

Bd. 15 · 3./4. Lfg.

Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie



Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie

Begründet von
E. Ebeling und B. Meissner

fortgeführt von
E. Weidner, W. von Soden und D. O. Edzard

herausgegeben von M. P. Streck

unter Mitwirkung von
G. Frantz-Szabó · M. Krebernik · D. Morandi Bonacossi
J. N. Postgate · U. Seidl · M. Stol · G. Wilhelm

Redaktion
A. Bramanti · J. Fechner · M. Greiner · S. Heigl · N. Morello

Band 15 · 3./4. Lieferung

Za – Zeder B.

2017

De Gruyter

Zeder (cedar). A. In Mesopotamien.

§ 1. Botany. – § 2. Terminology and identification. – § 3. Origin. – § 4. Size. – § 5. Descriptions. – § 6. Transport. – § 7. Prices. – § 8. Use.

§ 1. Botany. Botanical name *Cedrus libani*, family *Pinaceae*, native to the mountains (1500–1900 m) of the Cilician Taurus, Amanos, and Lebanon (but not to Israel) as well as to Cyprus, a conifer up to 30 m (Zohary 1983, 105) or 35–40 m (Rich 2016) high, diameter more than 2 m.

Erhard et al. 2002¹⁷, 278; Zohary 1983, 104f.; Anderson 1979, 94.

After Meiggs 1982, 52 “c. was by far the commonest tree in Lebanon and ... pine was a minor constituent and fir negligible”.

C. remains have been identified in Kaniš (Kuniholm 1992, 97), probably in Nuzi II (a door; Moorey/Postgate 1992, 197), perhaps also in Uruk, Mari, Dūr-Šarrukīn and Kalḫu (ibid.).

Illustrations and photos: BSA 6, 162; B. Hrouda, *Der Alte Orient* (1991) 27; Anderson 1979, 57, 97; Crowfoot/Baldensperger 1932, frontispiece; Rich 2016; Gilbert 1995, 156; Zohary 1983, 104f.

§ 2. Terminology and identification. Traditionally, the following words have been identified as “c.” (Holz* A. § 2):

Sum. *eren*, in the lists of aromatics from Umma (Ur III) *ḫirin*_x (LAK 175; Priester* A. I. § 5.4.2). According to M. Civil, *OrAnt.* 22 (1983) 3, ED ^{giš}.^{bu}EREN^{rin} = *ḫurin*/.

Akk. *erēnu*, by-form *i-re-nim* (MAD 5, 8: 29; Oakk.), *i-re-nu* KUB 3, 98: 4', *e-ri-in-ni* Emar 6/2, 499 Msk. 74201a i 5', and *urnu*.

Kogan 2012, 242–244, connects *erēnu* with West Sem. *'ar'ar* “tamarisk” or “juniper”. – *urnu* is obviously related to *erēnu* and most probably a dialectal var. of the word, used mainly in Old Bab. Mari and at Ugarit, i. e. in the W, rarely Old Akk. and Standard Bab., s. CAD U 234. Does the logogram EREN in Mari render *urnu*? *urnu* is also related to the Bibl. Hebr. hapax *'oren* for which Baumgartner/Stamm et al. 1967, 87 suggest the entirely uncertain and probably wrong transl. “laurel”. Mankowski 2000, 39f. discusses the relationship between *eren* and *'oren* and rightly concludes that the latter is not borrowed from Sum. *eren*. If not stated otherwise, “c.” in the following always refers to *eren/erēnu*.

In Ebla GIŠ.NUN.SAL = *arzatum* (VE 474; M. Krebernik, ZA 73 [1983] 17), Ugar. *arz.*

For West Sem. *'arz* s. Kogan 2011, 202. Are *eren/erēnu* and *'arz* two reflexes of a single *wanderwort*? Baumgartner/Stamm et al. 1967, 83 doubt that Hebr. *'erez* is c. and identify the word with *Abies cilicica*, claiming that c. does not give logs tall enough for building purposes. Since both c. (§ 1 above) and *Abies cilicica* (Tanne*) grow up to 30 m high, that doubt is unjustified.

In Ebla perhaps also ^{giš}KU-Û (= ù-šuh₃) = *ù-ri-nim* (VE 1362), s. P. Steinkeller apud Mankowski 2000, 40 fn. 115. Cf. the ED form *ḫurin*/ mentioned above.

In the Nippur list of trees (Veldhuis 1997, 151–167), c. in l. 52 follows *mes* “hackberry” (Heimpel 2011, 13of.) and precedes the conifers *šu-úr-mìn* “cypress” and *za-ba-lum* “juniper” (ibid. 128–130). *ur-nu-um* in l. 59 follows *zi-ir-dum* “olive” (because both trees grow in the West?) and precedes *ti-a-ru-um*, an unidentified conifer.

According to Postgate 1992, 182, there is “no reason to doubt” the identification of *erēnu* with c. Jursa 2009, 159 fn. 55 states that *erēnu* is the most prestigious aromatic wood and available in large numbers. He concludes that at least in the 1st mill. *erēnu* almost certainly was c., but that in earlier periods the word might sometimes also include other aromatic woods. Moorey, *Materials* 350: it “may not be assumed that *erēnu*-wood was invariably ‘pine’ rather than ‘c.’”.

“Pine” was suggested by S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (1988) 126 fn. 20. Her arguments are: a) Roof-beams have been identified as pine, b) c. does not grow in the Zagros and Amanos. Both arguments are hardly tenable: Wood identifications are relatively rare and show a wide variety of trees (Moorey/Postgate 1992). *eren/erēnu* is never said to come from the Zagros. C. grows in the Amanos (Rich 2016). Moreover, pine gives “poor quality timber” (Willcox 1992, 8), which hardly suits the use of the highly esteemed *eren/erēnu* for temples and palaces. Pine does not grow higher than 20 m (*Materials* 348) but *eren/erēnu* and *urnu* do. For pine s. *Pinie** (probably *ašūbu*).

The invariable origin of *eren/erēnu* and *urnu* in the (N-)W of Mesopotamia (§ 3) excludes all conifers which were available in Mesopotamia itself or east of it. The prominence of *eren/erēnu* and the “c. forest/mountain” (§ 3) of cun. literature correlates with the presumed wide distribution of c. in the N-W (§ 1). The size of *eren* and

urnu (§ 4) excludes all trees which do not grow 30 or even 40 m high. Descriptions and use (§§ 5, 8) favor an aromatic and highly valuable tree (Gilbert 1995, 156). Together with the arguments raised by Jursa (s. above) the identification of *eren/erēnu* and *urnu* as c. is relatively certain. This does not exclude, however, that sometimes different species were confused (s. above for VE 1362 with the equation of *ù-šuh₅* “pine” and *ù-rí-num*, if the latter is really the same word as *erēnu*).

The exact meaning of specifications like “white” or “black” is unclear. CAD E 278 *erēnu* A g: “sub-species”. – There is also a tree *e-ra-núm* with var. (CAD E 254f. *erānu*). Although it is, as c., an import tree from the West and is mentioned in the Nippur list of trees not far from c. (Veldhuis 1997, 152: 61), it has to be distinguished from c. because both trees are mentioned in Gudea Cyl. A xv 27 and 33 together.

§ 3. Origin. C. do not naturally grow in Mesopotamia. Therefore, they have to be imported. Royal inscriptions and lit. texts from the 3rd to the 1st mill. repeatedly mention Amanos*, Lebanon (Libanon*, esp. § 3.1) and Sirara* (I) as source of c.

CAD E 274f.; Postgate 1992, 188.

These toponyms, referring to the mountains of (Anti-)Lebanon, N Syria and S-E Turkey, prove that the habitat of c. as described by modern botany (§ 1), was identical in antiquity.

According to Sennacherib (RINAP 3/1, 17 vi 52; 3/2, 40: 8'', 41: 13', 43: 41, 44: 49, 46: 132), c. stood in Sirara *ina puzri* “in a hidden place”, which seems to indicate that larger parts of the mountain where already deforested at that time.

An inscription of Darius I relates that c. were transported from *Eber-nāri* “Beyond-the-river (Euphrates)”, i. e., from Syria, to Babylon (MDP 21 p. 8: 22 and MDP 24 p. 107: 9; CAD E 274).

Less specifically, the texts frequently speak of the “c. mountain” (*šadū erēnī*), the “c. forest” (*qīšti erēnī*) or the “upper land” (*mātu elītu*).

CAD E 275. Often in Sum. lit. texts, e. g.: kur ^{gi}eren ku, “mountain of c. felling” *Cursing of Agade* (ETCSL 2.1.5) 112. *hur-saĝ^{gi}eren* “mountains of c.” Gudea Cyl. A xv 27 (RIME 3/1, 78). *tir šim*

^{gi}eren-na “forest of fragrant c.” *Ninisina A* (ETCSL 4.22.1.) 91. – For the alleged location of the c. forest in the Sum. GE east of Mesopotamia s. Klein/Abraham 2000; P. Michalowski, JCS 30 (1978) 118; cf., however, Heimpel, JCS 38 (1986) 144, who argues that “mountain of cedars” is not a specific geographical term but rather “a generic term evoking the image of the high mountains with their resinous trees”.

The c. forest and its guard *Huwawa** is the goal of Gilgameš's and Enkidu's journey to the West in the *Gilgameš Epic*. On their journey, they pass “the land of Ebla” (*Ibla**).

Sum.: *Gilgameš and Huwawa* (Gilgameš* A. § 4b [p. 36of.]). Akk.: Gilg. OB III, OB Schøyen 1–2, OB Nippur, OB Harmal 1–2, OB IM, OB Iščali; MB Bo. 1–2; different fragments of the Ass. version; Gilg. SB III–V (Gilgameš* B. p. 365, 372). Ebla is mentioned in Gilg. Schøyen 2: 26; s. George, GE 225f., and id., CUSAS 10 (2009) 5 with comm. 29 fn. 1.

Weippert 2014 suggests that the c. forest in the *Gilgameš Epic* is identical with the forest of *Rb'*, mentioned in Egypt. sources, equated by Weippert with Ass. Lab'u and located by him in the Biqā' valley.

In ARM 26/1, p. 136 no. 22: 21–24 c. is brought in ships from Emar (Imar*) to Mari, and in ARM 14, 31: 15–17, *urnu* is said to be held back in Karkamiš. In RSO 23, 12 the king of Karkamiš reports to the king of Ugarit about cutting a c. All these texts indicate a (N-)W origin of c.

In ARM 1, 7: 4 and 9 read, with J.-M. Durand, LAPO 16 (1997) 323 *GIŠIMMAR* “date palm”, not EREN.

The Ass. kings grew c. in their royal parks (CAD E 275; *Paradies**). Moreover, c. were planted at the *gigunū* temple (terrace) of Nippur.

VS 2, 8 i 13; CAD G 68 *gigunū* c; CAD E 275 *erēnu* A 3'. Cf. also Gudea St. B v 19 (RIME 3/1, 33): *gi-gunu₄* built “in sweet odors of c.” (*šim^{gi}eren-na*, trees or logs?).

§ 4. Size. Gudea St. B v 28–36 (RIME 3/1, 33) mentions c. of 50 and 60 cubits length (ca. 25–30 m).

urnu in Mari: 40 cubits (ca. 20 m) long, diameter 1 1/2 cubit (ca. 75 cm) (ARM 28, 17: 10). 5 reeds (ca. 15 m) long (ARM 14, 31: 15). 1 *šuppu* 3 reeds 2 cubits (ca. 40 m) (A.623+, MARI 6, 83 fn. 209).

Girth: 1 NINDAN = ca. 6 m (Fuchs, Sg. 183: 435, 239: 163).

These data fit well with the details given in the botanical lit. (s. § 1 above).

§ 5. Descriptions. The following descriptions of c. are found in Sum. lit. texts: frequently *šim* “fragrant”, e.g. *Enlil and Sud* (ETCSL 1.1.2) 148; several times *duru*, “fresh”, e.g. *Death of Urnamma* (ETCSL 2.4.1.1; Nibru) 48; *sig₇-sig₇* “green” *Enki and the World Order* (ETCSL 1.1.3) 123; *dili* “unique” *Death of Gilgameš* (ETCSL 1.8.1.3; Mê-Turran Seg. F) 11; *gal* “big” *Sulgi R* (ETCSL 2.4.2.18) 8.

In Akk. texts c. are described as (ref. CAD E 274–278 *erēnu* A): *paglu* “strong”, *šīru* “mighty”, *dannu* “thick”, *šīhu* “high”, *ša dumuqšunu šūquru šāturu būnašunu asmu* “whose beauty is splendid, supreme its fitting appearance”, *ša ultu ūmē rūqūte išīhūma ikbirū danniš* “which since days remote have grown high and very thick”, *ša irīssun tābu* “whose scent is sweet”.

Neo-Ass. reliefs frequently show conifers. However, lack of detail almost always prohibits an exact botanical identification of species. For possible depictions of c. s. Bleibtreu 1980, 240. For the Wādī Brīsa relief s. § 6.

§ 6. Transport. C. were transported overland and, wherever a river was available, on waterways. This far-distance transport needed large quantities of manpower and could only be managed by the palace. Logs of c. are joined to form a raft (Gudea St. B v 35; Cyl. A xv 27; RIME 3/1, 33 and 78). Sennacherib hauls up c. columns from the Tigris, loads them on ^{giš}*ia-nu-si* “sleds” and drags them from amidst the canal (RINAP 3/2, 75f.). Nebuchadnezzar II “made an easy road for the c.” (*mālak erēni uštētē-šīr*), “bundled them like reeds of the river” (*kīma qanê nāri uštēkip*) and floated them down the Euphrates to Babylon (AfO Beih. 32 [2012] 62: 37, 43–45); the accompanying relief in Wādī Brīsa (Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen no. 260) shows the king in front of a tree, perhaps a dead c. (R. Da Riva, AfO Beih. 32, 94).

§ 7. On prices in the Old Bab. period s. § 8.3, and Van De Mieroop 1992, 158:

596 kg of c. (not timber but wood for incense or perfuming oil, s. § 8.2) cost 894.1 g of silver (UET 5, 665: 1f.), and 581.3 kg of c. cost 3,555.3 kg of [copper] (ibid. 667: 1f.). C. oil: 2 l cost 5.3 g silver (TCL 10, 56: 13).

Old Ass.: 450 kg of c. cost 1/4 shekel silver (OIP 27, 55: 12).

§ 8. Use.

§ 8.1. *Wood for building purposes and for objects.* The c. imported by the Ass. kings were “the architectural timber par excellence” (Postgate 1992, 182) and used as columns, roof-beams, doors and panels in palaces and temples (ibid. 187f., 190).

In Mari (Kupper 1992, 165): palace door (ARM 13, 7: 5); throne of the god Dagan (ARM 23, 517: 1f.).

Ur III: door made of *urnu* (UET 3, 826 i 1 etc.), s. CAD U 234.

Old Bab.: chair (BIN 9, 449: 2).

Roof-beams, doors and columns also in other texts: CAD E 276. The c. felled by Gilgameš and Enkidu is made into a door for the temple in Nippur (Gilg. SB V 295–298). Cf. also the remains of a c. door in Nuzi (§ 1 above). Cf. Tür* und Tor. A. § 2.

Cultic and ritual objects, toys (CAD E 276 *erēnu* A b 2’): drumsticks, boat.

Money in a c. (box) (SAA 19, 163: 6).

Magic figurines: CAD E 276 *erēnu* A b 3’.

§ 8.2. *Wood used as incense* (Räucherung*, Räucheropfer. A). C. wood is used for incense, as is c. resin. C. wood is also used for perfuming oil (s. § 8.3), and the latter is also used for incense. C. wood used as incense or for perfuming oil and c. resin can be distinguished – pace CAD E 277 *erēnu* c 1’ and 279 discussion section – by the measures used: c. resin is measured with capacity measures (s. CAD E 278 *erēnu* A e), whereas c. wood used as incense or for perfuming oil is weighed (s. the refs. in §§ 7, 8.3); c. wood used as timber (§ 8.1) is never weighed.

Refs. for c. wood used as incense: CAD E 276f. *erēnu* b 5’, 277 *erēnu* c. C. in recipes for making aromatic ointments: Jursa 2009, 159.

§ 8.3. *Cedar oil*. $\dot{\text{i}}\text{-}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{i}}\text{š}$ *eren*, *šaman erēni* is oil perfumed with c. (Parfüm(rezepte)* A). It is used in rituals and in medicine. As incense (*ana qutrimmātim*): CHJ 104: 1.

CAD E 277f. In Mari: ARM 7, 28: 2, 29: 3, 79: 1; ARM 21, 134: 5'; MARI 3, 111f. Cf. Kupper 1992, 165. Also FM 12, 197 M. 11662: 2, 221 M. 6018: 6: c. oil for bathing Bēlet-ēkalli/Bēlet-biri. Pace CAD E 279, there is no oil "extracted from the cut wood", and *dam erēni* (§ 8.4) does not "replace" *šaman erēni* in later Ass. royal inscriptions.

The Mari text ARM 22, 261 lists 26 talents of "aromatic trees" (GIŠ^{hi.a} *riqqī*), among them 6 talents (ca. 300 kg) of c. for 6 shekels of silver (l. 3f.). The small amount suggests wood used for perfuming oil or for incense (s. § 8.2).

§ 8.4. *Cedar resin*. Different expressions are used in Akk. for c. resin: *dam erēni*, lit. "c. blood" (CAD E 278 *erēnu* e); *zā'i erēni* (AHw. 1517; CAD E 277 *erēnu* c 6'); *hīl erēni* (CAD E 274 *erēnu* lex. section [Uru-anna]).

C. resin is used as incense (also c. wood, s. § 8.2): s. the equation with *qatrānu* "incense" (CAD E 274 *erēnu* lex. section [Uru-anna]), the use of the verb *šarāpu* "to burn" (SAA 6, 101 r. 5f., 102 r. 8f.).

For use of c. resin in rituals and in medical texts s. CAD E 278 *erēnu* e, 277 *erēnu* c 6'.

As lubricant: 2/3 *da-mi* ^{gis}EREN *ana piš-šat dalāti* "2/3 (liter) of c. blood as lubricant for doors" (CUSAS 9, 143: 2-4).

Anderson D. A. 1979: All the trees and woody plants of the Bible. – Baumgartner W./Stamm J. J. et al. 1967: Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament 1: alef – ṭevaḥ. – Bleibtreu E. 1980: Die Flora der neuassyrischen Reliefs: eine Untersuchung zu den Orthostatenreliefs des 9.-7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (= WZKM SB 1). – Crowfoot G. M./Baldensperger L. 1932: From cedar to hyssop: a study in the folklore of plants in Palestine. – Erhardt W. et al. 2002¹⁷: Zander: Handwörterbuch der Pflanzennamen. – Gilbert A. S. 1995: Flora and fauna of the Ancient Near East, CANE 1, 153–174. – Heimpel W. 2011: Twenty-eight trees growing in Sumer, in: D. I. Owen (ed.), *Garšana studies* (= CUSAS 6), 75–152. – Jursa M. 2009: Die Krallen des Meeres und andere Aromata, Gs. A. Sima 147–180. – Klein J./Abraham K. 2000: Problems of geography in the Gilgameš epics: the journey to the cedar forest, HANEM 3/3, 63–73. – Kogan L. 2011: Proto-Semitic lexicon, in:

S. Weninger et al. (ed.), *The Semitic languages: an international handbook*, 179–258; id. 2012: Les noms de plantes akkadiens dans leur contexte sémitique, Fs. J. Huehnergard 229–267. – Kuniholm P. I. 1992: Dendrochronological wood from Anatolia and environs, BSA 6, 97f. – Kupper J.-R. 1992: Le bois à Mari, BSA 6, 163–169. – Mankowski P. V. 2000: Akkadian loanwords in Biblical Hebrew (= HSS 47). – Meiggs R. 1982: Trees and timber in the ancient Mediterranean world. – Moorey P. R. S./Postgate J. N. 1992: Some wood identifications from Mesopotamian sites, BSA 6, 197–200. – Postgate J. N. 1992: Trees and timber in the Assyrian texts, BSA 6, 177–192. – Rich A. 2016: *Cedrus libani*, in: M. F. Gardner, *Threatened conifers of the world* (<http://threatenedconifers.rbge.org.uk/taxa/details/cedrus-libani>, accessed Nov. 2016). – Van De Mierop M. 1992: Wood in Old Babylonian texts, BSA 6, 155–161. – Veldhuis N. 1997: Elementary education at Nippur: the lists of trees and wooden objects (PhD Diss. Univ. of Groningen). – Weippert M. 2014: *Der Wald von Lab'u*, Gs. M. Görg 449–457. – Willcox G. 1992: Timber and trees: ancient exploitation in the Middle East: evidence from plant remains, BSA 6, 1–31. – Zohary M. 1983: *Pflanzen der Bibel: vollständiges Handbuch*.

M. P. Streck

Zeder. B. Bei den Hethitern.

Das heth. Wort für Zeder ^{gis}*erip(p)i-*, ^{gis}*irimpi-*, ^{gis}*irip(p)i-*, wahrscheinlich über das Hurritische aus akkadisch *erēnu*, *er-innu* entlehnt (E. Laroche, RHA 9/49 [1948–1949] 18f.; Puhvel, HED 2 [1984] 284f.; F. Starke, StBoT 31 [1990] 213f.), wird fast immer sumerographisch ^{gis}EREN geschrieben und tritt ausschließlich in heth. Texten mit einem südostanatol. oder mesopot. Hintergrund auf (HW² E 92).

Bei den meisten Belegen für Z. handelt es sich um Beschreibungen von Opferzusammenhängen (Opfer* A. II). Dabei halten König, Königin oder Ritualherr Z. in der Hand (z. B. KUB 10, 63 i 13f.; KBo. 15, 48+ iii 11f.; KUB 32, 49a+ iii 27), Z. wird dem Ritualherrn auf den Kopf gelegt (z. B. KBo. 23, 15+ i 3'f.; KUB 45, 3 i 5f.), Z. wird zur Verstärkung wirksamer Kräfte (Reinheit* B) in einen Becher Wasser* (A. II) gelegt, das anschließend ausgeschüttet wird (z. B. KBo. 15, 48 iii 18–21; KUB 45, 3+ i 10–12), Z. liegt in einem *abrušhi*-Gefäß (z. B. KUB 30, 40(+) ii 11–13) oder Z. befindet sich in Fett (z. B. KBo. 15, 48+