# On Some Terms for "Bat" in Mesopotamia

# M. Civil - Chicago

[The Sumerian logogram GARJB, with its older variant ARKABJB, is to be read a / irkab, Akk. a/irkabu, and designates a type of bat. The Early Dynastic sign ARKAB is to be differentiated from LAGAR and became obsolete at the end of the third millennium B.C. when it was replaced by GAR.]

### 1. GAR.IBmušen

The logogram GAR.IB.MUŠEN, occasionally read šá IB.MUŠEN or šá ib/p-hu in the older literature, is well known in Akkadian medical and magical texts, but its reading has so far remained unknown and its meaning uncertain. The logogram is almost invariably preceded by U<sub>5</sub>, to be read *rikibtu* according to *KUB* 4 48 iii 11, 18, etc.<sup>1</sup>. This expression has been variously translated as "'rut de bouquetin'... une sorte de plante" by Fossey<sup>2</sup>, apud Labat, *RA* 53 76; "Brunst des Ib-Vogels" by Ebeling, *MAOG* 1/1 53 (in the copy of this publication in the Oriental Institute "Brunst" has been crossed out –presumably by Geers– and replaced by "Flügel"); "cantharides" by Thompson, *Esarh*. 12¹ (and elsewhere); "spurs of the GAR.IB- fowl" by Biggs, *TCS* 2 25f. (a translation he now rejects according to a personal communication); a drug "aus den Hoden, bzw. Drüsen der Tiere gewonnen", the animal being possibly in this case "eine Art Fledermaus", by Landsberger, *Fauna* 97¹. *AHw* 984a *rikibtu* leaves the word untranslated. In *RA* 54 712 I proposed tentatively "bat guano". The purpose of the present note is to establish the reading and meaning of GAR.IB<sup>mušen</sup>, a task made possible by new materials and by the progress in the interpretation of lexical material. My unpublished conclusions are mentioned by Borger, *ABZ* (2nd edition) 437 n. 597 and by Pettinato, *MEE* 3 p. 118 ad 126 and, implicitly, p. 202 ad 25. The justification for these conclusions will be found in the following paragraphs.

#### 2. Lexical Information.

The transliteration LAGAR in 2-3 is provisional in the sense that, as will be shown later, the sign is in fact ARKAB.

- 2.1. Bird Lists. a) Forerunners.
- 1) Early Dynastic Bird List.

The preserved portions of the archaic Uruk recension (kindly communicated by M. W. Green), the Lagaš recension, and the Ur III fragments (see *MEE* 3 p. 275, sources C and D) do not contain the logogram, but it appears in the ED recension as published by Pettinato, *OA* 17 171:126 and *MEE* 3 p. 114:126, after sudin mušen, in the forms su-din-ILAGAR! I.IBmušen (Fara) and su-din-IB (Ebla). In the Fara source, Pettinato (*AO* 

- 1) For references and a discussion of the passages without  $u_5$  see 3.2.
- 2) Fossey read rikibtu ša turālii by a confusion of DARA with DARA/DARA4.

17 171), like Salonen, Vögel 250, reads [sul-ib, but Deimel considered the sign preceding IB to be a special sign (LAK 297). Note the clear discrepancy between the form of the sign as given in LAK and the form copied in WVDOG 43 58 xi 21, as already pointed out in RA 54 713. A collation from photo (kindly made available by my colleague R. D. Biggs) shows clearly:

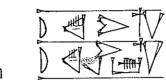


Fig. 1

- 2) OB Pre-Canonical.
- a) Nippur Recension. My unpublished reconstruction gives: 111 su-din mušen, 112 LAGAR IB [mušen]; the second entry comes from CBS 14156 (SLT 69) + N 5058 + N 6061 (photo, without the last piece, in Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs Philadelphia 1959 pl. 54); the reading LAGAR is based on my own collation, confirmed by Å. Sjöberg and R. Falkowitz.
- b) Other OB Recensions. su-din mušen, su-din-GAR.IBmušen CT 6 14 D ii 52 f.; IM 51144 xii 11f. (Tell Harmal, from photo); LTBA 81 r. i 2' (Warka); su-din mušen, GAR.IBmušen LTBA 82 ii' 10'3.
- c) Peripheral Recensions. Ugarit: IGI.IB<sup>mušen</sup>, su-din <sup>mušen</sup>, su-din -m in -n a <sup>mušen</sup> RS 20.32 iii 42 (from photo, courtesy Nougayrol, collated by D. Kennedy); Boghazköy: KBo 1 27 + KUB 4 96 + KBo 26 3 iii 21'ff. has only [su]-din =  $\S u$ -ut-tin = [...], nu-ud su-din = nu-ud  $\S u$ -ut-tin = b[i-el K]I.MIN, am su-din = am-mar K[I.MIN] = [a]-[dam  $\S u$ ]-ut-tin-ni (collated from photo, courtesy H. G. Güterbock)<sup>4</sup>. Note the absence of the determinative mušen, found with the other entries in the list.
  - 3) Canonical Recension (HAR-ra XVII).

The su-din group is not preserved in the main text—for an attempted reconstruction see  $MSL\ 8/2\ 143:296ff.$ , with note—but it appears in the HAR-gud commentaries: su-din mušen B 258 and D 330 (where it is followed by an entry su-[...] of uncertain restoration)<sup>5</sup>; finally, C 39 has [x]-Ix lmušen = ir-ka-bu = [a]r-ga-bu, where only the final vertical of x is preserved so that a restoration [GAR.I]B is paleographically possible. The restoration ir-[ga-bu] in B 259b ( $MSL\ 8/2\ 168$ ) is most uncertain and will be disregarded here.

- 2.2. Series Diri.
- a) Forerunners. The only recension that preserves the logogram is the "Oxford" recension OECT 4 152 and 153 (collated from photo and by O.R. Gurney, quoted according to MSL 15); line 383 has GAR. IB = ar-ka-[bu-(um)], in the GAR-section.
- b) Ugarit. Diri Ug. III 121 (copy Nougayrol, collated by D. Kennedy) has ar-kab =  $GAR.IB^{mu\bar{s}en} = ar-k[a-bu]$ , in a bird section.
  - c) Canonical. Diri V 178 has [i]r-ka-ab = GAR.IB.[(mušen)] = [...], in the GAR-section.

The Diri passages definitively establish the reading a / irkab, as well as the Akkadian correspondence a/irkabu, with a variant with g in Hg C 39. Both dictionaries list the word under argabu, quoting HAR-gud (AHw 67a, CAD A/2 353a). Since this form is given in the right subcolumn of HAR-gud and the OB sources all give arkabu, the latter form is preferable and argabu is to be considered a secondary variant<sup>6</sup>.

- 3) The OB date of LTBA 81 and 82 is not clear; in any case they are unilingual lists closely related to OB models.
- 4) nu-ud and am stand for nunuz and amar, respectively.
- 5) One could restore su-[din-GAR.IB], but the Akkadian does not seem to fit. Note that SU.[ could also be the beginning of a SEN sign.
- 6) Von Soden's tentative "Taube" is based only on Eth. regb "dove"; the words of course cannot be related if the correct form is with k.

#### 3. LAGAR/GAR.IB in Context.

### 3.1. Sumerian Texts.

The word occurs in a medical prescription in RA 54 62:120 (with discussion, ibid. p. 71): še 10 LAGAR¹ IB<sup>mušen</sup>; the sign preceding IB was not identified in the RA 54 edition, but it is reasonably clear on the photo, ibid. p. 59. A literary text from Nippur from the Ur III period (6N-T637 vi 31ff.) reads: LAGAR.IB hul-zu kaskal na-sa<sub>9</sub>-e, mušen hul-zu an na-ni-dal "your evil arkab should not reach the midpoint of (its) journey, your evil bird should not fly in the sky". In an administrative text from the same period with an interesting list of birds (FLP 145 in Owen, ZA 71 29ff.) line 17 may have: 24 [LAGAR].IB<sup>mušen</sup> (see 6). For Ni 4128, see 5.

### 3.2. Akkadian Texts.

The term  $U_5/rikibtu$  GAR.IB<sup>mušen</sup> is extremely frequent in medical and magical texts: AMT 6, 3+:7,8; 2:27,30; 8, 5:1'; 8, 7:1; 9, 1:13; 11, 2:20; 13, 2:1; 13, 7:4; 15, 4:1; 16, 1:9, 23; 17, 6:5; 17, 7:2; 18, 6:1; 19, 5:4; 49, 6:2; 57. 5:12; 62, 3 (K 3350):23; 63, 1:9; 64, 1+37; BAM 3 ii 29; 104:30; 112:24; 168:35; 248 iv 23; CT 23 26:4; 32:9, 36:51; Küchler, Beitr. 9 ii 46; 12 iv 22; 14 i 24; 19 iv 15; RA 18 (= BAM 106) 15:6; 53 6:31; etc; The reading rikibtu comes from KUB 4 48 iii 11, 18, lower edge 2; 37 7:8. For the Saziga passages, see R. D. Biggs, TCS 2 25f. and Index s. v. GAR.IB is extremely rare without  $U_5$ ; in CT 39 23:2 a falcon is mentioned whose flight is like that of a GAR.IB. BAM 3 r. iv 4 lists, among other drugs, KU IB.GAR. MUŠEN, after A.GAR.GAR MÁŠ.DÁ "scat of a gazelle", where IB.GAR obviously stands for GAR.IB (see CAD Z 151a).

#### 4. Other Occurrences of LAGAR/GAR.IB.

\* ED Lu A 55 (MSL 12 10 f.; MEE 3 3ff.) has "LAGAR".IB, followed by "LAGAR".GAR, where "LAGAR" represents a sign similar to but distinct from LAGAR discussed below 6. Pre-sargonic texts from Girsu dealing with the Elam trade (nam-ga-eš<sub>8</sub>-ak elam-me-ne-kam and nam-ga-eš<sub>8</sub>-ak má elam-ka-kam) list a product GAR.IB after relatively large amounts of naga "amole": 75 gur of naga and 7 ma-na of GAR.IB in RTC 20 i and 1 gur and 1 ma-na, respectively, in 21 i. There is still a homographic logogram tignág-dára "loin cloth" which, however, does not seem to have contaminated the history of GAR.IB.

# 5. Meaning of ARKAB/GAR.IB.

The constant association of arkab mušen with su-din mušen, and especially the combination su-din-GAR/LAGAR.IB (2.1, 2 c), make Landsberger's suggestion that arkab is a type of bat (Fauna 97¹) extremely likely. I think it would be inadvisable to go beyond that with the data presently available and to attempt to identify the arkab in contrast with the su-din bat amont the twenty or so species of Chiroptera listed in R. T. Hatt, The Mammals of Iraq Ann Arbor 1959 pp. 28ff. The meaning "bat guano" for še 10 arkab mušen (compare KU \*GAR.IB mušen in BAM 3 r. iv 4), suggested in RA 54 71², may be bolstered by zoologists' references to contemporary use of this guano in Iraq; see D. L. Harrison, Footsteps in the Sand London 1959 p. 105, and R. T. Hatt, op. cit. 28, for its use between Ramadi and Habbaniya and near Sulaimaniya, respectively. It should be added here that there is absolutely no evidence for such use in ancient Mesopotamia. If the GAR.IB product in RTC 20 and 21 is also "bat's excrement" as a source of nitrates —a likely supposition because of the association with naga—the small amounts attested preclude its destination as a fertilizer and a therapeutic or magic purpose is to be assumed. While a meaning "semen" for rikibtu is reasonable in view of the use of the logogram A for the same word (Proto-Kagal 237; Aa 1/1:37), the suggestion, made in RA 54 71², that "semen of the arkab bat" is a folk designation for guano is purely speculative. The text FLP 145 (3.1) seems to imply that bats where considered edible. This point is confirmed

<sup>7)</sup> Compare kaskal mu-un-sa<sub>9</sub> kaskal mu-un-sa<sub>9</sub>-ba "he reached the midpoint of the journey, when he had reached the midpoint of the journey (he became ill, etc.)" Lugalbanda and 'Hurrum' 75.

<sup>8)</sup> The fact that the term *rikibiu* is also said of the *ajalu* speaks, perhaps, against this supposition: the bead-like scat of the Cervidae is quite different from the bat's guano.

by the hemerological text Ni 4128 (ISET 2 94) i' 3': GAR.IB!mušen su-din mušen na-an-gu<sub>7</sub>-e m uš [lu]-lu i-gál "he should not eat the arkab and the bat, he will get 'numerous snakes(?)".

There is a patent word play between *rikibtu ša arkabi* and *rakābu*, in its sexual sense. Whether this relationship is a mere folk etymology tying together two unrelated words or arkab is of Semitic origin and related to *rakābu* is a question that remains unanswerable for the moment.

### 6. The Sign LAGAR and the Sign ARKAB.

The sign LAGAR because of its shape and of its relatively low frequency has created occasional difficulties for the modern cuneiformist; see MSL12 69 (confusion of NB LAGAR with LAGAB) and Alster, JCS 23 116f. (confusion with SI), and note the symptomatic fact that Borger has left blank all colums for LAGAR in his paleographic table in ABZ p. 29. Moreover it is now clear that there is a sign ARKAB, very similar to but different from LAGAR, which is the first sign of the compound logogram arkab. The forms to be considered are displayed on the table in fig. 2.

	Brok /	ไม่มี÷รู้สร้านี่ยาโหย	Eara	≨≴la	Sirsa	ije (III.,	98
AREMI				H		LY	A
ŁARAB	<b>J</b> ?	4		A	*	T.	A

Fig. 2

The ED forms are taken, whenever possible, from ED Lu A where lines 55f. have ARKAB.IB and ARKAB.GAR while line 94 has LAGAR.AB.KU/LU thus providing an easy way to see the differences between the two signs. Most Ur III and OB copies of ED Lu A are imitations of ED copies of this ubiquitous list with the old signs not always faithfully reproduced. Thus, for instance, 6N-7476 + 477 (Ur III, Nippur) has a clear TAR, instead of LAGAR, in line 94, a reading incorrectly accepted in MSL 12.

In Abū-Ṣalābīkh one also finds ARKAB in *OIP* 99 82 r. ii' 9f. in the divine names den-ARKAB-LAK 777, dn in -ARKAB-LAK 777. LAGAR can be seen in *OIP* 99 46 iii 2ff. and duplicate 48 ii 2ff. The sign LAGAR is written with the head of the upper slanted wedge toward the right and is thus a mirror image of GAR.

In Fara ARKAB = LAK 296, of which 297 is a spurious variant (see fig. 1 for the correct form), and LAGAR = LAK 306. The latter has a variant with the slanted wedge's head on the right, like the Abū-Şalābīkh form, and marked curvature of the lower wedge, see, e.g., WVDOG 43 57 iii 74ff. (a duplicate of OIP 99 46).

For the Ebla forms, see MEE 3 p. 296 no. 22 for ARKAB and p. 328 no. 176 for LAGAR. The variant with the head to the right also exists in Ebla, see MEE 3\* pl. 24 i 4. The most important contribution of the Ebla texts to the history of the signs under discussion is the sign name ARKAB = ar-ga-bu-um MEE 3 51-52:25, a confirmation of the conclusion at the end of paragraph 2. It is unclear whether the reading implied by the sign applies only to ARKAB or only to the group ARKAB.IB.

The (Pre)-Sargonic form from Girsu is given in the table on the assumption that GAR.IB replaces ARKAB.IB in RTC 20 and 21. The late form with GAR would thus be first attested in the Lagaš region. There seem to be no examples of LAGAR in Girsu. A presumed LAGAR in Y. Rosengarten, *Répertoire commenté* Paris 1967 no. 140 has been shown by Ph. Talon, RA 68 176f. to be GIDIM<sup>10</sup>. The form given here is abstracted from TÜR (= NUN.LAGAR).

<sup>9)</sup> Is m u š-lu-lu a disease? worms? Strabo, Geography 16.1.7, informs us that Borsippa abounds in very large nykterides that are "caught and salted for food". See C. Metaxas, Revue des sciences naturelles appliquées (1891) 325. Note that in Lev. 11:19 the 'aqallef usually translated by "bat", is listed among the impure birds.

<sup>10)</sup> Contrary to Talon's statement that VAS 14 163 vi 1 is "la plus ancienne graphie connue" of GIDIM, the sign is known

The Ur III form is from 6N-T637, quoted in 3.1, see also the photo in RA 54 59 v 9. In line 17 of FLP 154 (D.I. Owen, ZA 71 29ff.), I was unable to see, examining the tablet, any traces of the [di]n proposed by Owen (ibid. 37); the scribe either wrote SU.IB or the first sign is an uncommonly long ARKAB. Notice how the sign ARKAB is identical with the sign for the fraction 1/3; possible occurrences of ARKAB.IB in this period risk being misread as 1/3 gin. The LAGAR form is taken from the many occurrences of é-nig-lagar (BIN 5 43, 48, 274; etc.).

In OB times ARKAB disappears completely—except for a possible occurrence in the Nippur Forerunner to Hh XVIII—merging with GAR. Although in the spelling IGI.IB in the Ugarit Bird List the IGI could be taken as an interpretation of an ARKAB in its Ebla form, it seems more likely to be a scribal error induced by the two preceding lines: igi-gud-damušen and igi-geštin-namušen (lines 196ff.).

already in ED texts: MSL 12 20 ad 67, OIP 99 131 ii 3'; after Talon's note was published, MEE 3 199:97 showed the correctness of his reading by giving GIDIM = nu-ga-III-mu (< 1u-gid im).