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FINDING A NAME
FOR AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDING:
THE SIT-ŠAMŠI FROM ŠUŠ*

❶ Have you ever seen an archaeological finding like this?

Probably not. It is perhaps the most stimulating object found in the entire ancient Near East, even if the handbooks on Mesopotamian art do not deal much with it. It is a three-dimensional bronze model the base of which measures 60 x 40 cm, excavated in the 1904-1905 campaign by the French mission at Susa, and now exhibited at the Louvre museum. On the surface of the base, two human figures are surrounded by various shapes of miniature objects, possibly some altars, a large vessel, two basins, a stela and three trunks of trees. This scene, perhaps a cult act which took place in the second half of the 12th century BC, was set for eternity by will of Šilhak-Inšušinak I (1140-1120 BC), king of Anšan and Šuš, according to the short inscription in the near-right corner of the base, parallel to the long side.

❷ The accompanying royal inscription confirms the extraordinariness of the model, not only for us today, but also for its makers and their client. It also provides us with a preferred point of view in staring at and describing the model, if you are so lucky to run into a picture of it... or to be bored by this lecture!

In addition, the inscription, which provides also a dating for the model, is useful for another reason: if you were lucky – I mean, you could ever be in front of the Louvre showcase with the model in –, looking at the caption you would learn that the name commonly given to this object is *sit šamši*. Actually, this name, meaning "the rising of the sun, sunrise" in Akkadian, appears in lines 5-6 of the inscription, preceded by the royal titulary of the king and followed by the adjective "bronze" and a

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Sections not read at the lecture are framed with a border.

Grey encircled numbers refer to the overheads. Footnotes will be provided only in printed form.

form of the verb "to do, make". So it was obvious to translate "Šilhak-Inšušinak, king here and there, made (this) *sit šamši* of bronze".

What a great piece of luck! Since a so peculiar finding needs a name to refer to, when talking about it, in this happy circumstance we do not need to resort to such a name such as "codex of Hammurabi" (in Latin), "kneeler of Larsa", "Uruk vase", etc.: here we have the original label! And at the same time, presumably, the name of the ritual ceremony set in the scene.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

But even leaving aside the engraved text, two kinds of scholars meet on this finding: its three-dimensional shape spurs archaeologists to search for a comparison in the archaeological remains, and philologists to look through dusty tablets hoping to find out the one describing by words the scene.

DESCRIPTION & POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS

❸ The scene seems to be happening outdoors. The focus is on the two human figures, apparently naked, squatted down in the middle of the base, one in front of the other, giving their backs to the long side. One stretches its hands out, the other seems to be pouring some kind of fluid over them from a spouted jug. Their heads are dotted, probably meaning shaved hairs. Their legs are arranged harmoniously: the right ones have the thigh parallel to the base; the left ones are perpendicular to the base up to the knee. The two figures seem to break off from the bronze mass, keeping the balance on the tips of their toes.

Altars or ziggurats?

❹ The lack of symmetry in the right side of the surface assures the lack of sheer embellishments, each item on the base having its own definite function (cultic or not). Although escaping other stylization issues, such as the rendering of perspective intrinsic to two-dimensional painting, a question may be posed: whether the three-dimensional items on the base are proportioned with respect to the human figures or not. This seems to be relevant especially for the two stepped structures flanking the pair of men on the left and right hand.

The structure on the left has three levels and an element in the shape of a stairway rising to the second level on the side facing the men. The stepped structure on the right has two levels; its long sides have a band in relief reminiscent of a door frame. Both structures have four semicircular depressions with a protruding rim on the top and intermediate horizontal surfaces, crossed by the edge facing the men. While these latter features lead some scholars to recognize the stepped structures as altars, according to others they clearly represent two temples, being a ziggurat at least the left one. Gautier, the first scholar who described the model, saw a connection with the temple of Inšušinak and of the great goddess (Ninhursag) on the Acropolis of Šuš in middle Elamite period. If the latter is the case, the semicircle may be, in my opinion, a sort of stylized battlement on the edge of the terraces, engraved on the horizontal surface rather than vertically protruding from it; moreover it must be noted that the rim itself is protruding, not an engraving on the surface as the drawings may let to think.

❺ However, the semicircles of the drawings seem rather circular in reality or, being bruised,

rounded square. Therefore I guess that they were joint for horns rising out of the walls on both sides: middle Elamite inscriptions show that these horns (*kassu*) were an important component of all temples; Shilhak-Inshushinak boasts that he had restored twenty 'horn-temples', while five centuries later the Assyrian king Ašurbanipal tells how he had caused the 'horns of cast bronze' to be removed from the ziggurat of Šuš, and a relief from his palace in Nineveh showed the sanctuary on top of this very ziggurat with two massive pairs of horns on the front. We have also a pair of stone horns, more than one meter long, with an inscription of Šutruk-Nahunte II, ❻ and, obviously, the horned parapet at Persepolis.

❼ Gautier did not speak, nor the drawings show them, of pairs of circles engraved on the front side of the 'ziggurat': one is visible (especially the left one, evidently coupled with another on the other hand) on the upper part; another pair, slightly bigger than the latter, is on the lower side projection. They can be a stylization of the blue and green glazed square plaques with a raised pommel in the centre found on the ziggurat of Choga Zanbil.

> According to Grillot, the smaller structure is a *kumpum kiduia*, an external sanctuary frequently cited in the inscription of Šilhak-Inšušinak.
>
> In connection with the door frame on this structure, the goddess Kiririša, mother of the gods, is known as "Lady of life, who has authority over the grove, the gateway, and he who prays": perhaps it might be a representation of the gateway.

The two rows of piles

The 'ziggurat' is flanked at both short sides by a row of four low piles, often described as pyramidal or conical but, if this is the case, very smoothed.

Resembling round loaves, according to Gautier they represent offerings of cereals, exposed during the celebration of the sacrifice. ❽ Gautier could not know the two parallel rows of seven baked brick tables in the shape of truncated pyramids, each about 25 cm high, which, at his time, were still to be unearthed at the foot of the ziggurat of Choga Zanbil. Thank to this striking resemblance with the piles of the model, Porada connected all the three-dimensional scene with the ritual installations before the principal entrance of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil.

❾ The pyramidal tables are in fact located on the south-eastern parvis of the ziggurat, which has its corners oriented to the cardinal points like the Mesopotamian ziggurats. ❿ Each table has an inner core of pressed mould covered with a baked square tile measuring 35 x 35 cm; similar tiles cover the four side slopes, connected by triangular tiles on the four corners. In the vicinity, Ghirshman identified three square offering tables made of brick, two platforms that may have served as stands for the seats of the king and his consort, ⓫ a large jar still holding the remnants of two goblets, and the base of a lost stela. The pavement is sloping and fitted with drains; these were functional to the drainage of bloody sacrifices.

⓬ Ghirshman compares the two rows of seven tables with two pairs of rows of four and three small circles in a relief on the bronze gate at Balawat which depicts an animal sacrifice in the open air, executed during the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC).

Tallon emphasized that the south-eastern esplanade of the ziggurat looks toward the rising of the sun. However, the number of the tables (14) seems more fitting for the lunar cycle. The main discrepancy is indeed the number of piles, only eight in the model.

The rows of tables, exactly perpendicular to the side of the ziggurat, point to an azimuth of 155 degrees (counted from the north toward east). A north-south path (194 degrees of azimuth) points to the last tables on the left row. On the winter solstice the sun rises at 117 degrees of azimuth, while on the summer solstice at 61 degrees (latitude: 32° N; longitude: 48°30' E; altitude: ++ m).

The offering table

Between the big 'ziggurat' and the human figures, a low rectangular surface bears two rows of three narrow oval grooves. The long sides, the rows and the ovals are parallel to the short sides of the base. It is unanimosuly interpreted as an offering table. These grooves are radically different from the semicircle on the stepped structures.

The notched pillars

The table is in turn flanked by two pillars with a rounded cusp, notched with a small roughly semicircular shelf on the side facing the table and the other pillar. The pillars are as tall as half the human figures.

⑬ In the aforesaid relief on the bronze gate at Balawat, the two pairs of rows of four and three small circles compared to the tables of Choga Zanbil by Ghirshman, seem to be aligned above four rounded pillars. It could be a flat representation of pillars in front of (i.e. below in the representation) rows of round tables, maybe the piles of the model; otherwise the circles represent object piled on the pillars. However, it is worth noting that between the two pairs of rows there is a couple of standing facing men, one stretching his hands out. Moreover the pillars have the same proportion to human figure as in the model.

Another comparison, closer from a geographical point of view, can be found in the neo-Elamite rock relief of Kūl-i Farah I in the vicinity of Izeh/Malamir, where a priest is fixed in the act of pouring a fluid on a fungiform pillar at the margin of an animal sacrifice scene. Here too, the relevant feature is the size of the pillar toward the human figure of the priest: half a way, the same as the model; on the other hand there is no binary arrangement, and the pillar is not notched.

The two pillars form together a unitarian cult installation. Maybe something (in different material, such as wood?) could lean out between the two shelves; however they seem to me the boundaries of something to pass through in performing the ritual action, recalling the alliance sacrifice of the Bible.

* * *

It should be noted that the 'ziggurat', the piles, the offering table and the pillars are lined up and centered on the two human figures, which are not in the exact middle of the base with respect to the short sides. This arrangement seems to be due to the large jar, which evidently *must* stand at the back of the man washing his hands. Therefore I infer that these objects must stay in this definite relative positioning, even if this requires a void space in the far left corner of the base.

Other items

The large jar was probably for the lustral water, being the equivalent of the *apsû* of Babylonian sanctuaries and, incidentally, of the bronze sea of the temple in Jerusalem. Inward there is a protruding pin. On the right of the jar, there are two low square basins, the right one slightly taller and more rectangular. Close to the right basin, a right-angle-shaped platform with a protrudring external edge is connected to a squared pillar with a rounded top, unanimously interpreted as a stela.

Some scholars recognized in these items the peculiar elements of Canaanite high places known from the Bible as *bānâ*.

The grove

On the left of the stela, in front of the left basin, there are three trunks of tree which, with the 'ziggurat', are the tallest item on the base. The branches, originally probably enriched by leaves of some kind of metal, are badly damaged.

Today the sacral feeling evoked by vast and thick forests is nearly lost; in literature only Tolkien revived it with his vivid descriptions which seem to awake in everyone a bit of ancient heritage of mankind. However it was easily perceived by the Romans in their *silvae* and it is nearly astonishing to have a three-dimensional Elamite *husa*, a sacral grove, well known from the textual sources. Šilhak-Inšušinak, the same Elamite king speaking in the inscription of the model, had built 'grove temples' in various locations of the kingdom; most of them were dedicated to the god Inšušinak. Sacral groves were a feature peculiar to the Elamite religion, and this explains why five centuries later the Assyrian king Ašurbanipal boasted during his conquest of Susa that "their secret groves, where no foreigner had trampled the underbrush, my soldiers entered and saw their secrets; they destroyed them".

Technical analysis

❷ Further evidences come from an X-ray analysis, the results of which are reported by Tallon & Hurtel. First of all, the analysis elucidated that some parts of the model are solid and cast with the base, while other, including the stepped structures and the jar, are hollow and fixed to the base by rivets. The human figures were solid, cast separately and then locked to the base.

Gautier 1911, fig. 200	item	fastening		bronze alloy	
F and G	human figures	locked into the base	solid	2% tin	
A	big stepped structure	fixed by rivets	hollow	3.5% tin	less iron, nickel and cobalt = different copper high proportion of silver (1.2%) and gold (0.027% ??)
B	small stepped structure	fixed by rivets	hollow	3.5% tin	less iron, nickel and cobalt = different copper
H	jar	fixed by rivets	hollow	3.5% tin	
M	right-angle-shaped platform	fixed by rivets	hollow, being attached by rivets, but it might be solid according to X-ray analysis	3.5% tin	less iron, nickel and cobalt = different copper
E	table with depressions (made of 2 superimposed plates)	bottom plate: fixed by rivets top plate: pierced with holes (??)	solid	3.5% tin	less iron, nickel and cobalt = different copper
C	8 piles	cast with the base	solid	2% tin	
I and J	2 basins	cast with the base	solid	2% tin	
D and D'	2 pillars	cast with the base	solid	2% tin	
L	stela	not elucidated by X rays analysis	solid		
K	3 trunks of tree	not elucidated by X rays analysis	solid	similar to the one used for the parts attached by rivets	
●	(at least) 9 rivets used to hold the separate pieces to the base				
■	15 or 16 small rivets			2-3% tin, copper	higher proportions of arsenic, nickel, and iron than the other rivets

The technical analysis pointed out also the remnants of other 15 or 16 rivets, smaller than the ones used to hold the separate pieces to the base, infixed in the blank spaces of the upper surface. Each rivet is spaced from the others with some regularity, the average distance being 7.5 cm, a little more of the average distance from the three-dimensional items. The only space where we may expect a rivet but there is not, is between the larger stepped structure, the table with depressions and the far pillar, even for symmetry purpose since a rivet is infixed in the same area close to the near pillar. Rivets are in the four corners, even in the near left-hand one where there is little room for it.

Three rivets are lined up across the inscription: the left one on the first part of the third line, the right one in the last part of the fourth line, while the central one between the two latter lines. It seems that, although close to the signs, they do not make unreadable any of them. Perhaps, although not foreseen at the engraving of the inscription, they were infixed in such a way as to damage it as less as possible.

The presence of these smaller rivets has yet to be explained. According to Tallon & Hurtel, the 'ziggurat' contains an exceptionally high proportion of silver and gold, meaning perhaps that it had a facing of precious metal, now lost. Perhaps a silver-foil covered the base and was fixed by the smaller rivets. Since this would have covered also the inscription, it could not have been conceived from the

beginning but in this case it would have been by a mere chance that the signs were not damaged, the inscription destined to being hidden. Moreover the rivets seem not suitable to fasten the model to a pedestal or a wall, neither to fix lost parts of it: after all, considering the frailty of the attached items, it is rather well-preserved.

THE FINDING CONTEXT

⑭ The archaeological context of the finding shows clearly how the *sit šamši* could survive the injuries of men and time. It was deliberately protected and hidden into a casting of gypsum, which was fashioned in the shape of standard middle Elamite bricks and fitted in a masonry as a white tile. The green spots of oxidation on the surface revealed the inside bronze to archaeologists, who began the slow and delicate work of removal of the hardened gypsum. If the model was originally conceived to be encased in gypsum, we would have a strong example of supernatural faith, and a proof that the inscription should not necessarily be written in order to be read.

Mecquenem stated that the *sit šamši* had been used, along with ordinary bricks, to cover a tomb made in a partially demolished wall; the vaulting had been made with bricks taken from that wall. After some hesitancy, Mecquenem dated the tomb, despoiled in antiquity, to the Elamite period. The level given for the *sit šamši* was, according to the plan of the Acropolis published in 1911, less than a meter below the spot where the statue of Queen Napir-Asu was discovered, in the northern part of the so-called Ninhursag temple on the Acropolis.

If the model was deliberately buried in a middle Elamite tomb, which, given its findspot in the heart of the sacred temenos, could only have been that of a king, it is legitimate to associate the ceremony represented with a royal funerary ritual, as Amiet, Carter and Malbran-Labat proposed. Incidentally it may be noted that, in connection with the tables of Choga Zanbil, according to Vallat the ziggurat have a funerary character in Elam. On the other hand, nothing justifies this hypothesis if we are dealing with an artifact that was reused at a later date.

A RITUAL AT SUNRISE?

Funerary or not, all the scholars agree that the cult activity depicted in the model took place at the break of the day and involved ritual cleansing at the very spot where the day's sacrifices and libations would be carried out.

Taking for granted the cult character of the scene, we may expect an hint from the textual sources. Unfortunately the few extant Elamite ritual texts do not help us, and one has to look towards Mesopotamian sources.

Since the first publication by V. Scheil in 1909, *si-it ša-am-ši* was taken, as I said before, as the Akkadian *ṣit šamši,* meaning "rising of the sun" (*sit* alone is 'birth', *šamaš* 'sun') and, in a broad sense, the direction or the point of time of sunrise, i.e. the "East" or the "dawn", never involving a cult activity, exept perhaps the following occurrence: "at sunrise (*ina ^{d}UTU.È,* written logographically as usual) you sweep the ground on the bank of the canal and sprinkle (ritually) pure water around".

⓯ What I did not say before is that the word "bronze" following *sit šamši* in the inscription on the model is *sa-hi-ya*, and the verbal form "I made" is *hu-uh-tah*. Everyone knows that Akkadian was widely spread in Susiana, but only in the unlikely event that you are an "Elamist", i.e. a specialist in Elamite studies, you could jolt becoming aware of the language of the inscription, which is not Akkadian but Elamite, namely middle-Elamite. Therefore, in this context, *sit šamši* is what one can precisely define as an Akkadian loan word in Elamite. Palaeographically speaking, the shape of the signs is Elamite, but the same cuneiform signs (with one exception) could have written *sit šamši* in Akkadian (even if a skilled Akkadian scribe would have preferred the logographic spelling *^{d}UTU.È*!). So, an Akkadian name for an Elamite object in an Elamite inscription!

Akkadian loan words are frequent in Elamite but I wondered why a loan word could designate an Elamite ritual ceremony, unless that ceremony was Akkadian but, apart from ablutions made at sunrise, we do not know anything else. The treatment of sibilant in Elamite was very unstable and alternating in spelling, however the emphatic *ṣ* of Akkadian *ṣi-it* should be written by the same sign (usually transcribed by a *z*-value in Elamite) or, more seldom, by a same vowel *š*-sign, even it could be that the sign *si* of Elamite *si-it* should be read *ší*. The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary could not help enlisting the Elamite *sit šamši* under *ṣītu* but, both because of the slightly different spelling and the unparalleled ritual ceremony, could not give up devoting a separate special entry to it.

* * *

Let we see the relevant lines of the inscription. After the royal titles of the Elamite king Šilhak-Inšušinak, F.W. König read:

❶   (5)   si-it

     (6) ša-am-ši sa-hi-ya hu-[uh-t]ah

and translated "Einen Sonnenaufgang aus Bronze verfertigte ich" "a Sunrise in bronze I made".

The remaining of the inscription is damaged, only few signs can be read. Since no other words in the inscription are broken at the end of a line (at least in line 5 and 6 the writer spaced the last signs in order to reach this goal), we are fairly sure that *si-it* is a single word. If *si-it* would be Elamite, it could be related to *si-it-me* which means something like "prosperity, steadiness, good luck, wellness, bliss". As an example, see this excerpt from an inscription of the king Untaš-Napiriša (ca. 1250 BC):

❷   (3) šu-<ut>-ki-me ša-at-ki-me su-un-ki-me t[u-ur]

     (4) hi-ih si-it-me ^{d}in-šu-uš-[na-ak]

which F. Vallat translated "chaque nuit, chaque jour, qu'Inshushnak [m'accorde] une royauté (*su-un-ki-me*) (et) une dynastie (*tu-ur hi-ih*) de bonheur (*si-it-me*)!" "every night, every day, may Inshushinak (grant me) a regality (*su-un-ki-me*) (and) a dynasty (*tu-ur hi-ih*) of bliss (*si-it-me*)". The suffix *-me* in *si-it-me* is always due to the genitival relationship with *su-un-ki-me*. This formula was investigated by F. Grillot who quoted these two passages:

❸   ta-ak-[me]-ú-me [tu₄]-ur hi-ih si-it-me-[ú-me in] ti-ig-ga

❹   ta-ak-me-ú-me tu₄-ur hi-ih si-it-me-ú-me šu-ul-lu-me-ga ... in ti-ik-ga.

Here *takme u-me* means "ma vie" "my life", *tur-hih sitme u-me* "mon règne de bonheur" "my reign of bliss" and *šullumenka* "(moi) prolongeant" "may prolong, extend".

Takme and *sit* seems to be strictly connected also in an inscription of king Humban-numena I (who reigned before Untaš-Napiriša) where F.W. König read:

❺   si-it tak-me en-piš-ši-ik ᵈin-šu-ši-na-ak su-un-ki-me un-du-ni-iš

W. Hinz and H. Koch grouped these words under the headword *si-it-tak-me* giving this translation: "ein Leben in Gesundheit wurde [für mich] geschaffen".

Further evidence come from an inscribed brick of Unstaš-Napiriša from Deylam:

❻   (4)   šu-ut-ku-me

(5) ša-at-ki-me a-ak tu₄-ur hi-ih si-it-me un du-ni-ih-ši-ni-e.

We could analyze the verbal form as the base *dunu* "to give" plus the conjugation I 3rd plural person suffix *-hš* and the precative suffix *-ni*.

The verbal form *si-tu₄-uk-ti-ni* (with the precative suffix) is probably related to *sit*:

❼   a-ak a-⌈ha⌉-an hi-ih si-tu₄-uk-ti-ni

which Grillot translated "et, là, puisses-tu rendre le règne heureux" "and may you make the reign blissful there".

In the aforesaid inscription of Humban-numena I, we find also this fitting evidence:

❽   su-un-ki-me tu-ur hi-h si-ti-im-ma un-ša-am-me-h-ši-ni

I was at this point when I turn to read a forgotten note by M. Rutten where, referring to this passage, she proposed to drop *sit šamši* as a Semitic "sunrise" and translate *sit* as "durable (reign)" and *šamši* as "to grant, bestow".

L'expression: *Sitme ume*: ma conservation ou la durée de moi, d'une racine √sit se rencontre très fréquemment , nous rappelons les exemple suivants:

Mém., III, n° 13, l. 6, pl. 4, 2: ak zunkime turḫih zitme un dunišni

Mém., XV, Humb., 3: sit takme en pissik, a été traduit par M. Pézard: la durée de (ma) vie a été rendue stable et pour Humb., 8, M. Pézard a corrigé: sunkime turḫih siti. imma un šammeh. ši. ni, d'une royauté... durable ils me favorisèrent ou me gratifièrent (note manuscrite).

Cette traduction et cette inscription pourrait peut-être convenir à l'inscription du «sit šamši» de bronze du Musée du Louvre [...] où aux ll. 5-6, nous trouvons: si-it ša-am-ši sa-ḫi (?)-(??).

Si on abandonnait l'idée du ṣit šamši: «lever du soleil», en sémitique, on pourrait peut-être voir dans šamši une forme du verbe √šam qui (conf. Pézard, *Mém.*, XV, p. 64) a le sens de «gratifier, favoriser» sit šamši šamši (où le ḫ disparaît) serait-il pour un singulier? De la durée, il (?) me gratifia (?).

W. Hinz & H. Koch translated as "um die Königsherrschaft (*su-un-ki-me*) betete ich, in Gesundheit (*si-ti-im-ma*) mögen sie [die Götter] mich (*un*) in sie geleiten (*ša-am-me-h-ši-ni*)!" "(the gods) may lead (*ša-am-me-h-ši-ni*) me to the welfare (*si-ti-im-ma*)". Here, the writing *si-ti* for *si-it* could be explicated by the presence of the suffix *-ma* "in" which is connected by a written reduplication. The base of the verbal form is *šam* while the morphological analysis is the same of *du-ni-ih-ši-ni-e*. Here

too the insertion of *-me-* is a written reduplication plus an euphonic vowel. Coming back to *ša-am-ši*, it could be a simple conjugation I 3rd singular person form of the same verb.

If this is the case, it would be the same form attested in the spellings *ša-am-me-iš* and *ša-am-mi-iš*, occurring in an inscription of Shutruk-Nahunte. The final sign *iš* (instead of *ši*) may perhaps be explained by the following connective *a-ak* "and" (beginning with a vowel). In this inscription the verbal form *ša-am-mi-iš-ta* is also attested. Now it is very important trying to understand the meaning of this verbal base which is attested in middle Elamite also in the forms: *ša-am*(?)-*me-h-ši* and *ša-am-me-en-ra*. According to Hinz, it is "zeigen, leiten, einweisen" "to lead, bestow".

The weakness of this hypothesis is the 1st person pronoun which opens the inscription, *ú* ^{DIŠ}*Šil-ha-ak-^dIn-šu-ši-na-ak* "I, Shilhak-Inshushinak" (opposed to the 3rd singular person of *šamši* in this interpretation), and especially the expression *sahiya huttah* following *sit šamši*. Since the attribute generally follows the determined word in Elamite, *sahiya* seems related to *sit šamši* treated as a nominal group. Rutten, too, did not dare to offer a translation of the whole clause.

Nouns plus finite verbal forms (as the case of *šamši* in this interpretation) cannot form nominal compounds in Elamite, however the subsequent part of the inscription is badly damaged and we cannot exclude a different syntactical construction. So, *sit šamši* maybe the name of the model and of the ritual ceremony, but perhaps it is Elamite, not Akkadian, and the ceremony was not performed at sunrise. As a concluding (unlikely) guess, the *sit šamši* seems something like the Italian word "portafortuna" or French "porte-bonheur": therefore Šilhak-Inšušinak made "in bronze something that brings (you) good luck", as you may say in Fārsi that something "be man shāns āvard".

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