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NANĀ, THE SUMERO-AKKADIAN GODDESS OF TRANSOXIANA*

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A review of references to the cult of Nanā, or Nanaia, in Mesopotamian sources, covering the period between the third millennium B.C. and Sassanian times, reveals the cult to have remained remarkably syncretic. As Ištar's counterpart, Nanā later appears not only as a daughter of the moon-god Sin and sister of the sun-god Šamaš, but also under different guises and with different names. The cult of Nanā spread from the Iranian plateau to the east Iranian world in Transoxiana where it survived until the Muslim conquest. The ascendancy and prevalence of the cult of Nanā in the early medieval east Iranian world is attributed to the syncretic nature of that cult which combined the functions of the Sumero-Akkadian Nanā with those of the Iranian goddess Ārmaiti. The transference of the creative and chthonic aspects of the Iranian earth spirit to the regional cult of Nanā thus led to Nanā's association with the funerary and dynastic cults of Transoxiana.

My Lady, Sin, Inanna, born of . . . , similarly (?) / I
am the same (?)
Wise daughter of Sin, beloved sister of Šamas, I am
powerful in Borsippa,
I am a hierodule in Uruk, I have heavy breasts in
Dadunī,
I have a beard in Babylon, still I am Nanā.

Ur, Ur, temple of the great gods, similarly (?).
They call me the Daughter of Ur, the Queen of Ur, the
daughter of princely Sin, she who goes around and
enters every house,
holy one who holds the ordinances; she takes away
the young man in his prime, she removes the young
girl from her bedchamber—still I am Nanā.¹

THAT THE EXTENSIVE TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY claimed for the ancient Mesopotamian goddess Nanā in this Sumero-Akkadian hymn influenced the regional manifestations of that goddess, is explicitly stated in this translation of a recently published Late Assyrian literary composition. That the goddess's spiritual domain and her imagery found even greater ramifications in subsequent centuries, is now documented by recent archaeo-

* A summary of this paper was read at the 128th meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 1975, at Columbus, Ohio. I wish to thank Professor Marvin Pope for inviting discussion on the subject of this paper and for his helpful suggestions.

¹ Erica Reiner, "A Sumero-Akkadian hymn to Nanā," *JNES* 33 (1975), 221-236.

logical evidence uncovered in Soviet Central Asia. It now appears that the worship of Nanā eventually spread beyond the Near East and the Iranian plateau, to Bactria and Transoxiana where the goddess played a leading role in the local pantheons of the east Iranian world. The contention of the present paper is that Nanā's cult and manifestations prevailed in Transoxiana because the Mesopotamian goddess was there equated with an equally powerful Iranian deity.

A brief review of the Mesopotamian sources reveals the syncretic nature of the cult of Nanā, or Nanaia.² In the Third Dynasty of Ur the goddess appeared to combine the qualities of Inanna with those of Ištar.³ In an Old Babylonian hymn Nanā's father An, is said to have elevated her to the position of a supreme goddess,⁴ which presumably symbolized the ratification of her superlative qualities. The Sumero-Akkadian hymn quoted above, gives a description of the goddess under her different names, in various cities and temples, and the names of her different husbands in the Late Assyrian period.⁵ Nanā's attributes, noted in that hymn, were those of Ištar, daughter

² *Ibid.*, note 8.

³ D. O. Edzard, "Mesopotamien, die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader," *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I:1, ed. H. W. Haussig, 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Reiner, "A Sumero-Akkadian hymn to Nanā," *op. cit.*, 223, notes the *limmu* year for Text C, as 744 or 734 B.C.

of the moon-god Sin and sister of the sun-god Šamaš. Her manifestations ranged from a bearded Ištar in Babylon, to a goddess with heavy breasts in Daduni.

In the Hellenistic period Nanā was frequently assimilated with the Greek Artemis in Mesopotamia. A temple of Artemis-Nanā was built in the middle of the city of Dura-Europos in Roman times where a dedicatory inscription identified Nanā as the chief goddess of that city.⁶ Images of Aphrodite, winged victory, and Tyche or Fortuna which were erected in the temple of Nanā at Dura, indicate that the celestial Mesopotamian Nanā combined the functions of all those Graeco-Roman divinities.⁷ A mold-made bust of Nanā (fig. 1), depicted inside a lead patera found in



Figure 1

Bust of Nanā depicted inside a lead patera from the temple of Artemis-Nanaia, at Dura-Europos, 2. to 3. centuries A.D. Sketched from Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* pl. LXXXV: 1. Diam. of patera, 8 cm.

her sanctuary at Dura, and dated to the second or third centuries A.D., shows her with a bejewelled crown and encircled by a laurel wreath which identify her as a goddess of fecundity and war.⁸

⁶ F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922-1923)*, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* IX, Paris 1926, 196ff.; P. Koschaker, "Ausgrabungen in Dura-Europos," *OLZ* 33 (1930), 166-168.

⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *op. cit.*, 198-199.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 206ff. pl. LXXXV:1. The patera which measures 8 cm in diameter, was discovered in the "chapel of Aphrodite" in the Artemis-Nanā sanctuary at Dura. I

The cult of Nanā was widespread in the Euphrates valley in Hellenistic and Roman times;⁹ it apparently survived there as late as the seventh century.¹⁰

At Susa, where the cult of Nanā had been introduced from Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium B.C., Nanā's worship continued into the Seleucid age when the goddess was named as the principal deity of that city.¹¹ However, despite her importance among the native population of Susa, Nanā is not named on Seleucid coins from Susa.¹² Whereas Greek gods occupied an exclusive position in the official cult of the Seleucids, oriental divinities with whom they were assimilated at an early date, reappeared in the official pantheon of the city of Susa in the Parthian period. Thus Nanā's astral aspect and her function as a city goddess were assumed by Artemis with whom Nanā was assimilated at Susa in the Parthian period. The rayed halo and polos crown of Artemis represented on coins of Mithradates II, issued around 110 B.C. at Susa (fig. 2), thus transferred Nanā's functions to the syncretic cult of Artemis-Nanā.¹³ An image of Artemis in Greek dress, depicted on a tessera from Palmyra, actually identifies the Greek huntress goddess as Nanaia (NNY).¹⁴

wish to thank Dawn Pencovic for the preparation of the sketches used for this paper.

⁹ J. G. Février, *La religion des Palmyréniens*, Paris 1931, 99-102; K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, *Studia Orientalia* 7 (1938), 385-6. On references to Nanā, the Lady, in inscriptions from Assur, see J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thèses sémitiques à l'époque romaine*, *Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* XCII, Paris 1972, 148, 347. I wish to thank Professor Marvin Pope for drawing my attention to the above references.

¹⁰ Nanā was invoked as late as 600 A.D. in an incantation text from Nippur, see J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic incantation texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1913, 238.

¹¹ For a detailed analysis of the iconography of Artemis-Nanā at Susa and Elymais, see G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes, Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran* XXXVIII, Paris 1965, 292ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, 294.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 296, no. 129. The radiate halo appears about the same time on the coins of Hyspaosines of Characene, *ibid.*, no. 409.

¹⁴ H. Ingholt et al., *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* LVIII, Paris 1955, 40, no. 285.



Figure 2

Obverse of a bronze coin of the Parthian king Mithradates II, from Susa, ca. 110 B.C., showing a radiate head of Artemis-Nanâ. Sketched from Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, pl. XIII, 131,5. Weight 1.49 g.

Bronze coins of the kings of Elymais, probably issued at Susa after the establishment of Parthian rule at Elymais and at Susa, depict Artemis-Nanâ as a frontal or profile head with a radiate halo or polos, or as a complete figure dressed in the fashion of a Greek huntress with or without the radiate halo, and occasionally with a crescent by her side (fig. 3).¹⁵ Nanâ was frequently depicted



Figure 3

Obverse of a bronze coin of a king of Elymais, showing Artemis-Nanâ as a huntress in Greek dress, ca. 75 A.D. Sketched from Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, pl. LXXIII, 27. Much enlarged.

¹⁵ Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, *op. cit.*, pls. 75:15-17, 20-21, 23-24, 36; 74:4-6 (head of Artemis-Nanâ), see p. 428.

in her oriental aspect without reference to her assimilation with Artemis in representations of the second century A.D. and later, as evidenced by the inscribed stone image of the goddess from Hatra (fig. 4), in the Baghdad museum.¹⁶



Figure 4

Inscribed stone image of Nanâ from Hatra, in the Baghdad Museum, ca. 100 A.D. Sketched from Fukai, *East and West* 1960, fig. 24.

The cult of Nanâ which even reached Athens and Alexandria in the west,¹⁷ also spread to Armenia, the Iranian plateau and the remote east.¹⁸

¹⁶ S. Fukai, "The artifacts of Hatra and Parthian art," *East and West* VIII, 1960, 164, fig. 24. Nanâ's image also occurs on a pithos from Assur datable to the 2. to 3. centuries A.D., see H. Ingholt, *Parthian sculpture from Hatra, Memoirs of the Connecticut academy of arts and sciences* XII, New Haven 1954, 12ff., fig. 5. A radiate and enthroned image of Nanâ is depicted on the stone relief of Kamnaskires Orodos of Elymais, at Tang-i-Sarvak, datable to ca. 100 A.D., see W. B. Henning, "The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i-Sarvak," *Asia major* 2 (1952), 151-8, pls. II-III.

¹⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *op. cit.*, 197, note 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Lund 1946, 60ff., 74-5, 85, 92; K. V. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii kul'tury drevnel' Armenii, (II v. do n. é.-IV v. n. é.)*, Moskva/Leningrad 1953, 83.

In Bactria where Nanâ was not assimilated with Artemis, the iconography of the goddess remained strictly Near Eastern. The Kushan NANA whose image and symbols appear on Kushan coins of the second to the fourth century, was modelled after the Mesopotamian Nanâ who was the iconographic prototype for several female divinities of the Indo-Iranian pantheon.¹⁹ Thus the Iranian Anâhita, who was ultimately a river goddess, later assumed the functions and manifestations of the Mesopotamian Nanâ.²⁰

In the religious imagery of Transoxiana, where Indian iconographic patterns frequently prevailed, Nanâ's manifestations took the form of a four-armed goddess seated on a lion throne, or astride a lion. The lion vehicle of Istar which had been assumed by the Mesopotamian Nanâ, thus survived as the principal attribute of the goddess down to the Muslim conquest of Transoxiana.²¹ The appearance of the name of Nanâ and Nanaeoporous names in Sogdian sources and coins, testify to the importance of that goddess in the pre-Islamic Sogdian pantheon.²² The earliest Sogdian re-

presentation of Nanâ occurs in a sixth century mural that depicts a scene of mourning, uncovered in a public sanctuary dedicated to a native funerary cult, in the town of Panjikent.²³ Other Sogdian representations of the goddess, datable to the seventh and eighth centuries, are known in carved wood, and in murals uncovered at Panjikent and in Ustrushana.²⁴ The better preserved images from the east Sogdian principality of Ustrushana, portray the four-armed goddess with the symbols of the sun and the moon held in her two raised hands. A scepter and a cup are usually held in the other two hands of the deity who is there shown astride a lion (fig. 5) in one instance, and seated on a lion-throne in another.²⁵

The representation of similar images of the goddess Nanâ on seventh century Khwarezmian silver dishes testify to the currency of the cult of Nanâ throughout Transoxiana in early medieval times (fig. 6).²⁶ The symbols and attributes of the early medieval Sogdian and Khwarezmian images of Nanâ, though influenced by Indian formal models, furthermore, indicate that the goddess preserved both her early Mesopotamian affiliation with the sun and the moon, and her identity as a love and war deity. The question now at issue is why the Mesopotamian Nanâ was accorded the position of a superlative creative power in an otherwise predominantly Iranian pantheon.²⁷ I postulate that in early medieval Transoxiana, as in the ancient Near East, Nanâ's cult was a syncretic one, and that her qualities were

¹⁹ For a review of the literature on this question, see J. Rosenfield, *The dynastic arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967, 83-91.

²⁰ L. H. Gray, *The foundations of Iranian religions*, Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, R. R. Cama Oriental Institute publications 5, Bombay, 55ff.; Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, op. cit., 113ff.; cf. the Indian goddess with a lute and a lion vehicle which is tentatively identified as Sarasvati, see A. Foucher, "L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra," *L'École française d'Étrême-Orient* VI:1, Paris 1918, 66ff.; J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography*, Calcutta 1956, 376ff.

²¹ For a review of the literature on the motif of the goddess with a lion vehicle, see H. Mobius, "Die Göttin mit dem Löwen," *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 449-468; Ingholt, *Parthian sculptures from Hatra*, op. cit., 18ff., 23, pls. IV:1-3, 5, IV:2. On the lion vehicle in the art of early medieval Transoxiana, see B. I. Marshak, in *Trudy tadzhikskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii, Akademiya nauk SSSR, Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, 124, 1964, 237-240, note 240.

²² O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Pyandzhikent*, Moskva 1963, notes 356-363; W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, London 1940, 7; *idem*, "A Sogdian god," *BSOAS* 28 (1965), 252; D. Weber, "Zu sogdischen Personennamen," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 77 (1972), 198-9. I wish to thank Professor Martin Schwartz for drawing my attention to the last reference.

²³ A. Yu. Yakubovskii, et al., *Zhivopis' drevnego Pyandzhikenta*, Moskva 1954, pls. XIX, XXIII; G. Azarpay, "Iranian divinities in Sogdian painting," *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg, Acta Iranica* 1975.

²⁴ A. M. Belenitski, "Nouvelles découvertes de sculptures et de peintures murales a Piandjikent," *Arts asiatiques* V:3, 1958, figs. 5-6; *idem*, *Monumenta'noe iskusstvo Pendzhikenta*, Moskva 1973, *passim*; N. Megmatov, "O zhivopisii dvortsa afshinov Ustrushany," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 3, 1973, fig. 5, 8.

²⁵ N. Megmatov, V. S. Sokolovskii, in *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo Érmitazha XXXVII*, Leningrad 1973, 58-60, figs. 2-3.

²⁶ S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm, Opyt istoriko-arkheologicheskogo issledovaniya*, Moskva 1948, 198, 200; G. Azarpay, "Nine inscribed Choresmian bowls," *Artibus Asiae* 31 (1969), 186ff.

²⁷ Henning, "A Sogdian god," op. cit., 242-254; Azarpay, "Iranian divinities in Sogdian painting," op. cit.



Figure 5

Sketch of a Sogdian representation of a four-armed Nanâ, from Shahrīstan, Ushrusāna, 7. to 8. centuries A.D. Negmatov, *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 3, 1974, fig. 8.

there combined with those of a local Iranian goddess. But since Iranian pictorial models were lacking, the Mesopotamian Nanâ's iconography modified by Indian and Central Asian patterns, prevailed in the imagery of the syncretized cult image.

Nanâ's Iranian counterpart was the goddess Ārmaiti, the Avestan Spenta Ārmaiti, who was assigned superlative creative power in the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian pantheon. In the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian pantheon, Ārmaiti, as earth, formed a pair with the sky god Ahura. But following the elevation of the latter to the rank of supreme god of the Zoroastrian church, Ārmaiti's position declined to that of the daughter of the sky god.²⁸

²⁸ Gray, *The foundations of Iranian religions*, *op. cit.*, 47ff; E. Benveniste, *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts*, Paris 1929, 63ff; H. W. Bailey,



Figure 6

A Khwarezmian representation of a four-armed Nanâ, from a seventh century silver bowl in the British Museum. Sketched from Azarpay, *Artibus Asiae* 1969, pl. 2. Diam. of bowl, 12.7 cm.

Whereas the earliest Avestan hymns, the Gāthās, invoke Spenta Ārmaiti as an abstract concept meaning "rightful thought," both post-Gāthic Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian Iranian sources refer to Ārmaiti in the sense of "earth."²⁹ Pahlavi sources which identify Ārmaiti as earth, describe her as mother of mankind, creator of cattle, and genius of cultivated land.³⁰ As earth, Ārmaiti was also responsible for the spirits of regions, frontiers, stations, settlements and districts, and looked to their proper government and admini-

Indo-Scythian studies, Khotanese texts IV, Cambridge 1961, 12; *idem, Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, Oxford 1943, 52; *idem, "Saka śśandrāmata," Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 136-143.

²⁹ Yasna 38.1-2, Yasna 42.3; Vendidad, Fargard II.20ff, and Fargard XVIII.108; Bundahiš 15.1; Zātspram 10.3; Bahman Yašt 2.8; Šāyast-lā šāyast 13.14, 15.20-24; Sad Dar 33.2, 45.5. On the identification of Ārmaiti as earth in both Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian sources, see H. W. Bailey, "Iranian studies V," *BSOAS* 8 (1935), 142; *idem, "Saka śśandrāmata," op. cit.*, 136-143.

³⁰ Bundahiš 15.1; Zātspram 10.3; Šāyast-lā-šāyast 15.20-24, 22.5, 23.1; Dādīstān-i-Dīnik 64.6.

stration.³¹ Ārmaiti is occasionally invested with chthonic qualities, as shown by Ahura Mazda's judgment that the uncharitable tiller of the earth would "fall down into the darkness of Spenta Ārmaiti, down into the world of woe, the dismal realm, down into the house of hell."³² The abstract Gāthic qualities of Ārmaiti which survived in her later function as a protector of the Zoroastrian religion,³³ were thus combined with a chthonic aspect which was perhaps a Magian contribution of ultimately Mesopotamian origin.³⁴

As earth, Spenta Ārmaiti was frequently coupled with heaven in Zoroastrian hymns that, nevertheless, identified her as a creature of Ahura Mazda.³⁵ But in the pre-Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian Iranian beliefs, such as those held by the eastern Saka, heaven and earth represented two equally important creative entities.³⁶ Bountiful earth was particularly venerated by the sedentary Iranian populations that lived beyond the sphere of influence of the Zoroastrian reforms.

Although intangible,³⁷ Spendarmad, or Spenta Ārmaiti, occasionally manifested herself in the form of a woman. As protectress of the water rights of Iranian lands, Ārmaiti's manifestation was clearly symbolic. She appeared as a maiden dressed "in a bright robe which shone forth in all directions for a *hasr's* length, that is, about two *parasangs*. And she was girt with a golden girdle which was the Religion of the Mazdayasnians."³⁸

Whereas pictorial representations of Ārmaiti are lacking in Persian art, those of her Saka equivalent, Śśandrāmata, the personified earth, have been identified by Sir H. W. Bailey.³⁹ The Saka Śśandrāmata is depicted in the Buddhist art of Khotan and Tumšūq, in Chinese Turkestan, as a four-armed enthroned goddess,⁴⁰ according to the formula used for the representations of Nanā in Khwarezmian and Sogdian art.⁴¹ The resemblance between the Nanā images of Transoxiana and the Saka Śśandrāmata exceeds their formal ties with Indian models; it testifies rather, to a mutual relationship in the conception of the two groups of divine images.

Finally, the ascendance and prevalence of the cult of Nanā in early medieval Transoxiana would be satisfactorily explained if Nanā's functions were equated with those of the principal Iranian goddess Ārmaiti. The creative and chthonic aspects of Ārmaiti, or Spenta Ārmaiti, would then have been transferred to the regional cult of Nanā in Transoxiana. This fusion would then explain Nanā's association with the Sogdian funerary and dynastic cult, her role in the native Sogdian cult of Adonis,⁴² and the parallelisms between her imagery in Transoxiana and the representations of the Saka Śśandrāmata.

³¹ Zātspram 22.9-10.

³² Venidād, Fargard III.35.

³³ Yašt 1.27ff, Dinkard, Book IX:31.17, 42.10, 43.21, 60.4, 69.14ff.; Zātspram 12.2.

³⁴ For other instances of the transmission of Mesopotamian religious notions to Iranian beliefs through the medium of the Magians, see A. D. H. Bivar, "Religious subjects on Achaemenid seals," *Mithraic studies*, ed. J. R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975, 103-104; *idem*, "Mithra and Mesopotamia," *ibid.*, 286.

³⁵ Yasna 38.1-2; Vendidād, Fargard XIX.13.

³⁶ For a discussion of the religious beliefs of the Pontic Scythians, see O. G. von Wesendonk, "Arəmati als arische Erdgottheit," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 17 (1929), 73ff.; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Symbols and values in Zoroastrianism, their survival and renewal*, New York/Evanston 1970, 29. On the religious beliefs of the eastern Saka, see Bailey, "Saka śśandrāmata," *op. cit.*, 136-153.

³⁷ Šāyast-lā-šāyast 15.3.

³⁸ Zātspram 4.4-6, translated by R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma*, Oxford 1956, 163.

³⁹ Bailey, "Saka śśandrāmata," *op. cit.*, 142; *idem*, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, *op. cit.*, 52; *idem*, *Khotanses texts IV*, *op. cit.* 12.

⁴⁰ For the images of the Saka Śśandrāmata, see N. V. D'yakonova, in *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov vostoka* 6, *Trudy gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha V*, Leningrad 1961, 257-272. This author points to the following connections between the native non-Buddhist religion of Khotan and that of Sogdiana: (1) A chthonic cult associated with the ancestors of the ruling dynasty; (2) the occurrence of a pair of divinities at the head of the pantheon.

⁴¹ For examples from Khwarezmian art, see above note 26, for Sogdian images, see above note 24.

⁴² Henning, "A Sogdian god," *op. cit.*, 252; E. Chavanne, *Les Tou-kiue (Tures) occidentaux*, Paris 1942, 132-3, note 5; Azarpay, "Iranian divinities in Sogdian painting," *op. cit.* The connection between the goddess Nanā and the native cult of Adonis found in Sogdiana, recalls the Phrygian myth of Pesinonte, reported by Arnobius (V, 6, 12), in which Nanā is given as the name of the daughter of the river Sangarios, mother of Attis. But as Cumont noted, no cult is known to have been associated with this Anatolian Nanā, see *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *op. cit.*, 196, note 5.

It may be supposed that the syncretic cult of Nanâ-Ārmaiti was fairly widespread throughout the east Iranian world in early medieval times. The name of Spenta Ārmaiti appears as a compound among theophoric names on Parthian ostraca from Nisa.⁴³ It is perhaps likely that the

important Nanâ sanctuary which was reportedly situated at Nisa⁴⁴ was dedicated not to Anāhita, whose name is absent from the theophoric names from Nisa, but to the combined cult of Nanâ-Ārmaiti.

⁴³ I. M. D'yakonov, V. A. Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy I v. do n. é.*, Moskva 1960, 24; *idem*, in *Sbornik v cheste akademika I. A. Orbeli, Issledovaniya po istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka*, Moskva/Leningrad 1960, 332.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, in *Peredneaziatskoĭ sbornik II, Deshifrovka i interpretatsiya pis'mennostiĭ drevnego vostoka*, Moskva 1966, 152, n. 66 (No. 1682, 1741, 228, 1243); *idem*, in *Sbornik v cheste akademika I. A. Orbeli, op. cit.*, 329.