

$s-t-o-V$ = 'he is beating him'. $ni-me-mw-ona\ fisi = s-t-o-V + O =$ 'I saw (it) a hyena'; the same example with ellipsis: $ni-me-ona\ fisi = s-t-V + O =$ 'I saw a hyena'; or: $ni-me-mw-ona = s-t-o-V =$ 'I saw it'.

W. Planert gives an alternative explanation of the dual object: according to him it occurs when we are dealing with a definite person or thing.

By way of conclusion one should mention the sporadic cases of ellipsis occurring in idioms, set phrases, etc., for example: $kw-enda\ z-ao =$ 'to go off', 'to go one's way'. In this frequent saying the word $n-jia =$ 'way', is omitted; nevertheless the possessive pronouns used here in the various persons and numbers are still adapted to it, according to the rules of congruency.

To recapitulate: it is possible to say that grammatical ellipsis is comparatively frequent in Swahili; moreover, we can also find stylistic ellipsis, according to which for reasons of correct style one does not repeat the same word in a single sentence.

TOMASZ MARSZEWSKI

THE „CEDAR-LAND“ MOTIF IN THE SUMERIAN POEM ABOUT GILGAMESH. THE PROBLEM OF ITS ORIGIN

The problem of the localization of the „Cedar Land“, which motif is one of the fundamental items of the poem „Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living“, as entitled by Kramer¹, and has been alluded to in some other Sumerian texts², had given rise to a controversy which has even affected the dispute concerning the identification and location of *Dilmun* (*Tilmun*). According to the author's suggestion an ethnobotanical approach may provide a possibility of a solution, though in the present stage of research it must be considered as hypothetical, if not even only theoretical. In any case that solution should not be excluded, and, if correct, it could not only reconcile, under some provisions, the views concerning certain aspects of the „Dilmun problem“ but also add new elements to the discussion on the pre-Mesopotamian seats of the Proto-Sumerians.

Before entering into the matter it should be recalled that the Sumerian text of the above mentioned poem about Gilgamesh is reconstructed from the inscriptions to be found on the fourteen tablets or their fragments — the bulk of which has been excavated at Nippur — all dated for the first half of the IInd millennium B.C.³ The discussed poem describes the journey of Gilgamesh, a semi-

¹ *Sumerian Myths and Epic Tales* (translator: S. N. Kramer), *ANET*, pp. 47—49.

² See: *infra*.

³ *Sumerian Myths...*, Kramer's annotation, p. 48.

historical ruler of the First dynasty of Uruk (Erech), accompanied by fifty citizens from that town, up to the far-distant „Land of the Living“⁴, designated too as the „Land of the cut-down cedar“, believed to be under the care of Utu, the sun-god⁵. As guessed by Kramer⁶ from the whole context, the probable aim of that enterprise was to bring to Uruk the famed cedars of that land. Among the fragments of the poem in Kramer's translation, the following are the most important for the discussed problem:

I. Thus, after an allusion to the mountainous country there is another one to Gilgamesh felling cedars⁷:

„He brings into... of the mountains,
Who felled the cedar, acted joyfully,
The Lord Gilgamesh acted joyfully...“

II. Then comes the passage, in some places badly preserved or obscure, giving more geographical details about the countries Gilgamesh had to cross with his companions⁸:

„To the garden of the plain he [directed] his step,
The... — tree, the *willow*, the *apple tree*, the *box tree*,
the... — tree he [*felled*] there.

The „sons“ of his city who accompanied him [*placed them*]
in their hands,

The first, a... that...,

Har[ing been brought] into the... of the mountains,
The first [mo]untain they cross, *he comes not upon*
his...

Upon their crossing the seventh mountain,

... he did not wander about

[The Lord Gil] gamesh *fells* the cedar“.

⁴ *Sumerian Myths...*, p. 48 (lines 1—2).

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 48 (lines 11—12; comp.: lines 16—18).

⁶ *Ibidem*, Kramer's annotation, p. 47; See also: Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians. Their History, Culture, and Character*, Chicago 1963, p. 190.

⁷ *Sumerian Myths...*, p. 48 (lines 45—47).

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 48 (lines 56—64); see also: note 6 on the p. 48. Comp.: Kramer, *The Sumerians...*, p. 191.

III. Further, in a passage relating the confrontation of Gilgamesh with the monster Huwawa, the guardian of the „Cedar Land“, we read⁹:

„Huwawa, moreover ... d his cedar house,
He fastened his eye upon him, the eye of death,
He *nodded* his head to him, shook his head at him,
He *spoke* to him...“.

IV. Finally we find a new allusion to the felling of trees, most probably also cedars¹⁰:

„*He himself* uprooted the first for him,
The „sons“ of his city who accompanied him
Cut down its crown, bundle it,
Lay it at the foot of the mountain,
After he himself had finished off for him the seventh,
he approached *his chamber*, ...“

It should be added here that following Kramer's translation in the poem about Enmerkar, the king of Uruk, alleged grandfather of Gilgamesh, and Ensukushsiranna, the king of Aratta, we read about the *mashmash*-priest of the latter country declaring that due to his magical power he is able to conquer all the lands „above and below, from the sea up to the Cedar Mountain“¹¹.

Finally, it may be indicated here too that in the Old Babylonian and Assyrian versions of the „Epic of Gilgamesh“ the motif either of the „Cedar Forest“ or that of the „Cedar Mountain“ is to be found¹². This motif is particularly developed in the Tablet V of the latter version, where, following Speiser's translation we read¹³:

⁹ *Sumerian Myths...*, p. 49 (lines 122—124); Kramer's annotation, p. 47.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 49 (lines 139—143); see also: Kramer, *The Sumerians...*, p. 191.

¹¹ Samuel Noah Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, Indian Hills, Colorado 1956, p. 232; idem, *The Sumerians...*, pp. 272/273.

¹² *Akkadian Myths and Epics* (translator: E. A. Speiser), *ANET*, pp. 79, 80, 81, 82, 90, 91.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

„They stood still and gazed at the forest,
 They looked at the height of the cedars,
 They looked at the entrance to the forest.
 Where Humbaba was wont to walk was a path;
 Straight were the tracks and good was the going.
 They behold the cedar mountain, abode of the gods,
 Throne-seat of Irmini
 From the face of the mountain
 The cedars raise aloft their luxuriance“.

The Sumerian proto-type not only of this passage but also of the whole „Cedar forest episode“ from the Akkadian poem, as it was emphasized already by Kramer¹⁴, is quite evident, but quoting Speiser's words applied to the whole epic, we have here to do with a „creative borrowing“¹⁵. According to Speiser¹⁶ „The original date of composition of the Akkadian work has to be placed at the turn of the second millennium, if not slightly earlier“.

As concerns the geographical position of the „Cedar Land“ in which Gilgamesh had to fetch cedars, most scholars localized it in the Amanus (e.g. Contenau (1927), Leemans (1960), Parrot (1961) and others)¹⁷, some in the Lebanon (e.g. Beek, 1961)¹⁸, while for the seat of Huwawa Taurus has been also considered (Contenau, 1950)¹⁹. Moreover, the first of these localizations has been suggested by some inscriptions indisputable as to their historical and geographical context. Thus, in a text concerning the kings of Agade, preserved on a clay tablet and compiled under the dynasty of Isin or the First dynasty of Babylon from some earlier inscriptions, we read in Oppenheim's translation that

¹⁴ Kramer, *From the Tablets...*, pp. 216/217, 220.

¹⁵ *Akkadian Myths...*, Speiser's annotation, p. 73.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, Speiser's annotation, p. 72.

¹⁷ G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, I, Paris 1927, p. 312; W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period as revealed by Texts from Southern Mesopotamia*, Leiden 1960, pp. 11, 126; André Parrot, *Assur*, Paris (Gallinard), 1961, p. 318.

¹⁸ M. A. Beek, *Bildatlas der assyrisch-babylonischen Kultur*, Gütersloh 1961, p. 155.

¹⁹ G. Contenau, *La vie quotidienne à Babylone et en Assyrie*, Paris (Hachette) 1950 (22nd edition), p. 209.

the king Naram-Sin „overpowered the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain...“²⁰ Still more informative are two inscriptions from the time of Gudea, *ensi* of Lagash. From one of them, inscribed on the so-called „Statue B“ we learn that²¹: „In (lit.: from) the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, he formed into rafts cedar logs 60 cubits long, cedar logs 50 cubits long (and) *ku*-wood logs 25 cubits long, and brought them (thus) out of the mountain“. Then, on the so-called „Cylinder A“ we find²²: „Gudea, the *en*-priest of Ningirsu, made a path in (to) the Cedar Mountain which nobody had entered (before); he cut its cedars with great axes...“ and further: „(Like) giant snakes, cedar rafts were floating down the water (of the river) from the Cedar Mountain, pine rafts from the Pine Mountain...“.

Other possibilities as regards the location of the „Land of the cut-down cedar“ = „The Land of the Living“ were successively suggested by Kramer.

Thus in a special study (1944) he presented several arguments in favour of the identification of that land with *Dilmun* as well as of its location in South-Western Iran. First, he pointed out²³ that the association with the East in such or another form is common to several Sumerian texts referring to the „Cedar Land“ and to some ones concerning *Dilmun*. So, following Kramer that association is to be found:

1. in the discussed poem about Gilgamesh where Utu, the sun god, is considered as the „creature“ of the „Land of the cut-down cedar“²⁴ and in another text which specifies: „Utu, who rises (literally 'his rising is') from the land of aromatics and cedars“²⁵;

²⁰ *Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts* (translator: A. Leo Oppenheim), *ANET*, p. 268; Oppenheim's annotation, note 1 on the p. 268.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 269; see also: W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant. His Business and his Social Position*, Leiden 1950, p. 2.

²² *Babylonian and Assyrian...*, p. 268.

²³ Samuel Noah Kramer, *Dilmun, the Land of the Living*, *BASOR*, Number 96, December 1944, p. 23.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 24/25.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, note 14 on the pp. 20/21.

2. in the „Deluge Myth“ where after a passage relating about the appearance of Utu comes another one referring to Ziusudra, caused by the gods „to dwell in the land of the (sun's) crossing, in Dilmun, the place where the sun rises“²⁶;
3. in a group of texts devoted to Utu in which that god is either described as crossing the land of *Hašur* or designated as the „Lord of the *hašur* forest“ or where is even explicitly said: „O Utu, thine is the land of cedar, the land of *hašur*“²⁷;
4. in the Lugalannemundu (the king of Adab) inscription which enumerates the following countries: *Kur* ^{is} *erin-na* (i.e. „the Land of cedars“), *Elam*, *Marhaši*, *Gutium*, *Subur*, *Martu*, *Sutium*, *Kur-é-an-na* (i.e. Sumer), ranged plausibly, according to Kramer's²⁸ opinion in a geographical order.

Furthermore, Kramer indicated and analysed²⁹ two texts which in his translation and according to his view clearly show that *Dilmun* was noted for its cedars.

1. The first passage, a part of a Dumuzi lament, runs as follows³⁰:
„My shoulder is the cedar, my breast is the cypress,
My ... is the consecrated cedar,
The cedar, the consecrated of *Hašur*,
The *tabooed* of Dilmun“ (or possibly „The *shade* of Dilmun“) ³¹.

In a comment to that passage Kramer remarked³² that it is not unlikely that *Dilmun* cedars were conceived as holy by the Sumerian poets and that it was one or more of these „tabooed cedars“ which Gilgamesh intended to fell.

2. The second passage, a fragment of a Ninisinna hymn, is to be read thus³³:

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 18, 19/20 and notes 9 and 14 on the pp. 19—20.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, note 9 on the p. 20.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 20 and note 13 on the p. 20.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 21, 22, and note 18 on the pp. 21/22; comp. p. 25.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

³¹ *Ibidem*, note 18 on the pp. 21/22; comp. Kramer, *The Sumerians...*, p. 282.

³² Kramer, *Dilmun, the Land...*, p. 22.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

„My house, before Dilmun existed, was fashioned from cedar,
Isin, before Dilmun existed, was fashioned from cedar“.

Nevertheless Kramer agreed³⁴ that the sign which he translated as *erin* = „cedar“ was actually *gišimmar* = „palm tree“ in Chiera's copy of that text. He explained, however, that having in view the fact that both signs „resemble each other not a little“ and considering the whole context, he felt justified to assume that *gišimmar* is a miscopy of *erin*. He indicated³⁵ even some other texts in which, according to his opinion, similar miscopies have been also committed due to a confusion of these signs. As regards the *meritum* of the problem Kramer argued³⁶ that „... while it may be true that houses in Sumer were roofed at times with palm trees, it seems rather unlikely that the poets would make it the proud boast of Ninisinna that her house was built of palm trees, which after all, must have been fairly common all over Sumer; it seems much more probable that it was of cedars she boasted“.

Besides, postulating the equation *Dilmun* = „The Land of the Living“ from the poem about Gilgamesh, Kramer pointed to³⁷ the Sumerian „Paradise Myth“ (i.e. the poem „Enki and Nin-hursag“) where *Dilmun* is described as the place where there is neither sickness nor death.

Finally, Kramer argued³⁸ that „it is more than unlikely“ that the „seven mountains“ which Gilgamesh had to cross on his journey from Erech (Uruk) to the „Land of the Living“ are different from the „seven mountains“ crossed by Lugalbanda on his way from Erech to Aratta, as mentioned in one of the poems about that hero („Lugalbanda and Enmerkar“). Therefore, considering that this poem has explicitly located these mountains in *Anšan*, he assumed that the „Land of the Living“ = „Land of the ... cedar“ = probably with *Dilmun* „is to be sought in the same general direction“.

Summarizing Kramer's conclusions based on all arguments

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 22; comp. p. 23.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 22 and note 20 on the pp. 22/23.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 25 and note 28 on the p. 25.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 26 and notes 30 and 32 on the p. 26.

advanced by him, *Dilmun*, named also *Hašur*³⁹, was situated east of Sumer and south of Elam⁴⁰, stretching along the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf up to the Strait of Ormuz — so, covering to a certain extent the modern Laristan⁴¹ — and „was known as a land of cedars“⁴².

Later on (1950)⁴³ Kramer remarked that the „Land of the Living“ is, perhaps, to be placed on the highland *Hurum*. He based that suggestion on the following passage, quoted by him from another poem about Huwawa and Gilgamesh and referring to that monster:

„My mother who gave birth to me is the 'land' (so, instead of 'highland') Hurum.

My father who begot me is the mountain Hurum,

Utu has made me dwell all alone with him in the 'land'“.

We may add that according to Kramer's view, expressed by him elsewhere (1963)⁴⁴, the highland Hurum is to be search in West Iran, maybe somewhere between Lower Mesopotamia and the Lake Urmia.

Finally, Kramer, considering new inscriptional and archaeological data, was inclined to admit (1963)⁴⁵ that *Dilmun* extended further to the east and included „much if not all“ of these parts of Iran, Baluchistan and India which were englobed by the Indus civilization. He pointed first⁴⁶ to the fact that Sumerian myths describe *Dilmun* as a prosperous land, famous for its purity, cleanliness and „good dwellings“ as well as being intimately

³⁹ *Ibidem*, note 17 on the p. 21.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 18, 20, 23, and notes 11 and 12 on the p. 20.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, note 34 on the p. 26.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 23.

⁴³ *Sumerian Myths...*, note 3 on the p. 47.

⁴⁴ Kramer, *The Sumerians...*, p. 275.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 281; comp. p. 284; Samuel Noah Kramer, *Dilmun: Quest for Paradise*, „Antiquity“, Vol. XXXVII, No 146, June 1963, p. 111.

⁴⁶ Kramer, *Dilmun: Quest...*, p. 113 and note 16 on the p. 116; Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Indus Civilization and Dilmun, The Sumerian Paradise Land*, „Expedition“, Vol. 6, Number 3, Spring 1964, pp. 45—50.

related with Enki, the water god, while Sumerian and Old Babylonian economic texts testify that it has been a place from where ivory and ivory artifacts, alongside other wares, have been imported by sea. Having that in view Kramer observed that all this very well fits with the image which archaeology presents to us of the Indus civilization, whose cities with their developed water installations, i.e. drains, wells and bathes suggest that cleanliness and maybe also the cult of water played an important role in the life of their inhabitants, while riparian sites or even ports, discovered on the Makran, Kathiawar and Gujarat coasts, indicate that it was a maritime power, which, furthermore, was the only wealthy country east of Sumer which could be the source of ivory⁴⁷. Besides, Kramer supported⁴⁸ the bulk of his arguments advanced previously for the identification of *Dilmun* with the „Land of the Living“ = „Land of the cut-down cedar“ from the poem about Gilgamesh. As regards the localization of that land he particularly insisted⁴⁹ on the alleged evidence offered by the Lugalannemundu inscription and emphasized that the eight countries named in it were several times enumerated in that inscription in the same order. So, the „Cedar Land“ mentioned at the head of the list before *Elam*, *Marhaši*, *Gutium*, lying to the east, *Subir* (*Subur*) — to the north and *Martu* — to the west of Sumer, according to Kramer's opinion „would not be identical with the Lebanon to the west but with a land to the east of Elam“.

Before discussing the above mentioned attempts at locating the „Land of the cut-down cedar“ from the poem about Gilgamesh, we must agree that imports of cedars to Lower Mesopotamia from the mountains lying to the north-west from that country seem to be out of dispute and are well documented for the time ranging since the Early Dynastic up to the Assyrian period⁵⁰. So, a brick inscription of an early *ensi* of Lagash, Enannatum I, reports about the cedars brought from the mountains for the roof of

⁴⁷ See: S. R. Rao, *Shipping and Maritime Trade of the Indus People*, „Expedition“, Vol. 7, Number 3, Spring 1965, pp. 30—32, 36.

⁴⁸ Kramer, *The Sumerians...*, pp. 281—282.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 51, 52, 282.

⁵⁰ See: Stanisław Jan Gąsiorowski, *Interpretacja natury w sztuce starożytnej Mezopotamii*, „Archeologia“, XVII, 1966, pp. 4/5.

a temple of Ningirsu⁵¹. Then, as admitted by Leemans⁵² on the basis of the above quoted texts from the time of Naram-Sin and Gudea, much timber, felled in the Amanus and the Lebanon, was floated down the Euphrates. Besides, in the light of the numerous inscriptions from the Old Babylonian period, i.e. the time of the dynasties of Isin, Larsa and the First of Babylon, analysed by Leemans⁵³, cedar-wood along with cypress-wood as well as the oils produced from both these trees were imported from the Amanus and the Lebanon. Furthermore, there are some alleged testimonies for the export of cedar-wood from Mesopotamia, as far as *Dilmun*, for the time of Lugaland⁵⁴, the *ensi* of Lagash, and for the Old Babylonian period⁵⁵. Finally, it may be mentioned here that, as indicated by Contenau⁵⁶, cedar-wood played a certain role in the Sumero-Akkadian magic.

Taking all these evidences into consideration, it appears that the cedar forests of the Amanus and the Lebanon belonged to the area covered by the external trade of the Sumerians since at least the middle phase of the Early Dynastic period, and might have been quite familiar to them since the conquest of Sargon of Agade. So, not to speak about the mentions explicitly indicating the „Cedar Mountain“ of the Amanus, even these references to „cedar areas“, scattered in the historiographical, economic and literary Mesopotamian texts, in which the geographical context is anonymous, in their bulk may be safely reported to cedar forests of the species *Cedrus libani* Laws from the mountains nearest to the NW peripheries of Mesopotamia, i.e. the Lebanon and the Amanus, and may be even those of the Taurus.

There arises now a question whether there are grounds for any doubt as to the origin of the „Cedar Land“ motif from the

⁵¹ British Museum. *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London 1922, p. 58 (numbers 8—9); A. Parrot, *Tello*, Paris 1948, p. 65.

⁵² Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, p. 126; comp. p. 11.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 6 f., 15 f., 92—93, 96, 117, 126 f., 129, 148 f., 151.

⁵⁴ P. B. Cornwall, *On the Location of Dilmun*, BASOR, Number 103, October 1946, pp. 8/9.

⁵⁵ Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, p. 116.

⁵⁶ G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, IV, Paris 1947, p. 1917.

poem „Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living“ and whether there is a possibility to find a compromise between the opposite opinions discussed above. According to the author's view there is such a possibility, certainly quite remote but not to be rejected, on the ground of the hypothesis admitting that the seats of the Proto-Sumerians before they came to Lower Mesopotamia, either by sea or by land⁵⁷, lay somewhere at the foot of the mountain complex of the Hindukush and West Himalayas; thus perhaps even in Baluchistan, one of the places suggested by Gadd⁵⁸ as the possible points of exit of the Proto-Sumerian migration. In all these submontane regions every people, not necessarily inhabiting the slopes but settled in the valleys could have been well acquainted with the cedar forests of the species *Cedrus deodara* Loud., the so-called deodar, once covering there a far greater area than nowadays⁵⁹. At present the cedars occur in that part of Asia, both in the more or less pure communities (e.g. in Nuristan, Chenab breach) and in the mixed-woods, scattered on the area stretching from the North Baluchistan through the Sulaiman Range (mainly in Waziristan), Safed Koh (Paropamis), Hindukush (mainly in Nuristan, Kafiristan and Dardistan), Karakoram (Baltistan), Ladakh, Kashmir Valley and West Himalayas up to Central Nepal⁶⁰. As regards Kashmir Valley cedars are extremely rare, as indicated by Vishnu-Mittre and Sharma⁶¹, on the

⁵⁷ See: Hartmut Schmökel, *Das Land Sumer. Die Wiederentdeckung der ersten Hochkultur der Menschheit* (2nd edition), Stuttgart 1956, p. 49.

⁵⁸ C. J. Gadd, *The Spirit of Living Sacrifices in Tombs*, „Iraq“, Vol. XXII, 1960, p. 55.

⁵⁹ Vishnu-Mittre & B. D. Sharma, *Studies of Postglacial Vegetational History from the Kashmir Valley, I. Haigam Lake*, „The Palaeobotanist“, Vol. 15, Numbers 1—2, September 1966, p. 210.

⁶⁰ Ulrich Schweinfurth, *Die horizontale und vertikale Verbreitung der Vegetation im Himalaya*, Bonn 1957, pp. 12, 16—18, 23, 26, 43, 45, 57, 59, 76, 77, 282/283, 288, 290; O. H. K. Spate & T. A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan. A General and Regional Geography*, Third edition (Richard Clay), Bungay, Suffolk 1967, pp. 468, 492; comp. *Derevya i kustarniki SSSR*, I: *Golosemennye*, Akademia Nauk SSSR, Moskva—Leningrad 1949, p. 183 and map (fig. 38) on the p. 155.

⁶¹ Vishnu-Mittre, *Some Aspects Concerning Pollen-Analytical Investigations in the Kashmir Valley*, „The Palaeobotanist“, Vol. 15,

side of the Pir Panjal Range, but in other parts of the Valley they appear equally in the dry and moist regions. In the past the abundance of cedars in Kashmir fluctuated, as seen from the pollen diagrams established for the sediments of the Haigam Lake to the north-west of Srinagar (alt. 1700 m.) and Toshmaidan (alt. 3300 m.), but has been evidently greater in some periods than to-day⁶². In any case in the so-called stage „b“ („Conifer-mixed-wood phase“), corresponding to the „boreal“ climatic phase („The Early Warm Period“) and the „Neolithic“ phase 1 of the sequence of cultures recognized in Burzahom in North Kashmir⁶³, the extension of cedars in that region was comparatively high⁶⁴. An approximate *terminus ante quem*, based on the radio-carbon testes, which according to Vishnu-Mittre and Sharma⁶⁵ can be assigned to that phase, is ± 1860 B.C.⁶⁶. Therefore, the stage „b“ overlaps the time-life of the Indus civilization and that of the preceding chalcolithic cultures of the Baluchistan, Sind and Punjab. That cedars were used as timber for building and other purposes in the towns of the above mentioned civilization is testified to by the charred ends of beams of that wood found in a wall (house VIII in the HR area) at Mohenjo-Daro⁶⁷ as well as by the remains of a deodar-element from a coffin at Harappa⁶⁸. That timber of

Numbers 1—2, September 1966, pp. 159, 161, 173/174; Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *Studies... 1. Haigam Lake*, p. 210.

⁶² Vishnu-Mittre, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 194—202, 204—205, 207—208. comp.: idem, *Studies of Post-Glacial Vegetational History from the Kashmir Valley*, 2. *Baba Rishi and Yus Maidan*, „The Palaeobotanist“, Vol. 17, Number 3, August 1969, pp. 232, 237, 238, 241.

⁶³ Vishnu-Mittre, *op. cit.*, Table 1 on the p. 166; Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *Studies... 1. Haigam Lake*, pp. 194, 203.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 194, 204.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

⁶⁶ Comp. F. Dales, *A Suggested Chronology for Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the Indus Valley*, in: *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, edited by Robert W. Ehrich, Chicago—London 1967, p. 276.

⁶⁷ Sir John Marshall (Editor), *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931, Vol. I: Text, p. 19; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B. C.*, Harmondsworth—Middlesex 1950, p. 135; Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *Studies... 1. Haigam Lake*, p. 210.

⁶⁸ K. A. Choudhury & S. S. Ghosh, *Plant Remains from Harappa* 1946, „Ancient India“ 1951, Number 7, pp. 3—19.

various trees, as pine, sisso — also known from the charred samples⁶⁹ — but presumably also that of cedars, might have been used as diverse building elements, i.e. beams, pillars, door-lintels, treads, may be guessed from the structure of the excavated constructions⁷⁰. As agreed by archaeologists⁷¹, the cedar timber — and we may add here pine timber too — might have been floated down the Indus and its affluents from the Himalayan forests of Kashmir. Thus, as remarked by Wheeler⁷², burn-bricks to which production the wooden-fuel was indispensable are especially characteristic of those sites of the Indus civilization which are accessible by water. Besides, the view expressed by several scholars (Marshall, Mackay, Piggott, Wheeler)⁷³ that the local dendroflora of Sind and Punjab was more abundant in the time of the Indus civilization, was recently criticized by Rakes and Dales⁷⁴ who after analysing in detail the available botanical, zoological and archaeological evidence have demonstrated that they indicate an „environment little changed from that of the present day“. So, we may admit, it seems probable, that this comparatively distant mountain source of timber might have been extensively exploited, if not for fuel, maybe sufficiently supplied, as suggested by Rakes and Dales⁷⁵, by the local gallery forests along the Lower Indus, then in any case for building elements. The exploitation of wood resources of the West Himalayas by the civilized inhabitants of the Indus Valley in connection with their

⁶⁹ Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁷⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 133, 263; E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, New Delhi 1939, Vol. I: Text, pp. 51, 68, 75, 92, 113, 116, 121, 125, 169, 476, 650; Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, in: *The Cambridge History of India*, Supplementary Volume, Cambridge 1953, pp. 28, 31, 41, 102.

⁷¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, note 3 on the p. 19; Piggott, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 175; Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁷² Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁷³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 266; Piggott, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 134, 135; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 5; comp. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*, London 1959, pp. 107, 112.

⁷⁴ Robert L. Raikes & Robert H. Dyson, *The Prehistoric Climate of Baluchistan and the Indus Valley*, „American Anthropologist“, Vol. 63, Number 2, Part 1, April 1961, pp. 273, 275—277.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 277.

urban achievements⁷⁶ and slightly later on by the first Aryan settlers of the Kashmir Valley in connection with their agricultural and pastoral enterprises⁷⁷, might have been the main agent, maybe even more effective, as emphasized by Vishnu-Mittre and Sharma⁷⁸, than the climatic changes, of the gradual deforestation of that area⁷⁹.

Which could be the implications of all these facts for the discussed problem? In any case we may consider it quite possible, though not proved so far, that the peoples of the chalcolithic cultures of Sind and Punjab (Amri), preceding the Indus civilization, might have utilized already the cedars from West Himalayas, while the peoples of the chronologically parallel or even older cultures of Baluchistan (Nal, Kulli) and Afghanistan⁸⁰ — those of Hindukush and adjacent mountains. Were there also among them the ancestors of the Sumerians, it would be not impossible that these once vast forests of the magnificent and valuable cedars have so deeply impressed the mind of this people that, perhaps, already at that time the motif of the „Cedar Land“ was born and entered into their mythology and maybe also the belief in an anthropomorphical giant known later as Huwawa, who was to live in that land⁸¹. In any case the memory about these splendid forests might persist their more or less long lasting

⁷⁶ Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization...*, pp. 7/8.

⁷⁷ Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 210; comp. G. S. Puri, *Indian Forest Ecology*, New Delhi—London 1960, Vol. II, p. 659.

⁷⁸ Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁷⁹ Though all these factors have greatly affected the population of cedars (deodars), heavy losses were caused also by the black bears stripping off the bark and by the flying squirrels destructing the young cones of these trees (see: Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

⁸⁰ Dales, *op. cit.*, pp. 257—280.

⁸¹ It may be recalled here that the beliefs in the existence of such giants or akin beings are widespread in the mountains of the Asiatic interior from West China up to the Caucasus and among the peoples belonging to various ethnic groups, which facts appear to be in favour of the great ancientness of these ideas. Taking into consideration that similar beliefs were noted also in West and East Pamir (see: A. Z. Rosenfeld, *O nekotorykh perežitkah drevnykh verovanii u prypamirskikh narodov (v svjazi s legendoy o „snejnem cheloveke“)*, „Sovetskaya Etnografiya“, 4, 1959, pp. 55—66) as well as in West Himalayas (Kashmir, Gharwal) (see: Odette Tchernine, *The Snowman and Company*,

wandering up to Mesopotamia — during which, whether it happened by sea or by land, they rather had no chance to meet such forests beyond the northern peripheries of Baluchistan or the Safed Koh Range — and then form the nucleus of the discussed Sumerian poem. Later on, around this basic motif there could possibly have arisen new items and the old ones be transformed, and the whole story could be actualized against the local historical and geographical background as to include the theme of Gilgamesh, the ruler of Uruk. Furthermore, the acquaintance with the cedar forests of the Amanus and the Lebanon, most probably since the Early Dynastic period, could well have dimmed and subsequently even eclipsed the reminiscence of the cedar forests known possibly to the Proto-Sumerians in their old mother-land. Such a shifting of the localization of the mythological „Cedar Land“ might have been definitely fixed since from the subjugation of Sumer by the Akkadians, whose seats lying further north were nearer to the Lebanon, Amanus and Taurus, while the military conquests of Sargon of Agade encompassed even these mountains⁸², facilitating an autopsy of their cedar forests to the people of South Mesopotamia.

If we accept the above presented possibility, it seems that there is no need to depend the localization of the „Land of the cut-down cedar“ = „The Land of the Living“ of Gilgamesh from that of *Dilmun*; more so, if we consider the great amount of arguments in favour of the location of the latter on the Bahrein island⁸³, where we would search for cedar forests in vain⁸⁴. Having

London 1961, pp. 134—138, 141) it does not seem improbable, if the former seats of the Proto-Sumerians lay somewhere nearby these mountains, that the Huwawa motif originated there too.

⁸² Comp. Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, p. 11.

⁸³ Cornwall, *op. cit.*, pp. 4—9; P. B. Cornwall, *Two Letters from Dilmun*, „Journal of Cuneiform Studies“, Vol. VI, Number 4, 1952, pp. 137—139, 141—142, 144, 145; H. Heras, *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, Vol. I, Bombay 1953, p. 193; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Seafaring Merchants of Ur*, „Journal of the American Oriental Society“, Vol. 74, Number 1, 1954, pp. 6—17; P. V. Globb & T. G. Bibby, *A Forgotten Civilization of the Persian Gulf*, „Scientific American“, Vol. 203, Number 4, October 1960, pp. 69—70; Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, p. 159.

⁸⁴ Comp. Cornwall, *On the Location of Dilmun...*, pp. 8, 9.

all that in view, we may, however, suppose that some items of the hypothetical old „Proto-Sumerian“ complex of notions, including among others the prototypes of such motifs like „Cedar Land“ and perhaps also „The Land of the Living“ could have penetrate later on — maybe the latter motif in particular — the *Dilmun* mythology. In connection with this it is to be recalled that *Dilmun*, if located on the Bahrein island, could have been, as suggested by some, the stage on the way of the Proto-Sumerians or their vanguard only⁸⁵ during their alleged migration through the Persian Gulf from their former seats. If so, maybe, Kramer's localization of *Dilmun* on the northern shore of the Arabian Sea would be even acceptable for its „prototype“ and solely for the earliest period of the history of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia or the time preceding their migration into that land. Until, however, there is no evidence that at least some ideas about the „Land of the Living“ or even *Dilmun* toponym has been once shifted from one area to another, as it was postulated by some specialists (e.g. Oppenheim, Leemans)⁸⁶ in respect to the *Meluhha* and *Magan* countries, we may only speculate. Nevertheless, an intriguing testimony of an Indian boatman of the Macchvā caste from the Bhārbhūt village near the Narbada estuary, is to be mentioned here⁸⁷. He stated namely to Allchin in 1967 that according to a local seafarer's oral tradition *Dilmun* was the old name of a harbour lying once somewhere near Goghā or Bhāvnagar on the western shore of the Gulf of Cambay. Allchin strongly insisting that this single statement needs to be corroborated by other testimonies, particularly the inscriptional ones, did not exclude „that the port referred to in Gujarat was once the terminal point of trade with another Dilmun, say on the Persian gulf“ and remarked that dispersal of toponyms was often „linked with the establishment of colonies of immigrants or merchants“. Finally, he indicated that to the west of Goghā, a site

⁸⁵ See: Schmökel, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁸⁶ F. R. Allchin, *Dilmun and the Gulf of Cambay*, „Antiquity“, Vol. XLVIII, No 172, December 1969, pp. 315—316, 317.

⁸⁷ Oppenheim, *The Seafaring...*, p. 16; Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, pp. 159 ff.

„which in Harappan times may well have had direct connexions with the sea“, has been discovered.

Have we now at the present stage of research any indices in favour of the author's suggestions concerning the localization of the „Cedar Land“ from the poem about Gilgamesh? Even, if we consider the whole contents of the poem, which in a great part may be of later formation, and regard Kramer's translation of all „dendronyms“ and topographical designations as correct, we cannot obtain sufficient indications. Furthermore, even, if we admit that the „seven mountains“ alluded to in this poem have been correctly localized by Kramer (1944) in *Anšan*, it seems, that we are not authorized to specify the location of the „Cedar Land“. In any case, following the narration of the poem, Gilgamesh on his way to the „Land of the cut-down cedar“ had to go through a plain where willows, apple-trees and box-trees were growing, and a mountainous country, without crossing the sea. Unfortunately, these three floristical items⁸⁸ do not permit to determine precisely the geographical context which the author of the poem had in mind. In fact, not only two species of the willow (*Salix alba* L. and *Salix acmophylla* Boiss.)⁸⁹ and these or others species of the box-tree (*Buxus sempervirens* L., *Buxus colchica* Pojark., *Buxus hyrcana* Pojark.)⁹⁰ but most probably also the apple-tree (*Malus communis* L.)⁹¹ occurred in the Sumerian times at least in three regions considered in connection with the localization of the „Cedar Land“ from the poem about Gilgamesh, i.e. South

⁸⁸ May I express here my gratitude to Prof. dr Jan Kornaš who pointed out to me and gave me a possibility to go through some studies on Indian flora (Schweinfurth, Puri), and indicated me other phyto-geographical publications.

⁸⁹ *Derevya i kustarniki...*, I, pp. 142, 157, 162—167 and map (fig. 35) on the p. 151; comp. Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 45; Puri, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 79.

⁹⁰ See: *Derevya i kustarniki SSSR*, IV: *Pokrytosemennnye*, Akademia Nauk SSSR, Moskva—Leningrad 1959, pp. 292, 295, 297; L. I. Kuranov, N. A. Komarnickiy, K. I. Meyer, V. F. Razdorskiy, A. A. Ivanov, *Botanika*, Tom II: *Sistematika rasteniy*, Moskva 1951, p. 254; comp. M. E. Hardy, *The Geography of Plants*, Oxford 1946, p. 49.

⁹¹ L. Guyot, *Histoire des plantes cultivées*, Paris 1963, p. 76; comp. Vishnu-Mittre & Sharma, *Studies... 1. Haigam Lake*, p. 204.

Anatolia, North-Western Iran and West Himalayas. Only the fact that in certain lexical texts from the Old Babylonian period⁹², enumerating some products, „boxwood tree“ is listed along with cedar and cypress, may speak, it seems, in favour of the Near-Eastern localization of the geographical context from the discussed passage of the poem.

Neither can we expect help from the fragment of the Ninisinna Hymn analysed by Kramer, vague and controversial as to its translation. So, the opinion of Cornwall⁹³ according to which one cannot rely on the text „as rich in metaphor and imagery“ and „indeterminate in meaning“, seems to be quite justifiable. Cornwall did not exclude⁹⁴ even the correctness of Kramer's translation of the discussed sign as *erin* = „cedar“, but he admitted too the possibility that Chiera's deciphering of it as *gišimmar* = „palm tree“ may appear to be correct. He remarked also further⁹⁵ „that in the cuneiform writing of the third millennium B.C. the sign *erin* was hard to confuse with that of *gišimmar*“. Besides, Cornwall expressed⁹⁶ the view that in the translation of the disputed sign „... it is surely better to retain 'palm tree', the more so since we know that Dilmun was a great producer of dates“. Finally, he emphasized⁹⁷ that he could not find any material indicating that Laristan „was ever a 'land of cedars' like Lebanon“. We may add here also that nowhere in Iran *sensu stricto* are to be found cedar forests and that there are no proofs up till now that they existed there during the third millennium B.C., though possibly they could be expected in the mountains stretching nearby the southern shore of the Caspian Sea⁹⁸. In any case it is to be noted here that as concerns West Iran, in the pollen diagrams from the

⁹² Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, pp. 6/7.

⁹³ Cornwall, *On the Location of Dilmun...*, p. 8.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, note 25 on the p. 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, note 26 on the p. 9.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, note 25 on the p. 8.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, note 24 on the p. 8.

⁹⁸ See: Per Wendelbo, *Trekk av Afghanistans Plantgeografi*, „Botanica Gothburgensia“, V, Göteborg 1966, pp. 7, 16; comp. E. V. Wulff, *An Introduction to Historical Plant Geography*, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1950, map (fig. 21) on the p. 171.

Zeribar Lake in Kurdistan and Mirabad Lake in Luristan, cedars have not been testified⁹⁹.

As regards the passage from the Dumuzi Lament, quoted by Kramer, it does not seem to have necessarily a direct importance for the localization of the „Cedar Land“ from the poem about Gilgamesh and for its identification with *Dilmun*. Nevertheless, the allusion to „The cedar, the consecrated of *Hašur*, the *tabooed* (or the *shade*) of Dilmun“, being so obscure as it is and difficult to interpret, we may agree, provokes to some speculations, and in any case points to an association of cedars both with *Hašur* and *Dilmun*. Unfortunately, neither cedar nor cypress themselves, nor their juxtaposition in the same line of the discussed passage where we read „My shoulder is the cedar, my breast is the cypress“, determine definitely the geographical context, as both these trees occur in some regions equally in the East Mediterranean (*Cedrus libani* Laws., *Cupressus sempervirens* L.)¹⁰⁰ and the West Himalayan (*Cedrus deodara* Loud., *Cupressus torulosa* D. Don)¹⁰¹ area. Besides, though it is quite evident that cedars as well as cypresses have abundantly grown in the antiquity in the Lebanon, Amanus and Taurus mountains¹⁰², we have indices that both these genera might have once coexisted too in the West Himalayas where up till now cypresses appear frequently in the deodar forests¹⁰³. However, cedars and cypresses or oils prepared from them are often mentioned side by side in the Old Babylonian commercial texts¹⁰⁴ and according to the opinion of Leemans¹⁰⁵ most of these products might have originated in the Lebanon and the Amanus. Furthermore, a passage from a Neo-Assyrian text which,

⁹⁹ W. van Zeist, *Late Quaternary Vegetation History of Western Iran*, „Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology“, Number 2, 1967, pp. 306 (fig. 2), 307 (fig. 3). I am greatly indebted to Dr Krystyna Wasylkowa for pointing out this publication to me.

¹⁰⁰ *Derevya i kustarniki...*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 181, 182, 322.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 325, 331; Puri, *Indian Forest...*, Vol. II, p. 240; Schweinfurth, *Die horizontale...*, pp. 77, 283, 288, 290, 327.

¹⁰² Comp. Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, p. 4.

¹⁰³ See: Carl Alwin Schenk, *Fremdländische Wald- und Parkbäume*, Zweiter Band: *Die Nadelhölzer*, Berlin 1939, p. 109.

¹⁰⁴ See: note 53.

¹⁰⁵ Leemans, *Foreign Trade...*, p. 127; comp. p. 126.

as emphasized by Leemans¹⁰⁶, „shows the mountains in the West as origin of some articles“, following the translation presented by this author enumerates „... pure water of the Amanus, cuttings of aromatic plants from the Hašur mountains, the mountain of the cedars, viz. the products of the cedar, the cypress, the almond, the *supalu* tree, reed and storax (?) from the(ir) home in the pure mountain (?)“. Thus, it seems that the above mentioned written sources tend to support the Near Eastern localization for the toponyms (i.e. *Hašur* and *Dilmun*) named in the discussed fragment of the Dumuzi Lament.

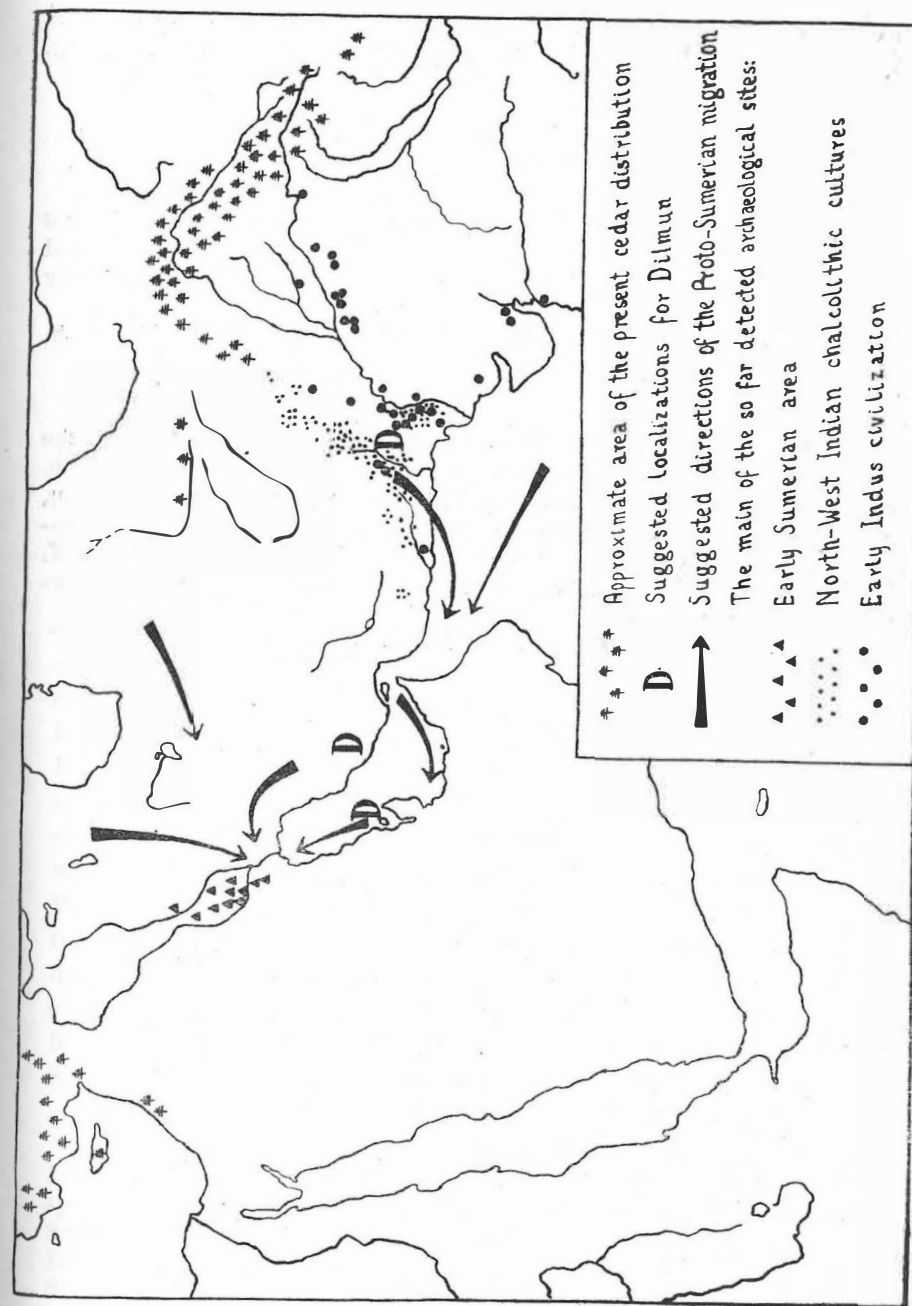
But we should take also into consideration that due to slightly different climatic conditions which reigned once in Iran and caused that this country was more forested than nowadays¹⁰⁷, the „Iranian gap“ in the distribution of cedars and cypresses¹⁰⁸ might have been not so wide. If so, we are not authorized, it seems, to exclude a possibility that some hearsays or even more detailed information about other areas overgrown with these trees, maybe lying somewhere on the north-eastern confines of Iran *sensu largo* — where up till now the remnants of cedar forests have survived on the Safed Koh Range — could reach through the land or sea routes the commercial centres of the Near East.

So, for the time being, the inscription of Lugalannemundu, the recurrent association of Utu, the sun-god, with the „Cedar Land“ and the above mentioned fragment of the Dumuzi Lament seem the most important and suggestive of all evidences which have been presented here. Until, however, new texts, the translation of which could be considered as indisputable and which independently of the Levantine „Cedar Land“ would evidently locate another one to the east of Mesopotamia, the discussed question remains unsolved though open. On the other hand the advance of research concerning the location of the former seats of the Proto-Sumerians and the route of their migration to Mesopotamia, and particularly further studies of the alleged traces of the lin-

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁷ *Comp. ibidem*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ See: *Derevya i kustarniki...*, *op. cit.*, I, maps: fig. 35 on the p. 155 and fig. 80 on the p. 317.



guistic (Braun, Christian)¹⁰⁹, and possibly even of the cultural (Christian)¹¹⁰, affinities between that people and some of the Tibeto-Burman peoples, would be here of special interest.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANET — *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament* edited by James B. Pritchard, Second Edition corrected and enlarged, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1955.

BASOR — *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*, Jerusalem—Baghdad.

¹⁰⁹ Viktor Christian, *Die Herkunft der Sumerer*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte. 236 Bd., 1 Abh., Wien 1961, pp. 26—32; Jan Braun, *Pochodzenie języka sumeryjskiego*, Sesja Jubileuszowa XXX-lecia Instytutu Orientalistycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (21—22. I. 1964), *Komunikaty Naukowe*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1964, pp. 31—36.

¹¹⁰ Christian, *op. cit.*, pp. 40—47, 52—54.

RAJMUND OHLY

USTAARABU

Der Wortschatz der Swahili-Sprache enthält sogenannte Schlüsselwörter, in denen der lange, Jahrhunderte dauernde, Entwicklungsprozess gegenseitiger Einwirkung von arabischen, persischen, indischen und bantu Kulturkreisen an der ost-afrikanischen Küste, wie in Bernsteinen eingefropft ist. Zu diesen Wörtern gehört *ustaarabu*, welches den Begriff „1. Kenntnis von Sachen, die ein kulturelles Leben bedingen, 2. Zivilisation“ (J 436)¹ wiedergibt. Dieses Abstraktum bildet eine reguläre abgeleitete Substantivform von *staarabu* („Wissen erringen, weise sein, Sachkenntnis besitzen, zivilisiert sein“ (J 436)), die mit Hilfe des Klassenpräfixes (14) *u-* konstruiert worden ist. Das Verbum *staarabu* wurde als Lehnwort aus dem Arabischen übernommen: *istaʿaraba* اسْتَعْرَبَ X „sich den Arabern assimilieren, zum Araber werden, die Sitten der Araber übernehmen“ (W 541), wobei das Verbindungsälf ausgefallen ist und das Suffix *-u* als Eigenschaftsbestimmung dem Stamm angefügt wurde. Vergleichen wir die ursprüngliche arabische Bedeutung mit dem swahilischen Wortsinne, dann können wir die Erweiterung des Bedeutungsbereiches feststellen: „die Sitten der Araber übernehmen“ → „Kenntnis von Sachen, die ein kulturelles Leben bedingen“ = „Zivilisation“. Da-

¹ Abk. J = F. Johnson, *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, London 1958; W = H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1952; Prins = A. H. J. Prins, *The Swahili-Speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast*, London 1961; B = C. G. Büttner, *Wörterbuch der Suaheli-Sprache*, Stuttgart—Berlin 1890.