

KASKAL

Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico

Volume 3 (2006)

TRAVELS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST *

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A Sumerian proverb reads: “Beer is a good thing. Travelling is a bad thing”.¹ Today a natural luxury, in the Ancient Near East journeys were an unpleasant necessity. How, why, and whither travelled the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians?

The lament of the Righteous Sufferer “My feet have forgotten the motion”² must have been a serious one, since he was deprived of the most important means of transportation by land. But already since prehistoric times animal power was used as well. The donkey was the most prominent pack and riding animal. It carried a load of 90 kg³ and was perhaps able to cover up to 20 km per day with this amount.⁴ In the first millennium the persevering camel appeared on the scene.⁵ Its appearance opened up the drier regions of the Arabian peninsula.

Around 1700 the horse was still reputed to be unfitting for a Mesopotamian ruler. Therefore, the minister Ba’dī-līm advised his king Zimrī-līm against it: “My lord should not

* The subject was treated by me in a popular fashion in the German journal DAMALS 7/2000: 74–79 under the heading “Mein Herr soll nicht auf Pferden reiten ... Reisen im Alten Orient”. An online-edition of this article is found at <www.mesopotamien.de>. A Hungarian translation appeared in Ókor 3 (2004), 18–22. I thank Paul Delnero for correcting my English. — There is no comprehensive treatment of the fascinating subject of travelling in the Ancient Near East. The following article just presents an overview and attempts to mention several aspects which would need to be treated in a more detailed study. References are only meant to serve as a guide to more information and are not exhaustive.

1. nam-sag-ga kaš-àm nam-ḥul kaskal-àm, Sp 2.123 (Alster 1997, 69; ETCSL c.6.1.02: 202).
2. *ma-šá-ma na-mu-šá-šá še₂₀-pa-a-a*, BWL 42: 79.
3. Lewy 1964, 186; Veenhof 1972, 45.
4. Edzard 1980, 416.
5. Heimpel 1980.

ride horses, but instead a chariot with mules to maintain the prestige of his sovereignty”.⁶ Later the fast horse was employed for courier services,⁷ and in the Neo-Assyrian period developed a cavalry which, however, knew only the horse-blanket but not the saddle.⁸

For military purposes, the two- or four-wheeled chariot which, in the beginning, had heavy disc wheels and, from 1500 onwards, spoke-wheels, was used. But for bigger loads — e.g., the bull colossi on the reliefs of Sennacherib which weighed about 20 tons — sledges were more suitable.⁹

Streets with brick or stone pavement were found only in the big cities and their immediate vicinities. In the country only tracks which were thousands of years old and which had only been repaired in the worst places could be found. The rivers represented the most serious obstacles. They could only be crossed at fords or ferried across on boats or by blown up animal skins. For raging mountain streams, however, wooden bridges were built.¹⁰ A Neo-Assyrian letter reports the logistic problems facing the Urartian troops when they marched across the Antitaurus against the Assyrians: “They are repairing the roads leading to me and constructing bridges”.¹¹ The bridge built by Nebuchadnezzar II across the Euphrates in Babylon was famous even among the Greeks.¹² It was 123 m long and was built on stone piers with beams laid over it.¹³

The empires of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians ruling Mesopotamia in the first millenium, needed a well organized network of roads for effective communication and rapid movements of troops between their capitals and distant provinces. Therefore, “the king’s roads” developed in a way into the highways of their time. They were noted by their road stations, spaced at regular intervals of ca. 30 km, at which fresh teams of riding animals and chariots were kept ready for the imperial express post. At those stations the messengers were able to change teams and continue at once.¹⁴

In Mesopotamia, the “land between the rivers”, water routes were often preferred over land routes. Especially in the alluvial plain in the south the terrain was frequently impassable. It is probably not by chance that the story of the deluge originated there. A Neo-

6. [be-]i i-na ANŠE.KUR.RA^{hi.a} la i-ra-ka-ab [i-na] gišnu-ba-lim ù anšc.hi.a ku-da-ni-ma [b]e-[i] li-ir-ka-am-ma qa-qa-ad šar-ru-ti-šu li-ka-bi-it, ARM 6, 76: 22–25 (see CAD S, 330). For this interpretation of this much discussed passage cf. Klengel 1971, 156–157, Durand 1998, 487, and Streck 2000, 60.

7. See EA 88: 48, from Byblos (14th century).

8. For the Assyrian cavalry see Mayer 1995, 456–466.

9. For pictures of these reliefs see, e.g., Barnett *et al.* 1998, II, pls. 100–103, 105.

10. For fords, ferries, and bridges in Neo-Assyrian times cf. Fales 1995, 207–211; for Mesopotamian bridges in general De Graeve 1981, 144–148.

11. KASKAL^{meš-ni} ša ina UGU-*hi-ia-a-ni* ú-*ta-a-bu* ti-tur-ra-a-te ú-*kab-bu-su*, SAA 1, 29: 5–6.

12. Herodotus I, 186; Diodor II, 8.

13. For this bridge and the descriptions of Herodot and Diodor see Koldewey 1990, 195–197; 397–398; 401.

14. Parpola 1987, XIII–XIV.

Babylonian letter alludes to this: “If the terrain is good, let them come on foot, if not, let them come by boat”.¹⁵

Two boat types still present in Iraq at the beginning of the 20th century, were frequently employed for inland transport.¹⁶ The kelek (Akkadian *kalakku*) was a raft made of inflated goat skins tied together underneath a frame of poplar beams. The guffa (Akkadian *maskaru*, *elep dušé* or *elep ħimti* (?))¹⁷ was a circular vessel up to 5,5 m in diameter made from willow boughs or from midribs of the date palm, made waterproof by bitumen and pushed along with poles or propelled by oars.¹⁸ AHW 928 convincingly connects the Arabian word *quffa* with Akkadian *quppu*, “Korb”.¹⁹ Our dictionaries do not record a single reference where *quppu* stands for a ship. But there is in fact a famous passage in the Akkadian literary text “Sargon Birth Legend” where *quppu* alludes to a guffa, which was already noticed by Salonen 65 years ago.²⁰ The baby Sargon was disposed of his mother in the same way as Moses by his mother:²¹ “She set me in a wicker basket (*quppu*), with bitumen she made my opening watertight, she cast me down into the river from which I could not ascend, the river took me (and) brought me to Aqqi the water-drawer”.²²

Both kelek and guffa could only be steered restrictedly, and navigation was especially difficult with a strong current. A Neo-Assyrian letter reminds the king thereof: “The terrain is difficult; it lies between mountains, the waters are constricted and the current is strong, not fit for using either skins or keleks. The king, my lord, knows that the men cannot swim”.²³ Besides keleks and guffas wooden barges which occasionally employed sails were also known.²⁴ For upstream navigation or when the water was too shallow boats often had to be towed along the riverbank — a rather laborious task.²⁵

One of the laws of the code of Hammurapi (CH § 240) dealing with a collision of ships shows that traffic on the rivers must have been dense. According to that law a boat floating downstream had the right of way over a boat going upstream. Other laws of the Code of Hammurapi also hint at the importance of the rivers for inland traffic. They regulate the compensation for caulking a boat (CH §§ 234-235), the liability of a boatman for a hired boat (CH §§ 236–238) and the rental fee for a boat (CH § 239).

15. *ki-i qa-q-a-ru ta-a-bi ina ĠIR.2 lil-li-ku-nu ia-a-nu-ú ina* ^{giš}MÁ *lil-li-ku-nu*, TCL 9, 84: 21–25 (see CAD Q, 116).
16. De Graeve 1981, 82–89; Fales 1993, 87–90; 1995, 212-213.
17. Frahm 1998, 310.
18. Such a guffa can be viewed in the *Deutsches Museum* in Munich.
19. CAD Q, 307: “a wicker basket or wooden chest”.
20. Salonen 1939, 71–74.
21. *Ex.* 2, 3.
22. *iš-ku-ni-an-ni i-na qup-pi šá šu-ri i-na ÉSIR KÁ-ia ip-ħi id-dan-ni a-na* ^{id}šá *la e-le-e^ra^l iš-šá-an-ni* ^{id}a-na U[GU^mA]q-q^l ^{li}A.BAL *ú-bil-an[ni]*, Goodnick Westenholz 1997, 40: 6–8.
23. *kaq-qu-ru ma-ri-ši bir-te* KUR^{meš}-ni *šu-ú* ^Ameš *kar-ku* ^{id}da-a^l-na *la a-na* ^{kuš}maš-ki-ri *ka-ra-ri i-la-ka la a-na* ^{kuš}ka-la-ki LUGAL EN *ú-da* ERIM^{meš} ^Ameš *la i-la²-u-ú*, SAA 5, 200: 9–14; cf. Fales 1995, 214.
24. Wooden boats are treated by De Graeve 1981, 94–143.
25. De Graeve 1981, 151–154.

Whereas the rivers formed an integral part of the life of the Mesopotamians, they were less familiar with the Mediterranean sea or the Arabo-Persian gulf.²⁶ At the end of the third and the beginning of the second millenium trade relations existed with the countries on the Arabo-Persian gulf and India.²⁷ Although Heyerdahl has proofed by his expedition with the reed boat “Tigris” that continous journeys from Babylonia to the Indus valley would have been technically possible,²⁸ it seems that commerce normally would have been pursued by the inhabitants of the islands and coasts via several intermediate stations. At the Levantine coast of the Mediterranean sea at the end of the second millenium developed a seafaring nation, known as the Phoenicians, whose reputation was also known by the Assyrians. Sennacherib engaged them for building and steering his naval force in order to fight against the Elamites in the northern part of the Arabo-Persian gulf.²⁹

Textual information about the travelling speed is preserved only sporadically. An Old Babylonian letter estimates ten days for the route between Mari and Qatna across the Syrian desert (ca. 350 km).³⁰ The donkey caravans from Assur to Kaneš, a distance of ca. 775 km, have been calculated to have lasted about two months.³¹ Towing a ship from Lagaš to Nippur (ca. 137 km) took 17 days in the Ur III period.³²

Manifold dangers threatened the traveller. Attacks of nomads and robbers often occurred. A letter of the Babylonian king Burnaburiaš (ca. 1349-1323) to the Egyptian pharao says:

Šumadda ... and Šutatna ... having sent their men, killed my merchants and took away [th]eir money ... And if you do not put these men to death, they are going to kill again, be it a caravan of mine or your own messengers, and so messengers between us will thereby be cut off.³³

An Old Assyrian incantation deals with a “black dog” or perhaps a wolf: “A black dog lurks on a tell, it waits for the isolated caravan, its eyes search around for an attractive man.”³⁴ A contemporaneous letter mentions unfavourable weather: “Winter has come upon us. The

26. Edzard 1993.

27. A convenient summary of the extensive literature on Magan (‘Omān) and Meluḥḥa (Northwest India including Pakistan and the Gujarat peninsula) can be found in Heimpel 1988; 1993.

28. Heyerdahl 1981.

29. Frahm 1997, 14.

30. ARM 1, 66; cf. Edzard 1980, 415.

31. Veenhof 1972, 248; Edzard 1980, 416.

32. Salonen 1939, 46.

33. *mŠu-um-ad-da ... mŠu-ta-at-na ... LÚ^{meš}-šū-nu ki iš-pu-ru lúDAM.GÀR^{meš}-ia id-du-ku ù KÙ.BABBAR-šú¹-nu it-tab-lu ... ù šum-ma LÚ^{meš} an-nu-ti ul ta-ad-du-uk² it-tu-ur-ru-ma lu-ú KASKAL at-tu-ú-a ù lú^{meš}DUMU^{meš} šī-īp-ri-ka i-du-ku-ú-ma i-na bi-ri-ni DUMU šī-īp-ri ip-pa-ar-ra-as*, EA 8: 18–33, cf. Moran 1992, 16.

34. *kà-al-bu-um ša-al-mu-um i-ti-li-im ra-bi-š ú-qá-a ILLAT-tám pá-ri-is-tám eṭ-lam₅ dam-qám i-ta-na-áp-[i-sá] e-na-šu*, Veenhof 1996, 426: 2–8.

caravan suffered from hunger, but your consignment (of goods) and your donkeys are safe”.³⁵

The best protection against the aforementioned dangers was to avoid travelling alone and instead in a group or caravan. The advice of an Old Babylonian letter “Let him join a caravan”³⁶ certainly was gladly followed. In the Old Assyrian caravan texts groups normally consisting of up to 18 asses are found.³⁷ However, rarely also 50, 300³⁸ or even 3000 asses (forming a single caravan?)³⁹ are attested. In the eighth century a caravan from Saba in South Arabia consisting of 200 camels reached the middle Euphrates.⁴⁰ Even royal messengers from different cities preferred to travel together as is told by a letter from Mari: “[Messen]gers, a group in transit, from [Ba]bylon, Ešnunna, Ekallātum, Karanā, Qabrā and Arraphūm sent to Y[am]ḥad, Qaṭanum, Ḥaṣurā and Karkemiš, will arrive”.⁴¹ Itineraries⁴² and maps on cuneiform tablets⁴³ show how occasionally one might have oriented oneself in unknown regions. However, usually a caravan leader familiar with the locality was engaged.

Why, after all, did the Mesopotamians expose themselves to the dangers and inconvenience of a journey? The tourist, full of wanderlust and eager to learn, is an anachronism in the Ancient Near East.⁴⁴ Travelling was more likely undertaken for practical reasons. Probably the strongest incentive for travelling was the raw material shortage in Mesopotamia which necessitated establishing far-reaching trade relations. Sargon boasts of having moored ships from the Indus valley (Meluḥḥa), ‘Omān (Magan) and Baḥrayn (Tilmun) at the quay of his capital Akkade.⁴⁵ These countries delivered carnelian, lapislazuli, luxury woods and copper.⁴⁶ From Lebanon conifers for ambitious building projects were imported at all periods. Asia Minor supplied silver and received tin as well as textiles for it. Gold and precious stones came from Egypt in the Middle Babylonian period.

A second incentive was diplomacy between the political centres. The journey of Zimrī-līm from Mari to Ugarit, for example, was reconstructed from a considerable number of

35. *ku-šū-um i-sī-ni-iq-ni-a-ti-ma e-lu-tum i-ib-ti-ri té-er-ta-kà ú e-ma-ru-kà šál-mu*, BIN 6, 114: 14–18, cf. CAD I, 83.

36. *it-ti a-la-ak-tim šu-ta-aš-bi-ta-aš-šu*, AbB 2, 160: 21–22, cf. CAD S, 39.

37. See the table in Veenhof 1972, 70–76.

38. ARM 26/2, 432: 3.

39. Edzard 1980, 416 with references.

40. Cavigneaux – Ismail 1990, 346–347 iv 27–38.

41. [DUMU^{me}]^s *šī-īp-ri-im e-te-iq-[A]um [i]š-tu K* Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *Èš-nun-na*[K]ⁱ *É-kál-la-tim* ^{ki} *Ka-ra-[n]a-a* ^{ki} *Qa-ab-ra-a* ^{ki} *ù Ar-ra-āp-bi-im* ^{ki} *ša a-na I[a-am]-ḥa-ad* ^{ki} [Q]*a-tā-nim* ^{ki} *Ḥa-šū-ra-a* ^{ki} *ù ‘Kar-ka-mi-iš’* ^{ki} *wu-ú-ru i-ka-aš-ša-du-nim*, ARM 6, 23: 19–24, cf. Durand 1998, 669.

42. Edzard 1977.

43. Röllig 1983.

44. A different opinion is expressed by Durand 1997, 408, who in the journeys of Zimrī-līm sees “une bonne part de ce que nous appellerions aujourd’hui le ‘tourisme’ et on peut soupçonner que ... il s’agissait aussi de voir du pays et de bouger”.

45. RIME 2, 28: 9–13; 30: 0’–5’.

46. For imports from Magan and Meluḥḥa cf. Heimpel 1988 and 1993.

texts.⁴⁷ The king had in his suite several high dignitaries of his empire as well as one of his wives and a couple of goldsmiths, just as today presidents and chancellors are accompanied by wives, ministers and representatives of the economy. The duration of the journey was different, however: Zimri-lim was away from his capital almost five months.

The military expedition was the counterpart to the diplomatic journey. Especially the Assyrians reported in detail on their military campaigns, sometimes impressively depicting the foreign landscape. Famous in this respect is the report on the eighth campaign of Sargon II which he conducted in 714 against his powerful neighbour Urartu. The road led him into impassable mountains:

The Simirria, a great mountain peak which rises steeply like the blade of a lance ... and which, as the back of a fish, has no passage from one side to another ..., on its slopes the gullies of the mountain streams are deeply cut in ..., not suitable for the chariots to ascend nor for horses to show their mettle ... I equipped my engineers with strong bronze pickaxes, and they made a good road, hacking out rocks from the mountain peaks as if it were limestone.⁴⁸

Pilgrimages existed, too; thus sick persons travelled to Gula, the goddess of healing, in Isin, just as much later, in the times of the Greeks, one looked for a cure from Asklepios in Kos and Epidauros:

[Nin]urta-sagentarbi-zaeme[n] ... having been bitten by a dog, went to Isin, city of the Lady of Health, in order to be cured. Amel-Ba'u, a citizen of Isin, priest of Gula, examined him, recited an incantation for him, and cured him.⁴⁹

But gods were not only visited by mortals. From time to time gods wanted to meet each other, too. In a Sumerian myth Nanna of Ur makes a journey to his divine parents in Nippur.⁵⁰ Such divine journeys were replicated on earth by processions of statues of the gods from one place of worship to another.

Finally, there were journeys on more private occasions. A slave girl wrote to her master: "What I had said to you has now happened to me. For seven months this child was in my body, but for a month now the child in my body is dead and nobody cares about me ...

47. Villard 1986.

48. ^{kur}Ši-mir-ri-a ŠU.SI KUR-i GAL-tu ša ki-ma še-lu-ut šu-kur-ri zaq-pat-ma ... ù ki-ma EDEN nu-ú-ni i-di a-na i-di me-te-qa la i-šá-at-ma ... i-na a-ḫi-šá ḫur-re na-at-ba-ak KUR^{mes}-e ḫu-du-du-ú-ma ... a-na me-le-e ^{giš}GIGIR šit-mur ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes} la ḫa-bat-ma ... ak-kul-le e-re-e dan-nu-ti sag-bu-ú-ia ú-šá-úš-ši-ma pu-lu-uk KUR-i zak-ri pi-laniš ú-par-ri-ru-ma ú-ti-ib-bu ger-ru, TCL 3, 18–24.

49. [^dNin]-urta-sag-èn-tar-bi-za-e-me-[en] ... 'UR.GI' iš-šuk-šu-ma ana PA.ŠE^{ki} URU ^dBe-let-TIL.LA a-na bu-tal-lu-ti-šú DU-ik ^mLÚ.^dŠUL LÚ PA.ŠE^{ki}-ú LÚ SANGA ^dME.ME IGI-šú-ma ÉN ŠUB-šú-ma ú-bal-liṭ-su, Cavigneaux 1979, 114-115: 1–5.

50. Ferrara 1973; ETCSL 1.5.1.

Visit me so that I may see the face of my lord!”⁵¹ Obviously the slave girl wanted to become pregnant again in order to preserve for herself the favour of her lord.

Did travels shape the world view of the Ancient Near East? The Indus valley in the east, South Arabia in the south, Ethiopia and Egypt in the south west, Crete in the west, and Asia Minor as well as Armenia in the north mark the outermost borders of the Mesopotamian experience of the world. The famous Neo-Babylonian *mappa mundi*⁵² represents the earth as a disk with Mesopotamia in the centre. The Euphrates is depicted as two parallel, vertical lines in the middle. The upper rectangle stands for Babylon in the heart of the world. Small ovals and the lower rectangle portray various cities, regions and landscapes such as Assur, Urartu, mountains and swamps. The disk is surrounded by the bitter sea (*marratu*). Originally eight, triangular areas radiating from the sea that are now unfortunately mainly destroyed are identified as “islands” (*nagûs*). The northern *nagû* has the inscription “where the sun is not seen”,⁵³ meaning probably that when viewed from Mesopotamia the sun never passes through the northern part of the sky. The reverse of the tablet bears a heavily destroyed description of the remaining *nagûs*: the third is the place where “a flying [bi]rd cannot safely complete its journey(?)”,⁵⁴ the seventh the place “where the horned cattle is settled”⁵⁵ and the eighth the site of the rising sun. The view of the earth as a continent encircled by the ocean occurs later again in the classical antiquity with Anaximander and Strabo.

Just a single traveller of the Ancient Near East crossed the boundaries of the known world. But his destination was not nearer than eternal life. We talk about Gilgameš who lent his name to the most famous piece of literature of the Ancient Near East. The framework of this opus is a journey across faraway mountains and oceans to the fringes of the world. The incentive of the journey was the knowledge that “the days of man are numbered”⁵⁶ and posthumous fame alone secures immortality.⁵⁷

Together with his friend Enkidu Gilgameš sets out on an expedition to the Cedar Forest — a literary reflection of the campaigns of Mesopotamian kings to the Amanus and Lebanon — in order to kill the monster Hūmbaba, fell a cedar and establish for himself “a

51. *ša ad-bu-bu-kum ik-ta-áš-da-ni-in-ni* IT1 7^{kam} *a-nu-um še₂₀-ru-um i-na li-bi-ia iš-tu* IT1 1^{kam} *še₂₀-ru-um i-na li-bi-ia mi-it-ma ma-ma-an ù-la i-ṣa-qi-da-ni ... uṣ-la-ni-ma pa-ni be-li-ia lu-mu-u[r]*, ABIM 15: 5–15.

52. Cf. the extensive treatment by Horowitz 1998, 20–42, and the short description by Röllig 1983, 466–467.

53. *a-šar*^dUTU NU.IG.LÁ, Horowitz 1998, 22: 18.

54. [*iš-šū*]-*ru mut-taṣ-ri-ši la ú-šal-ḷa-am uruḥšu*], Horowitz 1998, 23: 8’.

55. *ša* GU₄ *qar-nu sak¹-nu*, Horowitz 1998, 24: 22’.

56. *a-wi-lu-tum-ma ma-nu-ú* UD-*mu-ša*, Gilg. OB III 142, cf. *a-me-lut-ti ma-nu-ú* [UD-*mu-ša*], Gilg. SB II 234.

57. According to George 2003, 526, this often stated explanation of the epic “is too specific a view”. But I cannot accept his assumption that the poet with the last two lines of tablet XI “fixes our gaze firmly on what the wall encloses” (*ibid.*): in my view the mention of the extent of the city of Uruk simply underlines the size of the city wall. Thus I see no need to seek a different and — in my opinion oversophisticated — explanation such as “No man can live forever ... but there will always be men on this earth, for life itself is eternal” (*ibid.*, 528).

name that is eternal”.⁵⁸ The heroes cover a distance of 150 double hours (an equivalent of ca. 1650 km) in just three days, a distance that would normally occupy “a month and a half”.⁵⁹ After five such marches they arrive at their destination, kill Humbaba, fell the cedar and return home. Because of his fame, Ištar is seized with desire for Gilgameš, who, however, rejects her offer. Ištar takes revenge on him and causes Enkidu to die.

Confronted with death again, Gilgameš once more sets out on his travels, this time alone. He reaches the distant mountains of Māšu, passes them by means of a tunnel, arrives at a garden with trees made of jewels and eventually reaches a big obstacle, an ocean. The woman Šiduri who keeps a tavern by the edge of that ocean warns him:

There never was, O Gilgameš, a way across, and since the days of old none who can cross the ocean. The one who crosses the ocean is the hero Šamaš: apart from Šamaš, who can cross the ocean? The crossing is perilous, its way full of hazard, and in between are the waters of death, that lie across the passage forward. So *besides*, Gilgameš, (once) you have crossed the ocean, when you reach the waters of death, what will you do?⁶⁰

But Gilgameš finds a ferryman. They wear out twelve punting poles and thereby cover a distance of 120 double hours (ca. 1320 km). Afterwards Gilgameš uses their garments as sails and thus becomes the discoverer of sailpower.⁶¹

They succeed in crossing the ocean and Gilgameš meets the flood hero Utnapišti, sitting “at the mouth of the rivers”.⁶² Utnapišti tells him how he survived the flood and obtained immortality from the gods. He reveals to Gilgameš the secret of the magic plant of life. Gilgameš picks it, but on his journey back he has bad luck: when he is bathing in a pool a snake carries off the fragrant plant. So Gilgameš loses again the immortality he had just won. What remained was his fame as an extraordinary traveller who “had gone a distant road”,⁶³ “seen the secret and uncovered the hidden”,⁶⁴ and had discovered “the foundation of the country”.⁶⁵

58. *šu-ma ša da-ru-ú*, Gilg. OB III 188.

59. *ma-lak* ITI u UD 15^{kam}, Gilg. SB IV 4, 37, 123.

60. *ul ib-ši* ^dGIŠ-gim-maš né-bé-ru ma-ti-ma u ma-am-ma šá ul-tu UD-um ša-at ^rKUR¹ la ib-bi-ru tam-ta e-bir tam-ti ^dUTU qu-ra-du-um-mu ba-lu ^dUTU e-bir tam-tim man-nu pa-áš-qat né-ber-tum šup-šu-qat ú-ru-ub-šá ù bi-ra-a ^Δmeš mu-ti šá pa-na-as-sa par-ku a-ḫum-ma ^dGIŠ-gim-maš te-te-bir tam-ta a-na ^Δmeš mu-ú-ti ki-i tak-tal-du te-eḫ-ḫu-uš mi-na, Gilg. SB X 79–86, cf. George 2003, 683.

61. George 2003, 502-503.

62. *ina pi-i* ^{1D}meš, Gilg. SB XI 205.

63. [*u*]r-ḫa ru-uq-ta il-li-ka-ma, Gilg. SB I 9.

64. [*n*]-šir-ta i-mur-ma ka-tim-ti ip-tu⁷, Gilg. SB I 7.

65. [*ḫ*]-di ma-a-ti Gilg. SB I 1.

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