

“WHERE IS BAZI? WHERE IS ZIZI?” THE LIST OF EARLY RULERS IN THE *BALLAD* FROM EMAR AND UGARIT, AND THE MARI RULERS IN THE SUMERIAN KING LIST AND OTHER SOURCES¹

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This paper argues that the peripheral recensions of the *Ballad of Early Rulers* reflect Mesopotamian forerunners, and do not represent re-workings by the local scribes. The Ugarit recension is based on an Old Babylonian forerunner, and the Emar recension is based on a Middle Babylonian version that incorporated material from other scholarly sources. To support this contention, the Babylonian literary and scholarly background of the early rulers is discussed, and a reconstruction and analysis is offered of the Mari section of the Sumerian King List, in which two rulers of the *Ballad* appear. The textual history of the *Ballad* contributes to the general debate regarding the origin, date of composition and transmission of Mesopotamian literature and its reception throughout scribal centers, not only in Ugarit and Emar, but also in Ḫattuša, Canaan and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age. A new copy of the Emar *Ballad* manuscript by Andrew George is offered at the end of this paper.

Introduction

Among the Emar literary compositions published by Arnaud (1985–1987) is *Emar 767*, more widely known as “*La Ballade des héros du temps jadis*”.² Since its initial publication, the composition has benefited from several editions and discussions,³ which have traced its long and complex literary history. It is first known from three Old Babylonian unilingual Sumerian manuscripts, probably from Sippar.⁴ The post-Old Babylonian period is represented by a near-complete manuscript from Emar⁵ and three fragmentary manuscripts from Ugarit.⁶ From the Neo-Assyrian period, specifically from the Library of Ashurbanipal, comes a fragment of a bilingual version.⁷

Jeremy Black in an unpublished manuscript surveyed the attempts to define the genre of the *Ballad*: an intellectual reflection on life (Arnaud 1982),⁸ a “drinking song” (Wilcke 1988; also Alster 1990)⁹

¹ I wish to thank Stephanie Dalley for taking the time to collate with me the WB Prism in the Ashmolean Museum, Andrew George for providing me with his then forthcoming editions of historical texts and royal inscriptions in the Schøyen Collection (now published as George 2011), and Gianni Marchesi, Itamar Singer and Piotr Steinkeller for their numerous comments and helpful suggestions. The anonymous reviewer of this paper is thanked for providing helpful comments and criticisms. Research for this paper was supported by the ISF, grant no. 621/08 (with Prof. Ed Greenstein, Bar-Ilan University). Abbreviations follow the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.

² A French translation of the piece was already offered by Arnaud (1982: 51).

³ Alster (1990) and (2005: 312–19), Alster and Jeyes (1986), Arnaud (2007: 142–48), Civil (1989: 7), Dietrich (1992), Kämmerer (1998: 208–13), Klein (1999) and Wilcke (1988).

⁴ Alster (1990) and (2005: 298–311).

⁵ The Emar manuscript is a three column tablet with parallel columns of Sumerian (col. i), syllabic Sumerian (col. ii) and Akkadian (col. iii). There is also an additional fragment containing only two syllabic Sumerian lines (Msk 74159); see Dietrich 1992: 11). The main manuscript was written in the so-called “Syro-Hittite” script of Emar. Its cryptographic colophon was identified as belonging to the diviner and scribe Šaggar-abu of the Zū-Ba‘la clan; see Cohen (2006). Hence the composition was probably copied at Emar in the second-half of the thirteenth century; Cohen (2009: 169–70) and Cohen and d’Alfonso (2008).

⁶ The reverse of RS 25.130, an interlinear bilingual, includes a collection of sayings not integral to the composition per se; after a double separation line, however, the tablet closes with the citation of the *Ballad*’s opening lines. The integration of proverbs can be observed in the very fragmentary Neo-Assyrian manuscript; see in detail Alster (2005: 299, 320–22). RS 23.34+ and RS 25.424 are fragmentary manuscripts, which nevertheless help to restore the Emar manuscript.

⁷ See Lambert (1995: 38) and Alster (2005: 320–22).

⁸ Arnaud ingeniously titled the composition after Villon’s poems “*Ballade des dames du temps jadis*” and “*Ballade des seigneurs du temps jadis*”, which show an uncanny similarity to the Emar passage about the ancient rulers (on which see below), even if arguably the aims of the two poems are different; see Rubio (2009). Although Villon listed semi-legendary heroes and heroines of long-ago such as Charlemagne or Eloise and Abelard, he also referred to his near-contemporaries, such as Pope Callixtus III or King Alfonso V, thus creating, among other purposes, a sense of urgency or intimacy with his readers. This issue is not so irrelevant to our discussion. A poignant question is whether two rulers were inserted to the Emar passage about the ancient rulers because they were regarded as legendary figures in Syria, hence of special relevance to the Emar scribes. See in detail below.

⁹ Wilcke (1988: 138–39) says that the song is “...ein Trinklied, frech und zynisch”, offering a comparison, which was picked up and elaborated upon by Black, with the student drinking song *Gaudeamus igitur*.

or a composition belonging to the genre of wisdom literature, whether Babylonian (Lambert 1995, Alster and Jeyes 1986, Alster 1990) or Syrian (Dietrich 1992 and 1996, Klein 1999). Black himself avoided a generic definition, although like others he drew attention to the thematic similarity of the *Ballad* with the famous speech of Siduri in the Old Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš: both deal with the passing of time and the shortness of human life.

Syrian or Mesopotamian?

Already Arnaud (1982: 51) considered the question as to the extent to which the composition was adapted or changed upon its transmission to the Western Periphery:

Un intellectuel syrien a composé, en version trilingue (sumérien, sumérien syllabique et accadien) ce poème à partir d'un texte en sumérien de Babylone, beaucoup plus ample: le sentiment spontané du désenchantement et le sens poignant de la vanité de l'action y trouvent avec un art des plus raffinés leur répondant et leur écho dans la tradition religieuse et littéraire de la Mésopotamie.

His evaluation of the Syrian originality of the *Ballad* rests on his judgment of the sentiment or values offered by the poem. More formal considerations were brought to support if not the Syrian origin of the composition at least its extensive re-working by Syrian scribes. Commenting on the nature of Mesopotamian compositions found in Ugarit (and by extension in Emar), Dietrich (1996) admitted that the Akkadian and Sumerian texts used in scribal education had a meager influence on Ugarit's own literary and religious traditions. However, some of these texts were reworked (edited or expanded) according to the tastes and understandings of "Ugaritian theologians and poets". Such thorough re-working was typical of the Emar and Ugarit recensions of the *Ballad*, so Dietrich (1992: 27 and *passim*) claimed; working with Mesopotamian traditions, the scribe(s) at Emar re-wrote or produced ("*geschaffen*") the *Ballad* which was then to suffer further modifications at Ugarit. These views were reiterated by Dietrich's student, Kämmerer (1998: 103–04). Klein (1999), although more cautious than Dietrich and Kämmerer, likewise spoke of "Eastern and Western traditions". The Ugarit version was in his view "a free selection and reworking of the Sumerian Vorlage...". Klein was less specific with regard to the place where the editorial changes in the Emar version happened, clearly recognizing its Mesopotamian forerunners, although he remarked that (*ibid.*, 204) "... in Emar these texts were sometimes embellished with touches of local color, or greatly expanded ...".¹⁰ In the opposite camp were Alster (2005) and Lambert (1995). The latter stressed that the main idea of the *Ballad* concurs with the motif of the futility of life found elsewhere in Mesopotamia. Lambert (*ibid.*: 42) remarked that Dietrich's 1992 study:

...regards the Ugarit and Emar pieces as related but distinct literary compositions. The differences, however, are less than the recensional differences between the variant editions of Akkadian texts from southern Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period, e.g., the Gilgamesh Epic, and there is of course no proof that the Ugarit and Emar copies of the texts under discussion offer editions created in the west.

The total lack of local wisdom literature makes it very difficult to settle the question of the originality of the peripheral versions of the *Ballad* on stylistic or thematic criteria (as Arnaud, and to some extent Dietrich suggest). And the argument that the composition was changed upon its reception at the Western Periphery sites is likewise difficult to prove. Differences between the recensions could have occurred prior to the transmission of the composition from Babylonia, as Lambert (1995) stressed. Since contemporary Middle Babylonian manuscripts from Babylonia are lacking, it is likewise difficult to prove when and where changes to the *Ballad* occurred. Unfortunately, the Neo-Assyrian recension is far too fragmentary to offer assistance here, but it does at least reveal that the piece continued to be in circulation into the first millennium, suggesting very strongly that a Middle Babylonian recension did once exist in Babylonia. Consider in this regard, following Lambert (1995), how the post-Old Babylonian versions of the Epic of Gilgameš, some from the periphery, illustrate the distance that a text can move from its early stages by almost a millennium of copying and studying, without implying that these changes were the result of the reception of the

¹⁰ Hallo (1992: 84) was also drawn to suggest that the literary texts from the Western Periphery have "the tendency to

embellish traditional Mesopotamian texts with a bit of 'local colour'".

composition at Emar, Ugarit, Ḫattuša or Megiddo. One way out of this impasse is to see whether the changes which Dietrich and others claimed to have taken place upon reception of the *Ballad* in the Western Periphery did indeed occur. Two examples can help us settle the problem of the reception of this composition; both question the editorial processes the list of ancient rulers had allegedly undergone upon its reception at Ugarit and Emar.

The list of the early rulers in the Ballad

The *Ballad* begins by stating that ever since the decrees were laid down by Ea, life is but an illusion and not meant to last forever. To prove this point, the Emar recension of the *Ballad* provides a list of illustrious early rulers, now dead in spite of their heroic deeds:¹¹

(obv.)

11	[me-e ^m A-lu-[lu mu-šár-10-àm i-ne]-e-gim	me-e ^m A-lu-lu m[u-šár-10-àm in-ak]	[a-]e-e ^m A-lu-lu [...]
12	[me-]e ^m En-te-n[a lú an-še x-x-d]ja-e-dè	me-e ^m En-t[e-na lú an-šè bí-in]-è[d-d]è	a-le-e ^[m] [En-te] -[n]a ša [a-na an-e i-lu-ú]
13	[me-]e ^{md} Giš-TUK-m[aš...]	me-e ^{md} Ki-iš-mas-su[...]	a-le-e ¹ mGil-[ga-mèš š]a k[i ¹ -ma ^m Zi-ud]-
13'	[gi]m nam-ti-la kin-[kin]	ki nam-ti-la ki-[...]	[su]-ud-ra na-pu-u[l-ta-š]u i[š-te'-u...]
14	[me-]e ^m Ḫu-wa-w[a...]	me-e ^m Ḫ[u-wa-wa...]	[a-]e-e ^m Ḫu-[wa-wa...]
14'	[ka]a ² -da mu-x[...]	[k]a ² -l[a ² ...]	[... l]i ² i-na [...]
(rev.)			
15	[me-e] mEn-k[i-dù nam-kala-ga]	[me-e ^m E]n-ki-dù nam-ka-lag-g[a]	[a-]le-e ^m En-ki-du
15'	[...]	[...]ta mu-un-na-an-te	ša da-an-nu-ti ina kur-ti ú-[ša-pu]
16	[... ^m] [Zi] -[zi]	me-e ^m Ba-[z]i me-e ^m Zi-zi	a-le-e ^m Ba-zi a-le-e ^m Zi-[zi]
17	[me-e lu-ga] gal-e-ne	me-e lu-gal gal-e-né	a-le-e šar-ra-nu ra-ab-bu[tu ₄]
17'	[u ₄ -sag-gá-t]a e-ne-e-še-ta	ú-sag-gá-ta e-né-e-še-ta	ša iš-tu u ₄ -mi pa-na-a a-di i-na-a[n-na]
18	[nu-peš-men ₅] nu-tu-tu-men ₅	nu-peš-ša-me-en nu-du-da-am-m[e-en]	[u] in-ni-ru-ma ul im-m[a-al-la-du]

(obv.)

- 11 Where is Alulu [who reigned for 36,000 years]?
- 12 Where is Entena who went up to [heaven]?
- 13 Where is Gil[gameš w]ho [sought] (eternal) li[fe] like (that of) [Zius]udra?
- 14 Where is Hu[wawa who...]?

(rev.)

- 15 Where is Enkidu who [proclaimed] (his) strength throughout the land?
- 16 Where is Bazi? Where is Zizi?
- 17 Where are the great kings of which (the like) from then to now
- 18 are not (anymore) engendered, are not bo[rn]?

There are two problems to resolve. The first concerns the alleged total omission of the list from the Ugarit recension; the second the inclusion of the two last rulers, Bazi and Zizi, in line 16 of the

¹¹ Following Arnaud (1985–1987), no. 767, with improvements and suggestions found in Alster (2005: 312–19) and George (2003: 79–86 and 98–99), and relying on the new copy kindly provided by George (see Figs. 1–2).

Emar recension. Basing himself on the edition of Nougayrol (1968), Dietrich (1992: 26) claimed that the list of early rulers was deliberately edited out of the Ugarit recension of the *Ballad*.¹² However, a closer inspection revealed already to Wilcke (1988, table 2) and Alster (1990: 17) that one of the figures mentioned in the Emar list of early rulers is indeed to be found in the Ugarit version: Enkidu's name was just visible on the second partially preserved line of RS 25.130 obverse.¹³ Their reading was vindicated by Arnaud (2007: 142, l. 4) in his new edition of the text based on collations. He restored these lines with the help of the Emar manuscript: [me-e ^dEn.k]i.d[ù...]/ [a-l] ^dEn-ki-dù š[a...]. The mention of Enkidu in the Ugarit version leaves no doubt that in the preceding lines, Huwawa, Ziusudra and Gilgameš would have appeared, as well as the rulers preceding them. There is no reason to think otherwise, because Gilgameš's mention in the poem is triggered by his association with previous early rulers (as will be demonstrated below) and it is his appearance that guarantees Enkidu's. In addition, the present author now identifies Alulu and E(n)tana in another Ugarit manuscript of the composition, RS 23.34+ (from the new copy by Arnaud 2007: pl. xxii, obverse (Face B^{sic!}) 16–17): [me-e ^mA-lu]-lu mu šár-[10-àm in-ak]/ [me-e ^mEn-ta-na lugal-e lú] an-[šè bi-in-è-dè]). So much for the omission of the list of early rulers at Ugarit. However, there is a notable difference between the Ugarit and the Emar versions which cannot be ignored. The rulers Bazi and Zizi mentioned in the Emar recension are missing from the Ugarit recension (RS 25.130), for after the mention of Enkidu, the composition skips over line 16 of the Emar version (mentioning Bazi and Zizi) to proceed directly with “Where are those great kings ...”. Furthermore, the Old Babylonian recension of the composition apparently includes only the lines concerning Alulu, Etana, Gilgameš, Huwawa and Enkidu (heavily broken in this section, the names themselves being missing). Are Bazi and Zizi original to the Emar version or were they transmitted with the original composition from Babylonia? To answer this question we turn to investigate the general literary background of the long dead heroes of the *Ballad*.

As was recognized by Wilcke (1988) and Lambert (1995), among others, some of the participants in the list have a long literary history in Mesopotamia, appearing in a variety of textual genres (literary, omens, and magical rituals) and are particularly associated with the Sumerian King List (henceforth SKL). King Alulu of the *Ballad* is identified with Alulim from the city of Eridu, the first king of the antediluvian section in the SKL.¹⁴ Following Alulu is Entena, better known as Etana, King of Kiš. The mention of Etana's ascent to heaven in the *Ballad* refers of course to the mythological story usually called “Etana's Ascent”, and is in fact worded very closely to the narrative description of this king in the SKL.¹⁵ After Kiš, the SKL informs us that kingship passed on to Uruk, whose most famous king was obviously Gilgameš.¹⁶ His mention in the *Ballad*, following Etana of Kiš, sparks the association with Ziusudra,¹⁷ Huwawa and of course Enkidu (ll. 13–15). Thus the inclusion and the sequence in which the heroes appear in the *Ballad*, are determined by their inclusion and the order of their respective cities in the SKL. But who are Bazi and Zizi and how do they fit into this composition? The answer to this question comes from the Tel Leilan recension of the SKL published by Vincente (1995), and is augmented by an Old Babylonian composition recently published by George (2009). It will be argued that their mention is based, like other rulers in the list, on learned Mesopotamian traditions.

¹² For an English paraphrase, see Dietrich (1996: 42).

¹³ Nougayrol (1968: 293) read RS 25.230: 2' [...] ^dEN.KI er-š[a(?)...]. Dietrich (1992: 17, ll. 16–17), who followed Nougayrol's edition, omitted the first two lines of RS 25.230, citing them, however, in n. 35.

¹⁴ Other allusions to Alulu in Mesopotamian literature can be found in Lambert and Millard (1969: 27), and Frahm (2009: 141). Of particular interest is the ‘letter’ STT 176+ addressed to Alulim from the sage Adapa (Hallo 1971 and Veldhuis 1990: 40) to which can be added the ‘Uruk List of Kings and Sages’, again mentioning Ayyalu (considered the Akkadian equivalent of Sumerian Alulim) and his sage Adapa (Lenzi 2008). Alulu also features in incantations meant to ward off field pests (George *et al.* 2010, nos. 24–25).

¹⁵ SKL 64–66: e-ta-na sipa lú an-šè ba-e₁-dè lú kur-kur mu-un-ge-na, ‘Etana, the shepherd, the one who ascended to heaven, the one who stabilized all the countries’ (Marchesi 2010: 238–39 with variants; cf. Katz 2003: 118, n. 16).

¹⁶ For further associations between Etana and Gilgameš as dwellers of the Netherworld in Mesopotamian literary traditions, see George (2003: 129, 483, and 850), citing previous literature.

¹⁷ The same line of the ‘Ballad’ about Gilgameš and Ziusudra is also given in a liver omen (KAR 434 rev. 7): [...ša k]i-ma zi-sud-ra ti.la iš-te-ú-ma, ‘[...who] sought life [like (that of) Ziusudra]’; see Katz 2003: 118 and George (2003: 113–14). Whether this line is quoted directly from the ‘Ballad’ itself (as Katz, *ibid.*, maintains) or both depend on a third source cannot be known, but it does demonstrate shared knowledge of a common trope (George 2003: 117). Ziusudra, as king of Šuruppak, is mentioned in some antediluvian lists, following his father Ubartutu (see, e.g., Jacobsen 1939: 76, n. 34, 59, n. 113, Glassner 2005: 126–35, Friberg 2007: 240), but he is missing from the main source of the SKL, the WB Prism. In a new SKL recension (George, 2011, no. 98) which runs from the antediluvian kings to the first dynasty of Kiš after the flood, Ziusudra appears as King of Šuruppak.

The Mari section of the Tel Leilan recension of SKL

In his survey of Syrian literature of the Bronze Age, Hallo (1992: 84–85) speculated, as have others before him who have encountered these names, that Bazi and Zizi in the *Ballad* might represent the “local heroes” of Emar. However, apparently with possession of the soon-to-be-published Tel Leilan recension of the SKL, he hinted that their origin was to be sought not in Emar, but in Mari. Indeed with the publication of the Tel Leilan recension, which preserves in full the Mari section that was partly or wholly missing from other previously known recensions of the SKL, Bazi and Zizi were revealed to be included among the kings of that city.¹⁸

TL SKL, col. ii, ll. 24'–30' (Old Babylonian; Tel Leilan):

no.	Line	Name	designation	years of reign
1	(24')	An-bu	lug[al-àm]	mu 90 in-ak
2	(25')	An-ba	dumu An-bu-ke ₄	mu 7 in-ak
3	(26')	^d Ba-zi	lú.ašgab	mu 30 in-ak
4	(27')	Zi-zi	lú.ázlag (túg)	mu 20 in-ak
5	(28')	[L]i ² -im-er	gú-du	mu 30 in-ak
6	(29')	Lugal-i-ter		mu 7 in-ak
	(30')	6 lugal		mu-bi 120 [+60] + 𐎠𐎢 (= 184) in-ak

It was obvious to Vincente (1995) that this new source could provide the basis for restoring three additional manuscripts of the SKL preserving portions of the Mari section, namely: 1.) the WB 1923.444 prism (the main source of the SKL), 2.) L₁ + N₁ and 3.) Su₁.¹⁹

1.) WB Prism, col. v, ll. 23'–32' (Old Babylonian; Larsa):²⁰

no.	line	name	designation	years of reign
1	(23')	An-bu	(24') [lugal-àm]	mu 30 i-ak
2	(25')	[An-ba]	[dumu] An-bu-ke ₄	(26') [mu x] i-ak
3	(27')	[^d Ba-zi]	[l]ú.ašgab [?]	mu 30 i-ak
4	(28')	[Zi-zi]	𐎠𐎢.ázlag (túg)	mu 20 i-ak
5	(29')	[...]-ir	gudu ₄	mu 30 i-ak
6	(30')	[...]-x		mu 9 i-ak
	(31')	6 lugal		(32') [mu-bi 120 + 10] + 𐎠𐎢 i-ak

23'–24': We normalize the writing AN-BU and AN-BA as Anbu and Anba throughout, although other readings have been suggested.²¹ As will be demonstrated below, there is some support in other sources for our reason to do so. The number of years given to Anbu in the WB prism and L₁ are 30(eš) years; a variant of 90(géš [=diš] + eš) years is found in the TL recension. It is easy to see how géš (the DIŠ sign) could have been deleted from the WB prism and L₁ (if one goes with the *lectio difficilior* of the TL recension), although such evidence should not be used in order to bestow priority of one recension over the next, as Vincente (1995: 257) maintains. Note how in the next entry of the WB prism apparently the opposite occurred (see commentary, l. 26').

25': The sign DUMU, present in Langdon's copy, is missing now from the tablet.

26': Anba's regnal years are missing. By subtracting the total sum of the rest of the five kings from the given total of 136 years (l. 31'), 17 years are reached. In the TL recension, Anba is given a reign of 7 years; as in the case of Anbu above, it is easy to see how this variant sum came to be with the addition of '10'('u') to the number. See further below regarding the total of regnal years given for this dynasty.

¹⁸ Sigla according to Vincente 1995: 236–38.

¹⁹ Glassner (1993: 140) was the first author to utilize in print the Tel Leilan recension in his French translation of the SKL; see also Glassner 2005: 123 and 152. The ETCSL website was quick to follow in restoring the broken WB prism according to the TL manuscript.

²⁰ Following the edition and comments of Vincente (1995) and my collation of the WB prism in the Ashmolean Museum; see also the excellent digital scans found at the CDLI website.

²¹ Gelb (1992: 126–27) understood AN-BU as *Ilum-pu* or *Il-su_x*; Marchesi (personal communication) suggests that AN-BA could represent *Ilum-iqiš*.

27': The first preserved sign was copied as LUGAL by Langdon. Upon collation, the sign reveals itself to appear like LÚ or an inept AŠGAB, so read here [l]ú.ášgab!²²

28': Langdon's copy, followed by Jacobsen, has lú.gal, but better to read the second sign here as KU or TÚG, resulting in the reading 𐎠𐎢𐎣.ázlag.

29': As was recognized by Vincente (1995: 259), the sequence of this long debated line is actually to be read as gudu₄ (AḪ.ME), spelled syllabically (gú-du) in TL recension. It is tempting to restore here the name according to the TL recension. Note, however, that Vincente's reading of the ruler's name as [L]im-er (TL 5/28') is not certain. In PNs the theophoric element *lim* is almost always found in the second position.²³ Marchesi (2010: 237, n. 39) suggests normalizing the name as *Lim'er* (a precativ form of *wáru*).

30': The last and only preserved sign of the sixth king is partly broken. Geller (1987: 144–45) suggested LUGAL, Langdon's copy and Jacobsen's edition have NI; the sign IR is also possible, as suggested by Vincente (1995: 259), thus enabling the restoration of [Lugal-i-te]-er, the same name as in the TL recension, but spelled differently. The last king of the Mari section is given 9 regnal years, as opposed to 7 in the TL recension.

31': Of the original "6" numeral, only "4" is seen to have remained.

32: Langdon's copy gives 120 + 10 + 6, but the tablet today has only a partly preserved "6"; the rest of the numeral is missing.

The two remaining sources which include barely preserved portions of the Mari section can be restored accordingly:

2.) L₁ + N₁, col. v, 12'–14' (Old Babylonian; Nippur):²⁴

no.	line	name	designation	line	years of reign
1	(12')	An-bu	lugal-à[m]	(13')	30 mu i-ak
3/4	(14')	[Zi] ² -zi	dumu A[n-bu]	(15')	[x mu i-ak]

(The rest is broken)

12': As in the WB SKL prism, the first king, Anbu, is given a total of 30 years; see above.

14': It is of little importance here that Zizi appears before Bazi, only that both were known in recensions other than the TL SKL.

3.) Su₁, col. v, ll. 22'–24' (Old Babylonian; Susa):

1	(22')	[An]-bu	(23') [lugal-à]m	(24') [30 mu ni-na]
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The column breaks off here, so it is left unknown which and how many kings were included in the list.

It is quite unfortunate that in the recently published Ur III SKL manuscript the Mari section is missing, although it is possible that it was originally present.²⁵ Likewise, the Mari section is broken in the Brockmon Haifa tablet.²⁶

The TL and additional three SKL recensions demonstrate that the Mari section was not an innovation attributable to a specific recension in a specific location. The inclusion of Bazi and Zizi, as well as the other Mari kings, was not peculiar to the TL recension. Its composition was not promoted by local or Amorite historiographic traditions, such as seem to have motivated the inclusion of Samsi-Addu's Amorite ancestors in the Assyrian King List. Rather, the Mari section of the TL SKL, as probably other sections of this recension, is no different from the other versions presently known to us.

²² For the confusion between LÚ and AŠGAB, two similar signs, see Alster (1997: 391).

²³ Durand (2008: 693–94).

²⁴ Only L₁ (= PBS 13 1 = CBS 14220) is utilized here.

²⁵ See Steinkeller (2003). The Ur III SKL starts with the Kiš dynasty apparently condensing all dynasties of the city one subsequent to the next. Following a gap the list resumes

with the Akkad dynasty. Given that the gap does not allow the inclusion of more than 12 kings, between the end of Kiš and the beginning of Akkad, Steinkeller (2003: 275) proposes to restore either a complete sequence of the Uruk dynasty up to Lugalzagesi (Uruk I–III) or to include Mari and/or Akšak in the gap.

²⁶ Klein (2008).

The professional designations of the Mari rulers in the SKL

As much as the SKL is a piece of historiography, it also offers a reflection into the world of scribal learning as a product of the scribal schools. Since a good part of student training was to learn signs, sign combinations and terminology for various crafts and craftsmen, and to be acquainted with writing numerals and sums and personal names, it is small wonder that the SKL is populated with animal names, fantastically high numbers and sums, elaborate Sumerian names, some of which were invented, and various craft designations.²⁷ The professional designations allotted to the kings of Mari, namely, ašgab, “leather-worker” (dBazi), ázlag, “fuller” (Zizi) and gudu₄, “priest” ([L]im-er) seems on the face of it arbitrary, perhaps like the choice of other professions appearing in the SKL.²⁸ However, a closer examination shows that bringing together the three was not accidental. Consider this passage from Sumerian Proverb Collection (3.148):²⁹

“You should serve me” so say the purification priests (gudu₄),
 “Let me bend over your thigh” so say the leatherworkers (ašgab),
 To stand in the corners so the courtesans (lukur) do,
 “Let me assist you” so say the gardeners (nu.kiri₆),
 “I swear to Enki that your garments will not stay long in the house” so say the fullers (lú.ázlag).

A shorter version (Collection 22 vi 17–23) includes only the purification priest, the fuller and the leatherworker, clearly associated for whatever reason as a group. It is not the intention to claim that compilers of the SKL directly relied on this proverb when composing the Mari section. Rather it seems that these professions were grouped together due to a force of some association determined long ago with the establishment of the curriculum. To summarize, the choice of the specific professions in the Mari section (at least as we see it preserved in both the TL and WB Prism recensions) demonstrates the highly artificial nature of the composition, distancing it from historicity and placing it securely within the scribal milieu. This consideration will become important, as we advance to examine more closely the individual names in the Mari section.

The rulers of the Mari Section of the SKL

Having clarified the relationship between the various SKL recensions of the Mari section, and discussed the learned background of the SKL, next we must demonstrate that Bazi, and very probably also Anbu, find an echo in other scholarly compositions. Alberti (1990) suggested the identification of Anbu of the SKL with the historical Mari king A-nu-bù/bu₁₄ documented in the Ebla archives, specifically in the Enna-Dagan Letter (ARET 13 4).³⁰ Although the two figures are associated with the same city, their identification is not certain. It would have been rather peculiar were the SKL Mari section to recall none of the other four Mari rulers documented in the Enna-Dagan letter, or of other pre-Sargonic rulers known from contemporary inscriptions and seals from Mari itself.³¹ It is difficult to grant historical reality to one particular king yet deny it to his successors in the list. Indeed, in the pre-Sargonic SKL section only very few figures can be verified historically. Apart from the Ur section of the SKL, where three out of four kings can be recognized from external sources, most of the pre-Sargonic kings remain unknown and are probably later figures of constructed identity, judging by the fictitious or entirely anachronistic names they bear.³² As had been observed by Wilcke (1988: 117 and 1989), the inclusion of cities at the borders of Mesopotamia in the SKL, such as Mari, and the expansion of the Early Dynastic period in the SKL may have come as a reaction to the political situation of the Ur III period, which saw some inter-dynastic marriages between Mesopotamian and foreign dynasties. Otherwise, very little true knowledge of the political

²⁷ See Friberg (2007: 242) with previous references; for other professions in the SKL, see Vincente (1995: 259–60); for animals in the SKL, featuring especially in the Kiš section because of the figure of Etana, see Glassner (2005: 61).

²⁸ Only the fuller among the professions of the Mari section, however, is found again elsewhere, with Susuda, king of Kiš (SKL 160).

²⁹ Following Alster (1997: 104, 391; further 265–66).

³⁰ For the reading of the name, see also ARET 13: 39. Archi and Biga (2003: 2, n. 3) accepted the reading but not the identification with Anbu. Frayne (2008: 299 ff.) seems to

accept the identification between the two. Note that according to Marchesi (2010: 236, n. 32) the mace head from Ur allegedly mentioning AN.BU [lugal ma-ri^{KI}] (in Frayne 2008: 300–01, no. 2) is not supported by recent collation. See also the criticisms leveled by Astour (2002: 58) against any identification between the SKL Mari kings and the city’s historical kings. Pagan (1998: 282) proposed analyzing A-nu-bù/bu₁₄ as *Yanūpu* ‘he was exalted’, but see below.

³¹ See Archi and Biga (2003: 6, 30 ff.); note, however, the corrections brought in Frayne (2008: 339, 341).

³² Frayne (2008: 377 ff.) and Marchesi (2010).

situation of the pre-Sargonic era seems to have been transmitted, apart from individual names preserved through the literary history of Mesopotamia.

Apart from the attempt to identify Anbu with the historical Anubu, suggestions concerning the identification of Anbu of the SKL with other sources have been put forward. Anbu and apparently related names appear in Babylonian god-lists and additional sources.³³ The first of these is the OB Genouillac List, an early version of the An=*Anum* god-list, which presents an An-bu among its many deities.³⁴ The same entry is repeated in the post-Old Babylonian recension of An=*Anum*. It is provided with an important gloss showing us how the name should be articulated: An^{a-an-bu-bu}.³⁵ Significantly, in both attestations the god's name is written without a divine determinative, just as in the Mari section of the SKL (in TB, WB, and L₁ +). A closer look reveals that the deity Anbu belongs to the circle of Enlil and Ninlil, but his associated deities are part of the circle of Išhara, a goddess of the western regions. She is brought into the Enlil section of Tablet I of An=*Anum*, because of Dagan and his consort, with whom Enlil and his wife Ninlil are equated.³⁶ In the OB Genouillac List, goddesses who are equated with her follow Dagan himself. Išhara and her circle are also provided with entries in the Ištar section of Tablet IV of An=*Anum*. Note the following comparison of the OB Genouillac List, col. ii, ll. 9 ff. and An=*Anum* Tablets I, ll. 199 ff. and IV, ll. 276 ff. It can be seen that Anbu (l. 12/l. 204) may be associated with ^dSaggar and ^dĪAR (ll. 281 and 282), and all three gods can be considered consorts of Išhara, who appears under various manifestations in the three lists.³⁷

Additional sources—the An=*Anum* Tablet VI, 236 ff.,³⁸ and the Weidner god-list,³⁹ introduce the gods Inubum and Anubu, who are closely associated with other western deities.

In An=*Anum* VI we find ^dA-nu-bu (ll. 236–37 and also l. 245) equated to ^dMAR.TU or Amurru, the *theos eponymous* of the Amorites. The god's name can also be written logographically as ^dKUR, who in turn is identified with the god Amurru or associated with his circle.⁴⁰ The Weidner god-list

TABLE I: Anbu and his associations in the god lists

OB G. List, ii	An I Name	Gloss	An IV Name	Gloss
8. ^d Da-gan				
9. ^d Nin-kug-gi	199. ^d Íb-du ₆ -kug-ga	^d Iš-[ĥa-ra]		
10. ^d Gag-ga	200. ^d Gag-gag	[min (Išhara)]	276. ^d Me-me	^d Iš-ĥa-ra
11. ^d Be-la-at-bi-ri	201. ^d Be-lit-bi-ri	[min (Išhara)]	277. ^d Be-lit-bi-ri	^d Iš-ĥa-ra
	202. ^d E-ta-mi-tum	[min (Išhara)]	278. ^d E-ta-mi-tu	^d Iš-ĥa-ra
	203. ^d Taš-me-zi-ik-ru	^m [sukkal ^d Be-lit-bi-ri-ke ₄]	279. ^d Iš-ĥa-ra	^d Iš-ĥa-ra
12. An-bu	204. An ^{a-an-bu-bu}	[dam-bi ?]	280. ^d Taš-me-zi-ik-ru	^m sukkal ^d Be-[lit-bi-ri-ke ₄]
			281. ^d Sag-gar	dam-bi
			282. ^d ĪAR	dam-bi

³³ Some of Anbu's entries in the god-lists were already supplied by Frayne (2008: 299), although a distinction between Anbu and Anubu needs to be observed more carefully; see below.

³⁴ Genouillac (1923: 100 = *TCL* 15, 25 ff., l. 61) which is to be read as An-bu.

³⁵ Litke (1998: 44, Tablet I, l. 204, manuscript D). Manuscript B however provides a syncretism with another Mesopotamian deity (l. 127): [An]-[bu] = ^dEn-bu-ul dumu é-š[ā-ba-ke₄], who is known from elsewhere as related to Enlil, hence the equation in this manuscript; see Wiggerman (2003: 20) on the basis of Cohen (1988: 283, e + 192, 304, c + 145), which allows the restoration of manuscript B; see also George (1993: 143, no. 1010).

³⁶ Richter (2004: 56–57) and Prechel (1996: 170–71); see An=*Anum* I, ll. 193–94.

³⁷ In An=*Anum* IV Saggar and ^dĪAR are Išhara's consorts (see Litke 1998: 166 and Prechel 1996: 171), hence,

given the sequence, probably Anbu is her consort as well in An=*Anum* I (as restored) and by implication in the OB Genouillac List; note that family relationships between the gods are not explicitly stated in the Genouillac List and the Weidner god-list. The sequence of An=*Anum* I and IV obviously relies, even if not directly, on the OB Genouillac List.

³⁸ An additional copy is *SpTU* IV, no. 183, with a few variants.

³⁹ The Weidner god-list follows Nougayrol (1968: 220) and restored according to Weidner (1924–1925: 77); see Kriebnik (2006–2008: 535); KAV 63 (Weidner's source A) apparently has I[nubum] before [Šahhan] (lost in the break). For additional sources, see Schwemer (2001: 13, n. 60), to which add Shibata (2009).

⁴⁰ This tradition is also reflected in Ea Tablet II (MSL 14), 255, ll. 193–94: ša-ĥa-an = KUR, a-nu-bu = KUR; see McEwan (1983: 217, n. 13). Note, however, that ^dKUR is kept distinct from Anubu in an Old Babylonian seal legend, discussed below.

TABLE 2: Inubum and Anubu in the god lists

	<i>Weidner List iv</i>	<i>An VI</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
167.	^d Iš-ḫa-ra			
...				
170.	^d Ša-ḫa-an-na			
171.	^d I-nu-bu-um	236.	^d A-nu-bu	^d MAR.TU
		237.	^d A-nu-bu [KUR]	^d MAR.TU
		238.	^d Ša-ha-an	^d MAR.TU
		...		
172.	^d I-ki-tum	243.	^d I-ki-tum	dam-bi-munus
173.	^d MUŠ ¹ -[ŠÉ]Š	...		
174.	^d MAR.TU			
175.	^d AN.MAR.TU	257.	^d AN.MAR.[TU]	[^d MAR.TU]
176.	^d AŠ-ra-tum	258.	^d Gú-ba-ra	[^d AŠ-ra-tum dam-bi-munus]

preserves a similar tradition, as Table 2 reveals, but it gives the spelling ^d*I-nu-bu-um* (l. 5) for Anubu.⁴¹ It is clear we are facing the same figure in the god-lists because Anubu and Inubum share *I-ki-tum* as their consort.⁴² Inubum and Anbu (in Table 1) are connected on account of Išḫara, found in both sources.⁴³ In the OB Genouillac List (Table 1) Išḫara is mentioned because of Dagan and in the Weidner god-list because of Adad, both of whom are recognized to be related to the goddess.⁴⁴ The fact that the god Anubu was not an altogether artificial construct of learned circles can be adduced from his mention in three Old Babylonian inscribed seals, which yet again strengthen his ties with western deities because he is mentioned in two of the seals together with ^dKUR, and in the third bears an epithet shared with ^dAmurru.⁴⁵

A final piece of evidence to consider is found in a bilingual historiola or myth appended to a series of incantations dedicated to the demon Pazuzu. Speaking in the first person, Pazuzu proceeds as follows:⁴⁶

Incantation: “I am Pazuzu, son of Ḫanbu, king of the evil ghosts,
It is I who went up the strong mountain which quaked,
The winds which I met in its midst, head for the west (*ana Amurrî*),
I broke their wings one by one.”

We find Pazuzu describing, as Wiggermann (2003–2005) convincingly explains, how he defeated winds coming towards Amurrû or the west, presumably where he is located.⁴⁷ Since Pazuzu stands on top of a mountain, it is likely that the mountain in question is Mount Bašar or the Jebel Bišri, about which more will be said when we discuss Bazi. Given that the action of the myth is set in the western regions, it is possible that Pazuzu’s father, Ḫanbu,⁴⁸ is to be identified

⁴¹ E.g., Weidner (1924–1925: 77, l. 5), Nougayrol (1968: 220, l. 171), and Cavigneaux (1981: 77, l. 5). The ending in *-um* in *Inubum* suggests that the name is either a substantive, in the sense of “offspring”, “descent”, or an adjective “luxuriant”, “flowering”, cognate with *inbu* “fruit”; see *CAD/I–J*: 146 under PNs; see Winitzer (2003) for (possibly WS) *anubtu* (juniper berry?) and its relation to Akkadian *inbu*.

⁴² McEwan (1983: 219, n. 18) and Krebernik (2006–2008).

⁴³ Although note that Wiggermann (2003: 20) maintains that Anbu of the SKL and the god Anbu should be kept distinct.

⁴⁴ Schwemer (2001: 13, 16 and 72).

⁴⁵ Wiggermann (2003: 19–20).

⁴⁶ Following Heeβel (2002: 59, 62, ll. 104–09); see also Lambert (1970), Borger (1987) and the interpretation offered by Wiggermann (2003–2005: 374).

⁴⁷ A different opinion is offered by Heeβel (2002: 66 and 68–69).

⁴⁸ The identity of Ḫanbu, Anubu and Anbu (as king of Mari) was suggested by Wiggermann (2003: 20) and

(2003–2005: 376): “This Ḫanpu (...) would be the syncopated form of an Amorite god’s name that appears on OB seals and in SB god lists: Anupu (*qatlu*) a name or relative of Amurru.” Wiggermann proposed to read the name as *ḫanpu* a derivative of West Semitic *ḫnp* “to limp, be perverted, impious”, hence “The Limping (or Perverted) One”, but his interpretation is perhaps too greatly influenced by his understanding of the meaning of the name Pazuzu. *AHW*: 320 and *CAD/Iḫ*: 75–76, 78 understood the name *ḫanbu* derived from the Akkadian verb *ḫanābu* “to be luxuriant, flowering”, cognate with Akkadian *inbu* “fruit”, an etymology supported by *Inubum*, a variant of Anubu, and, as was argued, Anbu. (Note that *ḫanbu* in the lexical list *malku=šarru* is to be read differently now; see Hrūša 2010: 90, 211). The name Ḫanbu is spelled in the various manuscripts of the myth as *ḫa-an-BU*, *ḫa-an-BI*, *ḫa-an-ba*, and as a learned (and secondary) “Sumerian” spelling *ḫa-an-pà* (influenced by the learned spelling ^d*pà-zu-zu*); tellingly there is also a variant *an-BI* (Frank 1941: 18 = AO 2490).

with Inubum/Anubu and Anbu, who as demonstrated on independent grounds have strong affiliations with the west.⁴⁹

How is one to explain the relationship between the different sets of data? The association of all these figures is difficult to unravel precisely, but it is likely that there was a scholarly tradition which saw in a certain figure or figures a metonymy of western or outer regions of the river valley. Anbu was linked with the god Saggār/^dHAR and Anubu with Šahhan, Amurru, and ^dKUR, divine representatives of the pastoralists. All move in the circle of Išhara and more obliquely Adad and Dagan. Hanbu's incorporation into the Pazuzu historiola which is set in the west and his affiliation with the demon was perhaps the result of the same tradition represented in the god-lists or an independent innovation relying directly on western traditions.⁵⁰ I would argue that knowledge of such a figure is also represented in the SKL, where Anbu and his son Anba are regarded as kings of Mari, a city lying to the west of Mesopotamia.⁵¹ An illuminating comparison can be made here. The deity/king Hadaniš who appears in the An=*Anum* god-list in Enlil's circle is also found in the SKL as the king of Hamazi.⁵² Just as the figure of Hadaniš of Hamazi was chosen to represent the north-eastern extremes of the Mesopotamian world, so the figure of Anbu as the ruler of Mari in the SKL was chosen to symbolize the western frontiers.⁵³ This view is strengthened when we see how Bazi, another figure clearly representative of the western regions — as a new source reveals — is represented in the Mari section of the SKL following Anbu and his son Anba.

Before discussing Bazi, however, we need to mention briefly Anba, Anbu's son. Vincente (1995: 257) suggested that the name of Anba was devoid of any real meaning and that it is based like the following two PNs on a syllabic pattern of A-B (Anbu), A-C (Anba), C-D (Bazi), D-D (Zizi).⁵⁴ Such a construction would support the learned background of the SKL, but a comparison with elementary lists such as the "Silbenalphabet" shows that they do not display a similar pattern. In any case, while the order of the first four names of the six rulers may have been dictated by such reasoning it is obvious that the list altogether is not an arbitrary choice of made-up names, because Anbu is documented elsewhere, as is Bazi, the third king about whom more can be known beyond his appearances in the TL Mari section and the *Ballad*.

The third king, Bazi, and the fourth, Zizi, appearing as a pair in the *Ballad*, bear name forms which are known to us from the onomastics of the third millennium,⁵⁵ but, as can be expected, not as kings of Mari in any external document. There is little to be gained from examining the etymologies or popularity and spread of these names, especially since the SKL does not offer an adequate reflection of the historicity of the pre-Sargonic period, as has been argued above. Likewise, it seems equally futile to search for a connection between the two names and ancient toponyms: the similarity between a few toponyms and the name Bazi seems to be entirely fortuitous, and would not in any

⁴⁹ The anonymous reviewer of this paper has raised a possibility which has not escaped the present author: that the name of the demon Pazuzu is the result of the conflation of the names Bazi and Zizi; all three share (H)anbu as their begetter. With all the appeal that this suggestion carries (and which may find support in additional circumstantial data), it demands a careful assessment outside the scope of this paper and hence will be treated elsewhere.

⁵⁰ In this respect note Lambert (1970: 47): "...the mention of an otherwise unknown father for a demon with a type of name commonly borne by humans makes one wonder if there was perhaps an early king somewhere named Pazuzu, son of Hanpu, who, like other early kings, entered the pantheon, but at its lower level".

⁵¹ This is not to suggest that the SKL relied directly on the god-lists of course: it is very likely that both the SKL and the god-lists relied on another tradition.

⁵² Following the comments of Wiggermann (2003: 20); see Litke (1998), An=*Anum* Tablet I, 189 and the OB Genouillac List, col. ii, 5. Since Jacobsen (1939: 98–99), it was assumed that Hadaniš was an historical king of Hamazi whose deified

statue was worshipped in Nippur. This notion seemed to find support because of Hadaniš's mention in the list together with ^dLumma, assumed to be another name for the Lagaš king Eanatum. The equation between ^dLumma and Eanatum, however, was seriously questioned by Marchesi (2006) and appears to be without sound basis. Since the historicity of ^dLumma can no longer be guaranteed, the historical basis behind the figure of Hadaniš is equally challenged.

⁵³ Consider here Wilcke (1988: 117) who suggests that the inclusion of the cities of Awan (Elam), Hamazi (the Zab region) and Mari in the SKL offer a reflection of the political horizon of the Ur III state.

⁵⁴ Note that Anba is probably missing from the Nippur recension. Cf. the variation of the names Zuabu, Nuabu, and Abazu at the beginning of the Assyrian King List (Grayson 1980–1983: 103) and the genealogical list of the sons of Lamech-Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain (Genesis 4: 17–24); see Hess (1993: 125–27).

⁵⁵ Steinkeller (1993: 238). An interpretation of the Ebla PN *bazī* as 'my falcon' is given in *The Prosopography of Ebla* (<http://w3.uniroma1.it/eblaproso/>); see below.

case impart any information concerning the origin or meaning of the name.⁵⁶ More compelling is to investigate what these names meant for the compilers of the list in their understanding of the past in the light of their shared scribal tradition.

Previously a totally obscure figure, Bazi emerges in a new light thanks to the publication of a hymn devoted to his honour.⁵⁷ In the ‘Song of Bazi’, he is celebrated as a god, son of Ea: although engendered in the Abzu, his abode is in the mountains of Bašar and Šaršar. These toponyms were long associated in Mesopotamian scholarly tradition with Amurrû or the west, and both probably point to the same topographical phenomenon—the Jebel Bišri.⁵⁸ Bazi’s temple on the mountain top is granted by his father, Ea, who himself is connected in the scholarly tradition with the numinous mount Šaršar.⁵⁹ In the temple’s sanctuary, Bazi dwells with Šamaš, and the temple as a whole is shared also by Šamaš’s son, Šakkan (frequently identified with Šaḫḫan; see above Table 2),⁶⁰ another god associated with the pastoralists. On the basis of this evidence, Andrew George, the editor of the ‘Song of Bazi’ text, made good sense of identifying Bazi as the god of transhumance populations or semi-pastoralists in the regions west of Mesopotamia. The reason for his inclusion in the SKL Mari section now becomes clear, given the location of his abode and associations with other deities in the hymn.

The fifth and sixth names in the Mari section are not revealing. Again, as expected they are not documented as kings of Mari elsewhere; nor do they figure in any other Mesopotamian literary sources. (For reservations about reading the name of the fifth king, see above, Textual commentary).

Conclusion

As noted by Michalowski (2006: 162), a collection of long dead heroes similar to that found in the *Ballad* appears in the so-called “Tummal Chronicle”. The participants of the “Tummal Chronicle”, as in the *Ballad*, are those encountered in the SKL and in other literary, as well as on occasion, historical sources. Michalowski’s comparison is revealing because it teaches us that the knowledge of Bazi and Zizi was not historical, that is to say not based on any knowledge about the local dynasties of Mari which some scribe might have discerned from historical inscriptions or similar sources. This information was culled from scholarly traditions manifest in the SKL, and evident elsewhere in the god-lists and now the song of Bazi, which at some stage were incorporated into the *Ballad*. The inclusion of Bazi and Zizi, as other figures in the *Ballad*, in other words, could not have been made by the local scribes of Emar, but only by a Mesopotamian scholar familiar with the SKL and other learned traditions.⁶¹

Why, out of all the rulers of the SKL, were Bazi and Zizi chosen to appear? The answer will point us again to the conclusion that their inclusion in the *Ballad* could not have been made by anyone

⁵⁶ Although the god Bazi is thought to be connected with the little known ‘Dynasty of Bazi’ (e.g., Rubio 2009: 159), there seems to be no link between the two. The dynasty’s name was given after an eponym who himself was named after (very probably) the city of Baz(um) or, more likely, Baš(um), for which several locations have been proposed (there may have been a few cities with this name); see Brinkman (1968: 158–60), Zadok (1985: 71–72), Groneberg (1980: 39) and Beaulieu (2009). The toponyms mentioned in Assyrian sources as Baz(z)u / Baš(s)u — one to the northwest of Assyria, the other somewhere in Arabia (Potts 1982) — seem to bear no relationship with Bazi: they are located too far away from the environment of where one would expect to see Bazi; see further below. The modern toponym Tell Bazi was suggested to evoke perhaps ‘Bazi (George 2009: 13), but note that the name of Tel Bazi during Mittanni rule was probably Baširu (meaning ‘stronghold’, ‘fort’, from WS *bsr*; Otto 2009: 170 with previous literature), hence the modern name Tell Bazi, if at all related to the ancient toponym, is possibly a form of its earlier name.

⁵⁷ The Old Babylonian composition from the Schøyen Collection was edited by George (2009). The reading of the sequence AN-BA-ZI as ‘Bazi’ in the TL SKL was vindicated by this composition. Hence, the AN is not a dittography of

the previous line beginning with An-ba (per Vincente 1995: 257; see George (2009: 11).

⁵⁸ In addition to George (2009), note also Krebernik (2009) and the discussion in Lambert (1989: 17–18); see also Pappi (2006). Bašar and Šaršar appear as a pair not only in ‘The Song of Bazi’ but also in other learned compositions, such as the *lišpur* litanies where the mountains appear one after the other and are equated with ^{kur}Amurrû; see Reiner (1956: 134), as cited by Lambert (1989: 17). Mount Šaršar is also associated with the Sutû nomads (e.g. the ‘Poem of Erra’ and ‘Chronicle P’), deified in the god-list AN=Anu ša amēli, and equated with ‘Šakkan/Sumuqan of the Suteans (Litke 1998: 236, 104, cited by George 2009:13). For mount Bašar in Mari sources and as part of the Suteans’ habitat or roaming grounds, see Charpin (2010) and Durand (2010); for the eastern origin of Mount Šaršar, see Woods (2009: 218–19).

⁵⁹ George (2009: 13–14).

⁶⁰ Fales (2006–2008).

⁶¹ Wilcke (1988: 139) claims that “Sumerian King Lists” were studied at Emar, but the text he cites as evidence mentioning the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon is actually a fragment of ḪAR-ra=ḫubullu XXI–XXII (Emar 559, 95’ ff.). The SKL is not attested in peripheral regions and as far as can be judged was already out of circulation in Mesopotamian scribal schools by that period.

without a firm knowledge of Mesopotamian literature, specifically the Epic of Gilgamesh. These two rulers were chosen by force of association with Gilgamesh, Enkidu and Huwawa, for it is to the west that the focus of the narrative of the Epic moves, once the two heroes proceed to the Cedar Forest to kill Huwawa. They journey to the ‘Land of Ebla’ (as a recently published source informs us) chosen perhaps because of a vague memory of a time when the Cedar Mountain lay within its territory (although this was probably a generic term for the west, not necessarily conveying a historical fact).⁶² In the later SB recension, the “Land of Ebla”, perhaps too *recherché*, was abandoned in favour of the generic “Mount Lebanon”.⁶³

The Ugarit *Ballad* depended on an Old Babylonian recension (similar to the Sumerian exemplars we have preserved), which did not include Bazi and Zizi, but which did originally include other early rulers. The Emar version on the other hand was dependent on a re-working and expansion of the list in Mesopotamia itself, a version which is now lost.⁶⁴ We can imagine, how, like other literary compositions at Emar, it was transmitted to the city and there copied by novice scribes of the scribal school without major modifications or innovations, as were other works of Mesopotamian scholarly texts.⁶⁵

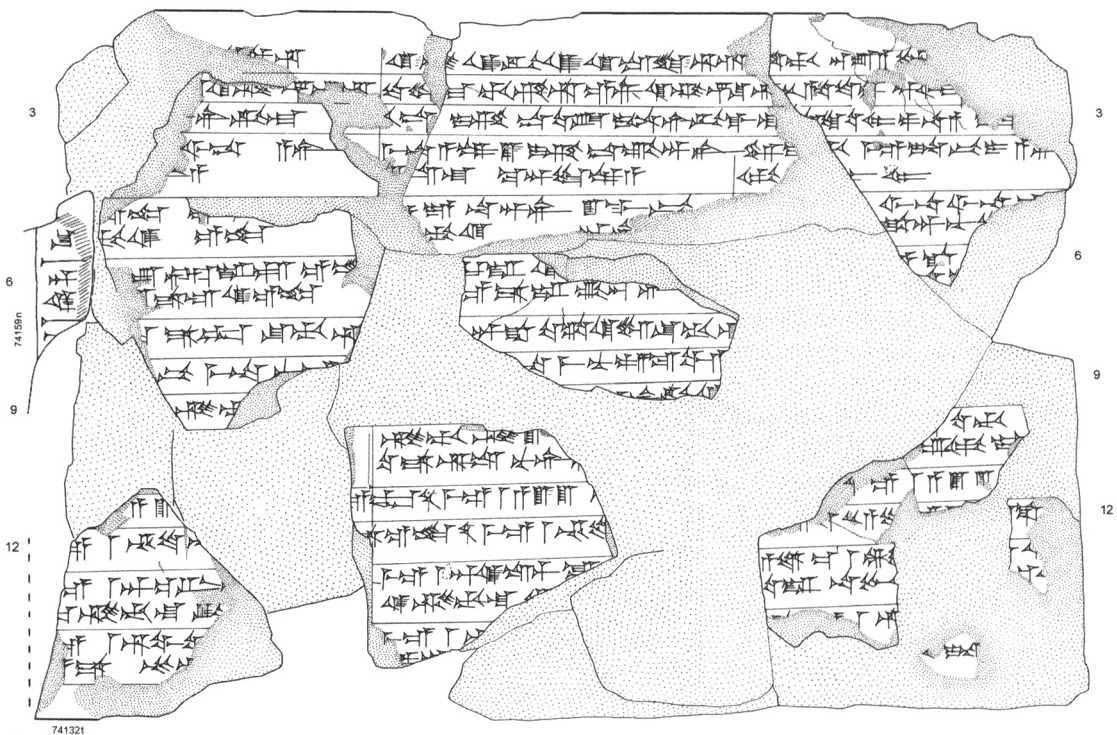


Fig. 1 *Emar 767*. Msk 74127ac + 74128x + 74136b + 74137m + 74153 + 74159n + 74344 (+) 74132t obv. Drawing by A. R. George.

⁶² George (2003: 94, 224–26, and 234, 26. OB Gilgamesh Schøyen tablet): *a-na ma-ti-ib-la* (with crasis). George (2003: 94) considers that voyage to the west was motivated by a historical memory, however dim, of the achievements of Sargon and Naram-Sin; see also Klein and Abraham (2000).

⁶³ George (2003: 592, 82. SB IV): *ana šadī Labnānu*.

⁶⁴ See Alster (2005: 293). One can debate our thesis regarding the Mesopotamian origin of Bazi and Zizi in the ‘Ballad’ by recourse to the episode of Ištar’s lovers found in the MB Emar₂ manuscript of the Epic of Gilgamesh: there in albeit fragmentary lines one of Ištar’s lovers is identified as Sutean (28’–29’). It can be argued that his incorporation to the Epic was a local innovation, the result of the Emar scribe’s familiarity with the roaming grounds of the Sutū tribes. To this we reply that the passage in the

Epic also contains additional details not present in the SB version with no apparent relation to the western regions. In addition, the mention of the Sutean lover could have been the creation of a Babylonian scribe who updated the story, perhaps on the basis of his own awareness of the nomadic Sutū during his own time (see George 2003: 332–33). This otherwise unknown version was transmitted from Babylonia to Emar, but was eventually abandoned in the SB version. The western regions always served as a point of reference in Mesopotamian literature, hence there is no need to assume that wherever they are mentioned in a Western Peripheral source they represent a local reworking or adaptation.

⁶⁵ Compare Cohen (2007), which studies the transmission of the *šumma immeru* omens to Emar and Ḫattuša.

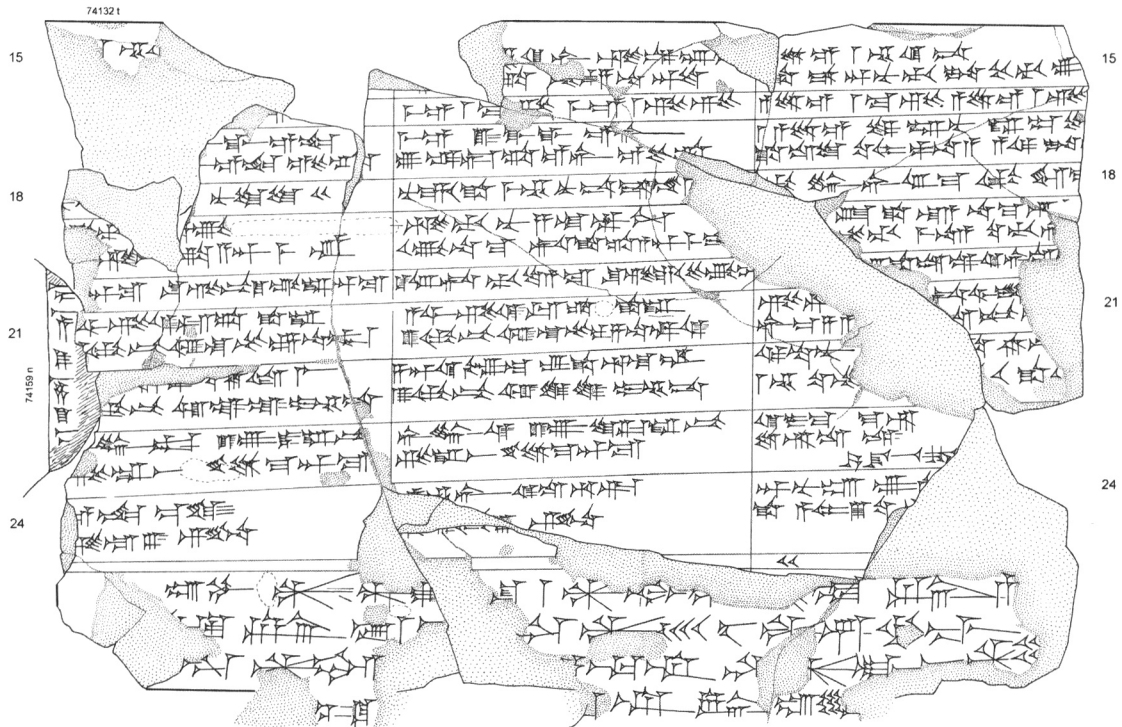


Fig. 2 Emar 767. Msk 74127ac+74128x+74136b+74137m+74153+74159n+74344 (+) 74132t rev.
Drawing by A. R. George.

Further investigations regarding other differences between the peripheral recensions of this composition and research into other literary products will surely further our understanding of the processes involved in the transmission and reception of Babylonian literature in the Western Periphery, and enable us better to reconstruct Mesopotamian literature during the Middle Babylonian period.

Note on the cuneiform copies (Figs. 1–2)

Yoram Cohen's discussion of Emar 767 (*La ballade des héros du temps jadis*) affords an excellent opportunity to publish drawings of the tablet Msk 74127ac+ made during a stay in Aleppo in March 2001, especially when my visit was helped by a grant from Iraq's publishers, the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, and reported in its Newsletter (No. 7, May 2001: 13–15). I am indebted to the late Dr Waheed Khayata, then director of the National Archaeological Museum of Aleppo, for allowing me to study the fragments, glue together those that were not already joined, and copy the whole assemblage. The fragment Msk 74159n, advocated as belonging to the left edge of Msk 74127ac+ by Miguel Civil in *Aula Orientalis* 7 (1989) 7, was overlooked in 2001 but the join is quite certain and Daniel Arnaud's hand copy of this piece, first printed in *Emar* VI.2 405 (1985), has accordingly been incorporated into the drawings reproduced here.

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