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ON THE COVER:
Gudea's head "Grande tête à turban" Louvre AO 13.
Photo: Gábor Kalla.

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The Wording of Inana's 'Blessing' and the Characterisation of the Gardener in *Inana and Šukaletuda*

Anna Krisztina Pintér*

* – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Email: annakrisztina4@gmail.com

Abstract: The present paper examines the wording of the fate decree in the mythic story *Inana and Šukaletuda* (ll. 296–301). Šukaletuda receives eternal fame from Inana, which resembles the fates destined for great kings. Nonetheless, Šukaletuda's fate subtly differs from the kings' share. According to administrative documents, milk churners, shepherd-boys, and novice singers are low-class workers. Thus, the characters who are selected to transmit Šukaletuda's story belong to his own class, and thus, relativise the benefits of his destiny.

Keywords: Sumerian literature, Inana and Šukaletuda, mythic narratives, social classes, singers, shepherds

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Introduction[1]

The mythic composition *Inana and Šukaletuda* recounts an incident between a goddess and a gardener. One day, Šukaletuda the gardener notices the sleeping goddess Inana and rapes her. After waking up, Inana becomes furious, seeks after the perpetrator, and she delivers the following speech when she finally finds him (ll. 296–301, English translation by the author):[2]

ĝen-na ba-ug$_5$-ge-ˈenˈ nam-ĝu$_{10}$ mu-zu nam-ˈba-da-ḫaˈ-lam-e
ˈmuˈ-zu en$_3$-du-a ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$ en$_3$-du ḫe$_2$-dug$_3$-ˈgeˈ
ˈnarˈ tur-e e$_2$-gal lugal-la-ka ḫu-ˈmuˈ-ni-in-ku$_7$-ˈku$_7$ˈ-[de$_3$]
ˈsipadˈ-de$_3$ dun$_5$-dun$_5$ ^{dug}šakir$_3$-ˈraˈ-ka-na dug$_3$-ge-eš ḫe$_2$-ˈem-miˈ-ib-be$_2$
sipad tur-re ki udu lu-a-na mu-zu ḫe$_2$-em-tum$_2$-tum$_2$-mu
e$_2$-ˈgal$^{?}$ˈ edin-na e$_2$-zu ḫe$_2$-a

[1] This paper is a revised version of Pintér 2022, which itself is based on a talk given in Pécs in May 2022.

[2] Edition and transcription: Volk 1995, 124. There is more than one possible way to translate ll. 296–297 which also questions as to whether Šukaletuda was killed or not, as the following translations demonstrate. Volk 1995, 133: 'Wohlan! Du wirst sterben! Was ist das (schon)? Deinen Namen soll man dabei (aber) nicht vergessen!'; Attinger 2019, 11: 'Va! Tu-tuerai-je? A quoi bon? Ton nom ne tombera certainement pas dans l'oubli'; Mittermayer 2013, 36: 'Doch wohlan, du wirst sterben. Doch was soll's? Dein Name wird dadurch nicht in Vergessenheit geraten!'; Wilcke 1993, 57 n. 126: 'komm, töte ich dich, was bedeutet das mir – deinen Namen würde es nicht vernichten'; ETCSL 1.3.3: 'So! You shall die! What is that to me? Your name, however, shall not be forgotten'.

'Now, you will die! Then what? Your name will not disappear thereupon,
your name shall be in songs, it shall make the songs sweet!
May the small singers sweeten it in the royal palace,
may the shepherds tell it melodiously while churning,
may the small shepherd spread your fame at the folds,
may the Palace of the Steppe be your house!'

This baffling speech has triggered several scholarly remarks on this contradictory issue: Šukaletuda receives a favourable fate, the everlasting fame much coveted by kings, despite his improper deed. Hence, this passage has been understood as a blessing, rather than a curse.[3] It is not only the speech's content which conveys a favourable impression of the decreeing of his fate, but also the choice of the speech's introductory formula. It is not labelled as a curse: the speech is preceded by the phrase **nam—tar** 'to decree a fate', and not **nam—kud** 'to curse'.[4]

Yet, the favourability of Šukaletuda's fate can be disputed in view of some elements in the composition, such as the professions enumerated in the 'blessing', Šukaletuda's characterisation, and the narrative structure of the text. In this context, the following study discusses three issues: firstly, the wording of the text which consigns Šukaletuda to the lower social classes. Secondly, the formulation which questions the correctness of his deed, and, finally, the significance of **nam—tar** and **nam—kud** in this passage. Taken together, these findings relativise the favourability of Šukaletuda's fate: he does not receive the fame much sought-after by kings and the elite; as eternal his fame might be, it will nonetheless be transmitted by low-class workers such as shepherd-boys and novice singers.

The topic of the myth and its scholarly interpretations

At this juncture, it is worth summarising briefly the composition's story.[5] It begins with a description of the goddess Inana, who leaves her sanctuaries and ventures triumphantly into the mountains, in order to 'reveal truth and falsehood' and to inspect the land.[6] The following lines are broken, thus, rendering it unclear as to how the topic transitions to the episode of Enki and the raven.[7] The raven's deeds are surprising: it gardens like humans. Enki instructs the bird how to plant seeds, and date palms grow out of the raven's pots.

The story of the raven and that of Šukaletuda are seemingly unrelated. As G. Selz has observed, it is perhaps the analogy between vegetal and human fertility which links them.[8] The raven digs the earth and pollinates the palm: these details evoke the connection between agriculture and fertility. T. Mařík also suggested that the materials used by the raven, such as oil and kohl, may recall the tools used in divination,[9] or cosmetics employed in preparation for marriage, perhaps, foreshadowing Šukaletuda's outlaw nuptial.[10] Finally, the date palm sprouts and blossoms. Its practical uses and its worthiness to the royal palace and the temples of the gods are then highlighted in the text. After the description of the date palm, the story continues with Šukaletuda, the unsuccessful gardener. His plants perish, and the wind blows dust into his eyes. As he wipes

[3] Compare Hruška 1998, 323: 'Die Wirkung dieses merkwürdigen Mythos kommt in einer überraschenden Schicksalsentscheidung (Z. 296-301) zustande'; Alster 1999, 687: 'Amazingly, this all ends with a blessing of Šukaletuda, whose name is to be remembered in songs forever'; Mařík 2003, 157: '(…) so kommt nur Inanas unerwartet positive abschließende Schicksalsentscheidung für Šukaletuda in Frage (…)'.

[4] Volk 1995, 114 l. 294: [**nam mu-n]i-ib-tar-re**.

[5] For the critical edition, see Volk 1995; for the most recent translation, see Attinger 2019.

[6] For the intertextual references in this text, see Wilcke 1993, 56–57.

[7] For an explanation, see Verderame 2021, 18–19.

[8] Selz 2001a, 48; also, for a more detailed analysis, see Mařík 2003.

[9] Volk 1995, 149–150.

[10] Mařík 2003, 153–155.

out the dust from his eyes, it results in an extraordinary consequence: he gains vision to the otherworld. There, he sees ghosts, and Inana sleeping under a tree. Šukaletuda violates her and returns to his fields. When Inana wakes up, she notices its evidence, and starts to seek after the committer. Until this part, the text contains rhetorical questions:[11]

i_3-ne-$še_3$ lu_2-ra dili a-na na-an-du_{11}
lu_2 lu_2-ra dili a-na na-an-daḫ

'Now, what does one say to another?
What else can one add to another?'

Stylistically, the composition consists of two parts, distinguishable from each other by their narrative style and the appearance of rhetorical questions. The rhetorical questions in the first part do not belong to the story world, but to the (imaginary) setting of the presentation of the story. Consequently, the narrative style of the first part has a perceptible narrator. Furthermore, the narrator describes the events and narrates the characters' perceptions.

In the second part, Inana hunts after Šukaletuda, and imposes plagues on the country whenever her attempts to find him prove to be unsuccessful. Šukaletuda hides among the black-headed people in the mountains, as advised by his father. Finally, Inana appeals to Enki and asks for compensation, who then unwillingly hands over Šukaletuda, after which Inana decrees Šukaletuda's fate. The second part does not contain rhetorical questions, and the narration consists of dialogues, simple descriptions of events, and accounts of what the characters do; the narrator no longer reveals the characters' inner perceptions.

This story has inspired multiple theories as to its meaning and connotations; the text's first editor, S. N. Kramer highlighted the plagues in the story, comparing them to the Biblical story of plagues.[12] K. Volk provided an elaborate analysis of each parts of the text: the plagues, the significance of gardening, and the story's broader political context.[13] It has also been suggested that Inana's route represents the path of Venus, and an astral myth is being described.[14]

Recent research has dealt with the fertility aspects, noting the apparently incoherent insertion of the raven's episode, and the possible analogy between vegetal and human fertility in the actions of the raven and Šukaletuda.[15] Further emphasis has been placed upon Šukaletuda's assault as a disfigurement of a royal ritual, the violation of the sacred marriage ceremony,[16] wherein the kings participate in the role of Dumuzi, Inana's divine husband.[17] Although Šukaletuda's involvement is 'illegitimate',[18] his acts nonetheless imitate the rite, wherein the goddess is obliged to bless the king and the people.[19] By means of contrast, Inana imposes plagues on the land, instead of blessing the country, as customary in this ritual. As the participant of the rite symbolically becomes the spouse of the goddess, the gardener's fate becomes that of Inana's husband, Dumuzi. Ironically, what Šukaletuda gains with this is Dumuzi's dying aspect; he can die and dwell in the 'palace of the steppe', just like the divine husband.[20]

11 Volk 1995, 74–75; English translation by the author.
12 Kramer 1949; on plagues see Volk 1995, 41.
13 See Volk 1995.
14 Cooley 2008a and 2008b; Cooper 2001, 142–144.
15 See Kirk 1970, 97–105 for the connection of fertility, the fields, agriculture, and irregular sexuality; see also Mařík 2003, 151, who understands it as an aetiological story.
16 For this rite and the present composition, see Hruška 1998, 322; Selz 2001a, 55; and its desecration: Cooley 2008b, 76–77: 'darkly comedic parody of the *hieros gamos*'.
17 Selz 2001a; Mařík 2003, 161.
18 See Selz 2001a, 53–55 on the problem of legitimacy.
19 Mařík 2003, 157.
20 Mařík 2003, 161; for the discussion of the term 'palace of the steppe', see note 69 below.

Šukaletuda's characterisation as a commoner

Mesopotamian kings are portrayed as great personalities nursed by gods and are singled out from among 'the multitude of people'.[21] Royal inscriptions praise their charisma, their wisdom, strength, divine relatives, and power. An example can be found in the inscription of Gudea's Statue B:[22]

> 'When Ninĝirsu had looked favourably upon his city, and chosen Gudea as the true shepherd of the Land, taking him by the hand from among the multitude of people (…).'

Inana and Šukaletuda repeatedly emphasises that Šukaletuda is less outstanding. Even his name[23] has a peculiar meaning, literally, 'the one born of a rare hand',[24] although, an ancient Sumerian-Akkadian lexical list translates the word **šukaletuda** as a skin disease (smallpox, warty, leprous).[25] Further analyses of this name have also proposed some intriguing solutions for its meaning; thus, it might refer to a congenital defect[26] or be an 'euphemistic term for male genitals'.[27]

In turn, Šukaletuda, or 'Spotty'[28] as called by Black is not a chief gardener, but a labourer, who waters the fields (ll. 91–94):[29]

> **ud-da šu-kal-le-tud-da mu-ni ḫe$_2$-na-nam**
> **ad-da-ni igi-sig$_7$-sig$_7$ lu$_2$ a-bala-a-kam**
> **mu$_2$-sar-ra a sig$_{10}$-sig$_{10}$-ge$_5$-da-ni**
> **nisig-ga da pu$_2$ ak-da-ni**
>
> 'That time, there was a man called Šu-kale-tuda.
> His father was Igisig(sig), a water drawer.
> He was about to water the garden plots
> and build the installation for a well among the plants.'

Administrative texts demonstrate that water drawers are average workers, belonging rather to the bottom of the hierarchy.[30] His father, Igisig(sig)[31] is a member of the same class, and the mentioning of his occupation underlines Šukaletuda's lowly pedigree.

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21 For ideal kingship and the kingdom, see, e.g., Kramer 1974; Dietrich – Dietrich 1998; Wilcke 2002; lately: Weiershäuser 2020 (and other studies in the same volume).

22 ETCSRI: Gudea Statue B iii 6–11.

23 Volk 1995, 171–172 and 2012.

24 Selz 2001a, 49–50 n. 44; translated into Akkadian as *šullānum* (Níg-ga = *makkūru*, MSL 13, 118: l. 124).

25 Durand 1979, 165 n. 45; Hallo 1980; Lacambre 1994, 276; Besnier 2002, 63–64 n. 19: 'warty', 'deaf', 'crooked', 'sterile', 'stupid'; Keetman 2004, 22 n. 75; Attinger 2021, 1000.

26 Selz 2001a, 49–50 n. 44: '„von/mit kostbarer Hand geboren"; ironisch, oder Hinweis auf einen geburtsbedingten körperlichen Defekt?'.

27 Mařík 2003, 165: '*qātu* als euphemistischer Ausdruck für das männliche Geschlechtsorgan', and also Wasserman 2019, 1134.

28 Black 2002, 58.

29 For the unpublished manuscript (MS 4508, CDLI P253614) and the complete transliteration of these lines, see Attinger 2019, 5 with n. 38–39: 'En ce temps vivait un certain Šukaletuda, fils d'IgiSIG-a, le responsible du puisage de l'eau. Comme il voulait abreuver les plates-bandes et entourer le puits de verdure.' Further translations: Volk 1995, 119 and ETCSL 1.3.3: '… was to water garden plots and build the installation for a well among the plants'.

30 Greco 2015, 44–49; Focke 2015, 877–888; for the dresses of low-class workers, such as water drawers, see Waetzoldt 2010, 201; for their low salary, see de Maaijer – Jagersma 1997–1998, 280 and Lewis 1980, 57.

31 For Igisig(sig), see Volk 1995, 172–173. In the god-list An = *Anum*, Igisigsig is designated as the god An's gardener (Litke 1998, 253). An Udug-ḫul incantation also mentions Igisigsig, a divine gardener plucking out plants for medical use, see Geller 2016, 471: (128) **^{d}igi-sig$_7$-sig$_7$ nu-^{ĝiš}kiri$_6$ gal an-na-ke$_4$** ^{d}MIN *nu-ka-ri-bu* GAL-[*u š*]*a*$_2$ ^{d}*a-nim* (129) **šu ku$_3$-ga-a-ni-ta pa ^{ĝiš}ĝišimmar im-ma-an-bu** *ina qa-ti-šu*$_2$ KU$_3$.MEŠ *a-ra is-suḫ-ma*

An additional appellation for the gardener can be found in the scene wherein he visits his father and tells him what he did. Šukaletuda is called here **lu$_2$ tur** 'small man' (ETCSL 1.3.3 ll. 177, 206, 231 'his father replied to the boy';[32] l. 139. 'The boy went home to his father and spoke to him…').[33] **tur** or (**lu$_2$**) **tur-(ra)** can be used in the sense of 'young', 'minor', or 'unmarried'.[34] Besides its use in reference to a person's age, it can also denote a subordinate status.[35] J.-M. Durand has also underlined the significance of his designation as a 'little guy' with references to tales in which the protagonist is a commoner.[36]

The fatherly advice following this passage contains expressions, which illuminate his inherence to everyday people (ll. 179–181):[37]

dumu-ĝu$_{10}$ iri šeš-zu-ˈneˈ ḫe$_2$-eb-us$_2$-en
saĝ gig$_2$ šeš-zu-ne ˈĝiri$_3$ˈ gub-ba ĝen-ˈnaˈ
munus-e šag$_4$ kur-kur-ra-ka nu-ˈumˈ-ma-ni-in-pad$_3$-ˈde$_3$ˈ-en

'My son, in the city you should follow your brothers!
Move your feet, go to the black-headed people, your brothers!
The woman will not find you in the mountains.'

The primary reason for sending Šukaletuda to the crowd is to hide him from Inana. At the same time, his father's speech portrays Šukaletuda as an ordinary person: the black-headed people are called his brothers, and the goddess cannot spot him, meaning that his appearance cannot be distinguished from that of his peers. It is the exact opposite of the royal image in hymns: kings do not follow the black-headed people, but rather lead them. Compare *Lipit-Eštar C* (ll. 40–41, translation of ETCSL 2.5.5.3):[38]

'May concord be created under you in the established cities, settlements and dwellings!
May the black-headed people, numerous as flocks, follow the right path under you!'

It is also said of kings that they are noticed and chosen by Inana;[39] their beauty, which catches her attention, is positively portrayed.[40] Furthermore, their 'visibility' is highly valued (*Lipit-Eštar C* ll. 35–39, translation of ETCSL 2.5.5.3):[41]

'Amurriqānu (Igi-sigsig), the great gardener of Anu, uprooted the date-palm frond with his pure hands'. For the possible meaning of the name, see Michalowski 1981, 8 and Verderame 2021, 19: 'jaundice', a type of skin disease, green/yellow face and eyes. **sig$_7$** is also a designation of workers (Focke 2015, 822–826; Greco 2015, 40 n. 134.), for its sense 'blinded' see, Heimpel 2009; Cooper 2010; Steinkeller 2013a, 71 mentioning Šukaletuda's father. For its interpretation as prisoners of war working in gardens, see Steinkeller 2013b. As meaning 'unskilled workers' instead of 'blinded', see Greco 2015, 49 and n. 162 with further refs.; Focke 2015, 826–828. For further options, see also George 2002 (**sig$_7$-sig$_7$**) and Tinney 1996, 144 for **še$_x$-še$_x$** and **sig$_7$.sig$_7$** with the sense 'to cry'. For other associations between the words of the text, such as that the dust blown into his eyes must have made him drop tears, see Verderame 2021, 19.

[32] **lu$_2$-tur ad-da-ni mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$**.

[33] **lu$_2$-tur ad-da-ni-ir e$_2$-a ba-ši-in-kur$_9$ gu$_3$ mu-na-de$_2$-e**.

[34] Bartash 2018, 18–20.

[35] Bartash 2018, 18–20.

[36] Durand 1979, 165 n. 45.

[37] ETCSL 1.3.3 and Volk 1995, 108.

[38] ETCSL 2.5.5.3 and Römer 1965, 14–15: (40) **iri a$_2$-dam maš-gana$_2$ ki ĝar-ra gu$_3$ teš$_2$ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-sig$_{10}$** (41) **uĝ$_3$ saĝ gig$_2$-ga u$_8$-gin$_7$ lu-a us$_2$ zid ḫu-mu-ra-ab-sig$_9$-ge$_5$**.

[39] For divine relatives, see Sjöberg 1972; *Ur-Ninurta D*: Falkenstein 1957, 59–60 and ETCSL 2.5.6.4, ll. 13–14. 'You cheer on the king whom the gods love: Ur-Ninurta, the youth whom you chose (…)'.

[40] It is their fate to be beautiful, see Ceccarelli 2016, 72–73.

[41] ETCSL 2.5.5.3 and Römer 1965, 14–15: (35) **^{d}li-pi$_2$-it-eš$_4$-tar$_2$ a$_2$ šum$_2$-ma-ĝu$_{10}$-me-en gu$_2$ an-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-zig$_3$** (36) **ud gu$_3$ di saĝ-bi zi-zi-gin$_7$ su zig$_3$ ḫe$_2$-me-da-ri** (37) **gu$_2$-erim$_2$-ĝal$_2$ kur nu-še-ga-zu u$_{18}$-lu-zu**

> 'Lipit-Eštar, on whom I bestowed power, may you lift your head high! May you spread fearsome radiance as if you were the front of a rising tempest! May your storm cover the enemy territories, the disobedient countries! You have established justice in Sumer and Akkad, and made the Land feel content. Lipit-Eštar, son of Enlil, may you shine as brilliantly as the sunlight!'

The opposite happens to Šukaletuda: he tries to disappear 'among the mountains', lest he should be spotted by Inana (ll. 254–255, translation of ETCSL 1.3.3):

> 'From fear, Šukaletuda tried to make himself as tiny as possible, but the woman had found him among the mountains.'

Moreover, not only are the mountains the region, which Inana mustered at the beginning of the text, but also the land of the enemy, from where prisoners of war are taken from.[42]

The wording of the curse

Inana's curse determines the fate of the gardener. According to this, he will die and dwell in the steppe, but at least, his name will endure through the songs of the little shepherds and singers. The word **tur** 'small' seems an unimportant detail at first glance: Inana designates the singers and the shepherds as such (**nar tur**, **sipad tur**).

Other attributes for singers are attested within the Old Babylonian literary corpus; many of these sections describe, how songs will be transmitted until eternity, and yet, these singers are never designated as 'small',[43] but rather **nar gal** 'great musician', **nar gal-zu** 'skilled singer', **nar gal-an-zu** 'knowing singer', or **ummia** 'expert'[44] – that is to say, compositions about important figures, which are declared to be sung forever, list the well-trained chief singers.[45] It is these experts, who are expected to perform the songs of great kings, such as Šulgi, or Išme-Dagan before the gods, at festivals, or all over the world.[46]

Archival sources mentioning the properties, the allotments, and the duties of the singers in the Ur III period (2111–2004 BC) permit the approximate reconstruction of their status.[47] Some of them could win a considerable prestige; Dudu, a singer with the title **gala maḫ** 'chief lamentation priest' even married a royal princess.[48]

If **nar tur**[49] 'singer boy' is a deliberate choice in the present text, then the curse emphasises the fact that this composition will not be sung by the expert singers, even when performed in the palace.

ḫe$_2$-em-dul (38) **niĝ$_2$-si-sa$_2$ ki-en-gi ki-uri mu-ni-ĝar su kalam-ma mu-dug$_3$** (39) **^{d}li-pi$_2$-it-eš$_4$-tar$_2$ dumu ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ ud-gin$_7$ dalla ḫe$_2$-ni-e$_3$**.

42 See Steinkeller 2013b for prisoners of war as gardeners.

43 Shehata 2009, 15.

44 Ludwig 1990, 41–42; Sallaberger 2003–2004, 56 n. 19; *Išme-Dagan A+V* (ETCSL 2.5.4.1) (333) **um-mi-a nar gal-gal-e-ne** (334) **ša$_3$-ba la-la$_2$ ḫe$_2$-ni-in-ĝar** (335) **a-da-ab tigi$_2$ šumun-ša$_4$ ma-al-ga-tum** (336) **šir$_3$-gid$_2$-da <za$_3$>-mi$_2$ nam-lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ ša$_3$-bi niĝ$_2$ til-la** (337) **a-ra-ḫi bal-bal-e za-am-za-am kun-ĝar-bi** (338) **nar gal-an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a** (339) **en$_3$-du ki du$_{12}$-ba mu-ĝu$_{10}$ mi-ni-gal-eš-a** 'I installed … my scholars and chief singers. The skilful singers composed for me *adab*, *tigi*, *šumunša*, *malgatum*, *šir-gida*, royal praise poems perfect in content, *araḫi*, *balbale*, *zamzam* and *kunĝar* compositions. They magnify my name in the places where odes are performed.'

45 Compare the *Lament for Unug* (ETCSL 2.2.5): Segment H 27 **nar gal-zu** 'best singers'; *Išme-Dagan A+V* (ETCSL 2.5.4.1) l. 333 **um-mi-a nar gal-gal-e-ne** 'scholars and chief singers'; l. 338 **nar gal-an-zu-ne** 'skilful singers'.

46 Ludwig 1990, 48–54; Pruzsinszky 2007, 333.

47 Sallaberger 2003–2004, 53, 55–57; for their status see also Pruzsinszky 2010; Paoletti 2012, 300–302.

48 Michalowski 2006.

49 **Nar tur**: Shehata 2009, 26–27.

The shepherds are also designated as 'small', and, in turn, shepherds churning butter are invoked as well. The motif of churning butter is a common image in literary texts, evoking peaceful, flourishing periods, as opposed to the silence, which represent the barrenness of war-stricken cities.[50] Moreover, its sound and rhythm might be compared to a musical accompaniment.[51] Although, churning in the sheepfold is a positive literary image, the reality is that these workers, who churned butter, were at the bottom of the hierarchy.[52] Paradoxically, distinguished and idyllic places were selected for the ideal setting of the story, such as the palace and the sheepfolds, but it is the members of the lower social classes, who perform this song.

Narrative formulation of the composition

Styles of narration are dependent upon the roles and types of narrators, thus, for example, the narrator can be perceptible or imperceptible, objective, intrusive, or omniscient. His narration can be indicated explicitly, or he is as invisible as possible. *Inana and Šukaletuda* is a peculiar composition among Sumerian narratives in this regard. As noted, its first part contains rhetorical questions, rendering the narrator perceptible: this narration exists outside of the world of the story (i.e., the happenings between the goddess and the gardener). Thus, the narration is double layered, detaching the audience from the story world.

Secondly, the narrator employs so-called 'deviant focalisation', which means that the perception of the events and their description do not belong to the narrator, but to a character.[53] In Sumerian mythic narratives, it is generally the characters, who describe what they see in their speeches. In the first part of *Inana and Šukaletuda,* the narrator relates what Šukaletuda sees and thinks (ll. 101–111, translation of ETCSL 1.3.3):

> 'He raised his eyes to the lower land and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. He raised his eyes to the highlands and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. He saw a solitary ghost. He recognised a solitary god by her appearance. He saw someone who fully possesses the divine powers. He was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had he not approached it five or 10 times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening.'

Deviant focalisation allows an indirect view on the events; the audience does not directly hear it from the gardener, through his speech.[54] Consequently, it highlights the fact that Šukaletuda does not discuss his intentions with anyone, but rather acts in secret. Other mythic stories apply direct focalisation with characters announcing their wishes before they act. For example, in the story of *Enlil and Ninlil*, the god Enlil does not hesitate to share his lust in a speech:[55]

> 'The shepherd who decides all destinies -- his eye was bright, he looked at her. The king said to her, "I want to have sex with you!", but he could not make her let him. Enlil said to her, "I want to kiss you!", but he could not make her let him.'

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50 Klein 1998, 211–213; Berlin 1979, 85.

51 Klein 1998, 222: 'Apparently, the scribe of version C saw in the churn a primitive type of musical instrument. Or else, he likened the humming of the churn to sweet music.'

52 Stol 1994, 195; Berlin 1979, 86.

53 Fowler 1990, 42.

54 Genette 1980, 163.

55 Behrens 1978, 214 and translation of ETCSL 1.2.1: (27) **[sipad] na-aĝ$_2$ tar-tar-re igi kug-ga-am$_3$ igi im-ma-ši-in-bar** (28) **[lugal-e ĝiš$_3$] ga-e-dug$_4$ mu-na-ab-be$_2$ nu-un-da-ra-ši-ib-še-ge** (29) **[^{d}]en-lil$_2$-le ne ga-e-su-ub mu-na-ab-be$_2$ nu-un-da-ra-ši-ib-še-ge**.

This indirect style of narration (deviant focalisation) portrays the events as an internal experience and a vision, lending thereby a subjective tone. Šukaletuda's actions cannot be verified, and the refrains' rhetorical questions also highlight its incomprehensibility: 'who has ever seen such a thing?'. This refrain occurs regularly in other genres, such as in disputations and incantations.[56] In disputations, two members argue with each other, with one of the characters winning the contest, and occasionally, they ask 'what else can anyone add (to this argument)?'.[57] This mixing of genres renders the possible readings more complex, and calls attention to the fact that this situation departs from the norm. With this formula borrowed from disputations, a controversial situation is created in the narrative: 'Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?'.[58] Consequently, the events are hardly indisputable; it is not an unquestionable case presented with a standard objective style.

Curse or blessing?

The final issue to be discussed here concerns the phrases for 'blessing' and 'curse', **nam—tar** and **nam—kud**.[59] Essentially, **nam—tar** has a neutral sense,[60] simply meaning 'to decree fate'.[61] Should the fate be good, it is indicated with an attribute (**dug$_3$**, **sag$_9$**).[62] It is **nam—kud** which is usually translated as 'to curse', the phrase perhaps alluding to the untimely cutting of the thread of one's life.[63]

Inana determines Šukaletuda's fate with the phrase **nam—tar**, the essentially neutral term, and then she kills him. Bilulu and her sons encountered a similar fate in the composition *Inana and Bilulu*, where the robbers, who murdered Inana's husband, are turned into objects and spirits.[64] Her intention was 'to kill Bilulu', similarly to Šukaletuda's case.

When gods of creation and fertility allot fates, they first give birth to gods and people, and then determine their roles. Unlike such creator deities, Inana's procedure of determining fate is not creation, but rather revenge and putting her victims to death. This accords with their distinct dominions of creation and fertility, and liminality respectively.[65] Inana, the goddess of transitions,[66] who crossed the netherworld, and who crosses the sky as the planet Venus, also determines fate, albeit through death, the final passage.

As P. Steinkeller has explained, the phrase **nam—tar** refers to determining 'the essence' of things.[67] From a divine standpoint, fate does not operate according to a binary of 'good' and 'bad'. Rather, it can be favourable for its bearers, but it is not a matter of human judgment: it operates according to the principles of order and disorder.[68]

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56 Geller 1985, 30.

57 Mittermayer 2019, 153–154.

58 Translation of ETCSL 1.3.3. See Ponchia 2016, 582 for Akkadian examples and controversial issues in literary compositions.

59 Steinkeller 2017, 8; Zgoll 1997, 49 n. 190; for a summary, see Lämmerhirt – Zgoll 2009.

60 Selz 2001b, 385.

61 Steinkeller 2017, 6–7: 'to determine the essence or existence of a person or a thing'.

62 Steinkeller 2017, 6.

63 Steinkeller 2017, 8.

64 Jacobsen – Kramer 1953; also, with **nam—tar**, ETCSL 1.4.4 l. 99: **ki-tuš-a ba-e-gub nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re** '(she) stepped into a seat, began to determine fate'.

65 See, e.g., *Enki and Ninḫursaĝ* (Attinger 1984), *Enki and Ninmaḫ* (Ceccarelli 2016).

66 See Groneberg 1986 and 1997; Harris 1991; Glassner 2014; Esztári – Vér 2015, 7–11.

67 Steinkeller 2017, 6–7: 'to determine the essence or existence of a person or a thing'.

68 Steinkeller 2017, 12–17, 20–21.

The nature of the gardener's fate is left unspecified in the text. As the 'palace of the steppe' may be a metaphorical expression for death in the wasteland ('falling in the meadows'),[69] Šukaletuda would eventually receive one of the worst possible deaths according to Mesopotamian belief: death in faraway, unknown lands, without burial and funerary offerings.[70] Elsewhere, the sense of the 'palace of the steppe' is not entirely clear, as it occurs in administrative documents and in royal inscriptions as a real toponym.[71] Cult places hardly exist without own sacred stories, as mythic or legendary stories provide their value.[72] Although it cannot be proven, it may be suggested that the mentioning of the toponym contains an aetiological element and that this story has relevance for a specific cult location, the Egal-edinna.[73]

Either way, concerning his death, Šukaletuda's fate becomes supposedly that of Inana's spouse, Dumuzi.[74] Moreover, the nature of **nam-tar**, 'fate', renders the respective goodness or badness irrelevant: he becomes part of the divine order, which is a majestic event.[75] The irony of this opposition looms over the story: the opposition of the impersonal world order decreed by a deity and the gardener's subjective viewpoint.

Also, both the topic and the transmission of the text contains paradoxes. The text's wording is interwoven with sarcasm: the boy is described as a runaway and lowly individual, who gains the fate of the divine model of the kings, and this event is gloriously transmitted by the low status members of the society. Inconsistent as this may seem, it nonetheless combines the lots of Inana and that of the gardener alike: the song contains the story of a goddess which will be told in the palace and the idyllic steppe, realms of her mundane spouses and love affairs, and also, the tale of the gardener, whose song will be sung by his equals.

Conclusions

Generally, Sumerian literary texts do not attribute a negative tone to the masses akin as is known from some Greek or Roman works,[76] but the Mesopotamian population stands in contrast to the personage of the king.[77] The representations of the masses (both divine and human) are similar: the unnamed masses of Anunnaki gods gaze, admire, praise, or become afraid of the great gods.[78] The well-being of people is determined to a great extent by the rule of the king. Every literary account describes them living peacefully, well, and happily under the rule of the just king. In hymns, the relationship between the oppressed weak and the oppressive rich is balanced by the king.[79] The masses are a homogenous material, consisting of average people, and the charismatic rulers are selected from among them, because the ruler is a captivating person, who is a head taller than others and possesses divine relatives.

Šukaletuda manifests the opposite of these royal qualities: he follows the black-headed people, and his head is not raised high as those of kings in hymns. Thus, these characteristics raise the

[69] For **e_2-gal$^?$ edin-na** as a euphemistic term for death and not as a real toponym, see Borger 1969, 6–7: *na-me-e na-du-u_2*. For a detailed commentary, see Volk 1995, 211–212. For its interpretation as a garden, Šukaletuda's usual environment, see Rendu Loisel 2013, 76.

[70] Bauer 1989; Lambert 1980.

[71] Edzard *et al.* 1977, 41; George 1993, 87; Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 72 and 80; in the *Ninegalla-hymn*, Behrens 1998, 81–82.

[72] Veyne 1988, 17, 76–78.

[73] For the connection of myths and their references to rituals and cult places (called 'pseudo-myths'), see Komoróczy 1979.

[74] Mařík 2003, 161.

[75] For the ambivalence of divine blessings and curses, see Selz 2001b, 386–389.

[76] Baier 2010.

[77] For the slightly pejorative sense of **nam-lu_2-ulu_3**, see Limet 1982, 266.

[78] Falkenstein 1965.

[79] Kramer 1974, 175.

question as to whether the story conveys a notion of average people's roles and the king's privileges. Accordingly, rights and obligations, especially those centring upon the sacred, are upheld only for those to whom they are assigned;[80] thus, the story can be understood as an anti-myth, describing 'what should not happen'.[81]

The present article is hardly the first attempt to interpret this extraordinary composition, and its complexity would certainly justify its designation as a 'reflected myth' in von Soden's terminology.[82] Its versatility renders *Inana and Šukaletuda* one of the most fascinating works in Sumerian literature, certainly leaving this topic open for further discussions.

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[80] See Besnier 2002, 63 and 69 for Šukaletuda's 'hybris', and the garden as a symbol for the transgression of rules. See also Jones 2003, 299–300 for the kings' negative characterisation in hymns describing the sacred marriage ritual.

[81] Müller 2004, 45: 'Antimythen sollen delegitimieren, was nicht sein darf (…)'. In comparison, Sargon of Akkad is also raised by a gardener called Aqqī (meaning 'I poured (water)'), but he wins Inana's favour. Besides the fact that water drawers and gardeners were underpaid in real life, they might have also embodied the typical poor characters in folktales. Perhaps, the story of Enlil-bāni of Isin also implies this notion: a poor person becomes the mightiest one. Šukaletuda's story, however, appears as the ironic and tragicomic version of the tale type of a king, who has a humble origin and eventually gains power. On this motif, see Lewis 1980.

[82] Von Soden 1984.

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Originators in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary tradition

Szilvia Sövegjártó*

* – Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Universität Hamburg. Email: ssoveg@gmail.com

Abstract: In the Mesopotamian scribal culture, the compositions' lack of titles and authors was justified by their oral origin. As pieces of literature gained their written form gradually, compilers and editors of the texts were responsible for the long process of selection, edition as well as the arrangement and rearrangement of the material. This resulted in an anonymous and somewhat chaotic textual culture. The birth of the author, or rather, the emergence of several models of authorship attempted to establish order in this chaos.

In this paper, I propose four models of attributed authorship based on examples from the Old Babylonian period and elaborate on the functions related to each. Attributed authorship, as I argue, aimed to anchor selected literary compositions in time and space. Authors contributed to the classification and interpretation of a body of ancient or invented literary tradition. Furthermore, attributed authors contributed to the preservation of a given text as a unit that might otherwise have been subject to disintegration or further revision and redaction.

Keywords: authorship, Enheduana, Old Babylonian period, Sumerian literature

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1. Introduction

Early Mesopotamian scribal culture did not reward originality. Manuscripts preserved compositions handed down from generation to generation without substantial changes in form and content.[1] Sumerian and Akkadian literary manuscripts indicated neither the titles nor the authors of the compositions. Literary compositions were identified by their incipits and the identification of their authors was apparently no matter of concern.[2] In the Old Babylonian period, the period this study focuses on, even traditional attribution of literary compositions to an author was

[1] On the one hand, scribes often attempted to reproduce their *Vorlagen* as accurately as possible. On the other hand, in course of copying, they could also adapt and actualize the compositions and introduce innovations into the tradition. On this dichotomy, see Lenzi 2015, 154.

[2] See Lambert 1957 and 1962; Foster 1991; Michalowski 1996, 183–185; Glassner 2009 and Van De Mieroop 2016, 20.

mostly missing.[3] B. Lion summarized the reason why the ancient Mesopotamian history of literature was not particularly interested in the concept of authorship:[4]

> "Texts were transmitted by a process of successive copying or recalling from memory for Sumerian literature, which sometimes tended to modify the original. The copyists thus participated in the development of compositions, so it does not make much sense to search for unique, original authors, successive authors and editors having merged over time."

The only exception during the Old Babylonian period acknowledged by modern scholarship is Enheduana, a priestess and princess identified as the originator in a handful of Sumerian literary compositions with manuscripts from the Old Babylonian period.[5] Nevertheless, while Enheduana is the only renowned author known from that era, she was by far not the only originator in the Old Babylonian history of literature, commemorated in some form in Sumerian literary compositions. Many other cases are dependent on our definition of authorship in a pre-modern context.

In the following, I will propose various models of attributed authorship[6] as evidenced in Old Babylonian manuscripts of Sumerian literary compositions and discuss the functions related to each. I will also revisit the question concerning the authorship of Enheduana within this framework. Beforehand, I propose a preliminary definition of the term "originator" to reach a common understanding of text production in early Mesopotamia and the interaction of author, scribe, patron and text.

2. The function of authorship

The lack of titles and authors in the case of Sumerian literary compositions is mostly justified by the oral origin of the compositions only written down later and thereafter transmitted as a

[3] According to Leichty 1988, 261, the attribution of literary compositions to a specific author is a late phenomenon, and rarely practiced in the history of Mesopotamian literature. Scattered examples from the Akkadian tradition are Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, known as the author of the *Epic of Erra*, Sîn-lēqi-unnīni, author of the *Epic of Gilgameš* or Saggil-kīna-ubbib, author of the *Babylonian Theodicy*. Further examples of authors' emergence or the concept of authorship are provided by a few catalogues. The *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* (Lambert 1962) enumerates various compositions attributed to famous authors, the *Uruk List of Kings and Sages* (Lenzi 2008) lists scholars and contemporary rulers indicating a relationship between these scholars and famous works from different periods of Mesopotamian history. However, as van der Toorn 2007, 44 convincingly argued, the *Catalogue* made no distinction between authors and editors as it had no focus on the matter of authorship, but instead "its principal purpose was to establish an order of authority" among the respective compositions. For a detailed analysis of the two catalogues, see also Helle 2018 and 2019c. Authorship remarks are somewhat more frequent in Akkadian than in Sumerian literary compositions. For a detailed discussion of authorship in Akkadian literature, see Foster 1991 and 2019 and van der Toorn 2007, 39–48.

[4] Lion 2011, 96.

[5] Several scholars regarded Enheduana as the sole author attested as early as the Old Babylonian period, see most recently Helle 2019a, 1–2 and Wagensonner 2020, 39.

[6] Although it is debated whether Enheduana was a real author or this role was assigned to her retrospectively, I also count her case to this category as it will be apparent in course of this study. In contrast, scribes and scholars known as originators of manuscripts, indicated e.g. by colophons, are not subject to the present investigation as they are likely no authors or originators of the compositions, but their editors.

traditional corpus of literature.[7] Pieces of literature gained their written forms gradually.[8] Some compositions known from the Old Babylonian period were certainly composed during the third millennium BCE, however, the written forerunners of the Old Babylonian versions were sketchy, mostly restricted to themes and formulaic expressions. Compositions likely underwent substantial redaction in the Old Babylonian period that manifests most notably in a more elaborate and complete written form. The crystallization of a written literary tradition required the professionalization of scholarly culture that also attempted to establish order in the transmitted text corpus. Potentially, this process resulted in the attribution of some compositions to legendary or historical authors.[9]

The compilers and the editors of the texts carried out a great deal of the redactional work. They were responsible for the long process of selection and edition as well as for the arrangement and rearrangement of the material.[10] Svärd introduced the concept of "agency" for analysing the nature of authorship.[11] Her two categories, instrumental as well as independent agency, are the two endpoints of a continuum: instrumental agency manifests in passing on the literary tradition and in faithful copying of compositions. Independent agency, in contrast, is the competence of authoring new compositions. A similar concept was described by Steineck and Schwermann with the categories of weak or implicit composite authorship, contrasted with strong or explicit individual authorship.[12]

The role of the editor is somewhere on this continuum, likely different from case to case: he was in some instances a truthful copyist, in others, he carried out minor or major adjustments and

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7 See the studies in Vogelzang – Vanstiphout 1992 on the oral or performative phase of early Sumerian literature. Here I do not argue for the primacy of an oral tradition over the written tradition or vice versa in the case of the Sumerian literary tradition; on this matter see e.g. Van De Mieroop 2016, 16–19. I rather argue for an oral origin of Sumerian literature based on the characteristics of the earliest literary manuscripts, where a complementary – and even a primary – oral tradition cannot be assumed away as the written texts were rather memory aids than complete and elaborate literary compositions. Nevertheless, a parallel oral tradition was not necessarily present as late as in the Old Babylonian period. In this period, the authority of the written text is beyond doubt, and any oral tradition was most likely restricted to the accurate reproduction of the written tradition, either by heart through memorizing or by reading it aloud (Delnero 2012).

8 This process consisted of a gradual transformation from oral to written literature at a point where a written form was necessary for the preservation or dissemination of the literary tradition. The elaborate written form could result from the lack of native Sumerian speakers endangering the preservation of the Sumerian literary heritage. Nevertheless, at this point, it is uncertain whether the Sumerian literary tradition condensed in a written form only drew on Sumerian material, or, especially in the case of oral sources, specific contents crystallized on specific languages in the spirit of the Old Babylonian functional diglossia. The transformation could also happen principally by expanding the written form of compositions, as it is obvious when comparing extant literary manuscripts from the Early Dynastic IIIa, IIIb, Ur III as well as Old Babylonian periods. However, pre-Old Babylonian literary manuscripts strongly imply a corresponding oral tradition, as the written form of literary compositions was too sketchy for being considered as a sufficient sole source of later, more elaborate, traditions.

9 For a similar process postulated in early China, see Zhang 2018, 1.

10 Evidence of all these editorial efforts is the variation detectable abundantly in Old Babylonian literary manuscripts. For a detailed analysis see Delnero 2012. For comparison, Zhang 2018, 12 explains the long process of text formation in early China as follows: "The recognition of the compiler's or editor's role in early Chinese text formation is crucial for our understanding of the concept of author and authorship in early China. The author-oriented traditional hermeneutics may still be a valid approach to understanding the texts, but the compilers and editors must fill the author's place, as they were the ones who did perform a role in text making. Even if authors contributed to the process of text making, their intent, defined by the historical moment at which a piece of literature was originally conceived, became unidentifiable by the time the long process of text compiling and editing was complete. To summarize, understanding early Chinese authorship necessitates a full consideration of the position of compilers and editors in traditional hermeneutics, as they may have projected their own intent into their textual amalgams seen through the pieces of texts they selected, categorized, edited, arranged, and rearranged."

11 Svärd 2013; see also Halton – Svärd 2018.

12 Steineck – Schwermann 2014, 31.

sometimes he likely even authored new compositions. It is impossible to make a difference between the intensity of these activities, as in course of the edition process, scribes actualized and updated even older contents in terms of their palaeography, vocabulary, orthography and grammar. In the context of ancient Mesopotamia, assuming a distributed or composite authorship seems to be the best approach.[13]

Old Babylonian editorial efforts also attempted to categorize literary texts: subscripts introduced in a number of manuscripts functioned similarly to generic attributions in modern literary studies. The first collections also point to this direction, the earliest attempts being detectable already in the third millennium BCE, e.g. in *The Instructions of Shuruppak*, a collection of proverbial sayings, or, conventional wisdom. Editors assembled brief, anonymous and untitled pieces and thereafter, these units were interpreted and transmitted as a single composition.[14]

Authors of the early Mesopotamian tradition thus faded into oblivion and the role of authors as *originators of the compositions* became insignificant. Nor was the role of those who secured the transmission of these pieces of literature in a written form, the scribes, being the *originators and mediators of a textual tradition* recognized and therefore their names were only rarely recorded in second millennium BCE Mesopotamia.[15] This resulted in an anonymous and somewhat chaotic textual culture. The birth of the author or rather, the emergence of several models of authorship in the Old Babylonian period was an attempt to establish order in this chaos.

Steineck and Schwermann elaborated on the potential functions of authorship.[16] These are to anchor selected literary compositions in time and space, to establish the unity of a work, to create differences between similar compositions, to link a composition to reference texts or to provide contexts.[17] Authors, on the one hand, contributed to the classification and interpretation of a body of ancient or invented literary tradition. On the other hand, an author contributed to the preservation of a given text as a unit that might have been subject to disintegration or further revision and redaction.

At this point, it is worth discussing briefly the concept of attributed authorship in particular. Van der Toorn compared three related concepts: honorary authorship, pseudepigraphy as well as attributed authorship.[18] According to his distinction, honorary authorship is ascribing authorship to the patron and commissioner of an oeuvre by the author. In the case of pseudepigraphy, the author pretends to be a famous figure of the past, therefore, any relationship established between the composition and the pseudepigraphic author is fictive. In this case, the author intends to present his work as part of an esteemed past and thus, to impose more authority on the composition. However, van der Toorn also raises the question of whether we should consider pseudepigraphy as a deliberate misleading of the audience or whether this concept could be in accordance with

13 See Steineck – Schwermann 2014, 6 and 8.

14 Indeed, the composition is a historical forerunner to the compilation of scholarly and literary series known abundantly from the first millennium BCE. On this process, see Heeßel 2011. Schwermann 2014, 37–38 describes a similar process in early China, namely assembling small, anonymous textual units to a single text and assigning fictive authors to these composite works.

15 Old Babylonian colophons might record the name of the scribe responsible for the production of a given manuscript, however, only a minority of manuscripts contained colophons. In addition, their terminology does not differentiate between copyists and editors and does not provide hints on the extent and type of modifications applied by the scribe. As a result, they rather intend to indicate ownership than authorship. On scribes and colophons, see Van De Mieroop 2016, 22–25.

16 Steineck – Schwermann 2014, 14–15.

17 Steineck – Schwermann 2014, 14–15 also mention another function, the legitimation of interpretative hypothesis, however, it is not relevant for the Old Babylonian literary discourse.

18 Van der Toorn 2007, 33–39.

literary conventions in the past.[19] Finally, the distinction between pseudepigraphy and attributed authorship is that while in the former case, the fictive, pseudepigraphic authorship was attributed by the real author, in the latter case, the authorship was assigned by the editor.

In the context of Mesopotamian literature, therefore, I will stick to the term of attributed authorship, assuming that ascribing authors for compositions was accomplished by the scribes, the editors and redactors of literary compositions. In some cases, for sure, this scribe was the sole author of a certain composition, but it is impossible to track these cases in the Old Babylonian corpus because the authors remained anonym. In other instances, indeed, the author might be the commissioner of the composition and for sure, honorary authorship is present in ancient Mesopotamia: especially insightful examples are votive inscriptions. But in the case of Old Babylonian literature, it is hard to identify the compositions commissioned by rulers centuries before, as it is problematic to assume that these did not undergo significant textual redaction. The question of whether the attribution of authors was the undertaking of originators or later editors thus should remain open. The concept of attributed authorship will be used in this article as a neutral term acknowledging the work of editors, who either initiated authorship by attributing compositions to certain historical or non-historical characters or kept former attributions alive.[20]

Attributed authorship is an established concept to interpret pre-modern literature in many disciplines. It is not only present in Biblical studies but it was also applied in relation to the historicity and authorship of Homer[21] and is particularly prominent in various discussions concerning the emergence of the concept of authorship in ancient China.[22] As it is apparently a controversially discussed matter whether authors like Homer were invented or not, Graziosi's question "on what grounds and with what authority modern critics determine what should and should not be invented" is justified.[23] An example in an ancient Mesopotamian context, proving that just like ancient audiences, also modern scholars tend to reconstruct the authors by reading their literary remains, was Konstantopoulos's meticulous study on "The Many Lives of Enheduana".[24]

In the following, I will concentrate on four models of attributed authorship, which made their appearance during the Old Babylonian period.[25] I will propose examples for the patron, the head of the lineage, the private individual and the cultural hero as an originator. I will also discuss why these models were restricted to specific contents and how the authorship functioned in these

19 Van der Toorn 2007, 35.

20 As Beecroft 2010, 286 argued, the birth of the author "is at once the death of performance and the emergence of a cultural world empire, a marker of a given literature's capacity to generate meaning far beyond and long after the creation of its central texts". This statement likely applied for the Sumerian literary heritage as inherited by Old Babylonian scholars. After the performative phase, implied by the relative rarity of written evidence, Sumerian literature and scholarship entered into a phase of textual consolidation, some compositions and themes making an impact even one or two thousand years after their presumed composition.

21 See, for example, West 1999 and Graziosi 2002.

22 See, for example, Lewis 1999; Beecroft 2010; and Zhang 2018.

23 Graziosi 2002, 242.

24 Konstantopoulos 2021.

25 Zhang 2018 also discusses models of attributed authorship more elaborate in his monograph. His categories are the cultural hero, the head of the teaching lineage, the scholarly patron and the individual author (Zhang 2018, 1–2). The overlaps between his categories and those discussed here is obvious and I gained much inspiration, way beyond the references allow to conclude, from his detailed and thoughtful work to the present article and highlight similarities between the early literary production in ancient China as well as ancient Mesopotamia. I have to point out that the categories established and discussed here do not intend to cover all possibilities but are partly based on the scope of my previous work and partly on compositions already included in the discourse on Mesopotamian authorship. A further important point is that in the Old Babylonian period, all authorial claims come directly from the compositions themselves, compared to the first millennium BCE, where Helle 2019c, 351 specified five different sources, namely catalogues, colophons and rubrics, literary epilogues, acrostics as well as other references.

particular cases. I consider all the aforementioned cases as retrospective attribution of authors to compositions initiated during the Old Babylonian period. The case studies presented here thus do not focus on the originators *of*, but as depicted *in* the early Mesopotamian literary tradition. This approach naturally assumes that the stories told about authors convey information on how literature was interpreted.[26]

3. Models of attributed authorship

3.1. The patron as author

Rulers with advanced literacy skills allowing them to access literary and scholarly compositions are exceptional in the ancient Mesopotamian tradition. The reigns of two prominent examples, Šulgi, ruler of the Ur III Dynasty and the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal are over a thousand years apart. The Old Babylonian tradition was the first to consider rulers as originators of a written or oral tradition of specific literary compositions. The following examples feature Šulgi and Išme-Dagān in such a role.

Šulgi appears sporadically in his royal hymnody as the one securing the written as well as the oral tradition of literary compositions and thus, taking care of their transmission. The compositions featured him, though they are not regarded as authored by him, the authorship was rather attributed to deities. The focus of Išme-Dagān, in contrast, lies in securing the continuity of an oral tradition, including most probably both divine and royal praise poetry. There are several similarities in the gestures of these two rulers as reported in the quoted literary accounts.[27]

240 en$_3$-du-ĝu$_{10}$ ka-ga$_{14}$ ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$
241 šir$_3$-ĝu$_{10}$ ĝeštug$_2$-ge na-an-dib-be$_2$
242 gu-kur silim-eš$_2$ dug$_4$-ga-ĝa$_2$-kam
243 inim ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ mu-ši-in-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$-am$_3$
244 ḫul$_2$-ḫul$_2$-e šag$_4$-ta dug$_4$ tal$_2$-tal$_2$ ^{d}ĝeštin-an-na-ka-kam
245 ud ul-le$_2$-a-aš nu-ḫa-lam-e-de$_3$
246 e$_2$-ĜEŠTUG$_2$.^{d}NISABA niĝ$_2$-umun$_2$-a gal-gal mu-bi-še$_3$ mul an kug-gin$_7$ bi$_2$-sar
247 ud me-da na-me ĝeštug$_2$-ge niĝ$_2$ la-ba-ab-dib-be$_2$ […]-bi
248 nu-ḫa-lam-e mul an sag$_2$ nu-di mu da-ri$_2$ mu-dul$_5$[?]
249 nar-e dub-sar ḫe$_2$-en-ši-du igi ḫe$_2$-en-ni-in-bar-re
250 ĝeštug$_2$ ĝizzal ^{d}nisaba-ka-kam
251 dub za-gin$_3$-gin$_7$ gu$_3$ ḫe$_2$-ˀem[?]ˀ-ta[?]-de$_2$-e
252 en$_3$-du-ĝu$_{10}$ kug ki-dar-ra-gin$_7$ pa ḫe$_2$-em-ta-e$_3$-e$_3$

(240) "May my hymns be in every mouth. (241) May the songs about me not pass from memory. (242) The aim of my laudation is (243) that the words what Enki conveyed about me (244) (and) what Ĝeštinana happily speaks from the heart and disseminates, (245) will never be forgotten. (246) (Thus) I have had written down the(se) great (repositories of) knowledge line by line in

[26] Beecroft 2010, 16 argues similarly: "Authorship is a property ascribed to a literary text. It reflects an attempt to ground and contextualize that text by assigning its composition and/or performance to a specific individual, real or hypothetical, and the narrative representation of that composition and/or performance constitutes a major category of evidence concerning authorship." Also Helle 2019c, 350 points out that "whether or not the authors actually existed, it is interesting that the ancient scholars found them interesting. The authorial claims are important not for their veracity, which is often dubious anyway, but because they show a new discourse about literature coming into being: the emergence of the narrative authorship."

[27] The transliterations and also the translations provided here make use of the edition of the ETCSL, however, in many instances, they were adjusted to render the grammatical structure of the Sumerian version more accurately.

Nisaba's House of Wisdom, as if they were shining heavenly stars. (247) No one shall ever let them pass from memory […]. (248) They will not be forgotten, because indestructible heavenly stars extend over eternal years. (249) The scribe shall go to the singer and shall have him have a look at them, (250) (because) they are of the wisdom and understanding of Nisaba. (251) And he (= the singer) shall recite my hymns from it as if from a lapis-lazuli tablet (252) (and) he shall light them up from it as if (they were) silver in the lode." (*Šulgi E* [ETCSL 2.4.2.5] ll. 240–252).

330 [z]a$_3$-mi$_2$-ĝu$_{10}$ ka-ka-[g]a ḫe$_2$-ni-ĝar-ĝar

331 ^{d}ĝeštin-an-na nin ka lal$_3$-a-ĝu$_{10}$-u$_8$

332 šir$_3$-šir$_3$-ra ḫe$_2$-em-mi-dirig-dirig

333 um-mi-a nar gal-gal-e-ne

334 šag$_4$-ba la-la$_2$ ḫe$_2$-ni-in-ĝar

335 a-da-ab tigi$_2$ šumun-ša$_4$ ma-al-ga-tum

336 šir$_3$-gid$_2$-da <za$_3$>-mi$_2$ nam-lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ šag$_4$-bi niĝ$_2$ til-la

337 a-ra-ḫi bal-bal-e za-am-za-am kun-ĝar-bi

338 nar gal-an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a

339 en$_3$-du ki du$_{12}$-ba mu-ĝu$_{10}$ mi-ni-gal-eš-a

(330) "I placed my praise (songs) in (people's) mouths. (331) Ĝeštinana, the honey-mouthed lady, (332) made them surpass all songs. (333) Scholars and chief singers (334) put delight in them. (338) Skilled singers composed for me (335) adab, tigi, šumunša, malgatum, (336) šir-gida, royal praise poems - perfect in content -, (337) araḫi, balbale, zamzam and kunĝar compositions. (339) They magnify my name in the places where hymns are performed." (*Išme-Dagan A+V* [ETCSL 2.5.4.1] ll. 330–339)[28]

Šulgi is not featured explicitly as an author, explained by the divine authorship or divine origin of the royal hymns related to his person, as it is stated in the first passage quoted above.[29] Išme-Dagān, in contrast, appears as an originator of divine hymnody, what he as a ruler surely also was. His role, nevertheless, was rather that of a commissioner and not that of an author.[30] Furthermore, he appears as the person securing the transmission of the composition. This conclusion is mostly based on the interpretation of the Sumerian composite verb ka-ga – ĝar "to put in the mouth", with the potential interpretation "to order/establish the performance".[31]

The role of the ruler, according to these accounts, should be considered together with those of the scribe and the singer. While the written and oral forms of the transmitted compositions result from the activity of the scribe or the singer, the stream of tradition is secured by the ruler. The important role of the ruler particularly in the transmission of royal hymns might be explained by his performative duties in the corresponding rituals, and by his personal involvement, traceable

[28] I owe the interpretation of ll. 333–334 to G. Zólyomi.

[29] Divine origin of literature is a well-attested concept in ancient Mesopotamia, see e.g. Lenzi 2015, 153 or Van De Mieroop 2016, 20–21 with reference to the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* listing compositions attributed to deities, who partly revealed them to human mediators. Beyond Mesopotamia, the most prominent example is the Bible, another proof from the Ancient Near East that literary production was anonym; nevertheless, texts could be attributed to authors, especially to important historical persons, which also provided authority to the respective compositions. See van der Toorn 2007, 28.

[30] This role of the ruler might be mundane, though not frequently stated overtly as part of the royal propaganda. A similar message was preserved from Gudea on St. B viii 21–25: en$_3$-du zu$_2$ keše$_2$-ra$_2$-ĝu$_{10}$ / mu-ĝu$_{10}$ u$_3$-ta-ĝar / mu-ni ba-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$ / kisal ^{d}nin-ĝir$_2$-su lugal-ĝa$_2$-ka / eš$_3$-‹eš$_3$› ĝar-ra-be$_2$ bi$_2$-ib$_2$-da$_{13}$-da$_{13}$-a "who replaces my name with his name in the songs compiled by me, or prevents (the performance of these songs) at the regular festivals in the courtyard of Ninĝirsu". Transcription and translation follow the ETCSRI edition. I owe this remark to G. Zólyomi.

[31] On several compositions praising the ruler Išme-Dagān and concluding with a stanza including this composite verb, see Zólyomi 2010, 420–428.

both in the Ur III[32] and Old Babylonian periods. Still, the above-quoted compositions narrated in the first person should not be mistaken as pieces that can be dated back without difficulties to the lifetime of the respective rulers.[33] They should rather be interpreted as accounts reporting on royal duties as well as on the role of the scribe-scholar, as these texts were most probably intended for teaching professionals on various aspects of composing, performing, and transmitting royal and divine praise poetry.

The question still arises why past rulers were particularly suitable as originators, or, how this type of attributed authorship functioned in the Old Babylonian period. First of all, rulers were well-known historical figures and as such, they provided a clear anchor in time and space for the compositions attributed to them. Secondly, they had a real or attributed performative role mentioned in several compositions and thus a link existed even if their role was not authoring but performing the respective texts. Rulers likely commissioned praise poetry for various occasions, directly or indirectly, and in case they had a performative role, the respective pieces were obviously composed in their names. Potentially, even in case a ruler was absent at the performative rituals, the praise could be performed in his name. In fact, rulers taking part on occasional or regular religious events was the reality of not only the Old Babylonian period but also the earlier periods of Mesopotamian history.

Moreover, compositions presumably composed during the Old Babylonian period but attributed to earlier rulers, especially likely in the case of the autobiographic compositions of Šulgi, established the fiction that the particular oeuvre was part of a stream of tradition and has been composed during the lifetime of the respective ruler. Indeed, the attribution of compositions to the famous ruler Šulgi suggests that such pieces of literature were part of an original Sumerian literary tradition and have been transmitted down to the Old Babylonian period. In some cases, though, the form and content of the compositions raise doubts about whether these works were indeed transmitted, or, at least partially, newly composed on the basis of a few ancient models.[34] In both cases, the authorship was attributed to the ruler, either contemporaneously or posthumously. This type of attributed authorship was likely unproblematic as royal originators in a form of honorary authorship were no mere literary fiction in Mesopotamia. Therefore, such an

[32] For a detailed analysis of these and several other aspects in the Ur III period, see Pitts 2015, 62–65 and 92–122 with references to the presence and role of the Ur III ruler in specific festivities.

[33] Here I do not intend to argue for the Old Babylonian dating of the autobiographic compositions of Šulgi, on this matter, see Jáka-Sövegjártó 2020a. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the corpus of Old Babylonian Sumerian literary manuscripts was partially dated back to preceding periods of literary production without a thorough linguistic, orthographic, lexicographic, and content analysis of the material. Even among the so-called "Šulgi hymns", at least three different layers can be distinguished, namely the autobiographic compositions, the liturgical compositions, and the epics. They have different structural and compositional features, significant differences concerning archaisms in terms of grammar and orthography, and they address different topics. Especially the autobiographic compositions, where the above-quoted passage comes from, fit thematically better the Old Babylonian literary discourse featuring the ruler as an able scribe and scholar in contrast with the epics centred on the image of the powerful ruler. Indeed, whether past rulers were commemorated in the Old Babylonian period by transmitting their praise poetry or by composing new pieces of literature to honour them, or eventually both, is today rather a matter of opinion, as it is not based on the outcomes of profound scholarly research. What is sure that the compositions were transmitted, copied, and studied already in the early phases of Old Babylonian scholarly education (see Tinney 1999) and thus, the rulers of the past entered in the cultural memory and were part of the scribal culture.

[34] Manuscripts attempting to imitate ancient models are traceable in several instances in the Old Babylonian literary corpus. A handful of manuscripts using the archaic short-line format and thus imitating literary manuscripts of the third millennium BCE prove this practice. On the origins of the short-line format see Jáka-Sövegjártó 2020b with earlier literature. Another phenomenon, also detectable particularly in the corpus of Šulgi hymns is the mixing of archaic and contemporary sign forms within a manuscript. On this phenomenon in general see e.g. Klein 2000, 135 with fn. 2 and Vacín 2011, 14–15; on particular manuscripts with archaic features see Klein 1976; 1981a, 27–32; 1981b, 64–70 and 131–134; 1985, *14–*19; 1990, 96–100; and 1991, 299–301.

attribution was a powerful means to provide a given oeuvre not only with an author but also with a date as well as an approximate territorial allocation.

3.2. The head of the family as author

Authorship was in some specific cases attributed to the head of the family. As an archetype, the head of the family represented the source of wisdom for a community. Wisdom in this context refers to everyday knowledge, norms, and common sense as it becomes apparent from these collections. The concept of the head of family as author manifests explicitly in the instruction literature, and particularly in the composition *The Instructions of Shuruppak* [ETCSL 5.6.1].

The earliest manuscripts of the composition date back to the Early Dynastic IIIa period, and still, this concept of attributed authorship was probably an Old Babylonian invention. The didactic concept, however, is already present in the earliest sources: a father gives instructions to his son.[35] The exposition of the Early Dynastic version from Tell Abu Salabikh[36] is as follows:

1 ĝeštug$_2$ inim-zu

2 [ka]lam [t]il$_3$-la

3 [šuruppag U]R$_2$.[A]Š

4 [ĝeš]tug$_2$ inim-zu

5 kalam ti-la

6 šuruppag dumu na [n]a-mu-ri

7 dumu-ĝu$_{10}$ na ga-ri

8 ĝeš[tug$_2$] ḫe$_2$-m[a]-ak

(1) "The intelligent one, the wise one, (2) who lived in the Land, (3) the man from Šuruppag, UR$_2$.AŠ; (4) the intelligent one, the wise one, (5) who lived in the land, (6) the man from Šuruppag, gave instructions to his son: (7) 'My son, let me give you instructions! (8) Let attention be paid to them.'"

In the Old Babylonian version, the following exposition has been preserved:

1 [ud] re-a ud su$_3$-ra$_2$ re-a

2 [ĝ]i$_6$ re-a ĝi$_6$ ba$_9$-ra$_2$ re-a

3 [mu] re-a mu su$_3$-ra$_2$ re-a

4 ud-ba ĝeštug$_2$ tuku inim galam inim zu-a kalam-ma til$_3$-la-a

5 šuruppag^{ki} ĝeštug$_2$ tuku inim galam inim zu-a kalam-ma til$_3$-la-a

6 šuruppag^{ki}-e dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de$_5$-de$_5$

7 šuruppag^{ki} dumu ubara-tu-tu-ke$_4$

8 zi-u$_4$-sud-ra$_2$ dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de$_5$-de$_5$

(1) "In those days, in those distant days, (2) in those nights, in those faraway nights, (3) in those years, in those distant years, (4) at that time the wise one who knew how to speak clever words lived in the Land. (5) Šuruppag, the wise one, who knew how to speak clever words lived in the Land. (6) Šuruppag gave instructions to his son. (7) Šuruppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu, (8) gave instructions to his son Ziusudra." (*The Instructions of Shuruppak* [ETCSL 5.6.1], ll. 1–8)

35 Nevertheless, the Early Dynastic sources likely refer to the father as UR$_2$.AŠ (= personal name) from Shuruppak (= city), while the son remains unnamed. See Chen 2013, 8–9 for a discussion of various interpretations and opinions on this matter as well as for further literature.

36 For the edition, see Alster 2005, 176. The Adab version agrees with the Tell Abu Salabikh version in its content, though it is slightly different and somewhat longer, see Alster 2005, 196. For a comparative discussion of the two Early Dynastic versions of the prologue see also Chen 2013, 132–135.

Beyond this introduction, the composition consists of a monologue of the father over 250 lines giving advice to his son in various domains of everyday life. Finally, the collection of pieces of advice ends with a recap of the exposition, followed by a doxology:

277 na de_5 šuruppag^{ki} dumu ubara-tu-tu-ke_4 na de_5-ga

278 šuruppag^{ki} dumu ubara-tu-tu-ke_4 na de_5-ga

279 nin dub gal-gal-la šu du_7-a

280 ki-sikil ^{d}nisaba za_3-mi_2

(277) "These are the instructions given by Šuruppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu. (278) That Šuruppag, the son of Ubara-Tutu, gave his instructions, (279) to the lady who completed the great tablets, (280) the maiden Nisaba be praise!" (*The Instructions of Shuruppak* [ETCSL 5.6.1], ll. 277–280)

Chen convincingly argued that the differences between the Early Dynastic and the Old Babylonian versions resulted from a stylistic update as well as from the adoption of the contemporary chronological scheme as it appears in various Old Babylonian sources.[37] As a result, the names of the members of the last antediluvian dynasty were introduced in the exposition, in accordance with contemporary historiographical compositions.[38] These alterations aimed to attribute to the composition's "wisdom teaching a higher status of antiquity and authority".[39] This process not only resulted in the inclusion of Ziusudra as the name of the son but also in the split of Ubara-Tutu, the one of Shuruppak into two personal names, also regarded as father and son.[40] Therefore, the original exposition mentioning father and son was adjusted to Old Babylonian indications of family relationships, namely by the reinterpretation of the name – designation sequence as name – paternal name.

It was only after this redaction that the concept of attributed authorship analysed here, the head of the family as author, emerged. In the Early Dynastic sources, Shuruppak was not yet embedded in a historiographic tradition; his appearance likely had no different meaning as that of the farmer: he was only a citizen of Shuruppak, maybe no more than the man of the street. The invention of the Old Babylonian editor(s) was to attribute the authorship to an antediluvian ruler and thus attribute antiquity and authority to the collection.

The compositions known under the modern titles *The Farmer's Instructions* [ETCSL 5.6.3], *The Instructions of Ur-Ninurta*[41] as well as the *Sumerian Counsels of Wisdom*[42] have very similar contents to that of *The Instructions of Shuruppak*. There is no special reason why these collections

37 Chen 2013, 102.

38 The idea that the antediluvian king list tradition influenced *The Instructions of Shuruppak* was first proposed by Wilcke 1978, 202. For more information on the sources, see also Chen 2013, 129–130. Sallaberger 2018, xix concluded similarly and pointed out the inconsistency of the collection dealing mostly with everyday life and the Old Babylonian framework introducing antediluvian kings. On this point see also the detailed analysis of Samet 2021, 211–215.

39 Chen 2013, 102.

40 Chen 2013, 153. A similar textual change was proposed by Galter 2005, 281, though without the detailed elaboration provided by Chen. For a similar interpretation of this process, but with a focus on the meaning of the signs UR_2.AŠ see Davila 1995, 202 fn. 21 quoting a personal correspondence with P. Steinkeller. Nevertheless, the assumption of Chen (as well as of Steinkeller) that the Ur III or Old Babylonian redactors of the composition directly drew on the Early Dynastic manuscripts is problematic as it was pointed out by Lenzi 2016. Though the process is plausible and indeed possible, it is impossible to say when the names were inserted in the exposition and thus it remains uncertain what role the Old Babylonian historiographic tradition played in this redaction. As the use of paternal names started after the Early Dynastic period (Nielsen 2011), it is hard to tell which tradition drew on the other or whether the two traditions are directly related at all.

41 Edition: Alster 1991 (with Alster 1992); more recently Alster 2005, 225–240.

42 Edited by Alster 2005, 241–264, not identical with the Akkadian composition known under the title *Counsels of Wisdom*.

should be attributed to a historical person, and particularly to an elder living before the Flood or to a ruler. *The Farmer's Instructions* begins with a similar, but briefer exposition compared to *The Instructions of Shuruppak*:

1 ud-ul-ur$_{11}$-ru dumu-ni na mu-un-de$_5$-ga-am$_3$

(1) "Ud-ul-uru gave advice to his son."

Despite the laconic exposition, it is obvious that the background of the collection is close to *other* pieces of the instruction literature: a father, in this case, no historical figure but with a name that specifies his profession as a farmer ("translation"), gives advice to his son who remains unnamed. The motif of the head of the lineage is also perceptible here, though without functioning as a historical anchor.

The introduction of the *Sumerian Counsels of Wisdom* is not preserved. The exposition of *The Instructions of Ur-Ninurta* only partly fits the concept presented here, being the instructions of a god given to a ruler.[43] Its exposition is a variation of the theme, the god being the supervisor and patron of the pious ruler. Ur-Ninurta was a usurper, thus he could not be instructed by his father or predecessor. The deviation from the pattern is explained by these circumstances. Specifying Ur-Ninurta, king of Isin in the role of the recipient of the instructions, his name also provided a historical anchor for the composition, comparable to Ziusudra. The exposition is particularly lengthy and multifaceted in this case, comprising 37 lines of composition, that is, slightly more than half of the total of 71 lines.[44] Therefore, we should not count this composition as a collection comparable to the aforementioned ones, but rather as a piece of literature alluding to this tradition and drawing on the concept of existing counterparts.

In the instruction literature, the attribution of a collection to the head of the family likely served the preservation of the collection by preventing it from disintegration. The head of the family is always specified in the Old Babylonian tradition, be it a mere name (Ud-ul-uru), a pseudo-historical character (Shuruppak) or a deity. However, the historical anchor was rather the son and not the father, in case he was specified by name.

The most important collection, *The Instructions of Shuruppak* aspires to appear as a historical account – providing not only the name of the attributed author but also his paternal name. Shuruppak, moreover, was also suitable as an approximate historical anchor dating the collection to the lifetime of a sage who lived before the Flood. The inclusion of the real historical anchor, his son Ziusudra, strengthened this association. Through the paternal name, the composition emphasized the historicity of the father as well, establishing a further connection between this text and the Sumerian King List and further compositions of the historiographic tradition.

Considering their contents, all the aforementioned collections provide the instructions of a farmer, framed by different expositions and thus integrating a collection of similar instructions into different frameworks. The instructions belong to popular wisdom, the father's role did not encompass inventing this particular set of knowledge, but phrasing it and passing it on to the next generation. The expositions, even the lengthiest, do not specify whether the written tradition or only an oral tradition is attributed to the head of the lineage.

Instruction literature flourished during the Old Babylonian period as it is apparent through a variety of compositions consisting of collections of popular wisdom. The attribution of similar contents of popular wisdom to a farmer, a ruler as well as a mythical character emphasized different aspects of the contents, and different editorial intentions. The farmer as an author justifies

[43] Line 37 of the composition is explicit on that: a$_2$ aĝ$_2$-ĝa$_2$ diĝir-ra-kam "These are the instructions of a/the god".

[44] See Chen 2013, 98–99 who described the composition as a mixture of mythological prologues, royal hymns as well as didactic literature.

reading the instructions as common sense, the reference to a god stresses their normative character, while their attribution to Shuruppak places them in the stream of the Sumerian tradition. These compositions show clearly how attributed authorship also contributed to the creation of differences between similar compositions.

From all of these compositions, *The Instructions of Shuruppak* was particularly successful in terms of transmission and preservation.[45] This success is likely a consequence of the choice of the framework, namely anchoring the composition not in a particular time of Mesopotamian history, but from before the Flood. As Ziusudra emerged and gained popularity during the Old Babylonian period, so became this composition also more widespread and likely more popular in the course of time. The author of the composition was, most importantly, suitable to anchor the text in a Sumerian stream of tradition and to present the contents – conveying universal values – as remnants of ancient wisdom from before the Flood.[46] In the Old Babylonian period, especially the esteemed Sumerian heritage proved to be worthy of preservation and transmission on the long run.

3.3. The private individual as author

A further model of attributed authorship emerges from the manuscripts of Old Babylonian elegies: the private individual.[47] The term authorship may be somewhat problematic in this case, as it will be apparent when analysing the following examples. The private individual is namely no historical person, rather a fictive concept which appears in the role of an author.

First of all, some text passages will be quoted to illustrate the concept of the private author in early Mesopotamian literature. The first, related passage is the beginning of the composition *The Message of Lu-diĝira to his Mother* [ETCSL 5.5.1] (ll. 1–9):[48]

1 lu_2-$kaš_4$-e lugal-la ḫar-ra-an-na ĝen-na
2 nibru^{ki} ga-e-gi_4 inim-bi dug_4-ba-ab
3 kaskal su_3-ra_2 i-im-du-de_3-[en]
4 ama-$ĝu_{10}$ mud-am_3 u_3 nu-mu-ni-k[u$^?$-ku]
5 ama_5-a-ni ka-$ĝiri_3$ al-gib-ba
6 lu_2 du kaskal-la silim-ma-$ĝu_{10}$ en_3 al-tar-tar-re
7 u_3-na-a-dug_4 silim-ma-$ĝu_{10}$ šu-ni-$še_3$ ĝar-i_3

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45 The success of *The Instructions of Shuruppak* in contrast with other instructions' collections is apparent if we compare the number of manuscripts preserved. *The Instructions of Shuruppak* counts over 70 extant manuscripts and fragments, while the *Farmer's Instructions* accounts for 44, the *Counsels of Wisdom* and the *Instructions of Ur-Ninurta* for 10 exemplars each. Furthermore, *The Instructions of Shuruppak* was also known in an Akkadian version, see BWL 92–95.

46 The attribution of a collection to an alleged or real historical figure for the sake of its preservation is also known after the Old Babylonian period. The *Series of Sidu*, though its contents cannot be reconstructed in its entirety, was likely also – at least partially – a collection of popular wisdom attributed to an author whose aim was to keep the collection together and preserve it from disintegration. The customization of authorship is revealing in this case: the collection of thirty-five bilingual compositions, as it is plausible based on a catalogue of texts once included in the series (K.1870), was attributed to an author known under the Sumerian name Sidu (translated into Akkadian as Enlil-ibni). On the catalogue and the series see Finkel 1986 as well as Jiménez 2017, 112, 119 and 157. For the figure of Sidu see Frahm 2010, 169–176.

47 Letter-prayers and letters, even those transmitted together with the corpus of literary compositions, will not be discussed here. In letters and letter-prayers, an originator is always explicitly stated, this genre is therefore beyond the scope of anonym literary production prominent in the Old Babylonian period.

48 The composition was published by Çığ and Kramer 1976.

8 ama-ĝu$_{10}$ ḫul$_2$-ḫul$_2$-la-am$_3$ še-er-ka-an mi-ri-in-dug$_4$-ga

9 tukum-bi ama-ĝu$_{10}$ nu-e-zu ĝiškim ga-mu-ra-ab-šum$_2$

(1) "Royal courier, start the journey! (2) I want to send you to Nibru. Deliver this message! (3) You are going on a long journey. (4) My mother is worried, she cannot sleep. (5) Although the way to her woman's domain is blocked, (6) as she keeps asking the travellers about my well-being, (7) deliver my letter of greeting into her hands. (8) Then my mother will be delighted, and will treat you kindly (?) for it. (9) In case you should not recognize my mother, let me describe her to you. (…)"

Another composition mentions the same personal name, Lu-diĝira. The composition is entitled *An Elegy on the Death of Nannaya* [ETCSL 5.5.2].[49] The exposition of this composition (ll. 1–19) reports on Nannaya, a father who wished to see his son on his deathbed, but he did not come. The second part (ll. 21–112) is a lamentation of the son over his father's death. In between, a brief attribution of the composition is included as follows:

20 $^{\text{I}}$lu$_2$-diĝir-ra šag$_4$ NE-NE-a-ni-ta i-lu ab-sar-re

(20) "Lu-diĝira out of his inflamed heart wrote a lament."

In both cases, the name of the private individual featured as the compositions' author is Lu-diĝira, meaning "man of the god". Though it is well-attested as a real personal name, in the present context, it rather functions as a non-specific subject, like anybody or man in the street. It is, however, an important shift that the words or thoughts of this individual are quoted in the first person. This first-person narration proves a change of perspective, mostly attested in lamentations as well as in letters. The first composition indeed operates with the fiction of a letter; however, it is embedded in a narrative frame and lacks the formulaic expressions typical of the genre. In the second composition, Lu-diĝira is explicitly mentioned as the author of a lament.

It is, nevertheless, problematic to a certain extent whether Lu-diĝira meant to be the author in the present context or he is a symbolic figure, an anthropomorphic concept of individual authorship. His name appears in both compositions in the function of an author and thus there is no formal difference between his attributed authorship as well as the other types discussed above, except the fact that he cannot and should not be considered a historical person but an overtly fictive author. In the Old Babylonian history of literature, authors are not preserved in paratexts but the compositions make mention of them in some form. Therefore, these examples are also strong cases: an unspecified individual attributed with authorship of a composition with a very personal tone, composed in first person narration.

The concept of individual authorship is likely an invention of the Old Babylonian period, the era when in the context of manuscript production and use the private sphere extended gradually and significantly compared to the Ur III period's state-run scriptoria and centralized administration. Documents of everyday transactions were handed out to the individuals involved in the process and were kept by them in their private households. Also, literary colophons of the Old Babylonian period testify the emergence of the individual manuscript owner and producer, in contrast with the collective copying enterprises documented in course of the third millennium BCE. The abundance of manuscripts in the private sphere, e.g. in private households cannot be overlooked both compared to the preceding Ur III or to even earlier periods of Mesopotamian history. Further material proof for the individual use of manuscripts, especially literary manuscripts, are the glosses preserved on several tablets, which supported the individual study of the composition. Apparently, a model of authorship also revolved around the new phenomenon, namely manuscript production for private purposes, by one's own hand and for one's own use.

[49] The composition was published by Kramer 1960 and re-edited by Sjöberg 1983.

The concept of the private author also made its appearance in letter prayers and even private letters presenting the emotions and personal reflections of an individual. However, in this case, even if particular letters and letter-prayers are preserved in several copies and they were certainly part of the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum, these compositions might have been composed to fulfil practical purposes and their authors might be indeed historical.[50] Somewhat different is the innovative concept of the private individual, the man of the street as author, emerging together with new literary genres featuring this type of authorship. Both the author and the oeuvre were the products of this era and the results of the outlined socio-cultural development.

3.4. The cultural hero as author

When attempting to discuss authorship in early Mesopotamia, the central figure is certainly Enheduana, the only acknowledged author by modern scholarship and therefore, she cannot be dismissed from the present study. She was a historical figure known from non-literary sources[51] as the high priestess of Nanna in Ur, daughter of Sargon, king of Akkad. The main reason why Enheduana is recognized as a factual author by modern scholars is indeed her confirmed historicity and her status as a priestess.[52] Her person was suitable for authoring literary compositions, particularly hymns, as literary production was closely related to the temple personnel in early Mesopotamia. Interestingly though, no other priests or priestesses, attested or not in historical sources, were recorded as authors in the Old Babylonian literary tradition.[53] This fact might be the first hint that this case is also an example of attributed authorship.

Enheduana is attested in four literary compositions known from the Old Babylonian period: the *Temple hymns* [ETCSL 4.80.1], as well as the divine hymns *Inana B* [ETCSL 4.7.2], *Inana C* [ETCSL 4.7.3] and *Nanna C* [ETCSL 4.13.3].[54] Furthermore, a fifth composition is known from a fragmentary manuscript dating to the Ur III period.[55] Consequently, all known manuscripts date long after the lifetime of the priestess. This conflict was mostly resolved by the assumption that

[50] On the historicity of letter-prayers and private letters, partly even composed by or attributed to women, see Lion 2011, 97–98 and Halton – Svärd 2018, 98–102.

[51] The historical sources comprise the inscriptions on a disk-shaped alabaster plaque from Ur (CBS 16665) also known from an Old Babylonian tablet copy (U 7737, unknown IM number) as well as two cylinder seals (BM 120572 and IM 4221) and a seal impression (BM 123668), all from Ur, which belonged to individuals in Enheduana's entourage, identifying her by name. On these objects see Frayne 1993, 35–39 nos. 16 and 2003–2005 (with earlier literature).

[52] As a priestess, she could presumably read and write and she was also educated in Sumerian language and literature. See e.g. Glassner 2001, 117: "On observe, d'autre part, que les auteurs et les compilateurs des grandes oeuvres littéraires exercent, dans le grande majorité, les professions d'exorcistes, de lamentateurs ou de devins." Nevertheless, this statement holds true from the Old Babylonian period on, and certainly does not apply to the Early Dynastic IIIa period, where literary production is strongly connected to administration. Therefore, it is hard to tell whether the role of Enheduana as author should be interpreted as an Old Babylonian anachronism or it mirrors the reality of the late third millennium BCE. More convincing is Lion 2011, 97 who argues that "all kings, literate or not, had scribes at their service. (…) in antiquity unusual men, such as rulers, or a woman such as Enheduanna, exceptional because of her high birth and religious duties, could equally be regarded as authors". Indeed, it is hard to deny the possibility of commissioned pieces of literature in light of the evidence of votive inscriptions, see Lion 2011, 92–96.

[53] It is particularly noticeable that the only known author from before the Old Babylonian period is a woman, as "most activities which required reading and writing were situated in male-dominated fields" (Svärd 2013, 278).

[54] Traditionally, a fifth composition known from the Old Babylonian tradition, *Inana and Ebih* [ETCSL 1.3.2] was also attributed to Enheduana. Nevertheless, the composition does not mention her name, the assumption is merely based on the interpretation of the myth as a literary paraphrase of historical events which most likely occurred in the Sargonic period. See Bottéro – Kramer 1989, 227–228 and especially Konstantopoulos 2021, 59–60 with fn. 14, pointing out that the lack of the statement of authorship in this case is suspicious and it is at least certain that Enheduana was not regarded as the author of this composition in the Old Babylonian tradition.

[55] ISET 1 pl. 216 (Ni 13220), edited by Westenholz 1989, 555–556.

Enheduana composed the respective works in the late third millennium BCE and scholars tend to contemplate the reasons for the long transmission history of the respective hymns down to the Old Babylonian period.[56] In contrast, Konstantopoulos recently argued that Enheduana existed as "something between literary figure, historical reality, and invented symbol" already in the Old Babylonian period.[57]

The declaration of the priestess's authorship in these compositions is not uniform.[58] In the three divine hymns she appears in the first person, thus she is only the speaker, not the declared author.[59] However, as it is true in case of historical rulers, she could also be the commissioner of these compositions and she was certainly regarded as their author, already in antiquity. In the Ur III hymnic fragment, she is referred to in the third person, she is also subject to praise, therefore, this composition is a good candidate for later attribution, maybe only by modern scholarship.[60] The attribution of the *Temple hymns* to Enheduana is more specific:

> 543 lu_2 dub zu_2 keše$_2$-da en-ḫe$_2$-du$_7$-an-na
> 544 lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ niĝ$_2$ u$_3$-tud na-me lu_2 nam-mu-un-u$_3$-tud
> (543) "The compiler of the tablets was Enheduana. (544) My lord, something has been created that no one has created before."

Enheduana is described here as the compiler and not the author of the composition. She was identified as *the originator of the written tradition*. This distinction was, as stated above, likely unimportant in ancient Mesopotamia. The formal characteristics of this remark resemble a colophon, this is the main reason why this attribution is believed to be authentic, even by modern scholarship. However, the closing line of the composition (l. 545) positioned after this remark, as well as several copies of the composition indicate that, differently from unique colophons, this remark was part of the transmitted text of the *Temple hymns* in the Old Babylonian period.[61] A possible conclusion is that Enheduana was more significant or more meaningful for ancient scribes than others who declared their names in colophons and therefore, her name became part of the transmitted text of the *Temple hymns*.[62] Nevertheless, another explanation is that she was once indeed

[56] See e.g. Zgoll 1997, 60: "(…) die Frage, was der Text *NMS* (= Ninmešara, *Inana B* – Sz. S.) bewirken und bedeuten will und weshalb er über die Jahrhunderte hinweg bedeutsam blieb, ist wichtiger als die Frage, ob der Text von der historischen Person En-ḫedu-Ana stammt." Nevertheless, when raising these questions, Zgoll implies that the composition was a product of the Sargonic period, even if not written personally by Enheduana.

[57] Konstantopoulos 2021, 57.

[58] On the signs of authorial presence, see Steineck – Schwermann 2014, 16–18.

[59] These compositions can be compared to royal hymns featuring the ruler as the speaker, though he was unlikely the author of the composition. Those attributions rather suggest that the ruler was the performer of the composition in course of a ritual. The same can also hold true for Enheduana.

[60] There is no consensus whether Enheduana should be regarded as the author of these compositions. Hallo – van Dijk 1968, 2–3; Sjöberg – Bergmann 1969, 5 as well as Westenholz 1999, 76 supported this thesis. Lambert 1970 and 2001 was in favour of later attribution, while Civil 1980, 229 and Michalowski 1998, 65 demonstrated that the hymn *Inana C* is a product of the Old Babylonian period, regarding both its grammar and vocabulary, and as such, has been composed considerably later than the lifetime of Enheduana.

[61] All four manuscripts in which the relevant segment of the composition is preserved include these lines; the order of lines suggests in three of the four manuscripts that they belonged to the body of the composition, as they were placed before the closing line referring to the line count of each hymns. Only one manuscript positions these lines as a subscript. On this issue see Black 2002, 3.

[62] It is indeed possible that the name of an originator became part of the transmitted text of a composition, see e.g. *The History of the Tummal* [ETCSL 2.1.3] mentioning Lu-Inana, the chief leatherworker of Enlil as its author (or mediator of an oral tradition). In this case, Lu-Inana was likely no significant historical person of renown in the Old Babylonian period, still his name survived as it was integrated into the composition. In the case of Enheduana, especially because the attribution is close to the phrasing of a colophon, the question should be raised why this particular colophon was transmitted by the copyists. A definite answer is that Enheduana was not identified as any scribe making appearance in a colophon,

the author or compiler of this composition which was reshaped by other scribes and scholars in the course of time, preserving the name of the originator.[63]

The consolidation of Enheduana's authorship is more plausible though if we assume that scribes were aware of her historicity. If Enheduana was a known historical figure in the Old Babylonian period, a secondary attribution is not less likely than the preservation of her authorship in the long run and should be considered at least in the case of some of the five compositions.[64]

The *Temple hymns* use the Sumerian term zu_2 – $keš_2$ to describe the role of Enheduana. This verb has the meaning "to bind, to tie" as well as "to gather".[65] Helle recently elaborated on cross-cultural metaphors comparing text production to weaving, considering this passage as well.[66] The present instance is, however, not the only known attestation of this metaphor in Mesopotamia. In the introduction of the *Keš temple hymn* [ETCSL 4.80.2], Nisaba, the patron goddess of writing and the scribal profession wove the hymn like a net from the words of Enlil (ll. 10–11). The Sumerian term applied in this case was $sa\text{-}gen_7$ – sur "to weave/form like a net".[67]

It is likely no mere coincidence that these two compositions share a unique theme within the Old Babylonian corpus: both are hymns addressed to temples. As the Keš temple hymn is known from Early Dynastic manuscripts[68] and was included in the elementary school curriculum of the Old Babylonian period,[69] it could have served as an inspiration and model for the *Temple hymns* – either in the Old Babylonian period or before. In this case, the compilation of the hymns by Enheduana repeated or mimicked Nisaba's act of creation – in the sphere of humans. Since the

but her name was meaningful already.

63 Most temple hymns could be part of an original composition dating to the Sargonic period as suggested by Wilcke 1972, 46 and 48. Nevertheless, both Wilcke 1972, 48 and Black 2002, 2 pointed out that some hymns were addressed to temples erected in the Ur III period, i.e., after Enheduana's lifetime, particularly to the temple of Šulgi at Ur and the temple of Nanna at Gaeš. The mention of the Eninnu in Lagaš is also problematic. All these elements suggest that the compilation underwent substantial redaction during the Ur III period.

64 The best candidates are certainly the *Temple hymns* and *Inana B*, maybe in this sequence of probability. Zgoll 1997, 179–184 enumerates multiple arguments for the pre-Old Babylonian dating of *Inana B*, nevertheless, they are less convincing than the topographical arguments impacting the dating of the *Temple hymns*. Especially the grammatical and lexical archaisms are sporadic, considering the rather high number of manuscripts and the length of the composition, and some of them could be relativized (e.g. the rather equal distribution of the orthographic variants nu-gig and $nu\text{-}u_8$-gig within the Old Babylonian literary corpus). As an example, some hymns of Šulgi preserved on a few manuscripts only exhibit the multiples of such archaisms (see e.g. Klein 1981b, 65–70 particularly concerning Šulgi D, but also in general on this phenomenon) However, the dating of *Inana B* to the Sargonic period cannot and should not be entirely excluded, the state of the art might also result from the popularity of the composition and the thorough redaction of Old Babylonian scribes. Such a meticulous redaction is indeed likely as the composition was part of the elementary scribal curriculum, the Decad.

65 The interpretation of this term is based on its Akkadian translation, lu_2 dub zu_2-$keš_2$-da being translated as *kāṣir tuppī* "binder of tablets". On the Sumerian compound verb see Karahashi 2000, 129 and on the interpretation of this specific text line, see also Konstantopoulos 2021, 61. The same composite verb was used in Gudea St. B viii 21 to refer to the hymns of the ruler, see fn. 30 above. Note that also Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, the author of the *Epic of Erra* used the corresponding Akkadian verb, *kaṣāru* "to tie, to knot" to describe the act of securing the composition revealed to him in writing, presumably by the god Erra. Therefore, he does not count as an originator either but a compilator, see Lenzi 2015, 152 as well as van der Toorn 2007, 41.

66 Helle 2019b, 123–128.

67 Conceptualizing authorship through metaphors is rare in the Sumerian literature; nevertheless, it is a well-attested strategy, for example, in medieval Persian prose, see Rubanovich 2009.

68 Biggs 1971.

69 The *Keš temple hymn* is attested in two Old Babylonian literary catalogues (ETCSL 0.2.1 from Nippur and ETCSL 0.2.2, likely from Nippur; both published in Kramer 1942) as one of the ten elementary curricular texts labelled by modern scholars as the "Decad". A third attestation in a catalogue from Ur (UET 6 123) is possible. All three literary catalogues include also the incipit of the *Temple hymns* which apparently belonged to a more advanced stage of the curriculum in Nippur schools.

priestess was a proper interlocutor with access to the divine sphere, the creation of a new piece of literature was rationalized through a human mediator, a cultural hero.[70] This function is likely central in the Old Babylonian literary discourse and relevant when contemplating why Enheduana's name was linked to several compositions.

In conclusion, three central elements of this model of attributed authorship can be identified:

Enheduana as a female author and priestess was a suitable counterpart of Nisaba in the human sphere. Moreover, considering a priestess as an originator would allow or even support the divine inspiration and thus the divine origin of the literary tradition, Enheduana acting as mediator between the divine and the human sphere.

As a priestess, she was fitting for the role of an author as priests were likely responsible for most of the literary production of the Old Babylonian period. This might be an anachronism or also the reality as early as in the Sargonic period, the scarcely preserved literary production of the era does not allow conclusions on that matter. However, as a member of the elite, she was suitable as commissioner of literary compositions regardless of time and space and maybe this factor was even more important than her function as high priestess of Nanna in Ur.

As a historical figure, she was a proper anchor in time and space. It is difficult to prove that Old Babylonian scribes were informed by the historicity of Enheduana; however, some historical sources preserving her name and function survived up to now. It is likely that these votive objects were still in situ in the early second millennium BCE and thus available for scribes and scholars who studied and copied them while collecting pieces of information on the past. Perhaps her name was also known from one, or a few, literary compositions which invited the attribution of further, thematically related pieces.

Whether her Akkadian ancestry was an important factor in the selection or transmission process as the author of *The temple hymns*[71] is not explicitly stated in the material. The unity of temples represented in the collection did not necessarily reflect the reality of the Sargonic times, it might be considered as the unity of cities from the perspective of Old Babylonian Nippur.[72]

4. Conclusions

The present paper aimed to revisit the concept of authorship and the role it played in the formation and transmission of Sumerian literary compositions. The nominal author was intended to function as a guide to text formation and interpretation, nevertheless, this author was considered retrospectively as the originator of the composition. Such a strict correlation between the author and the text results from later conceptions of literary history. Before the modern era, and particularly in the ancient Mesopotamian tradition, a conceptual gap between the author and

[70] Helle 2019a, 10 reflects upon the authorship of Enheduana from a different angle, but concludes similarly on the role of Enheduana as an author: "The local traditions required a sense of coherence if they were to be united despite their differences, and that coherence was provided by the author. The notion of authorship, especially the idea that different poems could be attributed to the same person, guaranteed the unity of what was fundamentally a composite text."

[71] So Helle 2019a, 16: "Her (= Enheduana's – Sz. S.) works fully display the might of the Old Akkadian empire that had brought the city states under one rule. But they also illustrate the loss of that power." This hypothesis calls to mind the suggestion of Beecroft (2010, 4): "Archaic Greece and Early China were both regions in which cultural unity overlay a politically fragmented and disordered world; biographical and anecdotes about authors provided a site in which these tensions could be negotiated, freeing literature in both cultures from its origins in specific if poorly known political contexts and facilitating its greater circulation, both within the linguistic community and, ultimately, beyond it." This could be indeed also true for ancient Mesopotamia, where Enheduana would be a fitting author symbolizing unity.

[72] The closing hymn for the temple of Nisaba including the reference to Enheduana also establishes a connection between this piece of literature and the Old Babylonians scribal culture, Nisaba being mentioned in the doxology of many school compositions.

the originator is perceptible in many ways: the originator of the text, the originator of the manuscript and the nominal author mentioned in the text were all different individuals, or in some cases, groups of individuals. This study intended to address these issues by emphasizing the connection of the text, the author, and the social and cultural settings in which these texts were embedded.

Among all the examples discussed above, Enheduana is the only acknowledged author in the Sumerian history of literature, because she is the only historical person attested in this function. Nevertheless, this fact does not make her claim stronger as a factual author, in contrast, she likely fits into the model of attributed authorship because of her historicity. Interestingly, all attested authors in Old Babylonian literary compositions were no scholars, thus they did not belong to the group producing and transmitting the contemporary corpus of literary texts. The choice of scholars falls to individuals who could serve as an anchor and contribute to the interpretation of the composition.

This consideration brings us back to the question of why specifically these characters qualified as authors and why these models had been applied to contextualize literary compositions by Mesopotamian scholars. Therefore, I aim to revisit the various functions of authorship proposed by Steineck and Schwermann and their relevance for the four models proposed and discussed in this article (Table 1).[73]

	Patron	Head of the family	Private individual	Cultural hero
Anchor in time and space	+	+		+
Establish unity		+		
Create differences		+	+	
Link to reference texts	+	+		+
Provide contexts	+	+	+	+

Table 1. The four models of attributed authorship presented in this article, evaluated within the framework proposed by Steineck – Schwermann 2014 regarding their potential functions.

Apparently, attributed authorship could fulfil a number of functions as early as in the Old Babylonian period. The various models were used in most cases to anchor the composition in time and space, and to provide an interpretative context for the work. However, it is also obvious that the stronger the historical embedment of a concept is, the greater variety of functions could be arranged to it. The concept of authorship in Mesopotamia likely emerged from honorary authorship, heading towards the acknowledgement of individual achievements. Even if this development took a great amount of time, the core concept is already present in the symbolic concept of the individual author.

Only later, in the first millennium BCE, the idea emerged that literary and scholarly texts should be attributed to scholars and not rulers or significant historical persons. This concept is documented in the *Uruk List of Kings and Sages* retrospectively attributing fictive authorship for scholars, as well as mentioning rulers who still fulfilled the function of the historical anchor, apparently of importance from the Mesopotamian scholars' point of view.

Attributed authors in the ancient Mesopotamian tradition emerged first in the Old Babylonian period, but they did not outlive in the literary tradition. They seem to fulfil ephemeral roles by anchoring and contextualizing the Sumerian literary tradition, or, a literary tradition in Sumerian, for those who only learned this language in the course of their professional training. Also, they

[73] Steineck – Schwermann 2014, 14–15.

were not numerous enough to contribute significantly to mapping and managing the chaotic textual culture of Sumerian literature. Attributed authors should be considered, however, as the very first attempts to establish a history of literature and raise awareness of continuity as well as ongoing change in the ancient Mesopotamian literary tradition.

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Luwische Städte- und Länderglyphen

Diether Schürr*

* – Independent scholar. Email: diether.schuerr@gmx.net

Abstract: The Luwian hieroglyphic script has special signs for towns and countries. At least nine are attested in Empire Luwian inscriptions, only four of them returning in Late Luwian inscriptions. Four others are attested in Late Luwian inscriptions only but may be inherited from Empire Luwian too. In two cases, signs for gods are used as signs for towns and countries in Empire Luwian only. In one case a common Empire Luwian logogram/syllabogram is used, possibly as an abbreviation. Phonetic complements are attested in some instances, and in Late Luwian also full phonetic writings occur instead of the special signs or immediately after them (four cases).

The sign *85 should not be transcribed as GENUFLECTERE like an otherwise attested Empire Luwian sign but should revert to HALPA. The transcriptions VITIS$_2$ or VITIS+x for an Empire Luwian sign are inappropriate, because this sign is attested solely as denoting an unidentified toponym, and is evidently more than a mere variant of VITIS. Therefore, it is proposed that it be transcribed as *160+. The Empire Luwian and the Late Luwian writing for – probably – 'Babylon', both with the phonetic complement *-la*, were transcribed with different numbers, but the earlier form is not really *292 and shares the crosshatching with the later form *475. Therefore, it is proposed that they be transcribed as *475a and b.

Keywords: Luwian hieroglyphs, Empire Luwian, Late Luwian, toponymy

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I. Einleitung

Ein Merkmal der luwischen Hieroglyphenschrift ist die Schaffung eigener Glyphen für Städte und Länder, was ungewöhnlicher ist als die von eigenen Zeichen für manche Götter. Zwar gibt es keilschriftlich logographische Schreibungen etwa mit KÙ.BABBAR ‚Silber' für den Namen der Hauptstadt Hattusa und ihr Land (akkadographisch *ḪA-AT-TI*) oder TÚL ‚Quelle' für die wichtige Kultstadt Arinna, aber das sind eher spielerische Schreibungen, die neben den üblichen einhergehen. Und die zeitgleichen hieroglyphischen Schreibungen sind anders (siehe hier Nr. 1 und 2). Was andere logosyllabische Schriften betrifft, sind vielleicht am ehesten die Symbole auf den Standarten der ägyptischen Gaue vergleichbar.[1]

[1] Ein Gutachter des Artikels wies darauf hin, daß auch die Maya-Schrift „a class of city-glyphs" habe, aber das ist nicht der Fall: Toponyme werden da aus mindestens zwei Elementen gebildet, übrigens ohne Determinative, z. B. ‚Jaguar-Hügel' oder ‚Geier-Hügel', der heute Bonampak genannte Ruinenort (Gronemeyer 2016, 89 Fig. 1b und h). Die sogenannten ‚Emblemglyphen'(-Komplexe) bilden dagegen einen Herrschertitel, der teilweise nur eine Glyphe enthält, die sich irgendwie auf den Regierungssitz oder das Herrschaftsgebiet bezieht. So war beispielsweise der Name Palenques ‚Großes Wasser' (Gronemeyer 2016, 91 Fig. 3h), aber in der Emblemglyphe erscheint ein anderes Zeichen (Gronemeyer 2016, 105 Fig. 13a: ‚Knochen'). Genaueres dazu Markianos-Daniolos 2022.

Aufgefallen ist dieses Charakteristikum der luwischen Schrift bisher nicht. So führte Hawkins im ersten Band seines Corpus lediglich die Lesung *HALPA* für das spätluwische Zeichen *85[2] an, ohne das zu kommentieren. In der mir bereits verfügbaren Umschriftenliste des dritten Bandes[3] ist das durch GENUFLECTERE ersetzt und damit nicht mehr erkennbar, daß es sich um einen Ortsnamen handelt.[4] Dagegen ist für *196 nun die Umschrift *HATTI/HATTUSA* angegeben, für *Á*+*226 *IŠUWA*, für *229 *MÍ*(REGIO)(*MIZRI*). Es sind aber erheblich mehr solcher Glyphen bezeugt, und zwar primär in den reichsluwischen[5] Inschriften, die aus der Zeit des Hethiterreiches stammen. Im folgenden werden nur die Fälle behandelt, die mir mehr oder weniger sicher erscheinen.

II. Die Glyphen

1. Hattusa

Abb. 1. *HATTUSA* REGIO OMNIS$_2$, linksläufig (nach Hawkins 1995, Abb. 35).

Zu diesen Städteglyphen gehört also zunächst das Zeichen *196 für *Hattusas*,[6] die Hauptstadt und auch das Land der hethitischen Großkönige,[7] erst spätluwisch als Silbenzeichen *há* verwendet. In der sehr verwitterten Nişantaş-Inschrift in Hattusa werden bereits am Beginn Suppiluliuma II. und sein Vater Tuthalia IV. als *HATTUSA*(REGIO) REX bezeichnet,[8] während später auch *HATTUSA*(URBS) REX erscheint.[9] Mit URBS kommt das Zeichen auch in dem verschwundenen Inschriftblock von Karaören[10] vor, der Tuthalia IV. zuzuordnen sein dürfte, sowie in dessen Staudamminschrift von Karakuyu, wo aber in das Zeichen MONS.*TU* für Tuthalia eingeschrieben ist.[11] In der Südburg-Inschrift,[12] die trotz ihres archaischen Aussehens auch von Suppiluliuma II. stammen dürfte,[13] wird *HATTUSA* dagegen nie mit Determinativ verwendet, sondern es folgt ihm dreimal REGIO OMNIS$_2$, ‚das ganze Land':[14] Damit beginnt die Inschrift, und das kehrt in Z. 3 nach der Personenbezeichnung CAPUT.VIR und nach „Suppiluliuma, Großkönig, Held" wieder. In Z. 2 erscheint *HATTUSA* in der Götterliste nach (DEUS)TONITRUS und an ihrem Ende zusammenfassend nach DEUS allein, in Z. 3 nach FINES-*zi/a*: ‚Grenzen von Hattusa' wie ‚Götter von Hattusa'. In

2 Hawkins 2000, 26 in Table 2 unten. Es handelt sich dabei um die Stadt Aleppo in Syrien. Zeichennummern nach Laroche 1960.

3 Hawkins in Vorbereitung.

4 Diese Umschrift (siehe Marazzi 1998, XXIV) beruht auf der Gleichsetzung mit einem ganz anderen reichsluwischen Zeichen in der Inschrift von YALBURT, Block 6 und 15, sowie dem Block von EMİRGAZİ A 5, siehe Poetto 1993, 42 und 70–71 (und vor allem die Abbildungen Tav. VII, XXI und XXVI) sowie Hawkins 1995, 68 und 70, dazu auch NİŞANTAŞ, 2. Zeile rechts (Marazzi 2018, 196). Poetto 2010 hat dieses Zeichen dann auch in der spätluwischen Inschrift ANCOZ 12, Beginn der 3. Zeile, angenommen. Außerdem hatte bereits Hawkins 2000, 315–317 *85 in der spätluwischen Inschrift IZGIN (1 §8 und 2 §2) angenommen, aber als „not certain" bezeichnet.

5 Ich übernehme die Unterscheidung der hieroglyphen-luwischen Inschriften in reichsluwisch und spätluwisch von Ilya Yakubovich.

6 Die Nominativendung *-s* wird bei Namen gewöhnlich weggelassen.

7 Nur akkadographisch *Hatti*, siehe nun Kryszeń 2017, daher im weiteren *HATTUSA* umschrieben.

8 Marazzi 2018, 196 Tav. 4 und Hawkins 2019, 144.

9 Hawkins 2019, Z. 1 rechts und Marazzi 2018, Z. 2 links.

10 Maner *et al.* 2021, 369–374.

11 Hawkins 2006, 61 und 75 Fig. 11.

12 Siehe Hawkins 1995.

13 Für Suppiluliuma I. ist vor allem Oreshko 2012 mit einigen guten Gründen eingetreten. Dagegen sprechen aber nun auch die inhaltlichen Übereinstimmungen mit der Nişantaş-Inschrift.

14 Siehe dazu Oreshko 2017, 51–52.

Z. 4 steht *HATTUSA* allein. Der schon früher belegte Königsname *Hattusilis*, der auf ein hattisches Ethnikon ‚der von Hattus' zurückgeht, wird *HATTUSA+li* geschrieben, und das gibt es auch noch in spätluwischen Inschriften. Vergleiche dazu auch die Schreibung URBS+MINUS-*li*[15] oder +*li* für den Königsnamen *Mursilis*, aber für Mursilis III. auch nur URBS-*li*[16] und nur so in den spätluwischen Hartapus-Inschriften.

2. Arinna

Abb. 2. (DEUS)SOL SOL, rechtsläufig (nach Hawkins 1995, Abb. 35).

In der Südburg-Inschrift gibt es noch weitere Belege. So erscheint am Beginn der Götterliste Z. 2 (DEUS)SOL SOL wie (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I* in NİŞANTAŞ Z. 1 rechts zweimal sowie Z. 5, am Beginn der Götterliste auf den Altären von EMİRGAZİ §26 und 29,[17] viermal auf dem Block von EMİRGAZİ[18] (alle von Tuthalia IV.), während ein ebenfalls von Tuthalia IV. stammendes Siegel[19] auch nur (DEUS)SOL SOL vor der Göttin selbst hat: Das bezeichnet die Sonnengöttin von Arinna, einem zentralen Kultort.[20] Da erscheint also ein Theonym für den mit ihm verbundenen Ort, wobei *RA/I* den Ortsnamen selbst reflektieren mag. Belegt ist das nur nach dem Theonym selbst.

3. Wettergott-Stadt

Abb. 3. TONITRUS(URBS) (nach Hawkins 1995, Abb. 35).

In Z. 5 der Südburg-Inschrift erscheinen TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO und CAPUT.VIR TONITRUS(URBS) REGIO und in Z. 6 TONITRUS(URBS) allein, vergleiche auf der Stele von Çağdın (DEUS) TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS) oder eher ohne URBS analog (DEUS)SOL SOL.[21] Oreshko bestreitet den Bezug auf Tarhuntassa, auch weil die Stele weit im Osten – östlich von Gaziantep – gefunden wurde und der Personenname TONITRUS.URBS+*li* sicher nicht darauf zu beziehen ist: Hawkins hat das keilschriftliche *Nerik(k)aili* vermutet, wie *Hattusili* zur Stadt Nerik, einem bedeutenden Kultort des Wettergottes, gebildet.[22] Jedenfalls erscheint auch hier ein Theonym für einen Ort bzw. ein Land, dessen Identität vorläufig unklar ist.

4. *160+

Daß es für die oben genannten Orte und Länder eigene Zeichen gab, verwundert weniger als bei einem bisher nicht wirklich identifizierbaren Ort: In der von Tuthalia IV. stammenden

15 Siehe zur Umschrift MINUS statt *RA/I* Melchert 1988, wo allerdings auf diese Schreibung nicht eingegangen wird. Hawkins hält hier an *RA/I* fest, obwohl er einräumte, der kurze senkrechte Strich „may well be the MINUS element identified by Melchert" (Hawkins 1995, 72). Aber er nahm an, daß URBS+MINUS ‚ruin' bedeuten müsse, was nicht passen würde.

16 Nur auf dem Siegel mit dem Wettergott von Aleppo: Herbordt *et al.* 2011, Katalog Nr. 57, Taf. 19.

17 Hawkins 1995, 88–89.

18 Masson 1979, 12–16.

19 Herbordt *et al.* 2011, 59 Abb. 17ab.

20 Hawkins 1995, 32.

21 Oreshko 2012, 367.

22 *Apud* Herbordt 2005, 286. Dem folgt Van Quickelberghe 2019.

Abb. 4. *160+, rechtsläufig (nach Hawkins 1995, Abb. 35).

Inschrift von Yalburt erscheint auf Block 9 zwischen Erwähnungen der Lukka-Länder und nach ‚Großkönig' ein Zeichen, das einer Hacke gleicht, und zwar mit dem Determinativ REGIO. Ebenso in KARAÖREN in den Sätzen vor und nach der Stadt Hattusa. In NİŞANTAŞ erscheint das Zeichen dagegen Z. 3 links, Z. 4 rechts[23] und Z. 6 rechts[24] mit dem Determinativ URBS, im letzten Fall vor der Stadt Lukka und dem Land Kizzuwadna (Ebenes Kilikien). Schließlich hat die Südburg-Inschrift eine ungewöhnlich große und plump wirkende Version dieses Zeichens, die Z. 1 und 2 *Ta-ma/i-na*, *Ma-sa*$_5$, *Lu-ka* und *I(a)*-x-*na*[25] vorausgeht. Determinative fehlen hier, und so ist unklar, ob hier Länder oder Städte[26] gemeint sind. Jedenfalls ist aber auch hier Lukka assoziiert und die Bedeutung dieses Namens hervorgehoben, auch durch die Voranstellung.

Poetto umschrieb das Zeichen *WÍ* wie das Zeichen *160 und kommentierte „il pittogramma [...] effigia un "vitigno" pendente dall'estremità d'un "ramo"".[27] Hawkins umschrieb VITIS wie das Zeichen *160, mit dem Kommentar: „It seems likely that this elaborate Empire form simply represents (however bizarrely) a vine-stock".[28] Beide vermuteten daher dahinter den Ortsnamen Wijanawanta. Bolatti Guzzo und Marazzi halten unter Vergleichung nicht wirklich ähnlicher Siegelbilder daran fest, daß das in diesen vier Inschriften verwendete Zeichen nichts als eine Variante von *160 ist – umschreiben also VITIS$_2$ – und ignorieren dabei, daß es nur als Glyphe für eine Stadt bzw. ein Land verwendet wird.[29] Der senkrechte Teil ähnelt auch dem Zeichen VITIS, genauer der von Laroche angeführten vierten Variante,[30] aber was das für den Lautwert bedeuten soll, ist vollkommen unklar. Ich schlage daher die neutrale Umschrift *160+ vor. Die ursprüngliche Gleichsetzung mit dem nordlykischen Oinoanda[31] ist nun noch weniger wahrscheinlich geworden, und Karaören am Ostrand Lykaoniens legt nahe, daß es viel weiter östlich zu suchen ist, ebenso wie Lukka.

5. und 6. *504 und *300(+?)

Abb. 5. *504(REGIO) und *300(+?)(URBS), linksläufig (nach Hawkins 1995, Abb. 35).

In der Liste der erbauten Städte in Z. 3 der Südburg-Inschrift erscheint *504(REGIO) als einziges Land und im weiteren *300(+?)(URBS); beide bleiben unklar. Da sie nicht neu gegründet worden sein müssen, ist es fraglich, ob diese Glyphen erst zum Zeitpunkt dieser Baumaßnahme neu geschaffen wurden.

[23] Siehe Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi 2020, 122 Anm. 13 und 123 Abb. 2.

[24] Nach Hawkins 2019.

[25] Hawkins' Lesung *i(a)-ku-na* und die Gleichsetzung mit keilschriftlich *Ikkuwanija*, gräzisiert Ικονιον, türkisch *Konya* ist von Oreshko 2012, 343–344 mit Recht bestritten worden.

[26] Auch *Ta-ma/i-na* erscheint in NİŞANTAŞ Z. 3 rechts als URBS (Hawkins 2019). Zur Lesung *ma/i* statt *mi* für *391 siehe Simon 2016, 72 und die da angegebene Literatur.

[27] Poetto 1993, 48.

[28] Hawkins 1995, 29.

[29] Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi 2020.

[30] Daher hat Weeden 2018, 332 die Umschrift VITIS+x vorgeschlagen.

[31] Zuerst bestritten von Schürr 2010, 22–23, siehe auch Gander 2014, 375–384.

7. Halpa

Abb. 6. (DEUS)TONITRUS *HALPA-ma/i*, linksläufig (nach Hawkins 2003, 171 Fig. 2).

In NİŞANTAŞ ist in Z. 4 rechts TONITRUS.*HALPA*(URBS) für keilschriftlich *Halpa* (Aleppo) belegt. Der Wettergott von Aleppo erscheint in ALEPPO 5,[32] auf einem Siegel des Mursili III.[33] und im Felsrelief von İmamkulu[34] mit *HALPA-ma/i*, was nach Hawkins dem keilschriftlich *Hal-pu-u-ma-aš* mit dem hethitischen Ethnikonsuffix *-uman-* entsprechen würde,[35] vergleichbar mit *HATTUSA-li*, das freilich nur als Personenname belegt ist. Dagegen hat ALEPPO 1, die älteste etwas längere hieroglyphen-luwische Inschrift (um 1300 v. Chr.),[36] REX TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa*(URBS) ohne Ethnikonsuffix. Diese Schreibung ist dann in den spätluwischen Inschriften die übliche, auch in ALEPPO 6.[37] Eine Ausnahme ist *HALPA-pa-* in KÖRKÜN.[38] Hier tritt das Theonym an die Städteglyphe an, sofern es nicht vorausgeht, weil der Ort eng mit dieser Gottheit verbunden ist.

8. Muška

Abb. 7. *468/469?(REGIO), *468 REGIO OMNIS$_2$, linksläufig (nach Hawkins 2019, Abb. 72 und 2000, Pl. 241).

In NİŞANTAŞ erscheint Z. 3 rechts *468/469$^?$(REGIO).[39] Das dürfte bestätigen, daß später, m. E. im 8. Jh. v. Chr.,[40] *468 in der Hartapus-Inschrift KARADAĞ 1[41] tatsächlich eine Landglyphe ist, wie schon Laroche vermutet hatte („nom de pays??“),[42] die REGIO OMNIS$_2$ vorausgeht wie *HATTUSA* in der Südburg-Inschrift.[43] In der Hartapus-Inschrift KIZILDAĞ 4 wird REGIO OMNIS$_2$ mit *Mu$^?$-sà-ka-na*(REGIO) im Akkusativ variiert, was für die Gleichsetzung durch Oreshko spricht.[44]

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32 Hawkins 2011, 40.

33 Herbordt *et al.* 2011, Katalog Nr. 57, Taf. 19.

34 Beide in Hawkins 2003 behandelt.

35 Das kommt meines Wissens sonst in reichsluwischen Inschriften nicht vor, außer bei Personennamen wie PURUS.FONS-*ma/i* für *Suppiluliuma*.

36 Siehe etwa Werner 1991, 50–51. Das könnte dafür sprechen, daß sich der Gebrauch der Hieroglypheninschrift für längere Inschriften im Süden entwickelt hat. Was die Entwicklung des Schriftgebrauchs selbst angeht, folge ich Marazzi 2019, 344 Anm. 13, wo auf die Südburg-Inschrift eingegangen wird.

37 Hawkins 2011, 44, direkt neben ALEPPO 5. Eine phonetische Schreibung hat KARKAMIŠ A24*a*2+3 §6 und 11 (Hawkins 2000, 135): *I-la-pa-za/i-* bzw. *-za-* ist da der Wettergott von Aleppo, mit luwischem Ethnikon-Suffix.

38 Hawkins 2000, 172.

39 Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Natalia Bolatti Guzzo, Lesung durch die 3D-Aufnahmen des Progetto Hattusa bestätigt.

40 Die Datierung ist immer noch heftig umstritten. In Schürr demnächst, trete ich für die Spätdatierung ein.

41 Siehe Hawkins 2000, 438.

42 Laroche 1960, 239.

43 Von Oreshko 2017, 52–53 erkannt.

44 Der allerdings an Poettos Lesung *Ma-sà* festhielt (1998), die nun überholt ist: Die neue Hartapus-Inschrift vom Türkmen-Karahöyük hat eindeutig *Mu-sà-ka*(REGIO), siehe Goedegebuure *et al.* 2020. Das *468 sehr ähnliche Zeichen *469 ist auf der Stele von KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) in §21 und 23 mit der Pluralendung *-zi/a* belegt (Hawkins 2000, 290).

Das Land *Muška*[45] scheint damit also schon zur Großreichszeit belegt, allerdings könnte dieser Name selbst jüngeren Datums sein. Später in der Nişantaş-Zeile kommt auch die Stadt *Ta-ma/i-na* vor, sonst läßt sich über den Kontext kaum etwas sagen.

Hawkins erwägt die Gleichsetzung mit *511-*sa*$_5$(REGIO) in YALBURT Block 7 und 17.[46] Die Ähnlichkeit der Zeichen hatte schon Poetto bemerkt;[47] Oreshko griff sie 2017 auf und wollte darin ebenfalls das Land Masa erkennen.[48] Das Land *511-*sa*$_5$ dürfte allerdings nach dem Kontext weit im Westen, in der Nähe Lykiens, zu suchen und von *468 fernzuhalten sein.[49] Ich möchte in *468 bzw. *Muška* die Bezeichnung des von Hartapus beherrschten Landes sehen, die erst später auf die Phryger übertragen wurde.[50]

9. Isuwa

Abb. 8. REX *Á*+*226(REGIO), rechtsläufig (nach Poetto – Bolatti-Guzzo 1994, 15 Fig. 3).

Schließlich erkannte Hawkins noch in NİŞANTAŞ Z. 7 rechts Ende *Á*+*226(URBS) für keilschriftliches *I-šu-wa*, Stadt und Land beim heutigen Elaziğ.[51] Ein sonderbarerweise anonymer *Á*+*226(URBS) REX ist in dem Grafitto BOĞAZKÖY 12 belegt,[52] ein *Á-zi/a*-TONITRUS REX **Á*+226(REGIO) auf einem südlich von Kayseri gefundenen Siegelabdruck,[53] zwei Könige dieses Landes auf den in Korucutepe bei Elaziğ gefundenen Siegelabdrücken,[54] Ari-Sarruma und Ali-Sarruma, von dem es auch einen Siegelabdruck in Boğazköy gibt.[55] Beim Baltimore-Siegel,[56] das bei Laroche noch der einzige Beleg für *226 war (aber zusammen mit URBS), hat der kleine Kreis im Innern ein Gitter, siehe unten.

10. und 11. INFRA und *122

Abb. 9. *Á*+*226(URBS) INFRA(URBS) und *122(URBS) MAGNUS.REX, linksläufig (nach Güterbock 1977, 9 Fig. 2).

Auf dem Baltimore-Siegel ist unmittelbar nach Isuwa auch INFRA(URBS) belegt und davon getrennt *122(URBS) vor MAGNUS.REX, was in der Südburg-Inschrift Z. 6 seltsamerweise zu INFRA.*122(URBS) zusammengezogen zu sein scheint:[57] Da werden in TONITRUS(URBS), einer

[45] Der Gebrauch des Zeichens *sà* spricht für ein Allophon [ʃ] von *s*, hier vor *k*, siehe dazu Rieken 2010. Ich umschreibe es daher mit *š*.

[46] *511 ist eine der von Hawkins neu vergebenen Zeichennummern, siehe Hawkins 1995, 139.

[47] Poetto 1993, 72–73.

[48] Oreshko 2017, 52–53.

[49] Siehe dazu Schürr 2010, 16.

[50] Schürr demnächst.

[51] Siehe zur Gleichsetzung Hawkins 1998.

[52] Arroyo 2013.

[53] Poetto – Bolatti Guzzo 1994.

[54] Güterbock 1973, 138 Fig. 1, 1–3.

[55] Hawkins 1998, 294 Fig. 2 und 1.

[56] Siehe Güterbock 1977, 8–10 mit Fig. 2.

[57] Hawkins 1995, 43.

weiteren Stadt und dieser Opfer dargebracht. Da INFRA, reichsluwisch auch als Syllabogramm *ká* verwendet, ein übliches Zeichen ist, könnte es sich bei INFRA(URBS) um eine Abkürzung handeln. Und da keilschriftliches *Kizzuwadna*, Stadt und Land, hieroglyphisch *Ká-zu(wa)-na* geschrieben wurde (Felsrelief von Fıraktın[58] und NİŞANTAŞ Z. 6 rechts, beide Male mit REGIO), könnte es theoretisch in Frage kommen.[59] Leider ist vollkommen unklar, wie die Abfolge von Hieroglyphen und Bildmotiven auf dem Baltimore-Siegel, das einem Schreiber gehörte, zu verstehen ist. INFRA.*122(URBS) könnte dagegen eine Schreibung von *122(URBS) mit phonetischem Komplement *ká* sein.

12. Babylon

Abb. 10. *475a-*la* und *475b-*la*(URBS), rechtsläufig (nach Herbordt et al. 2011, Taf. 6 Rek. 2, 1–5 und Hawkins 2000, Pl. 33).

Der Baltimore-Variante von *226 gleicht das Zeichen, das zusammen mit dem Silbenzeichen *la* auf Siegeln keilschriftlich KÁ.DINGIR.RA für Babylonien entspricht (Herkunft der Königin Tawananna). Es ist allerdings deutlich größer. Otten setzte es mit *292 gleich,[60] das Laroche aber als „Roue à 4, 6 ou 8 rayons“ definiert hatte.[61] Hawkins übernahm das und führte dazu einen isolierten Beleg für die Zeichengruppe – auch ohne Determinativ – auf einer in Boğazköy gefundenen Gußform für Glas, das „Babylonstein“ genannt wurde, an.[62] Sie ist auf beiden Seiten neben der Matrize mit der Figur eines Gottes eingeritzt.

Diese Schreibung dürfte auch in einer spätluwischen Inschrift wiederkehren: In der Inschrift A6[63] von Karkamiš rühmt sich Jariris, daß sein Name einerseits in Ägypten (siehe die folgende Nummer), andererseits in *475-*la*(URBS) und auch bei Musern, Muschkern und Surern[64] gehört werde. Das sind offenbar geographische Extreme, so daß die Gleichsetzung von *475-*la* mit Babylon durch Bossert plausibel ist und auch von Hawkins aufgenommen wurde (mit Fragezeichen).[65] Das Zeichen *475 hat mit der reichsluwischen Form das Gitternetz gemeinsam, und so bezeichne ich diese mit *475a, wonach die spätluwische Variante als *475b aufzuführen wäre.

13. Ägypten

Ägypten wird in der Inschrift A6 von Karkamiš erst *419(REGIO)[66] und direkt danach phonetisch *Mi-za+ra/i*(URBS)[67] geschrieben, Es liegt nahe, daß *419 eine traditionelle, auf das Reichsluwische

58 Ehringhaus 2005, 64.

59 Wie schon Hawkins 1998, 288 bemerkt hat.

60 Otten 1995, 22.

61 Laroche 1960, 151.

62 In Herbordt *et al.* 2011, 90. Siehe Baykal-Seeher – Seeher 2003.

63 Hawkins 2000, 124.

64 Alle drei wie Ägypten und Babylon sind mit dem Determinativ URBS, obwohl im Dativ Plural auf *-za* angeführt. Daß mit den *Mu-sá-za* die Lyder gemeint seien, ist eine althergebrachte, aber willkürliche Annahme, siehe die Argumentation von Starke 1997, 384. Zu den *Mu-sà-ka-za* siehe hier unter Nr. 8. Die Gleichsetzung der *Su+ra/i-za* mit den kappadokischen Syrern der griechischen Überlieferung (Simon 2012) scheint mir plausibel.

65 Bossert 1960, 442; Hawkins 2000, 125.

66 *419 wird spätluwisch auch als Silbenzeichen *mí* verwendet: analog zu *há* statt *HATTUSA*?

67 Keilschriftlich ist *Mi-iz-ra-aš* nur, *Mi-iz-ri(-i)* teilweise als Stadt bezeichnet.

Abb. 11. "*419(REGIO)" *Mi-za+ra/i*(URBS), rechtsläufig (nach Hawkins 2000, Pl. 33).

zurückgehende Schreibung ist wie die für Babylon, die nicht mehr ohne weiteres verständlich war, so daß sie durch eine phonetische Schreibung ergänzt wurde. Nur *419(REGIO) ist in ALEPPO 7 §7, einer viel älteren Inschrift, belegt.[68]

14. Adanawa

Abb. 12. *429-*sa*(-*pa-wa/i-mu*)(URBS), rechtsläufig (nach Dinçol et al. 2015, 61 Fig. 2 Z. 4).

Es gibt in den spätluwischen Inschriften noch drei weitere Städteglyphen. Ein Neunpunkt erscheint KARATEPE 1[69] neunmal in den Namenschreibungen der Hauptstadt (in sehr verschiedenen Varianten): *Á*-*429-*wa/i*- (URBS),[70] erst dem letzten erhaltenen Beleg folgt ganz phonetisch *Á-ta-na-wa/i*- (URBS), gegenüber der phönizischen Schreibung *ʾdn* mit *-wa*- erweitert. Bedeutend früher ist wohl die gleiche Stadt (das heutige Adana) in ARSUZ 1 als *429-*sa* (URBS) belegt.[71] Das zeigt, daß es sich auch beim Neunpunkt um ein Logogramm handelt, auch wenn später phonetische Komplemente dazukamen und schließlich auch eine nur phonetische Schreibung erscheint: *429- → *Á*-*429-*wa/i*- → *Á-ta-na-wa/i*-. Zur Zeit des Hethiterreiches ist die Stadt als *Adanija* bezeugt, und es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß das schon damals so geschrieben wurde.

15. POCULUM

Abb. 13. 𐔪 POCULUM(URBS) (nach Hawkins 2000, Pl. 150).

In der Reliefbeischrift MALATYA 9 folgt auf das Wettergottzeichen erst in Relief 𐔪 POCULUM(URBS), wobei die Rolle von 𐔪 unklar ist, später geritzt POCULUM-*tà*(URBS)[72] mit phonetischem Komplement. Erheblich früher ist in KARAHÖYÜK bei Elbistan ein Wettergott von POCULUM.PES/*ti*.*67(REGIO) belegt,[73] der gleichzusetzen sein dürfte. Aber Stadt und Land müssen nicht wirklich gleichlautend gewesen sein. Der Landesname könnte eine Ableitung von oder ein Kompositum mit dem Stadtnamen sein, dieser allerdings auch eine spätere lautliche Verkürzung. Jedenfalls wird man POCULUM unter die Städteglyphen aufnehmen können.

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[68] Hawkins 2011, 48.

[69] Siehe Hawkins 2000, 49 und 51–53.

[70] Die Lesung *Ahijawa* (Oreshko 2013) ist nicht plausibel, siehe dazu auch Schürr 2020, 129.

[71] Siehe Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 64 §11, *(A)TANA-sa* geschrieben.

[72] Hawkins 2000, 311.

[73] Hawkins 2000, 289–290. Das Determinativ erscheint nur beim ersten Wettergottbeleg und wenn nur vom Land die Rede ist.

16. *428 = *427+MINUS

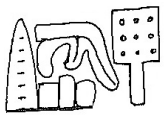

Abb. 14. *428-*tà*(-*wa/i*)(URBS), linksläufig (nach Hawkins 2000, Pl. 154 Hauptseite Z. 5).

Auch bei *428-*tà*(-*wa/i*)(URBS) in IZGIN 1 §6[74] (Akk. Sg.), ebenfalls im Gebiet des Kleinstaates um Malatya, wird eine Städteglyphe[75] mit phonetischem Komplement vorliegen. In GÜRÜN §2[76] ist der Stadtname noch weiter komplementiert: *428-*tà-i-ti*(URBS) in beiden Versionen, wobei *-ti* Kasussuffix sein könnte. Eine vollständige phonetische Schreibung, wie Hawkins angenommen hatte, wird aber auch da nicht vorliegen, denn das Schrifttzeichen CAPERE/*tà* kommt nur am Wortbeginn vor, wenn es für das Verb steht.[77] Das Zeichen *428 ist allerdings auch in KARKAMIŠ A24a2-3 §13 belegt,[78] wo *428-*tà-ia-t*[*i*] eine Verbform sein könnte. Trotz der Entfernung ist es aber wenig wahrscheinlich, daß diese Belege zu trennen wären.

III. Zusammenfassung

Von den zwölf reichsluwischen Zeichen für Städte und Länder überlebten also vier in den spätluwischen Inschriften, *HATTUSA* (Nr. 1) allerdings nur in der Schreibung des Personennamens Hattusilis. TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa* (Nr. 7), *468 für Muška (Nr. 8) und *475-*la* für Babylon (Nr. 12) kehren so wieder, von teilweise veränderten Zeichenformen abgesehen. Davon ist *468 am bemerkenswertesten: Es kehrt nur in einer der Hartapus-Inschriften wieder, während eine phonetische Schreibung *Mu-sà-ka-za*(URBS) schon um 800 v. Chr. bezeugt ist,[79] dann auch in zwei Hartapus-Inschriften.

Nur spätluwisch sind vier Zeichen belegt, wobei *419 einmal zusammen mit der Schreibung *Mi-za+ra/i* erscheint (Nr. 13). Die spätluwische Verwendung auch als Silbenzeichen wie bei *HATTUSA* spricht dafür, daß dieses Zeichen ebenfalls auf die Großreichszeit zurückgeht. Es gibt auch keinen Beleg dafür, daß solche Zeichen nach dem Untergang des Hethiterreiches neu geschaffen wurden. Und in den spätluwischen Inschriften ist ihr Bestand reduziert, mit völlig phonetischen Schreibungen daneben oder an ihrer Stelle. Daher dürften nun auch weitere Stadt- und Länderglyphen durch phonetische Schreibungen ersetzt worden sein, ohne daß sich das derzeit nachweisen läßt.

Fast alle dieser Zeichen wurden nur für einen Ort und sein Gebiet verwendet.[80] In zwei Fällen (Nr.1 und Nr. 13) werden solche Zeichen spätluwisch via Akrophonie auch als Silbenzeichen (*há* und *mî*) gebraucht. Ganz anders ist die Verwendung von Zeichen für Götter auch für Orte, die mit diesen Göttern eng verbunden waren: SOL für Arinna (Nr. 2), TONITRUS für einen nicht zweifelsfrei identifizierbaren Ort und sein Land. (Nr. 3). Ein auffallender Zug ist, daß die

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74 Hawkins 2000, 315.

75 *427+MINUS, vgl. URBS+MINUS, siehe Anm. 15.

76 Hawkins 2000, 296.

77 Rieken 2008, 644 vermutete das bei *tà-sá-za* nach *256, siehe aber Schürr 2016, 127, und in Anm. 16 bei]*tà-tu-ha-pa-´* in EĞRIKÖY (Hawkins 2000, 495), das wie der hurritische, in der Großreichszeit belegte Frauenname *Daduhepa* aussieht, der aber damals hieroglyphen-luwisch mit einem anderen Zeichen für die erste Silbe geschrieben wurde. Und der Name muß ja nicht vollständig sein und könnte ohne weiteres dem großreichszeitlichen *Satanduhepa*, hieroglyphen-luwisch *Sà-tà-tu-ha-pa*, entsprechen.

78 Hawkins 2000, 133.

79 In der schon oben bei Nr. 12 und 13 herangezogenen Inschrift KARKAMIŠ A 6: im Dat. Pl., also als Ethnikon. Trotz des Determinativs URBS dürfte es sich nicht um einen Stadtnamen handeln.

80 Das scheint mir bereits eine „clear definition“, wie sie einer der Gutachter vermißt hat. Zu diesen Zeichen zählt auch *85, siehe Anm. 4.

Determinative URBS oder REGIO teilweise fehlen, nicht nur in der Südburg-Inschrift. Dafür gibt es teilweise phonetische Komplemente: so bei SOL+*RA/I* neben SOL allein, bei *HALPA-ma/i*, aber auch schon beim frühesten Beleg TONITRUS.HALPA-*pa*, und bei *475-*la*. Da könnte *-la* vielleicht eine Adjektivendung sein,[81] so daß die Tawannana auf den Siegeln als ‚babylonisch' bezeichnet würde und der „Babylonstein", für den die Gußform bestimmt war, auch. Das wäre dann mit *HALPA-ma/i* vergleichbar, während bei (TONITRUS.)*HALPA-pa* (mit URBS) und wohl auch SOL+*RA/I* nur die Lesung der Glyphe angezeigt wird wie viel später bei *Á*-*429-*wa/i* (Nr. 14). Das könnte auch bei POCULUM-*tà* (Nr. 15) und *428-*tà*(-*i-t*[*i*]) (Nr. 16) der Fall sein. Ganz unklar ist *Á*+*226 für Isuwa (Nr. 9), aber das Zeichen *19 = *á* scheint auch in HEROS, wo das Zeichen *341 (jetzt COR) antritt, keine phonetische Geltung zu haben, da HEROS hethitisch **hastali-* entsprechen wird. Schließlich könnte INFRA/*ká*(URBS) (Nr. 10) eine Abkürzung sein wie etwa *Ma*(REGIO) auf dem Königssiegel MALATYA 15 für hethititisch *Malidija* (heute Malatya) statt der üblichen Schreibung mit *109-*125.[82]

Es sind Städte/Länder von sehr verschiedener Bedeutung, die ein eigenes Schriftzeichen erhalten hatten: Von Ägypten und Babylon über Hattusa abwärts bis zu nur einmal belegten Städten wie *300(+*?) in der Südburg-Inschrift. Da in sechs Fällen nicht klar ist, wie das Zeichen zu lesen ist, ist nicht feststellbar, wie wichtig diese Städte/Länder waren. Bei Muška bleibt auch unklar, welche Rolle dieses Land vor 1200 v. Chr. spielte und ob es damals überhaupt schon so hieß.

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[81] Vergleiche hethitisch *Hurla-* ‚hurritisch, Hurriter', dessen Suffix luwischer Herkunft sein könnte?

[82] Hawkins 2000, 576, wohl nach dem Ende des Hethiterreichs.

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The Hurro-Urartian loan contacts of Armenian: A revision

Zsolt Simon*

* – Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics. Email: zsltsimon@gmail.com

Abstract: The present paper critically revises the Hurro-Urartian loanwords of Armenian as well as the alleged Armenian loans in Urartian. It argues that while the existence of the Hurro-Urartian loanword layer in Armenian is undeniable, the number of the certain cases is much smaller than previously assumed. Furthermore, none of the proposed Armenian loans in Urartian can be maintained on linguistic grounds.

Keywords: Hurrian, Urartian, Armenian, Akkadian, loanwords

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There is general agreement that Armenian borrowed several words from Urartian and Hurrian.[1] Nevertheless, a new, critical overview of this hypothesis is required by two circumstances. On the one hand, the precise list of these borrowings was always contested, and on the other, the developments in the research on these languages after the establishment of this theory (in Western scholarship) in the ’80s and ’90s should also be included. The Hurrian-Urartian loan contacts of Armenian are further complicated by the similarly old hypothesis of Armenian loans in Urartian. Therefore, this paper provides a critical overview of all these proposals in order to establish a list of certain, problematic and wrong etymologies that can serve as bases for future sociolinguistic and (pre)historical interpretations. The paper will first discuss the Armenian loans from Urartian (§1), then those from Hurrian (§2), closing with the Urartian loans from Armenian (§3).[2] Akkadian loans without proposed Urartian or Hurrian transmission are not taken into account,

[1] See, in general, Diakonoff 1971, 83–86; 1985; Greppin 1982a, 67–68, 71–72; 1982b; 1982c; 1990, 204; 1990–1991; 1991a; 1991b, 204; 1995, 314–315; 1996; 2006; 2008b; 2008c; 2011; Yakubovich 2016a, 180–182; 2016b, 157–158; Petit 2019, 182–183 (very cautiously); EDAIL, *passim* (most of these works contain ample references to literature published in languages that are not used in Indo-European and Ancient Near Eastern studies [Armenian, Rumanian, Russian], and that are thus omitted here, cf. also the references in Schmitt 1972 [1974], 22, 40–42; detailed references to Western literature can be found in several entries of the BGH as well). This is also acknowledged in the handbooks of Indo-European studies (see, e.g., Fortson 2010, 382; Olsen – Thorsø 2022, 209), including Clackson 2017, 1123 (who is not especially familiar with the Ancient Near Eastern connections of Armenian, see the criticism in Simon 2021b, 284). He also remarks that “many” of the proposals of Diakonoff 1985; Greppin 1991a and 2010 are either based on unattested words or semantically or phonologically problematic, without specifying any details; note that Greppin 2010 does not contain Hurro-Urartian etymologies. The research seems to have started with Msériantz 1904, which was based on a talk in 1902 (Greppin 1982b, 142; 1982c, 117; 1990–1991, 17; 2008c, 134).

[2] The lists below are alphabetically ordered according to the Armenian words and, for the sake of simplicity, in Latin alphabetical order (letters with diacritics follow the ones without and note the spelling ‹ow› for [u]). The spelling of the Urartian and Hurrian words is adjusted to current practices, except when the original spelling of the quoted authors had consequences for the etymology.

as there are several other ways these Akkadian words could have entered Proto-Armenian (such as direct contacts with Neo-Assyrian as well as Neo- and Late Babylonian).[3] Alleged loans without any supportive linguistic material are also excluded.[4] Finally, this analysis does not include Armenian words that are assumed to be loans from the Northeastern Caucasian language family via its (Hurro-)Urartian branch,[5] for the simple reason that despite the efforts of Diakonoff and Starostin,[6] Hurro-Urartian is not a demonstrated member of this language family.[7]

1. Armenian loans from Urartian

The first subsection (§1.1) discusses those proposals that are based on an attested Urartian word. The second subsection (§1.2) is devoted to loans from reconstructed Urartian words.[8]

1.1. Armenian loans from attested Urartian words

1.1.1. *arciw* ‘eagle’ ← *Arṣibə* ‘the name of King Minua’s horse’[9]

Although this etymology is formally possible, the Armenian word has a well-established Indo-European etymology (**h₂ŕĝipi̯ó-* ‘eagle’, cf. Vedic *ŕjipyá-* ‘moving straight upwards [an epithet of eagles, etc.]; eagle’, Avestan *ərəzifiiō.parəna-* ‘eagle-feathered’, etc.).[10] It is superior to the Urartian etymology, which is based on a word of practically unknown meaning (even if ‘eagle’ is definitely a possibility). Although Greppin claimed that the Indo-European etymology was “doubtful for phonological reasons”,[11] he did not specify why this should be so, and it does not seem to be the case. Cf. also under §3.6.

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3 Djahukian 1982, 5. Further suggestions and possibilities include Aramaic and Persian (Diakonoff 1984, 107; 1985, 597; Greppin 1982c, 119 n. 7; 1991a, 723 n. 25). The problem of Akkadian loanwords in Armenian obviously requires a separate investigation.

4 See the cases in EDAIL, 9, 347, 410, 531, 616.

5 See the material in Greppin 1995, 314; 1996, 42–44; 2006, 198–200; 2008b, 82–84; 2008c, 135; 2011, 294–295.

6 Diakonoff – Starostin 1986. See also the refs. in BGH, xxxii–xxxiv.

7 See esp. the criticism in Smeets 1989. Furthermore, there is absolutely no evidence for Greppin’s repeated claim (2006, 197–198; 2008b, 82; 2008c, 294) that Urartian is Proto-Lezgian. Note that Greppin gave up his ideas about the Northeastern Caucasian kinship of Hurro-Urartian in Greppin 2010. There is, of course, the theoretical possibility that these words were transmitted via a Hurro-Urartian dialect (cf. Greppin 2010), but this requires specific case-by-case demonstrations, which are missing.

8 It is worth keeping in mind the following rules affecting many proposals below (which will not be repeated in each case) when the regularity of an Urartian borrowing must be judged (on the Urartian phoneme system, see Wilhelm 2004b, 121–122; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 14–16; Salvini 2018, 483–485; Hazenbos 2021, 169): 1) The Urartian ‹š› is in fact [s] and therefore, it is substituted with the Armenian *s*. 2) The Urartian ‹ṣ› is [tˢ] *vel sim.* and therefore, a substitution with the Armenian ‹c› [tˢ] is regular. 3) The substitution of the Urartian and Hurrian ‹ḫ› with the Armenian *x* is regular. 4) It is still unclear whether the Urartian ‹u› was phonetically only [u] or [o] as well. Nevertheless, Armenian renderings of Urartian toponyms show a twofold representation (see the list of Diakonoff 1985, 601, although this obviously requires a more detailed investigation): partly as [o] (*Quṭume* → *Kotom*, *Ṣupa* → *Copᶜ(-kᵉ)*, *Ṭušpa* → *Tosp*) and partly as [u] (*Ṣuluque* → *Cłowk*, *Ṭuaraṣini* → *Towaraca-*). In other words, the rendering of the Urartian ‹u› by the Armenian [o] is possible.

9 Diakonoff 1984, 185 n. 22; 1985, 602 (here admitting the possibility of Indo-European origin); Greppin 1991a, 725–726; for more refs. see EDAIL, 139–140. On the Urartian name, see Salvini 2018, 438.

10 See most recently EDAIL, 139 with ample refs.

11 Greppin 1991a, 725 n. 51. Diakonoff 1985, 602 proposed that the Indo-Iranian word could have been borrowed from a Caucasian language, but this is not formally possible (setting aside the historical and geographical problems of such an etymology).

1.1.2. *bowrgn* ‘tower’ ← “*burgana*” ‘id.’[12]

This etymology has two problems: the semantics and the form. On the semantic side, the meaning of the Urartian word is famously unclear,[13] but it is a building (É), ‘built’ (*šidišt-*), and ‘planted, set up’ (*teruni-*), associated with the establishment of new gardens and vineyards and distinguished from fortresses. Yakubovich cautiously (“perhaps”) suggested that the phrase *burganani* ^{GIŠ}*zari* “refers to a sort of walled garden that is similar to the Achaemenid παράδεισος”.[14] While the Achaemenid allusion is not necessarily correct, it is remarkable that the word *burganani* almost always appears next to *zari*[15] and based on a context that recounts the setting up of new installations as well as on the following word, *šuḫə*, *burganani* is a qualifying adjective of *zari*, not another installation (it may also be supported morphologically since there seems to be an adjectival suffix *-nə*[16]). In two cases, a *burganani* was built (CTU A 2-1: 1, 2), but this could be understood as *pars pro toto*. Most interesting are the two remaining cases (CTU A 3-1: 29, 90): vineyards and orchards (*zari*) were always listed separately, and here the *burganani* was added. Nevertheless, this is the act of planting a vineyard, followed by installing an orchard and a *burganani*, and closed by a following ritual in the case that a vineyard is laid out (lines 27–31, 85–94). This leaves the impression that both the orchard and the *burganani* are parts of a vineyard. It still does not tell us what a *burganani* is, but a wall (either supportive or encircling) is entirely fitting. Whether *burganani* is a yet unidentified installation (from the type of an orchard or vineyard), a simple adjective qualifying an orchard, or the walled support or encirclement of an orchard, none of these things is a really fitting source for the Armenian word.

On the formal side, as was made clear above, the word is attested as *burganani* and not *burgana*, which does not lead to *bowrgn*. That said, *burganani* is probably a derivation from **burgana* (cf. above). More problematic is that the widespread reading *burganani* is conventional. The word can equally be read as *purganani*, losing its appeal for any connection to *bowrgn*. However, no matter which reading is chosen, *p*/*burgana* would have led to †*p*/*brgan* in Armenian[17] from the point of view of vocalism. Finally, the Armenian consonant shift mediae > tenues affected the earliest Old Iranian loanwords[18] and it should therefore have affected the Urartian loans as well. In other words, we should have †*prkan* as the Armenian form. Whatever the meaning of the Urartian word is, then, there are two formal arguments that independently exclude this etymology.

Moreover, the Armenian word has an obvious Indo-European etymology (**b*^{h}*r̥ĝ*^{h}- ‘high’, cf. e.g., Gothic *baurgs* ‘town, tower’ and Greek πύργος ‘tower’ as a Lydian loan[19]), with the restriction that

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12 Adontz 1938, 465 (assuming a meaning ‘château-fort, palais’ for the Urartian word); Diakonoff 1971, 84; Greppin 1996, 43; Yakubovich 2016a, 182 (admitting the possibility of an inverse borrowing); 2016b, 158 (the Armenian word as ‘fortress’, the direction of the borrowing is not clear); for further refs. see EDAIL, 246.

13 Salvini 2018, 384–385 with refs. to earlier suggestions (‘Weidebezirk, Hürde?’, “uno stabilimento dove si raccolgono gli animali destinati al sacrificio”), add now ‘pen?’ in eCUT.

14 Yakubovich 2016b, 158.

15 In 13 cases (two are reconstructed based on formulaic phrases) out of 18 attestations (the context of one of the cases without *zari* is broken).

16 Wilhelm 2004b, 125 and Salvini – Wegner 2014, 21.

17 Diakonoff 1985, 602.

18 Ravnæs 2005, 196 and Clackson 2017, 1120, both with refs. Some scholars reject that the so-called Armenian consonant shift happened after the earliest Old Iranian loans (e.g., Gippert 2005, 155; Schmitt 2007, 56), which would call into question whether it affected the borrowings from Urartian. The solution to their criticism is that this consonant shift consisted of two chronologically different steps (tenues > tenues aspiratae and mediae > tenues), with the appearance of the earliest Old Iranian loans between these two steps (Ravnæs 2005, 197–198). This still leaves the relative date of the change tenues > tenues aspiratae open, but the Armenian rendering of Urartian toponyms and the case of *p*^{c}*oxem* show that it happened after the Urartian loans, see §1.1.9.

19 See the convincing analysis of Obrador-Cursach 2019–2020.

the irregularities are perfectly paralleled by *dowrgn* 'potter's wheel', and thus both words are loans from a still unidentified Indo-European language to Armenian.[20] Cf. also §3.8.

1.1.3. *caṙ* 'tree' ← *ṣari* 'orchard'[21]

The Urartian word is usually booked as *zari*, though *ṣari* is an equally possible reading (but see §3.15 for an argument that the reading *zari* is more probable). The problem is twofold: first, the required semantic change is dubious. Second, the Urartian form does not explain the Armenian *-ṙ-* (which goes back to **sr*, **rs* or **rH* or to foreign (*)-*rr*-[22]), and thus, the etymology is not formally possible.[23] Moreover, the Armenian word has an Indo-European etymology: **ĝerso-* (> Greek γέρρον 'different objects from wickerwork', Old Norse *kjarr* 'shrubs').[24] While Greppin ignored this etymology, Diakonoff argued that its semantics were similarly as weak as those of the Urartian loan etymology[25] (nevertheless, he considered the Urartian derivation doubtful). However, the semantic change 'brushwood' → 'tree' is not unparalleled.[26] See also §3.16.

1.1.4. *cov* 'sea' ← *ṣuə* 'lake'[27]

While the proposal is formally regular (under the entirely possible condition that the Urartian word had a glide [w] between its vowels, as pointed out by Diakonoff), the Armenian word has a convincing Indo-European etymology from **ĝobʰ-u-* (cf. Irish *gó* 'sea', Old Icelandic *kaf* 'sea', Lydian *kofu-* 'water').[28] Although Greppin claimed that the Armenian word had no satisfactory etymology,[29] he did not specify why this etymology was not satisfactory. See also §3.13.

1.1.5. *es* 'I' ← *iešə* 'id. (erg.)'[30]

This explanation left the different *Anlaut* unexplained. While the Armenian form is indeed irregular, most scholars assume a sandhi variant.[31]

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20 Olsen 1999, 950–951; EDAIL, 245–246 (both with refs.); Olsen – Thorsø 2022, 209.

21 Diakonoff 1971, 85 ("unsicher"); 1985, 600; Greppin 1980, 205; 1982a, 72; 1982c, 117; 1991a, 726; 1991b, 204; 2008c, 135; 2011, 295; cf. also Yakubovich 2016b, 158 (only as "comparandum"). Greppin sometimes assumed (1991a, 726; 2011, 295) that the Urartian word additionally means 'tree', which would help the etymology, but Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 728 rightly pointed out that the Urartian word means only 'garden, orchard', see also Salvini 2018, 426.

22 Macak 2017, 1040, 1061.

23 Diakonoff 1982, 16 proposed that it is a loan from Hurrian **sarrə*. While this reconstruction could be supported (see §3.15), it does not explain the initial consonant of the Armenian word.

24 See, e.g., EDG, 268. The word was not included in EDAIL, but EDAIL is not comprehensive, see the criticism in Schmitt 2012, 125.

25 Diakonoff 1985, 600. Olsen 1999, 936 also treated it as a word of unknown origin, as this Indo-European derivation was unconvincing for her, although she did not disclose, why.

26 Hackstein 2021, 185 with refs.

27 Msériantz 1904, 129; Diakonoff 1971, 85; 1984, 186 n. 28; 1985, 600; Greppin 1980, 205; 1982a, 72; 1982c, 117; 1991a, 726; 2006, 196; 2008b, 80; 2008c, 135; 2011, 295. On the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 411.

28 Poetto 1979 and EDAIL, 141 with refs. While referring to this, Olsen 1999, 943 booked the word as of unknown origin, without further explanation. Alternatively, Kölligan 2019, 155–165 explains it from a compound **dieu̯-o-bʰh₂-u-* 'himmelsfarben, himmelsgleich'. Note that the derivation of Lyd. *kofu-* from Proto-Anatolian **h₂eb-* 'running water, river' promoted by Yakubovich 2017 (ignoring Poetto 1979 and EDAIL) requires the change PIE **h₂-* > Lyd. *k-* which is still *sub iudice*.

29 Greppin 1991a, 726 n. 58.

30 See the refs. in EDAIL, 257. On the Urartian pronoun, see Wilhelm 2004b, 128; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 34; Salvini 2018, 492; Hazenbos 2021, 171.

31 See the refs. in EDAIL, 257, add also Olsen 2017a, 438; 2017b, 1089.

1.1.6. *kord* ‘fallow, unploughed (land, ground)’ ← *quldinə* ‘deserted’[32]

While the Armenian word has no accepted Indo-European etymology,[33] and *quldinə* may be based on **quldi* (see above), the derivation from the Urartian word is not formally possible because of its unexplained *l* → *r* change and because the post-Urartian Armenian consonant shift tenues > tenues aspiratae would have led to †*k*ᶜ*ort* (on the date of the shift see §1.1.9; the *q* → *k* substitution would be regular).

1.1.7. *ołǰ* ‘sound, whole’ ← *ulgu* ‘life’[34]

Setting aside the semantic problem (to which add that “*ulgu*” is in fact attested only in its derivative *ulguše* ‘life’[35] and thus, its basic meaning is not clear), the proposal does not fit phonologically, as the Urartian word is exclusively spelt with ‹gu› (39×),[36] and therefore, the phonetic interpretation [-ly-] required by the Armenian word is not possible.[37] Besides, the Armenian word has a solid Indo-European etymology (Proto-Armenian **olyo*- < PIE **(s)olyo*- ‘whole’).[38] See also §3.15.

1.1.8. *ōriord* ‘virgin, young girl’ ← a compound of Urart. *euri* ‘lord’ and Arm. **ord*- ‘offspring, son/daughter’[39]

The required semantic change, ‘*lord’s daughter > virgin, young girl’ is remarkable, but not impossible. More problematic is the formal side, which requires an Armenian *e* > *a* change (whereby **awri*- regularly leads to *ōri*-). Martirosyan referred to a rule **e* > Arm. *a* before a syllable containing *-u*-, but the existence of this rule is heavily debated as there are no certain examples, only a counter-example.[40] Moreover, Martirosyan himself proposed an alternative, Indo-European etymology, which fits both semantically and formally.[41]

[32] EDAIL, 375 with refs. On the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 408.

[33] See Olsen 1999, 953 and the discussion in EDAIL, 375–376. That said, to my mind, Martirosyan’s proposal (EDAIL, 375 n. 73) from PIE **g*ʰ*ord*ʰ- (cf. e.g., Lith. *gařdas* ‘enclosure, pen’) with an earlier meaning ‘*(enclosed) pasture-land, pen’ provides a fitting solution.

[34] Greppin 1982a, 72; 1982b, 149.

[35] Salvini 2018, 422.

[36] Based on eCUT (only non-restored cases).

[37] As is well-known, there are cases with *g*/*ø*/*i*-interchange, but it does not mean that ‹gu› always meant [ju]. This is not only *a priori* improbable (since ‹gu› is not needed for spelling [ju]) but also practically not the case (admitted by Diakonoff [1971, 50 n. 49] himself), and in this specific case this can safely be discarded due to the high number of attestations. Note also that the phonetic interpretation of the *g*/*ø*/*i*-interchange is uncertain (see, e.g., Wilhelm 2004b, 120 [“voiced fricative”]; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 7, 16 [“ein sehr schwach lautender Konsonant”, [y]]; Hazenbos 2021, 169 [y]).

[38] Olsen 1999, 26 and EDAIL, 531, both with discussion and refs.

[39] EDAIL, 157 with refs., see already Diakonoff 1971, 42 n. 35 (with question mark), 67, 84, 172 adding *awrear* “‘(vollfreier) Mann, Hausherr’”, both with Urartian suffixes: “*-u*/*ordā*” and “*-are*” (but allowing the possibility of Indo-European origin). Setting aside that *-ear* is a regular Armenian (originally) collective suffix (Olsen 1999, 389) and the Armenian word means ‘disgrace, insult’ (EDAIL, 156), the assumption of the Urartian suffix “*-u*/*ordā*” is based on two hapax words of unknown meaning (^{LÚ}*ú-ru-ur-da-a* [CTU A 9-3 vii 11] and $^{LÚ.GIŠ}$*gàr-ru-ur-da-a* [CTU CT Tk-01 r 9], hence not included in the glossary of Salvini 2018) and the suffix “*-are*” is based on *patarə* ‘city’ and *ḫarari* of unknown meaning (Salvini 2018, 406, 389, resp.). Therefore, their existence remains doubtful and even if they exist, their meanings are completely obscure. Accordingly, they are not included in contemporary overviews of Urartian nominal derivational morphology, cf. Wilhelm 2004b, 125–126; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 19–22; Salvini 2018, 486–488; Hazenbos 2021, 170. On the Urartian word *euri*, see Salvini 2018, 388.

[40] See his compact overview in EDAIL, 705.

[41] A connection with two words from the closely related, so-called Balkan Indo-European languages: Ancient Macedonian ἀκρέα ‘daughter’ and Phrygian ἄκριστιν ‘cook, female slave (who grinds corn / prepares meal for offering cakes)’ (Hesychius 2550 and 2576), from ‘*young girl’ (EDAIL, 157 n. 31, cf. also 36; the attempt by Obrador-Cursach 2020, 414–415 to explain away the Phrygian word as the “local variant” of a reconstructed Greek *ἄχρηστις ‘useless’ is completely arbitrary). What remains is the part °*ord*-, which could be the productive Armenian denominal adjective suffix *-ord*- (on its various meanings,

1.1.9. *pełem* ‘dig, excavate’ ← *pilə* ‘canal’[42]

According to Diakonoff, this suggestion should be rejected on phonological grounds, but he did not specify his problems with it.[43] The situation is as follows: First, the sound change *il* > *eł* is regular.[44] Second, the case of the toponym *Ṣupa* → Arm. *Cop^{c}*(*-k^{c}*) implies that Urartian ‹p› appears in Armenian as *p^{c}*, which is also supported by the case of *p^{c}oxem* from *puḫ-* (see the next entry).[45] Nevertheless, Armenian loans from Old Iranian kept their initial [p] (see, e.g., *partēz* ‘garden’, cf. Avestan *pairidaēza-*, cf. also §1.1.2). Since the Urartian and the Achaemenid periods were not very far apart,[46] one may assume that the Urartian language survived until the Achaemenid period (we simply do not know when it died out[47]). Thus, *pełem* could be a late Urartian loan, contemporaneous to the Old Iranian loans. Another option could be that the Urartian word was transmitted into Armenian via Old Persian, which would also explain the initial consonant. In other words, no final decision can be made in this case.[48]

1.1.10. *p^{c}oxem* ‘to exchange’ ← *puḫ-* ‘to (ex)change, alter’[49]

Yakubovich convincingly argued for the given meaning of the Urartian verb (the ultimate source of which is Akkadian *pūḫu*(*m*) ‘exchange, substitute’), providing a formally fitting source for the Armenian verb.

1.1.11. *san* ‘kettle, pot’ ← *šani* ‘vessel, pot’[50]

A semantically and formally fitting case.[51]

see Olsen 1999, 527–532, who already proposed this suffix in this word, albeit from a different root, 531). More recently, Kölligan 2019, 100–104 explained the Armenian word from **apriḭo-portā*/*ī* ‘Eberjunges’, as a poetic reference to the ‘Tochter des Fürsten’, which is semantically inferior.

42 Msériantz 1904, 128–129; Greppin 1982b, 145 (here as *pałem*); 1982c, 117; 1991a, 726; 2006, 196; 2008b, 80; 2008c, 134. On the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 406.

43 Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 728.

44 See Martirosyan 2017, 296.

45 Note that the toponym *Tosp* from Urartian *Ṭušpa* regularly does not show this change, since the sound law tenues > tenues aspiratae did not affect the cluster [sp] (e.g., Kim 2016, 152).

46 The last attested Urartian king, Sarduri IV, was once mentioned between 646–642 BC (Fuchs 2012, 138, 158 [Tabelle 09.05]), but the famously unintelligible and therefore intensely debated toponym in the Nabonidus Chronicle (BM 35382 ii 16) may refer to an Urartian king as late as 547 BC, see most recently Rollinger – Kellner 2019, esp. 170–171. They argue for a disintegrated and fragmented Urartian kingdom, but the passage (ii 16–17) clearly speaks about a single country (*ana* ^{KUR}…) and its single king (*šarra-šu*).

47 Palmer 1990, 74–76 with n. 14 refers to a monk, John the Urṭian, about the turn of the 4th c. AD in Anzitene, who was fluent in the language of the Urṭians, which Palmer identifies with Urartian (“probably”, followed by Radner 2006, 148 n. 14).

48 Although Kimball 1999, 265, 450 suggested an Indo-European etymology for this Armenian verb (connecting with Hittite *palša-* ‘road, path; time (occasion)’ and Old Irish *belach* ‘cleft, passage, way’), it was rightly pointed out by Kloekhorst 2008, 622 and Olander 2020 [2022], 190 that this etymology is semantically weak.

49 Yakubovich 2016a, 181. On the Urartian word, see also Salvini 2018, 407. For the earlier derivation from Akkadian via Hurrian *puḫ*(*ugari*) ‘loan (noun)’) see already Diakonoff 1971, 86; 1982, 17; 1985, 599; Greppin 1982b, 145 (from the underlying verb); Thorsø 2022, 105 (not referring to Yakubovich’s analysis). Greppin rejected it later (1991a, 724 n. 25), since “it is an odd word to borrow when the inventory of loanwords is otherwise so precise”, which is, of course, a *non sequitur*. Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 727 even objected that this reasoning is “curious”, as this is precisely a typical loan word from a semantical point of view.

50 Greppin 1991a, 726; 2006, 196; 2008b, 80; 2011, 293; Yakubovich 2016a, 181; 2016b, 158; Clackson 2017, 1123 (“plausible”). On the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 411 (accepting the Armenian borrowing).

51 Nevertheless, Olsen 1999, 957 still lists it as a word of unknown origin, without arguments or references.

1.1.12. *sowr* ‘sharp; sword, dagger’ ← *šurə* ‘spear; weapon’[52]

Although the proposal is formally possible,[53] the semantics are not fitting and the Armenian word is usually explained from PIE **ḱoh$_3$ro-* (from **ḱeh$_3$-* ‘schärfen’).[54] See also §3.12.

1.1.13. *owłi* ‘way, road’ ← *ul-* ‘go’[55]

This proposal was rejected by Greppin as root etymology.[56] However, this is not an issue in itself. More problematic is that the Armenian word cannot be separated from *owł* ‘stairs, bridge, way or passage’, of which it can be a regular derivative.[57]

1.1.14. *owłt* ‘camel’ ← *ulṭu* ‘id.’[58]

Although formally speaking this would be a perfectly fitting etymology, the Urartian word does not actually exist: it is a hapax in CTU A 8-3 iv 6 (an inscription of Argišti I) and cannot be read properly, only as ^{GU4}x-ṭu-ni^{MEŠ}.[59] Moreover, as the determinative shows, we are dealing with a type of ox (more precisely, with an animal that was classified as such by the ancient scribes),[60] and not with a camel, which is consistently written as ^{ANŠE}A.AB.BA[61] (i.e., it was classified as a type of donkey, not ox).

1.1.15. *xałoł* ‘grape’ ← *ḫaluli* ‘vine, grape’[62]

This is a formally and semantically fitting etymology.[63]

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52 Diakonoff 1971, 85 (allowing the possibility of Indo-European origin, with the Urartian meaning ‘weapon’); 1984, 186 n. 28 (‘weapon’); Greppin 1982a, 72 (‘weapon’); 1991a, 726 (‘sword’); 2008c, 135 (‘spear’); 2011, 293 (‘arms, spear’); Yakubovich 2016b, 158; Clackson 2017, 1123 (“plausible”, the Urartian word means ‘weapon’). On meaning of the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 415–416 with refs.

53 According to Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 728, this etymology is “somewhat insecure”, because the Hurrian form is *šauri*, and hence Urartian “should be read” as /sōri/. Setting aside the validity of this claim, this is not a problem at all, given that Armenian *u* can continue **ō* (Macak 2017, 1066).

54 Olsen 1999, 55 with refs. and LIV^2, 319–320 (Kümmel). It is not included in EDAIL, but this dictionary is not comprehensive, as per above.

55 See the literature in Greppin 1991a, 723 n. 25. On the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 422.

56 Greppin 1991a, 723 n. 25.

57 Olsen 1999, 442 with refs.

58 Diakonoff 1971, 85; 1985, 600; Greppin 1980, 205; 1982a, 72; 1982c, 117; 1990, 204; 1991a, 726; 1991b, 204; 2008c, 134; Djahukian 1982, 11; Yakubovich 2016a, 181; Clackson 2017, 1123 (“most likely source”).

59 Salvini 2008, 339.

60 Salvini 2008, 340 suggested ‘buffalo’.

61 Salvini 2018, 443, cf. also eCUT.

62 Salvini 1990, 246 n. 12; Girbal 2004, 59 (both with refs.); Greppin 2008a, 47 n. 6. For the earlier derivation from Hurrian (*ḫaluli* ‘a fruit’, BGH, 122 with refs.) see also Diakonoff 1985, 600 and Olsen 1999, 936 with ref. On the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 389 with refs. The comparison by Diakonoff 1971, 84–85 with Arm. *hał-ord* ‘partaker, participant, companion’ (the etymology of which is uncertain, Olsen 1999, 531) was based on the now outdated meaning of the Urartian word (‘Kultfestmahl’) and was not formally possible either.

63 Finally, EDAIL, 684 claims that Urartian *ḫubi* ‘valley? territory?’ (on the Urartian word, see Salvini 2018, 390) is “somehow related with Arm. *hovit* ‘valley’” (of unknown origin, Olsen 1999, 943), without providing any details. The formal and semantic closeness is undoubtedly remarkable, but it is difficult to find a regular solution. An Armenian loan from Urartian cannot explain the initial consonant instead of **x* and the final consonant. An Urartian loan from Armenian cannot explain the lack of the final consonant. Therefore, a third, common source is the most probable, but all details remain unclear.

1.2. Armenian loans from reconstructed Urartian words

1.2.1-2. *ałx* ‘household, household property’ ← “Hurro-Urartian **all-ae-ḫḫə*” & *ałaxin* ‘female servant’ ← Hurr. “*al*(*l*)*a*(*e*)*ḫḫe*/*inne* ‘keeper (male or female of that which pertains to the lord of the house/family’ i.e., of household (or temple) stores, mostly of food”[64]

Despite his own labels, Diakonoff argued that the borrowing may be from Urartian or from a closely related dialect, since “Hurro-Urartian *-ae-* has a tendency to develop to *-ē-*, *-e-* in Hurrian, but to *-ā*(-) in Urartian”.[65] His proposal was rejected by Greppin due to the unclear meaning of *allaḫḫe*/*innum*.[66] In his response, Diakonoff clarified his morphological analysis (*allae*/*i-* ‘lady (of the house), queen’, *-aḫḫe-* ‘possessive-relative suffix’, *-enni*/*inni* ‘adjective suffix’ and *allae*/*i-ḫḫe* as a “trivial possessive relative adjective form”) and attributed the semantic difference to “the social evolution of the Armenian people (from extended family dwelling or tower to one-family, one-storey adobe house!)”.[67]

Although they were treated together, it is worth separating the etymologies due to some philological problems. The base word is Hurrian *alla* ‘lady’ (and not *alla=i*, which is a derived, honorific form),[68] which, independently from the suffixes, does not lead to *ałx*, since the loss of the second *-a-* cannot be explained, not to mention that *ałx* means ‘ring, lock, bar; possessions, baggage, train; tribe, entourage’.[69] Therefore, this etymology must be excluded.

The meaning, the Hurrian origin, and Diakonoff’s morphological analysis of *allaḫḫe*/*innum* are uncertain.[70] The term identifies a sort of official connected with grain, perhaps a miller,[71] and is therefore definitely not the precursor of *ałaxin*, even if this though would be possible formally. Nevertheless, **allaḫḫinni* ‘belonging to the lady’, a semantically fitting precursor to ‘female servant’, would be a regular form in Hurrian (which does not require any Urartian transmission). The word *ałaxin* does have Indo-European etymologies, but these show formal and semantic problems.[72]

1.2.3. *caṙay* ‘servant’ ← **ṣar*(*r*)*ā*, cf. Hurr. “*sarre* < **ṣarra-ae* ‘live booty, captives’”[73]

This proposal was rejected by Greppin because of “unresolved phonological problems”, but he did not specify them.[74] The Hurrian word *šarri* indeed means ‘booty’ or ‘prisoner of war’,[75] which is not inconducive to the meaning ‘servant’. However, the initial consonant and the *Auslaut -ay*

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64 Diakonoff 1971, 84–85 (*ałx* ← Urartian **alāḫə* / Hurr. **all-aḫḫe*; *ałaxin* ← Hurr. *allāḫḫinne* “‘eine Person, die in der Hauswirtschaft beschäftigt ist, und zwar mit Korn und Eßwaren; Müller(in)’” < **allā-ḫḫ*(*e*)*-inne* “‘der/die zur Hausgemeinschaft Gehörende’”); 1984, 186 n. 28; 1985, 598; cf. also EDAIL, 25, with refs.

65 Diakonoff 1985, 598.

66 Greppin 1991a, 724 n. 25.

67 Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 728.

68 De Martino – Giorgieri 2008, 65–67 and BGH, 12.

69 Olsen 1999, 954 and EDAIL, 25, see there that the word is of unknown origin.

70 On Diakonoff’s derivation see the scepticism of Trémouille 2005, 311 and de Martino – Giorgieri 2008, 67.

71 BGH, 14 with refs.

72 For Indo-European possibilities, see Olsen 1999, 470 (from a verb ‘to grind, crush’ or ‘to nourish’ [there is a semantic parallel for the latter, but it is formally problematic, see EDAIL, 25]).

73 Diakonoff 1971, 85 (Urartian **ṣarae*, cf. Hurrian **sarrae* > *sarre* ‘booty’); 1984, 186 n. 27 (Urartian **sarrā*, cf. Hurrian *sarre* ‘living booty’ < **sarr-ae*); 1985, 598; Greppin 1982b, 145, but cf. below.

74 Greppin 1991a, 724 n. 25. In his response, Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 727 only repeated his claim.

75 BGH, 357.

(which may be a suffix denoting persons[76] or a substitution of *-ā* in the case of Syriac loans[77]) are irregular, and thus, this etymology cannot be upheld.[78]

1.2.4. *darbin* 'blacksmith' ← **dabrini*, cf. Hurr. *tabre/inni* 'metal founder'[79]

According to Yakubovich, this hypothesis "appears to be the only plausible way of linking the two nouns", as the alternatives (chance resemblance or a Hurrian loan from Armenian) are unlikely.[80] However, the questions are rather if we have to link these nouns and if we can do this at all, especially since we have serious problems on the formal side:

First, since initial stops are devoiced in Hurrian and the word is not attested in Urartian, we do not know if the underlying root was /dab-/ (which is required by this etymology) or /tab-/ (which excludes this etymology).

Second, this etymology requires that the Armenian metathesis **-br-* > *-rb-* happened before the Armenian change **b* > *w* /V_; otherwise the result would have been †*dawrin* (the change **b* > *w* /V_ happened in Armenian after the Urartian loans, see the toponym *Zabaḫa* → *J̌avax-*). The word *sowrb* 'pure, clean; holy', which originally contained the cluster **-br-* in every etymological proposal, could decide the issue. While this seems to be an inherited word (**skub*^{h}*ró-*), and would therefore solve the problem, it is an Iranian loanword according to the other group of scholars.[81] That would mean that this word cannot be used as an argument (I could not find other examples related to this problem). It is also noteworthy that the structurally analogical case of *arawr* 'plough' < *aratr*°[82] argues that the lenition preceded the metathesis.[83]

Whatever the solution of the previous two problems should be, even if the Urartian form were **dabrini*° and the lenition did not precede the metathesis, the expected form is †*tarpin* due to the Armenian consonant shift (cf. §1.1.2). Therefore, this is a formally impossible proposal. Note also that Martirosyan provided a regular solution (**dabr-*(*s*)*na-*) to the problems of the traditional connection of *darbin* with Latin *faber* 'craftsman, artisan, smith'.[84]

1.2.5. *don* 'a kind of bread' ← **donə*[85]

Thorsø reconstructed the Urartian word on the basis of Hitt. *tūni-* 'a kind of bread', allegedly of Hurrian origin. The Hurrian origin, however, is based on the assumption that this Hittite word and the Hurrian cult term *tuni* 'footstool *vel sim.*' (that may appear in the form of cultic pastry) are identical. Nevertheless, these are two different words.[86] This does not exclude a Hurrian origin of the Hittite word (which has no known etymology[87]) and therefore, an Urartian cognate.

[76] EDAIL, 662.

[77] See most recently Kitazumi – Rudolf 2021, 197–198.

[78] The Armenian word has no generally accepted etymology (Olsen 1999, 946 with ref. to an Indo-European proposal).

[79] Yakubovich *apud* Blažek 2008, 79 n. 2; 2009, 266–269; 2016a, 182. On the Hurrian word, see BGH, 440.

[80] Yakubovich 2016a, 182.

[81] See most recently the discussion in Simon 2013, 125–126.

[82] EDAIL, 128–129.

[83] For the same conclusion with another case of **-tr-* see Ravnæs 2005, 199.

[84] EDAIL, 235–236 with refs. For a critical discussion of the debated Indo-European etymologies see here and esp. Yakubovich 2009, 266–267.

[85] Thorsø 2022, 105. Martirosyan's alternative (EDAIL, 242–243), an Armenian borrowing from Hittite *tūni-* 'a kind of bread' (cf. below) is not possible due to the different initial consonant and the different vocalism (cf. below).

[86] HEG T, D, 437–438, on the Hurrian word see also BGH, 470.

[87] HEG T, D, 437–438. Martirosyan proposed that the Hittite word is a loan from Armenian (EDAIL, 242–243), but this is not possible due to the different vocalism.

Nevertheless, it assumes that **d-* was the original initial consonant and that Urartian [o] corresponds to Hurrian [u] (the [u] is assured due to the spellings with ‹ú›[88]) – both are possible assumptions, but none of them can be proved at the moment. However, this derivation must be excluded, since a Hurrian/Urartian **t/donə* should have resulted in Armenian †*tᶜ/ton* due to the consonant shift (cf. §1.1.2).

1.2.6. *towpᶜ* ‘case, box, chest, censer’ ← **dupa*

The origin of the Armenian word is unknown and Martirosyan suggested that it is a borrowing from Hittite *tuppa-* ‘chest, basket’.[89] Simon pointed out that this is not possible phonologically; nevertheless, considering the formal and semantic closeness, he did not reject the connection either but speculated whether *pᶜ* can reflect an intervocalic geminate *-pp-*.[90] However, there is a formally regular possibility instead: the Hittite word and its Luwian equivalent (both are of unknown etymology[91]) are loans from Hurrian **tuppa-*, the Urartian cognate of which could regularly be **dupa,* and **dupa* would regularly lead to *towpᶜ* with the Armenian consonant shift (cf. §1.1.2). The problem is that we cannot be sure that the original initial stop was voiced and in general, there is no hint of a Hurrian origin.

1.2.7. *xarxarem* ‘to destroy’ ← **ḫarḫar-* ‘to be destroyed (*ḫarḫarš-* ‘to destroy’)[92]

The semantic difference was explained by Diakonoff with the assumption that there could have been an Urartian dialect in which the difference in transitivity was expressed by “personal morphs” as more common and not by a suffix, as he understood the segment *°š°* to be.[93] Later, he even claimed that this was the original form.[94] Greppin rightly pointed out that *ḫarḫarš-* would have led to *-ṙ-* in the Armenian form and, therefore, cautiously proposed a suffixless Hurrian form.[95] The problem with both interpretations is the same: °š° is not a suffix expressing transitivity and in fact, no such Urartian suffix has been identified yet.[96] That said, there is clear evidence for the existence of the root *ḫarḫar-* in the same meaning, not mentioned either by Diakonoff or Greppin: *ḫa-ar-ḫa-a-ru* ‘I destroyed’ (CTU A 8-3 vi 18)[97] and *ḫar-ḫa-ru-li* ‘(s)he might destroy’ (CTU A 10-6, 6’). While the morphological relationship between the two stems remains unclear and requires further research, a derivation of the Armenian word from the Urartian one is regular. Finally, it is remarkable that in the semantic sphere of destruction, Armenian has a series of reduplicated formations, such as *ǰaxǰaxem* ‘to destroy’, *kᶜrkᶜrem* ‘to destroy’, or *xołxołem* ‘to massacre’ next to *xarxarem*. Although sound symbolism seems to have a role and the reduplicated formation may be an Armenian innovation, since *xarxarem* is a loan, one may wonder whether this derivational pattern (perhaps together with the other words) is a borrowing and whether Urartian is the source.

88 HEG T, D, 437–438.

89 Martirosyan 2017, 300.

90 Simon 2021b, 287.

91 HEG T, D, 441–444.

92 Greppin 1982a, 72; 1982b, 149; 1982c, 117; 1991a, 726; 1995, 314; Diakonoff 1985, 600.

93 Diakonoff 1985, 600.

94 Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 728.

95 Greppin 1991a, 725 n. 55.

96 For the known Urartian verbal suffixes, see Wilhelm 2004b, 129–130; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 45–47, Salvini 2018, 495.

97 Salvini’s claim (2018, 389) that this would “probabile” be an “abbr[eviazione]” of *ḫar-ḫa-ar-šú-bi* is completely *ad hoc*.

1.3. Interim results

An Urartian etymology is:

1. Formally not possible: *ałx*, *bowrgn*, *cař*, *cařay*, *darbin*, *don*, *es*, *kord*, *ołǰ*, *ōriord*, *owłt*;

2. Formally possible, but the word has a solid Indo-European or internal etymology: *arciw*, *cov*, *owłi*;

3. Problematic (an Urartian etymology cannot be entirely excluded, but formally [F] or semantically [S] not impeccable): *pełem* (F), *sowr* (S), *towpᶜ* (F) (note also that *sowr* has a formally and semantically solid Indo-European etymology);

4. Formally and semantically possible: *ałaxin* (Hurrian), *pᶜoxem*, *san*, *xałoł*, *xarxarem*.

2. Armenian loans from Hurro-Urartian languages (“Hurrian”)

Armenian words frequently show assonances with Hurrian words and thus, in these cases, we may be dealing with loanwords in Armenian. The question is from precisely which language they were borrowed. This question has a theoretical and a practical side. It was argued that the source language cannot be Hurrian itself on chronological and geographical grounds and, therefore, we must be dealing with Urartian loanwords that happened to be unattested due to the formulaic nature of the Urartian inscriptions.[98] This is doubtful since we cannot exclude the survival of a Hurrian dialect outside of the Urartian core territory, with which Proto-Armenians surely had contact. From a practical point of view, as Hurrian and Urartian are not identical languages, it would be easy to decide the issue if a loan showed a specifically Hurrian trait (e.g., the devoicing of an initial voiced stop). Unfortunately, the proposed loans are almost always uninformative from this point of view and, therefore, their cases cannot be decided. All in all, while it is clear that we are dealing with loanwords from the Hurro-Urartian language family, their exact source cannot be determined. Accordingly, we should talk about Hurro-Urartian loans in Armenian, and not Hurrian loans (hence the title of this section). Nevertheless, since it is in Hurrian that the following examples are attested, the term Hurrian will be used in this section, without implying any specific Hurro-Urartian language.

2.1. Armenian loans from attested Hurrian words

2.1.1. *agarak* ‘landed property, estate’ ← *awari* ‘field’[99]

The origin of the Armenian word is obscure.[100] Although the suffix *-ak* is etymologically Iranian, it became productive in Armenian,[101] which means that *agar-* could be of both Armenian and Iranian origin. While in the former case *agar-* could continue *awari*, this is not possible in the latter on phonological grounds. Moreover, it is possible in both cases that *agar-* ultimately goes

[98] Greppin 2006, 196 = 2008b, 79–80 (“Hurrian, of course, gave no vocabulary directly to Armenian”); 2008c, 138; 2010, 118 n. 1; 2011, 292 (modifying his earlier view [Greppin 1980, 204; 1982a, 67–68; 1982b, 143; 1991a, 721–722], according to which it is not possible to tell if we are dealing with only Urartian or with both Hurrian and Urartian as source languages; but see Greppin 1982c, 118, where he opted for both source languages); Yakubovich 2016a, 180–182, cf. also Kitazumi 2013, 512–513 with n. 8 (“aus einer mit dem Hurritischen nah verwandten Sprache”, “[E]s könnte also z.B. Urartäisch die Quellsprache sein, was jedoch reine Spekulation bleibt”).

[99] Greppin 1982a, 71; 1982b, 143–144; 1982c, 118; 1991a, 724; 2008c, 134. On the Hurrian word, see de Martino – Giorgieri 2008, 150–151 and BGH, 33–34.

[100] Olsen 1999, 246, 953 (here misprinted as *agařak*) and EDAIL, 5, both with refs.

[101] Olsen 1999, 240.

back to Sumerian *agar* (a-gar$_3$, agar$_4$) 'champ (inondé)'[102] via (an) unidentified language(s), as was already proposed.[103]

2.1.2. *ałiws* 'brick, tile' ← *alipši* 'clay brick'[104]

A formally and semantically impeccable etymology.

2.1.3. *art* 'cornfield, tilled field' ← Hurr. *arde/i*, Urart. *ardi* 'town'[105]

Setting aside the fact that it was not disclosed, why this should be a Hurrian and not a Urartian word, no such Urartian word is attested. Although a Hurrian derivation would be formally possible, Martirosyan rightly pointed out that it is semantically improbable and he provided a formally fitting solution to the issues with the traditional derivation from PIE *$*h_2eĝro$*- 'field'.[106]

2.1.4. *astem* 'to look for a bride, ask in marriage' ← *ašti* 'woman, wife'[107]

This is a formally possible etymology (the Armenian consonant shift did not affect the cluster *st*[108]). Nevertheless, Martirosyan proposed a formally equally possible Indo-European etymology, *$*ph_2\hat{k}teh_2$ 'betrothal, engagement; betrothed (girl)' (see Lat. *pacta* 'fiancée, bride' for the semantics and parallel derivation),[109] and thus, no decision can be made.

2.1.5. *kowt* 'grain' ← *kade* 'barley'[110]

According to Greppin, the *-u-* can go back to *-*ō*-, "which harmonizes better" with the Hurrian form.[111] This is correct, but it still does not solve the problem. Therefore, this etymology is not acceptable.

2.1.6. *maxr* 'resinous conifer, pine' ← *maḫri* 'a conifer'[112]

This etymology was rejected by Diakonoff, since he explained the word as being from Iranian (cf. Persian *marx* 'resinous wood').[113] However, Greppin rightly pointed out that *maxr* cannotoriginate from *marx*, while Persian *marx* can regularly go back to **maxr*.[114]

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[102] Attinger 2021, 108.

[103] See the references in EDAIL, 5. The transmitting language could, of course, be Hurrian and thus, it would be a Hurrian loan in Armenian. Nevertheless, the presence of *awari* in Hurrian rather argues against a borrowing of *agar* of the same meaning from Sumerian, although by no means excludes it.

[104] Martirosyan *apud* Yakubovich 2016a, 181. On the Hurrian word, see de Martino – Giorgieri 2008, 64 and BGH, 17.

[105] Greppin 1991a, 724; 2008c, 134. On the Hurrian word, see de Martino – Giorgieri 2008, 103–104 and BGH, 49.

[106] EDAIL, 146.

[107] Greppin 1982a, 71; 1982b, 145; 1991a, 724; 2011, 293; Djahukian 1982, 11 (listing Akk. *aššatu* 'wife' as an alternative source); Diakonoff 1985, 598. On the meaning of the Armenian word (*contra* 'to reveal one's ancestry' in Greppin 1991a, 724; 2011, 293) see Greppin himself (1990–1991, 17–19) as well as EDAIL, 119, both with refs. On the Hurrian word, see de Martino – Giorgieri 2008, 136–140 and BGH, 59–60.

[108] Kim 2016, 152; Macak 2017, 1049.

[109] EDAIL, 119.

[110] Greppin 1982a, 71; 1982b, 144–145; 1991a, 725. On the Hurrian word, see BGH, 197.

[111] Greppin 1991a, 725 n. 38. Previously (Greppin 1982b, 145) he argued that the case of Arm. *Tork^c*/*Turk^c* 'a personal name' from the Hittite or Luwian name of the Storm-god (*Tarḫunt-*) offers a phonological parallel, but they have nothing to do with each other (Simon 2013, 99 n. 3), and even if it were a parallel, we are dealing here with a different language.

[112] Greppin 1982a, 71; 1982c, 117–118; 1991a, 725; 1991b, 206–207; 1995, 314. On the Hurrian word, see BGH, 238.

[113] Diakonoff 1985, 599 n. 16.

[114] Greppin 1991a, 725 n. 41.

2.1.7. *nēr* ‘sister-in-law’ ← *ner* ‘id.’[115]

While the suggestion is formally possible, the Hurrian word means ‘mother’[116] and therefore, the etymology is semantically very problematic. Moreover, the Armenian word has a convincing Indo-European etymology from **i̯enh₂tēr* ‘sister-in-law’.[117]

2.1.8. *pałatem* ‘to beg’ ← *pal-* ‘id.’[118]

This etymology was rejected by Greppin, because the Hurrian word does not exist (later, he rejected it for being a root etymology from Urartian (!) *pal-* ‘to ask’,[119] which does not exist, for the meaning of *pa-li-a-bi* in CTU CT Kb-7, Vo 2 is unknown). Setting aside the unexplained morphology (the Armenian verb is denominal from *pałat* ‘entreaty, supplication’), the Hurrian verb does in fact exist, but it means ‘to know’. Therefore, it indeed does not fit.[120]

2.1.9. *tarmaǰowr* ‘spring-water’ ← Hurr. *tarmani*, Urart. *tarmani* ‘source’[121]

Setting aside that it was not explained why this cannot be an Urartian loan, the Armenian word is a compound with *ǰowr* ‘water’ and it does not simply mean ‘spring-water’, but ‘mythological water which is followed by flocks of locust-chasing birds’.[122] This is unsurprising considering that *tarm* means ‘flock of birds’. According to Martirosyan, the Hurro-Urartian etymology is “uncertain”, since it would imply that the association of *tarmaǰowr* with *tarm* is folk-etymological.[123] Whatever the explanation of *tarmaǰowr* is, the Hurro-Urartian stem **tarma-* should show the Armenian consonant shift, i.e. the expected form should be †*tᶜarma*°.

2.1.10. *tᶜiw* ‘number’ ← *tiwe* ‘word, thing’[124]

While the etymology is formally possible, it was rightly rejected by Greppin because of the unexplained semantic difference.[125] Instead, Yakubovich claimed that the Armenian word originated in pre-literate Urartian **tiwi* ‘word *vel sim.*’,[126] but no supporting argument for this *ad hoc* idea was disclosed and the semantic difference was not explained either. Note that the Armenian word was provided an Indo-European etymology (a connection with Sanskrit *tavá-* ‘stark, kräftig’[127]), but this is semantically unconvincing.[128]

115 Greppin 1982b, 145, see also the refs. in EDAIL, 505.

116 BGH, 275.

117 For a detailed discussion see EDAIL, 503–505 and Viredaz 2020, 8–14.

118 Greppin 1982b, 145 (cf. also Greppin 1991a, 724 n. 25 and EDAIL, 550).

119 Greppin 1996, 40.

120 See the refs. in EDAIL, 550, on the meaning of the Hurrian verb, see BGH, 291 with refs.

121 Diakonoff 1971, 85; Greppin 1980, 205; 1982a, 71; 1982b, 145; 1991a, 725; 2006, 196 n. 2; 2008b, 79 n. 2; 2008c, 134. On the meaning of the Hurrian and Urartian words, see BGH, 446 and Salvini 2018, 417, resp.

122 EDAIL, 607.

123 EDAIL, 608 n. 128. Mahé 1990–1991, 27 assumes this folk-etymology. See also Greppin 1990–1991, 19.

124 Diakonoff 1985, 599. On the meaning of the Hurrian word, see BGH, 454–455.

125 Greppin 1991a, 724 n. 25.

126 Yakubovich 2016a, 182.

127 Olsen 1999, 23.

128 Despite the efforts of Kölligan 2019, 242 (‘stark, kräftig > *große Zahl, Menge > Zahl’).

2.1.11. *xnjor* ‘apple’ ← *ḫinzuri* ‘apple’[129]

An etymology that is both formally and semantically fitting.[130]

2.2. Armenian loans from reconstructed Hurrian words

2.2.1. *agowṙ* ‘baked brick’ ← Hurrian ← Akkadian *agurru* ‘id.’[131]

Diakonoff assumed Hurrian mediation because the Akkadian (and Aramaic) forms do not explain the *-ṙ-*, but did not specify why this mediating language should be Hurrian. Yakubovich claimed, however, that Hurrian did not impose itself as a mediator.[132] The Armenian word evidently goes back ultimately to the Akkadian word and, *contra* Diakonoff, Armenian *-ṙ-* can reflect (among others) foreign *-rr-* (see above). A direct borrowing from Akkadian would, however, only have been possible after the Armenian consonant shift, i.e. after the earliest Old Iranian loans (which of course allows a transmitting language, such as Old Persian, but there is no evidence for Hurrian). Although Greppin claimed that there is a “simpler choice”, Syriac *āgūrā*,[133] this would have led to ***agowray* (or, less probably, **agowr*),[134] not *agowṙ*. Either way, there is neither any hint nor any need for a Hurrian mediation.

2.2.2. *alander* ‘dessert’ ← Hurrian (→ Hitt. $^{\text{NINDA}}$(*a*)*lāttari* ‘a kind of bread’)[135]

The basis of Simon’s cautious proposal was the assumption that the Hittite word is a Hurrian *terminus technicus*. While this assumption is shared by other scholars as well,[136] this is not assured, since as Starke pointed out, the word can be an internal derivative of *ʻalattar* ‘fruit (?)’.[137] This word is, in turn, of unclear origin. It may be both foreign and inherited with the Luwian suffix *-ttar-*.[138] While a semantic change ‘fruit’ > ‘dessert’ is clearly possible, the formal side is not: even if *ʻalattar* is borrowed and one assumes a change *-nt-* > *-tt-* (frequently attested in the Anatolian milieu in borrowings and foreign transcriptions, though the details are completely obscure), the vocalism of the last syllable remains unexplained.

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[129] Diakonoff 1971, 85; 1985, 600; Greppin 1980, 205; 1982a, 71; 1982c, 117; 1990, 204; 1991a, 724; 1991b, 207 n. 32; 1995, 314; 1996, 40; 2008c, 134; Djahukian 1990, 29; Girbal 2004, 59; Kitazumi 2013, 512–514; Yakubovich 2016a, 181 (on the Hurrian word, see BGH, 152). This is also the *Paradebeispiel* in Indo-European handbooks (Fortson 2010, 382; Clackson 2017, 1123; Olsen – Thorsø 2022, 209), although Clackson objects that the word is also attested in Aramaic as *ḫazzurā*. However, this word clearly does not lead to the Armenian form, as it does not explain *-n-* instead of *-a-*.

[130] Finally, EDAIL, 695, 761 n. 171 suggests that *tōsax* < *tawsax* ‘box-tree’ (in which *-ax* is a suffix) is “somehow related” to Hurrian *taškar-* ‘id.’ (on the Hurrian word, see BGH, 450). However, the formal differences are not explained (the proposed **tak*^{h}*s*(*ar*)- is formally irregular and does not lead to *taws-*).

[131] Diakonoff 1971, 85; 1984, 186 n. 27 (“obviously”); 1985, 598 (“probably”).

[132] Yakubovich 2016a, 180–181.

[133] Greppin 1997, 249.

[134] Cf. most recently Kitazumi – Rudolf 2021, 197–198. It is noteworthy that this paper attempted to collect all Syriac loans of Armenian and did not include *agowṙ*.

[135] Simon 2013, 99, cautiously (“wenn überhaupt”).

[136] Hoffner 1974, 150; HED A & E/I, 32 and HW^{2} A, 57 (cf. also Melchert forthcoming, s.v. [“profile of word argues for Hurrian source”] and HEG A-K, 15 “sicherlich fremder Herkunft”), but see the criticism in Starke 1990, 512.

[137] Starke 1990, 511–512 (followed by Tischler 1992, 534). See Melchert forthcoming, s.v. for the precise form, with refs. Not included in the eDiAna as of today (accessed 17 November 2022).

[138] Melchert forthcoming, s.v. Needless to say, it may be a loanword in Luwian itself. The ultimate origin of this word, especially in view of the partial loss of the initial *a-*, which was frequently addressed in the secondary literature, requires further research and has no bearing on the present case, see above.

2.2.3. *anag* 'tin' ← Hurr. **anagi* ← Akkadian *annaku* 'tin, lead'[139]

Diakonoff claimed that this word must be Hurrian and not Urartian due to its *-g-* from *-k-* ("nearly a certainty"). Yakubovich objected, however, that as Sanskrit *nāga-* 'lead, tin' is obviously cognate and also shows the voiced *-g-*, it is the Akkadian form that requires explanation, and that therefore, the Urartian solution could not be demonstrated.[140] The Sanskrit word, however, is not a direct borrowing from the source of the Akkadian word, as its initial vowel has been lost, which is irregular within Sanskrit. In other words, there was at least one intermediary language between the source language of the Akkadian word and Sanskrit. Therefore, it is not possible to (dis)prove that Sanskrit *-g-* continues a former **-g-*, since the **k* > *g* change could have happened in the intermediary language as well. Instead, the problem is that *anag* does not show the Armenian consonant shift (**anagi* would have been †*anak*, *annaku* > †*anak*^{c}) and, therefore, it could only have entered Armenian after the earliest Old Iranian loans (see the similar case of *agowṙ*). While the Hurrian mediation is still the best solution in phonological terms, it is contradicted by this chronology, since we have no evidence for Hurrian at that time.

2.2.4. *ananowx* 'mint' ← **ananuḫḫə/-uyə* (cf. Akk. *ananiḫu* 'a garden herb, perhaps mint' ← Hurr. **ananiḫḫə* and Hurr. *anane/išḫi*)[141]

The origin of the Armenian word is unknown,[142] but an ultimate connection with the Akkadian word is probable (if its meaning is indeed 'mint'), even if the last vowel remains unexplained. Nevertheless, there is no evidence for a Hurrian mediation, the "reconstructed" Hurrian forms are mere back-Hurrianizations of the Armenian and Akkadian words, especially since there is no hint that the only existing Hurrian comparandum, *anane*/*išhi*, a 'Heilsbegriff, auch Bezeichnung einer Beschwörung',[143] has anything to do with 'mint'.

2.2.5. *howłk* '*cart' (from *howłkahar* 'highwayman < *cart-striker') ← Hurrian (→ Hitt. *ḫuluganni-* 'wagon')[144]

As Rasmus Thorsø rightly pointed out to me, this is a phonologically irregular proposal (*ḫuluga-* would have given ***xłowk*).[145]

2.2.6. *kac*^{c}*in* 'axe' ← "North Hurrian" and Urart. **qaṣṣini-* ← "South Hurrian" **ḫaṣṣini* ← Akk. *ḫaṣṣinnu* 'axe'[146]

Diakonoff assumed this chain of mediation in order to explain the different initial consonant. His reasoning was that "common Hurro-Urartian **q* gave *ḫ* alternating with *k* in south Hurrian dialects". Setting aside the validity of the claim, it is a diachronic change and therefore it does not explain why a *ḫ* was substituted by *q* in a synchronic borrowing. While an ultimate connection between the Akkadian and Armenian words is plausible, the origin of the word is unclear.[147]

[139] Diakonoff 1971, 85–86 ("sicher"); 1985, 598–599; Djahukian 1990, 29; Olsen 1999, 949 ("perhaps"). Djahukian 1982, 11 lists both the Hurrian and Akkadian possibilities.

[140] Yakubovich 2016a, 181–182.

[141] Diakonoff 1985, 599.

[142] Olsen 1999, 935.

[143] BGH, 28 with refs.

[144] Simon 2013, 105 (cautiously).

[145] Pers. comm., 16 September 2022.

[146] Diakonoff 1982, 16.

[147] Olsen 1999, 955 with refs.

2.2.7. *knik^{c}* ‘seal’ ← Hurr. **kanikki* ← Akk. *kanīku* / **kanikku* ‘a sealed document’[148]

Diakonoff assumed Hurrian mediation based on the different Armenian reflexes of the stops, *k* and *k^{c}*. Nevertheless, Yakubovich claimed that Hurrian did not impose itself as a mediator.[149] Unfortunately, the Armenian stops cannot be reconciled with either Diakonoff’s Hurrian reconstruction or the expected Hurrian form (**kanīgi*), and, accordingly, there is currently no evidence for a Hurrian transmission.

2.2.8. *kotem* ‘cress’ ← an unspecified Hurro-Urartian word (cf. Akk. *kuddimmu* ‘water-cress’)[150]

The antiquity of this word is now confirmed by the Akkadian word, which was plausibly connected by Weitenberg,[151] but it does not explain the second vowel of *kotem*, and the assumption of a Hurro-Urartian transmission does not solve this issue. A common, third source (with **e*) could solve it, but there is no evidence that this source would be Hurro-Urartian.

2.2.9. *nowṙn* (gen. *nṙan*) ‘pomegranate’ ← cf. Hurr. “*nurandiye* ‘of pomegranate’”[152]

Diakonoff treated the Hurrian word as an internal derivation from a stem that served as the source of the Armenian word. However, the Hurrian stem is **nuran*(*di*)-, which does not lead to the Armenian word. The Armenian word is of unknown origin:[153] while an ultimate connection with Akkadian *nurmû*, *nurimdu* ‘pomegranate’ is plausible, all details remain unclear.

2.2.10. *salor* ‘plum’ ← Hurr. **šallorə* (→ Akk. *šallūru* ‘a fruit, perhaps plum’) or Urart. **šaluri* [salorə][154] or ← Urart. **šalūru* ‘medlar’ ← Ass. *šallūru*[155]

If the meaning of the Akkadian word is correct, the Armenian word can hardly be separated. Nevertheless, its *-o-* cannot continue *-u-* or *-ū-*.[156] Therefore, an intermediary language or a common, third source is required if this was the vowel in the Akkadian word. Hurrian and Urartian can be excluded as intermediary languages, since they had *-u-* and, therefore, would not have changed it into *-o-*. Hurrian could have been the common, third source, since it did have [o] (this is uncertain in the case of Urartian, as per above), but there is no evidence that this third common source was Hurrian.

2.2.11. *serkewil* ‘quince’ ← Hurr. (or “another extinct Caucasian language”) (→ Akk. *sapu/argillu*)[157] or ← Urart. **šarkapil* ← Ass. *sapu/argillu* ‘quince’[158]

The correct Assyrian forms for ‘quince’ are *supurgillu* (*supurkillu*, *supargillu*, and *šapargillu*),[159] but the metathesis of *p…rg* to **rg…p* (whence regularly *rk…w* in Armenian) is completely *ad hoc*, both in Akkadian and in Urartian. Therefore, this etymology should be excluded.

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148 Diakonoff 1971, 86; 1982, 16; 1984, 186 n. 27; 1985, 599.

149 Yakubovich 2016a, 180–181.

150 See the refs. in Greppin 1992, 70 n. 21. On the form of the Armenian word, see Weitenberg 1985.

151 Weitenberg 1985, esp. 239–240 (with its precise meaning).

152 Diakonoff 1985, 599; Djahukian 1990, 29. On the Hurrian word, see BGH, 277.

153 Olsen 1999, 937.

154 Diakonoff 1982, 17; 1984, 186 n. 28 (with the Urartian option only); 1985, 599; Greppin 1991a, 725 (without the Urartian option, but see below).

155 Greppin 2011, 293.

156 Macak 2017, 1066.

157 Diakonoff 1985, 599.

158 Greppin 2011, 294 (misprinted as *sarkewil*).

159 CAD S, 396.

2.2.12. *towłt* ‘marsh-mallow’ ← **tulti* (→ Akk. *tuldu*, *tultu* ‘a medicinal plant’)[160]

Greppin rejected this etymology, claiming that the Hurrian word did not seem to exist.[161] Diakonoff responded that it could be found in AHw. That is correct, but no Hurrian origin is indicated there, on the contrary (“u[nbekannter] H[erkunft]”).[162] What is indicated there (and was already mentioned by Diakonoff[163]) is that this plant was glossed by the Mesopotamian scribes as the Subarean term for the (*a*)*ladiru*-plant. Unfortunately, in the meantime this turned out to be a false interpretation and translation of the passage, which in fact belongs to the Akkadian word meaning ‘worm, maggot’.[164]

2.2.13. *xor* ‘deep; deep, abyss’ ← “we cannot exclude Hurro-Urartian mediation” ← Akk. *ḫurru* ‘hole, ravine, cave’ or Aramaic **ḫurr-*[165]

Diakonoff entertained the possibility of Hurro-Urartian mediation, because it “would better explain the transformation of *u* to *o*”, but as we saw above (§2.2.10), this was not the case. Therefore, there is no evidence for Hurro-Urartian mediation. The word has no known etymology, but an Iranian origin is suspected on formal grounds (a direct Akkadian or Aramaic borrowing is contradicted by *-r-* instead of the expected *-ṙ-*, as per above, §2.2.1).[166]

2.3. Interim results

The first conclusion is that in one of the main groups in which a Hurrian word was reconstructed to explain the Armenian form, there is no need or evidence for such Hurrian reconstructions, even if they would be formally possible (*agowṙ*, *salor*, *xor*). The cases of the other main group are formally irregular, and thus not possible Hurrian reconstructions (*alander*, *ananowx*, *howłk*, *kacᶜin*, *knikᶜ*, *kotem*, *nowṙn*, *serkewil*, *towłt*). There is only a single case in which a reconstructed Hurrian form is regular and makes sense in explaining the Armenian word (*anag*), although we obviously cannot be sure that this word was really mediated by Hurrian and as we saw, there is a chronological problem with this proposal.

As for the cases from attested Hurrian words, a Hurrian etymology is:

1. Formally not possible: *kowt*; *tarmaǰowr*;

2. Formally possible, but it has an equally possible non-Hurrian etymology: *agarak*, *astem*;

3. Problematic (a Hurrian etymology cannot be entirely excluded, but formally or semantically not impeccable): *art* (S), *nēr* (S), *pałatem* (S & F), *tᶜiw* (S) (note also that *art* and *nēr* have formally and semantically fitting Indo-European etymology);

4. Formally and semantically possible: *ałiws*, *maxr*, *xnjor*.

[160] Greppin 1982b, 145; Diakonoff 1985, 599–600.

[161] Greppin 1991a, 724 n. 25.

[162] AHw, 1369.

[163] Diakonoff 1985, 599–600.

[164] CAD T, 467.

[165] Diakonoff 1982, 15 (spelling the Armenian word as *xoṙ*).

[166] Olsen 1999, 885.

3. Urartian loans from Armenian[167]

3.1. *abili-d(u)*- 'to connect, add' < *abili* 'more' + *d(u)*- 'to do', i.e., 'to do more' ← *aweli* 'more', *y-awel-um* 'to add'[168]

The correct Urartian form is *abilidu*- 'to gather, annex, add'[169] and its correct segmentation is *abilid-u*-, with the so-called class marker *-u*- indicating two valences and ergativity.[170] While *abilid*- can further be segmented as *abil-id*-, with the *-id*- verbal suffix, and the stem *abil*- can be compared with the Armenian word, which had the shape **abel*- (from **h*$_3$*b*^{h}*el*-) at that time,[171] this does not explain the vocalism of the second syllable. In addition, *abil*- can in fact be further segmented into a root *ab*- with the *-il*- verbal suffix.[172]

3.2. *andani* 'pasture (?), province (?), region (?)' ← *and* 'field'[173]

The Urartian word is a spatial adverb, used contrastively with *salmatḫə*. Although the precise meaning of this pair is unknown (possibilities include 'a destra … a sinistra', 'da una parte … dall'altra'),[174] it clearly has nothing to do with the Armenian word.

3.3. *aniar-duni* 'independent' ← *anyar* 'unrelated, separate'[175]

The meaning of the Urartian word is unknown, but it qualifies enemy kings.[176] Accordingly, its segmentation and connection with the Armenian word are gratuitous.

3.4. *armuzi* 'family (?), generation (?)' ← *arm*(*n*) 'root', *armat* 'root, tribe', (*z*)*arm* 'tribe, generation'[177]

Djahukian argued that the Urartian word has either an Urartian suffix *-uzi* or the Armenian suffix *-oc*^{c} in *-uzi*, but no such Urartian nominal suffix is known (only *-usə*)[178] and the meanings of the Armenian suffix (nomen loci and nomen instrumenti)[179] are not fitting. In general, the meaning of the Armenian words (*armn* 'root', *armat* 'root, stem' vs. 'stirpe, descendenza, semenza'[180]) is not fitting.

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[167] This hypothesis, a critical investigation of which is an old desideratum, was presented in several works: Diakonoff 1985, 602–603; 1992; Djahukian 1992 (revised list with references to previous literature in Russian and Armenian); Petrosyan 2007; 2010 (with full previous bibliography); EDAIL, *passim*. According to Petit 2019, 183, the existence of such loanwords "would be very surprising considering the early date of the Urartian evidence". Nevertheless, the existence of such loanwords is entirely possible from a chronological point of view. Only for the sake of completeness, one should also mention Schmitt (2012, 126), who harshly rejected this hypothesis without providing a single argument ("die Annahme von armenischen Lehnwörtern im Urartäischen, die anläßlich dieses Wortes diskutiert wird, ist reine Spekulation und entbehrt jeder Grundlage").

[168] Djahukian 1992, 50, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3.

[169] Salvini 2018, 369.

[170] See, e.g., Wilhelm 2004b, 129; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 46; Salvini 2018, 493; Hazenbos 2021, 181.

[171] See, e.g., EDG, 1133; not included in EDAIL.

[172] Wilhelm 2004a, 115.

[173] Djahukian 1992, 51, with an Armenian suffix.

[174] Salvini 2018, 374–375, 409, with refs.

[175] Djahukian 1992, 51, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3.

[176] Salvini 2018, 375 with refs.

[177] Djahukian 1992, 51, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3 ("*armuzzi* 'family'").

[178] On the Urartian nominal suffixes, see Wilhelm 2004b, 125–126; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 19–22; Salvini 2018, 486–488; Hazenbos 2021, 170.

[179] Olsen 1999, 533.

[180] Salvini 2018, 376.

3.5. The verbal root of *arniuše* ‘deed’ ← *aṙnem* ‘to do, to make’[181]

While the explanation of *arniuše** ‘deed’ (attested only as *arni*(*u*)*šinili*, abs. pl.)[182] as a deverbal abstract from **arni-* seems entirely correct, it is unclear how it could represent the Armenian verb continuing **arnwe-* (the [i] of the Urartian word is assured due to its spellings).[183]

3.6. *arṣibi-* ‘the name of King Minua’s horse’ ← *arciwi* ‘eagle’[184]

This comparison is not possible phonologically, since *arṣibi-* did not have [w][185] and the Armenian form was presumably **arcipi* at that time, considering that the change **-p-* > *-w-* is post-Urartian, see the case of *ałiws* ← *alipši* above (§2.1.2, on the Indo-European etymology of the Armenian word see above, §1.1.1).

3.7. The verbal base of *bauše* ‘speech, order, thing’ ← *bam* ‘to speak’, *ban* ‘word, speech, thing’[186]

The derivation of *bauše* ‘parola, ordine’[187] as a deverbal abstract noun is regular, and formally speaking, the borrowing is entirely possible.[188] The real question is whether we can assume borrowing with a CV-structure (*ba-*) and with a meaning showing hints of sound symbolism.

3.8. *burgana*(*ni*) ‘fortress, castle; column’ (?) ← *bowrgn* ‘tower’[189]

As discussed in §1.1.2, *burganani* is a still unidentified installation (from the type of an orchard or vineyard) and/or a simple adjective, qualifying orchards and/or the walled support or encirclement of an orchard, and none of these really fits the Armenian word from a semantic point of view.

3.9. [ewi][190] / “*eue*, *e’a* (to read: *ewa*)” ‘and’[191] ← *ew* < **ewi* < **epi* ‘id.’

The correct form of the Urartian conjunction is [ewe] ‹e-ú-e, e-’a›.[192] A derivation from Arm. *ew* < **ewi* < **epi* is contradicted by the different final vowel and the different consonant, since the Armenian word was **epi* at that time, for **p* > Arm. *w* is post-Urartian (see under §3.6).

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181 Djahukian 1992, 51, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3.

182 Salvini 2018, 377.

183 On the spelling, see eCUT; on the reconstruction LIV², 270 with n. 5.

184 Diakonoff 1985, 602; Djahukian 1992, 50; Petrosyan 2010, 134. Kölligan 2019, 63 allows both an Armenian and an Indo-Iranian origin of the Urartian word, Ritter 2006, 414–415 prefers the latter based on the regular Indo-European etymology of the Armenian word.

185 There is no evidence for the assumption that Urartian ‹b› had a value [w] or [v] as well. Setting aside that [w] could have been expressed regularly, there is no evidence for the claim of Diakonoff 1971, 45 n. 40 that the Urartian spelling “unterscheidet nicht zwischen *b* (bzw. *w*) und *v*” and that [v] was spelt with ‹*b*/*u*› (52). His single piece of evidence (Diakonoff 1971, 27–29) is the 1st person subject suffix of “fientive-transitive” verbs “*-be*, *-bé* im Auslaut, *-ú*(*-ú*)- im Inlaut”. But this is the confusion of two different suffixes, the 1st person ergative suffix *-bə* and the *-u-* class-marker of two valences and ergativity, which of course appear combined as well (Wilhelm 2004b, 129–131; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 46–49; Salvini 2018, 495–496).

186 Djahukian 1992, 51, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3.

187 Salvini 2018, 383.

188 On the PIE origin of the Armenian verb, see LIV², 69 and EDAIL, 165.

189 Diakonoff 1985, 602–603 (‘stela’ or ‘column’); Petrosyan 2010, 134; Kölligan 2019, 155 (“möglich”). Yakubovich 2016a, 182 allows this possibility, too.

190 Diakonoff 1992, 52.

191 Petrosyan 2010, 133–134.

192 Salvini 2018, 387.

3.10. ‹*mì-i*› ‘prohibitive particle’ ← *mi* ‘id.’[193]

This is a formally possible etymology; nevertheless, as it is known, there is a high chance for coincidence in the case of particles consisting of merely two phonemes[194] and therefore, without further evidence for Urartian loans from Armenian, this cannot be treated as a loan.

3.11. *qab/purza*(*ni*) ‘bridge’ ? ← *kamurǰ* ‘id.’[195]

The etymology is obviously not fitting due to the unexplained substitution *-m-* → *-b*/*p-*. The alleged earlier form of the Armenian word with **-w-*[196] does not fit either.

3.12. *šuri* ‘sharp (?)’, weapon (?)’ ← *sowr* ‘sharp, something very sharp, sword’[197]

The correct meaning of the Urartian word is ‘lancia; arma’,[198] while the Armenian word means specifically ‘sharp; sword, dagger’ and usually explained from PIE **ḱoh$_3$ro-*.[199] Therefore, the unfitting semantics and the unexplained final vowel (possible only if the Armenian word already ended in a consonant [and thus a vowel was required, since all Urartian nouns ended in a vowel],[200] but the loss of the final vowel is post-Urartian, see the geographical names above) exclude this etymology.

3.13. *ṣue* ‘lake, sea’ ← *cov* ‘sea’[201]

The Armenian word is of Indo-European origin (see above, §1.1.4) from PIE **ĝobʰ-u-*. Therefore, it cannot be the source of the Urartian word, since both the (**bʰ* >) **b* > *w* change and the loss of the final vowel (which would have led to the automatic addition of a vowel in Urartian, for every Urartian noun ended in a vowel, as noted above) are post-Urartian (type *Zabaḫa* → *J̌avax-*).

3.14. *ueli* ‘crowd, army’ ← Proto-Armenian **wel-i-* ‘crowd’ > *ge*(*w*)*ł* ‘village’[202]

The meaning of the Urartian word is not entirely clear, it may refer to ‘un corpo militare’, perhaps ‘truppa’,[203] which is not irreconcilable with the Armenian meaning. The problem is phonological: since the Armenian change **w* > **ɣw-* (> **gw* > *g*) precedes the Urartian loans (for Luwian *wāšu-* → Arm. *vaš* ‘good, bravo’ does not show this change), the contemporary Proto-Armenian form was **ɣwel- vel sim.*,[204] which does not lead to the Urartian word.

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[193] Petit 2019, 183 (erroneously attributing this etymology to Diakonoff 1985). On the Urartian particle, see Wilhelm 2004b, 133; Salvini – Wegner 2014, 60; Salvini 2018, 402 with refs.).

[194] See, e.g., the discussion in Simon 2021a, 244 with examples and references.

[195] Petrosyan 2010, 135.

[196] The etymology of *kamurǰ* is unknown; the usual Indo-European attempt, a connection with Greek γέφῡρα ‘beam, bridge’, requires an earlier form with **-w-* (see the overview in EDAIL, 351). This, however, does not lead to the attested form.

[197] Djahukian 1992, 50, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3 with ‘edge, spearhead, weapon’ as the Urartian meaning.

[198] Salvini 2018, 415–416 with refs.

[199] Olsen 1999, 55 with refs., not included in EDAIL.

[200] Wilhelm 2004b, 126.

[201] Djahukian 1992, 51, with question mark.

[202] EDAIL, 219–220 with refs.

[203] Salvini 2018, 421 with ref.

[204] The result of the Armenian change **w* > *g* is not affected by the Armenian consonant shift (Ravnæs 2005, 198, 200) that happened after the first Old Iranian loans (see §1.1.2) and therefore, the changes **w* > **gw* > *g* postdate the Old Iranian loans. In order to accommodate the Luwian borrowing, an intermediary change **w* > **ɣw* > **gw* has to be assumed and that the Luwian word was borrowed after the change **w* > **ɣw*. This is fully in agreement with the Armenian – Proto-Kartvelian/Proto-Zan loan contacts involving **ɣw* leading to Arm. *g*, such as Arm. *gini* ‘wine’ ~ Proto-Kartvelian **ɣwin-* ‘wine’ and Arm. *gi* ‘juniper’ ~ Proto-Kartvelian **ɣwiw-* (cf. Fähnrich 2007, 486, on their precise relation [Proto-Zan borrowings in Armenian], see Simon 2022).

3.15. The stem of *ulguše* (“probable reading: *olyosə*”) ‘health, well-being, the being alive’ ← Proto-Armenian **olyo-* (> *ołǰ*) ‘whole, alive’[205]

As was pointed out above (§1.1.7), the root is **ulg*(*V*)-, not “*olyo-*”, since it is consistently spelt with ‹gu› and therefore, the etymology is formally impossible (note also the semantic difference between *ulguše* ‘life’[206] and Armenian ‘sound, whole, healthy’).

3.16. *zari* ‘garden’ ← *caṙ* ‘tree’[207]

As the Urartian spelling is ambiguous, *ṣari* is equally possible and thus, the consonantism would be regular. Nevertheless, the final vowel is problematic, since its loss is post-Urartian (as per above) and it remains unexplained how an *o*-stem (see above §1.1.13 on its PIE etymology) became an *i*-stem. Moreover, *zari* seems to have a Hurrian cognate, the Subarean word *sarme* ‘forest’.[208] Although Subarean does not automatically mean Hurrian,[209] *sarme* may be analyzed as *sar-* with the Hurrian nominal suffix *-m*(*m*)*e*.[210]

3.17. *zil*(*i*)*bi/e* ‘family, tribe’ ← *cᶜeł* ‘tribe, family’[211]

The precise meaning of *zil*(*i*)*be/i* is ‘progeny’,[212] but this is not necessarily incompatible with the Armenian word’s meaning. However, the first syllable is certainly *zi-* assured by the spelling, which is not compatible with *cᶜe°* (and the Urartian word may be an internal derivation from **zil*(*i*)- of unknown meaning[213]).

Interim results

The interim result is that fourteen out of seventeen proposals should be excluded on formal grounds. Two of the remaining three have a CV-structure, one of these is probably sound symbolic and the other one is a particle, which are even more problematic due to the lack of any assured Armenian loan in Urartian. The remaining case (*bowrgn*), while formally possible, does not really fit semantically. In other words, there are no assured Armenian loans in Urartian.

4. Conclusions

While Armenian undoubtedly has a loanword layer from the Hurro-Urartian languages, the critical revision above has revealed that the number of assured borrowings is far less than previously thought: Out of more than forty proposals, less than one-fifth, i.e. eight etymologies could be confirmed. That said, the Armenian lexicon famously contains a huge number of words of unknown etymology and, therefore, one can surely claim that with the advancement of our knowledge of the Hurro-Urartian languages as well as of the history of Armenian, more loans will be revealed. This might apply to the hypothesis of Armenian loans in Urartian as well, but with our current knowledge, no Armenian loan in Urartian can be confirmed, despite the frequent claims to the contrary.

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[205] Diakonoff 1985, 603 (“to read /ulg-, ulq-, uly-, olg-, olq- or or oly-o-sə/”, [sic]); Petrosyan 2010, 134.

[206] Salvini 2018, 422.

[207] Djahukian 1992, 50, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3.

[208] See the refs. in BGH, 337; esp. CAD S, 178 and Hrůša 2010, 186–187, 294. Diakonoff *apud* Greppin 1991a, 728 added Akk. *ṣarṣar*(*t*)*u* ‘forest’, too.

[209] See esp. Bartash 2018, 267–268 and specifically Salvini 1979, 311.

[210] The meaning of which is, unfortunately, unknown (Giorgieri 2000, 201–202; Wegner 2007, 51; Wilhelm 2004a, 103).

[211] Djahukian 1992, 51, followed by Petrosyan 2010, 138 n. 3. On its PIE origin see Olsen 1999, 80 (not included in EDAIL).

[212] Salvini 2018, 426.

[213] Wilhelm 2004b, 125.

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1 Radner 2013, 443.
2 Radner 2013, 445–447, fig. 22.1–22.2; Fales 2001.
3 Radner 2008; 2009a, 181, 190; 2009b.
4 Radner – van Koppen 2009, 95–101.
5 Radner *et al.* 2014, 141–145, 147–151.

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Fig. 1. Aerial view of the excavation area (Photo: R. Matthews).

Fig. 2. Details of the inscription (Durand 2005, 7).

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