

The 'City of Gold' and the 'City of Silver' *

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THE mention among the possessions of Aḥatmilku, queen of Ugarit, of 'one URU GUŠKIN of 215 shekels weight' (RŠ 16.146+ :4) has been the occasion of a stimulating note by Professor S. Paul entitled 'Jerusalem — A City of Gold.'¹ Observing that J. Nougayrol, who edited RŠ 16.146+, could cite only iconographic rather than epigraphic evidence to support his thesis that this item was a mural crown like those depicted on the heads of goddesses in the procession at Yazilikaya, Paul has brought to light similar expressions in rabbinic Hebrew (עיר של זהב) and Aramaic (ירושלים דדהבה) which denote an expensive headdress for women.

Not only do I agree with Profs. Nougayrol and Paul that this item was a mural crown, but I should like here to cite epigraphical evidence from Hittite, Greek and Roman texts² to substantiate this thesis.

The wording URU GUŠKIN of RŠ 16.146+ :4 finds its closest parallel in KUB XV, I, iii, 17–31 (esp. 20, 25, 30). This text records vows made to various deities contingent upon the preservation of the city of Ankuwa from destruction by fire.

- 17 dUTU-ŠI-kán A-NA dKa-tab-ha kiš-an IK-RU-UB
 18 ma-a-an-kán URU An-ku-wa-aš URU-aš iš-pár-za-zi
 Ū-UL-aš da-pi-an-za ar-ha BIL-ni
 20 nu A-NA dKa-tab-ha 1 URU-LUM KÙ.BABBAR DÙ-mi
 KI.LÁ.BI NU.GAL 1 GU₄ 8 UDU-ya pé-eb-bi
 22 MI.LUGAL-za-kán A-NA dU AN-E kiš-an IK-RU-UB
 (23–26 same as 18–21)
 27 [. . . .] A-NA dU URUZi-íp-pa-la-an-da
 [kiš-an IK-RU-U]B ma-a-an-kán URU An-ku-wa-aš URU-aš
 (29–31 same as 18–21)

His Majesty makes the following vow to dKatahha: if the city of Ankuwa sur-

* The abbreviations used in this article are according to the list in CAD A/2.

¹ IEJ 17 (1967), pp. 259–263.

² Paul's only Greek word, χρυσοκαστέλλιον, is later than my evidence.

vives and does not completely burn down, I will make for ^dKatahha one URU-LUM KÛ.BABBAR of unspecified weight, (and) I will give (her) one ox and eight sheep.

The queen makes the following vow to the storm-god of heaven:

if. . . . (same wording), I will make for the storm-god of heaven one URU-LUM KÛ.BABBAR of unspecified weight, (and) I will give. . .

[. . . makes the following vo]w to the storm-god of ^{URU}Zippalanda:

if. . . ., [I will make for the storm-god of ^{URU}Z]ippalanda one URU-LUM KÛ.BABBAR.

The same options are open to the interpreter of this Hittite text as to the interpreter of RŠ 16.146. The silver 'city' could be a city model or a mural crown.³

Perhaps the mention of male deities, the storm gods of heaven and of Zippalanda, along with the goddess Katahha, weaken the case slightly for the mural crown, which might be thought more appropriate to a goddess.⁴ Yet the dedication of a mural crown in the likeness of Ankuwa and with its name inscribed thereon(?) would be highly appropriate in a context such as this.

From the Hittite *Bildbeschreibung* texts we learn that the cult images represented at least the following deities as wearing crowns (often with the deity's name inscribed thereon):

^dU GAŠRU of ^{URU}Kunkuniya (VAT 6688 + Bo 2496 I 29-35),

^dIšhašhuriya of ^{URU}Tiliura (Bo 2318 + Bo 8042 I 9-18),

^dKAL LIL of Wiyanawanta (VAT 6688 + Bo 2496 II 7-9; cf. C. G. von Brandenstein, *MVAG* 46², Leipzig, 1943, pp. 12-15, 16-19).

At least two of these three deities are male.

The Hittite evidence would suggest then that the URU KÛ.BABBAR even for a male deity could have taken the form of a mural crown.

Turning to the later texts from Greece and Rome, we shall consider two kinds of evidence: (1) the use of the term 'crown' to designate the walls and turrets of a city; and (2) the use of a term 'turreted' or 'turret-bearing' as an epithet for several deities.

The Greek word κρήδεμνον bears the basic meaning 'crown, headband', as

³ These two alternate interpretations are considered in *CAD* A/1, p. 380 for the Ras Shamra text.

⁴ But see below for Hittite evidence for the *KILILU* or *lupanniš* ('crown') worn by male deities.

determined by both usage⁵ and etymology.⁶ It is also employed, moreover, to describe the walls and towers of a city. Twice in Homer the plural κρήδεμνα describes Troy's walls: Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα (*Iliad* 16:100), Τροίης . . . λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα (*Odyssey* 13:388). In Hesiod's *Aspis* (line 105) we read ὃς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόλῃα. Other instances from later Greek are Euripides, *Troades* 508; Bacchylides, frag. 16.⁷

Latin texts, too, attest the mural crown by references to the originally Anatolian goddess Cybele (= Kubaba) and even the warrior-goddess Roma as *turrīta* ('turreted': Ovid, *Metam.* 10:696, *Fasti* 4:219f.; Propertius IV 11:52; Sidonius, *Carmina* 5:13 [the goddess Roma]) or *turrigera* (Ovid, *Fasti* 4:224, 6:321, *Trist.* 2:24). See also Lucretius II 606.⁸

The convergence of epigraphic evidence from Ugarit, Hattusaš, Greece, Rome and the Jewish communities of Babylon and Judea confirms the identity of the URU of gold or silver as a mural crown.

⁵ Lidell and Scott: *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1953, p. 994; M. von Leumann: *Homörische Wörter*, Basel, 1950, p. 296.

⁶ H. Frisk: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, p. 15; *Etymologicon Magnum* (T. Gaisford, ed.), p. 537: 28-34.

⁷ According to Stephanus of Byzantium (*Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum quae supersunt* [ed. Meineke], Berlin, 1849, s.v. Amphipolis), Amphipolis bore the name Κράδεμνα (Doric form of κρήδεμνα).

⁸ The Lucretius passage and Ovid, *Fasti* 4:219-221, were brought to my attention by my good friend and former colleague, Prof. David Wiesen, Department of Classics, Brandeis University.