

WRITTEN ON CLAY AND STONE

Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to
Krystyna Szarzyńska
on the Occasion of her 80th Birthday

edited by

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INANNA'S ARCHAIC SYMBOL

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1. It is a true pleasure to be able to include this little piece in the volume honoring Dr. Krystyna Szarzyńska, whose steadfast and loving preoccupation with the archaic texts from Uruk has contributed so much toward a keener understanding of the earliest stages of the cuneiform. My satisfaction is still greater that the present paper touches on two of our Honoree's favorite topics: the archaic divine emblems*¹ and the goddess Inanna.²

2. Of all the items belonging to the visual repertoire of archaic Uruk art, none is more common and characteristic than the volute-like reed structure. This object, consisting of a pole topped with a ring and streamers, is depicted, often in pairs, either free-standing or mounted on altars and the roofs of sheep- and cattle-pens (figs. 1, 2 and 3). There also survive clay models of this object (figs. 4, 5 and 6), which appear to have been parts of friezes decorating the walls of temples.³ Because of its formal identity with the archaic sign MÛŠ/INANNA (= ZATU-374, 375), the volute-like structure can confidently be identified as a symbol of Inanna.⁴ Since no certain depictions of it are extant from later periods,⁵ the active life of this symbol in cult apparently did not

* Abbreviations are those of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and the *Philadelphia Sumerian Dictionary*.

¹ *Some of the Oldest Cult Symbols in Archaic Uruk*, JEOL 30 (1987-88) 3-21; *Some Comments on Individual Entries in the Uruk Sign-List ZATU*, ASJ 18 (1996) 235-238; *Archaic Sumerian Standards*, JCS 48 (1996) (in press).

² *The Sumerian Goddess INANA-KUR*, *Orientalia Varsoviensia* 1 (1987) 7-14; *Kult bogini Inany w Uruk w okresie archaicznym*, *Euhemer - Przegląd Religioznawczy* 1988/2, pp. 3-11; *Offerings for the Goddess Inana in Archaic Uruk*, RA 87 (1993) 7-26.

³ See J. Jordan, UVB 2 (1931), pp. 33-36; E. Heinrich, *Bauwerke in der altsumerischen Bildkunst*, *Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung*, Heft 2 (Wiesbaden 1957), pp. 31-32.

⁴ See already A. Falkenstein, ATU 1, p. 59.

⁵ See P. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1980), p. 79. J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin 1992), p. 154, claim that „after the Uruk period, the symbol is to be found, though rarely, until the Early Dynastic Period,” but I am unaware of any such evidence.

extend beyond Uruk times. It did, however, survive till the very end of cuneiform civilization, as the traditional graph of Inanna's name.

The volute-like symbol of Inanna is one of several reed emblems that are represented in Uruk art.⁶ Two more of those can be identified with certainty: (1) a pole with a triangle, the so-called „buckled post” or „Bügelschaft”, which is identical with the sign ŠEŠ/NANNA_X (= ZATU-595), a symbol of Nanna⁷; and (2) a pole with pairs of rings, the so-called „ringed-pole”, which is identical with the sign NUN (ZATU-421), a symbol of Enki.⁸ We can be certain that the Sumerian word describing such emblems was urin(URI₃), a well-documented designation of divine emblems in later periods.⁹ This identification is assured by the fact that URI₃ (= ZATU-523) is a close relative of ŠEŠ/NANNA_X. It would appear, therefore, that URI₃ was derived from ŠEŠ/NANNA_X to serve as a generic designation of such emblems.

As is indicated equally by the visual and epigraphic data, the urin emblems were large, usually free-standing effigies, made of reeds or wood,¹⁰ which were permanently (or at least semi-permanently) erected at cultic sites. These characteristics (which make them comparable to totem poles¹¹) set the urin apart from the other type of divine emblems known from ancient Mesopota-

⁶ See Szarzyńska, *Cult Symbols*.

⁷ See *ibid.*, pp. 6-7, 12-13; Steinkeller, *BiOr* 52 (1995) 705, 709.

⁸ It appears likely that this symbol represents a tree. Note that in *Enki and the World Order* 166-167 (cited below p. 91) the urin of Enki set-up in the Abzu is said to be a shade-giving umbrella. It is significant that, elsewhere in the same composition, Enki is likened to a shady mes-tree planted in the Abzu: lugal^{g3}mes Abzu-ta/-a dū-a kur-ra il-la ušum[gal] ma, Eridug^{k1}-ga gub-ba [gis]su-bi an ki-a dul-la^[gis]tir (gis) gurun-na kalam-ma lá-a, „the master (Enki) is a mes-tree planted in the Abzu; it towers over the lands; it is a huge dragon standing in Eridu; its shade covers heaven and earth; it is (like) a forest of fruit (bearing) trees stretching over the country” (*Enki and the World Order* 4-7). A similar image of Enki is found in MDP 14, p. 125 lines 2-13 (a Srgonic incantation), where he is compared to a shady *kiškanū*-tree growing in the „pure place” (i.e., Abzu): [lugal] giš-kín-gim [ki-si]kil mú-a^dEn-ki giš-kín-gim ki-sikil mú-a kur-ku-rá-a-ni kur hé-gál sug⁴ ki DU.DU-ni gissu-bi suh za:gín-na-gim ab-šag⁴-ga lá-a lugal giš-kín-gim ki-sikil-e íb-mú-a-gim^dEn-ki giš-kín-gim [ki-siki]l-e íb-mú-a-gim, „[the master] grew up in a pure place like a *kiškanū*-tree; Enki grew up in a pure place like a *kiškanū*-tree; his flood-waves fill the land(s) with abundance; the shade of his 'place of standing' stretches into the midst of the sea like a lapis diadem; the master is like a *kiškanū*-tree that the pure place made grow; Enki is like a *kiškanū*-tree that the pure place made grow”.

⁹ Corresponding to Akk. *urinnu*. Also urin-gal, Akk. *urigallu*/**uringallu*. See B. Pongratz-Leisten, *BaghMitt* 23 (1992) 306-308, 318-330; AHW., pp. 1429-1430.

¹⁰ According to Gudea Cyl. A xxii 20 (cited below p. 91), a wooden Shar'ur effigy was set up as a „large emblem” (urin-gal). The fashioning of such wooden effigies is described in detail elsewhere in the Gudea corpus: (mušen)šár-úr (Statue B v 28-38, vi 45-50; Cyl. A xv 22-25); šár-gaz (Statue B v 39-40).

¹¹ For this suggestion, see already Falkenstein in *The Near East: The Early Civilizations*, Delacorte World History vol. 2, J. Bottéro et al. (eds.), (New York 1967), p. 47: „The most frequent symbols we see are polelike objects: the 'gateposts' or 'reed-bundles' of Inanna of Uruk and the 'buckled post' of Nanna the moon-god of Ur are the best-known. Totems? It is possible.”

mia, the šu-nir.¹² The latter object, to be identified as „standard,” consisted of a pole with a tasseled cross-bar, on which there was mounted a divine symbol.¹³ Unlike the urin, the šu-nir were portable.¹⁴ The difference between the two types of objects¹⁵ is best demonstrated by the following passage, in which a šu-nir standard is substituted for / applied as an urin emblem: ka-al nam-nun-na mi-ni-gar-ra-ni IM-dugud_x(MI)^{mušen} šu-nir lugal-la-na-kam urin-šè bí-mul, „at the clay pit, which he had set up in princely splendor, he displayed / made glitter as a divine emblem the Thunderbird, the standard of his master” (Gudea Cyl. A xiii 21-23). The šu-nir were known already in Uruk times, as is proved by the surviving representations of such standards.¹⁶

3. While it is certain that the volute-like structure represents a symbol of Inanna, its meaning remains a mystery. The fact that this object is occasionally shown in connection with sheep- and cattle-pens led W. Andrae to interpret it as a doorpost of the primitive reed hut.¹⁷ As envisioned by Andrae, a pair of such doorposts supported in their volutes a cross-bar, over which there was rolled a reed mat functioning as a door-covering.¹⁸ However, an examination of the scenes in question shows clearly that, rather than constituting an organic part of the pen, the volute-like structure is but a decorative appendage, which

¹² Corresponding to Akk. *šurinnu*. See, most recently, Pongratz-Leisten, op. cit., pp. 302-306, 308-318; J. Spacy, „Emblems in Rituals in the Old Babylonian Period,” in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, OLA 55 (Leuven 1993), pp. 411-420; CAD S/3, pp. 344-347.

¹³ Depictions of individuals carrying such standards are found on the fragments of Gudea stelae (G. Cros, NFT, p. 29), which can be correlated with Gudea Cyl. A xiv 7-27 (for which see the following note).

¹⁴ Among the 3rd mil. evidence, note that šu-nir standards were carried by the territorial clans (im-ru-a) of Ningirsu, Inanna, and Nanshe as they were mobilized to build the Eninnu (Gudea Cyl. A xiv 7-27). The šu-nir were also used in battle, as shown by the Pre-Sargonic royal inscriptions from Lagash (for attestations, see H. Steible, FAOS 6, p. 61).

¹⁵ Rather surprisingly, Pongratz-Leisten, op. cit., p. 303, thinks that the data extant „lassen eine Differenzierung in dem Gebrauch der beide Begriffe šu.nir und uri nicht zu.”

¹⁶ See Amiet, *Glyptique*, pl. 46 no. 658.

¹⁷ W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient* (Berlin 1930) (especially pp. 48-50, 56); *Die Ionische Säule: Bauform oder Symbol?* (Berlin 1933). This hypothesis had a broad following at one time, and it is still accepted by some scholars. See, e.g., H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939), p. 15 („gatepost with streamer”); E. D. Van Buren, AfO 13 (1939-41) 33, 39-40 („gatepost with streamers”); E. Williams-Forte in D. Wolkstein and S. N. Kramer, *Inanna: Queen of Heaven and Earth* (New York 1983), p. 188 („gatepost emblems of Inanna”); Black and Green, *Gods*, p. 154 („a doorpost for a structure built of reeds and probably made of a bundle of reeds bound together, with the upper ends bent over to make a loop for the crosspole”).

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 56 and fig. 48a.

is attached to the pen's roof.¹⁹ A corroboration of this is provided by the parallel images of the volute-like structure being mounted on altars, which prove that it is an independent, architecturally unrelated object.

But, beyond Andrae's suggestion, no one has ever attempted to assign to the volute-like structure any specific meaning. The prevailing opinion is that the symbol is devoid of any representational content.²⁰ Thus, scholars have been content to refer to it purely descriptively, by using such designations as „*Schilfringbündel*”²¹ „a shaft with a banner,”²² „la hampe à banderole,”²³ „ring-headed post, usually with streamers,”²⁴ or „'roller-blind' reed pylon.”²⁵

A possible light on this problem is thrown by an ED literary passage, which, if our interpretation is correct, identifies the volute-like symbol of Inanna as a specific object. The passage in question comes from a composition concerning Ama'ushum(galana),²⁶ of which three mss. survive, stemming from Ebla (two) and Abu Salabikh (one) respectively:

ARET 5 20 + A. Archi, QS 18 (1992) 36-37 (pls. 7-8) = Source A.

ARET 5 21 + Archi, Or. NS 58 (1989) 125 + QS 18, pp. 38-39 (pls. 9-10) = Source B.

OIP 99 278 = Source C.

(1)

A vii 7: za-gir bar-su gú dInanna lá-lá
B viii 5: za-gir bar-su gú dInanna lá-lá
C iii 1-2: za-gìn bar-^lsikil^l gú dInanna lá

„the lapis lazuli / lustrous ... binding the neck of Inanna,”

(2)

A viii 1: urin-gal-gal é d^lInanna^l-dar an-si-ga
B viii 6: [...]^lé^l d^lInanna^l-dar an-si-ga

¹⁹ For a thorough critique of Andrae's theory, see Amiet, *Glyptique*, pp. 80-82. See also E. Heinrich, *Bauwerke*, pp. 31-38.

²⁰ So, e.g., U. Seidl, RLA 3 (1969) 490, who classifies it as „anikonisch”.

²¹ E.g., Seidl, op. cit., p. 490.

²² P. P. Delougaz, JNES 27 (1968) 196.

²³ Amiet, *Glyptique*, p. 78.

²⁴ Black and Green, *Gods*, p. 154.

²⁵ T. Jacobsen, *Aula Orientalis* 9 (1991) 117 n. 22.

²⁶ A complete edition of this composition is foreseen by D. R. Frayne.

C iii 3: urin-gal-gal Kul-ab₄-da si-ga

„the great urin emblems set up (lit.: driven in) at the temple of Inanna / at Kulaba,”

(3)

A viii 2: za-i gal-gal Gul-la-ab-dar si-ga

B viii 7: za-i gal-[ga]l Gul-[l]a-[...]

C: omits

„the great spires set up (lit.: driven in) at Kulaba.”

I submit that these three lines form a single unit, with lines (2) and (3) standing in apposition to line (1). At the very least, it is certain that (2) is in apposition to (3). The meaning of (2) is clear. The construction urin-gal-ø X-da si-(g), „to embed / set up²⁷ a great emblem in X,” is found also in Gudea inscriptions: *giššár-ùr-bi urin-gal-gim Lagaš^{ki}-da im-da-si*, „he set up in Lagash a wooden Shar'ur (effigy) as a great emblem” (Cyl. A xxii 20); *urin-gal Lagaš^{ki}-da si-ga-bi*, „its great emblems, set up in Lagash” (Cyl. B xxii 5). Notice further its occurrence in *Enki and the World Order* 166-167: *urin-gal Abzu-ta si-ga an-dùl-le-eš ak-a gissu-bi ki-šár-ra lá-a ùku-e ní-[t]e-en-te*, „the great emblem (of Enki) set up / embedded in the Abzu, made into a protecting umbrella, its shade stretches to the horizon, the people revive themselves (under it)”.

In view of the parallelism between (2) and (3), one may a priori conclude that the item za-i, appearing in (3), was an object somehow similar to the urin emblem. Without any doubt, the word hiding behind za-i is the well-known architectural term zà-è. The latter word denotes a type of protruding element, which, as the extant attestations show, could be found on the top of public buildings (such as temples or palaces) or fortification walls.²⁸ This evidence indicates that zà-è should be identified as „spire,” „pinnacle,” or „finial.”²⁹ As such, therefore, it was not unlike the urin.

²⁷ For this sense of si-(g), see the examples collected by S. Dunham, RA 80 (1986) 40-45, in which si-(g) denotes the setting up (or the placing in) of various post-like objects.

²⁸ For zà-è, which is equated with *zamu ša BÀD*, *šippu*, and *āšitu*, see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 57-58; C. Wilcke, *Lugalbanda*, p. 221; J. Klein, TAPS 71/7 (Philadelphia 1981), p. 39. Among its occurrences, note especially *Temple Hymns* 31 and *Nungal Hymn* 17, where zà-è is said to be part of the dub-lá, „portico” or „pilaster”, for which see, most recently, A. R. George, *Iraq* 57 (1995) 185-186.

²⁹ For this conclusion, see already Wilcke, op. cit., p. 221: „[zà-è] einen herausragenden Teil der Mauer bezeichnen: Zinnen oder Mauertürme.” Here notice that this term occurs already in a Pre-Sargonic (or Early Sargonic) tablet from Nippur, which records roofbeams (*giš-ùr*) that came „from the battlements (of the temple?) of Ishkur”: zà-è^d *Iškur-ta* (Westenholz Jena 217:6).

If I am correct that lines (2) and (3) stand in apposition to line (1), it follows then that the „great emblems of Inanna”, further described as „great spires”, are qualifications of the lapis lazuli object which, according to (1), „binds the neck of Inanna”. Assuming, as it seems very likely, that the urinal of Inanna mentioned in our passage are identical with Inanna's symbol of Uruk art, we could find here an explanation as to what this symbol actually depicts or, to be more precise, as to what it was *thought* to depict in Early Dynastic times, when the composition in question presumably was written down. This caveat is necessary, since, as noted earlier, there is unfortunately no proof that the symbol continued to be used in cult after the Uruk period (though it survived under the guise of the sign MÜŠ, whose symbolic connection with Inanna has undoubtedly continued to be generally recognized).

We need, therefore, to consider the meaning of that mysterious lapis lazuli object, whose name is alternatively written bar-su and bar-sikil. In my opinion, the only way in which these variant spellings can be harmonized and made to agree with the information that the object in question „binds the neck of Inanna” (meaning, accordingly, that one finds here either a jewelry item or a piece of feminine apparel) is to analyze bar-su and bar-sikil as graphic variants³⁰ of the word usually spelled bar-si, bar-si-ig, or bar-sig (Akk. *paršikku*), denoting a type of scarf or shawl.³¹

This piece of apparel was made of linen or wool, and could be worn over the neck or head, or even over the hands.³² Although there survive mentions of the bar-si made for kings,³³ this appears to have been a typically feminine article. Of special interest here is the fact that the bar-si are included in the inventories of garments and jewelry belonging to Annunitum³⁴ and Ishtar of Lagaba,³⁵ both of whom, of course, were but variant forms of Inanna. This evidence demonstrates that the bar-si was a standard element of the garb donned by the statues of Inanna/Ishtar. In this connection, one should also note the existence, in Pre-Sargonic Lagash, of a headgear called men bar-su, which is documented for (the statues of) Inanna³⁶ and Nanshe.³⁷ It appears quite likely

³⁰ To be precise: bar-sug(SU) and bar-sik(il) respectively.

³¹ See PSD B, pp. 126-127 („sash, shawl”): AHW., p. 836 („Kopfbinde, Mitze”); W. F. Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and Her Dress*, SLB I/1 (Leiden 1952), pp. 12-13 („a ribbon or a shawl”). Cf. also bar-siki, listed in PSD B, p. 128, which may be yet another spelling of this word.

³² See PSD B, pp. 126-127.

³³ See *ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁴ 2 tūgbar-si zi-li-hi (MVN 33 152:3).

³⁵ Leemans, *op. cit.*, p. 1-2, lines 16-17, 32-33, listing eighteen bar-si of two different types.

³⁶ 1 men-bar-su dInanna Ib-gal (BIN 8 390 i 3-4).

that the object in question was a crown with an attached scarf or band,³⁸ which either was rolled around the crown's top or hung down from it like a ribbon. Should this be correct, our earlier suggestion that the bar-su of the ED text stands for bar-si would thus be confirmed.

4. If the volute-like symbol of Inanna depicts a type of scarf, shawl, or band, one would then expect the sign MÜŠ to have a similar meaning. No such sense is documented for MÜŠ proper, whose only known meanings are „appearance” (Akk. *zīmu*) and „ground, territory, open land” (*mātu*),³⁹ both to be read *mūš*. However, the *gunū* variant of MÜŠ⁴⁰ (= MÜŠ) does actually denote a type of neck or head ornament, whose name was *suh*.⁴¹ The verb regularly used in connection with *suh* is *kešda* (correctly: /kešedr/), „to tie, to fasten, to bind.” In fact, this usage is so customary that there even exists a frozen compound *suh-kešda*, literally: „fastened *suh*” (Akk. *tiqu*), which functions as a generic term for „ornament” or „adornment”.⁴² Among the attestations of *suh*, the following ones merit special interest:

(a) lugal sag-men-na hi-li-bi Šul-gi aga zi-da hé-du₇-bi *suh-kešda* namdingir-ra DU.DU, „king, the joy of the crown, Shulgi, the allure of the legitimate tiara, who *bears* the fastened *suh* of godship” (*Šulgi D* 8-10).

³⁷ 1 men-bar-su ... ^dNanše (ibid. i 7 - ii 2).

³⁸ For a similar conclusion, see J. Asher-Greve, AfO 42/43 (1995/96) 184 n. 22: „bar-su might refer to the covering of the substructure with a special material or to the appearance of the crown.” Cf. also G. J. Selz, FAOS 15/2, p. 635, who too tends to connect bar-su with bar-si. See now Selz in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Sumerian Gods and their Representations* (Groningen 1997), p. 190 n. 68: „I propose to take bar-su as a variant spelling of bar-si(g), translated by PSD B 126 as ‘sash,’ ‘shawl.’ men_x-bar-su may therefore tentatively be rendered as ‘turban.’”

³⁹ See Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁰ Since MÜŠ-*gunū* is almost certainly a post-Uruk development (here note that ZATU-375, which M. W. Green, ATU 2, p. 249, interprets as MÜŠ-*gunū* is but an allograph of ZATU-374 = MÜŠ), it can be assumed that, in the Uruk script, the value /suh/ was attached to MÜŠ. The earliest attestations of MÜŠ-*gunū* come from ED sources. See, especially, its occurrence in the AbS/Ebla Geographical List line 115: *Suh*^{ki} (OIP 99 91 iv' 1) = Zú-hum^{ki} (MEE 3, p. 234).

⁴¹ For the conclusion that *suh* is a type of ornament, see Falkenstein, SGL 1, pp. 96-97; J. Renger, ZA 58 (1967) 127 („ein weiteres Zeichen der en-Würde war ein Schmuckstück, *múš*/*mūš* genannt, das umgebunden wurde”); Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 73, 92; Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat-Gan 1981), pp. 90-91; Y. Sefati, *Studies Artzi*, p. 63 („SUH-kéš [*tiqu*] is a sacred ornament, donned by kings and gods. Šulgi, e.g., wears this ornament, probably as a symbol of priesthood, along with the insignia of kingship. There are a number of deities in Sumerian mythology who also wear this ornament ...”).

⁴² See *na₄-suh-kešda* = *ti-iq-nu* (MSL 10, p. 32 line 100); *su-ki-iš₃-suh-keš(da)* mah-a *ti-iq*BAD-*iq-ni* *ši-ru-ti* (TCL 6 51 rev. 33f. = CAD S, p. 211b, S p. 342-43); *suh^{su-uh}-kešda(!)*(SAR) = *ti-iq-nu* (Antagal A 208 = MSL 17, p. 188); AHw., pp. 1360-1361; *ù ki-sikil tur-re^{su-ku}*(SUH.KEŠDA) ba-ni-in-AK^{na} (CT 58 42:79); and examples (a), (c), (e), (g) and (n) cited below.

(b) sig₄ Eridug^{ki}-ga-ta aga zi ak-me-en Unug^{ki}-ta su-uh(!)suh za-gìn-na kéš-rá/-da-me-en, „in the brickwork of Eridu, I (Shulgi) am the legitimate tiara; in Uruk, I am the fastened lapis suh” (*Šulgi E* 10 = Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, p. 90; Sefati, *Studies Artzi*, p. 63 n. 83).

(c) PN En-suh-kešda-an-na, „The en is the fastened suh of An/heaven” (D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 53 [1959] 18 n. 43; A. Berlin, *OPBF* 2, p. 65).

(d) lugal ù-tu suh zi kéš-dè/di en ù-tu sag-men gá-gá šu-na hé-en-gál / ì-gál, „to bring about the birth of a king, to tie (onto him) the legitimate suh, to bring about the birth of an en-priest(ess), to set a crown (upon his/her head), it is in her (Nintu's) power” (*Enki and the World Order* 197-198, 409-410; *Temple Hymns* 502-503).

(e) nu-gig An-na suh-kéšda gal-gal-la aga zi-dè ki-ág nam-en-na túm-ma, „(Inanna, you are) the nu-gig of An, (one) of great fastened suhs, lover of the legitimate tiara, suitable for enship” (*Ninmešarra* 3-4).

(f) nu-u₈-gig-ra suh(!)(MÜŠ) kéš-di, „she (Ninisina) ties a suh upon the nu-gig-priestess” (*Temple Hymns* 389).

(g) siki PA nam-en-na suh-kéš-da-gá, „the ... of enship, of my (i.e., of Suen's) fastened suh” (*Lamentation over Sumer and Ur* 458).

(h) ^dNin-urta dumu ^dEn-líl-lá-[k]_{e4} nam-lugal-šè men mu-un-gùr ... nam-en-šè(!) suh za-gìn mu-un-kešda, „Ninurta, son of Enlil, put on a crown as a sign of kingship, tied on a lapis suh as a sign of enship” (SGL 1, p. 82 ii 15-16).

(i) en-e nam-en-šè suh mu-un-[kešda] nam-lugal-šè aga zi m[u-un-gùr], „the Lord (Enki) [tied on] the suh as a sign of enship, [put on] the legitimate tiara as a sign of kingship” (*Enki and the World Order* 263-264).

(j) eden-en-na men kug nam-mi-in-gùr an-eden-na su₆ za-gìn àm-lá suh za-gìn àm-kešda, „he (Enki) raised a holy crown over the *high* plain, he fastened a lapis beard to the high plain, tied upon it a lapis suh” (*Enki and the World Order* 348-349).

(k) gíg-ù-na suh(!)(MÜŠ) kéš-dè/di, „in the night he (Utu) ties on a suh” (*Temple Hymns* 490).

(l) ^dUtu an-na-ke₄ suh(!)(MÜŠ) za-gìn mu-un-kešda, „Utu of heaven tied on a lapis such” (*Gilgameš and Huwawa B* 29).

(m) *dim giš-nu₁₁-gal suh za-gin kešda hi-li-zu zé-ba-àm*, „(Inanna to Dumuzi:) ‘alabster figurine, fastened with a lapis suh, sweet is your allure!’” (SRT 31:32 = *Studies Artzi*, pp. 52-53).

(n) *en suh-kešda hé-du₇ an-eden-na*, „the Lord (Enkimdu) who has a suh fastened, the ornament of the high plain” (*Enki and the World Order* 321).

(o) *kur-ku-rá-a-ni kur hé-gál sug₄ ki DU.DU-ni gissu-bi suh za:gìn-na-gim ab-šag₄-ga lá-a*, „his (Enki's) flood-waves fill the land(s) with abundance; the shade of his 'place of standing' stretches into the midst of the sea like a lapis suh” (MDP 14, p. 125 lines 6-9 – a Sargonic incantation).

(p) *suh nam-en-šè kug-ge-eš-e túm-ma*, „(Enanedu, the en priestess of Nanna) fit for the suh of holy enship” (Iraq 13 [1951] 27 and pl. XIV line 7).

(q) *lugal šuh-luh-luh-ha-ke₄ en suh en gal-la* ^d*En-ki-ke₄*, „Enki, master of cleansing rites, the lord of the suh of the great en priest” (*Nisaba and Enki* 39).

As this evidence shows, the suh was an attribute of deities (both female and male), of kings, of en officials, and of nu-gig priestesses. As such, it apparently enjoyed a wide cultic application. At the same time, however, it is characteristic that it is mentioned most frequently in the contexts involving Inanna and her cult. Thus Inanna is identified as the one of great suh ornaments (e); Shulgi wears a suh when in Uruk (b); the name of Ensuhkeshdana, a mythical ruler of Uruk, invokes a suh (c); a suh is donned by a nu-gig priestess (f); the same is said of Dumuzi (m). This could argue for a special association of this ornament with Inanna's cult.

As for its specific meaning, we undoubtedly find here a type of band. Since suh is compared to „crown” (men) and „tiara” (aga), and since it may have been decorated with lapis-lazuli, it certainly was an object of considerable importance and value, which was worn over the head. A translation „diadem” would thus not be inappropriate.

5. To summarize our conclusions, in the ED passage in question the emblem (urin) of Inanna (= Inanna's volute-like symbol) is described as a lapis lazuli scarf (bar-si). That scarf was not unlike the „diadem” (suh), which is one of the meanings of MÙŠ/MÚŠ (a drawing of Inanna's volute-like symbol). It would seem, therefore, that the archaic symbol of Inanna depicts a scarf or head-band.⁴³

⁴³ See now P.-A. Beaulieu's contribution in this volume pp. 25-26.

Such a possibility would certainly not be contradicted by the image itself, which, as matter of fact, can most plausibly be explained as a partially rolled-up long piece of fabric, with a loop and two loose ends, which is attached to the top of a pole (fig. 7).

A striking visual parallel for such a rolled-up piece of fabric is provided by the so-called „sacred knot” of Minoan Crete,⁴⁴ which is depicted in frescoes and on pottery, and whose models in faience and ivory were found at Knossos, Zakro and Mycenae (figs. 8 and 9).⁴⁵ This object „consisted of a strip of patterned cloth with a fringe at each end, a knotted loop in the middle and the two ends hanging down like a modern neck-tie.”⁴⁶ Although the similarity⁴⁷ between the two symbols cannot but be accidental, it nevertheless is very instructive, for it suggests a common solution to the difficult problem of depicting a piece of fabric as an isolated, self-sustained object.

And, closer to our Honoree's home, one finds a 14th century A.D. coat-of-arms called Nałęcz, which too shows a knotted-up scarf, with its two loose ends hanging down (fig. 10).⁴⁸ By offering this last example I wish not only to underscore the universal nature of symbolic imagery, but also to provide Inanna's attire with some real „polish”. (I hope that neither the Honoree nor her beloved Inanna will take offense for this silly pun!)

⁴⁴ I am indebted to D. R. Frayne for bringing this point to my attention, and for providing me with some of the literature (see the following two notes).

⁴⁵ See M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund 1949), pp. 162-163; S. Alexiou, *Contribution to the Study of the Minoan 'Sacred Knot'*, in W. C. Brice (ed.), *Europa: Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Aegaeis, Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, (Berlin 1967), pp. 1-6; E. Gullberg and P. Åströms, *The Thread of Ariadne: A Study of Ancient Greek Dress* (Göteborg 1970), pp. 21-22; M. Cameron, *The 'Palatial' Thematic System in the Knossos Murals: Last Notes on the Knossos Frescoes*, in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Function of the Minoan Palaces: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1984*, (Stockholm 1987), p. 324.

⁴⁶ R. Castleden, *Minoans: Life in Bronze Age Crete* (London 1990), p. 136.

⁴⁷ This similarity was noted already by Alexiou, op. cit., pp. 2, 4-6.

⁴⁸ This coat-of-arms belongs to over one hundred different families (among them, the family of the author's mother, the Nałęcz-Tański). See H. Stupnicki, *Herbarz polski i imionospis ... na podstawie Nieściekiego i manuskryptów*, vol. 1 (Lwów 1855), pp. 171-172.

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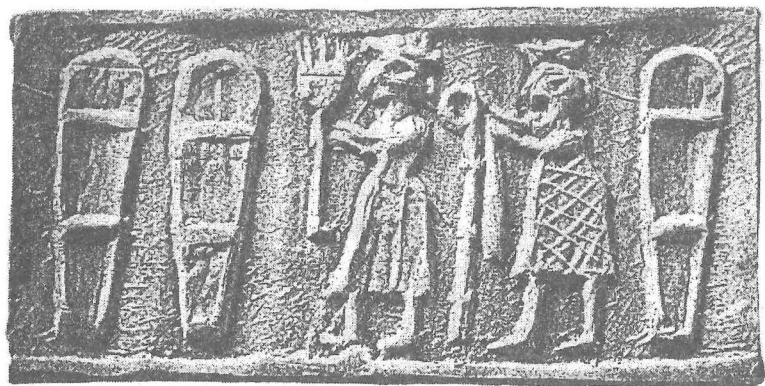


Fig. 1

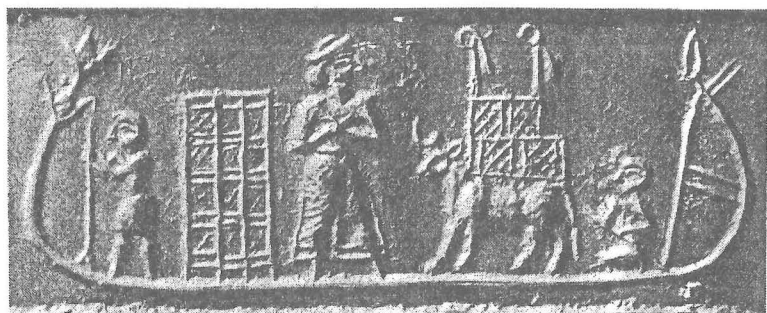


Fig. 2

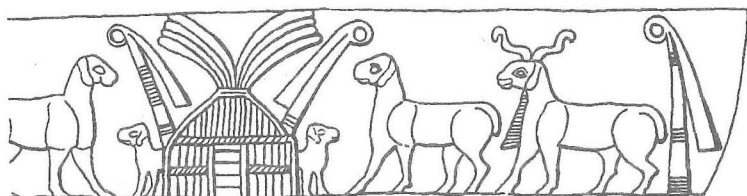


Fig. 3

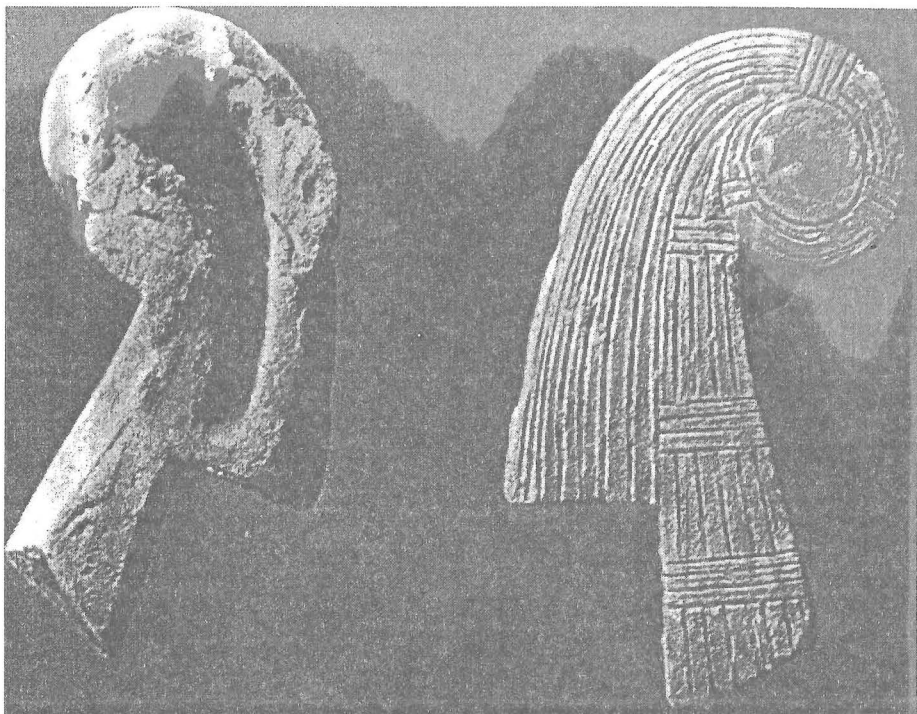


Fig. 4

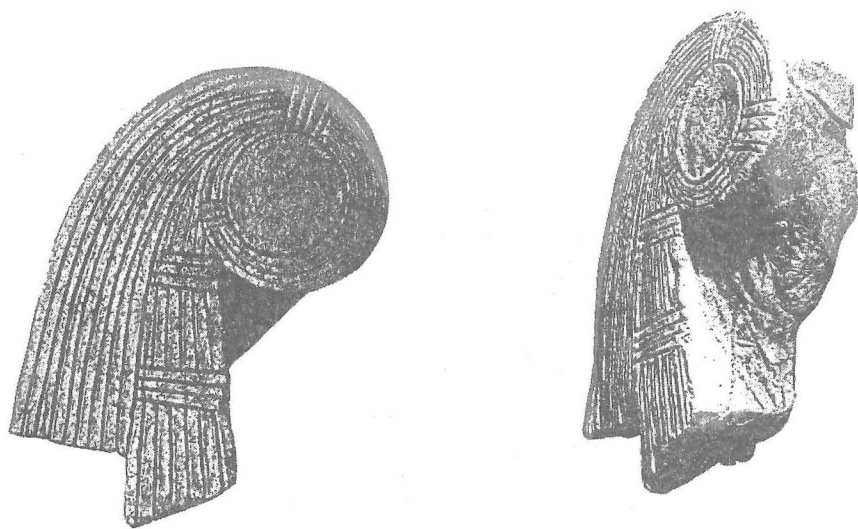


Fig. 5

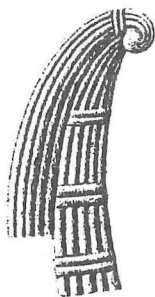


Fig. 6

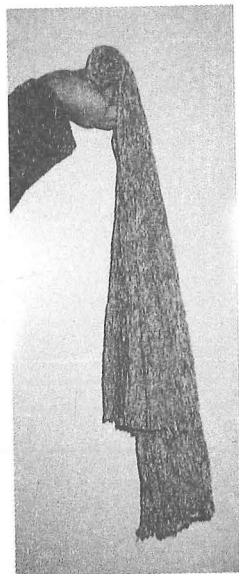


Fig. 7

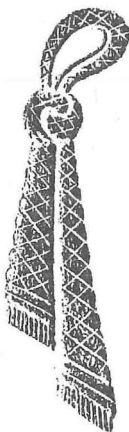


Fig. 8

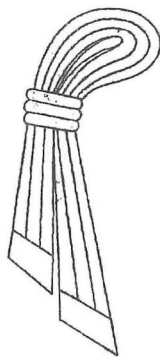


Fig. 9



Fig. 10