the Avestan and the Vedic liturgy, we find important technical terms of Indo-Iranian origin in clusters which sometimes offer amazing phrase-by-phrase correspondences: Thus, a complex *formula* from the Avestan Long Liturgy corresponds to a Rigvedic ritual mantra:

**7.1.** The Avestan text comes from the Visprad, in particular the intercalation verse 11,2:

ima haoma ima haomiia, ima starəta ima miiazda,<sup>1</sup>  
ima asma paoiriia dāman,<sup>1</sup> [...] imat barəsmā ašaiia frastarətəm.

‘Here the Haomas and the (instruments for [preparing]) Haoma, **here the spread [mats], here the (solid) meal[-offering]s**, here the stone[-sky]... **here the ritual grass (barəsmā-) strewn (in accord) with Rightness**.

**7.2.** The excellent Vedic counterpart of this Avestan text – a parallel not studied so far – comes from RV. 1,177,4:

ayām yajñō devayā ayām miyédhaḥ,<sup>1</sup> imā bráhmāny ‘ ayām indra sómah | stīrnám barhír á tú śakra prá yāhi,<sup>1</sup> pibā niśádyā ví mucā ‘ hārī ihá ||

‘Here is the sacrifice, proceeding to the gods; **here the (solid) ritual meal[-offering]**, here the sacred formulations, **here the soma**, Indra. **The ritual grass (barhís-) [is] strewn**: drive forth toward it here, able one...!

**7.2.1.** In the Vedic ritual, the stanza RV. 1,177,4 functions as *amantra*- in the [Long] *Soma ritual* (!). The *Aśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra* of the RV., 6,11,11 says that it is performed on the last day of any Soma sacrifice (the ‘tail’ of the ritual), be it *Agniṣṭoma* or its extended variants *Atyagniṣṭoma*, *Ukthya*, *Ṣoḍasin*, *Vājapeya*, *Atrirātra* and *Aptoryāma*<sup>11</sup>.

**7.2.2.** The *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 13,24,18 places this mantra in the framework of the *sattra*- ritual *Kauṇḍapāyinām Ayana*, as part of its *Soma* module that follows the model of the Twelve-Day ritual *dvādaśāha*- [but accomplished within 1 day]. The designation of this mantra is *ayam-yajñīyā* [rk]. In both Rigvedic *Śrauta-Sūtras*, it functions as *yājya*- (offering stanza) for the *hāri-yojana*-draught, the *anuvākya*- being RV. 3,53,2. What is important, is that after the *hāri-yojana*- draught, the rites of the *last day* of the *dvādaśāha*-follow, introduced precisely by our stanza!

**8.** These data are in a perfect correspondence with what we know about parallels between the *Yasna* liturgy and the *last day* of the *Soma* ritual.<sup>12</sup> They bring an even more precise, newer perspective, regarding the *solid meal* offering (*miiazda*-/*miyédha*-): In both ritual traditions it is the libator priest, the *hótar*-/*zaōtar*-, to organize the *miiazda*-. Moreover, he is specifically *chosen* or *anointed* for this ritual:

<sup>11</sup> S. MINKOWSKI 1997, with refs. on *Aptoryāma* and the *Nivids*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. TREMBLAY 2016ab, SADOVSKI 2018ab, KELLENS – REDARD forthc.: 99.

8.1. Thus, the Avestan Nirangistān 54 (72) establishes:

‘What is the Zaōtar’s duty on the days of the [solid] offering?... He shall recite the Gāthās’.

8.2. The Rigvedic hymn 3,19 presents a cyclic composition which emulates a ritual of *priest election* of IIr. age, by the statements:

(Verse 1a:) agnīm hótāram PRĀ VRNE miyédhe ‘I choose Agni as the Hotar at the solid meal offering’

and

(Verse 5a:) yāt tvā hótāram anājan miyédhe ‘When the gods will anoint you as the Hotar at the solid meal offering’.

9. The parallelism in the context goes *remarkably* on:

9.1. The Vedic stanzas speak of the process of ritual *choosing*, by which not only Agni is symbolically *elected* as a *Hotar at the solid meal[-offering]* but also the earthly Hotar, speaking in the first person, *makes the choice* in favour of sacrificing to Agni.

9.2. The same unity of active-and-passive meaning of ritual *choosing* we can find in another Avestan text that connects the function of the Zaotar ASSIGNED as such *to the solid-meal[-offering]*, by making a ritual choice openly:

Vr. 4,2: For MAKING THE CHOICE (PERFORMING THE FRAUUARĀNĒ) in favour of the Cow as ones who *sacrifice* to Ahura Mazda zaraṣuṣtra-like,<sup>1</sup> we *assign him* (the Zaotar [as per the preceding stanzas Vr. 3,7(-4.1)])<sup>1</sup> to the *right/rite-time* and to the (solid) meal (offering),<sup>1</sup> to the right/rite-time and to the satisfaction of the right/rite-times.

The next stanza of the Long Liturgy is Y. 11,16 – and it contains the *Frauuarānē*!

9.3. Vedic parallels of such collocations are attested from the RV. on. They show that not only the *joint* appearance of *miiazda-* and *aṣa-* but the *entire* collocation of [(SOLID) RITUAL MEAL] + [WITH REVERENCE] + [TO (ON THE PATH OF) RIGHTNESS] has formulaic character and a good chance to have been inherited from Indo-Iranian. Compare ā devānām agrayāvehá yātu,<sup>1</sup> **nārāśamso viśvārūpebhir ásvaiḥ | rtásya pathā námasā miyédho,**<sup>1</sup> devébhyo devátamaḥ suṣūdat ... || ‘As the top driver of the gods, let **Narāśamsa** drive here <sup>1</sup> with horses of every forms; | **along the path of Rightness, with reverence;** he will sweeten the (solid) ritual meal <sup>1</sup> for the gods [...]’. (More examples in SA-DOVSKI, *forthc.* 4).

**9.4.** All the three components which feature in the Gāṛḥic quotation Y. 34,3 – *aṣa-*, *nəmah-* and *myazda-* – fully correspond to the (R̥g)Vedic terms from 10,70 – *ṛtá-*, *námas-* and *miyédha-*. The added value is their *joint occurrence!*

**10.** *Comparative ritual syntagmatics* is represented in simple and in complex forms. The former can be exemplified by steady nominal or verbal phrases attested both in Indic and in Iranian, like the genitival phrase denoting one of the central deities appearing in the Vedic and Avestan litanies, the ‘Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain]’: RV.+ *kṣétrasya páti-*, (Y)Av. *šōiθrahe paiti-*, both going back to Ilr. \**kšáitrasja páti-*.

A more complex, inter-syntagmatic phenomenon consists in the simultaneous occurrence of such phraseological syntagmata in both liturgical frameworks, as terms designating comparable deities or ritual items. One of the best examples is delivered by the joint invocations of the ‘Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain]’ and the ‘Thought-Setter’ – \**kšáitrasja páti-* and \**mans+d<sup>h</sup>ātár-/m̥ns-d<sup>h</sup>ā-*

**10.1.** In the Veda, we find a mini-series of two Vasiṣṭha *invitation litanies* (RV. 10,65 and 10,66) call *all gods to the sacrifice*. The Anukramaṇī traditionally attributes them to Vasukarṇa Vāsukra; the Vasiṣṭhas – to whom the name of Vasukarṇa Vāsukra refers etymologically and perhaps genealogically, too – are explicitly mentioned in the RV. text.

**10.1.1.** The litanies contain clear *Āprī/R̥tuyāja-* elements, e.g. in the stanza of the ‘Two Hotars’. There the syntagma *kṣétrasya páti-* occurs at the end – and as a culmination – of a long list immediately before the generalization “(and) all gods, the immortal ones”:

<p>RV. 10,66,13  <i>dáivya hótārā</i> prathamā <i>puróhitā-</i>,  ṛtásya pánthām ánv emi sādhuṃ    <u><i>kṣétrasya pátim</i></u> prátiveśam ímahe,  <u><i>vísṃvān devām</i></u> amṛtām áprayuchataḥ   </p>	<p>The <i>two divine Hotar-s</i> first, (as) the two <i>Purohita-s</i>,  I follow straightaway on the road of Rightness.  We approach the <u><i>Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain]</i></u>, as  one who [litt.: ‘whose settlement’] is close to (us),  (and) <u><i>all[-]gods</i></u>, the immortal ones, (as) ones who do  not keep (us) away / do not turn away (from us).</p>
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- The same wording *dáivya hótārā prathamā* appears also in II 3,7, III 4,7 and X 110,7, all of which belong to the domains of R̥tu-yāja- and Āprī-hymn[s] (cf. VAN DEN BOSCH 1985; OBERLIES 2012: 126, 268 et passim, esp. 441, n. 64, which demonstrates that the elliptic dual means the Hotar and the Praśāstar (Maitravaruṇa priest); the relevant n. 12 in the excellent account DŌYAMA 2016: 937, SADOVSKI 2018a: 317f., 319ff., 2018b: 92, with further refs.).

**10.1.2.** In the list of in RV. 4,57 that depicts the influence exercised by the ‘honey-like/sweet (drink)’ (Soma) on the Universe, which, similarly as in the Avesta, is metonymically represented in a multidimensional perspective – first,

by the triad *Plants, Heavens* and *Waters*, then by the domain of the *Intermediate Space*, to culminate with the figure of the Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain], who, for his part, is positively concerned by the effect of the *madhu-*, becoming more favourable toward the ritual community:

<p>RV. 4,57,3 mádhumatīr <i>óṣadhīr dyāva āpo</i>, mádhuman no bhavatv <i>antárikṣam</i>   <i>kṣétrasya pátir</i> mádhumān no astu- árisyānto ánv enaṃ carema   </p>	<p>Let the <i>Plants</i>, the <i>Heavens</i>, the <i>Waters</i> be provided with 'honey', (let the) Intermediate Space (be) provided with honey for us. Let the <u>Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain]</u> be provided with honey for us. Without being injured, we would like to move after him.</p>
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**10.1.3.** *Āprī/Rtuyāja-* elements, again, occur in the important passage of the Trīta Āptya hymn RV. 10,2,2, dem *Rtu-sūkta-* par excellence, in particular in the stanza about the 'Two Hotars', in which a divine *mandhātár-* – 'Thought/Mind-Setter' < \**man-s+d<sup>h</sup>ātár-*, originally probably a genitival syntagm, is identified with Agni in the functions of Hotar, Potar and, noteworthy, of *dravinodās*, who plays so prominent a part in the *Rtuyāja-* Praiṣa, too:

<p>RV. 10,2,1 piprīhi <i>devām</i> usátó yaviṣṭha, vidvām <i>rtūmr rtupate</i> yajehá   yé dáivyā <i>rtvijs</i> tébhīr agne, tvām hótīṅṅam asy <i>áyajīstha</i>   </p>	<p>Satisfy the <i>gods</i>, who desire (it), o youngest one; Knowing the <i>Rtus</i>, o <i>Lord of the Rtus</i>, <i>sacrifice</i> here! Those who are the divine <i>rtvijs</i>, with them (are) you (together), Agni, you are among the <i>Hotars</i> the one who <i>sacrifices</i> best way (so that the gods come to us).</p>
<p>RV. 10,2,2 vési <i>hotrām</i> utá <i>potrām</i> jánānām, <i>mandhātāsi dravinodā</i> ṛtāvā   <i>svāhā</i> vayám kṛnāvāmā havīṃsi, devó devān <i>yajatv agnīr</i> árhan   </p>	<p>You enter the <i>Hotar</i>-function and the <i>Potar</i>-function for (the) people. You are the <i>Thought-Setter</i>, the <i>dravinodās</i>, the one full of Rightness. (With the call) "<i>Svāhā!</i>", [when] we shall make/accomplish (the) <i>haviṣ</i>-oblations, let <i>Agni</i>, the god, <i>sacrifice</i> to the gods, being worthy (of it).</p>
<p>RV. 10,2,3 á <i>devānām</i> ápi pánthām aganma, yác chaknāvāma tát ánu právoḥhum   <i>agnīr</i> vidvān sá <i>yajāt</i> séd u <i>hótā</i>, só <i>adhvarān</i> sá <i>rtūn</i> kalpayāti   </p>	<p>We have gone on the road of the <i>gods</i>, in order to bring forth accordingly, what we can. <i>Agni</i> ist the knowing one, he will <i>sacrifice</i>; he is the <i>Hotar</i> (<i>par excellence</i>), he will make fit the <i>ceremonies</i>, he the <i>Rtus</i>.</p>

**10.1.4.** The link between \**man-s+d<sup>h</sup>ātár-* and \**kṣāitrasya páti-* is explicitly present in RV. 1,112,13, in which *mandhātár-* is explicitly located among the offsprings of *Kṣetrasya pati-* (*kṣāitra-patyēṣu*):

<p>RV. 1,112,13 yābhiḥ sūryam pariayātháh parāvāti <i>mandhātāram kṣāitrapatyēsv</i> ávatam   yābhir vípram prá bharádvājam ávatam tābhir ū śú ūtibhir aśvīnā gatam   </p>	<p>By which you two (Aśvins) travel around the sun in the distance, you two helped the <i>Thought-Setter</i> among the descendants of the <u>Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain]</u>, (and) by which you two helped the excited poet Bharadvāja [go] forth—</p>
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	with such support the Ašvins now go for sure. (DÖ-YAMA 2016: 949, with modifications).
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**10.2.** In the Avesta, the veneration of the \**kšai̯trašja páti-* builds a sort of culmination in both the opening and the closing catalogic litanies of the Long Liturgy:

**10.2.1.** In the *āiiese yešti* context of Y. 2:

Y. 2,16 ahmii̯a zaoθre barəsmanaēca imā̯ apasca zəmasca uruuarā̯sca āiiese yešti: imā̯ asā̯sca šōiθrā̯sca gaoiiaoitī̯sca maēθanii̯ā̯sca auuō.xʷarənā̯sca āiiese yešti: iməmca šōiθrahe pai̯tīm āiiese yešti <b>yim ahurəm mazdqm</b> ✽	With this libation and sacrificial straw (here) I ritually <i>reach-out-to-bring</i> (introduce) these <i>Waters</i> and <i>Lands</i> and <i>Plants</i> (here) I ritually <i>reach-out-to-bring</i> (introduce) these <i>Places</i> and <b><i>Dwelling-Terrains</i></b> and <i>Pastures</i> and <i>Rest-Station</i> s and <i>Watering-Places</i> (here); I ritually <i>reach-out-to-bring</i> (introduce) this <b><u>Lord of [the] Dwelling[-Terrain]</u></b> (here), (him,) who (is) Ahura Mazda.
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**10.2.2.** Remarkably, in the *yazamaide* contexts of Y. 6[,15] (opening) and Y. 71[,20] (closing), the *Lord of [the] Dwelling-Terrains* is mentioned already in the framework of the major catalogue quoted above, immediately after the list of spatial concepts and before the lists of time sections and the *Āprī* list:

Y. 6,15 imā̯ apasca zəmasca uruuarā̯sca <b>yazamaide</b> ✽ imā̯ asā̯sca šōiθrā̯sca gaoiiaoitī̯sca maēθanii̯ā̯sca auuō.xʷarənā̯sca <b>yazamaide</b> : iməmca šōiθrahe pai̯tīm <b>yazamaide</b> <b>yim ahurəm mazdqm</b> :	We <i>sacrifice</i> to these <i>Waters</i> and <i>Lands</i> and <i>Plants</i> (here), we <i>sacrifice</i> to these <i>Places</i> and <i>Dwelling-Ter-</i> <i>rains</i> , and <i>Pastures</i> and <i>Rest-Station</i> s and <i>Watering-</i> <i>Places</i> (here), and we <i>sacrifice</i> to this <b><u>Lord of [the] Dwell-</u></b> <b><u>ing[-Terrain]</u></b> (here), / (him,) who (is) Ahura Mazda.
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**10.2.3.** Note, in both cases, the *identification* link between \**kšai̯trašja páti-* and the Lord \**m̥s-d<sup>h</sup>ā-*:

Y. 71,20 (counterpart: Y.6,15) imā̯ apasca zəmasca uruuarā̯sca <b>yazamaide</b> : imā̯ asā̯sca šōiθrā̯sca gaoiiaoitī̯sca maēθanii̯ā̯sca auuō.xʷarənā̯sca <b>yazamaide</b> : iməmca šōiθrahe pai̯tīm <b>yazamaide</b> <b>yim ahurəm mazdqm</b>	We <i>sacrifice</i> to these <i>Waters</i> and <i>Lands</i> and <i>Plants</i> (here), we <i>sacrifice</i> to these <i>Places</i> and <b><i>Dwelling-Ter-</i></b> <b><i>rains</i></b> , and <i>Pastures</i> and <i>Rest-Station</i> s and <i>Watering-</i> <i>Places</i> (here), and we <i>sacrifice</i> to this <b><u>Lord of [the] Dwelling[-</u></b> <b><u>Terrain]</u></b> (here), (him,) who (is) Ahura Mazda.
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**10.2.4.** In the macro-framework of the liturgy, we observe the same catalogic structures in the context of the *niuuaēḍaiiemi haṅkārāiemi* catalog of Y. 1 (cf. also above):

Y. 1,16

niuuaēḍaiiemi haṅkārāiemi

āṅhqm asaṅhqmca šḍiθranqmca gaoiiaoitinqmca

maēθananqmca auuō.x<sup>v</sup>arənanqmca

apqmca zəmqmca uruuaranqmca

aiṅhāsca zəmo

auuaiṅheca ašnō

vātaheca ašaonō

strqm māṅhō hūrō anayranqm raocaṅhqm x<sup>v</sup>adātanqm

vīspanqmca spəntahe mainiišuš dāmanqm

ašaonqm ašaoninqmca

ašahe raθβam ✽

I announce (invite “down”), I accomplish (the *sacrifice*)

of these *Places* and ***Dwelling-Terrains***, and *Pastures* and *Rest-Station*s and *Watering-Places* (here);

of the *Waters* and the *Lands* and the *Plants*,

of the *Earth* here,

and of the *Heaven* there,

and of the *Wind*, the one full of Rightness,

of the *Stars*, the *Moon*, the *Sun*, the beginningless light(-space)s, the well-set ones,

and of all creatures of Spənta Mainiiu,

of the (male ones) full of rightness and of the (female ones) full of rightness, the Ratu-s of Rightness.

Thus, in the Vedic and the Avestan examples quoted so far, we find not only two syntagmata, both of which go back to Proto-Indo-Iranian forms, but also complex technical terms of the ritual appearing together in analogous form in both liturgical traditions.

**11.** For our understanding of the Vedic and the Avestan ritual from synchronic and comparative point of view it proves to be necessary to investigate not only the *individual technical terms* (simplicia and compounds) but also the *formulaic* expressions that display the *combinatorics* of their respective constituents. On the other hand, the archaic modules and subroutines that form the Indo-Iranian liturgies must be analysed in the *pragmatic context* of their employment. Thus, new comparative connections are possible, by means of which the full meaning of archaic sacred texts can be displayed, going into the depth of the *ritual pragmatics* of the ritual forms concerned.

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ANTI-WITCHCRAFT RITUALS  
IN THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN MEDICAL TEXTS:  
AN OVERVIEW\*

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1. INTRODUCTION

For the Assyro-Babylonians falling ill meant that a person lost the prior equilibrium – both physical and social – of their life.<sup>1</sup> Essentially, this atypical situation was considered as one of the signs of the deities' wrath. The personal gods and goddesses – who guaranteed physical and mental health, success, and luck – either turned against or abandoned the person, leaving him (or her) open to evil actions, which could be performed by gods, demons, ghosts, and human beings – often witches and warlocks. Without any protection, the victim could be attacked in different ways, as the following lines from *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* show:

- (1) 'I. From the day Bel punished me,  
and the hero Marduk was angry with me,  
my god rejected me, he disappeared,  
my goddess left, she departed from my side.  
[...]  
Portents of terror were established for me,  
I was expelled from my house, and I wandered about outside.  
My omens were confused, equivocal every day,  
my oracle was not decided by diviner and dream interpreter.  
[...]  
The king, the flesh of the gods, the sun of his people,  
his heart was angry with me and made forgiving me difficult.  
Courtiers were plotting malicious speech against me,  
they gathered themselves, they were inciting calumny.'  
(ANNUS and LENZI 2010: 32, Tab. I: 41–44; 49–52; 55–58)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. HEEBEL 2004: 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also LAMBERT 1960: 33.

- (2) ‘II. Debilitating sickness advanced against me,  
 evil wind from the horizon blew against me.  
 Headache cropped up from the surface of the netherworld,  
 a wicked demon/cough came forth from its Apsu.  
 [...]
 They were staring, but my eyes could not see;  
 they were open, but my ears could not hear.  
 Numbness had seized my entire body,  
 paralysis had fallen upon my flesh.’  
 (ANNUS and LENZI 2010: 36, Tab. II: 50–53; 73–76)<sup>3</sup>

Basically, being ill was considered as an anomalous condition; indeed, illness was believed to be the punishment ordered by the gods after a sin or a transgression was committed (deliberately or not) by the person,<sup>4</sup> and it could be placed directly inside the human body through physical contact.<sup>5</sup> For instance some gods, demons or ill-wishing human beings could “seize” (*ṣabātu*), “hit” (*maḥāṣu*), “touch” (*lapātu*), etc.<sup>6</sup> the victim as the result of abandonment by his/her personal god.

Clearly, illness could be cured with ointments, medicaments, etc., but it could also be removed from the patient’s body through the performance of rituals. For instance, illness could be washed away with water, stripped off together with old clothes, and transmitted to figurines, using the so-called “magic analogy” or “substitution rite”.<sup>7</sup> Essentially, rituals have the characteristic of a trial, performed in order to prove the person’s innocence and to give him (or her) back their freedom – i.e. health.

The aim of this paper is to offer a general overview of therapies and anti-witchcraft rituals in the Assyro-Babylonian medical texts. After a brief description of the most important terms related to witchcraft, I will give some information about the therapeutic texts concerned with anti-witchcraft rituals. Then, I will provide the translation (based on that of ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011) of one of these texts, useful for an analysis and discussion of some specific elements belonging to this kind of rites.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also LAMBERT 1960: 41–43.

<sup>4</sup> For an in-depth analysis of this complex topic cf. especially VAN DER TOORN 1985: 56–93; BOTTÉRO 1992: 228; HEEBEL 2000: 11–12; 2004: 99; SCURLOCK 2005: 429–430; 2006: 74; 2016: 4; KOCH 2015: 273–278.

<sup>5</sup> This contact was usually indicated by the expression *qāt DN* “Hand of X” (cf. in particular VAN DER TOORN 1985: 78; STOL 1993: 33; AVALOS 1995: 135; HEEBEL 2000: 53–54, 77).

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of these specific verbs cf. COUTO-FERREIRA 2007, and in particular SALIN 2015; SALIN (forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. in particular SCHWEMER 2007: 205–208; AMBOS 2010; ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 22–23; VERDERAME 2013.

2. WITCHCRAFT, WITCHES, AND *ĀŠIPUS*

General terms related to rituals are derived from the verb *epēšu* – “to do, to act”, but also “to perform divination, a ritual, etc.”.<sup>8</sup> As AMBOS 2010: 17–18 notes:

- (3) ‘In the languages of the Ancient Near East there was no specific terms for “ritual”. In Akkadian (Babylonian-Assyrian), for example, words for ritual are derivatives from the verb *epēšu* [...]: The noun *epi/uštu* [...] can designate in a concrete sense acts we could call “ritual”’.

The most common Akkadian term used to designate witchcraft was *kišpū*<sup>9</sup>, which signifies both the malevolent acts performed by witch and warlock, and the evil that took possession of the victim. Other nouns relating to witchcraft were *ruḥû* and *rusû*, often written in a formulaic sequence with *kišpū*: *kišpū ruḥû rusû upšāšû lemnûtu*, which in the opinion of ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 3 can be translated as “witchcraft, magic, sorcery, evil machinations”.<sup>10</sup>

It is worth noting that the verb *kašāpu* – from which derives the substantive *kišpū* – also formed the name for warlock (*kaššāpu*) and witch (*kaššāp-tu*). Warlock and witch were usually considered illegitimate practitioners of magic,<sup>11</sup> insomuch as they performed evil and destructive magic. In rituals they were listed as a pair, probably due to uncertainty regarding the gender of the sorcerers.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, it must be underlined that the stereotype of the evildoer was usually a “female character” (ABUSCH 2002: 7), who performed malevolent actions to damage human beings, usually – but not only – by indirect contact: she could steal objects belonging to the chosen victim, and also make a figurine representing the person, twisting his (or her) arms

<sup>8</sup> Cf. CAD E: 191; AHw: 224.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. CAD K: 454; AHw: 491.

<sup>10</sup> Specific terms referring to witchcraft are many. Among others, we can find: *zikurudû* (ZI.KU<sub>5</sub>.RU.DA) = ‘cutting-of-the-throat’ magic; *kadabbedû* (KA.DAB.BÉ.DA) = ‘seizing-of-the-mouth’ magic; *dibalû* (DI.BAL.A) = ‘distortion-of-justice’ magic; *zīru* (ḪUL.GIG) = ‘hate’ magic. The first of these was considered very dangerous; evildoers invoked astral deities and sent evil omens against the victim, often causing him death. Both *kadabbedû* and *dibalû* made their victim helpless; he was usually made unable to defend himself before judges. If a person was seized by “hate” magic, his family and society in general isolated him (cf. ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 3).

<sup>11</sup> Other couples of evildoers could be the “sorcerer and sorceress” (*ēpišu u ēpištu*) or the “adversaries”, male and female (*bēl dabābi u bēlet dabābi*). (Cf. ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 5).

<sup>12</sup> “A general tendency in incantations and prayers is to leave the identity of them undetermined” (ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 5).

and legs, for instance, so that he (or she) suffered debilitating diseases, and then burning or burying them, etc.

Interestingly, a witch and warlock were not necessarily considered evil; they could act with good intent on behalf of a client. Some lines of the seventh tablet of the series *Maqlû* (“burning”)<sup>13</sup> describe how warlocks and witches supported and helped the patient by acting against another witch who had previously bewitched him:

- (4) ‘But I am seeking against you cultic performers and ecstasies,  
I am breaking your bond.  
May warlocks ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.  
May witches ensorcell you, I am breaking your bond.’  
(ABUSCH 2016: 354, ll. 88–90)<sup>14</sup>

The witch’s and warlock’s opponent was the medical professional called *āšipu* (commonly rendered as “exorcist”),<sup>15</sup> the practitioner expert in curing the patient with medicaments and fighting supernatural forces. In the words of ABUSCH 2002: 6:

- (5) ‘On a cosmic level, the main enemies of the *āšipu* are demons. On a human level, he contends with the witch or sorcerer’.

The *āšipu* was the legitimate practitioner of medicine and of what we call magic, who acted openly – not in secret like the warlock and witch.<sup>16</sup>

Although on a lower and more private level, women were involved in activities relating to medicine – such as, for instance, the preparation of medicaments, caring for the sick, and delivering newborn babies – the

<sup>13</sup> In this series very specific and complex anti-witchcraft rituals are described; they have to be performed in sequence during a single night and morning at the end of the month of Abu. Composed in the present form during the first millennium BCE, it is a well structured ceremony divided in eight tables of incantations (I–VIII) and a ritual tablet (IX): while the formers provide the texts of almost one hundred incantations, the latter cites these incantations by incipit, and alongside each incantation gives the appropriate ritual directions (cf. in particular ABUSCH 2015; 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also ABUSCH 2002: 10; 2015: 133.

<sup>15</sup> On the role of *āšipus* and the translation of this term, cf. among others STOL 1991–1992; HEEBEL 2000; SCURLOCK – ANDERSEN 2005; SALLABERGER – HUBER VULLIET 2005; JEAN 2006; GELLER 2007; KOCH (pre-print).

<sup>16</sup> It is worth pointing out that many individuals – especially people who did not have the chance to ask for professional help for economic or geographical reasons – used popular magico-medical practices. As ABUSCH 2002: 8 states: “There are many indications that lay persons performed magical rites on their own behalf”.

knowledge of *āšipūtu* (the professional art of medicine and magic) was usually restricted to men.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN THERAPEUTIC TEXTS CONCERNED WITH WITCHCRAFT

The whole corpus of Assyro-Babylonian medical (and magical) texts in general can be divided into three main categories: 1) diagnostic; 2) pharmaceutical; 3) therapeutic.

- (6) 1. The diagnostic texts offer brief descriptions of symptoms followed by the diagnosis – which gives either the name of the disease or, in some cases, the aetiology (i.e. information on the cause of the disease) – and sometimes a prognosis;
2. The pharmaceutical texts give information about plants – often parts of plants – stones and minerals, and their curative effects;
3. The therapeutic texts usually offer different kinds of prescriptions (instructions for the preparation of drugs and the application of medications) useful for curing the patient, in some cases followed by prayers, incantations, and/or the instructions for ceremonial rituals.

In this paper the third of the groups listed above will be analysed. Indeed, it is worth noting that ancient scholars usually grouped anti-witchcraft rituals and prescriptions “together as a type in its own right” only in the therapeutic texts (cf. ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 8). Furthermore, therapeutic texts concerned with witchcraft can be divided into two groups: 1) guidelines for the performance of rituals; 2) instructions for the preparation of medications. Usually transmitted separately, in some cases, however, they were listed together in the same document.

The texts under examination have a specific format, which can be split into several parts, each of them introduced by a specific expression.

Typical of the first part is a list of symptoms introduced by the characteristic *šumma amēlu* (“if a man”) – commonly used in law codes and in other “scientific” texts – followed by the diagnosis, which can just state *amēlu šu kašip* (“that man is bewitched”) or can be more extensive, describing the methods by which the bewitchment had been brought about. An example follows:

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<sup>17</sup> The body of texts containing this “exorcistic lore” (*āšipūtu*) was considered by the Assyro-Babylonians themselves of great antiquity, authored by Ea himself, the god of wisdom and exorcism (cf. especially LENZI 2008: 68).



- (7) ‘If a man (*šumma amēlu*) becomes increasingly depressed, his limbs are limp all the time, his tongue is always swollen, he bites his tongue, his ears buzz, his hands are numb, his knees (and) legs cause him a gnawing pain, his epigastrium continually protrudes, he is not able to have intercourse with a woman, cold tremors afflict him repeatedly, he is in turn fat and thin, he continually salivates from his mouth, [...], that man was given (bewitched) bread to eat, (bewitched) beer to drink, was anointed with (bewitched) oil, [...].’

(ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 157, Text no. 7.7: 47–53)

Otherwise, texts may begin with just a purpose clause, such as *ana pišerti kišpī* (“for undoing the witchcraft”), or with a more extensive infinitive sentence (*ana... ana amēli lā teḫē* “so that ... will not come near a man”).

The second part could be devoted either to an ingredients list – and, in some cases, to the instructions for the preparation of medicaments and their application – or to the instructions for the performance of a ritual. It is commonly opened by the phrase *ana bulluṭīšu* (“to cure him”), but in certain cases there might be various options. While prescriptions can conclude with one of the two typical prognoses *iballuṭ* or *inēš* (both usually translated as “he will recover”), rituals offer the simple *kišpū pašrū* (“the witchcraft will be undone”).

- (8) ‘To cure him (*ana bulluṭīšu*) you dry, crush (and) sift lupine, ‘heals-a-thousand’ plant, ‘heals-twenty’ plant, soapwort, *sikillu* plant, *erkulla* plant, *imbu*’ *tāmti* mineral, ‘apricot-turnip’, [...]. In the morning you make him drink (and) eat (it) on an empty stomach. You make him vomit with a feather. Afterwards he drinks roasted [...] in grape juice. You put [...]. On the (day of the) New Moon you bathe him; then he will recover (*iballuṭ*).’

(ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 157, Text no. 7.7: 54–62)

After that, either a prayer or an incantation could follow, in some cases an “abracadabra” formula introduced by the cuneiform sign ÉN=*šiptu* (“incantation”), and followed by TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN=*tē šipti* (“incantation formula”), as in the following lines:

- (9) ‘ÉN (=šiptu) *pati patiti patakar patakar*  
*ḫatbī ḫatīb* TU<sub>6</sub> ÉN (=tē šipti)’

(ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 157, Text no. 7.7: 70–72)

Then, we might find the rubric KA.INIM.MA (“it is the wording [of the incantation]”) or, more often, KA.INIM.MA UŠ<sub>11</sub>.BÚR.RU.DA.KAM (“it is the wording [of the incantation] to undo witchcraft”). These are usually followed by the instructions for the ritual, which are introduced by the formula-

ic DÙ.DÙ.BI or KÌD.KÌD.BI (“the pertinent actions” or, more simply, “its ritual”), as shown in the example:

- (10) ‘Its ritual (DÙ.DÙ.BI): you slaughter a [...]bird, you collect its blood in a bowl. You recite the incantation seven times over it. Then this man rubs himself daily (with it). That witch he fears will not reach him.’

(ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 157, Text no. 7.7: 73–75)

#### 4. ANTI-WITCHCRAFT RITUALS

Anti-witchcraft rituals were performed in order to remove witchcraft and evil actions, in other words, to reconcile the patient with the divine sphere. Many of them were addressed to Šamaš, the god of justice,<sup>18</sup> and used the typical language of the lawsuit. As mentioned above, rituals had the characteristic of a trial (MAUL 1994; AMBOS 2010: 22). The patient – i.e. the wronged party – has been unfairly attacked by a warlock and witch; after having argued his case in front of a deity (most often Šamaš – i.e. the divine judge) with the help of the ritual expert – i.e. the lawyer – he was usually acquitted, and then cured and purified. Afterwards, warlock and witch were condemned to suffer the evil they had previously done to their victim; that is, the witchcraft they performed against the patient was sent back to them.

The participants involved in these rituals were the gods, the witch and the warlock, the patient and the *āšipu*, while the typical places where they were performed were usually the patient’s roof (or his/her house in general), the steppe outside the city, or the bank of a river.

The ritual could be performed at different times, depending on many factors, first of all which deity was addressed in the ritual. For instance, when Šamaš was invoked, the ritual could be performed at sunrise or sunset, that is when the sun-god left or entered the netherworld; when Sîn – the moon-god – was invoked, the day when the full moon could be seen was considered as propitious. In any event, in the words of ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 21 we can state that “anti-witchcraft rituals generally did not have a fixed calendrical setting, but could be performed on any auspicious day, whenever the occasion arose and circumstances demanded it”.

Anti-witchcraft rituals were very similar to those performed by warlock and witch, but there were some differences between them; while the anti-witchcraft rituals were performed openly, warlock and witch were supposed to act in secret. Furthermore, it is worth noting that witch and warlock could use, in addition to figurines representing the victim, fragments of clothing

<sup>18</sup> Cf. in particular SCHWEMER 2007: 205–208.

belonging to him (or her), fingernails, hair, etc. – that is “identifying materials”; the sufferer, on the contrary, used figurines in order to guarantee their identification with the people they were meant to represent.

A typical anti-witchcraft ritual was composed of several parts, such as offerings presented to the divinity, prayers, incantations, the preparation and manipulation of substitutes, and rites of purification. A summary of all the procedures usually performed follows:

- (11) 1. Offerings, which usually opened the performance, involved the purification of the selected site, the setting-up of an altar and a censer (commonly with juniper in cense), and a libation of beer. On the altar there were bread, honey and ghee, dates and fine flour. In a case of sacrifice, portions of meat (usually of sheep) were added;
2. A prayer addressed to one or more gods (especially the triad of Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫi-Marduk),<sup>19</sup> in which warlock and witch are accused of evil actions, and deities are asked for help – i.e. for a favourable verdict for the sufferer. The length of the prayer is variable; from the simple and very short instruction *ana maḥar Šamaš tadānšunūti* (“you convict them in the presence of Šamaš”), to compositions of more than a hundred lines;
3. Incantations could address deities and, more often, witch and warlock (especially in prescriptions). It is difficult to understand whether the text was recited by the patient or by the *āšipu*. Some rituals gave the healer the precise instruction to hold the patient’s hand during the recitation of the incantation – probably, in this case the *āšipu* had to recite the text on the behalf of the patient, because the latter was too ill or because of the text’s length; others gave the specific direction to let the patient speak, perhaps repeating the words said by the healer;
4. A typical element of anti-witchcraft rituals is the use of substitute figurines representing the warlock and witch.<sup>20</sup> These might be made of different materials, such as clay, tallow, wax, dough, wood, etc. The most common ways of destroying figurines were by burning or burying them – which implies their banishment to the netherworld. It is worth noting that their destruction was usually preceded by actions made in order to hurt and humiliate the warlock and witch, just as they had previously done to the patient. Some of these actions, for instance, consist of piercing the figurines with thorns of the date palm, binding them or twisting their arms behind their back – symbolizing the imprisonment of the sorcerer; crushing them under the patient’s foot – representing his victory over the evildoers; the patient’s sending suffering and pain back to witch and warlock by washing himself over the figurines, and so on. It is interesting to note that in some rituals figurines of the patient were also used; some texts, for example, describe the removal of a thorn from the figurine representing the

<sup>19</sup> Ea (the god of wisdom), Šamaš (the divine judge), and Asalluḫi-Marduk (the god who taught the knowledge of ritual to mankind), formed the divine trio judging the person and deciding his destiny (cf. in particular AMBOS 2010: 25–26).

<sup>20</sup> An interesting study on the use of figurines in rituals is that of VERDERAME 2013.

victim, and the following action in which the figurines of witch and warlock are pierced with the same thorn;

5. Purification rites were usually performed by the patient: he (or she) washed his/her full body or just the hands over the figurines of warlock and witch, using just water or water and some purifying substances. Otherwise the patient could also eat, chew, or just take into his mouth purifying substances; alternatively these rites consisted of moving a censer, torch and holy water vessel before the patient, or fumigating him (or her).<sup>21</sup>

A very interesting text, preserved in two Middle-Assyrian (Assur, 13<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE) and two Neo-Assyrian copies (Assur and Nineveh, 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE), clearly shows all the practices listed above. The text includes a ceremonial ritual performed in order to undo witchcraft. In it we can find offerings to the sun-god Šamaš and substitution rites: 14 figurines representing the warlock and witch and 1 representing the patient are prepared. After the removal of a thorn – symbolizing the sufferer’s pain – and a washing rite that transfers the evil from the victim’s body to the figurines of the sorcerers, the figurines of warlock and witch are buried, while the figurine of the patient is dissolved in pure beer, and the remaining liquid is deposited in a river.

Some lines of text – based on the transliteration and translation by ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 246–255 (Text no. 8.1) – follow:

- (12) ‘If a man continually has vertigo, his ears roar, his flesh continually develops paralysis, his mind<sup>22</sup> is continually perturbed, if you (= the *āšipu*) don’t know the nature of his illness, that man is bewitched. Figurines of him have been made, and they have been handed over to Ereškigal in places of destruction. For the ritual to undo the witchcraft that was performed by making figurines of him, and by handing them over to Ereškigal in places of destruction:

[...]

You pour a censer with *burāšu*-juniper; you offer a pure sacrifice; you place the shoulder, the fat and the roast meat, (and) you pour (a libation of) beer (before the deity). You make that man stand on pure tamarisk wood, and you make 14 figurines of clay, dough, tallow, wax, of the warlock and the witch. You lift them up and speak before Šamaš as follows:

“Šamaš, judge of sky and earth,  
you are the judge of the dead and the living!  
Pay attention to (my) prayer, and  
look at my condition.  
My warlock and my witch,  
either a dead or a living woman,

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 20–24.

<sup>22</sup> On the interpretation of the word *libbu* as “mind” cf. SALIN 2020b.

[either] my or my sons,  
 [...]
 his heart, his body, [...]
 my arms were limp, [...],
 paralysed me and [...].”
 [...]

You say this. The sick man lifts the figurines of himself before Šamaš and he says as follows:

Incantation: “Šamaš, this is the figurine which the warlock and the witch have made of me.

I, N.N., son of N.N., whose god is N.N., whose goddess is N.N., have placed it before you.

With your great approval, at your supreme order, through the greatness of Ea, through the magical procedures of Asalluḫi, I have made figurines of my warlock and my witch and I have placed them before you.

I have smeared their faces with black mud, I have twisted their arms behind them, and I have bound (their arms) with the sinew of a dead cow.

I have bound their feet and cross (them) with the sinew of a dead cow.

Be present at my trial, so that I may not be treated unjustly, but that my trial may go well!

Provide a decision for my trial, keep me safe!

I remove the thorn of a date palm from the skull of my figurine, I stick it in the skulls of their figurines.

May their evil return to them, may their witchcraft be undone!

May my bonds be untied, and my warlock and my witch be pierced!

I untie the arms of my figurine, I bind the arms of their figurines.

May my arms be untied, may their arms be bound!

I untie the feet of my figurine, I bind the feet of their figurines.

May my feet be untied, may their feet be bound!

I pour over their skull fish oil.

In the presence of (my) god and (my) goddess, the merciful ones, may the warlock and witch be fettered! May they be confined! May they turn black!

Let me, N.N., son of N.N., triumph over them through your great sentence!

Let me be pure! Let me be clear! Let me shine!

Entrust me to the good hands of my god and my goddess for health and life!”

He says this, and:

He removes what is in the skull of his figurine, (and) he sticks (it) in the skulls of their figurines.

He pours fish oil over them.

He washes himself over them with (the water of) the holy water vessel and he says as follows:

“Like the water is washed off my body, so may the witchcraft, magic, sorcery, piercing pain (and) evil machinations that are in my body be released, and then return to their (=warlock’s and witch’s) presence and to themselves!”

He says this, and you bury them in the ground. He soaks his figurine in beer, and lifting (it) he says in the presence of Šamaš as follows:

“Šamaš, this is my figurine, which the warlock and witch have made in your presence with evil intent and in secret. May Asalluḫi undo it, may Ea, the king of Apsū, purify it!”

He says this (incantation), and you throw it into the river.

“Šamaš, judge of the world, who knows everything!

Šamaš, without you, who made lots (of things), lots (of things) would not be made, and the releasing of these (things), would not be released without you.

Šamaš, this is the figurine of my warlock and my witch, who performed, turned to, and sought against me witchcraft, magic, sorcery, wicked machinations, salves, messages, ‘hate’ magic, ‘cutting-of-the-throat’ magic, ‘seizing-of-the-mouth’ magic, ‘distortion-of-justice’ magic, alteration of the mind and mental disturbance.<sup>23</sup> [...]’<sup>24</sup>

Some observations may be made regarding this text. First of all, it is worth saying a few words about the substitution rites, typical of anti-witchcraft (but also witchcraft) rituals. Among others, HUBERT – MAUSS 1902–1903: 66 clarify the idea behind the use of substitute objects:

- (13) ‘Une simple figure est, en dehors de tout contact et de tout communication directe, intégralement représentative [...]. La seule mention du nom ou même la pensée du nom, le moindre rudiment d’assimilation mentale suffit pour faire d’un substitut arbitrairement choisi [...]. L’image n’est, en somme, définie que par sa fonction, qui est de rendre présente une personne.’

In other words, figurines represent a person (or more than one), gods, demons and evildoers, who cannot be present during the ritual procedure;<sup>25</sup> they are considered as substitutes. Indeed, it is worth noting that the ritual is valid just when the people involved are present, or if not, when substitutes of them are present. As AMBOS 2010: 24 states:

- (14) ‘The key concept behind the fashioning and the use of the figurine was basically that of establishing a magic identification, which then could be exploited by the exorcist to the disadvantage of the demons and for the benefit of his patient: demons and evil forces were harassing humans in various states and were therefore difficult to deal

<sup>23</sup> On the various, differing interpretations of the expressions *demmakurrû* and *šinūt tēmi* cf., among others, LABAT 1964; KINNIER WILSON 1965; ATTIA and BUISSON 2004; STOL 2009; CHALENDAR 2013; SALIN 2020; SALIN (forthcoming).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. ABUSCH – SCHWEMER 2011: 251–253, text no. 8.1, ll. 1–88’.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also VERDERAME 2013: 7–8.

with. But because the exorcist had identified the figurine with the demons and disease-causing agents, there now existed magic sympathy between this statuette and the evil forces. Thus the demons and disease-causing agents had become comprehensible and manipulable by the human participants according to the needs of the ritual.<sup>7</sup>

Another interesting point is that relating to the removal of a thorn from the skull of the figurines of warlock and witch; the victim sends back to the evildoers what they previously did to him, removing the object that caused him pain, and sticking it into the skulls of their figurines. Moreover, it must be noted that the Akkadian word for “thorn” is *siḫlu*, which can also mean “piercing pain”, because of its derivation from the verb *saḫālu* “to pierce”, but also “to cause piercing pain”.<sup>26</sup> Both noun and verb are present in this text, emphasizing the pain felt by the patient. We know that explaining suffering is very difficult; for this reason, every language develops a very specific way to describe pain, using metaphors.<sup>27</sup> As the anthropologist ALLUÉ 1999: 121 states, it is impossible understand what other people feel; patients can just try to explain their feelings using particular expressions, like the metaphor used above.

Furthermore, during the purification rites we saw that the patient had to wash himself over the figurines of warlock and witch with water from the holy water vessel. Water was considered by Mesopotamians – as well as by other cultures, ancient and modern – as a purifying substance, capable not only of removing the illness from the patient’s body, but also of transferring it to the evildoers (cf. for instance VERDERAME 2013: 8).

In the next passage, the victim had to dissolve his figurine in beer. Even in the ritual known as “House of sprinkling water”, for example, we can find a beer-related act performed by the king for the New Year festival: the patient touches a fermenting vat, in order to transmit all his illnesses into this vessel. In it, his illnesses could not escape and would be fermented (cf. AMBOS 2010: 26); in this way, they could not come back and cause suffering and pain to the victim again.

## 5. CONCLUSION

To sum up, we saw that anti-witchcraft rituals had a very specific structure. They were composed of several parts, such as offerings presented to the divinity, prayers, incantations, the preparation and manipulation of substi-

<sup>26</sup> CAD S: 28; AHw: 1003. For an analysis of this and other analogous terms cf. SALIN (forthcoming).

<sup>27</sup> In general cf. LAKOFF – JOHNSON 1980; PIZZA 2011; SALIN (forthcoming).

tutes, and rites of purification. In particular, we analysed a very interesting text. Reading it, we noted that witchcraft was considered as one of the causes of the patient's illness, because of the abandonment of his personal god, and that the only way to release him was to expel the evil from his body, asking the sun-god Šamaš to judge his case, acquit him and send back the evil to warlock and witch. For this purpose, figurines representing them were made and very specific rites were performed; for example, the patient removed the thorn of a date palm from his figurine and stuck it into the skulls of their figurines; he untied the arms of his figurine, and bound the arms of theirs; he washed himself with holy water over their figurines, and then dissolved his own in beer.

It has been also said that illness – and evil in general – was considered as the punishment ordered by the gods in retribution for any transgression of the divine will, just as a punishment is the sanction of earthly authorities for any infraction of the law (BOTTÉRO 1992: 228). Indeed, it has been noted that rituals have the characteristics of a trial, performed in order to prove the person's innocence, in which the patient – i.e. the wronged party – presented his case in front of a deity with the help of the *āšipu* – i.e. the lawyer; after his acquittal, warlock and witch were condemned to suffer the evil they had previously brought upon their victim.

Texts like that discussed above are of great interest, because they can be read in many different ways and studied with various approaches. As already noted, much can be said about rituals in general, but also about some of their specific characteristics, such as the use of a particular word, and their connection with certain illnesses, or such as the use of figurines for the substitute rites, helping us to better understand the thoughts and beliefs of the Assyro-Babylonians, who belonged to cultures so far from us in space and time.

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THE SUBSTITUTE KING (*ŠAR PŪḪI*):  
AN ASSYRIAN RITUAL OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

LORENZO VERDERAME

SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATIONS

All of the available primary sources for the *šar pūḫi* are dated to the Neo-Assyrian period. The earliest is in an administrative text of Adad-Nirari III (810–783 BCE).<sup>1</sup> The latest is preserved in two letters describing the performance of the ritual in 666 BCE.<sup>2</sup>

A tablet preserving a ritual possibly related to the *šar pūḫi* has been often taken as the main source for the reconstruction and discussion of the ritual (see below). Most of the documentary sources are letters<sup>3</sup> sent to the last two rulers of the Sargonid dynasty, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, by the royal staff of experts in magic and mantic disciplines (*ummānus*). In the evidence from this *corpus*, at least five performances of the ritual can be documented in a period of thirteen years (679–666 BCE).<sup>4</sup>

This ritual may have had a great impact on contemporary cultures. The reference in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* to the ruler of the Isin dynasty, Erra-imitti (ca. 1970–1863 BCE) should be interpreted with this in mind:

Erra-imitti, the king, installed Enlil-bani, the gardener, as substitute king on his throne. He placed the royal tiara on his head. Erra-imitti [died] in his palace when he sipped a hot broth. Enlil-bani, who occupied the throne, did not give it up (and) so was sovereign.<sup>5</sup>

This passage has been often quoted as an evidence for the antiquity, diffusion, and longevity of the Substitute king ritual in Mesopotamian civilization. However, in referring to a long-distant event, the passage belongs to a Babylonian text of the second half of the first millennium. No mention of the *šar pūḫi* is found in Babylonia, where other rituals were performed on the occasions of eclipses.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Babylonia suffered

<sup>1</sup> ND 3483, edited in copy by WISEMAN 1953: 148 and 154; see PARPOLA 1976: 173.

<sup>2</sup> *SAA* X 89–90, both authored by Akkullānu; see VERDERAME 2004: §V.22.

<sup>3</sup> PARPOLA 1993a; see also PARPOLA 1983 and VERDERAME 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Verderame 2004: §V.1, V.7, V.9, V.19, V.22.

<sup>5</sup> *ABC* 155 no. 20: A 31–36.

<sup>6</sup> See BROWN – LINSSEN 1997 and BEAULIEU – BRITTON 1994.

centuries of direct and indirect Assyrian dominion, during which, at least once, the *šar pūhi* was employed by the Assyrians as a political instrument against the Babylonians (see below), an event that indeed left a dramatic impression that was not easily forgotten. From this point of view, a direct, and even parodic, reference to the Assyrian practice should be considered.

A Hittite “Substitute king” is often discussed in relation to the Mesopotamian ritual.<sup>7</sup> The Hittite ritual is more similar to the Biblical scapegoat and, apart for similarities with the *šar pūhi* in the ritual mechanics related to substitution, there is no direct connection with the Mesopotamian Substitute king.

According to some modern scholars, relations to or reminiscences of the Substitute king ritual can be found in Classical as well as Biblical sources.<sup>8</sup> The Old Testament references have prompted the general idea of a diffusion of the “substitute king” all over the Mesopotamian civilization and that this ritual may be part of a common Semitic background to the scapegoat ritual. This idea has been particularly supported by a distorted interpretation of the New Year festival in Babylonia.

Although the Substitute king is an Assyrian ritual, documented only in Assyrian sources up until now, substitution is of itself one of the basic means in rituals that can be attested to in cultures across the globe, and there is no need to refer to this specific ritual, nor to the idea of it being “Semitic”, in order to analyse the scapegoat ritual.<sup>9</sup> From this point of view, later periods and other cultural parallels should be considered in a comparative perspective, rather than in a direct relation to the *šar pūhi*.

#### THE TABLET RITUAL

While the collection of Neo-Assyrian letters has offered further information and primary documents, the study and reconstruction of the *šar pūhi* has always begun with the ritual tablet. This is known only partially through a series of fragments edited by W.G. Lambert in the late 1950s.<sup>10</sup> Only few elements indicate a connection to the substitute king ritual. The

<sup>7</sup> KÜMMEL 1967.

<sup>8</sup> See PARPOLA 1983: xxvi-xxxii; see also the recent works of HUBER 2004, AMBOS 2005, MADREITER 2005.

<sup>9</sup> See fn. 45.

<sup>10</sup> LAMBERT 1957/58; 1959/60; a further parallel has been identified and partly edited by WIGGERMANN 1992: 141.

tablet preserves no colophon, thus we have no information about the nature and scope of the ritual, nor further data about the redaction of the text. Furthermore, if this text indeed refers to the substitute king, the preserved section describes a secondary phase of the terminal process, which has no clear meaning in the interpretation of the entire ritual, except for the *omina* section, as we will see below.

The text of the tablet begins after a gap and seems to be describing the conclusive part of the ritual, with a male substitute dying and fulfilling the prophecy.

[...] the man who was given as the king's substitute (*a-na pu-u-ḫi šarri*) shall die and  
 [...] the bad *omens* will not affect that king.  
 Things will go well with that [king] and his land will prosper.<sup>11</sup>

The mention of a substitute, however, is not a determinant in the identification with the substitute king ritual, with substitution being one of the more common and efficacious ritual tools.<sup>12</sup>

After a gap, there follows a list of bad omens, which has been interpreted as the cause for the performance of the Substitute king ritual.

[...] the evil of omens, bad signs that are no good,  
 [... in] heaven and earth which stand in my way,  
 [... an ec]lipse of the Moon, an eclipse of the Sun, an eclipse of Jupiter,  
 [... an ec]lipse of Venus, an eclipse of (one of) the planets,  
 [Which ...] happened in such and such a month on such and such a day.<sup>13</sup>

This would mean that each one of these omens pointed at the necessity to perform the *šar pūhi*. These *omina* have been related to the apotropaic ritual of the *namburbi* against all evil<sup>14</sup> which, of course, is a separate ritual from the Substitute king. The reliability of this list of *omina* is directly refuted in the sources. Letters and other documents report that the substitute king ritual was only performed for a specific lunar eclipse, and also that when other *omina* occurred, different rituals were used. An Assyrian scholar, for example, states clearly that a proper ritual for the solar eclipse is not known!

A certain Akkullanu has written: "The sun made an eclipse of two fingers at the sunrise. There is no apotropaic ritual against it, it is not like a lunar eclipse. If you say, I'll write down the relevant interpretation and send it to you." (*SAA X 148: 2–14*)

<sup>11</sup> LAMBERT 1957/58: 110 §A.1: 6'-8'.

<sup>12</sup> VERDERAME 2013.

<sup>13</sup> LAMBERT 1957/58: 110 §A.1: 9'-13'.

<sup>14</sup> MAUL 1994: 477f.

The successive part of the ritual tablet deals with the death of the substitute. His spirit is sent to the Netherworld with an accompanying curse. Šamaš, the sun-god, is called upon in his common role in the incantation, interpreted as divine judge or guardian of the Netherworld.<sup>15</sup> The royal *insignia* (the throne, the table, the weapon, the sceptre) are then burned. The ashes are buried at the head of the substitute. The substitute is not buried alone: the use of the plural, “at their head” (*ina re-še-šú-nu*) may imply that he lies down together with at least one other person. If the ritual refers to the *šar pūhi* we may advance the hypothesis that here is found a reference to the substitute queen (see below). The destruction and burying of the royal *insignia* together with the substitute’s remains complete the purification ritual of the king and of the land.

[...] and so [you shall say/wri]te:

“Your signs and evils with you

take down to the Land of No Return” – you shall speak before Šamaš and

you shall burn [with fi]re before Šamaš his royal [thr]one, his royal table, his royal weapon, his royal sceptre.

You shall bury their ashes at their head (*ina re-še-šú-nu*),

then the purification of the land will be achieved, DITTO, the purification of the king will be achieved.<sup>16</sup>

The remainder of the text is devoted to giving instructions for fashioning apotropaic figurines and burying them in symbolic places. The figurines are inscribed with a double and opposite jussive sentence, ordering the exit of evil spirits, and the entrance of good ones. In the ritual, the figurines are made from wood, though they are more generally made from clay and then painted and decorated. They are common instruments in various rituals, particularly those pertaining to “anti-witchcraft”.<sup>17</sup>

Figurine	Inscription	Place
Raging dog (UR.DIM <sub>2</sub> .ME)	Exit, evil! Enter, good of the palace!	gate of [...]
Divine bull ( <i>kusarikku</i> )	Exit, [...]! Enter, justice!	<i>bīt papāhi</i> ‘cella’
<i>bašmū</i> -snake	Exit, minister of evil! Enter, m. of good!	gate of the palace
capricorn ( <i>suḫurmaššū</i> )	Exit, evil of [ <i>dreams</i> ]! Enter,	<i>bīt majāli</i> ‘bed-

<sup>15</sup> SCHWEMER 2007: 205–208 with previous bibliography.

<sup>16</sup> LAMBERT 1957/58: 110 §B.1–8.

<sup>17</sup> The ritual involving these apotropaic figurines has been extensively studied by WIGGERMANN 1992; see also DAXELMÜLLER – THOMSEN 1982, VERDERAME 2013.

	good of d.!	chamber'
[...] kneeling	Exit, evil of dreams! [Enter, <i>good of d.!</i> ]	palace court
lion-men (UR.MAH.LU <sub>2</sub> .U <sub>3</sub> .LU)	Exit, evil of the palace! Enter, good of the p.!	

The final part is quite interesting and may be related to a theological problem. The spirit (*ešemmu*) of the deceased substitute is mentioned together with those of the family of the king. It is probable that once the substitute had been identified with the king, he was included together with the king's family and ancestors after death and received regular funerary offerings.<sup>18</sup>

The dead man [...] to the k[ing's] family [...]  
 His spirit with your spirit [...]  
 You shall pro[nounce] an oath by ... with kings,  
 [...] you shall pron[ounce].<sup>19</sup>

#### THE SUBSTITUTE KING ACCORDING TO THE NEO-ASSYRIAN LETTERS

The letters are the primary source of information for the reconstruction of the substitute king ritual. Over a period of almost thirteen years, covering the end of Esarhaddon's reign and the beginning of Assurbanipal's, five different performances of the Substitute king ritual can be identified.<sup>20</sup> The letters written during the ritual are easily discernible, because they are not addressed to the king, whose name is tabooed, but rather to the "farmer," the alternate provisory identity assumed by the ruler. The senders are mainly *ummānus*, a difficult term to translate, which refers to individuals who have achieved great experience in their field.<sup>21</sup> At the royal court, the *ummānus* are scholars who have gained competency in one or more of the disciplines related to therapeutic, mantic, and lamentation. As terms of convenience,

<sup>18</sup> This may be suggested by the wine issues for the *šar pūhi* recorded in the Kalḫu text ND 3483 (see above fn. 1 and below)

<sup>19</sup> LAMBERT 1957/58: 111–112 §C (bilingual: 1–7).

<sup>20</sup> See fn. 4.

<sup>21</sup> The terms *ummānu* is a title attributed to artisans and scribes who have achieved superior expertise in their profession; for a discussion on the term and its significance see NADALI – VERDERAME 2014: 554; see also VERDERAME 2004; 2008. In this paper I will deal only with the scribes and when the term *ummānu* is used, it specifically refers to the experts of divination *bārû*, exorcisms *āšipu*, lamentations *kalû*, and medicine *asû*.



they can be translated as the physician or herbalist (*asû*), the exorcist or medicine man (*āšipu*), the diviner (*bārû*), and the lamentation priest (*kalû*). There is no evidence for the existence of a fifth figure, the celestial observer or astrologer, who is often taken for granted in the studies devoted to the letters *corpus*.<sup>22</sup>

We can summarise the entire procedure of the Substitute king ritual as described in the letters in six points:

1. observation and discussion of “signs”; decision to enthrone a substitute;
2. separation of the king from his identity;
3. election and enthronement of the substitute king;
4. reign of the substitute king (100 days);
5. substitute’s death, fulfilling the prophecy;
6. return of the king to his identity.

As we have already noted, a specific lunar eclipse portended the death of the king. The system of interpretation of the eclipse was mostly based on geographical, temporal and cardinal variables: the month, the day, the night watch may determine which of the four part of the world will be affected by the omen.<sup>23</sup> During the period of Babylonian hegemony, the Assyrian king, being the king of Babylonia as well, was affected by *omina* portending the death of the king of Babylon. The double-throne created a series of interesting theological and performance problems for scholars, as we will see. With everything being related, the micro- and macrocosm, the *omen*, the divine verdict transmitted via the signs, ought to be confirmed by the observation of other signs in the heavens and on earth. Finally, an extispicy, the most perfect form of divination, could be performed for definitive confirmation. The observed signs were vivaciously discussed and interpreted within the *ummānus* circle and by the king, the hermeneutic process being

<sup>22</sup> See PARPOLA 1993b; 1993a: xiii. While most of the scholarly letters and reports to the Assyrian kings include celestial observation, a specific term indicating the related specialist is not attested. This is usually meant to be indicated by the generic term “scribe” (*tupšarru*), by some scholars interpreted as an abbreviation of “scribe of *Enūma Anu Enlil*” (*tupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*); the latter, however, is explicitly mentioned only once in Neo-Assyrian sources.

<sup>23</sup> PARPOLA 1983: xxii-xxiii, 403–408 and ROCHBERG-HALTON 1988: 36–83; for the dating of the eclipses discussed in Neo-Assyrian letters see DE MEIS – HUNGER 1998.

the first step in the neutralisation of evil, together with apotropaic (*namburbi*) rituals.<sup>24</sup>

Once the decision is taken to perform the *šar pūhi*, the king is separated from his identity through a series of rituals, in particular purification, such as the “House of ablution” (*bīt rimki*). He takes the identity of the “farmer” (*ikkaru*) throughout the entire ritual and lives in seclusion somewhere. However, he is always in contact with the state officials, receiving letters addressed to the “farmer”.<sup>25</sup> Different protection rituals, prayers and lamentations are performed each time, given the different political, religious, and historical conditions of the moment in which the *šar pūhi* takes place.

A letter sent by Marduk-šākin-šumi, Chief Exorcist, to the king Esarhaddon (*SAA X 240*)<sup>26</sup> describes in detail the clustering of elements in order to perform the most appropriate ritual for the present situation.

<sup>1</sup> [To] the king, [my] lord: [your servant] Marduk-šākin-šumi. [Good he]alth to the king, my lord! May [Nabū and] Marduk bless the king, my lord!

<sup>5</sup> 3 hand-lifting prayers (*šū'ila*) to [Nusku], 3 to the Moon, 3 to the [Pleiades (7)], 2 to Sirius, 2 to Mars, 2 to Vega, 2 to the star [...], 1 to the star [...], 1 to the star [...],

<sup>13</sup> the incantation “Ea, [Šamaš and Asalluhi]” belonging to the apotropaic ritual (*namburbi*) against all kinds of evil, as well as the apotropaic ritual (called) “If the Moon and the Sun have become a grievance to the ruler and his country” —

<sup>17</sup> (these) tablets, totalling 21, I have today performed on the river bank; Urad-Ea will perform (his share) on the roof of the palace tonight.

<sup>20</sup> (As) the king, my lord, knows, an exorcist has to avoid reciting a hand-lifting prayer (*šū'ila*) on an evil day: (therefore) I shall now look up, collect and copy numerous — 20 to 30 — canonical and non-canonical tablets, (but) perform (the prayers) (only) tomorrow evening and on the night of the 15th day.

<sup>v.2</sup> On the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> I shall perform those before Venus, Mullissu, Zarpanitu, Tašmetu, Gula and Nanaya as well. I have opened my fists and prayed to the gods: all is well, the gods have blessed the king, my lord, and his sons.

<sup>v.9</sup> Nevertheless, if it pleases the king, my lord, let them write to Kalḫu and have the hand-lifting prayers (*šū'ila*) before the Moon god and the apotropaic ritual (*namburbi*) against evil of all kind performed for the crown prince and the prince of Babylon. What harm (would it do)?

<sup>24</sup> Letters discussing different events have been analyzed by VERDERAME 2004: §V; see also VERDERAME 2014.

<sup>25</sup> This custom allows us to isolate most of the letters referring or written during the substitute king's reign.

<sup>26</sup> The letter has been discussed by PARPOLA 1983: 176–180 no. 180 and VERDERAME 2004: §V.9.

<sup>v.14</sup> I am also worried about the impending observation of the moon; let this be [my] advice. If it is suitable, let us put somebody on the throne. When the night [of the 15th day] comes, he will be afflicted [by it]; but he will *sa[ve your life]*.

<sup>v.21</sup> I am listening — [the king, my lord], knows the Babylonians and what they [pl]ot and [re]peat. These plotters should be afflicted! Tomorrow — if it seems good — I shall come to the audience and speak to the king.

The letter is not addressed to the “farmer” because the ritual has not yet taken place: indeed, at the end of the letter, the sender proposes its performance. However, he informs the king about the preparatory and protective countermeasures enacted prior to the eclipse. Among these are several hand-lifting prayers (*šū'ila*) and apotropaic rituals (*namburbi*),<sup>27</sup> to be performed twice: once on the river bank and once on the roof of the palace, two symbolic places *par excellence*. The sender then mentions hemerologies, which forbid him from reciting prayers on specific days and collecting relevant material for the performance of the ritual. After uttering more prayers, the sender proposes performing the same rituals in Kalḫu for the princes Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn, successors to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia. Eventually, the Chief Exorcist suggests a different way of performing the ritual. Instead of waiting for the eclipse and then enthroning a substitute, he suggests choosing a substitute before the eclipse so as to let him receive directly the evil portended by the eclipse as it occurs. This short paragraph reveals several relevant points on how the ritual was adapted and evolved according to different situations.

We know very little about the selection and identity of the substitute, except for the case of Damqî, which will be discussed later in this paper. The substitutes may have been prisoners of war, Assyrian citizens, or even magnates, according to comparative analysis with similar rituals in other cultures.<sup>28</sup> From the ritual tablet, we know that the substitute was provided with the royal symbols, the *insignia* (the sceptre, the throne, the table, and the weapon), which will be destroyed after his death. As for his place of residence, this changes according to the region that is affected by the omen. Although normally Nineveh for Assyria and Babylon for Babylonia, Kalḫu appears as the seat of the substitute's enthroning in one particular case where it involved the crown prince. In another case, the substitute has to travel

<sup>27</sup> For the *šū'ilas* see FRECHETTE 2012; for the *namburbis* see MAUL 1994.

<sup>28</sup> See BRELICH 2011.

from one capital to the other in order to fulfil the omen portending evil for both Assyria and Babylonia.<sup>29</sup>

Central to the Substitute king ritual is the process of assimilation of the identity by the substitute,<sup>30</sup> which focuses on two main points. The first is the assumption of the “signs” by the substitute. This proceeds in two ways. *Omina* are considered sentences against the king passed by the divine assembly. The relevant omens observed before and during the ritual are consulted in the divinatory series and transcribed onto separate tablets. These omens are then recited by the substitute in front of Šamaš, the sun-god, lord of justice and divination, as an act of self-accusation. The appeal for Šamaš’ judgement and the fictitious process of accusation is very typical of the anti-witchcraft incantations, where a figurine substitutes the witch or the human evil-doers.<sup>31</sup>

There is also the physical assumption of the omens, through the identity and fate of the king, by the substitute. The very same clay tablets with the omens, taken from the series, are woven into the substitute’s dress, which is symbolically considered as a second skin (i.e. in the hem, *sissiktu*).<sup>32</sup> In one case, birds portending evil omens are cooked and eaten by the substitute and his “queen” or the substitute and his “queen” are forced to eat them.

I made him recite the omen litanies before Šamaš; he took all the celestial and terrestrial portents on himself, and ruled all the countries. The king, my lord, should kn[ow] (this). *SAA X 351*: 11–14

[Concerning the s]igns [about which my lord w]rote to me,[after] we had enthroned him, we had him hear them in front of Šamaš. Furthermore, yesterday I had him hear them again, and I bent down and bound them in his hem. Now I shall again do as my lord wrote to me. *SAA X 12*: r. 1–11

I wrote down whatever signs there were, be they celestial, terrestrial or of malformed births, and had them recited in front of Šamaš, one after the other. They (the substitute king and queen) were treated with wine, washed with water and anointed with oil; I had those birds cooked and made them eat them. The substitute king of the land of Akkad took the signs on himself. *SAA X 2*: 6–14

The latter case brings us to a further element of identification, the substitute queen. We know nothing at all about the actual queen throughout the entire *šar pūhi* ritual. In a few cases, a substitute queen, or better, a woman accompanying the substitute as his partner in the ritual and to his

<sup>29</sup> PARPOLA 1983: 29f.; VERDERAME 2004: §V.1 and fn. 1361.

<sup>30</sup> VERDERAME 2013.

<sup>31</sup> SCHWEMER 2007: 205–208; VERDERAME 2013: 307.

<sup>32</sup> VERDERAME in press.

fate, is mentioned. This would also justify the use of a plural in the ritual tablet (“their ashes, their heads” and so on; see above). This woman is often called *batultu/batussu*, which is a general term for young girl rather than virgin, as has often been the translation. We know that the king meets the girl before the ritual<sup>33</sup> and this may indicate an interpretation of the role of this figure in the dynamic of the ritual.<sup>34</sup> We have seen how, in general, two opposite directions are taken in relation to the identity of the king, one centrifugal and the other centripetal. The real king is removed, both physically and metaphysically, from kingship through a series of purification rituals and then lives secluded, as if in limbo, with a false identity, the farmer. The substitute assumes the king’s identity through a series of ritual rites of passage. The assimilation of this identity proceeds through a series of vectors and objects belonging or related to the king, such as the royal *insignia* and the omens.

Aggregation	+	-	Separation
	transmission	purification	
	toward	away	
	identification	estrangement	
	naming	silence	
	<b>substitute</b>	<b>substituted</b>	

Opposite trajectories of ritual operations toward the king (substituted) and his substitute in the *šar pūhi*.

Contact is the most powerful means of transmission. In the ritual *A substitute for Ereškigal*, as well as in other healing rituals involving substitution, the patient has to sleep with a goat in order to strengthen the identification with the animal who will play the role of substitute.<sup>35</sup> Among the means of transmission, sexual contact is deemed by far the more powerful. It is only a suggestion, but we could assume that the contact of the real king with the *batussu*, possibly of sexual nature, is assumed to be a further bond for the substitute;<sup>36</sup> as the *batussu* acts as an ulterior and powerful vector of the king’s identity.

Little is known of the substitute king’s reign, which lasted 100 days. The substitute had no role at all in the general management of the state. The real

<sup>33</sup> *SAA* X 209; see PARPOLA 1983: 125; VERDERAME 2004: 21.

<sup>34</sup> VERDERAME 2013: 320.

<sup>35</sup> VERDERAME 2013.

<sup>36</sup> See PARPOLA 1983: 125 and VERDERAME 2004: 21; 2013: 320 and fn. 73.

king as “the farmer”, and his officials, continued to govern. This period was, however, politically dangerous, as the real king, as well as the entire state, were momentarily and ritually suspended from their normal activity. Furthermore, the physical absence of the king from the court facilitated such conspiracies as the one led by Šallaja, which we know ended in a general depuration of officials, amongst whom were several scholars.<sup>37</sup> The second part of a letter quoted above (*SAA X 2*) presents a denunciation of Šallaja’s plot by the substitute king himself, who attended a meeting of the conspirators:

(The substitute king) cried out: “Because of what ominous sign have you enthroned a substitute king?” And he claims: “Say [in] the presence of the ‘farmer’: on the eve[ning] of the x<sup>th</sup>, *we were drinking w*[ine]. Šallaja gave *b*[ribes] to his servant Nabû-[ušalli] and meanwhile he inquired about Nikkal-iddina, Šamaš-ibni, and Na’id-Marduk, speaking about upheaval of the country: ‘Seize the fortified places one after another!’ He is to be watched (carefully); he should no (longer) belong to the entourage of the ‘farmer.’ His servant Nabû-ušalli should be questioned — he will spill everything.” (*SAA X 2*: 14 – r. 13)

As for the other phases of the ritual, we know very little about the end of the substitute king. The letters simply state that “he went to his fate” (*ana šīmti/šīmāti alāku*), an idiomatic Akkadian expression meaning he died. From a historically religious point of view, we can say that we are dealing with ritual killing, rather than “human sacrifice”.<sup>38</sup> The substitute is ritually killed, but not sacrificed to any divinity or to the king. The entire ritual of the substitute is meant to “naturally” realise the fate of the king. Thus we may hypothesise that he was not killed, but was “helped” to die “naturally” (poisoned, buried alive, etc.).

The death and consequential mourning involved the entire population. A ritual public exhibition of the body or something similar took place (*taklimtu*). We know that the body of the substitute was deposited in a tomb (*kimahhu*) and his spirit (*eṭemmu*) assumed with those of the royal family, as attested by not only the ritual tablet, but also an administrative text from Kalḫu.<sup>39</sup> The substitute’s identification was fulfilled in the after-life, or, from a different point of view, this identification was completed by the ritual. The

<sup>37</sup> See VERDERAME 2004: 275f., 82f..

<sup>38</sup> BRELICH 2011.

<sup>39</sup> See fn. 1.

spirit of the substitute was consequentially assumed among the kings' family ancestors.<sup>40</sup>

The king then underwent a series of purification rituals serving two purposes. Firstly, by abandoning his mock-identity (the “farmer”), the king can be reintegrated into his leadership role. Secondly, the death of the substitute was a polluting situation in which to be involved. Further apotropaic rituals were enacted, in order to protect the king, the court, the establishment, and the entire Assyrian state from the risks from this transition phase. Both the ritual tablet and the letters mention the *namburbi* rituals as well as the use of apotropaic figurines buried in symbolic places.

We prepared the burial chamber (*kimahhu*). He and his queen were decorated, treated, displayed, buried and wailed over. The burnt-offering (*šuruptu*) was made, all portents were cancelled, and numerous apotropaic rituals, as well as the “House of ablution” (*Bīt rimki*) and “House of Sprinkling Water” (*Bīt salā' mē*) rituals, exorcistic rites, penitential psalms and omen litanies were performed to perfection. The king, my lord, should know (this). *SA X 352: 13–21*<sup>41</sup>

The letters offer several clues as to how the ritual was organized and adapted to fulfil specific situations. Firstly, by studying ancient rituals from dogmatic texts describing or providing instructions for the ritual itself, we are given the impression that rituals are fixed and immutable. The letters, however, show how the ritual was built up phase by phase around a central structure, capable of adapting to any new situation. Most of the decisions about the performance and form of the ritual are made on the basis of interpretation and discussion among the experts, the *ummânu*s, and with the king himself. The entire process is characterised by adaptability and innovation; in our case, mainly related to the management of the two thrones (Assyria and Babylonia) and the two crown princes, Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukīn.

The following letter shows most of these features. Furthermore, it is the only one referring to the identity of the substitute. It is sent by Mār-Issar, an agent of Esarhaddon in Babylonia. In the first paragraph, after the greeting, we have a clear picture of the actors involved. Damqī, son of the *šatammu* of Agade, (and “his queen”) acted as the substitute for Esarhaddon and his son Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, prince of Babylon. The second paragraph describes in detail the entire concluding process after the substitute's death and the fulfilment of the prophecy. The sender then offers further information, which

<sup>40</sup> See above the discussion on the related passage in the ritual tablet.

<sup>41</sup> The rest of the letter is quoted and discussed below.

we can gather from elements provided by other letters. Damqî is the representative of the Babylonian anti-Assyrian rebels. A prophetess has told him that he will become king. Knowing this prophecy, Mār-Issar writes to Esarhaddon proposing to elect Damqî as substitute, thereby fulfilling the prophecy of the prophetess and strengthening the identity of the king with the substitute king, while simultaneously eliminating a political enemy.

[I] have heard that before these ceremonies a prophetess had prophesied, saying to the son of the prelate, Damqî: “You will take over the kingship!” The prophetess had also said to him in the assembly of the country: “I have revealed the *polecāt*, the ... of my lord, and placed (him) in your hands.” These apotropaic rituals which were performed succeeded well indeed; the king, my lord, can be glad.

The inhabitants of Akkad got scared, (but) we gave them heart and they calmed down. Moreover, I have heard that the prelates and delegates of Babylonia got scared, too.

Bēl and Nabû and all the gods have lengthened the days of the king, my lord; still, during the (validity) period of the eclipse and the approach of the gods he may not go into open country.

If it suits the king, my lord, a common man should, as before, be appointed to the office of the prelate, to present the regular offerings in front of the dais and, on the day of the *eššešū*-festival and at the “Greeting of the temple” ceremony, to strew (the incense) for the Lady of Akkad on the censer.

When [an eclipse] afflicting Babylonia takes place, [he] may serve as a substitute for the king, my lord, and stand [.....]. [The ...s] of the king, my lord, would succeed, [.....] the people would be calm.

Let the king, my lord, appoint in his place anyone [.....] who is acceptable to the k[ing, my lord, among] his [...s], brothers, [and ...s]. *SAA X 352: 22 – e.1*<sup>42</sup>

The success of the entire project is evident in Mār-Issar’s report: the Babylonians are terrified. Although, Mār-Issar advances the proposal to choose the substitute always among the *šatammus* of Babylon. Here the innovation and adaptability of the ritual is demonstrated again. A further layer to be applied to the ritual is revealed: the ritual as a political instrument.

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the Substitute king ritual is a topic that offers different analytical perspectives<sup>43</sup> related to ritual theories such as agency, dynamics, efficacy, embodiment, etc.<sup>44</sup> as well as other research, such as

<sup>42</sup> The first part of the letter is quoted above.

<sup>43</sup> A monograph covering these different topics in preparation by the present author.

<sup>44</sup> See in general KREINATH – SNOEK – STAUSBERG 2006.



historiographical, which has not been discussed in this paper. The Substitute king has a long history of interpretation, from Frazer's discussion within the frame of the sacred kingship in *The Golden Bough* to the presumed relationship with the biblical scapegoat.<sup>45</sup> Most of these interpretations are based on false assumptions derived from a misleading reading of the texts.

What is interesting to note as a general reassessment of this ritual, is that:

- a) although part of a class of rituals based on substitution, the šar pūlī was not widespread, but circumscribed to the late Assyrian kings;
- b) the comparison between the ritual texts and the documentary sources (namely those letters describing the performance of the ritual) highlight two different perspectives when dealing with ancient, as well modern, rituals:
  - on the one hand, there is the ritual that emerges from prescriptive texts, and which is understood as a fixed model;
  - on the other, there is the ritual as it was actually performed, and which is described in documentary sources.

The first is fixed and canonised, while the second is fluid and adaptable to specific needs and situations.

This last statement leads to a further consideration. The Substitute king is a procedure embedding other rituals, which are included in order to face specific conditions that may arise before or during its performance. Furthermore, the ritual also plays an important role in the political arena, because as far as the cases discussed here go, it was employed to get rid of enemies who threatened the king's power.

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<sup>45</sup> For a critical overview of the scape-goat “theory” see, among the others, SMITH – DONIGER 1989 and CARMICHAEL 2000.

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THE WORSHIP OF NETHERWORLD DEITIES IN SUSIANA  
FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 3<sup>RD</sup> TO THE END OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup>  
MILLENNIUM BC WITHIN THE GENERAL CULTIC-CULTURAL  
FRAMEWORK OF ELAM: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY<sup>1</sup>

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0. PREAMBLE

My purpose here is to investigate the worship of netherworld deities in Susiana from about the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium (c. 2400–1000 BC), i.e. during a 1400 year period. The main effort is to establish the role and place of the deities within the general pantheon of Susiana and to demonstrate the links with adjacent regions of Mesopotamia. My research is based mainly on the abundant material from Sargonic, Ur III and Old Babylonian Susa, as well as Middle Babylonian Kapnak and other site documentation. Due to the abundant material, what is presented below is necessarily a preliminary survey rather than a comprehensive and definitive treatment. Pertinent information from Middle and Neo-Elamite documentation received a thorough and magisterial analysis by F. VALLAT (2002–2003) and is thus not treated here.

Susiana is roughly identical with the modern region of Khuzestan in southwestern Iran. Its main cultic centres in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC were its capital Susa, nearby Kapnak (modern Haft Tepe) and the later capital Dūr-Untaš (modern Chogha Zambāl). Susiana is geographically and culturally the continuation of the Babylonian alluvial plain, which is located to its west. Susiana formed a geographical and cultural-cultic continuum especially with the adjacent Transtigridian region, i.e. the eastern section of the Babylonian alluvial plain. In the first place, this region is roughly delimited by the districts of Raši (modern Deh Luran), Malgium and Yamutbal with the city of Dēr, Tupliyaš with the city of Ešnunna and further north as far as Mt. Ebeh (modern Jabal Ḥamrīn). Adab and Girsu were also connected with Susiana

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in A. L. OPPENHEIM *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago-Glückstadt 1956–2010), unless otherwise indicated. The months (in Roman figures) are the Babylonian ones. Transliterated names are not capitalized if they are preceded by their transcription. Non-bibliographical abbreviations: br. = brother; d. = daughter; desc. = descendent; f. = father; gs. = grandson; MB = Middle Babylonian; ME = Middle Elamite; NE = Neo-Elamite; OB = Old Babylonian; OE = Old Elamite; RAE = Royal Achaemenid Elamite; s. = son; Sar. = Sargonic; wi. = wife.

by a route which passed through the frontier town of Pašime (modern Tall Abū Šīja north of Amara near the Iraqī-Iranian border).<sup>2</sup> Actually, there is no serious geographical barrier between Susiana and the adjacent district of Raši. No such barrier separated Susiana from the Sealand and adjacent regions to its west. The temple cities of Eridu (with Enki), Kinunir (with Dumuzi-abzu) Ur (with the moon god Sîn), and Larsa (with the sun god Šamaš) are located there.

However, politically Susiana belonged to Elam (*lato sensu*), a political confederation<sup>3</sup> whose main territory consisted of the southwestern section of the Iranian plateau. The Elamites inhabited a vast territory. Old Elamite (OE) has only two more or less intelligible texts (a treaty and a royal inscription, FARBER 1974). In addition, there are some OE words (mostly referring to officials, craftsmen, realia, legal terms and peculiar Elamite numinous notions) in early Akkadian sources from Susa, where rare instances of Elamite formulae and epithets occur. Contrary to the scant OE material, which is almost exclusively from Susa, Elamite names are recorded in sources from Mesopotamia, especially Ur III, where the Elamites were the most frequently mentioned non-Semitic foreign group; and Old-Babylonian. The sources from Susiana where the population was mixed, viz. Elamite and Semitic, also contain many Semitic (Akkadian, Amorite) and hybrid (Semitic-Elamite) names. The latter reflect the Elamite-Akkadian cultural interaction there. The Semites seem to have been dominant in early Susiana, as all the Susians mentioned in Sargonic texts bore Semitic names,<sup>4</sup> and most names from OB Susa are Semitic. The percentage of the Semitic names there is much lower than that of the Elamite ones in the later (ME and NE) onomastic documentation, which contain some Kassite names as well.

## 1. ACCORDING TO SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS CONTENTS (TEXTS AND ARTEFACTS)

The netherworld deities are recorded in Susiana in a variety of sources.<sup>5</sup> They are in the first place, Inšušinak, the main god of Susa, the capital of Susiana,

<sup>2</sup> The temple *É.ka.du<sub>8</sub>* of Ur III Pašime is quasi-homonymous with a temple of Girsu (GEORGE 1993: 106: 549).

<sup>3</sup> See [SALLABERGER and] WESTENHOLZ 1999: 90 with n. 405, cf. SAPORETTI 2002: 296–297.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EDZARD, FARBER and SOLLBERGER 1977: 154–155.

<sup>5</sup> For the Mesopotamian background (early 2nd millennium BC) see EDZARD 2004, especially 602–615.

who dwelt in his temple *É.dù.a*,<sup>6</sup> also Nergal and his spouse Ereškigal,<sup>7</sup> Šimūt (the Elamite equivalent of Nergal)<sup>8</sup> and his spouse Mazzât (*Bēlet āli* may be her epithet in Elam).<sup>9</sup> Erra, Šubula<sup>10</sup> and Meslamtea belonged to the circle of Nergal and Lāgamāl (> *Lakamar* in Susiana) and the latter was assimilated to him.<sup>11</sup> A priestess of Meslamtea of Kismar (in the Transtigridian region) is recorded in an Ur III document.<sup>12</sup> Nergal was worshipped in Mē-Turna on the Diyāla.<sup>13</sup> Other deities from the Transtigridian region which are identified with Nergal are Išar-Padan (from Pad/tanu in the Hamrīn area) and Išar-Kidišu.<sup>14</sup>

Šulpae and his spouse Ninhursag, as well as Išme-karāb and the Elamite goddess Kiri-riša are also netherworld deities. Both Dumuzi and Gilgameš were often regarded as important netherworld gods.<sup>15</sup> Kūbum (the deified stillborn child) was an important deity in OB (mentioned together with the netherworld gods, the Anunnakū).<sup>16</sup> He was quite popular in OB Susa as well.

Šamaš functions as judge both in this world and in the netherworld;<sup>17</sup> he is also the mediator between both worlds. Šamaš was also considered a lord of the dead or the ghosts of the dead.<sup>18</sup> The Moon(-god) Nanna/Sîn departs to-

<sup>6</sup> See STEVE, VALLAT and GASCHÉ 2002: 457–458; GRILLOT-SUSINI 2014: 107. The name is simply the generic term “edifice”. Specific names of this temple are *A.ar.ke.a.ēš* and *É.ki.kù-nun.na* (see below, 2.1, 2.2). An additional name is damaged (see GEORGE 1993: 161: 1251).

<sup>7</sup> See VON WEIHER 1971; HUTTER 1985.

<sup>8</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1998–2001b: 218b. With *-ū-* in view of the NA transcription <sup>d</sup>*Šu-mu-du* with vowel harmony (see ZADOK 1984: 39–40: 222).

<sup>9</sup> See VALLAT 2002–2003: 536.

<sup>10</sup> This god is recorded only in the Ur III and Isin periods (see MICHALOWSKI 2011–2013).

<sup>11</sup> See VALLAT 2002–2003: 537.

<sup>12</sup> Nies, UDT 91, 335, cf. STEINKELLER 1999: 128–129 with n. 91.

<sup>13</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 44.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. LAMBERT 1976–1980a–b. *I-šar-pá-dan* is also an anthroponym in Ur III (YOS 15, 10, 7). *Ēr-ra-ga-še-er*, who apparently belonged to the staff of the temple of <sup>d</sup>*I-šar-pad-da*, is defined as servant of <sup>d</sup>*I-šar-pa-da-an* according to an undated OB tablet which was found in Kūt al-Ḥayy in southeastern Babylonia near the border of Susiana (SCHEIL 1915: 70–72).

<sup>15</sup> The ancients regarded them mortal deified kings (see STEINKELLER 1999: 105 with n. 2). For the relationship of the “vegetation gods” Dumuzi and Gilgameš to the cult of the dead see SALLABERGER 1993, 1: 126–127; HOROWITZ 1998: 350 (cf. BÖHL 1957–1971). One of the names of the underworld is *būt Dumuzi* (“Dumuzi’s house”, see HOROWITZ 1998: 268).

<sup>16</sup> See RÖMER 1973: 313, 318, cf. TSUKIMOTO 1985: 67.

<sup>17</sup> See HOROWITZ 1998: 343. One gathers from OB anthroponyms and a Sumerian epithet that Šamaš revives the dead (cf. STOL 1991: 199 with n. 81).

<sup>18</sup> See TSUKIMOTO 1985: 9–10.

wards the netherworld when the moon (like the sun) disappears from heaven.<sup>19</sup> Nanna can determine the human fate.<sup>20</sup> The second component of <sup>d</sup>NIN.ŠUBUR (II(i)abrat) is interpreted as “earth” with the meaning “netherworld”.<sup>21</sup> However, not every Mesopotamian netherworld deity is recorded in Susiana.<sup>22</sup>

Several main deities of cultic centres of the Transtigridian region (Ištarān of Dēr and Ninazu of Ešnunna) were chthonic netherworld gods, with ophidian traits.<sup>23</sup> Ištarān was thought to be the son of An (Heaven) and Uraš (Earth) and one of the dying gods, like Dumuzi. He also functioned as a god of justice: in the Erra epos Ištarān (AN.GAL) complains that the destruction of Dēr caused the disappearance of justice from the land. This god and Šar-rat Dēri (BĀD.AN<sup>ki</sup> “queen of Dēr”, apparently his consort) head the list of deities of Dēr.<sup>24</sup> They are followed by the deified snake (<sup>d</sup>MUŠ) Nirah (“little snake”) who is Ištarān’s son and messenger (identical with *Mār-bīti* = <sup>d</sup>DUMU.É of Dēr).<sup>25</sup> According to a late theological text Ištarān was married to Mazzāt (the rainbow),<sup>26</sup> who was very popular in Susiana (where she was the consort of Šimūt). The bow-star is identified with Ištar of Elam according to the Atrolabe B which was found in Assur.<sup>27</sup> The goddess *Bēlat-balāḫi* (<sup>d</sup>be-lat-TI.LA) “Lady

<sup>19</sup> See TSUKIMOTO 1985: 15, 65; Livingstone 1986: 42.

<sup>20</sup> See TSUKIMOTO 1985: 14–15.

<sup>21</sup> See KREBERNIK 1986: 200; MANDER 1986: 66, 146, 159 and cf. SELZ 1995: 264, n. 1283. It is a female deity in Ur III (e.g., SALLABERGER 1993, 1: 149), but a male deity in OB Susa in view of <sup>d</sup>NIN-ŠUBUR-*a-bi* (MDP 22, 14, 2; 21, 7, rev. 5; 44, 12).

<sup>22</sup> For instance, Geštinanna (*Bēlet-šēri*) “netherworld scribe” (TALLQVIST 1934: 5–6, 20 with n. 4, 36 and TSUKIMOTO 1985: 18ff.) is so far absent there. However, Amurru who is related to Bēlet-šēri (see TALLQVIST 1934: 18–21), is amply recorded in OB Susa (cf. below, 2.3.5).

<sup>23</sup> See HERLES 2006: 42–43.

<sup>24</sup> In an inscription of Esarhaddon (LEICHTY 2011: 48, 94).

<sup>25</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 41–43, where divine names ending with *-ān* (diminutive among other functions) are also discussed. Other deities in Esarhaddon’s list are <sup>d</sup>*Ku-ru-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>* and <sup>d</sup>*Sak-kud* of *Bu-bē-e* (near Dēr). *Zizānu* and *Qa/udmu* (synonym of *mahru* and *rēšu*) are described as Ištarān’s son and messenger respectively in the god list An = Anum (see LITKE 1998: 194–196 *ad v.*, 287–292, the former’s name ends in *-ān* like *Ištarān*). *Zi-za-nu-um* is recorded as an anthroponym in the early OB Kingdom of Larsa (YOS 8, 98, 6), where *Ištarān* (<sup>d</sup>KA.DI) was worshipped (cf. YOS 8, 39, seal) and several people bore theophorous names with *Ištarān* (<sup>d</sup>KA.DI-*ša-di-i* and *Na-bi-<sup>d</sup>KA.DI*, YOS 8, 157, 14 and 134, 24 respectively). This is presumably linked to the rule of the Kutur-Mapuk dynasty and the impressive Elamite presence in the kingdom of Larsa under that dynasty.

<sup>26</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 44.

<sup>27</sup> See HOROWITZ 1998: 124, where the constellation *Elamatum* is mentioned.

of life<sup>28</sup> in the same list from Dēr is probably identical with the homonymous goddess who is recorded in an unpublished Elamite inscription from Persepolis.<sup>29</sup>

The issue of the Transtigradian snake deities was thoroughly discussed by WIGGERMANN, who draws attention to an OB list of city gods from Ur. That list has Tišpak, Inšušinak and Ištārān (followed by Nergal and preceded by Dumuzi, Ninazu and Ningirsu).<sup>30</sup> Ninazu of Ešnunna (later replaced by Tišpak,<sup>31</sup> Inšušinak's father),<sup>32</sup> the “king of the snakes” in OB, is the son or husband of Ereškigal, the queen of the netherworld. Ninazu's connection with the cult of the dead is amply recorded in the Ur III period.<sup>33</sup>

The god Ištārān is described as a neighbour of the Elamite snake-god (presumably Inšušinak). In addition, the boat-god resembles Ištārān and Inšušinak.<sup>34</sup> Ninhursag (in Adab and Keš)<sup>35</sup> may also be a netherworld deity and her husband Šulpae had something to do with the treatment of Inšušinak as a Sumerian god of Susa. He is already attested in a god list from Abū Salābīḥ (<sup>d</sup>*Nin-šušinak*).<sup>36</sup> Unlike his Mesopotamian colleagues, he has neither

<sup>28</sup> A divine epithet in Akkadian literary texts, notably of Gula (cf. CAD B: 189–190, s.v. *bēltu*, 1, a, 4', 5; GEORGE 1993: 88: 321; Beaulieu, *Uruk*: 312–313: 6.6).

<sup>29</sup> Spelled *Be-ul-ti ba-la-aṭ*, i.e. */Bēlti balā/* (with a broken spelling which is not exceptional in late texts from Elam); see for the time being VALLAT 2002: 141 who is due to publish the evidence.

<sup>30</sup> Tišpak and Ištārān are juxtaposed in a *kudurru*-inscription of Merodach-baladan I (PAULUS 2014: 434, vi, 6) from the Transtigradian region (in a list of deities, where the netherworld deities are well-represented). Ištārān's family and court follow those of Tišpak in the god list An = Anum (LITKE 1998: 193–196, v, 273–295).

<sup>31</sup> See RICHTER 2004: 490.

<sup>32</sup> See VAN DIJK 1982: 106, who is of the opinion that Tišpak is an Elamite name; STEINKELLER 1993: 111 with n. 7; STOL 2014–2016: 66. Tišpak's son is <sup>d</sup>*Na-an-ša-ak* according to the god list An = Anum (LITKE 1998: 194, v, 277); does his name contain Elamite *šak* “son”? Tišpak's wife, <sup>d</sup>*Ū-kul-lá* (var. <sup>d</sup>*Ū-ka-lá*, LITKE 1998: 193, v, 274–275), is recorded in the greeting formula of a letter from early OB Ešnunna and as a month name in another letter (WHITING 1987: 80: 26, 12; 88: 31, 6: <sup>(a)</sup>*Ū-kul-lá*).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. SALLABERGER 1993, 1: 197–196–198.

<sup>34</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 46–47.

<sup>35</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 33.

<sup>36</sup> ALBERTI 1985, 8: 71; MANDER 1986: 32, 47 (see STEINKELLER 1993: 110–111 and cf. WIGGERMANN 1997: 44). The same list has the theonym <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-Elam* (MANDER 1986: 25, 63, see KREBERNIK 2006: 77), which is of the same type as later <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-A-wa-an*<sup>ki</sup> (see KREBERNIK 1987–1990) and <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-Arat*<sup>ta</sup> (MANDER 1986: 25, 62, see KREBERNIK 2006: 79).



a family nor a court. It seems that the Mesopotamian compilers of theogonic lists were not interested in exclusively Susian deities.

There is ample textual and iconographic evidence that snake gods were popular in Susiana and the neighbouring regions of Elam on the Iranian plateau.<sup>37</sup> For example, Eblaite *I-pá-um*, which was compared with Heb. *ṣḥ* (Arab. *af'a* with a cognate form in Geez) “viper”,<sup>38</sup> is recorded as an anthroponym in an Old Akkadian document from Susa (*I-pá-um*).<sup>39</sup> The pertinent iconography offers adequate evidence for snake imagery. Apart from many scenes on seals and reliefs, there is, for instance, a bronze spade, whose handle is engraved with a snake; it was dedicated to Nabû in Dūr-Untaš.<sup>40</sup> There is good reason for thinking that the deity depicted with snakes is Inšušinak rather than Napiriša.<sup>41</sup>

Explicit textual evidence for snake worship are the incantation texts in non-Mesopotamian languages from southern Babylonia. They are mainly written in Elamite (at least 13 compared with ten in “Hurrian” and just one in “Subarian”).<sup>42</sup> Some of them (from Enegi) ward against snake bites; the exorcist practically acted as a snake-charmer as well.<sup>43</sup> The earliest Elamite incantation is from Girsu (Telloh).<sup>44</sup> VAN DIJK (1982: 106) cautiously suggested that the Elamite incantations might have originated from the kingdom of Larsa, which included Enegi, and from Ešnunna. He<sup>45</sup> advocated a non-Mesopotamian origin of the Lamaštu-incantations (demon with three different figures, viz. *Lamaštu*, *Ahhāzu* and *Labašu*) with Elam as the most likely place of origin. This is compatible with the iconography, especially the boat motive. Besides, the Ulayu river, which flows in Susiana, is mentioned in Lamaštu incantations (together with the Tigris; Adad, Nergal, and perhaps

<sup>37</sup> See HERLES 2006: 297.

<sup>38</sup> By CIVIL (1984: 91, cf. WIGGERMANN 1997: 36–37).

<sup>39</sup> MDP 14, 72, i, *nu-bānda* (“lieutenant”), 72, ii. The anthroponym recurs later (*I-pa-um*, AbB 14, 221, 2). The town Bāb-Ipaum (KÁ-<sup>d</sup>*i-pá-um*) was named after this deity ([FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 178–179: 66–69). It was probably located in the Diyāla region in or near the early OB kingdom of Ešnunna.

<sup>40</sup> AMIET 1966: 266, see VALLAT 2002–2003: 539 and cf. HERLES 2006: 149.

<sup>41</sup> See DE MIROSCHEJJI 1981: 24–25; WIGGERMANN 1997: 45.

<sup>42</sup> See VAN DIJK 1982: 99 (some copied in VAN DIJK 1971).

<sup>43</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 47.

<sup>44</sup> V. SCHEIL (*apud* F. THUREAU-DANGIN in Cros 1910: 201 *ad* 212: AO 4325) observed that the language of the incantation is Elamite. VALLAT 2000: 1068 identifies *Ši-it/Ši-ti* in incantations with the god *Zit* of the OE treaty. Three Elamite incantations are in the Assurbanipal library and one was unearthed in Sultantepe.

<sup>45</sup> VAN DIJK 1982: 104, following A. Falkenstein.

Anu are invoked; oath: [*ú-ta*]m-mi-ka “I conjure you” by Ištar and Dumuzi; the *bašmu*-dragon is mentioned).<sup>46</sup> The OB myth of the deity Girra relates his defeat of his enemy *Elamâtum* “the Lady of Elam”.<sup>47</sup>

On the whole, ophidian traits of deities were developed in Mesopotamia under the influence of Transtigridian religious notions.<sup>48</sup> A list of snakes and dragons is preserved among scholastic texts from OB Susa (MDP 27, 255). Snakes are amply represented on seals<sup>49</sup> and other artefacts from Susa and its region since the pre-historic phases of Susa A, B and later<sup>50</sup> (A is contemporary with Late Obeid, and C with Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr). Snakes also figure prominently in pre-historic Tepe Giyan (Luristan),<sup>51</sup> but in most cases it is impossible to connect them with a specific ophidian deity. The same applies to the rich material from the historical periods, which includes scenes of contests of humans (notably heroes) with snakes or dragons<sup>52</sup> and resembles to some extent Mesopotamian models.<sup>53</sup> Snake-gods are depicted on three seals from Susa (Ville Royale) datable to the Sargonic-Ur III age:

1. His tail is jagged to his extremity. He stretches a hand towards a wide-mouthed altar on which burns fire and from which flows out a liquid(?) towards the snake-god. There is a star in the field. At the side of the altar stands a worshipper in an attitude of prayer. There is a palm tree behind the god.

<sup>46</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1921: 186–187; VAN DIJK 1982: 110, n. 26 *in fine*; CAVIGNEAUX 2003: 61; cf. HOROWITZ 1998: 304 with n. 45 and KREBERNIK 2003: 154–155.

<sup>47</sup> See WALKER 1983.

<sup>48</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 47–48.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., RASHAD 1990: 263; Abb. 3b: 10, 13; cf. 273.

<sup>50</sup> Cf., e.g., the beaker and the jar sealing with snakes (F. Hole and J. Aruz in CARTER *et al.* 1992a: 34–35: 3 and 45–46: 18 respectively), as well as the bulla with snakes (H. Pittmann in CARTER *et al.* 1992b: 55–56: 22). A plaque with male figures, serpents and a quadruped is datable to the period preceding the Sargonic one (c. 2600–2500 BC, see Z. Bahrani in CARTER *et al.* 1992c: 85–86: 52).

<sup>51</sup> See CALDWELL 1976: 232–238, with a limited comparison with coeval material from Luristan. For a thorough comparative survey, which is not limited to seals, see AMIET 1986: 35, 38, 89–90, 115, 122, 124.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., AMIET 1972, 482 (proto-urbanic period), 1450–1451 (late pre-Sargonic), 1584 (Sargonic or Ur III, for comparanda from coeval Iran, Bactria and Margiana see AMIET 1986: 196–199 and see ASCALONE 2013: 15).

<sup>53</sup> See AMIET 1986: 165, 168 *ad fig.* 137 (cf. AMIET 1988: 181), cf. the parallels from Tall Yelkhi, which were noticed by BOEHMER 1985: 7: 1 and 9: 5. Cf. SEIDL 1990.

2. The snake-god holds a bowl. There is a crescent in front of him while a scorpion, a radiant star and perhaps a snake are behind him.<sup>54</sup>
3. A snake god is depicted with a worshipper.<sup>55</sup>

Snakes are present in the following cultic scenes which are datable to the OB (sukkalmah) period (refs. are to AMIET 1972):

- A god is leaned to a tree and holds a goblet. He welcomes a worshipper behind whom intercedes a goddess; between the goddess and the worshipper there is a snake (1814);
- Sitting person, in front of him there is a crescent and two triangles superimposed behind him, and a snake. There is a star between the presenter and the worshipper (1831).

A sitting person, welcoming a worshipper is seen in the following scenes:

- Crescent and pitcher in front of him. A big snake with a monstrous head turning towards the worshipper (1901);
- Crescent and pitcher in front of him. Behind, a big snake with a human head turning towards the sitting person (1902, same scene with crescent and pitcher in the field, 1905);
- Between them, a passing bird. Behind a big snake (1903);
- Between them a tablet and indistinct figures. Behind, a protruding? vase and a big snake (1906);
- Between them a crescent and a well-lined tablet. Behind, a big snake with a human head turning towards the sitting person (1907);
- Sitting person, welcoming two worshippers; in front of him, a crescent and a star as well as a bird on a tablet. Two stars between the two worshippers. Behind, a big snake rising for attacking an eagle with spread wings (1904).<sup>56</sup>

A god sitting on a throne on a snake with a human head, coiled up, and holding two snakes with angular sinuosities. His tiara with oblique horns has for a headdress a coiled-up snake.<sup>57</sup> In the Kurangun relief, which is datable to about the 17<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>58</sup> the deity is throned on a serpent coiled up, with a head which may be considered as human and bearded. The attributes of the deity are the serpent and the waves, as well as the stick and the ring.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> AMIET 1972, 1591, 1595 (cf. AMIET 1986: 168).

<sup>55</sup> See J. Aruz in CARTER *et al.* 1992c: 111-112: 71 (= AMIET 1972: 203: 1592).

<sup>56</sup> For the theme of combative snakes and birds see STEINKELLER 1992: 253 with n. 22 with earlier lit.

<sup>57</sup> AMIET 1972, 2017, for comparanda from Anšan cf. AMIET 1986: 158–159.

<sup>58</sup> AMIET 1988: 181a (not the worshippers who were inserted in the NE period, AMIET 1988: 180).

<sup>59</sup> SEIDL 1986 discusses the god with the serpent.

The funerary sacrifice (*kispu*) in OB Susa<sup>60</sup> was offered to the local triad of the netherworld gods: Inšušinak, Išme-karāb, and Lāgamāl.<sup>61</sup> Since the same term is used, and given the strong connections between Susiana and Babylonia, there is no reason to consider the *kispu* in MB Kapnak<sup>62</sup> as *interpretatio akkadica* of an Elamite custom of the cult of the dead.<sup>63</sup> This is not to deny the existence of some Elamite pertinent peculiarities: for instance, the Elamite worship of the dead took place in holy groves where tombs of prominent individuals were located.<sup>64</sup> The relationship of the moon-god to the funerary sacrifice<sup>65</sup> is clear from the custom to offer it on the day of the new moon (cf. Biblical Hebrew *ḥdš*), i.e. at the end of the month.<sup>66</sup> Interestingly enough, *bubbulu* (*bibbulu*) > *bublu* “new moon” (cf. *biblu* “id.”)<sup>67</sup> is a theophorous element in two anthroponyms from MB Kapnak, viz. *Ina-bubli* (*I-na-bu-ub-la*) and *Eṭel-bublušu* (*E-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-el-bu-ub-lu-šu*, possibly a scribe).<sup>68</sup>

The Elamite custom of offering food and water libation to the dead at their graves in Susa persisted during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, according to inscriptions of Assurbanipal, who carried the bones of the Elamite kings (ancient and late) from their graves in Susa to Assyria in order to avoid this care.<sup>69</sup> The deities in Elam received meals (offerings) twice a day: in the morning and the evening,<sup>70</sup> like in Mesopotamia. The four Akkadian texts, which were found in graves from Susa datable to the middle or the end of the OB period, neither refer to the verdict of the tribunal of the dead nor to weighing the deeds of the dead.<sup>71</sup> Prof. N. WASSERMAN of Jerusalem is due to present the evidence within the framework of a comprehensive evaluation of the OB pertinent evidence (I attended his lecture on the topic). Hence there is no evidence that Susian cultic practices or notions foreshadow any type of Zoroastrianism, a religion which was imported and transplanted in

<sup>60</sup> MDP 23, 285 from about the time of Tan-Uli and Temti-halki (see TSUKIMOTO 1985: 53 with n. 214, cf. SKAIST 1980: 124).

<sup>61</sup> See VALLAT 2002-2003: 537.

<sup>62</sup> REINER 1973: 86ff.

<sup>63</sup> This is what one gathers from the cautious formulation of TSUKIMOTO 1985: 53, n. 214.

<sup>64</sup> This is not contradicted by the material evaluated by VALLAT 2002-2003: 540–541.

<sup>65</sup> See TSUKIMOTO 1985: 63–65.

<sup>66</sup> TSUKIMOTO 1985: 47.

<sup>67</sup> CAD B: 222, 298–300.

<sup>68</sup> BECKMAN 1991: 81f.: 1, rev. 11–12.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. TSUKIMOTO 1985: 114–115.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. VALLAT 2002-2003: 541.

<sup>71</sup> See TSUKIMOTO 1985: 16–17 (*pace* EBELING 1931, 3): *mušēkīlu* derives from *ekēlu* “to be dark”, with CAD *pace* AHw. who follows EBELING.

southwestern Iran not prior to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1st millennium BC. The ritual washing (*rimku*) of the statues of the dead kings<sup>72</sup> is extant as the theophorous element of another anthroponym, viz. *Ša-at-Ri-im-ki*.<sup>73</sup>

Religious texts from Susiana (mostly omens) datable to the early MB period (late 15<sup>th</sup>–early 14<sup>th</sup> century BC) originated in all probability from southeastern Babylonia (somewhere on the Tigris near Nippur) which was controlled by the 1st dynasty of the Sealand since the end of the OB period, as was demonstrated by GEORGE.<sup>74</sup> However, to some extent these texts, which were used by Susian religious practitioners, were adapted to their needs and requirements. Thus the Elamite deity Šimūt (preceded by [...]–*ta*), the equivalent of the Mesopotamian netherworld god Nergal, is invoked in the only magico-medical ritual<sup>75</sup> which was unearthed in Susa. All the other deities are Mesopotamian. Sacrifices are offered to Adad (a patron god of divination, *bēl bīri*, like Šamaš),<sup>76</sup> who appears first as well as to the netherworld god Ningizzida, who is elsewhere associated with the snake-dragon.<sup>77</sup>

Adad is described as “throne bearer of the netherworld” (realm of the dead)<sup>78</sup> in a religious text from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (KAR 227). It should be remembered that the popularity of Adad persisted in Elam much longer than in Babylonia (cultic centre: Karkara).<sup>79</sup> Ea-šarru<sup>80</sup> is addressed in the short prayer: “hear me, I call you, O Ea-King, accept it (the prayer, uttered by the priest), heal me!; see my fault” (uttered by the patient). Another deity who is invoked in the ritual is perhaps the moon god Nanna (dŠEŠ<sup>?</sup>.KI).

The “hand of a deity” (which is upon the patient) referring to an illness (syndrome) occurs several times in this ritual. The specific gods are Adad,

<sup>72</sup> See TSUKIMOTO 1985: 90–91.

<sup>73</sup> MDP 18, 209 = 22, 43, 2, cf. *Šū-Rimku* (DE GRAEF 2006: 198b, s.v.).

<sup>74</sup> GEORGE 2013: xxi, 131, 139–142; cf. RUTZ 2006: 67 and n. 29.

<sup>75</sup> LABAT 1974: 235ff: 11.

<sup>76</sup> See STEINKELLER 2005: 43–45 and MICHALOWSKI 2006; cf. ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 32.

<sup>77</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 40–41. Išhara is described as a patron goddess of divination (*bēlet bīri*) in the god list An = Anum (LITKE 1998: 166, iv, 277).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. KATZ 2014.

<sup>79</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 33; RICHTER 2004: 252–254. Prof. F.M. Fales kindly reminds me that one of the causes for the popularity and persistence of the Adad cult was his status (albeit not an exclusive one) as master of destinies.

<sup>80</sup> This compound theonym is contained as a theophorous element in anthroponyms from Susa and Mesopotamia (cf. SCHEIL MDP 23: 105 *ad* 11). Cf. the OB < Amorite anthroponym *Ha-ia-ša-rum* from Tutub (cf. HARRIS 1955: 104 *ad* 107, 1), *Ha-ia-ša-ru-um* from Sippar or its region (DEKIERE 1994a, 54, 24).

Šamaš, more frequently the demon (deified stillborn child) <sup>d</sup>*Ku-bi*<sup>81</sup> and finally the hand of the demon *Šu-la-ak* and the obscure entity *qayalu*, “attentive, eager”, presumably a demon as well.<sup>82</sup> As a demon Kūbu was at home in the netherworld according to a hymn to Šamaš (mentioned after the *malkī* “princes” and before the Anunnaki, i.e. the deities of the nether world).<sup>83</sup> The “hand of a deity” in texts from Mesopotamia, refers to many divine entities and other numina,<sup>84</sup> of whom many were connected with the netherworld.

A statement that Elam will attack (the large army of the enemy) is recorded in one of the four omens of the extispicy category.<sup>85</sup> Adad, Nergal and Amurru are mentioned in this omen.<sup>86</sup> In another omen, which is based on an inspection of a sacrificial bird, Mazzât and Nergal, both underworld deities (the former was very popular in Susiana), are recorded in addition to Ea, Adad, and <sup>d</sup>KA.DU<sub>10</sub>?<sup>87</sup> Adad and the weapon of Šamaš are mentioned in two other extispicy texts from Susa,<sup>88</sup> while the extispicy text from Kapnak has the triad Šamaš, Ištar and Šin (also the pairs Šamaš and Ištar and Šamaš and Šin).<sup>89</sup> No divine names are preserved in the extispicy text which presumably originates from Chogha Pahn West.<sup>90</sup> Adad (<sup>d</sup>UGU) is recorded in one of the two teratomantic omens from Susa.<sup>91</sup> An extispicy concerning setting out on a safe journey is mentioned in an unpublished letter which was unearthed in Susa.<sup>92</sup> Enuma Anu Enlil (22/1) MSS from Mesopotamia retain Susian orthographic traditions in the 1st millennium BC.<sup>93</sup>

The association of Elamite deities with the netherworld was known to the Mesopotamians in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. The Elamite divine triad <sup>d</sup>*Ia-ap-ru*

<sup>81</sup> See RÖMER 1973: 311, 318 (cf. 316ff. where the anthroponyms with K. are analyzed).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. KREBERNIK 2011-2013c and CAD Q: 54a respectively.

<sup>83</sup> See RÖMER 1973: 311.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. CAD Q: 186–187.

<sup>85</sup> LABAT 1974, 130, 140, 147: 6, iv, 2–5.

<sup>86</sup> LABAT 1974, 128, 133: 6, i, 17; 129, 137: 6, ii, 33, 44, 53; 130, 131, 138–140: 6, iii, 21–23, 49; 130, 135: 6, ii, 8.

<sup>87</sup> LABAT 1974: 158ff.: 7.

<sup>88</sup> LABAT 1974: 88, 89, 95, 96: 4, rev. 27, 38 and 113, 115: 5, 1 (see 124 *ad loc.*) respectively.

<sup>89</sup> HERRERO and GLASSNER 1993: 126ff.: 207 = DANESHMAND 2004.

<sup>90</sup> BIGGS and STOLPER 1983.

<sup>91</sup> LABAT 1974: 197, 200: 9, 26 (see 212 *ad loc.*)- Five out of the eleven literary texts from Susa were written by the same scribe(s, Ilīma-īlu, Šurri-Šamaš): LABAT 1974: 89, 97: 4, rev. 56; 114, 118: 5, rev. 29; 131, 142: 6, 55; 161, 167: 7, u.e.; 220, 224: 10, rev. 35, lo.e.-colophon.

<sup>92</sup> A XII/74 quoted CAD Š/1: 258b, s.v. *šalmu*, 1, c (courtesy J. BOTTÉRO).

<sup>93</sup> See RUTZ 2006 and GEORGE 2013: 135–136.

(< *Hap-ruh*), <sup>d</sup>*Hum-ba* (< *Humpan*) and <sup>d</sup>*Nap-ru-šú* (< *Napi-riša*)<sup>94</sup> appears in the underworld vision of the Assyrian (Sargonid) prince Kummāyu (presumably Assurbanipal), where Allatu (<sup>d</sup>*al-la-tu<sub>4</sub>*), lady of the [wide] underworld (*be-el-tu<sub>4</sub>* KI-[...]), is also mentioned.<sup>95</sup> The latter is identified with Ereškigal.<sup>96</sup> The seven gods of Elam, who are linked to Nergal, are followed by their sister Narutu (<sup>d</sup>*na-ru-di*) in the god list An = Anum.<sup>97</sup> The Transtigradian divine triad Išar-kidissu, Lā-gamāl and Ištarān (all netherworld gods) is listed in the Šurpu (“burning”) ritual series and the pair Lā-gamāl and <sup>d</sup>*Ip-te-mal* appears in another religious text.<sup>98</sup> A connection between Akkad. *utukku* “demon, ghost, demon of the grave” < Sum. UDUG, which is recorded since Gudea’s time<sup>99</sup> and Elam. \**utuk*<sup>100</sup> cannot be demonstrated.

Geographically and historically speaking, Elam was the closest neighbour of southern Mesopotamia. Therefore Elam appears first in geographical lists found in religious literary compositions about ghosts emerging in neighbouring countries to Mesopotamia (sequence: Elam, Subartu, Amurru, Sutium, Gutium and Marhaši).<sup>101</sup> The canonical incantation “The Raging Sea” (OB

<sup>94</sup> They are identified with Anu, Enlil and Ea respectively (see EDZARD 1983: 54–55, cf. KREBERNIK 2006: 82). The relationship of <sup>d</sup>*Hum-ba* to the monster *Humbaba* and the evil demon <sup>d</sup>*Hum/Lum-ba/ma* (cf. TALLQVIST 1934: 30 with WILCKE 1976–1980: 530, FARBER 1977: 172–173 *ad* 130b, 130d and BAUER 1987–1990: 168b) is unknown.

<sup>95</sup> Livingstone 1989: 70: 32, 30; 74: 32, rev. 25. Is she related to *Alla*, who may be a netherworld deity as well (cf. RICHTER 2004: 489)?

<sup>96</sup> See TALLQVIST 1934: 4 with n. 6, 10, RICHTER 2004: 491–492 and HOROWITZ 1998: 289, 357; cf. W.G. LAMBERT *apud* HEALEY 1977: 51. She originated from Zimudar in the Diyāla region (see MICHALOWSKI 1982: 132).

<sup>97</sup> vi, 176–184 (see WIGGERMANN 1998–2001b: 220b; LITKE 1998: 213 *ad* 184). <sup>d</sup>*Dah-še-iš-ri-iš* apparently ends in *-riša* “great”. He is followed by <sup>d</sup>*Ru-uš-pa-an-aš-piš* (LITKE 1998: 213, vi, 179–180), whose 1<sup>st</sup> component is *Rušpān* (cf. 215, vi, 206), the ancient West Semitic equivalent of the netherworld god Nergal.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. CAD G: 24a, s.v. *gamālu*, b.

<sup>99</sup> See GELLER 2014; cf. RICHTER 2004: 215.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. ZADOK 1984: 47: 282, s.v. *utuk*, to which add the Ur III anthroponyms <sup>ú</sup>*du-ku* (ZADOK 1994: 40: 1.3.1, 13 from Lagash), *Hun-utuk* (*Hu-un-nu-du-uk*, from Puzriš-Dagan, ZADOK 1994: 42: 1.3.3, 53) as well as *Hupan-utuk* (*hu-ba-nu-du-uk*) from Puzriš-Dagan and Āl-šar-rākī (see OWEN 2013: 488–489, n. 614 *ad* 688, 33), all referring to males. Therefore *Utuk* is not the equivalent of Akkad. *martu* “daughter” as cautiously suggested by SCHEIL 1928: 40 *ad* 1: MB <sup>ú</sup>*tu-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*In-šu-uš* (for *Inšušnak*, the anthroponyms with *utuk* known to SCHEIL at that time referred exclusively to females). Does the male’s name *Hu-lu-du-uk* (Ur III, from Puzriš-Dagan, ZADOK 1994: 43: 1.3.3, 83, perhaps *Hul-utuk*) belong here as well?

<sup>101</sup> See GELLER 1985: 147 *ad* 91. Elam is first also in the sequence Elam, Amurru and Subartu and Elam, Akkad, Subartu, Gutium and Amurru (HOROWITZ 1998: 7, 91), but different sequences are recorded in other compositions (cf. HOROWITZ 1998: 322–324).

text) has *kur-Elam<sup>ki</sup>-ma mu-un-ma-al-la-[še]*: “(1<sup>2</sup>when your name is in the land), when it is in the land of Elam, 1<sup>4</sup>when it is to the very horizon of heaven, 1<sup>5</sup>when it is to the edge of the earth”.<sup>102</sup> In another text of the same type, viz. “Flood which Drowns the Harvest” (OB text) *Elam-ma<sup>ki</sup>* (var. *Elam<sup>ki</sup>-ma*) is juxtaposed with *Hu-bu-ru* (var. *Hu-bu-ri*, the Styx)<sup>103</sup> stating “You have destroyed (from) Elam (to) Hubur!”,<sup>104</sup> while the canonical incantation “Oh, My City!” (OB text) has “(She says, together with *Hu-bu-úr*): *Elam<sup>ki</sup>-ma Hu-bu-úr-ra mu-un-kúš-ù* “she causes Elam and Hubur to grieve” (preceded by *Elam<sup>ki</sup>-ma mu-un-kúš-ù* “she causes the land [as far as] Elam to grieve”).<sup>105</sup> Elam is paired with Hubur also in an Eršema prayer.<sup>106</sup>

There may be a vague residue of an Elamite toponymical substrate in southern Babylonia. Several theonyms in Eridu look non-Sumerian, e.g., *Dunga* and *LUM-ha*.<sup>107</sup> *Dunga<sub>3</sub> Elam-ma<sup>ki</sup>* “D. of Elam” is recorded in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC text of the canonical incantation “Fashioning Man and Woman”; Akkad. version: <sup>d</sup>*E-ta-lak šá ši-ga-ri* “Dungu of Elam, the one of the bolt” (the last member of “the gods of heaven and earth”, preceded by *Lātarāk*).<sup>108</sup> He is also mentioned in the same position in two other such incantations, viz. 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC and OB versions of “Honoured One, Wild Ox” and the OB text of “ZIBUM ZIBUM of Enlil Arise! Arise!”, where he is preceded by *Ištarān*.<sup>109</sup> For the river Ulai see below, 2.3.1 *in fine*.

## 2. MAINLY ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC SOURCES

### 2.1. *The Sargonic and Ur III periods*

Most individuals mentioned in the sizable dossier of Old Akkadian documents found in Susa, which is datable to the Sargonic period and slightly later,<sup>110</sup> bore Akkadian, Akkadianized and atypical names. But there are also fair amounts of non-Semitic, notably Elamite anthroponyms, such as *Ra-bi-*

<sup>102</sup> COHEN 1988, 1: 377, 382, a, 12f., 30.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. DURAND 1984: 161.

<sup>104</sup> COHEN 1988, 2: 509, 514, a+133.

<sup>105</sup> COHEN 1988, 2: 648, 51.

<sup>106</sup> See GABBAY 2015: 163 *ad* 25.

<sup>107</sup> See VAN DIJK 1982: 97, cf. BAUER 1987–1990: 168b.

<sup>108</sup> COHEN 1988, 1: 241, 250, c+350, cf. 310, 316, c+224.

<sup>109</sup> COHEN 1988, 1: 290, 297, c+268; 365, 372, a+284.

<sup>110</sup> MDP 14, 1–85; the references in this paragraph and the next two ones are to this edition unless otherwise indicated.



*pi-li-ir*, *Mur-ti* (48, 2), *Si-da-ak-su-kir* (27) and *Ha-si-ri-ir-za-na* (76), which contain the theophorous elements *Rap*,<sup>111</sup> *Sunki-r* and *Zana*. The compound names *Ha-si-ha-li-iš*, *A-si-ir-hu-ni* and *Si-im-gir-na* (32) may also be theophorous. *Ama-me-me* (62, 3), which was borne by a female, looks like a Sumerianized form of an Elamite name. The Elamite deity <sup>d</sup>*Na-ru-ti* is recorded along with *Man-za-ti* (74), which was popular in Susiana, and there is some reason to believe that *Hu-um-ba-a*[*n*<sup>?</sup>] (3, rev. i, 9) refers to the prominent Elamite god *Humpan*.<sup>112</sup>

Apart from this dossier, an administrative list of personnel from Susa (MDP 24, 384) contains mostly Elamite names, viz. the compound (presumably theophorous) anthroponyms [*S*]ar-tu-pi-li-nir<sup>?</sup>, *Si-im-pi-ru-uk*, *Si-ir-ú-lu-luk*,<sup>113</sup> and atypical anthroponyms. The only Akkadian name is perhaps [...] *Sîn* (<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU). More individuals occur in other Old Akkadian texts from Susa (MDP 28, 523–525), *Sîn-gāmil* (<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-ga-mé-el),<sup>114</sup> *Ma-ša-ah-ilum* (DINGIR), I-PI-ilum, *Ar-sa-d*Da-ga-an (Amorite?,<sup>115</sup> Dagān has an underworld character in upper Mesopotamia),<sup>116</sup> *Er-ra-šulūlu* (AN.DŪL),<sup>117</sup> *Iš-ma-ilum* (DINGIR), <sup>d</sup>UR.SAG,<sup>118</sup> and *E-ni-iš-ša-an* (Elam.).<sup>119</sup> Apart from the Elamite deities mentioned above, the Mesopotamian deities <sup>d</sup>A-ba<sub>4</sub> and <sup>d</sup>Šu-nir (< *Bēlat Šuhnir*)<sup>120</sup> were worshipped in Susiana (Bēlat Suhmir and Bēlat Teraban are originally Transtigridian goddesses, who were worshipped at the Ur III court and in early OB Ešnunna);<sup>121</sup> Ningirsu is also recorded there.<sup>122</sup> More Mesopotamian deities appear as theophorous elements of Akkadian and Sumerian anthroponyms: Ea/Enki, Enlil, Erra, Adad, Sîn/Nanna, Šamaš, Ner-

<sup>111</sup> Contained in the RN *Te-em-ti-ra-ap-ta-aš* (cf. ZADOK 1984: 35–36: 193). *Te-em-mu-ra-ap-ta-aš* (MDP 18, 136, 10–11, OB) is a variant thereof.

<sup>112</sup> See HENKELMAN 2008: 356.

<sup>113</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 24: 84 *ad loc.*

<sup>114</sup> MDP 28, 525, 6.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. LAMBERT 1991: 56. For Dagan in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC see [PETTINATO and] WAETZOLDT 1985: 245–256.

<sup>116</sup> See HEALEY 1977. Dagān is not recorded later in Susa. For OB southern Babylonia see RICHTER 2004: 162, n.726, 225–227, 456–457 and cf. *Dagān-ma-ilum* (<sup>d</sup>da-gan-ma-DINGIR, YOS 14, 340, 2) as well as STOL 1991: 206–207.

<sup>117</sup> MDP 28, 444, 3; *andul* = “likeness, portrait” (“Bildniss”) according to WAETZOLDT 2000.

<sup>118</sup> MDP 24,342,21, 28.

<sup>119</sup> MDP 28, 524, 9.

<sup>120</sup> Juxtaposed in MDP 14, 51 *in fine* and 71, iv, 7–8 (for the latter cf. HILGERT 2012–2013: 263).

<sup>121</sup> See [FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 143–144.

<sup>122</sup> 70 (cf. STRECK 1998–2001: 514).

gal, Šulpaē, Ištar, Girra, Bau, Kūbu, Ninhursag, Nisaba,<sup>123</sup> Narua, Ilu<sup>124</sup> and possibly Aššur.<sup>125</sup> Many of them recur in the later anthroponymy of OB Susa. Two fields are named after Mesopotamian deities, viz. *Šu.zi.an-na* (= Gula, also recorded in Ur III Umma)<sup>126</sup> and <sup>d</sup>*Nin.tu*.<sup>127</sup> Evidence for cultural interaction is negligible: there is only one hybrid (Elamite- Akkadian) name (*Su-gír-a-bí*, 6, rev. ii, with *sunki-r-*).

Scholars argue that the Old Akkadian economic documents from Susa refer to a colony of Akkadian settlers, who were brought by the Sargonic conquerors.<sup>128</sup> This can be the case with regard to certain individuals who were involved in long distance trade (e.g., the merchants or commercial agents Ur-Narua, Ur-Enki and Lu-dingir-ra sons of LUL.GU-*ak*).<sup>129</sup> However, it should be remembered that the Semitic presence in Susiana is a *longue durée* phenomenon (VALLAT [1980: 3] is of the opinion that the majority of Susiana's inhabitants were Semites). In addition, ancient polities were not fully bounded but rather had shifting and porous frontiers constituted by irregular fringes of the desert (cf. LATTIMORE 1988). This model of interaction can be applied not only to the fringe of a desert, but to any geomorphological configurations, such as mountainous regions.<sup>130</sup> Ambiguous boundaries are a source of contention: polities like Pašime, Yamutbal and Urua often changed hands. This is not to deny that the pertinent documentation, which was written exclusively by Sumero-Akkadian scribes can indeed potentially be somewhat "Mesopotamian biased".

It can be concluded that Akkadian-speaking people were part of the local scene of Susiana as early as the Sargonic period and furthermore, that they constituted a significant segment of the population there. Moreover, there is evidence for the continuity of their presence there well into the OB period (the seemingly different pantheon may be due to later developments which are not

<sup>123</sup> See WIGGERMANN 1997: 33. Not recorded later in Susa (for Ur III Nippur and Ur see RICHTER 2004: 31, 52, 416).

<sup>124</sup> *Ì-li-iš-da-gal* (MDP 14, 80), [*M*]a<sup>2</sup>-ša-am-i-li (13, 12).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *A-s/šur-DINGIR* (30, ii, 3'). The theophorous element *LaT* (of *Ì-li-<sup>d</sup>La-aT*, 6, rev. ii, 14') is unattested elsewhere.

<sup>126</sup> Gula is not recorded in Isin before the time of Rīm-Sîn (see RICHTER 2004: 112–113, 193–194).

<sup>127</sup> See LAMBERT 1991: 54 with n. 5; both were worshipped in Ur III Nippur (see SALLABERGER 1993, 2: 100, 104 and pl.41 and RICHTER 2004: 31 [*tur* is a printing error]).

<sup>128</sup> See FOSTER 1996 and [SALLABERGER and] WESTENHOLZ 1999.

<sup>129</sup> See FOSTER 1996: 62–63, where the case of *Lú'<sup>2</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Šarā* (perhaps a merchant) is also considered; cf. STEINKELLER 1982: 246 with n. 29.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. ZIMANSKY 2007 on this model applied to Hatti's Kaska frontier; cf. also PARKER 2006.

exclusively external, see below). As will be demonstrated below, there are indications that Susiana formed a geographical and cultural-cultic continuum with the adjacent Transtigradian region including the Diyāla basin.<sup>131</sup> Hence it can be envisaged that Susiana, the adjacent Zagros piedmont and the Transtigradian region to the northwest constituted a frontier between Mesopotamia and Elam.

A treaty between Narām-Sîn and an Elamite king<sup>132</sup> contains a list of at least 32 deities (below they are preceded by numbers according to their enumeration in the list), mostly Elamite,<sup>133</sup> as well as a few Mesopotamian ones, such as 3.Aba (<sup>d</sup>*a-ba*<sub>4</sub>, the great god of Akkad),<sup>134</sup> Išhara (28. <sup>d</sup>*áš-ha-ra*, an ophidian deity being a scorpion goddess with the *bašmu*-dragon as her emblem<sup>135</sup>), 15. Ninurta and 18. Ninkarak, as well as 17. *Mazziat* (<sup>d</sup>*Ma-zi-a*[*t*] > *Mazzât*). Ninkarak/Gula was Ninurta's consort later, in the OB period; oaths by Gula were common at Isin at that time.<sup>136</sup> Oaths by Ninurta are very common in central Babylonia (OB Kisurra and the Babylon region),<sup>137</sup> and also later on, during the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, in upper Mesopotamia. *Mazzât* was popular in Susiana (cf. <sup>d</sup>*Ma-za-at* of Pi-ša-an-ne).<sup>138</sup> <sup>d</sup>NIN.MÜŠ.EREN renders *Inšušinak*.<sup>139</sup>

Several of these Elamite deities are later contained as theophorous elements in anthroponyms: 1. <sup>d</sup>*Pi-ni-ki*[*r*], 2. <sup>d</sup>*Hu-ba-an*, 7. <sup>d</sup>*Si-mu-ut*, 14. [<sup>d</sup>]*Hu-*

<sup>131</sup> For early presence of Sumero-Akkadians in Susiana see STEINKELLER 1993: 115–116, 119–120. An Old Akkadian deed from Susa (MDP 14, 14) contains a legal formula which is recorded in Old Akkadian deeds from Gasur (see HARRIS 1955: 99 *ad* 85, 17 and HSS 10, 211).

<sup>132</sup> MDP 11, 2–11 = KÖNIG 1965, 2 = HINZ 1967: 91–93, see [SALLABERGER and] WESTENHOLZ 1999: 92 with n. 423.

<sup>133</sup> For these deities in general see VALLAT 2002–2003: 530 and cf. ZADOK 1984, s.vv.

<sup>134</sup> See HINZ and KOCH 1987: 751; KIENAST 1990: 203. It was onomastically productive as late as the early OB period in view of OB *Aba-rabi* (<sup>d</sup>*a-ba<sub>4</sub>-ra-bi*), *Puzur-Aba* and *Šilli-Aba* (*šil-li<sup>d</sup>-a-ba<sub>4</sub>*, YOS 14, 155, 28, 227, 11 and 72a, s.v. with refs.) from central Babylonia as well as *Puzur<sup>d</sup>-A-ba<sub>4</sub>* s. of <sup>d</sup>*A-ba<sub>4</sub>-na-šir* from Tall Haddad = Mê-Turna (MUHAMED 1992, 13, 11, case 11).

<sup>135</sup> Cf. WIGGERMANN 1998–2001d: 572b and HERLES 2006: 160. It is spelled *Iš-ha-ra* in an Old Akkadian text from Sargonic Tutub (in the anthroponym ME~, SOMMERFELD 1999: 175 with refs.) and <sup>d</sup>*Eš-har(ga-me-la-at)*, Donbaz-Yoffee, *OB Kish*: 58: iii, 2'). For the initial *A-* cf. Oakk. *Aš-tár* (SOMMERFELD 1999: 155) for later *Ištar*.

<sup>136</sup> See RICHTER 2004: 193, 207–208.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. GODDEERIS 2009: 69–70 and Simmons, YOS 14: 8–9 *ad* 128, 344 and 351.

<sup>138</sup> MDP 28, 441, 20, cf. VALLAT 1993: 221, 6.

<sup>139</sup> See HINZ and KOCH 1987: 761.

*ut-ra-an*, 26. <sup>d</sup>*Kir-wa-si-ir*, 5. <sup>d</sup>*Na-hi-ti*, 19. <sup>d</sup>*Na-ru<sub>x</sub>-dè*,<sup>140</sup> 4. <sup>d</sup>*Zi-it* and 16. [<sup>d</sup>*S*]*i-a-šum*. Discernible compound theonyms are 22. <sup>d</sup>*Ru-hu-iš-na*, 23. <sup>d</sup>*Ru-hu-sa-[ak]* (juxtaposed, both with *Ruhu-*), 8. [<sup>d</sup>*S*]*i-ir-na-[b]i-ir* (*Sir-napir*),<sup>141</sup> 31. <sup>d</sup>*Si-im-it-sa-ra-r[a]-a[r]* (with *Timpt-~*), and 20. <sup>d</sup>*Gu-[gu]-mu-uk-ti-ir* (with *-mukti-r*). Two other theonyms, which are just barely possible compounds, are 27. <sup>d</sup>*Hu-ur-ba-ha-ir* (cf. 13. [<sup>d</sup>]*Hu-ur-bi*),<sup>142</sup> and perhaps 24. <sup>d</sup>*Ni-ar-z[i]-na*,<sup>143</sup> 25. <sup>d</sup>*La-àm-ba-ni* (< *Lan-pani*)<sup>144</sup> and 29. <sup>d</sup>*Ni-tu-ti-ir*.

The remaining deities are apparently simplex forms: 9. [<sup>d</sup>*H*]*u-sa*, 10. [<sup>d</sup>*U*]*g-gab-na*, 11. [<sup>d</sup>]*m-it-ki*, 12. [<sup>d</sup>*T*]*ul-la-at*, 21. <sup>d</sup>*Hu-um-qa-at*, 30. <sup>d</sup>*Ti-ù-uk*, and 32. [<sup>d</sup>]*S[u-si]-ib-ba*. The principle behind the order of the deities is not transparent. However, at least the initial trio represents a pair of important Elamite deities (*Pinikir* and *Humpan*,<sup>145</sup> female and male) and an important Akkadian god of the Sargonic period (*Aba*).<sup>146</sup> *Zit*, “luck”, is listed fourth, not only because it presumably occupied a prominent place in the official pantheon, but also due to its necessary importance in the popular religion. Only two of the Mesopotamian deities are juxtaposed (17, 18), whereas the others are scattered. A resembling pair of Elamite deities is juxtaposed (22, 23), but another resembling pair is not (13, 27). The arrangement of the solar deity in the 5<sup>th</sup> place and Šimūt in the 7<sup>th</sup> conforms to their importance in the Elamite pantheon.

The glyptic of the local rulers of Sargonic Susa resembles the archaic (pre-Sargonic) Sumero-Akkadian style, but earlier local traditions persisted there and a certain link with the “trans-Elamite” style is discernible.<sup>147</sup>

King Puzur-Inšušinak (s. of Šim/npišhuk) from Susa (a contemporary of Ur-Nammu, 2112–2095 BC)<sup>148</sup> invokes in his inscriptions Inšušinak, Šamaš,

<sup>140</sup> See KREBERNIK 2006: 79.

<sup>141</sup> It is recorded as an anthroponym as well (*Si-ir-na-pi-ir*). For the initial component cf. ZADOK 1984: 40: 224.

<sup>142</sup> With HINZ and KOCH 1987: 722, cf. BALKAN, *Kassit. Stud.*: 105-106..

<sup>143</sup> Cf. NE <sup>d</sup>*Na-ir-si-na* (with KÖNIG 1965: 158 *ad* 75, 20).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. HENKELMAN 2008: 268 with n. 604.

<sup>145</sup> See HENKELMAN 2008: 354ff.

<sup>146</sup> On the other hand, none of the main deities of the Sumerian pantheon, such as Anu and Enlil, appears at the beginning of the list (for the Akkadian pantheon and the status of Enlil cf. STEINKELLER 1999: 114–115).

<sup>147</sup> See AMIET 2005; cf. LAMBERT 1986: 36 on snakes and scenes with the Serpent Eagle.

<sup>148</sup> See ANDRÉ-SALVINI 1992: 87 and 2006–2008; ANDRÉ and SALVINI 1989.

Enlil, Enki, Inanna, Sîn, Narundi,<sup>149</sup> Nergal, Ninhursag and <sup>d</sup>AL.UR<sub>4</sub>?-KA<sup>2150</sup> as well as the Transtigridian goddess <sup>d</sup>Ba-la-at Te-èr-ra-ba-an.<sup>151</sup> *Hu-ùh*<sup>ki</sup> in the list of toponyms embedded in his great inscription, is homonymous with an Elamite theonym.<sup>152</sup> Puzur-Inšušinak built a temple for Šugu.<sup>153</sup> The curses in two monuments of Puzur-Inšušinak are not in Elamite, but in Akkadian.<sup>154</sup> This is an indication that Akkadian was the Susian vernacular at that time. The Shimashkian ruler Idattu worshipped Utu and Inanna, according to his Sumerian inscription.<sup>155</sup> In all probability, the former masks the Elamite Sun-god Nahunte.

Elamite theophorous anthroponyms (containing *Atta* and *Hunta*) are recorded in Mesopotamia at that time. A Sargonic text from Tutub contains the Elamite name *Ad-da-na-pir*<sub>6</sub>, which recurs later;<sup>156</sup> the related anthroponym *Na-pi<sub>5</sub>-ir* was borne by a female at that time, when *Hu-un-da-ah-še-er* is also recorded.

Šulgi, who controlled Susa, patronized the local cults. He rebuilt the temple of *A.ar.ke<sub>4</sub>.èš* (for Inšušinak) and a shrine for Ninhursag there.<sup>157</sup> The administrator (*šabra*) of the É.UG<sup>2</sup>.*ti* temple in Susa dedicated an object to the deity Nun-gal (Ereškigal's daughter)<sup>158</sup> for Amar-Sîn, Šulgi's successor.<sup>159</sup> The archive of Iki-puni son of Atta (*a-at-ta*) was unearthed in Susa and is dated between 4 Šū-Sîn and 1 Ibbi-Sîn = 2034–2028 BC.<sup>160</sup> Out of the

<sup>149</sup> The throne of the statue of Narundi in the temple on the acropolis of Susa has six lions (like Ištār, see B. ANDRÉ-SALVINI and J. ARUZ in CARTER *et al.* 1992c: 90-91: 55 and 107).

<sup>150</sup> SOLLBERGER and KUPPER 1971: 124–127.

<sup>151</sup> MDP 14, 9ff., i, 20', cf. EDZARD, FARBER and SOLLBERGER 1977: 156, 159; VALLAT 1993: 277.

<sup>152</sup> MDP 14, 9ff., i, 33, see VALLAT 2000: 1068 with n. 22.

<sup>153</sup> ANDRÉ-SALVINI 1992: 87 (see GEORGE 1993: 170: 1420 and KREBERNIK 2011–2013b) and cf. the anthroponym *Ur-Šu-gu* (see van der Meer, MDP 27: 99 *ad* 272).

<sup>154</sup> See B. ANDRÉ-SALVINI in CARTER *et al.* 1992c: 88-90 (where a votive boulder of the same ruler with a snake is displayed).

<sup>155</sup> STEINKELLER 2007: 221–222.

<sup>156</sup> See SOMMERFELD 1999: 38 *ad* 37, 3 and cf. MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 22: 2, HILGERT 2002: 312, n. 106. It cannot be established whether *Da-ri-lu-na-ab* (SOMMERFELD 1999, 32, 9) ends with Elam. *nap*, because the segmentation of this strange and unparalleled anthroponym is not clear. The unexplained anthroponym *Gi-nu-ba* has a parallel in Susa according to SOMMERFELD 2011: 95.

<sup>157</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 63: 2; 168: 1383. A duplicate of a hymn to Šulgi (A) was unearthed in Susa (MDP 27, 220–221 = KLEIN 1981: 224–225).

<sup>158</sup> See TALLQVIST 1934: 25, 32.

<sup>159</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 155: 1165.

<sup>160</sup> DE MEYER 1986; peruse the index of DE GRAEF 2005: 159–161.

61 individuals recorded in this archive, no less than 42 = 68.85% bore Akkadian names, whereas only two (3.27% including the archive owner who was a scribe<sup>161</sup>) had Elamite anthroponyms. The prominent people in the archive, including the only merchant (*Ahūa*), had Akkadian names, but among the cultivators there are two individuals with hybrid names, viz. *Kur-nam-ra* (Akkadian-Elamite,<sup>162</sup> less likely Akkadian-Sumerian<sup>163</sup>) and *Pū-zur<sub>8</sub>-Ši-mut* (Akkadian-Elamite), as well as one with an Elamite anthroponym.<sup>164</sup> Evidence for cultural interaction is negligible; there is only one ascertained case of a hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) anthroponym, viz. *Puzur-Šimūt* (1.63%). Filiations are rarely recorded, and none of them are demonstrably mixed. They include the archive owner (with an Elamite filiation), Ahuhi s. of Hunum, Šū-Sîn-dan s. of Bēli-arik, Warad-ili s. of Ahu-baqar (all Akkadian), Awīliya s. of Šu-[...], Awīlānum s. of [...]-'xx', *Za-an-zu-um* s. of 'xx'-[...] (all with Akkadian given names), another damaged filiation and several brothers.

The deity NIN.MAR<sup>ki</sup> was worshipped (cf. the anthroponym *Nin-MAR<sup>ki</sup>-ka*) and the following theophorous elements are recorded:

*Adad* (<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR-*ra-bi*),<sup>165</sup> *Ilu*, *Išhara*, *Ištar*, *Ea*, *Sîn/Nanna*, *Erra*, *Lā-qīpum*,<sup>166</sup> *Sukkal* (*Ilī-~*),<sup>167</sup> *Išar*, *Kūbu*, *Mama*, *Damu* (*Ur-<sup>d</sup>Da-mu*),<sup>168</sup> *Šarru* and *Ṭaban*. The last element (originally a river in the Diyāla region) suggests a Transstigidian connection.<sup>169</sup> *Šū-Sîn-dan*, the son of the governor of Susa,<sup>170</sup> bore a basilophoric name. Several individuals in the archive are linked to places outside Susa, viz. Kapnak (*Atta-puni*), Zikirum (*Gam-bi-<sup>z</sup>um<sup>3a</sup>*)

<sup>161</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 40.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. ZADOK 1984: 23–24: 117.

<sup>163</sup> DE GRAEF 2005: 75 *ad* 14, 2 cautiously suggests that *Kur-* is Sumerian.

<sup>164</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 87–89. The hybrid names are linguistically Akkadian in view of their predicative elements.

<sup>165</sup> MDP 24, 389, 4.

<sup>166</sup> Contained in *Dan-<sup>d</sup>La-qī-ip* below, cf. OB *La-qī-pu-um* (MDP 18, 257, ii, 7), which is explained as a form of Nergal (common in the anthroponymy of the Diyāla region during the early OB period, see LAMBERT 1980–1983c; cf. STOL 1991: 204).

<sup>167</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 73 *ad* *i-li-Sukkal*.

<sup>168</sup> MDP 29, 129: 95= MDP 43, 1646.

<sup>169</sup> *Ṭa-ba-an* was venerated in early OB Ešnunna (see [FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 181: 77) and is invoked in a curse formula from early OB Tutub (preceded by [...<sup>d</sup>xx], HARRIS 1955: 111: 98, 2). NIN.MAR<sup>ki</sup> was also venerated in Ešnunna in view of the name of its early dynast *Ur-NIN.MAR<sup>ki</sup>* (cf., e.g., [FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 119).

<sup>170</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 55.

and Dūrum of Sabum.<sup>171</sup> Dimat-šarri was a suburb of Susa. *Si-in<sup>?</sup>-zu-lu-uš*,<sup>172</sup> *Puzur-Inšušinak*, *Ri-ip-Ši-mu-ut*,<sup>173</sup> *Puzur-Adad*, *Tan-Ikešta*, *Itti-Sîn-x* [...], *Še-em-da-a*, *Itūr-Sîn* (*i-tūr*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU), *Ī-lī-id-na-ni*,<sup>174</sup> *Ib-ni-ta-na-na*, *Te-em-mu-uk-ra*,<sup>175</sup> *Itti-Sîn* (KI-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU)-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-[...], *Še-em-da-a*, *Tan*-<sup>d</sup>i-ge-eš-[*d*], *Pū-zur<sub>8</sub>-Adad* (<sup>d</sup>rIŠKUR<sup>r</sup>), *Ri-ma-pu-di*, *Ennam-Sîn* (*en-nam*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU), *A-še-ep-la*,<sup>176</sup> *Sîn-napišti* (<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*na-pi-iš-ti*),<sup>177</sup> *At-ta-pu-ni*, *Še-em-du-me-na* and *Mi-i-šar/ša-ar* (DN used as PN)<sup>178</sup> are recorded outside that excavated archive. MDP 18, 181 is a list of 143[+x] soldiers (*éren* of Dimat-šarri). Some of them bore theophorous anthroponyms, such as Elamite *Ku-uk-Ši-mu-ut* (iv, 5'), *Ši-mu-ut-ha-ap-ru-úh* (ii, 2), *Tan*-<sup>d</sup>Ru-si-bi-ir (iv, 3), *Da-at-tu-ri* (iv, 4'), *In-zu-[na]* (i, 14), *In-da-lu-lu-um* (v, 6), *U-li-nu-nu* (i, 10) and Akkadian *Irām-Kūbam* (*i-ra-am-ku-ba-am*, ii, 4),<sup>179</sup> *Dan-Lā-qīpu* (*dan*-<sup>d</sup>la-qī-*ip*, v, 8), *Ši<sup>?</sup>-Išhara* (*ši<sup>?</sup>-iš-ha-ra*, iii, 6) and possibly *Šu-úr-ki-na* (iv, 9'). *Iki-puni* is mentioned in the administrative record MDP 28, 495 (*i-gi-pu-ni*, 2), which resembles a group of such records (MDP 28, 481–494, 496–502) with the following bearers of theophorous names:

*Adad-rabi* (<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*ra-bi*, 499, 2), *Puzur-Kūbi* (*pū-zur<sub>8</sub>-ku-bi*, 483, 2, linked to Dimtu), *A-ad-da-i-lum* (491, 2), *Ri-ib-ì-lì<sup>3</sup>at* (497, 2f.), *At-ti-iš-ša<sup>3</sup>an* (490, 2f.), *Ši-mu-ut-š<sup>3</sup>ì-il-ha* (492, 2f.), *Ši-mu-ut-še-em-ti* (501, 2) and *Tan*-<sup>d</sup>Ša-a[*f*]-<sup>2-3</sup>*wa-ak* (484, 2f., linked to Bit-hulbi).

Five of the six Susians mentioned in Ur III texts bore Semitic names and the Mesopotamian deity Ninhursag was worshipped there in Šulgi's time.<sup>180</sup> *Erra-qarrād* (*er-ra*-UR.SAG), *-ašarēd* (*er-ra*-SAG.KAL) witnessed a deed from the reign of Šulgi's successor.<sup>181</sup> *Bēlī-arik* (*be-lī-a-ri-ik*), the governor of Susa (without title), heads the ranked witness list of the deed MDP 28,

<sup>171</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 38–39, 70. The 11 individuals of the *ugula*-official of the *sukkallu* of Dūrum (MDP 28, 440) presumably formed a decury. For *Zikirum* compare the homonymous canal (cf. DE GRAEF 2006: 159 *ad* 71, 2').

<sup>172</sup> MDP 24, 389, 5, 7.

<sup>173</sup> *pū-zur<sub>8</sub>-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ.EREN* (MDP 18, 79, 6), *ri-ip-šì-mu-ut* (MDP 18, 219, rev. 1).

<sup>174</sup> MDP 24, 423, 5, 9.

<sup>175</sup> MDP 18, 171, 3, 4; *Simmukra* (cf. STOL 1991: 211) may be a variant thereof.

<sup>176</sup> MDP 18, 120, re-edited by DE GRAEF 2005: 33. *Šu-ma-ma* recurs in MDP 28, 424 from the Iqipuni archive (see DE GRAEF, 2005: 33).

<sup>177</sup> MDP 28, 505, 4.

<sup>178</sup> MDP 28, 520–522.

<sup>179</sup> The type *Irām*-DN is recorded only in Old Akkadian (see STAMM 1939 [1968]: 193).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. EDZARD and FARBER 1974: 190–191, s.v. with refs.

<sup>181</sup> MDP 28, 410, 11, 13.

424.<sup>182</sup> He is followed by [*Šul*]-*gi-zi-mu* (Sumerian, basilophoric), the governor of Urua (*lú-URUxA*<sup>ki</sup>, probably northwest of Susa, active between 44 Šulgi and 7 Sū-Sîn<sup>183</sup>), *Nūr-Sîn* (*nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU), the royal envoy (*ší-pí-ir šar-ri-[im]*) and *Šū-Ištar* (*šu-iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*), the “lieutenant” (NU.BĀNDA = *la-puttū*, a member of the military hierarchy). The last (8<sup>th</sup>) witness is *Šū-Mama* (*šu-ma-ma*), the court official (SUKKAL = *sukkallu*). It may be surmised that the parties originated from Susa and Urua. The relationship of the Ur III deity <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi-URUxA-a* to the city of Urua on the Elamite frontier cannot be proven.<sup>184</sup> Uruaz is to be sought in or near Elam (presumably in Susiana) on a navigable watercourse, in view of the fact that boats for people of Uruaz are mentioned in an administrative text from the Ur III period (MDP 22, 144). This is immediately followed by an entry concerning beer for the temple of URU.GAL “great city”. Quantities of beer are mentioned in connection with the towns of Gapšum and Garmedudu as well. A delivery of 16 sheep and goats by Ab-ba-ab-ba, possibly the father of Barīhum, the mayor (*ra-ba-nu-um*) of Dūr-Šulgi (BĀD <sup>d</sup>šul-gi<sup>ki</sup>) was received by Šu-Il(i)abrat in Susa for the evening offering (*ina li-la-ti-im*).<sup>185</sup> A later (OB) delivery of sheep from Dūr-Šulgi is recorded in MDP 28, 511 (along with such smaller deliveries from other locales, viz. Maškan-burumi?, Ha-bi-ri<sup>ki</sup>, Dunnumkanapum and the workmen from Amurru). Later occurrences of Dūr-Šulgi, especially in the campaign of Kurigalzu I against Hurpa-tila king of Elam, and another Babylonian king (probably Nebuchadnezzar I) concerning his campaign against the Lullubians in Halman, would favour a location of this fortified settlement in or near the Diyāla basin.<sup>186</sup> Sîn-iqīš (XXX-š<sup>ax</sup>BA) is perhaps from the Ur III period.<sup>187</sup>*

Regarding contemporary Elamite material originating outside Susiana, many individuals without obvious geographical context, who were defined as ELAM (mainly in the so-called “messenger texts”), bore Sumerian and Semitic names.<sup>188</sup> At least 24 individuals of the same category had Elamite

<sup>182</sup> Another ranked witness list is headed by *Ir-ta-aš* “their overseer” (*wa-ak-li-šu-nu*), the 1<sup>st</sup> human witness (MDP 24,338,17).

<sup>183</sup> See STEINKELLER 1982: 246 with n. 30.

<sup>184</sup> See STEINKELLER 1982: 244–245 and SALLABERGER 1993, 1: 239–240.

<sup>185</sup> MDP 10, 79, cf. CAD L: 185a, s.v. *līlātu*, 1, c. The unlikely interpretation of HINZ and KOCH 1987: 828, s.v., is to be rejected.

<sup>186</sup> See Nashef 1982: 99–100.

<sup>187</sup> MDP 28, 537, 3.

<sup>188</sup> For their role in the Ur III state, see MICHALOWSKI 2008.



(pure or hybrid) and atypical names (all from the Ur III period, cf. table 3 below):<sup>189</sup>

-*Akun* (*Da-an-gu-ni*, *La-al-gu-ni*, *Šim-da-gu-ni*, *A-gu-ni*); -*Ālum* (*Ku-ku-lum*, hybrid);<sup>190</sup> -*Asu* (*Na-pi-ir-<sup>d</sup>a-sū*); *Atta-* (*Ad-da-bi-li-ir*); *Hun-* (*Hu-un-dar-a*, *Hu-un-ha-al-bi-it*, *Hu-un-ha-ap-ur*); *Hunta-* (*Hu-un-da-ah-še-er* and *Hu-un-da-hi-še-er*, the latter from Anšan, who is recorded at Puzriš-Dagan on 13.X. 44 Šulgi<sup>191</sup>); *Humpan* (*Hu-ba-an*, *Hu-um-ba*,<sup>192</sup> *Hu-ba(-a)*); -*Šimūt* (*Hu-pu-ul-ši-mu-ut*); *Šir* (*Si-ir-na-pi-ir*, *Ha-ap-ru-še-er*); and *Timpt(ip)-* (*Si-im-ti-na-pi-ir*, *Si-im-ti-ip-ha-še-er*). Additional material is *Hun-* (*Hu-un-zu-lu*),<sup>193</sup> *Tata-* (*Da-da-pu-ni*),<sup>194</sup> -*Ukra* (*Gu-ú-gu-uk-ra*)<sup>195</sup> and *Zana-* (*Za-na-pi-li-ir*, Shimashkian).<sup>196</sup> *Ki-te-en-ra-ki-id-da-bi*, referring to the sukkalmah and chief judge (*te-ep-pír*) of Elam under Idattu,<sup>197</sup> ends in the hitherto unattested theophorous element *Rakittapi*. Basilophoric anthroponyms are <sup>d</sup>*Šul-gi-un-ha-ni-iš*, *Hu-ba-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-da-aš* and <sup>d</sup>*Šul-gi-en-šu-ba-ak* (Shimashkian).<sup>198</sup>

Table 1: Pre-OB Sumero-Akkadian theonyms contained in theophorous anthroponyms from Susa (compared with coeval Babylonia)

no.	DN	Pre-Sar. (SELZ 1995 unless otherwise indicated)	Sar. (Di Vito 1993 unless otherwise indicated)	Ur III (SALLABERGER 1993, 1 unless otherwise indicated)
1	<i>Aba</i>			
1	<i>Ada</i> <i>d/IŠKUR</i>	+(155); MANDER 1986: 24: 35	+(298; SOMMERFELD 1999: 155)	+ ( 108 with n. 490; 194 with n. 925; 226, 266)
2	<i>Baba/Bau</i>	+ (26–103); MANDER 1986: 26: 87		+ (103, 288–291)
3	<i>Bēlat-Šuhnir</i>			+ (19, 20, 44)
4	<i>Bēlat-Terra-ban</i>			+ (19–20)

<sup>189</sup> See ZADOK 1991: 230: 97–120; 1994: 40–43.

<sup>190</sup> Referring to a temple city? (cf. below, 2.2 and *Še-em-ti-a-lu*).

<sup>191</sup> HILGERT 1998, 171 rev. 12.

<sup>192</sup> D'AGOSTINO *et al.* 2004, 30120, 30522.

<sup>193</sup> MVN 6, 500, v, 4 (with *-zulu-*, cf. ZADOK 1984: 48: 300).

<sup>194</sup> GARFINKLE, SAUREN and VAN DE MIEROOP 2010: 255, 25.

<sup>195</sup> OWEN and WASILEWSKA 2000: 48: 75, 3f.

<sup>196</sup> MVN 12, 125, 2 (see STEINKELLER 1988: 201–202). Is the 1<sup>st</sup> sign of the name of his colleague *Ha-na-gu-ni-ir* (4, with *-kuni-r*, cf. ZADOK 1984: 23: 115b) a scribal error for ZA?).

<sup>197</sup> STEINKELLER 2007: 221–222.

<sup>198</sup> MVN 12, 125, 3 (see STEINKELLER 1988: 201–202).

5	<i>Dagān</i>		+ (296; SOMMERFELD 1999: 155)	+ (107, 125, 194 with n. 925; HILGERT 2002: 550, 586)
6	<i>Damu</i>			+ (102, 153–154, 234)
7	<i>Enki/Ea</i>	+ (118–125); MANDER 1986: 29: 273	+ (296; SOMMERFELD 1999: 155)	+ (54, 223–224, 238, 246, 254)
8	<i>Enlil/Ilil</i>	+ (125–132); MANDER 1986: 29: 275	+ (299)	+ (97 and <i>passim</i> )
9	<i>Erra</i>	+ (138 with n. 561; STEINKELLER 1987: 165–166)	+ (SOMMERFELD 1999: 155)	+ (HILGERT 2002: 583–586)
10	<i>Girra</i>			
11	<i>Ilu/DINGIR</i>	+ (108–114)	+ (237–260)	
12	<i>Išar</i>		+ (SOMMERFELD 1999: 36, 17: I-šar-li-ib-lu-ut)	
13	<i>Išhara</i>	"	+ (SOMMERFELD 1999: 155)	+ (46, 110, 125, 205)
14	<i>Ištar/Inanna</i>	+ (155); MANDER 1986: 5: rev. i, 6–7	+ (296); SOMMERFELD 1999: 155	+ (HILGERT 2002: 561)
15	<i>Kūbu</i>			+ (HILGERT 2002: 146)
16	<i>Mama</i>	+ (175–176)	+ (298; SOMMERFELD 1999: 156)	+ (242)
17	<i>Mazzât</i>			
18	<i>Nanna/Sîn</i>	+ (274–275); MANDER 1986: 40	+ (EN.ZU, SOMMERFELD 1999: 155)	+ (51, 53 and <i>passim</i> )
19	<i>Narua</i>	+ (180–181)		cf., e.g., <i>Ur<sup>d</sup>Na-ri-a</i> (HILGERT 2002: 560)
20	<i>Nergal</i>	cf. MANDER 1986: 42: 17		+ (104, 251)
21	<i>Ningirsu</i>	+ (218–251); MANDER 1986: 6: rev. i, 8		+ (103, 282–284, 289, 293, 299, 302, 310)
22	<i>Ninhursag</i>	+ (252–254); MANDER 1986: 27: 130		+ (100–102, 108, 111, 157, 248 with n. 1168)
23	<i>Ninkarak</i>			
24	<i>Nintu</i>	+ (266–267)	+ (SOMMERFELD 1999: 156)	+ (104)

25	<i>Ninurta</i>			
26	<i>Sukkal</i>			
27	<i>Šamaš</i> /UTU	+ (285–288); MANDER 1986: 40	+ (SOMMERFELD 1999: 156)	+ (105, 108, 146, 194 with n. 925, 242; HILGERT 2002: 617)
28	<i>Šara</i>			
29	<i>Šulpae</i>	+ (277)		+ (93–94, 102, 279, 283–284)
30	<i>Šuzianna</i>			+ (104, 124)
31	<i>Taban</i>			<i>Ṭá/Tab-ba-da-ra-ah</i> ruler of Simurrum (differently MOLINA 2013, cf. STOL 2013)

Several documents are either from Ur III or the ensuing OB period. MDP 18, 130 contains, apart from *In-zu-li* (18), the Elamite theophorous anthroponyms *Ši-mu-ut-ri-r[i]*<sup>199</sup> (12), *Ši-mu-ut-ù-li*, <sup>d</sup>*Mu-šà-ki*<sup>200</sup>-[*tin*] (11) as well as the Akkadian names *Šu-ri-im-ku* (6), Adad and Bau anthroponyms (14–15). *Šu-ri-im-ku* recurs in MDP 28, 427 together with Adad-(t)illati (<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR-ILLAT<sup>a-ti</sup>), Earabi (*é-a-ra-b[i]*) and Enlil-rē[šī]<sup>201</sup>? (EN.LÍL-*re*-[šī]<sup>201</sup>). MDP 18, 173 has the theophorous and apparently compound anthroponyms *Ibbi-Adad* (*i-bi*-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR), *Ma-ri-šu-i-ge-eš-ta*, *Te-em-ti-na-pi-ir*, *Ba-ar-pu-uk-nu-ú*, *Ši-mu-ut-šī-il-ha-ak*, *Ma-aš-du-u-bar-ia*, *Ha-al-si*<sup>201</sup>-*nu-ma*, [*Na*]-*pi-ri-ša* and *Pa-du-ì-lí-i-din-nam* (apparently kyriophoric).

Diplomatic marriages of Mesopotamian kings with rulers of Greater Elam took place in the Ur III, early old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian periods. Šulgi's daughters married rulers of Marhaši, Anšan and Pašime (Šulgi's 18<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> and 48<sup>th</sup> year respectively). In Ibbi-Sîn's 5<sup>th</sup> year his daughter married the ruler of Zabšali.<sup>199</sup> Mê-Kūbi, daughter of the ruler of early OB Ešnunna, married Tan-Ruhu-ratir, the governor of Susa. Iddin-Dagan king of Isin gave his daughter to the king of Anšan in the same period.<sup>200</sup> The Mesopotamian party is always the bride-giver, which in international relations is the role of the stronger party.<sup>201</sup> This is understandable if one bears in mind that the Ur III kings conducted campaigns against Greater Elam. These campaigns kept the balance of power in the region; it cannot be proven that remote Anšan and Zabšali became vassals of Ur III. Therefore it is clear that

<sup>199</sup> See [CARTER and] STOLPER 1984: 16–17, 19.

<sup>200</sup> See [CARTER and] STOLPER 1984: 22–23.

<sup>201</sup> See [CARTER and] STOLPER 1984: 18.

the Ur III rulers concluded these marriages as a means of appeasement and co-operation. This is especially true in the case of Ibbi-Sîn, the last ruler of the Ur III dynasty, who took this step after he had lost Susiana. However, the rationale of the marriage with the ruler of Pašime, which was close to Sumer is not clear.

Regarding the early OB period, there is no doubt that the bride-takers, i.e. the Elamites, were the superior political party. Diplomatic marriages had an impact on religion. The introduction of foreign cults by alien princesses<sup>202</sup> is a well-known phenomenon in ancient Near Eastern religiosity. This can be demonstrated in the case of Mê-Kūbi, who rebuilt the temple of Inanna/Ištar in Susa (see 2.3.1 below).

## 2.2. *The beginning of the Old Babylonian period (the last rulers of the Shimashkian dynasty and the early Sukkalmahs)*

*É.ki.kù.nun.na*, the temple of Inšušinak at Susa was rebuilt by Indattu-Inšušinak and by Indattu II.<sup>203</sup> No less than 169 individuals who are mentioned in early OB documents found in Susa. Most documents are administrative from the time of Atta-hušu.<sup>204</sup> The latter, who describes himself as “beloved one, favourite of Inšušinak”, “Inšušinak’s shepherd”,<sup>205</sup> or “shepherd of the people of Susa”, restored the “ancient sanctuary” (*kiššum labīrum*) of Inšušinak. He also erected a stele of justice on the market place (of Susa).<sup>206</sup> Ebarat ruled over Susa after the empire of Ur III lost it (in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Ibbi-Sîn).<sup>207</sup> Like the Ur III rulers Ebarat was deified. Another ruler of Susa who was deified was Timpti-Akun I in view of the basilophoric anthroponym *Tan<sup>d</sup>-te-em-ti-a-gu-un*, which is recorded in this documentation group.<sup>208</sup> Another basilophoric anthroponym, *Še-em-ti-me-ku<sup>2</sup>-bí* (72, rev. 1f.), contains the name of the princess from Ešnunna who married Tan-Ruhu-ratir I. *Tan-ì-lí-ù-p[i]?* (99, 4) and *Tan-Ú-ku-uk-at-ta* (72, 7) look like three-element

<sup>202</sup> See KUPPER 1998: 37 ad 27 and ANBAR 2004.

<sup>203</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 110: 600 (var. *É.ki.kù.an.na*).

<sup>204</sup> MDP 10, 1–127. The references in this paragraph and the next two are to this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>205</sup> MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 30: 10.

<sup>206</sup> MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 30–33: 10–13 (cf. 48).

<sup>207</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 107–113.

<sup>208</sup> MDP 10, 104, rev. 10. Later on, this tendency has become exceptional according to KO-SCHAKER 1935: 59, n. 5.

names, perhaps with names of prominent personages as theophorous elements, in which case they are kyriophoric.<sup>209</sup>

*Šū-Bau* s. of Ri-ip-<sup>ˈ</sup>ar?-te?’ was servant of Ebarat. The most active principal in this documentation group was Kūya, who is recorded in 26 tablets; HAR/*Mur-da-du-ba* is also frequently mentioned.<sup>210</sup> *Gu-ú-Si-mu-ut* is not necessarily an anthroponym.<sup>211</sup> A cultic scene is depicted on a seal: a worshipper stretches the hand towards a god sitting to the left on a coiled-up snake with a human? head; he places himself on a small platform. The inscription states:

*Si-ir-a-hu-pi-ti-ir* s. of *In-zu-zu*, scribe, servant of *At-tá-hu-šu*.<sup>212</sup>

A fattened sheep for offering at the chapel (*kišsum*) of Inšušinak was received from a certain *Du-úr-pi-pi* by the chief *paššū*-priest (GUDU<sub>4</sub> GU.LA) *Ku-ù-A+A* (11, 1ff., rev. 1–2: “controlled” by the priest).<sup>213</sup> Inšušinak received offerings also according to 97. Sacrifices for Nergal, Nanna, Ea/Enki (Ea in Elam is identified with Napiriša,<sup>214</sup> who is contained in an Elamite anthroponym from the same documentation group), Inanna of the acropolis (of Susa),<sup>215</sup> and other deities, including an unspecified one or the deity par excellence (DINGIR.RA),<sup>216</sup> are also recorded (9, 97). Sacrifices were also offered in front of the throne as well as for the chapel<sup>217</sup> and *sumītu* (perhaps “stela”).<sup>218</sup> A sacrifice and beer libation for Inanna took place in the palace of the *sukkallu*, during a monthly festival.<sup>219</sup> A scribe

<sup>209</sup> See the discussion of STOL 1991: 203, who does not use this term.

<sup>210</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 99–101.

<sup>211</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 10: 66 *ad* 98, 13, 15.

<sup>212</sup> AMIET 1972, 2327.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. VALLAT 2002-2003: 531.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. DE MIROSCHEDJI 1981: 24. A cultic basin from ME Susa with goat-fish portrayals may be evidence for Ea cult (see HERLES 2006: 216-217 and pl. 104: 416).

<sup>215</sup> See VALLAT 2002: 139–140. Inanna received them in “the lady’s shrine” (É NIN) according to MDP 10,27, 3; 29, 4. The theophorous element of *Ku-ku-a-lum* (2.1 above) may refer to a temple city (cf. ME *alimeli* < Akkad. *ālum elūm* “acropolis”).

<sup>216</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 10: 57 *ad* 74, 2.

<sup>217</sup> The deified chapel is the theophorous element of the anthroponym Warad-Kišsim (İR-*ki-iš-šum*, GREENGUS 1979, 82, 3) from Ishchali in the Diyāla region and other places in Babylonia (cf. CAD K: 445a, s.v. *kišsu*, f and STAMM 1939 [1968]: 91); an analogy is *ekallu* as the theophorous element of Dāri-Ekallu (*da-ri-É.GAL*, MDP 24,369,3) at OB Susa.

<sup>218</sup> See CAD S: 378a, s.v. with refs.

<sup>219</sup> MDP 10, 37 (cf. 31).

(name broken) was the servant of Bēlet-ekalli/Ninegalla (5, seal). Another scribe, Ibni-Sin son of Dan-Er-ra (*da-an-ēr-ra*), was servant of Il(i)abrat/Ninšubur (127, seal). Offerings for the (first) day of the feast of the month *Šerhum* (*Šer'um*, U<sub>4</sub> EZEN *še-er-hu-um*) are recorded.<sup>220</sup>

A worshipper of Šimūt is recorded in Ruksinu.<sup>221</sup> An ox was offered as a *hatāpi*-sacrifice for Šimūt in Kiziru.<sup>222</sup> Both places are to be sought in Susiana, seeing that the documents were found in Susa. Šimūt is indeed the most common theophorous element in this documentation group.

No more than 60 individuals = 35.5% in this documentation group from early OB Susa bore Akkadian (very few Akkadianized) names. The percentage of individuals with Elamite names (maximum 65 with various degrees of plausibility) is slightly higher (38.46%), but since many atypical and short names (34 = 20.11%) are explicable in Elamite terms (they are based on Elamite “hypocoristic roots”),<sup>223</sup> the Elamites are the majority. Elamite theophorous anthroponyms<sup>224</sup> are *Ad-da-pu-ni* (*Ad-da-pu-ni*, who is recorded in MDP 18, 191, 1, may be a homonymous individual<sup>225</sup>), *Ad-da-ku-li-ki*, *In-ri-ir-Ha-ap-ru-uh*, *Ku-tu-ur-A-gu-un*, *Ku-uk-In-ma*, *Ku-uk-In-šu-uš-na-ak*, *Ku-uk-Na-pi-ri-ša*, *Pu-ni-iš-ša-[an]/Pu-ù-ni-[iš-ša-a]n*, *Tan-<sup>d</sup>A-pi-in*, *Tan-Hi-pi-ir*, and *Zi-it-hu-un-ti*; cf. *I-še-me-hu-šu*, *Lu-ur-A+A-pi-ih*, and *Mi-it-pu-úr-ša* (*/Mit-pur šal/? pašišu*-priest of Gurumutak).<sup>226</sup> *I-da-du-A-gu-un*, *I-da-du-na-pi-ir* are perhaps basilophoric anthroponyms containing the name of the contemporaneous kings Idadu (of the Shimashkian dynasty). King Idadu son of Tan-Ruhu-ratir built (or renovated) the wall of the acropolis of Susa according to an inscription, where he calls himself “beloved, favourite of Inšušinak”. According to another inscription of his, where he presents himself as “Inšušinak’s servant”, he renovated the wall behind the *É-ki-kù-nun-na* (var. *-an-na*) temple (of Inšušinak).<sup>227</sup>

<sup>220</sup> MDP 10, 29: 12, rev. 1, cf. 56: 73, rev. 6 (see CAD Š/2: 329a). Offerings for the 1<sup>st</sup> day of several months are recorded in documents of this group.

<sup>221</sup> MDP 10, 86, 2.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. SCHEIL, MDP 10: 14, 30 *ad loc.*

<sup>223</sup> Cf. ZADOK 1983: 98–99, where a minority of such names may be based on Semitic “hypocoristic roots”, e.g., *Ša-al-mu-mu* and *A-hu-hu* (with suffixes, see below, 2.4). The evolution of such names in Susa was presumably motivated by the long period of linguistic (Akkadian-Elamite) interference. We deal here with an areal phenomenon.

<sup>224</sup> For references peruse table 3 below.

<sup>225</sup> Another theophorous name, which is recorded in the same document, is *Awīl-Tanra* (LÚ-<sup>d</sup>*tan-ra*, rev. 2).

<sup>226</sup> MDP 10, 69, rev. 1; 1, 6; 90, 3 and 65, 2 respectively.

<sup>227</sup> MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 26–29: 6–9.

Mesopotamian deities are *Kūbum* (*A-pil-Ku-bi* and *ÌR-Ku-bi*),<sup>228</sup> *Inanna/Ištar*, *Šamaš* (and his temple), and *Nabûm* (*Ri-iš-na-bu-um*).<sup>229</sup>

An additional text group from early OB Susa (administrative documents) has 305 individuals (severely damaged names are left out, DE GRAEF 2006, the classification of each group is with various degrees of plausibility). The largest group are the bearers of the Akkadian names, viz. 125 = 40.98%. The percentage of individuals with Elamite names (maximum 93) is lower (30.49%), but since (1) many atypical and short names (57 = 18.68%) are explicable in Elamite terms, and (2) the non-Semitic unexplained names (17 = 5.57%)<sup>230</sup> may also be Elamite (the most likely candidate), one may conclude that most of the individuals mentioned in early OB Susa were Elamites.

It cannot be proven that the theophorous element *-Hu-um* (of *Pù-zur<sub>8</sub>-~*, DE GRAEF 2006, 54, 21) is short for *-Hu-um-ba-an* (in which case it is a hybrid, Akkadian-Elamite, anthroponym). Doubt is cast on this interpretation in view of the occurrence of *Wa-tá-ar-Hu-um* which is recorded in Babylonia in the same period.<sup>231</sup>

The material has a relatively broad geographical coverage. It possibly includes people from *\*Pilmāt* (*Bi-il-ma-ti-ip<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>232</sup> *Še-em-ti-a-lu* was active at Adamdun (27, 25). Apart from Elamite deities (including Inšušinak, the main god of Susa and Šimūt of Ruksinum),<sup>233</sup> the Mesopotamian deities Enki, Nanna, Nergal; Inanna, Ninegalla and Ninšubur (II(i)abrat) were worshipped there (cf. 5, 7, 34, 97). A unique theophorous element is *Šībūtu* (of *Pù-zur<sub>8</sub>-ší-bu-ti*).<sup>234</sup> More Mesopotamian deities appear as theophorous elements of Akkadian anthroponyms (Adad, Sîn/Nanna, Šamaš, Nergal, Nabûm, Girra, Bau, II(i)abrat and Kūbu, peruse the index of MDP 10). Many of them recur in the later anthroponymy of OB Susa. There is one case

<sup>228</sup> MDP 10, 104, rev. 7 and 117, 3; 119, 3 respectively.

<sup>229</sup> MDP 10, 47, rev. 3, VALLAT 2002–2003: 531.

<sup>230</sup> E.g. (peruse the index of DE GRAEF 2006) *Bi-it-la-ha-aš*, *Ga-mu-hi-ga*, *Ga-ru-ba-la*, *La-ma-ah*, *Šu-nu-nu-ha-at*, *Tu-mu-uk-ra-at*, *Tu-ru-hu-li-im* as well as *Kum-ga-la-ma* and *La-ma-zi-ga* (see DE GRAEF 2006: 174–175).

<sup>231</sup> BIN 9, 408, 15.

<sup>232</sup> MDP 10, 104, rev. 1–2 and 18,3 respectively, cf. perhaps the toponyms *Pulma* and *Iapulmat* above as well as the deity *Pi-ul-ma* (*/Pilma/*)/*Pu-ul-ma* below. The anthroponym *Pu-ul-BA(ma?)*-at is listed among Elamites in CTMMA 1, 17, 69 from Ur III Drehem: before Tan-Ha-la-ah, Hu-un-ki-ip-ri and Hu-un-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi (70-72).

<sup>233</sup> *Ru-uk-si-nu* recurs in DE GRAEF 2006, 26, 20.

<sup>234</sup> 61, 12; *Šībūm* is a theophorous element in OB (see STOL 1991: 204).

where the father and son bore the same theophorous element, viz. *Adad* (*Adad-rabi* s. of *Rīm-Adad*).<sup>235</sup>

Evidence for cultural interaction is negligible: there are only four or five hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) theophorous names (*I-še-me-hu-šu*, *Puzur-Si-mu-[ut]*, *Ú-li-ri-mu* and *Še-em-ti-me-ku-bi*), as well as, perhaps, *I<sup>2</sup>-tù-úr-Ha-ap-ru-uh*, and just one mixed filiation (*Šū-Bau* s. of *Ri-ip-<sup>2</sup>ar<sup>2</sup>-te<sup>2</sup>*, 40). An Elamite toponym is *Zi-i-la-pu-ra-pi<sup>ki</sup>*.<sup>236</sup>

A worshipper of Ninegalla is recorded in DE GRAEF 2006, 53. The following Mesopotamian deities appear as theophorous elements of Akkadian anthroponyms (peruse the index of DE GRAEF 2006): *Ilu*,<sup>237</sup> *Ea*, *Enlil*, *Adad*, *Sîn/Nanna*, *Šamaš*, *Išhara* (*Ši<sup>2</sup>-Iš-ha-ra*, 40,2), *Ištar*, *Bau*, *Mama* (*Nu-úr-Ma-ma*, 4, i, 6', cf. *Dan<sup>d</sup>-Ma-ma*, 37, 2, which may alternatively be Elamite), *Mammītum*, *Nanâ* (*Šu<sup>d</sup>-Na-na-a*, 72, i, 3), *Nunu*, *Kaki*, *Išum*, *Amurru*, *Sukkal*, *Sigar*, *Šāzi*, *Šubula* and *Kūbu*. Many of them recur in the later anthroponymy of OB Susa. *Sa-hi-ra* of *~wa-qar-a* (DE GRAEF 2006, 55, 4, Akkad.) is a unique theophorous element; is it related to <sup>d</sup>*Sahirtu* (epithet of a divine name)?<sup>238</sup> The occurrence of *Ištarān* is due to the presence of people from *Dēr* or its region. *Dēr* is recorded in the archive.<sup>239</sup> The Elamite basilophoric name *Ku-uk-Ilu-šu-ma* refers to the Assyrian king *Ilušūma*<sup>240</sup> who invaded the Transtigridian region and reached as far as *Ur* at the beginning of the OB period.

Evidence for cultural interaction is modest: there are only seven hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) theophorous names (2.29%). Filiations are rare: *Ki-te-te* s. of *Ku-ú-ku<sup>2</sup>-bar<sup>2</sup>-ra*,<sup>241</sup> *Nu-úr-ri* s. of [...]-*Il(i)abrat*, *Pù-zur<sub>3</sub>-Nu-<sup>2</sup>nu<sup>2</sup>* s. of [...]-*mu<sup>2</sup>-ta-ni* (both scribes, Akkad.).<sup>242</sup> A mixed filiation is perhaps *É-a*-[...] s. of *Hu-ut-ra*.<sup>243</sup> However, it is noteworthy that the Elamite rulers venerated deities who were originally Akkadian, but were worshipped in Susa: *Temti-Akun* erected a temple for *Išme-karāb* in Susa.<sup>244</sup>

<sup>235</sup> See DE GRAEF 2005: 100–101, who rejects the reconstruction of VALLAT 1989.

<sup>236</sup> MDP 10, 84, 3, see HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1291.

<sup>237</sup> E.g., *Li-ma-da-i-li* (70, 17) “be informed, aware my god” (cf. *Lilmad-ili*, STAMM 1939 [1968]: 166 and CAD L: 54b, s.v. *lamādu*, 1, b).

<sup>238</sup> CAD S: 60, s.v. *sāhiru* A.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. DE GRAEF 2006: 183 ad 81,3.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. ZADOK 1984: 22, 50.

<sup>241</sup> DE GRAEF 2006, 85, 3.

<sup>242</sup> DE GRAEF 2006, 50, seal and 5, seal, 54, seal respectively.

<sup>243</sup> DE GRAEF 2006, 84, 9–10.

<sup>244</sup> MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 34–35: 14.



### 2.3. The “high” Old Babylonian period (the Sukkalmahs)

#### 2.3.1. Explicit evidence

Like their predecessors, the sukkalmahs renovated the temple of Inšušinak on the acropolis of Susa. This is recorded in brick inscriptions of Temti-halki (*siyānum*), Kuk-Našur (*kukunnum*) and Kuk-Kirwaš (*É-ku-kù-an-na*).<sup>245</sup> The peak of the documentation was reached in this period. There is abundant textual material from Susiana (mainly Susa) during the 2nd millennium BC, namely nearly 600 economic documents.<sup>246</sup> In these, netherworld deities are invoked in oath formulae, or they play the role of witnesses. In most cases the parties of the legal documents (deeds) swore by the deities Inšušinak and Išme-karāb<sup>247</sup> (the latter’s name is rarely omitted)<sup>248</sup> or only by Inšušinak alone<sup>249</sup> (but this may be due to scribal oversight).<sup>250</sup> In deeds mentioning the regulations (*kubussûm*, sg.) of Inšušinak the oath is by Išme-karāb.<sup>251</sup> A curse by Išme-karāb is uttered once.<sup>252</sup> People swore also by Adad<sup>253</sup> and <sup>d</sup>A-x<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>x<sub>2</sub>-*lum*<sup>254</sup> (deities preferred by the parties over Inšušinak),<sup>255</sup> and in the temple of Inanna,<sup>256</sup> where the oath formula directly invokes Inanna: “you Inanna indeed knows that I did not make a forged tablet...”. The deed is

<sup>245</sup> MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 36–42: 15–18 (cf. 43–51).

<sup>246</sup> Over 1400 tablets from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC were discovered in Susa (many still unpublished). There are 566 texts almost all in Akkadian from OB Susa (period of the Sukkalmahs, MDP 18, 22–24, 28, 54, 55; see KLIMA 1963: 294, n. 56; for a chronological arrangement see SALONEN 1962: 12–30). The discussion below is based mainly on MDP 22, 1–165; 23, 166–327; 24, 328–395; and 28, 396–551.

<sup>247</sup> MDP 18, 203 = 22, 50; 204 = 22, 51; 205 = 22, 45; 210 = 22, 46; 216 = 22, 48; 221 = 22, 69; 223 = 22, 108; 224 = 22, 89; 226 = 22, 129; 22, 1, 3, 14, 16, 27, 44, 49, 79, 88, 90–98, 100, 103, 105–107, 109, 110, 115, 126–128, 135 ([Inšušinak]), 138 ([Inšušinak]); 23, 166, 227–230, 243, 244, 249–258, 260–267, 277, 279–281, 285, 287; 24, 338, 341, 343–345, 346([Inšušinak]), 347, 350, 351, 353–355, 357–359, 361, 365, 369, 375, 378–383, 391, 394.

<sup>248</sup> MDP 23, 245, 259, 268.

<sup>249</sup> MDP 22, 8; 23, 231, 245, 259; assertoric oath in lawsuits (*Inšušinak lū dārū*, i.e. “may I. live forever”, MDP 22, 165; 23, 326, see KOSCHAKER 1935: 47 with n. 2, once also RN *lū dārū*).

<sup>250</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1935: 47, n. 2.

<sup>251</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1935: 46–47 *ad* 22, 3, 44, 50, 51, 104, 105, 126; 23, 252. On *kubussûm* see KLIMA 1963: 299.

<sup>252</sup> MDP 23, 321–322, seal impression, 12.

<sup>253</sup> MDP 22, 11, 10 (cf. KOSCHAKER 1935: 57).

<sup>254</sup> MDP 23, 237, 8’ (preceded by *kidin Inšušinak* [...]).

<sup>255</sup> Cf. KOSCHAKER 1935: 57.

witnessed by 34(?) witnesses (the names of 30 human witnesses are fully or partially preserved). The 5<sup>th</sup> (or 6<sup>th</sup>) witness ([Uš]i-ina-pušqi = [ú-š]í-i-na-pu-uš-qi or [xxx]) is a *pašišu*-priest of Inanna and the 4<sup>th</sup> one ([Ada]d-bani = [d]ISK]UR-ba-ni) is a *pašišu*-priest of a deity whose name is lost (d[...]). Oddly enough, the long witness list is not headed by any deity.

The deed concerns an impeachment of a sale contract by the seller's heirs. The father of the plaintiffs had sold a house to the father of the defendants. The plaintiffs claimed that the deed had been tampered with.

Šamaš and Inšušinak head the list of witnesses in most of the legal documents from Susa.<sup>257</sup> Šamaš is listed first in his capacity as the god of justice (this order is rarely inverted).<sup>258</sup> The pair precedes the human witnesses; at the end of the list, both categories of witnesses are counted together. Šamaš and Inšušinak occur at the end of the list of witnesses only once.<sup>259</sup> Inšušinak is just once the only divine witness at the beginning of the list of witnesses.<sup>260</sup> Likewise, Adad is the only preserved divine witness at the beginning of such list (he is preceded by [...]).<sup>261</sup> Inšušinak is once followed by Nergal.<sup>262</sup> Inšušinak, Šamaš and Il(i)abrat occur three times.<sup>263</sup> Each of the four triads of witnesses,

<sup>256</sup> MDP 24, 393, 14. The divine name (dMÚŠ = *Inanna*) is erroneously read *Tišpak* (dMÚŠ) by CAD T: 161a, s.v. *tamû*, 1, a, 4' (cf. KOSCHAKER 1935: 47 with n. 2 and PETSCHOW 1986: 60–61). A hymn to Inanna was found in Susa (MDP 28, 13, ii, 1'–7', see MCEWAN 1982). Mesopotamian scribes were acquainted with the Elamite Ištar, dINANNA ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup> = *Ištar elammāti* (cf. CAD Š/3: 79b *ad* KAV 218, A, ii, 16, 19 [Astrolab B]). It is hard to dissociate her from *Ištar bēlet* ELAM.MA<sup>ki</sup> who dwells in Susa (in an inscription of Nabonidus, cf. VALLAT 2002: 139).

<sup>257</sup> MDP 18, 203 = 22, 50; 204 = 22, 51; 205 = 22, 45; 207 = 22, 53; 208 = 22, 57; 210 = 22, 46; 217 = 22, 54 ([Inšušinak]); 223 = 22, 108; 224 = 22, 89; 226 = 22, 129; 22, 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 11 ([Inšušinak]), 14–16, 20, 21, 23, 25 ([Šamaš]), 27–36, 39, 42, 44, 49, 58, 60, 61, 62 ([Inšušinak]), 64, 66, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90–93, 95, 96, 98, 100–107, 109, 110, 114, 120–122, 123 (d[Inšušinak]), 124, 125 ([Šamaš]), 126–128, 131, 139, 140, 160; 23, 166, 169, 170, 172, 173, 179, 180, 182, 184–188, 190–194, 197, 199, 200, 202–206, 208, 209, 211–213, 216–219, 221, 224, 225, 227–230, 232–240, 243–268, 271 ([Inšušinak]), 272, 274 (d[Inšušinak]), 275, 277–281, 286, 287, 324; 24, 338, 341, 343–345, 346([Inšušinak]), 347, 350, 351, 353–355, 357–359, 361, 365, 369, 375, 378–383, 391, 394.

<sup>258</sup> MDP 18, 230 = 22, 41; 22, 43, 56; 24, 328, 352, 356, possibly MDP 22, 3, rev. 1–2 ([Inšušinak]) and perhaps 24, 366 ([Šamaš]).

<sup>259</sup> MDP 24, 333.

<sup>260</sup> MDP 22, 119.

<sup>261</sup> MDP 24, 336.

<sup>262</sup> MDP 24, 334.

<sup>263</sup> MDP 24, 329, 330, 372.

viz. Šamaš, Inšušinak and Šimūt,<sup>264</sup> Inšušinak, Šamaš and Nergal,<sup>265</sup> Šamaš?, Inšušinak and Nergal<sup>266</sup> and Inšušinak, Il(i)abrat and Šamaš<sup>267</sup> heads just one list of witnesses. The divine quartets Inšušinak, Šamaš, Il(i)abrat and Šara, and Inšušinak, Šamaš, Il(i)abrat and <sup>d</sup>IN *ap-kal* occur at the end of the witnesses' lists.<sup>268</sup> Another quartet seems to be: Šamaš, Inšušinak, Sîn (XXX) and Damiqtum (*da-mi-iq-tum*), which is followed by five human witnesses (early OB, the total number is not stated).<sup>269</sup> Sîn alone (XXX-EN.ZU)<sup>270</sup> is listed after the human witnesses (five), who are preceded, as usual, by Šamaš and Inšušinak (all subsumed as "six witnesses" instead of eight).

The appearance of divine witnesses, which is exceptional in Babylonia, but is the norm in Susa, may be due to the power and influence of the Susian priesthood.<sup>271</sup>

Exceptionally, Šamaš is followed by Ruhu-ratir presumably because the transaction is in silver according to the weight stone of Huhnur.<sup>272</sup> This implies that one party originated from the region of Huhnur on the plateau east of the Susiana plain. The same background recurs in another deed, MDP 23, 273, where the oath is again sworn by Šamaš and Ruhu-ratir and the divine protection (*kidinu*) of the latter deity are mentioned.<sup>273</sup> Property of Šamaš is recorded in three deeds<sup>274</sup> and that of Ruhu-ratir is possibly mentioned in

<sup>264</sup> MDP 23, 181.

<sup>265</sup> MDP 28, 425.

<sup>266</sup> MDP 24, 376 (cf. REINER 1963: 171).

<sup>267</sup> MDP 24, 360.

<sup>268</sup> MDP 24, 331 (cf. KOSCHAKER 1935: 48 with nn. 2, 6) and 363 respectively. Interestingly enough, the first of the two sellers in this transaction, <sup>d</sup>IN-*ra-ba-a* (363,5, perhaps homonymous with [...<sup>d</sup>]In-[GA]L, MDP 24,393, 27) bears a name with the same theonym. This theonym is very rare, cf. <sup>d</sup>IN in a Sargonic administrative document from Adab recording a monthly allotment of barley and emmer for temples and gods (MAIOCCHI 2009, 111, rev. 9) and in Ur III (OWEN 2013, 376, 5).

<sup>269</sup> MDP 24,380,16–18.

<sup>270</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 22: 117 *ad* 102, 20.

<sup>271</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1935: 64.

<sup>272</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 23: 135 *ad* 270, 1. The weight stone of Šamaš is recorded once (MDP 23, 310), very probably in his capacity as god of justice.

<sup>273</sup> See VALLAT 2002–2003: 537.

<sup>274</sup> MDP 22, 22 and an orchard of Šamaš (MDP 23, 320, 325, 26).

another two.<sup>275</sup> Il(i)abrat,<sup>276</sup> as well as (rarely) Nergal (<sup>d</sup>GÌR.ERL<sub>11</sub>.GAL), Ea<sup>277</sup> and Šara<sup>278</sup> also acted as witnesses. <sup>d</sup>Inšušinak? šar maš-šà-tu<sup>ki</sup> (MDP 22, 77, rev. 2, listed after Šamaš and Inšušinak) is probably a divine rather than a human witness. Inšušinak is followed by at least seven deities according to a seal impression of a deed: <sup>279</sup> <sup>d</sup>[š-me-ka-ra-ab], Šin, Amurru, ([...]), Kittu (an aspect of Šamaš), Šamaš and <sup>d</sup>[...]. Perhaps it gives a rough idea about the hierarchy of deities in Susa at that time. In this context, it is intriguing that Inšušinak “king of Susa” is preceded by Šin, Adad and “the great gods” (*ilāni rabūtim*, gen.) in a seal inscription.<sup>280</sup> The inclusion of Amurru in this series was perhaps caused by the presence of the principal (debtor) Warad-Amurru.<sup>281</sup> Inšušinak is followed by Amurru in the damaged deed MDP 28, 405, where they head the list of witnesses. It is doubtful whether <sup>d</sup>Li-ru is a theonym or a theophorous element due to the damaged context.<sup>282</sup>

Šamaš is always listed first in the greeting formulae of letters. He is followed by Inšušinak (6x), Kilah-šupir (3x, once with regressive assimilation: Ki-ra-ah~) and Ruhu-ratir (3x), as well as (once each) by Ur-Manzat (perhaps originally a ruler), Bēl-ālim, Kiri-riša, Humpan, Ištārān, La-di-in-na [...] and Ša-at-ta-(ak)-ku-ha-an.<sup>283</sup>

The older tradition (notably UR III) of oath by the king was replaced more and more with oath by deities during the transition to the OB period.<sup>284</sup> The situation in Elam resembles that of Akkad (northern Babylonia) rather than that of Sumer.<sup>285</sup> This and the fact that the curses in OB Susa resemble

<sup>275</sup> MDP 23, 289, 290. It is noteworthy that the same individual with an Elamite filiation (Ši-il-ha s. of Ku-ū-a) is described as servant of both Kittum (an aspect of Šamaš) and Ruhu-ratir (W.G. LAMBERT *apud* PORADA COLON 2016: 34: Iran 1, OB, provenience unknown).

<sup>276</sup> MDP 24, 330 (the principal is *I-bi-d*-NIN.ŠUBUR, a worshipper of Il(i)abrat).

<sup>277</sup> MDP 24, 376, 18–19.

<sup>278</sup> MDP 24, 331, 28, where the deities are listed after the humans.

<sup>279</sup> MDP 23, 198.

<sup>280</sup> MDP 23, 242.

<sup>281</sup> It is noteworthy that most of the lists of witnesses in loans of a certain principal from OB Kisurra are introduced by Amurru and Šamaš (see GODDEERIS 2009: 92 *ad* 1, 6).

<sup>282</sup> MDP 18, 180, i, 5', cf. perhaps *Na-ap-li-rum* from OB Sippar or its region (DEKIERE 1996, 678, 20 < \**Nap-Liru*, Akkadianized ?).

<sup>283</sup> See LACKENBACHER and MALBRAN-LABAT 1994.

<sup>284</sup> For the distribution of oaths by deities, kings and sukkalmahs see KOSCHAKER 1935: 54–55.

<sup>285</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1935: 59–60 and SAN NICOLÒ 1938: 306–307.

the Assyrian rather than the Babylonian curses<sup>286</sup> reflect the connection of Susa with the Transtigradian region.

Apart from Elamite deities (including Inšušinak, the main god of Susa and Šimūt, the latter with an unnamed *pašišu*-priest), the Mesopotamian deities Erra, Annunītum (both with *pašišu*-priests bearing Akkadian names),<sup>287</sup> Inanna (d<sup>INNIN</sup>),<sup>288</sup> Ningal (a shrine and a priest of Inanna are mentioned as well as a chapel of Ningal<sup>289</sup>) and Ninegalla<sup>290</sup> were all worshipped at Susa. Ay-abâš was perhaps a court official (*sukkallu*?) of Bēlet-ilī.<sup>291</sup> The Šamaš temple functioned as creditor of loans.<sup>292</sup> A gate named after Šamaš (*ba-ab* d<sup>UTU</sup>) was situated on the canal (*atappu*) of Ela?<sup>293</sup> *Mazzât* (d<sup>TIR.AN.NA</sup>),<sup>294</sup> the consort of Šimūt, was a popular deity in Susiana since the Sargonic period.<sup>295</sup> A month in the calendar of Susa is named after her messenger d<sup>Si-li-li-tum</sup>.<sup>296</sup> Most of these Mesopotamian deities were netherworld deities, or related to them.

Delivery of sacrificial animals to Mesopotamian deities (Inanna, Ninegalla, Annunītum,<sup>297</sup> Nungal, Ninhursag and perhaps Enki) is recorded in two administrative documents from the Simashkian interval (reign of Ebarat).<sup>298</sup> Undated OB administrative lists record regular (daily) offerings (sg. *sattukku*) for Inšušinak, Bau and Inanna,<sup>299</sup> sheep for Inanna (d<sup>MÜŠ</sup>),

<sup>286</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1932: 320.

<sup>287</sup> MDP 22, 101, 15, 20.

<sup>288</sup> MDP 28, 533, 4, 12, 17. Inanna (d<sup>INNIN</sup>) was also worshipped in Dūr-Agade (a-ga-ti) and possibly in *Ga-an-za-ra* according to the same document, where Gilgameš (d<sup>giš-ga-maš</sup>) is also mentioned (line 16).

<sup>289</sup> MDP 24, 393, 15, 25f. and DE MEYER 1961 respectively. Property of Ningal is recorded in MDP 23, 172.

<sup>290</sup> NIN-É.GAL (MDP 28, 517, 10), cf. BEHRENS and KLEIN 1998–2001: 345b.

<sup>291</sup> MDP 23, 312, 6.

<sup>292</sup> Cf., e.g., Šamaš-bani (d<sup>UTU-ba-ni</sup>), co-creditor (together with the [temple of] Šamaš, MDP 22, 124, 2, 8); cf. also VEENHOF 2004.

<sup>293</sup> MDP 22, 104, 3.

<sup>294</sup> E.g., MDP 22, 24, 2.

<sup>295</sup> See VALLAT 2002: 140; mentioned together with Nindara in the country of Hupšen (STEVE 1987: 28).

<sup>296</sup> Cf. LITKE 1998: 167, iv, 292.

<sup>297</sup> For Annunītum in the Ur III period see SALLABERGER 1993, 1: 198; 2, tables 9, 9a.

<sup>298</sup> MDP 23, 304, 305, see VALLAT 2002–2003: 531. Ninhursag was venerated in Gabbini, apparently in the Diyāla region during the early OB period. A priest of Ninhursag is perhaps mentioned there at that time (cf. HARRIS 1955: 42 *ad* 12; 103, 118: 100, 3–4).

<sup>299</sup> MDP 18, 153, 2 and 28, 470, 13–14 respectively.

Mazzât<sup>300</sup> and Šimūt,<sup>301</sup> as well as garments for Inanna, Ereškigal, Nergal (<sup>d</sup>GÌR-*iri*<sub>11</sub>-*gal*),<sup>302</sup> Pilma, Šimūt, *Hu-úr-ti-ir*<sup>303</sup> and Gilgameš.<sup>304</sup> LAMBERT<sup>305</sup> pointed out that the Ulayu (the river of Susa, I<sub>7</sub> *Ú-la-A+A*) “the pure river U.” “laments you” (i.e. laments Gilgameš). A god list from OB Susa has Gilgameš and <sup>d</sup>*Hu-wa-wa*;<sup>306</sup> a fragment of “Gilgameš and Huwawa” was unearthed there.<sup>307</sup>

### 2.3.2. Priests, worshippers and festivals

No less than 37 priests (31 males and 6 females) are recorded in documents from OB Susa:

Kundīya (*ku-un-di-ia*), priest (*p[a-ši-šī]*), was lessor of a field (ten kors for 24 minas of silver) in the *Pan-āli* (BAL IGI.URU<sup>ki</sup>) quarter of Susa (BAL GAL, i.e. “the big quarter”, is apparently the place of payment). The field was property of *An-nu-ni-[tum]* (i.e. her temple) with irrigation through a canal which was located below *Nabûm* (*a-[tap šu]-pal Na-bi-im*). He held the field together with *Ešbu* (*eš-bi*). The lessees are *Hundilat[u]* (*hu-un-di-la-t[u]*) and perhaps [...]. The 3<sup>rd</sup> witness in this deed is *Kubbulum* (*ku-um-bu-li-im*, with dissimilation), another priest (*pa-ši-[šī]*) of *An-nu-ni-[tum]*. A priest (*pašišu*) of <sup>d</sup>*Er-ra*, *Warad-Kūbi* (*İR-ku-bi*), acted as the 8<sup>th</sup> witness. The list of 13 human witnesses begins with *Nūr-Ištar* (<sup>ṣ</sup>*nu-úr-iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*), d. of *Huzālatu* (*hu-za-la-ti*) and *Atkalšu* (*at-kal-šu*), an apprentice scribe? (*pu-uh-hu te-ep-pi-i*).<sup>308</sup> Another witness (12<sup>th</sup>) with a title is *Šubula-abī* (<sup>d</sup>*šu-bu-la-a-bi*), *ša ne<sup>2</sup>-ša al-lu-ri*<sup>309</sup> (MDP 22, 101). An unnamed priest (*pašišu*) of Šimūt (*ši-mu-ut*) received one garment whereas an unnamed priest (*pašišu* = [GUD]U<sub>4</sub>) of Mazzât (<sup>d</sup>*ma-za-at*) received 26 pieces of clothes.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>300</sup> MDP 28, 515, 2, 7, rev. 9, 12.

<sup>301</sup> MDP 28, 515, rev. 4 and perhaps 396, 5.

<sup>302</sup> See BORGER 2004: 183, 402–403: 701.

<sup>303</sup> The context suggests that *Hurtir* is a deity, who like the other two theonyms, is written without the divine determinative (differently HINZ and KOCH 1987: 723–724); cf. table 3 below.

<sup>304</sup> MDP 28, 533, 2–5, 10–12, 16–18, 23, 24.

<sup>305</sup> LAMBERT 1960: 47, n. 2, cf. 39ff.

<sup>306</sup> See WILCKE 1976–1980: 530a *ad* MDP 27, 286, ii, 6.

<sup>307</sup> MDP 18, 49.

<sup>308</sup> See CAD P: 502a.

<sup>309</sup> If the segmentation is correct, then it may contain *allūru*, a sort of a fine garment which is recorded later (MB Nuzi and Alalah, CAD A/1: 360b).

<sup>310</sup> MDP 28, 533, 5; 534, 8.

All the eight witnesses in the deed of lease MDP 23, 246, except the last one and the scribe, are priests (sg. *šà-ti*). Four out of these eight individuals bear Akkadian names. The other names are severely damaged:

[*Za*]-*zi-ia* (1<sup>st</sup>), [*Ga*<sup>2</sup>-*ma*<sup>2</sup>]-*al-ilu* (DINGIR, 2<sup>nd</sup>), Ēriš-*ilu* (APIN-DINGIR, 3<sup>rd</sup>), [*Za-ar*]-*ri-qí* (4<sup>th</sup>),<sup>311</sup> Il(i)abrat-abī ([<sup>d</sup>NIN].ŠUBUR-*a-bi*, 5<sup>th</sup>), [...]-*ur* (6<sup>th</sup>), [...-*a-b*]-*i-šu-ni* (7<sup>th</sup>), and [...] (8<sup>th</sup>).<sup>312</sup>

Kuzzalu-gāmil (*ku-iz-za-lu-ga-mil*) was owner (lessor) of a field in the Pan-āli quarter of Susa with irrigation through the Kublā canal according to the deed MDP 23,280, which was issued in the URU-DAG quarter of Susa (presumably the lessor's domicile) in month XII. The lessee was Nūr-Inšušinak (*nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ-EREN*). The neighbours were ZA-*ar-ti-ia* (front, recurrent) and Uzālu (*ú-za-li*). The 1<sup>st</sup> human witness (out of five) is the priest (*šà-ti*) Ana-ilima-atkal (*a-na-DINGIR-<sup>r</sup>ma-at-kal*). According to another deed (MDP 23,286), the lessor was also a priest: he is the 1<sup>st</sup> member of a triad of priests who acted as the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> witnesses (out of 16). The other two members, Ampi-*ilu* (*am-bi-i-lu*) and Damiqtum-ummī (*<sup>f</sup>da-mi-iq-tu-um-mi*) recur in other deeds. There is another link between the deeds. MDP 23, 286 is a donation by Ana-ilima-atkal. He gives his property (no concrete specification) to Nūr-Inšušinak (by adopting him).<sup>313</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> human witness of MDP 23, 286, Nīq-*ili* (*ni-iq-DINGIR*) s. of Libluṭ (*li-ib-lu-ṭi*), is also recurrent. Inšušinak-šemi (*<sup>d</sup>MUŠ-EREN-še-mi*) donated his daughter Narubtu (*na-ru-ub-ti*) a field in the 3<sup>rd</sup> sector of Susa, whose usufruct he shared with the ladies Tepirtu (*te-pi-ir-ti*) and Inšušinak-nadā (*<sup>d</sup>MUŠ-EREN-na-da*) according to MDP 23, 285. The penultimate witness is the priestess (or hierodule, *iš-ta-ri-tu*) Ea-dumqī (*<sup>d</sup>é-a-du-um-qí*).

The first three human witnesses of the damaged deed of donation MDP 23,287 form another triad of priests (sg. *šà-ti*), viz. Ahi'ūtu (*a-hi-ù-ti*), Suduru (*sú-un-du-ri*, with dissimilation) and Tillatu (*ti-il-la-ti*). The grantee was Kugīya (*ku-gi-ia*), presumably the son of the donor (*ú*-[...], possibly Uzaltu; details of property are lost). The 7<sup>th</sup> human witness, *<sup>f</sup>šà-ti-ia*, has no title, but her name is apparently based on *šati*. She is followed by Manni'ūtu (*<sup>f</sup>Ma-an-ni-ú-ti*) and Tepirtu (*<sup>f</sup>te-pir-ti*), wi. of Uzaltu, probably the donor's wife (homonymous with a lady who enjoyed the usufruct of a field, see just above). Manni'ūtu was a priestess according to MDP 23, 288 (see below).

<sup>311</sup> MDP 23,246, rev. 2' (restored according to 235, 12; 275, 8 by SCHEIL, MDP 23: 110 *ad loc.*).

<sup>312</sup> MDP 23,246,12–rev. 6'.

<sup>313</sup> See YUSIFOV 1968: 118–119.

The 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> (penultimate) witnesses, Iksudu (*ik-šu-d[a]*) s. of Wāšû (*wa-aš-šû*)<sup>314</sup> and Atkalšu, are priests. The latter recurs in other deeds<sup>315</sup> and is homonymous with *At-kal-šu* (bearer of the unexplained, probably Elamite, title *ha-aš-šâ*), who heard the declaration MDP 23, 288. The latter deed is about Manniyûtu (<sup>f</sup>*ma-an-ni-iu-tu*), the priestess (or hierodule, *iš-ta-ri-tu*). She renounced her claims and gave over her child, Mār-ešrê (DUMU-U<sub>4</sub>-XX.KA[M]), to the wet nurse Tuzi-damqat (<sup>id</sup>*tu-zi-dam-qa-at*) immediately after birth. The midwife Ku'puttu (<sup>f</sup>*ku-'-pu-ut-tu*) and the priestess (or hierodule, *iš-ta-ri-tu*) Erištu (<sup>f</sup>*e-ri-iš-tu*), who were probably acquaintances of the donor and the grantee, made a declaration before the functionaries Atkalšu (mentioned above) and Nennê (*ne-en-ne-e*). Both priestesses and the wet-nurse belonged to the temple.<sup>316</sup> A triad of officials heads the list of 17 witnesses:

Damqī[ya] (*[dam-qī]-ia*), chief judge (*te-pir* < Elam. “scribe”);<sup>317</sup> Šilli-In-šušinak (*šil-lī-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ-EREN*), judge (DI.KU<sub>5</sub>); and Awīl-ilī (*a-wi-il-ì-lì*), *ku-du-uh-ta-hu-ru*.<sup>318</sup>

Tar-ilī (*ta-ar-ì-lì*)<sup>319</sup> exchanged house (together with its doors) in the Pan-āli quarter of Susa (the indication of the location of houses is exceptional). His co-owner was Awīl-ti-lī (*a-wi-ì[l-ti]-li*),<sup>320</sup> a priestess (*nadītu*). The 2<sup>nd</sup> party is Itti-ili-balī (*it-ti-DINGIR-ba-li-ìt*). He exchanged (a) his house with its doors adjacent to Manniyau (*ma-an-ni-ia-ù*) and Tar-ilī, and (b) a field (dimensions lost, location not indicated) and gave a compensatory payment of seven shekels of silver to Tar-ilī. The neighbour Manniyau acted as the 1<sup>st</sup> witness. The 7<sup>th</sup> witness (out of 16) is Nīq-ili (recurrent, cf. above).

Adad-dumqī (<sup>d</sup>*IŠKUR-du-um-qī*)<sup>321</sup> daughter of Adad-bani (<sup>d</sup>*IŠKUR-ba-ni*) and sister of Damiq-Inšušinak (*da-mi-ig-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ-EREN*), was a priestess (*nadītu* = LUKUR). She had a share in a house together with her brother (the seller).<sup>322</sup> Bēlu (*be-li*) s. of Ahi-šagiš (*a-hi-ša-gi-iš*), a priest (*šâ-tu*), bought

<sup>314</sup> Cf. perhaps *Wa-šum-be-lī* from early OB Ešnunna ([FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 146–147: 16–17).

<sup>315</sup> E.g., MDP 23, 272, 16 (without title, partnership).

<sup>316</sup> See FINKELSTEIN 1976: 193–194, n. 13; WILCKE 1981: 88.

<sup>317</sup> See CAD T: 345–346.

<sup>318</sup> Not listed in CAD; cf. *ku-du-uh-ta-aš* in MDP 23, 321–322, 49, 50, likewise an unexplained title (CAD K: 493b), apparently with the same initial component, both probably Elamite.

<sup>319</sup> MDP 23,240, 6 (*[ta-ar]-*), 12, e. (*-[i-lī]*), his fingernail mark).

<sup>320</sup> MDP 23,240,6 (*-[i-l-ti]-*), e. (*[l-ti-lī]*), her fingernail mark).

<sup>321</sup> This name-type refers only to females according to STOL 1991: 208.

<sup>322</sup> MDP 18, 211 = 22, 44, 5, 10.



real estate (details lost) from Adad-bani.<sup>323</sup> The property was adjacent to that of Adad-dumqī. However, it may be that the seller and the neighbour are not identical, but merely homonymous with the above-mentioned father and daughter.

The pair of priests (sg. *ša-ti*, as in the following occurrences) *Inšušinak-kāšid* (<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN-*ka-ši-id*) and *Ahumma* (*a-hu-um-ma*) head the list of 13 human witnesses of MDP 22, 16. The priest Bēlī (*be-li-i*) acted as the 1<sup>st</sup> human witness in MDP 22, 88, where he is followed by Palṭīya (*pa-al-ṭi-ia*) and as the 2<sup>nd</sup> in MDP 22, 93, where he is followed by Palṭīya and by another priest, Rabi-Inšušinak (GAL-<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN). Šilli-Amurru (*šil-lī-<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU*), priest, is the 1<sup>st</sup> human witness in the damaged deed MDP 22, 114. [...], priest, is the 14<sup>th</sup> discernible human witness (out of at least 16).<sup>324</sup> The priest Šaqa (*ša-qa*) was neighbour (front) in the deed MDP 23,258,3 (lease). Kugīya and Mannuyūtu (*ma-an-nu-ia-ū-ti*), who act as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> witnesses, recur in MDP 23, 287 above. Another two priests (sg. *pašīšu*) are mentioned in MDP 24, 393 (see above). The witnesses Nūr-Šamaš (*nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>UTU*) and Turam-Adad (*tu-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR*)<sup>325</sup> might have been priests (*[ša<sup>?</sup>]-tin*) if the restoration is correct. *Ra-[(x)]-ta*, the 2<sup>nd</sup> human witness in the deed MDP 22, 29, is a priest (*la-gàr-rum*).<sup>326</sup>

Most of the priests (at least 23 out of 37) bear the Elamite title *šati*, seven are defined as *pašīšu* (lit. “anointed”) and one as *lagarru*. The remaining ones are females, of whom two were dedicated to a temple (sg. *nadītu*) and two were hierodules (sg. *ištarītu*). One woman (Damiqtu-ummī) is titled *šati*.

Despite of this impressive documentation, there is very little specific information about the cultic functions and activity of these priests. An interesting case is that of *Kumbulum*, whose name means “lame, paralyzed, crippled”. As a physically disabled person he very probably could not officiate as a priest. He kept his title since a priest is an inherited status. If *Kumbulum* was the same person as his namesake (*ku-um-bu-lum*), who donated his movables and field to his wife Daqqatu (time of Kutir-Nahhunti and Timpti-Akun),<sup>327</sup> then he was engaged in agriculture.<sup>328</sup>

<sup>323</sup> MDP 22, 85, 5.

<sup>324</sup> MDP 18, 235 = 22, 17, rev. 11', operative section lost.

<sup>325</sup> MDP 28, 430, 9–10.

<sup>326</sup> CAD L: 37a.

<sup>327</sup> MDP 24,377, 3: *d[a-qà-ti]*, 14: *da-qà-[ti]* (cf. SCHEIL, MDP 24: 70 *ad loc.*).

<sup>328</sup> Another *Kubbulum*, who is mentioned in early OB Tutub, bore the title “smith”, which *prima facie* is an entirely impossible occupation for a disabled person. However, *Kubbulum* was actu-

The scribe Šil-ili (*ši-li-li*) was a servant of Dumuzi and Adalal-Kūbi s. of Ṭāb-ašābšu was a servant of Inšušinak.<sup>329</sup> Both have purely Akkadian filiations, while the scribe Ku-ku-iš-ša-an (Elam.) s. of Da-bi-bi (Akkad.), servant of Šamaš, has a mixed one.<sup>330</sup>

*Nērebtu* (U<sub>4</sub> *ne-re-eb-ti* || *La-an-lu-be* U<sub>4</sub>.21.KAM,<sup>331</sup> which is also recorded in MB Kapnak (*[ne]-re-eb-ti*),<sup>332</sup> is perhaps the name of a festival.<sup>333</sup>

### 2.3.3. Sacral aspects of the legal tradition and related matters

Sacral formulations are typical of deeds from Susa and are thought to be a counterweight to influences from contemporary Babylonia.<sup>334</sup> A warning against committing sacrilege against the sacred law (*kidinu*)<sup>335</sup> of Inšušinak appears in many deeds.<sup>336</sup> Some documents of real estate sales contain a statement that “PN purchased according to the sacred law of Inšušinak”<sup>337</sup> and in one case according to that of Šimūt,<sup>338</sup> the Elamite counterpart of the netherworld god Nergal. In one real estate deed of sale it is claimed that the parties reached an agreement according to the sacred law of Inšušinak.<sup>339</sup> Another deed states that the transaction was conducted according to the regulations (*kubussū*) which Inšušinak had established,<sup>340</sup> or according to the regulations established by Inšušinak and Išme-karāb.<sup>341</sup> The latter deity functioned as judge of the Ebabbar temple (presumably of Larsa) according to

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ally a silversmith whose recorded task did not require physical capabilities: he had to weigh the silver which was paid in the course of legal transactions (see HARRIS 1955: 99 *ad* 85, 17).

<sup>329</sup> MDP 27, 221 and 28, 445bis.

<sup>330</sup> W.G. LAMBERT *apud* PORADA and COLON 2016: 134-135: Iran 3 (provenance unknown).

<sup>331</sup> MDP 23, 318, 24 and MDP 22, 165, 24 respectively.

<sup>332</sup> HERRERO 1976: 109: 9, 7.

<sup>333</sup> See CAD N/2: 175, s.v. *nērebtu*, d.

<sup>334</sup> See KLIMA 1963: 296–298, 300–301.

<sup>335</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1935: 42–45, 64.

<sup>336</sup> MDP 18, 234 = 22, 18; 22, 9, 10, 14, 19, 58; 23, 170, 201, 202, 209, 214, 231, 234, 240, 285; 24, 335–337, 341, 353. See CHARPIN 2001, especially *ad* MDP 23, 337, rev. 5–12.

<sup>337</sup> MDP 18, 203 = 22, 22, 50; 204 = 22, 51; 205 = 22, 45; 207 = 22, 53; 210 = 22, 46; 217 = 22, 54; 221 = 22, 69; 22, 49, 67; 23, 216, 236, 238 ; 24, 347 (cf. CAD K: 343a).

<sup>338</sup> MDP 24, 390, 1, 5.

<sup>339</sup> MDP 22, 160, 36.

<sup>340</sup> MDP 23, 252, 8 (see KOSCHAKER 1935: 36–39, 43–44, 46–47, 64–69; CAD K: 489–490, s.v.) and MDP 18, 203 = 22, 50; 22, 126 with a slightly different formulation.

<sup>341</sup> MDP 23, 321–322.

An = Anu.<sup>342</sup> Išme-karāb was probably introduced to Larsa in the period of the Kutur-Mapuk dynasty.<sup>343</sup> The sacred law (? [*ki*']-*di-na*) of Napiriša (DINGIR.GAL) and Inšušinak is mentioned in one deed.<sup>344</sup> Another two deeds contain the statement “let him depart upon the command of (*ina awat*) Napiriša and Inšušinak”.<sup>345</sup> The formula “(a father) purchased for his son” is not to be understood literally, but rather as the purchase of the father for the son, so that the god Inšušinak protects the purchaser.<sup>346</sup>

Šāzi and Kūbu were also invoked.<sup>347</sup> The former would smash the heads of contract violators.<sup>348</sup> Šāzi was the son of the river god (<sup>d</sup>ÍD) and played a

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<sup>342</sup> Cf. LITKE 1998: 135 *ad* iii, 171, 173, RICHTER 2004: 351 and KREBERNIK 2006: 79.

<sup>343</sup> Mazzāt might have also been introduced to Larsa from Elam by the Kutur-Mapuk dynasty. KLIMA 1963: 296 hypothesized that a practice of royal regulation (by decree) was introduced to Larsa from Elam by that dynasty.

<sup>344</sup> MDP 23, 321–322, seal impression, 9.

<sup>345</sup> MDP 23, 282; 24, 338.

<sup>346</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1935: 44 *ad* MDP 22, 236.

<sup>347</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 24: 19 *ad* 339, 11.

<sup>348</sup> MDP 22, 1, 16; 23, 287; 24, 341, 374, 376, 382.

role in the river ordeal.<sup>349</sup> The river ordeal was also practiced in Ešnunna<sup>350</sup> and presumably in Dēr,<sup>351</sup> both in the Transtigradian region.

The scribes of the legal documents from OB Susa, all written in Akkadian (from the earlier periods there are also Sumerian documents), largely convey an Elamite legal tradition, which is different from the Mesopotamian one, yet in Babylonian garb.<sup>352</sup> They had a whole instrumentarium at their disposal, viz. lexical lists as well as lists of Akkadian and Elamite names, mathematical texts and literary compositions, which were unearthed at Susa.<sup>353</sup> These scribes served a largely Akkadian-speaking population governed by Elamite rulers, whose system used Elamite terminology. This is revealed by the Elamite terms, titles and partially Elamite formulae con-

<sup>349</sup> See van der Meer, MDP 27: 50 *ad* 137; KLIMA 1972; FRYMER-KENSKY 1977 [1981]: 185–226, 632 and 1981 (cf. BOTTÉRO 1981). A place A.ÉSIR<sup>ki</sup>, which is the Sumerogram of Ītu (place of an ordeal, see DURAND 2008: 292), is recorded in administrative texts from early OB Susa. The context is not about ordeal. DE GRAEF (2006: 139, 141 *ad* 48, 11 || 49, 19) is of the opinion that the scribe intended to write ĪD<sup>ki</sup>, but this is another OB Sumerogram for the same place (cf. ZADOK 2014: 158).

<sup>350</sup> Cf. the occurrence of <sup>d</sup>*L-id* there (WHITING 1987, 21, 5) with FRYMER-KENSKY 1977 [1981]: 158–162, 181 *ad* TIM 2, 102. According to GREENGUS (1979: 110 *ad* UCP 10/1, 22, 26, cf. GREENGUS 1986, 255, 5, 11), <sup>d</sup>A.SUK is apparently a Diyāla variant for rendering the name of the river god (or goddess, cf. HOROWITZ 1998: 339). Cf., e.g., OB <sup>d</sup>ĪD-*da-a-an* (“the river is judge”) s. of *Sū-ga-gu-um* (“sheikh”, YOS 14, 54, 10), <sup>d</sup>ĪD-*la-ma-s[i]* (from Larsa, ANBAR 1978: 127–128: 14, 4), <sup>d</sup>ĪD-*ra-bi* (DEKIERE 1995a, 452, 6, from Sippar or its region), *Ip-<sup>q</sup>ú-Na-ri* (from Ešnunna or its vicinity, RESCHID 1965, 9, 12), *I-pi-iq-Na-ru-um* from Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla (Isma‘el 2007, 35, 19), *Ilu(DINGIR)-na-rum* (DEKIERE 1997, 927, 23, from Sippar or its region), and Amorite *Su-um-mu-Na-a-ri-im* from Tutub (HARRIS 1955: 91: 57, 11). <sup>d</sup>ĪD (=I<sub>7</sub>) is recorded as theophorous element in the onomasticon from the Diyāla region as early as the Sargonic period (SOMMERFELD 1999: 155, s.v., cf. 33–35). *Nāru* “river” is feminine in Akkadian. Therefore Particular river names, which originally belong to the non-Semitic substrate toponymy, such as *Purattu*, were borrowed with addition of the feminine suffix *-t* in Akkadian and are followed by female predicative elements, notably *-ummī* “my mother”, in anthroponyms. An exception is the hydronym Ṭaban which is followed by the masculine predicative element *abum* in anthroponymy as noticed by STOL 1991: 191. The above-mentioned anthroponyms with the theophorous element *nāru* followed by a masculine predicate are with *Genuskongruenz* as they refer to males. It is noteworthy that the female *Kūbu-nāri* functioned as a witness in a late Sargonid account of a juridical river ordeal (OWEN 1988: 307, 311: 15, see 309).

<sup>351</sup> Cf. the role of Ištarān, the god of Dēr (FRYMER-KENSKY 1977 [1981]: 180).

<sup>352</sup> See OPPENHEIM 1936.

<sup>353</sup> See MALAYERI 2013 and VELDHUIS 2014, 4.2.2 (cf. 5.4) on the school texts published in MDP 18 and 27.

tained in the OB corpus from Susa.<sup>354</sup> Not only the Elamites, but also the Akkadian-speaking people of Susa adhered to the local legal practices. For instance, it is stated that Inšušinak-muballit̄ (<sup>d</sup>MUŠ-EREN-*mu-ba-li-iṭ*) married Ilī-ša-hengalli (*i-lī-šà-he-en<sub>6</sub>-ga-al*), both with Akkadian names, by the *hih-sukkū* (< -*sunki* “king”?)<sup>355</sup> of the rulers *Ta-ta* and *Te-em-ti-a-gu-un*. The term *sú-uk-ki-sú-uk-ki* (in a formula) is probably a duplication thereof, viz. \**sunki-sunki*.<sup>356</sup>

It was noted that the division and purchase deeds from OB Susa are entirely non-Babylonian.<sup>357</sup> Regarding the corporal punishments (amputation of the hand and tearing out of the tongue) for contract violators in OB Susa,<sup>358</sup> they were not the norm in Babylonia in view of their rather restricted application in Codex Hammurapi. However, corporal punishment (tearing out of the tongue) is recorded also in oath formulae from OB Ešnunna, in sales contracts from OB Nērebtum = modern Ishchali not far from Ešnunna towards Malgium and Elam,<sup>359</sup> and probably in the Hamrīn basin.<sup>360</sup> An affinity between the code of Lipit-Ištar from Isin and a practice from OB Elam was also noticed.<sup>361</sup> There is a certain resemblance between the legal terminology and the scribal tradition of OB Susa and those of the early OB Diyāla region.<sup>362</sup> The school tradition of the Diyāla region was exported to Susa during the OB period.<sup>363</sup>

<sup>354</sup> Cf. SALONEN 1967, *passim* (e.g., *ku-du-uh-ta-aš*, 46). However, his list of Elamite words is not complete.

<sup>355</sup> See CAD S: 362 *ad* MDP 24,383, cf. YUSIFOV 1968: 142–144.

<sup>356</sup> See YUSIFOV 1959: 49–50 and cf. KLIMA 1963: 298–299 (with reduplication because there were generally two coeval rulers during the Sukkalmah period?).

<sup>357</sup> See KOSCHAKER 1932: 320.

<sup>358</sup> E.g., MDP 22, 116 (see KOSCHAKER 1932: 320, SAN NICOLÒ 1933: 482 and MAUER 1980: 137).

<sup>359</sup> YOS 14, 42, 72 (cf. CAD L: 94, s.v. *lapātu*, 8, a, differently STOL 1979: 179: “his tongue will be touched <with a red-hot iron>”) and CAD L: 210, s.v. *lišānu*, 1, b respectively.

<sup>360</sup> The formula *lišānšu i-la-pa-at* “his (the contestant’s) tongue will be touched, affected, infested” in an early OB deed from Tall Yelkhi is compared (by ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 26 *ad* HY 224) with the same formula in TIM 5, 4, 19 where it is paralleled by *lišānšu išallap* (*šalāpu* in Ishchali is the equivalent of *nakāsu* in Susa and *šalāqu* in Assyria).

<sup>361</sup> See KLIMA 1963: 308 with n. 156.

<sup>362</sup> See HARRIS 1955: 60 *ad* 3, 5–6; 91 *ad* 56, 7–8; 92 *ad* 58, 17; 93 *ad* 61, 4, 5; 99 *ad* 88, 7–8;

<sup>363</sup> See VELDHUIS 2014: 304.

### 2.3.4. Iconographic evidence

There is very little contemporary iconographic evidence<sup>364</sup> which is accompanied by text. An inscribed seal depicts a worshipper, his hair done in an Elamite style, who stretches the two forearms towards the god sitting on his throne on a coiled-up snake with a small bearded human head placed on a platform. The god (perhaps Inšušinak)<sup>365</sup> bears a tiara with a row of horns. He stretches a very stiff arm and holds a small snake. In front of him, in the field, there are two thin streams, sloping on his hand and on that of the worshipper. Inscription: Tan-ú-[li] sukkal[mah], sukkal of Elam and Simaški, son of the sister of Šilhaha.<sup>366</sup> A god is sitting to the left on a throne made up of a snake probably with a human head, placed on a platform with two steps, decorated with niches. The god bears a round tiara, with a pair of short horns; inscription: Kuk-Našur son of the sister of Temti-agun, son of Ki-[...]. A god with a round tiara, with a pair of short horns, throne on a snake with a human head(?) coiled up, placed himself on a lying animal (feline?). The god holds a sinuous object, above which there is an indetermined complex figure. Inscription: *Te-te<sup>2</sup>-ep<sup>2</sup>-ma-da* shepherd of Susa, son of the sister of Šilhaha.<sup>367</sup> Representations of snake god, snakes and other motifs in the glyptic from the Transtigradian region (the Hamrīn and Diyāla basins) have parallels in pre-OB and OB Susa.<sup>368</sup>

### 2.3.5. Implicit evidence: the Akkadian onomasticon from OB Susa

In addition to the above-mentioned explicit documentation regarding the cult, there is abundant implicit evidence. The same deities are contained as theophorous elements of numerous anthroponyms. The distribution of these elements is compatible with the popularity of their divine referents as depicted in the above exposé of the explicit evidence. *Inšušinak* is the most common theophorous element. All the other theophorous elements lag far behind him in number of citations. His name is originally a Sumerian genitive compound, i.e. *In-Šušin-ak* (< *Nin-~*) “Lord of Susa”. In fact, Inšušinak

<sup>364</sup> See ASCALONE 2010 and NEUMANN 2013.

<sup>365</sup> See DE MIROSCHEJJI 1980: 129ff.

<sup>366</sup> See M.W. STOLPER *apud* J. Aruz in CARTER *et al.* 1992c: 117-118: 76 *ad* AMIET 1972, 2330 (cf. AMIET 1986: 153).

<sup>367</sup> AMIET 1972, 2015, 2016.

<sup>368</sup> See BOEHMER 1985: 14–15: 15 and 17–19: 22 (Tall Yelkhi); MANSOUR, SHAKIR and ZAHAWI 1992: 11: 14, 21: 32, 36: 65 and 38: 65 (Tall Sulēme).

bears the title “king of Susa” (*šarru ša Šu-ši-im*).<sup>369</sup> *Inšušinak* (dMÜŠ-EREN)? *šar maš-šà-tu*<sup>ki370</sup> (listed after Šamaš and Inšušinak) is probably a divine rather than human witness. He probably refers to a homonymous god who dwelt in a temple outside Susa (in the town of Maššatu). Inšušinak is identical with *Šu-šu*, *Šu-ši*, *Šu-ši-im*, and *-Šu-ša*<sup>ki</sup>, all recorded only as theophorous elements. These spellings are identical with the city name (*Šūšum*)<sup>371</sup> and are contained in the following anthroponyms:

*Šūšu-liwwir*,<sup>372</sup> *Šūšu-ṭāb*,<sup>373</sup> *Šu-šu-ma-lu*,<sup>374</sup> *Bēl-Šūši*,<sup>375</sup> *Ānih-Šūšim*,<sup>376</sup> *Šu-ši-...*<sup>377</sup> and *[A]bi-Šūša*.<sup>378</sup>

The deified temple of Inšušinak (É-DU-A) is also used as a theophorous element, cf. É-DÜ-A-*ra-bi* and *Ka-ab-it-É-DÜ-A* (not the same person as *Ka-bi-it-bi-tu*).<sup>379</sup>

In addition to the local deities Inšušinak (*Šūšu(m)* etc.) and Išme-karāb, many Mesopotamian deities appear as theophorous elements in the abundant corpus of Akkadian anthroponyms from OB Susa. The supremacy of Inšušinak (invariably spelled dMÜŠ-EREN during most of the OB period)<sup>380</sup> over

<sup>369</sup> MDP 23, 242, seal (transliteration only).

<sup>370</sup> MDP 22, 77, rev. 2', possibly the same town as NA <sup>umu</sup>*Ma-su-tu* (with NA vowel harmony and <s> for foreign /š/) which is included in a list beginning with Bīt-Imbī, probably north-west of Susa (BORGER 1996: 60: A, vii, 60).

<sup>371</sup> For the spellings of the city name in KREBERNIK 2006: 67–72; with *-n* (as in *In-Šūšin-ak*) OB *Šu-šu-un-ta-ra-na* and MB *Tan-Šu-šu-un* (cf. ZADOK 1984: 41: 232–232a). The Ur III anthroponym *Šu-ša-nu-u* (GADOTTI and SIGRIST 2011, 30, rev. 18', mentioned among Elamites and other foreigners) is originally an Akkadian gentilic, viz. *Šušānū* (based on *Šušān*).

<sup>372</sup> *šu-šu-li-wi-ir* (MDP 22, 91, 15); <sup>f</sup>*šu-šu-li-wi-ir* (MDP 23,175,1).

<sup>373</sup> *šu-šu-DU*<sub>10</sub><sup>ab</sup> (MDP 23,310,4).

<sup>374</sup> MDP 24,353,38 (the predicative element is unexplained).

<sup>375</sup> *EN-šu-ú-ši*, *EN-šu-ú-ši*<sup>ki</sup> (“Š. is lord”, differently SCHEIL, MDP 22: 22 *ad* 91, 15 and 91 *ad* 77, rev. 5').

<sup>376</sup> *a-ni-ih-šu-ši-im* (MDP 23,321,14), *a-ni-ih-šu-ši* (MDP 24,379,27), *a-ni-ih-šu-šu* (MDP 22, 124, 10), presumably “Endavouring for Š.”- Ninurta = *a-ni-ku*, *a-ni-hu* in a god list is obscure (cf. CAD A/2: 121).

<sup>377</sup> MDP 18, 235 = 22, 17, rev. 12'.

<sup>378</sup> *[a]-bi-šu-ša*<sup>ki</sup> (MDP 22, 7, 29).

<sup>379</sup> MDP 22, 15, 22 and 18, 2, MDP 23,237,14 respectively.

<sup>380</sup> The syllabic spelling *In-šu-uš-na-ak* is recorded only at the beginning of the OB period and just twice (*Ku-uk-~*, MDP 10, 100, 7; 122, rev. 7). It is very common later, in ME and NE. The abbreviated form <sup>d</sup>*Šu-ši-na-ak* is extant in the OB anthroponym <sup>d</sup>*Šu-ši-na-ak-ilum* (DINGIR) who, together with the PA.PA-officer *A-wi-il-li* and *Ha-su-ri*, gave to *Si-im-me* (the last two names may be Elamite) an ass as substitute for one jenni-ass in an exchange (20.II.27 Samsiluna, oath by Šamaš and Marduk, presumably from central Babylonia, YOS

the other deities in Susa is expressed by the anthroponyms *Inšušinak-šar-ilī*<sup>381</sup> (“Inšušinak is king of the gods”), *Inšušinak-rab-ilī*<sup>382</sup> (“Inšušinak is the chief of the gods”), *Inšušinak-rappi-[ilī]*<sup>383</sup> (“Inšušinak is the gods’ neck-stock”) and *Inšušinak-šar-māti*<sup>384</sup> (“Inšušinak is king of the land”). His greatness is expressed by *Rabi-Inšušinak* and *Inšušinak-rabi*<sup>385</sup> “Inšušinak is great”, as well as by *Mannu-kī-Inšušinak*<sup>386</sup> “Who is like Inšušinak?”. His well-attested function as judge and keeper of good order is conveyed by the anthroponym *Inšušinak-muštēšir*.<sup>387</sup> The predicative elements of the remaining Inšušinak anthroponyms, are not distinctive. This applies also to the hybrid name *Hāl-Inšušinak* (*ha-li-<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN*, with an Amorite or Elamite predicative element).<sup>388</sup> However, we do not deal here with a monolatric society. Several theophorous names, which were also popular in Susa, have predicative elements conveying a similar message:

*Sin-šar-ilī*,<sup>389</sup> *Sin-bēl-i[lī]*<sup>390</sup> (“Sin is the god’s lord”), *Sin-šarrum*,<sup>391</sup> *Sin-bēlu* (“Sin is king/lord”),<sup>392</sup> *Sin-rabi*,<sup>393</sup> and *Sin-dayyān*<sup>394</sup> (“Sin is judge”); *Šamaš-bēl-ilī*,<sup>395</sup> *Šamaš-rabi*,<sup>396</sup> *Dayyān-Šamaš*,<sup>397</sup> *Adad-šar-ilī*,<sup>398</sup> *Šarrum-Adad* (“Adad is king”), *Adad-rabi*,<sup>399</sup> *Ea-šar-ilī*,<sup>400</sup> and *Amurru-rappi-ilī*.<sup>401</sup>

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12, 491, 5). He apparently used the animal for transportation, perhaps for trade.

381 <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN-šar-i-lī (MDP 23,166,33).

382 <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN-ra-ab-i-lī (MDP 23,258,3).

383 <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN-ra-ap-pi-[i-lī] (MDP 24,370,8).

384 <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN-šar-ma-ti (MDP 22, 20, 23).

385 GAL-<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN (MDP 22, 126, 16), <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN-GAL (MDP 23,260, 13).

386 ma-an-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN (MDP 22, 138, rev. 12).

387 -mu-uš-te-ši-ir (MDP 23,172,27).

388 MDP 23,173, rev.11.

389 XXX-šar-i-lī (MDP 23,217,30).

390 XXX-be-el-i-[lī] (MDP 22, 116, 6).

391 XXX-šar-rum (MDP 24,364,17).

392 XXX-be-lu (MDP 22, 39, 5).

393 XXX-GAL (MDP 23,234,25).

394 XXX-da-A+A-an (MDP 23,276,11).

395 <sup>d</sup>UTU-be-el-i-lī (MDP 22, 13, rev. 8). For the type cf. STOL 1991: 199.

396 <sup>d</sup>UTU-ra-bi (MDP 22, 13, rev. 1).

397 da-a-an-<sup>d</sup>UTU (MDP 22, 85, 16).

398 <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-šar-i-lī (MDP 22, 122, 3).

399 šar-rum-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR (MDP 23,202,30), <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-ra-bi (MDP 24,389,4).

400 É-a-šar-i-lī (MDP 22, 64, rev. 7).

401 <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU-ra-ap-pi-i-lī (MDP 23,310,27).



Here is *an hoc* classification of the additional Mesopotamian theophorous elements from OB Susa (refs. are selective; almost all of them are recorded in Babylonia during the same period, cf. table 2 below):

- (a) Lunar: *Sîn* (XXX-*re-me-ni*, <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*na-ši-ir*),<sup>402</sup> *Nanna* (in the field name <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>ki</sup>-DA),<sup>403</sup> *Ningal* (Pù-zur<sub>8</sub>-<sup>d</sup>NIN.GAL),<sup>404</sup> *Šērūm* (Ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>še-rum).<sup>405</sup>
- (b) Solar: *Šamaš* (<sup>d</sup>UTU-*ba-ni*),<sup>406</sup> *Kittum*<sup>407</sup> (Puzūr-<sup>d</sup>Ki-it-tum, ÌR-<sup>d</sup>Ki-it-ti),<sup>408</sup> *Isqan* (~ *Sumuqan*/*Šakkan*? :<sup>409</sup> ÌR-<sup>d</sup>Is-qa-an; <sup>f</sup>Is-qa-an-ba-aš-ti).<sup>410</sup>
- (c) Fertility: *Ištar* (<sup>f</sup>Ba-ni-it-<sup>d</sup>Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár, I-di-nam-Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár<sup>411</sup>) / *Inanna* (GISSU-<sup>d</sup>IN-NIN),<sup>412</sup> *Annunītum* (Ip-ku-<sup>d</sup>A-nu-ni-[tum]), *Bānītu* (Ša-Ba-ni-ti),<sup>413</sup> *Mazzât* (Pù-zur<sub>8</sub>-Ma-an-za-at, -Ma-za-at, -<sup>d</sup>Ma-za-at).<sup>414</sup> Terracotta figurines of nude females, a universal expression of fertility cult, are amply recorded in Susiana from the Sargonic to the Middle Elamite periods and later.<sup>415</sup>
- (d) Nergal and related (underworld, vegetation, healing and ordeal) deities: *Nergal* (Nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>GÌR),<sup>416</sup> *Ikišta* (or *Pālil*, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU-*na-šir*, -šarru = EŠŠABA-[...]);<sup>417</sup> *Erra* (<sup>d</sup>Er-ra-ga-mil, GĒME-èr-ra),<sup>418</sup> *Šulpae* (Šu-ul-pe-a-bi),<sup>419</sup> *Ninhursag* (cf. 2.3.1 above), *Išum* (<sup>d</sup>I-šum-ga-mil),<sup>420</sup> *Šubula*<sup>421</sup>

<sup>402</sup> MDP 24, 328, 27 and 329, 1 respectively. Noteworthy is *Sîn-šamsī* (XXX-ša-am-šī) “Sin is my sun” (MDP 18, 227,4’).

<sup>403</sup> MDP 28, 447, 9.

<sup>404</sup> MDP 28, 477, 5.

<sup>405</sup> MDP 22, 21, rev. 4; cf. *Še-ri-d*Sîn (YOS 14: 80a, s.v. with refs, cf. HARRIS 1955: 65 ad 25, 13). Cf. also Ur III *Šerda* (< *Šertu*, a dawn goddess, see POWELL 1989: 448).

<sup>406</sup> MDP 23,172, 28.

<sup>407</sup> Son or daughter of Šamaš (see RICHTER 2004: 350).

<sup>408</sup> MDP 22, 103, 15 and 97, 17 respectively.

<sup>409</sup> Son of Šamaš according to the god list An =Anum (see RICHTER 2004: 31, 351).

<sup>410</sup> MDP 23, 210, 2 and MDP 28, 414 respectively.

<sup>411</sup> MDP 23,263,15 and 24, 387, 4 respectively.

<sup>412</sup> = MÜŠ (MDP 22, 143, 13).

<sup>413</sup> MDP 23,193, 13 and 28, 527, 8 respectively.

<sup>414</sup> MDP 24,351,6; 363,7; and 349,7 respectively.

<sup>415</sup> See SPYCKET 1992.

<sup>416</sup> MDP 23, 244, 12.

<sup>417</sup> MDP 22, 49, 24, 30 (it was equated not only with Nergal, but also with Ninurta, see STRECK 1998–2001: 519a). Cf. OB *Ši-li-E-ge-eš-ta* “in Ikišta’s shadow, protection” (see ANBAR and STOL 1991: 32 ad 20, 11–12).

<sup>418</sup> MDP 22,106, 4 and MDP 24,334,4 respectively.

<sup>419</sup> MDP 23,174,18 (the theophorous element is with contraction).

<sup>420</sup> MDP 24, 382, 23.

<sup>421</sup> This underworld deity is recorded only in the Ur III and Isin periods (see MICHALOWSKI 2011–2013); a servant of <sup>d</sup>Šu-bu-*’la*’ is recorded in ROSITANI 2011, 83, seal.

- (<sup>d</sup>Šu-bu-la-a-bi, <sup>d</sup>Šu-bu-lá-a-bi)<sup>422</sup> and *Lā-qīpu* (cf. above, 2.1); *Il(i)abrat* (<sup>d</sup>NIN.ŠUBUR-a-bi),<sup>423</sup> *Ninazu* (<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu-ga-mil),<sup>424</sup> and *Ninisin(na)* (<sup>Šu</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-I-si-in),<sup>425</sup> *Ba(b)u* (<sup>Nu</sup>-<sup>úr</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ú, <sup>Nu</sup>-<sup>úr</sup>-*Ba-bu*),<sup>426</sup> *Kūbu* (<sup>d</sup>Ku-bu-ra-bu);<sup>427</sup> *Dumuzi* (*Dan-Dumu-zi*, <sup>Nu</sup>-[<sup>úr</sup>]-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi),<sup>428</sup> possibly > *Tuzi* (<sup>rd</sup>Tu-zi-dam-qa-at),<sup>429</sup> *Gilgames* (*Puzúr-~*);<sup>430</sup> and *Šāzi* (<sup>d</sup>Šā-zi-GAL).<sup>431</sup>
- (e) Other Mesopotamian deities: *Enlil* > *Illil* (<sup>d</sup>EN-LÍL.LÁ-ga-mil),<sup>432</sup> *Nuska*<sup>433</sup> (only in *Warad-Nuska*);<sup>434</sup> *Ea* (<sup>d</sup>É-a-ma-lik, <sup>Nu</sup>-<sup>úr</sup>-<sup>d</sup>É-a-šar-ri),<sup>435</sup> *Damkina* (*Ur-Dam-ki-in*),<sup>436</sup> *Namme*?<sup>437</sup> *Lahmat*<sup>438</sup> (*Dan-La-ah-ma-at*);<sup>439</sup>

<sup>422</sup> MDP 23, 210, 3, 10 and 214,2 respectively.

<sup>423</sup> MDP 24, 335, rev. 3. Interestingly enough, a homonymous individual was an Elamite, who is recorded in Babylonia in the same period (archive of *bū-asīrī*) in the time of Rīm-Anum king of Uruk (coeval with Samsi-ilūna and Rīm-Sin II, VS 13, 13 rev. 7, see ELLIS 1986: 65ff. and ROSITANI 1997: 3ff.).

<sup>424</sup> MDP 22, 22, 6, seal. It is noteworthy that the star of Elam (<sup>mul</sup>ELAM.MA) was that of Ninazu (cf. WIGGERMANN 1998–2001c). Ninazu was productive in the OB onomasticon (cf. table 2 below, not only in Ur despite of RICHTER 2004: 41, n. 2131).

<sup>425</sup> MDP 28, 442, 28.

<sup>426</sup> MDP 24,328,29 and 365, 11 respectively.

<sup>427</sup> MDP 24, 355, 5 (cf. LAMBERT 1980–1983a).

<sup>428</sup> MDP 28, 446, 6; 551, 7.

<sup>429</sup> MDP 23, 288,10 (see SCHEIL, MDP 22: 69 *ad* 58, 3 and cf. RICHTER 2004: 85; KREBERNIK 2014: 249). With *Genuskongruenz* if originating from the male deity *Dumuzi*. *Tu-ši(-dam<sup>am</sup>-qa-at)* as read by WILCKE (1981: 88) is unlikely due to the divine determinative.

<sup>430</sup> MAN-<sup>d</sup>GIŠ.GA.MAŠ (MDP 18, 230, see SCHEIL, MDP 22: 49 *ad* 41, 2), cf. <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.GA.M[AŠ-...] (MDP 22, 62, 21). Cf. <sup>d</sup>*Bil-ga-miš-ga-mil* (RIFTIN 1937, 35, 4).

<sup>431</sup> MDP 28,529, 5; with an Elamite predicative element: *Pi-li-ir-<sup>d</sup>Šā-zi* (MDP 28, 426, where one of the witnesses is <sup>d</sup>Šā-zi-ba-ri, see table 3 below).

<sup>432</sup> MDP 22, 62, 5.

<sup>433</sup> Once equated with Nergal (see TALLQVIST 1934: 30 with n. 4).

<sup>434</sup> In the colophon of a hymn to Šulgi (A) from Susa (MDP 27, 221 = KLEIN 1981: 225, colophon, 10).

<sup>435</sup> MDP 22, 160, 33 and MDP 23,272,2 respectively.

<sup>436</sup> MDP 28, 442, 5, cf., e.g., OB *Šilli-Damkina* (*šil-lí-<sup>d</sup>Dam-ki-na*, AUCTION 5, 70, 5; GISSU-~, DEKIERE 1997, 853, 2, 4), *Šū-Damkina* (YOS 12: 58b with refs.) and perhaps VÉRTESALJI 1991: 144.

<sup>437</sup> *Warad(ĪR)-nam-me*? (MDP 24, 385, 2), cf. *Nammu* (var. *-Na-am-ma*), the theophorous element of Ur III *Ur-Nammu* (a goddess, see WIGGERMANN 1998–2001a: 136, 139); a shrine of *Namma* at OB Ur is recorded (see RICHTER 2004: 506 with n. 2182).

<sup>438</sup> Apparently a feminine form of *Lahmu*, a monster who was found in the *apsu*, which was considered Ea's realm (gatekeeper of Ea, see HOROWITZ 1998: 274, 308–309, 339–340 and cf. LAMBERT 1980–1983b). Such a feminine form is not attested elsewhere, but cf. LAMBERT 1985: 190, who suggested that the 2<sup>nd</sup> member of the pair *Lahmu-Lahamu* is a

*Adad/Addu* (*Ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR*),<sup>440</sup> *Mišar* (*Il-~*),<sup>441</sup> *Išhara*; *Amurru* (*Nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU*),<sup>442</sup> *Nabium* (*<sup>d</sup>Na-bi-um-ga<sup>3</sup>-mil, -ga-[mil]*); *Na-bu-um-DIN-GIR*;<sup>443</sup> *Lamassu* (*Pù-zur<sub>8</sub>-<sup>d</sup>LAMA*),<sup>444</sup> *Nasi/Nanše*, *Šara*, *Ninegalla*, *Nungal* (cf. above, 2.3.1), *Ištarān*, *Šahan*<sup>445</sup> (*Zu-up-šà-ha-an*),<sup>446</sup> and *Šudda* (*Šu-ud-da-ga-mil*<sup>447</sup> and possibly *Nu-úr-Šu-ú-da*<sup>448</sup>).

(f) Onomatopoeic: *Mamu* (*Iš-du-Ma-mu, [...]-<sup>d</sup>Ma-ma*),<sup>449</sup> *Mammî* (*Puzûr-Ma-am-mi-i*);<sup>450</sup> *Dada* (*Nu-úr-Da-da*),<sup>451</sup> *Lulu*<sup>452</sup> (*A-ha-Lu-lu, Šu-mu-Lu-lu*,<sup>453</sup> *ig-gi-, I-gi-, In-gi-Lu-lu*),<sup>454</sup> *Nanâ*, *Nūnu*<sup>455</sup> (*Si-ma-at-Nu-nu, ÌR-Nu-nu-ma*),<sup>456</sup> *Kakku* (alternatively to *g* below, *Ri-iš-Ka-ak-ku*)<sup>457</sup> and *Tutu* (*A-bi-tu-tu, U-ši-tu-tu*).<sup>458</sup>

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female, cf. also *Lamassatu* (fem. of *Lamassu*) “protective spirit” (CAD L: 60). *Lahmu* is extant in the OB anthroponymy, e.g., *Warad-Lahmi* (*ÌR-<sup>d</sup>la-ah-mi*, ANBAR 1975: 110: 1, 3) and *Iddin-Lahmu* (*i-din-la-ah-m[a]*, [ABDI and] BECKMAN 2007, 20, rev. vi, 11’).

<sup>439</sup> MDP 28, 546, 5. Alternatively Elam. *Tan-~*.

<sup>440</sup> MDP 24, 331, 19. *Šalla* of *šal-la li-iš-lim* (MDP 23,327,9) is not a theonym (cf. KOSCHAKER 1935: 62–63).

<sup>441</sup> *DINGIR-mi-šar* (LAMBERT 1992, cf. LITKE 1998: 143 *ad* iii, 246).

<sup>442</sup> MDP 22, 139, 2.

<sup>443</sup> MDP 23, 220, rev. 2; 316,13, and MDP 22, 32, 15 respectively; cf. the canal name *Na-bu-um* (VALLAT 1993: 333).

<sup>444</sup> MDP 24, 366, 4; cf. HERLES 2006: 231–232.

<sup>445</sup> *Šāzi* and *Šahan* are followed by *<sup>d</sup>Nin-SUR* and *<sup>d</sup>Nin-MAŠ* in a school text from OB Susa (see KREBERNIK 2006–2008); cf. TALLQVIST 1934: 10. *<sup>d</sup>Nin-MAŠ* is listed between *<sup>d</sup>Nin-ug* and *<sup>d</sup>Nin-hur-sag* in GELLER 1985: 36: 307.

<sup>446</sup> MDP 22, 20, 15.

<sup>447</sup> MDP 23,318,22 (also at MB Kapnak, cf. below). KREBERNIK 2011–2013a mentions only the MB occurrences from Nippur.

<sup>448</sup> MDP 28, 442, 25.

<sup>449</sup> MDP 28, 434, 5, 466, 7, cf. *Mama* in Elamite anthroponymy.

<sup>450</sup> MDP 23,205,3.

<sup>451</sup> MDP 28, 477, 9.

<sup>452</sup> Identified with Lugal-Marada (the deity of Marad = Ninurta, see STOL 1987–1990 and 1991: 202).

<sup>453</sup> MDP 23,240,32; MDP 23,209,6.

<sup>454</sup> MDP 23,239,21; 255,13; MDP 22, 27, 5. Cf. early OB *Lu-lu-ba-ni* and *I-pi-iq-Lu-lu* (BIN 9, 407, 6 and 334, 14 respectively) as well as OB Kisurra *I-din-lu-lu* (GODDEERIS 2009, 65, 9).

<sup>455</sup> See CAVIGNEAUX and KREBERNIK 1998–2001.

<sup>456</sup> MDP 28, 432, rev. 1 and MDP 23,318,16 respectively.

<sup>457</sup> MDP 22, 107, 16.

<sup>458</sup> MDP 23,316,15 and 273, rev. 4 respectively.

- (g) Originally appellatives and epithets: *Ilu* (*Eš-mi-DINGIR*; also with possessive suffixes and plural forms),<sup>459</sup> *Bēlī* (“my lord”: *Ša-lim-be-li*),<sup>460</sup> *Bēlet-ilī* (<sup>d</sup>DINGIR.MAH-um-mi),<sup>461</sup> *Išar* (*I-šar-mu-ba-li-iṭ*),<sup>462</sup> *Šarrum* (*Šu-d*LUGAL, EŠŠANA<sup>ru</sup>-mu-uš-ta-al),<sup>463</sup> *Kabtu*<sup>464</sup> (*İR-d*Ka-ab-ta),<sup>465</sup> *Padûm* (<sup>d</sup>Pa-du-um-ga-mil, *Pa-du-ú-ga-mil*)<sup>466</sup> and the kyriophoric anthroponym *Pa-du-i-li-i-din-nam*);<sup>467</sup> *Sigar* “the holy bolt (in the temple)”<sup>468</sup> (*Ur-Si-gar*),<sup>469</sup> *Sukkallu* (*Warad-Sukkalli*),<sup>470</sup> *Šadûm*<sup>471</sup> (*Pù-zur<sub>8</sub>-Ša-dam, Šà-du-na-šī-ir*),<sup>472</sup> *Rimku* (a deified ritual: *Ša-at-Ri-im-ki*)<sup>473</sup> and perhaps *Ri-im-ku-ri-iš* in view of *Šamaš-ri-iš*<sup>474</sup>) and *Rabiu* “majestic, grand”<sup>475</sup> (*Ra-bi-ù-da-mi-iq*).<sup>476</sup>
- (h) Recorded only at Susa: Noteworthy among these rare theophorous elements are *Huluppu*, a wood used for making ritual figurines, which was imported to Mesopotamia from the East via Iran, and *Kunuš-kadru*, a deified exclamation uttered during ritual processions<sup>477</sup> (both followed by

<sup>459</sup> MDP 22, 130, 14, cf. Ur III *Eš-me-lum* (HILGERT 2002: 261 with n. 6).

<sup>460</sup> MDP 22, 153, rev. 5.

<sup>461</sup> MDP 22, 137, 33. She is the eldest sister of Šin according to the canonical series *Utukkū lemnūtu* (GELLER 2007: 159, 237, 44). Cf. *Šāt-bēlti-ilī* (*ša-at-d*NIN.be-el-ti-i-li) from OB Kisurra (MICHALOWSKI 1986, 3).

<sup>462</sup> MDP 24, 375, rev.10.

<sup>463</sup> MDP 22, 22, 5 and MDP 23,176,2 respectively.

<sup>464</sup> See LAMBERT 1976–1980c. <sup>d</sup>*Kab-ta* is recorded in a god list from OB Susa (MDP 18, 257, ii, 9).

<sup>465</sup> MDP 22, 121, 13, cf. Ur III *Šū-Kabta* (OWEN 2011–2013). Originally a divine epithet, cf. [<sup>d</sup>Inšu]šinak ([<sup>d</sup>MUŠ]-EREN)-ka-ab-ta (MDP 23,256,13).

<sup>466</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 22: 28 *ad* 16, 42; 80, 16, HERRERO and GLASSNER 1990: 5 *ad* 8’.

<sup>467</sup> MDP 18, 173, 24.

<sup>468</sup> See STOL 1991: 198 with n. 73.

<sup>469</sup> MDP 28, 466, rev. 3’, cf. OB *Warad-Sigar* (*İR-si-gar*, DEKIERE 1997: 156b with refs.). It is linked to the underworld (cf. HOROWITZ 1998: 271, 287, 358).

<sup>470</sup> *İR-Su-ga-li* (MDP 22, 29, 10), cf. *İR-Sú-kál* (DE GRAEF 2006: 199a, s.v. with refs.).

<sup>471</sup> “Mountain, highland” (see STOL 1991: 202–203), also a designation of the netherworld (see CAD Š/1: 59a, s.v. *šadū* A, 3; TALLQVIST 1934: 23–25).

<sup>472</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 22: 49, 100 *ad* 40, 19 and MDP 18, 222 = 22, 86, 14 (common in Akkadian anthroponymy, see CAD Š/1: 58, s.v. *šadū* A,1, q).

<sup>473</sup> MDP 18, 209 = 22, 43, 2, cf. *Šū-Rimku* (DE GRAEF 2006: 198b, s.v. with refs.).

<sup>474</sup> MDP 23, 285, rev. 5 and STAMM 1939 [1968]: 186 respectively. An alternative segmentation is \**Rīm-Kuriš* (with a hypothetical theophorous element \**Kuriš*), cf. ZADOK 1984: 58 as well as HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1038.

<sup>475</sup> CAD R: 34–36, s.v. *rabū*, 6; cf., e.g. *Ra-bi-šil-la-šu* (Donbaz-Yoffee, *OB Kish*: 58, iii, 10’).

<sup>476</sup> MDP 22, 46, 32.

<sup>477</sup> See CAD H: 56 and CAD K: 32b respectively; cf. GEORGE 1993: 133: 883.

-*gāmil*; the former is associated with Gilgameš).<sup>478</sup> *Kitrubu*<sup>479</sup> (*Ki-it-ru-bu-še<sup>2</sup>-mi*);<sup>480</sup> *Lē'ūm* “able, capable, skilled”<sup>481</sup> (*Le-ū-um-ra-bi*);<sup>482</sup> *Damiqtum* “favour, luck, fame”<sup>483</sup> (*Amti-Damiqtim*, *Ša-Damiqtum*);<sup>484</sup> *Hulā* (*Puzūr-Hu-la-a*);<sup>485</sup> *In apkal*, *In rabâ*, *Mugra(tu)*<sup>486</sup> (<sup>d</sup>*Mug-ra-na-šir*, *Šu<sup>d</sup>Mug-ra-ti*),<sup>487</sup> and *Zagu* (*Zagu-rabi*).<sup>488</sup>

- (i) Originally toponyms<sup>489</sup> and microtoponyms (edifices, cf. *Zi-ia-an-zi-in* below which starts with Elam. *ziyan* “temple”): *Taban* (*Ta-ba-an-ni-a-li<sup>3</sup>*);<sup>490</sup> *Es/šarra*<sup>491</sup> (*I-na-é-s/šar-ra-t[u]-<sup>2</sup>uk-la-ti-šu*),<sup>492</sup> *Ekallu* (*Dāri-ekallu*,<sup>493</sup> *Abu-ekalli*<sup>494</sup>), and *Bītum* (*Wa-še-er-Bi-tu*).<sup>495</sup>

<sup>478</sup> *Hu-lu-up-pu-ga-mil* (MDP 22, 164, 1, 8, rev. 3, 7, 10) and *Ku-nu-uš-ka-ad-ru-g[a-mil]*, *Ku-nu-uš* <text UK>-*ka-ad-ru-ga-mil* (MDP 22, 94, 15, 106, 15); cf. HOROWITZ 1998: 272, 333.

<sup>479</sup> Apparently a verbal adjective of *karābu* Gt, cf. AHw.: 446a, s.v. “allezeit anbeten; Vorfahren segnend grüssen” (SB).

<sup>480</sup> MDP 23,326.7. Not to *qitrubu* (with the reading *qi-*) “attack”, which is semantically inappropriate and is recorded only in SB (the earliest occurrence is in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, cf. CAD Q: 282–283, s.v.).

<sup>481</sup> Used as a divine epithet (CAD L: 160, s.v. *lē'ū*, a). The meaning “winner” (for humans) is recorded in OB Susa (cf. CAD L: 155, s.v. *le'ū*, 2, a). The possibility that the referent here is alternatively *le'ū* “writing board” is unlikely, as this is recorded as an object of worship only in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (cf. CAD L: 159b, s.v. *le'ū*, b, 2, b', 4' in *fine ad Moldenke* 2, 12, 16).

<sup>482</sup> MDP 22, 8, 23.

<sup>483</sup> CAD D: 64–67.

<sup>484</sup> GÉME-<sup>d</sup>*da-mi-iq-ti* (MDP 28, 471, 5), *ša<sup>d</sup>da-mi-iq-tum* (MDP 28, 432, 2).

<sup>485</sup> MDP 24, 363, 13, cf. perhaps UR III *Īr-hu-la* (MVN 1, 106, ii, 17, cf. STEINKELLER 1983: 250) and OB < Amorite *La-ba-hu-la* (FARBER 1969, H 45, 3).

<sup>486</sup> Apparently derives from *magārum* “to consent”. The anthroponym *Mi-ig-ra-tum* from OB Sippar or its vicinity (DEKIERE 1995a, 418, 21), a hypocoristicon of *Migrāt-DN* (see STAMM 1939 [1968]: 274–275, cf. CAD M/2: 48–49), may be linguistically related. Cf. *Magrat-Amassu* (STOL 1991: 204).

<sup>487</sup> MDP 22, 87, 14 and MDP 18, 215 = 22, 47, rev. 4 respectively.

<sup>488</sup> *za-gu-GAL* (MDP 22, 79, 4').

<sup>489</sup> Cf., e.g., *Malgūm-liblu* (*ma-al-gu-um-li-ib-lu-ut*, Donbaz-Yoffee, *OB Kish*: 45, 73: Ki 618, 16').

<sup>490</sup> MDP 22, 99, rev. 5'.

<sup>491</sup> Temple of Inanna at Adab (*é-sar-ra*); *é-šar-ra* is a variant of *é-šār-ra*, part of *é-kur* at Nippur. Nirah served as the temple's sheriff (see GEORGE 1993: 140–141: 978; 145: 1034).

<sup>492</sup> MDP 23,238,1f.

<sup>493</sup> *da-ri-É.GAL* (MDP 24,369,3).

<sup>494</sup> AD-É.GAL (MDP 22, 164, 4).

<sup>495</sup> MDP 23,312,12. For more anthroponyms with this theophorous element see above.

- (j) Originally month names?<sup>496</sup> *Adāru* (*Ṭāb-~*)<sup>497</sup> and perhaps *Kuzzalu* (month name in Assyria,<sup>498</sup> *Ku-uz-za-lu-ga-mil*).<sup>499</sup>
- (k) Unclassified and damaged: GUL/SÛN (<sup>d</sup>GUL/SÛN-*a-sí-ir*);<sup>500</sup> *E/Irrak* (*A-di-<sup>d</sup>Er/Ir-ra-ak*);<sup>501</sup> and *Mašan* ([...]-<sup>d</sup>*Ma-ša-an*).<sup>502</sup>

Regarding the popularity of the deities as reflected by the theophorous elements, they are arranged below in descending order of frequency. The most common theophorous element is *Ilu* with its derivatives *Ili(ya)*, *Il(i)šu* (non-specific or personal god): 22+25+9 = 56. Second comes *Sîn+Šērum* (36+2 = 38). This accords well with the popularity of the moon god in Babylonia. *Nanna/Sîn* is a very common theophorous element in Ur III and OB Babylonia, where it is much more popular than *Šamaš*.<sup>503</sup> The latter, i.e. *Šamaš* + its aspects *Kittu* and *Mišaru*, is recorded in 24+3 = 27 anthroponyms and *Adad* in 21. Next come *Erra* + *E/Irrak* (11+2 = 13), *Kūbu* (11), *Il(i)abrat* (8), *Šimūt* (7), *Ištar* + *Inanna* (6+1 = 7), *Ea* (6), *Amurru* (5), *Igišta/Pāilil*, *Išum*, *Illil* (4 each), *Bau*, *Bēlī*, *Kabtu*, *Lamassu*, *Šāzi*, *Šubula* (3 each), *Mugra(t)*, *Nabû*, *Šulpaē* (2

<sup>496</sup> Cf., e.g., *Warad-Kinūni* from OB Kish or Dilbat (STOL, CTMMA 1, 56, 18), *Šu-Ki-nu-na* (BIN 9, 424, 12, early OB), *Warad-Nisānim* (ANBAR 1975: 129), *Warad-Zi-ib-ni-im* (AHw.: 1524b, s.v. *zibnu(m)*) and *Amat-Eššešim* (STOL 1991: 209).

<sup>497</sup> DU<sub>10</sub><sup>ab</sup>-*a-da-ri* (MDP 23, 262,3).

<sup>498</sup> Cf. CAD K: 613 and ZADOK 1984: 59. Perhaps a residue of common Transtigridian heritage like the only occurrence of *Iš-me-kà-ra-ab* in Old Assyrian (cf. CAD K: 192b, s.v. *karābu* “prayer”, b). *Ku-za-li-ia* (early OB, see SOLLBERGER 1951: 108 *ad* 5) may be a hypocoristicon thereof. Does the anthroponym *Kuzullum*, which is very common in the early OB Diyāla region (cf. RESCHID 1965: 143, s.v.), belong here?

<sup>499</sup> MDP 24,386,4.

<sup>500</sup> MDP 23,200,4, cf. perhaps *Šū* (written *šu*)-<sup>d</sup>GUL (SÛN = *rīmtum* “wild cow”, epithet of goddesses?) from OB Kisurra (GODDEERIS 2009, 50, 7).

<sup>501</sup> MDP 22, 90, 15.

<sup>502</sup> MDP 22, 14, rev. 26.

<sup>503</sup> See RICHTER 2004: 238–245, 583b, index, s.v. In addition, *Sîn* is the commonest theophorous element in northern Babylonia (even more than *Ilu*; four times more than *Šamaš*, see KOBAYASHI 1980: 79 and cf. RESCHID 1965: 149–152 with 153–154) including *Sippar* (as revealed by a perusal of the indexes of DEKIERE 1994a–1997, EDZARD, *Tell ed-Dēr*: 229–230, as well as AL-RAWI and DALLEY 2000: 152–154) and *Larsa* (cf. YOS 8: 19–23a, WALTERS 1970: 195), whose chief deity was *Šamaš*, and at OB Kisurra (cf. GODDEERIS 2009: 55–58). No wonder that *Sîn* was very popular in early OB Tutub, where he had a temple (cf. HARRIS 1955: 62), in *Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb* on the lower Diyāla (cf. Isma ‘el 2007: 79–80) and in *Mê-Turna* (cf. MUHAMED 1992: 60); cf. also GADOTTI and SIGRIST 2011: 84–86, RIFTIN 1937: 166–168, ROSITANI 2011: 197–198 and YOS 12: 51–55, indexes, s.vv. *Sîn* is very often the tutelary god in the OB period (see STOL 1991: 207).

each), Gilgameš, Kunuš-kadru, Kuziz, Naruti, Padû, Šala, Šara, Tutu, and Tuzi (1 each).

According to this sampling, the netherworld deities appear as theophorous elements in 92 out of 172 anthroponyms = 53.48% (the 56 anthroponyms with *Ilu* etc. are not counted as their theophorous element is non-specific). Since most of the anthroponyms contain Inšušinak, the result is that the overwhelming majority of the Susians with theophorous anthroponyms bore names whose theophorous elements refer to netherworld deities. Non-theophorous names are also relevant. For example, the Sumerian anthroponym *Nam-zi-tar-ra* is abbreviated from a theophorous name and means “The Lady who faithfully fixes the destiny”.<sup>504</sup>

Three canals in Susa, viz. *Ilu*, *Nabûm* and *Tuzi*, were named after gods. Another canal there is *E-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em-mi* “spirit of the dead, ghost” (used as a theophorous element in OB names).<sup>505</sup>

### 2.3.6. Implicit evidence: the Elamite as well as the other non-Semitic and hybrid names from OB Susa

Most of the Elamite theophorous anthroponyms from OB Susa contain names of netherworld deities, with *Šimût* most mentioned, followed by *Kiririša*, *Ruhu-ratir* and *Timpt*, who were considered deities of death in the cultic centres where they were the main deities. *Amma-haštuk*, *Atta-haštuk*, *I-gi-ha-aš-tu-uk* and *Te-em-ti-ha-aš-tu-uk* are also linked to death.<sup>506</sup> The deity *Lahu-ratil* < *Ruhu-ratir* was equated with Ninurta. Both have a legal aspect, as parties to transactions swore by them. This might have been the motivation behind the equation of Inšušinak with Ninurta.<sup>507</sup>

Elamite names, which probably refer to commoners in OB Susa, are listed in table 3 below. The segmentation of most of them is transparent; few deserve comment:

<sup>504</sup> MDP 28, 442, 9 (OB, see Limet, *Anthroponymie*: 284–285).

<sup>505</sup> VALLAT 1993: 329, 331, 333, 337 (cf. CAD E: 399a, s.v. *etemmu*, 1, b *in fine*; HOROWITZ 1998: 344).

<sup>506</sup> For *Amma-haštuk* cf. AMIET 2010.

<sup>507</sup> Cf. WIGGERMANN 1997: 45 with n. 113; VALLAT 2002-2003: 545. The portrayal of Ninurta with a seven-headed snake does not precede the MB period (cf. HERLES 2006: 246 with n. 1342) and there is no proof that it has anything to do with its identification with the Elamite deities.

*Ku-gu-pu-ú*, which ends in *-Upū*, may be compared with Ur III *Tan-ú-pi* (ELAM)<sup>508</sup> and ME *ʾÚ-pu-du-ni-[iš]* (below, 2.6.1). *Ap-li-gu-uš* (f. of *A-da-ru-ru*)<sup>509</sup> is apparently a compound anthroponym, but its segmentation is not clear, as its components have no parallels. *Li-ba-ar-ma-za-at* “servant of Mazzât”, who was a seravant of the sukkalmah Temti-halki is recorded on an unprovenanced seal. He was the son of *Am-ma-me-en-na-ri-i[š]-šà-a-ra*.<sup>510</sup>

Mixed (Akkadian-Elamite) filiations with theophorous names are, e.g., *Puzúr-<sup>d</sup>Te-ep-pu-na* (hybrid) s. of *Abi-ili* (*a-bi-i-lí*), member of the 5<sup>th</sup> generation of a family (all with Akkadian names, except for three),<sup>511</sup> *ʾIš-me-ka-ra-ab-še-me* s. of *At-ta-ú-ri*, *At-ta-ha-aš-tu-uk* s. of *ʾl-lí-šu-[x(x)]*,<sup>512</sup> *At-ta-ha-aš-tu-uk* s. of Šēlebu (*še-le-b[i]*), *Ku-up-pa-ak-ra* s. of Šamaš-gāmil, *Abi-ili* (*a-bi-i-lí*) s. of *Nap-ra-ti-ip*, and *Ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>É-a-<šar>-rum* (hybrid) s. of Kasap-Šamaš.<sup>513</sup>

Hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) names (for refs. see table 3 below) can be divided into two groups. The majority belongs to the group with Akkadian predicative elements (the predicates written with Sumerograms are ambiguous as they may mask Elamite equivalents). Such anthroponyms are, strictly speaking, grammatically Akkadian. They are either sentence names, viz. *Hal-dannat* (*ha-al-da-an-na-at*) “The land (fem.) is strong”,<sup>514</sup> *ʾŠuku-damqat* (*ʾšu-ku-dam-qa-at*) “Šuku is good”, *Attara-gāmil* (*At-ta-ra-ga-mil*) “Attara spares”; *Tipiki-nāšir* (*te-pi-ki-na-ši-ir*) “Tipiki is the protector”; *Pita(š)-šemi* (*ʾpi-ta-aš-še-mi*) “Pita(š) hear!”, *Tanra-(m)uballiṭ* “Tanra has kept alive” or “T. is the one who keeps alive”, *Temti-bāni* (*te-em-ti-ba-ni*) “Timpt is the creator”; *Itūr<sup>2</sup>-Hap-ruh* (*i<sup>2</sup>-tù-úr-ha-ap-ru-uh*) “Hap-ruh returned”; *Am-bi-i-*

<sup>508</sup> MVN 19, 56, rev. 2.

<sup>509</sup> MDP 22, 14, rev. 9.

<sup>510</sup> E. REINER *apud* PORADA and COLON 2016: 134; Iran 2. Both components of Amma-menna are recorded in the Elamite onomasticon (*-menna* follows theophorous elements as is the case here, cf. ZADOK 1984: 28: 144), but –as REINER pointed out - the spelling of the component which follows it is exceptional. It presumably renders a form based on *riša-* (or sim.) “great”, cf. *ri-šá-(ar)-ra* (HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1038).

<sup>511</sup> Cf. JALILVAND SADAFI 2013: 356. The only Elamite names are *Kuk-Adar* (poss. hybrid) and *Šatu*.

<sup>512</sup> MDP 18, 214 = 22, 14, rev. 11 and MDP 22, 11, 27 respectively.

<sup>513</sup> KÙ.BABBAR-<sup>d</sup>UTU (MDP 23,215, rev.7).

<sup>514</sup> Cf. OAKK. *Ši-dannat* (*si-dan-na-at*, RASHEED 1981, 35, ii, 15). *Hal* = Akk. *eršetum* The latter is a netherworld deity (cf. DURAND 1984: 161) and is recorded as a theophorous element, e.g., of the anthroponyms *A-pil-er-še-tim* and *Ma-ri-er-še-tim* from OB Tall Sifr (CHARPIN, *Archives Familiales*: 303, 327 with refs.).



*lu*, *At-ta-a-i-li/A-ad-da-i-lum*, *Ī-li-ap-ru-ú* “Ampa/Atta/ Hap-ruh is (my) god”, *Ši-mu-ut-ilu*(DINGIR)-(ma) “Šimūt is (indeed) the god”, *In-zu-a-bu*, *Su-gir-a-bi* “Inzu/Sunkir is (my) father”; *Šimūt-bāš-ti* (<sup>fid</sup>*šī-mu-<ut>-ba-aš-ti*) “Šimūt is my pride, dignity, decorum”;<sup>515</sup> *Te-et-nu-ru* “Timpt is (my) light”; and *Uli-rīmu* (*ú-li-ri-mu*) “Uli is a wild bull”<sup>516</sup> or genitive compounds like *Awīl*(LÚ)-<sup>d</sup>*Tan-ra* “Man of T.”, *Warad*(İR)-*Ku-ra-ra*, <sup>d</sup>*Ku-zi-is*, <sup>d</sup>*Pu-ul-ma*, <sup>d</sup>*Ši-mu-ut* “servant of DN”; [*Am*]ti-*Šimūt* ([<sup>f</sup>GÉ]ME-*šī-mu-ut*) “maid of Šimūt”;<sup>517</sup> *Ubār-Šappa* (*ú-bar-šā-ap-pa*) “Šappa’s guest-friend, client”; *Puzur*-<sup>d</sup>*Na-ah-[hu-un-dī<sup>?</sup>]*, *-Ši-mu-ut* “Nahhunti/Šimūt’s protection, refuge”, *Šu-zu-ub-ti*-<sup>d</sup>*Ú-in-dī-ri-ka-ra-ak* “gift of *Uintiri-karak*” and perhaps *Kirib-Ikišta* (*ki-rib*<sup>ib</sup>-*i-ge-eš-da*) “I.’s blessing”<sup>518</sup> (less likely *qé-reb*<sup>eb</sup>-I). <sup>d</sup>*A-nu-pi-Ši-mu-ut* (a scribal play for *Annu-pī-Šimūt* “Consent, approval is the word of Šimūt”),<sup>519</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Pu-ul-ma-um-mi-la-ab-bi*<sup>520</sup> and perhaps *Te-ep-ti-a-mur-di-nu* are three element names. The group with an Elamite predicative element has less anthroponyms, mostly with *kuk-* plus DN, i.e. “protection of DN”, viz. *Ku-uk-Ba-bu*, <sup>d</sup>*É-a-<šar>-rum*, *-E-li-mu-tum*, <sup>d</sup>*Iš-me-ka-ra-ab* and <sup>d</sup>*Šu-bu-la*. The remaining names are *Ku-ri*-<sup>d</sup>*Nanna*, *Be-li-ku-ku* and perhaps *Niš-ri-Ku-ku-ne-e*.<sup>521</sup>

*Pirta/i* (*E-ta-am-ša-ša*-<sup>d</sup>*Pir-ta*, apparently belonged to the circle of *I-ma-ar*-<sup>d</sup>*Pir-ti*);<sup>522</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU renders Nahhunti in *Ku<ti>-ir*-<sup>d</sup>UTU.<sup>523</sup> *-Katku* of *Taku-ni-ka-at-ku*<sup>524</sup> (apparently referring to a goddess in view of *Takūn-*) is not recorded elsewhere. The theophorous element of *Še-i-li-gu-ni-ra-ba-a*[t]

<sup>515</sup> Cf. <sup>fid</sup>*Èr-ra-ba-aš-ti* (MDP 24,382,32) from OB Susa and MB *Nergal-baltī* (HÖLSCHER 1996: 150a).

<sup>516</sup> Epithet of Adad, Enlil, Šin, Šamaš, Irinītu, Haniš and Gilgameš, cf., e.g., *Adad-rīmī* (CAD R: 361–362).

<sup>517</sup> Cf., e.g., the female’s name *Ami-Erra* (GÉME-*èr-ra*, MDP 24,334,4) from OB Susa.

<sup>518</sup> The type *Kirib* (or *Kirīb*)-DN is recorded only in LB Uruk (see CAD K: 404b).

<sup>519</sup> Cf. STAMM 1939 [1968]: 233–234.

<sup>520</sup> Perhaps “*Pulma*, mother of the lions” according to SCHEIL, MDP 23: 97 *ad* 237, 15, in which case *Pulma* may be a goddess like *Ištar*, whose symbol of divinity were the lions (cf. CAD L: 24b, s.v. *labbu*, A, a).

<sup>521</sup> Cf. CAD G: 68b, s.v. *gigunū*, b.

<sup>522</sup> He is listed in the same deed with *E-ta-am-ša-ša*-<sup>d</sup>*Pir-ta* whose predicate is apparently non-Semitic (presumably Elamite, MDP 22, 103, 3, 17). For the theophorous element cf. the 2<sup>nd</sup> component of <sup>d</sup>*Ri-ša-pir-ta* (MDP 18, 257, rev. ii, 10’, possibly “great P.”) and perhaps the 1st component of the compound Elamite theonym NA <sup>d</sup>*Pa-ar-ti-ki-ra* (BORGER 1996: 53: A, vi, 34 and F, v, 24); for the 2<sup>nd</sup> component (*kiri* “goddess”) see HINZ and KOCH 1987: 110 (their interpretation of the 1<sup>st</sup> component is unlikely).

<sup>523</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 22: 143 *ad* 131, 24.

<sup>524</sup> MDP 22, 40, 6 (f. of *A-gu-se-ni-a*, whose linguistic affiliation is unknown).

(perhaps \**Šī-Ilikuni-rabât* “she, I. is great, noble”)<sup>525</sup> also refers to a goddess. *Ku-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*Pi-ne-gi-ir-ra-ba-ni*<sup>526</sup> is kyriophoric. [*Šu-u*]*l-bi-am-ma-ha-at-na-ak* (< *Šulpē*?)<sup>527</sup> *D/Tan-Ū-ku-ur-ba-ti* and *Za-am-mi-i-la-ni*<sup>528</sup> are perhaps hybrid.

Most of the following anthroponyms are apparently compound, but their segmentation is not transparent (all refs. are from MDP 18):

*Te-ma-du-ú-za-za* (158, 12); *Za-mi-ik-k[i]* (162, 4’); and *Ni-im-gi-bi-ir* (162, rev. 7’).

Both parties in an unprovenanced deed, viz. *In-zu-zu* and *Ku-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*Šā-ni-ip-GAL* (s. of *Si-ni*-<sup>d</sup>[...]), have Elamite names, but all the witnesses (three) and the scribe bear Akkadian anthroponyms (apparently late OB in view of the ductus).<sup>529</sup> *Ku-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*Šā-ni-ip-GAL* was a worshipper of Šimūt. A homonymous, if not an identical individual (*Ku-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*Šā-ni-ip-GAL*), is recorded in MDP 28, 471, 22, where he is followed by ÉRIN 10 (perhaps a decurion;<sup>530</sup> the same name recurs in 540, 3 without a title). The latter also witnessed the deed (listed after Šamaš and Inšušinak<sup>531</sup>). His name ends with a compound theonym (*Šanip-riša*?), which is identical with *Sa-ni-ip-GAL* (with *s/š*-interchange). SCHEIL was of the opinion that *Sa-ni-ip-GAL* was a functionary.<sup>532</sup> However, the compound anthroponym and the context in MDP 28, 515, rev. 5, where *Sa-ni-ip-GAL* is listed after *Šī-mu-ut*, leaves no doubt that it is a deity. The scribe is homonymous with *Mu-ha-du-um*, one of the scribes of MDP 23,181 (32). Therefore there is no doubt that the unprovenanced deed originates from Susa.

Only four individuals may have originated from Tilmun, since their names include the theophorous element *Inzak*, referring to the main deity of Tilmun (who belonged to the netherworld deities),<sup>533</sup> viz. *In-za-ki*,<sup>534</sup> *I-din-*

<sup>525</sup> MDP 23,238,29, cf. ZADOK 1984: 15–16: 65. For the 3<sup>rd</sup> component cf. *ra-bat* (var. *ra-pa-at*) referring referring to a goddess (CAD R: 37b, s.v. *rabû*, 7, c).

<sup>526</sup> MDP 24,338,18.

<sup>527</sup> The variant <sup>d</sup>*Šul-pe-e* appears in a god list (cf. LITKE 1998: 41 *ad i*, 187).

<sup>528</sup> MDP 23,284,5 (cf. perhaps *zam*, ZADOK 1984: 48: 286).

<sup>529</sup> TAMMUZ 2000, collated.

<sup>530</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 28: 112 *ad loc.*; cf. HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1132.

<sup>531</sup> For the sign cf. SCHEIL, MDP 22: 84 *ad* 70, 7: “atrophic” of the sign of Inšušinak.

<sup>532</sup> MDP 28: 86 *ad* 441, 8. He is followed by HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1063, 1132.

<sup>533</sup> See VALLAT 1997 and 2002-2003: 545; cf. RICHTER 2004: 146, n. 646 and *be-lum* <sup>d</sup>*En-zak* in an Eršemma text (S. Maul, CTMMA 2, 13, 13, 13\*); cf. J. Aruz in CARTER *et al.* 1992c: 120: 79.

<sup>534</sup> f. of Bēlî (MDP 22, 146, 20).

*In-za-ku* and *Wa-tár-In-za-ak*.<sup>535</sup> *Ku-un-in-za-ki* is recorded as early as the Ur III period (in Iki-puni's archive).<sup>536</sup> Only one individual may be linked to Marhaši in view of his name which contains the predicative element *lipan*, viz. *Li-ba-ni-Sîn* (XXX) from the OB period.<sup>537</sup>

### 2.3.7. Geographical coverage, more comparanda and some conclusions

Generally, the numerous individuals mentioned in this rich documentation lived in Susa (including its suburb *Ālu eššu* = URU GIBIL),<sup>538</sup> apart from very few who resided in its vicinity: *Ad-da-pu-ni* resided in Kapnak<sup>539</sup> and *Nabi-Iš-tar* (*na-bi-iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*) in Piptari (according to MDP 28, 441). *Šunūma-ilu* (*šu-nu-ma-DINGIR*) s. of *Siklum* (*sí-ik-li*), is described as Kuk-rasirean (*Gu-uk-ra-si-ri-i*,<sup>540</sup> i.e. with a double identifier). Others came from another region, like the “Šugaliens” (*Šu-ù-ga-li-ip*,<sup>541</sup> cf. RAE *Šugalli*(-[...]), who might have originated from Persis?<sup>542</sup>

Most of the theophorous elements contained in names from OB Susa appear in the Akkadian onomasticon from Susa as early as the Sargonic period. This observation, coupled with the fact that the Akkadian name-bearers were the largest group in the pertinent documentation from Susa during the pre-OB period, indicate that the “Akkadianization” of Susa did not start in the OB period, but rather much earlier. This differs from the opinion of LAMBERT,<sup>543</sup> who suggested a lack of continuity, based on the absence of deities popular in central Babylonia in both periods, such as Marduk and Zababa. Yet, I suggest that this argument only demonstrates that Susiana was influenced in the first place by the closer Babylonian periphery, rather than by the more remote central Babylonia. The peripheral cities of Ešnunna and Susa had been freed from the yoke of the Ur III state before the latter lost

<sup>535</sup> MDP 28, 434, 4 and 550, 7 respectively.

<sup>536</sup> MDP 28, 423, 8. Is the anthroponym *In-za-gu-um* from the early OB kingdom of Larsa (YOS 8, 147, 21, case 14) an Akkadianized form of *Inzak*?

<sup>537</sup> MDP 18, 155, 4'. For *lipan* See ZADOK 1984: 26: 130b.

<sup>538</sup> E.g., *In-zu-a-nu-úr*? (*te-ép-pir*, DE GRAEF 2006, 17, 2–4).

<sup>539</sup> According to MDP 28, 423. He (or a homonymous person) is mentioned in connection with a field of Sa-dar-ri<sup>ki</sup> in MDP 28, 463.

<sup>540</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 23: 172 ad 311,9.

<sup>541</sup> MDP 28, 446, 8.

<sup>542</sup> Cf. VALLAT 1993: 262.

<sup>543</sup> LAMBERT 1991: 57–58, cf. already the remark of KOSCHAKER (1936: 222) about an Akkadian colony. KLIMA (1963: 303) was not convinced by KOSCHAKER's opinion, but he did not elaborate.

control of Babylonia and they had political and dynastic links.<sup>544</sup> The Diyāla-Ḥamrīn region was conquered by Elam sometime during the first third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>545</sup>

We witness here a general continuity of the ethno-linguistic situation in Susa, with a change confined to certain, rather insignificant, components of the pantheon, since the theophorous elements listed below are recorded in Susa only in the later OB period. Moreover, Most of the numerous individuals recorded in OB Susa were engaged in agriculture, few pursued other manual occupations and there is very little information about long-distance trade. The colony of merchants from Sippar at OB Susa was demographically marginal: so far there is only a single case of merchants active in trade between Sippar and Susa (early OB).<sup>546</sup> Long-distance trade with Susiana was pursued with various regions of Mesopotamia along several routes throughout history.<sup>547</sup>

The considerable increase in the number of the theophorous elements at that time is due mainly to the great surge in the documentation rather than to a massive influx of new population. LAMBERT suggested that some people arrived at OB Susa from Sumer, presumably from the region around Umma and Nina, in view of the occurrence of the deities Šara<sup>548</sup> and Nasi (elsewhere Nazi, Nanše),<sup>549</sup> who were popular only in and around these cultic centres. However, it should be remembered that only a handful of individuals bore names with these theophorous elements. Moreover, Šara is recorded not only in southern Babylonia,<sup>550</sup> but also in the Diyāla region during the OB period (cf. table 2 above). Furthermore, Nazi/Nanše is attested in OB

<sup>544</sup> See EDZARD 1957: 45, SAPORETTI 2002: 296–297 and PEYRONEL 2013.

<sup>545</sup> See CARTER and STOLPER 1984: 28–30.

<sup>546</sup> From the presentation of AL-RAWI and DALLEY (2000: 18–19, 115, 123) one gathers that this colony played an important role in the formation of the Akkadian population of Susa. However, the documentary and glyptic affinities adduced by them are merely typological and there are no decisive prosopographical links, just homonymy.

<sup>547</sup> For the OB period see, e.g., LEEMANS 1950: 3 (Sippar and Larsa), 33 (Sippar) and *passim*, as well as STOL 2004: 873–875, and for the earlier periods cf. LEEMANS 1950: 41.

<sup>548</sup> Contained in *Šara-mušallim* (<sup>d</sup>šara-mu-ša-lim, MDP 24, 350, rev. 9).

<sup>549</sup> Extant in *Pū-zur<sub>8</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Na-sí* (MDP 28, 479, 11) and *Puzur-Na-sí-it* (see SCHEIL, MDP 28: 84 *ad* 439, rev. 2). The latter form must be secondary: the feminine suffix *-it* was inserted by the Akkadian-speaking worshippers because it was a goddess.

<sup>550</sup> In Isin and Ur (see RICHTER 2004: 31, 251, 416, 500) as well as in Kisurra (GEMÉ-<sup>d</sup>Šara, GODDEERIS 2009, 226, 3).

Nippur, Isin, Uruk, Ur,<sup>551</sup> Kisurra and elsewhere.<sup>552</sup> The possibility that they descended from prisoners of war, who were brought by the Elamites after they had destroyed the Ur III state, cannot be excluded. The existence of a chapel of Ningal in a private house of an Akkadian-speaking family at Susa (cf. above) would point in the same direction, as this goddess was venerated at Ur.<sup>553</sup>

Many of the above-mentioned deities were worshipped in the Transtigradian regions of Mesopotamia (notably on the Diyāla river and in Raši), as well as the Sealand, which were adjacent to Susiana. Temples for Adad, Sîn and Ištar were found in Ešnunna, and for Bēlet-ilī in Diniktum and Malgium.<sup>554</sup> Adad was venerated in Zabban, Damkina in Malgium<sup>555</sup> and Nergal throughout the region (cf. above, 1). In addition, the accord between the theophorous elements in the anthroponymy from OB Susa and those of the Transtigradian region in eastern Babylonia is high (cf. table 2 below). It can be surmised that there was an incessant exchange of people from these neighbouring regions to Susiana. Ištarān, the god of Dēr near Raši, is extant in Rabi-Ištarān.<sup>556</sup> According to the unprovenanced OB deed AUCT 5, 34, whose date is according to the Susa calendar (the month is *Še-er-hu-um ša e-re-ši-im*), *A-at-ta-a* s. of *Ú-A+A* borrowed silver from *Da-da-[A+A]*. He had to bring the silver for repayment from Dēr. It may be surmised that the debtor was from Dēr whereas the creditor was based in Susiana. It is witnessed by three individuals; the 1<sup>st</sup> is a scribe and the last one is perhaps a priest (*šà-[tī<sup>?</sup>]*) with filiation (a double identifier), Iddin-Sîn s. of Ipqu-Šamaš. The other two witnesses also bore Akkadian names (with Ea and Abi).

Another individual from OB Susa originated from Nippur, in view of his name *Ni-ip-pu-ri-i* (MDP 22, 20, 21), i.e. “the Nippurean”.

Elamites migrated also to Babylonia, and were politically involved in the adjacent kingdoms of Larsa and Ešnunna. Kirikiri and his son Bilalama, rulers of early OB Ešnunna, bore Elamite anthroponyms based on goddesses’ names, viz. *Kiri* and *Pilala*.<sup>557</sup> Bilalama’s daughter, Mē-Kūbi, who married Tan-Ruhu-

<sup>551</sup> See RICHTER 2004: 141, 162–163, 219, 312, 452; cf. WASSERMAN 1995.

<sup>552</sup> Cf. *Šu-<sup>d</sup>Na-zi* (GODDEERIS 2009: 61b, s.v. with refs.) and *LÚ-<sup>d</sup>NANŠE* (YOS 14: 66b, s.v. with refs.).

<sup>553</sup> For a cult performed in a private house in Ešnunna see HEINRICH 1982: 153–154; cf. SALLABERGER 1993, 1: 107, with n. 484.

<sup>554</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 43–44 and 111: 622.

<sup>555</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 131: 861 and EBELING 1938: 105b.

<sup>556</sup> *ra-bi-<sup>d</sup>KA.DI* s. of Aplīya (MDP 24, 393, 41).

<sup>557</sup> See SAPORETTI 2002: 20–21, 61 and KREBERNIK 2006: 79.

ratir I, the governor of Susa, rebuilt *É.za.gìn.na*, the temple of Ištar (lady of the acropolis) in Susa.<sup>558</sup> Chogha Gavanah (ancient Palum?)<sup>559</sup> in one of the latitudinal valleys of the central Zagros (c. 60 km. west of Kermanshah and north-east of Dēr and Susa), which presumably belonged to Namri, was linked to the early OB kingdom of Ešnunna (it had, for example, a resembling calendar and a theophorous name with Tišpak),<sup>560</sup> and had some cultural ties with Susiana.<sup>561</sup> Over 90% of the individuals mentioned in the documentation from Chogha Gavanah (early 18<sup>th</sup> century BC) bore Akkadian names. The remainder had Amorite (7.2%) anthroponyms (Amorites from Dēr are also recorded). Very few had non-Semitic names (the only clear example is <sup>4</sup>*Ki-ni-al-al-lu-uh*). A female worshipper of Adad is recorded (daughter of *Nu-ri-ri* which is a common name in Susa).<sup>562</sup> Like in most of Mesopotamia, Sîn was the commonest theophorous element; the other ones are Erra, Išhara, Lahma (all associated with the netherworld), Ayya, Amurru, Gula, Ištar, Mama, and Tutu. The main occupation of the inhabitants was agriculture and possibly (to a limited extent) production of basic textiles. There is no evidence for long distance trade there.

Nergal was the chief deity of the Kutur-Mapuk dynasty of Yamutbal and Larsa and the city god of Maškan-šāpir, the primary base of the dynasty's founder, as well as the personal god of Kutur-Mapuk and his sons. There is good reason for thinking that Kutur-Mapuk was of Elamite extraction rather than Amorite.<sup>563</sup> Maškan-šāpir is located between Nippur and Dēr, not far from the Tigris, and from the regions of Malgium and Yamutbal.

Elamite names in OB sources from Babylonia were discussed by me.<sup>564</sup> *Ku-uk-na-hu-na-di*, *Ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>Kal-la* and *Ku-uk<sup>2</sup>-Ma-zi* contain recognizable theophorous elements, viz. *Nahunte*,<sup>565</sup> *Mazzi(at)* and *Kalla*, whereas the final components of the compound anthroponyms (following *kuk-*) *Ku-uk-Mu-ra-te-e*, *Ku-uk-Ri-ih-tu-uh* and *Ku-uk-Si-ia-ri* are hitherto unattested

<sup>558</sup> See GEORGE 1993: 158: 121; cf. MALBRAN-LABAT 1995: 24–26: 4–5.

<sup>559</sup> See [ABDI and] BECKMAN 2007: 51.

<sup>560</sup> See [ABDI and] BECKMAN 2007: 48 (PN *Šū-Namar*; *Ni-ik-k[um]* and perhaps Elam are also mentioned). The identifiable toponyms mainly refer to the Transtigridian region.

<sup>561</sup> [ABDI and] BECKMAN 2007: 67 calls attention to the use of *šā* which is typical of the scribal tradition of OB Susa, but very rare in Mesopotamia at that time.

<sup>562</sup> See ABDI and BECKMAN 2007: 46, 48, 54, 67 and cf. 4, 5.

<sup>563</sup> According to STEINKELLER 2004: 32–33. Kutur-Mapuk built a temple to Nergal (see GEORGE 1993: 125: 782).

<sup>564</sup> ZADOK 1991: 230: 121–137 (including hybrid and atypical names, viz. 125, 137, cf. ZADOK 1987: 5–13 and 1994: 46–47).

<sup>565</sup> Cf. perhaps *Ku-uk-na-hi* (AbB 11, 173).

theophorous elements. Additional Elamite theophorous anthroponyms (with *Akun*, *Šimūt* and *Timpt*) from there are recorded in documents from the early OB kingdom of Larsa (cf. table 3 below):

*Si-im-ti-na-pi-ir*,<sup>566</sup> *Si-im-ti-ú-li-ir*,<sup>567</sup> *Ši-mu-ut-un-a-gu-un* and *Ši-mu-ut-un-da-aš*.<sup>568</sup> The initial component of *Ba-gi-ku-uk* (s. of *A*-[...]) is not recorded elsewhere.<sup>569</sup> *Ku-uk-Ištarān* (<sup>d</sup>KA.DI)<sup>570</sup> is hybrid (Elamite-Semitic, his son Mānum has an Amorite name). *Si-im-ti-ru-du-uk* (< \**Timpti-r-utuk*) is recorded in a letter order from OB Larsa (archive of Šamaš-hāzir).<sup>571</sup> *Ku-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*Šu-ku* s. of *At-ta-na-pi-ir* was servant of <sup>d</sup>*Ša-at-wa*-[*ak*], apparently an Elamite deity (Ur, XIIb.2 Rīm-Sîn).<sup>572</sup> *At-ta-na-pi-ir* s. of *Ú-ba-A+A-tum* was servant of <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-GĪR.RA, a Babylonian deity deity of the nether-world (belonging to Nergal's circle; Larsa, 20.IV.42 Hammurabi).<sup>573</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Ši-mu-ut-šil-li* s. of Lipit-Ištar was servant of Amurru.<sup>574</sup> *Si-im-ti-li-he-eš*, who is defined as ELAM, is mentioned in the archive of *bīt-asīrī*, time of Rīm-Anum king of Uruk (coeval with Samsi-ilūna and Rīm-Sîn II).<sup>575</sup> *Ku-uk*-<sup>d</sup>*Su-kal-li-it* contains the theophorous element *Sukkallītu*.<sup>576</sup> The latter is extant in *Amat-Sugallītum* (GEMÉ-ZU.GAL).<sup>577</sup> A *pašīšu*-priest of <sup>d</sup>ZU.GAL is recorded in AUCT 5, 37, 11, presumably from OB Larsa. Does the theonym <sup>d</sup>*Nin-zu-gal* “Lady of Zugal” (~*Sukkal*) in a god list from Susa<sup>578</sup> belong here?

Another point in favour of a special relationship between Susa and the Transtigradian region of Babylonia is the accord between the percentage of reduplicated (“banana”) and other “atypical” names in the Transtigradian and

<sup>566</sup> MARCHANT 1990, 166: UCLMA 9–1858 rev. 1;

<sup>567</sup> MARCHANT 1990: 236 *ad* UCLMA 9–1832; 1838; 1857, iii, 37; 1858; UCLMA 9–1855 and 175: UCLMA 9–1838 respectively.

<sup>568</sup> For Šimūt in OB cf. RICHTER 2004: 203, 268 (Isin).

<sup>569</sup> MARCHANT 1990: 236 *ad* UCLMA 9–1857, iii, 13. Is it contained in *Ba-gi-IS* from OB Susa (MDP 22, 3, rev. 16) and *Ba-gi-ni* from OB Sippar or its vicinity (DEKIERE 1997, 913, 5, his sons were neighbours of people from Tukriš)?

<sup>570</sup> MARCHANT 1990: 146: UCLMA 9–1857, iv, 41.

<sup>571</sup> DALLEY 2005, 110= AbB 10, 69, 12.

<sup>572</sup> ANBAR and STOL 1991: 32–33, 47: 21, seal (also UET 5, 476, seal 4).

<sup>573</sup> ANBAR 1978: 121: 7, seal; for the deity see RICHTER 2004: 81, 206 (in OB Nippur and Isin).

<sup>574</sup> YOS 12, 197, seal.

<sup>575</sup> VS 13, 13 rev. 3–4 (see ELLIS 1986: 65ff. and ROSITANI 1997: 3ff.).

<sup>576</sup> YOS 5, 191, 2. See MICHALOWSKI 1986: 169–170, cf. ZADOK 1984: 37: 207.

<sup>577</sup> GODDEERIS 2009, 31, 1, cf. *Sugallītum* (GAL.ZU-tum, 237, 1, 6, 8, 13) and *Sugallum* (*sú-ga-lum*, 256, 11), as well as GEORGE 1993: 161: 1248 *ad* *Sugallītu* (Ištar of *é.sugal*). Cf. ANBAR 1975: 122, 124–125 *ad* 8, seal f.

<sup>578</sup> Cf. CAVIGNEAUX and KREBERNIK 2011–2013 *ad* MDP 27, 286.

Diyāla regions (12–16%) contrasted with their paucity in Sumer (3–7%)<sup>579</sup> and the sizable percentage of such names in OB Susa. A minority of such names in Susa may be based on Semitic “hypocoristic roots”, e.g., *Ša-al-mu-mu*, *Nu-ri-ri*, *A-hu-hu* (the latter with suffixes),<sup>580</sup> and apparently *Iš-me-me*.<sup>581</sup> The evolution of such names in Susa was presumably motivated by the long period of linguistic (Akkadian-Elamite) interference. We deal here with an areal phenomenon.

#### 2.4. Late Old Babylonian

In late OB Susa, *Šamaš* (<sup>d</sup>UTU) is followed by *Inšušinak* at the head of the witness list of the deed (#1) and by *Ki-la-ah-šu-bi-ir* in the greeting formula of the letter (#4).<sup>582</sup> Twelve out of the 18 individuals (= 66.66%) with discernible theophorous names from Late OB Susa,<sup>583</sup> bore Akkadian and 6 = 33.33% Elamite names. Twelve names are theophorous. Three names contain *Ilu/Ilī*. Each of the remaining nine individuals bore an anthroponym with a different theophorous element, namely *Inšušinak*, *Šamaš*, *Adad*, *Il(i)abrat*, *Marduk* (or *Nanna*), as well as Elamite *Kilah-šupir*, *Timpt*, *Atta*, and *In<sup>2</sup>-lu-na-<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>/ra<sup>2</sup>*:

*Ilī-irībam* (2, 3), *Inšušinak-bēli* (2, 3–4), *Dan-ili* (2, 11), *Il(i)abrat-tumira* (2, 1), *Mannu-balu-Šamaš* (2, 1–2); *Marduk*(<sup>?</sup> or *Nanna*<sup>?</sup>)-*gar-ra<sup>2</sup>-ra-bi*, *-rabi*, 1, 12),<sup>584</sup> *Hu-un<sup>2</sup>-i-lī* (1, 11–12, Akkadianized), BUR<sup>?</sup>/NÍG<sup>?</sup>-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-<sup>2</sup>x<sup>2</sup> (-[...], 1, 14).

Elamite: *Ad<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>-ra-at-tu-uk<sup>2</sup>*, *Ku-uk-in<sup>2</sup>-lu-na-<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>/ra<sup>2</sup>* (2, 12–13), *Te<sup>2</sup>-em<sup>2</sup>-ti-me-ra-ah* (1, 3) and *Ku-uk-ki-la-ah-šu-bi-ir* (4, 3).

<sup>579</sup> See SOMMERFELD 2013: 252: tab. 1.

<sup>580</sup> MDP 18, 208 = 22, 57, 3; MDP 22, 59, 18; *A-hu-hu* (ZADOK 1983: 97), *A-hu-hu-ú-a* (MDP 22, 101, 16), *A-hu-hu-a*, *A-hu-hu-tu* (MDP 23, 212, rev. 3'; 321–322, 4); cf. *A-hu-hu-hu* (ZADOK 1983: 73).

<sup>581</sup> < Possibly *Išme*-DN (DE GRAEF 2006, 83, 3, cf. 195b, s.vv.).

<sup>582</sup> The same deity is mentioned in the letter MDP 18, 237, 4 (cf. TAVERNIER 2013 and 2014: 347).

<sup>583</sup> References are to DE GRAEF 2007.

<sup>584</sup> Marduk is not recorded in OB Nippur and Ur and is rare at Larsa at that time (cf. RICHTER 2004: 139–141, 380–381, 496, n. 2145).



## 2.5. Summarizing Tables

*Table 2:* Sumero-Akkadian theonyms from OB Susa (compared with Babylonia; refs. are to RICHTER 2004, unless otherwise indicated; these theonyms are classified in 2.3.5 above, categories a–k)

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
1	<i>Adad/Addu</i> (e)	136–137	248	328	377–380	477–47	<i>Adad</i> ( <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR, RESCHID, 1965, 16), <i>Adad</i> ( <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR)- <i>bāni</i> , - <i>tillati</i> , <i>Ipiq</i> -, <i>Išsur</i> - (WHITING 1987, 20, 19; 28, 1; 40, 1; 43, 5); <i>Šilli-Adad</i> ( <i>šil-lī</i> - <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR, RESCHID 1965, 97, 6)	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 70); Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212); contained in <i>Šarrum-Addu</i> and other anthroponyms from Tall Yelkhi, where a servant of Addu is also recorded (ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 24–27; 31–33); Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla (cf. Isma ‘el 2007)
2	<i>Adāru</i> (j)							
3	<i>Amurru</i> (e)	69, 115, 141–143	249		381–384	461–462	<i>Amurru-nāšir</i> ( <sup>d</sup> MAR.TU- <i>na-šir</i> , RESCHID 1965, 88, 5); <i>Puzur-Amurru</i> (PŪ.ŠA-MAR.TU, whiting 1987, 34, 32, 37)	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 71); Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212); Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla (cf. ISMA ‘EL 2007)
4	<i>Annunītum</i> (c)	130		292, 295		470		
5	<i>Ba(b)u</i> (d)	69–70, 101–			354–355	455–456		

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
.		102, 108, 115, 162– 163						
6	<i>Banītu</i> (c)							
7	<i>Bēlet-ilī</i> (g)							
8	<i>Bēlī</i> (g)							
9	<i>Bītum</i> (i)							<i>Bītum-dārum</i> (YOS 14, 115, 5)
10	<i>Dada</i> (f)							
11	<i>Damiqtum</i> (h)							
12	<i>Damkina</i> (e)							
13	<i>Dumuzi</i> (d)	133	237	311– 313		477		
14	<i>Ea</i> ( <i>Enki</i> , e)	69, 102– 104, 108	228– 230	314	355– 357	457– 458, 460, 462		Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 70); Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212)
15	<i>Ekallu</i> (i)							
16	<i>Ereškigal</i> (d)	162– 163			399	491–492		
17	<i>Erra</i> (d)						<i>Erra-gašir</i> (è-ra-ga-ši- ir, RESCHID 1965, 135,	<i>Er-ra-ba-ni</i> (Ishchali, GREENGUS 1986: UCP 10/1,

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
.							5); <i>Erra-imitti</i> ( <i>èr-ra-i-mi-ti</i> , RESCHID 1965, 133, 17)	36, 10); <i>Da-an-Èr-ra</i> (Tall Yelkhi, ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 24)
18	<i>E/Irrak</i> (k)							
19	<i>Ešarra</i> (i)							
20	<i>Gilgameš</i> (d)	153						
21	GUL/SÜN (k)							
22	<i>Hulâ</i> (h)							
23	<i>Huluppu</i> (h)							
24	<i>Ikišta/Pälil</i> (d)							
25	<i>Il(i)abrat</i> (d)	134– 136		299– 303	375– 376	473–476	<i>Il(i)abrat-bāni</i> (NIN.ŠUBUR- <i>ba-ni</i> , RESCHID 1965, 20, 11); <i>Ibbi-Il(i)abrat</i> ( <i>i-bi</i> - NIN.ŠUBUR, RESCHID 1965, 119, 23)	cf. <i>Warad- Il(i)abrat</i> (ÌR- NIN.ŠUBUR) from Ishcha- li (GREENGUS 1986: UCP 10/1, 87, 2)
26	<i>Illil</i> (< <i>Enlil</i> ) (e)	30–52, 56–57, 63–64, 81, 88	231	327	358– 359	414, 463–464	WHITING 1987: 122	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 70); Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212)
27	<i>Ilu</i> (+/- possessive suff., g)						<i>A-mur-i-lu-šu</i> (WHITING 1987, 31, 3)	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 69)
28	<i>Ilī</i> (g)							
29	<i>In apkal</i> (h)							

no .	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
30	<i>In rabâ</i> (h)							
31	<i>Inanna</i> (c)	122– 128	231– 235	283– 297	363– 368	467–470		<i>Šil-li-<sup>d</sup>Inanna</i> (Tall Yelkhi, ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 24)
32	<i>Isqan/Sumuqan/Šakkan</i> (b)				351– 352	500		
33	<i>Išar</i> (g)							
34	<i>Išhara</i> (e)						<i>Nūr-Išhara</i> ( <i>nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>iš-ha-ra</i> , RESCHID 1965, 52, 11)	<i>Um-mi-iš-ha-ra</i> from Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb (Isma ‘el 2007, 2, 3)
35	<i>Ištar</i> (c)						<i>Ana-Ištar-taklāku</i> , <i>Nūr-</i> , <i>Puzur-</i> (WHITING 1987: 121, s.v. with refs.)	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 70); Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212); <sup>-d</sup> <i>Iš<sub>8</sub>-tār</i> is contained in anthroponyms from Tall Yelkhi (ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 24–25)
36	<i>Ištarān</i> (e)		248, n. 1037			497	<sup>d</sup> KA.DI (WHITING 1987: 119: suppl. 3, 1); <i>Ištarān-abum</i> ( <sup>d</sup> KA.DI- <i>a-bu-um</i> , RESCHID 1965, 32, 5, cf. 149, s.v. “Sataranabum”)	cf. <i>Šilli-Ištarān</i> ( <i>šil-li-<sup>d</sup>KA.DI</i> , Ishchali, GREENGUS 1986: UCP 10/1, 98, 7); <i>Ištarān</i> ( <sup>d</sup> KA.DI)- <i>ki-a-am</i> (Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla (cf. Isma ‘el 2007, 36, 3, 4)
37	<i>Išum</i> (d)	155–	201					cf. Isma ‘el 2007, 22, 4 from

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
.		156, 159						Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla
38	<i>Kabtu</i> (g)				372, n. 1575		<i>Nūr-Kabta</i> ( <i>nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>kab-ta</i> , RESCHID 1965, 33, 13)	<i>Rīm-Kabtum</i> ( <i>ri-im-<sup>d</sup>kab-tum</i> from Tutub, see HARRIS 1955: 92 <i>ad</i> 58, 18); <i>Ur-<sup>d</sup>kab-ta</i> from Ishchali and other anthroponyms with <i>Kabta</i> (GREENGUS 1979, 21, 1 and 86a, s.v. with refs.)
39	<i>Kakku</i> (f)							
40	<i>Kitrubu</i> (h)							
41	<i>Kittum</i> (b)					348–350		
42	<i>Kūbu</i> (d)						<i>Etel-Kūbi</i> ( <i>e-tel-ku-bi</i> , RESCHID 1965, 128, 11); <i>Nūr-Kūbi</i> ( <i>nu-úr-ku-bi</i> , RESCHID 1965, 95, 7); <i>I-šar-ku-bu-um</i> (WHITING 1987, 54, obv.)	cf. <i>Warad-Kūbi</i> ( <i>īR-ku-bi</i> ) from Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: UCP 10/1, 32, 13) and Tall Yelkhi (ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 24)
43	<i>Kumuš-kadru</i> (h)							
44	<i>Kuzzalu</i> (j)							
45	<i>Lahmat</i> (e)							
46	<i>Lamassu</i> (e)	98						
47	<i>Lā-qīpu</i> (d)							<sup>d</sup> <i>La-qī-pu-na-šir</i>

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
.								(Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb, Isma‘el 2007, 2, 8; 17, 7; 35, 35)
48	<i>Le‘ūm</i> (h)							
49	<i>Lulu</i> (f)						<i>A-bi-Lu-lu</i> (also in Tuttub, see HARRIS 1955: 94 ad 65, 17)	<i>Ú-bar-Lu-lu</i> (Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb, Isma‘el 2007, 2, 23)
50	<i>Mama/Mammītum</i> (f)	144	201, 205		395		<sup>d</sup> <i>Ma-mi-tum</i> (RESCHID, 1965, 124, 24)	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 72: <i>Mami</i> ); <i>Mami</i> is also contained in anthroponyms from Tulūl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla (cf. Isma‘el 2007)
51	<i>Mašan</i> (k)							
52	<i>Mazzāt</i> (c)	161			398, 409			
53	<i>Mīšar</i> (e)						<i>Iddin-Mīšar</i> ( <i>i-din-<sup>d</sup>mi-šar</i> , RESCHID 1965, 118, 3)	<i>Iddin-Mīšar</i> ( <i>i-din-<sup>d</sup>mi-šar</i> ), <i>Mīšar-gāmil</i> ( <i><sup>d</sup>mi-šar-ga-mil</i> , Ishchali GREENGUS 1986: 203b, 205b, s.vv. with refs.)
54	<i>Mugra(tu)</i> (h)							
55	<i>Nabium</i> (e)	140– 141	208	306				
56	<i>Namme</i> (e)					476		
57	<i>Nanā</i> (f)							

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
58	<i>Nanna</i> (a)	148–151	238–245	316–318	388–392	416–432	<i>Nanna</i> (WHITING 1987: 122); <i>Nanna-mansum</i> (RESCHID 1965: 146, s.v. with refs.)	Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 70); cf. the <i>Nanna</i> -anthroponyms from Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 206)
59	<i>Nasi</i> ( <i>Nanše</i> , e)	(c.r.)						
60	<i>Nergal</i> (d)	69–70, 78–80	198–207	318–320	392–395	480–482		Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212)
61	<i>Ninazu</i> (d)	30, 152				488–489	<i>Pī-Ninazu</i> (KA- <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-a-zu</i> , RESCHID 1965, 14, 6)	<i>Ninazu-šulūlu</i> ( <sup>d</sup> NIN.A.ZU-AN.DŪL, from Tuttub, HARRIS 1955: 63: 11, 12); <i>Awīl-Ninazu</i> (LÚ- <sup>d</sup> NIN.A.-ZU from Ishchali, GREENGUS 1979: 81a, s.v. with refs.)
62	<i>Ninegalla</i> (e)	132			368–371	482–483		
63	<i>Ningal</i> (a)		215	317–318	389	433–434, 451, 454–455	Ningal ( <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-gal</i> , WHITING 1987, 31, 4, 19)	
64	<i>Ninhursag</i> (d)	143–147					<i>Puzur-Ninhursagga</i> ( <i>pū-zur</i> <sub>s</sub> - <sup>d</sup> <i>nin-hur-sag-gá</i> , RESCHID 1965, 124, 17)	
65	<i>Ninisinna</i> (d)	69–70,	181,	315	360			

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
.		108, 113, 116– 117	183– 192, 215– 216, 218, 220, 259					
66	<i>Nungal</i> (e)		216– 217					
67	<i>Nūnu</i> (f)						<i>Šimat-Nūnum</i> <sup>?</sup> ( <i>ši-ma-at-nu-nu-um</i> <sup>?</sup> , RESCHID 1965, 12, 8)	cf. <i>Bur-nu-nu</i> (Ishchali, GREENGUS 1986: 202, s.v. with refs.)
68	<i>Nuska</i> (e)	81-83						
69	<i>Padūm</i> (g)							
70	<i>Rabiu</i> (e)							
71	<i>Rimku</i> (e)							cf. <i>Šu-ri-im-ku</i> (Ishchali, GREENGUS 1986: UCP 10/1, 36, 4)
72	<i>Sigar</i> (g)							cf. <i>Ur-Si-gar-ra</i> (SIGRIST, AUCT 5, 209)
73	<i>Sin</i> (a)	148- 151	238- 245	316- 318	388- 392	416-432	<i>Sin</i> ( <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU, EN-priest of ~, WHITING 1987, 31, 3, 4, 18; <i>Sin</i> -anthronyms are very common, cf. RESCHID	Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212); <i>Warad-Sin</i> (Tall Yelkhi, ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 31)



no .	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
							1965: 149–152, index); <i>Sîn-bābil</i> ( <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU- <i>ba-bil</i> ) s. of <i>Ennam-Sîn</i> ( <sup>o</sup> <i>en-nam</i> - <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU, RESCHID 1965, 102, 8f.); <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU- <i>e-mu-qi</i> , <i>I-bi</i> -, <i>I-di</i> - <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU (WHITING 1987: 121, s.v. with refs.)	
74	<i>Sukkallu</i> (g)							
75	<i>Šadûm</i> (g)							<i>Šadûm-rabi</i> (Tulûl Ḥaṭṭāb, Isma‘el 2007: 61, s.v.)
76	<i>Šahan</i> (e)							
77	<i>Šamaš</i> (b)	154-155	246-247	325-326	338-354	493-496		Harmal (KOBAYASHI 1980: 70); Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 212); <i>Mār/Nūr-Šamaš</i> from Tall Yelkhi, where this god (with <i>Dayyānu</i> ?) is mentioned in a salutation formula (ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 31–33); Tulûl Ḥaṭṭāb on the lower Diyāla (cf. Isma‘el 2007)
78	<i>Šara</i> (e)		251			500	ÌR- <sup>d</sup> <i>Šara</i> (WHITING	cf. <i>Šara-ma-an-si</i> from

no .	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
							1987, 16, 4)	Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 210a, s.v. with refs.)
79	<i>Šarrum</i> (g)							
80	<i>Šāzi</i> (d)	98						
81	<i>Šērtu</i> (a)				352			
82	<i>Šērum</i> (a)				399, n. 1668		<i>Šērum-dan</i> ( <sup>d</sup> <i>še-ru-um-da-an</i> , RESCHID 1965, 25, 14)	cf. the <i>Šērum</i> -anthroponyms from Ishchali (GREENGUS 1986: 210a, s.v. with refs.) and <i>Ibni-Šērum</i> from Tall Yelkhi (ROUALT and SAPORETTI 1985: 32)
83	<i>Šubula</i> (d)		201, 203, 205					
84	<i>Šudda</i> (e)							
85	<i>Šulpae</i> (d)	69, 144, 147– 148		317	388	479		
86	<i>Tutu</i> (f)	140				492–493		
87	<i>Tuzi</i> (d)	85						
88	<i>Ṭaban</i> (i)						<i>Šu-<sup>d</sup>Ṭa-ba-an</i> ([FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 150, 154: 28, 47)	

no	DN (& categ., s. 2.3.5)	Nippur	Isin	Uruk	Larsa	Ur	Ešnunna	NE Babylonia
89	<i>Zagu</i> (h)							

Table 3: List of elements (mostly theophorous) contained in Elamite and hybrid anthroponyms from Sargonic, Ur III and OB Susa

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
1	<i>Akra</i>			
	<i>kuppa-</i>	<i>Ku-up-pa-ak-ra</i>	471, rev. 5	cf. 23: 116
2	<i>Akun</i>			
		<i>I-da-du-A-gu-un</i>	MDP 10, 73, 3	5: 6 (basilophoric?)
	<i>kutur-</i>	<i>Ku-tu-ur-A-gu-un</i>	MDP 10, 70, 2	5: 6; 25: 120a
	<i>Lal-</i>	<i>La-al-gu-ni</i>	see above, 2.1	5: 6; 26: 123
	<i>Šati-</i>	<i>Šà-ti-gu-ni</i>	389, 12	5: 6; 38–39: 215
	<i>Šimūt-</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>Ši-mu-ut-a-gu-un</i>	60, 4	5: 6; 39–40: 222
	<i>Šimūt-un-</i>	<i>Ši-mu-ut-un-a-gu-un</i>	see above, 2.3.7	5: 6; 39–40: 222
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Da-an-gu-ni</i>	see above, 2.1	5: 6; 43: 241
	<i>timpt-</i>	<i>Šim-da-gu-ni</i> <i>Šim-da-ku-ni</i>	see above, 2.1 GADOTTI and SIGRIST 2011, 30, rev. 17'	5: 6; 43–44: 246
3	<i>Ālu</i>			
	<i>timpt-</i>	<i>Še-em-ti-a-lu</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 27, 25	43–44: 246 (hybrid)
4	<i>Amma</i>			
	<i>-haštu-k</i>	<i>Am-ma-ha-aš-du-uk</i>	328,18	6: 7; 10: 34a

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	-šir	<i>Am-ma-še-er</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 1, 8'	6: 7; 40–41: 224
5	<i>Ampa</i>	<i>Am-bi-i-lu</i>	286,27	6: 10 (hybrid)
6	<i>Apin</i>			
	-tulti	<sup>r</sup> <i>A-pi-in-du-ul-tu/ti</i>	see SCHEIL, MDP 22: 104 <i>ad</i> 90, 3, 15	6–7: 15; 45: 255
	tan-	<i>Tan<sup>d</sup>A-pi-in</i>	MDP 10, 72, 5: [d], cf. 50, 3	6–7: 15; 43: 241
	ur-~	<sup>r</sup> <i>Ur-a<sup>r</sup>pi-in-<sup>r</sup>nam<sup>r</sup></i>	see DE GRAEF 2006: 162 <i>ad</i> 72, rev. i, 12	cf. 6–7: 15?
7	<i>Asu</i>	<i>Na-pi-ir<sup>d</sup>A-sú</i>	see above, 2.1	7: 17; 31: 157b
8	<i>Atin</i>	<i>Ku-uk-A-te-en</i>	181,25	21–23: 110
9	<i>Atta</i>			
	-halki	<i>At-ta-ha-al-ki</i>	516, 9	7–8: 18; 9: 23
	-haštu-k	<i>At-ta-ha-aš-tu-uk</i>	315,4	7–8: 18; 10: 34a
	-harut	<i>At-ta-ha-ru-ut</i>	349,5	7–8: 18; 10: 32
	-hupiti-r	<i>At-ta-hu-bi-ti-ir</i>	399, 12, 29	7–8: 18; 14: 51a
		<i>At-ta-hu-bi<sub>4</sub>si-ir</i>	365,7	
	-hušu	<i>Ad-da-hu-šu/A-ta-hu-šu</i>	DE GRAEF 2006: 193b with refs.	7–8: 18;14: 54
	-išpar	<i>Ad-da-iš-bar</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 49, 8–9	alternatively <i>Ad-da iš-pár</i> “A., weaver”? (mentioned after PN fowler)
	-kuli-ki	<i>Ad-da-ku-li-ki</i>	MDP 10, 54, 2	7–8: 18; 23: 13
	-kutir	<i>At-ta-ku-ši-ir</i>	308,12	
<i>Ap-ta-ku-si-ir</i> <sup>585</sup>		179,15	7–8: 18; 24–25: 119a	

<sup>585</sup> *A-ap-ta-a* (f. of the *pašišu*-priest Šin-māgir, YOS 12, 69, 7, OB) can be a hypocoristic thereof, the equivalent of OB *A-at-ta-a* (above, 2.3.6, to *Atta*).

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>-akra</i>	<i>Ap-ta-ak-ru</i>	170,7	7–8: 18
	<i>-minšu</i>	<i>At-ta-me-en-šum</i>	345,2	7–8: 18
	<i>-napir</i>	<i>Ad-da-na-pir</i>	MDP 18, 145, 4	7–8: 18; 31: 157b
		<i>Ad-da-na-pi-ir</i>	MDP 18, 185, 3	cf. HILGERT 2002: 310, n. 99
	<i>-pilir</i>	<i>Ad-da-bi-li-ir</i>	see above, 2.1	7–8: 18; 34: 181a
	<i>-puni</i>	<i>Ad-da-pu-ni</i>	MDP 10, 13, 3; 24, rev. 1: <i>-p[u-ni]</i> 33, rev. 1: <i>[ni]</i> ; 40, 1; 546, 2, 10, rev. 5: <i>[Ad]-</i>	7–8: 18; 35: 189
		<i>At-ta-pu-ni</i>	520, 11; 521,14; 526, 13	
		<i>Ad-da-ša-ra</i>	MDP 18, 136, 8f.	7–8: 18; 37: 204
		<i>At-ta-ú-ri</i>	see above, 2.3.6	7–8: 18; 47: 277
		<i>At-ta-a-ì-lí</i>	148, 6	7–8: 18 (hybrid)
		<i>A-ad-da-i-lum</i>	491, 2	7–8: 18 (hybrid)
		<i>Tan-Ú-ku-uk-at-ta</i>	see above, 2.2	42: 236e (apparently kyriophoric for the 2 <sup>nd</sup> component cf. <i>Uk-ku-ku-DIN-GIR</i> , above, 2.6.1)
10	<i>Attar</i>	<i>Ku-uk-A-da-ar</i>	353,26	8: 18b; 21–23: 110
		<i>At-ta-ra-ga-mil</i>	458: 21	8: 18b (hybrid)
11	<i>Ba(b)u</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Ba-bu</i>	458, 10	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
12	<i>Bēlī</i>	<i>Be-li-ku-ku</i>	102, 18; 308,13	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
13	<i>Ea-šarru</i> <i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-<sup>a</sup>Ē-a-&lt;šar&gt;-rum</i>	215,rev.7	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
14	<i>Hal</i>	<i>Ha-al-da-an-na-at</i>	310,26	8: 21 (hybrid)
		<i>Hal-šar-ra-aš</i>	MDP 18, 173, 12	8: 21 (hybrid?)

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	- <i>si</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>numa</i>	<i>Ha-al-si</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>nu-ma</i>	see above, 2.1	8: 21; cf. <i>In-zu-ul-si-ni-ma</i> below?
15	<i>Hampa</i>			Alternatively to <i>ampa</i> (6: 10) or <i>Humpan</i>
	- <i>appi</i>	<i>Ha-am-ba-ap-pi</i>	22, 28, 6	(11-13: 48)
16	<i>Hap-ruh</i>			
	- <i>šir</i>	<i>Ha-ap-ru-še-er</i>	ZADOK 1994: 42: 1.3.3, 39	10: 30c; 40–41: 224
	<i>Inri-r-</i>	<i>In-ri-ir-Ha-ap-ru-uh</i>	MDP 10, 96, 2, cf. 103, 3	10: 30c; 16: 70a
	<i>Inzu-r-</i>	<i>In-zu!-úr-Ha-ap-ru</i>	MDP 18, 174, 2'	10: 30c; 17: 72
	<i>Šimūt-</i>	<i>Ši-mu-ut-ha-ap-ru-uh</i>	518, 2; 527, 7	10: 30c; 39–40: 222
	<i>Timpti-r-</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-ir-Ha-ap-ru-uh</i>	MDP 18, 158, 8	10: 30c; 43–44: 246a
		<i>Ì-lí-ap-ru-ú</i> <i>I?-tù-úr-Ha-ap-ru-uh</i>	393,37 MDP 10, 104, rev. 5	10: 30c (hybrid)
17	<i>Hili</i>			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan-hi-li</i>	MDP 18, 131, i, 4'	10–11: 40; 43: 241; cf. HILGERT 2002: 281, n. 58
18	<i>Hipir</i>			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan-Hi-pi-ir</i>	MDP 10, 99, rev. 10	11: 41; 43: 241
19	<i>Humpan</i> <sup>586</sup>	<i>Hu-um-ba-an-[...]</i>	285, rev. 4	
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Hu-ba-an</i>	396, 4	11–13: 48; 21–23: 110
	<i>Šimūt-</i>	<i>Ši-mu-ut-Hu-um-ba-an</i>	471, 11	11–13: 48; 39–40: 222
		<i>Pù-zur<sub>s</sub>-Hu-um</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 26, 21	hybrid or irrelevant (cf. above, 2.2)

<sup>586</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Hu-MA-na* in an OB god list from Nippur (LAMBERT 1972–1975, cf. RICHTER 2004: 141) may be read <sup>d</sup>*Hu-ba-na* < *Humpan*. Cf. the occurrence of <sup>d</sup>*Si-mu-ut* in another OB god list from Babylonia (WEIDNER 1924–1925: 4–5, iv, 10', cf. RICHTER 2004: 203), where *Humpan* appears as <sup>d</sup>*A-ma-nu-um* (see KREBERNIK 2006: 79, Akkadianized).

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
20	<i>Hun</i>			
	<i>-halpi-t</i>	<i>Hu-un-ha-al-bi-it</i>	see above, 2.1	9: 24; 13–14: 49
	<i>-hapu-r</i>	<i>Hu-un-ha-ap-ur</i>	see above, 2.1	13–14: 49
	<i>-pali</i>	<i>Hu-un-pa-a-li</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 78, 4	13–14: 49; 33–34: 171
	<i>-tara</i>	<i>Hu-un-dar-a</i>	see above, 2.1	13–14: 49; 42: 236f
	<i>-uram</i>	<i>Hu-un-ú-ra-am</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 70, 27	
	<i>-zulu</i>	<i>Hu-un-zu-lu</i>	see above, 2.1	13–14: 49; 48: 300
	<i>asir-</i>	<i>A-si-ir-hu-ni</i>	see above, 2.1	13–14: 49
21	<i>Hunta</i>			
	<i>-akšir</i>	<i>Hu-un-da-ah/hi-še-er</i>	see above, 2.1	5: 5b; 14: 50
	<i>-apu-hulu</i>	<i>Hu-un-da-a-bu-hu-lu</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 70, 3	14: 50
	<i>-huli-k</i>	<i>Hu-un-da-hu-li-ik</i>	MDP 18, 138, 9	14: 50
22	<i>Hurti</i>			<i>hurti</i> “people” if the segmentation is correct, cf. perhaps <i>Hurti-r</i> (above, 2.3.1)
	<i>tita-</i>	<i>Te-da-hu-úr-t[i]</i>	MDP 18, 158, 6	
23	<i>Hutpa</i>			
	<i>iši-</i>	<i>I-še-hu-ut-pa</i>	160, rev. 2’	cf. <i>Ib-ni</i> - <sup>d</sup> <i>Hu-da-pu-um</i> (YOS 14, 4, 14) from early OB Ešnunna?
24	<i>Hutran</i>			
	<i>iši-</i>	<i>I-še-hu-ut-ra</i>	MDP 18, 160, rev. 2	15: 58
		<i>Hu-ut-ra</i>	MDP 18, 160, rev. 4; 162, rev. 3	15: 58 (hypocoristicon)
25	<i>Iki</i>			
	<i>-haštu-k</i>	<i>I-gi-ha-aš-tu-uk</i>	317,7	10: 34a; 15: 60

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>-napi-r</i>	<i>I-gi-na-pi-ir</i>	MDP 27, 117 (OB school text, list of PNN)	15: 60; 31: 157b
	<i>-puni</i>	<i>I-gi-pu-ni</i>	389,2; 495, rev.; 520, 3; 521, 4	15: 60; 35: 189
	<i>Lal-</i>	<i>La-li-ki</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 74, iii, 14'	15: 60; 26: 123
26	<i>Ikišta</i>	<i>Ki-[u]k-ké-eš-ta</i>	325,4	21–23: 110
		<i>Ma-ri-šu-i-ge-eš-ta</i>	MDP 18, 173, 4	hybrid
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan<sup>d</sup>i-ge-eš-[d]a</i>	MDP 18, 120, 7'	43: 241 or Akkad.
		<i>Tan<sup>d</sup>i-gi-iš-da</i>	MDP 18, 129, 9	
		<i>Ki-rib<sup>b</sup>-i-ge-eš-da</i>	MDP 18, 114, 6	hybrid
		<i>Ki-ri-ib-i-gi-iš-da</i>	MDP 18, 115, 22f.	hybrid
27	<i>Ilikuni</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-E-li-gu-ne</i>	458: 13, 23, 24	15–16: 65; 21–23: 110
28	<i>Ilimum</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-E-li-mu-tum</i>	99, rev. 4'	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
29	<i>Inma</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-In-ma</i>	MDP 10, 104, rev. 6	16: 69; 21–23: 110
30	<i>Inni</i>			
	<i>-kuku</i>	<i>In-ni-ku-ku</i>	313,3	21–23: 110
31	<i>Inšušinak</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-In-šu-uš-na-ak</i>	MDP 10, 100, 7; 122, rev. 7; cf. 548, seal 3	21–23: 110; (hybrid)
32	<i>Inzu</i>			
	<i>-anur?</i>	<i>In-zu-a-nu-úr'?</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 17, 2–4	17: 72
	<i>-apur-titi-</i>	<i>In-zu-a-pu-úr-te-dī</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 84, 17	17: 72



no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>-huši-š</i>	<i>In-zu-hu-ši-eš</i>	504, 10	14: 53b; 17: 72
	<i>-ki-Si-mumu</i>	<i>In-zu-ki-Si-mu-mu</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 72, i, 11	17: 72, cf. 39–40: 222
	<i>-kutir</i>	<i>In-zu-ku-si-ir</i> <i>In-zu-gu-ti-ir</i>	329,29 DE GRAEF 2006, 55, 8–9	17: 72; 24–25: 119a
	<i>-li-k</i>	[ <i>I</i> ]n-zu-li-ik	MDP 18, 193, 3	17: 72
	<i>-mina</i>	<i>In-zu-me-na</i>	504, 12; DE GRAEF 2006, 25, 7	17: 72; 28: 144
	<i>-pihaš</i>	<i>In-zu-pi-ha-aš</i>	MDP 18, 139, 5	17: 72; 33: 169
	<i>-ulsini-ma</i>	<i>In-zu-ul-si-ni-ma</i>	MDP 18, 237, 10	17: 72; cf. <i>Ha-al-si?-nu-ma</i> above?
	<i>-uri</i>	<i>In-zu-ri</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 54, 2–3	17: 72; 47: 277
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-In-zu</i>	546, 3; 547, 3 MDP 18, 157, 6	17: 72; 21–23: 110
	<i>kuri-</i>	<i>Gu-ri-in-zu</i>	MDP 18, 183, 3	17: 72; 24: 118
	<i>rip-</i>	<i>Ri-ip-in-zu</i>	MDP 18, 179, 5	17: 72; 36: 197
	<i>zal-</i>	<i>Za-al-in-zu</i>	449, 4	17: 72; 48: 285
		<i>In-zu-a-bu</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 25, 10	17: 72 (hybrid)
		<i>Nu-úr-in-zu</i>	MDP 18, 180, ii, 9	
33	<i>Išme-karāb</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-<sup>a</sup>Iš-me-ka-ra-ab</i>	266,13	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
34	<i>Ipi</i>			
	<i>-zulu-š</i>	<i>I-pi-zu-lu-uš</i>	DE MEYER 2001: 31	48: 300
35	<i>Iššan</i>			
	<i>-ri</i>	<i>Iš-ša-ri</i>	MDP 18, 162, 2'	< <i>Iššan-ri</i> (17–18: 77)?
	<i>Atta-</i>	<i>At-ti-iš-ša-an</i>	490, 2	7–8: 18; 17–18: 77

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>ini-</i>	<i>E-ni-iš-ša-an</i>	see above, 2.1	
	<i>pilir-</i>	<i>Pi-li-ir-iš-ša-an</i>	MDP 18, 92, 2	17–18: 77; 34: 181a
	<i>puni-</i>	<i>Pu-ni-iš-ša-[an]</i>	MDP 10, 103,5	17–18: 77; 35: 189
		<i>Pu-ù-ni-[iš-ša-<sup>14</sup>a]n</i>	MDP 10, 100, 13f.	
	<i>timmt-</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-iš-ša-an</i>	181,27	17–18: 77; 43–44: 246
		<i>Ti-im-ti-iš-ša-[a]n</i>	MDP 18, 183,1	
		<i>Te-ep-ti-iš-ša-an</i>	93, 3	
	<i>ulhi-</i>	<i>Ul-hi-iš-ša-an</i>	471, 20	43–44: 246; 46: 265
36	<i>Ištarān</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Ištarān</i> ( <sup>d</sup> KA.DI)	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
37	<i>Itatu</i>			
	<i>-napir</i>	<i>I-da-du-na-pi-ir</i>	see above, 2.2	31: 157b (basilophoric?)
38	<i>Kalla</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>Kal-la</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110
39	<i>Katku</i>	<i>Ta-ku-ni-ka-at-ku</i>	see above, 2.3.6	hybrid
40	<i>Kilah-šupir</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-ki-la-ah-šu-bi-ir</i>	MDP 18, 105, 3	20: 97a; 21–23: 110
41	<i>Kiri-riša</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-ki-ri-ri-ša</i>	306,8	20: 103b; 21–23: 110
42	<i>Kitin</i>			21: 108
43	<i>Kukunē</i>	<i>Niš-ri-ku-ku-ne-e</i>	320,6	23: 111
44	<i>Kuna/i</i>			
	<i>-li-š</i>	<i>Ku-na-li-iš</i>	515, 3	23: 115; 26: 125

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>zati-š</i>	<i>Gu-ni-za-ti-iš</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 70, 15	23: 115a; <i>-zati-š</i> looks like a verbal form <sup>587</sup>
45	<i>Kurara</i>	<i>ĪR-Ku-ra-ra</i>	174,10	cf. <i>Kurura</i> (hybrid)
46	<i>Kurura</i>			
	<i>iti-</i>	<i>E-ti-Ku-ru-ra</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 83, I, 5'	cf. <i>Kurara</i> ; hybrid
47	<i>Kuri</i>			
	<i>-pappat</i>	<i>Gu-ri-ba-a-ba-at</i>	527, 16	24: 118; 34: 174; same name as MB <i>Ku-ri-pa-ap-pa-at</i> (see table 4 below)
	<i>-mira-h</i>	<i>Gu-ri-me-ra-ah</i>	480, 2	24: 118
48	<i>Kur-kubas</i>			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Ta-an-ni-ku-úr-ku-ba-as</i>	MDP 18, 161, 7', 24' (-[ni]-)	43: 241
49	<i>Kuziz</i>	<i>ĪR-<sup>a</sup>ku-zi-iz</i>	165, 10	hybrid (cf. perhaps 58: C/9.3)
50	<i>Lakšu</i>			
	<i>ku-tir-</i>	<i>Ku-te-er-la-ak-šu</i>	173, 6, e.	24–25: 119a; 26: 122
		<i>La-ak-su</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 65, 3'	
51	<i>Lal</i>			
	<i>-ruh</i>	<i>La-la-ru-ú</i>	MDP 18, 158,158, 7	26: 123; 36: 200
52	<i>Likawi</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Li-ga-wi (PI)</i>	234,35	21–23: 110; 26: 126
53	<i>Lili</i>			

<sup>587</sup> Cf. perhaps Ur III *Hu-un-za-ti* (HILGERT 1998, 304, i, 18).

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>-riša</i>	<i>Li-li-ri-ša</i>	see STOLPER 1987–1990a: 21	“L. is great” 26: 128; 36: 198
	<i>-riri</i>	<i>Li-li-ri-ri</i>	MDP 18, 86, 4	26: 128; 36: after 197
54	<i>lipan</i>	<i>Li-ba-ni-Sîn</i>	see above, 2.3.6	cf. 26: 130a (hybrid)
55	<i>Liru</i>			
	<i>nap-</i>	<i>Na-ap-li-rum</i>	see above, 2.3.1	30–31: 157
56	<i>Mazzât</i>			
	<i>-warta-š</i>	<i>Ma-an-zi-wa-ar-ta-aš</i>	STEINKELLER 2004: 31 with n. 18	27: 138; 42: 236c
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk?-Ma-zi</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110; 27: 138
57	<i>Muratē</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Mu-ra-te-e</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110
58	<i>Muša</i>			
	<i>-kitin</i> <sup>?</sup>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Mu-ša-ki</i> <sup>?</sup> -[ <i>tin</i> ]	MDP 18, 130, 11	21: 108
	<i>ukšī</i> <sup>?</sup> -	<i>Uk</i> <sup>?</sup> - <i>ši</i> <sup>d</sup> - <i>Mu-ša</i>	MDP 18, 129, 10	
59	<i>Nahunti</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Na-hu-na-di</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110; 29–30: 153
		<i>Puzúr</i> <sup>d</sup> - <i>Na-ah</i> -[ <i>hu-un-dī</i> ]	173, rev.12	29–30: 153 (hybrid)
60	<i>Nanna</i>			
	<i>kuri-</i>	<i>Ku-ri</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Nanna</i>	404, 16	24: 118 (hybrid)
61	<i>Napir</i>	<i>I-da-du-Na-pi-ir</i>	MDP 10, 21, 4	basilophoric?
61a	<i>Napi-riša</i>	[Na]- <i>pi-ri-ša</i>	MDP 18, 173, 34	31–32: 157d
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Na-pi-ri-ša</i>	MDP 10, 100, 8; 122, rev. 8	21–23: 110; 31–32: 157d
	<i>kutur-</i>	? <i>Ku-du-ur</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>GAL</i>	289,1	25: 120a; 31–32: 157d
61b	<i>Nap-rati-p</i>	<i>Nap-ra-ti-ip</i>	472, 20	36: 196a

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
62	<i>Narki</i>	<i>Na-ar-gi-a-maš</i>	515, 10	
63	<i>Naruti</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-i-Na-ru-ut</i>	MDP 18, 141, 12	21–23: 110; 32: 159
	<i>timmt-</i>	<i>Te-ep-di-Na-ru-ut</i>	MDP 18, 196, 4	32: 159; 43–44: 246
64	<i>Našir</i>			
	<i>kukur-</i>	<i>Ku-du-úr-<sup>d</sup>Na-šu-úr</i>	DE MEYER 2001: 31	25: 120a; 32: 160a
	<i>šilha-k</i>	<i>Ši-il<sub>5</sub>-ha-ak-na-<sup>18</sup>ši-ir</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 10, 17f.	32: 160a; 39: 220b
65	<i>Paki</i>			
	<i>-kuk</i>	<i>Ba-gi-ku-uk</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110; 33: 170
66	<i>Pala</i>			
	<i>-hati-p</i>	<i>Pa-la-ha-te-ep</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 78, 17	33: 171
	<i>-ur(i)</i>	<i>Pa-lu-ur</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 4, I, 4'	33: 171; 47: 277
67	<i>Pana</i>			
	<i>-mira-h</i>	<i>Pa-na-mi-ra-ah</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 80, 18	34: 172
68	<i>Pininkir</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Pi-ne-kir</i>	174,13	
		<i>Ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>Pi-ne-gi-ir</i>	310,16	21–23: 110; 34–35: 182
	<i>Ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>Pi-ne-gi-ir-ba-ni</i>		kyriophoric	
69	<i>Pirta/i</i>	<i>E-ta-am-ša-ša-<sup>d</sup>Pir-ta:</i> <i>I-ma-ar-<sup>d</sup>Pir-ti</i> <sup>588</sup>	103, 17	

<sup>588</sup> He is listed in the same deed with *E-ta-am-ša-ša-<sup>d</sup>Pir-ta* whose predicate is apparently non-Semitic (presumably Elamite, MDP 22, 103, 3, 17). For the theophorous element cf. perhaps the 1<sup>st</sup> component of the compound Elamite theonym NA <sup>d</sup>*Pa-ar-ti-ki-ra* (BORGER 1996: 53: A, vi, 34 and F, v, 24); for the 2<sup>nd</sup> component (*kiri* “goddess”) see HINZ and KOCH 1987: 110 (their interpretation of the 1<sup>st</sup> component is unlikely).

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
70	<i>Pita(š)</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>Pi-ta-aš-še-mi</i>	105, 4	hybrid
71	<i>Pitur/Wutur</i>			
	<i>-tuni-h</i>	<i>PI-tu-ur-du-ni</i>	WALTERS 1970: 58–60 and pl. 16: 42, 3; 103–104: 75, 1	45: 256b
72	<i>Pulma</i>	<i>Pu-ul-ma-ME+U</i>	MDP 18, 183, 13	
		<sup>d</sup> <i>Pu-ul-ma-um?-mi-la-ab-bi</i>	237,15	hybrid
		<i>İR-pu-ul-ma</i>	255,4	hybrid
		<i>İR'-<sup>d</sup>pu-ul-ma</i>	213, rev. 5	hybrid
73	<i>Rakittapi</i>			
	<i>kitin-</i>	<i>Ki-te-en-ra-ki-id-da-bi</i>	see above, 2.1	21: 108
74	<i>Rappa</i>			
	<i>timpt-</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-<sup>d</sup>Ra-ap-pa</i>	386, 10	35–36: 193
75	<i>Rati-p</i>			
	<i>-kuhil</i>	<sup>r</sup> <i>Ra-<sup>ˀ</sup>ti-ip-ku-hi-il</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 49, 11–12	36: 196a
76	<i>Rihtuh</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Ri-ih-tu-uh</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110
77	<i>Ruhu</i>			
	<i>-zawat</i>	<i>Ru-hu-za-wa-at</i>	77, rev. 10'	36: 200; 48: 289
	<i>pala-</i>	<i>Pala-Ruhu (Ba-la-ru-ú)</i>	MDP 18, 158, 7	cf. 33–34: 171; 36: 200 and ( <i>l</i> - <i>li</i> -) <i>ap-ru-ú</i> for <i>-Hap-ruh</i> above
77a	<i>Ruhu-ratir</i> <sup>589</sup>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-lu-hu-ra-te-er</i>	318,5	21–23: 110; 37: 200b

<sup>589</sup> “Creator of man” (see VALLAT 1997).

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan<sup>d</sup>Nu-hu-ti-ir</i>	466, 4	37: 200b; 43: 241
		<i>Tan<sup>d</sup>Ru-hu-ra-te-er</i>	505, 5	37: 200b; 43: 241
	<i>timmt-</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-nu-ti-ir</i>	MDP 18, 158, 5'	37: 200b; 43–44: 246
		<i>Na-hu-te-er</i>	470, 9	37: 200b
78	<i>Rusipir</i>			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan<sup>d</sup>Ru-si-bi-ir</i>	MDP 18, 181, iv, 3'	43: 241
79	<i>Sin<sup>?</sup></i>			
	<i>-zulu-š</i>	<i>Si-in<sup>?</sup>-zu-lu-uš</i>	389,7	48: 300
80	<i>Siyari</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Si-ia-ri</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110
81	<i>Sukkallitu</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk<sup>d</sup>Su-kal-li-it</i>	see above, 2.3.7	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
82	<i>Sunki-r</i>			
	<i>Sita-k</i>	<i>Si-da-ak-su-kir</i>	see above, 2.1	38: 209a; 41: 226
		<i>Su-gir-a-bi</i>	see above, 2.1	38: 209a (hybrid)
83	<i>Šanip-riša?</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk<sup>d</sup>Šà-ni-ip-GAL</i>	471, 22	21–23: 110; 36: 198
84	<i>Šappa</i>	<i>Ú-bar-Šà-ap-pa</i>	SCHEIL, MDP 22: 176 <i>ad</i> 164, 6	38: 213 (hybrid)
85	<i>Šāzi</i>			
	<i>pilir-</i>	<i>Pi-li-ir<sup>d</sup>Šà-zi</i>	426, 2, 3, 9, 13, 17	34: 181a (hybrid)
86	<i>Šimpi</i>			
	<i>-hiš-huk</i>	<i>Šim-pi-iš-hu-uk</i> <i>Ši-in-pi-hi-iš-hu-uk</i>	HINZ and KOCH 1987: 1165	

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
	-ruk	<i>Ši-im-pi-ru-uk</i>	384, 25	
87	<i>Šimūt</i>			
	-harup	<i>Ši-mu-ut-ha-ru-pu</i>	41, 13	10: 31; 39–40: 222
	-ima-kuluš	<i>Ši-mu-ut-i-ma-ku-lu-uš</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 80, 12	39–40: 222
	-ir-hap-ruh	<i>Ši-mu-ut-ir-ha-pi-ru-uh</i>	471, 10	10: 30c; 17: 74; 39–40: 222
	-riri	<i>Ši-mu-ut-ri-r[i]?</i>	MDP 18, 130, 12	36: after 197; 39–40: 222
	-ritu-h	<i>Ši-mu-ut-ri-tuh</i>	MDP 18, 180, rev. i, 9'	39–40: 222
	-šilha	<i>Ši-mu-ut-<sup>3</sup>šil-ha</i>	492, 2f.	39–40: 220, 222
	-šilha-k	<i>Ši-mu-ut-šil-ha-ak</i>	MDP 18, 173, 23	39–40: 220b, 222
	<i>timpt</i>	<i>Ši-mu-ut-še-em-ti</i>	501, 2; MDP 18, 108, rev. 2 (-[ti])	39–40: 222; 43–44: 246
	-tir(a)	<i><sup>d</sup>Ši-mu-ut-t[e-r]a</i>	181,3	39–40: 222; 44: 247c
	-Uli	<i>Ši-mu-ut-ù-li</i>	MDP 18, 130, 12, 16	39–40: 222; 46: 266
	-umina	<i>Ši-mu-ut-um-mé-en-na</i>	361,9	39–40: 222; 46: 268
	-un-ta-š	<i>Ši-mu-ut-un-da-aš</i>	see above, 2.3.7	39–40: 222; 42: 236c; 46: 270
	<i>hupul-</i>	<i>Hu-pu-ul-Ši-mu-ut</i>	see above, 2.1	39–40: 222
	<i>iri-</i>	<i>I-ri-Ši-mu-ut</i>	480, 4	17: 75; 39–40: 222
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Ši-mu-ut</i>	389,5	21–23: 110; 39–40: 222
	<i>kuri-</i>	<i>Gu-ri-Ši-mu-[u]t</i>	MDP 18, 183, 14	24: 118; 39–40: 222
		<i><sup>i</sup>Ku-ri-Ši-mut</i>	164, rev. 7	
	<i>šir</i>	<i>Ši-ir-Ši-mu-ut</i>	447, 2; 480, 5	39–41: 222, 224
		<i><sup>rit</sup>Ši-mu-&lt;ut&gt;-ba-aš-ti</i>	225,5	39–41: 222 (hybrid)
<i>Ši-mu-ut-ilum (DINGIR)</i>		390,8	"	
	<i><sup>d</sup>Ši-mu-ut-ilum(DINGIR)-ma</i>	371,7	"	



no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
		[ <i>Am</i> ]at ([ <sup>f</sup> GÉ]ME)- <i>Ši-mu-ut</i>	382 <sup>bis</sup> , 12	"
		<sup>d</sup> <i>A-nu-pi-Ši-mu-ut</i>	340,2	"
		<i>Pù-zurš-Ši-mu-ut</i>	153, 7; DE GRAEF 2006, 25, 3	"
		İR- <sup>d</sup> <i>Ši-mu-ut</i>	248,3	"
88	<i>Šip</i>	<i>Še-ep-ú-ul-li-ir</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 78, 11	40: 223, cf. <i>Si-im-ti-ú-li-ir</i> below, 96
89	<i>Šir</i>			
	- <i>appi</i>	<i>Ši-ir-ap-pi</i>	MDP 18, 196, 2	40: 223
	- <i>atur</i>	<i>Ši-ir-a-du-ur</i>	528, rev. 2	40: 223
	- <i>hupiti-r</i>	<i>Si-ir-a-hu-pi-ti-ir</i>	AMIET 1972, 2327	14: 51a; 40: 223
	- <i>napi-r</i>	<i>Si-ir-na-pi-ir</i>	see above, 2.1	31: 157b; 40: 223
	- <i>tu-k</i>	<i>Ši-ir-du-ki</i>	GADOTTI and SIGRIST 2011, 30, rev. 12'	40: 223; 45: 252c
	- <i>u-lulu-k</i>	<i>Si-ir-ú-lu-luk</i>	384, 26	40: 223; 46: 267
	- <i>uštak</i>	<i>Si-ir-ú-uš-ta-ak</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 80, 23	40: 223
	<i>Hap-ruh-</i>	<i>Ha-ap-ru-še-er</i>	see above, 16	10: 30c; 40: 223
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-ga-ši-ir</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 10, 13	21–23: 110; 40: 223
	<i>amma-</i>	cf. <i>Am-ma-še-er</i> above, 4		
90	<i>Šubula</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Šu-bu-la</i> (copy - <i>šu</i> ), - <i>lá</i>	181,1; 318,20	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
91	<i>Šukku</i>			
	- <i>kitin</i>	<i>Šu-ku-ki-[din]</i>	MDP 18, 33, 2	21: 108; 41: 229
	- <i>šak</i>	<i>Šu-ku-ša-ak?</i>	MDP 18, 33, 10	38: 211; 41: 229
	<i>kuri-</i>	<i>Ku-ri-Šu-uk-ku</i>	324, rev. 10'	24: 118; 41: 229

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
		<sup>č</sup> <i>Šu-ku-dam-qa-at</i>	MDP 22, 77, 5'	41: 229 (hybrid)
92	<i>Šulgi</i>	<sup>đ</sup> <i>Šul-gi-un-ha-ni-iš</i>	see above, 2.1	11–13: 48; 60 <i>ad</i> 29 (hybrid, basilophoric)
		<i>Hu-ba-đŠul-gi-da-aš</i>		
		<sup>đ</sup> <i>Šul-gi-en-šu-ba-ak</i>		
93	<i>Šulpē</i>			
	<i>-amma-hatna-k</i>	[ <sup>š</sup> <i>Šu-u</i> ]l-bi-am-ma-ha-at-na-ak	325,18	6: 7; 10: 36 (hybrid)
94	<i>Tanra</i>	<i>Tanra(m)uballiṭ (tan-ra-TI)</i>	546, 11; 547, 6	hybrid
		<i>Awīl-Tanra (LÚ-<sup>đ</sup>tan-ra)</i>	546, rev. 9	hybrid
95	<i>Tata</i>			
	<i>-puni</i>	<i>Da-da-pu-ni</i>	see above, 2.1	35: 189; 43: 243
		<i>Da-at-tu-ri</i>	see above, 2.1	43: 243; 47: 277
96	<i>Timpt</i>			
	<i>-anir</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-a-ni-ir</i>	MDP 27, 129, 4 (OB school text: list of names)	43–44: 246
	<i>-haštuk</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-ha-aš-tu-uk</i>	206,1	10: 34a; 43–44: 246
	<i>-huhpak</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-hu-uh-pa-ak</i>	MDP 27, 130, 2	11: 47; 43–44: 246
	<i>-kutir</i>	<i>Te-ep-ku-te-er</i>	145, 1, 2	24–25: 119a; 43–44: 246
	<i>-lihi-š</i>	<i>Si-im-ti-li-he-eš</i>	see above, 2.3.7	43–44: 246
	<i>-limi</i>	<i>Te-ep-pi-li-mi</i>	318,10	26: 129; 43–44: 246
	<i>-mina</i>	<i>Še-em-du-me-na</i>	520, 2; 521, 3; 522, 5	28: 144; 43–44: 246
	<i>-mirah</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-me-ra-ah</i>	see 2.4 above	43–44: 246
<i>-napir</i>	<i>Ši-im-ti-na-pi-ir</i>	40, 16	31: 157; 43–44: 246	

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
		<i>Te-em-ti-na-pi-ir</i>	MDP 18, 173	
	<i>-pira</i>	<i>Ti-im-ti-bi-ir-ra</i>	MDP 18, 155, 2'	35: 183; 43–44: 246
	<i>-piš</i>	<sup>4</sup> [ <i>T</i> ]e?-em-ti-bi-iš	MDP 18, 75, ii, 11'	35: 184; 43–44: 246
	<i>-pit-raha-š</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-pi-it-ra-haš</i>	DE MEYER 2001: 31	43–44: 246
	<i>-raki</i>	<i>Še-<sup>7</sup>em<sup>7</sup>-ti-ra-ki</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 13, 10	43–44: 246
	<i>-rati-r</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-ra-<sup>3</sup>te-er</i>	512, rev. 2'f.	36: 196b; 43–44: 246
	<i>-riti</i>	<i>Te-em-ti-ri-di</i>	289,6	36: 199; 43–44: 246
	<i>-šilha-k</i>	<i>Še-em-ti-ši-il-ha-ki</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 10,14	39: 220b; 43–44: 246
	<i>-ulir</i>	<i>Si-im-ti-ú-li-ir</i>	see above, 2.3.7	43–44: 246; cf. <i>Še-ep-ú-ul-li-ir</i> , above, 88
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan-še-em-[ti]</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 29, 9	43–44: 241, 246
		<i>Še-em-ti</i>	MDP 18, 155, 4'	43–44: 246 (hypocoristicon)
		<i>Še-em-ti-a-lu</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 27, 25	43–44: 246 (hybrid)
		<i>Te-ep-ti-a-mur-di-nu</i>	MDP 18, 197, 2	43–44: 246 (hybrid?)
		<i>Te-em-ti-ba-ni</i>	528, 14	43–44: 246 (hybrid)
		<i>Te-et-nu-ru</i>	166,34	43–44: 246 (hybrid)
		<i>Še-em-ti-Me-ku-bi</i>	see above, 2.2	43–44: 246 (basilophoric)
96a	<i>Timpti-p</i>			
	<i>-hašir</i>	<i>Ši-im-ti-ip-ha-še-er</i>	see above, 2.1	10: 33a; cf. 43–44: 246
	<i>-li-š</i>	<i>Še-em-ti-bi-li-iš</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 10, 21	26: 125; cf. 43–44: 246
96b	<i>Timpti-r</i>			
	<i>-pahaš</i>	<i>Še-em-ti[r<sup>7</sup>]-pá-ha-aš</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 10, rev. 10	33: 169a; 44: 246a
	<i>-utuk</i>	<i>Si-im-ti-ru-du-uk</i>	see above, 2.3.7	47: 282
96c	<i>Timpt-una</i>	<i>Puzúr-<sup>4</sup>Te-ep-pu-na</i>	393,5	44: 246d (hybrid)

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
96d	<i>Timpt-uri</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Te-ep-tu-ri</i>	101, 19	21–23: 110; 44: 246b (apparently kyriophoric)
97	<i>Tipiki</i>	<i>Te-pi-ki-na-ši-ir</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 78, 6	hybrid
98	<i>Tult</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>A-pi-in-du-ul-tu/ti</i> above, s.v. <i>Apin</i> , cf. [ <sup>d</sup> <i>T</i> ] <i>ul-la-at</i> , above 2.1?		the anthroponym may consist of two theophorous elements (cf. ZADOK 1984: 49: C, 1).
99	<i>Turu-kuša</i>	<i>Tu-ru-un-gu/ku/qu-us/ši</i> , <i>Tu-ru(-un)-ku-us-sú</i>	MDP 28: 161a	46: 258
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Tu-ru-ku-ša</i>	536, 2	21–23: 110; 46: 258
100	<i>Uintiri-karak</i>	<i>Šu-zu-ub-ti-š</i> <sup>š</sup> <i>Ú-in-dī-ri-ka-ra-ak</i>	115, 4	hybrid
101	<i>Ukra</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Gu-ú-gu-uk-ra</i>	see above, 2.1	21–23: 110; 46: 261a
	<i>timpt-</i>	<i>Te-em-mu-uk-ra</i>	see above, 2.1	43–44: 246; 46: 261a
102	<i>Ukur(-)pat</i>			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan-Ú-ku-ur-ba-ti</i>	153, 3	43: 241
103	<i>Uli</i>			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan-š</i> <sup>š</sup> <i>Ú-li</i>	330, 2	43: 241; 46: 266
		<i>Ú-li-ri-mu</i>	MDP 10, 99, 9; 122, 7	46: 266 (hybrid)
104	<i>Upi</i>	<i>Tan-ì-lí-ù-pi</i>	see above, 2.2	43: 241 (apparently kyriophoric)
104a	<i>Upū</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-gu-pu-ú</i>	77, rev. 4'	21–23: 110

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22–28 unless otherwise indicated)	remarks (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)
105	<i>Utuk</i>			
	<i>-na</i>	<i>Ú-du-uk-na</i>	DE GRAEF 2006, 169, 5	47: 282 (not a compound name)
106	<i>Zam(i)</i>	<i>Za-am-mi-i-la-ni</i>	see above, 2.3.6	48: 286 (hybrid)
107	<i>Zana</i>			
	<i>-huša-rit-</i>	<i><sup>r</sup>Za-na-hu-š[a]-ri-it</i>	289,3	48: 287
	<i>-pilir</i>	<i>Za-na-pi-li-ir</i>	see above, 2.1	34: 181a
	<i>Hasir-ir-</i>	<i>Ha-si-ri-ir-za-na</i>	see above, 2.1	mentioned together with <i>Ha-si-ha-li-iš</i> , with which it seems to share the initial component, viz. <i>hasi-r</i>
108	<i>Zit</i>			
	<i>-hunti</i>	<i>Zi-it-hu-un-ti</i>	MDP 10, 1, 3, rev. 1	14: 50; 48: 297
109	<i>Ziyan</i>	<i>Zi-ia-an-zi-in</i>	471, 9	48: 292
	<i>-zin</i>			

## 2.6. The Middle Babylonian period

### 2.6.1. Susa

The only document from Susa datable to the the reign of Šalla (MDP 23, 327, damaged)<sup>590</sup> is coeval with the archive which allegedly originates from Īzeh/Mālamīr (see below, 2.6.2). Due to the considerable chronological gap, MDP 23, 327 has no prosopographical links with the rich sampling from Susa, but the oath formula *Inšušinak lu da-ru* is common in Susa (assertoric oath in lawsuits, as in MDP 22, 162 and OB lawsuits, cf. above, 2.3.1). The 2<sup>nd</sup> component of the formula is *Šalla lišlim*. The same formula is contained in MDP 23, 248, 8, 18–19: *Inšušinak lu da-ru Te-ep-ta-ha-ar li-iš-li-[im]*. Tepti-ahar is thought to be Šalla's successor (see below, 2.6.2). Not only the formula, but also the ductus of this deed is different than the OB documents from Susa.<sup>591</sup> This deed, which is about a field in the UNU (*recte* URU)-DAG quarter on the A-bu-ni canal, is coeval with MDP 22, 76.<sup>592</sup> This canal is also recorded if the reading is correct (the last sign is damaged) in MDP 22, 70. Both deeds have no prosopographical links with the OB material from Susa.

Akkadian theophorous names are *Mīna-kīma-ilu* (*mi-na-GIM-DINGIR*), who heads a list of six witnessing commoners (sg. *muškēnu*).<sup>593</sup> He is followed by two individuals whose names start with Sīn (<sup>d</sup>XXX-*la-li*<sup>2</sup>, <sup>d</sup>XXX-*iri-ba*). The last two witnesses are *Adad-rabi* (<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-GAL) and *Pir-i-lī-šu*. *Ilu* is also contained in *Ilī-uballit* (*i-lī-TI.LA*), *Uk-ku-ku-DINGIR* and perhaps *Il-la-di-nu* (MDP 22, 248). The names of two principals end with *Inšušinak* (*Rabi-I.*: GAL-<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ-EREN and *Aba-kī-I.*: *a-ba-ki-<sup>d</sup>MÜŠ.ERIN*).<sup>594</sup> The two hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) anthroponyms, viz. *Humba-šēmi* (*hum-ba-še-mi*) and *Warad-Šimūt* (*İR-<sup>d</sup>ši-mu-ut*), contain Humpan and Šimūt.<sup>595</sup> The latter is also contained in *Šimūt-gāmil*,<sup>596</sup> which is perhaps MB (the last witness). The antepenultimate witness, *La-ma-ti-i-lī*, ends in *ilī*.

<sup>590</sup> Cf. SALONEN 1962: 28.

<sup>591</sup> See SCHEIL, MDP 22: 113 *ad* 252.

<sup>592</sup> See REINER 1973: 96.

<sup>593</sup> MDP 23, 327 (see YUSIFOV 1968: 237–239).

<sup>594</sup> MDP 23,327, rev. 3 and 248,4 respectively.

<sup>595</sup> MDP 23,327,2 and 248,3 respectively.

<sup>596</sup> <sup>d</sup>ši-mu-ut-ga-mil (MDP 22, 70, 13).

An undatable ME damaged deed, presumably found in Susa (most of the operative section is lost) has the following witnesses whose names are theophorous (refs. are to SCHEIL 1928: 40):

<sup>f</sup>*Ú-tuk-dIn-šu-uš* (1', for *-Inšušnak*), *Ra-áš-i-lu* (2', Akkad., with *-ilu*), *Ki-te-dAMAR.ĪR* (3', *-Marduk*, hybrid), *Ku-uš-a-pa-an* (4'), <sup>f</sup>*A-mi-ni-na-pir* (5', with *-Napir*), <sup>f</sup>*Nu-me-ne-ru-uš* (6'), *Ki-tin-dAMAR.ĪR* (7', *-Marduk*, hybrid), *A-mi-il-dAMAR.ĪR* (8', *-Marduk*, Akkad.), <sup>f</sup>*Ú-pu-du-ni-[iš]* (10', with *Upu-*), *Ku-tir-dIn-[šu-uš<sup>2</sup>]* (rev. 2', *Inšušnak<sup>2</sup>*), *Sin-ni-taš* (rev. 3', *Sin-*), and *Ak-šud-dIn-šu-[uš<sup>2</sup>]* (rev. 4', Akkad., *-Inšušnak<sup>2</sup>*). This is the earliest occurrence of Marduk anthroponyms in Susa.<sup>597</sup> The presence of their referents is probably due to connection with Kassite Babylonia.

### 2.6.2. Texts from an unknown site in Susiana

The majority of the individuals mentioned in a small documentation group (16 texts, early MB),<sup>598</sup> which allegedly originates from Īzeh/Mālamīr (identical or close to ancient Ayapir, in western Fars, c. 75 km. from Rām Hormuzd in the ancient region of Huhnur),<sup>599</sup> are non-Semitic, overwhelmingly Elamite (c. 80%). Despite the unproven provenience, these texts must originate from a site in Susiana or near it, in view of the fact that the parties swear by Inšušinak,<sup>600</sup> and the divine witnesses are Šamaš and Ruhur-ratir. Moreover, one of the principals, *At-ta-we-el-ki-ma-aš*, gave dates (in addition to cereals, lentils and sesame), which cannot be commercially grown on the plateau, to two women.<sup>601</sup> Since Ruhur-ratir was probably worshipped in NE Huhnur,<sup>602</sup> the site is to be sought somewhere in Susiana on or near the route leading to the region of Huhnur, i.e. the section of the plateau which borders on the Susiana plain in the southeast.<sup>603</sup>

<sup>597</sup> The late OB occurrence is doubtful (see 2.4 above).

<sup>598</sup> MDP 4, 169–194, re-edited in MDP 22, 5, 52, 71–76, 81, 132, 149, 150, 154, 155, 162, 163 (see STOLPER 1987–1990b: 279, who points out that there are additional, unpublished fragments).

<sup>599</sup> Cf. HENKELMAN 2008: 45f., 112, n. 245.

<sup>600</sup> Šalla, which follows Inšušinak, is not Adad's consort, but may be rather the name of a ruler (see STOLPER 1987–1990b).

<sup>601</sup> According to MDP 22, 155, 5f. He is the most common principal as he recurs in another five documents (71–73, 132, 163).

<sup>602</sup> See VALLAT 1981: 193–196 and HENKELMAN 2006–2008; 2008: 59, n. 142.

Apart from one deed (MDP 22, 76), which is datable to the reign of Tepti-ahar (written by Hunzaza), all the texts (15) belong to the same archive. The archive has no prosopographical links with MDP 22, 76, except perhaps [*Te-et<sup>2</sup>*]-*un-wa-ha-aš* who may be homonymous, if not identical, with *Te-et-un-pa*-[*ha-aš*]<sup>604</sup> if the restorations are correct. The archive is datable to the reign of Šalla, who might have been Tepti-ahar's predecessor. The oath is by Šalla and Inšušinak (also formulated *Inšušinak lu da-ru Šal-la li-iš-lim-ma*)<sup>605</sup> or by Šalla alone.<sup>606</sup>

Akkadian theophorous anthroponyms are *Nūr-ilīšu* (ZĀLAG-DINGIR-šu), <sup>f</sup>*Urkītu*, *Šil-lī-Adad* (<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR) and *A-ta-an-hi-li* (< *Ātanah-ili* with contraction and *sandhi*),<sup>607</sup> as well as possibly *Ri-iš-ba-ra-tu*, *Šamaš-ilu* (<sup>d</sup>UTU-DINGIR-[...]), and perhaps *Iš-šab<sup>2</sup>*-<sup>d</sup>UTU (scribe) and *Il-sa-hi-ni* (f. of <sup>f</sup>*Wa-qa-ar-ti*).<sup>608</sup> Hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) theophorous anthroponyms are *Hu-um-ba-ba-warad-ili* (-ĪR-DINGIR),<sup>609</sup> *Ku-ne-er-Ur-ki-it*, <sup>f</sup>[*Ku-n*]-*e-er-Iš-ha-ra*, <sup>f</sup>*La-ah-ma-at-am-ma*, *Nu-ur-te-la* and *Nūr-In-za-x*' [(-...)]. Evidence for cultural interaction and assimilation are the six hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) names (cf. just below) and the two mixed filiations (*Pi-hi-it* s. of *Šilli-Adad* as well as *Ku-te-er-ra* and *Ku-ri-ra-al* sons of *Tarī-batu*)<sup>610</sup> in this limited sample. Išhara, which is hitherto not recorded in OB Susa, was worshipped in the Diyāla region during the OB period.<sup>611</sup>

Almost all the names are non-Semitic (c. 90%), and are overwhelmingly Elamite. Very few theophorous elements refer to netherworld deities. They are contained in the hybrid Akkadian-Elamite anthroponyms <sup>f</sup>*Ma-an-zi-it-ú-tu-uk-ku* (< *Manzât-*), *Tan-Šu-šu-un* (-Šušun ~ *Inšušinak*), *At-ta-we-el-ki(im)-ma-aš/At-ta-wi-il-gi(im)-ma-aš/At-ta-Wi-ir-gi-im-maš* (< -*Gilgameš*),

<sup>603</sup> There is no evidence that the capital of Huhur is identical with modern Tepe Bormi (see ALIZADEH 2013).

<sup>604</sup> MDP 22, 162, 18 and 76, 2 respectively.

<sup>605</sup> MDP 22, 73, 74, 154 and 162, 25 respectively.

<sup>606</sup> MDP 22, 52, 71, 72, 75, 81, 132.

<sup>607</sup> Cf. STAMM 1939 [1968]: 163. The name is common in OB Susa (e.g. MDP 24,332,24). A segmentation *A-ta-Kuzbu* (<sup>d</sup>HILLI, with SCHEIL, MDP 22: 85: 72, 29f.) is unlikely as *kuzbu*, an attribute of deities (cf. CAD K: 614b, s.v.), is not recorded as a theophorous element.

<sup>608</sup> MDP 22, 73, 29 and 81, 11f. respectively.

<sup>609</sup> Cf. HENKELMAN 2008: 356, n. 830.

<sup>610</sup> MDP 22, 71, 4, 25; 72, 6, 33f.

<sup>611</sup> She was the chief goddess of OB Išur (see HARRIS 1955: 53 with n. 43), which is to be sought in the Diyāla region as it has become part of the kingdom of Ešnunna at that time (cf. [FRANKFORT, LLOYD and] JACOBSEN 1940: 178: 65).



*Ku-ne-er-ur-ki-it* (-*Urkītu*, 5, 2), as well as, perhaps, *Hu-um-ba-ba-warad-ili* (*Humpapa*-), *La-ah-ma-at-am-ma* (*Lahmat*-) and *Ki-ri-ir-ù-me* (*Kiri-r*-). However, only the last name contains an unmasked Akkadian predicative element. Therefore the evidence for Akkadian-Elamite linguistic interference is negligible. This may strengthen the case for seeking the site on the plain but close to the plateau. *Timpt* is very common. Interestingly enough, names with *Šimūt* are not recorded. Most of the theophorous elements are Elamite. The compounds with the kinship terms (*Amma*, *Atta*, *Šut(u)* and *Šak*) may be linked to ancestors' cult.<sup>612</sup> *Kitin* and *Kuti* are numina; *Kuli* may originally be an epithet. The same may apply to *Tak*.

The brothers *Te-em-du-ur-ha-am-ru* and *Ha-am-ru-ru*<sup>613</sup> have the same name-component, viz. *hamru*. *Ku-uk-am-ma-te-em-di-ir* (132, 17) is apparently kyriophoric (with *Amma-timptir*). It is not known whether the anthroponyms (refs. are to MDP 22) <sup>f</sup>*A-i-in-lu-(un-)gu*,<sup>614</sup> *Ak-ka-ma-ne-ni* (73, 28), *In-di-un-tar* (5, 11), <sup>f</sup>*Mi-it-iz-zu-uš* (73, 22), *Pa-ar-la-ah* (81, 10), and *Taš-hu-hu-ur-ra* (71, 4), which are apparently compounds, are theophorous. *Te-em-tu-tu* (73, 26) is a hypocoristicon of *Timpt*.

Table 4: Theophorous elements contained in Elamite and hybrid anthroponyms allegedly from MB Izeh/Mālamīr (the material from MDP 22, 76 is listed last; refs. in the “remarks” column are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22)	remarks
1	<i>Akun</i> <sup>?</sup>			
	<i>kuk</i> <sup>2</sup> -	<i>Kuk-Akun</i> <sup>?</sup> ( <i>ku-gu-gu-nu</i> )	71,13	5: 6; 21–23: 110
2	<i>Amma</i>			
	<i>-halki</i>	<i>Am-ma-hal-ki</i>	72, 5	6: 7; 9: 23
	<i>-hati-t</i>	<i>Am-ma-ha-te-et</i>	132, 19	5: 6; 10: 35
	<i>-kutir</i>	<i>Am-ma-ku-te-er-ra</i>	75, 2	5: 6; 24–25: 119a
	<i>-litar</i>	<i>Am-ma-li-da-ar</i>	76, 20	5: 6; 26: 131
3	<i>Atta</i>			
	<i>-halki</i>	<i>At-ta-hal-ki</i>	75, 18	7–8: 18; 9: 23
	<i>-haštu-k</i>	<i>At-ta-ha-aš-tu-uk</i>	150, 17	7–8: 18; 10: 34a

<sup>612</sup> For pertinent iconographic evidence see AMIET 2010.

<sup>613</sup> MDP 22, 163, 5, 20, 23.

<sup>614</sup> MDP 22, 52, 5; 72, 10; 162, 3, 7, 17, 19, 28.

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22)	remarks
	-hati-t	<i>At-ta-ha-te-et</i>	162, 4, 29	7–8: 18; 10: 35
	-kutir	<i>At-ta-ku-te-er-ra</i>	71, 19	7–8: 18; 24–25: 119a
	-mitin	<i>At-ta-me-te-en</i>	149, 14	7–8: 18; 29: 148b
	kuni-r-	<i>Ku-ne-er-at-ta</i>	162, 9	7–8: 18; 23: 115b
4	<i>Attar</i>			
	-kita-h	<i>At-tar-ki-it-ta- [ah]</i>	149, 4	8: 18b; 21: 107
	-šutu	<i>At-tar-šu-tu</i> <sup>f</sup> <i>At-tar- šu-tú</i>	71, 24; 73, 24;	8: 18b; 41: 233
	-uktuh	<i>[At]-tar-uk-tu-uh</i>	162, 13 163, 17	8: 18b; 45: 253; 46: 261
5	<i>Hal</i>			
	-hutta-š	<i>Hal-hu-ut-ta-aš</i>	154, 2	8: 21; 14: 56
	-puru-š	<i>Hal-pu-ru-uš</i>	71, 20	8: 21
	-tiri	<i>Hal-te-ri</i>	163, 20	8: 21; 44: 247c
		<i>Ha-al-lu-di-iš(- [...])</i>	150, 6	
6	<i>Haltin</i>			
	-hutta-š	<sup>f</sup> <i>Hal-te-in-hu-ut- ta-aš</i>	71, 21	9: 25; 14: 56
7	<i>Hap-ruh</i>			
	<i>Inri-r-</i>	<i>In-ri-ir-ha-ap-ru- uh</i>	72, 19	10: 30c; 16: 70a
8	<i>Hiš</i>	<i>Hi-iš-pa-ti (&gt; Hi- iš-pa-a, or-za?)</i>	154, 1	11: 42
9	<i>Humpan</i>			
	kuri-	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ri-Hu-um-ba- an</i> <sup>g</sup> <i>Um-ma-[an<sup>2</sup>-...]</i>	71, 3, 5, 14	11–13: 48; 24: 118
10	<i>Humpapa</i>	<i>Hu-um-ba-ba-wa- rad-ili (-ÌR- DINGIR)</i>	163, 8	13: 48a (hybrid)
11	<i>Hun</i>			
	-zaza	<i>Hu-un-za-za</i>	76, 23	13–4: 49; 48: 290
12	<i>Hutran</i>	<i>Hu-ut-ra-ra</i>	71, 2	15: 58 (hypocoristicon)
13	<i>Išhara</i>			

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22)	remarks
	<i>Kuni-r-</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ne-er-Iš-ha-ra</i>	MDP 22, 72, 26 ([ <i>Ku-n</i> ]e-); 162, 13	23: 115b (hybrid)
14	<i>Kar</i>			
	<i>-inri-r</i>	<i>Ka-ar-in-ri-[ir]</i>	74, 2	16: 70a; 19: 89
15	<i>Kiri(r)</i>			
	<i>-ruh-zirra</i>	<i>Ki-ri-ri-ru-uh-hu-zi-ir-ra</i>	132, 6	20: 103a; 36: 200
	<i>-siyak<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Ki-ri-si-A+A-ki</i>	72, 25	
		<sup>f</sup> <i>Ki-ri-ir-ú-me</i>	162, 7	hybrid
	<i>-ihzik</i>	<i>Ki-ri-ri-ih-zi-ik</i>	76, 21	15: 59; 20: 103a
16	<i>Kitin</i>			
	<i>-huta-š</i>	<i>Ki-de-en-hu-ut-ta-aš</i>	150, 15; 163, 9	14: 56; 21: 108
		<i>Ki-di-hu-ut-ta-aš</i>	74, 21	
17	<i>Kuli</i>			
	<i>-mitin</i>	<i>Ku-li-me-te-en</i>	74, 3	21: 108; 23: 112
	<i>-(it)tana</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-li-it-ta-na</i>	5, 1; 162, 8	21: 108; 43: 241?
18	<i>Kuni</i>			
	<i>-hapti</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ne-ha-ap-ti</i>	132, 20; 154, 4	10: 30d; 23: 115a
	<i>-simaš</i>	<i>Ku-ne-si-maš</i>	72, 29	
	<i>par-</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ba-ar-ku-ne</i>	76, 13	34: 175
19	<i>Kunina/e</i>			
	<i>-apra</i>	<i>Ku-ne-na-ap-ra</i>	72, 27	23: 115a
	<i>-gisir</i>	<i>Ku-ne-na-gi-si-ir</i>	72, 3	21: 105; 23: 115a
	<i>-zizu</i>	<i>Ku-ne-ne-zi-zu</i>		23: 115a; 48: 299
20	<i>Kuri</i> (presumably < epithet)			
	<i>-pappat</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ri-Pa-ap-pa-at</i>	72, 24	24: 118; 34: 174
	<i>-râ</i>	<i>Ku-ri-Ra-a</i>	75, 22	24: 118
	<i>-ral</i>	<i>Ku-ri-ra-al</i>	72, 3	24: 118; 35: 192
	<i>-rati</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ri-ra-te</i>	162, 10	24: 118; 36: 196
	<i>-zam(i)</i>	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ri-za-mi</i> / <sup>f</sup> <i>Ku-ri-za-am</i>	71, 26; 73, 30	24: 118; 48: 286
21	<i>Kuti</i>			

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22)	remarks
	-mitin	<i>Ku-te-me-te-en</i>	73, 4	24: 119; 29: 148b
22	<i>Lahmat</i>			
	-amma	<sup>f</sup> <i>la-ah-ma-at-am-ma</i>	72, 31; 52, 27	6: 7 (hybrid)
23	<i>Lali</i>			
	<i>kuni-r-</i>	<i>ku-ne-er-la-li</i>	81, 9	23: 115b; 26: 123
24	<i>Mazzât</i>			
	-utuk	<sup>f</sup> <i>Ma-an-zi-it-ú-tu-uk-ku</i>	76, 7	47: 282 (hybrid)
25	<i>Mi(n)ra</i>			
	-halki	<i>Me-en-ra-hal-ki</i>	81, 6; 163, 26	9: 23; 28: 142c
	-murtV	<i>Me-ra-mu-ur-ti</i>	163, 4	28: 142c; 29: 150c
		<i>Me-en-ra-mur-ta</i>	150, 9	
	<i>Ukkulu--murtV</i>	<i>Uk-ku-lu-me-en-ra mu-ur-ti</i>	163, 19	
26	<i>Naruti</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Na-ru-di</i>	52, 21	21–23: 110;
27	<i>Pata</i>			
	-akšir	<i>Pa-at-ta-ak-ší-ir</i>	52, 22	5: 5b; 34: 178
28	<i>Pita</i>			
	-hizu	<i>Pi-ta-hi-zu</i>	149, 9	11: 45; 35: 185
29	<i>Ruhu</i>			
	-puni	<i>Ru-hu-pu-ni</i>	52, 2	35: 189; 36: 200
30	<i>Šak</i>			
	-teri	<i>Ša-ki-te-ri</i>	132, 10	38: 211; 44: 247c
31	<i>Šiyašum</i>			
	-amma	<sup>f</sup> <i>Šu-ia-šu-um-am-ma/Si-ia-šu-um-am-ma</i>	5, 12; 162, 11	6: 7; 41: 227
	<i>par-</i>	<i>Ba-ar-si-a-šu-u[m]</i>	76, 22	34: 175; 41: 227
32	<i>Šukku</i>	see <i>Utuk</i> below, 42		
33	<i>Šušūn</i> (cf. <i>Inšušinak</i> )			
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>Tan-Šu-šu-un</i>	52, 17	41: 232a; 42: 236e

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22)	remarks
34	<i>Šut(u)</i>			
	-puni	<sup>r</sup> Šu-ut-pu-ni	74, 5, 14	35: 189; 41: 233
35	<i>Tak</i>			
	-mitin	<sup>r</sup> Ta-ak-me-te-en	73, 27	29: 148b; 42: 238
	-nuran	<i>Tak-nu-ra-an</i>	150, 9	42: 238
	-rali	<i>Ta-ak-ra-li</i>	73, 4	35: 192; 42: 238
36	<i>Tilla</i>			
	kuk-	<i>Ku-uk-til-la</i>	76, 19	21–23: 110;43: after 244
		<i>Nu-ur-te-la</i>	163, 24	hybrid
37	<i>Timpt</i> <sup>615</sup>			
	-atih	<i>Te-em-mu-a-ti-ih</i>	154, 3	8: 19; 43–44: 246
	-hahpu	<i>Te-em-du-ha-ah-pu</i>	150, 12	9–10: 30b; 43–44: 246
	-hamri	<i>Te-et-ha-am-ri</i>	5, 8	9: 28; 16: 67; 43–44: 246
	-hamri-t	<i>Te-et-ha-am-ri-it</i>	163, 13	9: 28a; 43–44: 246
	-in-hamru	<i>Te-et-in-ha-am-ru</i>	163, 3	9: 28; 16: 67; 43–44: 246
	-inri	<i>Te-ep-ti-in-ri</i>	52, 1	16: 70; 43–44: 246
	-un-pa/iha-š	<i>Te-ep-ti-un-pi-ha-aš/Te-et-un-pa-[ha-aš]</i>	76, 2	33: 169a; 43–44: 246; 46: 271;
	-unwar	<i>Te-ep-ti-un-wa-ar</i>	74, 19	43–44: 246; 46: 273
	-ur-hamru	<i>Te-em-du-ur-ha-am-ru</i>	162, 33;163, 20	9: 28; 43–44: 246; 46: 276
	-utur	<i>Te-em-du-du-ur</i>	52, 24; 81, 14	43–44: 246
-kuk	<i>Te-ep-ku-uk</i>	163, 22	21–23: 110; 43–44: 246	
37a	<i>Timpti-r (Amma~)</i>			
	kuk-	<i>Ku-uk-am-ma-te-em-di-ir</i>	132, 17	6: 7; 21–23: 110 (apparently kyriophoric)
38	<i>Ukra</i>	<i>Šā-ah-ru-uk-ra</i>	73, 3	46: 261a

<sup>615</sup> The ruler's name *Te-ep-ti-a-har* (MDP 22, 76, 15) is not taken into account.

no.	DN	anthroponym	references (MDP 22)	remarks
39	<i>Uli</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>ku-gu-li</i>	76, 3	21–23: 110; 46: 266
40	<i>Urkītu</i>			
	<i>kuni-r-</i>	<i>Ku-ne-er-ur-ki-it</i>	5, 2	23: 115b (hybrid)
41	<i>Urun</i>			
	<i>-tu-h</i>	<i>Ú-ru-un-du-uh</i>	81, 8	45: 253; 47: 279
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Ú-ru-un</i>	52, 3, 13	21–23: 110; 47: 279
42	<i>Utuk</i>			
	<i>-kilala</i>	<i>Ú-du-uk-ki-la-la</i>	72, 28	47: 282
	<i>šuk-</i>	<i>Šu-uk-ku-tu-uk</i> see <i>Mazzât</i> above, 24	74, 22	
43	<i>Wilkišaš/Wirgimaš</i> ( <i>Pilkišaš</i> < <i>B/Pilgameš</i> ~ <i>Gilgameš</i> )			cf. <i>Bil/Pil-ga-miš</i>
	<i>Atta-</i>	<i>At-ta-pe/we-el-ki-im-ma-aš</i>	71, 8	7–8: 18
		<i>At-ta-pe/we-el-gi-maš</i>	72, 9	
		<i>At-ta-pi/wi-il-gi-im-ma-aš</i>	73, 8	
		<i>At-ta-pe/we-el-ki-im-ma-aš</i>	163, 12, 29 (<-im>-)	
		<i>At-ta-pe/we-el-ki-ma-aš</i>	155, 5, 15	
		<i>At-ta-pi/wi-ir-gi-<sup>12</sup>im-maš</i>	132, 11f.	
44	<i>Zit</i>			
	<i>-(a)natu</i>	<sup>r</sup> <i>Zi-ta-na-tu</i>	132, 3	48: 297

## 2.6.3. Kapnak

More than 1000 economic tablets from the early MB period (c. 1450–1400 BC) were unearthed at Kapnak (modern Haft Tepe, 17 km. southwest of Susa), in addition to numerous non-economic tablets.<sup>616</sup>

GLASSNER (1991: 117) reports 55% bearers of Elamite names in Kapnak<sup>617</sup> vs. 90% in Māl-amīr (see above, 2.6.2).<sup>618</sup> However, there is a sizable group of names from Kapnak which resists any analysis. The most common theophorous element is Šimūt (7)<sup>619</sup> followed by Ilu/Ilī(ya, 4). A bronze plaque from Haft-Tepe possibly has a depiction of Nergal according to NEGAHBAN (1990). It may be that Šimūt, who is equated with Nergal in Elam, is meant here, the more so since so far Nergal is not recorded in the anthroponymy from Kapnak.<sup>620</sup> Anthroponyms with Inšušinak and Išmekarāb were borne by just two individuals each. Likewise, anthroponyms with Mazzāt, Sīn and Adad were borne by two individuals each. Each of the theophorous elements Šamaš, Ištar, Šuddu, Ruhu-ratir, Napriša, Humban and Ištarān is contained in the name of one individual only. *Kik* “heaven” may be extant in *Ki-ki-i-pir*.<sup>621</sup>

Akkadian names are listed in table 5 below, where it is revealed that most of them are identical with anthroponyms from Babylonia common at that period. For *Rīš-Šudda* cf., e.g., OB <sup>d</sup>*Šu-ud-da-nāšir* and <sup>d</sup>*Su-da* from Tall Abū Šīja = ancient Pašime.<sup>622</sup> *Ṭāb-Adāru* is also recorded in OB Susa (see above, 2.3.5) and in MB Nippur (name of an Elamite). *Šumān* (or *šu-ma-DINGIR*) and *Eber-AN* (*E-be-er-DINGIR*)<sup>623</sup> are either compound (with *ilu*) or simplex anthroponyms. *Te-li-it* / [*Ti*]-*il-ti-pa-ni* seems to contain *Te/ilit-*

<sup>616</sup> See PRECHEL 2010 and VELDHUIS 2014: 304–311. The latter points out that the scribes of Susiana had a deep knowledge of the bilingual lexical tradition.

<sup>617</sup> Pirhi-Amurru and Ili-barna, Babylonians who did not reside in Kapnak (cf. HERRERO 1976: 96f.: 1, rev. 12, 98f.: 3, 7), are not taken into account.

<sup>618</sup> This is also the estimation of DE GRAEF (2013: 275–276).

<sup>619</sup> See table 6 below and add <sup>d</sup>*Ši-mu-ut-na-pir* (PRECHEL 2010: 55: H.T. 0513-202, 2); *-napi-r* is also extant in *A-ri-na-pir* (PRECHEL 2010: 56: H.T. 07-31-95, 4).

<sup>620</sup> Perhaps the identification of several Kassite deities with Nergal (cf. Balkan, *Kassit. Stud.*: 105, 115) is of relevance here.

<sup>621</sup> PRECHEL 2010: 55: H.T. 05-13-202, 5 (for *-ipir* cf. perhaps ZADOK 1984: 11: 41).

<sup>622</sup> MARCHANT 1990: 89: UCLMA 9–1848 and HUSSEIN *et al.* 2010: 57, 70 respectively.

<sup>623</sup> HERRERO and GLASSNER 1993: 102: 172, 3 and 99: 168, 5 respectively.

as theophorous element. This can be identical with <sup>d</sup>*Te/Ti-li-tum* (<sup>d</sup>*Ti-li-te*) in the WEIDNER's god list.<sup>624</sup> <sup>d</sup>UTU-[*ir-ri-ba*] is severely damaged.

Table 5: Mesopotamian theophorous elements contained in Akkadian names from MB Kapnak (compared with contemporary Babylonia)

no	DN	anthroponym	reference (HERRERO / GLASSNER)	parallels from Babylonia
1	<i>Adad</i>	<i>Adad-ēriš</i> ( <sup>d</sup> ĪŠKUR-APIN) <i>Irība-Adad</i> ( <i>i-r[i-b]a</i> - <sup>d</sup> ĪŠKUR)  <i>[Pir]i-Adad</i> ( <i>[Pir]-i</i> - <sup>d</sup> ĪŠKUR)	1990: 7: 4  1991: 54: 98, 6  1990: 38, 61, 9	HÖLSCHER 1996: 17 HÖLSCHER 1996: 70–71, s.v. <i>Erība</i> ~)
2	<i>Adāru</i>	<i>Ṭāb-Adāru</i> ( <i>Ṭā-ab-a</i> - <i>[da-ru]</i> , <i>Ṭā-&lt;ab&gt;-a</i> - <i>da-ru</i> )	1990: 23: 31, 5 and 36: 57, 4 <sup>3</sup> respectively	HÖLSCHER 1996: 223a
3	<i>Amurru</i>	<i>Arad-Amurru</i> <sup>?</sup> ( <i>ĪR</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR.[GA]L?)	1991: 54: 98, 4	HÖLSCHER 1996: 35a
4	<i>Bublu</i>	<i>Ina-Bubli</i> ( <i>i-na-bu-ub-la</i> ) <i>Eṭel-bublušu</i> ( <i>E-ṭe</i> - <i>el-bu-ub-lu-šu</i> )	BECKMAN 1991: 81–82: 1, rev. 11–12 (poss. a scribe)	
5	<i>Ilu</i> and derivatives	<i>Nīq-ili</i> ( <i>Ni-iq</i> -DINGIR) <i>Ili-ama</i> [...] ( <i>Ī-lī-a-ma</i> -[...]) [...] <i>-ilīya</i> ( <i>[x(x)]-i-li-ia</i> ) <i>Īl<sup>3</sup>-šu-ib<sup>3</sup>-ni</i>	1993: 117: 192, 1  1993: 104–105: 175, 17 1993: 104–105: 175, rev. 7' 1990: 38: 61, 6	HÖLSCHER 1996: 97a
6	<i>Īmekarāb</i>	<i>GAL</i> - <sup>d</sup> <i>iš-me-ka-rah</i> - <i>ab</i>	1993: 119: 195, 4	
7	<i>Īstar</i>	<i>Pir</i> <sup>?</sup> <i>-i-Īstar</i> ( <i>Pir</i> -< <i>i</i> >- <sup>d</sup> <i>Īš-tār</i> )	1991: 50: 91, 3	
8	<i>Īstarān</i>	<i>Šilli-Īstarān</i> (GISSU- <sup>d</sup> KA.DI)	1993: 114–115: 190, 19	SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2001, 353, 9, cf. 492b, s.v. <i>Šilli-Anurabū</i>
9	<i>Māru</i> (<epithet)	<i>Mār-ṭāb</i> (DUMU-DU <sub>10</sub> - <i>ba</i> <sup>?</sup> )	1993: 121: 197, 2'	

<sup>624</sup> Cf. KREBERNIK 2006: 79 and 2011–2013d.



no	DN	anthroponym	reference (HERRERO / GLASSNER)	parallels from Babylonia
10	<i>Sîn</i>	<i>Sîn-irîba</i> ( <sup>d</sup> XXX- <i>i-ri-ba</i> ) <i>Sîn-remēni</i> <i>Sîn-[-...]</i>	1993: 113–114: 189, 3' (HERRERO 1976: 106f.: 8, 2) 1991: 45: 80, 6'/7'	HÖLSCHER 1996: 187a, s.v. <i>Sîn-erîba(m)</i>  <i>Sîn-re-man-ni</i> (HÖLSCHER 1996: 192a)
11	<i>Šamaš</i>	<i>Pir'î-Šamaš</i> ( <i>Pir-⟨i⟩</i> - <sup>d</sup> UTU), <sup>d</sup> UTU-[ <i>ir-ri-ba</i> ]	1991: 45: 80, 8'  1991: 59: 110, 5'	HÖLSCHER 1996: 202b, s.v. <i>Šamaš-erîba</i>
12	<i>Šudda</i>	<i>Riš-Šudda</i> ( <i>Ri-šu-ud-da</i> )	1990: 26–27, 37, 1	HÖLSCHER 1996: 181b
13	<i>Telîtu</i>	<i>Te-li-it-pa-ni</i> <i>Te-li-⟨it⟩-pa-ni</i>  [ <i>Ti</i> ]- <i>il-ti-pa-ni</i>	1993: 99: 168, 2 1993: 105–106: 176, 20' 1991: 59: 111, 3'	The DN is recorded in WEIDNER's god list, 219 (see KREBERNIK 2006: 79)

Elamite names are listed in table 6 below. Hybrid (Akkad.-Elam.) anthroponyms are *Ahāt-Ruhu-ratir*, *Kuk-Allatu*, *Kuk-Išme-karāb* and *Kuk-Mazzāt*, as well as, perhaps, <sup>d</sup>GÍR+KAL-*šēmi*, *Damqi-<sup>d</sup>GÍR+KAL*, *Pir'î-<sup>d</sup>GÍR+KAL*, *Šilli-<sup>d</sup>GÍR+KAL*, *Ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>GÍR+KAL* and [*Ši*]mūt-iddina (damaged). *Rab-Išme-karāb* (GAL-<sup>d</sup>iš-me-ka-ra-ab) which can be Akkadian, may be a masked hybrid form as the initial Sumerogram may mask an Elamite form. The same applies to the identical initial element of *Rab-Napriša* (GAL-<sup>d</sup>GAL) and to *Inšušinak-šar-ilāni* (-EŠŠANA.DINGIR<sup>m[es]</sup>).

Table 6: Theophorous elements contained in Elamite and hybrid anthroponyms from MB Kapnak (refs. are to ZADOK 1984 unless otherwise indicated)

no	DN	anthroponym	reference <sup>625</sup>	Remarks
1	<i>Allatu</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>ku-uk-al-la-t[u]</i> )	1993: 122: 199, 3'	21–23: 110 (hybrid)
2.	<i>Amma</i>			
	<i>-kita</i>	<i>Amma-kita</i>		6: 7; 21: 107
	<i>-napir</i>	<i>Amma-napir</i>		6: 7; 31: 157b

<sup>625</sup> HERRERO and GLASSNER unless otherwise indicated.

no	DN	anthroponym	reference	Remarks
3	<i>Atta</i>			
	-halki	<i>At-ta-hal-[ki]</i>	1993: 104–105: 175, 13	7–8: 18; 9: 23
	-hati-t	<i>At-ta-ha-te-et</i>	1993: 104–105: 175, 4	7–8: 18; 10: 35
	-mitin	<i>At-ta-me-t[e-en]</i>	1993: 98: 167, 1'	
	-napir	<i>At-ta-na-pir</i>	BECKMAN 1991: 81f.: 1, 4	7–8: 18; 29: 148b
		<i>Atta-Bub[la] (at-ta-bu-ub-[la])</i>	1993: 122: 199, 1' (hybrid)	7–8: 18; 31: 157b
	<i>At-ta-x<sup>7</sup>-[...]</i> <i>At-ta-[...]</i>	1993: 102: 172, 4 1993: 104–105: 175, 11	7–8: 18	
4	<i>Attar</i>			
	-kita-h	<i>At-ta-[ar]-ki-ti-ta-ah</i>	1990: 32: 48, 2', 4'	8: 18b; 21: 107
5	<i>Bublu</i>	see <i>Atta</i> above, 3		
6	GÍR+KAL	<sup>d</sup> GÍR+KAL-šēmi	1993: 134 = NEGAHBAN 1991: no. 465	hybrid
		<i>Damqi</i> - <sup>d</sup> GÍR+KAL	1993: 116: 191	
		<i>Pir</i> 'i-, <i>Šilli</i> - <sup>d</sup> GÍR+KAL, <i>Ku-uk</i> - <sup>d</sup> GÍR+KAL	see HERRERO and GLASSNER 1990: 4–5	
7	<i>Humpan</i>			
	tarik-	<i>Ta-r[i-ti]k-[H]u-un-ba-an</i>	1990: 18: 22, 1	11–13: 48
8	<i>Iki</i>			
	-mitin	<i>Iki-meten ( [i-gi]-me-te-en, i-gi-me-t[e-en])</i>	1991: 50: 91, 12; 51: 92, 1	15: 60; 29: 148b
9	<i>Inšušinak</i>	<i>Inšušinak-šar-ilāni (-EŠŠANA.DINGIR<sup>m(es)</sup>)</i>	1990: 6: 2, 2a, 2b	hybrid or masked Elamite
	kuni-r-	<i>Ku-ne-er-<sup>d</sup>In-šu-uš-[na?-ak?]</i>	1991: 41: 74, 12	23: 115b
10	<i>Intirki</i>			
	kuk-	<i>Kuk-intirki (Ku-uk-in-di-ir-ki)</i>	1993: 113: 188, 10'	21–23: 110
11	<i>Išme-karāb</i>			
	kuk-	<i>Kuk-Išme-karāb (ku-uk-<sup>d</sup>iš-me-ka-[ra-ab])</i>	1993: 102: 172, 1	21–23: 110
12	<i>Kirwašir</i>			

no	DN	anthroponym	reference	Remarks
	<i>haštu-</i> (or <i>haštu-k?</i> )	<i>Ha-aš-tu-ki-ir-me-ší-ir</i>	1990: 44: 69, 2	10: 34; 20–21: 104
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-[<sup>d</sup>gìr]-meš</i>	1990: 14: 17, 14'	20–21: 104; 21–23: 110
13	<i>Kitin</i> (numen)			
	<i>-kutir</i>	<i>Ki-de-en-ku-te-er</i>	1993: 134 = NEGAHBAN 1991: no. 217	24–25: 119b
14	<i>Lal'</i>	<i>La-[lu<sup>?</sup>]-um-me-eš-šu</i>	HERRERO 1976: 110f.: 10, 2	26: 123
15	<i>Mazzât</i>			
	<i>kuk-</i>	<i>Ku-uk-Ma-an-za-at</i>	1991: 44: 79, 2'	21–23: 110; 27: 138
	<i>Šimūt-</i>	<i>Šimūt-Mazzât</i> ( <sup>d</sup> <i>ší-mu-ut-ma-an-za-[at]</i> )	1990: 12: 13, 12	27: 138; 39–40: 222
16	<i>Napriša</i>	<i>Rab-Napriša</i> (GAL- <sup>d</sup> GAL)	1993: 109: 181, 3'	hybrid
17	<i>Ratir</i>			
	<i>ku-</i> (defective for <i>kuk-?</i> )	<i>Ku-ra-te-er</i>	1993: 114–115: 190, 3, 15	36: 196b
18	<i>Ruhu-ratir</i>			
	<i>kuti-</i>	<i>ku-te-<sup>d</sup>ru-hu-ra-te-er</i>	HERRERO 1976: 96f.: 1, 3	24: 119; 37: 200b
	<i>tan-</i>	<i>da-an-ru-ha-ra-te-er</i>	1993: 119: 195, 3	37: 200b; 42: 236a
		<i>Ahāt-Ruhu-ratir</i> ( <i>a-ha-at-<sup>d</sup>ru-hu-ra-te-er</i> )	1993: 122: 199, 3'	37: 200b (hybrid)
19	<i>Šimūt</i>			
	<i>-un-paha-š</i>	<sup>d</sup> <i>ší-mu-ut-un-pa-ha!-&lt;aš&gt;</i>	1991: 60: 112, 3'	39–40: 222; 46: 271
	<i>-un-ta-š</i>	<i>ší-mu-ut-<sup>12</sup>un-ta-aš</i>	1990: 24: 32, 3	39–40: 222; 42: 236c
			1993: 125: 205, 11f.	
	<i>-warta-š</i>	<i>ší-mu-ut-wa-ar-ta-[aš]</i> , [ <i>ší</i> ]- <i>mu-ut-wa-ar-ta-aš</i>	1993: 122: 199, 4' and 1990: 14–15: 17, 17' respectively	39–40: 222
		[ <i>Ší</i> ] <i>mūt-iddina</i> ([ <sup>d</sup> <i>ší</i> ]- <i>mu-ut-AŠ</i> )	1993: 100: 169, 9	39–40: 222 (hybrid)
		<i>Šimūt-kas</i> [...] ( <i>ší-mu-ut-ka-as</i> -[...])	1993: 104–105: 175, 20	39–40: 222

no	DN	anthroponym	reference	Remarks
		<sup>d</sup> Ši-mu-ut-[...]	1991: 44: 78, 3'	
		Ši-mu-ut-[...]	1993: 104–105: 175, 14	
		See also <i>Mazzât</i> above		
20	<i>Timpt</i>			
	- <i>hahpu</i>	<i>Te-em-tu-ha-ah-pu</i>	HERRERO 1976: 106f: 8, 7	9–11: 30b; 43–44: 246
	- <i>ahar</i>	<i>Te-ep-ti-a-ha-ar</i>	HERRERO 1976: 102f: 6 [seal/footprint], 5–6	5: 1a; 43–44: 246

#### 2.6.4. Dūr-Untaš, other sites and comparative material

The Akkadian terminology persisted in the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, when the rulers of Elam started writing their inscriptions in Middle Elamite. One encounters Akkadian loanwords for sacred edifices in Middle Elamite: *kukunnu* “ziqqurat”,<sup>626</sup> *alimeli* “acropolis” (where the temple was located), (*kumpum*) *kiduya* “external chapel”. The term for a priest, *pašišu* (“anointed”), is Akkadian.<sup>627</sup>

Dumuži > Damuži, Bēlet-āli, Belilit,<sup>628</sup> Adad and Šala were worshipped in ME Dūr-Untaš. The later MB period has much less textual material. There is evidence for the presence of Semites in the town of Din-šarri in Susiana at that time.<sup>629</sup> A stele from the acropole of Susa depicts king Untaš-Napiriša (1340-1300 BC) standing before the great Elamite god. The latter is seated on a serpent-throne and holds in one hand the head of a fire-spitting horned serpent, and in the other hand the emblems of divine power, the rod and ring (marked with two different snake-scale patterns).<sup>630</sup> Two stele fragments from Susa are carved with heads of serpent-dragons.<sup>631</sup>

Ikišta and Šala are still recorded in anthroponyms from early NE Malyan.

<sup>626</sup> For the funerary character of the ziqqurat in Elam see VALLAT 1997. The Babylonian ziqqurat has also this character (see TALLQVIST 1934: 28–29). The ziqqurat in early dynastic Girsu was situated in a grove like in later Susiana (see CAD G: 69–70, s.v. *gigunû*).

<sup>627</sup> See VALLAT 2002–2003: 531, 541. For an almost exhaustive list of Elamite loanwords in Akkadian see KREBERNIK 2006: 83-91 (Akkadian terms for sacred constructions in Elamite are discussed by KREBERNIK 2006: 92-94).

<sup>628</sup> Cf. KREBERNIK 2003: 160-161 (Belili).

<sup>629</sup> Cf. BRINKMAN 1986: 200.

<sup>630</sup> See A. Benoit in CARTER *et al.* 1992d: 127-130: 80.

<sup>631</sup> See J. Aruz in CARTER *et al.* 1992d: 130-131: 81, 82.

Some individuals in the rich later MB documentation from Nippur are defined as Elamites or bear Elamite anthroponyms (including hybrid names);<sup>632</sup> The netherworld deities Šimūt and Napiriša are recorded as theophorous elements in most of them (references are to SASSMANNSHAUSEN 2001):

*Ki-din-na-wi-ir-ša, -na-mi-ir-ša* (=Napirša, 31, 20 & 55, 59 resp., Kur. 6); *Si-mu-ut-AN-da-áš* ( 1, 9, Bur. 25); <sup>d</sup>*Si-mu-ut-GAL* (100, 4, Naz. 24; <sup>kur</sup>*Ra-ši* is mentioned in the same text, line 10); <sup>d</sup>*Si-mu-ut-na-pi-ir* (302, ii, 9, Naz. 10); and <sup>d</sup>*Si-mu-ut-aha-iddina* (-ŠEŠ-SUM<sup>na</sup>, 77, 4, 11, Kur. 10). *Kiri-r* is the theophorous element of *Ki-ri-ru-du-uk* (with *-utuk*).<sup>633</sup> *Su-gi-ir-pu(un)-ni, Su-ùg-ir-pu-ni* fulfilled an important administrative function.<sup>634</sup>

### 3. CONCLUSION

Sumer, especially the Sealand, and adjacent Susiana inherently had a close and to some extent shared culture from time immemorial. Even more important are the intensive connections of Susiana with the adjacent Zagros piedmont and the Transtigridian region of Babylonia to its northwest. The diffusion of the Akkadian-speaking population from northeast Babylonia, especially the Diyāla basin to Rāši, Yamutbal and Susiana; and the ensuing intensive cultural interaction resulted in a shared heritage. Its salient expressions are the scribal tradition, the pantheon with a wide array of netherworld and ophidian deities and other numina, as well as onomastic accord and the legal tradition. Thus on the one hand Susiana had many cultic-cultural ties with eastern Babylonia and the Sealand. On the other hand, it was strongly influenced by Elam. These ties and trends are *longue durée* phenomena. It should be pointed out that the presence of a sizable Akkadian-speaking population in Susiana is part of the diffusion of Semites in the Transtigridian region and the Zagros piedmont rather than the result of isolated migration waves during crisis periods. The three regions, namely Susiana, eastern Babylonia and the Sealand, formed a frontier area, in which an enduringly Semitic-Elamite amalgam was crystalized with netherworld deities occupying a central position in the cult. The influences were mutual. Akkadian lexical material was borrowed in Elamite. The cult of several Babylonian deities occupied a prestigious position among the Elamite elite, especially from the middle Elamite period onwards. Elamite religious

<sup>632</sup> See ZADOK 1991: 230: 138–142 (hybrid names: 140, 142).

<sup>633</sup> See ZADOK 1984: 20: 103a, 47: 282.

<sup>634</sup> See VAN SOLDT 2015: 27–28.

notions and certain elements of magic were adopted in Babylonia during the same period, which also witnessed the undeniable Elamite impact on the Babylonian perception of the underworld. Hybrid (Akkadian-Elamite) anthroponyms are evidence that Elamites worshipped certain Mesopotamian deities and that Akkadian-speaking people venerated Elamite deities. The Akkadian-speaking segment of the Susa population during the Sargonic, Ur III and OB periods did not consist just of merchants, but was engaged in a wide array of occupations; mostly agriculture. This is another point in favour of considering this segment as part of the local scene. Mixed marriages among commoners and political marriages between Babylonian and Elamite rulers, served as a channel for introduction of cults, and as a catalyst of religious-cultural syncretism. The Kassite rule of Babylonia was a platform for introducing Elamite religious and legal notions, notably that of *kidinnu* “divine protection, divinely enforced security”. From the end of the Kassite period onward, this originally Elamite term denoted the privileged status of the Babylonian temple cities and their citizenry, who were the backbone of the Babylonian society at that time.

Susian practices must have seemed outlandish to the remote Assyrians. But I doubt that this was the case with observers from eastern Babylonia on account of their proximity and partially shared culture.

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