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## Why the Names? Anubanini and His Clan in the Cuthaeen Legend

*Abstract:* This article is a study of the ancient Mesopotamian literary text known as the ‘Cuthaeen Legend’. This Naram-Sin legend is known from several versions in the extant cuneiform corpus of texts (Westenholz 1997). The names of Anubanini and members of his clan, the main protagonists, have remained puzzling in several respects. The present contribution seeks to establish the reading of these names, making use of conventional cuneiform collation and analysis as well as digital image processing. This is followed by an onomastic discussion of these names, relating them to aspects of Mesopotamian religion, literature, ethnology, and demonology.

*Keywords:* Ancient Mesopotamian literature; ethnology; onomastics; Cuthaeen Legend; Sargon and Naram-Sin Legends; cuneiform studies; digital image processing.

The text often dubbed the ‘Cuthaeen Legend,’ its ancient incipit being *tupšenna pitēma* (‘open the tablet box’),<sup>1</sup> enjoyed a long existence in Mesopotamian literary tradition and is extant in several versions.<sup>2</sup> Earliest are the Old Babylonian copies MLC 1364 and BM 17215. A Middle Babylonian copy was discovered at Ḫattuša (KBo 19 98) as well as tablets for a Hittite translation. The Standard Babylonian version of the story is the best known version, with seven Neo-Assyrian copies from Nineveh, one Neo-Assyrian copy from the tablet collection at Huzirina (Sultantepe), and one Neo-Babylonian copy (from Kiš?).<sup>3</sup> By “versions” one implies only the specific and distinguishable Akkadian or Hittite

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<sup>1</sup> For the incipit, see Westenholz 1997, 263, 300.

<sup>2</sup> The Akkadian language versions are edited in Westenholz 1997, 267-368. Henceforth, lines quoted from the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend follow Westenholz’s edition. KBo 19 99 (in Otten 1970) is too fragmentary to decide for certain if it is a Middle Babylonian copy of the story. For the copies and editions of the Hittite version, see Güterbock 1938, 49-59; Hoffner 1970, 17-18; KUB 31 1 (in Sturm – Otten 1939); Otten – Rüster 1973, 86-87; Eren – Hoffner 1988, tablet 7.

<sup>3</sup> Westenholz 1997, 332. Enrique Jiménez has identified a fragment of the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend in the British Museum (K.10788). This is the seventh Neo-Assyrian Nineveh copy for the Standard Babylonian version mentioned in this article. It reduplicates lines 81-86. This will be published separately. We thank Enrique Jiménez for drawing attention to this fragment.

texts known from the story's extant copies. The content of each version contains variant elements. The standardization of the text can be observed by the uniformity of the Standard Babylonian text attested by the Neo-Assyrian times. The evidence is not enough to decide the precise time of standardization; presumably the standardization took place during or after the Kassite era. A number of other ancient Near Eastern texts were standardized, allowing for variants, during the Kassite era.<sup>4</sup>

According to its Standard Babylonian version, the Cuthaeen Legend is allegedly the text of a stele (*narû*) left to future generations by Naram-Sîn of Akkad, who describes his struggle against the great clan of Anubanini, a mountain people designed by the gods. Significant portions of the versions before the Standard Babylonian version are not preserved and this obscures our knowledge as to the transmission of and changes concerning certain elements of the story, including the names for Naram-Sîn's enemies. Their king Anubanini, their queen Melili and the royal couple's sons Memanduḥ/Memandah, Medudu/Midudu, Tartadada, Baldaḥdaḥ, Ahudanadiḥ, and Ḫurrukidû, are all mentioned in the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend (lines 39-46). The present contribution seeks to establish the reading and explain the linguistic affiliation of these names as well as their function within the text of the Cuthaeen Legend. This is accompanied by a collation supplemented with digital image processing. The digital image processing techniques used are described in the appendix.

### Anubanini

The name Anubanini in the Standard Babylonian version (*Anu-ba-ni-ni* in line 39) is otherwise attested as the name of a king of Lullubum from a rock relief inscription in western Iran, written AN-*nu-ba-ni-ni*, with the royal epithets of "strong king" (LUGAL *da-nûm*) and "king of Lullubum" (LUGAL *Lu-lu-bi<sup>K1</sup>-im*).<sup>5</sup> The name Anubanini may be interpreted as *Anu-bāni-ni* "Anu is our maker." One may conceive Akkadian influence in the formation of the name. If this holds, it would be a case where a Zagros leader assumed a name with Akkadian elements. A Zagros leader with a clearly Akkadian name is Iddin-Sîn (with the theophoric element Sîn), the king of Simurrum. Iddin-Sîn or his son Zabazuna established a rock-relief in the same area Sar-i-pul-i-zohab as did Anubanini.<sup>6</sup> The texts attributed to Iddin-Sîn, Zabazuna and Anubanini present various similar features,<sup>7</sup> pointing to their cultural proximity. Strictly speaking, however, it cannot be guaranteed that Anubanini's name was originally Akkadian. For example, Seidl alternatively understands AN-*nu-ba-ni-ni* as the deified <sup>d</sup>Nubanini.<sup>8</sup> Nubanini is an otherwise unattested personal or divine name. The data available for the modern reader concerning the Zagros languages is far from complete and it is not possible to prove an alternative etymology for the name of Anubanini. At the very least, the name is assumed in the form *Anubanini* (written *Anu-ba-ni-ni*, line 39) in the Cuthaeen Legend. If a new textual source were ever to verify the name Nubanini or Anubanini with a non-Akkadian etymology, it would mean that the form *Anubanini* is a later Mesopotamian interpretation of the name.

The date for Anubanini's relief and inscription near Sar-i-pul-i-zohab is disputed, while roughly they seem to date around the late Ur III or more probably the early Babylonian era.<sup>9</sup> They hint at Anubanini's strong historical presence in the Zagros region around Lake Zeribor and the Sulaimaniya region.

<sup>4</sup> Lambert 1996, 13-14; George 2003, 28-33; Rochberg-Halton 1984; Frahm 2011, 317-338.

<sup>5</sup> Anubanini 1 i 1-3 in Edzard 1973, 73; updated in Nasrabadi 2004, 296.

<sup>6</sup> For the text of this relief, see Frayne 1990, 712-714.

<sup>7</sup> For these texts, see Frayne 1990, 704-715. For discussion, see especially Walker 1985, 178-187; Nasrabadi 2004, 302-303; Shaffer – Wasserman – Seidl 2003, 11, 18, 20-22, 28, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Shaffer – Wasserman – Seidl 2003, 50 n. 157.

<sup>9</sup> Frayne 1990, 704; Walker 1985, 163-165, 167, 185-186; Nasrabadi 2004, 291-292.

His power may have been similar to that of Iddin-Sîn of Simurru and his son Zabazuna.<sup>10</sup> Anubanini the king of Lullubum represented in the rock-relief from Sar-i-pul-i-zohab appears therefore to be the only monarch who could have inspired his fictional namesake in the Cuthaeen Legend. This alone does not prove that the Cuthaeen Legend was composed due to a real specific episode concerning the historical Anubanini and there is no evidence to support this possibility except for the mention of Anubanini's name.<sup>11</sup> At present, it can only be said that the political power once wielded by Anubanini can be seen as an influence on the scribes who entered his name into the tradition of the Cuthaeen Legend. Furthermore, the rock-relief of Anubanini was a prestigious monument visible to those of all professions travelling the Zagros. The mountain pass at Sar-i-pul-i-zohab, at a critical geographical position in the Zagros region must also have been known to Mesopotamian monarchs who campaigned into the Zagros. Interest in the older kings' reliefs is exemplified by the mention of Anum-hirbi's inscriptions and carved image in the annals of Shalmaneser III.<sup>12</sup>

The positive evidence for the transmission of Anubanini's name in the Cuthaeen Legend is limited to its mention in the Standard Babylonian. In the Middle Babylonian version of the story, which is inadequately preserved, the enemy is conceived as six brothers from the mountains,<sup>13</sup> as opposed to seven brothers in the Standard Babylonian version (lines 37, 40-46). Anubanini is father to seven brothers in the Standard Babylonian version whereas the identity of the father to the six brothers according to the Middle Babylonian version cannot be identified because the pertinent section of the text is not preserved. It is not even possible to ascertain if the enemy was given personal names in the Middle Babylonian or Hittite versions due to their current state of preservation.

MLC 1364 is identified as an Old Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend despite differing from the later versions in certain details.<sup>14</sup> Only the colophon and a few lines are preserved in the other Old Babylonian copy, BM 17215.<sup>15</sup> MLC 1364 designates the enemy as the "Harians" in a difficult passage on its third column.<sup>16</sup> Another literary text about Naram-Sîn, dubbed "The Tenth Battle," refers to how Naram-Sîn fought "Ašbanana, the head of the Harians" (*Aš-ba-na-na* SAG *ḫa-ri-a-am*).<sup>17</sup> West-

<sup>10</sup> For a cautious discussion of Iddin-Sîn's and Zabazuna's zone of influence, see Shaffer – Wasserman – Seidl 2003, 25-28.

<sup>11</sup> This possibility is discussed in Longman 1991, 111-115; cf. Walker 1985, 165-167. A suggested connection to Naram-Sîn of Ešnunna is equally unproven. For the history of the Lullubeans, see Klengel 1966; Klengel 1987-1990; Zadok 2005.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of the Assyrian references to as well as the historical reign of Anum-Ḫirbi, see Miller 2001.

<sup>13</sup> KBo 19 98 b 26'-28' (in Otten 1970).

<sup>14</sup> On the identification, see Glassner 1986, 83; Longman 1991, 104; Westenholz 1997, 267; cf. Finkelstein 1957, 87-88. This is not to exclude that different contemporary Old Babylonian versions existed. A similar case is with the different versions of Atra-hasīs in Sippar as noted in Westenholz 1997, 269.

<sup>15</sup> Westenholz 1997, 278-279.

<sup>16</sup> MLC 1364 iii 16-21; previously treated in Finkelstein 1957, 85-87; Westenholz 1997, 274-275. Westenholz's discussion for the reading "Harians" is followed except for the interpretation of *Malgium*. Westenholz reads "Harians(?) (of) *Malgium*" since both are grammatically direct objects in the sentence. The subject is a deity raising the Harians. The passage breaks off too soon to be certain that the Harians are "(of) *Malgium*." It may be that the gods is raising the Harians and *Malgium* as different entities (in a larger alliance?). *Malgium* was a kingdom east of the Tigris, placed south of Ešnunna and known primarily from the Old Babylonian sources as a buffer state between Elam (sometimes *Malgium*'s patron or suzerain) in the east and the Mesopotamian powers in the north: Larsa, Assyria, later Babylon; Kutscher 1987-1990, 300, 302-303; Horowitz 1998, 84; Michalowski 2011, 199, 446.

<sup>17</sup> VAT 7832a, obv. 7; cf. Westenholz 1997, 260-261. Westenholz notes an alternative reading <sup>as</sup>*Banana*, suggesting that possibly the horizontal sign served as a *Personenkeil*; Westenholz 1997, 258, 260 n. 7. Unusually, the *as*-sign may precede names, as seen from the examples of the names <sup>as</sup>*A-na-aḫ-ḫu-taš*, <sup>as</sup>*Ba-ḫar-ak-ši-ri*, <sup>as</sup>*Te-er-tak-ra* and <sup>as</sup>*Uz-ze-en-naḫunti* listed in Zadok 1984, 62-63, 80, 82. *Banana* is elsewhere the name of an individual from Marḫaši mentioned

enholz proposed that the name Ašbanana has a similar sound to that of Anubanini.<sup>18</sup> Strictly speaking, one could be critical of Westenholz's proposal, but at present it is not established beyond doubt whether or not this resemblance betrays a variation of the same name at the level of oral or written transmission. At the very least, the "Tenth Battle" demonstrates that the lore of Sargon and Naram-Sîn stories could designate a hostile force as the "Harians" and name them a leader. In the case of the Old Babylonian copy of the Cuthaeen Legend, MLC 1364, it is not clear if the name of the Harian leader was ever written since the text is imperfectly preserved. The identity of the Harians remains an enigma. Elsewhere, according to the lexical list OB Proto-Lu and the Sargonic literary text the "Nippur Letter", SAG.ḪAR is found among terms for peoples of the steppe and kinship groups.<sup>19</sup> The reference to [SAG].ḪAR in the "Nippur Letter" is part of the lines that survive in the "canonical" Lu series.<sup>20</sup> SAG.ḪAR as "head (SAG) of ḪAR," is to be compared with the "head of the Harians" in the "Tenth Battle." The commentary to the series *Šumma Izbu* associates ḪAR with the word *nakru* 'foreign, alien; enemy.'<sup>21</sup> It is not clear due to the present state of the evidence how this pertains to the actual meaning of the term "Harians."

### Melili and the Sons

Melili is named as the queen of the enemy forces from the mountain in the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend (line 39). At first glance, she is absent from the previous versions, but there is a reading *Me-li-li* found in the fragmentary fifth column of MLC 1364 (v 5').<sup>22</sup> The reading is probable but not beyond doubt due to damage on the tablet. There is not enough context preserved in MLC 1364 to connect beyond doubt this reading with the name Melili in the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend. The philological analysis of the name Melili will be taken up below, together with the names of her sons according to the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend.

The names of Anubanini's sons are preserved on K 5418a (= CT 13 39-40) 13'-17', S.U. 21923 (= STT 30) i 40-46 and K 2021B i 5'.<sup>23</sup> Striking is how actually all names, except that of the third son,<sup>24</sup>

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in Ur III texts and is an example of a name with a reduplicating syllable, for which there are many examples from Elamite names but in the case of this certain Banana, he is explicitly associated with Marḫaši; Zadok 1983, 97 n. 76.

<sup>18</sup> Is it perhaps possible that the scribe of VAT 7832a, obv. 7, erred in writing the *an*-sign (thus \*Anu-banana?) and only wrote the *aš*-sign? Perhaps the *na*-signs were also an error for the *ni*-signs (\*Anu-banini?). The latter posited error, however, is less likely as compared to an incompletely impressed *an*-sign. Ašbanana may in fact be a different and unique name. All these possibilities are speculative due to the current state of the evidence.

<sup>19</sup> MSL 12 47: 394a and Nippur Letter ii' 4 have been noted in Westenholz 1997, 146-147, 258.

<sup>20</sup> Lu III iv 72ff in MSL 12 127-28; noted in Westenholz 1997, 147.

<sup>21</sup> Izbu Comm 184, 537 in Gelb et al. 1956-2010, Vol. N I, 190 s.v. *nakru*.

<sup>22</sup> See Westenholz 1997, 276. For the photograph, see Westenholz 1997, 404 where the reverse and the obverse are to be interchanged and what is titled as column ii is actually column v, as is also drawn in Finkelstein 1957, 84-85. Elizabeth Payne from the Yale Babylonian Collection has kindly answered queries about the reading *me-li-li* in column v 5'. Payne points out that there is nothing to exclude the generally accepted reading *me-li-li* while this is still not the definite reading only because the text is damaged.

<sup>23</sup> Henceforth following the numbering of the text score prepared in Westenholz 1997, 332-68, with the pertinent copies B = K 5418a, E = K 2021B and G = STT 30. They have been collated for the present study. Gurney's (1955, 100) and Westenholz's (1997, 340-341) name readings are confirmed except for the names of the third and seventh sons which in turn will be discussed. STT 30 is a join and its museum registration number at the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations is S.U. 21923 (= S.U. 51/67A+76+166). For the section of the Sultantepe tablet with the names, see Figure 1.

<sup>24</sup> The name of the third son is preserved clearly only in the final syllable spelled -<sup>r</sup> *piš* (G i 42) or -*paḫ* (B i 15'). Gurney (1955, 100) proposed reading [<sup>1</sup>K]u<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup> *ku*<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup> *piš*. Had it been possible to confirm this in collation, the Elamite

have the ending dV(h), the vowel interchanging between a, u, and i; the preserved names are Memanduh/Memandah,<sup>25</sup> Medudu/Midudu,<sup>26</sup> Tartadada, Balдахdah, Ahudanadih,<sup>27</sup> and Hurrukidu. Three of these names reduplicate dV(h).<sup>28</sup> Such a distribution of features can occur in any language and it would be superfluous to try to guess their linguistic affiliation from such names with few syllables and with such syllabic reduplication. Could these be a coincidence of names collected from a language foreign to the Mesopotamians? Perhaps indeed the evidence will one day emerge that these names were collected from a historical memory of Anubanini's kingdom or perhaps a conflation of specific historical oriental enemies in the mind of Mesopotamian tradition. However, the present state of the evidence merits an alternative approach.

An analysis which only tries to identify a specific language behind the names will not do justice to the genre of the Cuthaeen Legend. The Cuthaeen Legend is not a historical document but it is a literary text (albeit potentially with historical elements – but this cannot be taken for granted). As such, regardless of the question of historicity, one may consider comparing the names with each other in order to try to explain their make-up. The creation of these names may be considered artificial. Whether they were artificial because of variants created by oral tradition (bards are very hard to trace) as recorded (and modified?) by the scribal tradition, or whether they were clever scribal and authorial inventions themselves, can and should be treated as a different issue. Uncertainty with this cannot guarantee a referral to the view that these names are actual names collected from historical memory. On the contrary, there are several indicators which seem to point to the artificial nature of the names for members of Anubanini's clan in the Cuthaeen Legend. These are discussed in turn.

The reduplicating syllable in Queen Melili's name (*Me-li-li*),<sup>29</sup> and similar reduplication in three of the sons (*Medudu/Midudu*, *Tartadada*, *Balдахdah*), both compare with the syllable reduplication in Anubanini's name. As discussed above, it is more likely that Anubanini is the name for which there is some external confirmation, despite the difficulties ascertaining the name's etymology. The other names of members of his clan could have been artificially developed based on the syllable reduplication of Anubanini's name. The extant names of the sons with no syllabic reduplication (*Memanduh/Memandah*, *Ahudanadih*, and *Hurrukidu*) reflect a similar final dV(h) in that they rhyme, however inexactly, with the final syllable of their brothers' names. It would only be criticized severely if one tried to identify a genuine linguistic affiliation for names with such features. If such a method were to be pursued, one could conjure, for example, Elamite name elements. Just to demonstrate this point and to show how

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name elements KUK and PIŠ (discussed in Zadok 1984, 21-22, 35) could have been relevant in explaining the name. Westenholz (1997, 340) alternatively reads [X]-'ta-piš'.

<sup>25</sup> Written *Me-ma-an-duh* in B i 13' and the last syllable *dub* is preserved in E i 5'; the variant form *Me-ma-an-dab* is in G i 40.

<sup>26</sup> *Me-du-du* (B i 14') and *Mi-du-du* (G i 41).

<sup>27</sup> Collation indicates that B i 18' has preserved -'dab' as the final syllable for *Ahudanadih*, further supporting the point made. For a photograph of K 5418a, see also the British Museum section of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative website (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/collections/bm/bm.html>) or the British Museum official website ([http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx)).

<sup>28</sup> The seventh brother has a lengthened vowel (written *du-u*) and this fits the pattern only to some extent. The name of the seventh brother will be discussed below.

<sup>29</sup> Written *Me-li-li* in B i 12' and E i 4'. The variant *Me-li-lim* (G i 39) appears to be part of an effort to squeeze in the name in that line since *lim* is a shorter sign than *li*. This variant can be alternatively read as *Me-li-li*. There is the possibility that the first name element was Sumerian ME. Cf. Me-kubi, the name of the daughter of Bilalama, governor of Ešnunna; Zadok 1984, 22. For the Sumerian ME as a name element, see Limet 1968, 277. There is also the Kassite name element meli ('[male or female] slave'), used for example for Elamite female names; Zadok 1984, 55.

improper this is: TAR<sup>30</sup> (cf. *Tartadada*),<sup>31</sup> MA (‘decide,’ ‘show willingness’) with its related forms MAN and MANK<sup>32</sup> (cf. *Memandub*), MI (written *me*, meaning ‘follow’) and its related forms (cf. *Memandub*, *Medudu/Midudu*,<sup>33</sup> cf. *Melili*), ATIḪ (as in *Te-em-mu-a-ti-iḫ*)<sup>34</sup> and the Elamite name *A-ḫu-ḫu*<sup>35</sup> (cf. *Aḫudanadiḫ*). Note that there has been the view expressed that the Lullubean language (Anubanini was king of Lullubum) was related to Elamite; this is uncertain and highly tentative at best.<sup>36</sup> Westenholz compared the sons’ reduplicated type names with Old Akkadian period names and posited some “Hurrian influence” in that the sons’ names seem to rhyme with the names of kings of the north and northeast, such as the reduplicated name Duḫsusu of Mardaman, Rabsisi of Subartu, and also with names ending in *-ab*, such as Šulgi’s adversary Tabban-daraḫ of Simurrum.<sup>37</sup> Specific onomastic comparisons such as these do not prove a specific linguistic affiliation for the names of members of Anubanini’s clan.

The enemy in the Cuthaeen Legend, strictly speaking, is not described as the historical Lullubeans. The Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend avoids the explicit use of the gentilic term “Lullubean,” and the enemies are described differently from the Lullubeans. Furthermore, the Cuthaeen Legend refers to their creation by the great gods and states that the enemy grew up and rode in the mountains (lines 31-36, 47). According to the story, Naram-Sin of the Cuthaeen Legend confuses Anubanini’s clan from the mountains for types of evil demons (lines 67-68) and one finds the generic terms such as *šedū*, *namtarū* and *rābišū lemnūte* and probably [*utuk*]kū (the manuscripts do not reveal this specific term for certain but traces indicate it is expected).<sup>38</sup> These terms are commonly used in the series *Utukkū Lemnūtu*.<sup>39</sup> One bilingual incantation refers to “seven” demons born and raised in the mountains.<sup>40</sup> The series *Utukkū Lemnūtu* contains various descriptions of the ‘seven’ (*Sibitti*) evil demons.<sup>41</sup> Again, they are said to have been born and raised in the mountains.<sup>42</sup> The term *šedū*, also used in the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend, is used in the series *Utukkū Lemnūtu* to describe the ‘Seven’ as evil spirits in general.<sup>43</sup> Elsewhere in the series *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, these “warrior seven” (*qarr[adu sibitti]*, ur.sag imin.na) are mentioned in sevens (seven in the heavens and seven in the netherworld) and, among other things, they are likened to horses bred in the mountains (only as a metaphor to describe their anarchical character).<sup>44</sup> The theme of seven demons found in Babylonian demonological tradition is paralleled, one can argue, by the number seven with the seven sons of Anubanini in the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend. This parallel, it can be argued, is

<sup>30</sup> TAR is probably a last name element, but it is the third person formative of the more common name element TA ‘establish,’ ‘set,’ ‘place,’ Zadok 1984, 12, 35, 42.

<sup>31</sup> One must also note that there is the Elamite reduplicating name element TATA that was spelled as last name element *-da-da* in certain cases; Zadok 1984, 42-43.

<sup>32</sup> Zadok 1984, 27-29.

<sup>33</sup> Also noting that there is the Elamite name element TUTU (with reduplication) that was spelled as last name element *-du-du* or *-dū-dū* in various names; Zadok 1984, 45.

<sup>34</sup> Zadok 1984, 8.

<sup>35</sup> For *A-ḫu-ḫu* as a partly Elamite name and partly an onomatopoeic nickname, see Zadok 1983, 97.

<sup>36</sup> See the literature in Zadok 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Westenholz 1997, 311.

<sup>38</sup> The description *šipir Enlil* refers to demons in general; Westenholz 1997, 315.

<sup>39</sup> For their attestations, see Geller 2007.

<sup>40</sup> CT 16 44: 84-87 (98-101); Horowitz 1998, 332.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Geller 2007, xvii. For a detailed study of the *Sibitti*, see Konstantopoulos (forthcoming).

<sup>42</sup> Tablet 13: 3-4; Geller 2007, 165.

<sup>43</sup> Tablet 16: 2; Geller 2007, 178.

<sup>44</sup> Tablet 5: 76-100, 151-196, esp. 83-90, 151, 156; Geller 2007, 121-127.

due to the demonization of the enemy in Mesopotamian literature.<sup>45</sup> Naram-Sîn of the story confused them for demons as described above. Furthermore, Tiamat is uniquely mentioned in the Cuthaeen Legend as one of the parents of the enemy (line 34). This enemy is said to be an army with bodies of the partridge(?)<sup>46</sup> and a people with the faces of ravens (*šabū pagri iššūr ḫurri amēlūta āribū pānūšun*; line 31). Haas discusses Tiamat's role in creating the demonic forces of chaos in *Enūma Eliš* and how the reference to Tiamat and the bird-like description of the enemy in the Cuthaeen Legend demonizes the Lullubeans.<sup>47</sup> The constant threat to Mesopotamia from the mountain frontier generated traditions that demonized foreigners.<sup>48</sup> For example, Haas points to the influence of the Elamite, Sutean or Lullubean languages in particular concerning the derivation of various demon names.<sup>49</sup> It is interesting, therefore, that the names of Anubanini's seven sons do not resemble any demon names, at least according to the knowledge of the present authors. According to the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend, they appear to be human and their blood can be spilled (lines 66, 71). Primarily due to their description in the story with bird-like features, it almost looks as if the Standard Babylonian version of the story assumed they were demons,<sup>50</sup> though the text makes clear later on that they are human beings. It cannot be excluded (nor can be verified due to a lack of preservation) that versions of the Cuthaeen Legend before the Standard Babylonian had ascribed a more literal demonic character to Naram-Sîn's enemies, one perhaps similar to the text "Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Naram-Sîn" according to which the enemy is not flesh and blood.<sup>51</sup>

The Cuthaeen Legend story, with Anubanini conquering the world, is fictional. However, can one find traces concerning foreign peoples threatening Mesopotamia from its northern and eastern mountain frontiers *other* than the Lullubeans?<sup>52</sup>

The Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend refers to Naram-Sîn's enemy occupying and establishing camp at Šubat-Enlil (line 54) while dominating northern Mesopotamia before invading the rest of Naram-Sîn's world. This mention of Šubat-Enlil recalls the historical Elamite dominance of northern Mesopotamia and their occupation of Šubat-Enlil that was realized after a period of struggle between Mari and Ešnunna after the death of Šamši-Adad and the disintegration of Assyrian power over northern Mesopotamia.<sup>53</sup> Šubat-Enlil continued to be a vital strategic centre after the death of Šamši-Adad and its occupation was considered a mark of hegemony during the power struggles that lasted until Hammurabi of Babylon consolidated his power. The Elamite offensive on Mesopotamia and their occupation of Šubat-Enlil were presumably parts of a traumatic chain of events in Mesopotamia.

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<sup>45</sup> This is a complicated matter deserving further research, since the Mesopotamians did not merely demonize foreigners. They often also had proper and routine relations of trade and other forms of interaction. For a comparative study of how Mesopotamians, ancient Egyptians and Chinese could demonize foreigners in some instances but not in different contexts, see Poo 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Literally: *ḫurru*-birds.

<sup>47</sup> Haas 1980, 41.

<sup>48</sup> Haas 1980, 37-44.

<sup>49</sup> Haas 1980, 39.

<sup>50</sup> Discussed in Lanfranchi 2002.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. BM 79987 ii 17' in Westenholz 1997, 254. This description is noticed by Westenholz 1997, 221.

<sup>52</sup> This explains in part the difficulties in identifying the third millennium Lullubeans as the enemy in the story. The difficulty is also because of how their world invasion is described in the story: it starts from the northwest in Anatolia and goes southwest. Westenholz argues that, firstly, the second millennium use of the term "Lullubean" refers to any "barbaric mountaineer" (cf. Klengel 1966, 357-58) and demographics changed since the third millennium, and secondly, the details of the world invasion may have been confused with details concerning the grand coalition narrated in the Gula-AN story, which included kings from Anatolia to Elam; Westenholz 1997, 310-311.

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed and referenced discussion of these political events and the significance of Šubat-Enlil, see Charpin's treatment in Charpin – Edzard – Stol 2004, 193-227.

tamian history. Did this, however, somehow influence the formation of the Cuthaeen Legend? This is not known. One may assume that the formation and later transformation(s) of the traditions and texts (of oral and/or scribal origin) were very complicated and the current state of evidence is not enough to decide on this. On the other hand, the occupation of Šubat-Enlil is a very peculiar event to mention in the Cuthaeen Legend and to be ascribed to Anubanini's sons. It also cannot be excluded that a later bard or scribe benefited from the historical memory of the Elamite occupation,<sup>54</sup> along with others (e.g. Anubanini's kingdom of Lullubum), and composed the Cuthaeen Legend and/or its precedent variants, for purposes and in a place of origin currently unknown. Requesting the reader's indulgence, one can state the obvious that it is not always easy to discern authorial intentions. This is not to argue that the original authors or the later editors of the Cuthaeen Legend saw the great enemy as the historical Elamites of the Old Babylonian period. Even if the Elamite connection with this occupation were to be nullified, it is clear that the enemy occupation of Šubat-Enlil described in the story is very peculiar and cannot be ascribed to the historical Lullubeans of Anubanini. Rather, given that the names of Anubanini's sons have no clear linguistic affiliations, and given the demonological and mythological elements in their descriptions, we propose that the text of the Cuthaeen Legend conceived names that evoke the eastern frontier enemies of Mesopotamia in general and in the tradition of the dehumanization of so-called barbarian peoples. The description of Anubanini's clan in the Cuthaeen Legend is better understood as a generic enemy from the mountain frontier, told in a mythological narrative.

Why the Seventh Son Ḫurrukidû?

The seventh son's name in the Standard Babylonian Cuthaeen Legend reads *Ḫur-ru-ki-du-u*.<sup>55</sup> Collation indicates that the second sign is *ru*.<sup>56</sup> This is a form of the sign that is attested in Neo-Assyrian paleography. In addition, digital image processing techniques also highlight the components of the sign and confirm this collation (Fig. 2).<sup>57</sup> The name only imperfectly fits with the pattern dV(h) thanks to its final syllable *dû* (written *du-u*), still managing to present a certain harmony of name endings for the sons as members of the same family. On the other hand, the Middle Babylonian version had only six brothers, as discussed above, and their names have not been preserved (if they ever existed). It seems that at some point in time oral and/or scribal tradition added an artificial seventh brother to make the brothers correspond to the Babylonian tradition of the seven demons, which presents a parallel to the seven sons of Anubanini in the Standard Babylonian version of the Cuthaeen Legend as discussed above.

Appendix: Confirming the collation of cuneiform signs using image processing techniques

The main objective of using image processing techniques is to improve the quality of any given image in order to achieve a better perception. Image processing methods were used to confirm the collation for the *ru*-sign on STT 30 i 46 (the sign *ru* in the name written *Ḫur-ru-ki-du-u*).<sup>58</sup> The results obtained are based on the objective data attained from the digital camera photograph processed as an electronic file. The image processing began first by establishing the region of interest (ROI) on the clay surface of the impressed sign. The analysis indicated that two different algorithms were required to obtain con-

<sup>54</sup> The possible connection between the Elamite occupation of Šubat-Enlil and the Cuthaeen Legend was first brought to the attention of this article's first author by Jean-Jacques Glassner on occasion of a written communication. The present discussion is, however, only the present author's interpretation.

<sup>55</sup> STT 30 i 46.

<sup>56</sup> Hence confirming Westenholz's reading except for the second sign. Previous readings include <sup>1</sup>*Ḫar-ša-ki-du-u* (Gurney 1955, 100) and <sup>1</sup>*Ḫur-ra-ki-du-u* (Westenholz 1997, 341).

<sup>57</sup> For a discussion of how these techniques were used to confirm the collation, see the appendix below.

<sup>58</sup> The value of digital cameras and computer programs for the study of cuneiform tablets is recognised; cf. Charpin 2010, 14; Cammarosano et al. 2014.



firmation as to the components comprising the sign *ru*. On the ROI, certain components of the sign had similar feature types that required similar feature extraction procedures. In particular, the components of the sign on the left side of the ROI had distinguishing brightness values compared to the background. On the other hand, the components of the sign on the right side of the ROI did not have such features to easily identify its boundary from the background. The nature of the lighting in the photo brought about the need to apply different techniques to the components of the sign. These techniques are explained in the following paragraphs.

The first algorithm started by converting the RGB (Red Green Blue) input image (Fig. 3-a) to gray scale (Fig. 3-b). Contrast stretching was then applied to the converted image (Fig. 3-c). Next, power-log transformation was used on the image from the previous step (Fig. 3-d). These last two steps were implemented in order to better distinguish the component of the sign from the background. One may notice that even though the resulting image had better visibility compared to the original image, these steps also increased the noise level. Gaussian smoothing filter was applied to reduce the noise. Thresholding was then applied to convert the gray scale image to a binary (two-level) image (Fig. 3-e). At this stage of the algorithm, the component of the sign and the background were shown with black and white respectively. However, due to the unavoidable noise associated with the image, there remained holes and islands in the binary image. To overcome this problem, morphological image processing techniques were used – erosion followed by dilation (also called opening) (Fig. 3-f). The last step involved a boundary detection process which can easily be achieved by binary edge detection techniques (Fig. 3-g). The final resulting boundary was superimposed on the original image as shown in Fig. 3-h. The result for one particular sign component has been shown in Fig. 3. The same algorithm was applied for the other sign components and similar results were attained.

The second algorithm used RGB (Red, Green, Blue) color information, since, unlike the first four symbols, the gray scale brightness was not sufficient for the last one. The algorithm started by applying histogram equalization on each RGB color channel separately (Fig. 4-a,b). After using median filter to reduce noise, power-log transformation was applied for better contrast achievement (Fig. 4-c). The image was then converted to gray scale (Fig. 4-d). At this point, the image contained better features which were used to distinguish the component of the sign from the background, as such the steps of the first algorithm described above was followed. The final superimposed image is shown in Fig. 4-e.<sup>59</sup>

#### Abbreviated Literature

CAD	See Gelb et al. 1956-2010.
Cammarosano et al. 2014	M. Cammarosano – G. G.W. Müller – D. Fisseler – F. Weichert, <i>Schriftmetrologie des Keils. Dreidimensionale Analyse von Keileindrücken und Handschriften</i> , <i>Die Welt des Orients</i> 44, 2014, 2–36.
Charpin 2010	D. Charpin, <i>Reading and Writing in Babylon</i> , Cambridge, Massachusetts 2010.
Charpin – Edzard – Stol 2004	D. Charpin – D. O. Edzard – M. Stol, <i>Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit</i> , Fribourg – Göttingen 2004.
Edzard 1973	D. O. Edzard, <i>Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pül-i-Zohāb: Anubanini 1 und 2</i> , <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> 24, 1973, 73-77.
Eren – Hoffner 1988	M. Eren – H. A. Hoffner, <i>İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri IV</i> , Ankara 1988.
Finkelstein 1957	J. J. Finkelstein, <i>The So-Called ‘Old Babylonian Kutha Legend</i> , <i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> 11, 1957, 83-88.

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<sup>59</sup> The details of the image processing techniques used in these algorithms are out of scope of the present study. For further information on these techniques, see Gonzalez – Woods 2008.

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## Özet

### Bu Adlar Nereden Çıktı? Kuta Efsanesi'nde Anubanini ve Kabilesi

Bu makale, 'Kuta Efsanesi' olarak bilinen eski Mezopotamya edebi metnini konu almaktadır. Söz konusu Naram-Sin Efsanesi, çivi yazılı belgeler arasında birkaç versiyondan tanınmaktadır (Westenholz 1997). Ana protagonistler olan Anubanini ve kabilesine ait üyelerin adları birkaç açıdan anlaşılmamaktadır. Bu çalışmada adların okumasını saptamak amacıyla konvansiyonel çivi yazılı belge okuma ve analizi ile dijital görüntüleme teknikleri kullanılmıştır. Ardından gelen adların onomastik bir analizi, adları Mezopotamya dini, edebiyatı, etnolojisi ve demonolojisi ile ilişkilendirmektedir.

*Anahtar Sözcükler:* Eski Mezopotamya edebiyatı; etnoloji; onomastik; Kuta Efsanesi; Sargon ve Naram-Sin efsaneleri; dijital görüntüleme teknikleri.

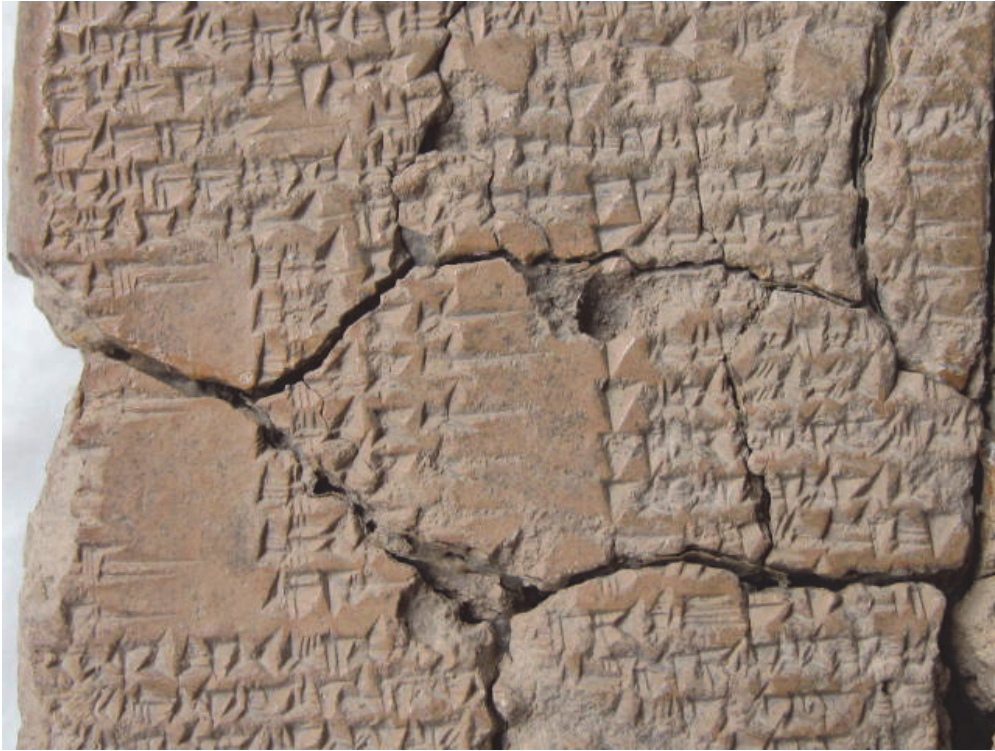


Fig. 1) *STT 30 i 39-46 (the names of Anubanini and his clan)*



Fig. 2) *The components of ru on STT 30 i 46 in light of digital imaging methods*

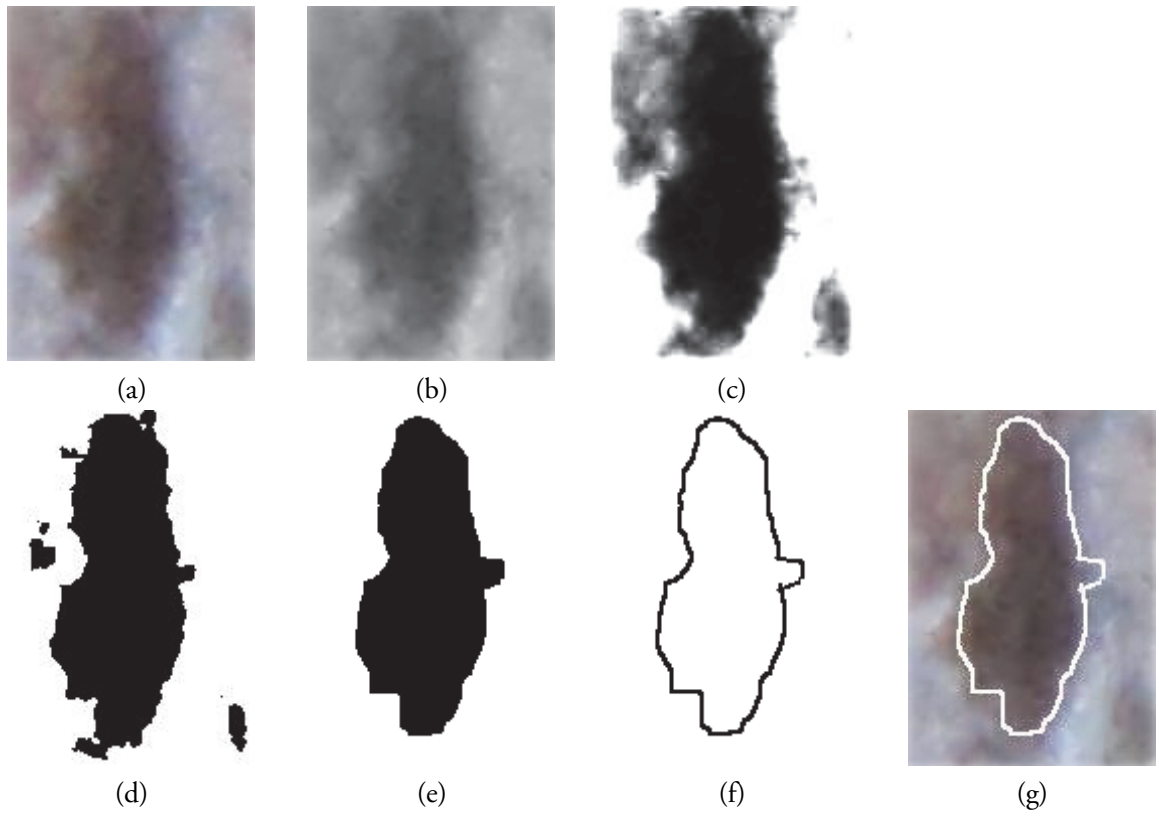
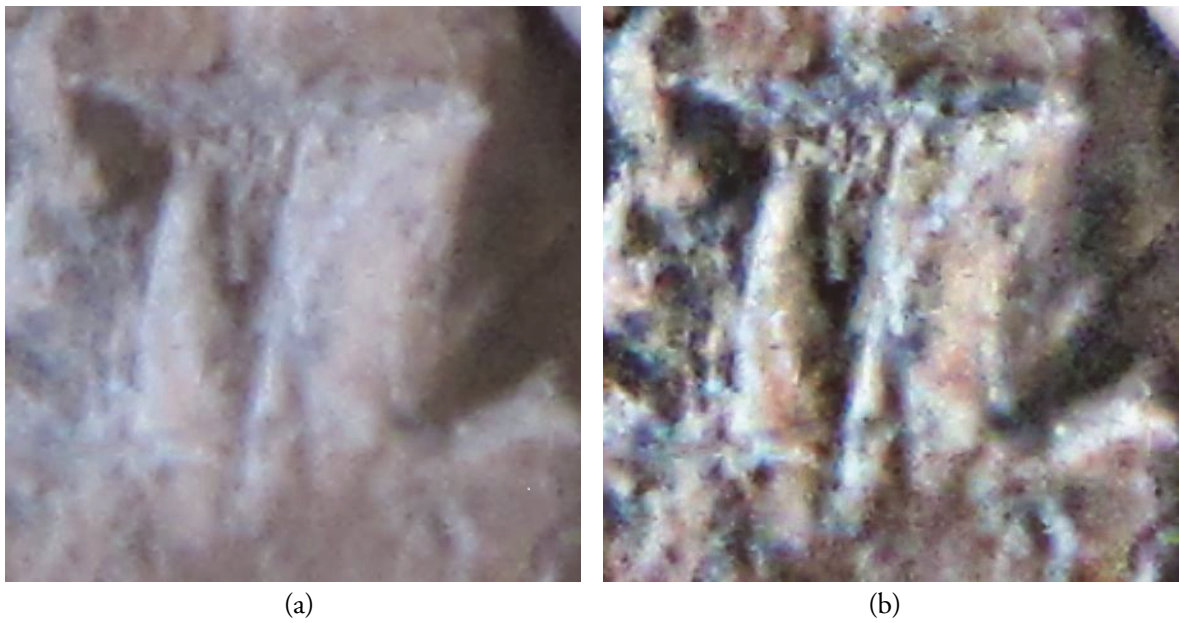


Fig. 3) (a) Original RGB image, (b) gray scale image, (c) result of contrast stretching followed by power-log transformation, (d) binary image, (e) result of morphological image processing techniques, (f) boundary detected image, (g) final superimposed image where the boundary is shown white to improve visibility



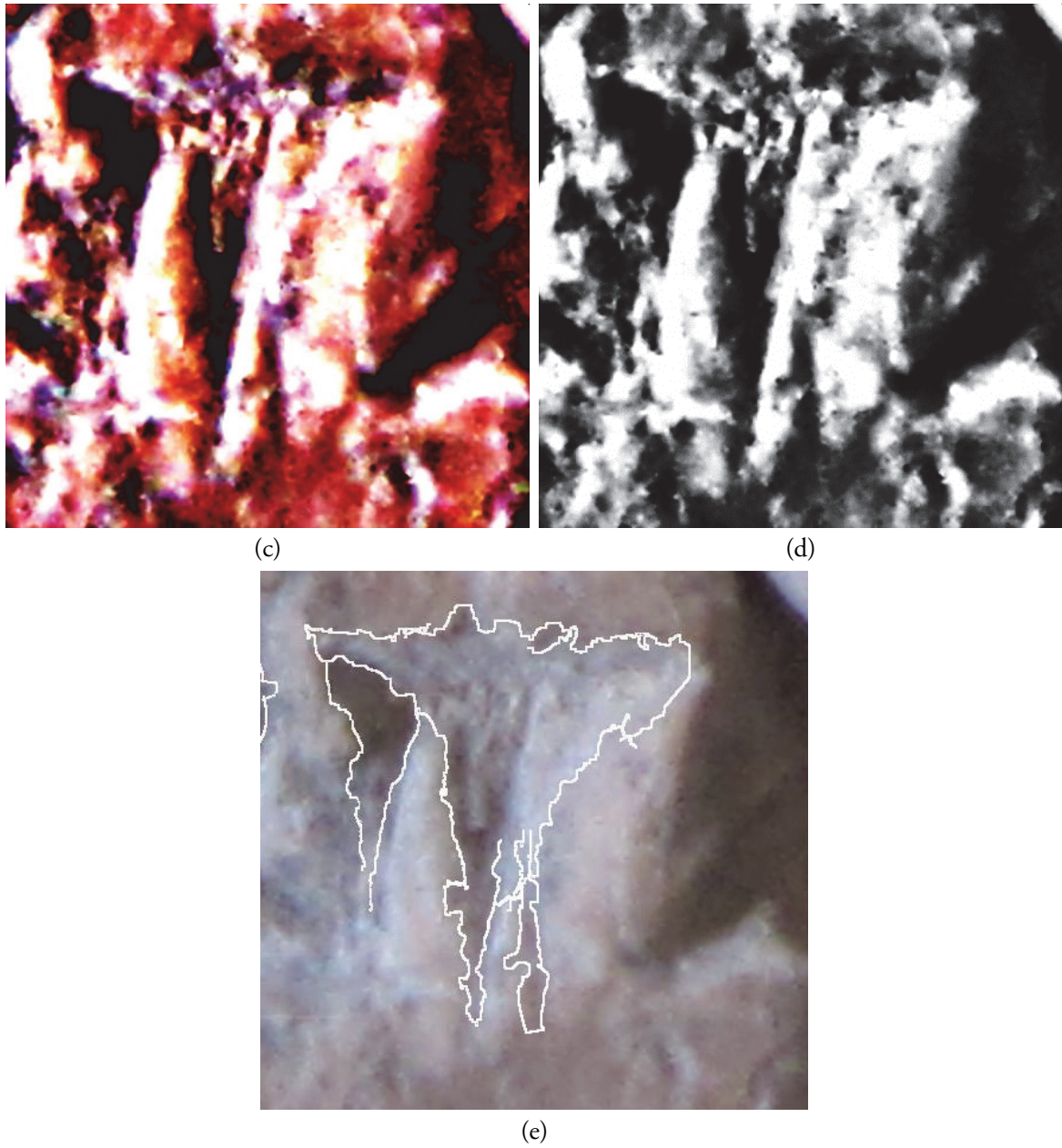


Fig. 4: (a) Original RGB image, (b) histogram equalized RGB image, (c) application of power-log transformation, (d) RGB to gray scale converted image, (e) final superimposed image