

En effet, ces noms ne diffèrent, au point de vue de la graphie, que par un seul point. Mais, ce qui plus est, ils sont liés aussi par leur signification, et leur emploi ici n'est pas fortuit. En effet, le nom de la femme — *Turknāz* s'associe au mot *nāz* „coquetterie“, tandis que le nom de l'homme qui l'aime — *Turktāz* est lié avec le verbe *tāhtan* „assaillir“ (thème du présent *tāz*-).

Les exemples cités et discutés ci-dessus sont, bien sûr, loin d'être une présentation complète et détaillée de la puissance créatrice de Nizāmī et de sa maîtrise. Pour l'achever, il aurait fallu de citer le poème tout entier car presque dans chaque *bait* on peut déceler une figure neuve et originale, une métaphore ou comparaison dont l'ingéniosité et justesse surprennent le lecteur.

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Je tiens à exprimer ici ma profonde reconnaissance à Monsieur le Professeur Franciszek Machalski de l'Université Jagellone de Cracovie qui avait eu la bonté d'assister à l'élaboration de ce thème et qui m'avait prêté une aide précieuse lors de la préparation du manuscrit du travail ci-haut présenté.

ZDZISŁAW J. KAPERA

WAS YA-MA-NI A CYPRIOT?

The last quarter of the eight century B. C. i.e. the turn of the Geometric and Archaic period in Cyprus is exceptionally weakly documented by written sources. Hence every slightest reference found in the Sargon II official *Annals* (and not only the *Annals*) is of great importance for reconstructing the political history of the island (within the limits of existing possibilities). On the other hand, however, this may give rise to exaggerated interpretations. In the present *communiqué* the results of investigations connected with the person of *Ya — ma — ni*, the leader of the anti-Assyrian rebellion in Ashdod and suspected of being a native of Cyprus, are presented¹.

Who was Yamani, who stood behind him or inspired his activity? Scholars' opinions are divided in this respect. Let us compare the most typical views relating to him and next answer the question asked in this paper. As all the speculations concerning Yamani are based on his name let us remind ourselves how it is spelled in the Sargon II texts and what conclusions were drawn from its orthography.

The name Yamani appears only in Sargon II inscriptions

¹ The course of the rebellion which took place in the years c-a 713—709 and the conquest of Ashdod in 712 B. C. by „turtanu“ which was its turning point are the subject of a separate paper. Cf. Z. J. Kapera, *Powstanie Jamaniego w Aszdodzie i jego domniemane związki z Cyprzem* (Yamani's Rebellion in Ashdod and His Supposed Connections with Cyprus), *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* (in the press).

concerning Ashdod events *circa* 712 B. C., but not in all the descriptions of rebellion. We find them in turn:

1. *Annals*, 220 Ia — at — na² or Ia — ad — na³
2. *Annals of the Room XIV*, 11 Ia — ma — ni⁴
3. *Display Inscription*. 95 and 101 (I) ia — ma — ni⁵ or Ia — ma — ni⁶
4. *Broken Prism A* (Fragment D), 17 and 40 (I) ia — ma — ni⁷.

At first E. Schrader was of the opinion that Yamani was „an Ashdodite proper name“⁸. This opinion was overlooked in the literature of the subject. Another interpretation resulting from juxtaposing Yamani's name with the appellation: *Yadnana* (Yatna), *Yamna* denoting the island of Cyprus became generally accepted⁹. This was H. Winckler's suggestion. He was the author

² H. Winckler, *De inscriptione Sargonis regis Assyriae que vocatur Annalium*, Berolini 1886, s. 50 and *Die Keilinschrifttexte Sargons* (= *KTS*), Leipzig 1899, vol. 1, p. 36.

³ D. D. Luckenbill, *Jadanan and Javan (Danaans and Ionians)*, ZA 1913, p. 93. Why on the other hand in G. Maspero's handbook (*Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classiques*, Vol. 3, *Les empires*, Paris 1899, p. 253 note 1) there is *Yatnani* is hard to say.

⁴ H. Winckler, *KTS*, vol. 1, p. 82 and F. H. Weißbach, *Zu den Inschriften der Säle im Palaste Sargon's II. von Assyrien*, ZDMG 72, 1918, p. 178.

⁵ H. Winckler, *KTS*, vol. 1, p. 114 and his: *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (= *KTAT*), 2nd ed., Leipzig 1903, p. 39.

⁶ E. E. Peiser, *Inschriften Sargon's* (§ 3. *Die grosse Prunkinschrift*), in *Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung*, ed. by E. Schrader (= *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Band II), Berlin 1890, p. 64.

⁷ H. Winckler, *KTS*, vol. 1, p. 186 and his *KTAT*, p. 41.

⁸ E. Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (translated from the 2nd German edition), London—Edinburgh 1888, vol. 2, p. 235 s. v. יַמָּנִי Ja — ma — ni. The interpretation was changed in editions corrected by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler: E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (= *KAT*), 3rd. ed., Berlin 1903, p. 70 note 1.

⁹ E. Schrader (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung. Ein Beitrag zur monumentalen Geographie, Geschichte und Chronologie der Assyrier*, Giessen 1878, pp. 242—244) and F. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies? Eine biblisch-assyriologische Studie*, Leipzig 1881, p. 291 f) were one of the first to speak when the identification *mat* Ja — at — na — na

of Sargon II inscriptions re-edition who at first thought Yamani to be an Arab, a man from Yemen¹⁰. This view was much criticized by A. T. Olmstead who ended his arguments with the correct statement that it is difficult to imagine „the conductor of a Minaean caravan“ as the leader of an anti-Assyrian rebellion¹¹. In spite of this criticism some other scholars¹² shared H. Winckler's doubts. The latter, however, decidedly changed his opinion and in his next studies he suggested Yamani's Cypriot origin, more exactly that Yamani was probably a Greek (an Ionian) from Cyprus. In his opinion an Assyrian scribe took the Ashdodite rebellion leader's ethnos for his personal name. H. Winckler expressed the dependence of the name on the Assyrian name for Cyprus as follows:

Yamani (Ya — ma — ni) < *Yaman* (Yawan) } CYPRUS¹³
Yatna (Ya — ad — na) < *Yadnana* (Yatnana, Atnana)

In 1912 A. T. Olmstead also drew attention to the parallelism of the interchangeability of Yamani and Yatna with Yamna and with Cyprus was discussed. The identification is now generally accepted. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Some Oriental Glosses on the Homeric Problem*, AJA 54, 1950, pp. 171 f; W. Röllig, *Griechen in Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, hrsgg. W. von Soden, Bd. III, Lief. 9, Berlin—New York 1971, pp. 644 f.

¹⁰ H. Winckler, *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'in. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ältesten Arabien und zur Bibelkritik*, Berlin 1896 (MVAG 3/1), p. 26 note 1 (non vidi), after G. Maspero, *l. cit.*

¹¹ A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, 722—705 B. C., New York 1908, pp. 77 f (note 62).

¹² Among them K. L. Tallqvist, the author of the Assyrian dictionary of personal names (*Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, p. 91 s. v. Jaman) and S. A. Cook (in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III, *The Assyrian Empire*, Cambridge 1925, p. 389: „... the Yamani (or Yatna) ... was, as his name suggests, a Yemenite from south Arabia, or, more probably, an Ionian of Cyprus).

¹³ H. Winckler, *KTS*, vol. 1, p. XXX note 2. Repeated in his elaboration of E. Schrader's work, third edition, *KAT*, p. 70 note 1. Nota bene it is possible only to guess H. Winckler's suggestion is based on A. Wiedemann's and F. Hommel's earlier remarks (*Die Semitischen Völker*, Leipzig 1881, p. 430 note 12) concerning the identity of *Jamnā* of Sargon, Sennacherib's inscriptions and those of *Jāmanu* (*Jāvanu*, *Javan*) from Achaemenid's, where undoubtedly we are dealing with Greeks (Ionians).

Yatnana, associating both names with Cyprus¹⁴ and in the next years D. D. Luckenbill¹⁵ made use of the above quoted observation, suggesting that the Assyrian scribe writing the *Annals* must have considered the words *Yamani* and *Yatna* as synonyms. Moreover in his translation of Sargon II texts he once translated *Yamani* as a personal name and in the remaining cases as an ethnicon, namely „a Greek“¹⁶.

It seemed that *Yamani*'s identification as a Greek adventurer native to Cyprus would be permanently accepted in the literature of the subject. R. H. Hall and S. Smith were of the same opinion¹⁷ at the beginning of twenties. A. T. Olmstead shared it¹⁸ in his successive, Assyrian, Syrian and Palestinian handbooks of history. A. Leo Oppenheim, the editor of the texts concerning the Ashdodite rebellion included in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, did not interfere with D. D. Luckenbill's translations but thought that the word *Ya — ma — ni* denoted an *Ionian*¹⁹.

Among polish scholars only Wilhelm Michalski declared his opinion regarding the gentilic *Ya — ma — ni* (= *Yawani*) translating it as „a Greek“. So he followed the generally accepted view²⁰.

¹⁴ A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia...*, p. 77.

¹⁵ D. D. Luckenbill, *Jadanan and Javan...*, p. 93.

¹⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (= ARAB), vol. 2, Chicago 1927, §§ 30, 62, 79—80, 193—195.

¹⁷ Cf. suitable *CAH*, vol. III, pp. 277 and 58.

¹⁸ A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, Chicago 1960 (= 1923), p. 218 („a mercenary Greek soldier from Cyprus who is simply called by Sargon *Iamani*, the *Ionian*“) and his: *History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest*, New York—London 1931, p. 469) „... *Iamani*, the *Ionian* from Cyprus, the first appearance of a Greek in the history of Palestine“).

¹⁹ A. L. Oppenheim, *Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts* in J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1950, p. 286 note 12. A. Malamat also held the view, that *Yamani* means an *Ionian* (i. e. a Greek) and even perhaps a Cypriot (IEJ 1, 1950—1951, pp. 150 f — quoted after J. Kaplan, *The Stronghold of Yamani at Ashdod-Yam*, IEJ 19, 1969, p. 149, note 28).

It was not until 1958 i. e. the date of H. Tadmor's publication that a change in the literature of the subject was observed. On the margin of the Sargon II war campaigns the author touched upon the subject of *Yamani*'s name refuting its hitherto existing definitions. He presented quite a convincing argument to shake H. Winckler's and A. T. Olmstead's and others scholars' reasonings. To accept the interpretation that *Yamani* means „*Ionian*“ and *Ya — ad — na* „a man from Cyprus (*Yadnana*)“ the gentilic should be cut in the following way by Assyrian stone cutters: KUR *Iamanā* and *Iadnanā* respectively²¹. In reality, however, it is spelled in a different way²². H. Tadmor compares a series of contemporary personal names taken from the Assyrian archives in Niniveh of very similar sound: [m] A — a — i — man — nu mIa — a — ma — ni, mIa — man — ni, mIa — man — nu — u²³ to stress it was a name and not a gentilic. One case only is known when the name of *Yamani* type corresponds to the form of gentilic „Greek“ namely the name mIa — man — i — a — a²⁴. But as is known from elsewhere, the person bearing the name, the „supposed“ Greek, had some brothers bearing... Assyrian names²⁵. H. Tadmor does not attempt to explain the name *Yamani* on the basis of the Assyrian language. He draws attention instead to Biblical parallels of the name: 1. *Iamîn* of Simeon's house (1 Chr. 4, 24) and of Jerachmiel's house (1 Chr. 2, 27); 2. *Imnā* (Gen. 46, 17), or *Imna'* (1 Chr. 7, 35). This fact allows him to suggest

²⁰ W. Michalski, *Epoka wielkich podbojów asyryjskich a prorocy Amos, Ozeasz, Izajasz*, Poznań—Warszawa—Wilno—Lublin 1924, p. 85 note 2 and a reprint in: *Biblia i Teologia. Praca Zbiorowa*, Poznań etc. 1925, p. 125 note 1.

²¹ H. Tadmor, *The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study*, JCS 12, 1958, p. 80 note 217.

²² Cf. above, notes 2—7.

²³ H. Tadmor, *l. cit.* Nota bene H. Tadmor made use of K. L. Tallqvist's dictionary. Cf. K. L. Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 91 s. v. *Iamani* and *Iamannū*.

²⁴ C. H. W. Johns, *An Assyrian Domsday Book or Liber Censualis of the District round Harran in the Seventh Century B. C.*, Leipzig 1901, No 7, II, 4 — quoted after H. Tadmor, *l. cit.* (Note: As Prof. J. Zabłocka kindly informed me in July 1972 this name would be read *Ja — U. U. — ia — a* according to Dr. Postgate's recent decipherment).

²⁵ C. H. W. Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 61 (as above).

Yamani „was of local Palestinian origin“²⁶. Thus we have come back to the starting point of our considerations. As has been pointed out above it was already E. Schrader's idea²⁷ to interpret the name Yamani as local.

To support H. Tadmor's point of view and to indicate a certain popularity of the name of *Yamani* ~ *Yamin* type further examples of this name in the Old Testament can be given: 1. Gen 46, 10 (cf. Ex. 6, 15); 2. Nb. 26, 12 (...for Jamin the *Jaminite* clan [descends] — יָמִינִי; 3. Neh. 8, 7 (Levite)²⁸. It is evident even from the examples given here that it is one of the oldest Hebraic names. It is deeply rooted in the Canaanite milieu. For it should be remembered that in the Ugaritic Pantheon there is the deity of YMM and the names of (*abdi*-)*yamm* and *yamūnu* type occur²⁹. The district *Ym'n*³⁰ was not far away from Ugarit. Whether or not they are associated with the later name *Yamani* and its Assyrian version is an enigma³¹.

²⁶ H. Tadmor, *l. cit.* He repeated the view in his next works. Cf. the note 35 below.

²⁷ Cf. note 8.

²⁸ W. Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1966 (= 1907), p. 412, s. v. יָמִינִי.

²⁹ F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rom 1967 (= *Studia Pohl* 1), p. 144 and J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1967, p. 129, f. Cf. also: J. C. de Moor-Kampen, *The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit*, Ugarit-Forschungen 2, 1970, pp. 193 and 201 (n° 116, 118, 119).

³⁰ „The land where are buffaloes by myriads“. Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 3rd. ed., Rome 1965, p. 170, text 51: I, 43 and p. 411, n° 1102, and J. Aistleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 130 (n° 1175 im^{an}). P. J. Riis tried to localize the country. In his opinion it is possible to interpret Ugaritic *Ym'n* simply as the southern part of the country (cf. *ymn* — Ugaritic right hand, south; contrary to *Šam'al*, the country of the North). More exactly it could be situated in *Biq'a'a*, where on the west flank there is the village *Yammūna* today. It is possible to localize the place in R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 397 and a map 5, B 3. Cf. P. J. Riis, *Sūkās I. The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine*, København 1970, p. 136.

³¹ R. Pytel has kindly suggested to me that it is possible to explain the name *Yamani* as a „sea-man“ as the Ashdodites were sailors! Perhaps the future linguistic and onomastic investigations will allow us

Assuming the name *Yamani* was of local Canaanite origin the question should be asked whether the Philistines used it. We know rather little about their language. We know a minimal number of their personal names preserved in Egyptian, Hebraic or Akkadian transcriptions. T. C. Mitchell, who recently examined the Philistine rulers' names, has stressed that most of them can be interpreted as West-Semitic³². And what is still more interesting the geographical names from the territory of Philistia are distinctly Semitic as well as their gods' names, with a few exceptions only. As is assumed in view of the Canaan population predominance, the Philistines settled among them soon lost their own language and accepted that of the Canaanites³³. So nothing stands in the way of accepting the interpretation that *Yamani*, the leader of the anti-Assyrian rebellion in Ashdod in Sargon II time was an inhabitant of the town bearing the local Canaanite name³⁴.

to reproduce not only the right form of the name (for the Assyrians transcribed it according to the rules of their own spelling) but its etymology as well.

³² As R. A. S. Macalister wrote once (*The Philistines. Their History and Civilisation*, Chicago 1935 (= London 1911), p. 79) on the subject of the language of the Philistines „we are profoundly ignorant“. Perhaps the next years will bring an essential change for the better in that respect. In the Hebron region eight enigmatic manuscripts suspected to be of Philistine origin (IX-VII c. B. C.) were found. Cf. W. H. Brownlee, G. E. Mendenhall, Y. Oweis, *Philistine Manuscripts from Palestine?*, *Kadmos* 10, 1971, pp. 102—104 and Z. J. Kapera, *Pierwsze teksty Filistynów?*, „Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny“ 25, 1972 pp. 265—268 — more detailed literature there. At the moment the manuscripts are neither read nor deciphered. So we can do no better than to keep to the names discussed by T. C. Mitchell. (*Philistia*, in: D. W. Thomas, ed., *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, Oxford 1967, p. 416).

³³ L. Piotrowicz, *Filistyni* (The Philistines), in: E. Dąbrowski, ed., *Podręczna Encyklopedia Biblijna*, vol. 1, Poznań 1961, p. 386. The beginning of the Hebrews (of the Canaanites in general) fusion with Philistines is especially evident on the example of Samson's history. Though his father in law, the Timnite, took his wife back, some time later Samson fell in love again with a Philistine, Delilah. Cf. *Judges*, chap. 14—16.

³⁴ As for Ja — ad — na (*Annals*, 220) a variant of the name *Yamani*, H. Tadmor (*l. cit.*) considers it to be an unexplained and may be cor-

H. Tadmor's view³⁵ discussed above regarding the name Yamani did not convince all scholars. It was, however, noticed in the literature of the subject and at the moment it can be considered as an alternative solution of the problem³⁶. P. J. Riis who recently considered again the names *Yaunā* = *Yawan*, *Yamana* = *Yaman* and their meaning in Ugaritic, Assyrian and Persian sources³⁷ arrived at the conclusion that they are not always identical. In his opinion in the Assyrian period interesting us „Yamana — Yaman“ may „perhaps be a Semitic variant of the original Greek loanword; if it is not derived from the Ugaritic Yaman, it seems to have comprised the same regions, but it does not necessarily indicate a Greek people or place“. Therefore he concludes that „we cannot be absolutely certain that the Yamani of Ashdod was a Greek“³⁸. So we see that P. J. Riis questions *Yamani's* so called Greek origin³⁹. Sharing the former E. Schrader's view supported by H. Tadmor it is not out of place to add some remarks concerning the problem considered.

The direction of his so called „escape“ is of great importance for the determination of *Yamani's* origin. If he really were a Greek or a Cypriot of Greek origin and was in fact escaping at the interrupted inscription of the same name. In this case we should agree with this scholar's opinion. It seems quite possible after all that an Assyrian scribe might have mixed up two alien but similarly sounding names rather, than have determined in a different way the origin of the same person. The fact that the name Ja-ad-na occurs only once and it is similar to the name of the far away country supports rather our supposition than excludes it, especially as it is written as a name and not as gentilic.

³⁵ He repeated it in 1966 writing about Yamani: „this usurper, a Philistine and not as usually believed a Greek or Cypriot adventurer...“. Cf. H. Tadmor, *Philistia Under Assyrian Rule*, BA 29, 1966, p. 94.

³⁶ Cf. W. W. Hallo, *From Qarqar to Carchemish: Assyria and Israel in the Light of New Discoveries*, BA 23, 1960, p. 56 note 129; M. Dothan and D. N. Freedman, *Ashdod I. First Season of Excavations* 1962, Jerusalem 1967 (= *Atiqot*. English Series, vol. VII), p. 11 note 39; T. C. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 416, notes 174 f; J. Kaplan, as above, note 18.

³⁷ P. J. Riis, *op. cit.*, pp. 133—137.

³⁸ P. J. Riis, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 f.

³⁹ P. J. Riis, *op. cit.*, a map on p. 165.

ment of the Assyrian army invasion of Philistia, standing face to face with danger he would proceed surely to his native country and not to Egypt where the political situation was uncertain. It is proper to mention, too, that there are permanent winds blowing northward in that part of the Mediterranean Sea so there was nothing to hinder either his escape from Ashdod to Cyprus or looking for help there. It should be remembered that Cyprus itself (at least a part of it) soon after that (in 707 B. C.) paid tribute to Sargon II, but on the other hand it should not be forgotten that the foot of an Assyrian soldier never touched the soil of Cyprus and the island did not refuse to harbour the enemies of Assyria. Let us mention here Luli of Tyre, who at the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib, son of Sargon II, took shelter in Cyprus (*The Bull Inscription* IV, 18—19)⁴⁰. Whereas Yamani escapes to Egypt and looks for shelter there. For Egypt was the traditional harbour of the Palestinian political refugees and exiles⁴¹. Many an example based on Old Testament texts⁴² may be quoted.

It seems that some of Sargon II texts concerning the rebellion in Ashdod can throw additional light on the problem of Yamani's origin. Both *Annals*, 220 and *Display Inscription*, 95, stress that Yamani had no claim to the throne and was an usurper to the Ashdod throne (*la bil kuši*)⁴³. In the *Broken Prism* A, 17, in a context leading us to believe we are dealing with an analogous expression, we find Yamani's short designation. The fragment of the line runs as follows: (I) *ia-ma-ni (amelu) sabī [hub-ši]*. It was deciphered and translated by the first editor, H. Winckler: *Jamani, einen Bauern*⁴⁴. It may be supposed then, that the problem of

⁴⁰ D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Chicago 1924 pp. 69. Cf. also p. 11.

⁴¹ H. Tadmor, *Philistia...*, p. 94 note 34.

⁴² In the later period many a time the escapes acquired a mass character (*Jer.* chap. 41—43). Cf. L. R. Stachowiak, *Księga Jeremiasza. Wstęp-przeład z oryginału-komentarz*, The Book of Jeremiasch. Introduction — translation from original — commentary, Poznań 1967, p. 426.

⁴³ Cf. H. Winckler, *De inscriptione...*, p. 50 and in his *KTAT*, p. 39.

⁴⁴ H. Winckler, *KTAT*, p. 41.

Yamani's social origin can be clearly determined from the text. E. Ebeling followed H. Winckler's interpretation putting however, in the most important place a question mark. His translation is anyway more exact: *Jamani, einen Bauern (?)* [...⁴⁵ Another Assyriologist D. D. Luckenbill translates: (Ja-ma-ni) *a Greek, com[moner without claim to the throne]*⁴⁶.

It would be worthwhile to check up on the text once more. A. Sarsowsky's drawing distinctly shows⁴⁷ only a part of the line with the following signs preserved:

^mJa — ma — ni [] ERIM. MEŠ

Ia — ma — ni (illegible sign) šābu determinative of plural (...) ⁴⁸

The text preserved does not admit such an explicit interpretation as that of H. Winckler's⁴⁹, but it does not exclude other possibilities. The whole burden of speculations lies on the word *šābu*. Its two essential meanings found in dictionaries are: *Krieger* and *Mann* (warrior, man)⁵⁰. The word *šābu* is rather equivocal and as a matter of fact without the word following it⁵¹ it cannot be defined accurately. *Šābi* [*hub* — *ši*] — the variant suggested by H. Winckler defines Yamani as *Trossknechte* or *Proletarier* / *Prolet* (commoner) and the latter is insulting (*Schimpfwort*). W. von Soden says in his Akkadian dictionary commentaries *hu* — *up* — *ši* = *šābū* denotes *Angehöriger einer niederen Klasse, oft Soldaten*

⁴⁵ E. Ebeling, *Babylonisch-assyrische Texte*, in *Altorientalistische Texte zum Alten Testament*, hrsg. H. Gressman, Berlin 1965 (= 1926), p. 351.

⁴⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, *ARAB*, vol. 2, § 193—195. Cf. also in *ANET*, p. 287.

⁴⁷ A. Sarsowsky, *Keilinschriftliches Urkundenbuch zum Alten Testament in Urschrift zusammengestellt, autographiert und herausgegeben von ...*, Leiden 1911, p. 31, line 15 (!).

⁴⁸ The last two signs *šābū* and the determinative of plural are the signs 234^a and 301 according to Theo Bauer's list (*Akkadische Lesestücke*, Heft. II, Roma 1953, pp. 27 and 34).

⁴⁹ Cf. above, note 44.

⁵⁰ C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, Heidelberg 1926, p. 233, s. v. *šābu*.

⁵¹ As above, note 50.

(a man of lower social class, often soldiers)⁵². The problem is whether *šābu* not followed by another word may allow to suggest the next word *hu* — *up* — *ši*? And the sign of plural in fragment of the text discussed before the next word — already not preserved?

We have considered the word *šābu* for a longer while as this Yamani's enigmatic epithet was — at least it seems — one of the bases and perhaps the only basis to A. T. Olmsted's determining him as „a mercenary Greek soldier from Cyprus“ who, thanks to the developments of events, was raised to the throne of Ashdod „in virtue of his superior armour and superior military training“⁵³. I do not suppose so far-reaching suggestions may be put forward. The existing difficulties can be explained (but not completely). Let us recall again: — the fact that Yamani had no claim to the throne is twice stressed in the sources (*Annals*, 220 and the the *Display Inscription*, 95). In the *Broken Prism A*, 17 as well the determination *šābu* may be only of pejorative meaning. Sargon II chroniclers emphatically stress he was not worthy of the post.

The Philistines, an alien element in Canaan, were absorbed gradually by the local population⁵⁴ whose language they accept in the course of time. On the other hand, however, most certainly as conquerors and the ruling class they stressed their individual character and superiority. It can be taken for granted that such was the manner of conduct at least of their aristocracy. We may also accept the opinion, that the Assyrian authorities expected the loyalty of this social group of Ashdod. It would not be out of place to mention Sargon II's flexible attitude towards the ruling house of Ashdod as well as the fact of the prompt restoring of the local royal power institution in the town in spite of the transitory status of a province with a military governor at its head. In view of this fact, did not the Sargon II chronicler want to stress the low local (in the sense of *Canaanite*) origin of the anti-Assyrian rebellion leader in the transmission of the *Broken*

⁵² W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Lieferung 4, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 357 s. v. *hupšum*. Cf. also *ANET*, p. 285 note 8.

⁵³ A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia...*, p. 78.

⁵⁴ L. Piotrowicz, *Filistyni*, *l. cit.* and T. C. Mitchell, *Philistia*, *l. cit.*

Prism A, 17? Perhaps new sources will bring additional data to the question considered.

The present paper is a fragment of a more extensive study about Yamani's rebellion in Ashdod. As follows from a better acquaintance with the sources and from confronting them with the results of archaeological investigations, neither was Cyprus actively engaged in the rebellion nor was Yamani a native of Cyprus. All the misapprehensions accumulated in the literature of the subject are most probably the result of perfunctory and one-sided interpretations of Yamani's name.

On the other hand, however, Yamani's figure appears in the twilight of the history as an eminent individual coming from the lower social strata of Ashdod, raised to authority due to the support of the strong anti-Assyrian opposition⁵⁵. Of course the rebellion in Ashdod is an unimportant episode in the process of Assyrian empire expansion, which under the rule of Sargonids reached the height of its military power, but in the history of the Philistine town it is one of its most interesting and glorious pages.

⁵⁵ J. Kaplan's estimation of Yamani is — in the light of accessible sources — inconsiderate and unfair to this person. Cf. J. Kaplan, *The Stronghold...*, p. 149.

MARIA KOWALSKA

IBN FAḌLĀN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS JOURNEY TO THE STATE OF THE BULĠĀRS

To whom was Ibn Faḍlān's 'Account of the Journey' addressed¹? As is well-known, he was a member of the embassy, sent by caliph al-Muḩtadir to the ruler of the state of Bulġārs on the Volga in the years 921—922. Ibn Faḍlān's function was that of secretary. According to Canard², it might have been an official report prepared for the caliph's chancellery in Baghdād. However, there are no actual grounds for this hypothesis. The first argument against it is that Ibn Faḍlān's description does not include either any systematic account of the activities of the embassy or a recapitulation of the results of the mission. The last part of the account is not known, but, on the other hand, one can assume that it did not include any formal or official report either, since in those parts of the text which have been preserved descriptions of the official activities of the mission are woven into other descriptions and particulars which could have no basic significance for the caliph or his chancellery. Thus, first of all, Ibn Faḍlān relates objects and occurrences, as well as his personal impressions. He also tells about some interesting things which happened during the journey and impressed him deeply or excited his curiosity. However, he does not in the least emphasise any such details

¹ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, vol. I—III. Leiden—London 1960—1971, vol. III. p. 759;

I. Ju. Kračkovskij, *Izbrannyje Sočinienija* (vol. IV, *Arabskaja geografičeskaja literatura*), Moskva 1957, pp. 184—185.

² M. Canard, *La relation du voyage d'Ibn Faḍlān chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, AIEO, (Alger) 1958, XVI. p. 48.